

TO ACQUIRE WISDOM :
THE "WAY" OF WANG YANG-MING
(1472 - 1529)

by

Julia Ching

Submitted to the Australian National University
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
September, 1971

Epilogue

Was he the sage of Ōmi, or was he the sage of Japan?
Was he the sage of the East, or was he also the sage
of the whole world?

But a sage is a sage in the same way in the past and
the present, in the East and in the West.

As the sage of Ōmi, he was also the sage of the world.¹

The Yang-ming school in Japan is associated in the first place with Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹 (1608-1648), "the sage of Ōmi",² This is a tribute to Yang-ming's doctrine of sagehood, based on the "universal virtue" (t'unq-te 同德)³ present in men's minds-and-hearts, and to his "method" of attaining this sagehood. Understandably, however, the development of the Yang-ming school in Japan showed similarities as well as differences with its development in China. Its early advocates were semi-recluses or low-ranking samurai. It manifested strongly contrasting attractions for "inner contemplation" or "outer activity", as exemplified by the two disciples of Nakae Tōju, the retiring Fuchū Okayama 淵園山 (1617-1686)⁴ and the active Kumazawa Banzan 能澤菴山 (1619-1691).⁵ These tendencies continued to be manifested in the later disciples of the Japanese "Yōmei" school, described sometimes as having had a "rightist" and a "leftist" branch.⁶ But the Yōmei school as a whole certainly provided a high moral idealism for the political movement leading to the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which appealed to the "restoration" of the Golden Past, but looked forward to Westernisation and modernisation.

A Japanese "Orthodoxy"?

The establishment of a militant Ch'eng-Chu "orthodoxy" in 17th century Tokugawa Japan appeared as a contradiction to the very origin of the history of this school, which had been introduced into the country by Zen (Ch'an) monks returning from China.⁷ It seemed to have been more the result of

a conscious imitation of "things Chinese" than a response to felt needs. For the same reason, the Yang-ming school, considered "heretical" in China, could find its way more easily in Japan to a position of dominance in men's minds, once it demonstrated its adequacy in fulfilling the intellectual and social needs. On the other hand, the anxiety of the Tokugawa government to defend the Ch'eng-Chu "orthodoxy", offered additional reasons to the followers of the Yōmei philosophy to work more arduously for an Imperial Restoration.

As for themselves, the Japanese disciples of Ō Yōmei usually kept their esteem for the philosophy of Ch'eng Yi and Chu Hsi even when they preferred that of Yang-ming. The scholar accredited with the renewal of interest in the Yōmei philosophy, Miwa Jissai 三輪執齋 (1669-1744)⁸ and the philosopher whose thinking exercised a great influence on the Meiji period, Satō Issai 佐藤一齋 (1772-1859), explained the First of Yang-ming's Four Maxims according to the teaching of self-cultivation given in the Great Learning, and even according to Chou Tun-yi's and Chu Hsi's description of T'ai-chi, effecting thereby a certain reconciliation between the two schools. Satō declared himself to be a teacher of Chu Hsi's philosophy, but most of his disciples were known as Yang-ming adherents.⁹

This greater flexibility of the Yōmei school in Japan was also extended, first to Shintō ideas, by Nakae Tōju and Kumazawa Banzan, each in his own way, and then to Westernising influences. Hayashi Shihei 林子平 (1738-1793) suffered imprisonment for his interest in and discussion of naval affairs.¹⁰ Satō's famous disciple, Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間象山 (1881-1864), raised the cry of "Eastern Ethics and Western Science" (Tōyō no dōtoku, Seiyō no gakuhei 東洋の道徳・西洋の學藝),¹¹ the counterpart, in China, of the slogan "Chinese learning as [moral] basis, Western learning for functional use". (Chung-hsüeh wei-t'i, Hsi-hsüeh wei-yung 中學為體・西學為用). However, he attributed his interest in Western science and technology, less to Satō's teaching, and more to the doctrine of "investigation of things" of the Ch'eng-Chu school.¹²

The Heroic Legacy

During the late Tokugawa Period (1571-1867) the reconciliation of the "inner-outer" tensions resulted in the quasi-religious exaltation of "faith" in ryōchi (liang-chih), the realisation of which was frequently sought for in attempted social reform or political action, usually against the Shogunate. Thus, the Japanese united the courageous spirit of Yang-ming the soldier, which flowed from his "transcendence" of questions of life and death, achieved first in exile and then in the midst of many battles, with their own discovery, through ryōchi, of the need for social or political change, which they attempted to fulfil by individual protest or organised revolt. The feudal structure which prevailed under Tokugawa rule permitted them to appeal to the virtue of loyalty in different forms: Ōshio Chusai 大塩中齋 (1793-1837) sold all his books to help the needy of Ōsaka during the famine, but was led to rebellion by the attitudes of the local authorities who had refused to open the granaries. He carried out this action in the name of the sage kings of China who had founded the Shang and Chou dynasties, and of the legendary Emperor Jimmu of Japan, for the realisation of benevolence toward the people.¹³ The revolt was doomed to fail, but his heroic spirit can be discerned in these stirring words:

In face of a crisis, a hero certainly transcends considerations of fortune or disaster, life or death. But even when [the crisis is over and] the work is accomplished, he should still question [the importance of] fortune or disaster, life or death. This is the same with the gentleman whose learning has become refined and genuine.¹⁴

This same courage which defied death itself was manifested in Sakuma Shōzan's disciple, Yoshida Shōin 吉田松蔭 (1830-1859), the fiery young warrior, a believer in the ability and destiny of the "common man" in facing the crisis of the superior military and technological challenges coming

from the West. Killed at the age of thirty for organising an assassination plot, he became a hero to generations of his countrymen, giving inspiration also to the Chinese reformers and martyrs of 1898.¹⁵ Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1827-1877), who shared actively in the work of Imperial Restoration by his role as chief of staff of the imperial armies at Edo, displayed the same independence of mind and samurai spirit by his later opposition to Westernisers which led to his violent death in 1877.¹⁶

In each case, ryōchi was the source of their courage and the authority to which they appealed for their convictions.

