8213558

Kasoff, Ira Ethan

AN ANALYSIS OF THE THOUGHT OF CHANG TSAI (1020-1077)

Princeton University PH.D. 1982

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ___✓___.

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages ✓
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

AN ANALYSIS OF THE THOUGHT OF CHANG TSAI (1020-1077)

by

Ira Ethan Kasoff

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE

FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY THE

DEPARTMENT OF

EAST ASIAN STUDIES

Princeton, New Jersey, 1982

ABSTRACT

Two schools of philosophy appeared in China in the eleventh-century--one founded by Chang Tsai (1020-77), the other by Ch'eng Hao (1032-85) and Ch'eng Yi (1033-1107). Although each of these schools claimed to be restoring the Way of the ancient sages, both differed greatly from anything that had come before, and both exerted a great influence on the subsequent course of Chinese philosophy. These schools may therefore be considered to mark the beginning of Neo-Confucianism in China.

After Chang Tsai's death the Ch'eng school became dominant, and the great philosophical synthesis of Ch'eng Yi's fourth-generation disciple Chu Hsi (1130-1200) draws primarily on Ch'eng Yi's thought. The thought of Chang Tsai thus has been overshadowed by the Ch'eng-Chu tradition, and has not received the attention it deserves. This dissertation is an analysis of Chang Tsai's thought. It is my view that Chang was a systematic thinker who, while sharing many of the same assumptions and addressing many of the same problems as the Ch'eng brothers, developed a philosophy which was quite different from theirs.

The first chapter provides a context in which to view Chang Tsai's thought, describing some of the important

assumptions shared by many eleventh-century literati, and the problems to which those assumptions gave rise.

Chapters II-IV are an analysis of Chang Tsai's thought. Chang's philosophy is based on his concept of ch'i (氣). In his view everything consists of tangible ch'i, which has condensed from the undifferentiated Ch'i of the Great Void. Man also consists of this same ch'i. As such, he shares a basic oneness with everything in the universe. Man retains within him the original Nature of undifferentiated Ch'i, which is perfectly good. He also has a physical nature, the nature of his individual ch'i, which is the source of lust and desires. Therefore, a man must engage in "learning" in order to overcome his physical nature and fulfill the potential of his true Nature. If he is able to "complete his Nature," he is a sage, a fully realized human being. This was the goal which Chang urged his followers to strive for.

The concluding chapter is a comparison of Chang's thought with that of the Ch'eng brothers, and a discussion of some of the factors involved in the rise to dominance of the Ch'eng school.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express my deepest appreciation to Professor F.W. Mote. With his kindness and great erudition, he has been my "teacher" in the highest sense of the word. I am also very grateful to my advisor, Professor Willard J. Peterson, from whom I first learned to read Chinese philosophical texts. Professor Peterson has been a most thorough and thoughtful reader of all the drafts of this dissertation. I would also like to thank Professors James T.C. Liu and Denis Twitchett, both for their helpful suggestions and their much-needed encouragement.

In 1979-80 I had the good fortune to receive a grant from the CSCPRC to do research at Beijing University. This afforded me the opportunity to study with Professor Zhang Dai-nian, the world's foremost authority on Chang Tsai. I am deeply grateful to Professor Zhang, who generously took time off from a busy schedule to meet with me weekly. I would also like to thank Professor Lou Yu-lie of Beijing University, whose classes on Chinese philosophy were extremely useful to me.

Many friends at Princeton have helped me, too many to be acknowledged here. A few, however, should be singled out. I am deeply grateful to Dr. James Geiss, who has been a

constant source of ideas, editorial suggestions, and encouragement. I would also like to thank Keith Hazleton, who introduced me to the intricacies of the IBM 3033, without which this dissertation would have been many more months, and many more dollars, in the production. Michael Birt, my friend and squash partner, has helped me keep things in perspective during difficult moments. Finally, I would like to thank Ms. Ellen Eliasoph, who has been a very valuable source of editorial assistance and emotional support.

I am grateful to all of these people, and to many others not mentioned here. However, I have not been able to make all the changes and additions that they suggested. Any limitations which remain, therefore, are my responsibility.

INTRODUCTION

The eleventh century witnessed the appearance in China of a new movement in philosophy, a movement usually referred to in the West as Neo-Confucianism.[1] The thinkers associated with this movement developed complex and comprehensive philosophic systems unparalleled in Chinese history. As A.C. Graham has written, "...a European who turns to Chinese thought in the hope of learning to see his own philosophic tradition in perspective...is likely to gain more from the Sung school than from the ancient thinkers."[2] Nevertheless, the content of Neo-Confucian thought is not as well known in the West as is the philosophy of pre-Ch'in thinkers like Confucius, Mencius and Lao-tzu. Chang Tsai (1020-77), one of the most interesting of the early Sung philosophers, has not yet been adequately studied in any Western language.

Chang's "Kuan" school and the "Lo" school of Ch'eng Yi (1033-1107) and Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) were the most influential philosophical schools in late eleventh-century

[1] This term, although used rather loosely by Western scholars, is used here to refer to what is known in Chinese as Tao hsüeh (道学 --"The Study of the Way"--see below, I,54) or Li hsüeh (理学 --"The Study of Principle").

[2] A.C. Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan (London: Lund Humphries, 1958), "Preface," ix.

China,[3] and they marked the beginning of the Neo-Confucian movement which dominated Chinese philosophy for centuries.[4] Each of these schools developed a comprehensive philosophy to resolve problems that concerned many eleventh-century Confucian scholars. Their philosophies differed and there was considerable rivalry between the two schools; but these differences and this rivalry have been largely overlooked by later historians.

Chang Tsai died some thirty years before Ch'eng Yi, and Chang's followers dispersed after his death, many of them going to Loyang to study under the Ch'engs. The philosophy of the Ch'eng brothers and their disciples, particularly that of their fourth generation disciple Chu Hsi (1130-1200), emerged as the dominant school of philosophy and later became the state-sanctioned orthodoxy. In his desire to unify the diverse strands of eleventh-century thought, Chu Hsi created a single lineage for the school of the "Study of the Way." He maintained that the movement began with Chou Tun-yi (1017-73), was transmitted to the Ch'eng brothers, and thence to the branches of Chang Tsai and Shao Yung (1011-73), as well as to the Ch'engs' own

[3] "Kuan" refers to Kuanchung (關 --"within the pass"), modern Shensi province. "Lo" refers to Loyang.

[4] Although precedents for some of their ideas can be found in earlier thinkers, Chang and the Ch'engs differed significantly, and indeed considered themselves to have differed significantly, from earlier thinkers. For this reason, and because of the great influence they exerted on later thinkers, they can be considered to have begun the Neo-Confucian movement.

disciples. This scheme, which came to be accepted as fact, has obscured the point that Chang Tsai was an important thinker who developed a systematic philosophy largely prior to, and independent of, that of the Ch'eng brothers. Chang's philosophy, except insofar as it accorded with the ideas of the Ch'engs and Chu, has accordingly received scant attention, and some of his writings were not preserved.[5]

In the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties various thinkers, reacting against the dominant Ch'eng-Chu tradition, showed renewed interest in the thought of Chang Tsai.[6] And recently scholars in the People's Republic have been interested in him as a materialist thinker.[7] Nevertheless, Chang's thought has not been fully understood, and he remains largely unknown in the West. It is my hope that this study will contribute to our understanding of Chang's thought, and of the origins of Neo-Confucianism.

b. Problems

When trying to reconstruct the thought of a philosopher who lived over 900 years ago, one inevitably encounters numerous problems. Some of Chang's writings have not been

[5] Cf. Yamane Mitsuyoshi, Seimo (Tokyo: Meitoku, 1970), pp. 11-12.

[6] E.g., Wang T'ing-hsiang (1474-1544), Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692), Wang Chih (1721 chin shih) and Li Kuang-ti (1642-1718).

[7] See, e.g., Che hsüeh yen chiu 1956:4 (August, [illegible]) for articles on the debate over whether Chang was a materialist or an idealist.

preserved, and often there are variations in the different editions of the texts that are extant.[8] Furthermore, the evidence indicates that Chang compiled much of the Cheng meng, the best representation of his mature thought, by extracting passages from his earlier works.[9] Where the earlier text has been preserved, these extracts can often be understood more clearly by reading them in their original contexts. However, other passages, which appear to have been culled from works which have since been lost, are difficult to understand in isolation from their original contexts. Also, the writing style itself, which consists of brief comments or observations made at different times and in response to different situations, adds to the difficulty. Chang's remark about the Analects is interesting in this regard:

> There are a great many instances of different responses to the same question in the Analects. Sometimes they respond to the [particular] individual's talent or nature, sometimes [they were made by] observing the intent and language of the question the man asked, and the position he occupied.[10]

[8] See below, Appendix A, for discussion of bibliographic problems.

[9] E.g., Toda Toyosaburô estimates that roughly one fifth of the Cheng meng is drawn from the Yi shuo. See his "Ô Kyo ekigaku kô," in Hiroshima daigaku bungakubu kiyô, 25:1 (December, 1965), p. 232.

[10] Chang Tsai chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1978), 308.16 (references to this work are to page and line number).

It is likely that Chang taught in the same manner, varying his responses on a given topic depending upon who asked the question and how he asked it. Further, I believe that Chang adopted the style of the Cheng meng, at least in part, as a deliberate pedagogic technique designed to make his followers ponder his words and figure things out for themselves. When Chang presented this work to his disciples, he is reputed to have said:

> This book that I have written is comparable to a dried tree. The roots, branches and leaves are all fully intact, but it requires human effort in order to flourish. Or again, it is like showing a child his birthday tray; everything is there: it just depends on what he chooses.[11]

Chang expected his student to be an active participant who would read the passages over and over and ponder them. Only in this way, he believed, could the student arrive at an understanding of the vision that Chang was trying to convey. The modern student of Chang Tsai's thought is faced with the same challenge.

Little information on Chang Tsai's life has been preserved. We do not know about the ten-year period during which he reputedly studied Buddhist philosophy. This is unfortunate, since Chang's understanding of Buddhism doubtless exerted a great influence on his thought. In fact, one of Chang's purposes in writing philosophy was to refute Buddhist doctrine, doctrine he must have studied during this

[11] Chang Tsai chi 3.2-3.

period. Nor are we able to date much of Chang's writings. It seems reasonable to assume that his Commentary on the Changes (Yi shuo) is an early work, probably from the period when he was in the capital lecturing on the Book of Changes around 1057.[12] And the Cheng meng, which he presented to his disciples a year before his death, appears to be his final statement. We do not know about the date of the Ching hsüeh li k'u, and some have even questioned its authorship. Similarly, the details of the compilation of the Sayings of Master Chang (Chang-tzu yü lu), and of the no longer extant commentaries on the Analects, Mencius and Spring and Autumn Annals, remain unclear.[13]

In short, the problems are considerable. Nevertheless, several of Chang's works have been preserved, and they are internally consistent; thus, I believe it is possible to reconstruct his philosophic system on the basis of those works.

c. Methods and Assumptions

In writing this work, the method I have followed is quite straightforward. My model has been A.C. Graham's outstanding study of the thought of the Ch'eng brothers. I began by reading and rereading Chang's writings in order to reach a general understanding of his philosophy. I then

[12] See below, Appendix B.

[13] See below, Appendix B.

determined the major concepts in that philosophy by using a simple criterion: the major concepts were the ones that Chang discussed in the most detail. Having made this determination, I grouped together all the passages about each of these concepts. By examining all of these passages together I attempted to understand what these concepts meant to Chang Tsai. Chapters II-IV of this thesis represent the results of that effort.

In adopting this approach I have made certain assumptions. The first, like Chang Tsai's assumption about the Classics, is that there is one "Way" described in the various works and in different parts of the same work. That is, I assume first that Chang's writings embody a systematic, consistent philosophy; and second, that we can piece this philosophy together from the extant texts. I believe that the first assumption need not be justified. The second assumption is problematic, because we do not know the dates of many of Chang's writings, and we do not have much information on how his thought evolved. However, I believe that we must use passages from different texts to flesh out the "dried tree" of the Cheng meng. Furthermore, aside from the obvious fact that he polished and refined his ideas, there is no evidence that Chang changed his thinking significantly between the time he began to teach and write in his late thirties and the time when he compiled the Cheng meng. And this perception is strengthened by the strong

probability that Chang himself drew from his earlier writings in compiling the Cheng meng.[14] This assumption was held, at least implicitly, by the Ming and Ch'ing scholars who gathered together all of Chang's extant works and published them as The Complete Works of Master Chang (Chang-tzu ch'üan shu),[15] as well as by the scholars who edited and published The Collected Works of Chang Tsai (Chang Tsai chi) in 1978.

I too believe that there is a systematic philosophy in the Collected Works, and I have attempted to explicate it in this thesis. I hope it is a fair representation of Chang Tsai's vision of the world.

[14] CTC 384.3.

[15] See below, Appendix A.

CONTENTS

Chapter I

THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Scholars have discussed and documented the change in China's social structure that occurred between the late T'ang (618-906) and Sung (960-1278) dynasties. The "great families" which had dominated Chinese society from the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) into the late T'ang gradually lost their preeminent position. Although these scholars disagree on the details of how and exactly when this decline occurred, there is general agreement that by the eleventh century a new elite had emerged. The members of this elite group gained their social and political power not primarily because they represented powerful families, but through a mastery of the traditions of classical culture, a mastery evidenced by success or failure in the examination system. The remarkable blossoming of culture in such areas as philosophy, prose writing, historical studies and technological development that occurred in the eleventh century was related to this social change.[1] My concern here

[1] Cf E.A. Kracke Jr., Civil Service in Early Sung China: 960-1067, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series v. XIII (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 19-20.

is with the developments in philosophy, by which I mean systematic thinking about man and the universe.

The appearance of the philosophical schools of Chang Tsai and of the Ch'eng brothers was one of the most significant developments of this period. In this chapter I will attempt to provide a context in which to view those two schools.

The philosophical developments of the eleventh century can be seen in part as an attempt by the literati[2] to define the Way and to implement that definition. This entailed defining the texts that were to be considered most important, and even more significant, determining what lessons to draw from those texts. By teaching these lessons, the Way as they defined it could then be used to instruct and indoctrinate future generations of literati, who would eventually make up a new political and intellectual elite. Much of the philosophical debate during

[2] In this chapter I am concerned primarily with the group of literati who considered themselves, or were called by others, ju (儒). This was an extremely diverse group whose members shared a classical education and an affinity for Confucius and the Classics. I will translate ju as Confucian scholar, to refer to this group of literati who perceived themselves as not Buddhist or Taoist, and who revered Confucius and the Classics. Huang Po-chia, in the Sung Yüan hsüeh an, [hereafter SYHA], Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu edition [hereafter KHCPTS], 1.112, wrote: "One who comprehends heaven, earth and man is called a Confucian scholar (ju). From the fact that there was only one Confucian scholar in the state of Lu [i.e., Confucius himself], [we can see that] the title Confucian scholar, of course, was originally not [given] lightly. Confucian scholar is a name for complete virtue. It is like saying virtuous man, or sage."

this period centered on how to to determine a definition of the Way.

A group of very influential teachers--described by one scholar as "polemical Confucians"[3] --emerged in the early eleventh century. The most prominent of these men were Sun Fu (992-1057), Hu Yüan (993-1059) and Shih Chieh (1005-1045). Others like Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72) and Ch'en Hsiang (1017-1080) might also be included in this group. These men took part in the first flowering of eleventh-century philosophy, and they were the teachers of the next generation.

Hu Yüan was one of the most influential among them. When the Shen-tsung emperor (reigned 1068-85) questioned Liu Yi (c. 1017-86), a disciple of Hu Yüan, about his teacher, Liu responded, "Without question, at least several thousand [scholars] have come from his school. Thus, scholars today are clear about the substance and function of the sages as the basis of government and education; this is all due to the efforts of my teacher."[4] According to the Sung Yüan hsüeh an, at one time fifty percent of the examination candidates recommended by the Ministry of Rites had studied

[3] A.C. Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan (London: Lund Humphries, 1958), "General Introduction," xv.

[4] SYHA 1.26, modified from William T. deBary, "A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism," in Confucianism in Action, ed. David Nivison and Arthur F. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 90.

under Hu Yüan.[5] Ou-yang Hsiu wrote that "Since the Ming-tao and Ching-yu reigns [1032-37], scholars have had teachers." He went on to say that the teachers were Hu Yüan, Sun Fu and Shih Chieh.[6] Shen Kua (1031-1095), in a letter to Ou-yang Hsiu, said that Ou-yang had been "the empire's teacher for over thirty years."[7] Ch'en Hsiang is also reported to have had over a thousand disciples.[8]

In the course of instructing the next generation of scholars, these men also provided that generation with a challenge: to restore the Way of the sages. For example, Sun Fu wrote, "[When] humaneness and righteousness are not practiced, rites and music do not flourish; this is the disgrace of the Confucian scholars." And he ends the essay, which reads like a battle cry, by saying, "What is to be done? What is to be done?"[9]

[5] SYHA 1.26. Cf James T.C. Liu, "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen," in Chinese Thought and Institutions, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 126. Also, Ch'en Hsiang wrote that Hu Yüan taught in the Southeast for over ten years, and had over 1700 disciples. See Ch'en Hsiang, "Yü liang che an fu Ch'en She-jen shu," in Ku ling chi [hereafter KLC], Ssu k'u ch'üan shu chen pen edition [hereafter SKCSCP] (Taipei: 1972), 14.1b.

[6] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Hu hsien sheng mu piao," in Ou-yang Hsiu ch'üan chi (Hong Kong: Kuang chih , 1965?) [hereafter OYHCC], 2.11.

[7] Shen Kua, "Shang Ou-yang ts'an cheng shu," in Ch'ang hsing chi, ch. 19, Shen shih san hsien sheng wen chi, [hereafter SSSHSWC], Ssu pu ts'ung k'an edition [hereafter SPTK], 4.53a.

[8] SYHA 2.87.

[9] Sun Fu, "Ju ju," in SYHA 1.92-93.

Other thinkers living at about the same time devoted themselves to cosmological speculation. The most prominent of this group were Chou Tun-yi (1017-73) and Shao Yung (1011-77). These men were not part of the Confucian mainstream, and their influence on eleventh-century thought has been greatly exaggerated.[10] They were significant not so much for their philosophical influence, which was slight, but as symbols of the fact that if Confucian scholars were to respond to Sun Fu's challenge, they could no longer leave aside cosmological discussions, as Confucius had done.[11] Questions about the nature of reality and the persuasive answers that Buddhists had given to them were now "on the table," and had to be addressed.

In order to institutionalize their version of the Way, it was necessary for the Confucian scholars to obtain political power. Sun Fu, in the essay cited above, wrote that "the methods of barbarians and other assorted masters" have

10 Graham, "Introduction," xviii, says Chou was almost unknown in the eleventh century. Shao was considered very abstruse and obscure. For example, SYHA 4.81 quotes Ch'eng Hao saying that Shao had wanted to teach the Ch'engs his numerological theories, but that this would have required twenty years of effort.

11 E.g., Lun yü 5.13 [References to Lun yü are to the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series [hereafter H-Y Series], Supplement No. 16: A Concordance to the Analects of Confucius (1935-40; rpt., Taipei: Ch'eng wen, 1966)], translated by James Legge, The Chinese Classics, 2nd ed., revised (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865-95), v.1, p. 177, says, "[The Master's] discourses about man's nature, and the way of Heaven, cannot be heard."

wreaked havoc with the teaching of the sages. Thus, he wrote, "If [we] do not get the position, [we cannot] eliminate their kind."[12] In fact, Confucian scholars did manage to "get the position."

Most prominent among the group that attained political power were Fan Chung-yen (989-1052) and Ou-yang Hsiu, Fu Pi (1004-83) and Han Ch'i (1008-75). Shen Kua, in his letter to Ou-yang Hsiu, noted how significant it was that cultural leaders had achieved political power. He wrote that from the time of the Duke of Chou to the present, there had only been a few men who had the ability to "accomplish something in the world." Because such men were so rare, people could not anticipate their arrival. Further, when they did appear, they were unable to "be in the right place at the right time." But Ou-yang Hsiu had done it. Shen wrote, "What in ancient times could not be realized or [even] anticipated has been encountered in our times. And further, to be in the right place at the right time--these are the hopes the empire places in you, Sir."[13] Shih Chieh also commemorated the rise to power of this group with his "Poem on the sagely virtue of the Ch'ing-li [1041-48] period."

These political leaders used their power and influence to sponsor teachers like Hu Yüan and Sun Fu, and in so doing spread their influence. For example, Fan Chung-yen

[12] SYHA 1.93.

[13] Shen Kua, SSSHSWC 4.53a.

recommended Hu Yüan, Li Kou (1009-77) and Sun Fu (the last was a co-recommendation by Fan and Fu Pi) to teaching positions.[14] According to the Sung Yüan hsüeh an, Hu Yüan, Sun Fu, Shih Chieh and Li Kou can all be considered disciples of Fan Chung-yen.[15] In 1044 Han Ch'i recommended Shih Chieh as a lecturer at the Kuo tzu chien.[16] And Ou-yang Hsiu recommended Hu Yüan and Sun Fu to lecture at the National Academy in 1056.[17]

Fan Chung-yen and his group also created a system of schools where young scholars could be trained, and from which future political leaders could be chosen. In 1044, as part of the Ch'ing-li reforms, the Imperial Academy was established in Kaifeng and prefectural schools were established in many areas.[18] The emperor decreed that Hu Yüan's teaching methods be followed at all of these schools.[19] These schools were created to spread the values

[14] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Sun Ming-fu hsien sheng mu chih ming," in OYHCC 2.27. SYHA 1.25, 1.66, 2.24. Hsü tzu chih t'ung chien (Peking: Chung hua, 1979) [hereafter HTCTC], v.3, pp. 1076, 1237. Liu, "Fan," pp. 109-110.

[15] SYHA 1.97.

[16] (國子監 --Directorate of Education). HTCTC v.3, p. 1112.

[17] James T.C. Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 88-89.

[18] Chao T'ieh-han, "Sung tai te chou hsüeh," in Sung shih yen chiu chi (Taipei: Chung hua ts'ung shu wei yüan hui, 1958-), v.2, pp.343-46. Cf Chao's "Sung tai te t'ai hsüeh," in Ibid, v.1.

[19] HTCTC v.3, p. 1373. SYHA 1.25-26. Ou-yang Hsiu, "Hu

of the new elite.[20] For example, Ch'en Hsiang wrote, "I have remarked that the establishment of schools is not [intended] merely to teach people to write literary works and obtain wealth and position.... They should make the students first understand the essentials of the "three things" of the Institutes of Chou, to allow them to get it themselves in their own minds and to embody it in their undertakings. Only then can one speak of holding office."[21] Ou-yang Hsiu wrote in an essay praising the establishment of schools, "All study is based on human nature. [It involves] polishing and rubbing, moving and changing, to cause [the student] to move towards goodness."[22]

In addition to establishing schools, Fan Chung-yen and his group moved to reform the procedures for recruiting officials. They tried to curtail the hereditary appointment system and to reform the examination system. The Ch'ing-li program weighted the examinations toward interpretation of general principles in the Classics, rather than toward

hsien sheng mu piao," 2.11.

20 James Liu, Ou-yang, p.87, has written that this reform "...aimed not only at a quantitative increase in the number of schools but also at their qualitative improvement. The hope was... Confucian permeation of the entire society."

21 Ch'en Hsiang, "Hangchow ch'u hsüeh wen," in KLC, 19.1a-1b. The "three things" are: 1) the six virtues--wisdom, humaneness, sageliness, righteousness, loyalty and harmony; 2) the six activities--to be filial, friendly, amiable, to marry, to be useful and sympathetic; and 3) the six arts--rites, music, archery, riding, calligraphy and mathematics. Chou li, SPPY ed., 10.7b.

22 Ou-yang Hsiu, "Chi-chou hsüeh chi," in OYHCC 3.59.

literary skill, which had been emphasized prior to these reforms; This program also called for local officials' evaluations of a candidate's moral worth.[23] There were many changes in the examination system after the Ch'ing-li reforms, and the system of prefectural schools was not established as widely as its proponents had hoped.[24] Nevertheless, these measures did have some effect on the training of young literati; Ch'eng Yi, for example, studied at the Imperial Academy under Hu Yüan.[25] These reforms can be seen in part as an attempt by members of the new elite to institutionalize their version of proper moral and official behavior; in short, their version of the Way.

In 1057 Ou-yang Hsiu was in charge of the metropolitan examination. He emphasized the ancient prose style, failing those who wrote in the stilted, strictly regulated style which had recently been in vogue. And he set topics which "emphasized interpretation of the classics and opinions on statecraft."[26] According to the official account, "The style used in the examinations changed from then on."[27] Tseng Kung

[23] Liu, Ou-yang, pp.113-14.

[24] See e.g., Liu, "Fan," pp. 111, 115. See also John William Chaffee, "Education and Examination in Sung Society (960-1279)," Diss. Chicago 1979, pp. 76ff for a discussion of schools in the Sung dynasty.

[25] SYHA 5.48.

[26] Liu, Ou-yang, p. 152. See also Sung shih (Peking: Chung hua, 1977) [hereafter SS], 319.10378; and SYHA 2.48.

[27] Liu, Ou-yang, p. 152. SS, SYHA, loc. cit..

(1019-1083), Su Shih (1036-1101), Ch'eng Hao and Chang Tsai ranked among the successful candidates of that year.

When Wang An-shih (1021-86) later established his New Commentaries to the Three Classics as the standard text for the examinations, he was also attempting to use his political power to institutionalize a new definition of the Way. However, Wang's version was not acceptable to many other scholars, and there were intense factional struggles for the rest of the Northern Sung.

Scholars also directed their attention upward. After 1033 one of the leading scholars at court regularly lectured to the emperor on classical texts; this practice continued in various forms for the remainder of the imperial period.[28]

All of these developments can be seen as part of a general attempt to institutionalize a new definition of the Way. However, in order for this effort to succeed, these men had to agree on their definition of the Way. Such a consensus, based on the efforts of many of these eleventh-century figures, was finally reached, but not until the thirteenth century.

Thus, the appearance of a new elite that owed its preeminence to its mastery of classical culture led to a general attempt to define and institutionalize a shared

28 Robert Hartwell, "Historical Analogism, Public Policy, and Social Science in Eleventh- and Twelth-Century China," in American Historical Review, 76 (1971), 697.

vision of that culture. This effort was based on certain assumptions. Many in this new elite felt a great self-confidence, which one scholar has described as the "radical optimism" of the eleventh century.[29] They believed that they had rediscovered the Way of the sages, the Way that had been lost since the time of Mencius. They felt a sense of mission and responsibility: to reveal that Way for all to see and follow; and to show that Buddhism was not the Way. They believed that there was only one Way; as Confucius said, he had "one string that runs through it all."[30] In other words there was, and could only be, one Way; and this Way was described in each of the different Classics. They also believed that despite the accretions and errors that had crept into the texts, by reading the Classics one could understand the general principles-- the description of the Way--that they contained. One could then develop a cosmology based on the Classics, especially on the Hsi tz'u chuan of the Book of Changes. Their optimism was such that they believed that a man could achieve sagehood; and they felt that Confucius' disciple Yen Hui was the best historical model for someone striving to become a sage.

[29] Thomas A. Metzger, Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), p. 78.

[30] Lun yü 4.15, 15.3.

These assumptions gave rise to certain problems that many of these men tried to resolve. Given that there is only one Way, what is this Way that runs through the realms of heaven-and-earth and of man? Of what does human nature consist; how is it that Mencius said that human nature is good and yet there is evil in the world? What is the hsin,[31] and how does a man cultivate it to enable him to become a sage? These were some of the questions addressed by eleventh-century thinkers.

The discussion that follows is not meant to be a comprehensive description of eleventh-century thought. It is, rather, a delineation of the assumptions I have just mentioned, and of the issues to which they gave rise. In the course of my discussion I will quote from many eleventh-century figures in order to provide a sampling of what scholars were saying, and also to support my contention that these assumtions and these issues were indeed shared by many eleventh-century figures. Clearly, not everyone was concerned with all of these problems, or without concern for any others. Nor was there anything resembling an orthodoxy. To illustrate the lack of an orthodoxy at this time, one need only consider the eleventh-century evaluation of

[31] In traditional Chinese thought the locus of mental processes was thought to be the heart organ. The term hsin (心) includes the meanings of heart and mind, and also of consciousness. I have chosen to leave it untranslated in this dissertation.

Mencius. After Chu Hsi's philosophy had been established as an orthodox tradition in the thirteenth century, the position of Mencius as the second great Confucian sage was firmly established. Although he was also highly regarded by Chang Tsai and the Ch'eng brothers, in the eleventh century the evaluation of Mencius was still the subject of much dispute. Li Kou wrote , "Mencius thought that he loved humaneness, but I know that he had a great lack of humaneness."[32] Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-86) thought the Mencius was a spurious work of the Han dynasty and wrote a book called Doubts about Mencius.[33] But his son Ssu-ma K'ang (1050-90) thought Mencius was a book of the highest value, which explicated the Way of the kings.[34] One scholar has distinguished three different positions held by eleventh-century scholars on the Mencius: strong opposition, mild support, and wholehearted agreement.[35] In other words, in the eleventh century there was not yet an orthodoxy, and much of the philosophical activity of this period can be seen as an attempt to find one.

[32] SYHA 2.35.

[33] SYHA 3.91.

[34] SYHA 3.91.

[35] Hsia Chün-yü, Sung hsüeh kai yao (1937; rpt. Taipei: Hua shih, 1976) [hereafter SHKY], pp. 56ff.

1.2 THE ASSUMPTIONS

1.2.1 Sense of Mission

Many eleventh-century scholars felt that the Way had been lost for some fifteen hundred years. Shih Chieh wrote, "Fifteen hundred years after Confucius, having experienced the disasters of Yang [Chu] and Mo[-tzu], Han [Fei], Chuang[-tzu] and Lao[-tzu], and the Buddha, the Way of the kings has been disrupted."[36] Shih felt that he, and like-minded scholars, had a responsibility to reveal and defend the Way of the sages. He compared this responsibility to that of a servant to pursue and fight a robber, even at the risk of his own life: "The Way of serving a master must be like this. It is also simply called loyalty to one's master.... I will also die [someday]. [Thus,] even if there is a mass of ten thousand people, or a trillion [attacking me], how can this frighten me?"[37] And Shih also wrote, "I stand erect and, by myself, hold onto the Way of the sages.... Alone, I hold onto the Classics of the sages with certainty."[38] Sun Fu's essay, "The disgrace of the Confucian scholars," expressed a similar tone: "The disgrace of the Confucian scholars began in the [time of the] Warring States.... If Confucian scholars do not set their hsin on humaneness and righteousness, rites and music, then nothing

[36] Shih Chieh, "Tu yüan tao," in Tsu-lai chi [hereafter TLC], SKCSCP ed., 7.4b.

[37] Shih Chieh, "Kuai shuo hsia," in TLC 5.4b-5a.

[38] Shih Chieh, "Ta Ou-yang Yung-shu shu," in TLC 15.6a.

more [can be said]. If they do set their hsin on these things, must they not beat the drum and attack them [i.e., Buddhism and Taoism]?"[39]

Thus, Shih and Sun saw themselves as lonely figures defending the Way. Li Fu (1079 chin shih) also wrote that the Way had been lost: "For a long time the Way of the sages has not been transmitted."[40] Others agreed that the Way had been lost for fifteen hundred years, but they were more optimistic. For example, Ou-yang Hsiu wrote, "Scholars have not sought the Way for a long time. But the Way is of course not blocked or discarded."[41] Some felt that the Way was now being revealed again. Wang K'ai-tsu (Huang-yu [1049-53] chin shih) wrote, in a burst of optimism: "Even if Confucius were alive during our time, the Way of the Six Classics would actually not be any clearer than it is today."[42]

Subsequently, Chu Hsi's version of the transmission of the Way-- when it was lost and when it was rediscovered--was accepted as the "official" version. The Sung shih, following his account, records that the Way was transmitted from King Wen to the Duke of Chou, then to Confucius, Tseng-tzu, Tzu-ssu, and finally to Mencius, after which there was

[39] Sun Fu, "Ju ju," SYHA 1.92-93.

[40] Chü shui chi [hereafter CSC], SKCSCP ed., 3.20a.

[41] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Ta Sun Cheng-chih Mou ti yi shu," in OYHCC 3.93.

[42] SYHA 3.6.

no transmission. "More than a thousand years later, in the middle of the Sung, Chou Tun-yi appeared in Ch'ung-ling (舂陵) and got the untransmitted Way of the sages and worthies...." Chang Tsai and the Ch'eng brothers followed, and the Way was clear for all to see.[43]

There was also a political aspect to this sense of mission. Many of these men felt a responsibility to put into practice the Way of the sages. Fan Chung-yen's pledge "to be first in worrying about the world's troubles and last in enjoying its pleasures,"[44] illustrates this sense of "political mission," as do the Ch'ing-li reforms. Chang Tsai wrote, "For the government to follow any other way than that of the Three Dynasties will simply mean following the way of expediency."[45] Chang was a staunch advocate of restoring the well-field system: "If the government of the empire is not based on the well-field system, there can never be equality [of landholding]. The way of Chou was simply to equalize.... The well-field system could be put into effect with the greatest of ease...."[46] Similarly, Ch'eng Yi wrote in a 1050 memorial to the emperor, "The Way

[43] SS 427.12709-10.

[44] Liu, "Fan," p. 111.

[45] Chang Tsai chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1978) [hereafter CTC], 386.7. In this chapter I do not include remarks by Chang Tsai or the Ch'eng brothers except where those remarks are not given elsewhere in this thesis.

[46] Chang Tsai, "Chou li" (周禮), in CTC 248.7-249.8.

to govern the empire is none other than the Way followed by the Five Emperors, the Three Kings, the Duke of Chou and Confucius."[47] Ch'eng Hao wrote in a memorial to Emperor Shen-tsung, "... the laws and institutions of the Three Dynasties can definitely be put into practice. As to the detailed plans and procedures for their enactment, it is essential that they conform to the instructions contained in the classics and be applied with due regard for human feelings. These are fixed and definite principles, clearly apparent to all."[48] Although many of these ideas had been held by earlier thinkers, they had never been held so widely. For example, Li Fu remarked, "Nowadays those who discuss government maintain that the policies of the Three Dynasties must be put into practice."[49]

This political idealism elicited strenuous criticism from some quarters. For example, Su Shih wrote: "Everyone who serves in the government talks about the Way of the ancient kings and discusses rites and music. They all want to restore [the social order of] the Three Dynasties, to follow [the Way of] Yao and Shun. In the end it cannot be done."[50]

[47] Ch'eng Yi, "Shang Jen-tsung huang ti shu," in Yi-ch'uan wen chi, SPPY ed., 1.16a.6-7, modified from Sources of Chinese Tradition, compiled by Wm. Theodore deBary, Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), v.1, p. 397.

[48] Ch'eng Hao, "Lun shih shih cha tzu," in Ming-tao wen chi, SPPY ed., 2.7b.10-12, translated in Sources v.1, p. 403.

[49] Li Fu, "Ta jen wen cheng shu," in CSC 5.14a.

Li Kou also criticized his contemporaries: "Scholars today ... are enthralled with the way of the kings but forget the Son of Heaven.... We can do without the Way of the kings, but we cannot do without the Son of Heaven."[51] In other words, Li believed that people were so obsessed with restoring the Way that they had forgotten political realities. But Li himself advocated carrying out the principles of the Rites of Chou:

> The transmission from the Hsia and Shang, and earlier, is too limited. There is nothing more complete and clear than the Institutes of Chou. Since the Ch'in employed Shang Yang, got rid of the well-field system and began to have boundaries [of private ownership] on plots, it has been over a thousand years [literally, "several thousands and hundreds of years"].... Alas! When the ancients put kingly government into practice, they had to begin with these [principles of the Rites of Chou]."[52]

The climax of the Sung "political mission" was the reform program of Wang An-shih. He justified those reforms by saying that they were based on the general principles of the Rites of Chou.[53] He told the emperor, "Your majesty should

[50] Su Shih, "Shang liang chih shu," in Ching chin Tung-p'o wen chi shih lüeh [hereafter CCTPWCSL], SPTK ed., 42.4a, modified from deBary, "Reappraisal," p. 100.

[51] SYHA 2.37-38.

[52] Li Kou, "P'ing t'u shu hsü," in Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih tzu liao hsüan chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1962), pt.4, v.1, p. 28.

[53] See, e.g., Wang An-shih, "Shang wu shih cha tzu," in Wang Lin-ch'uan chi [hereafter WLCC], KHCPTS ed., 5.3. Cf James T.C. Liu, Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and his New Policies, Harvard East Asian Series,

take the Emperors Yao and Shun as your standard. The principles of Yao and Shun are really very easy to put into practice...."[54]

In sum, these men felt that they had a mission to reveal and follow the Way of the ancient sages. This mission led them into the political arena, in an attempt to implement that Way. However, the widely-held sense that the Way could be implemented gave way to bitter disagreement on how to implement it, and on what way should be implemented. Most of the eleventh-century Confucian scholars did agree on one point: Buddhism was not that Way.

1.2.2 Buddhism

Many eleventh-century scholars believed that it was necessary to remove the influence of Buddhism, which had become extremely widespread in China by this time, before the Way of the sages could be restored. According to the traditional account, after the persecution of 845 and the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Northern Sung, Buddhism, with the possible exception of the Ch'an school, was no longer a major force in Chinese intellectual history.[55] In

3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 30-33, 43.

[54] Cited in deBary, "Reappraisal," p. 101.

[55] This is the version in such surveys as Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, translated and compiled by Wing-Tsit Chan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); and

fact, the situation was more complex. The strident anti-Buddhist rhetoric of some eleventh-century intellectuals itself attests to Buddhism's persisting influence. And there were several editions of the Tripitaka printed in the Northern Sung, the first ordered by Sung T'ai-tsu himself.[56] Ch'en Hsiang estimated that there were over 310,700 Buddhist monks and nuns and Taoist priests during his time.[57] Many Confucian scholars also studied Buddhism or were drawn to its doctrines in old age. For example, Chang Tsai and Ch'eng Hao studied Buddhism in their youth, and Ou-yang Hsiu and Wang An-shih were drawn to it in their later years.[58]

Many early eleventh-century figures spoke of the widespread influence of Buddhism and attacked it as heterodox and harmful. As Sun Fu wrote, "In China the followers of Buddhism are everywhere.... If Confucian scholars do not set their hsin on humaneness and righteousness, rites and music, then nothing more [can be said]. If they do set their hsin on these things, must they

Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964).

56 Ch'en, Buddhism, p. 375, says that there were two other editions begun in the Northern Sung. It is said of the first, which was commissioned by T'ai-tsu, that 130,000 blocks were cut and the work took eleven years to complete.

57 Ch'en Hsiang, "Ch'i chih chüeh ch'en liao ch'en ch'i ch'uang tsao ssu kuan tu seng tao chuang," in KLC 5.19b.

58 CTC 381.11; Graham p. 177; Liu, Ou-yang, p. 170, notes that Ou-yang's wife and family believed in Buddhism, and there were reports that he himself turned to it near the end of his life. See Liu, Reform, pp. 35-37 for discussion of Wang's interest in Buddhism.

not beat the drum and attack them [i.e., Buddhism and Taoism]?"[59] Sun's disciple Shih Chieh wrote, "Buddhism and Taoism disrupt [the Way of the sages] with their weird and pernicious teachings.... I do not attack Buddhism and Taoism... I study the Way of the sages. When there are those who attack the Way of our sages, I must counterattack them."[60] Ou-yang Hsiu, in his famous essay, "On Fundamentals," wrote that "Buddhist doctrine has been a source of trouble in China for over a thousand years." He went on to say that many wanted to get rid of Buddhism, but no one knew how to do it. His solution was to restore the "fundamentals"--rites and righteousness.[61] In an essay calling for an end to building temples and ordaining priests, Ch'en Hsiang wrote, "I humbly believe that nowadays the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism harm and confuse the empire. From the princes to the common people, there is none who does not revere their doctrines. Nothing harms our customs and teaching more than this."[62] Ssu-ma Kuang explained to a friend why he did not like Buddhism: "The reason I do not like Buddhism and Taoism is precisely [because]... they do not hold to the way of centrality."[63]

[59] Sun Fu, "Ju ju," SYHA 1.92-93; cf pp. 14-15 above.

[60] Shih Chieh, "Kuai shuo hsia," in TLC 5.4b.

[61] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Pen lun shang," in OYHCC 1.125.

[62] Ch'en Hsiang, "Ch'i chih chüeh," in KLC 5.19a-19b.

[63] Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Han Ping-kuo shu," in Ssu-ma Wen-cheng-kung ch'uan chia chi [hereafter SMWCKCCC], KHCPTS ed.,

The pervasiveness of this anti-Buddhist spirit can also be seen from Li Kou's defense against a charge that he was "soft on Buddhism." He wrote in a letter,

> I have been fighting against Buddhism for a long time now. Everyone has read what I had to say in my "Ch'ien shu" and "Fu kuo ts'e." How, when nearing forty, an age when one's character becomes more and more set, could I have suddenly changed my opinions? It is only that you, Huang Han-chieh, have not quite understood what I said. All I did was to censure the Confucian scholars strongly; I paid no homage to the Buddhists.[64]

Indeed, in his "Fu kuo ts'e" Li listed ten advantages of getting rid of Buddhists monks and Taoist priests, and ten disadvantages of not doing so.[65]

The complaints of the Buddhist Monk Ch'i-sung (1011-72) also attest to this anti-Buddhist sentiment. He said that if there were a way to make the people move towards the good with no need to resort to rewards and punishments, sages like Yao and Shun would have gladly embraced it. "How could they have said, 'This man is doing good but it is not because of my way. I will not accept his goodness. I will only regard achieving goodness through my way as good?'" Scholars, he went on to say, attacked Buddhism even though

62.767.

[64] Li Kou, "Ta Huang Chu Tso shu," in Chih-chiang Li hsien sheng chi [hereafter CCLHSC], SPTK ed., 28.26a, modified from Etienne Balazs, "A Forerunner of Wang An-shih," in Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme, trans. H.M. Wright, ed. Arthur F. Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 288-89.

[65] Li Kou, "Fu kuo ts'e ti wu," in CCLHSC 16.10a.

its doctrines are good. "This must be so because it is different from their teachings. Is this not what Chuang-tzu meant by [the remark], 'When a man is the same as you then he is acceptable; when he is different, then even if he is good you do not take it as good?'"[66]

Despite such anti-Buddhist sentiment, Buddhism remained very influential. Ch'eng Yi's disciple Yang Shih (1053-1135) said of people like Sun Fu, Shih Chieh and Ou-yang Hsiu: "Those literati who aspired to [reach the heights of] the ancients vigorously criticized and angrily attacked them [i.e., Buddhists].... But the wisdom of these men was not sufficient to reveal the Way of the former kings." Yang concluded that their efforts amounted to little more than "trying to put out a cartload of burning firewood with a cup of water."[67] And Buddhist thought greatly influenced eleventh-century philosophy. For example, Ch'eng Hao noted that Buddhism was more pernicious than the philosophies of Yang Chu or Mo-tzu precisely because its doctrines were so good: "The words of the Buddha are close to principle, and are [thus] not comparable to those of Yang [Chu] and Mo[-

[66] Ch'i-sung, "Yüan chiao," and "Ch'üan shu ti erh," in Hsün-chin wen chi, SPTK ed., 1.6a and 1.16b. The reference to Chuang-tzu is a paraphrase of "[Men] would pronounce 'right' what agrees with their own views and 'wrong' what does not." The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 303.

[67] Yang Shih, Yang Kuei-shan hsien sheng chi [hereafter YKSHSC], Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng chien pien ed. [hereafter TSCCCP], p. 54.

tzu]. This is why they have been particularly damaging."[68] Actually, it was the new version of "principle" that had moved closer to Buddhism.[69] For example, Yeh Shih (1150-1223) observed: "The Ch'eng brothers and Chang Tsai attacked the Taoists and Buddhists most thoroughly. But without realizing it they drew heavily from Buddhist learning. They thought they were using the "Great Commentary" of the Book of Changes [to put forth their ideas], yet they themselves were incorrectly explaining the Book of Changes."[70]

In sum, Buddhism was still a powerful force in the eleventh century, so powerful that it even influenced the philosophy of anti-Buddhist scholars. Nevertheless, these men believed that Buddhist philosophy was wrong: there was only one Way, the Way described in the Classics. Despite the presence of so much diversity in the world, they believed that everything could be strung on the one thread of the Way.

[68] SYHA 5.18.

[69] Cf Graham, p. 84.

[70] SYHA 5.39.

1.2.3 One Thread

Some Confucian scholars believed that they could develop an all-embracing philosophy, Confucius' "one thread" on which everything could be strung. As Yang Shih wrote, "Confucius said,... 'I have one thread upon which I string them all.' How could this not be true?"[71] The belief that there was one thread running through everything led to several conclusions: first, there could be no room for heterodox doctrines like Buddhism; second, because there was only one Way, each of the Classics and the various sages all had to be describing the same principles; and third, passages about different concepts in a single Classic, which had heretofore been discussed separately, had to be explained by one set of philosophical principles.[72]

Wang An-shih wrote, "For a long time the Way has not been united.... The great corpus of the sages has been split apart and divided into fragments."[73] And also, "When the

[71] YKSHSC p. 79. Lun yü 15.3, trans. Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938), p. 193.

[72] Metzger, Predicament, p. 72, has described this phenomenon as a quest for linkage:

> Neo-Confucians saw the problem of linkage as a complex puzzle and... struggled constantly with a variety of conceptual devices to solve it. Sung Neo-Confucians, therefore, differed from Chou and Han Confucians not only in making more explicit the idea of the oneness of heaven and man but also in regarding this oneness as an unsolved problem.

[73] Wang An-shih, "Lien shuei chün ch'un hua yüan ching ts'ang chi," in Wang Wen-kung wen chi (Shanghai: Jen min,

learning of the sages reaches this [level] and they then regard the principles of the world, they are able to bring them into unity. When they have brought all the principles of the world into unity, then nothing can confuse their hsin."[74] Shih Chieh shared the view that there was only one Way: "The Way of Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, King Wen, King Wu, and the Duke of Chou, is the Way of ten thousand generations, always functioning, unchangeable."[75] And Ch'en Hsiang wrote, "Since I have come to live in the Western Hills, [I have] been impoverished and sick that our Way is without unity...."[76] A negative comment by Li Kou also illustrates the prevalence of this view: "Someone asked, 'The Way of the sages of course has no room for assorted [points of view]. How is it that you, Sir, do not unify [the things you say]?' [Li Kou] responded, 'In heaven-and-earth, is there one thing or are there myriad things? What nourishes man is not [just] one thing.'"[77] Li apparently did not agree with the prevailing view that everything could be strung on one thread.

1974), 35.422.

[74] Wang An-shih, "Chih yi lun," in WLCC 7.46-47.

[75] Shih Chieh, "Kuai shuo hsia," in TLC 5.4b.

[76] Ch'en Hsiang, "Ta Chou Kung-pi shu," in KLC 15.13a.

[77] SYHA 2.29.

The effort to combine or link concepts from different classical texts was a manifestation of the belief in "one thread." For example, Chou Tun-yi used a phrase from the Book of Changes to explain "authenticity," the highest virtue in the Doctrine of the Mean: "'Great indeed is the sublimity of the Creative, to which all beings owe their beginning.' It is the source of authenticity."[78] He also wrote: "What is 'quiescent and unmoving' is authenticity."[79] In other words, Chou took phrases like "quiescent and unmoving" from the Book of Changes and equated them with theretofore unrelated concepts from the Doctrine of the Mean. Shao Yung's son Shao Po-wen (1057-1134) also linked together concepts from different texts:

> The myriad things all have their endowment: this is called fate. The myriad things all have their basis: this is called nature. The myriad things all have their master: this is called heaven. The myriad things all have their creation: this is called hsin. In reality these are all unitary. The sages of antiquity "fully comprehended principle and fulfilled their nature so that they arrived [at an understanding] of fate." "They gave full realization to their hsin and understood their nature so that they came to understand heaven. They preserved their hsin and cultivated

[78] Chou Tun-yi, T'ung shu ,SPPY ed., "Ch'eng shang ti yi." The quotation is from the Book of Changes [citations from the Changes, including the "Ten Wings," are from the H-Y Series, Supplement No. 10: A Concordance to Yi Ching], ch'ien kua, translated in Richard Wilhelm, The I Ching or Book of Changes, rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes, Bollingen Series, XIX (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 370.

[79] T'ung shu, "Sheng ti ssu." The quotation is from the Hsi tz'u chuan A9, translated in Wilhelm, p. 315.

their nature to serve heaven."[80]

Here Shao strung together passages from various classics and different concepts about heaven and man. Ssu-ma Kuang also believed in the existence of the "one thread": "As for 'centrality,' it is that by which heaven and earth are established. In the Changes it is [known as] 'Royal Perfection.' In the [Book of] Rites it is [known as] 'Centrality and Commonality.'..."[81] For Ssu-ma, "centrality" was the thread upon which everything could be strung.

At times, however, it was extremely difficult to show how everything actually did fit together. Ssu-ma Kuang was able to accomplish this feat when he reconciled several different statements on human nature:

> Mencius said that human nature is good.... The Hsi tz'u chuan says, "One yin and one yang is what is called the Way. What continues it is good. What completes it is the nature." Thus Confucius [as author of the Hsi tz'u chuan] did say that human nature is good. The Doctrine of the Mean says, "What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature." The Yüeh chi says, "man is quiet at birth--this is his true nature." Man gets his nature from heaven--how can it not be good? [But] Hsün-tzu said human nature is bad, Yang-tzu said good and bad are mixed together, and Han-tzu [i.e., Han Yü

[80] SYHA 4.90. The first quotation is from Changes, Shuo kua. The second is from Mencius 7A1, modified from D.C. Lau, Mencius (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p. 182.

[81] Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Fan Ching-jen shu," in SMWCKCCC 62.753. "Royal Perfection" is from Legge, The Chinese Classics v.3, The Shoo King, p. 332. "Centrality and Commonality" is from Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Chung-Yung, Monograph of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, no. 3 (Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1976).

> (768-824)] said there are three levels to the nature. None of these men understood human nature.[82]

On the other hand, certain contradictions could not be reconciled, as Ou-yang Hsiu observed of the Book of Changes:

> "The Yellow River brought forth a map and the Lo River brought forth a writing; the sages took them as models." The so-called "map" is the pattern of the eight trigrams. The magic horse emerged from the river carrying it on his back to give to Fu Hsi. Thus, the eight trigrams were not created by man, but were sent down by heaven.
>
> But it also says, "When in early antiquity P'ao Hsi ruled the world, he looked upward and contemplated the images in the heavens; he looked downward and contemplated the patterns on earth.... Thus he invented the eight trigrams." But then the eight trigrams were created by man, and the "River Chart" had nothing to do with it. These two statements cannot be reconciled.
>
> And in the "Explanation of the Trigrams" it says, "In ancient times the holy sages made the Book of Changes thus: they invented the yarrow-stalk oracle in order to lend aid in a mysterious way to the light of the spirits. To heaven they assigned the number three and to earth the number two; from these they computed the other numbers. They contemplated the changes in the yin and the yang and established the trigrams in accordance with them." Thus the trigrams also came from the yarrow stalks.[83]

Ou-yang's remark illustrates a problem faced by Sung scholars: how to reconcile their belief in the existence of one thread with the fact that there were contradictory

[82] SYHA 3.36. Hsi tz'u chuan A4; Chung yung I.1, translated in Legge, The Chinese Classics I, The Doctrine of the Mean, p.383; Li chi, SPPY ed., "Yüeh chi," 11.8b.

[83] Ou-yang Hsiu, Yi t'ung-tzu wen, in OYHCC 3.169-70. The quotations are from the Hsi tz'u chuan A11, modified from Wilhelm, p. 320; B2, translated in Wilhelm, pp. 328-29; and Shuo kua I, modified from Wilhelm, p. 262.

passages in the Classics. This problem led to a broader question: how were these men to relate to the Classics and to the tradition of Classical scholarship? The answer for many of them was that contradictions or difficulties in the texts could be attributed to errors in transcription or accretions from later scholars. They should not prevent a man from achieving the true purpose of reading the Classics: understanding the description of the Way that these texts contained.

1.2.4 General Meaning

Another remark by Ou-yang Hsiu illustrates the problem faced by eleventh-century thinkers: "The world has been without Confucius for a long time. The real meaning of the Six Classics has not been transmitted, [with the result that] there are places which can no longer be corrected. As long as Confucius is not reborn, there is of course no way to obtain the truth."[84] Errors had crept into the texts; over fifteen hundred years had passed since these books were written--how were eleventh-century scholars to correct these errors? Wang An-shih felt that one had to read broadly to avoid being confused by those errors, citing as a model the Han scholar Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18):

> He read [the Classics] after he had extended his knowledge in order to have [a standard] by which to reject and accept; thus, heterodox learning

[84] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Ta Sung Hsien shu," in OYHCC 2.159.

> could not confuse him. Only when [heterodox learning] could not confuse him was he able to have a [standard] by which to reject and accept: this, simply, was how he made clear this Way of ours.[85]

Ou-yang Hsiu also felt that one could not accept everything in the Classics: "Mencius said, 'If one believed everything in the Book of History, it would have been better for the Book not to have existed at all.' How could what Mencius loved not be the Six Classics? The way to exalt the Classics is to weed out the extraneous and disorderly words."[86] Li Kou disapproved of Mencius' criticism of the Book of History, and of the fact that Li's contemporaries were using the Mencius as a basis for decisions on the Classics: "To believe the Mencius and not believe the Classics is like believing someone else and doubting one's father and mother."[87]

Despite this divergence on the Mencius, most eleventh-century scholars shared the belief that errors and contradictions in the Classics did not hinder them from understanding the general principles of those texts. For example, Wang An-shih wrote that he read widely and asked a lot of questions, "... and then I am able to know the great substance of the Classics and not have any doubts."[88] These

[85] Wang An-shih, "Ta Tseng Tzu-ku shu," in WLCC 8.18.

[86] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Yi huo wen san shou," in OYHCC 1.133. D.C. Lau, Mencius, p. 194.

[87] SYHA 2.34.

men believed that one should seek the general meaning of the Classics and not waste time with detailed textual study. Ch'en Hsiang wrote, "I often worry that today's literati are mired in studies of how to punctuate texts, and do not know the greatness of the rites and righteousness of the former kings."[89] It was said of Yang Shih (n.d.), a colleague of Hu Yüan, that "The gentleman did not confine himself to [questions of] punctuation in his classical studies."[90] This general lack of interest in limiting one's involvement with the Classics to detailed textual study can also be seen from a remark by Ssu-ma Kuang. Responding to a certain Chang Ti, who had written asking Ssu-ma to sponsor a book that he had written on the Spring and Autumn Annals, Ssu-ma observed that literati "... have not devoted themselves to classical studies for a long time now. You alone, Sir, have been able to work on the Spring and Autumn Annals for thirty years and have written a book of over 300,000 words. This is [tantamount to] the reappearance in our time of a Confucian scholar of ancient times."[91]

One scholar has written that the Sung marked a shift in attitude towards Confucius and the Classics. In his view, before the Sung the Classics had been primary and Confucius

[88] WLCC 8.18.

[89] SYHA 2.88.

[90] SYHA 3.8.

[91] Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Chang hsien sheng Ti shu," in SMWCKCCC 61.733.

had been important because he was the transmitter of the Classics. Since the Sung dynasty, Confucius' Way, and Confucius himself as exemplar of that Way, became primary, and the Classics became the means by which to grasp that Way. The Classics were still important, but only as the best means to the end of knowing the Way, and not as ends in themselves.[92] Ou-yang's approach to the Classics can be seen in this light. He wrote, "Scholars should take the Classics as their teacher. To take the Classics as teacher, you must first seek their meaning. When you have gotten the meaning, your hsin will be set. When your hsin is set, your way will be pure."[93] In other words, Ou-yang believed that one should use the Classics as a guide to set one's hsin on the Way.

Wang An-shih disagreed. He felt that there were too many problems in the Classics to be able to "take the Classics as teacher": "The world has not seen the complete Classics for a long time. To read the Classics and no more is thus not enough to know the Classics."[94] Wang's solution was broad reading. Others, however, felt that one could understand directly from the Classics themselves, and that one should not bother with the Commentaries. Sun Fu wrote:

[92] Ts'ai Jen-hou, Sung Ming li hsüeh, Pei Sung p'ien (Taipei: Hsüeh sheng, 1977), p. 13.

[93] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Ta Tsu Tse-chih shu," in OYHCC 3.96.

[94] WLCC 8.17.

> I have not seen anyone, adhering exclusively to the explanations of Wang Pi (226-49) and Han K'ang-po [i.e., Han Po (fl. 371-85)] in order to seek [the general meaning] of the great Changes, able to fully comprehend the great Changes. I have not seen anyone, adhering exclusively to the Commentaries of Tso, Kung-yang, Ku-liang, and Messrs. Tu [Yü (223-284)], Ho [Hsiu (129-182)] and Fan [Ning (339-401)] in order to seek [the general meaning] in the Spring and Autumn Annals, able to fully comprehend the Spring and Autumn Annals.[95]

Ou-yang Hsiu said of Sun Fu, "The gentleman is not confused by the Commentaries in his study of the Spring and Autumn Annals, nor does he write arbitrary theories that would confuse the meaning of the Classic. His words are simple and clear."[96] And Yeh Shih wrote of Ou-yang: "To take the Classics as correct and not be disturbed by textual studies or Commentaries: this was Mr. Ou-yang's way of reading the books."[97] Li Ch'ien (Chih-p'ing [1064-67] chin shih) wrote: "When you read books, do not read the explanations of other men. It is easy to understand [merely by] reading the words of the sages. When you read the explanations of other men you become more confused."[98]

[95] SYHA 1.92.