"Restoration" or "Modernisation"?

The practical, social-political orientations of the Yang-ming school in Japan, combined with a high ideal of self-sacrifice acquired in quiet cultivation, prepared its adherents for an important role in the final Meiji Reforms. The restoration of rightful authority to the Emperor was hailed as a glorious return to the Golden Past, indeed, not merely to the Taika 大化 Reform of 645 or to the time of Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 and Empress Suiko 隨古 (r.592-628), when Japan first embarked on modelling its government and institutions on the Chinese pattern, but even earlier still, to the legendary past of Emperor Jimmu.¹⁷ The pragmatic needs of government and of technological skills were not overlooked. Sakuma Shōzan and Yoshida Shōin were both interested in "Dutch Learning", particularly in the casting of cannons and other weapons. Sakuma's other disciple, Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 (1823-1899) became known later as the "Father of the Japanese navy".¹⁸ Other Yōmei scholars were more concerned with "enriching the country" than with "strengthening the army". Another pupil of Satō Issai, Yamada Hōkoku 山田方谷 (1805-1877)¹⁹ and his friend Kasuga Senan 春日潜庵 (1811-1878) offered ideas of economic reform to the Shogunate government.²⁰ Kasuga's anti-Shogunate activities brought him imprisonment, and,

save for the intervention of Yamada, possible execution. A common friend of Yamada and Kasuga, Ikeda Sowan 池田草庵 (1813-1878) preferred a life of retirement and of education to political activities.²¹

The young, low-ranking samurai who had contributed so much to the success of the Imperial Restoration, drew up the Charter Oath of 1868, a vague statement of general principles which were derived in great part from the ideas of Saigō Takamori.²² These vague egalitarian principles, enshrined in the Constitution of the same year, were balanced by the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, with its emphasis on the "Confucian" virtues of loyalty to the Imperial House, of filial piety, conjugal harmony, brotherly love and friendship, which recall the more "orthodox" influences of Chu Hsi's school. Its conclusion stated:

The Way (Tao) here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their Descendants and subjects, as infallible [doctrine] for all ages.....²³

This "Confucian" moral Way, so strongly re-asserted in a time of institutional changes and adaptations to Westernising influences, gave inspiration to the political activities of Itō Hirobumi 伊藤 博文 (1841-1909), a disciple of Yoshida Shōin, whose statesmanly leadership assured the establishment of a constitutional government for his country, the victorious outcome of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, and the successful revision of the "unequal treaties" imposed upon Japan by Western powers a few decades earlier.²⁴ The success of Japan's effort of modernisation, cannot, of course, be entirely attributed to the Yōmei school. It appears quite clearly that the "radicals" of the late Tokugawa Period, who were often attached to the Yōmei teaching as it was interpreted in Japan, turned "conservative" after the Meiji Restoration, and pleaded rather for the preservation of traditional "Confucian" values against the rapid tide of continued Westernisation. Itō Hirobumi himself is known today more as

a Westerniser than as a Confucian traditionalist.

And so, Japan entered the 20th century, dynamic and rejuvenated, ready to confront events and affairs as they arise. The events of the Second World War provided a traumatic experience to the modern, militant nation, and all the more to the deeper thinkers, as they reflected in their ryōchi on the significance of the victories and defeats. The "heroic spirit" of the Yōmei philosophy was made manifest by the bravery of the soldiers. But was such heroism the result of blind obedience to military commands, or the manifestation of an adherence to an inner light, to an authority higher than that of the state? Had the true spirit of Ō Yōmei been lost in the formation of an ideology, with its exaltation of the anti-intellectual tendencies of the new Shintoist nationalism? These questions came to the fore in the post-war years,²⁵ which witnessed the gradual emergence of a capitalist society, with clearly pluralist values. Studies on the philosophy of Ō Yōmei continued, with the application of more Western, scientific techniques, as well as philosophical categories. Even the "Materialist" versus "Idealist" dichotomy which prevails in Communist China affected the examination of Ō Yōmei's thought in Japan, particularly in the case of the debate regarding the T'ai-chou branch of the Yang-ming school and the later decline of Ming and Ch'ing thought.²⁶ And now, with the advent of the fifth centenary of Yang-ming's birth, a project is underway to publish the Yōmeigaku daikei 陽明學大系 [A Compendium of the Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming], which should provide the summation of the development of the Yōmei school in Japan.²⁷