[96] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Sun Ming-fu hsien sheng mu chih ming," in OYHCC 2.28. This translation differs from Liu, Ou-yang, p. 89.

[97] SYHA 2.66.

[98] SYHA 7.21.

These men were self-confident; and they were highly critical of the tradition of Classical scholarship. They felt that a man should not confine himself to textual study; mastery of the Classics was not an end in itself, but rather a means to understand the Way. Unclear or contradictory passages were of little concern to them; the goal was to understand the general meaning of the Classics, the Way itself. As Ou-yang Hsiu wrote: "[The Way] can be sought [because] the writings of the sages shine forth brilliantly, like the sun and moon."[99]

This confident attitude towards the Classics led some eleventh-century figures to propose that these texts contained a cosmology that could explain the phenomena of heaven-and-earth. And the presence of sophisticated Buddhist theories quickened their desire to extract this cosmology from the Classics.

1.2.5 Cosmology

Many eleventh-century scholars used certain phrases from the Book of Changes--in particular from the Hsi tz'u chuan--as the basis for their ideas about heaven-and-earth. A quotation from Ch'eng Yi's disciple Yang Shih illustrates how the Book of Changes was used as the source for a "Confucian cosmology": "When you know heaven's virtue you will, of course, see 'the explanation of death and life' and

[99] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Ta Sun Cheng-chih ti yi shu," in OYHCC 3.93.

'the situation regarding ghosts and spirits.' The sages discussed this Way in detail in the Book of Changes. There is no need to follow heterodox doctrine and seek outside [the Book of Changes]."[100] Aside from the schools of Chang and the Ch'engs, the clearest proponents of this approach to the Book of Changes were Shao Yung and Chou Tun-yi.[101] Shao's works are full of charts and diagrams based on the Changes, and his writings are replete with statements like: "After the Great Ultimate has divided, the two primary forces are established. Yang ascends and interacts with yin, yin descends and interacts with yang, and the four images are born.... The eight trigrams are completed. The eight trigrams grind against each other and then the myriad things are produced."[102] The source of this passage is the Hsi tz'u chuan: "There is in the Changes the Great Ultimate. This generates the two primary forces. The two primary forces generate the four images. The four images generate the eight trigrams."[103] Chou Tun-yi's famous "Explanation of the Drawing of the Great Ultimate," one of the most influential texts in post-eleventh-century thought, was also based on the same passage from the Hsi tz'u chuan.

100 YKSHSC, p. 54. Hsi tz'u chuan A3, A4.

101 Cf Hellmut Wilhelm, Eight Lectures on the I Ching, trans. Cary F. Baynes, Bollingen Series, LXII (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp.88-90.

102 Shao Yung, "Kuan wu wai p'ien," in Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih, IV,I, 49.

103 Hsi tz'u chuan A11, modified from Wilhelm, p. 318.

And there are many comments in his writings like the following: "The Changes: how is it only the source of the Five Classics? Is it not the profound [meaning] of heaven and earth, ghosts and spirits?"[104] Ssu-ma Kuang also engaged in cosmological speculation based on the Changes. He wrote a book called Ch'ien hsü (潛虛) which contains numerous charts generated from the hexagrams of the Changes.[105]

However, not everyone in the eleventh century agreed with this use of the Changes for cosmological speculation; some scholars were quite critical of their contemporaries who engaged in such speculation. For example, Li Kou wrote, "Some say, 'I comprehend its [i.e., the Book of Changes'] meaning and [I see that] the learning of the Buddhists and Taoists is not preposterous.' They read all day and think all night, exhausting their hsin on useless theories. How mistaken they are."[106] Ou-yang Hsiu, one of the first men to express doubt about the authorship of the Hsi tz'u chuan, was also critical of cosmological speculation based on the Changes:

> "The Yellow River brought forth a map and the Lo River brought forth a writing." "Lending aid in a mysterious way to the light of the spirits, [the sages] invented the yarrow stalks." "The two primary forces generate the four images." Things like this are not the words of the sage. All study that does not comprehend [the Way] is

104 T'ung shu, "Ching yün ti san shih."

105 See SYHA 3.42ff.

106 Li Kou, "Yi lun ti yi," in CCLHSC 3.1a.

> confused about this. Only after you understand this do you understand the Changes.[107]

Despite such criticisms, many eleventh-century scholars believed that they could explain the universe through the Book of Changes. With this self-confident attitude, they believed that a correct understanding of heaven-and-earth, and of the Way, enabled a man to become a fully realized human being, a sage. For these men, then, sagehood was a real, attainable goal.

1.2.6 The Sage

The sages of antiquity--the models of human perfection--had always been of great interest to Chinese thinkers. Eleventh-century scholars were no exception: they discussed the sages at great length. These men did not feel it necessary to establish who the historical sages had been; it was assumed that everyone knew who they were. At one point Shih Chieh wrote that there had been fourteen sages, beginning with Fu Hsi and ending with Confucius. Elsewhere, however, Shih wrote that from Fu Hsi to Confucius there had only been eleven sages in all.[108] This discrepancy seems to have passed unnoticed; for eleventh-century scholars,

[107] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Yi huo wen," in Ou-yang Yung-shu chi, KHCPTS ed., 7.77. The first and third quotations are from the Hsi tz'u chuan A11, Wilhelm p. 320; the second quotation is from the Shuo kua I, Wilhelm p. 262. Cf Liu, Ou-yang, pp.93-94.

[108] Shih Chieh, "Tsun Han," and "Fu ku chih," in TLC 7.6b and 6.3b-4a.

precisely who the sages were was not a matter of great consequence.

Some people seemed to think that everything had been done by the sages, that they had created cultural and political institutions--the Way in all its aspects. A criticism of this view, which appears in a letter from Shen Kua to Ou-yang Hsiu, reveals in passing that such an attitude did exist:

> ... during the age of perfect government of the ancients, laws and culture were complete and flourishing. In later years, there was none who did not take this as his model. As for clever techniques and mechanical devices, large and small, foot and inch, black and yellow, green and red: how could all of this have come from the sages? The hundred craftsmen, the numerous administrators, the people of the market-place and the countryside: all of them took part.[109]

In fact, Shen may have been addressing himself to the following remark by Ou-yang: "According to [the Hsi tz'u] chuan,[110] ...the affairs of the hundred craftsmen are all the creation of the sages."[111] Shih Chieh expressed a similar sentiment when he wrote: "The Way began with Fu Hsi and reached its culmination with Confucius. The Way having reached its culmination, it is no matter that no more sages

[109] Shen Kua, "Shang Ou-yang tsan cheng shu," in SSSHSWC 4.53a-53b.

[110] This is probably a reference to the Hsi tz'u chuan B2.

[111] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Yi huo wen san shou," in OYHCC 1.134.

have been born."[112] The idea that sages created the culture was not new.[113] The Hsi tz'u chuan describes how the sages derived the inspiration to create such things as nets for fishing, plows for agriculture and markets to distribute goods, from the hexagrams of the Changes. And some eleventh-century literati took this account literally. In addition, they added a new dimension to this theme: the individual's own quest for sagehood.

These men believed that sages were not just figures from the distant past, but that they themselves could attain sagehood. As Chou Tun-yi wrote, "...Sages and worthies are not so by their nature, at birth. One must develop the hsin and achieve it [i.e., sagehood]."[114] For these self-confident individuals, sagehood was a goal which everyone had the potential to reach.

However, there was a contradiction in the eleventh-century attitude towards sagehood. Most scholars of this period shared a sense that the sages had the same nature as ordinary men; and they believed in the basic goodness and perfectability of man. At the same time, however, the sage was somehow set apart from humanity because of his extraordinary virtue, and only a handful of men in history

[112] Shih chieh, "Tsun Han," in TLC 7.6a.

[113] Cf Kung-chuan Hsiao, A History of Chinese Political Thought, trans. F.W. Mote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), v.1, pp. 335-36, 537-38, 562, for examples of this idea in earlier writings.

[114] SYHA 4.129.

had been able to achieve sagehood. Several modern scholars have commented on this dilemma. Tu Wei-ming, in his study of the Doctrine of the Mean, has formulated the tension as follows: "...The profound person (1) simply realizes his nature as a human being, and (2) achieves a level of existence no ordinary mortal... can actually attain."[115] A comment by Ssu-ma Kuang reveals that an awareness of this dilemma was already present in the eleventh century: "Human emotions [are such that] none does not like goodness and hate evil, admire the correct and feel shame [if he is] incorrect. However, those who are good and correct are probably few in number, while those who are bad and incorrect are actually numerous."[116]

Thus on the one hand there were statements asserting that sagehood can be attained. For example, Hu Yüan wrote: "Confucius of course studied from [other] men and then became Confucius."[117] Chou Tun-yi wrote: "'Can one study to be a sage?' He [i.e., Chou] responded, Yes.'"[118] And Ssu-ma Kuang wrote, "The sages are also men, and no more. They

115 Tu, Centrality and Commonality, pp.31-32. Thomas Metzger, Predicament, p. 49, has described this problem as the "Neo-Confucian Predicament"--a "...belief that the individual can and should summon a godlike flow of moral power within himself,... combined with a fearful realization that he'd be unable to do so."

116 Ssu-ma Kuang, "Chih chih tsai ke wu lun," in SMWCKCCC 65.808.

117 SYHA 1.27. Cf Confucius' own remark on this point, Lun yü 7.20.

118 Chou Tun-yi, T'ung shu, "Sheng hsüeh ti erh shih."

were not born sages."[119] According to Ou-yang Hsiu, "Sages are men."[120]

At the same time, however, the sage was not considered an ordinary man. Ou-yang wrote, "The sage is positioned above the people and looks down upon them. He teaches them according to the direction [i.e., the natural inclination] of each, following their customs."[121] With even more lofty rhetoric, Chou Tun-yi wrote, "... the sage is above. He nurtures the myriad things with humaneness, regulates the myriad men with righteousness. The Way of heaven proceeds and the myriad things follow, the virtue of the sage is cultivated and the myriad men are transformed." And also, "The sage is without thought and [yet] there is nothing he does not comprehend."[122] Shao Yung wrote, "Thus we know that man is the greatest of the things [in the world], and the sage is the greatest of men. "The greatest of men" refers to the fact that he can observe the myriad hsin with one hsin, observe the myriad bodies with one body,..."[123] And Ch'en Hsiang wrote,

119 Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Han Ping-kuo ti erh shu," in SMWCKCCC 62.768-69.

120 SYHA 2.51. Cf a similar remark by Shao Yung in SYHA 3.105.

121 SYHA 2.51.

122 T'ung shu, "Shun hua ti shi yi," and "Ssu ti chiu."

123 SYHA 3.105.

> The sage's relation to the world is [as follows]: He loves them through humaneness, he benefits them through righteousness, he enlightens them through rites, he completes them through trustworthiness, he pacifies them through music, he regulates them through government, he controls them through punishments.[124]

Wang An-shih, in his Commentary on the Tao te ching, described the selflessness of the sage: "The sage is without hsin, thus he is without thought and without action. Although this is the case, he is without thought but he has never not thought; he is without action but he has never not acted."[125] Wang's meaning seems to be not that the sage is without thought or action, but that he is without purposive or self-directed activity. This is similar to the idea expressed by Ch'eng Hao, who held that the sage is perfectly impartial and responds to things appropriately as they come: "The sage is joyous because according to the nature of things before him he should be joyous, and he is angry because according to the nature of things before him he should be angry. Thus the joy and anger of the sage do not depend on his own mind but on things."[126] Wang K'ai-tsu used the image of a mirror to describe this state of complete objectivity: "The virtue of the superior man all has its

[124] Ch'en Hsiang, "Yi chiang yi," in KLC 11.5b.

[125] Wang An-shih, Tao te ching chu, in Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih, IV,I, 154.

[126] Reflections on Things at Hand, translated, with notes, by Wing-Tsit Chan, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, no. LXXV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 41.

origin in 'authenticity'; if he is authentic, then when things come he is like a mirror."[127]

Thus, eleventh-century literati shared the traditional interest in the sages of antiquity. And they added a new dimension to this interest: the confident belief that they themselves could become sages. They felt that the best model to follow in this quest for sagehood was Confucius' disciple Yen Hui.

1.2.7 Yen-tzu

Many eleventh-century thinkers were interested in Confucius' favorite disciple, Yen-tzu, as a role model in the quest for sagehood. He was a man who tried to emulate the sage, but who did not quite succeed because he died too young. Ch'eng Hao wrote, "Chung-ni [i.e., Confucius] left no trace; Yen-tzu left a small amount. In Mencius, the traces are clearly visible."[128] In other words, as a model Yen-tzu was accessible because his quest was visible, he "left a trace"; and he was the best model because he was closer to sagehood than Mencius, in whom the "traces were clearly visible." Yen-tzu could thus be used to illustrate different aspects of this pursuit. He worked constantly to emulate the master: he is an example of persistence and firm will. Yet he fell just short of the goal: it is extremely

[127] SYHA 3.6.

[128] Chan, Reflections, p. 291.

difficult to become a sage (and one can discuss exactly where he fell short). Yen-tzu would have achieved sagehood if he had lived longer: sagehood can be achieved.

Eleventh-century writings frequently refer to Yen-tzu. Ou-yang Hsiu's collected works begin with a poem called "Yen Chih," in which Ou-yang observed that Yen-tzu was virtuous and yet he died young, while the robber Chih was evil but he lived to an old age. Yen-tzu, however, "Even in death, exists to the present day, shining brightly like the sun and the stars."[129] Li Fu wrote, "As for Yen-tzu, he is one who 'very nearly attained it. When he had a fault, he never failed to recognize it; having recognized it, he never committed the error a second time.' In his words and actions, Confucius merely told him to 'return to the observance of the rites through overcoming himself' and it was sufficient."[130] Chou Tun-yi also took Yen-tzu as a model: "If your will is the same as Yi-yin's and you learn what Yen-tzu learned, you will become a sage if you surpass them and a virtuous man if you reach their level." And also, "To reveal the profound [subtleties] of the sages, to teach myriad generations without end--this was Yen-tzu."[131]

[129] Ou-yang Hsiu, "Yen Chih shih," in OYHCC 1.1.

[130] Li Fu, "Yang shih yen tung chia hsün hsü," in CSC 7.12b-13a. The quotations are from the Hsi tz'u chuan B4, and Lun yü 12.1.

[131] Chou Tun-yi, T'ung shu, "Chih hsüeh ti shih," and "Sheng yün ti erh shih chiu."

Teachers frequently held up the example of Yen-tzu as a model for their students to emulate. For example, it was said of Hu Yüan: "When the gentleman was at the Imperial Academy, he often tested the students with [the topic] 'A discussion of what Yen-tzu loved to learn.'"[132] And Ch'eng Hao said, "Formerly, when we received instruction from Chou Mao-shu [i.e., Chou Tun-yi], he often told us to find out wherein Confucius and Yen-tzu found their happiness."[133]

In addition to such general references to Yen-tzu, his example was also invoked to illustrate more specific points. for example, Wang An-shih took Yen-tzu as a model of how to learn:

> What Yen-tzu learned was not what [ordinary] people of the world learn. That "he did not vent his anger upon an innocent person" [meant that] he sought it in himself. That "he did not make the same mistake twice" [meant that] when he saw the seed of evil he would stop it.... For this reason the superior man at the beginning of his learning is like a stupid man, like an innocent child. When he has arrived [at sagehood] heaven-and-earth is not enough to be considered big,... and the scattered [theories] of the various masters are not enough to confuse him.[134]

132 SYHA 1.26.

133 Chan, Reflections, p. 50.

134 Wang An-shih, "Li yüeh lun," in WLCC 7.44. The quotation is from Lun yü 6.3, trans. D.C. Lau, The Analects (Lun yü) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), p. 81. Being like a "stupid man" is a reference to Lun yü 2.9.

Others used Yen-tzu as an example of how difficult it is to become a sage and to comprehend the Way. Ch'en Hsiang wrote that ordinary men are unable to persist in their cultivation because they are attracted by things: "The disciples of Confucius, from Yen Hui down, persisted daily, in direct contact with the teaching of the sage, and approached ever closer [to sagehood], but no more [i.e., they did not actually attain it]. How much more [difficult it is] for those of lower ability. Thus I say people are seldom able to persist."[135] Similarly, Wang An-shih wrote, "Herein is the most profound place of the Way of the sages [i.e., when one's learning "fully comprehends the marvelous"]. Moreover even one as virtuous as Yen-tzu was still unable to reach it. Thus, how could it not be the most profound place of the Way of heaven?"[136]

As the Analects records, Yen-tzu was unaffected by the poorest of physical circumstances. Thus, he was also an example of virtue for Ssu-ma Kuang: "It is hard to be poor but not bitter. Yen-tzu lived in a poor alleyway, drank a single gourd of drink, and ate a single bowl of rice; yet he was able to hold firmly to what he believed, to be content and not mournful. This is the way virtue is completed."[137]

135 Ch'en Hsiang, "Chung yung," in KLC 12.8b.

136 Wang An-shih, "Chih yi lun," in WLCC 7.46. The reference is to the Hsi tz'u chuan B3.

137 Ssu-ma Kuang, "Yen lo t'ing sung," in SMWCKCCC 66.824. Lun yü 6.11.

Thus, Yen-tzu served as the perfect model for the process of self-cultivation. Unlike the sage, who "left no trace," Yen-tzu was accessible; and yet he came closer to sagehood than anyone else. There were enough comments about him in various texts to provide sufficient detail, but not enough to limit how his behavior might be interpreted.

These, then, were some of the assumptions held by eleventh-century scholars. These assumptions in turn gave rise to certain problems. Put most generally, the problem was: What is the one Way that runs through everything? This question underlay eleventh-century debate, debate which tended to put the question in more specific terms. These thinkers asked, for example, "Of what does human nature consist?"; and "what is the hsin, and how does one cultivate it to achieve sagehood?"

1.3 THE QUESTIONS

1.3.1 Human Nature

Since the time of Mencius, the issue of human nature--whether it was good, bad, neither or both--had been controversial. Ssu-ma Kuang described some of the positions that had been taken on this problem.[138] In the eleventh century, even more than previously, human nature became a central question, addressed by nearly all of the leading scholars.[139]

Self-confident scholars who believed that they could attain sagehood tended towards the Mencian position that human nature is good. And yet they could not ignore the presence of evil in the world, and the fact that so few people actually did attain sagehood. The question of human nature was thus of considerable interest to them. Complaints by Su Shih and Ou-yang Hsiu illustrate the prevalence of discussions on this subject. Su Shih wrote: "As for theories on human nature and destiny, since Tzu Kung [said he could not hear Confucius' remarks on them] they were not to be heard of. But scholars these days are ashamed if they do not discuss nature and destiny--can these [theories] be credible?"[140] Su's own position was that man

[138] See above, pp. 28-29. Cf Graham, p. 45, for discussion of the problem of human nature in Chinese philosophy.

[139] Cf Hsia Chün-yü, SHKY, p. 210.

[140] Su Shih, "Yi hsüeh hsiao kung chü chuang," in CCTPWCSL 29.4a-b; cf SHKY, p. 214. The reference is to Lun

cannot really know human nature: "The superior men of the past were concerned because the nature is difficult to see, and so they made use of what can be seen to discuss the nature...; in the end, however, one cannot really speak of the nature."[141] Similarly, Ou-yang Hsiu wrote: "I am distressed that scholars of our generation so frequently discuss human nature. Thus I have often remarked that the nature is not an urgent issue for scholars, and it is something that the sage seldom spoke about."[142] Ou-yang differed from Su in that he did not say men cannot know human nature. Rather, he felt that it was simply not an important question: whether human nature was good or bad, scholars still had to engage in self-cultivation.[143]

Ch'en Hsiang did not share Ou-yang's view that the sage rarely spoke of human nature. He contended that Confucius had discussed human nature, but that such remarks are subtle and hard to understand:

> The Doctrine of the Mean is a book about regulating the nature.... After the death of Confucius, writings on human nature and destiny were not transmitted. Although such ideas are

yü 5.13.

141 Cited in SHKY pp. 213-14; cf Su Shih yi chuan (Taipei: Kuang wen, 1974), p. 455, for Su's criticism of Mencius on human nature. Su contended that Mencius mistook the effect, or result, of human nature, for the nature itself.

142 Ou-yang Hsiu, "Ta Li Hsü ti erh shu," in OYHCC 2.154. Cf Liu, Ou-yang, p. 96.

143 Ou-yang Hsiu, Ibidem.

> found scattered through the Six Classics, the statements are brief and their meaning subtle, and they are hard for scholars to understand. Thus Tzu-ssu transmitted what he had learned from Tseng-tzu. In it (i.e., the Doctrine of the Mean) he quoted copiously from the words of Confucius. Thus this book transmits the learning of the sage on principle and human nature.[144]

Ch'en Hsiang's own view was that Mencius was right: "Every man's nature is good. Thus the superior man and the small man all have the nature of 'centrality and commonality.' This is what Mencius meant when he said all men have the 'hearts' of compassion, shame, courtesy and modesty, and right and wrong."[145]

Wang An-shih had a different view. He wrote several essays on human nature, including one using Han Yü's title, "On the origin of the nature." In that essay Wang criticized Mencius, Hsün-tzu, Yang Hsiung and Han Yü for discussing whether human nature was good or bad. He felt that good or bad could be applied only to feelings, not to nature, and that this was why Confucius had not discussed human nature: "I am at ease only with the words of Confucius.... Moreover, the words of these masters all refer to what I call feelings, or habits, and not to nature.... Thus I say only after there are feelings do good and bad take form."[146] Hsü Chi (1028-1103) wrote "A rebuttal of

[144] Ch'en Hsiang, "Li chi chiang yi," "Chung yung," in KLC 12.1a-1b.

[145] Ch'en Hsiang, "Chung yung," 12.7b. Mencius 2A6, Lau. pp. 82-83.

Hsün-tzu," a work largely concerned with refuting Hsün-tzu's view that human nature is bad. In one of his more telling points, Hsü wrote:

> "If all human nature in the world is bad, then Yao and Shun, Chieh and Chih also were all [equally] bad. This means that since there have been human beings, there has never been a single person whose nature was good. If this is so, then where do we get his rites and righteousness [i.e., referred to by Hsün-tzu]? The men he calls sages--how do they become sages?"[147]

In the passage by Ssu-ma Kuang cited above (pp. 28-29), Ssu-ma also stated that human nature is good. However, in another essay he criticized both Hsün-tzu and Mencius, saying that they both

> ...grasped one aspect but missed the main thing. As for human nature, it is what man gets from heaven to come into life. It must contain both good and bad. For this reason even the sages cannot but get some bad, even stupid people cannot but get some good. [The good and bad] they receive differs in amount, and so they are different."[148]

Thus, eleventh-century thinkers were grappling with several issues related to human nature: why had Confucius not discussed human nature in the Analects? If human nature is good, what is the source of evil? Or is human nature rather a mixture of good and bad? Can these terms even be

146 Wang An-shih, "Yüan hsing," in WLCC 7.64-65.

147 SYHA 1.35-36.

148 Ssu-ma Kuang, "Hsing pien," in SMWCKCCC 66.821.

applied to human nature? Regardless of which position they held, these men believed that a man had the potential to achieve sagehood. This belief led to another question: whatever human nature may be, how does a man cultivate his hsin in order to achieve sagehood?

1.3.2 The hsin

The hsin was an issue of considerable interest in the eleventh century. Although Mencius had talked about a link between knowing the hsin and knowing heaven,[149] the hsin had not been a major concern of Confucian scholars until the eleventh century.[150] In the thirteenth century Wei Liao-weng (1178-1237) wrote: "We Confucian scholars speak only of rectifying the hsin and cultivating the hsin, and do not speak of making clear the hsin."[151] Wei's statement must be taken as normative rather than descriptive, because many Confucian scholars by his time were in fact arguing that the hsin is principle, principle is hsin, and that there was

[149] Mencius 7A1.

[150] See, e.g., William Theodore deBary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth-Century 'Enlightenment,'" in deBary ed., The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, Studies in Oriental Culture No. 10 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 152. Metzger, Predicament, p. 76 has described this change as follows: "... where Chou and Han Confucians had been largely unanimous in ascribing to the "king" and his chih-tu [制度] (governmental institutions) the power to transform society, Neo-Confucians gradually came to agree in regarding wu-hsin [吾心] (the mind of the self) as the prime vehicle of this power."

[151] Quoted in SHKY, p. 417.

thus no need to rectify or cultivate the hsin. But this quotation succinctly expresses the distinction made between two positions on the hsin that became one of the major points of controversy in post-eleventh-century thought. Some scholars have labeled these two positions "rationalistic" and "idealistic."[152] The rationalistic position--to rectify or cultivate the hsin--means that one must rely on learning and self-cultivation to develop the mind. The idealistic position--to make clear the hsin--implies that principle is already there inside the individual and he need only cut through the obstacles around it to find it within himself. Elements of these two positions can be found in the eleventh century.

The clearest statements of the "make clear the hsin" position were by Ch'eng Hao: "The hsin is heaven. 'When you fully actualize it then you know your nature; when you know your nature you know heaven.'"[153] And he also wrote that earlier and later sages

> ... do not transmit the Way of the sages, they transmit the hsin of the sages. They do not transmit the hsin of the sages, they transmit the hsin of the self. The hsin of the self is no different from the hsin of the sages. Vast and without boundary, it contains all the myriad goodnesses. If one wants to transmit the Way of the sages, one need only expand this hsin."[154]

152 E.g., Chan, Sourcebook, p. 518; Fung, History, II, 500.

153 SYHA 5.16. Mencius 7A1.

154 SYHA 5.23.

We can discern in the writings of other eleventh-century figures a similar sense that the hsin, in its original state, is "marvelous."[155] For example, Shen Kua wrote, "Man's hsin is originally marvelous."[156] And he also wrote, "The ears and eyes can receive but cannot select. 'What selects is the hsin. Thus when one thing acts on another, all it does is to attract it.' The hsin is different: it accepts what is right and refuses what is wrong. This is why it is great. To follow the senses and enslave the hsin is the way of the small man."[157] Wang K'ai-tsu wrote, "Resting in a dark room in the middle of the night, the clarity and brightness of my hsin returns. Filial piety to father and elder brother, loyalty and trustworthiness are born at this time."[158]

Others shared this view that one should try to make clear, or return to, what has been present all along. For example, Ssu-ma Kuang wrote,

> Someone asked, "Master, can you be without hsin?" The foolish old man [i.e., Ssu-ma] responded: "I cannot. If you mean return [to the] hsin, then you have nearly gotten it." "What do you mean, 'return to the hsin?'" He responded, "Removing the bad and following the good. Removing the incorrect and following the correct. Some people

[155] See below, 2.5, for discussion of "marvelous."

[156] Shen Kua, Hsin chiao cheng Meng-hsi pi t'an, ed. Hu Tao-ching (Peking: Chung hua, 1962), no. 145.

[157] Shen Kua, "Meng-tzu chieh," in CHC ch. 32. Mencius 6A15.

[158] SYHA 3.6

> know this but cannot move [to it], thinking that it is as difficult as controlling a wild horse.... Quietly think of it--it is in the self. It is like turning a door pivot--what difficulty is there?"[159]

Li Fu wrote, "I have often thought about man's hsin being 'void and unified and still.'[160] [This is when] it is subtle and alone, and not in contact with things. [But] some lose their original hsin, and then things must entice them."[161] Ssu-ma Kuang quoted the same passage from Hsün-tzu in a letter to Han Ping-kuo: "How does a person know the Way? The hsin. How does the hsin know? [Because] 'it is void and unified and still.'"[162]

On the other hand, adherents of the other view--the "rationalistic position"-- advocated active cultivation, or direction, of the hsin. For example, Shao Yung wrote:

> It is easy to be without error in words, but hard to be without error in actions; it is easy to be without error in actions, but hard to be without error in the hsin. When one is without error in the hsin, then what difficulty is there? ... From this we know that the sages' being able to establish themselves in a realm of no errors refers to their being good at ordering their hsin.[163]

[159] SYHA 3.29.

[160] Hsün-tzu, SPPY ed., "Chieh pi p'ien," 15.4b, 15.5a.

[161] Li Fu, "Ch'i tsu yüan Wu hsien sheng hua chi," in CSC 6.4b-5a.

[162] Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Han Ping-kuo shu," in SMWCKCCC 62.766; Hsün-tzu 15.4b.

[163] SYHA 3.107.

Although the distinction between cultivating and making clear the hsin was already present in the eleventh century, the battle lines had not yet been drawn on this question. Thus Ssu-ma Kuang and Ch'en Hsiang also wrote about how to "regulate the hsin." Ssu-ma wrote: "What scholars seek is to regulate the hsin. Even if you have learned a great deal, if your hsin is not regulated, then what are you studying for?"[164] He advocated striving for "centrality" as the way to regulate the hsin: "The concept of centrality in the Doctrine of the Mean refers to movement and rest, and [means] to neither "surpass nor fall short." These two are both techniques for regulating the hsin, but they differ in the undertaking."[165] Ch'en Hsiang said the way to regulate the hsin was through study: "Love to learn in order to fully realize the hsin. Make the hsin 'authentic' to fully realize things...."[166]

Li Ch'ien and Ou-yang Hsiu were more specific about what one should learn in order to regulate the hsin. Li wrote: "In studying the sages you [need] only devote your attention to the Classics. After your hsin has its 'ruler,' then in reading various [other] books, [such things as] square and round, light and heavy, are all regulated by this compass

164 SYHA 3.29.

165 Ssu-ma Kuang, "Ta Han Ping-kuo ti erh shu," in SMWCKCCC 62.768. The reference is to Lun yü 11.16.

166 Cited in SHKY, p. 343.

and balance [i.e., the hsin's ruler]."[167] And Ou-yang Hsiu wrote, "Scholars should take the Classics as their teacher. To take the Classics as teacher, you must first seek their meaning. When you have gotten the meaning, then your hsin will be set. When your hsin is set then your way will be pure."[168]

Finally, we should note that cultivating the hsin was not undertaken solely for the sake of the individual. For example, Chou Tun-yi wrote, "There is a basis for regulating the empire, and it is called the self.... That basis must be correct. To make that basis correct, you [need] only make the hsin authentic."[169]

In sum, the roots of the post-eleventh-century debate about whether one should look inward or outward for principle can be found in the discussions of these eleventh-century thinkers. And these men were concerned with the hsin because it was the focus of their self-cultivation and of their quest for sagehood.

---

[167] SYHA 7.21.

[168] Ou-yang, "Ta Tsu Tse-chih shu," in OYHCC 3.96. Cf p. 33 above.

[169] SYHA 4.105.

The philosophical schools of Chang Tsai and the Ch'eng brothers shared all of the above assumptions; and they attempted to provide solutions for all of the problems to which these assumptions gave rise. These two schools marked the beginning of Tao hsüeh (道學), the movement which came to dominate Chinese philosophy after the twelfth century.

The term Tao hsüeh, which means the study of the Way, had a positive connotation in the eleventh century.[170] In the twelfth century, the term was at first used pejoratively by opponents of Tao hsüeh, who resented the fact that its adherents "...made an exclusive claim to sole mastery of the truth...."[171] When Chu Hsi's philosophy was established as state orthodoxy in the thirteenth century, the term Tao hsüeh again took on a positive connotation. Chu Hsi was most heavily influenced by the thought of Ch'eng Yi, and hence this philosophy is often called Ch'eng-Chu Tao hsüeh. The philosophy of Ch'eng and Chu set the parameters and issues of philosophic debate for centuries thereafter; and for this reason, the philosophy of Chang Tsai has not been given full attention, except insofar as it was adopted or approved by the Ch'eng-Chu school. In the following

[170] It was used in this manner by Chang Tsai (CTC 349.5), Lü Ta-lin (CTC 382.1), Wang K'ai-tsu (SYHA 3.6), and Yang Shih (YKSHSC p. 79).

[171] Conrad Schirokauer, "Neo-Confucians Under Attack: The Condemnation of Wei-hsüeh," in Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China, ed. John Winthrop Haeger (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), p. 171. See also James T.C Liu, "How did a Neo-Confucian school become the state orthodoxy?" in Philosophy East and West, 23 (1973), 491.

chapters, I will attempt to analyze Chang's thought, and to show that he presented a systematic philosophy which provides a consistent set of solutions to the problems outlined above.

Chapter II

HEAVEN-AND-EARTH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will discuss Chang Tsai's view of heaven-and-earth[1] by examining closely four concepts fundamental to that view: ch'i (氣), yin-yang (陰陽), t'ien (天) and shen (神). Through his theories about heaven-and-earth, Chang was able to address two of the issues that concerned many eleventh-century literati: how to refute Buddhist theories, and how to "string it all on one thread." And like some of his contemporaries, Chang developed his cosmology from the Book of Changes. More specifically, he based it on certain passages from the Hsi tz'u chuan and on his view of the significance of the hexagrams themselves. Chang felt that the hexagrams not only symbolized, but actually embodied, the forces governing heaven-and-earth, and that this was all explained in the Hsi

[1] "Heaven-and-earth" is the term I will use to refer to the physical cosmos. As W.J. Peterson has written, this term "...is similar in its reference, but not in its implication, to what in the Judeo-Christian tradition could be called "all of Creation" or "Nature." W.J. Peterson, "Making Connections: The "Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations" in the Book of Change," unpublished paper, Princeton University, p. B.1.b3. Cf Nishi Junzô, "Chô Ôkyo no shisô--tenchi toiu sekai," in Hitotsubashi Review 28 (1952), 213-14, on "heaven-and-earth" in Chang's thought.

tz'u chuan.

As noted above,[2] Ch'eng Hao wrote that Buddhist ideas were "close to principle." Chang expressed a similar sentiment:

> The words [of the Buddhists]... resemble the correct [Way].[3]

In other words, Buddhist theories are persuasive; so persuasive that Chang is reputed to have spent ten years studying them.[4] However, Chang left Buddhism, having decided that its doctrines were wrong. The above passage continues:

> But when we examine their point of origin and their key points, [we see that] the origin and the key points are different from those of our Confucian [Way]. There is only one Way. If this is correct, that is incorrect; if that is correct, I am incorrect. (183.4)

This passage reveals both of the central themes in Chang's view of heaven-and-earth: his rejection of Buddhism, and his belief in the "one thread." These themes are also expressed clearly in the introduction to Chang's Cheng meng, written by his disciple Fan Yü (n.d.) in 1089:

[2] (pp. 23-24).

[3] Chang Tsai chi (CTC), p.183.4. This is the most complete and convenient edition of Chang's works. It must be used with caution, however, because the editors make emendations too freely. Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from Chang Tsai's writings are all from this edition, with page and line number indicated after the quotation.

[4] Lü Ta-lin (1046/47-1092/93), "Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng hsing chuang," CTC 381.11.

> ...And the followers [of Buddhism and Taoism] exaggerate their claims, believing that the Confucian school is unable to talk about the essential and subtle principles of the great Way, and [thus] must take their books as correct. [Most] Confucian scholars of this age also give their assent to the claim by saying "Our Six Classics never spoke of [these principles], Confucius and Mencius never reached them."...
>
> Thus [Master Chang] wrote these words to refute the Buddhists and Taoists. How could it be that he enjoyed differing [with them]?[5] I claim he had no choice.... If the two gentlemen [i.e., Lao-tzu and the Buddha] were truly able to arrive at the key points of the Way and the one and only principle, then why would we be disputing with them in this clamorous way? The reason he [i.e., Chang] disputes is precisely because he wants to dispel heterodox doctrine, return [Confucians] to the highest principles and ensure that the myriad generations are not confused--nothing else....
>
> Thus I say that the words of the Cheng meng were spoken because there was no choice. Truly, there is only one Way.... That by which heaven moves, the earth supports [things], the sun and moon are bright, ghosts and spirits are mysterious, wind and clouds change, and the rivers flow..., from root to branches and top to bottom, are strung together on the one Way. (4.10-6.1)

Fan's introduction also adumbrates Chang's attempt to present a single set of principles to explain heaven-and-earth, and his rejection of the alternative positions provided by Buddhism and Taoism.

One aspect of Chang's "stringing it all on one thread" was his rationalism. By rationalism I mean Chang's belief that everything works according to the same spontaneous principles and that there is no anthropomorphic heaven directing the process, no ghosts and spirits assisting it. When a man understands the principles governing heaven-and-

[5] This is an allusion to Mencius 3B9.

earth, he realizes that these principles apply to everything, and that there is no such thing as a weird or inexplicable phenomenon. Chang explained this in a letter to Fan Yü:

> As for your inquiry on weird things and mysterious monstrosities-- this is not hard to explain.... [It is like] what Mencius said [about] knowing the nature and knowing heaven.[6] When a man's study reaches the point of knowing heaven, then he should continually see the source whence things emerge. When one knows whence [things] emerge, then he will always understand in his hsin whether every thing should or should not exist. (349.1-2)

There is no such thing as a weird phenomenon. Certain things are possible, in which case they are governed by the same rules as everything else. One who understands this knows, for example, that stories about ghosts are simply stories.

[6] Mencius 7A1.

2.2 CH'I

The term ch'i, in its various uses, is the most fundamental concept of Chang Tsai's thought.[7] One scholar has labeled it Chang's "most original contribution to Chinese philosophy."[8] Because ch'i occupies an important place in Chang's philosophical system, he has been called a materialist, a monist and a monist-realist.[9] All of these labels derive from the fact that Chang's thought may be considered a ch'i-based system.

The term ch'i appears frequently in Chinese texts.[10] Although used differently in varying contexts, it was not a problematic term, and therefore did not require explanation or definition. The most basic meaning of ch'i was breath. For example, in the Analects we are told that Confucius

[7] This term has been variously translated as "ether" (Feng Yu-lan), "ether of materialization" (Metzger), "vital force" (S.C. Huang), "configurational energy" (Porkert) "material force" (W.T. Chan), "air," "pneuma," and "matter-energy" (Needham), and "passion-nature" (Legge). I prefer to leave it untranslated, and to try instead to convey a sense of its meaning(s) in the discussion which follows.

[8] Huang Siu-chi, "Chang Tsai's concept of Ch'i," in Philosophy East and West, 18 (1968), 247.

[9] Chang Tai-nien, Introduction to CTC, p. 1; Ian Mcmorran, "Wang Fu-chih and the Neo-Confucian Tradition," in The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, p. 431; S.C. Huang, "Ch'i," p. 258.

[10] For a historical discussion of ch'i, see Mitukuni Yosida, "The Chinese Concept of Nature," in Chinese Science: Exploration of an Ancient Tradition, ed. Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin, M.I.T. East Asian Science Series v.II (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973), pp. 76-89; David Pollard, "Ch'i in Chinese Literary Theory," in Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, ed. Adele Austin Rickett (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

"ascended the reception hall, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath [i.e., ch'i] also, as if he dared not breathe."[11] In common parlance, ch'i meant a gaseous substance. In certain ancient texts ch'i was used to describe an original undifferentiated state out of which heaven-and-earth emerged.[12] Ch'i was also used to mean the stuff which brings about life and the stuff which fills the human body.[13] Mencius had spoken of a "flood-like ch'i" that could be cultivated to the point that it unified righteousness and the Way.[14] Chang drew on all of these senses of ch'i in his own philosophy. Although analogies for some of his uses of ch'i can be found in earlier writings, no previous thinker used the concept the way Chang did.[15] His use of ch'i was adopted by Chu Hsi and

1977), pp. 43-66, and the references cited therein; and Ki no shisō: Chūgoku ni okeru shizenkan to ningenkan no tenkai, ed. Onozawa Seiichi, Fukunaga Mitsuji, and Yamanoi Yū, (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1978).

11 Lun yü 10.3, Legge, p. 229.

12 E.g. Huai-nan-tzu (Taipei: Shih chieh, 1962), "T'ien wen hsün," pp. 35ff; Lieh-tzu, KHCPTS ed., 1.2; cf, Yosida, "Nature," pp. 77-79.

13 Chuang-tzu, ch. 22 (see below, note 18); Kuan-tzu, SPPY ed., "Hsin shu hsia," 13.6a. Mencius 2A2.

14 Mencius 2A2.

15 Needham is incorrect in saying that Chang's discussion of qi uses "the same technical terms...as Wang Ch'ung, a thousand years earlier, indeed without much development of thought." His citation of Hsi ming is also wrong. It should be Cheng meng. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954-), II, p. 471.

thereafter became part of Tao hsüeh thought. It also heavily influenced such thinkers as Wang T'ing-hsiang (1474-1544) and Wang Fu-chih (1619-92).

Chang began the Cheng meng by describing an original state of undifferentiated ch'i, which exists prior to discrete objects. This state he called the "Great Harmony."[16] It is unitary and "above form."[17] The first line of the Cheng meng reads:

> The Great Harmony is what is called the Way. (7.1)

Since the Great Harmony has the yin-yang polarity as its nature,[18] it acts upon itself to produce all of the objects and phenomena in the universe. The passage continues:

> It possesses within itself the mutually interacting nature of floating and sinking, rising and falling, motion and rest. This produces the beginning of the processes of fusion and intermingling, of overcoming and being overcome, and of expansion and contraction. (7.1)

[16] "Great Harmony" comes from the Book of Changes, Ch'ien kua (乾卦), where it says, "pao he t'ai he" (保和太和); Wilhelm, p. 371, renders this "...comes into permanent accord with the Great Harmony."

[17] The distinction between "below-form" and "above-form" comes from the Hsi tz'u chuan A12, where it says: "For this reason what is above form is called the Way; what is below form is called an instrument [concrete thing]." (cf Graham, p. 34) Chang said of this: "'What is above form': this [refers to] that which is without form.... 'What is below form': this [refers to] that which has form.... That which has form and trace is an instrument."(207.6-7) Cf W.T. Chan's discussion, Sourcebook, pp. 786-87.

[18] See below, 2.3

As many scholars have observed, there is no external force or creator deity--the system is self-generating.

After the opening paragraph, Chang replaced the Great Harmony with the term "Great Void," and then provided a more detailed description of this state and its relation to the physical world. The Great Void is a very important concept in Chang's philosophy. It refers to the same above-form state as the Great Harmony. But, in contrast to the term Great Harmony, which emphasizes the coexistence of the two polar forces in a harmonious unity, Great Void emphasizes the invisibility of this state. Chang chose this term to undercut Buddhist and Taoist notions of void and non-being. Chang said that the Great Void is made up of ch'i. This refers to the original, undifferentiated ch'i, before it has condensed to become objects:

> The Great Void is without forms--it is the original substance of ch'i. Its condensation and dispersal are but the temporary forms of change and transformation. (7.5)

> The Great Void cannot but consist of ch'i; ch'i cannot but condense and become the myriad things; the myriad things cannot but disperse and become the Great Void. Following this [cycle], and leaving and entering [the undifferentiated state]--this is all necessarily so. (7.8-9)[19]

[19] These passages express an idea similar to the following passage from the Chuang-tzu: "Man's life is a coming together of breath [i.e., ch'i]. If it comes together, there is life; if it scatters, there is death.... The ten thousand things are really one.... So it is said, You have only to comprehend the one breath that is the world. The sage never ceases to value oneness." (Chuang-tzu ch. 22, Burton Watson, p. 236).

In other words, for Chang ch'i is not just vapor or breath. In its different states, it constitutes everything in the universe. In its most rarefied state it is without form. It also comprises the air we breathe, all living beings, and all inanimate objects. Because of its nature, ch'i must proceed through an endless series of condensations which produce tangible objects. This is inevitably followed by the disintegration of the objects so condensed and by a return to the undifferentiated state.

In this dissertation I will use Ch'i to refer to the undifferentiated, primal substance, ch'i to refer to condensed, tangible matter, and qi when both meanings are intended, or when it is not possible to distinguish which meaning is implied. Chang, of course, did not employ an orthographical distinction to discriminate between the two states of qi, although he sometimes used the compounds ch'i chih (氣質) or hsing ch'i (形氣) to indicate condensed ch'i. The fact that Chang had in mind two different conceptions of qi can be seen in the following passage:

> When Ch'i condenses its visibility comes into effect and there are forms. When Ch'i does not condense, its visibility is not in effect and there are no forms. When it condenses how can we not call it temporary? When it disperses how can we suddenly call it non-being? Thus the sages "look upward and observe, look downward and examine," and say only "we know the causes of the mysterious and the obvious." They do not say "we know the causes of being and non-being." (8.11-12)[20]

[20] Hsi tz'u chuan A3; cf Wilhelm, p. 294.

In addition to describing two kinds of qi --undifferentiated Ch'i and condensed ch'i --Chang occasionally followed the common usage of qi as vapor, or gaseous substance. For example, he explained the phenomenon of sound as follows:

> Sound is produced by forms[21] and qi pressing together. Valley echoes and the sound of thunder are examples of [sound produced by] two quantities of qi [pressing together]. The beating of a drumstick aganst a drum is an example of [sound produced by] two forms [pressing together]. A feather fan and a flying arrow are examples of forms pressing against qi. The human voice, or the reeds of a "Pan pipe," are examples of qi pressing against form. These are all the inherent ability of things to respond [to other things]. People are all familiar with them, but they just do not examine them. (20.6-7)

In other words, there is a continuum of qi. Tangible objects--forms--such as drumsticks and arrows, are condensed ch'i; air is qi which is not as condensed as forms; and at the other end of this continuum is the undifferentiated Ch'i of the Great Void.

In one passage, Chang distinguished between two kinds of qi in man:

> The qi in man which does not leave him during his life, but which scatters and disperses after his death, is called hun (魂). That which condenses to make his physical form, and does not disperse even at death, is called p'o (魄). (19.5)

21 "Forms" means objects having tangible form. It should not be confused with the "forms" of Greek philosophy.

Although Chang did not draw any connections here, the gi called hun seems to be related to the pure Ch'i, the properties of which man retains as his "true nature."[22] The gi called p'o is associated with the physical, condensed ch'i which is responsible for man's "physical nature." Chang felt that the Buddhists did not have the correct understanding of hun. Thus he criticized their understanding of the Hsi tz'u chuan line "The wandering of the hun gi constitutes a change":[23]

> The confused men [who believe in Buddhism] point to the sentence "the wandering of the hun gi constitutes a change" as a reference to samsara; they have not thought about it . (64.6)

Elsewhere, Chang gave his own interpretation of this line:

> While a form is condensed it is an object; when the form breaks apart, [the ch'i] returns to the source [i.e., the Great Void]. Returning to the source--is this not [what is meant by] "the wandering of the hun gi constitutes a change"? (66.5)

Chang was careful to point out that the void is Ch'i and therefore cannot be said to produce Ch'i:

> If you say the void can produce Ch'i, then the void is infinite while Ch'i is limited, substance and function are split apart, and you fall into Lao-tzu's doctrine of spontaneity, which [says

22 Cf Yuasa Yukihiko, "Sôgaku ni okeru shizen to jinrin--Chô Sai no yuibutsuron," in Kyôtô Daigaku bungakubu kenkyû kiyô 16, No.3 (1976), 9. Human nature is discussed in Chapter 3.

23 Hsi tz'u chuan A4.

> that] being is produced from non-being. (8.2)[24]

Void, or non-being, is a form of being (it is Ch'i); therefore, it is not prior to being, nor does it produce being. However, elsewhere Chang appeared to be ambiguous on this point:

> When there is non-being, then qi is produced spontaneously. This production of qi is the Way; it is change. (243.1)[25]

This passage seems to contradict the preceding one, in that it might be taken to mean that non-being exists prior to being.[26] However, the apparent contradiction can be reconciled. For Chang, "non-being" does not mean "nothing at all"; rather, it means "being" with no tangible form (i.e., undifferentiated Ch'i). Thus, if we change qi to ch'i in the above passage, we can see that it refers to the transition from non-being--undifferentiated Ch'i --to condensed ch'i. This change from non-being to being (and then back) is the Way. As Chang pointed out in the Cheng meng:

> From the transformation of qi we have the name "the Way." (9.5)

24 Lao-tzu, ch. 33; cf Graham, p. 121.

25 I have not followed the CTC emendation.

26 Indeed, Mou Tsung-san does take this position, and argues that Chang was mistaken in saying the void cannot produce qi. Mou, Hsin t'i yü hsing t'i (Taipei: Cheng chung, 1969), p. 460.

Chang also described this process of transformation from Ch'i to ch'i and back in another comment on the "wandering of the hun qi":

> "The refined Ch'i becomes objects; the wandering of the hun qi constitutes a change": "The refined Ch'i" [refers to going] from non-being to being; "the wandering of the hun qi" [refers to going] from being to non-being. (183.11)[27]

Chang was unambiguous about the fact that physical objects are produced by the condensation of the undifferentiated Ch'i. He compared this process to ice freezing and melting in water-- water becomes ice, ice melts and becomes water again, and the whole process takes place in the water:

> The condensation and dispersal of qi in the Great Void is like the freezing and melting of ice in water. (8.14)[28]

Chang was not as clear on how this process actually takes place. Basically, Ch'i condenses to form objects and then disperses, returning to the undifferentiated state, because it is its nature to do so. Chang wrote:

[27] Hsi tz'u chuan A4; cf Wilhelm, p. 294.

[28] This is similar to the following passage from Wang Ch'ung's Lun heng: "Ch'i becomes man just as water forms ice. Water crystallizes to form ice, and Ch'i crystallizes to form man. The ice, melting, becomes water; man, dying, returns to the state of a spirit." Lun heng, KHCPTS ed., 20,62.870; cf Needham, II, 369, and Alfred Forke trans., Lun-Heng (1907; rpt. New York: Paragon, 1962), I, 192.

> The origin of gi being the void, it is clear and originally without form. When it responds [to a stimulus] something comes into being; it condenses and there are phenomena. (10.2)[29]

What comes into being is ch'i --the stuff which composes the things of the world.

Thus, Chang's concept of gi is all-embracing. There is nothing that is not gi, and any phenomenon can be explained in terms of its properties. And because everything consists of gi, Chang was able to "string it all on one thread":

> When the yin and yang Ch'i disperse there are the myriad different things. People do not understand their unity. (66.4)

And also:

> Although the myriad things are numerous, in reality they are one thing. (10.4)

> When you understand that the void is Ch'i, then being and non-being, hidden and manifest, shen[30] and transformation, nature and destiny, are all unitary and not dualistic. If you reflect on condensation and dispersal, leaving and entering, form and no-form, and can trace them to the origin whence they come, then you have a profound grasp of the Book of Changes. (8.1-2)

[29] The first phrase is problematic. I take it to mean that because the origin of ch'i is the Great Void, it is originally without form, but it contains the potential to become form. CTC 22.7 says "The clear and unitary is the origin of gi." I have not followed the CTC emendation of this passage.

[30] See below, 2.5 for discussion of shen.

One of the most difficult problems Chang faced in his attempt to string it all on one thread lay in the distinction drawn in the Book of Changes between two realms, one above-form and one below-form.[31] Chang was able to link the above-form and below-form realms through his interpretation of qi, as can be seen from the following passage:

> All that is above form is called the Way. It is just that the place where being and non-being come together, the place of form and no-form, is difficult to understand. You must understand that ch'i originates here. I claim that qi can unify being and non-being. (207.10)

This must have been a startling claim; no one had said that qi unified above-form and below-form, being and non-being. Indeed, Chang was criticized for concerning himself too much with qi. The Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi felt that qi was, and could only be, below form.[32] They felt Chang was wrong in applying it to the above-form realm. For example, we are told that:

> Master Ch'eng said: "[Chang] Tzu-hou used the words pure, void, one and great to name the Way of heaven. This is to speak of it as a particular

[31] See above, note 17. Thomas Metzger has described the effort to link the two realms as an "effort to link the metaphysical and experiential realms." Metzger, pp. 72-74.

[32] Mou Tsung-san also criticizes Chang based on the same premise, that qi can only be below-form. Mou says the Great Void can only be seen in qi, but the Great Void itself is not qi. Mou misses the point that Chang was redefining qi in order to unify the above-form and below-form realms. Mou, p. 455.

object and not something which is above form."[33]

"Pure, void, one and great" is a reference to the Great Void. Chang, of course, said that the Great Void is undifferentiated Ch'i. Ch'eng Yi maintained that one could not use something that consisted of Ch'i, which he believed could only be below form, to describe the Way. In other words, Ch'eng's argument might be stated as follows: "Ch'i is below form. If the Great Void is Ch'i, then it is below form. Being below form, it cannot be used to describe the Way, which is above form."

In addition to "stringing it all on the one thread" of qi, Chang was also able to use the concept to refute Taoist and Buddhist ontology. Lao-tzu had written that non-being gives birth to being.[34] As one scholar has observed, this "implies that non-being, which is unnameable and indescribable, is the true and ultimate reality."[35] And a fundamental precept of many Buddhist schools is that the phenomenal world is illusory. Chang chose "Great Void," a term with clear Buddhist and Taoist connotations, to undercut these arguments (Buddhists frequently referred to the phenomenal world as void in order to make the point that

[33] Chang Heng-ch'ü chi [hereafter CHCC], TSCCCP ed., 7.7. As W.T. Chan has correctly observed, ch'i (氣 --"particular object") means a "concrete or definite object in contrast to Tao which has neither spatial nor physical form." Chan, Sourcebook, p. 784.

[34] Tao te ching, ch. 40.

[35] S.C. Huang, "Ch'i," p. 253.

it is illusory, and the term itself comes from the Chuang-tzu (chapter 22)). He explained the Great Void in a decidedly non-Buddhist, non-Taoist way as being Ch'i and as having, therefore, real physical existence. For example, he wrote:

> All things which have form decay easily. Only the Great Void is not moved or shaken; thus it is the most substantial. (325.11)

Despite the fact that Chang interpreted the Great Void as Ch'i, Ch'eng Yi felt that the term retained the implication of "unreal." Thus he criticized Chang's use of the term as follows:

> [Ch'eng Yi] said, "There is no such thing as the Great Void." Thereupon he referred to the void, saying, "It is all principle, how can we call it void? There is nothing more real in the world than principle."[36]

Chu Hsi also rejected the term "Great Void", preferring Chou Tun-yi's "Great Ultimate"; Chang rarely referred to the Great Ultimate; and when he did, he made it clear that for him, it was Ch'i.[37] This is a major difference between his thought and that of the Ch'eng-Chu school, which holds that the Great Ultimate is principle and is without substance.

[36] Honan Ch'eng shih yi shu [hereafter YS], KHCPTS ed., 71.1-2, modified from Graham, p. 125.

[37] See, e.g., CTC 235.8.

Chang used the concept of the Great Void to criticize Taoists and Buddhists. For example, he said of the Taoists:

> When one knows that the Great Void is Ch'i then there is no non-being.... The various savants are shallow and incorrect in their distinction between being and non-being-- this is not the kind of study which will exhaust principle. (8.14-9.1)

And in his explanation of the line from the Book of Changes, "Looking upward to observe the markings in the heavens, looking downward to examine the patterns on the earth; in consequence of this, knowing the causes of the mysterious and the obvious,"[38] he criticized the Buddhists:

> An instance of seeing stems from something being visible. If no seeing occurs, it is not that there is no thing.... That deviant doctrine ascribes all of this to emptiness and void. I claim that it is because their understanding is only of the obvious, and they do not examine the mysterious. What they see is only one side. (182.5-6)

The line which follows is repeated in the Cheng meng (quoted above, p. 69):

> When Ch'i condenses, its visibility comes into effect and there are forms. When Ch'i does not condense,its visibility is not in effect and there are no forms. When Ch'i condenses, how can we not call it temporary (k'o 客)? (182.7)

In an interesting distinction, however, the earlier text here reads:

38 Hsi tz'u chuan A3; cf p. 69 above.

How can we not call it being (yu 有)?[39]

In the Cheng meng version, which does not include the comment about Buddhism, Chang emphasized the fact that matter is transitory, part of a cyclical condensation and dispersal of qi. Here, however, where the passage is part of a longer critique of Buddhism, he emphasized that physical matter has real existence, and that Buddhists were wrong to call it illusory.

Some Buddhist schools believed that because things whither away and disappear, they are ultimately unreal. Chang maintained that they did not understand that this disappearance is merely a change in state, from condensed ch'i to the undifferentiated Ch'i of the Great Void, both of which are equally real. This process of condensation and dispersal of qi occurs because of its basic property, the yin-yang polarity.

[39] CTC emends the text to make it accord with the Cheng meng version. There are no grounds for this emendation, however.

2.3 YIN AND YANG

Chang can be considered an ontological monist in that he explained everything in terms of qi. But qi itself possesses the polar aspects of yin and yang as its nature:

> Ch'i is one thing with two substances. Because it is one, it is marvelous (shen --see below, 2.5); because it is two, it is transformed. (233.10)

> The Ch'i of the Great Void is yin and yang [unified] in one thing. (231.2)

These "two substances," the polar forces of yin and yang, are the most basic properties of the one Ch'i. They are unified in the original Great Harmony and in the undifferentiated Ch'i of the Great Void; they are the force that causes Ch'i to condense into discreet objects.

As with the case of qi, the concept of yin and yang was so well established that Chang did not need to explain or define it.[40] Basically, yin and yang are complementary

[40] This widely shared sense of yin and yang has been given a good, though quite technical, discussion by Manfred Porkert. He provides a brief historical discussion of yin-yang, as well as references to other writings on the subject, in The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence, MIT East Asian Science Series, v.III (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974), Chapter One. His basic definition is that "yang is the active aspect of an effective position, and yin is the structive aspect of an effective position." He explains this as follows: "Structio defines a positive effect given at or within a certain effective position and directly perceptible there. By contradistinction, actio defines an effect taking place outside or beyond a given effective position, and indirectly perceptible only when some "structing" position (an object or subject) is interposed.... a stimulus is actio, and a response is structio. Only through the response do we perceive the stimulus." (p. 14) See also Hellmut Wilhelm,

aspects of the one qi. Yang refers to the expanding, masculine qualities of qi; yin to the contracting, female qualities. Yang is associated with summer and heat, yin with winter and cold; yang with dryness, yin with wetness. These two aspects are always present: when one is at its zenith the other is at its nadir; but they never disappear completely. At the moment when one pole is at its peak it simultaneously begins to wane, while its complement begins to wax.

At times, Chang spoke of the natures of yin and yang themselves. For example:

> The nature of yin is always to follow. (231.3)
>
> The nature of yin is to crystallize and condense, the nature of yang is to scatter forth and disperse. (12.9)

These two polarities are complementary and co-equal. The above passage continues:

> When yin causes it [i.e., a portion of Ch'i] to condense, yang must cause it to disperse. (12.9)[41]

"The Two Fundamental Principles," in his Eight Lectures, pp. 23-34.

[41] Needham incorrectly attributes to Chu Hsi the association of yang with dispersion of ch'i and yin with condensation. Needham, II, 471.

In one passage, Chang associated the presence and absence of moral qualities with yang and yin:

> When the yang brightness is supreme the virtuous nature operates; when the yin turbidity is supreme, material desires occur.(24.3)

This is an isolated passage: in general, Chang took yin and yang as equal participants in an ethical universe, as in the following passage:

> Its [i.e., Ch'i's] two polarities, yin and yang, follow cyclically without cease, and establish the great righteousness of heaven-and-earth.(9.11)

Chang associated numerous pairs with this basic polarity. At times he distinguished these pairs by saying that they belonged to different realms. The "Explanation of the Trigrams" says: "This was to establish the way of heaven, [which they] called yin and yang; to establish the way of earth, [which they] called soft and hard; to establish the way of man, [which they] called humaneness and righteousness."[42] Chang commented on this line:

> Yin and yang are qi [i.e., both Ch'i and air] and so they [i.e., the authors of the Explanaton] called them "heaven." Hard and soft are matter, and so they called them "earth." Humaneness and righteousness are virtues, and so they called them man. (235.8)

[42] Shuo kua 2; cf Wilhelm, p. 264.

To illustrate the point that each of these pairs is part of the same basic polarity, Chang used the words ch'ien (乾) and k'un (坤). Ch'ien is the first hexagram in most arrangements of the Book of Changes:[43] it is pure yang, consisting of six unbroken lines; k'un, the second hexagram, is pure yin, consisting of six broken lines. In another comment on the same line of the "Explanation of the Trigrams," Chang wrote:

> Yin and yang being the way of heaven, they are the completing of the images. Hard and soft being the way of earth, they are the imitating of the patterns. Humaneness and righteousness being the way of man, they are the establishing of the [moral] nature. When we make a duality of each of the three "fundamental powers,"[44] there is none that does not possess the way of ch'ien and k'un. (235.9-10)

These pairs all refer to the same "polar quality of all effects,"[45] while emphasizing different aspects of this polarity. At times Chang used ch'ien and k'un as the most general expressions of this polarity, using other pairs as "sub-polarities," more specific or limited in content. For example:

> Ch'ien in [the realm of] heaven is yang, in earth is hard, and in man is humaneness. K'un in [the realm of] heaven is yin, in earth is soft, and in man is righteousness.(225.11-12)

[43] Cf Hellmut Wilhelm, Eight Lectures, pp.10-11.

[44] Shuo kua 2, Wilhelm. p. 264; cf Hsi tz'u chuan B10.

[45] Porkert, p. 8.

Unfortunately, Chang did not explain how humaneness and righteousness are a polarity, but merely followed the Hsi tz'u chuan in associating them with ch'ien and k'un.

Elsewhere Chang wrote that ch'ien and k'un refer to function, while yin and yang refer to "reality" (shih 實), as in his comment on the first line of the Hsi tz'u chuan:

> The reason [the Book of Changes] speaks of ch'ien and k'un and not of heaven and earth, is to refer to its function. What form do ch'ien and k'un have?... Yin and yang refer to its reality, ch'ien and k'un refer to its functon. It is like saying hard and soft, but what ch'ien and k'un cover is more broad. (177.3-5)[46]

Chang did not always adhere to the distinction between realms, sometimes associating hard and soft with the human realm:

> The Ch'i of heaven is yin and yang. The ch'i of man is hard and soft, slow and fast. (324.6)

All of these pairs are aspects of the one "complementary bipolarity"[47] of yin and yang. Because they refer to different apects of this polarity, or encompass more or less in their scope, Chang at times distinguished among them. For example, in another comment on the use of ch'ien and k'un in the first line of the Hsi tz'u chuan, Chang wrote:

[46] I have not followed the CTC emendation.

[47] Andrew H. Plaks, Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 44ff.

> It says ch'ien and k'un and does not say heaven and earth, because to speak of heaven and earth [is to speak of that which] has physical substance, while to speak of ch'ien and k'un [is to speak of that which] is without form. (69.5)

In other words, the Hsi tz'u chuan uses ch'ien and k'un, which are above form, because their scope is broader than heaven and earth. However, both pairs are aspects of the same bipolarity, and thus Chang wrote elsewhere:

> Ch'ien and k'un are heaven and earth. (206.4)

In addition to the above-mentioned pairs, Chang gave several others. One such pair is "movement and rest." He explained the connection between heaven and movement (the two yang aspects), and earth and rest, as follows:

> The principle of heaven and earth, movement and rest, is that heaven is round and thus must move and rotate, while earth is square, and thus must be tranquil and at rest. (177.9)[48]

Some other pairs are given in the following passage:

> Qi is one thing with two substances.... The two substances are void-ness and reality, movement and rest, condensation and dispersion, clear and turbid. Ultimately, they are unitary. (233.10-11)

In other words, each pair is actually unitary-- i.e., two aspects of the one qi; and the pairs are all one, because they all express the same basic polarity. The passage cited

[48] "Heaven is round and earth is square" is a proverb from the Huai-nan-tzu, "T'ien wen hsün, p. 35.

in part above (p. 80) reads in full:

> The Ch'i of the Great Void is yin and yang [unified] in one thing. However, it has the two substances, which are merely "strong" (chien 健) and "folowing" (shun 順). (231.2)

"Strong" and "following" are another pair from the Hsi tz'u chuan, where they were used to describe ch'ien and k'un.[49]

Chang explained kuei (鬼) and shen (神), commonly used to mean ghosts and spirits,[50] as another polarity of qi, with no supernatural connotations (shen when used by itself has a different meaning. See below, 2.5). For example, Chang described the formation of humans out of Ch'i as follows:

> [Ch'i's] arriving is called shen, because it comes forth (shen-- 伸). The reversal of this process is kuei, because it returns (kuei-- 歸) [to the Great Void].(19.4)

For Chang, kuei and shen were another aspect of the basic polarity. Shen refers to the emergence of tangible ch'i from the Great Void, while kuei refers to its return to the above-form Ch'i of the Great Void. Kuei could thus be rendered as "ghost returning to [the Great Void]," and shen as "spirit coming forth from [the Great Void],"[51] in

49 Hsi tz'u chuan B9.

50 Cf Chan, Sourcebook, p. 505. Cf Nishi Junzô, "Tenchi," p. 224.

51 These translations of kuei and shen were suggested by W.J. Peterson.

passages like the following:

> "Ghost returning to [the Great Void]" and "spirit coming forth from [the Great Void]" are the "inherent capacities"[52] of the two kinds of qi. (9.6)

In other words, kuei and shen are a subpolarity of yin and yang, part of the nature of qi; they are not ghosts and spirits which are outside the processes of heaven-and-earth:[53]

> The reality of "ghost going back" and "spirit coming forth" does not exceed the two polarities. (9.7)

Since all these pairs refer to different realms or emphasize different aspects of the fundamental polarity, Chang frequently used one pair to represent the whole process:

> Now the world is an endless [cycle of] movement and rest, truth and falsehood--it is all just a "contraction and expansion." (215.10)

Everything in the world can be accounted for by the properties of this polarity:

> Heaven is vast, with nothing outside it, but what interacts is nothing more than the fusing and

[52] Mencius 7A15.

[53] As W.T. Chan has observed, "...no one before Chang had understood kuei-shen as the spontaneous activity of material force [i.e., qi] and incorporated the concept into a coherent metaphysical system." Chan, Sourcebook, p.505.

intermingling of the two polarities. (224.9)[54]

Buddhists do not understand this point:

> [Buddhists] have not awakened to the fact that [the succession of] one yin and one yang encompasses [all phenomena of] of heaven-and-earth in its scope. (8.5)

The fact that everything is the intermingling of the two polarities, a "contraction and expansion," is difficult to grasp because it is an abstract principle, it is above form. One can, however, infer the existence of this principle from the visible manifestations of its workings. For example, Chang commented on the Hsi tz'u chuan line, "Changes and transformations are the images of advancing and retreating":[55]

> What [the line] "changes and transformations are the images of advancing and retreating" refers to is that the movement of advancing and retreating is subtle, and so one must confirm its existence from the visibility of the changes and transformations. Thus while it is difficult to examine the principle of advancing and retreating, it is easy to examine the images of change and transformation. (180.1-2)

One can also grasp these principles of advancing and retreating, yang and yin, from the Book of Changes itself, another visible manifestation of the workings of this "contraction and expansion." The lines and hexagrams reveal

54 I have not followed the CTC emendation of this passage.

55 Hsi tz'u chuan A2.

the workings of these principles, just as do the processes of heaven-and-earth:

> The Changes as a book "is level with heaven-and-earth."[56] Change [and the Book of Changes] is the Way of heaven.... I claim the trigrams are based on the Way of heaven. The three yin[-line trigram] and the three yang[-line trigram], by undergoing "rises and descents" change to become the eight trigrams. (181.12-13)[57]

In other words, all the situations in the Book of Changes are brought about by, and reveal, the interaction of the two forces, just as is the case with everything in heaven-and-earth. Thus the Book of Changes embodies--"is level with"--heaven-and-earth. In fact, Chang often used yi (易), the word for the title, Book of Changes, to refer also to the processes of heaven-and-earth. For example:

> "Change" is production and transformation. (206.4)

At times Chang made it clear which meaning of yi he intended, as in the passage cited above ("The Changes as a book..."),[58] or in the following comment:

[56] Hsi tz'u chuan A3.

[57] "Rises and descents" are another complementary bipolarity, analogous to expansion and contraction. "The three[-yin line trigram] and the three yang[-line trigram]" refer to the first two trigrams; ch'ien is three yang lines, k'un is three yin lines. A change from yin to yang (a "rise"), or a change from yang to yin (a "descent") in these primary trigrams and the rest of the eight possible trigrams are produced.

[58] Hsi tz'u chuan B7.

> This refers to the way of the book, the Changes. (191.9)

Generally, however, he did not specify which meaning he intended, if indeed he did not mean both the book and the process. Unless it is clear that one meaning is intended, I will translate yi as Change, meaning both the Book of Changes and the process of production and transformation. Both in the Book of Changes and in heaven-and-earth, the polar forces are above-form; but their interaction brings about all the phenomena of the world, and all the situations in the Book of Changes. These are below-form:

> After ch'ien and k'un are established, the rest are all the particular objects of change. (206.12)

The problem with the Buddhists is that they do not understand Change:

> [From] his words on human nature, [it is clear that] the Buddha did not understand Change. Only after understanding Change [can] one exhaust [the meaning of] the nature. (206.9)

Buddhists, according to Chang, try to ignore Change and speak only about the invisible, above-form realm:

> They want to speak directly of the Great Void and not encumber their hsin with night and day, yin and yang; but this is not even to begin to see Change. (65.7)

In addition to grasping the abstract principles of Change through its visible manifestations in heaven-and-earth or in

the hexagrams, one can also grasp it from the Hsi tz'u chuan:

> The Hsi tz'u chuan is that by which the way of Change is discussed. After one has understood the way of Change, then the images of Change are all contained therein. (242.9)[59]

Through the Hsi tz'u chuan one can grasp the principles of Change; one can then understand the images and all the situations in Change-- the book and the cosmic process.

What are the properties of the yin-yang polarity? Chang was rather vague on the details. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish two different relations between yin and yang. One is the cyclical succession of one pole by the other, as in the following passage:

> The way of heaven is just an endless series of winters and summers. The numerous movements are just an endless series of contractions and expansions. (9.7)[60]

Contraction is inevitably followed by expansion, as is summer by winter. Quoting from the Hsi tz'u chuan, Chang wrote:

[59] The Chinese text has hsi tz'u (繫辭), which could be a reference to the "verbalizations" of the Changes, or to the Hsi tz'u chuan, the commentary on those verbalizations. I have taken it to mean the latter.

[60] I have not followed the CTC emendation of this passage.

> Sun and moon alternate; thus light comes into existence. Cold and heat alternate, and thus the year completes itself. (9.12)[61]

All such phenomena are aspects of the same process of yin-yang succession. To illustrate this point Chang wrote:

> Day and night are but one breath of heaven, and winter and summer but its day and night. (9.14)

Each movement contains within itself the seeds of its polar complement:

> The essence of yin and yang each conceals [within itself] the dwelling place of the other.... They possess each other, and overcome each other. To try to make them one is impossible. This is why it [i.e., gi] contracts and expands without limit, revolves and moves without rest. There is nothing that causes it to be so. (12.3-4)

Each pole contains the beginning of its complement: there is no discontinuity. When one phase reaches its extreme it begins to wane and the other phase simultaneously begins to wax: the one does not cause the other to do so; the two can exist only in this way, forever possessing and overcoming each other. This principle can also be seen in the Book of Changes, in the relations between complementary hexagrams:

> In the relation of [the hexagrams] po and fu[62] there is not room for a thread; if there were an instant with no fu, then the way of ch'ien and k'un would cease. Thus just as one disappears

[61] Hsi tz'u chuan B3, Wilhelm, p. 338.

[62] (剝, 復). These are the 23rd and 24th hexagrams in most versions.

> [its complement] is born--there is no sequence of before and after. This is of the greatest significance. (113.3-4)

Chang used a metaphor to illustrate how each phase can imply its polar complement-- the example of the measuring worm given in the Hsi tz'u chuan: "The measuring worm draws itself together when it wants to stretch out."[63] And in a passage very similar to Lao-tzu (chapter 76), Chang wrote:

> As for the success of victorious armies, victory goes to the most soft. This merely illustrates the marvelousness of contraction and expansion. (36.8)

The other kind of yin-yang relationship consists not of a cyclical succession of predominance by either yin or yang, but of interaction between them which results in production, as in the case of sexual reproduction.[64] This kind of interaction seems to be implied in the folowing passages:

> The wandering qi [swirls] "in disarray."[65] [The yin and yang] combine and it [i.e., qi] becomes tangible matter. From this [process] are born the

[63] Hsi tz'u chuan B3. See, e.g., CTC 215.11.

[64] T'ang Chün-yi, in his study of Chang Tsai, has described these two kinds of relationships as "vertical" and "horizontal." By vertical, he means the "incessant process of appearing and disappearing" (which I have called the transition from Ch'i to ch'i and back). Horizontal refers to the fact that "everything is generated through intercourse between other things." T'ang Chün-yi, "Chang Tsai's Theory of Mind and its Metaphysical Basis," in Philosophy East and West, 6 (1956), 122-23.

[65] This phrase comes from the introduction to the "Shen nü fu," by Sung Yü. See Wen hsüan, KHCPTS ed., ts'e 4, 19.76.

> infinite distinctions of individual persons and things. (9.11)
>
> Only after there is stimulation is there union. If there is no pair, there is no "one." (9.10)

In other words, some phenomena occur because of the succession of yin and yang. That is, certain things are produced because of the condensing property of yin. This is eventually followed by disintegration and return to the Great Void, because of the dispersing propery of yang. Chang's explanation of ice is an example of this process:

> Ice occurs when yin is crystallizing and the yang [property of dispersing] is not yet triumphing. (13.6)[66]

In contrast to this process, where yin brings about the existence of something and yang causes its return to the Great Void, there is also production through the interaction of yin and yang. This kind of production seems to be implied in the following passage:

> Because it interacts there is production; thus it condenses and there are images. (10.2)

This is all rather unclear, because Chang did not specify how the process actually works. He did not say, for example, whether human beings were first produced because of yin condensation of Ch'i, or because of the intercourse of yin and yang Ch'i. Ch'eng Yi discussed two kinds of

[66] I have not followed the CTC emendation.

production--transformation of qi and birth from seed:

> There are two kinds [of things]. Some are produced solely by transformation of qi: for example, fireflies, which are born from decaying grass. Things of this sort are transformed of themselves when the time comes for them to be transformed. There are also things which originate by transformation of qi but are afterwards reproduced by seed. Thus a few days after a man has put on new clothes lice may be born inside them. This is a case of transformation of qi; but once transformed the qi is not transformed again, but reproduced by seed. This principle is quite clear.[67]

Chu Hsi suggested a similar solution:

> When things were first produced, the essence of yin and yang condensed spontaneously and formed two things. This is creation from transformation of qi, and is like lice bursting forth spontaneously. Once there exist these two, one female and one male, things are thereafter produced gradually out of seeds. This is from transformation of forms. The myriad things are all thus.[68]

Chang's discussion of yin-yang remained very general. He did not classify things as yin or yang the way Chu Hsi did.[69] Nor did he give much detail about how the yin-yang process works in specific cases. There were some exceptions, however, in which Chang explained various

67 YS 220.9-11, modified from Graham, p. 36.

68 Chu-tzu ch'üan shu (Taipei: Kuang hsüeh she, 1977), 49.20a.

69 Yung-sik Kim, "The World-View of Chu Hsi (1130-1200): Knowledge about Natural World (sic) in Chu-tzu Chüan-shu," Diss. Princeton 1979, pp. 64-66, lists 52 such polarities given by Chu Hsi.

phenomena in terms of yin and yang:

> When yang is held by yin, they cling to each other and descend as rain. When yin is seized by yang, they float about and rise as clouds. Hence clouds scattered through the Great Void are yin which, driven by the wind, remains condensed, still undispersed. Whenever yin gi condenses, and the yang that is within is unable to escape, then there is struggle resulting in thunder. When yang is outside and cannot enter, there is revolution without cease, resulting in wind. In the condensation there are differences in distance and solidity, so the thunder and wind may be small or large, fierce or gentle. Harmonious dispersal results in frost, snow, rain and dew. Inharmonious dispersal results in irregular ch'i and violent dust storms. Yin generally disperses gently, and yang has intercourse with it--when this is the case, then wind and rain are regulated, and cold and heat are as they should be. (12.9-12)

In a passage cited in part above (p. 94), Chang wrote:

> Ice occurs when yin is crystallizing and the yang [property of dispersing] is not yet triumphing. Fire occurs when yang is glorious and yin has not yet reached its maximum. The heat of fire, the vapor of man--these have shadows, but no form. They can disperse but cannot receive light. Their ch'i is yang. (13.6-7)

Such passages, which explained specific phenomena in terms of yin and yang, are rare. Chang was trying to convey an intuitive understanding: there is one principle that comprises the interaction between and succession of the two polarities, a principle which, in its various aspects, accounts for all the phenomena of the world. This principle is obvious in some cases. Intercourse between male and female resulting in off-spring is an example of productive

interaction between yin and yang; the succession of day and night and of winter and summer are examples of the cyclical succession of the two polarities. From these clear and easily comprehensible situations, one should try to infer the subtle principle which is at work:

> [When you have grasped] "the easy and simple," then you are able to know the difficult and obscure. "After you have grasped the principle of the easy and simple,"[70] then you [are able] to string the way of the world on one thread. (36.2)

When you understand that this subtle principle accounts for everything in the universe, you are able to apply it to any phenomenon, even to cases which are not obvious. For example, the earth does not appear to be undergoing any change.

> Although the earth is a thing which has crystallized and condensed, and does not disperse, nevertheless the two _qi_ rise and fall in its midst, succeeding each other and never stopping. (11.10)

Understanding this principle can save one a great deal of pondering:

> When you first grasp this principle which brings everything into one, what need is there to consider a hundred times? (215.12)

70 _Hsi tz'u chuan_ A1.

This point, that everything can be accounted for by one overriding principle, is similar to the basic assumption in Ch'eng-Chu Tao hsüeh. In fact, to describe this overriding principle, Chang even used the term "principle of heaven," which Ch'eng Hao felt was his own contribution to philosophy.[71] The difference between Chang and the Ch'eng brothers is that Chang did not emphasize the concept of principle. For him, principle, in the sense of orderliness, was a property of Ch'i, and therefore did not occupy the central position in his philosophy that it did in the Ch'eng-Chu school.

Thus, by redefining the term qi, Chang was able to assert the reality of the phenomenal world and thereby refute Buddhist ontology. Through this concept, and its basic property of yin and yang, he was able to "string it all on one thread"--to account for everything in the cosmos in terms of one overriding principle. These concepts, qi and yin-yang, form the basis of his view of heaven-and-earth, and they provide the framework for his discussion of man. But before considering Chang's theories about man, there are two more concepts which are important to understanding Chang's view of heaven-and-earth: t'ien and shen.

71 Graham, p. 3.

2.4 HEAVEN

To understand Chang's concept of t'ien (天), or heaven, it is necessary to know how this term had been construed prior to his time. Hu Shih has written: "The ancient Chinese notion of t'ien (Heaven) or Ti [帝] (Supreme God), as represented in the songs and hymns of the Book of Odes, was that of a knowing, feeling, loving, and hating supreme ruler of men and the universe."[72] There are many passages in the Book of History expressing a similar view of heaven. For example: "God sent down correction on Hea [Hsia], but the sovereign only increased his luxury and sloth.... Heaven then sought among your many regions.... Heaven thereupon instructed them, and increased their excellence, made choice of them, and gave them the decree of Yin, to rule over your many regions."[73] This anthropomorphic sense of heaven can still be seen in the thought of Mo-tzu, in passages like the following: "When the Son of Heaven practices virtue, Heaven rewards him; when the Son of Heaven does evil, Heaven punishes him. When there are disease and calamity, the Son of Heaven will purify and bathe himself and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. And then Heaven can

[72] Hu Shih, "The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy," in The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture, ed. Charles A. Moore (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 110.

[73] Legge, The Shoo King, pp. 495, 501-01.

remove those evils."[74] And there are occasional expressions of this sense of heaven in the writings of Confucius, in passages like the following: "Heaven has bereft me, heaven has bereft me";[75] and, "If Heaven does not intend this culture to be destroyed, then what can the men of K'uang do to me?"[76]

However, a change was taking place.[77] Confucius concerned himself with man, and brushed aside questions which were not concerned with human society and man's proper behavior.[78] He deemphasized the role of heaven, and passages like those above are rare. The fact that Mo-tzu tried so hard to promote the idea of Heaven's will is further evidence that the concept of an anthropomorphic heaven was losing favor.

Lao-tzu proposed a new concept, a spontaneous process called the Tao, to replace the idea of an anthropomorphic heaven. He described it as follows:

> There is a thing confusedly formed,
> Born before heaven and earth.
> Silent and void
> It stands alone and does not change,
> Goes round and does not weary.

74 Hsiao/Mote, v.1, p. 244.

75 Lun yü 11.9, Waley, p. 155.

76 Lun yü 9.5, D.C. Lau, p. 96.

77 See Arthur Waley, The Way and its Power (New York: Grove Press, 1958), pp. 24ff, for discussion of this change.

78 E.g., Lun yü 11.12.

It is capable of being the mother of the world.

I know not its name

So I style it "the way."[79]

In other words, instead of an anthropomorphic Heaven effecting its will on humanity, Lao-tzu proposed the Way as the origin of the world, and as the spontaneous, "so-of-themselves" processes of that world. Hsün-tzu proposed a view of t'ien similar to Lao-tzu's idea of the Way--both a spontaneous process and the invisible cause or source of that process. Hsün-tzu wrote: "The fixed stars make their round; the sun and moon alternately shine; the four seasons succeed one another;... The results of all these changes are known, but we do not know the invisible source: this is what is called Heaven."[80]

The Han dynasty philosopher Tung Chung-shu (ca. 179-104 B.C.) developed a system of thought which is generally referred to as "correlative thinking."[81] Tung felt that human behavior and heavenly phenomena were linked, that specific human action brought forth a specific heavenly response. For example: "Heaven possesses yin and yang and man also possesses yin and yang.... When the yin qi of man arises, the yin qi of heaven-and-earth should also arise in response.... It is nothing but a case in which, when one

79 Tao te ching ch. 25, trans. D.C. Lau (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 82.

80 Fung Yu-lan, I,285.

81 E.g., Hsiao/Mote, p. 503; Needham, II,279ff.

begins something oneself, things act in response according to their kind."[82] This passage describes a spontaneous process, but at times Tung implied that heavenly responses to human behavior were conscious. For example: "Whenever the state was on the verge of failures stemming from a loss of the Way, heaven first would send forth calamities and prodigies as warning.... From this one can see that the mind of heaven holds the ruler of men in benevolent regard and desires to stop him from engaging in acts arousing disorder."[83]

By the end of the Western Han there was great emphasis on prognostication texts and on signs attesting heaven's approval or disapproval. The prevalence of this type of thinking in the Han can be illustrated by Wang Ch'ung's (A.D. 27-100) vehement criticism of it. He asked rhetorically: "...if Heaven can reprimand, it might as well purposely appoint a wise prince, select a genius like Yao and Shun, confer the imperial dignity upon him.... [But] Heaven creates very inferior princes, who have no principles, and neglect virtue, and therefore has to reprove them every now and then. Would it not be afraid of the trouble?"[84]

[82] Tung Chung-shu, Ch'un ch'iu fan lu, SPPY ed., 13.3b-4a, modified from Fung, II,56.

[83] Hsiao/Mote, p. 496.

[84] Forke, I,94. Wang also wrote that "Heaven has neither mouth nor eyes... it is tranquil and without desires... it is spontaneous and takes no actions... and

In the Six Dynasties (221-589) period, Wang Ch'ung's rejection of an anthropomorphic heaven was developed further. For example, Wang Pi (226-249) wrote: "Heaven and earth do not purposely produce the myriad things,... Heaven and earth take no purposive action with respect to the myriad things."[85] According to the Hsiang-Kuo commentary to the Chuang-tzu, heaven refers to the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth. For example: "When something is spontaneously so, we call it 'so by heaven.' It is so by heaven and not [through purposive] action, and so we use 'heaven' to speak of it; this is in order to reveal its spontaneity. How could it [i.e., t'ien] be a word for the blue [sky]?"[86] Pao Ching-yen (fl. early 4th century) wrote, "The Confucians say that Heaven created the people, and planted lords over them. But why should illustrious Heaven be brought into the matter, and why should it have given such precise instructions? The strong overcame the weak and brought them into subjection, the clever outwitted the simple, and made them serve them... Heaven had nothing whatever to do with it."[87]

things act of themselves." Hsiao/Mote, p. 586.

85 Hsiao/Mote, p. 611.

86 Hsü K'ang-sheng, "Lüeh lun Wei Chin hsüan hsüeh," in Chung-kuo che hsüeh, No.12 (1979), p. 35.

87 Needham II, 435, modified from Etienne Balazs, "Nihilistic Revolt or Mystical Escapism: Components of Thought in China during the Third Century A.D.," in Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p. 243.

In sum, heaven had originally been conceived of as an anthropomorphic ruler presiding over human affairs. Confucius retained elements of this concept but shifted his focus of attention to man and society. Mo-tzu argued that heaven has a conscious will; Hsün-tzu rejected this view. His conception of heaven was similar to the Way of the Taoists--a spontaneous process indifferent to and unaffected by human behavior. Tung Chung-shu believed that human behavior evoked heavenly responses, but he wavered between a heaven of conscious will and one of spontaneous response. Yet the concept of an anthropomorphic heaven did not die out: this can be seen from the criticism of this idea by Wang Ch'ung, Wang Pi, Hsiang Hsiu and Kuo Hsiang, and Pao Ching-yen. Subsequently Buddhist speculative thought came to dominate Chinese philosophy and concepts of heaven did not develop further.

Chang Tsai's use of t'ien was a complicated amalgam of some of the positions described above. At times he used t'ien to refer to the physical heaven, the blue sky:

> Earth consists of pure yin, solidly condensed inside; heaven consists of floating yang, revolving around the outside. This is the permanent structure of heaven and earth. The fixed stars do not move, but are all attached to heaven, where they revolve endlessly with the floating yang. The sun, moon, and five planets move in the opposite direction of heaven. (10.11-11.1)

T'ien, in this sense, is the sky, the locus of the stars and planets:

> I humbly submit that the only moving things in heaven are the seven celestial bodies and nothing more. (11.7)
>
> Heaven revolves leftward; [the celestial bodies,] occupying positions in its midst, follow it. Being slightly slower, they [appear to] move to the contrary, in a rightward direction. (11.9)

Chang explained this use of t'ien, as sky, in the following way:

> Few people understand heaven. Actually, heaven cannot be enclosed by boundaries or assigned a shape. For expediency we point to the location of the sun and moon and stars and planets, and regard that as heaven. (177.3-4)

In general, however, Chang was not concerned with the physical heaven. For him, t'ien meant something quite different. But because most people did not understand the true meaning of t'ien, Chang sometimes used it to mean sky, as in the passages just cited.

Chang used t'ien as a metaphor for an abstract principle rather than as a word that referred to the sky. In a rather enigmatic passage, partially quoted above (p. 78), Chang wrote:

> When [things] are not seen it is not that there is no thing. This is just heaven's extreme place. (182.5)

"Heaven's extreme place" refers to the most subtle aspect of that principle, which is most difficult to grasp.

What is the abstract principle that this metaphor points to? It is the principle according to which the processes of heaven-and-earth operate. For example, Chang explained an enigmatic phrase from the Book of Changes in this way:

> "The sun and the moon have heaven":[88] [This means that] they have the principles of spontaneity, not the blue-green form [i.e., the sky]. (12.6)

Heaven thus refers to the principles of spontaneity, according to which the sun and moon follow their course. As abstract principle heaven is above-form:

> What is exalted is heaven and is above-form. (191.6)[89]

Because it is above-form, heaven can be described as "marvelous" (shen--see below, 2.5):

> The earth is a thing. Heaven is a marvel. (11.10)

At times, Chang used the term "the way of heaven" to describe the processes of production and transformation, or Change:

[88] Book of Changes, Heng kua (恒卦); cf Wilhelm, p. 546.

[89] I have not followed the CTC emendation of this passage.

> The way of heaven proceeds through the four seasons and the hundred things are born. (13.10)

> If you do not see Change, then how can you understand the way of heaven? (206.5)

Thus, for Chang, t'ien was a metaphor for the principles according to which the way of heaven operates. One aspect of this principle, as already noted, is spontaneity. There is no consciousness directing the process. For example:

> "That which moves the myriad things but does not share the concerns of the sage"[90] --this we refer to directly as "heaven." Heaven thus is without hsin. (189.9)

> [Heaven] moves the myriad things and produces [everything, but] it is without a hsin by which to sympathize with them. (185.10)

More specifically, t'ien refers to the creative force which produces and nourishes the myriad things. This can be seen from Chang's comment on the Hsi tz'u chuan passage, "Increase: The grown are nourished but are not established":[91]

> [The hexagram] "increase": There must be real increase. It is like heaven's producing things. [When they are] grown it must nourish them. It does not establish them in vain. (228.5-6)

[90] Hsi tz'u chuan A5.

[91] Hsi tz'u chuan B6.

This passage might seem to imply a deistic conception of t'ien, and therefore to contradict the point that no consciousness or intent directs the process. However, this was clearly not Chang's view, as can be seen from the following passages:

> Heaven thus is without hsin, without [purposive] action. There is nothing which directs it. It is forever thus. (113.10)

> When there are two, there must be interaction; but what thoughts or concerns do the interactions of heaven have? There is nothing that is not spontaneous. (107.5)

Thus, there is no conscious intent, no ruler. The fact that heaven "does not establish things in vain" means merely that the processes of production and nourishment are linked.[92]

We come now to an important point. Heaven is an abstract principle without conscious intent. But as the creative force of producing and nourishing, it is good. In fact, because of its various attributes, it is the standard upon which human ethics should be based. For example, since

[92] Ch'eng Yi's position on this question was similar to Chang's:

> Q. What about the Way of Heaven?
> A. It is simply principle; principle is the way of heaven. Thus to say that "High heaven shook with anger" by no means implies that there is a man up above who shakes with anger; it is simply that the principle is like this.

YS 316.9-10, Graham, p. 24.

the way of heaven is everlasting and unchanging, it is the standard for "steadfastness" (tu--篤) and "authenticity" (ch'eng--誠):[93]

> ... the way of heaven is ceaselessly thus; it is the height of steadfastness. (29.9)

> The way by which heaven is longlasting and unceasing is what is referred to as authenticity. That by which the humane man and the filial son serve heaven and make themselves authentic is nothing more than simply being unceasing in putting into practice humaneness and filiality. (21.1)

Just as the way of heaven is everlasting and unchanging, so too in ritual there should be things which do not change:

> In ritual also there are things which need not be changed. It is like heaven's expression, heaven's sequence--how can these be changed? (264.11-12)

These things which need not be changed are the basic principles of ritual, and they are derived from heaven:

> As heaven produces things there are the images of exalted and base, great and small. Man simply follows this. This is how he created ritual. There are students who maintain that ritual comes from man, and do not understand that ritual is based on the spontaneous [principle] of heaven. (264.12-13)

This view of ritual is different from that of Hsün-tzu, who wrote: "The former kings hated this disorder [caused by contention], hence devised rites (li 禮) and righteousness

93 See below, p. 136, for discussion of ch'eng.

(yi 義) to maintain the necessary distinctions, to nurture people's (proper) desires, and to assure the supply of things that people seek."[94]

The myriad things all receive nourishment at the proper time. Thus, heaven is the standard for "righteousness" (yi), which Chang took to mean behavior that was appropriate to the situation:[95]

> The principle of heaven is merely timely righteousness. When the superior man teaches others, he merely holds up the principle of heaven to show them. In his personal behavior, he sets forth the principle of heaven and applies it at the proper time. (23.14-24.1)

Since heaven is an abstract principle, it is without form. This means that it is void. For Chang, in addition to meaning without physical form, void also meant perfect impartiality and lack of self-interest, the basis of virtue. This sense of void can be seen in the following passages:

> Tranquility is the basis of goodness. Void-ness is the basis of tranquility. (325.14)

> Void-ness is the source of humaneness. (325.1)

Because it nourishes all things equally, heaven is void both in this sense of impartial and disinterested, and in the sense of being without form. Thus Chang wrote:

[94] Hsiao/Mote, p. 184.

[95] He glossed yi as its homophone yi (宜 --"ought to"). E.g., CTC 287.7. This gloss comes from the Chung yung 20.5.

> Heaven and earth have void-ness as their virtue. The height of goodness is void-ness. (326.3)

> The way of heaven and earth is none other than having the height of void-ness as their reality. (325.10)

To emphasize the point that heaven is void, Chang wrote:

> From the Great Void we have the name "heaven." (9.5)

> The Great Void is the reality of heaven. (324.13)

The way of heaven is clear for all to see. The passage cited in part above (p. 107) continues:

> The way of heaven proceeds through the four seasons and the hundred things are born. All of this is extremely instructive. (13.10)

However, because heaven is above-form, it it difficult to grasp. One must understand it as one understands the principle of yin-yang, by inferring from its visible manifestations, or images:

> The blueness of <u>qi</u> [in the sky] is where the eye stops. The sun and moon, stars and planets, are visible images. [From the visible,] you should seek the void-ness of heaven with your <u>hsin</u>. (326.1)

But this is not easy to do. And because most people do not understand heaven, they do not accord with its way:

> When there is a period of decline, then heaven and man compete in overcoming each other; their way is not unitary. (226.3)

> Heaven attains esteem through vastness and spontaneity; [by contrast,] man wants to be considered venerable and great himself, and [so he thinks] he must have "foregone conclusions, egotism, obstinacy, and inflexibility."[96] He wants to follow his [desires] and venerate himself, and is happy with his feelings; this is how he attains humiliation and wrath. (99.14-100.1)

When man does not accord with the way of heaven, then he is not following the Way:

> When one does not resemble heaven-and-earth, his distance from the Way is vast indeed. (35.13)

Thus, Chang"s "heaven" and "way of heaven" resemble Lao-tzu's "Way" and the "heaven" of Hsün-tzu and of the Neo-Taoists, insofar as he too referred to a spontaneous process of production and transformation. Chang even agreed with Lao-tzu to some extent:

> Lao-tzu said "Heaven and earth are not humane, and treat the myriad creatures as straw dogs."[97] This is correct.... What intent to be humane do heaven-and-earth have? (188.12-189.1)

The last phrase points up a basic difference between Chang and Lao-tzu. Heaven is not humane in the sense of consciously seeking to be humane. But heaven is not inhumane. Rather, according to Chang, heaven is good. The processes of producing and nourishing things proceed eternally, impartially, reliably and appropriately. In this

96 Lun yü 9.4.

97 Tao te ching ch. 5, modified from Lau, p. 61.

sense, Chang retained an element of Tung Chung-shu's correlative thought. He rejected the idea that heaven acted consciously, but he retained the belief in an ethical cosmos, and in the idea that heaven and man were linked. He believed that heaven was the standard upon which human behavior should be based.

2.5 SHEN

When Chang paired the words shen (神) and kuei (鬼), he glossed shen as shen (伸), the expanding, yang aspect of Ch'i. When he used the term alone, however, it had a different meaning. Chang departed from the traditional use of shen as "spirit." Confucius had used shen in this way in the famous passage: "...one should sacrifice to a spirit [i.e., shen] as though that spirit was present,..."[98] This sense of shen as "spirit" was very much alive in the eleventh century. For example, Chang's contemporary Shao Yung wrote that proper action is better than proper words, but better still is to fully realize morality in one's hsin. Shao went on to say:

> When you make an oral statement, people are able to hear it; when you perform a physical act, people are able to see it; when you exhaust its [meaning] fully in your hsin, the spirits [i.e., shen] are able to know it. Man's hearing and vision cannot be deceived; is this not all the more so for the hearing and vision of spirits?[99]

There was another tradition from which Chang could draw--the use of shen in the Book of Changes, specifically in the Hsi tz'u chuan and the "Explanation of the Trigrams." The latter provides the following definition of shen: "The word 'shen' refers to what is inscrutable in the innumerable things."[100] The Hsi tz'u chuan says: "That which is

[98] Lun yü 3.12, Waley p. 97.

[99] SYHA 3.107.

unfathomable in the yin and yang is what is meant by shen.[101] And in describing the Book of Changes it says:

> The Changes has no consciousness, no action; it is quiescent and does not move. When it is stimulated it penetrates the causes of [all] under heaven. If it were not the most shen thing on earth, how could it do this?... Only because it is shen [can it] hasten without urgency and arrive without going.[102]

Chang Tsai derived his use of the term shen from such passages as these. So did Ch'eng Hao, in whose thought shen was a fundamental concept.[103] In contrast, Ch'eng Yi was "suspicious of its mystical flavor," and seldom used the term.[104] He wrote:

> In the Analects, Confucius never used the word shen. Only in the Changes there were some places where he could not avoid speaking of it.[105]

In this remark Ch'eng may have been expressing disapproval of the importance attached to the concept shen in eleventh-century writing.[106]

100 Shuo kua 5, Graham, p.113.

101 Hsi tz'u chuan A5, modified from Graham, p. 114.

102 Hsi tz'u chuan A9.

103 Graham, p. 111.

104 Graham, p. 111.

105 YS 182.12, modified from Graham, p. 111.

106 Graham, p. 111, notes that shen was "extremely prominent in the writings of Shao Yung, Chou Tun-yi and Chang Tsai;..."

Chang drew an interesting conclusion from the Book of Changes' description of shen:

> Shen is unfathomable. Thus slow words are not sufficient to fully realize [the meaning of] shen. (16.4)

"Slow" words, which are concrete and limiting, cannot adequately describe shen, which refers to the indescribable. I will use "marvelous"--exciting marvel, wondrous--as a rough equivalent for shen as an adjective, and "the marvelous," or "the marvelous force," for the noun.[107]

Chang used shen as it was used in the "Explanation of the Trigrams"-- to refer to, or describe, the inscrutable:

> Because it is inexhaustible in its functioning, and no one knows its location, we give it the name "the marvelous." (204.1)

The principles governing the processes of production and transformation are inscrutable; they are shen:

> In an instant there is birth, suddenly there is completion, with not a hair's breadth of space between them. Is it not "marvelous?" (10.3)

At times Chang said that shen is the same as Change, or the Way; it was used in ancient texts to emphasize the inscrutable, wondrous aspect of this process. For example:

[107] Some other possibilities might be "spiritual," "numinous" or "mysterious." The first two, however, retain more of a religious sense than does Chang's use of shen. "Mysterious" is a possibility, but it misses the "wondrous" aspect of shen. Graham's "psychic" is too ponderous, and far from the meaning of wondrous and inscrutable.

> [The Changes] speaks of its moving along and proceeding, and therefore it says "the Way"; it speaks of its unfathomableness, and therefore it says "the marvelous"; it speaks of its continuously producing [things], and therefore it says "Change." In reality these are all one thing.... (65.13-66.1)

Chang made a similar point in commenting on the Hsi tz'u chuan line, "The marvelous is without boundary and Change is without substance":[108]

> Although the marvelous and Change are one affair, and boundary and substance express one meaning, [the Changes] says "without boundary" because it is unfathomable; it says "without substance" because it continuously produces [things]. (187.1)

Chang also used "heaven" to refer to the spontaneous principles of the universe.[109] Since heaven is above-form, it is shen:

> Heaven's unfathomableness is called marvelous; what is marvelous and constant is called heaven. (14.5)

At times, Chang said that this marvelous force is substance and that Change, or the Way, is function. In other words, the process of production and transformation is function, and is visible, while the substance of this process is invisible and wondrous:

108 Hsi tz'u chuan A4.

109 See above, pp. 106-08.

> The marvelous force is the virtue of heaven, transformation is the Way of heaven. Virtue is its substance, the Way is its function. (15.11)

In describing the Book of Changes, he wrote:

> Revealing the auspicious and inauspicious to people, its way is visible. [Its] yin and yang being unfathomable, its virtue is marvelous. (197.2)[110]

In these passages referring to the substance of the Way, Chang used shen as a noun. In this usage, it denotes the inscrutable force behind the changes and transformations, as in the following passage:

> The marvelous force drums up [all] the movements under heaven; the marvelous force, therefore, is the master of movement. Therefore all the movement in the world is [caused by] the workings of the marvelous force. (205.8)[111]

Chang commented on the Hsi tz'u chuan line, "It reveals it through humaneness, conceals it in function,"[112] as follows:

> "It reveals it through humaneness." Man is able to see the achievement in heaven-and-earth's producing the myriad things. However, man is unable to see that by which it produces the myriad things--this is [what is meant by] "it conceals it in function." (374.13-14)

[110] Cf Hsi tz'u chuan A8.

[111] I have not followed the CTC emendation.

[112] Hsi tz'u chuan A5.

"That by which" things are produced--what lies behind the processes of heaven-and-earth--is shen.

The interaction of the polar forces in the Great Void brings about the phenomena of the world. This interaction is above-form and is marvelous:

> Marvelous is a word [to describe] the inscrutable responses of the Great Void. (9.6)

All that is invisible and above-form is marvelous; thus, the Great Void itself is marvelous:

> The Great Void is pure; being pure, it is without obstruction. Because it is without obstruction, it is marvelous. The opposite of pure [Ch'i] is impure [ch'i]; being impure, it is obstructed. Because it is obstructed, it has form. (9.2)[113]

The undifferentiated Ch'i of the Great Void is marvelous; condensed ch'i is not:

> What is dispersed and distinct, and can be conceived of as an image, is ch'i; what is pure and pervasive, and cannot be conceived of as an image, is the marvelous. (7.2)

Ch'eng Hao was critical of this passage:

> Outside of qi there is no such thing as the marvelous, and outside the marvelous there is no qi. Someone [i.e., Chang] said the pure is marvelous. Does this mean that the impure is not marvelous?[114]

[113] Cf Graham, p. 116 on this and the next passage.

[114] YS 133.13, modified from Graham, p. 116.

Ch'eng maintained that the marvelous force is immanent in all things, whereas Chang used it to describe only the above-form realm. Elsewhere, Ch'eng's use of shen was similar to Chang's:

> What is inscrutable in the transformations is the marvelous.[115]
>
> The cold of winter and heat of summer are yin and yang. That by which they are moved and transformed is the marvelous force.[116]

Thus, Chang Tsai used shen to describe the inscrutable yet awesome aspect of the above-form realm and to name the force behind the visible processes of heaven-and-earth. However, precisely because it was the term he used to describe the indescribable, because "slow words" cannot capture its meaning, Chang had difficulty conveying its meaning. He often said, "Shen is a word for ...," or "shen is a name for...." Although no records of his conversations with his disciples remain, such statements were probably made in response to questions from disciples who were unclear about the meaning of shen. Several passages which try to explain that shen cannot be known may also have been in response to such questions. For example:

> That to which you cannot "extend knowledge" is called "the marvelous." (17.7)[117]

[115] YS 133.10, modified from Graham, p. 114.

[116] YS 133.8, modified from Graham, p. 114.

> ...[Heaven's] response cannot be sought through thought and concern, hearing and sight; therefore we call it marvelous. Lao-tzu compared it to a valley for this [reason]. (66.2)[118]

A valley is void--without physical form--but it responds to sound by producing an echo. One cannot see where this response comes from, because it comes from the marvelous. One should simply accept the fact that it is the marvelous force at work, and leave it at that:

> You cannot cause your thoughts to arrive at the marvelous; it is all right to [just] leave it there. (17.12)[119]

As we have already seen, the creative force of production and transformation is invisible; but one knows it is there from its visible workings. Thus Chang elaborated on a line from the Hsi tz'u chuan:[120]

> When a man is able to know the way of change and transformation, he must know the workings of the marvelous. (18.2)

This is the point that Chang was making in the following passages as well, when he referred to tangible matter as the "sediment of the marvelous":

117 "Extend knowledge" (chih chih 致知) comes from the Ta hsüeh 1.4.

118 Tao te ching, ch. 6.

119 This may be an allusion to Mencius 7A13, or to Yang Hsiung, "Wen shen p'ien," in Fa yen, TSCCCP ed., ch.4, p. 13.

120 Cf Hsi tz'u chuan A9.

> All the patterns and images of heaven-and-earth are merely the sediment of marvelous transformation. (9.6)[121]

> The forms and colors of the myriad things are the sediment of the marvelous. (10.5)

Chang also used shen to describe the fact that everything is one:

> What is one thing with two substances is Ch'i. Because it is one, it is marvelous. (Because the two are present [in the one], it is unfathomable).[122] (10.10)

> Ch'i has yin and yang;... being unified and unfathomable, it is marvelous. (16.6)

One result of this marvelous unity is that an action in one place can have an effect in another. For example:

> Authenticity here [causing] movement there--is this not the way of the marvelous? (14.2)

To illustrate this marvelous unity, Chang used the example of the human body:

> "Because it is one, it is marvelous." For example, because the four limbs of a man's body are all one thing, wherever it is touched there is perception; this does not occur after waiting for the hsin to cause [perception] to reach this [affected] place. This is what is meant by "when stimulated it penetrates," and "it arrives without going, hastens without urgency." The forms of things have [differences of] small and large, refined and rough, but the marvelous does not have

[121] Cf Graham, p. 116 on this and the next passage.

[122] This is Chang's own note.

> [differences like] refined and rough. The marvelous is simply marvelous. One need not speak of its function. It is like [Lao-tzu's metaphor,] when "thirty spokes share a hub" one has a cart.[123] If there were no hub and spokes, then how would we have the function of the cart? (200.10-12)[124]

The hub unifies the thirty spokes--for Lao-tzu, this empty space at the center of the wheel illustrated the function of non-being. For Chang, the point is that the spokes are all unified by something without form, in a marvelous way. Just as the different parts of the body are all "one thing," so too everything in heaven-and-earth is part of a marvelous unity. In the next chapter, I will discuss how man fits into that unity.

123 Tao te ching ch. 11, Lau, p. 67.

124 Cf Graham, pp. 115-16.

Chapter III

MAN

Introduction

Chang Tsai argued that everything in heaven-and-earth consists of ch'i which has condensed from the formless Ch'i of the Great Void. This fundamental theory allowed Chang to provide a solution to two problems that occupied the attention of many eleventh-century scholars: "of what does human nature consist?"; and "if human nature is good, what is the source of evil in the world?"

Chang's theories on human nature follow those of Mencius, who held that human nature is inherently good, but that this good nature is blocked by human desires and emotions. While concurring with this basic position, Chang developed an elaborate theory of his own which was consistent with his views on heaven-and-earth. This theory enabled him to link together morality and heaven-and-earth.

Chang argued that there are two "natures." One--the heaven-Nature--is the nature of undifferentiated Ch'i, which is the same in every thing and every person, and is perfectly good; the other is the nature of condensed ch'i, the individual "physical nature" of each thing and person. Because the latter can block the development of the former,

the individual must strive to overcome the limitations imposed by his physical nature and realize the potential goodness within him. In other words, man possesses both the potential for goodness and a physical nature that can block the realization of that potential. Whether or not the individual realizes his potential depends on his own efforts. What is required in order to realize this potential is "learning."

According to Chang, learning means learning to be a sage. This is a two-stage process: during the first stage, a man must persist diligently in his study of the Classics and in making his behavior conform to the requirements of ritual; in the second stage his development proceeds spontaneously, by means of increasing humaneness and deepening understanding, until he arrives at sagehood. In Chang's unique conception Yen Hui occupied the transitional point between the two stages. As such, his views on Yen-tzu comprise an interesting illustration of Chang's theories on learning.

3.1 THE HEAVEN-NATURE

Chang Tsai reaffirmed Mencius' assertion that human nature is originally good. But Chang arrived at this position through his theories of *qi*, the basic stuff of the universe.

Chang did not define what he meant by "nature." As with *qi* and yin-yang, "nature" was such a well established concept that no one had to explain what he meant by the nature of something; the problem that Chang was concerned with was not what constituted a "nature," but what human nature consisted of and whether it was good or bad. However, certain of Chang's statements serve to reveal his general conception of "nature." For example:

> That which is never non-existent is what is meant by "substance"; substance is what is meant by "nature." (21.10)[1]

That is, the nature of a thing is its substance--its essential properties-- which that thing is never without.[2] It is also the substance or source of interaction--responses--between two things or two people:

[1] My interpretation of this passage differs from W.T. Chan, *Sourcebook*, p. 508. My understanding of Chang Tsai's thought is different from his and my translations, therefore, also differ from his. Graham, p. 39, translates the first line of this passage as, "That which has never been absent (that is, through all transformations) is what is meant by substance."

[2] Cf Chang Tai-nien, "Chung-kuo ku tien che hsüeh jo kan chi pen kai nien te ch'i yüan yü yen pien," in *Che hsüeh yen chiu*, No.2 (1957), 67-69, for a discussion of the concept of substance in Chinese thought.

> The nature is the substance of responses. (63.15)
>
> Responses all come from the nature. (200.12)

A man's nature is thus the source of his emotions and feelings:

> Emotions, then, are real things. It [i.e., the term "emotion"] refers to "pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy."... These are all real things emitted from the nature. (78.9-10)[3]

In Chang's use of the term, therefore, "nature" is the substance, or basic properties, which a person or thing is never without; and it is the source of interaction between one person or thing and another. Hereafter, I will use "Nature" to refer to this concept.

Chang believed that this Nature is the same in all things and all people:

> The Nature is the single source of the myriad things; it is not something I get individually. (21.5)
>
> It forms the substance of the myriad things and we call it their "Nature." (64.1)

It is in things, or in man, as their constant substance, and is unaffected by the actions of the thing or person:

> When ocean water freezes ice forms; when it drifts up, bubbles form. But the ocean is unable to participate in [affecting] the [basic] stuff of the ice, the nature of the bubbles, and the

3 Chung yung ch. 1, Legge, p. 384.

> existence or disappearance [of ice or bubbles]. (19.6)[4]

Ocean water freezes or forms bubbles because of its Nature, which the ocean cannot affect. Indeed, Chang felt that this Nature is one of the things that exist eternally:

> The Way and virtue, the Nature and destiny: these are all things which exist forever, never dying. The individual dies, but these always exist. (273.7)

Thus the Nature exists before and after the existence of individual things. In the human realm, it exists before an individual is born. This can be seen in the following excerpt from a longer discussion by Chang concerning his disciples:

> [Physical] ch'i exists between the Nature and learning. (329.14)

This passage is not as enigmatic as it appears. Physical ch'i refers to the coming into being, the birth, of an individual through condensation from the Great Void. Chang was referring here to a temporal progression from the Nature to birth to learning. Later in the same discussion Chang said:

[4] Ch'eng Yi concurred with the sense of this passage. He wanted to change yü (與 --"participate") to yu (有 --"possess"). He felt that this would express more clearly the point that the Nature exists beyond the control of the person or thing. See CHCC 33.4 and Hou Wai-lu, Chung-kuo ssu hsiang t'ung shih (Peking: Jen min, 1959), v.4, pt.1, p. 557.

> The Nature cannot be called generous or petty, confused or clear. This Nature never differs. (330.2-3)

"Generous or petty, confused or clear" are attributes of the physical nature; the Nature, on the other hand, is beyond such distinctions. It exists eternally, the same in every individual.

Of what does this Nature--the transcendent, ever-present substance of all things--consist? Basically, it is the same yin-yang polarity that is the Nature of Ch'i.[5] Although Chang did not say so explicitly, it seems that man (and things) retain the Nature of undifferentiated Ch'i when they come into existence. For example:

> The original source of the Nature is [the Great Harmony, which is] completely still and without stimulation. (7.6)[6]

[5] Chang Tai-nien, CTC p. 42, says "The 'Nature of heaven-and-earth' is the nature of qi." See also his "Chang Heng-ch'ü te che hsüeh," in Che hsüeh yen chiu, No.1 (1955), 115-16. Yamane Mitsuyoshi, Seimo (Tokyo: Meitoku, 1970), p. 44, and Yuasa Yukihiko, "Yuibutsuron," p. 4, say it is the potential for, and source of, movement and transformation. Hou Wai-lu, T'ung shih, IV.I.557, however, says that the Nature and qi form a dichotomous pair.

[6] Ch'ien Mu, Sung Ming li hsüeh kai shu (Taipei: Hsüeh sheng, 1977), p. 56, interpreting this passage the same way I do, says that the "completely still and without stimulation" source of the Nature is the Great Harmony. Hou Wai-lu, T'ung shih, IV.I.558, is critical of this line; he says the idealist notion that "the reality of the Nature transcends all else" is Buddhist dogma.

The Great Harmony is originally still and without stimulation; but because it has the yin-yang polarity as its Nature, the phenomena of the world occur. This Nature thus exists before and after the existence of any individual, and is the Nature of every individual. It is in this light that the following passages can be understood:

> The reason all things can interact with each other is [that they have] the Nature of returning and coming forth, extending and receiving. (19.11)

> Movement and rest, yin and yang are the Nature. (177.7)

These pairs are all aspects of the polarity which is the Nature of Ch'i, and they constitute the Nature of individuals as well.

Chang often referred to this Nature as the "heaven-Nature" ("heaven" in the sense of the spontaneous principles of the world),[7] or as "the Nature of heaven-and-earth,"[8] to show that it is the same yin-yang polarity that brings about all the processes that occur in heaven-and-earth:

[7] "Heaven-Nature" was used in several ancient texts; e.g., Li chi, 11.8b, Hsiao ching Cheng chu shu, SPPY ed., A.7b, and Mencius 7A38. In this dissertation I will follow the convention of "noun-nature"-- e.g., heaven-Nature or water-nature--for constructions of the form "noun-hsing," to indicate the generalized, hypostasized nature of things; and "nature of x" for constructions of the form "x chih hsing."

[8] For an example of Chang's use of "the Nature of heaven-and-earth" see, e.g., CTC 23.1.

> The heaven-Nature in man is exactly analagous to the water-nature in ice. Although frozen and melted are different states, as a thing they are unitary. (22.1)

Ice and water are different states, but they are unitary because they both possess the same "water-nature." Similarly, each individual, though different from every other indiviidual, possesses the same heaven-Nature. The above passage continues with another analogy, this time to the reflection of light by different objects. Although some things reflect more light than others, the light that is reflected is the same:

> In receiving light there are differences in amount [received] and brightness [reflected]; but what shines [as reflection] and what is received [as source] are not two [different things]. (22.1)[9]

Despite individual differences in reflection, it is the same light that is reflected, just as every individual possesses the same heaven-Nature.

The heaven-Nature is just the yin-yang polarity:

> The heaven-Nature is ch'ien (乾) and k'un (坤), yin and yang. (63.13)

> That which responds and that which is the Nature are merely the two polarities--ch'ien and k'un, yin and yang. (63.9)

[9] It is not clear whether this refers to water reflecting different amounts of light at different times, or to objects which reflect light differently. The basic meaning, however, remains the same in either case.

And the yin-yang polarity is the same principle which governs the processes of heaven-and-earth. Thus Chang could say:

> ...the Nature is the Way of heaven. (63.14)
>
> What the Nature and the Way of heaven refer to is merely Change. (10.5)
>
> The Nature given by heaven is fully unified with the Way. (21.11)

And in his most famous essay, the "Western Inscription," Chang wrote:

> What directs heaven-and-earth is my Nature. (62.7)

Hence, morality is linked to heaven-and-earth: all of these passages are different expressions of the point that the Nature of man is the same yin-yang polarity that governs heaven-and-earth. This is how Chang understood Mencius' remark that "A man who knows his own nature will know heaven":[10]

> [When] a man "knows his Nature he knows heaven"; and then [he understands that] yin and yang, and returning and coming forth, are all merely part of his endowment. (21.14)

This Nature--the yin-yang polarity--would seem to be amoral. Indeed, A.C. Graham has written that Chang believed "to do good is in acordance with the nature, to do evil goes

[10] Mencius 7A1, D.C. Lau, p. 182.

against it; but the nature itself cannot be called good."[11] Graham's evidence for this assertion is CTC 187.13-188.1, which he translates as follows:

> Before the nature is complete, there are good and bad mixed. Hence by resolutely continuing in goodness, one becomes (wholly) good. When evil has been entirely removed, the result is that good disappears with it. Therefore the text ceases to refer to "goodness" and says, "That which completes it is the nature."[12]

However, just as the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth are morally good because they are productive, nurturing, reliable and impartial,[13] so too the yin-yang Nature which governs these processes is also morally good. Because this yin-yang polarity is man's true Nature, Chang could assert:

> The Nature in man is completely good. (22.13)

Graham has misunderstood CTC 187.13-188.1. Chang used the phrase "complete the Nature" to mean fully realize one's potential. This passage means that until a man has fully actualized his potential, good and bad are both present. A

[11] Graham, p. 46.