Notes to Epilogue

- 1 The praise of Nakae Tōju, by Sugiura Jūgō 杉浦重剛 who had been tutor to Emperor Taishō 大正 (r. 1912-1926). It is cited in Chang Chün-mai, Pi-chiao Chung-Jih Yang-ming hsüeh [A Comparison of the Study of Yang-ming's Philosophy in China and Japan], (Taipei: 1970), 61. Eng. tr. in W.T. de Bary, Ryosaku Tsunoda and Donald Keene, ed., Sources of Japanese Tradition, (New York: 1964), v. 1, 370.
- 2 Nakae Tōjū was known as "Master Yōmei of Japan". He devoted his life to teaching disciples, and manifested a great filial piety toward his mother. He believed in a Supreme Being, called Taotogami 太乙神 whom he regarded as Creator and Ruler of Heaven-and-Earth and all things. See Inoue Tetsujirō et al., Nihon rinri ihen Yōmeigakuha no bu [A Compendium of Japanese Ethics: Section on the Yang-ming School], (Tokyo: 1970), v. 1, 1-6. This Compendium gives also the Collected writings of certain selected Yōmei scholars of Japan, including Nakae Tōjū, Kumazawa Banzan, Miwai Jissai, Sato Issai, Ōshio Chusai. It does not include, however, certain others which had been included in Inoue Tetsujirō's Nihon Yōmeigakuha no tetsugaku [The Philosophy of the Yang-ming School in Japan], (Tokyo: 1936). A Chinese work, by Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsüeh chi Yang-ming hsüeh [The School of Old Learning and the Yang-ming School in Japan], (Shanghai: 1962), is very comprehensive.
- 3 WWKC 3: 142b; Chan, Instructions, 220. This is cited above in Ch. VII, n.1.
- 4 Inoue Tetsujirō, Nihon Yōmeigakuha, 167-171; Chu Ch'ien-chih, op.cit., 262. He remained a teacher all his life, and showed an absolute faith in the teaching of Nakae.
- 5 Kumazawa was a samurai in the service of Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 feudal lord of Okayama 岡山 and interested himself in political and economic action. See Inoue, Nihon rinri, v. 1, 6-8; Chu Ch'ien-chih, op.cit., 260-261.
- 6 Chu Ch'ien-chih, op.cit., 220-221, 383-387.
- 7 See Inoue Tetsujirō's Nihon Shushi gakuha no tetsugaku [The Philosophy of the Chu Hsi School in Japan], (Tokyo: 1945), 605-615; Chu Ch'ien-chih's Jih-pen te Chu-tzu hsüeh [The Chu Hsi School in Japan], (Peking: 1958), 31-78, passim. The Yōmei school was also allegedly introduced into Japan by the monk Ryōan Keigo 了庵桂悟 who claimed to have met Yang-ming in China. See Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsüeh chi Yang-ming hsüeh, 220-221; Ishiyori Tōkoku, Yōmeigakuha no jinbutsu [The Personalities of the Yang-ming School], (Tokyo: 1917), 62-73.
- 8 Inoue, Nihon rinri, v. 2, 2-5; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsüeh chi Yang-ming hsüeh, 276-279.

- 9 Inoue, Nihon rinri, v. 3, 1-6; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 294-279.
- 10 Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 288-291.
- 11 See especially his "Seiken roku" 省愆錄 [Examination of Conscience], in Shōzan zenshu [Complete Works of Sakuma Shōzan] (Tokyo: 1913), v. 2, p.6.
- 12 Inoue, Nihon no Yōmeigakuha, 515-520; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 314-319. Sakuma is sometimes classified as a follower of the School of Chu Hsi.
- 13 Inoue, Nihon rinri, v. 3, 6-11; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 337-365, *passim*. Oshio's Hohon Daigaku katsumuku 古本大學到目 [Collected Commentaries on the Old Version of the Great Learning] is a collection of all the commentaries on this book by Han, T'ang, Sung, Ming and Ch'ing scholars, especially those written by the disciples of the Yang-ming school. It is included in the Nihon rinri ihen, v. 3, 143-442, together with one version of Yang-ming's Side Commentaries on the Great Learning [194-198] which is different from that given in Han-hai.
- 14 "senshindō tōki" 洗心洞劄記 [Notes of Senshindō], in Inoue Tetsujirō et al., comp., Yōmeigakuha (Tokyo: 1936), v. 3, 15.
- 15 Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 374-382. Earlier, he had attempted, without success, to leave Japan for Europe or the United States, with the aim of learning military technology. Called a "madman" by his critics, Yoshida Shōin once wrote an essay entitled "Kyōfu no gen," 狂夫の言 [Words of a Mad Man], in which he reminded his readers how sages had been called "mad" (k'uang) men. See Yoshida Shōin zenshu [Complete Works of Yoshida Shōin], (Tokyo: 1934), v. 4, 13-19. For his influence on the Meiji Era, see Kōsaka Masaki, ed., Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era, (Tokyo: 1958), 37-38.
- 16 Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 371-373. The development of an ultra-nationalism can also be associated in part with the ideas of the Japanese Yōmei school. Its theory and psychology have been described by Maruyama Masao, in Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics, (London: 1963), 1-23; 135-154. The contemporary Yōmei scholar Yasuoka Masashiro (Masaatsu), (b. 1898) was one of Japan's most respected intellectuals in the pre-War Nationalist movement. [Maruyama, 332]. The deceased novelist Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 acknowledged the influence of the Yōmei school on the evolution of his own thought in an article he wrote, "Kakumei tetsugaku to shite no Yōmeigaku," 革命哲學としての陽明學 [The Yōmei Teaching as a Philosophy of Revolution] in

Shokun 諸君 (Sept. 1970). It is referred to in Tasaka Kō's "Sono shi no bawai: Mishima Yukio no Nihilism," [Mishima's Nihilism: the Circumstances Surrounding His Death], Tenbo 展望 No. 148, (April, 1971), 106.

17 During the time preceding the Meiji Restoration, writers appealed for political action and change in the name of the "restoration" of an old moral and social order, described as the Golden Past of the Chinese sages or of the Japanese gods, and for the sake of resisting the "foreign barbarians." See Motoyama Yukihiro, Meiji shisō no keisei [The Formation of Meiji Thought]. (Tokyo: 1969), 47-67.