[12] Graham, p. 47. The reference is to the Hsi tz'u chuan A4.

[13] See above, p. 112. T'ang Chün-yi, "Mind," p. 127, has expressed this point as follows: "The whole existential process in the universe is a process of generation and evolution through intercourse. And the generation and evolution of a thing are themselves activities of positive value, and exhibit a moral character."

man who "completes" his Nature becomes a sage who is beyond the relative distinction of good and evil, and thus is no longer described as "good." This passage should be rendered as follows:

> Before your Nature has been completed there are good and bad mixed. Hence by resolutely continuing in goodness, you become [wholly] good. When evil has been entirely removed, goodness is thereby completed.[14] Therefore [the text] ceases to refer to "goodness" and says "what is completed is the Nature." (187.13-188.1)[15]

This passage thus does not contradict the statement that "the Nature in man is wholly good."

Chang supported his contention that this Nature is morally good by following the "Explanation of the Trigrams" in associating humaneness and righteousness with the yin-yang polarity and therefore with the heaven-Nature:

> The Changes is one thing but it joins together "the three fundamental powers." Heaven and man are unitary; their Ch'i is yin and yang, their form is hard and soft, their Nature is humaneness and righteousness. (235.10-11)[16]

[14] Following the CTC emendation of this phrase, which is based on the Chou yi hsi tz'u ching yi.

[15] My translation of the last phrase is based on CTC 187.11, where Chang explained how he interpreted this line from the Hsi tz'u chuan.

[16] Shuo kua 2, Wilhelm, p. 264. I have not followed the CTC emendation.

In other words, humaneness and righteousness are another yin-yang polarity like movement and rest, hard and soft.[17] Mencius argued that human nature is good because it contains the seeds of humaneness, righteousness, propriety and wisdom.[18] In Chang's unique conception, human nature is good because it is the same yin-yang polarity that brings about the morally good processes of heaven-and-earth. And the complementary pair of virtues, humaneness and righteousness, is one of the sub-polarities of this yin-yang Nature.

Everyone possesses the heaven-Nature. However, because man also has a "physical nature,"[19] his heaven-Nature is often obscured:

> Heaven's "inherent ability"[20] is originally one's own inherent ability. It is just that it is lost by the individual. (22.2)

The heaven-Nature, then, is morally good and exists eternally. However, because it is blocked or lost, it exists in man only as the potential to be good. To fulfill this potential is to fully realize one's humanity. Chang

[17] Chang did not explain how humaneness and righteousness relate to the other polarities, which are more clearly opposite poles of a continuum. He simply followed the Changes in treating them as another complementary pair.

[18] Mencius 2A6.

[19] See below, 3.2.

[20] In Mencius 7A15 "inherent ability" is defined as "What a man is able to do without having to learn it." D.C. Lau, p. 184.

used the term ch'eng (誠) to make this point.[21] Ch'eng, in Chang's usage, means "authenticity" or "genuineness"--being what one should be to fit properly with the pattern of heaven-and-earth. In other words, being ch'eng means to accord with one's Nature:

> The heaven-Nature is perfect authenticity,... If a man is able to achieve perfect authenticity then his Nature is fully realized.... (63.5)

> Joining together the Nature and the Way of heaven lies in authenticity. (20.12)

A man who is "authentic"--fits properly with the pattern of heaven-and-earth--has united his Nature with the Way of heaven. He is fully in accord with the yin-yang polarity that governs heaven-and-earth and that is in him as his true Nature. This polarity includes the sub-polarity of humaneness and righteousness; to follow one's Nature thus means to accord with the processes of heaven-and-earth and to be morally good.

In sum, man has the potential to be morally good because he possesses the same Nature that governs the morally good processes of heaven-and-earth. However, because man is a physical being, he also has a physical nature. This physical nature, the nature of his tangible ch'i, can block him from according with his true Nature. In order to realize his potential, therefore, he must understand what

[21] See Tu, Centrality, pp. 105ff, for a discussion of ch'eng.

his physical nature consists of.

3.2 THE NATURE OF THE CH'I-CONSTITUTION

The fact that the heaven-Nature is in everyone and is morally good leads to certain fundamental questions. If everyone possesses this good heaven-Nature, what then is the source of evil? What prevents an individual from fulfilling his potential? This is a problem that appeared in different forms throughout the course of Chinese philosophy.[22] For example, Tu Wei-ming, in his study of the Chung yung, has described this problem as follows: "The question of why the way of the profound person, despite its universality and commonality, can only be actualized in unique personalities is never fully answered."[23] The same problem can be seen in Confucius' approach to jen (仁 --"humaneness" or "goodness"), the virtue he esteemed most highly. On the one hand, jen is within the individual's potential to achieve. In fact, Confucius said: "Is Goodness indeed so far away? If we really wanted Goodness, we should find that it was at our very side."[24] On the other hand, few people actually achieve jen. Confucius also said: "I for my part have never yet seen one who really cared for Goodness, nor one who really abhorred wickedness."[25] One wonders why, if jen is

[22] For a discussion of this problem, see W.T. Chan, "The Neo-Confucian Solution of the Problem of Evil," in Studies Presented to Hu Shih on his Sixty-fifth Birthday, the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 28 (1957), pp. 780-82.

[23] Tu, Centrality, p. 32.

[24] Lun yü 7.30, Waley, p. 129.

"at our very side," Confucius never saw anyone "who really cared for jen."

Mencius proposed a solution to this problem. He said that human nature is inherently good because it contains the four "seeds" which, if allowed to grow, will develop into the virtues of benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom.[26] However, Mencius held that man's physical desires stifle the development of these four "seeds," and that therefore man does not fulfill the potential of his nature. However, Mencius never explained what he considered to be the origin of these physical desires. Chang Tsai elaborated on this Mencian position, developing a theory which was fully consistent with his ideas on heaven-and-earth.

According to Chang, everyone possesses the same heaven-Nature. However, every individual is different from every other; this individuality is due to differences in the physical ch'i which come into being after undifferentiated Ch'i has condensed and taken on form:

> Man's being firm or yielding, slow or quick, talented or not talented [results from] an imbalance of ch'i. (23.2)

[25] Lun yü 4.6, Waley, p. 103.

[26] Mencius 2A6, Lau, p. 83.

To put it in Chang's terminology, the "ch'i-constitution" (ch'i chih 氣質) of every person and every thing is different. He explained ch'i-constitution as follows:

> The ch'i-constitution resembles what people refer to as "taking ch'i as the nature." [Physical] ch'i consists of hard and soft, slow and fast, clear and muddy ch'i. "Constitution" is talent. The [particular] ch'i-constitution is [what makes] an individual thing. Such things as the [particular] growth of grass or a tree can also be referred to as its ch'i-constitution. (281.8)

This ch'i-constitution, then, is what accounts for individuality in the world--everything is as it is because of its ch'i-constitution:

> In general, being generous or petty is [due to] the ch'i one is allotted; ch'i [refers to] the physical ch'i each thing receives from the time when the myriad things separate and are differentiated. (329.12-13)

A person cannot control his ch'i-constitution, the individual allotment of ch'i which he receives:

> Man's admirable or bad ch'i-constitution and the principles of being noble and base, having a short life or long, are all [a result of] the fixed allotment he receives. (266.1)

The ch'i-constitution possesses certain attributes or qualities which Chang called the "nature of the ch'i-constitution" (ch'i chih chih hsing 氣質之性). This nature consists of the needs and desires that are part of having a physical existence. Certain aspects of this physical nature cannot be changed:

> Drinking, eating and sexuality are all [part of the physical] nature. How could they be extinguished? (63.7)

This concept--the "nature of the ch'i-constitution"--appears to be Chang's own creation, and it had a great influence on later Tao hsüeh thinkers.[27] According to Chang the physical nature, as the source of human desires, is the source of evil in the world:

> Aggressiveness and acquisitiveness are desires [that stem] from ch'i. The mouth and belly [tend] towards drinking and eating, the nose and tongue [tend] towards good smells and tastes; these are all [examples of] aggressiveness and acquisitiveness in our [physical] natures. (22.7)[28]

And this physical nature can block the heaven-Nature from being fulfilled, a point which Chang stressed:

> All things have this Nature. Because it flows or is obstructed, is open or blocked, there is the difference between man and things. Because the obstruction may be heavy or light, there is the difference between wise and stupid. If the blockage is firm it cannot be opened. Heavy [obstruction] can be lifted, but lifting it is difficult. Light [obstruction] can be lifted easily. If you lift [the obstruction] you reach

[27] Chang's distinction between a physical nature and a transcendent heaven-Nature fit in with the Ch'eng-Chu dichotomy of li (理) and qi (氣). They equated heaven-Nature with above-form li, and physical nature with below-form ch'i. Chu Hsi said that "the concept of a 'nature of the ch'i-constitution' was most useful to the school of the sages," and that it originated with Chang and the Ch'eng brothers. (CHCC 39.3). A.C. Graham, p. 49, has shown that the term "nature of the ch'i-constitution," and probably the concept as well, originated with Chang.

[28] Cf Mencius 7B24.

the Way of heaven and are one with the sages.[29]

The heaven-Nature is in everything and everyone. But in things and animals, it is so firmly blocked that it cannot develop. And some people are more heavily obstructed than others; but even for such people, the obstruction can be "lifted." Yet the ch'i-constitution can obstruct the realization of the heaven-Nature. And the ch'i-constitution one receives at birth can become more rigid through the development of bad habits:

> Your Nature can still be harmed by the bad qualities of ch'i; and physical ch'i is harmed by bad habits. This is why you must ...exert yourself at learning in order to overcome your ch'i and habits. (329.14-330.1)

If bad habits become too firmly entrenched, then the individual will be unable to change. Thus Chang commented on the line from the Analects that "It is only the very wisest and the very stupidest who cannot change"[30] as follows:

> "The very wisest and the very stupidest": [The latter cannot change because] their habits and their Nature have grown so far apart that they cannot be changed. (23.11)

[29] Chin ssu lu, TSCCCP ed., 1.28; cf Chan, Reflections, p. 34.

[30] Lun yü 17.2, Waley, p. 209.

When the nature of the ch'i-constitution obstructs a man's Nature, then that man is "controlled by ch'i":

> The reason many people nowadays are controlled by ch'i and are unable to become virtuous men is, I claim, because they do not understand "learning." (266.1-2)

> In the past I was often controlled by ch'i; subsequently this [control] was greatly reduced. (281.10)

Unlike the heaven-Nature, the nature of the ch'i-constitution is not eternal; it comes into existence only with the appearance of each individual:

> The nature of the ch'i-constitution exists [only] after there is [physical] form. (23.1)

Therefore, as the preceding passages indicate, this nature can be changed by man's efforts:

> The [part of] the ch'i which cannot be changed is just death and life--[whether one lives] long or dies young--and no more. (23.5-6)[31]

> As for bad ch'i-constitution, it can be altered through "learning." (266.1)

> It is only when one can "overcome the self"[32] that one can change, transform and stop the ch'i-nature of custom and habit.... (281.9)

[31] Cf Mencius 7A1, "Whether he is going to die young or to live to a ripe old age makes no difference to his steadfastness of purpose." (Lau, p. 182)

[32] Cf Lun yü 12.1, Lau, p. 112, "To return to the observance of the rites through overcoming the self constitutes benevolence."

The passage about the nature of physical ch'i[33] concludes as follows:

> A man who understands virtue "stops eating when he gets enough"[34] and does not allow his appetites to encumber his hsin. It is simply that he does not damage the great with the small, or lose the root for the branches. (22.7-8)

The "great" and the "root" here refer to the heaven-Nature; the "small" and the "branches" refer to the nature of the ch'i-constitution.

If a man does not allow himself to be controlled by his ch'i, then he can "return" to the original heaven-Nature:

> If a man returns to it [i.e., to his Nature] skillfully then the Nature of heaven-and-earth is preserved in him. (23.1)

One must realize that the nature of the ch'i-constitution is not the true Nature, the eternal, unchanging substance of things. Therefore, this passage continues:

> Thus the nature of the ch'i-constitution is not what the superior man regards as his Nature. (23.1)[35]

[33] Cited in part above, p. 141.

[34] Tso Chuan, Duke Chao, 28th year, Legge, p. 728: "Would that it were with minds of superior men as it is with the bellies of small men like us!--that they were satisfied when they had enough!"

[35] This passage is problematic. W.T. Chan, Sourcebook, p. 511, has "Therefore in physical nature there is that which the superior man denies to be his original nature." It could also mean, "Thus there are some superior men who do not regard the physical nature as the Nature."

In other words, human nature consists of the heaven-Nature--the yin-yang polarity which is the Nature of undifferentiated Ch'i--and of the nature of the ch'i-constitution--the needs and desires inherent in physical ch'i. In light of this dual nature, the following passage can be understood:

> In the unity of void and qi there is the name "nature." (9.5)

This statement has caused considerable confusion among scholars, who have described it as "obstructive" or "tautological."[36] But it can be understood as follows: "void" refers to undifferentiated Ch'i; qi here refers to physical, condensed ch'i. The nature of undifferentiated

[36] Mou Tsung-san, pp. 495-96, has criticized this line as being an "obstructive expression" which does not accord with the real sense of Chang's thought. Mou feels that the Nature is ontologically prior to, and separate from, qi (pp. 444, 494ff). Mou is incorrect: he says Chang believed that the Great Void is the Nature (pp. 443-44). However, according to Chang the heaven-Nature is the same yin-yang polarity that is the Nature of the Great Void; it is not the same as the Great void itself. Also, Mou argues that the Great Void is not Ch'i. He maintains that the Great Void can only be seen in qi, but is not the same as qi (p. 455). This is because Mou takes the same position that Ch'eng Yi did (see below, p. 270), that qi can only be below-form. Mou argues that Chang kept the above-form and below-form realms distinct (p. 459). It is my contention that Chang was doing precisely the opposite--trying to unify the two realms through his concept of qi, as I explained in 2.2 above.

Fung Yu-lan, II,489, says of this line: "...for Chang, the Void or Great Void is the same as the Ether [i.e., Ch'i]; hence for him to speak of the "combination of the void with the Ether" is a tautology, equivalent to speaking of 'the combination of the ether with the Ether.'" Fung has missed the point that qi here has to be taken as physical

Ch'i is the heaven-Nature, and of physical ch'i is the nature of the ch'i-constitution. It is only by including both of these that one arrives at a full understanding of "nature" in all its aspects.

Thus, Chang's theories of human-nature provide a solution to a fundamental problem in Chinese philosophy. A.C. Graham has put the problem well: "...the question behind these discussions of human nature is always 'Why ought I to do what I do not want to do?' The answer they would like to give is 'because ultimately I do want to, because wanting otherwise comes from a misunderstanding of my true nature.' But this conflicts with common experience, which forces us to admit that evil as well as good inclinations are natural, present in us from birth and independent of outside influence."[37] Chang Tsai resolved this problem through a theory that was fully consistent with his views of heaven-and-earth. The nature of undifferentiated Ch'i is perfectly good and is retained by each individual person and thing as its true Nature. However, when Ch'i condenses to form individuals, each individual acquires a physical nature which obstructs the realization of the heaven-Nature. This physical nature is different in each individual, as is the degree of obstruction. Each individual, regardless of how heavy the obstruction, has the power to determine whether he

ch'i, which is not the same as the Great Void.

[37] Graham, p. 44.

will overcome the nature of his ch'i-constitution and fulfill the potential of his heaven-Nature. Thus Chang interpreted the line in the Analects, "The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards"[38] in terms of the choice between fulfilling his heaven-Nature or following his physical nature:

> Is not "to progress upwards" to return to the principle of heaven, and "to progress downwards" to follow human desires? (22.3)

According to Chang Tsai, a man is able to overcome his physical nature and to "progress upwards" through "learning."

[38] Lun yü 14.23, Legge, p. 285.

3.3 LEARNING

3.3.1 Overcoming bad ch'i-constitution

> Lü Ta-lin's qualities are admirable, but he is slow in moving towards learning. Alas, he is narrow in what he seeks [through] thought.... However, narrowness does not impede [the achievement of] clarity. How is it that narrowness does not impede [the achievement of] clarity? [Because] narrowness is [a quality of] ch'i while clarity is what you learn. (329.11-12)

In this description of his disciple, Chang has made two important points. Bad qualities of the ch'i-constitution, such as narrowness, do not hinder one from reaching "clarity." And clarity is something one achieves through learning. One can reach clarity despite bad ch'i because learning has the power to change the ch'i-constitution:

> The great benefit of engaging in learning is that you are able, through your own efforts, to change and transform your ch'i-constitution. If you do not learn, you will never have anything which will lead to clarity, and you will be unable to see the profundity of the sages. Thus learners must first change and transform their ch'i-constitution. (274.9-10)[39]

Chang repeatedly made the point that man can change his ch'i-constitution through learning:

> To take the bad and make it all good: must this not be accomplished through learning? (24.3)

> As for bad ch'i-constitution, it can be altered through learning. (266.1)

[39] I have not followed the CTC emendation.

> If a man sets his will on learning then he can overcome his ch'i and his habits. (330.4)

Bad ch'i-constitution is an obstacle to fulfilling one's potential, but not an insuperable one. Therefore, once a person has made the commitment to try to fulfill that potential, physical limitations no longer matter; the only question is one of commitment:

> With those who set their will on learning one no longer speaks of admirable or bad ch'i, but merely looks at what their will is like. (321.11)

A man must set his will firmly because clarity is a distant goal; if he does not, his learning will be in vain:

> If a man's will and inclination are not towards a distant [goal], then "his heart is not in it,"[40] and even if he learns he will not achieve completion. (375.5)

In sum, the ch'i-constitution can be transformed; but to do so requires persistence and a firm commitment to learning.

3.3.2 What is learning?

What, then, does learning mean? Chang said that learning is "making the hsin correct":

> The critical task when one engages in learning lies in making the hsin correct and seeking [moral] betterment. (375.4)

[40] Ta hsüeh 7.

"Learning"--making the hsin correct--thus has the broad meaning of "self-cultivation"; in its broadest sense, it means "learning to be a man":

> Learners learn how to be a man. (321.2)[41]

As one might expect, this kind of learning is a complicated affair about which Chang had a great deal to say. He believed that there are two stages in the process of learning:

> From learner to Yen-tzu is one stage, and from Yen-tzu to Confucius is one stage. It is extremely difficult to advance along this [path]; the two stages are like two passes.... (278.9)

The principles of the Way, Chang believed, are too subtle and difficult for beginners and should therefore not be presented to them:

> Now those who are beginning to learn will not necessarily be able to continue; recklessly teaching them by means of the great Way is unfair. (31.8-9)

The beginner and the advanced student thus should be taught differently:

> At the beginning, you should separate the substance and function of the Way in order to grasp and hold them. After you are thoroughly familiar with them, [you see that] they are simply [two aspects of the] one [Way].

[41] Cf Mencius 4A28, Lau p. 127, "When one does not please one's parents, one cannot be a man;..."

> Moreover, when first [learning] the Way you should consider, compare and weigh [things] intensively; once you have grasped [the Way], [your understanding] is not something that thought and consideration can bring about. (280.14-15)

In other words, the beginner must be active and diligent in his quest. However, the second stage--from Yen-tzu to Confucius--is different. As the last phrase indicates, this stage involves the achievement of an intuitive understanding which "thought and consideration cannot bring about"; a sort of enlightenment that allows one to move towards becoming a fully realized human being, a sage.

In addition to describing these two levels as "learner to Yen Hui" and "Yen Hui to Confucius," Chang also described them as "beginner to great man" and "great man to sage":

> As for matters beyond [becoming a] great man, there is no cultivating [them].... Thus I have said "being great" can be done but "being great and transformed" cannot be done [through conscious effort].... I claim that you can become a great man through cultivation, but transformation is not to be accomplished by increasing the effort. To "increase the effort" is to "help the plants grow [by tugging on them]." (76.16-77.5)[42]

The goal of the second stage is to be transformed into a sage; but progress towards this end must occur spontaneously. During the first stage, on the other hand, one can proceed from beginner to great man by means of deliberate effort. This was a point that Chang stressed:

[42] Mencius 2A2 describes the foolish man from Sung who thought he would help his plants grow by tugging on them.

> I claim that even being great can be arrived at through persistence; but being great and transformed must lie in ripening [humaneness].[43] Transformation is the same as getting there [i.e., to sagehood]. (216.7)

> At the beginning you must persist unrelentingly; in the end you revert to spontaneity. (266.7-8)

Since one can reach the level of the great man through diligent effort, Chang repeatedly urged his followers to persist in their efforts:

> In general, to speak of "persisting unrelentingly" is [to refer to] the great man's portion [i.e., the stage from beginner to great man]. Despite unrelenting persistence there may still be some regression. This regression occurs with [even] a brief break in your persistence. This is why you must [continue to] learn and to inquire. (77.16-78.1)

> When learners stop they become just like wooden marionettes that move when you pull or shake them and stop when you release them. They live and die ten thousand times in a single day.
>
> When learners stop [learning] it is also no different from dying, for this is death of the hsin. Although their bodies live, their bodies are just things; and there are many things in the world. Learners originally take [seeking] the Way as life; when they stop [seeking] the Way then [their hsin] dies and they end up as counterfeit objects. They should take the wooden marionettes as a cautionary metaphor. Knowing that stopping is a very serious fault I have created a horrible metaphor like this. I simply want them not to stop. (267.12-268.1)

[43] See CTC 77.5 for Chang's statement that transformation occurs through "ripening humaneness."

Men and things are all ch'i, and all possess the heaven-Nature and the nature of their ch'i-constitution within them. However, only man is able to overcome the obstruction of his ch'i and realize the potential of the Nature that is within him. If he does not do so then he is not really a man but just another "thing."

It is essential, therefore, that a man persist in his learning until he reaches the point when he can follow his instincts and not go astray:

> If you are not a superior man whose virtue is complete, you must persist unrelentingly; only after you reach [the point when you] "follow your heart's desire without overstepping the line" can you relax. (375.5-6)[44]

Thus, the beginner must set his will firmly on learning and he must persist in his efforts. He must also be willing to ask questions:

> When there is something the learner does not understand, he will understand if he inquires.... Even Confucius, whose virtue was full, did not know certain official titles and ritual texts. Thus he asked Lao-tzu and T'an-tzu. (280.5-6)[45]

Some people think that they will lose face if they ask questions. However, being too proud to inquire of others can lead to serious consequences:

[44] Lun yü 2.4; cf Lau, p. 63.

[45] Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Shih chi, SPPY ed., 63.1b; Tso chuan, Duke Chao, 17th year, in Ch'un ch'iu ching chuan yin te, H-Y series, Supplement No. 11, v.1, p. 393.

> Because they are old and mature, many people are unwilling to humble themselves to inquire.[46] Thus even at the end of their life they do not understand. There are also [those who] take the position that they have realized the meaning of the Way before others and can no longer say there is something they do not understand. So they too are unwilling to humble themselves to inquire. Out of being unwilling to inquire are born all matters which deceive and mislead people. (376.10-11)

Chang took a very practical approach towards learning; he felt that one can learn from anyone if one asks appropriate questions:

> There are things to be gained even from those who are not "virtuous men"--it depends on what you ask. If you want to ask about farming, then a farmer is more helpful than a "gentleman."[47] To inquire about spinning, a woman is more helpful than a gentleman. (267.9)

In addition to asking questions, discussions with friends are also helpful to one's learning:[48]

> Having sociable meetings with friends to carry on discussions is extremely beneficial. (272.2)

The learner, then, must set his will firmly on learning; he must persist in his efforts; he must ask questions of anyone who can help him; and he must have discussions with

[46] Cf Lun yü 5.15.

[47] Cf Lun yü 13.4, Lau, p. 119: "Fan Ch'ih asked to be taught how to grow crops. The Master said, 'I am not as good as an old farmer.'" However, Confucius felt that farming was not the affair of the gentleman. The passage ends: "What need is there to talk about growing crops?"

[48] Cf Lun yü 12.24.

his friends. Learning is a serious affair which cannot be undertaken casually or half-heartedly:

> In learning the principles of morality you must immerse yourself deeply before there can be any result.[49] [This learning] is not something that can be attained by floating lightly [on the surface] with a shallow and carefree [attitude]. (273.13)

Thus Chang cautioned his followers against being too playful; learning is a constant pursuit to which one must devote oneself fully and seriously:

> Playing and joking are extremely harmful: they come from a hsin which lacks seriousness. To play and joke without cease is not only detrimental to your undertakings, but [it makes] the will [to learn] drift away under the control of ch'i. (280.3)

Thus, learning must be undertaken with a serious attitude, with firm determination, and with the humility that allows one to learn from others. But what is the specific content of this learning that Chang wanted his followers to undertake with such dedication?

[49] Chang used yi li (義理) as a general term for morality. See, e.g., CTC 278.12, 276.11. Tsao (造) in this context means "result," or "accomplishment." See, e.g., CTC 76.6.

3.3.3 What to learn

a. Ritual

Chang advocated the study of ritual as the best way to begin:[50]

> Nothing makes people progress [in their learning] as quickly as ritual. (265.1)

Chang felt that if the learner could make his behavior conform to the requirements of ritual, his ch'i-constitution would be transformed:

> When you make your actions all accord with [the rules of] ritual, then your ch'i-constitution will spontaneously become good. (265.9)

Ritual can also overcome the bad social habits that a person has acquired. Chang offered an interesting metaphor to illustrate this point, in which he compared those habits to a vine entangling and stifling one's growth:

> The reason I have learners begin by studying ritual is simply that by studying ritual you can eliminate the common customs which, when they have become familiar habits, tangle and bind you. It is like [being bound] by an entangling vine: if you remove the entanglement you can ascend; ascending is the same as principle becoming clear. (330.11-12)

[50] "Ritual" refers to specifically prescribed behavior in such situations as sacrifices and funerals; by extension, it means behavior that is appropriate to the circumstances; see, e.g., Herbert Fingarette, Confucius--the Secular as Sacred (New York: Harper, 1972), esp. pp. 1-18.

In other words, the vine-like ch'i and habits stifle the heaven-Nature and keep it from developing.

In one passage, Chang explained why ritual is useful in "untangling" one's Nature:

> Ritual is the means by which you hold on to your Nature. I claim that it originally comes from the Nature. To hold on to your Nature is to return to the origin. All those who have not yet completed their Nature must hold on to it through ritual. If you can adhere to ritual then you will not stray from the Way. (264.2)

Ritual derives from the heaven-Nature, and to behave according to its rules enables a man to move towards completing his Nature. Because the heaven-Nature also governs the processes of heaven-and-earth, Chang also said that ritual is based on heaven-and-earth:[51]

> Ritual is the virtue of heaven-and-earth. (264.3)

Here again morality is linked to heaven-and-earth: a man who adheres to ritual is according with his true Nature and with the pattern of heaven-and-earth. For this reason, Chang placed great emphasis on ritual, as was well known to his contemporaries. For example Ch'eng Yi said of him:

> [Chang] Tzu-hou's greatest strength was teaching learners by means of ritual, so that they would first have something to which to adhere. (336.5)

And upon hearing of Chang's death Ssu-ma Kuang wrote:

[51] See above, p. 109.

> It is my humble opinion that what [Chang] Tzu-hou devoted himself to all his life was to lead the men of today to restore the ritual of the Three Dynasties. (387.8)[52]

b. Books

The learner, Chang said, must read books. Not just any books, however; Chang had very clear views on which books one should read. He felt that history and literature were not of much use, and that Taoist and Buddhist writings were of no use at all:

> I have said about such writings as history books that, when going through one, if you see there is nothing to be gained you can put it down. By so doing you can go through six or seven chapters of a book in a day's efforts.... As for things like collected works and literary anthologies, after reading a few essays if you find there is nothing to be gained [from them] then you can put them down. And as for the Tao tsang and Buddhist Scriptures, there is no harm in not reading them [at all]. (278.2-5)

Reading history is still better than enjoying the landscape, but studying the Classics and thinking about morality would be even more beneficial:

> In reading books do not [bother] reading history.... Still, reading history is better than sojourning among mountains, water, forests and rocks. At first this seems enjoyable, but in the end it is without benefit. It is better to let your hsin sojourn among the Classics and the principles of morality. (276.10-11)

[52] Chu Hsi criticized what he felt to be Chang's overemphasis of ritual. See Chan, Reflections, p. 49.

When the learner is beginning to study the Classics, he should recite and memorize them in order to ensure that he will put their principles into practice:

> You must memorize the Classics. Even if you had the wisdom of Shun or Yü, [to read them] silently, without speaking, is not [even] as good as a deaf or blind person giving directions. Consequently if you memorize them you will be able to say them, and if you say them you will be able to practice them. Thus in beginning to learn you must recite and memorize. (277.8-9)[53]

The Classics are long and difficult, however, and so the learner is better off concentrating on the Analects and the Mencius:

> If you want to see the [Way of the] sages there is nothing as important as the Analects and the Mencius. These two books are largely sufficient for learners; It is just that you must immerse yourself [in them]. (272.10)

Thus, Chang believed that one should concentrate on the Classics, the Analects and the Mencius. And like many of his contemporaries he felt that one should seek the general principles of those works:

> In reading books you must get the gist of what it says and seek the author's [general] meaning. (275.1)

One should not get bogged down in detailed textual exegesis, since these books are not an end in themselves, but merely a means of reaching the general principles of the world. To

[53] Following the CTC emendation.

illustrate this point, Chang offered an interesting analogy:

> In reading books you should not be overanxious or you will completely miss the meaning; you must seek the general substance. Words are pointers; when there is a pointer what you look at is far away. If you just get mired in the words and do not seek the general substance you will lose it. It is like the case of a child looking at a pointing [finger]. Often in guiding a small child you use your hand to point out an object to show the child. But [the child] is unable to seek the thing and see it in its place. He merely looks at the hand, and when [he realizes] there is nothing in it he becomes angry. (276.14-16)

In short, the learner should make his behavior conform to the rules of ritual in order to hold on to his Nature, and he should study the Classics in search of the general principles that they contain.

3.3.4 The problem

At this point Chang's argument becomes circular. He said that one should read the books for their general principles; but he also said that one can be confused by the Classics unless one already understands their general principles:

> I claim that people are confused about the Classics because [the principles] that people already hold are not clear, and thus they often can be moved by the [mere] words. When what you hold is already secure, then if there are confusing words even in the Analects or the Mencius, you should correct them without hesitating, and again weed out the excess and make the words simple and the meaning complete. (277.6-7)

The problem, of course, is that Chang said that the way to grasp the general principles of the world is by studying these books; how, then, is one to weed out the excess in those same books? This problem can also be seen in the following passages in which Chang explained how errors can creep into the ancient texts:

> Since the texts are handwritten, the Classics are replete with instances where the correct word has been lost in the transmission; for this reason there are many incomprehensible words in the Odes and the History. (284.11)

> Only Mencius discerned the Way [of Confucius] and so, of course, his words were deep and profound. Those who recorded them could not have understood the content; moreover, they depended on shallow knowledge. (333.3-4)

However, if these books are unreliable how is one to achieve the insight to correct them?

3.3.5 The solution

a. "This hsin"

Chang's belief that one can achieve this insight is based on two fundamental assumptions. The first, a view shared by many of his contemporaries, is that there is only one Way. Chang stated this point emphatically in the following passage:

> Some say that every man must explain the meaning of the Classics differently: this is not so. The moral principles of the world only allow of one "right"; there are not two [simultaneous and competing] rights. (275.5)

The second assumption is that every man contains within himself the intuitive ability to recognize this one Way. The first stage of learning is a process of removing the effects of one's ch'i-constitution and bad habits so that one can have an "enlightenment of the hsin":

> In learning, what is important is enlightenment of the hsin; nothing is to be gained by adhering to the old [teachings]. (274.5)

This "enlightenment of the hsin" means that the learner discovers the intuitive faculty which has been in him all along. This discovery marks the transition to the second stage of learning, wherein one's development proceeds spontaneously along the path to sagehood.

Chang at times referred to the inherent ability to grasp the Way as "this hsin." "This hsin" is difficult to find and easy to lose:

> People must constantly preserve "this hsin." I still fear that even when it is used frequently it will be forgotten. If there is disorder in your affairs then "this hsin" is quickly lost.... Only when you establish "this hsin" is your learning without error. (266.8-9)

> If, when beginning to search for the hsin, you obtain some insight and think about it for a long time, [the hsin] becmomes hazy and is lost again. Why is this? In searching for the hsin if you do not get to the essence, but do too much digging and probing, then you become confused.... If you seek it too intensely then you become muddled and confused instead. This is what Mencius called "helping [the plants] grow." (269.9-11)[54]

[54] See above, note 42.

"This hsin" is the ability to understand correctly. It is in us all along but it is blocked by ch'i and habits. Learners therefore must strive to find it. However, because it is an intuitive ability he already possesses, if the learner searches for it with too much determination he will become more, rather than less, confused. One cannot have the "intention" to find "this hsin"; it must come spontaneously. Thus Chang explained that men of his time were inferior to the ancients because they preserved "intentions":

> I claim that those who want to learn [tend to] keep their "intentions"[55] and not forget them; [on the contrary,] they should allow their hsin to wander [among the principles of morality] until it becomes thoroughly familiar [with them]. One day they will feel a sudden release, as though waking from a deep sleep. (376.1)

If one worries and ponders too much one will not be in touch with "this hsin":

> When learners cannot fully understand and grasp [the meaning] of words and [feel that] many of them contradict each other, this is because they do not have the "virtue of heaven."[56] Now they knit their brows and ponder [the words]; they have already lost their hsin's [intuitive ability]. I claim that the hsin is originally completely

55 I interpret yi (意) here to have the same negative connotation that it does when it appears with "certainty, inflexibility and egotism" (Lun yü 9.4), as in the passages below. My interpretation is thus quite different from that of W.T. Chan, Reflections, p. 82.

56 Having the "virtue of heaven" means that one's actions accord with the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth.

> marvelous, but in doing this they have harmed the completely marvelous with what is not marvelous. (275.2-3)

The hsin is originally marvelous--it has the instinctive ability to distinguish right from wrong and to understand the world's principles. However, if a man allows too many external considerations to obscure this ability, he loses it. This is to harm the "completely marvelous" with "what is not marvelous."

The opposite of "this hsin" is the "set hsin"--the state of having fixed notions and intentions--which Chang sometimes called the hsin of "intentions, certainty, inflexibility and egotism":[57]

> "Intentions, certainty, inflexibility and egotism": if one of these is preserved then you are not "authentic." If all four are completely removed you will develop directly and without problem. (28.14)

> Men today stubbornly [cling to] their view of what is right; they are happy with their conformity and dislike their differences [with others]. This is to have "inflexibility, certainty, intentions and egotism;"... (272.8)

> Only after the "set hsin" is forgotten can one progress along the Way. (25.12)

> Is not the "set hsin" what is called [having] "intentions?" (25.13)

[57] Lun yü 9.4.

These passages all describe a rigid hsin which is antithetical to "this hsin"; until the learner eliminates the "set hsin," "this hsin" will be beyond his reach.

Certain passages on the hsin appear to be problematic. This is because Chang at times did not specify whether he meant "this hsin" or the "set hsin." Knowing that Chang used hsin to mean the intuitive faculty by which one can grasp the Way--this hsin--and at times to mean the acquired qualities of rigidity and inflexibility--set hsin--these passages are not difficult to explicate. For example:

> When the [set] hsin is retained there is no principle for fully realizing one's Nature. (26.1)

In other words, if a man does not remove the "set hsin" it is impossible for him to fulfill the potential of his Nature. On the other hand, the following passage is a reference to "this hsin":

> When a man expands his hsin then he is able to partake of [all] the things in the world. (24.11)[58]

58 T'i (體) is problematic here. Chu Hsi said it means "To place your hsin into the thing and see through to its principle." See Chang-tzu ch'üan shu 46.2. It may be akin to what Owen Barfield has called "participation" in his Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry (New York: Harcourt, n.d.). He says participation is "an awareness which we no longer have, of an extra-sensory link between the percipient and the representations." (p. 34) And also, "Participation is the extra-sensory relation between man and the phenomena." (p. 40)

Chang's concept of "this hsin" is different from the Tao hsüeh thinkers who maintained that the hsin itself is principle. These men argued that one need only "make the hsin clear"; that is, that one need only seek principle within the self.[59] In one passage Chang approaches that position:

> Although a man puts away his books, it is all right if he holds on to "this hsin" of his. The meaning of the Classics is merely a source of confirmation, and no more. Thus, although a man is illiterate, how does this hinder his becoming good? (277.3-4)

This passage would seem to mean that one need only seek within oneself, that finding "this hsin" is enough. But for Chang the goal was to understand the Way. The point of this passage is that it is "this hsin" which enables a man to reach that goal. The Classics are merely a means, albeit the best means, towards finding this intuitive ability which can understand the Way. The hsin itself is not the Way; it is that which can understand the Way:

> Some say the hsin is Change, that it is production and transformation, but [if this were so] how could the hsin fully realize [the meaning of] the way of Change? (206.6-7)

In other words it is not that "all the ten thousand things are there in me."[60] Rather, what is "in me," and in fact has

[59] See above, pp. 54-58.

[60] Mencius 7A4, Lau p. 182. Cf CTC 33.10.

been there all along, is "this hsin"--the capacity to understand the ten thousand things and the principles of morality. The Classics are simply the best method of finding and preserving "this hsin":

> I claim that books are used to preserve "this hsin." When you put them down for a moment, for that moment your virtuous Nature is neglected; when you read books then "this hsin" is constantly present. If you do not read books then in the end you will be unable to see the principles of morality. (275.10-11)

b. "The void hsin"

Chang sometimes described the original intuitive ability--"this hsin"--as the void hsin. In Chang's philosophy void means being without physical form, and it is related to the Great Void; it also means impartiality and lack of self-interest.[61] "This hsin" is void in all of these senses, as can be seen from the following passages:

> The Great Void is the reality of the hsin. (324.13)
>
> If a man seeks with selfish intention, [what he considers] right is not necessarily right; only if he seeks with a void hsin is [what he considers] right [really] right. (279.7)
>
> When the hsin is void then it is disinterested; when it is disinterested then right and wrong become clear and easy to see, and matters which should and should not be done will be readily understood. (280.12)

The void hsin is perfectly impartial, and therefore it can make accurate judgments; but returning to this void hsin is difficult:

> When the [set] hsin cannot become void this is because it is overgrown and obstructed by things. (325.10-11)

And, as in the case of "this hsin," one cannot have the "intention" of finding the void hsin:

[61] See above, pp. 110-111.

> Now to seek its void-ness with the hsin means that you have already adopted a [set] hsin and [thus] have no means to get [to its] void-ness. (269.10)

The void hsin must emerge spontaneously, but it is prevented from doing so by the four qualities of the set hsin; these, therefore, must be eliminated. When they are eliminated, the hsin can become void:

> By eliminating the four [bad qualities] the hsin becomes void; and void-ness is the basis for "stopping at the good." (307.9)[62]

When a man eliminates these four and his hsin becomes void, he will then have the insight to distinguish the principles in the Classics from the errors in those texts. The passage cited in part above (p. 164) concludes:

> This is to have "inflexibility, certainty, intention and egotism"; there is no means to get [to the hsin's] void-ness. If the learner's understanding reaches the point of grasping the void hsin, then the teacher no longer needs to speak. When he seeks [the Way in] books, what accords [with his intuitive sense] are the words of the sages and what does not accord are [emendations] included by later scholars. (272.8-9)

Thus, finding "this hsin," or the "void hsin," enables one to resolve the problem of how to "weed out the excess" from those very books one relies upon to gain knowledge of the principles of the world.

c. "Knowledge gained by the virtuous Nature"

[62] Ta hsüeh 1 says that one should "stop at the highest good." Cf CTC 332.5-7 (p. 188 below).

Another version of this problem is presented in the following passage:

> The reason "pure clarity" is not obscured by the sun and moon, and "pure observation"[63] is not disturbed by heaven-and-earth, is that "pure clarity" and "pure observation" [mean] that through your own correctness you see the brightness of the sun and moon and observe heaven-and-earth. Many people are misled and confused by the brightness of the sun and moon, and by the changes and transformations of heaven-and-earth. Thus they must [learn to] observe these things themselves by means of the correct Way. (210.8-9)

In other words, the learner's goal is to understand the phenomena of heaven-and-earth, but these phenomena will be confusing to him if he does not already have "pure clarity" and "pure observation." Chang wrote:

> How is one not misled and confused? By taking correctness as the basis. When the basis is established one is not turned around by sensory perceptions. (210.5-6)

Thus, one must seek "pure clarity," an understanding which is not "turned around by sensory perceptions." Chang described the faculty by which one can achieve this understanding as "this hsin" or the "void hsin"; and he described the understanding thus attained as "knowledge gained by the virtuous Nature,"[64] which he considered to be

63 "Pure clarity" and "pure observation" come from the Hsi tz'u chuan B1.

64 "Virtuous Nature" must be taken to refer to the heaven-Nature, although Chang did not specify this connection. The term comes from the Chung yung 27.

a higher form of knowledge than "knowledge gained from sensory perception":

> People say that they have knowledge: [this comes] from the reception [of external stimuli] by the senses. Their reception [occurs] through the unity of the internal [i.e., the cognitive faculty, the hsin,] and the external [stimuli]. But when a person's knowledge unites the internal and external without [the help of] the senses [i.e., without recourse to stimulation of the senses], then his knowledge far surpasses [that of ordinary] men. (25.1-2)

Ordinarily, knowledge is attained when the internal faculty of perception--the hsin--has contact with external objects through the medium of the sensory organs. But the hsin is also able to understand the general principles of things directly, without recourse to the sensory organs; this kind of knowledge, which far surpasses ordinary sensory perception, is "knowledge gained by means of the virtuous Nature":

> The hsin of ordinary men stops with the narrowness of hearing and seeing.... "Knowledge gained from sensory perception" is knowledge [that comes] from the interaction of things [i.e., the sense organs and the perceived objects] and is not knowledge gained by the virtuous Nature. Knowledge gained by the virtuous Nature does not stem from sensory perception. (24.11-13)

If a man limits himself to knowledge gained from sensory perception, he will not arrive at the higher form of knowledge:

> The problem with [many] people is that they encumber their hsin with the perceptions of their

> senses and do not engage in fully realizing [the ability of] the hsin. (25.4-5)

> A man who is content with [knowledge gained from] sensory perception is being "the very stupidest." (307.8)[65]

Thus, knowledge gained by the virtuous Nature does not stem from observation of heaven-and-earth, nor from reading books. However, reading books and observing heaven-and-earth are still important. They are pointers which lead us towards the Way; they enable us to get in touch with our own intuitive ability to grasp that Way; and once we have gained "knowledge by means of the virtuous Nature," they serve as a means of trying out that knowledge:

> Sensory perception is not sufficient to fully exhaust [the principles] of things, but we still need it.... If we did not hear or see, how could we try out [our understanding]? (313.9)

> ...there are some people who are enlightened after seeing one thing; there are some who are enlightened after a lifetime. (313.12)

Thus, the potential to have an "enlightenment"--to find "this hsin" and gain "knowledge by means of the virtuous Nature"--is in each of us; and the Classics and the phenomena of the world can help us achieve this enlightenment.

[65] Lun yü 17.2, Waley, p. 209.

3.3.6 Entering the second stage

What one seeks, therefore, is an understanding of the principles of morality and of the Way. Man has within him "this hsin," the intuitive capacity by which he can achieve that understanding. This is not an understanding that can be conveyed directly through teaching; one who has this understanding can provide guidance, but ultimately the individual must get it for himself. This can be seen from the following passage:

> Always, when you cause your thoughts to arrive at "the point that cannot be described" [i.e., the limit of ordinary knowledge], you [should] begin to rethink [everything] carefully and to make clear distinctions; only then are you good at learning. As for Kao-tzu,[66] when he reached "the point that cannot be described" he stopped, and ceased to seek [the Way]. (377.2)

"This hsin" is inside each of us, and the words of the teacher and the lessons of the Classics all help us find it. Ultimately, however, each person must find it for himself. But since this "enlightenment" is so difficult to achieve, many people are like Kao-tzu--they give up when they reach the crucial point. Chang compared this to arriving at a precipitous point in mountain climbing:

> People today undertake [the task of] learning as if [they are] climbing at the base of a mountain; when [the path] meanders around gently they all proceed with long strides. But once they reach a severe and precipitous place they stop. They must strengthen their resolve and dare to proceed.

[66] Cf Mencius 2A2, 6A1-4, 6A6.

(283.9)

Traversing the "precipitous place"--in other words, finding "this hsin"--marks the transition to the second, higher stage of learning. The first stage requires persistent effort--regulating one's behavior through ritual, asking questions and having discussions with friends, and studying and memorizing the right books--to eliminate the impediments of the ch'i-constitution and of bad habits. When these are eliminated, one finds "this hsin" and is then able to progress towards sagehood:

> [When the bad] is eliminated then there is growth [of the good]; if it is not eliminated then the defects are constantly present. When it is eliminated entirely, then this is [what Mencius meant when he said] "to be great and be transformed by this greatness is what is called 'sage.'" (130.9-10)[67]

To be "transformed" means to become a sage:

> When the great man completes his Nature he is sage-like and transformed; being transformed, [he possesses] the pure "virtue of heaven." (76.6)

Thus, a man enters the second stage of learning when he finds "this hsin." This stage reaches its conclusion when he completes his Nature--fully realizes his potential--and is transformed into a sage.

[67] Mencius 7B25, Lau, p. 199.

3.3.7 Finding the place to stop

In order to complete his Nature and be transformed, a man must stop and set himself[68] in the position where the bad has been eliminated and "this hsin" operates:

> After the false is eliminated you reach the place to stop; after you reach the place to stop you have that by which to develop,... (28.15)

"That by which to develop" is "this hsin." However, since it is difficult to find, the learner must be careful that he does not think he has found it when he has not; otherwise, he will "stop" in the wrong place. Chang made this point in commenting on the meng (蒙 --"Youthful Folly") hexagram of the Changes:

> "To stop in a dangerous [place]: this is folly."[69] Stopping in a place where one should not stop: this is dangerous. It is like Kao-tzu's having a "stable hsin."[70] He insisted that righteousness is external, [which is incorrect]; this is "to stop in a dangerous [place]." (85.2)

That Kao-tzu did not understand righteousness means that he had not yet found "this hsin." Yet he had a "stable hsin," which means that he "stopped" where he should not have. This kind of stopping is dangerous: a man should only stop when he has truly found "this hsin." When he has found it,

68 Cf Ta hsüeh 2, "After one knows [where] to stop one can set [oneself]."

69 Wilhelm, p. 406.

70 Mencius 2A2.

however, he must set himself firmly, or else he might still be moved; anyone who has not yet completed his Nature can still be led astray:

> There is nothing which leads people astray more than the [decadent] music of Cheng and Wei; it can lead astray all those who have not yet completed their Nature. This is why Confucius warned Yen Hui. (263.15)[71]

Temptations like the decadent music of Cheng and Wei can lead astray all those who have not completed their Nature, even Yen Hui. The learner thus has a difficult task: he must avoid Kao-tzu's mistake of setting himself in the wrong place, and yet he must set himself firmly once he has gotten to the right place to avoid being moved from it:

> Only after you are set do you begin to acquire brilliance and clarity; if you are always moving and changing, how [can you] seek brilliance and clarity? ... Only when you stop is there brilliance and clarity. Thus the Great Learning [says]: "being set, you reach [the stage] of being able to consider [things]."[72]

The image of the quest is clearly spatial, as in the metaphor of reaching a precipitous place in mountain-climbing. Here too, the point at which "this hsin" becomes operative is discussed by means of the spatial image of finding the right place to stop and then setting oneself

[71] Confucius told Yen Hui, "Banish the tunes of Cheng.... the tunes of Cheng are wanton...." (Lun yü 15.11, Lau, pp. 133-34).

[72] Chin ssu lu, 4.162. Cf Chan, Reflections, p. 152. The quotation is from the Ta hsüeh 2.

there firmly. The place to stop is in the position of "centrality":[73]

> Occupy [the position of] great centrality, the place to stop securely. (75.10)

> Confucius, King Wen, Yao and Shun all set their will on this. "This" is the Way of centrality. Do not suspect that the sages had any other hsin besides this. (267.3)

Thus, to reach the spot where "this hsin" becomes operative is to find the position of centrality; the learner must set himself and not be moved from this spot.

3.3.8 Expanding "this hsin"

When a man has set himself firmly in the position where "this hsin" operates, his development will then proceed spontaneously. In a passage cited in part above (p. 151), Chang wrote:

> As for matters beyond [becoming a] great man, there is no cultivating [them].... It just depends on you yourself really reaching [the level of] "exhausting the marvelous and understanding the transformations."[74] This is the place where [your] virtue is completely full. (76.16-77.1)

73 "Centrality" is an important concept in Chinese philosophy, with many layers of meaning, discussion of which is beyond the scope of this dissertation. See Tu, Centrality, pp.10, 20ff for further discussion of this concept.

74 Hsi tz'u chuan B3.

This spontaneous progress to the level of "exhausting the marvelous and understanding the transformations"--to sagehood--is difficult to describe:

> Of course, [the difference between] the sage and the great man is the inscrutable part of the one [higher] stage [of learning]. (76.15)

The great man's endeavors begin with the second stage, and becoming a sage is the culmination of the second stage; but it is hard to distinguish between them. Only one who who has found "this hsin" can understand how he still falls short of sagehood:

> It is difficult to distinguish the great [man] from the sage.... [Let us suppose] there is a man here who is a truly superior man; in his words and actions he does not differ in the least from the sage; but he himself must be aware of the fact that his hsin is [still] different from the real [spirit of] Confucius. How is it possible for a third person to distinguish [the subtle difference between Confucius and such a man]? In those days there were even some who thought that Tzu-kung was more worthy than Confucius; only Tzu-kung himself knew [he was not the equal of Confucius]. (77.6-10)[75]

Chang described the process of movement towards sagehood--the second stage of learning--as follows:

> If a man can take vastness as his hsin, constantly regard the compass and scope of the sage as his charge, and persist at this way for a long time, then he must be transformed and arrive at sagehood. This is necessarily so according to principle. (77.10-11)

[75] Lun yü 19.25.

Several times Chang spoke of the need to make one's hsin "vast," so that it will encompass the principles of all the things in the world. For example:

> I claim that the reason one seeks the principles of morality [is that these] are all matters of the greatest [magnitude, like] heaven and earth, rites and music, returning and coming forth. If your hsin is not vast then you have no way to see them. (276.3-4)

"Expanding the hsin" and "making the hsin vast" both refer to a process of broadening understanding; a man makes his hsin vast by applying "this hsin" to the things and processes of the world, and thereby comes to include more and more within its scope:

> When the hsin is vast it penetrates all things; when it is small, [your understanding] of all things is flawed. After "enlightenment" the hsin always [becomes] vast. (269.6-7)

> When you expand your hsin then you are able to partake of [all] the things in the world. (24.11)[76]

For a man to strive for sagehood is to follow his Nature:

> Virtuous men should be known by the world, and sages should enjoy the fate [to which they are entitled]. Even if [virtuous men] are not known and [sages] do not enjoy [their just] fate, you should [still] strive to become a sage or a virtuous man simply [because of] your allotment of the Nature. (310.10)

76 See above, p. 165.

However, people do not become sages or virtuous men because they do not understand what their Nature really is. Achieving understanding, or wisdom, is thus the primary task in learning:

> It is only wisdom that [can] occupy the primary position. Without wisdom you do not know, and if you do not know then how can you act? (287.7-8)

Thus, a man eliminates the obstacles of bad ch'i and habits through ritual, by studying books, asking questions and holding discussions. Eventually he reaches an enlightenment when he finds "this hsin," the ability to grasp the principles of heaven-and-earth. He expands this hsin by applying it more and more widely, until he comes to understand the Nature of man and the principles of the Way:

> The Way of heaven is your Nature. Thus if you think about and understand man you must know heaven.[77] If you are able to know heaven, this is [also] to know man. "To know man" has the same meaning as "exhaust principle and fully realize your Nature so that you arrive at [your proper] fate." (234.10-11)[78]

In other words, to really know man means to attain sagehood, because to know man means to understand that man's Nature is the Way of heaven. A man who understands this will be able to follow the impulses that come from his true Nature. This

[77] Cf Mencius 7A1, Lau p. 182, "... a man who knows his own nature will know Heaven."

[78] Shuo kua 1. I have not followed the CTC emendation of this passage.

means that he has "completed his Nature"--he has fully realized his human potential and been transformed into a sage whose actions accord with heaven-and-earth:

> When transformation is achieved, what are its manifestations?[79] The Doctrine of the Mean says, "...[It is only] he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity [i.e., ch'eng]... who can transform"; the Mencius says, "To be great and be transformed by that greatness...." These are both [descriptions of the sage who] unites his virtue with yin and yang, is in the same stream as heaven-and-earth and penetrates everything. (219.5-7)[80]

Here again, Chang has linked morality to heaven-and-earth: a man who expands his hsin to the point that he is transformed is "in the same stream as heaven-and-earth."

3.3.9 Achieving "authenticity resulting from clarity"

As a man expands his hsin--broadens his understanding--he is simultaneously progressing towards actualizing his Nature. Chang also acknowledged the possibility of taking the opposite path--fulfilling one's Nature and thereby coming to understand the world's principles. The former path Chang described as "authenticity resulting from clarity" (tzu ming ch'eng 自明誠), and the latter as "clarity resulting from authenticity" (tzu ch'eng ming

79 The text reads literally, "What are the manifestations of the reality of transformation?"

80 Chung yung 23, Legge, p. 417; Mencius 7B25, Lau, p. 199.

自誠明).[81] As noted above (p. 136), an "authentic" man is one who has fulfilled his Nature. "Clarity" means fully understanding all the principles of the world. Chang described the two methods as follows:

> You must know that there is a difference between "clarity resulting from authenticity" and "authenticity resulting from clarity." The former is to first fully realize your Nature and thereby arrive at "exhausting [all] principles"; this is to say, on the basis of first understanding your Nature, to arrive at exhausting [all] principles [in the world]. The latter is to arrive at fully realizing your Nature by first exhausting [all] principles; this is to say, by first understanding from learning and inquiring, and extending [this understanding] to get to your heaven-Nature. (330.5-6)

Both routes are possible, but Chang preferred "authenticity resulting from clarity"--understanding principles and thereby coming to fulfill one's Nature. Thus, he exhorted his disciples to strive to understand the principles of the world:

> Learners must take "exhausting [all] principles" as their first [task]. (CTCS 298.8)

> ... first exhaust [all] principles, and then [you will be able to] realize your Nature. (234.12)

"Authenticity from clarity" was also the approach that Chang preferred for himself. For example, the passage cited above concludes:

[81] These two phrases come from Chung yung 21.

> Nowadays, I also humbly aspire to "authenticity [from] clarity," and thus diligently persist [in my learning], taking comfort in not regressing. (330.6-7)

His disciples felt that Chang had indeed achieved this goal. After his death they sought unsuccessfully to have him granted the posthumous title of "authenticity [from] clarity."[82]

3.3.10 Entering the room

Because man has the heaven-Nature within him, his goal should be to allow it to develop and thereby to fully realize his human potential. Historical figures are to be honored only to the extent that they have done so; this holds true even for Confucius:

> In the house we have a portrait of Confucius. I have wanted to place it near my side. [But] to sit facing it would not do; to burn incense would not do either; the ritual of bowing and gazing at it would not do either. I was hard pressed to find a solution. I thought about it. The best thing to do is roll it up and put it away, and honor his Way. (289.9-10)

The learner faces a long and arduous quest, striving for a distant and hazy goal. He should persist, however, because he has the heaven-Nature within him. But the learner's knowledge that this Nature is within him rarely suffices to keep his will firm. Aware of this problem, Chang tried to convey a sense of the joy a man feels when he

82 YKSHSC 89.11, CTC 388.3-4.

arrives at this true knowledge, this understanding beyond words:

> I have been learning for some thirty years now. Since I began to write, I have ceaselessly discussed the principles of morality. When what I said was right it was just [that I was, fortuitously] "right in my conjectures."[83]
>
> [When you do not understand the Way you are] like a burglar who wants to steal things from a room, but does not know where the things are stored. Perhaps he inquires of people outside; perhaps he stands by the wall and listens to what the people say [inside]; in the end, he cannot get [in there] himself, and what he hears is not [as good as experiencing] the real thing. Reading the books of the ancients is like inquiring of people outside. Listening to the discourses of friends is like [standing beside] the wall listening to the words [being spoken inside]. They are all [alike]: [you still] "have not found an entrance to the inside, and [thus] do not see the beauty of the ancestral temple,"[84] or the excellence of the room.
>
> Years later you finally get to go inside. You realize that inside it _is_ beautiful; it _is_ good. [Then] you are unwilling to come out again, and none of the discussions and theories of the world can change this. (288.7-10)

The goal of learning is to get inside the room. Getting there is not easy, but it is worth the effort. And the best model of someone trying to get into the room was Confucius' disciple Yen Hui.

[83] _Lun yü_ 11.18.

[84] _Lun yü_ 19.23.

3.4 YEN HUI

Chang frequently referred to Yen Hui in his writings. He felt that Yen-tzu was the best example of the process of learning to be a sage. In Chang's schema Yen Hui occupied the transitional point between the beginner and the sage. In comparison to beginners, and indeed to most men, Yen-tzu was far advanced. To illustrate this point Chang gave a unique interpretation of the Hsi tz'u chuan line, "If he [i.e., Yen Hui] has a fault, he never fails to recognize it; having recognized it, he never commits the error a second time."[85] Chang interpreted this line to mean that Yen-tzu not only recognized his own faults, but also knew of all the faults that people can commit:

> Confucius praised Yen-tzu, saying "If he has a fault, he never fails to recognize it; having recognized it, he never commits the error a second time." That he "recognized a fault" [means] he knew not only his [own], but all the faults in the world; and so he was firm in not repeating a fault. (224.1-2)

And Yen-tzu's own faults were only occasional traces of impropriety in his thoughts, and no more:

> The Changes says, "If he has a fault, he never fails to recognize it": What is referred to as Yen-tzu's having a fault must have only been a trace in his everyday thoughts; that was "a fault," and he knew it. This is to "know the seeds." (223.9-10)[86]

85 Hsi tz'u chuan B4, Wilhelm, p. 342.

86 The Hsi tz'u chuan B4 defines the seeds as "...the first imperceptible beginning of movement, the first trace

Despite his knowledge of "all the faults in the world" and his ability instantly to recognize a trace of evil in his own thoughts, Yen-tzu had not arrived at sagehood. Thus the above passage, although praising him for "knowing the seeds," concludes by saying:

> In the sage [even this trace of evil] does not exist. (223.10-11)

His realization that Yen-tzu still fell short of the sages led Chang to change an earlier appraisal, which he felt was too high:

> I formerly said [Confucius' remark that] Yen-tzu "did not transfer his anger" meant [that he did not] inflict his own [anger] on others. [However,] I fear Yen-tzu had not reached this point [in his development], and [hence that] this was to appraise him too highly.... Yen-tzu was not necessarily able to be "quiescent and stimulated." Thus subsequently I reinterpreted this [line] as meaning that he did not transfer another's anger to himself. That he "did not repeat a fault" means that he did not repeat his own faults; but this still allows for faults, and merely [means that] he did not repeat them. The sage is without faults. (317.14-318.1)[87]

To be "quiescent and stimulated" means to be perfectly impartial and objective, and to respond appropriately to external circumstances. Yen-tzu was able to avoid mistaking the anger of others as anger directed at himself. But he was not able to avoid making the mistake of transferring his

of good fortune (or misfortune) that shows itself." (Wilhelm, p. 342). I have followed the CTC emendation.

[87] Lun yü 6.3; Hsi tz'u chuan A9, Wilhelm, p. 315.

anger--his subjective emotions--to others. Thus he had not yet achieved the perfect objectivity of the sage.

Since Yen-tzu still had traces of evil in his thoughts, and had not yet achieved complete objectivity, his hsin still had some "coarse" places:

> In learning, if you are unable to infer the principles of matters fully, this is merely [because] your hsin is "coarse." Even in the case of Yen-tzu, in those areas where he had not yet reached sagehood, it was still [a case of] a "coarse hsin." (274.14)

Having a "coarse hsin" means that "this hsin" has not expanded to replace the "rough spots" in the hsin. According to Chang, the reason Yen-tzu still had a "coarse hsin" is because he had not yet been able to "stop and set himself." This can be seen from Chang's interpretation of a rather ambiguous passage in the Analects. One possible translation of this passage is: "The Master said of Yen Hui, 'Alas, I saw him go forward, but had no chance to see whither this progress would have led him in the end.'"[88] Chang, however, following the traditional interpretation of this passage, felt that Yen-tzu had not yet found the place to stop and set himself:

> [Confucius said of] Yen-tzu, "I saw him go forward and never saw him stop." Because he did not stop, he did not actualize that by which one stops

88 This is Arthur Waley's translation of Lun yü 9.21. Waley notes that this translation "seems better than the traditional 'I saw him make progress, and never saw him stand still.'" (Waley, p. 143)

> [i.e., "this hsin"].... I claim that he failed to see the place where the Master had positioned his hsin, and thus he was unwilling to stop. (154.2-3)

Thus, according to Chang's interpretation, Yen-tzu was still searching for the place to stop. As noted, the image of the process of learning was spatial.[89] Yen-tzu was searching for the precise spot to stop; it seemed to be before him, and then suddenly to be behind him:

> Yen-tzu knew where he should go, and he went towards it; thus "I saw him go forward." [But] he would not occupy any position but that of the highest good, and thus "I never saw him stop."... Only the Way of centrality can be called the highest good; ...to go beyond it is not good, and to fall short is not good either. This "highest good" is what Yen-tzu was seeking. Thus [Yen-tzu lamented] "I see it before me. Suddenly it is behind me." (332.5-7)[90]

Yen-tzu was seeking the "highest good," the position of perfect centrality, but he never attained it. However, Chang believed that Yen-tzu's resolve and determination should still serve as a model for the beginner:

> ...Yen-tzu's constant unsewerving intention was to become a sage. Learners must learn from Yen-tzu. (332.8-9)

[89] See above, pp. 176-77.

[90] Lun yü 9.21, 11.16, 9.11; the final quotation is from Lau, p. 97.

Chang derived his ideas on Yen-tzu from three main sources: the Analects, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Book of Changes. In one passage he combined remarks on Yen-tzu from all three of these works:

> Mr. Yen sought the "dragon's virtue, correctness and centrality," but [Confucius] "never saw him stop"; thus he "made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast"; and he lamented that the Master was "suddenly in front, suddenly behind." (50.7)[91]

For Chang, the Analects described Yen-tzu's search for the elusive "spot"--the place where Confucius had positioned his hsin--to set himself; the Doctrine of the Mean spoke of his determination--when he made progress, "he clasped it firmly"; and the Book of Changes spoke of his quest for the "dragon's virtue." The Changes frequently refers to the "dragon," which Chang explained as follows:

> Whenever [the Book of Changes] speaks of the dragon, it is a metaphor for the sage. (79.6-7)

Yen-tzu's search for the "dragon's virtue" thus refers to his pursuit of sagehood.

It is interesting in this context to note that Chang believed the ch'ien hexagram of the Changes embodied the process of learning, of ascension from the realm of the great man to that of sagehood:[92]

91 Changes, Ch'ien kua (乾卦), Wen yen (文言); Lun yü 9.21; Chung yung 8, Legge, p. 389; Lun yü 9.11.

> It is all right to compare [the first position of the ch'ien hexagram] to the cultivation of sagehood which has not yet been completed.... As for [yang in] the second and third [positions], these are both the affairs of the great man. (76.11-12)

The Changes does not describe a simple, step by step progression to sagehood; as noted above, after a man has found the place to stop and has set himself there, progress to sagehood will occur spontaneously and in due course, through "ripening humaneness" and "broadening understanding." Thus the above passage continues:

> [This] is not to say that the fourth [position] is better than the third, the third better than the second, the fifth better than the fourth, and that in this manner sagehood can be reached in steps. The third, fourth and second [positions] all refer to the "time" one encounters.[93] The "time" of the second [position] is calm and harmonious, [and so the Changes says] "dragon appearing in the field": this is a place [where] you can stop. [It says] "time to dwell": this means "time to stop." (76.12-14)

The place where the learner should stop is thus represented in the hexagram by "yang in the second position," the position of "centrality and correctness." But until a man arrives at sagehood, he can still be led astray by such

92 Ch'ien is the first hexagram of the Changes, consisting of six "firm," or yang, lines.

93 "Time" is an important concept in the Changes, meaning the overall circumstances one faces in a given situation, as embodied by each line of a given hexagram. See Wilhelm, p. 359, for further discussion of this concept in the Changes.

temptations as wanton music;[94] thus he must set himself firmly, because he still faces dangerous situations which can lead him from his course. These situations are embodied by yang in the third and fourth positions of the hexagram:

> The third and fourth [positions] are both dangerous and difficult "times"; they are too firm and not central. (76.14)

If one can make it through these dangerous situations, one will arrive at sagehood:

> To arrive at "nine in the fifth position" is [to arrive at] the place where sagehood has been fully attained; [the Changes] no [longer] speaks of "time." "Flying dragon in heaven" is comparable to arriving at sagehood; it is like [grasping the principles of] heaven; you cannot ascend [to that level] in steps. (76.14-15)

Sagehood is thus represented by "nine (i.e., yang) in the fifth position":

> "Nine in the fifth position": the great man is transformed. He occupies the position of "heaven's virtue"; he completes his Nature and [becomes] a sage. (50.9)

> ...[at] "nine in the fifth position" [the Changes] could only say, "and then he occupies the position of heaven's virtue." I claim that [at this point] he has really arrived at completed sagehood.... It does not say "heaven-and-earth," but says "heaven's virtue." Saying "virtue" means that both virtue and position are attained. Thus it says "the great man arrives"; arriving at this point, the matters of the great man are at an end. The fifth [position] is the place where ch'ien is at its fullest, and thus [the Changes] takes this

94 See above, p. 176.

> as [meaning] the complete virtue of the sage. It says, "and then he occupies the position": this means he has really arrived, and possesses [the sage's virtue] within him. (77.13-15)

The first four positions of the ch'ien hexagram thus are the situations faced by the great man. The second position--centrality and correctness--is the spot where he must set himself. He has not yet completed his Nature, and hence still faces difficult situations which can prevent him from arriving at sagehood. These are embodied by yang in the third and fourth position, which are "too firm and not central." But if his resolve remains firm, he will arrive at "nine in the fifth position," where the great man is transformed into sagehood. Thus the "matters of the great man are at an end," and he "possesses the sage's virtue within him."

Yen-tzu was on the right track. He was so close that, unlike virtually everyone else, the dragon imagery could be applied to him. Thus the passage cited in part above (p. 189) reads:

> Whenever [the Book of Changes] speaks of the dragon, it is a metaphor for the sage. Someone like Yen-tzu could assume this [role]; [on the other hand,] even with his learning, Po Yi still could not be said to have been a dragon. (79.6-7)[95]

[95] Confucius said Po Yi was an "...excellent man of old." Lun yü 7.15, Lau, p. 88. See also Lun yü 5.23, 16.12, 18.8. Mencius said that Po Yi "...would only serve the right prince and rule over the right people, took office when order prevailed and relinquished it when there was disorder. Mencius 2A2, Lau, p. 79. See also Mencius 2A9,

Even someone as virtuous as Po Yi could not be described as a dragon. Yen-tzu could be so described, and yet he did not reach sagehood. Thus, he could only be compared to a "hidden dragon":

> Yen-tzu had not completed his Nature, and this [is why] he was a "hidden dragon"; nor was he willing to stop at [nine in the second position, where the Changes says] "dragon appearing [in the field]." (75.14)

Yen-tzu had not yet found the position of perfect centrality, the place to stop. In the imagery of the Changes, the place to stop is at "nine in the second position," when the "dragon appears in the field." Not having found this spot, Yen-tzu remained a "hidden," or "potential" dragon:[96]

> A "hidden dragon" [means], of course, that the virtue of the sage is completely present, but it has not yet been actualized. (78.5)

Even Yen-tzu, the "hidden dragon," had not completed his Nature; this means that he still had some ground to cover:

> All those who have not arrived at sagehood have simply not completed the path. (79.5)

A man who completes this path and fully realizes his Nature becomes a sage. But what is a sage; and what does a sage do?

3B10, 4A14, 6A6, 7A22, 7B15. See also CTC 78.1-2.

96 Ch'ien (潛) means both "hidden" and "potential."

Chapter IV

SAGEHOOD

The sages--who they were and what they had done--were a longstanding concern in the Chinese philosophic tradition.[1] Numerous philosophers and philosophic schools shared the view that the sages had raised mankind from the level of uncivilized creatures; that they had, in effect, created Chinese culture.[2]

In the eleventh century a new element was added to the long-standing interest in sages, one which remained a major strand in Tao hsüeh thought for centuries thereafter.[3] This new element was the notion that one should seek not only to follow the Way of the sages, but also to become a sage oneself. An interesting illustration of this point is found in the Reflections on Things at Hand, the anthology compiled by Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien in the twelfth century. This work ends with a comment by Chang Tsai on the Ch'eng brothers' determination to achieve sagehood. As one scholar

1 See above, pp. 38-44.

2 See Hsiao/Mote, pp. 235-36, 335-36, 390-92, 484n, 537-38, 562, 573-77, 588-89, 615-16, 622, 62-26, 651-52.

3 See deBary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation," pp. 155ff; Metzger, Predicament, 60ff; and Rodney Taylor, The Cultivation of Sagehood as a Religious Goal in Neo-Confucianism: a Study of Selected Writings of Kao Pan-lung (1562-1626), Diss. Columbia 1974.

has noted, the editors' intention was "...to leave as the final impression in the reader's mind the example of the Ch'eng brothers' active commitment to becoming sages."[4]

4.1 PURSUING AN ELUSIVE GOAL

For Chang Tsai sagehood was the goal in the arduous process of learning. That process, as he described it, is carried out as follows: the learner first strives to change and transform his ch'i-constitution to get in touch with "this hsin," his intuitive ability to understand the Way; he then sets himself firmly on this "spot," and "expands his hsin" by applying this intuitive sense to more and more phenomena and situations, until he comes to understand the ultimate unity of all things. To do this is to "exhaust the marvelous and understand the transformations" and to "complete his Nature"; in short, to become a sage.

[4] W.T. deBary, "Cultivation," p. 156. Curiously, commentators have failed to notice that this passage is cited only in part in the Chin ssu lu. Chang's criticism of the Ch'engs is omitted. The whole passage reads:

> From the time they were fourteen years old, the two Ch'engs were already keenly determined to learn to be sages. Now they have reached the age of forty, and have not been able to reach [the level of Confucius'] disciples Yen [Hui] and Min [Sun]. The younger Ch'eng [i.e., Ch'eng Yi] can be like Yen-tzu, but I fear he has not reached Yen-tzu's being "without self." (280.10-11)

Cf Chan, Reflections, p. 308. See also p. 275, below.

There is a fundamental problem in Chang's views on sagehood. On the one hand, he believed in the basic goodness and perfectability of man; on the other, he acknowledged that only a handful of sages had appeared over the course of human history. But despite the fact that there had been so few sages, Chang nevertheless emphasized that sages were not different in kind from other men:[5]

> Sages are men. (317.1)
>
> Although [one is] a sage, one is still merely a man. (189.10)

Since the sage is "merely a man," it follows that men can become sages:

> "The sages give instruction" so that everyone can reach this [level]. "Everyone can become a Yao or Shun." (283.1)[6]

In contrast to Buddhists, who do not understand how to reach sagehood, Confucian scholars "cause their learning to arrive [at the highest level] and are able to become sages."[7] Thus, Chang urged his followers to continue to strive for sagehood, telling them "not to stop until they were like the

[5] Cf Mencius 6A7, Lau, p. 164: "The sage and I are of the same kind."

[6] Changes, Kuan kua, has, "The sage uses the marvelous way to give instruction." The second quotation is from Mencius 6B2.

[7] CTC 65.4.

sages."[8] And Chang also wrote:

> All those who have not arrived at sagehood have simply not completed the path. (79.5)[9]

Although anyone can become a sage, it is extremely difficult to do so. Indeed, from some of Chang's comments, we can see that he placed the sage far beyond the level of ordinary men:

> To preserve void-ness and clarity, to dwell long in the highest virtue, to follow the changes and transformations, to attain "timeliness and centrality": these are the height of humaneness, the full realization of righteousness. Only after you know "what is hidden and what is evident," and unrelentingly continue in goodness, can you complete your Nature. (17.12-13)[10]

It is not surprising, then, that even Yen Hui and Mencius fell short of reaching this level. When compared to the sage, Yen-tzu still had a "coarse hsin."[11] And Chang said of Mencius:

> In comparison to the sage, Mencius was still an unrefined man. (375.3)

8 CTC 383.6.

9 Cf p. 193 above.

10 "Timeliness and centrality" comes from the Chung yung 2.2, and from the Changes, Meng kua (蒙卦) (see below, p. 209); the second quotation is from the Hsi tz'u chuan B4, Wilhelm, p. 342. To "unrelentingly continue in goodness" and "complete your Nature" are allusions to the Hsi tz'u chuan A4. I have not followed the CTC emendation.

11 See above, p. 187.

Elsewhere Chang used the following terms to express the difficulty of achieving sagehood:

> In his hsin to be at ease with humaneness; to be without desire and "love humaneness"; to be without fear and "hate the non-humane." [The sage] is unique in the world. (29.8)[12]

In other words, Chang believed that the sage is different from ordinary men, and he was aware of the fact that very few people had ever attained sagehood. But this awareness did not sway Chang from his determination to strive for sagehood, and to teach others to strive for it. He believed that striving for sagehood is good in and of itself, because to do so is to follow the heaven-Nature that is within every man:

> Virtuous men should be known by the world, and sages should enjoy the fate [to which they are entitled]. Even if [virtuous men] are not known and [sages] do not enjoy [their just] fate, you should [still] strive to become a sage or a virtuous man simply [because of] your allotment of the Nature. (310.10)[13]

And in any case, the superior man is supposed to do what is right, even if he knows it will not help the situation. Confucius was one who "...knows it's no use, but keeps on doing it."[14] Chang Tsai alluded to this passage from the

[12] Lun yü 4.6. The last phrase reads literally, "There is only one man in the world," which I take to mean that the sage is unique; it could also be taken more literally to mean that only one man--Confucius--has reached this level.

[13] see above, p. 179.

Analects, and to this spirit of Confucius, when he explained why he wrote a set of ten poems:

> As for my writing the ten poems: although I know very well that it will not help matters, I do not dare break from the Way and not [try to] help matters. Like Confucius at the Stone Gate: this is "to know it's no use, but to keep on doing it."
>
> But what is the reason for doing it? It is the method of humaneness. It is like the [story in] the Rites of Chou about the bow that saves the sun and the arrow that saves the moon; how could they fail to know it would not help save [the situation]? But they could not just sit by and watch them be gradually eclipsed, and not [try to] save [them]. (315.2-3)[15]

Thus, one must do what is right, even though one knows it may not be of any use. Although one knows that sagehood is nearly impossible to achieve, one should still strive for it.

[14] Lun yü 14.38, Waley, p. 190.

[15] Chou li, SPTK ed., 10.10a.

4.2 SUBSTANCE: WHAT THE SAGE IS

The sage is a man who has fully realized his human potential. In Chang's terminology, he has "completed his Nature and been transformed":

> When the great man completes his Nature he is sage-like and transformed; being transformed, [he possesses] the pure virtue of heaven. The sage is like heaven. (76.6)

> When you complete your Nature, you follow your hsin and all [your actions accord with] heaven. Thus when you complete your Nature you are called a sage. (78.1)[16]

The sage has completed his Nature by "expanding his hsin"; in other words, he has broadened the scope of his understanding so that it encompasses everything in the world. His understanding is such that he recognizes the unity of all things--that they are all formed by the condensation of the same undifferentiated Ch'i; and that all processes and phenomena are governed by the same interaction and succession of polar forces. This understanding enables him to transcend his self-interest and regard his own physical being as just a thing, like any other:

> The [mirror formed by the] principles of heaven reflects both the self and others. It is as if you hold a mirror over here: you can only reflect the other person, and can see nothing of yourself. But with the mirror in the center everything is reflected. When the principles of heaven are always present, yourself and things are all seen; then you are not selfish, [because you realize]

16 I have not followed the CTC emendation.

> you are also a thing. [In this manner,] people often transcend their own bodies, and thus achieve clarity. (285.4-6)

By transcending his selfish desires and realizing that his body is just another "thing," the sage breaks down the barrier between himself and others and is "without self":

> The sage is the same as other men but is "without self." (34.5)

> After a man is "without self" he is vast; after he is vast and completes his Nature, he is a sage. (17.7)

Being without self, the sage recognizes his unity with the things of the world. In a passage cited in part above, Chang wrote:[17]

> When you expand your hsin you are able to partake of [all] the things in the world. If there are things of which you have not partaken, then your hsin has that which is outside it.... When [the sage] looks upon the world there is not one thing that is not he. Mencius said in reference to this, "When you fully realize your hsin you know your Nature and you know heaven." (24.11-12)[18]

In his most famous work, the "Western Inscription," Chang put it this way:

> Therefore that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my Nature. (62.7)[19]

17 See above, p. 165, and note 58 on "partake."

18 Mencius 7A1.

19 Chan, Sourcebook, p. 497.

What "fills the universe" is gi, which also forms "my body"; what "directs the universe" is the yin-yang polarity which is also "my Nature."

Because the sage has transcended the barrier between himself and others, he is void:

> The sage is the extreme of void-ness. (325.10)

For Chang, "void-ness" had two meanings:[20] selflessness, which the sage possesses; and lack of physical form. The sage can be said to be void in the latter sense as well, in that his knowledge has no "physical form," existing only in response to specific stimuli. This kind of knowledge is like the Great Void, which is without tangible form but is the most real and substantial of things:

> In time gold and iron become decayed and the highest mountains are eroded. Everything that has physical form is easily broken down. Only the Great Void is fixed and unmoving; thus it is the most substantial. (325.11-12)

The sage is void in that he is "without knowledge." But just as the Great Void is actually the "most substantial," so being "without knowledge" is actually the highest knowledge:

> When there is not knowing, then there is [true] knowing; if there is no "not knowing," then there is no [true] knowing. This is why when the rustic questioned him, Confucius fully presented both sides and [yet] he was empty. The Changes is

20 See above, pp. 110-111.

> "without thought and without action," [yet] "it takes up his communications like an echo." (31.6)[21]

The sage is "without knowledge"; but when he is questioned, he answers fully and correctly. As in the above passage, Chang used the image of the Book of Changes given in the Hsi tz'u chuan to make this point:

> Being "without knowledge" lies in there being nothing you do not know. If you say you have knowledge, then there are things you do not know. Only because [Confucius] was "without knowledge" was he able to "fully present both sides." This is what the Changes calls "quiescent and unmoving; when stimulated, then it penetrates." (200.7-8)[22]

The sage is like the Changes, which is "quiescent and unmoving" until it is put to use; then, "it penetrates the causes of all situations under heaven."[23] Yen Hui, according to Chang, had not reached this level:

> Yen-tzu was not necessarily able to be "quiescent and stimulated." (317.14-318.1)[24]

Chang used two other metaphors to illustrate this feature of the sage. One was to compare him to a bell:

> The great bell never makes a sound [itself]; it makes a sound only when it is struck. The sage never has knowledge; he has knowledge only when he

21 Lun yü 9.8; Hsi tz'u chuan A9.

22 Lun yü 9.8; Hsi tz'u chuan A9.

23 Hsi tz'u chuan A9.

24 See above, p. 186.

> is questioned. (31.13)[25]

Chang also used the image of the sea:

> The great sea does not moisten; it moistens [only] because there is thirst. The greatest humaneness is without kindness; there is kindness [only] because there is insufficiency. (34.14)

The sage, then, is "without knowledge" because his knowledge assumes form only when it is "stimulated." But like the Great Void which is without form and yet is the most substantial, his is the highest knowledge. The sage's understanding of the principles of the world extends to the most subtle and difficult points:

> [The Changes says:] "the most refined": this refers to the fact that the sage exhausts principle, fully comprehending the most subtle and refined points. It is what the Doctrine of the Mean calls "the utmost reaches." (199.11-12)[26]

Every thing and every event has subtle features that distinguish it from everything else. These are the "utmost reaches." At the same time, there are certain basic principles--the interaction of the two polar forces--that underlie all phenomena. Grasping this "simple and easy principle"[27] enables the sage to "string it all on one

[25] Wang Chien-ch'i, "T'ou t'o ssu pei wen yi shou," in Wen hsüan, KHCPTS ed., ts'e 12, 59.23, has: "The great bell is void and receptive, and responds to every approach."

[26] Hsi tz'u chuan A9; Chung yung 12.4, Legge, p. 393.

[27] Hsi tz'u chuan A1.

thread":

> After "the simple and easy principle is grasped," you can string the Way of the world on one thread. (36.2)

Because he truly comprehends this principle in his hsin, the phenomena of the world and the words of the Classics are all clear to the sage:

> If you understand in your hsin, then [when] you seek the meaning, of course it will be clear. You do not need to collate every word. It is like a man whose vision is clear: the myriad things, disorderly and confused before him, are no obstacle [to his understanding]. (276.12)

This is in contrast to the ordinary man who has not grasped the "easy and simple principle." The above passage concludes:

> But as for one whose vision is muddled, even a withered tree or a rotten trunk are [confusing] enough to be obstructions. (276.12)

The sage thus comprehends the workings of the phenomena of heaven-and-earth. This kind of knowledge enables him to "know the seeds," to have an intuitive grasp of the direction events will take. The Hsi tz'u chuan says that "The seeds are the first imperceptible beginnings of movement, the first traces of good fortune that show themselves."[28] Because the sage understands the workings of the two polarities, he knows which way a situation is likely

28 Hsi tz'u chuan B4; modified from Wilhelm, p. 342.

to develop. He knows, for example, that one force contains within it the beginning of its polar opposite:

> The essence of yin and yang each conceals [within itself] the dwelling place of the other. (12.3)[29]

Thus Chang wrote:

> Knowing the seeds is to be able to take contraction as expansion. (219.12)

To know the seeds, therefore, is a kind of foreknowledge. Chang quoted another phrase from the Hsi tz'u chuan--"pure righteousness verging on the marvelous"[30] --to describe the same rarefied level of understanding. Chang defined "pure righteousness" as follows:

> To have transcended and gone beyond [the distinction between] self and other, and to be without "intention, certainty, inflexibility and egotism": this is "pure righteousness." (286.13)[31]

Reaching this level enables one to see how an event will unfold:

> "To know the seeds is marvelous"; "pure righteousness verging on the marvelous": these are both the height of foreknowledge. Foreknowledge is to see a matter before it has sprouted.

[29] See above, p. 92.

[30] Hsi tz'u chuan B3. CTC 216.2 has: "Pure righteousness verging on the marvelous is merely foreknowledge."

[31] Lun yü 9.4. See above, p. 164.

(217.7)[32]

This kind of marvelous foreknowledge enables one to avoid difficulty:

> ...the avoiding of difficulty by one who knows lies in the seeds prior [to the event]. (129.4)

Knowing the seeds is not simply pragmatic foreknowledge, however; it enables one to act in a morally correct way:

> If you want to enter [a state of] virtue, you must begin by knowing the seeds. (242.6-7)

When one knows the seeds, one knows how the situation is likely to develop, and therefore what the ethically correct course will be:

> When you see the seeds then righteousness is clear. (218.10)

This is an important point. Chang believed that the processes of heaven-and-earth, although spontaneous and without consciousness, are good. Understanding these processes is moral knowledge; one who has this kind of understanding <u>will</u> act in a morally appropriate way. There is no question about this for Chang.

One result of the sage's subtle understanding is that he is a most effective teacher. He knows what kind of approach is best suited to each individual, and knows exactly where

32 <u>Hsi tz'u chuan</u> B4, B3.

to aim his instruction. He is like the famous Cook Ting in the Chuang-tzu, who knew the exact spots to place his knife:

> Teaching people is extremely difficult. Only if you fully realize [the learner's] talent do you do him no wrong. [You must] observe the place to reach him and then tell him. The clarity of the sage is just like Cook Ting's butchering an ox. He knows all the crevices; the blade passes through the empty spaces. "The whole ox" is not [what he sees]. (335.9-10)[33]

Just as Cook Ting knew intuitively the precise spots to place his knife, so the sage knows the precise spots where each person can be reached.

The sage's behavior, which is morally appropriate, is also timely. To express this point Chang borrowed a metaphor from Mencius, who said that one of the ways of teaching is "to exert a transforming influence like timely rain":[34]

> "There is [teaching which is] like the transformation brought about by timely rain." "When he can" he takes advantage of the opportunity and acts. He does not wait to teach until the other man has sought or acted. (31.14-15)

Chang also drew another metaphor for timeliness from the Book of Rites:

[33] Chuang-tzu, chapter 3, "The Secret of Caring for Life," Watson, p. 50, has: "After three years I no longer saw the whole ox."

[34] In Mencius 7A40, this is the first of five ways that the gentleman teaches.

> Timely rain transforms them; "In spring they chant, in summer pluck the string"--one can also say that "what is meant by timeliness is 'when he can.'" (310.2)[35]

The sage's actions are perfectly suited to the given conditions, and occur at precisely the right time; he achieves "timeliness and centrality":

> What is meant by "timeliness" in the phrase "the timeliness of the sage" is "when he can"; it is to obtain "timeliness and centrality." He can proceed, he can stop: this is timeliness in emerging and dwelling. He even achieves timeliness in all his speech and actions. (309.12)[36]

The "center" is dynamic, shifting for each individual according to the situation. In addition to "timeliness and centrality" Chang also used another phrase from the Book of Changes, "centrality and correctness," to express the same idea:

> After [you achieve] centrality and correctness you are able to string the Way of the world [on one thread]. (26.11)

In the Changes, each hexagram differs from every other, and the center for each hexagram and its component trigrams also differs.[37] This is true for man as well, and only one who

35 Li chi Cheng chu, SPTK ed., 6.15b.

36 "The timeliness of the sage" is from Mencius 5B1; "timeliness and centrality" is from the Chung yung 2.2 and the Changes, Meng kua.

37 See Wilhelm, pp. 356-65, for discussion of the structure of the hexagrams and trigrams, and the position of

has centrality and correctness can "string the Way of the world on one thread."

However, the sage does not achieve timeliness and centrality, or centrality and correctness, through deliberate intent and calculation. His development is such that he has an intuitive grasp of the way a situation will develop, and his actions occur spontaneously; he "follows his hsin and all his actions accord with heaven."[38] The sage does not need to strive to do what is right, nor to ponder his course of action:

> To have nothing mixed in is the extreme of purity; to have nothing different is the extreme of harmony. To strive and be pure is not the purity of the sage; to strive and be harmonious is not the harmony of the sage. What we mean by a sage is one who reaches those [goals] without striving or thinking. (28.3-4)

Chang quoted a famous passage from the Doctrine of the Mean to make this point:

> When you arrive at [the level of] completing your Nature, then you "hit upon what is right without effort and apprehend without thinking. You are smoothly and easily in harmony with the Way." (192.7-8)[39]

the individual lines.

[38] See above, p. 200.

[39] Chung yung 20.18; cf Tu, Centrality, p. 107.

The sage's appropriateness and timeliness come about because he is completely in tune with the flow of events. He "unites his virtue with yin and yang, is in the same stream as heaven-and-earth...."[40] Chang referred to this quality of the sage as hsing ch'i so wu shih (行其所無事), which means, roughly, "to do that which is not an endeavor":[41]

> [The Changes says:] "What need of thought and care?" [This means] merely "doing that which is not an endeavor." The following lines are all of this one meaning.... When you do that which is not an endeavoer, then "intention, certainty, inflexibility and egotism" have already been eliminated.... The coming and going of sun and moon, winter and summer; the contraction of the measuring worm, the hibernation of dragons and snakes; these are all [examples of] doing that which is not an endeavor.... If you are unable to receive things with void-ness and you have that to which you are attached, this is not to "do that which is not an endeavor." (215.9-216.2)[42]

These are all examples from the realm of heaven-and-earth of how the bipolarities succeed each other spontaneously and in due course. As with these phenomena, there is no conflict for the sage, no difficulty, no need for thought. Elsewhere, Chang gave another example of what he meant by "doing that which is not an endeavor," with a unique interpretation of Confucius' remark that "the superior man does not contend":

40 See above, p. 181.

41 This is a phrase used by Mencius to describe how Yü tamed the flood waters. See Mencius 4B26.

42 Hsi tz'u chuan B3, Wilhelm, p. 338; Lun yü 9.4. The examples are also from the Hsi tz'u chuan B3.

> "The superior man does not contend": when the other man comes forth I recede. This is knowledge. When the other man recedes I go forth without [consciously] going forth. What need is there for contention? (36.4)[43]

Confucius said that a superior man does not contend because he follows the rules of propriety even when he competes. Chang took this passage to mean that such a man is fully in tune with events, so that he responds appropriately--"when the other man comes forth he recedes"; and he does so spontaneously, without conscious effort--he "goes forth without consciously going forth."

In sum, the sage is a man who has fully realized his human potential. He is "void." This means that he is without self, and therefore able to "partake of all the things in the world"; and he is "without knowledge," since his knowledge is manifested only in response to stimuli. Yet he possesses an intuitive understanding of both the general principles underlying the myriad things and events, and of the subtle features that distinguish each thing and event. He "knows the seeds," and thus his behavior is always morally good, appropriate to the situation, and timely. He is completely in tune with events and with his "center" for every situation; thus he is able to "do that which is not an endeavor." It is no wonder that "the sage is unique in the world."

[43] Lun yü 3.7; cf Lao-tzu 22. I take this passage to be an example of "doing that which is not an endeavor," although Chang did not draw this connection.

4.3 FUNCTION: WHAT THE SAGE DOES

The spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth, which Chang called the way of heaven, proceed according to certain fixed principles. Things are born, grow old, and die; days and nights follow each other, and the seasons succeed each other in due course. Although the way of heaven is impersonal, with no consciousness directing it, it is good: it is a life-giving, nurturing, reliable process. Man should thus accord with and fit into this process. In fact, to do so is to accord with his true Nature, because that Nature consists of the same yin-yang polarity that governs everything. However, because man does not understand his Nature and his oneness with the rest of heaven-and-earth, he is controlled by his physical nature, the lusts and desires of his body. The role of the sage is to cause other men to understand their Nature and their relationship to heaven-and-earth, and to thereby accord with the way of heaven.

The sage possesses the "pure virtue of heaven" and "his actions all accord with heaven."[44] But he is not the same as heaven--he is still a man:

> Although [one is] a sage, one is still merely a man. How could one, then, wish to be like heaven's marvelousness? How could this fail to harm one's activities? (189.10)

44 See above, p. 200. The following passage is cited in part on p. 196 above.

This is as it should be. The sage's role is not to be the same as heaven, but rather to complement heaven:

> If there were no need for the sage to order the world through thought and consideration, concern and care, then what need would there be for sages? Heaven's rule would be enough by itself. (189.10-11)

Heaven "sets the stage." But because it is without consciousness or humaneness, it is up to one with consciousness--the sage--to complete the job. He must order the world through his own humaneness:

> Lao-tzu says, "Heaven-and-earth is without humaneness, and treats the myriad things as straw dogs." This is correct. [He also says,] "The sage is without humaneness, and treats the people as straw dogs." This is strange; how could there be a sage who is without humaneness? What [the sage] worries about is lack of humaneness. What thought does heaven-and-earth have about humaneness? It "spurs on the myriad things" and no more. The sage is merely humane, and therefore is able to "enlarge the Way."... Heaven cannot produce all good men: this is precisely because heaven is without intention. (188.12-189.3)[45]

> "The sage completes capabilities"; I claim that this is how he is different from heaven-and-earth. (189.12)[46]

"Heaven's rule" is not enough by itself. It is without consciousness, and thus does not "produce all good men." It lays the groundwork--the potential for goodness is within every man--and it is up to the sage to finish the task by

[45] Lao-tzu 25; Hsi tz'u chuan A5; Lun yü 15.29.

[46] Hsi tz'u chuan B9.

leading people to behave properly and to realize their potential. He "enlarges the Way"; he "completes capabilities"; he is the "manager" of the myriad things:

> Heaven is merely the single qi in motion. It "spurs on the myriad things" and produces [everything, but] it is without a hsin by which to sympathize with them. The sage, however, has concerns and cares, and cannot be like heaven. "Heaven-and-earth establishes the positions, the sage completes capabilities." The sage is the master of the things of heaven-and-earth; moreover, "his wisdom encompasses all things and his way of being brings order into the whole world." He must serve as the "manager" for them. (185.10-11)[47]

According to the Doctrine of the Mean, the sage can "assist in the transforming and nourishing process of heaven and earth, and can thus form a triad with heaven and earth."[48] Chang also believed that the sage forms a "triad with heaven and earth" by fulfilling the way of man:

> I claim that to fulfill the way of man and stand together with heaven and earth to complete the "three fundamental powers" is to "form a triad with heaven and earth." (178.10)[49]

However, to "fulfill the way of man" does not mean that the sage interferes with the processes of heaven-and-earth. It means, rather, that he accords with, and brings others into accord with those processes:

47 Hsi tz'u chuan A5, B9, A4.

48 Chung yung 22.

49 Shuo kua 2, Wilhelm, p. 264.

> It is not permissible to "help grow" the transformations; it is permissible to accord with them. (17.12)[50]

Thus the sage does not involve himself in the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth; but he still plays a crucial role in bringing the world into accord with those processes.

How does the sage accomplish this task? In part by making sense of the processes of heaven-and-earth for the people, so that they will be able to follow them:

> The enterprise of the sage is to be able to comprehend the changes and set them forth before the people. (190.12)[51]

Chang expanded on the cryptic phrase in the Hsi tz'u chuan, "Transforming and cutting them is called change,"[52] to compare this endeavor of the sage to the cutting and shaping of clothes:

> The method of the sage is to follow the changes and "shape" them in order to teach the world. (203.12)

> The sage, following the transformations of heaven-and-earth, "tailors" [them] and establishes the patterns, causing the people to know the change of the seasons. Thus they are called spring, summer, fall and winter. This is also one part of "transforming and cutting them." (208.3)[53]

50 Mencius 2A2 (see above, p. 151).

51 Cf Hsi tz'u chuan A12.

52 Hsi tz'u chuan A12.

53 CTC has wei (為) instead of wei (裁), clearly an error in transcription. See, e.g., CTC 207.9 and CTCS

The changes and transformations--the processes of heaven-and-earth--are the raw materials. The sage "shapes" and "tailors" them to bring order to this seemingly bewildering situation. This does not mean that he imposes an order on them, however; he "follows the changes" and reveals the order that is there, so that the people understand those processes and "know the change of the seasons."

More specifically, the sages made sense out of the changes and transformations by writing the Book of Changes. Chang felt that the Changes parallel, or embody, the processes of heaven-and-earth:[54]

> "Heaven-and-earth changes and transforms": the sages wrote the Changes, imitating them [i.e., the changes and transformations] through the divination process.[55] Thus [the Changes] says: "The sage imitates them." (204.10)[56]

The lines and hexagrams of the Book of Changes embody specific situations; the texts and commentaries that the sages attached to the hexagrams reveal the course of action which each of those situations requires:

> The sages composed a book of laws and regulations for the people, so that the people would know what to move towards and what to avoid. This is the significance of the Changes. (182.2)

239.10.

54 See above, p. 89.

55 Following the CTC emendation, which is based on the Chou yi hsi tz'u ching yi.

56 Hsi tz'u chuan A11.

Thus Chang said that the Changes reveals the way to "do that which is not an endeavor," which he also called the "way of furthering fully":[57]

> The enterprise of the Changes is to raise the way of "furthering fully" and place it before the people of the world "so that they chart their course according to the eternal [rules of] propriety." (207.2)

In other words, the interactions of the yin and yang lines in the hexagrams of the Book of Changes parallel the various situations of the world. The appended texts and commentaries set forth the actions which are appropriate to the given situation. Thus the Changes reveals the way of "furthering fully," the course of action by which one can be fully in accord with the flow of events. To follow such a course of action is, of course, to behave in a morally correct way, to behave "according to the eternal rules of propriety."

In addition to making the changes and transformations comprehensible, and revealing the way to accord with them, the sage also regulates the world of man to bring it into conformity with heaven-and-earth. He does this through ritual. The origin of ritual is heaven-and-earth; it is not

57 Chin li (臺利) is from the Hsi tz'u chuan A12. Li is a fundamental concept in the Changes, which Wilhelm translates as "to further." Chang Tsai took li to mean, roughly, "smooth sailing." See, e.g., CTC 70.8-10. In the following passage, the last quotation is from the Hsi tz'u chuan A6. Wilhelm, p. 324, renders it, "To take their course according to eternal laws."

an arbitrary human construct:[58]

> As heaven produces things there are the images of exalted and base, great and small. Man simply follows this. This is how ritual was created. There are learners who, maintaining that ritual comes from man, do not understand that ritual is based on the spontaneous [processes] of heaven. (264.12-13)

Although ritual is based on the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth and does not "come from man," the sages were needed to complement the work of heaven-and-earth. It was they who saw those "images of exalted and base, great and small" in heaven-and-earth and translated them into rules of behavior for human society. Chang interpreted the Hsi tz'u chuan line, "The Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun allowed the upper and lower garments to hang down, and the world was in order," to symbolize putting into effect the rules of ritual:[59]

> In prehistoric times there was no distinction between ruler and minister, exalted and base, the laborer and the idle. Thus, [the sages] ordered [the world] by means of ritual; they "allowed the upper and lower garments to hang down, and the world was in order." (212.9)

Thus it was the sages who created the rules of ritual, based on the spontaneous processes of heaven-and-earth, in order to bring order to the world of man.

[58] See above, pp. 109-110.

[59] Hsi tz'u chuan B2, Wilhelm, p. 332. This line was usually taken to symbolize "rule by inaction."

In addition, the sage is a model for the people in everything he does:

> "The superior man knows the hidden and the evident, the soft and the hard"; he never misses obtaining the Mean. Thus, in movement and at rest he is a model for the multitudes. (223.2)[60]

Chang had his own version of Confucius' famous remark that "To overcome oneself and return to propriety constitutes humaneness":[61]

> To overcome oneself and behave by the rules is to be a virtuous man; to rejoice in oneself and be able to serve as the pattern [for others] is to be a sage. (46.9)

The sage also moves people by the moral force of his own example. There is a certain magical quality to the transforming effect of the sage's virtue, as can be seen in certain passages of the Mencius, the Analects and the Book of Changes.[62] Chang alluded to some of these passages in his own comments on the way virtue exerts a "marvelous" influence:

> [When] your own virtuous Nature is full and substantial, people are themselves transformed. "You rectify yourself and others are rectified." (312.14)[63]

60 Hsi tz'u chuan B4.

61 Lun yü 12.1.

62 Cf Fingarette, pp. 1-17. See, e.g., Mencius 7A19, Lun yü 12.19, and Changes, Kuan kua (觀卦).

63 Mencius 7A19.

Merely through the power of the sage's virtue, others are transformed. As Confucius said of the superior man, the sage is like the wind and the people, grass:

> "The sage stimulates the hsin of the people and the world is pacified." This is [like] the wind moving them. When the sage "treats the aged of his own family in a manner befitting their venerable age and extends this treatment to the aged of other families," then the people also desire to "treat the aged of their own family in a manner befitting their venerable age." (125.5-6)[64]

The sage has the "marvelous" ability of acting here and bringing about an effect there:

> The sage, then,is able to "effect stimulation." What is meant by "effect stimulation?" Giving instruction and bestowing transformation are both to "effect stimulation." To be active here and bring about transformation there: these are all the way of stimulation. This is [what is meant by] "the sage uses the marvelous way to give instruction." (107.5-6)[65]

> "Heaven does not speak and the four seasons proceed"; "The sage gives instruction and the world submits [to him]." Authenticity here [causing] movement there: is this not the way of the marvelous? (107.7)[66]

64 Changes, Hsien kua (咸卦); Mencius 1A7, Lau, p. 56.

65 Changes, Kuan kua.

66 Lun yü 17.17; Changes, Kuan kua. I have not followed the CTC emendation.

Thus, by writing the Changes, by creating the rules of ritual, and by serving as a model for others, the sage "manages" the world, bringing it into accord with the processes of heaven-and-earth. The sage is able to "effect stimulation"--his virtue is so great that it exerts a transforming effect on other people, in a "marvelous" way.

4.4 SELF IMAGE

Analects 2.4	*CTC* 40.2-3
At thirty I took my stand.	At thirty, a "vessel for ritual."[67] [But] this does not mean a forced stance.
At forty I no longer suffered from perplexity.	At forty, pure righteousness brings about effectiveness; he acts at the [right] time and does not doubt.
At fifty I understood the decree of heaven.	At fifty, he exhausts principle and fully realizes his Nature, arriving at the decree of heaven. But he cannot himself say "arrive," so he says "I understood."
At sixty my ear was attuned.	At sixty, he fully realizes the Nature of man and things; a sound enters and his *hsin* comprehends.
At seventy I followed my heart's desire without overstepping the line.	At seventy, he is of the same virtue as heaven; he does not strive, and is "smoothly and

[67] In the sense of *Lun yü* 5.4, "A sacrificial vase of jade," and not 2.12, "The gentleman is no vessel." (Lau, p. 64). Cf Fingarette, pp.71-81.

easily in harmony with the Way."[68]

In this comment on Confucius' famous statement, Chang has translated Confucius' progression into his own language and philosophic system. Confucius was talking about his own development; but in so doing, he established a model for a thinker like Chang, a man for whom sagehood was a real, yet elusive goal. Chang's version, which is written without a subject, appears to be a general prescription for reaching sagehood. The question that arises is how much it was also intended to be like Confucius' statement, a description of Chang's own development. Unfortunately, there is no way to resolve this question, nor is there enough biographical information about Chang to determine when and how Chang's image of himself developed and changed. Nevertheless, there are several intriguing remarks in Chang's writings which permit speculation about his perception of himself and of his role.

There are some passages, which may date from an early period,[69] in which Chang discussed his shortcomings. For example, in one poem Chang expressed the view that he was too rigid, and that he hoped to be more flexible, like the

68 Chung yung 20.18. For the passage from the Analects, cf Lau, p. 63 and Waley, p. 88.

69 Chang Tai-nien, in conversations we had in Peking, agreed that these passages appear to be earlier than the Cheng meng, possibly from the time following Chang's "conversion" from Buddhism in the late 1050's.

pei mu[70] plant he saw winding around a pair of t'ung (桐) trees:

> In front of the steps, the pei mu extends hundreds of feet,
> winding round the t'ung trees, its leaves as thick as a forest;
> Hardness and firmness, looking back at myself, have been very obstructive;
> Hoping, in time, to be soft and flexible, I take heed in my hsin. (369.6)

The "hardness and firmness" of the t'ung trees led Chang to reflect on his own rigidity; he wanted to take a lesson from the pei mu, which adapts to the obstacle in its path by going around it.[71] In another passage, Chang said that he had been too impetuous, too sure of himself:

> In the past I spoke rashly, thinking that I had already completed [my Nature]. Looking at it now [I see that] it was not at all so. However, I did get to one "entrance-way": I knew that sagehood can be reached through learning. I hope to see what I will be like in a year. Moreover, I am now focusing my learning on the words of the sages. There is no need to read frivolous books. (289.5-6)

Chang felt that he had formerly overestimated his level of development, but that he was now making progress towards sagehood. In a similar passage, he said that he had

70 (貝母). Fritillaria verticillata, a vine-like plant whose bulbs contain fritilline, which diminishes the excitability of the respiratory centers and paralyzes voluntary movement.

71 This may be an example of what Chang meant by "doing that which is not an endeavor," although Chang did not say so.

formerly been controlled by his ch'i, that he had not transcended the desires and subjectivity of his physical self:[72]

> In the past I was often controlled by ch'i; subsequently, this [control] was greatly reduced. I hope in a year to be almost completely without [this problem], like the Great Harmony which contains the myriad things in its midst and lets them proceed spontaneously. (281.10-11)

Chang felt that he had been too contentious and had not been in accord with the flow of events, but that he was now overcoming this fault and would soon be completely without it. In another passage, Chang expressed the view that formerly he merely stumbled on the most obvious principles. Now, however, he had made great progress:

> The principles of morality that I attained in the past were the most long-lasting and unchangeable. I must have been [simply] "frequently right [in my conjectures]" about them. It is just that what I formerly found difficult I now find easy; formerly, my hsin was confused, and now it is focused; in the future I hope to be more focused. I must be more focused, particularly on essential points. (317.5)[73]

All of these passages seem to date from an early period, when Chang felt that he was gradually overcoming his weaknesses and progressing towards sagehood.

72 See above, p. 143.

73 Lun yü 11.18, Lau, p. 108.

In certain passages, which also may date from an early period, Chang revealed himself to be a man of great ambition and ideals. For example:

> In one's words there should be something to teach others; in one's activities, something to serve as the pattern for them. In the morning something should be done, in the evening something realized. At every moment something should be nourished, and in every instant something preserved. (44.10)[74]

Although the subject of this passage is not specified, Chang undoubtedly would have applied this injunction to himself. Similarly, in a long critique of Buddhism, Chang wrote that an "independent and fearless" man who "possessed talent far superior to others" was needed to reveal the errors of Buddhism:

> Ever since the fire-like spread of [Buddhist] teachings in China, Confucian scholars have not been able to see the entryway of the school of the sage; they have become attracted to Buddhism, engrossed in it, and have [even] considered it the great Way.... For a long time, one-sided, absurd, depraved and evasive doctrines have arisen simultaneously--for fifteen hundred years they have all come from the Buddhist schools. Unless one is independent and fearless, single-minded and self-confident, and possessing far more talent than [ordinary] men, how can one stand upright in their midst, to contrast right and wrong with them, and compare merits and faults? (64.8-65.1)[75]

[74] Modified from Chan, Sourcebook, p. 516.

[75] Cf Chan, Reflections, pp. 287-88, and S.C. Huang, "The Moral Point of View of Chang Tsai," in Philosophy East and West, 21 (1971), 141.

One of the major themes of Chang's writings was the refutation of Buddhism. He must, therefore, have thought of himself as such an "independent, fearless and single-minded" person. And in a famous passage, Chang set out what appears to be his personal credo:

> To establish a hsin for heaven-and-earth; to establish the Way for the people of today; to carry on the lost learning of the sages of yesterday; and to found the "Great Peace" for ten thousand generations. (376.9)[76]

These passages reveal that, probably from a fairly early time, Chang felt a sense of mission: like some of his contemporaries, he believed that he had rediscovered the Way of the sages, lost for some fifteen hundred years. It was up to him to reveal this Way, to eliminate the pernicious doctrines of the Buddhist schools, and to usher in the period of "Great Peace."

In several instances, Chang compared himself to Confucius and Mencius. He felt, as they did, that he had a "mandate" to reveal the true Way:

> Nowadays there are again people who understand this Way which has been lost for over a thousand years, since the time of Mencius. If heaven did not want this Way revealed, then it would not cause there to be men living today who understand it. Since there are men today who understand it, it seems that there is a principle for it to be revealed again. (274.1-2)

76 Chuang-tzu, ch. 13, Watson, p. 147, has: "Knowledge and scheming were unused, yet all found rest in Heaven. This was called the Great Peace, the Highest Government."

The fact that Chang and some unspecified others had rediscovered the Way meant that heaven wished it so. In other words, Chang believed that there was principle for this to happen--it was time for the Way to be revealed again. In a passage expressing great confidence, Chang said that even Confucius, if he were alive in Chang's time, would do no more than Chang was doing:

> The principles of the Way are now being made clear. Even if Confucius were to be reborn, he would do no more than this. Now, in their "lower achievements," learners are practicing ritual, and subsequently they will see their Nature and the Way of heaven. Some day they will surely surpass Mencius; and will there not be disciples like Tzu-hsia, Tzu-kung and the rest? (281.6-7)[77]

Here, Chang confidently predicted that disciples would emerge to carry on the Way. These optimistic passages probably date from an early period, when Chang was hopeful that his Way would be put into practice.

There are other passages in which Chang was not so optimistic. These passages may date from Chang's retirement to Heng-ch'ü in the 1070's, after his unhappy meeting with Wang An-shih.[78] For example, Chang echoed Confucius and Mencius when he wondered whether the Way would flourish again:

[77] Cf Lun yü 14.23, 14.35.

[78] See below, Appendix B.

> Is this learning to be cut off? [But] why would there again be these discussions? Is it to flourish? But learners are not well-versed. Mencius said, "If no one has it, well, no one has it." Confucius said, "If Heaven does not intend this culture to be destroyed, then what can the men of K'uang do to me?" Now I want my efforts to extend to the [whole] world, and thus must do more nurturing and developing of learners. Then the Way can be transmitted. (271.13-14)[79]

Fearing that the Way might not flourish, Chang felt that he had to cultivate disciples to carry on his work. But in one passage, he lamented that students were distracted by the examinations and concerns about career:

> In promoting this lost learning, I too have wanted to establish a line of succession, but I worry that learners are scarce. Thus, I am greedy for learners. Learners today generally are corrupted by taking the examinations. When they enter office they work at their official career, and do not have time to attend to this [learning]. (329.9-10)

This stands in sharp contrast to Chang's confident remark that his own "Tzu-hsia and Tzu-kung" would appear.

In a poem, Chang expressed a frustration that he was not being "used," that his way was not being put into practice. He alluded to Confucius' remark that he was "waiting for the right offer,"[80] and he determined to carry on his self-cultivation:

79 Mencius 7B38, Lau, p. 204; Lun yü 9.5, Lau, p. 96. I have followed the CTC emendation.

80 Lun yü 9.13.

The Football Ballad[81]

Why do I write the Football Ballad?
Because of my constant unhappiness.
By night, restless and concerned,[82] even in my sleep;
By day, diligent,[83] I continue my cultivation.
I behave properly, anxious for a ruler's reception,[84]
Saying, "Why am I not sold?"
Cut off from the emperor's distant words,
I write these empty lines to carry on the pursuit of the sages.[85]
Hoping to strike a chord in future worthies,
I ceaselessly describe the pure beauty of the ancients.[86]
But the drum does not resound, the flag is not before us;
Fifteen hundred years of desolation and loneliness.
To say heaven makes it so--how dare I?
"Active and vigilant,"[87] I examine myself.
(367.3-6)

81 This is a Yüeh fu title. There are four poems by this title in the Yüeh fu shih chi, SPTK ed., 33.9a-10a. These are by Lu Chi, Hsieh Ling-yün, Hsieh Hui-lien, and Li Po.

For chü (鞠) as "Football" see Ito Masafumi's note to the Ts'ao Chih poem, "Ming tu p'ien" (名都篇), in Sô Shoku, annotated by Ito Masafumi, in Chûgoku shijin senshû, Yoshikawa Kôjirô and Ogawa Tamaki eds. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957-61), v.3, p. 138.

Kuo Mao-ch'ien's note to Lu Chi's "Football Ballad" says: "Even a rare jewel, a famous object, if it does not encounter one who appreciates it, is not esteemed in the end. He wants to meet someone who appreciates him, and entrust his thoughts to him." Lu Shih-heng shih chu, in Wei Chin wu chia shih chu, ed. Yang Chia-lo (Taipei: Shih chieh, 1962), 2.27.

The relationship between this game and the need to be appreciated is explained in Huang Chieh's note to Hsieh Ling-yün's "Football Ballad," in Hsieh K'ang-lo shih chu, (n.p., 1925), 1.11a: "The fun was in the camraderie. Because it is not something one man can do, ancient writings all used it as a metaphor for a 'true friend.'"

82 Shih ching, Pei feng (北風), "Po chou" (柏舟);

In contrast to the frustration expressed in this poem, there are other passages in which Chang expressed a kind of serenity. It is possible that these passages date from later in the 1070's, after Chang had accomodated himself to living in Heng-ch'ü, and when he had time to refine his philosophy:

> Recently, my thoughts and considerations seldom fail to hit the mark. And in these days, I benefit from being at leisure. When I am at leisure for a few days, my thoughts are wide-ranging, and in my reading I arrive at places that cannot be investigated. (281.2)

Chang felt that his understanding had progressed to the stage where he had an intuitive grasp of the underlying principles to which the words of the Classics "point." Those principles are the "places that cannot be investigated." The fact that Chang titled his final work the Cheng meng is interesting in this connection. The title comes from the Book of Changes: "To cultivate correctness in

cf Legge, The She King or the Book of Poetry, p. 38.

83 Shu ching, Ta Yü mo (大禹謨), "Yi chi" (益稷) and Chou shu, (周書) "T'ai shih hsia" (泰誓下); cf Legge, Shoo King, pp. 76, 539.

84 Cf Changes, Ching kua (井卦).

85 Chung yung 19.2. I have interpolated "the sages" for the sake of clarity.

86 Lun yü 7.4.

87 Changes, Ch'ien kua, Z.D. Sung , The Text of Yi King (and its Appendixes), (Shanghai: The China Modern Education Co., 1935) p.2.

the unenlightened is the task of the sage."[88] Chang explained this line as follows:

> To cultivate the unenlightened and make them correct: this is the task of the sage. (85.11)

The fact that he called his summary statement the Cheng meng indicates that Chang felt himself qualified to perform this "task of the sage."

In one passage, obviously written near the end of his life, Chang wished he could have a few more years to live so that he could at least see the Way practiced in his family:

> Idle by day, I go to sleep when it is not yet late. In the middle of the night I am already awake, my hsin calm and vast, and I think and consider [things] until dawn.[89] If I were given a few more years, and at sixty [could see] the Way practiced in my family, that would be sufficient. (291.14)

Chang was secure in his own understanding, but he wanted to see his Way put into practice, even if only in his own family.

Any chronological arrangement of these passages, including the tentative one I have suggested here, must remain highly speculative. It is possible that these passages reflect different moods, or responses to circumstances that can no longer be reconstructed.

88 Changes, Meng kua.

89 This line could also mean, "in my thoughts and considerations I arrive at an understanding."

Nevertheless, they do provide an interesting insight into Chang's view of himself. He was a man of great ambition and ideals. He saw himself as a latter-day Confucius; he had rediscovered the Way of the sages, and had a mission to lead the world to revive that Way. Like Confucius, however, he was frustrated in his ambition by political reality. Thus he was left wondering whether his way would flourish:

> Since I have been living in retirement[90] in Heng-ch'ü, I have been discoursing on these principles of morality. There has never before been such a thing in Heng-ch'ü.... Now I preach the Way and do not know what will happen. No one has ever said these things before. [Men] like Yang Hsiung and Wang T'ung (584-617) all did not see [the Way], and Han Yü merely excelled at casual expression. Now this Way is being proclaimed again. Will it cease? Or will it be successful? (290.14-291.5)

In fact, Chang's version of the Way was not completely successful. His philosophy came to be overshadowed by that of the Ch'eng brothers, and his ideas, except insofar as they agreed with those of the Ch'engs, did not receive a great deal of attention. In the concluding chapter I will discuss the differences between his philosophy and their's, and the reasons Chang's philosophy came to be eclipsed.