18 See Katsu's autobiography, Katsu Kaishū jiden: Hikawa seiwa (Chibaken: 1968), especially his praise of Ō Yōmei on p.105.

19 Inoue, Nihon no Yōmeigakuha, 497-503; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 320-323.

20 Inoue, Nihon no Yōmeigakuha, 521-536; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 323-325. See also Yasuoka Masaatsu, "Ming-chih wei-hsin yü Yang-ming hsueh," [The Meiji Reforms and the Yang-ming School], tr. into Chinese by Ching-chia 景嘉 in Tung-hsi wen-hua XXV, (1969), 10-15.

21 Inoue, Nihon no Yōmeigakuha, 537-543; Chu Ch'ien-chih, Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh, 325-327.

22 Yoshino Sakuzō et al., comp., Meiji bunka zenshū [Collected Writings on the Meiji Period], (v. 2) Seishihen [Section on History], pt. 1, (Tokyo: 1927-1930), 33.

23 Yoshino Sakuzō et al., comp., Meiji bunka zenshū, (v.3) Seishihen, pt. 2, p.275. Eng. tr. in W.T. de Bary, et al., ed., Sources of Japanese Tradition, v. 2, 140.

24 Kimura Ki, ed., Meiji jinbutsu ronshū [On the Personalities of the Meiji Period], [Meiji bunka zenshū--Collected Writings on the Literature of the Meiji Period-- v. 92], (Tokyo: 1970), 3-25.

25 See Gotō Motomi, "Studies in Chinese Philosophy in Postwar Japan," Monumenta Serica XIV (1949-1955), 164-187.

26 Shimada Kenji's Chūgoku ni okeru kindai shisō no zassetsu [The Breakdown of of Modern Thought in China], (Tokyo: 1949), regarded the concept of man as the central problem of hsin-hsueh, tracing it from Wang Yang-ming to Li Chih, and calling it "modern thinking". He considers its eventual decline to have come from the rigidity of the Chinese social structure. This theory occasioned a debate between himself and Yamashita Ryūji, who locates the anti-Confucian movement in the Taoist and Buddhist thinking of the philosophers concerned. Their debate went on in a

series of articles. See Gotō Motomi, op.cit., 185-187, and Yamashita's article, "Yōmeigaku kenkyū no rekishi kara," [On the History of the Study of Yang-ming's Thought], Rekishi kyoiku III, (1955), 71-77.

27 This work is under the supervision of the best Japanese scholars on Chinese thought, including Araki Kengō, Uno Tetsujin, Okada Takehiko, Yasuoka Masaatsu, Yamashita Ryūji and Yamai Yū. It is to consist of 12 volumes, with sections treating of Yang-ming's life, thought, disciples, and the development of the Yang-ming school in China and Japan, written by Japanese and Chinese scholars, to be published in the course of the years 1971 and 1972.

Appendix I

On the Interpretation of Certain Technical Terms

The following terms, both single words and expressions, have been selected for discussion because of their frequent occurrence in this study, and also because--with the exception of the historical terms--they often illustrate the unitary character of the thought of Wang Yang-ming. Very often, they manifest the different dimensions of the same truth which persistently pre-occupied Yang-ming's mind. That this truth pertains both to the ontological and methodological orders is a fact which should emerge from the reading of his works and from this discussion. The words and expressions are being given roughly in the order of their occurrence in this thesis, alphabetically whenever possible, and are grouped together according to the associations of meanings to which they are attached.

A. The Historical Terms:

Tao-hsüeh

道學

The movement of thought heralded by Han Yü and Li Ao, developed by Chou Tun-yi, Chang Tsai, the Ch'engs and Chu Hsi, and continued through the Yüan, Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, translated into English as "Neo-Confucianism". It is synonymous with hsing-li hsüeh, although it refers sometimes to the earlier stages of development of that movement.

Tao-t'ung

道統

The line of orthodox transmission of the Tao or of the meaning of ultimate reality in the Confucian school.

Hsing-li hsüeh

性理學

The movement of thought which concentrated its interest in the investigation into the meanings of hsing and li, the Confucian philosophy as re-interpreted by thinkers of Sung and Ming times who gave it a much more interior dimension. It is usually translated into English by the word "Neo-Confucianism".

Li-hsüeh

理學

The movement of thought which concentrated its investigation into the meaning of li. It refers sometimes to the whole hsing-li movement, and sometimes to that particular school of thought connected with the names of Ch'eng Yi and Chu Hsi.

Hsin-hsüeh

心學

The movement of thought which concentrated its investigation on the meaning of hsin. The term refers sometimes to the whole hsing-li movement, but more often to that particular school of thought connected with the names of Lu Chiu-yüan and Wang Yang-ming.

B. The Philosophical Terms:

Chih

知

Literally knowledge, wisdom.

For Wang Yang-ming: moral knowledge, wisdom, the mind-and-heart itself, the knowledge which is united to action and experience.

Hsing

行

Literally, to walk, to act.

For Wang Yang-ming: every conscious and voluntary human act, which proceeds from the mind-and-heart, and is united to the knowledge of the morality of the act in question.

Chih-hsing ho-yi

知行合一

The Unity of Knowledge and Action, according as Yang-ming himself understood knowledge and action.