90 CTC mistakenly has wen ( ) instead of hsien ( ). See CHCC 134.3.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

5.1 THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHANG TSAI

I have tried to demonstrate that Chang Tsai was a systematic thinker who developed a philosophy which refuted Buddhist theories and which allowed him to "string it all on one thread," and thus make clear again "the Way of Confucius and the Duke of Chou." This involved several things: his system had to affirm the reality of the realm of heaven-and-earth; it had to explain all phenomena in the cosmos with one set of principles; it had to be able to show that the words of the various Classics were all talking about the one Way; it had to show that moral behavior was "natural"--consistent with human nature--while accounting for the presence of evil in the world; and it had to do all of these things so that there was a coherence and consistency among them.

Chang developed such a philosophy from the Book of Changes, particularly from the Hsi tz'u chuan. Written in cryptic, obscure language, the Hsi tz'u chuan formed the starting point for Chang's own system. The message that Chang drew from this text was that the "complementary bipolarity," in all its various aspects, accounts for all

the phenomena of the world through its interactions. For example, Chang took literally the Hsi tz'u chuan phrase, "The alternation of yin and yang is what is meant by the Way," a line that was to become the source of much debate among later Tao hsüeh thinkers.[1] Chang combined this idea that the alternation of yin and yang is the Way with his reformulation of the concept of qi to develop his theory of heaven-and-earth.

It was this vision of heaven-and-earth that formed the basis of his philosophy. In this regard he was different from Confucius, Mencius, and the Ch'eng brothers, all of whom begin and end with the world of man, and who discuss heaven-and-earth only to support their concepts about man. That Chang's point of departure was his view of heaven-and-earth can be seen from his Cheng meng, which begins with a description of the Great Harmony and its polar nature. This is followed by a description of the Great Void, the original substance of qi, and the cyclical condensation into tangible ch'i followed by dispersal and return to undifferentiated Ch'i. Only after presenting these concepts, which are the basis of his philosophy, does Chang mention man. And his first comment on man, written as a paradox, reads:

> The ch'i that is a thing scatters and enters the formless [Great Void]. Herein I obtain my substance. It condenses into that which has an image [i.e., qi], and does not miss the constancy of my [individual form]. (7.7)

1 Hsi tz'u chuan A4. See below, 5.3.

This passage would undoubtedly give his readers pause. Its meaning is that tangible ch'i disperses and becomes undifferentiated Ch'i. This Ch'i is "my substance," the same as that of everything else. When Ch'i condenses, an individual is born. The individual has the correct form--a man looks like a man, a tree like a tree. Thus, it "does not miss the constancy of my [individual form]." By beginning his work with the concepts of the Great Harmony, Great Void, and qi, Chang made the point that man is one of the things of the world; like them, he is produced by the condensation of undifferentiated Ch'i.

According to Buddhist theory, the fact that things come into and disappear from existence implies that existence and the world perceived by the senses are simply illusions. Chang argued that things coming into and disappearing from existence are merely changing back and forth from tangible ch'i to diffuse Ch'i. These two are equally real, being no more than different states of qi. Thus very early in the Cheng meng Chang criticized Buddhists and Taoists for not understanding this basic fact. Buddhists believe that one can achieve nirvana, an escape from the world of forms, through transcendence; Taoists believe that one can achieve longevity, a permanent stay in the world of forms. Chang felt that they were both wrong. A portion of Ch'i condenses and a person is born; upon his death the ch'i disperses and returns to the Great Void, and a new person is born when

another portion of Ch'i condenses. One cannot transcend this process, nor can one stop it from proceeding.

The Way, Change, production and transformation, the Way of heaven--these are all names for the spontaneous, "so of themselves" processes of heaven-and-earth. They refer to the movement and transformation of qi, and are governed by the complementary bipolarity, the most basic property, or nature, of qi. These processes are self-contained and self-generating, with no creator deity or outside force. "Heaven" is not an anthropomorphic force, as some earlier thinkers had conceived it; it is a metaphor for the spontaneous principles of the cosmos. Exactly how these processes work, and how things come out looking as they should, is beyond human understanding. Chang referred to this aspect of the Way as shen, which I have rendered as "marvelous," or "the marvelous force." Man can know the workings of the marvelous force, but he cannot know the marvelous force itself. It is, in fact, the word Chang used to describe and to name that which is indescribable and unknowable.

Although the processes of heaven-and-earth are spontaneous and without consciousness, they are good. They are productive, nurturing, reliable and perfectly impartial. Therefore, the yin-yang nature which governs these processes is also good. Living beings and inanimate objects, all of which consist of tangible ch'i, retain this perfectly good

nature of the original Ch'i. This is what Chang referred to as the "heaven-Nature," or the "Nature of heaven-and-earth," and it is in every person and every thing. However, when Ch'i condenses and assumes form, it also assumes a nature which is an inextricable part of that form. This nature, which Chang called the "nature of the ch'i-constitution," consists of the basic instincts of physical beings and the basic features of each individual. When the desires which stem from the physical nature are allowed to grow unchecked, the result is greed and lust. This nature of the ch'i-constitution, therefore, is the source of evil in the world.

In other words, man has two sets of instincts--those that issue from the heaven-Nature, and those that issue from the physical nature. As C.S. Lewis has put it, "our instincts are at war."[2] How is a man to know which instincts to follow; which instincts come from his true Nature? The answer, according to Chang, is that man possesses within himself an intuitive faculty that is able to distinguish right from wrong, the good instincts from the bad. Chang referred to this ability as "this hsin." "This hsin" is void--without physical form, and perfectly impartial and selfless. When allowed to operate, the "void hsin" can obtain "knowledge by the virtuous Nature"--a direct insight into the principles of things, without recourse to the sensory organs. This "marvelous"--unfathomable and

[2] C.S. Lewis, The Abolition of Man (New York:Macmillan Co., 1947, 1975), p. 48.

indescribable--aspect of human consciousness is in man all along. However, like the heaven-Nature, it is blocked from exercising its function by the acquisition of bad habits, and by the development of a "set hsin," of "intention, certainty, inflexibility and egotism."[3] This set hsin must be eliminated in order to return to the "void" "this hsin," which is completely without such preconceptions. It is this faculty that allows a man to fulfill the potential of his true Nature.

But how is a man able to overcome the "set hsin?" The answer is that "this hsin"--the potential to overcome the "set hsin"--is in him already. He can find it in himself through a process of self-cultivation, which Chang called "learning." This is a two-stage process. The first stage involves rectifying one's behavior through propriety and trying, by studying the Classics, asking questions and carrying on discussions, to understand the Way and one's own Nature. It is a difficult undertaking that requires great determination and persistence. Its goal is to "open... the eye of the... seat of that faculty of insight which can know good from evil and infallibly choose the good...," and to "clear... its vision from the distorting mists of prejudice, and from the conceit of knowledge which is really no more than second-hand opinion."[4] In other words, the goal

3 Lun yü 9.4.

4 F.M. Cornford, Before and after Socrates (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 47, 51. I have taken

is to find "this hsin." Chang used a spatial image to describe this pursuit, one of searching for the "spot" where this hsin operates. Chang frequently described Yen-tzu's search for this "spot," which seemed to be "suddenly in front, suddenly behind."[5] When a man finds this spot, he must set himself there firmly and not be moved. If he "centers" himself on this spot, he is able to pass to the higher stage of learning. In the second stage, his development proceeds spontaneously. His hsin expands--it comes to include more and more within its scope-- so that ultimately he can understand his own Nature, the Way of heaven, and the oneness of all things.

Thus, every man has the potential to achieve sagehood because of the presence within him of the heaven-Nature, and of the intuitive faculty which can understand and actualize this potential. However, "this hsin" is stifled by "the mists of prejudice and ... the conceit of knowledge," which Chang likened to a vine blocking the hsin's emergence. A man needs guidance to cut through this entanglement and free his hsin. He gets this guidance from the sages of the past, who, through the example of their own lives, serve as proof

some liberties with the original, which reads: "...education... is opening the eye of the soul, and clearing its vision from the distorting mists of prejudice, and from the conceit of knowledge which is really no more than second-hand opinion." (p. 47) The soul is the "... seat of that faculty of insight which can know good from evil and infallibly choose the good." (p. 51)

[5] Lun yü 9.11.

of the fact that sagehood can be attained and as living examples of how to attain it. And the sages wrote books that provide a man with the knowledge to do it.

A sage is a man who has actualized the potential of his heaven-Nature; in Chang's terminology, he has "completed his Nature." He is ch'eng(誠)--an authentic human being who is fully in accord with the yin-yang polarity that governs heaven-and-earth. Such a man is perfectly "centered"; that is, he is in the "spot" which is perfectly appropriate for him in each situation. However, the appropriate spot for an individual changes according to the situation. The sage, because of the intuitive understanding of his hsin, "knows the seeds"; thus, he is able to foresee the flow of events. Because of this kind of knowledge, he is able to achieve "timeliness and centrality," or "centrality and correctness." In other words, where the "center" is for an individual is constantly shifting, based on the ebb and flow of events. The sage is in tune with this ebb and flow, and thus he is always in the center, the place that is appropriate for him. His development is such that his actions are completely spontaneous. Like Confucius, he "follows his hsin's desire without overstepping the line."[6] He is fully in accord with events, like the Great Yü taming the flood waters by simply guiding the water in accordance with "its natural tendency."[7] The sage "does that which is

6 Lun yü 2.4; modified from Lau, p. 63.

not an endeavor," and is "smoothly and easily in harmony with the Way."[8]

The sage is void. This means, first of all, that he is "without knowledge." In this regard, he is like the great bell, which is silent until struck. When the sage is questioned, he responds fully and appropriately--his is the highest possible knowledge. Secondly, the sage has transcended his subjectivity and achieved the perfect selflessness of one who understands the unity behind the bewildering diversity of events, and the oneness of all things. For this reason, he has a crucial role to play--he must "complete the work of heaven." It is the sage who reveals to people the order in the processes of production and transformation; in other words, he reveals the constancy in Change. And he regulates the world of man by establishing the rules of propriety and by the transforming force of his own moral power, so that people come to accord with the Way of heaven.

Chang was a man of great ideals. He believed that he understood the Way of the sages, lost since the time of Mencius; and he wanted "to establish the Way for the people of today ..." and to "found the Great Peace for ten thousand generations."[9] It is likely that he saw something of the

[7] Mencius 4B26, Lau, p. 133.

[8] Chung yung 20.18, Tu, p. 107.

[9] CTC 376.9.

sage in himself. He wanted to reveal to people the order in the processes of heaven-and-earth and to bring people to accord with them. Thus he titled his final work, which he presented to his disciples a year before his death, Correcting the Unenlightened. As the Book of Changes says, "To cultivate the unenlightened and make them correct: this is the task of the sage."[10]

Despite Chang's high hopes, much of his philosophy was eclipsed by that of another school, the school of the Ch'eng brothers in Loyang. Their philosophy shared many of the same assumptions and addressed many of the same questions that Chang's did. And it was their philosophy that came to exert the dominant influence on Chu Hsi in his synthesis which became known as Tao hsüeh thought.

5.2 THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CH'ENG BROTHERS

As I mentioned in Chapter One, many eleventh-century literati shared certain assumptions. They possessed a great self-confidence and optimism--a sense that they were rediscovering the Way of the sages. The Way had been lost since the time of Mencius, they believed, but now it was being made clear again. They shared a sense that there was

10 Changes, Meng kua (蒙卦).

only one Way, and that this Way was laid out in the Classics. Although the description of the Way given in the Classics had become obscured by accretions from the writings of lesser scholars, and by errors in transcription, they believed that they could read the Classics and understand their true meaning. In other words, they felt that they needed only to concern themselves with the general import of the Classics. They did not need to worry about contradictions or obscure passages--these could be attributed to the later accretions. And in any case studying the Classics was for them not an end in itself; a man should not devote himself to detailed textual study, but should read the Classics in order to understand the Way. These men also believed that one could become a sage--sages were made, not born. And the best example of how to become a sage was Yen Hui, whose quest for sagehood could be followed in detail from descriptions of him in the Analects, Book of Changes, and the Doctrine of the Mean.

These shared assumptions gave rise to certain questions. If there is only one Way, what is it? If Buddhism is not that Way, exactly how are its doctrines wrong? Of what does human nature consist, and how can the seemingly contradictory words on this subject in the different texts be reconciled? What is the hsin, and how does one cultivate it? These were some of the issues that many eleventh-century thinkers were attempting to resolve.

Chang Tsai shared these assumptions, and provided solutions for all of these questions. So did the "Lo School" of the Ch'eng brothers. In fact, their thought had a great deal in common with that of Chang Tsai.[11]

The Ch'engs shared the self-confidence of the day, the belief that they had rediscovered the lost Way. For example, Ch'eng Yi wrote of his brother:

> Since the Ch'in and Han [dynasties], there has been no one who reached these principles. [My brother] said that, since the death of Mencius, the learning of the sages has not been transmitted. He [therefore] took as his charge reviving "this culture."[12]

In discussing Chang Tsai's "Western Inscription," which the Ch'eng brothers considered to be Chang's greatest contribution to philosophy, Ch'eng Yi wrote:

> ["The Western Inscription"] is the finest piece in Heng-ch'ü's works.... Heng-ch'ü's way was extremely high, his words were extremely pure. Since the time of Mencius, no Confucian scholar has achieved this insight. (YS 217.14-218.2)

11 In the discussion which follows, for the sake of simplicity I will not attempt to differentiate between the thought of the two Ch'eng brothers. There are differences, of course, as numerous scholars have pointed out. However, the similarities are such that they can be treated together in a brief discussion like this one.

12 Yi-ch'uan wen chi, [hereafter YCWC], 7.6b.1-2. "This culture" is a reference to Lun yü 9.5, D.C. Lau p. 96, "If Heaven does not intend this culture to be destroyed, then what can the men of K'uang do to me?"

No one since Mencius had understood the Way. The Ch'engs believed that they did, and that Chang Tsai hit the mark with his "Western Inscription."

The Ch'engs also believed that there is only one Way:

> The Way is unitary... There is only one Way [running through the realms of] heaven, earth and man. (YS 203.10-204.2)

They felt that the Way could be understood from the Classics, and that a man ought not let semantic problems in the ancient texts prevent him from understanding the general principles of those texts. The goal was to understand the Way, not to worry about textual details:

> Those who are good at learning should not be restricted by the words [of a text]. So even though you interpret the meaning of the text incorrectly, there is no harm if you are able to fully implement the principles of the Way.[13]

Thus, when asked to explain an apparent contradiction in the Classics, Ch'eng Yi replied:

> In learning, you must achieve a unified comprehension, and cannot cling and adhere [to individual words] like this. (YS 242.6)

The Ch'engs maintained that sagehood could be attained. Like Chang Tsai, they believed that learning to be a sage was the only endeavor worthy of the label "learning":

13 SYHA 5.83.

> If learners do not learn to be sages there is no more to be said. (YS 175.10)

The clearest example of how to become a sage was Yen Hui, who missed achieving sagehood by only the slightest margin:

> Yen-tzu was separated from the sages by just a hair's breadth. (YS 218.4)

Yen-tzu came close to sagehood not through extraordinary talent, but through persistence and hard work. Thus, he is the model for learners:

> Mencius possessed lofty talent; in studying him, there is nothing you can rely on [in your own cultivation]. Learners should study Yen-tzu. This is the nearest path by which to enter sagehood. He exerted effort. (YS 19.13)[14]

Thus, the Ch'eng brothers shared the assumptions which were common to many eleventh-century literati--the self-confident belief that they had rediscovered the Way; the belief that there was only one Way and that it could be understood from the Classics despite the presence of contradictions and obscure passages; and the belief that sagehood could be attained, and that Yen Hui was the best example of how to do so. And like Chang Tsai, they developed a philosophy that addressed the problems raised by those assumptions.

14 See also YS 84.1 and 143.1 on Yen-tzu.

The Ch'engs, like Chang Tsai, placed a great emphasis on learning. And their view of the meaning of learning was similar to Chang's:

> Learning is basically cultivation of the hsin. (YS 173.10)

> All [that is meant by] the way of learning is to make the hsin correct and develop the Nature.[15]

Learning, in other words, meant moral self-cultivation, and not simply studying. Meditation, for example, could be considered a form of "learning":

> [Ch'eng] Yi-ch'uan saw someone practicing "quiet sitting," and he sighed in admiration for his skill in learning.[16]

The Ch'engs held the same basic assumptions about learning that Chang Tsai did. They believed that human nature is originally good, but that this good can be blocked from realization by bad ch'i. They also believed that the hsin has within it the ability to overcome bad ch'i and realize this Nature. This is the intuitive faculty which is able to obtain "knowledge by means of the virtuous Nature":

> Knowledge derived from the senses is not knowledge by means of the virtuous Nature.... Knowledge by means of the virtuous Nature does not depend on the senses. (YS 348.11)[17]

15 SYHA 5.97.

16 SYHA 5.100.

17 Modified from Graham, p. 15.

Thus, because of the ability already present within it, the hsin has the capacity to fully realize the "virtue of heaven"--the heaven-Nature--that is within every man:

> The hsin possesses the virtue of heaven in full. If you do not fully realize [the potential of] the hsin, then the locus of the virtue of heaven cannot be fully realized. (YS 85.6)

The goal of learning, therefore, is to activate the ability that is already present within the hsin. Because the ability is already there, one who sets his will on finding it will be successful. If a man does not make it, it is because his will is not firm:

> If learners are overcome by bad ch'i, or won over by [bad] habits, they have only their will to blame. (YS 172.9)

As to the specifics of learning, one technique which the Ch'engs advocated was ching(敬)--"seriousness," or "composure," which they explained to mean "making unity the ruler":18

> "If you guard against depravity, integrity (ch'eng) is preserved of itself."19 It is not that integrity is something we preserve by pulling it in from outside. The men of today, enslaved to the evil outside them, seek among the evil for something good to preserve; this being so, how is it possible for them to enter into good? If they merely guarded against depravity, integrity would

18 See Graham, pp. 67-73, for discussion of this concept in the thought of the Ch'eng brothers. The following passage is from Graham, pp.71-72.

19 Cf Changes, Ch'ien kua (乾卦), Wen yen (文言).

> be preserved of itself.... Composure [i.e., ching] is simply making unity the ruler. If unity is made the ruling consideration, [the mind] goes neither East nor West and thus remains in equilibrium; it goes neither this way nor that way and thus remains within. If you preserve this, heaven's principle will spontaneously become plain. (YS 165.8-11)

The Ch'engs also emphasized reading the correct books. Like Chang Tsai, they recommended the Analects and the Mencius first:

> Learners should first read the Analects and the Mencius. When you have exhausted the meaning of these two books, you will spontaneously obtain a focus. Using this focus to read the other Classics will save a great deal of effort. The Analects and the Mencius are like a ruling stick, or a balancing scale. Using them to weigh and measure things and affairs, you will of course see the differences in length and weight. (YS 227.6-7)

> I have told learners to read the Analects and the Mencius first, then read another Classic, and only then read the Spring and Autumn Annals. Only after you first understand the principles of morality can you read the Spring and Autumn Annals. (YS 181.9-10)

Unlike Chang, they felt that reading history could be beneficial, if done properly:

> In reading history, you do not want to merely remember the details of events. You should understand the principles of ...good rule and disorder, times of peace and times of danger.... This is also learning. (YS 255.7-8)

The Ch'eng brothers also borrowed a sentence from the Great Learning, "The extension of knowledge lies in the

investigation of things (ke wu 格物)"[20] to describe the learning process. The meaning of ke wu was the subject of much dispute.[21] The Ch'engs explained it as follows:

> Ke means "arrive at." Wu means "activities." In all activities there are principles; to arrive at their principles is ke wu.[22]

Through the investigation of things, one eventually achieves "enlightenment," an understanding of principles:

> Q. In learning, how does one reach enlightenment? A. There is nothing better than beginning with the "extension of knowledge." If you can extend your knowledge, then your thinking becomes clearer each day. After a long time you are awakened. Of what benefit is learning without this awakening? (YS 207.5)

The Ch'eng brothers ackowledged that everything has principle, and therefore should be "investigated":

> To speak of the great, even the loftiness of heaven and the thickness of earth; to speak of the small, even the "why it is as it is" of one thing; learners should understand all of this.... each blade of grass, each tree has principle, and should be investigated. (YS 214.1-3)[23]

20 Ta hsüeh 1.5; modified from Legge, p. 358.

21 See D.C. Lau, "A Note on Ko-wu," in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 30 (1967), 353-57.

22 Honan Ch'eng shih wai shu [hereafter WS], in Erh Ch'eng ch'üan shu [hereafter ECCS], SPPY ed., 2.4a.9, Graham, p. 74.

23 The last line of this passage is modified from Graham, p. 79.

However, the investigation of things should not be understood as scientific inquiry; it is, rather, an attempt to understand moral principles:[24]

> If you cannot exhaust the principle in one matter, do so in another,... It is like the innumerable paths by which you can get to the capital--it is enough to find one of them. (YS 174.2-4)[25]

The goal is not to understand the individual principles of things. The "investigation of things" is a means to "get to the capital"-- to understand Principle.

Principle (li) is the most basic concept in the Ch'eng school. Graham says that Hsü Heng's (1209-1281) definition of li agrees with the Ch'eng brothers' use of the term: "... a thing must have 'a cause by which it is as it is' (so yi jan chih ku 所以然之故) and 'a rule to which it should conform' (so tang jan chih tse 所當然之則), which is what is meant by 'principle.'"[26] And indeed, there are passages in the writings of the Ch'engs in which the li of something refers to "why it is as it is." However, the Ch'engs never explain why something is as it is; so yi jan chih ku was not an issue of great concern to them. And they believed that all the individual principles were part of

24 Cf W.J. Peterson, "Fang I-chih," p. 377; Graham, p. 79.

25 Graham, p. 78.

26 Modified from Graham, p. 8. Chu Hsi also used the same formula for li. See Y.S. Kim, p. 17.

one, overriding Principle:[27]

> The innumerable principles amount to one Principle. (YS 216.11)[28]

What is this single Principle which encompasses all the individual principles? The Ch'engs did not say. Anything that includes all the individual principles of the world cannot be specified in much detail. However, Graham has given a good description of what this Principle seems to be: "... li accounts not for the properties of a thing but for the task it must perform to occupy its place in the natural order. Each thing has a principle to follow; fathers should be compassionate and sons filial, fire should be hot and water cold."[29] In other words, according to Principle a son should be filial. There is also principle for a son to be unfilial--there is principle for everything that happens--but for a son to be unfilial is not Principle. The Principle for an individual or a thing lets it fulfill the function required of its role:

> To be a ruler, fully exhaust the way of a ruler. To be a minister, fully exhaust the way of a minister. There is no Principle beyond this. (YS 84.10)

[27] I will capitalize Principle to refer to the one inclusive Principle, and use principle to refer to individual principles.

[28] Graham, p. 11.

[29] Graham, p. 18.

> If a sieve cannot be used to sift, then the sieve is not a sieve; if a ladle cannot be used to bale out wine and broth, then the ladle is not a ladle.[30]

If a thing does not fill its role--does not have Principle--it is not "truly" that thing:

> Only when there truly is this Principle is there [truly] this thing.... Without this Principle, although there is a thing and image which contacts the eyes and ears, the eyes and ears being unreliable, you can say it is not [truly] the thing.[31]

The investigation of things, then, was an effort to understand this overriding moral Principle:

> As for "the extension of knowledge," you need merely know to "rest in the highest excellence."[32] In being a son, you rest in filiality; in being a father, you rest in paternal love. [You can see] from such cases that there is no need [to seek] elsewhere. If you busy yourself only with observing the principles of things, you will be carried away just like a galloping steed which has no means to return. (YS 109.12-13)

This Principle is also in man as his Nature. That is, man's Nature consists of the "four sprouts of goodness" described by Mencius.[33] These four sprouts, if they are actualized, cause a man to be humane, righteous, wise, and

30 Honan Ch'eng shih ching shuo [hereafter CS],in ECCS 8.7a.6, Graham, p. 19.

31 CS 8.6b.11-13.

32 Ta hsüeh 1.1, Legge, p. 356 .

33 Mencius 2A6. See, e.g., YS 226.5, Graham, p. 53.

to conform to propriety. As such, they are part of Principle, because they enable a man to perform properly in the role of a man-- they enable him to be a man.

The Ch'engs believed, as did Chang Tsai, that "knowledge is virtue."[34] That is, one who understands what his Nature really is will actualize its potential:

> You must make knowledge the basis. When knowledge is profound, then in putting it into practice you must reach [the mark]. There is no such thing as knowing something and not being able to put it into practice. To know and not be able to practice is simply a case of shallow knowledge. (YS 181.14-182.1)

Knowledge and action are one. You can judge a man by his actions; if he does not act properly, he does not know.

The Ch'engs used this idea to criticize the Buddhists. Buddhists advocate withdrawing from the family and ordinary human society--from this one can see that they do not understand the Way:

> If you wish to make a complete investigation of Buddhist doctrines sorting out the good from the bad, before you have finished you will certainly have changed into a Buddhist. Only judge them by their practice; their practical teaching being what it is, what can their idea be worth?... The best course is to decide where they disagree with the sages in practice. When what they say agrees with the sages, it is of course already part of our doctrine; where it disagrees, of course it should be rejected. This is the simplest method of deciding the matter. (YS 172.10-12)[35]

[34] Cf Graham, pp. 80-81.

[35] Graham, p. 88.

Buddhist doctrines are so persuasive that one must be careful, lest one find oneself "changed into a Buddhist." The Ch'engs advised their followers to stay away from Buddhism:

> Learners must simply treat Buddhist theories like licentious music and beautiful women, and keep them at a distance. If not, they will fall into their midst [i.e., Buddhism] like a galloping horse. (YS 26.3)

The Ch'eng brothers also attempted to refute Buddhist theory with their concept of principle:

> Students of Zen say: "The life of plants, trees, birds and beasts is an illusion." I say: You consider it illusion because it is born and grows in spring and summer, and decays when autumn and winter come; and you conclude that the life of man is also illusion. Why not give this answer: that things are born and die, are completed and decay, is a principle which exists of itself; how can this be considered illusion? (YS 4.4-6)[36]

However, as Graham says of this, "this argument proves the reality only of principles, not of plants, animals and men."[37] In general, their criticism of Buddhism was "based on common-sense rather than on logic."[38]

Thus, the Ch'eng brothers held the same basic assumptions as Chang Tsai, and drew from the same texts to provide solutions to the same problems. However, they differed from

[36] Graham, p. 89.

[37] Graham, p. 90.

[38] Graham, p. 85.

Chang in their concept of Principle, and in their use of this concept as the basis of their philosophy and as the means to criticize Buddhism. In the following section I will discuss the differences between the two schools in more detail.

5.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SCHOOLS

Some of the differences between Chang Tsai and the Ch'engs are only a matter of degree; many of the concepts of one school are present in the thought of the other, the differences lying in the degree of emphasis placed on them by each school, and the extent to which certain concepts were more central to their respective philosophies.

The fundamental idea of the Ch'eng school is Principle. There is a principle for everything that happens, and all the individual principles are part of one, overriding Principle--that everyone and everything has a proper role to play in a harmonious society. This Principle is normative and refers to the proper behavior for a given role. To behave according to the requirements of one's role is to follow Principle. There is also a principle for improper behavior, but it is not Principle.

There is nothing comparable in the thought of Chang Tsai. He conceived of "principle" as a property of qi that referred to the distinct pattern of an individual person or thing.[39] Chang believed that Ch'i condenses to form things according to the li for each thing, but he did not share the view that there was one Principle which subsumed all the individual principles.

Chang's philosophy was based on the Book of Changes. It was a vision of a world consisting of Change, the endless condensation and dispersion of qi based on interaction between, and succession of, its yin-yang nature. The Ch'engs also accepted Change, brought about by the complementary bipolarity of yin and yang, as a basic property of heaven-and-earth; but the concept did not occupy as important a place in their philosophy. And they did not make use of the Book of Cnanges in the same way that Chang Tsai did. Chang wrote a lengthy commentary on the Hsi tz'u chuan as part of his Yi shuo, and roughly one-fifth of his Cheng meng is drawn from this commentary on the Changes.[40] In contrast, "...[Ch'eng] Yi-ch'uan said it was unnecessary to write on the "Great Appendix" [i.e., the Hsi tz'u chuan] since this is itself a commentary from the hand of the

39 Chang did use the term "principle of heaven" occasionally (e.g., CTC 23.14), but it was not an important concept in his philosophy.

40 Toda Toyosaburo, "Ô-kyo ekigaku kô," in Hiroshima Daigaku bungakubu kiyô, 25 (1965), 232.

sage."[41] Unlike Chang Tsai, Ch'eng did not use the Changes as a source for cosmological speculation. As Graham has noted, "... following his teacher Hu Yüan, [Ch'eng Yi] reacted against the use of the Book of Changes as a basis for speculation and preferred to treat the hexagrams as a series of sixty-four moral lessons."[42]

The different degree of emphasis that Chang placed on the Book of Changes can also be seen in the following example. Chang interpreted the passage from the Analects, "The superior man does not contend," in terms of the succession of the polar forces:[43]

> "The superior man does not contend": When the other man comes forth I recede. This is knowledge. When the other man recedes I go forth without [consciously] going forth. What need is there for contention? (36.4)

In contrast, the Ch'eng comment on this passage reads:

> "The superior man does not contend. You will say that in archery he does so." Thus [Confucius] says, "But even then he bows and makes way when going up, and on coming down drinks [together with the others]. Even when contending, he still remains a superior man."[44] This is a description of not contending. If it [merely] said "even when contending," would this be a superior man? (YS 116.10)[45]

[41] Graham, p. 143 (original footnotes omitted).

[42] Graham, p. 143.

[43] Lun yü 3.7. See above, p. 211.

[44] Modified from Lau, p. 68.

[45] Cf CS 6.3a.1-2 on the same passage.

Ch'eng's version explains what is in the original passage--even in a situation where he appears to contend, the superior man follows the rules of propriety, and thus does not really contend. This is why Confucius ended the passage by saying, "even when contending, he still remains a superior man," and not simply "even when contending." Chang, on the other hand, used the topic of this passage to illustrate the way one should accord with the interaction of yin and yang. He also wrote of this passage:

> "The superior man never contends": He simply knows the seeds in the interaction of contraction (receding) and expansion (going forth). (36.6)

In Chang's view, an understanding of the Book of Changes enables one to "know the seeds in the interaction of contraction and expansion," and the passage from the Analects is a description of one who has this understanding.

The comments by the two schools on the term li (利) also illustrate Chang's greater emphasis on the Changes. The word means both to "follow" or "further," and "benefit" or "advantage." As noted above, li in the former sense is an important concept in the Book of Changes, and in the thought of Chang Tsai.[46] However, Mencius was very critical of li, taking it in the latter sense.[47] Ch'eng Yi attempted to reconcile these two views of li:[48]

[46] See above, p. 218.

[47] Mencius 1A1.

> There is only one li in the world, and what Mencius and the Book of Changes spoke of is the same. It is just that, because later people hastened after li, there were problems. It was for this reason that Mencius "pulled up the roots and blocked the source,"[49] and was unwilling to speak of li. Those who do not believe Mencius argue, on the contrary, that one should not turn away from li. Li Kou is one such man.[50] Those who believe [Mencius] say merely that one should not strive for li. But if people are without li, they cannot live; how can you be without li? Take the case of a chair. When people sit in it they are comfortable--this is li. But if you constantly seek comfort... there is nothing you will not do.... Li is only the one li; it is just that it is used differently by people. (YS 238.1-4)

Ch'eng Yi was a moralist. Li is all right, even necessary--it is fine to sit in a chair--but too much li is a bad thing. Chang Tsai, on the other hand, used li in its Book of Changes sense of "following" or "furthering," and it was an important concept in his philosophy.

The two schools also stood far apart in their explanations of qi, the Great Void and yin-yang. The Ch'engs did not accept Chang's view that there is a cyclical condensation and dispersal of qi. They maintained that ch'i is continually produced anew. Ch'eng Yi wrote:

48 I will leave li untranslated in this passage, since Ch'eng is using it in both senses at once.

49 Tso Chuan, Chao Kung, 9th year. Legge has "Tear up the root, stop up the spring." The Chinese Classics, V, The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen, p. 625.

50 See, e.g., Li's "Fu kuo ts'e ti yi," in CCLHSWC, 16.1a, for criticism of the tendency of eleventh-century scholars to disparage li.

> If you say that qi which has already returned becomes the qi which has just emerged, which must depend on this [returned qi], then this is completely different from the transformations of heaven-and-earth. The transformations of heaven-and-earth are an unending process of spontaneous production. What further dependence is there on forms which have already died or on qi which has already returned? (YS 164.13-14)[51]

Ch'eng did not say to where the qi returns--he rejected the idea that it returns to its original source:

> Whenever things disperse, their qi is exhausted; there is no principle for it to return to the original source. (YS 180.9)[52]

Ch'eng believed that qi does not "return" anywhere; it disperses upon the death of an individual, and new qi is produced with the birth of new individuals. The fact that he spoke of "qi which has returned," therefore, is an indication that these passages were aimed at the thought of Chang Tsai, who maintained that ch'i does return to its original source upon dispersal.

Ch'eng Yi posited the existence of a "True Source" (chen yüan 真元) as the origin of qi.[53] He seems to have believed that there were different kinds of qi--that of the True Source, man's qi and heaven's qi:

[51] Modified from Graham, p. 42.

[52] Modified from Graham, p. 27.

[53] Cf Fung, II, 513, and Graham, p. 42.

> Man's qi is produced from the True Source. The qi of heaven is also produced spontaneously by an unending process. (YS 165.1)[54]

> Qi is produced from the qi of the True Source. It is not mixed with qi from outside, but is merely nourished by the outside qi. It is like a fish in water: the life of the fish is not made by water, but the fish can live only if it is nourished by water. Men live in the qi of heaven-and-earth exactly as fish live in water. Eating and drinking are ways of nourishing oneself with the external qi. Breathing in and out are nothing but the mechanism of the body opening and closing. The breath that is exhaled is not the qi which is breathed in. But the True Source can of itself produce qi. The entering qi is simply drawn in at the time when the body closes; it is not needed to assist the True Source. (YS 183.4-7)

Ch'eng's concept of qi and the "True Source" is rather muddled, and was not followed by later thinkers. However, he was clear and unequivocal in his rejection of Chang Tsai's idea of the cyclical condensation and dispersal of qi.

Ch'eng's rejection of Chang's concept of the Great Void was also unequivocal:

> [Ch'eng Yi] said, "There is no such thing as the Great Void." Thereupon he referred to [what others, e.g., Chang, were trying to convey by the word] "void," saying, "It is all principle, how can we call it 'void?' There is nothing more real in the world than principle." (YS 71.1-2)[55]

54 This passage and the following one are modified from Graham, p. 42.

55 See above, p. 77; Cf Graham, pp. 14, 125. See also YS 130.2, 21.9.

As Graham has noted, this criticism is unjust, since Chang argued that the void is not "unreal," but rather that it consists of Ch'i in its dispersed state.[56]

The Ch'engs also differed from Chang on the question of whether yin and yang are above or below form. Chang Tsai maintained that the alternation of yin and yang is the Way, and is above-form:

> The alternation of yin and yang is the Way. (187.4)
>
> Because the alternation of yin and yang cannot be restricted to formed things, they [i.e., the authors of the Hsi tz'u chuan] called it the Way. (206.12)[57]

The Ch'eng brothers, on the other hand, argued that the alternation of yin and yang is not the Way; rather, the Way is that by which there is the alternation of yin and yang:

> That by which there is yin and yang is the Way. (YS 179.8)[58]
>
> The Way is not yin and yang. That by which there is the alternation of yin and yang is the Way. (YS 72.1)

[56] Graham, p. 14.

[57] Graham is incorrect in saying that "The yin and yang are, for all the Neo-Confucian schools, ... below form." (p. 122).

[58] Cf Graham, pp. 122-23 on this and the next passage.

This interpretation seems a bit forced, since the Hsi tz'u chuan passage says that "the alternation of yin and yang is what is meant by the Way."[59] However Chu Hsi, like the Ch'engs, wanted to maintain the distinction between above-form and below-form, and he therefore followed the Ch'engs' interpretation.

It is interesting to speculate on these philosophical differences between Chang and the Ch'engs. In part, they were just that--philosophical differences. The Ch'engs may have rejected some of Chang's ideas because they feared that these ideas were too similar to Buddhist doctrines. In particular, Chang's use of the Great Void, and his theory of the cyclical condensation and dispersal of qi, do resemble Buddhist theories. Ch'eng Yi wrote:

> In their learning, there are very few men these days who attain broad learning and firm knowledge. In the end, they all enter into Zen. Going among them and standing alone and unconfused, there is none like [Chang] Tzu-hou and [Shao] Yao-fu; but the drift of their theories, I fear, does not escape this problem. (YS 188.14-189.1)

In other words, Ch'eng believed that Chang's theories did not diverge sharply enough from Buddhism, and would lead men of lesser ability into Buddhism. Thus, he may have seen himself as following Mencius in "pulling up the roots and blocking the source," thereby obviating even the possibility of confusion or contamination in students' understanding of

59 Hsi tz'u chuan A4.

the Way.

There may also be another reason for the Ch'eng brothers' criticism of Chang. It is conceivable that the Ch'engs did not fully understand Chang's philosophy. I have already noted their self-confident attitude towards Buddhism: "When what they say agrees with the sages, it is of course already part of our doctrine; when it disagrees, of course it should be rejected."[60] They believed that they understood the Way. If someone else's theories accorded with that understanding, they could be accepted; if not, they were wrong. The Ch'eng brothers' criticisms of Chang seem at times to be out-of-hand rejections, made with no effort to understand what Chang was trying to do. Despite Chang's clear statements to the contrary, Ch'eng Yi criticized the Great Void as unreal. This may be an instance of Ch'eng's shallow understanding of Chang's thought. Similarly, Ch'eng seems not to have understood that Chang was redefining the concept of qi, and using it to link the below-form and above-form realms, thereby refuting the Buddhist view that the below-form realm is illusory. Ch'eng insisted that qi could only be below-form:

> What has form is always qi. What is without form is only the Way. (YS 90.8)

[60] YS 172.12, p. 256 above.

And, as we saw above, Ch'eng said that anything that consists of Ch'i, even the Great Void as Chang understood it, cannot be used to describe the Way:[61]

> Master Ch'eng said: "[Chang] Tzu-hou used the words pure, void, one and great [i.e., the Great Void] to name the Way of heaven. This is to speak of it as a particular object and not something which is above form."[62]

The Ch'engs may have rejected Chang's theories without fully understanding what he meant by qi and the Great Void.

On the other hand, the Ch'engs felt that Chang's "Western Inscription" was an outstanding piece, which they praised repeatedly.[63] They felt that it was a brilliant formulation of their point that there is one Principle divided into separate parts. For example, one of Ch'eng Yi's disciples wrote that he asked Ch'eng Yi whether this work was not advocating Mo-tzu's "Universal Love," and Ch'eng responded:

> The "Western Inscription" is a work which, extending principle in order to preserve righteousness, expands on points the sages of the past did not develop, and is as valuable as Mencius' theories of the good Nature and developing the qi. How could Mo-tzu be compared to it? The "Western Inscription" makes clear that there is one Principle divided into separate parts.[64]

61 See above, p. 76.

62 CHCC 7.7.

63 See, e.g. YS 15.3, 17.1, 23.2, 41.10, 84.4, 217.14, and Honan Ch'eng shih ts'ui yen (ECCS), 1.23b.8ff, 1.24a.12-13.

64 Yin He-ching chi, TSCCCP ed., p. 5. The Sung shih

However, the word principle does not appear in this essay. Further, in contrast to the Ch'engs' view that this was the most important piece of writing since the time of the sages, Chang Tsai himself wrote of the same piece:

> My writing the Ting wan (roughly, "settling the obstinate") is merely for the benefit of learners-- this is why [I call it] Ting wan.[65] How can heaven and earth be further divided into father and mother? It is just that I want learners to set their hsin[66] on the Way of heaven. But if we talk about the Way, there is no need to speak of it like this. (313.10-11)

Chang apparently did not hold this work in the same high esteem that the Ch'eng brothers did. Nevertheless, he is best remembered for this essay. It is the only work that appears in his Sung shih biography, where it is cited in full. This came about largely because the Ch'eng school came to dominate later Tao hsüeh teaching, and its view of Chang Tsai was accepted as correct.

also cites this comment by Ch'eng. SS 427, p. 12725.

65 (訂頑). This was Chang's name for his essay, which the Ch'engs renamed the "Western Inscription." See WS 11.6b.9.

66 Following the CTC emendation.

5.4 THE TRIUMPH OF THE CH'ENG SCHOOL

According to the "official" history set out by Chu Hsi, Chou Tun-yi was the founding father of Tao hsüeh.[67] His learning was passed to the Ch'eng brothers, and then to Chang Tsai and Shao Yung. However, as A.C. Graham has demonstrated, Chou and Shao were not part of the eleventh-century Tao hsüeh movement.[68] My concern here is with the relationship between Chang and the Ch'engs.

Chang Tsai died in 1077. After his death, his disciples dispersed and many went to Loyang to study under the Ch'eng brothers.[69] Ch'eng Hao died in 1085, and Ch'eng Yi in 1107. As the followers of Tao hsüeh began to delve more deeply into the ideas of Chang and the Ch'engs, they looked to Ch'eng Yi to resolve their questions. The Yi shu is full of examples of disciples (including Chang's former disciples Lü Ta-lin and Su Ping) asking questions of Ch'eng Yi on details or points of refinement, which had not yet become problems in Chang Tsai's lifetime.[70] Thus the way that Tao hsüeh

[67] Chu Hsi, Yi lo yüan yüan lu [hereafter YLYYL] (Taipei: Wen hai, 1968); SS 427. This version of the Tao hsüeh "lineage" is followed by W.T. Chan (Sourcebook) and Fung Yu-lan, and by J. Percy Bruce in his Chu Hsi and his Masters (London: Probsthain, 1923), pp. 29-30, 48.

[68] Graham, pp. 152ff. Chang Tai-nien has also noted that Chou was not an important influence on Chang or the Ch'engs. CTC, "introduction," p. 14.

[69] See YS 222ff for questions by Su Ping and responses by Ch'eng Yi. YS 2A, Heading, says Lü Ta-lin joined the Ch'engs in 1079.

[70] See, e.g., YS 226.3ff, 222.4ff.

developed and the history of its origins came to be determined by Ch'eng Yi and his followers.

Ch'eng Yi's disciple Yang Shih wrote that Tao hsüeh, including the thought of Chang Tsai, originated with the Ch'eng brothers:

> Chang Tsai's learning originally came from the Ch'engs, but his disciples in Kuanchung use his writings as authorities and wish to regard themselves as a separate school.[71]

Chu Hsi also said that the thought of Chang Tsai was derived from the Ch'engs,[72] and the Sung shih followed suit.[73]

Some of the Ch'engs' disciples went even further, saying that Chang Tsai was so impressed when he met the Ch'engs that he abandoned his own learning. For example, Yu Tso (1053-1123), praising his master Ch'eng Hao, wrote:

> Then, hearing [Ch'eng] Ming-tao's discussions, [Chang] sent away his disciples and completely abandoned his old learning in order to devote himself to the Way.[74]

And according to Yin T'un (1071-1142):[75]

71 YKSHSC 87.6, Graham, p. 176.

72 YLYYL, TSCCCP ed., p. 60.

73 SS 427, p. 12723.

74 YS 367.1-2, Graham, p. 176.

75 WS 12.15a says this passage is Yin T'un's, as recorded by Ch'i K'uan.

> Formerly, [Chang] Heng-ch'ü was in the capital, sitting on a tiger skin and lecturing on the Book of Changes before a large audience. One evening the two Ch'engs arrived and discussed the Changes, and the following day Chang got up from the tiger skin, saying, "What I have been telling you people is all wrong. The two Ch'engs, who have just arrived, have a profound understanding of the Way of the Changes, which I have not attained. You people should take them as your teachers." Heng-ch'ü thereupon returned to Shensi.[76]

Chang's disciple Lü Ta-lin, who joined the Ch'engs in 1079, wrote of his former master:

> At the beginning of the Chia-yu period [1056-63] he [i.e., Chang] met the Ch'eng brothers of Loyang in the capital, and together they discussed the essential points of Tao hsüeh. He became fully settled in his convictions and said: "Our Way is complete in itself; there is no need to seek outside it." He abandoned all he had learned and learned from them. (CTC 381.11-382.1)[77]

These two passages were incorporated into Chang's Sung shih biography. Although the veracity of this account has been questioned, it has been followed by many modern scholars.[78] But the evidence suggests that these versions of the relation between Chang and the Ch'engs resulted from the rivalry between the two schools, and from the fact that followers of the Ch'eng school, who had the last word on the

76 WS 12.13a.8-10

77 I have changed the first line to the original version, based on the note by Chu Hsi given in WS 11.4a.8. See below, p. 274.

78 E.g., Chang's SS biography is translated in Fung, II, 477-78. W.T. Chan, in his biography of Chang Tsai, also follows the SS account. Sung Biographies, ed. Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), v.1, p. 40.

subject, wished to assert the priority of their own school at Chang's expense.

There was indeed some philosophical give and take between Chang and the Ch'engs. Chang's letters have not been preserved, but three of the Ch'engs' letters to Chang, written "in a tone of friendly controversy," are still extant.[79] These letters illustrate the mutual influence between the two schools, but not the superiority of one school over the other.

More significantly, the Ch'engs did not begin teaching until about the time of Chang Tsai's death in 1077, and few of their extant sayings and writings are earlier than this.[80] There are many comments on Chang Tsai in the Ch'eng brothers' works, accepting some of his points, criticizing others, and expressing great admiration for the "Western Inscription." There is nothing on the thought of the Ch'engs in Chang's writings. These two points, and the fact that Chang was twelve years older than the elder Ch'eng, suggest that the influence may have gone from Chang to the Ch'engs.

Ch'eng Yi's comment on Lü Ta-lin's version of the relationship is interesting in this regard:

[79] Graham, p. 177. One letter was by Ch'eng Hao, Ming-tao wen chi, in BCCS 3.1a-b (translated in Graham, pp. 102-104), and two by Ch'eng Yi (YCWC 5.4a-5a).

[80] Graham, p. 177.

> In his biography of Chang Tsai, Lü Ta-lin wrote that on meeting the two Ch'engs he [i.e., Chang] abandoned all that he had learned. When Yin T'un mentioned this, Ch'eng Yi said: "It is reasonable to say that there were points in common between his life-long opinions and those of my brother and myself; but it is untrue to say that he learned from us. I recently charged Lü Ta-lin to remove this line, and was not told that it is still included [in the biography]. This is little short of unscrupulous.[81]

Lü Ta-lin managed to get his version through Ch'eng Yi's censorship, changing the offending line to read: "Then he abandoned all his heterodox doctrines and became a pure [Confucian]."[82]

In addition to Ch'eng Yi's disclaimer, common sense also casts doubt on the accounts put forth by the Ch'engs' disciples. At the time of their meeting in Loyang, all three were taking the chin-shih examination. Ch'eng Yi was only twenty-three years old, and his brother only twenty-four. It seems unlikely that Chang Tsai, who was thirty-six at the time, would have given up his ideas and taken his young cousins as his teachers.[83] It seems even more unlikely when we consider Chang's rather condescending remark about

81 WS 11.4a.7-9, modified from Graham, p. 177. Chang Tai-nien has also taken note of this comment by Ch'eng Yi. See CTC, "Introduction," pp.13-14, and Chang Tsai (Wuhan: Hupei People's Press, 1957), pp. 6-8.

82 WS 11.4a.9, Graham, p. 177. This is the version which appears in CTC, 382.1.

83 Cf Huang Ching-chin, Pei Sung ssu tzu hsiu yang fang fa lun, (Taipei: n.p., 1971) pp. 79-81; Liu K'an-yüan trans., Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih kai lun, by Watanabe Shôhô, (Taipei: Shang wu, 1964), 3.29-30. (The Japanese version was unavailable to me).

them, written some fifteen years later:

> From the time they were fourteen years old, the two Ch'engs were already keenly determined to learn to be sages. Now they have reached the age of forty, and have not been able to reach [the level of Confucius'] disciples Yen [Hui] and Min [Sun]. The younger Ch'eng could be like Yen-tzu, but I fear he has not attained Yen-tzu's being without self. (280.10-11)[84]

Thus, the disagreements between the Ch'engs and Chang may have stemmed from the Ch'engs' incomplete understanding of Chang's thought. The fact that Chang is best known today for his "Western Inscription," a work which he himself did not value highly, is due to the influence of the Ch'eng school. And the history of Tao hsüeh, determined by the followers of the Ch'engs, has preserved the myth that Chang's philosophy was derived from the Ch'eng brothers, and that Chang took the Ch'engs as his teachers. For these reasons, Chang's philosophy has been viewed through the distorting lens of the Ch'engs' interpretations, and has not received the attention it deserves. In this thesis, I have tried to set the record straight.

[84] See above, p. 195, note 4.

Appendix A

WORKS BY CHANG TSAI

There are certain problems regarding Chang Tsai's works and their transmission. The first bibliographic record of Chang's writings is found in the Chin ssu lu, which was compiled at the end of the twelfth century. There, the following works by Chang Tsai are mentioned: Cheng meng, Wen chi, Yi shuo, Li yüeh shuo (禮樂說), Lun yü shuo (論語說), Meng-tzu shuo (孟子說), and Yü shu (語書). Several of these works are no longer extant, including the commentaries on the Analects and the Mencius. The Chün chai tu shu chih, a work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, lists a Heng-ch'ü Meng-tzu chieh (橫渠孟子解) in fourteen chüan,[1] but it does not list any commentary on the Analects. The Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i, compiled in the late thirteenth century, includes neither a commentary on the Analects nor one on the Mencius.[2] On the other hand, the Wen hsien t'ung k'ao lists

[1] Ch'ao Kung-wu, Chün chai tu shu chih, edited by Chao Hsi-pien (Taipei: Kuang wen, 1967), continuous pag., p. 134, 649. This bibliography was compiled by Ch'ao Kung-wu in the twelfth century, and was edited, with a supplement, by Chao Hsi-pien in the thirteenth century. See He yin ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao chi ssu k'u wei shou shu mu chin hui shu mu (Taipei: Shang wu, 1971), continuous pag., 1777-78.

[2] Ch'en Chen-sun, Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i (Taipei:

a Heng-ch'ü Meng-tzu chieh,[3] but nothing on the Analects. Thus, Chang's commentary on the Analects circulated in the twelfth century but was lost shortly thereafter. His commentary on the Mencius survived into the thirteenth century, possibly in more than one edition, but was lost thereafter. Neither work is included in the bibliographic treatise of the Sung shih ("Yi wen chih" 藝文志), compiled in the fourteenth-century.

The final work in the Chin ssu lu list, the Yü shu, is a problem. There is no mention of such a work by Chang Tsai anywhere else, and it seems likely that this is a reference to Chang's Yü lu. Indeed, Chang Tai-nien lists this work as Yü lu rather than Yü shu in his presentation of the works of Chang Tsai cited in the Chin ssu lu.[4] Chang's Yü lu is also mentioned in Chao Hsi-pien's Chün chai tu shu chih fu chih,[5] but not in the Sung shih "Yi wen chih," Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, or Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i. One version of this work was printed in the thirteenth century in Fukien by Wu Chien (fl. 1275), but it did not circulate widely.[6] This edition of Chang's Yü lu is reproduced in the Ssu pu ts'ung

Kuang wen, 1968).

[3] Ma Tuan-lin, Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, in Shih t'ung, KHCPTS ed., 184.1583.

[4] CTC, "Introduction," p. 15.

[5] In Chün chai tu shu chih, p. 1564.

[6] This work was not used in any of the collections of Chang's works compiled in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. See below, pp. 282-84.

k'an hsü pien, and is the only work by Chang Tsai included in the SPTK series.

The Li yüeh shuo is no longer extant, nor is it mentioned anywhere except in the Chin ssu lu. Wei Liao-weng lists a Li shuo (禮說) among the works of Chang Tsai, which is also no longer extant and which may be related to this work.[7] And one chapter of the Ching hsüeh li k'u[8] is entitled "Li yüeh" (禮樂). The relationship between these various works remains unclear.

The other works listed in the Chin ssu lu are all extant. The Wen hsien t'ung k'ao and the Chün chai tu shu chih both list a collection of Chang's literary writings in ten chüan, called Chang Heng-ch'ü ch'ung wen chi (張橫渠崇文集). The Sung shih "Yi wen chih" lists a Chang Tsai chi (張載集), also in ten chüan, which may refer to the same work. Thus, it seems clear that some of Chang's letters and essays had been collected together by the late twelfth century at the latest. It is not known who the compiler was.

The Yi shuo and the Cheng meng are listed in all the relevant bibliographies. The only discrepancy with respect to either of these works is that the Chih chai shu lu chieh

[7] Wei says that Chang's works included the "Western Inscription," Cheng meng, Li k'u, and Li shuo. See Tao ming lu, ed. Li Hsin-ch'uan, 9.7a, in Chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu, han 26.

[8] See below, pp. 280-81.

t'i lists the Yi shuo as three chüan,[9] as does the Ssu k'u ch'üan shu,[10] while the other bibliographies all refer to it as a work in ten chüan. There is little doubt that both of these works were written by Chang himself. Lü Ta-lin wrote that Chang presented the Cheng meng to his disciples in 1076.[11] The Yi shuo was probably written earlier, perhaps during or shortly after 1056-57, when Chang was in Kaifeng lecturing on the Changes.[12]

There are other works by Chang Tsai not included in the Chin ssu lu list, most of which are not extant. For example, the Wen hsien t'ung k'ao and the Chün chai tu shu chih list a commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals in one chüan called Heng-ch'ü Ch'un ch'iu shuo (橫渠春秋說), and a book on an obscure military text, a one-chüan commentary called Chang Heng-ch'ü chu wei liao-tzu (張橫渠注尉繚子). This commentary probably dates from Chang's youth, when he was interested in military affairs.[13] Chang is also said to have written a work on

9 Continuous pag., p. 41.

10 He yin ssu k'u, continuous pag., p. 13.

11 Lü Ta-lin, "Hsing chuang," in CTC, p. 384.

12 Chang Tai-nien writes that the Yi shuo was probably an "early work which Chang may have begun when he was in Kaifeng lecturing on the Changes." CTC, p. 15. Toda Toyosaburō, "Ō Kyo ekigaku kō," p. 232, says that this work predates the Cheng meng, estimating that roughly one-fifth of the Cheng meng is drawn from this work. (See above, "Introduction," p. ix.

13 Chün chai tu shu chih, p. 833.

sacrificial ritual called Heng-ch'ü Chang shih chi li (橫渠張氏祭禮) in one chüan, although this work is only mentioned in one of the bibliographies.[14] One of the chapters of the Ching hsüeh li k'u is called "Chi ssu" (祭祀), which could be related to this work. Finally, the Chün chai tu shu chih lists a Hsin wen chi (信聞記) in one chüan.[15]

One text which is not included in the Chin ssu lu list, but which is extant, is the Ching hsüeh li k'u. This text is also problematic; the Chün chai tu shu chih attributes this work to a certain Chin hua hsien sheng (金華先生), of whom it says, "It is not clear who this is; he was probably a student of Chang and the Ch'engs.[16] However, Chao Hsi-pien, in his Chün chai tu shu chih fu chih, says that he had in his possession a one-chüan edition of Chang Tsai's Ching hsüeh li k'u.[17] Chao lists the chapter headings, and they are the same as those in the current versions of this text. The Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i also lists the Ching hsüeh li k'u, one chüan, by Chang Tsai.[18] Chang Tai-nien suggests that there may have been two editions circulating in the Sung dynasty, and that "Mr. Chin hua" may have edited

[14] Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, 188.1601.

[15] P. 140.

[16] Chün chai tu shu chih, p. 683.

[17] In Chün chai tu shu chih, p. 1565.

[18] P. 609.

one of them.[19] Chang believes that the work is a collection of sayings from Chang Tsai and Ch'eng Yi. Because sayings by Chang Tsai predominate, the work has been attributed to him. In the thirteenth century, Wei Liao-weng listed it as one of Chang Tsai's works.[20] And the Sung shih yi wen chih lists a three-chüan edition by Chang Tsai. Subsequently, the Ching hsüeh li k'u was included in all the collections of Chang Tsai's writings.[21] I agree with Wang Wei's (n.d.) opinion, which appears in his 1522 preface to this work: the Ching hsüeh li k'u was probably recorded by Chang's disciples, and the ideas contained in it are consistent with those of the Cheng meng.[22]

Two short pieces which Chang inscribed on the east and west walls of his study are sometimes mentioned as separate works, although both are included in the final chapter of the Cheng meng. Chang called these two pieces the Pien yü (砭愚) and the Ting wan (訂頑); Ch'eng Yi renamed them the "Eastern Inscription," and the "Western Inscription."[23] A

[19] Chang Tai-nien, "Introduction," in CTC, p. 15.

[20] Tao ming lu, 9.7a.

[21] The chapter headings are the same as those listed by Chao Hsi-pien, but the number of chüan differs: in the Chang-tzu ch'üan shu and the Chang Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng wen chi, this work is in five chüan; in the Chang-tzu ch'ao shih it is in two chüan. The content is the same in all of them.

[22] CTC, p. 247.

[23] WS 11.6b.9. See above, p. 268. As discussed there, the "Western Inscription" was held in great esteem by the Ch'engs and their followers.

collection of commentaries on the "Western Inscription," called Hsi ming chi chieh (西銘集解), had been compiled by the thirteenth century. This collection included commentaries by Lü Ta-lin, Hu An-kuo, Chang Chiu-ch'eng and Chu Hsi.[24] Commentaries on the "Western Inscription" and on Chou Tun-yi's T'ung shu, another work esteemed by the Ch'eng-Chu school, had also been collected by the thirteenth century.[25]

In 1526, Lü Nan (1479-1542) gathered Chang's works and published them as Chang-tzu ch'ao shih.[26] In his introduction to this work, Lü says that Chang's works had become scattered, and that only the two "Inscriptions," Cheng meng, Li k'u, Yü lu, and an incomplete version of the Wen chi were extant. Lü's compilation of these works is extant, and has been reprinted in Taiwan.[27] Lü Nan apparently did not see the Southern Sung edition of Chang's

[24] Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i, p. 609.

[25] Ibid, p. 610.

[26] (張子抄釋). There is some confusion about the date of this compilation. The Ssu k'u ch'üan shu (p. 1931) dates Lü's preface as Chia-ching hsin ch'ou (辛丑), which would be 1541. However, the preface reads Chia-ching, 5th year, 3rd month, hsin ch'ou--29 April 1526. See Chang-tzu ch'ao shih hsü, in Sung ssu tzu ch'ao shih, TSCCCP ed., p. 237. See also CTC, p. 389. Yamane Mitsuyoshi incorrectly dates this work as 1565 (Seimo, p. 14).

[27] This is a reprint of the 1529 edition, included as part of the Sung ssu tzu ch'ao shih, in the Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng chien pien, ed. Wang Yün-wu (Taipei: Shang wu, 1965). The same edition has been reprinted as Heng-ch'ü Chang-tzu shih in the Chung-kuo tzu hsüeh ming chu chi ch'eng (Taipei: Chung-kuo tzu hsüeh ming chu chi ch'eng pien yin chi chin hui, 1977?).

Yü lu, since the Yü lu included in the Chang-tzu ch'ao shih contains only about one-third of the passages that appear in the Southern Sung edition.

Sometime later, a more complete edition of Chang Tsai's writings, called Chang-tzu ch'üan shu, was published. W.T. Chan follows the Ssu k'u ch'üan shu in noting that this work was published by Hsü Pi-ta in 1623, but that the first edition must have been earlier than this.[28] Recently, Chang Tai-nien has demonstrated that this work was compiled by Shen Tzu-chang (n.d.) during the Wan-li (1573-1619) period.[29] The Chang-tzu ch'üan shu includes the same, limited version of the Yü lu, here called Yü lu ch'ao, that appears in the Chang-tzu ch'ao shih, as well as the other works in that edition; and it also includes the Yi shuo and fragments of Chang's works found in the Hsing li ta ch'üan, the Chin ssu lu, and the writings of the Ch'eng brothers. Subsequently, several more editions of the Chang-tzu ch'üan shu were produced. The 1719 version, which was collated and edited by Chu Shih (1665-1736) based on a rare edition which he found at the Chang Tsai temple in Shensi,[30] is the one reproduced in the Ssu pu pei yao and Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu series.

28 He yin ssu k'u, p. 1891. A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung), ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978), p. 219.

29 CTC, "Introduction," pp. 16-17.

30 Chang-tzu ch'üan shu (SPPY ed.), "Hsü," 1a.

In 1708, Chang Po-hsing included some of Chang Tsai's works, which he compiled as Chang Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng wen chi,[31] in the Cheng yi t'ang ch'üan shu. This book includes the two "Inscriptions," the Cheng meng, Ching hsüeh li k'u, and the same version of the Yü lu (called Yü lu, not Yü lu ch'ao) as the Chang-tzu ch'üan shu, with the exception that in this edition three of the final passages are missing. It also includes fragments from the Wen chi, and excerpts from the Hsing li ta ch'üan and the writings of the Ch'engs. The Yi shuo is not included. This work has been reproduced in Taiwan.[32]

In 1978, the Chung hua shu chü in Peking issued a new edition of Chang Tsai's works called Chang Tsai chi. This work, which is the most complete edition to date, includes all of the writings of Chang Tsai which are extant today.[33] For Chang's Yü lu, the editors use the Southern Sung edition as the primary text, and supplement it with seven passages found in the Yü lu ch'ao, which do not appear in the Sung edition. They have also included in the Wen chi essays found in the Sung wen chien (宋文鑑) which the Chang-tzu ch'üan shu had not included. They have also corrected a few errors in the Yi shuo on the basis of the Chou yi hsi tz'u

[31] In the table of contents, the title is given as Chang Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng ch'üan chi. In the margin, the title reads: Chang Heng-ch'ü chi.

[32] As Chang Heng-ch'ü chi, in the TSCCCP series.

[33] See the Bibliography, under "Chang Tsai," for the individual titles included in this work.

ching yi, a collection of commentaries on the Hsi tz'u chuan by Chang Tsai, the Ch'engs, Lü Ta-lin and others, a work compiled in the twelfth century by Lü Tsu-ch'ien. Although the Chang Tsai chi is the most complete and convenient edition available, it must be used with some caution, for the editors often make emendations without sufficient evidence. They do indicate where they have emended the text, however. This is the edition I have followed in this dissertation.

The Cheng meng, generally considered to be the best representation of Chang's thought, attracted considerable attention among Ming and Ch'ing philosophers. The commentaries that these scholars wrote on the Cheng meng are beyond the scope of this dissertation, and I have not listed them here. The most important such commentaries are listed by Chang Tai-nien in his introduction to the Chang Tsai chi,[34] and by Yamane Mitsuyoshi in his introduction to his translation of the Cheng meng.[35]

[34] CTC, p. 17.

[35] Seimo, pp. 34-35.

Appendix B

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Biographical details about Chang Tsai (1020-1077) are scarce.[1] We know that Chang's ancestors had lived in Ta-liang (大梁 --Kaifeng), and Chang referred to himself as a man of Pien (汴 --Kaifeng).[2] Chang's grandfather served under the Sung emperor Chen-tsung (r. 998-1022) as Reviewing Policy Advisor (Chi shih chung 給事中) and as an academician in the Bureau of Assembled Worthies (Chi hsien yüan hsüeh shih 集賢院学士). His father, Chang Ti, attained the rank of Executive Assistant of the Department of Palace Services (Tien chung ch'eng 殿中丞 , grade 7b) and served as prefect of Fu-chou (涪州 --present Fu-ling 涪陵 , Szechwan) during the reign of Jen-tsung (r.

[1] The main source of information about Chang Tsai's life is the biography written by his former disciple Lü Ta-lir (in CTC, pp. 381-85), on which the following account is based unless otherwise noted. Other sources are Chang's biography in the Sung shih (ch. 427), the "Chang-tzu nien p'u" by Wu Ch'eng (n.d.), in Chang-tzu ch'üan shu, 1870 ed., and the "Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng nien p'u" by Kuei Tseng-ch'i, in K'ung chiao hui tsa chih, 1, No.6 (1913). W.T. Chan has written a brief biography of Chang in Sung Biographies, Herbert Franke ed., (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), as have Chang Tai-nien (in Chang Tsai, pp. 1-12) and Yamane Mitsuyoshi (in Seimo, pp. 7-12).

[2] Although the Sung shih biography lists him as being from Ch'ang-an, and Wu Ch'eng says that Chang was born there ("Chang-tzu nien p'u," 1a). Derk Bodde says that Chang was born in Kaifeng (Fung/Bodde, p. 476 n.1), as does Yamane Mitsuyoshi (Seimo, p. 7).

1023-1063). His father died in that position while Chang and his younger brother Chang Chien (1030-1076) were young boys. They and their mother took up residence south of the town of Heng-ch'ü (橫渠), Mei (郿) county, Feng-hsiang (鳳翔) prefecture.[3]

As a boy Chang studied with a teacher outside his home, and is said to have been considered an exceptional talent by the residents of Fu-chou. As a young man growing up in Shensi, near the border with the Hsi-hsia, Chang developed an interest in military affairs. Sometime after war broke out between the Sung and the Hsi-hsia in 1038,[4] Chang wrote to Fan Chung-yen to discuss the military situation. Fan reportedly was impressed by Chang's talent and told him to devote himself to Confucian studies, recommending that Chang study the Chung yung. Chang did this, but it was not enough to satisfy his curiosity, and he turned to Buddhism and Taoism. Unfortunately, there are no details on this period of Chang's life. All we know is that after many years, Chang came to the conclusion that Buddhism and Taoism were not the answer, and he turned again to the study of the Confucian Classics.

[3] Yamane estimates that this occurred around 1033-34. (Seimo, p. 7)

[4] There is some discrepancy on when Chang wrote to Fan. Lü Ta-lin says that this occurred when Chang was eighteen, while the Sung shih says he was twenty-one. Since Lü also says that Chang wrote to Fan at the beginning of the K'ang-ting (1040-41) period (i.e., when Chang was twenty-one), the Sung shih is probably correct. Wu Ch'eng (3b) and Kuei Tseng-ch'i (p. 10) both attribute this event to 1040.

At the beginning of the Chia-yu (1056-63) period, when he was in his mid-thirties, Chang was in Kaifeng lecturing on the Book of Changes. It was at this time that he met his young cousins Ch'eng Yi and Ch'eng Hao. However, the only information we have about this meeting are the implausible versions written by the Ch'engs' disciples, who sought to cast their masters in the role of teacher, and Chang Tsai in the role of pupil.[5] It is possible that this meeting took place in 1057, when Chang and Ch'eng Hao both passed the metropolitan (chin shih) examination.[6]

After passing the metropolitan exam, Chang was appointed Judicial Administrator (ssu fa ts'an chün 司法參軍) of the prefecture of Ch'i-chou (祁州 --present An-kuo 安國 county, Hopei). Subsequently, he served as subprefect of Yün-an (雲巖) (present Yi-ch'uan 宜川 county, Yen-an 延安 prefecture, Shensi). While serving there, Chang attempted to set a moral example by inviting the local elders to a monthly banquet and personally offering them wine. He asked them about the problems of the people and discussed moral training of the young with them. When he had instructions, Chang would explain them in detail to the elders and send them back to their villages to transmit his wishes. Subsequently, when someone came to the sub-

[5] See above, pp. 271-75, for discussion of this matter.

[6] Kuei Tseng-ch'i (p. 11) says that this meeting took place in 1056. However, Lü's text says merely, "the beginning of the Chia-yu period." Wu Ch'eng (6b) says that the meeting occurred in 1057.

prefectural office, Chang would ask him whether his instructions had indeed been transmitted to the people.

Sometime later,[7] when Chang was in his mid-forties, Wang T'ao (1020-80) invited him to come to speak at the prefectural school in Kaifeng. Chang urged the students there not to be preoccupied with passing the examinations, but to concern themselves with following the Way of the ancient sage kings, Yao and Shun. We are also told that Wen Yen-po (1006-97) once invited Chang to the prefectural school in Ch'ang-an and treated him with great respect, and that scholars and students all sought to emulate him.[8]

In 1067,[9] Chang was appointed Assistant Staff Author in charge of documents for the military prefecture of Wei-chou (Chu tso tso lang ch'ien shu Wei-chou chün shih p'an kuan kung shih 著作佐郎簽書渭州軍事判官公事, present P'ing-liang 平涼 county, Kansu). The military commander there, Ts'ai T'ing (1014-79), consulted Chang on all military matters. Because of the difficult conditions on the frontier, the people were hard pressed and public relief funds were insufficient. Chang was able to obtain money from the prefectural military reserves, thereby reducing the people's distress.

7 In 1066, according to Wu Ch'eng (9a).

8 Lü Ta-lin says that this occurred before Chang passed the metropolitan exam (CTC, p. 382). But Wu Ch'eng points out that Wen was not sent to administer Ch'ang-an until 1065, and thus assigns this meeting to that year. (8b)

9 Following Wu Ch'eng. (9a)

In 1069, the Executive Censor Lü Kung-chu (1018-89) recommended Chang to the new emperor, Shen-tsung (r. 1068-85). Chang was summoned to Kaifeng and questioned by the emperor on the best way to govern. The emperor was pleased when Chang answered that he should strive to restore the "Way of the Three Dynasties," and asked Chang to participate in the deliberations on Wang An-shih's "new policies." Saying that he had just come to court from the provinces and did not know enough about these policies, Chang requested time to observe the situation. This request was granted, and Chang was appointed a Collator in the Ch'ung wen Library (Ch'ung wen yüan chiao shu 崇文院校書).[10] Subsequently, Wang An-shih asked Chang if he would participate in the implementation of the "new policies." Chang responded that if Wang acted properly, everyone in the empire would respond. However, if he "told a jade cutter how to cut jade"[11] --if he interfered too much in local affairs--then he would not succeed. Wang was displeased, and dispatched Chang to settle a legal case in Ming-chou (明州 --present Ch'ing-yüan 慶元, Chekiang). When the case was completed Chang returned to Kaifeng. However, because his brother Chang Chien had offended Wang,

[10] Lü Ta-lin's account is contradictory on this point. At one point, Lü says that Chang was given this appointment after his meeting with the emperor (CTC, p. 381). This is the version given in the Sung shih as well. However, elsewhere (p. 383) Lü says that after meeting with Wang, Chang was offered this position and turned it down.

[11] This is a reference to Mencius 1B9.

Chang claimed he was ill and left the capital for Shensi. On his way home, Chang passed through Loyang, where he met with the Ch'eng brothers, discussing questions of ritual with them.[12] Chang continued on to his old home in Heng-ch'ü, where he lived in retirement and devoted himself to scholarship. In terms of philosophy, this was Chang's most productive period. He himself described this period as follows:

> Since I have been living in retirement in Heng-ch'ü, I have been discoursing on these principles of morality. There has never before been such a thing in Heng-ch'ü.... Now I preach the Way and do not know what will happen. No one has ever said these things before. (290.14-291.4)[13]

We are told that in 1076 Chang had a strange dream, whereupon he presented his most famous work, the Cheng meng, to his disciples. He told them that this work, which he had compiled from his earlier writings, represented the result of years of thinking, and that he believed it was in accord with the Way of the sages of antiquity. He told them that this work was merely a beginning, and that it required their efforts in order to succeed.

12 Wu Ch'eng, 11a. Kuei Tseng-ch'i, following the information given in the Table of Contents of the Ch'eng shih yi shu, p. 3, says that these discussions occurred in 1077, just before Chang's death (see below, pp. 292-93). However, as Wu Ch'eng points out, it does not seem likely that Chang would have carried on such conversations when he was so sick.

13 Cf p. 234, above.

Throughout his life, Chang staunchly advocated the practice of the Way of the Three Dynasties and the implementation of the well-field system. He believed that if he were properly employed by the government, he would be able to realize these goals. Chang even considered joining with his disciples to purchase some land to try to put the ancient ways into practice on a small scale; but this plan never succeeded. These years of retirement were thus not without frustration for Chang, as can be seen from the last lines of a poem he wrote in 1075:

> For six years, poetry, calligraphy and music to my heart's content;
> What is hard to forget, though, is the court.[14]

In 1076 Lü Ta-fang (1027-97) recommended that Chang be restored to his old position. Feeling that this might be the opportunity he had been waiting for, Chang returned to Kaifeng and was made Coadministrator in the Board of Imperial Sacrifice (T'ung chih t'ai ch'ang li yüan 同知太常禮院). However, Chang grew increasingly unhappy over what he considered to be laxity in ritual practice. He fell ill that winter, resigned his post and headed home to Shensi. He is reported to have again stopped in Loyang, where he told the Ch'eng brothers that he was very sick, but thought he would be able to make it back to Ch'ang-an.[15] However, Chang never reached Ch'ang-an; he died

[14] "Lao ta" (老大) CTC, p. 368.

en route, in Lin-t'ung (臨潼), on 16 December 1077.[16] At the time of his death Chang was accompanied only by a nephew, who did not have enough money for a coffin. His disciples, on hearing of Chang's death, arrived quickly and arranged for the burial. Chang left a wife, née Kuo (郭), and a young son, Chang Yin (張因).

In 1219 Chang was given the posthumous title of Ming-kung (明公), and in 1241 was enshrined in the Confucian temple as the Duke of Mei (眉伯).

[15] Wu Ch'eng, 12a. As noted above, the Ch'eng shih yi shu attributes the conversations between Chang and the Ch'engs to this meeting. This does not seem likely, in light of the fact that Chang died shortly after this meeting.

[16] Lü Ta-lin says that Chang died in the twelfth month, yi hai (乙亥). However, as Kuei Tseng-ch'i notes, yi hai occurs in the eleventh month (28th day), not the twelfth month. W.T. Chan incorrectly gives the date of Chang's death as nine January, 1078. (p. 39)

Appendix C

CHINESE TEXTS

Texts for Introduction

ix
308.16 論語問同而答異者至多。或因人才性，或觀人之所問意思言語及所居之位。

x
3.2-3 吾之作是書也，譬之枯株。根本枝葉，莫不悉備。光榮之者，其在人功而已。又如睟盤示兒。百物具在，顧取者如何爾。

TEXTS FOR CHAPTER ONE

P.2
SYHA. 1.112 通天地人曰儒. 以魯國而止儒一人, 儒之名目, 原自不輕. 儒者成德之名. 猶之曰賢也, 聖也.

P.3
1.26 出其門者, 無慮數千餘人. 故今學者明夫聖人體用以為政教之本. 皆師之功.

P.4
OYHCC 2.11 自吳祐明道以來, 學者有師.

SSSHSWC 4.53a 為天下之師二十年餘矣.

SYHA 1.92-93 仁義不行, 禮樂不作, 儒者之辱 .... 其將奈何. 其將奈何.

P.5-6
1.93 若狄諸子之法, ... 不得其位, 不蓄其類.

P.6
SSSHSWC 4.53a 以其不可得而得於古者, 而遇於今, 而又有其時與位. 天下之所望於閣下.

P.8
KLC 19.1a-1b 某嘗謂學校之設非以教人為辭章取祿利而已 .... 必致學者首明用皆三物之要, 使有以自得於心而形於事業. 然後可以言仕.

OYHCC 3.59 凡學本於人性. 磨煉選事, 便趨於善.

P.13
SYHA 2.35 孟子自以為好仁. 未知其不仁甚矣.

P.14
TLC 7.46 去孔子後千五百年間,楊墨辯並老佛之惑,王道絕矣.

5.5a 事主人之道不得不畫也.亦王忠於主而已矣....王亦有死而已.
雖萬億千人之衆,之安能爛然也.

15.6a 僕獨確然自守聖人之經.

P.14-15
SYHA 1.52-53 儒者之學始於戰國....儒者不以仁義禮樂為心
則已.若以為心,得不鳴鼓而攻之乎.

P.15
CSC 3.20a 聖人之道不傳也久矣.

OYHCC 3.93 學者不謀道久矣.然道固不常廢.

SYHA 3.6 使孔子用于當時,則六經之道,反不如今之著.

P.16
SS 427.12710 千有餘載,至宋中葉,周敦頤出於舂陵,乃得聖
賢不傳之學....

CTC 386.7 為政不法三代者,終苟道也.

248.7-249.8 治天下不由井地,終無由得平.用道上是均平....
井田至易行...

P.16-17
YCWC 1.16a.6-7 治天下之道莫非吾帝王周公孔子治天下
之道.

P.17
MTWC 2.76.10-12 ...三代之法有必可施行之驗.如其細條度量施為社稷之道,則當行之必也.稽之經訓而合施之人情而宜.此曉然之定理.

CSC 5.14a 近世言治者从為不行三代之政不可.

CCTPWCSL 42.4a 仕者莫不談王道述禮樂,皆欲復三代,追堯舜.終於不可得.

P.18
SYHA 2.37-38 今之學者...樂王道而忘天子....無王道可也,不可無天子.

"PTSH", P.28 夏商以前,其傳太簡.備而明者,莫如周制.自秦用商鞅,廢井田,開阡陌,迄今數千百年....於戲.古之行王政,必自此始.

PP.20-21
SYHA 1.92-93 佛老之徒,橫於中國....儒者不以仁義禮樂為心則已.若以為心,得不鳴鼓而攻之乎.

P.21
TLC 5.46 佛老以妖妄怪誕之教煽亂之....吾未攻佛老....吾學聖人之道.有攻我聖人之道者,吾不可不反攻彼也.

DYHCC 1.125 佛法為中國患千餘歲.

KLC 5.19a-19b 臣竊以為方今釋老二氏之法蠱惑天下.上自王公下逮民庶,莫不崇信其法.傷風壞教莫甚於茲.

P.21
SMWCKCCC 62.767 光所以不好佛者者，正…其不得中道.

P.22
CCCHSC 28.262 觀樣浮屠固之，於猶喜於言國策人皆見之矣. 望期年近四十，喜志益堅之時而輒渝哉. 惟漢傑觀廢二記不甚熟耳. 吾於此言乃責備者深. 非尊浮屠也.

PP.22-23
HCWC 1.62 豈曰歟人不因吾道而為善. 吾不取其善. 以吾道而為善乃可善之.
1.166 是以其與己教不同而然也. 此豈非莊子所謂人同於己則可，不同於己雖善不善.

P.23
YKSHSC, P.54 士之有志於古者，乃排而疾攻之.... 然此數人者，其智未足以明先王之道 .... 以一杯水救一輿薪之火.

PP.23-24
SYHA 5.18 佛氏其言近理，又非楊墨之比. 此所以為害尤甚.

P.24
5.39 程張攻斥老佛至深. 然蓋用其學而不知者. 以昌大傳說之，而又自於易說解也.

P.25
YKSHSC, P.79 孔子曰…予一以貫之. 豈不信矣哉.

WWKWC 35.422 道之不一久矣.... 聖人之大體分裂而為八九.

PP.25-26
WLCC 7.46-47 聖人之學至於此則其視天下之理，皆致乎一矣. 天下之理皆致乎一則莫能以惑其心也.

P.26
TLC 5.46 堯舜禹湯文王武王周公之道，常行不可易之道也。

KLC 15.13a 自子來居西山窮且病吾道無一...

SYHA 2.29 或問聖人之道固不容雜也。何孟子之不一也。曰天地之中，一物耶，抑萬物也。養人者不一物...

P.27
"CSTI" 大哉乾元，萬物資始。誠之源也。

"STS" 寂然不動者誠也。

PP.27-28
SYHA 4.50 萬物無所不稟，則謂之曰命。萬物無所不本，則謂之曰性。萬物無所不主，則謂之曰天。萬物無所不主則謂之曰心。其實一也。古之聖人窮理盡性以至於命，盡心知性以知天，在心養性以事天。

P.28
SMWCKCCC 62.753 夫中者天地之所以立也。在易為太極，在書為皇極，在禮為中庸。

PP.28-29
SYHA 3.36 孟子曰人性之善也....繫辭曰一陰一陽之謂道。繼之者善也，成之者性也。是則孔子嘗有性善之言矣。中庸曰天命之謂性。樂記曰人生而靜，天之性也。人之性稟于天，固嘗有不善哉。荀子曰性惡。楊子曰善惡混，韓子曰性有三品。皆非知性者也。

P.29
OYHCC 3.169-70 河出圖，洛出書，聖人則之。所謂圖者，八卦之文也。林勇夫曰河南出以授於伏羲者也。

3.169-170 (cont'd) 蓋八卦者非人之所為，是天之所降也。

又曰包羲氏之王天下也，仰則觀象於天，俯則觀法於地.... 於是始作八卦。然則八卦者，是人之所為也，河圖不與焉。斯二說者已不能相容矣。

而說卦又曰，昔者聖人之作易也。幽贊於神明而生蓍。參天兩地而倚數。觀變於陰陽而立卦。則卦又出於蓍矣。

P.30 OYHCC 2.159 世無孔子久矣。六經之旨失其傳。其有不可得而正者，自來孔子復出，無以得其真也。

PP 30-31 WLCC 8.18 致其知而後讀以有所去取。故異學不能亂也。惟其不能亂，故能有所去取者。所以明吾道而已。

P.31 OYHCC 1.133 孟子曰盡信書不如無書。孟子豈好非六經者。蓋出其惑亂之說所以尊經。

SYHA 2.34 信孟子而不能經，是猶信他人而疑必曰也。

WLCC 8.18 ...然後於經為能知其大體而無疑。

P.32 SYHA 2.88 常患近世之士，溺于章句之學而不知先王禮樂之大。

3.8 先生治經不守章句。

SMWCKCCC 61.733 士大夫不以經術為事久矣。近下獨能治春秋三十年，成書三十萬言。是古之儒者復見於今日也。

P.33
DYHCC 3.96 學者當師經。師經，必先求其意。意得則心定。心定則道純。

WLCC P.17 世之不見全經久矣。讀經而已，則不足以知經。

P.34
SYHA 1.92 專守王弼韓康伯之說，而求於大易，吾未見其能盡於大易也。專守左氏公羊穀梁杜何范氏之說，而求於春秋，吾未見其能盡於春秋也。

DYHCC 2.28 先生治春秋，不惑傳註。不為曲說以亂經。其言簡易。

SYHA 2.66 以經為正，而不狃于章讀箋詁。此歐陽氏讀書法也。

7.21 讀書不要看別人解。看聖人之書易曉。看別人解則愈惑。

P.35
DYHCC 3.93 聖人之書如日月，卓乎其可求。

PP.35-36
YRSHSC P.54 知天德則死生之說，鬼神之情狀，當自見矣。是道也，聖人詳言於易。不必徇邪說而外求也。

P.36
"KWWP," P.49 太極既分，兩儀立矣。陽上交於陰，陰下交於陽，四象生矣。....八卦成矣。八卦相錯，然後萬物生焉。

P.36
HTC A11 易有太極，是生兩儀，兩儀生四象，四象生八卦.

P.37
"CYTSS" 易何止是經之源. 其天地鬼神之奧乎.

CCLHSC 3.1a 有曰，我通其意，則釋老之學未為荒也. 至讀夜思，疲心於無用之說. 其以惑也.

PP.37-38
OYYSC 2.7a 河出圖洛出書. 聖人則贊神明而生蓍. 兩儀生四象. 若此者，非聖人之言. 凡學之不通者，惑此者也. 知此然後知易矣.

P.39
SSSH SWC 4.53a-53b ...古者王治之時，法度之章大備極盛. 後世無不取法. 至於技巧器械大小尺寸黑黃蒼赤，豈能意出於聖人. 百工 屠有司市井田野之人，莫不預焉.

OYHCC 1.13a 傳曰...百工之事，皆聖人之作也.

PP.39-40
TLC 7.6a 道始於伏羲而成終於孔子. 道已成終矣，不生聖人可也.

P.40
SYHA 4.12a ...聖賢非性生. 必養心而至之.

P.41
SHCWCHCCC 65.8b 人之情莫不好善而惡惡，惡是而善非. 然善且至者蓋寡，惡且非者實多.

SYHA 1.2a 孔子固學于人而後為孔子.

P.41
"SHTES" 聖可学乎。曰可。

PP.41-42
SHUCKCCC 62.7 68.69 聖人亦人耳。非生而聖也。

P.42
SYHA 2.51 聖人人也。

2.51 聖人居乎人上，而下視於民。各因其方順其俗而教之。

"SHTSY" ... 聖人在上以仁育萬物，以義正萬民。天道行而萬物順，聖德修而萬民化。
"STC" 無思而無不通為聖人。

SYHA 3.105 是知人也者，物之至者也。聖也者，人之至者也。人之至者，謂其能以一心觀萬心，一身觀萬身，...

P.43
KLC 11.56 聖人之於天下也，仁以愛之，義以利之禮以明之，信以成之，樂以和之，政以正之，刑以平之。

TTCC, 154 聖人無心，故無思無為。雖無，微思也，未嘗不思。無為也，未嘗不為。

Reflections 41 聖人之言，以物之當言。聖人之經，以物之當經。是聖人之言經不係於心而係於物也。

PP.43-44
SYHA 3.6 君子之德莫不原于誠。誠則物之來也如鑑。

P.44
Reflections 291 仲尼無迹，顏子微有迹。孟子其迹著。

P.45
OYHCC 1.1 死也至今在。光輝如日星。

CSC 7.126-130 志顏子其殆庶幾者也。有不善未嘗不知。知之未嘗復行。其於言動孔子惟告之以克己復禮而已矣。

"CHTS" 志伊尹之所志，學顏子之所學，過則聖，及則賢。
"SYTESC" 發聖人之蘊，教萬世無窮者，顏子也。

P.46
SYHA 1.26 先生在太學，嘗以顏子所好何學論試諸生。

Reflections 50 昔受學於周濂叔，每令尋顏子仲尼樂處，所樂何事。

WLCC 7.44 夫顏子之所學者，非世人之所學。不遷怒者，求諸己。不貳過者，見不善之立萌而止之也。....是故君子之學，始知愚人焉，知童蒙焉。及其至也，天地不足大...諸子之支離不足惑也。

P.47
KCC 12.86 孔子之門人自顏回而下，日親炙於聖人之教。猶且日月至焉而已。況其下者乎。故曰見賢能久矣。

VLCC 7.46 聖人之道至於是而已也。且以顏子之質而未足以及之，則豈非道之至乎。

P.47
SHWEKCCC 66.824 貧而無怨難.顏子在陋巷,飲一瓢,食一箪.能固其守,不戚而宇.此德之所以定.

P.49
CCTPWCSL 29.4a-b. 夫性命之說,自子貢不得聞.而今之学者耶.不言性命.此可怪也哉.

P.50
SHKY 213-14 古之君子悉性之難見也.故以可見者言性....而性卒不可得而言也.

OYHCC 2.154 俗漢世之学者多言性.故学為說曰,夫性,未学者之所急.而聖人之所罕言.

PP.50-51
KLC 12.1a-1b. 中庸者治性之書....自孔子没,性命之書無傳.雖其說間見於六經,然詞約義微学者難曉.故子思傳其学於曾子.其間多引孔子之言.則是書祖述聖人理性之学.

P.51
12.36 人性莫不善.故君子小人皆有中庸之性.孟子謂惻隱羞惡恭敬是非之心人皆有之,是也.

WLCC 7.64-65 吾所安者,孔子之言而已....且諸子之所言,皆吾所謂情也,習也.非性也....故曰,有情然後善惡形焉.

P.52
SYHA 1.35-36 天下之性惡而已,堯舜桀跖亦惡而已.是則生民以來,未嘗有一人性善也.未嘗有一人性善,其禮義固從而有哉.其所謂聖人者,固從而為聖人哉.

P.52
SHWCKCCC 66.821 ...得其一偏而遺其大體也。天性者人之所受於天以生者也。善與惡皆兼有之。是故聖人不能無惡。雖愚人不能無善。其所受多少之間則殊矣。

P.53
SHKY 417 吾傳的只說正心養心，不說明心。

P.54
SYHA 5.16 心便是天。盡心便知性，知性便知天。

5.23 ...非傳聖人之道，傳聖人之心也。非傳聖人之心也，傳己之心也。己之心無異聖人之心。廣大無垠，高善皆備。欲傳聖人之道，擴充此心焉耳。

P.55
HCCMHPT p.115 人之心本神

CHC 32 耳目能受而不能擇。擇之者心也。故物交物則引之而已。心則不然。是則受，非則辭。此其所以為大也。從耳目口體而從其心者，小人之道也。

SYHA 3.6 中夜息于幽室之中，吾心之清明者還矣。孝弟忠信生乎此時。

PP.55-56
3.29 或問孝能無心乎。迂叟曰不能。若夫曰心，則庶幾矣。何謂曰心。曰去惡而從善，舍非而從是。人或知之而不能從，以為如制野馬....靜而思之，在我而已。

P.56
CSC. 6.46-52 子嘗思人之心虛一而靜者也。微妙獨立不與物俱。或失其本心，則物必引之矣。

SHWCKCCC 62.766 人何以知道。曰心。心何以知。曰虛一而靜。

SYHA 3.107 無心過易，無身過難。無身過易，無心過難。既無心過，何難之有.... 是知聖人所以能立無過之地者謂其善事于心者也。

P.57
3.29 學者所以求治心也。學雖多而心不治，何以學為。

SHWCKCCC 62.768 中庸所謂中者動靜之為。無過與不及也。二者雖皆為治心之秩序，其事則殊矣。

SHKY 343 好學以盡心，誠心以盡物

PP.52-58
SYHA 7.21 學聖人者，但自用意經書。中心既有所立則散者諸書，方圓輕重，皆為規矩權衡所正。

P.58
OYHCC 3.96 學者當師經。師經以先求其意。意得則心定，心定則道純。

SYHA 4.105 治天下有本，身之謂也.... 本必立端。立端本誠心而已矣。

TEXTS FOR CHAPTER TWO

P.62.
193.4 語…似是
觀其進本要歸，與吾儒二本殊歸。道一而已。

P.63
4.10-6.1 此是則彼非，彼是則此非。
而其徒復其說，以為大道精微之理，儒家之所不能說，必取老書為正。世之儒者亦自許曰，老之六經未嘗語也，孔孟未嘗及也。…
故為此言與孫登老子辨。夫道好異乎哉。蓋不得已也。…使二氏者真得至道之要，不二之理，則吾何為紛紛然與之辨哉。其為辨者正欲排邪說，歸至理，使萬世不惑而已。…
故子曰正蒙之言不得已而已也。嗚呼。道一而已。…
天之所以運，地之所以載，日月之所以明，鬼神之所以幽，風雲之所以變，江河之所以流…本末上下貫乎一道。

P.64
349.1-2 所妨物性神森，此非道說。…孟子所論知性知天。學至於知天則物所從出當源源自見。知所從出則物之當有當無莫不心會亦不待語而知。

P.67
7.1 大和所謂道。
中涵浮沈升降動靜相感之性。是呈絪縕相蕩勝負屈伸之始。

203.6-7 形而上者，是無形質者，…形而下者，是有形質者。…
有形迹者即器也。

P.68
7.5 太虛無形，氣之本體。其聚散變化之客形爾。
7.8-9 太虛不能無氣，氣不能不聚而為萬物。萬物不能不散而為太虛。循是出入，是皆不得已而然也。

P.69
8.11-12 氣聚則當能明得施而有形，氣不聚則當能明不得施而無形。方其聚也，安得不謂之客。方其散也，安得遽謂之無。故空人仰觀俯察，但知幽明之故，不知有無之故。

P.30
20.6-7 聲者，形氣相軋而成．西氣者，公鄉雷聲之類．西形者，桴鼓叩擊之類．形軋氣，羽角鼓矢之類．氣軋形，人聲笙簧之類．是皆物感之虛能．人皆習之而不察者爾．

19.5 氣於人生而不離，死而游散者謂魂．聚成形質並死而不散者謂魄．

P.31
64.6 或者指游魂為變為輪迴，未之思也．

66.5 形聚為物．形遺反原．反原者，其游魂為變與．

PP 71-72
8.2 故謂虛能生氣，則虛無窮，氣有限，體用殊絕，入老氏有生於無自然之論．

P.32
243.1 無則氣自然生．氣之生即是道是易．

9.5 由氣化有道之名．

P.33
183.11 精氣為物，游魂為變．精氣者，自無而有．游魂者，自有而無．

8.14 氣之聚散於太虛，猶冰凝釋於水．

P.34
10.2 氣本之虛則湛本無形．感而生，則聚而有象．
22.7 湛一氣之本．

66.4 陰陽之象，散則萬殊，人莫知其一也．

10.4 萬物並生，共貫一物．

8.1-2 知虛空即氣則有無隱顯神化性命通一無二．顧聚散出入形不形，能推本所從來，則深於易者也．

P.75
207.10. 凡不形以上者，皆謂之道。惟是有無相接與形不形虛知之分難。須知氣從此旨。蓋為氣能一有無。

pp.75-76
CHCC 7.7 程子曰，子厚以清虛一大名天道。是以器言，非形而上者。

P.77
325.11 凡有形之物即易壞。惟太虛無動搖，故為至實。

YS 71.1-2 曰亦無太虛。遂指虛曰皆是理。安得謂之虛。天下無實於理者。

P.78
8.14-9.1 知太虛即氣，則無無……諸子淆亂，有有無之分，非窮理之學也。

182.5-6 見者由明。而不見者非無物也……彼異學則皆歸之空虛。蓋徒知乎明而已，不察夫幽，所見一邊耳。

182.7 氣聚則離明得施而有形。氣不聚則離明不得施而無形。方其聚也，安得不謂之有。

P.80
233.10 一物兩體者，氣也。一故神，兩故化。

231.2 太虛之氣陰陽一物也。

P.81
231.3 陰之性常順。

12.9 陰性凝聚，陽性發散。

12.9 陰聚之陽化散之

P.82
24.3 陽明勝則德性用。陰獨勝則物欲行。

P.82
9.11 其陰陽兩端循環不已者，立天地之大義．

235.8 陰陽氣也，而謂之天．剛柔質也，而謂之地．仁義性也，而謂之人．

P.83
235.5-10 陰陽天道，要之而已．剛柔地道，法之效也．仁義人道，性之立也．三才兩之，莫不有乾坤之道也．

225.11-12 乾於天為陽，於地為剛，於人為仁．坤於天則陰，於地則柔，於人則義．

P.84
177.3-5 不曰天地而乾坤云者，言其用也．乾坤亦何形……如言剛柔也．乾坤則所包者廣．

324.6 陰陽者天之氣也．剛柔緩速人之氣也．

P.85
69.5 不曰天地而曰乾坤，言天地則有體，言乾坤則無形．

206.4 乾坤天地也．

177.9 天地動靜之理，天圓則須動轉，地方則須安靜．

233.10-11 一物兩體者，氣也……兩體者，虛實也，動靜也，聚散也，清濁也．其究一而已．

P.86
231.2 太虛之氣陰陽一物也．然而有兩體，健順而已．

19.4 至之謂神，以其伸也．反之為鬼，以其歸也．

P.87
9.6 鬼神者二氣之名能也．

9.7 鬼神之實，不越二端而已矣．

P.87
215.10 今天下無窮動靜情伪，止一屈伸而已.

pp.87-88
224.9 天大無外，其为感者細緼一氣而已.

P.88
8.5 不悟一陰一陽範圍天地.

180.1-2 變化進退之象三者，進退之動也微，伺察之於變化之著，故察進退之理为難，察變化之象为易.

181.12-13 易之为書與天地準. 易即天道.... 畫卦本天道，三陰三陽一升一降而變成八卦.

206.4 易造化也.

P.90
191.9 此論易書之道.

206.12 乾坤成列而下，皆易之器.

206.9 繹氏之書性不言易. 讀易然後盡性

65.7 但欲直達太虛，不从晝夜陰陽累其心，則是未始見易.

P.91
242.9 數書辭所以論易之道. 既知易之道，則易象在其中.

9.7 天道不窮寒暑已. 衆動不窮屈伸已.

P.92
9.12 日月相推而明生. 寒暑相推而歲成.

9.14 晝夜者天之一息乎. 寒暑者天之晝夜乎.

123-4 陰陽之精互藏其宅.... 相兼相制，欲一之而不能. 此其所以屈伸無方，運行不息. 莫或使之.

pp 92-93
112.3-4 刻之禦後不可容絲，續則不復則乾坤之道息也。
故適蓋郊也，更無先後之次也。此義最大。

p.93
36.8 勝兵之勝，勝在至柔。明居仲之神面。

pp. 93-94
9.11 游氣紛擾，合而成質者，生人物之萬殊。

p.94
9.10 感而後有通，不有兩則無一。

13.6 冰者，陰凝而陽未勝也。

10.2 感而生則聚而有象。

p.95
YS 220.9-11 有兩物，有生是氣化而生者，若腐草為螢是也。既是氣化，到合化時自化。有氣化生之後而種生者，且如人身上著新衣服，遍緝日便蟣蝨生其間，此氣化也。氣既化後更不化，便以種生去，此理甚明。

CTCS 49.20a 生物之初，陰陽之精自凝結成個兩個，蓋是氣化而生，如蝨子自然爛出來，既有此兩個，一化一化，後來却從種子漸漸生去，便是以形化，萬物皆然。

p.96
12.9-12 陽為陰累則相持為雨而降，陰為陽停則飄揚為雲而升。故雲物班布太虛者陰為風驅，斂聚而未散者也。凡陰氣凝聚，陽在內者不得出，則奮擊而為雷霆。陽在外者不得入，則回旋不舍而為風。其聚有遠近虛實，故雷風有小大緩急。和而散則為霜雪雨露。不和而散則為虹氣日暈霧。陰常散緩，受交於陽，則風雨調，寒暑正。

13.6-7 冰者，陰凝而陽未勝也。火者，陽盛而陰未盡也。火之炎，人之烝，有影無形，能散而不能受光者，其氣陽也。

P.27
36.2 易簡然後能知險阻。易簡理得然後一以貫天下之道。

11.10 地雖凝聚不散之物，然二氣升降其間，相從而不已也。

215.12 先得此一致之理，則何用百慮。

PP. 101-102
CCFL 13.36-96 天有陰陽，人亦有陰陽.... 人之陰氣趨而天地之陰氣亦宜應之而趨.... 無非己先趨之而物以類應之而動者也。

P.104
10.11-11.1 地純陰凝聚於中，天浮陽運旋於外。此天地之常體也。恒星不動，純繫乎天，與浮陽運旋而不窮者也。日月五星逆天而行。

P.105
11.7 愚謂在天而運者，惟七曜而已。

11.9 天左旋，處其中者順之。少遲則反右矣。

177.34 人渾論天。天竟不可方體。姑指日月星辰處，視以為天。

132.5 不見吉非無物也。乃是天之至處。

P.106
12.6 日月得天，得自然之理也，非有形之形也。

191.6 崇天也，形而上也。

P.106
11.10 地物也。天神也。

P.107
13.10 天道四時行，百物生。

206.5 不見易則何此知天道。

189.9 鼓萬物而不與聖人同憂。此直謂天也。天則無心。

185.10 鼓萬物而生，無心此物。

228.5-6 益：什實為有益。如天之生物。長以裕之，非虛設也。

P.108
113.10 天則無心無為，無所主宰。恒然如此。

107.5 有天則須有底。然天之底有何思慮。莫非自然。

P.109
29.9 ... 天道不已而然，篤之至也。

21.1 天所以長久不已之道，乃所謂誠。仁人孝子所以事天誠身，不過不已於仁孝而已。

264.11-12 禮亦有不須變者，如天敘天秩，如何可變。

P.108
YS 316.9-10 問天道如何。曰只是理。理便是天道也。且如說皇天震怒。終不是有人在上震怒。只是理如此。

P.109
264.12-13 天之生物便有榮枯大小之象。人順之而已。此所以為禮也。學者有學此禮出於人，而不知禮本天之自然。

P.110
23.14-24.1 天理者時義而已。君子教人，舉天理以示之而已。其行乙也，述天理而時措之也。

P.110
325.14 靜者善之本，虛者靜之本。

325.1 虛者仁之原。

P.111
326.3 天地以虛為德。至善者虛也。

325.10 天地之道無非以至虛為實。

9.5 由太虛有天之名。

324.13 太虛者天之實也。

13.10 天道四時行，百物生。無非至教。

326.1 氣之蒼蒼，日之所止也。日月星辰，象之著也。當以心求天之虛。

226.3 世衰則天人交勝。其道不一。

P.112
95.14-100.1 天以虛大自然取貴。人自事尊大，須是我固心。欲順己尊己，又悅己之情。此所以取辱取怨也。

35.13 與天地不相似，其違道也遠矣。

188.12-189.1 老子言天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗，此是也。。。。天地則何意於仁。

P.114
SYNA
3.107 言之於口，人得而聞之。行之於身人得而見之。垂之於心神得而知之。人之聰明猶不可欺。況神之聰明乎。

P.115
HTC 1.9 易無思也,無為也.寂然不動,感而遂通天下之故.非天下之至神,其孰能與於此....唯神也,故不疾而速,不行而至.

YS 182.12 仲尼於論語中未嘗說神字.只於易中不得已言數處而已.

P.116
16.4 神為不測,故緩辭不足以盡神.

204.1 用之不窮,莫知其鄉,故名之曰神.

10.3 倏而生,忽而滅,不容有毫髮之間.其神矣夫.

P.117
65.13-66.1 語其推行故曰道.語其不測故曰神.語其生生故曰易.其實一物.

187.1 神與易雖是一事,方與體雖是一義,以其不測故言無方.以其生生故言無體.

14.5 天之不測謂神.神而有常謂天.

P.118
15.11 神天德,化天道.德其體,道其用.

197.2 示人吉凶,其道顯.陰陽不測其德神.

205.8 天下之動,神鼓之也.神則主於動.故天下之動,皆神之為也.

374.13-14 顯諸仁,天地生萬物之功,則人可得而見也.然此造萬物,則人不可得而見.是藏諸用也.

P.119
9.6 神者太虛妙德之目.

9.2 太虛為清，清則無礙。無礙故神。反清為濁，濁則礙，礙則形。

7.2 散殊而可象為氣。清通而不可象為神。

YS 133.13 氣外無神，神外無氣。或者謂清者神，則濁者非神乎。

P.120 YS 133.10 化之妙者神也。

YS 133.8 夕寒晝暑，陰陽也。所以運動變化者神也。

17.7 不可致知謂神。

P.121 66.2 [英] 雖非思慮聰明可求，故謂之神。老氏況諸谷以此。

17.12 神不可致思，有為可也。

18.2 人能知變化之道，其必知神之為也。

P.122 9.6 凡天地法象，皆神化之精粗爾。

10.5 當知形色，神之精粗。

10.10 一物兩體，氣也。一故神（兩在故不測）。

16.6 氣有陰陽....合一不測為神。

14.2 誠於此，動於彼，神之道與。

P.122-23 200.10-12 一故神，譬之人身四體皆一物，故觸之而致不覺，不待心使至此而後覺也。此所謂感而遂通，不行而至，不疾而速也。物形乃有小大精粗，神則無精粗。

200.10-12 (cont'd) 神即神而已，不必言作用。譬之三十輻共一轂則為車。若無輻與轂，則何从見車之用。

TEXTS FOR CHAPTER THREE

P.126
24.10 未嘗無之謂體，體之謂性.

P.127
63.15 性者感之體.

200.12 感皆出於性.

78.9-10 情則是實是，喜怒哀樂之謂也....莫非性中發出實事也.

21.5 性者萬物之一源，非有我之得私也.

64.1 體萬物而謂之性.

PP.127-28
19.6 猶水凝則冰，浮則漚. 然冰之才，漚之性，其存其亡，猶不得而與焉.

P.128
273.7 道德性命是長在不死之物也. 己身則死，此則常在.

329.14 氣者在性學之間.

P.129
350.2-3 性則寬補昏明各不得. 是性莫不同也.

7.6 至靜無感，性之淵源.

P.130
19.11 凡物能相感者，是神相感之性也.

P.130
189.7 動靜陰陽性也.

P.131
22.1 天性在人正猶水性之在冰. 凝釋雖異, 其物一也.

22.1 受光有小大分明, 其照純不二也.

63.13 天性乾坤陰陽也.

63.9 所感所性, 乾坤陰陽二端而已.

P.132
63.14 ... 性即天道也.

10.5 性與天道三者異而已矣.

21.11 天所性者通極於道.

62.7 天地之帥吾其性.

21.14 知性知天則陰陽鬼神皆吾分內爾.

P.133
182.13-
188.1 性未成則善惡混, 故善惡而繼善者斯為善矣. 惡惡去則善因从(七)[成]. 故曾曰善而曰成之者性也.

22.13 性於人無不善.

P.134
235.10-11 昂一物而合二才. 天人一,陰陽类氣,剛柔其形,
仁義其性.

P.135
22.2 天地能本吾心能.顧为有我所蔽耳.

P.136
63.5 至誠天性也,...人能至誠則性盡....

20.12 性與天道合一存乎誠.

P.139
23.2 人之剛柔緩急有才與不才,氣之偏也.

P.140
201.8 氣質猶人言性氣.氣有剛柔緩速清濁之氣也.質,才也.
氣質是一物.若草木之生亦可言氣質.

329.12-13 大凡寬褊者是所稟之氣也.氣者自萬物散殊時各
有所得之氣.

266.1 人之氣質美惡與貴賤夭壽之理皆是所受定分.

P.141
63.7 飲食男女皆性也.是烏可滅.

22.7 攻取氣之欲.口腹於飲食,鼻舌於臭味,皆攻
取之性也.

PP.141-42
CSL 1.26 凡物莫不有是性.由通蔽開塞,所以有人物
之別.由蔽有厚薄,故有智愚之別.塞者密不可
開.厚者可以開而開之也難.薄者開之也易.開則通
於天道,與聖人一.

P.142
329.14-330.1 性猶有氣之惡者為病，氣又有習以害之。此所以重...強學以勝其氣習。

23.11 上智下愚習與性相遠既甚而不可變者也。

266.1-2 今人所以異為氣所使而不得為賢者，蓋為不知學。

281.10 某舊多使氣，後來殊減

23.1 形而後有氣質之性。

23.5-6 氣之不可變者，獨死生修夭而已。

266.1 如氣質惡者學即能移。

281.9 性其能克己則為能變化却習俗之氣性....

P.144
22.7-8 知德者屬厥而已，不以嗜欲累其心。不以小害大，本喪本焉而。

23.1 善反之則天地之性存焉。
故氣質之性，君子有弗性者焉。

P.145
9.5 合虛與氣有性之名。

P.147
22.3 上達反天理，下達徇人欲者與。

P.148
329.11-12 吕與叔質美，但向學甚緩。猶乎味思也稀 .... 然稀不害於明。稀何从不害於明。稀是氣也，明者所學也。

224.9-10 為學之益在自能變化氣質。不曾卒然發明，不得見聖人之奥。故學者先須變化氣質。

24.3 領悟而全好者，其次由學乎。

266.1 知氣質惡者學即能勝。

P.149
330.4 苟志於學則可以除其氣與習。

321.11 有志於學者，都更不論益之美惡，只看志如何。

375.5 人若志趣不遠，心不在焉，雖學無補。

375.4 為學的急在於正心求益

P.150
321.2 學者學的从為人。

278.9 由學者至顏子一節，由顏子至仲尼一節。是至難進。二節相二關 ....

31.8-9 今始學之人未必能繼。苟从大道教之，是誤也。

P.150-51

2.20.14-15 其始且須道體用分別从教中。至熟後只一也。道初亦須一意底參較比量。至已得之則無思慮所能致。

P.151

76.16-77.5 若大人从上事則無修.... 故雷謂大可為也，大而化不可為也.... 蓋大人之事修而可至，化則不可加功。加功則是助長也。

P.152

216.7 蓋大則猶可勉而至，大而化則必在熟。化即道也。

266.7-8 始則須勉勉，終則便自然。

77.16-78.1 大抵語勉勉者則是大人之分也。勉勉則猶或有退。少不勉勉斯退矣，所从須學問。

263.12-264.1 學者有息時，一如木偶人。樣樣則動，舍之則息。一日而萬生萬死。學者有息時，亦與死無異。是心死也。身雖生，身亦物也。天下之物見矣。學者本从道為生。道息則死也，終是依物。當从木偶人為譬从自戒。知息為大不善，因故思譬如此。只欲不息。

P.153

375.5-6 自堆柿種君子必勉勉。至從心所欲不踰矩方可放下。

220.5-6 學者有所不知，問而知之.... 如孔子之學禮，性官名禮之有所未知，故其問老子郯子。

P.154
326.10-11 人多从老佛則不肯下問．故終身不知．又為人从道義先覺處之，不可推謂有所不知，故亦不肯下問．從不肯問遂生百端欺害人．

267.9 於不賢者猶有所取者．觀己所問何事．欲問耕則君子不如農夫．問織則君子不如婦人．

272.2 維與朋友燕會講論良益也．

P.155
273.13 善理之学，亦須深沈方有造．非淺易輕浮之可得也．

280.3 戲謔直是大無益．出於無敬心．塵埃不已不能宰事，志亦為氣所流．

P.156
265.1 進人之速無如禮．

265.5 使動作皆中禮，則氣質自然全好．

330.11-12 某所以使学者先学禮者，只為学禮則使除去了世俗一副當世習熟纏繞．學之迎重之物，解纏繞即上去，上去即是理明矣．

P.157
264.2 禮所以持性．蓋本出於性．持性，反本也．又未能性須禮以持之．能守禮已不叫道矣．

264.3 禮即天地之德也．

336.5 子厚从禮教學者最善，使學者先有所據守。

P.158
387.8 窮推子厚平生用心，欲率今世之人復三代之禮者也。

278.2-5 嘗謂文字若史書歷過，見得無可取則可放下。如此則一日之力可以了六七卷書。。。。如文選文選之類，看得數篇無所取便可放下。如道藏釋典不看亦無害。

276.10-11 觀書且勿觀史。。。。然觀史又勝於游山水林木之趣。始似可愛，終無益。不如游心經籍義理之間。

P.159
279.8-9 經籍亦須記得。雖有舜禹之智，口能而不言不如聲盲之指麾。故記得便說得，說得便行得，故始學亦不可無誦記。

272.10 要見聖人，無如論孟為要。論孟二書於學者大益，只是須涵泳。

275.1 觀書必絕其言而求作者之意。

P.160
276.14-16 觀書且不宜急迫，急思則卻不見。須是大體上求之。言則指也，指則所視者遠矣。若只泥之而不求大體則失之。是小兒視指之類也。學引小兒以手指物示之，而不能求物以視焉，只視於手。足無物則加怒耳。

P.160
277.6-7 人之述經者，蓋已所守未明，故掌為語言可此相動。已守既定，雖孔孟之書有給答，亦不須思而改之

P.161
294.11 既有章書，則經中之字傳寫失其真者多矣。从此詩書之中字僅有不可通者。

333.3-4 孟子方辯道，故言自得深造，作記者伴不知內，且據標準知。

275.5 有言經義須人人說得別，此不然。天下義理只容有一箇是，無兩箇是。

P.162
274.5 學貴心悟，守舊無功。

266.8-9 人須常在此心。凡用得熟却恐忘了。若事有汩沒則此心梏矣.... 立得此心方是學不錯。

269.9-11 求心之始如有所得，久思則茫然復失，何也。夫求心不得其要，鑽研太甚則惑.... 求之太切則反自惑。孟子所謂助長也。

P.163
376.1 蓋欲學者存意之不忘，庶游心浸熟。有一日脫然如夜之得曙耳。

PP.163-64
275.2-3 學者言不能識得是，多相違戾，思為經天緯。今贅眉从思，已失其心也。蓋心本至神，如此則已糾不

P.164
275.2-3 (cont'd) 神害共至神矣.

28.14 意作固者,一物存焉來蟲也.四者盡去,則直養而無害.

272.8 今人自強自是.樂己之同,惡己之異.便是有固作意我;...

25.12 加心忘然後可與進於道.

25.13 加心者,意之謂與.

P.165
26.1 心存無盡性之理.

24.11 大其心則能體天下之物.

P.166
277.3-4 雖掩卷字否此心可矣.凡經義不過取證明而已.故雖有不識字者,何害為善.

206.6-7 有謂心即是易,造化也.心又焉能盡易之道.

P.167
275.10-11 盡書从絲持此心.一時放下則一時德性有懈.讀書則此心常在.不讀書則終看義理不見.

P.168
324.13 太虛者心之實也.

P.168
279.7 人私意此求是不必是.虛心以求是方為是.

280.12 心既虛則公平,公平則是非較然易見,當為不當為之事自知.

325.10-11 心之不能虛,由有知障礙.

P.169
269.10 今有心以求其虛則是已起一心,豈由得虛.

307.9 毋四者則心虛.虛者,止善之本也.

272.8-9 使是有固必意我,無由得虛.學者理會到此虛心處,則教者不須言.求之書,合者即是聖言,不合者則後儒添入也.

P.170
210.8-9 貞明不為日月之所蔽,貞觀不為天地之所遷,貞觀貞明,是己此正而明日月,觀天地也.是為日月之明與天地變化所蔽惑.故必己此正道觀之.

210.5-6 則此不蔽惑者何.正此是本也.

P.171
25.1-2 人謂己有知,由耳目有聖也.人之有聖,由內外之合也.知合內外於耳目之外,則其知也過人遠矣.

24.11-13 世人之心止於聞見之狹....見聞之知,乃知之而知,非德性所知.德性所知,不萌於見聞.

P.172
25.4-5 人病其从耳目見聞累其心而不辨蓋其心.

307.8 实於見聞則为不累.

313.9 聞見不足以蓋物,然又須要他.... 若不聞不見又何為哉.

313.12 ... 人有見一物而終者,有終身而終之者.

P.173
377.2 凡致思到說不得處始復書思明辨,乃为善学也.
若告子則到說不得處遂已,更不復求.

283.9 今人为学如登山嶺.方其迤邐之時,莫不闊步大走,及到峭峻之處便止.須是要剛決果敢以往.

P.174
130.9-10 消則有長,不消則病常在.消盡則是大而化之之謂聖.

76.6 大人猶性則聖也化.化則純是天德也.

P.175
28.15 去去然後得所止.得所止然後得所養....

85.2 險而止惡.天於不當止而止是險也.如告子之不動心,作以義为外,是險而止也.

P.176
263.15 殺人者莫甚於鄭衛.未猶性者皆能殺之.所以夫子惡顏回也.

P.176
CSL 4.162 定然後能有光明.若事稍易不定,何求光明....
止乃光明.故大學定而至於能慮.

P.177
75.10 居大中定止之地.

267.3 孔子,文王,堯,舜,皆則是在此立志.此中道也.更勿
疑於此上別有心.

76.16-77.1 若大人从上事則無修....直待己實到窮神
知化.是德之極處也.

P.178
76.15 大人與聖人自是一節妙處.

77.6-10 大與聖難於分別....有人於此,敦厚君子,無少
異聖人之士行,然其心與真仲尼須自覺有殊.在
他人則只能分別.當時至有从子貢為賢於仲尼者,
惟子貢則自知之.