Ko-wu

格物

- a) Usually translated as "the investigation of things".
 - b) For Chu Hsi, it refers essentially to "investigating into the meanings (li) of things (including external reality and man's mind-and-heart)"
 - c) For Wang Yang-ming, it refers to "rectifying the mind-and-heart", i.e., especially through the acts in which man's mind-and-heart is engaged.
- Thus, Chu understood the word ko mainly as "reaching", while Yang-ming understood it to mean "rectifying". Chu also understood wu as "things" while Yang-ming meant by it primarily "affairs" and "acts".

Chih-chih

致知

Usually translated as "the extension of knowledge".

For Chu Hsi, knowledge is extended especially through the investigation of the meanings (li) of things.

For Wang Yang-ming, the only knowledge to be extended is the "knowledge of the good" (liang-chih).

Ch'eng-yi

誠意

Usually translated as "making the intention sincere". The word yi refers to both thought and intention: an interior movement of hsin, the mind-and-heart, which has a moral value.

Chung

中

Literally, the middle, the Mean. In the Doctrine of the Mean, it refers to the state of "equilibrium" which governs the person's disposition before his emotions have been aroused or "stirred". Chu Hsi spoke of "equilibrium" as the characteristic of the pen-t'i of hsing, that is, of pure nature as such.

Ho

和

Literally, harmony, peace. In the Doctrine of the Mean, it refers to the state of "harmony" which ideally speaking, should govern the person's disposition after his emotions have been aroused or "stirred". Chu Hsi had spoken much of the importance of acquiring a "harmonious" disposition, as close as possible to that of one's pre-stirred "equilibrium." He later developed the doctrine of uniting "activity" and "tranquillity" by permeating one's life with the spirit of "reverence" (ching 敬). Liang-chih makes no distinction between "equilibrium" and "harmony", or even between "activity" (tung) and "tranquillity" (ching), since the work of extending liang-chih unites these states of the mind-and-heart.

Hsin

心

Literally, the mind-and-heart, the seat of consciousness and the source of all human activity. In Ch'an Buddhism, it refers to the undifferentiated First Principle. For Chu Hsi: it is composed of both li and ch'i, and is inferior in importance to hsing (nature) which is identified with li. Hsin is the active principle. It controls both hsing (nature) and ch'ing (emotions), but it is inferior in importance to hsing, the more tranquil principle, which is full of li (being and goodness). For Lu Chiu-yüan, hsin and hsing are identical. In other words, there is only one principle, of both activity and tranquillity, which is full of li, and which possesses the capacity of transcending itself, because it is somehow greater than itself, one with the universe and all things. Yang-ming adopted Lu's understanding of hsin. More clearly than Lu, he explained

that hsin is the principle in man which is capable of self-determination and self-perfection, which hides, within itself, that greater than itself, the Absolute, and which is identical with liang-chih.

Hsing

性

Literally, nature, the natural, human nature. Chu Hsi regarded hsing as the source and principle of moral and ontological goodness in man and the universe, that which is full of li, while he took hsin as that which contains both li and ch'i and therefore morally ambivalent.

Lu Chiu-yüan and Wang Yang-ming understood hsing and hsin to represent one and the same reality, considered under its more tranquil dimension, that by which man shares in T'ien-li [principle of Heaven] (hsing) and its more dynamic aspect, that which directs all human activity, that is, the "given" nature of man as well as that which is to be acquired, through experience and action.

Jen

仁

Literally, kindness, benevolence, humanity, goodness, love.

In Confucian philosophy, the perfect and universal virtue.

Ch'eng Hao and other Sung philosophers gave this word a cosmic, life-giving connotation, making it that power or virtue by which man becomes one with Heaven-and-Earth and all things and shares in the creative processes of the universe.

Wang Yang-ming also identified jen with the pen-t'i of hsin, that is, with the mind-in-itself, the Absolute.

Li

理

Etymologically, the veins in jade.

According to ordinary usage, reason, truth, or meaning, pattern.

For Chu Hsi, it is being, reality, the principle of organisation, that which constitutes the essence of a thing, moral truth and goodness, the transcendent and normative principle of moral action.

Lu Chiu-yüan and Wang Yang-ming considered li especially under its moral aspect. They regarded hsin to be full of li, thus departing from Chu Hsi's views.

Ch'i

氣

Literally, breath, ether, vital force
Chu Hsi considered it to be the concrete, material, differentiating principle of things, that which together with li constitutes all beings, that which gives life to things.

For Wang Yang-ming, li and ch'i represented, not distinct principles, but the rational and moral versus the irrational and vital manifestations of the same human nature or of nature at large.

Liang-chih

良知

Literally, knowing the good, knowledge of the good.

In Mencius 7A:15, the expression refers to man's inborn capacity to know the good. For Wang Yang-ming, it is that in man which enables him to discern between right and wrong, the inborn capacity to know and do the good, a capacity to be developed as well as a goal to be attained, since the perfect development of liang-chih would signify sagehood.

Yang-ming also spoke of liang-chih as the principle of vitality, of consciousness, and of conscious activity in man. Besides, he identified it to hsin, especially to the latter in a state of "equilibrium"--before emotions are aroused. In this sense, he spoke interchangeably of the "original substance" (pen-t'i) of hsin--the "mind-and-heart-in-itself"--and of the "original substance" of liang-chih--liang-chih pen-t'i or "liang-chih in-itself". In this context, he gave it certain cosmic qualities, identifying it to T'ai-hsü, and making of it, that which is the ultimate authority to its own acts.

Nei/wai

內外

Literally, "inner"/"outer"; or "within"/"without".

It has the same metaphysical meaning as t'i-yung, referring thereby to the One Reality and its external manifestations. It can also refer in practice to the opposing attractions of contemplation and of activity.

T'i/yung

體用

Usually translated as "substance"/"function".

For Wang Pi: they refer to two cosmic states, the "latent" (t'i) and the "manifest" (yung).

For Seng Chao, t'i refers to the One Reality, hsin, (Mind), the "within", and yung refers to its manifestations, the "without".

In T'ien-t'ai Buddhism, t'i refers to Reality, the Absolute, and yung to its manifestations.

For the Sung Confucians, t'i-yung may refer to the essential components of the Confucian teaching and to its application in moral practice (Hu Yüan), or to the metaphysical "within" and "without". Yang-ming spoke sometimes of t'i-yung in terms of pen-t'i and kung-fu.

Pen-t'i

本體

Usually translated as "original substance". For Yang-ming, it refers to "metaphysical reality", at its deepest level: eg., hsin chih pen-t'i, translated as hsin in-itself, refers to hsin at its deepest level, the "true" mind-and-heart, as contrasted against the mind-and-heart which is affected by selfish desires or passions. Yang-ming identified hsin with hsing, and with liang-chih. Thus, for him, the pen-t'i of hsin is identical to the pen-t'i of hsing and of liang-chih.

Kung-fu

工夫

Literally, work and effort. For Yang-ming, it refers to the effort and work of moral cultivation. He equated pen-t'i with kung-fu, meaning by it that reality is to be discovered in the effort of searching for it.

Tung/ching

動靜

Usually translated as "activity"/"tranquility", or "movement"/"quiescence". The Sung and Ming thinkers often identify tung to yi-fa, and ching to wei-fa. They may refer to "action" and "contemplation".

Wei-fa/yi-fa

未發 已發

In the Doctrine of the Mean, they refer to the two successive states of mind which prevail before and after the emotions are aroused or stirred.

Chu Hsi spoke of wei-fa in terms of chung (equilibrium), and recommended that it be restored and preserved.

Yang-ming regarded them as referring to two aspects under which liang-chih, always active and yet always the same, can be understood.

Wu/hsiu

悟修

Usually translated as "enlightenment"/"cultivation". Taken together, they refer to the relative emphases placed on inner enlightenment or moral asceticism as a means of acquiring wisdom and sagehood.

Chu Hsi emphasised hsiu (cultivation), but looked upon it as a preparation for wu (enlightenment).

Yang-ming's explanations of his Four Maxims seem to show a preference for wu, but without neglecting the importance of hsiu.

T'ai-chi

太極

Literally, the Great and Ultimate, or the Supreme and Ultimate.

For Chou Tun-yi, it represents the Source and Principle of all being and goodness, the Ground of Being, the One behind the Many, the Fullness of li.

Chu Hsi identified it with the Ch'engs' T'ien-li, the embodiment of all truth, wisdom and virtue. He thus internalised Chou's T'ai-chi, describing it as immanent not only in the whole of the cosmos, but in each individual being as well.

Yang-ming seldom referred to it, and then usually as the Source and Principle of moral goodness.

T'ai-ho

太和

Literally, the Great Harmony.

For Chang Tsai, it is synonymous with Chou Tun-yi's T'ai-chi, that is, the undifferentiated First Principle, the fullness of li.

Wang Yang-ming spoke little of T'ai-ho, and much more of T'ai-hsü.

T'ai-hsü

太虛

Literally, the Great Void.

For Chang Tsai, it is full of ch'i (ether), the shapeless stuff which makes up the universe.

Wang Yang-ming spoke of liang-chih as being somehow one with T'ai-hsü, thus endowing the latter not only with life and vitality but also with consciousness and a certain intelligence and spirituality. He spoke, for example, of liang-chih pen-t'i as T'ai-hsü, describing it as a self-transcending state of mind-and-heart.

Tao

道

- a) Literal meaning: the "way" by which one travels.
- b) Extended meaning: "reason".
- c) In Taoist philosophy: ultimate reality, nameless and ineffable.
- d) In Taoist occultism: the secret of life, and of the art of prolonging life.
- e) In Buddhism: the meaning of life, ultimate reality, Buddhahood.

- f) In Confucianism: the moral way of life-- especially the observance of the "five relationships", the meaning of life, ultimate reality.

-Chu Hsi: all the above, and also knowledge of ultimate reality or of the Absolute, which was being transmitted to posterity by the Ch'engs and himself after the interruption which occurred with the death of Mencius.

-Wang Yang-ming: all the above, including the meaning given to it by Chu Hsi, but as identified to hsin.

Tao-hsin

道 心

Literally, "the mind-and-heart of Tao", or the "moral mind-and-heart".

In the movement of thought called "Tao-hsüeh", it refers to the sacred legacy which is transmitted by the sages. As such, it is opposed to jen-hsin, 人心 literally, "man's mind-and-heart".

Ch'eng Yi explained jen-hsin as the mind-and-heart which is affected by jen-yü 人欲 (passions or selfish desires) and Tao-hsin as the mind-and-heart which is full of T'ien-li.

Chu Hsi explained jen-hsin as man's mind-and-heart, considered as the seat of consciousness, composed of blood and "ether", and Tao-hsin as the same mind-and-heart, considered as the source of moral discernment.

Yang-ming regarded jen-hsin as the mind-and-heart contaminated by passions and so become prone to error, and Tao-hsin as the pure mind-and-heart, without passions or selfish desires, and identical with liang-chih.