77.10-11 人能从大為心,常从聖人之規模為己任,
久於其道,則須化而至聖人.理之必然.

P.179
276.2-4 其弘从求義理,與赤天地禮樂鬼神至大
之事.心不弘則無由得見.

269.6-7 心大則百物皆通,心小則百物皆病.悟
後心常弘.

.24.11 大其心則能體天下之物.

310.10 賢人當為天下知,聖人當受命.雖不受知,不受命,然為聖為賢凡吾性分當如耳.

P.180
289.7-8 性皆則最處先.不智則不知.不知則安能為.

234.10-11 天道即性也.故思知人不可不知天.能知天斯知人矣.知人與窮理盡性以至於命同意.

P.181
219.5-7 化之實何施.中庸曰,至誠為能化.孟子曰,大而化之,皆以美德合陰陽,與天地同流而無不通也.

P.182
330.5-6 須知自誠明與自明誠者有異.自誠明者,先盡性以至於窮理也,謂先自其性理會來,以至窮理.自明誠者,先窮理以至於盡性也,謂先從學問理會,以推達於天性也.

CTCS 258.8 學者須是窮理為先.

234.12 ... 先窮理而後盡性.

P.183
330.6-7 某今亦竊華於明誠,所以勉勉安於不退.

289.9-10 家中有孔子真.當欲置於左右.對而坐又不可,焚香又不可,拜而瞻禮皆不可.無以為容.思之不若卷而藏之,尊其道.

P.184
208.9-10 某学来二十年，自来作文字說義理無絕，其有是者皆只是德則屢中

譬之穿窬之盜，將竊取室中之物而未知物之所藏處。或探知於外人，或隔牆聽人之言，終不能自到，說得皆未是實。觀古人之書如探知於外人。聞朋友之論如聞隔牆之言。皆未得其門而入，不見宗廟之美，室家之好。

比歲方似入至其中，知其中是美是善。不肯復出，天下之議論要能易此。

P.185
224.1-2 孔子稱顏子，不善未嘗不知，知之未嘗復行。其知不善，非獨知己，凡天下不善皆知之。不善則固未嘗復行也。

223.9-10 君曰有不善未嘗不知。顏子所謂有不善者，只是从常意有迹處便為不善而知之。此知幾也。

P.186
223.10-11 於聖人則無之矣。

312.14-318.1 昔謂顏子不遷怒為从此加後，恐顏子未至此地，處之太高。。。。顏子未必能如此而處。故後復从為不遷他人之怒於己。不貳過，不貳己之過。然則容有過，但不貳也，聖人則無過。

P.187
224.14 學不能推究事理只是心粗。至知顏子未至於聖人處，猶是心粗。

pp.187-88
154.2-3 顏子見其進，未見其止。未止故未發見其所止....
蓋未見夫子者心處，故未肯止。

p.188
332.5-7 顏子知當至而至焉，故見其進也。不極善則不處焉，故未見其止也....極善者，須从中道方謂極善；...過則便非善，不及亦非善。此極善是顏子所求也，所以瞻之在前，忽焉在後。

332.8-9 ...顏子雖意則直要做聖人。學者須是學顏子。

p.189
50.7 顏氏求龍德正中而未見其止。故擇中庸得一善則拳拳服膺，歎夫子之忽焉前後也。

79.6-7 凡言龍，喻聖也。

p.190
76.11-12 況聖修而未成者可也....若二與三皆大人之事。

76.12-14 乘謂四勝於二，三勝於二，五又勝於四，如此則是聖可階也。三四與二皆言所遇之時。二之時平和，見龍在田者則是可止之處也。時者時止也。

p.191
76.14 三四則皆時為危難，又重剛，又不中。

76.14-15 至九五則是聖人極致處。不論時也。飛龍在天況聖人之至若天之不可階而升也。

50.9 九五，大人化矣。天德位矣，成性聖矣。

pp.191-92
77.13-15 以九五言乃位乎天德。蓋是成聖實到也。...
不曰天地而曰天德。言德則德位皆造。故曰大人
造也。至此乃是大人之事畢矣。至乾之極盛處，故
从此當聖人之成德。言乃位即是實到先乙有也。

p.192
79.6-7 凡言龍，喻聖也。若顏子可从當之。雖伯夷之字
猶不可言龍。

p.193
75.14 顏子未成性，是為潛龍。亦未肯止於見龍。

78.5 潛龍自是聖人之德備具，但未發見。

79.5 未至於聖皆行未成之地耳。

TEXTS FOR CHAPTER FOUR

P.196
317.1 聖人人也.

P.195
280.10-11 二程從十四歲時便銳然欲學聖人.今蓋見四十未能見顏閔之徒.小程可如顏子,然恐未如顏子之無我.

P.196
189.10 學聖亦人耳.

283.1 聖人設教,使是人人可以至此.人皆可以堯舜.

65.4 ...至學而可以成聖.

PP.196-97
383.6 學作如聖人而已.

P.197
35.5 未至於聖,皆行未成之地耳.

17.12-13 在原明,久至極,順變化,達時中.仁之至,義之盡也.知微知彰,不舍而繼其善,然後可以成之性矣.

375.3 孟子於聖人猶是篇者.

P.198
29.8 中心安仁,無欲而好仁,無思而惡不仁,天下一人而已.

P.198
310.10 賢人當為天下知，聖人當受命。雖不受知，不受命，然為聖為賢乃吾性分當然耳。

P.199
315.2-3 十論之作，但知不論事，然不敢決道不論事。若孔子於心門，是知其不可而為之。然且為之者何也。仁然于也。如用禮救日之弓，救月之矢。豈不知無益於救。但不可坐視其薄蝕而不救。

P.200
76.6 大人祐性則聖也化。化則純是天德也。

78.1 祐性則全德心皆天也。所以祐性則謂之聖者。

PP.200-01
285.4-6 以天理中鑒則人與己皆見。猶持鏡在此，但可鑒彼，於己莫能見也。以鏡居中則鑒照。只為天理常在，身與物皆見，則自不私。己亦是一物。人常脫去己身則自明。

P.201
34.5 聖人同乎人而無我。

17.7 無我而後大。大祐性而後聖。

24.11-12 大其心則能體天下之物。物有未體，則心為有外 . . . . 其視天下無一物非我。孟子謂盡心則知性知天以此。

62.7 故天地之塞吾其體。天地之帥吾其性。

P.202
325.10 聖人虛之至.

325.11-12 金鐵有時而腐,山岳有時而摧.凡有形之物即昂壤,惟太虛無動搖.故為至實.

PP.202-203
31.6 有不知則有知,無不知則無知.是以鄙夫有問,仲尼竭而竭而空空.昂無思無為,受分乃如響.

200.7-8 無知者以其無不知也.若也有知,則有所不知也.惟其無知,故能竭而竭.昂所謂寂然不動,感而遂通也.

317.14-318.1 顏子未必能寂然而感.

PP.203-204
31.13 洪鐘未嘗有聲,由和乃有聲.聖人未嘗有知,由問乃有知.

P.204
34.14 大海無潤,因竭者有潤.至仁無恩,因不足者有恩.

199.11-12 至精者,謂聖人窮理極盡精微處.中庸所謂至矣.

P.205
36.2 昂簡理得然後一以貫天下之道.

276.12 心解則求義自明,不必字字相校.譬之日明者,萬物紛錯於前不足為害.
276.12 若日昏者,雖松木杉林皆足為梗.

P.206
12.3 陰陽之精互藏其宅.

219.12 知幾者為能以屈為信.

286.13 脫然在物者之外,無意於用智.是精義也.

pp.206-207
217.7 知幾其神.精義入神,皆探之至也.

P.207
128.4 ... 知者達難在乎先幾.

242.6-2 苟要入德於始於知幾.

218.10 見幾則義明.

P.208
335.9-10 教人至難,於盡人之材乃不誤人.觀可見處然後告之.聖人之明,直若庖丁之解牛皆知其隙.刃投餘地無全牛矣.

31.14-15 有知時而之化者.當其可,乘其間而施之,不待彼有求有以而後教之也.

P.209
310.2 時而化之.當誦更弦.又言當其可之謂時.

309.12 聖之時,當其可之謂時.取時中也.可以行,可以止,此出處之時也.至於語動作皆有時也.

P.209
.26.11 中正無偏貫天下之道.

P.210
28.3-4 無所難者清之極,無所異者和之極.勉而清,非聖人之清.勉而和,非聖人之和.所謂聖者,不勉不思而至焉.

172.7-8 至於成性,則不勉而中,不思而得,從容中道矣.

P.211
215.5-216.2 何思何慮,行其所無事而已.下文皆是此一意....行其所無事,則是意必固我已絕....日月寒暑之往來,尺蠖之屈,龍蛇之蟄,莫非行其所無事....不能虛以接物而有所繫著,非行其所無事也.

P.212
36.4 君子無所爭,彼伸則我屈,知也.彼屈則我不伸而伸矣,又何爭.

P.213
189.10 聖人亦人耳,焉得遂欲和天之神,庶不害於其事.

P.214
189.10-11 聖人當不用思慮憂患以經世,則何用聖人.天治自足矣.

188.12-189.3 老子言天地不仁,以萬物為芻狗,此是也.聖人不仁,以百姓為芻狗,此則異矣.聖人豈有不仁.所患者不仁也.天地則何意於仁.蓋萬物而已.聖人則仁爾,此其為能弘道也....天不能皆生善人.正以天無意也.

P.214
189.12 蓋聖人有能，所以異於天地。

P.215
185.10-11 天地運動一氣，載萬物而生，無心以極物。聖人則有要求，不得似天。天地設位，聖人有能。聖人立天地之物，又當用乎萬物而道濟天下，治也為之經營。

178.10 蓋盡人道，並立乎天地以成三才則是與天地參矣。

P.216
19.12 化不可助長，順焉可也。

150.12 能通其變而措於民，聖人之事業也。

203.12 因其變而裁制之以教天下，聖人之法也。

208.3 聖人因天地之化裁節而立法，使民知寒暑之變，故謂之春夏秋冬，亦化而裁之之一端耳。

P.217
204.10 天地變化，聖人作易以書龜交之，故曰聖人效之。

182.2 聖人興人模出一法律之器，使人知所向避，名之蓍也。

P.218
207.2 舉益利之道而錯諸天下之民以行其典禮，名之事業也。

P.219
269.12-13 天之生物使有尊卑大小之象，人須之而已。此所以為禮也。學者有等以禮出於人，而不知禮本天之自然。

212.5 上古無君臣尊卑等級之別。故制以禮，垂衣裳而天下治。

P.220
223.2 君子知微知彰，知柔知剛，未嘗不得其中。故動止為衆人之表。

46.5 克己行法為賢，樂己可法為聖。

312.14 己德位充實，人自化矣。正己而物正也。

P.221
125.5-6 聖人感人心而天下和平，是風動之也。聖人者無為以及人之老而人欲者其者。

107.5-6 聖人則能用感。何謂用感。凡教化設施，皆是用感也。体於此化於根者，皆感之道。聖人以神道設教，是也。

107.7 天不言而四時行。聖人設教而天下服。誠於此，動於彼。神之道歟。

pp. 223-24

.40.2-3 三十岁於禮，非強立之謂也。四十精義致用，時措而不疑。五十窮理盡性，至天之命。然不可自謂之至，故曰知。六十盡人物之性，聲入心通。七十與天用德，不思不勉，從容中道。

p. 225

369.6 見毋階前重百尋，傑柯盤遠葉森森。
剛強頗能石磨鈍甚，時欲低柔聲寸心。

289.5-6 某向時謾說以為已能，今觀之全未也。然而得一門庭，知聖人可以學而至。更自期一年如何，今且專與聖人之言為學。開書來用閱。

p. 226

281.10-11 某舊多使氣，後來漸漸消，更期一年庶幾無之，如太和中容萬物，必其自然。

317.5 某比來所得義理，儘彌久而不能變，必是屋中於其間。只是昔日所難，今日所易，昔日見得心煩，今日見得心約。到近上更約，必是精處尤更約也。

p. 227

44.10 言有教，動有法，盡有光，實有得，息有養，瞬有存。

64.8-65.1 自英說始傳中國，儒者未容窺聖學門牆，已為引取，淪胥其間，指為大道.... 自古說道邪遁之詞會然並興，一出於佛氏之門者千三百年；自非獨立不懼，精一自信，有大過人之才，何以正立其間，與之較是非，計得失。

P.225
326.7 為天地立心，為生民立道，為去聖繼絕學，為萬世開太平。

224.1-2 此道自孟子後千有餘歲，今日復有知者。若此道天不欲明，則不使今日人有知者。既使人知之，似有復明之理。

P.229
281.6-7 道理今日却見分明。孟仲尼復生，亦只如此。今學者下逮處行禮，下面又見性與天道。他日須勝孟子，門人如子夏，子貢等人，必有之乎。

P.230
221.13-14 此學以為絕耶。何用復有此議論。以為興耶。然而學者不博。孟子曰，無有乎爾，則亦無有乎爾。孔子曰，天之未喪斯文也，匡人其如予何。今欲功及天下，故必多培學者。則道可傳矣。

328.9-10 某唱此絕學亦輒欲補一次第，但患學者寡少。故貪於學者。今之學者大率為庶舉壞之。入仕則事官業，無暇及此。

P.231
367.3-6 勒哥胡然兮，邈余樂之不猶。
嘗耿耿其尚蘇，日孜孜焉繼予厥修。
井行蹤兮王牧，曰昌黎不傳兮。
阻德音其幽幽，述宣文以繼志兮。
庶歷通乎來古，擥昔光之純美兮，又申申其以告。

P.231
367.3-6 (cont'd) 鼓舞踴躍於庭馬前，
千三百年，寧詎寂寥．
謀天實難，則吾豈敢．
惟害己於乾乾．

P.232
281.2 近來思慮大率少不中處．今則剗在閒，閒得最日
便意思長遠．觀書到緊可推考處．

P.233
85.11 養其靈使正者，聖人之功也．

291.14 日無事，夜未深便寢．中夜已覺，心中平日廣，
思慮遠曉．加我數年，六十道行於家人必矣．

P.234
290.14-291.5 某既閒居橫渠說此義理，自有橫渠未
嘗如此.... 今倡此道不知如何．自來元不曾有人
說著．如楊龜山通又皆不見，韓俞又只尚閒言詞．
今則此道亦有與聞者．其已乎．其有遇乎．

TEXTS FOR CHAPTER FIVE

P.236
7.7. 氣之為物散入無形，通得委體。聚為有象，不失吾常。

P.246
YCWC 7.46. 秦漢而下未有聚斯理也。謂孟子沒而聖學不傳。以興起斯文為己任。
1-2

YS 217.14 – 218.2 ...橫渠文之粹者也....橫渠道德高，言德醇。自孟子後，儒者都無他見識。

P.247
203.10-204.2 道一也....天地人又一道也。

SYHA 5.83 善學者要不為文字所拘。故文義雖解全通，而道理可通行者不害也。

YS 242.6 學須是通。不得如此執泥。

P.248
175.10 學者不學聖人則已。

218.4 顏子去聖人只毫髮之間。

17.13 孟子才高，學之無可依據。學者當學顏子。入聖人為近。有用力處。

P.249
173.10 學本是治心。

SYHA 5.97 凡學之道，正其心養其性而已。

5.100 伊川見人靜坐，便歎其善學。

P.249
YS
348.11 聞見之知非德性之知.... 德性之知,不假聞見.

P.250
85.6 心具天德.心有不盡處,便是天德處未能盡.

172.9 學者為氣所勝,習所奪,只可責志.

PP.250-51
165.8-11 閑邪則誠自存.不是外面捉一箇誠來存著.今人外面役役於不善,於不善中尋箇善來存著.如此則豈有入善之理.只是閑邪,則誠自存.... 敬只是主一也.主一則既不之東,又不之西,如是則只是中.既不之此,又不之彼,如是則只是此.存此則自然天理明.

P.251
227.6-7 學者先須讀論孟.窮得論孟,自有箇要約處.从此觀他經甚省力.論孟如尺權衡相似.从此去量度事物,自然見得長短輕重.

181.9-10 嘗語學者,且先讀論語孟子,更讀一經,然後看春秋.先識得箇義理,方可看春秋.

255.7-8 凡讀史,不徒要記事跡.須要識治亂安危...之理...是亦學也.

P.252
WS 2.40.9 格至也,物事也.事皆有理.至其理乃格物也.

P.252
YS.207.5 問学何以有主覺恢處。曰莫先致知。能致知則思一日俞明一日。久而後有覺也。学而無覺，則何益矣。

214.1-3 語其大，至天地之高厚，語其小，至一物之所以然。学者皆當理會.... 一草一木皆有理，須是察。

P.253
174.2-4 窮理如一事上窮不得，且別窮一事.... 如千蹊萬徑皆可通國，但得一道入得，便可。

P.254
216.11 萬理歸於一理也。

84.10 為君盡君道，為臣盡臣道。過此則無理。

P.255
CS 8.72.6 箕不可以簸揚則箕非箕矣。斗不可以挹酒漿則斗非斗矣。

8.66.11-13 實有是理乃有是物.... 無是理雖有物象樣於耳目，耳目猶不可信。謂之非物可也。

YS 109.12-13 致知但知止於至善。為人子止於孝，為人父止於慈之類，不須外面。只務觀物理，汎然至知遊騁無所歸也。

P.256
181.14-182.1 須以知為本。知之深，則行之必至。無有知之而不能行者。知而不能行只是知得淺。

P. 256
172.10-12 釋氏之說，若欲能其說而去取之，則其說未能窮，固已化而為佛矣。只且於迹上考之。其教教如是，則其心果如何.... 不考且於迹上斷定不與聖人合。其言有合處則吾道固已有。有不合者固所不取。如是立定却省易。

P. 257
26.3 學者於釋氏之說直須如強聲美色以遠之。不爾則騷騷然入於其中矣。

4.4-6 學佛者曰草木鳥獸之生亦皆是幻。曰子以為生息於春夏，及至秋冬便却變壞，便以為幻。故亦以人生為幻。何不付與他，物生死成壞，自有此理。何者為幻。

P. 260
CTC 36.4 君子無所爭。彼仲則能屈，知也。彼屈則吾不仲而仲矣，又何爭。

YS 116.10 君子無所爭。小也射乎。故曰揖讓而升，下而飲，其爭也君子。言不爭也。若曰其爭也，是君子乎。

P. 261
CTC 36.6 君子無所爭。知繼於屈伸之感而已。

P. 262
YS 232.1-4 天下只是一箇利。孟子與周易所言一般。只為後人趨著利，便有弊。故孟子拔本塞源，不肯言利。其不使孟子者，却道不合如利。幸遭是也。其信者又道不得近利。人無利直是生不得。若得無利。且譬如僧子。人至此便安。是利也。如求安不已...

P.262
238.1-4 (cont'd) 無所不為....利只是一箇利，只為人用得別.

P.263
164.13-14 老謂既返之氣復將為方伸之氣，以資於此，則林與天地之化不相似．天地之化，自然生生不窮．更何復資於既斃之形，既返之氣．

180.9 凡物之散，其氣遂盡．無復歸本原之理．

P.264
165.1 人氣之生，生於真元．天之氣亦自然生生不窮．

183.4-7 真元之氣，氣之所由生．不與外氣相接住，但以外氣涵養而已．若魚在水．魚之性命，非是水為之．但以水涵養，魚乃得生而．人居天地氣中與魚在水無異．至於飲食之養，皆是外氣涵養之道．出入之息者，關關之機而已．所出之息，非所入之氣．但真元自能生氣．所入之氣止當關時，及達之而入．未假此氣以助真元也．

71.1-2 日亦無大塵．遂指塵曰皆是理．安得謂之塵．天下無實於理者．

P.265
CTC 187.4 一陰一陽是道也．

206.12 一陰一陽不可以形器拘，故謂之道．

YS 179.5 所以陰陽者，是道也．

P.265
72.1 道非陰陽也。所以一陰一陽道也。

P.266
188.14-189.1 人之學，博聞強識者甚少。其終無有不入禪學者。就其間特立不惑，然如子厚堯夫。然其說之流，恐未免此弊。

P.267
90.8 有形總是氣。無形只是道。

P.268
CHCC 7.7 程子曰，子厚以清虛一大名天道。是以器言，非形而上者。

YHCC P.5 西銘之為書，推理以存義。模前聖所未發，與孟子性善養氣之論同功。豈墨氏之比哉。西銘明理一而分殊。

P.269
CTC 313.10-11 訂頂之作，只為學者而言，是所以訂頂。天地至分甚父母。只欲學者心於天道。若語道則不須如是言。

P.271
YKSC 87.6 橫渠之學，其源出於程氏，而關中諸生尊其書，欲自為一家。

YS 367.1-2 既而得聞先生論議，乃歸謝其徒，盡棄其舊學，以從事於道。

P.272
WS 12.13a-8.10 橫渠昔在京師坐虎皮說易，聽從者甚衆。一夕二程先生至論易，次日橫渠撤去虎皮曰，吾平日為諸公說皆亂道。有二程近到，深明易道。吾所不及。決當師之。橫渠乃歸陝西。

P.272

CTC 321.11-322.1 熹初見洛陽程伯淳正叔兄弟於京師，共語道學之要。先生渙然自信曰，吾道自足，何事旁求。乃盡棄異學而學焉。

P.274

WS 11.48.7-8 呂與叔作橫渠行狀，有見二程盡棄其學之語。尹子言之，先生曰，叔平生議論謂頤兄弟有同處則可，若謂學於頤兄弟則無是事。頃年屢與叔辨之，不謂尚存斯言。繼於無忌憚矣。

P.275

CTC 280.10-11 二程從十四歲時便銳然欲學聖人，今蓋及四十，未能及顏閔之侍。小程可如顏子，然恐未如顏子之無我。

TEXTS FOR APPENDIX B

P. 291
CTC 290.14-291.4 莫說開居橫渠說此義理，自有橫渠未嘗和此....今得此道不知如何.自來元不曾有人說著.

P. 292
CTC P.368 六年無限詩書樂，一種難忘是本朝.

Appendix D

GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES

Chang Chien 張戩, T. T'ien-ch'i 天祺 (1030-76).

Chang Chiu-ch'eng 張九成, T. Tzu-shao 子韶 (Heng-fu 橫甫) (1092-1159).

Chang Po-hsing 張伯行, T. Hsiao-hsien 孝先 (1652-1725).

Chang Ti 張耒 (fl. eleventh century).

Chang Ti 張迪 (Chang Tsai's father, died 1030's).

Chang Tsai 張載, T. Tzu-hou 子厚 (Heng-ch'ü 橫渠) (1020-77).

Chao Hsi-pien 趙希弁 (fl. c. 1250).

Ch'ao Kung-wu 晁公武, T. Tzu-chih 子止 (1132 chin shih).

Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫, T. Po-yü 伯玉 (Chih-chai 直齋) (fl. thirteenth century).

Ch'en Hsiang 陳襄, T. Shu-ku 述古 (1017-80).

Chen-tsung 真宗 (Chao Heng 趙恒) (968-1022, r. 998-1022).

Ch'eng Hao 程顥, T. Po-ch'un 伯淳 (Ming-tao 明道) (1032-85).

Ch'eng Yi 程頤, T. Cheng-shu 正叔 (Yi-ch'uan 伊川) (1033-1107).

Ch'i K'uan 祁寬, T. Chū-chih 居之 (fl. early twelfth century).

Ch'i-sung 契嵩 (lay surname Li 李), T. Chung-ling 仲靈 (Ch'ien-tzu 潛子) (1011-72).

Chou Tun-yi 周敦頤, T. Mao-shu 茂叔 (Lien-hsi 濂溪)(1017-73).

Chu Hsi 朱熹, T. Yūan-hui 元晦 and Chung-hui 仲晦 (Hui-an 晦菴)(1130-1200).

Chu Shih 朱斌, T. Jo-chan 若瞻 (1665-1736).

Chuang-tzu 莊子 (Chuang Chou 莊周)(fourth century B.C.).

Confucius (K'ung Ch'iu 孔丘), T. Chung-ni 仲尼 (551-479 B.C.).

Fan Chung-yen 范仲淹, T. Hsi-wen 希文 (989-1052).

Fan Ning 范寧, T. Wu-tzu 武子 (339-401).

Fan Yū 范育, T. Hsūn-chih 巽之 (fl. eleventh century).

Fu Hsi 伏羲 (legendary sage).

Fu Pi 富弼, T. Yen-kuo 彥國 (1004-83).

Han Ch'i 韓琦, T. Chih-kuei 稚圭 (1008-75).

Han Fei 韓非 (fl. third century B.C.).

Han Po 韓伯, T. K'ang-po 康伯 (fl. 371-85).

Han Wei 韓維, T. Ch'ih-kuo 持國 (Ping-kuo 秉國 ?)(1017-98).

Han Yū 韓愈, T. T'ui-chih 退之 (768-824).

Ho Hsiu 何休, T. Shao-kung 邵公 (129-82).

Hsiang Hsiu 向秀, T. Tzu-ch'i 子期 (fl. mid. third century).

Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (Chao-ming t'ai-tzu 昭明太子) (501-31).

Hsieh Hui-lien 謝惠連 (fl. S. Sung (420-79)).

Hsieh Liang-tso 謝良佐 T. Hsien-tao 顯道 (Shang-ts'ai 上蔡) (died c. 1121).[1]

Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385-433).

Hsü Chi 徐積, T. Chung-chü 仲車 (1028-1103).

Hsü Heng 許衡, T. Lu-chai 魯齋 (1209-81).

Hsü Pi-ta 徐必達, T. Te-fu 德夫 and Hsüan chang 玄仗 (1592 chin shih).

Hsün-tzu 荀子 (Hsün K'uang 荀況), T. Ch'ing 卿 (c. 298-238 BC.).

Hu An-kuo 胡安國, T. K'ang-hou 康侯 (1074-1138).

Hu Yüan 胡瑗, T. Yi-chih 翼之 (An-ting 安定) (993-1059).

Huang Chieh 黃節 (1874-1935).

Huang Po-chia 黃百家, T. Chu-yi 主一 (Pu-shih 不失) (born 1643).

Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲, T. T'ai-chung 太冲 (1610-95).

Jen-tsung 仁宗 (Chao Chen 趙禎) (1010-63, r. 1023-63).

Kao-tzu 告子 (fourth century B.C.).

Kuo Hsiang 郭象, T. Tzu-hsüan 子宣 (died 312).

[1] Following Graham, p.195 n.1. W.T. Chan, Sung Biographies, I,413, gives Hsieh's dates as 1050-1103.

Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩, T. Te-ts'an 德粲 (fl. eleventh century).

Lao-tzu 老子 (Lao Tan 老聃 ?).

Li Ch'ien 李潛, T. Chün-hsing 君行 (Chih-p'ing [1064-67] chin shih).

Li Fu 李復, T. Lü-chung 履中 (1079 chin shih).

Li Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳, T. Wei-chih 微之 (Hsiu-yen 秀巖) (1167-1244).

Li Kou 李覯, T. T'ai-po 泰伯 (1009-77).

Li Kuang-ti 李光地, T. Chin-ch'ing 晉卿 (Hou-an 厚庵) (1642-1718).

Li Po 李白, T. T'ai-Pai 太白 (705?-62).

Liu Yi 劉彝, T. Chih-chung 執中 (c. 1017-1086).

Lu Chi 陸機, T. Shih-heng 士衡 (261-303).

Lü Kung-chu 呂公著, T. Hui-shu 晦叔 (1018-89).

Lü Nan 呂柟, T. Chung-mu 仲木 (Ching-ye 涇野) (1479-1542).

Lü Ta-fang 呂大防, T. Wei-chung 微仲 (1027-97).

Lü Ta-lin 呂大臨, T. Yü-shu 與叔 (Lan-t'ien 藍田) (1046/7-92/3).

Lü Tsu-ch'ien 呂祖謙, T. Po-kung 伯恭 (Tung-lai 東萊) (1137-81).

Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨, T. Kuei-yü 貴與 (Chu-chou 竹洲) (1254-?).

Mencius (Meng-tzu 孟子) (Meng K'o 孟軻), T. Tzu-yü 子輿 (372-279 B.C.).

Min Sun 閔損, T. Tzu-ch'ien 子騫 (disciple of Confucius).

Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修, T. Yung-shu 永叔 (1007-72).

Pao Ching-yen 鮑敬言 (fl. early fourth century).

Po Yi 伯夷 (early Chou).

Shang Yang 商鞅 (Kung-sun Yang 公孫鞅) (died 338 B.C.).

Shao Po-wen 邵伯溫, T. Tzu-wen 子文 (1057-1134).

Shao Yung 邵雍, T. Yao-fu 堯夫 (K'ang-chieh 康節) (1011-77).

Shen Kua 沈括, T. Ts'un-ching 存中 (1031-95).

Shen-tsung 神宗 (Chao Hsü 趙頊) (1048-85, r. 1067-85).

Shen Tzu-chang 沈自彰, T. Fang-yang 芳揚 (fl. c. 1600).

Shih Chieh 石介, T. Tsu-lai 徂徠 (1005-45).

Shun 舜 (ancient sage-king).

Ssu-ma K'ang 司馬康, T. Kung-hsiu 公休 (1050-90).

Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, T. Chün-shih 君實 (1019-86).

Su Ping 蘇昞, T. Chi-ming 季明 (fl. eleventh century).

Su Shih 蘇軾, T. Tzu-chan 子瞻 (Tung-p'o 東坡) (1036-1101).

Sun Fu 孫復, T. Ming-fu 明復 (992-1057).

T'ai-tsu 太祖 (Chao K'uang-yin 趙匡胤) (927-76, r. 960-76).

T'ang 湯 (founder of the Shang dynasty, (c. 1750 B.C.).

Ts'ai T'ing 蔡挺, T. Tzu-cheng 子政 (1014-79).

Ts'ao Chih 曹植, T. Tzu-chien 子建 (192-232).

Tseng Kung 曾鞏, T. Tzu-ku 子固 (1019-83).

Tseng-tzu 曾子, T. Tzu-yü 子輿 (disciple of Confucius).

Tu Yü 杜預, T. Yüan-k'ai 元凱 (223-84).

Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (c. 179-104 B.C.).

Tzu-hsia 子夏 (Pu Shang 卜商) (disciple of Confucius).

Tzu-kung 子貢 (Tuan-mu Ssu 端木賜) (disciple of Confucius).

Tzu-ssu 子思 (K'ung Chi 孔伋) (disciple of Confucius)

Wang An-shih 王安石, T. Chieh-fu 介甫 (Ching-kung 荆公) (1021-86).

Wang Chih 王植 (1721 chin shih).

Wang Ch'ung 王充, T. Chung-jen 仲任 (27-100).

Wang Fu-chih 王夫之, T. Erh-nung 而農 (Ch'uan-shan 船山) (1619-1692).

Wang K'ai-tsu 王開祖, T. Ching-shan 景山 (Huang-yu [1049-53] chin shih).

Wang Pi 王弼, T. Fu-ssu 輔嗣 (226-49).

Wang T'ao 王陶, T. Lo-tao 樂道 (1020-80).

Wang T'ing-hsiang 王廷相, T. Tzu-heng 子衡 (Chün-ch'uan 浚川) (1474-1544).

Wang T'ung 王通, T. Chung-yen 仲淹 (584-617).

Wang Wei 汪偉 (fl. early sixteenth century).

Wei Liao-weng 魏了翁, T. Hua-fu 華父, 甫 (Ho-shan 鶴山) (1178-1237).

Wen Yen-po 文彥博, T. K'uan-fu 寬夫 (1006-97).

Wu Ch'eng 吳澄, T. Tzu-hsien 子仙 (Ch'ing).

Wu Chien 吳堅, T. Yen-k'ai 彥恺 (1244 chin shih).

Yang Chu 楊朱, T. Tzu-chū 子居 (ancient philosopher).

Yang Hsiung 楊雄, T. Tzu-yūn 子雲 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18).

Yang Shih 楊適, T. An-tao 安道 (fl. eleventh century).

Yang Shih 楊時, T. Chung-li 中立 (Kuei-shan 龜山) (1053-1135).

Yao 堯 (ancient sage-king).

Yeh Shih 葉適, T. Cheng-tse 正則 (Shui-hsin 水心) (1150-1223).

Yen Hui 顏回 (Yen-tzu 顏子), T. Tzu-yüan 子淵 (disciple of Confucius).

Yi Yin 伊尹 (minister of T'ang, Shang dynasty founder).

Yin T'un 尹焞, T. Yen-ming 彥明 and Te-ch'ung 德充 (Ho-ching 和靖) (1071-42).

Yu Tso 游酢, T. Ting-fu 定夫 (1053-1123).

Yü 禹 (ancient sage-king).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Abbreviations

(Consult the individual entries in list b., below, for publishing information.)

CCLHSC. Li Kou. Chih-chiang Li hsien sheng chi.

CCTPWCSL. Su Shih. Ching chin Tung-p'o wen chi shih lüeh.

CHCC. Chang Tsai. Chang Heng-ch'ü chi.

CS. Ch'eng brothers. Honan Ch'eng shih ching shuo.

CSC. Li Fu. Chü shui chi.

CTC. Chang Tsai. Chang Tsai chi.

ECCS. Ch'eng brothers. Erh Ch'eng ch'üan shu.

HTCTC. Pi Yüan et al. Hsü tzu chih t'ung chien.

H-Y Series. Harvard Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series.

KHCPTS. Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu.

KLC. Ch'en Hsiang. Ku ling chi.

OYHCC. Ou-yang Hsiu ch'üan chi.

SHKY. Hsia Chün-yü. Sung hsüeh kai yao.

SMWCKCCC. Ssu-ma Kuang. Ssu-ma Wen-cheng-kung ch'uan chia chi.

SPPY. Ssu pu pei yao.

SPTK. Ssu pu ts'ung k'an.

SS. T'o T'o et al. Sung shih.

SSSHSWC. Shen Kua. Shen shih san hsien sheng wen chi.

SYHA. Huang Tsung-hsi et al. Sung Yüan hsüeh an.

TLC. Shih Chieh. Tsu-lai chi.

TSCCCP. Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng chien pien.

WLCC. Wang An-shih. Wang Lin-ch'uan chi.

WS. Ch'eng brothers. Honan Ch'eng shih wai shu.

YCWC. Ch'eng Yi. Yi-ch'uan wen chi.

YKSHSC. Yang Shih. Yang Kuei-shan hsien sheng chi.

YLYYL. Chu Hsi. Yi lo yüan yüan lu.

YS. Ch'eng brothers. Honan Ch'eng shih yi shu.

b. Works Cited

Balazs, Etienne. Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: Variations on a Theme. Trans. H.M. Wright. Ed. Arthur F. Wright. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964.

Barfield, Owen. Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry. New York: Harcourt, n.d.

Bruce, J. Percy. Chu Hsi and his Masters: An Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy. London: Probsthain, 1923.

Chaffee, John William. "Education and Examinations in Sung Society (960-1279)." Diss. Chicago 1979.

Chan, W.T. "The Neo-Confucian Solution to the Problem of Evil." In Studies Presented to Hu Shih on his Sixty-fifth Birthday, the Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 28 (1957).

----------. A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Translated and compiled by Wing-Tsit Chan. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969.

----------. Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology compiled by Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien. Translated, with notes, by Wing-Tsit Chan. Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, No. LXXV. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1967.

Chang Po-hsing ed. Cheng yi t'ang ch'üan shu 正誼堂全書. In Pai pu ts'ung shu chi ch'eng 百部叢書集成. Taipei: Yi wen, 1968.

Chang Tai-nien 張岱年. "Chang Heng-ch'ü te che hsüeh" 张横渠的哲学. Che hsüeh yen chiu, No.1 (1955), pp. 110-30.

----------. "Chung-kuo ku tien che hsüeh jo kan chi pen kai nien te ch'i yüan yü yen pien" 中国古典哲学若干基本概念的起源與演變. Che hsüeh yen chiu, No.2 (1957), pp. 54-69.

----------. Shi yi shih chi Chung-kuo wei wu chu yi che hsüeh chia 十一世紀中國唯物主義哲學家. Wuhan: Hupei People's Press, 1957.

Chang Tsai. Chang Heng-ch'ü chi 張横渠集 [CHCC]. TSCCCP.

----------. Chang Tsai chi 張載集 [CTC]. Peking: Chung hua, 1978.

----------. Chang-tzu ch'üan shu 張子全書 [CTCS]. KHCPTS.

----------. Chang-tzu yü lu 張子語錄. In CTC.

----------. Cheng meng 正蒙. In CTC.

----------. Ching hsüeh li k'u 經學理窟. In CTC.

----------. Heng-ch'ü yi shuo 横渠易說. In CTC.

----------. Wen chi 文集. In CTC.

Book of Changes. H-Y Series, Supplement No. 10: A Concordance to Yi Ching.

Ch'ao Kung-wu. Chün chai tu shu chih 郡齋讀書志. Edited, with supplement, by Chao Hsi-pien. Taipei: Kuang wen, 1967.

Ch'en Chen-sun. Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i 直齋書錄解題. Taipei: Kuang wen, 1968.

Ch'en Hsiang. Ku ling chi 古靈集 [KLC]. SKCSCP.

Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964.

Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng Yi. Erh Ch'eng ch'üan shu 二程全書 [ECCS]. SPPY.

----------. Erh Ch'eng ts'ui yen 二程粹言. In ECCS.

----------. Honan Ch'eng shih ching shuo 河南程氏經說 [CS]. In ECCS.

----------. Honan Ch'eng shih wai shu 河南程氏外書 [WS]. In ECCS.

----------. Honan Ch'eng shih yi shu 河南程氏遺書 [YS]. KHCPTS.

Ch'eng Hao. Ming-tao wen chi 明道文集. In ECCS.

Ch'eng Yi. Yi-ch'uan wen chi 伊川文集 [YCWC]. In ECCS.

Ch'i-sung. Hsün-chin wen chi 鐘津文集. SPTK.

Ch'ien Mu 錢穆. Sung Ming li hsüeh kai shu 宋明理學概述. Taipei: Hsüeh sheng, 1977.

Chou li 周禮. SPTK.

Chou Tun-yi. Chou-tzu t'ung shu 周子通書. SPPY.

Chu Hsi. Chu-tzu ch'üan shu 朱子全書. Taipei: Kuang hsüeh she, 1977.

----------. Yi lo yüan yüan lu 伊洛淵源錄 [YLYYL]. Taipei: Wen hai, 1968.

----------, and Lü Tsu-ch'ien eds. Chin ssu lu 近思錄. Compiled by Chang Po-hsing. TSCCCP.

Ch'un ch'iu. H-Y Series, Supplement No. 11: Combined Concordances to Ch'un-ch'iu, Kung-yang, Ku-liang and Tso-chuan. 4 vols.

Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih tzu liao hsüan chi (Sung Yüan Ming chih pu, shang) 中國哲學史資料選輯 (宋元明之部, 上). Ed. Chung-kuo k'e hsüeh yüan che hsüeh yen chiu so, Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih tsu 中國科學院哲學研究所, 中國哲學史組. Peking: Chung hua, 1962.

Chung-kuo tzu hsüeh ming chu chi ch'eng 中國子學名著集成. Compiled by Chung-kuo tzu hsüeh ming chu chi ch'eng pien yin chi chin hui 中國子學名著集成編印基金會. Taipei, 1978.

Chung yung 中庸. In Ssu shu chi chu 四書集注. Ed. Chu Hsi. SPPY.

Cornford, F.M. Before and After Socrates. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1932.

deBary, Wm Theodore, Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson compilers. Sources of Chinese Tradition. 2 vols. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960.

----------, et al. The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism. Studies in Oriental Culture, No.10. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1975.

----------. "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth-Century 'Enlightenment.'" In The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism.

----------. "A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism." In Confucianism in Action. Ed. David Nivison and Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959.

Fairbank, John K., ed. Chinese Thought and Institutions. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957.

Fingarette, Herbert. Confucius--The Secular as Sacred. New York: Harper, 1972.

Forke, Alfred, trans. Lun-Heng. 1907; rpt. New York: Paragon, 1962.

Franke, Herbert, ed. Sung Biographies. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976. Vols 1-3.

Fung Yu-lan. A History of Chinese Philosophy. Trans. Derk Bodde. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1952.

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

Hartwell, Robert. "Historical Analogism, Public Policy, and Social Science in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century China." American Historical Review, 76 (1971), 690-727.

Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series [H-Y Series]. 1935-40; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng wen, 1966.

He yin ssu k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu t'i yao chi ssu k'u wei shou shu mu chin hui shu mu 合印四庫全書總目 提要及四庫未收書目禁燬書目. Taipei: Shang wu, 1971.

Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬. Chung-kuo ssu hsiang t'ung shih 中國思想通史. Peking: Jen min, 1. Vol. 4, pt. 1.

Hsi tz'u chuan 繫辭傳. H-Y Series Supplement No. 10: A Concordance to Yi Ching.

Hsia Chün-yü 夏君虞. Sung hsüeh kai yao 宋學概要 [SHKY]. 1937; rpt. Taipei: Hua shih, 1976.

Hsiao ching Cheng chu shu 孝經鄭注疏. Annotated by P'i Hsi-jui 皮錫瑞. SPPY.

Hsiao, Kung-chuan. A History of Chinese Political Thought, v.1: From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D. Trans. F.W. Mote. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979.

Hsiao T'ung. Wen hsüan 文選. KHCPTS.

Hsieh Ling-yün. Hsieh K'ang-lo shih chu 謝康樂詩注. Annotated by Huang Chieh. N.p., 1925.

Hsü K'ang-sheng 許抗生. "Lüeh lun Wei Chin hsüan hsüeh" 略論魏晉玄學. Che hsüeh yen chiu, No.12 (1979), pp. 30-39.

Hu Shih. "The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy." In The Chinese Mind. Ed. Charles A. Moore.

Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子, "T'ien wen hsün" 天文訓. Taipei: Shih chieh, 1962.

Huang Ching-chin 黃景進. Pei Sung ssu tzu hsiu yang fang fa lun 北宋四子修養方法論. Taipei: n.p., 1971.

Huang Siu-chi. "Chang Tsai's Concept of Ch'i." Philosophy East and West, 18 (1968), 247-60.

----------. "The Moral Point of View of Chang Tsai." Philosophy East and West, 21 (1971), 141-56.

Huang Tsung-hsi et al. Sung Yüan hsüeh an 宋元學案 [SYHA]. KHCPTS.

Ito Masafumi 伊藤正文. Sô Shoku 曹植. In Chûgoku shijin senshû 中國詩人選集. Ed. Yoshikawa Kôjirô 吉川幸次郎 and Ogawa Tamaki 小川環樹. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957-61.

Kim, Yung Sik. "The World View of Chu Hsi (1130-1200): Knowledge about Natural World in Chu-tzu Ch'üan-shu." Diss. Princeton 1979.

Kracke, E.A. Jr. Civil Service in Early Sung China: 960-1067. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, XIII. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.

Kuan-tzu 管子. SPPY.

Kuei Tseng-ch'i 桂曾祺. "Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng nien p'u" 横渠先生年譜. K'ung chiao hui tsa chih 孔教會雜誌, 1, No.6 (1913), 9-19.

Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu 國學基本叢書 [KHCPTS]. Ed. Wang Yün-wu 王雲五. Taipei: Shang wu, 1968- .

Lao-tzu. Tao te ching 道德經. SPTK.

Lau, D.C., trans. Confucius, the Analects (Lun yü). Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.

----------. Lao Tzu, Tao Te Ching. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

----------. Mencius. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970.

----------. "A Note on Ko-wu." Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 30 (1967), 353-57.

Legge, James. The Chinese Classics, 2nd ed., revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865-95. 5 vols.

----------. The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen. In The Chinese Classics, vol.5.

----------. Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean. In The Chinese Classics, vol.1.

----------. The Works of Mencius. In The Chinese Classics, vol.2.

----------. The She King or The Book of Poetry. In The Chinese Classics, vol.4.

----------. The Shoo King or The Book of Historical Documents. In The Chinese Classics, vol.3.

Lewis, C.S. The Abolition of Man. New York: Macmillan, 1947.

Li chi 禮記. SPPY.

Li Fu. Chü shui chi 清水集 [CSC]. SKCSCP.

Li Hsin-ch'uan. Tao ming lu 道命錄. In Chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu 知不足齋叢書. Taipei: Yi wen, 1966.

Li Kou. Chih chiang Li hsien sheng chi 直講李先生集 [CCLHSC]. SPTK.

Lieh-tzu 列子. KHCPTS.

Liu, James T.C. "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen." In Chinese Thought and Institutions. Ed. John K. Fairbank. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957.

----------. "How did a Neo-Confucian school become the state orthodoxy?" Philosophy East and West, 23 (1973), 483-505.

----------. Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967.

----------. Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and his New Policies. Harvard East Asian Series, 3. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959.

Liu K'an-yüan 劉侃元, trans. Chung-kuo che hsüeh shih kai lun 中國哲學史概論, by Watanbe Shōhō 渡邊秀方原. Taipei: Shang wu, 1964.

Lu Shih-heng shih chu 陸士衡詩注. In Wei Chin wu chia shih chu 魏晉五家詩注. Ed. Yang Chia-lo 楊家駱. Taipei: Shih chieh, 1962.

Lü Nan. Chang-tzu ch'ao shih 張子抄釋. In Sung ssu tzu ch'ao shih.

----------. Sung ssu tzu ch'ao shih 宋四子抄釋. TSCCCP.

Lü Ta-lin. "Heng-ch'ü hsien sheng hsing chuang" 橫渠先生行狀. In CTC.

Lü Tsu-ch'ien ed. Chou yi hsi tz'u ching yi 周易繫辭精義. In Ku yi ts'ung shu 古逸叢書. Compiled by Li Shu-ch'ang (黎庶昌). In Pai pu ts'ung shu chi ch'eng 百部叢書集成. Taipei: Yi wen, 1965.

Lun yü 論語. H-Y Series, Supplement No.16: A Concordance to the Analects of Confucius.

Ma Tuan-lin. Wen hsien t'ung k'ao 文獻通考. In Shih t'ung 十通. KHCPTS.

McMorran, Ian. "Wang Fu-chih and the Neo-Confucian Tradition." In The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism. Ed. W.T. deBary.

Mencius. H-Y Series, Supplement No.17: A Concordance to Meng Tzu.

Metzger, Thomas A. Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977.

Moore, Charles A., ed. The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967.

Mou Tsung-san 牟宗三. Hsin t'i yü hsing t'i 心體與性體. Taipei: Cheng chung, 1969.

Nakayama Shigeru and Nathan Sivin, eds. Chinese Science: Exploration of an Ancient Tradition. East Asian Science Series, II. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1973.

Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilisation in China. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954- .

Nishi Junzô 西順藏. "Chô Ôkyo no shisô--tenchi toiu sekai" 張橫渠の思想 -- 天地という世界. Hitotsubashi Review, 28 (1952), 213-38.

Nivison, David and Arthur F. Wright, eds. Confucianism in Action. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1959.

Onozawa Seiichi 小野沢精一, Fukunaga Mitsuji 福永光司 and Yamanoi Yû 山井湧, eds. Ki no shisô: Chûgoku ni okeru shizenkan to ningenkan no tenkai 気の思想: 中国における自然観と人間観の展開. Tokyo: Tokyo Univ. Press, 1978.

Ou-yang Hsiu. Ou-yang Hsiu ch'üan chi 歐陽修全集 [OYHCC]. 2 vols. Hong Kong: Kuang chih, 1965?

----------. Ou-yang Yung-shu chi 歐陽永叔集. KHCPTS.

Peterson, W.J. "Fang I-chih: Western Learning and the 'Investigation of Things.'" In The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism. Ed. W.T. deBary.

----------. "Making Connections: The 'Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations' in the Book of Change." Unpublished paper. Princeton University: April 1979.

Pi Yüan et al. Hsü tzu chih t'ung chien 續資治通鑑 [HTCTC]. Peking: Chung hua, 1979. Vols. II and III.

Plaks, Andrew H. Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976.

Pollard, David. "Ch'i in Chinese Literary Theory." In Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Ed. Adele Austin Rickett. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977.

Porkert, Manfred. The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence. MIT East Asian Science Series, III. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1974.

Schirokauer, Conrad. "Neo-Confucians Under Attack: The Condemnation of Wei-hsüeh." In Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China. Ed. John Winthrop Haeger. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1975.

Shen Kua. Hsin chiao cheng meng hsi pi t'an 新校證夢溪筆談. Ed. Hu Tao-ching 胡道靜. Peking: Chung hua, 1962.

----------. Shen shih san hsien sheng wen chi 沈氏三先生文集 [SSSHSWC]. SPTK.

Shih Chieh. Tsu-lai chi 徂徠集 [TLC]. SKCSCP.

Shuo kua 說卦. H-Y Series, Supplement No.10: A Concordance to Yi Ching.

Ssu k'u ch'üan shu chen pen 四庫全書珍本 [SKCSCP]. Ed. Wang Yün-wu 王雲五. Taipei: Shang wu, 1971-79.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien. Shih chi 史記. SPPY.

Ssu-ma Kuang. Ssu-ma Wen-cheng-kung ch'uan chia chi 司馬文正公傳家集 [SMWCKCCC]. KHCPTS.

Ssu pu pei yao 四部備要 [SPPY]. Peking: Chung hua, 1927-35.

Ssu pu ts'ung k'an 四部叢刊 [SPTK]. Shanghai: Shang wu, 1920-22; and Ssu pu ts'ung k'an hsü pien 四部叢刊續編. Ed. Chang Yüan-chi 張元濟. Shanghai: Shang wu, 1934-35.

Su Shih. Ching chin Tung-p'o wen chi shih lüeh 經進東坡文集事略 [CCTPWCSL]. SPTK.

----------. Su Shih yi chuan 蘇氏易傳. Taipei: Kuang wen, 1974.

Sung shih yen chiu chi 宋史研究集. Ed. Sung shih yen chiu hui 宋史研究會. Taipei: Chung hua ts'ung shu wei yüan hui, 1958- .

Sung, Z.D. The Text of Yi King (and its Apendixes). Shanghai: The Chinese Modern Education Co., 1935.

Ta hsüeh 大學. In Ssu shu chi chu. Ed. Chu Hsi. SPPY.

T'ang Chün-yi. "Chang Tsai's Theory of Mind and its Metaphysical Basis." Philosophy East and West, 6 (1956), 113-36.

Taylor, Rodney. "The Cultivation of Sagehood as a Religious Goal in Neo-Confucianism: A Study of Selected Writings of Kao P'an-lung (1562-1626)." Diss. Columbia 1974.

T'o T'o 脫脫 et al. Sung shih 宋史 [SS]. Peking: Chung hua, 1977.

Toda Toyosaburo 戸田豊三郎. "Ō-kyo ekigaku kō" 王畿易説考. Hiroshima Daigaku bungakubu kiyō 広島大学文学部紀要, 25, No.1 (1965), 225-45.

Ts'ai Jen-hou 蔡仁厚. Sung Ming li hsüeh, Pei Sung p'ien 宋明理學, 北宋篇. Taipei: Hsüeh sheng, 1977.

Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng chien pien 叢書集成簡編 [TSCCCP]. Ed. Wang yün-wu. Taipei: Shang wu, 1965-66.

Tu Wei-ming. Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Chung-yung. Monographs of the Society for Asian and Comparative Philosophy, III. Hawaii: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1976.

Tung Chung-shu. Ch'un ch'iu fan lu 春秋繁露. SPPY.

Waley, Arthur, trans. The Analects of Confucius. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938.

----------. The Way and its Power: A Study of the Tao Te Ching and its Place in Chinese Thought. New York: Grove Press, 1958.

Wang An-shih. Wang Lin-ch'uan chi 王臨川集 [WLCC]. KHCPTS.

----------. Wang Wen-kung wen chi 王文公文集. 2 vols. Shanghai: Jen min, 1974.

Wang Ch'ung. Lun heng 論衡. KHCPTS.

Watson, Burton, trans. The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970.

Wilhelm, Hellmut. Change: Eight Lectures on the I Ching. Trans. Cary F. Baynes. Bollingen Series, LXII. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1960.

Wilhelm, Richard, trans. The I Ching or Book of Changes. Rendered into English by Cary F. Baynes. Bollingen Series, XIX. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977.

Wu Ch'eng. "Chang-tzu nien p'u" 張子年譜. In Chang-tzu ch'üan shu, 1870 ed.

Wu K'ang 吳康. Sung Ming li hsüeh 宋明理學. Taipei: Hua kuo, 1955.

Yamane Mitsuyoshi 山根三芳. Seimo 正蒙. Tokyo: Meitoku, 1970.

Yang Hsiung. Fa yen 法言, "Wen shen p'ien" 問神篇. TSCCCP.

Yang Shih. Yang Kuei-shan hsien sheng chi 楊龜山先生集 [YKSHSC]. TSCCCP.

Yin T'un. Yin He-ching chi 尹和靖集. TSCCCP.

Yosida Mitukuni. "The Chinese Concept of Nature." In Chinese Science. Ed. Shigeru Nakayama and Nathan Sivin.

Yuasa Yukihiko 湯淺幸孫. "Sôgaku ni okeru shizen to jinrin--Chô Sai no yuibutsuron" 宋学に於ける自然と人倫--張載の唯物論. Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu kenkyû kiyô 京都大学文学部研究紀要, 16 (1976), 1-22.

Yüeh fu shih chi 樂府詩集. SPTK.

c. Individual Works in Chinese Collections

Chao T'ieh-han 趙鐵寒.

"Sung tai te chou hsüeh" 宋代的州學.

"Sung tai te t'ai hsüeh" 宋代的太學.

Ch'en Hsiang.

"Ch'i chih chüeh ch'en liao ch'en ch'i ch'uang tsao ssu kuan tu seng tao chuang" 乞止絕臣僚陳乞創造寺觀度僧遣狀.

"Hangchow ch'u hsüeh wen" 杭州初學文.

"Li chi chiang yi," "Chung yung" 禮記講議, 中庸.

"Ta Chou Kung-pi shu" 答周公闢書.

"Yi chiang yi" 易講義.

"Yü liang che an fu Ch'en She-jen shu" 與兩浙安撫陳舍人書.

Ch'eng Hao.

"Lun shih shih cha tzu" 論十事劄子.

Ch'eng Yi.

"Shang Jen-tsung huang ti shu" 上仁宗皇帝書.

Ch'i-sung.

"Ch'üan shu ti erh" 勸書第二.

"Yüan chiao" 原教.

Chou Tun-yi.

"Ch'eng shang ti yi" 誠上第一.

"Chih hsüeh ti shih" 志學第十.

"Ching yün ti san shih" 精蘊第三十.

"Sheng hsüeh ti erh shih" 聖學第二十.

"Sheng ti ssu" 聖第四.

"Sheng yün ti erh shih chiu" 聖蘊第二十九.

"Shun hua ti shi yi" 順化第十一.

"Ssu ti chiu" 思第九.

Hsün-tzu.

"Chieh pi p'ien" 解蔽篇.

Li Fu.

"Ch'i tsu yüan Wu hsien sheng hua chi" 七祖院吳先生畫記.

"Ta jen wen cheng shu" 答人問政書.

"Yang shih yen tung chia hsün hsü" 楊氏言動家訓序.

Li Kou.

"Ch'ien shu" 潛書.

"Fu kuo ts'e ti wu" 富國策第五.

"Fu kuo ts'e ti yi" 富國策第一.

"P'ing t'u shu hsü" 平土書序.

"Ta Huang Chu-tso shu" 答黃著作書.

"Yi lun ti yi" 易論第一.

Ou-yang Hsiu.

"Chi-chou hsüeh chi" 吉州學記.

"Hu hsien sheng mu piao" 胡先生墓表.

"Pen lun shang" 本論上.

"Sun Ming-fu hsien sheng mu chih ming" 孫明復先生墓誌銘.

"Ta Li Hsü ti erh shu" 答李詡第二書.

"Ta Sun Cheng-chih Mou ti yi shu" 答孫正之侔第一書.

"Ta Sun Cheng-chih ti erh shu" 答孫正之第二書.

"Ta Sung Hsien shu" 答宋咸書.

"Ta Tsu Tse-chih shu" 答祖擇之書.

"Yen Chih shih" 顏跖詩.

"Yi huo wen san shou" 易或問三首.

<u>Yi t'ung-tzu wen</u> 易童子問.

Shao Yung.

"Kuan wu wai p'ien" 觀物外篇.

Shen Kua.

"Meng-tzu chieh" 孟子解.

"Shang Ou-yang ts'an cheng shu" 上歐陽參政書.

Shih Chieh.

"Fu ku chih" 復古志.

"Kuai shuo hsia" 怪說下.

"Ta Ou-yang Yung-shu shu" 答歐陽永叔書.

"Tsun Han" 尊韓.

"Tu yüan tao" 讀原道.

Ssu-ma Kuang.

"Chih chih tsai ke wu lun" 致知在格物論.

"Hsing pien" 性辯.

"Ta Chang hsien sheng Ti shu" 答張先生砥書.

"Ta Fan Ching-jen shu" 答范景仁書.

"Ta Han Ping-kuo shu" 答韓秉國書.

"Ta Han Ping-kuo ti erh shu" 答韓秉國第二書.

"Yen lo t'ing sung" 顏樂亭頌.

Su Shih.

"Shang Liang chih shu" 上兩制書.

"Yi hsüeh hsiao kung chü chuang" 議學校貢舉狀.

Sun Fu.

"Ju ju" 儒冢.

Sung Yü 宋玉.

"Shen nü fu" 神女賦.

Wang An-shih.

"Chih yi lun" 致一論.

"Li yüeh lun" 禮樂論.

"Lien shui chün ch'un hua yüan ching ts'ang chi" 連水軍淳化院經藏記.

"Shang wu shih cha tzu" 上五事劄子.

"Ta Tseng Tzu-ku shu" 答曾子固書.

"Tao te ching chu" 道德經注.

"Yüan hsing" 原性.

Wang Chien-ch'i 王簡棲.

"T'ou t'o ssu pei wen yi shou" 頭陀寺碑文一首.