T'ien

天

- a) Literally, "Heaven", "sky".
- b) In the Book of Documents, it is synonymous with "Shang-ti" or the "Emperor-on-High", i.e., God.
- c) For Confucius, it refers especially to the Supreme Being.
- d) For Mencius, it refers sometimes to the Supreme Being, sometimes to the ultimate truth of the universe, or to the fullness of goodness, and sometimes to Fate.
- e) For Hsün-tzu, it refers especially to the physical heaven, or nature.
- f) For Tung Chung-shu, it refers sometimes to nature at large, to which he attributes qualities of intelligence and spirituality.

- g) The Sung and Ming thinkers sometimes speak of T'ien-ti, i.e., Heaven-and-Earth, as representing the whole universe, and sometimes speak of T'ien alone, as representing the whole universe, or of the fullness of being and goodness.
- h) Yang-ming identified T'ien with Tao, with hsin, and with Iiang-chih.

T'ien-li

天理

Literally, heavenly reason.

The Ch'engs speak of T'ien-li as the fullness of being and goodness, innate in human nature (hsing) as well as in nature at large. To it, is opposed jen-yü 人欲, passions or selfish desires.

Chu Hsi followed the interpretation given it by the Ch'engs, and identified T'ai-chi with T'ien-li.

Yang-ming explains it also as the fullness of being and goodness, innate in all, the ideal norm to which all our moral judgments and actions should conform. At times, he also opposed it to jen-yü. He also identified T'ien-li with Iiang-chih.

T'ien-jen ho-yi

天人合一

Literally, the "Unity between Heaven and Man".

It refers in particular to the teaching of the Confucian school, developed especially by Mencius and Tung Chung-shu, each in his own way, that Heaven and Man make up a certain continuum.

Wan-wu yi-t'i

萬物一體

Literally, the myriad things form one body. It refers to the doctrine of the "Unity of All Things", the central doctrine of the Sung and Ming thinkers of the hsing-li movement. As such, this formula represents a development of the earlier doctrine of "T'ien-jen ho-yi", with certain shifts in words and meanings, giving more emphasis to "All Things" rather than to "Heaven" and "Man". These shifts manifest the incorporation of Taoist and Buddhist ideas into a new "Confucian" world view.

Appendix II

Selected Essays and Poems: Translations


The following pages present certain selected essays and poems written by Wang Yang-ming which provide supporting evidence for the interpretation of his thought as it has been given in this work. The texts have been classified roughly in chronological order. The poems are difficult to date accurately, and most of them have never been translated into English before. On account of their content, some of the translations of the poems will resemble more prose than poetry. A list of titles of the essays translated are given here below.

- A Farewell Essay in Honour of Chan Jo-shui(1511)
- Preface to the Old Version of the Great Learning(1518)
- Preface to the Annotated Edition of the Book of Rites
(1520)
- Preface to the Collected Writings of Lu Chiu-yüan(1520)
- On the "Love the People" Pavilion(1525)
- On the "Respect the Classics" Pavilion of Chi-shan
College(1525)
- On the Reconstruction of the Shan-yin Prefectural
School(1525)

As the titles of the poems do not usually give much indication of the content, no special list will be given of them here.

A Farewell Essay in Honour of Chan Jo-shui (1511)

With the death of Yen-tzu the teaching of the Sage was lost. Tseng-tzu alone transmitted the one-pervading meaning [of the Sage's teaching] to Mencius, with whose death the transmission ceased. After another two thousand and more years, Chou [Tun-yi] and the Ch'eng brothers resumed this transmission.¹ From their time on, the more words were used, the more obscure the Way became. The better li was analysed, the more fragmented and dispersed learning became. It was more and more concerned with external pre-occupations, more and more complicated and difficult.

Mencius had feared the growing influence of Yang-tzu and Mo-tzu.² During the time of Chou Tun-yi and the two Ch'engs, Buddhism and Taoism were very widespread. Today, all scholars know how to honour Confucius and Mencius, how to despise Yang-tzu and Mo-tzu, and to keep away from Buddhism and Taoism. The Way of the Sages seems to be well understood. But, when I follow their instructions, I cannot find any Sage. Is there [today] anyone who can practise Mo-tzu's doctrine of universal love, or Yang-tzu's teaching of self-interest, or keep himself pure and undefiled as the Taoists, or investigate the mind (hsin) and the destiny (ming ) as the Buddhists? I mention these people: Yang-tzu, Mo-tzu, Taoists and Buddhists, because while their ways differed from the Way of the Sages, they did possess certain insights. But the scholars of today [spend their time] underlining words and digging into sentences in order to flatter the world. They use their cunning to pretend to agree [with others], and seek to protect one another with hypocrisy. They say that the Way of the Sages is wearisome and no longer worthy of attention. They engage merely in verbal arguments, accusing themselves with such words: "In the past, there had been scholars who were unable to understand [what they studied] after having spent their entire lives in such investigation. Now we all understand, and can explain, certain general ideas [regarding the teaching of the Sages]. This is already quite sufficient." In this way,

the teaching of the Sages has gradually been abandoned.

Thus, we can see that the greatest threat confronting us today is the [scholars'] habit of learning by heart and of seeking to understand the literal meaning of words and sentences, a habit which is all the more dangerous when the explanations given and the analyses made are of such minute details. The mistake of Yang-tzu, Mo-tzu, the Taoists and the Buddhists, all of whom studied the virtues of humanity and righteousness, and sought the meaning of human nature and destiny, but without finding the Way, was in diverging from the Mean. Our scholars of today, however, consider that humanity and righteousness are not to be studied, and that nature and destiny are useless topics. Therefore, I regard today as worthy men those who study humanity and righteousness, seek the meaning of nature and destiny, and avoid learning by heart the [detailed] explanations of words and sentences, even though they may make the same mistake as did Yang-tzu, Mo-tzu, the Taoists and the Buddhists. For they still seek in their minds-and-hearts for personal insights, and this is, after all, the necessary predisposition for learning the Way of the Sages.

As a child, I had not sought true learning. For twenty years, I meddled with perverse doctrines and heresies. Later, I began to make a study of hsin in Taoism and Buddhism. Thanks to Heaven, I acquired some insights, and continued my quest by following the teachings of Chou Tun-yi and the Ch'engs, from which I received some enlightenment. I had only one or two friends to help me in this endeavour. Time and again, I fell down only to rise up once more. Still later, I made friends with Chan Kan-ch'üan, and my determination [to seek after the ideals of Confucian sagehood] became firmer and stronger, and quite irrevocable. This shows how much I have received from Kan-ch'üan. The teachings of Kan-ch'üan insist on acquiring for oneself personal insights. The world has not been able to understand it. Those who know of it suspect it to be Ch'an Buddhism. If that be so, then I still have not

known Ch'an Buddhism. For, with such sublime ambitions as his, how can someone like Chan Kan-ch'uan not be a disciple of the Sage?....³

(WWKC 7:232a-233a)

¹For reference, see Chapter I, pp.8-10, and Chapter V, pp.179-183.

²See Mencius 7A:26; Legge, Classics, v.2, 464-465.

³part of this paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.127.

Preface to the Old Version of the Great Learning (1518)

The essential teaching of the Great Learning is that of making the intention sincere. The work of making the intention sincere lies in the investigation of things. To make the intention sincere means, at its utmost, to rest in the highest good. To rest in the highest good requires the extension of knowledge. The rectification of the mind-and-heart (hsin) is aimed at the recovery of the pen-t'i (pristine goodness)[of the mind-and-heart]. The cultivation or perfection of self expresses the operation [of such rectification]. This is called manifesting virtue with reference to the self, and loving the people with reference to others. That is why the supreme good refers to the pen-t'i of the mind-and-heart. When this has been aroused, and when something extraneous comes in, it is always recognised by the knowing faculty of the pen-t'i. The word "intention" (yi) refers to activity; the word "things" (wu) refers to affairs. When one extends the knowledge of the pen-t'i, such activity is always good. However, unless one investigates such affairs as they arise, one cannot extend knowledge. That is why the extension of knowledge is the root of the sincerity of the intention. The investigation of things refers to the reality of the extension of knowledge. When things are investigated, knowledge is extended. When the intention is sincere, the pen-t'i [of the mind-and-heart] can be recovered. This is called "resting in the highest good."¹

Fearing that people would seek all this outside of themselves, the Sage repeats his words over and over again. If the Old Version [of the Great Learning] were to be divided into sections, as it is the case with the version [currently in use], the meaning which the Sage desired to communicate would be lost. That is why, to fail to make the intention sincere, and merely to investigate things, results in fragmentation, to neglect the investigation of things, and merely to seek the sincerity of the intention, brings about emptiness [of mind].

Besides, not being rooted in the extension of knowledge, but merely investigating things and making the intention sincere, would lead to falsehood. Fragmentation [of knowledge], emptiness [of content] and falsehood are far from the highest good.

When we take the whole text together as an entity, approaching it in an attitude of reverence, then everything falls well into perspective. When we seek to amend it by adding a commentary, we tend more and more to divide the meaning up. For fear that learning become daily further removed from the highest good, I have abolished the chapter divisions and restored the Old Version, while providing it with some side explanations. This makes it possible again for the reader to discover the mind (hsin) of the Sage, and allows all who seek to acquire this mind, to grasp the essentials [of his message]. Indeed, to extend knowledge, one must keep to the mind (hsin), and seek to awaken (wu 勿) to the extension of knowledge. That is all.

(WWKC 7:241a-241b)

¹This is a discussion of Chapter 1 of the Great Learning. A part of this first paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.122.

Preface to the Annotated Edition of the Book of Rites
(1520)

The observance of rites and of propriety (li 禮) pertains to the moral realm (li 理). Moral principles are discovered in human nature (hsing). Human nature is ordained (ming) [by Heaven]. "The ordinances of Heaven are profound and unceasing."¹ With reference to man, they are called nature (hsing). When they are expressed in rules, they are called rites. When they assume the form of pure virtue, they are called humanity (jen). When they express decisive judgements, they are called righteousness (yi). When they appear as a clear form of moral consciousness, they are called knowledge. All of these are related to human nature; all have the same moral principles. That is why humanity can be called the "substance" of the rites, righteousness is their essential attribute, and knowledge refers to clear perception.

There are three hundred rules of canonical rites and propriety (ching-li 經禮) and three thousand additional rules of demeanour (ch'u-li 曲禮). There is not a single one which is not based on humanity, nor one which is not based on human nature. Such are the ordinances and arrangements of Heaven. Such is the very mind of the Sage.² Every one of them is likewise in accordance with the ordinances (ming) of Heaven. That is why the conquest of self and the restoration of propriety is called humanity. The exhaustive investigation of moral principles leads first to the completion of nature and then to [the discovery of] destiny (ming). The completion of nature implies that activity, demeanour and interactions with others shall all be in accordance with propriety.

The later teachings on propriety, however, perplex me. These include disputes about the articles and numbers [of sacrificial vessels] and minor items of criminal law. Those who propagate such interpretations work very hard. They make the mistake of specialising in the knowledge concerning the dregs of wine and rice, left over by the priests, and in forgetting human relationships and the

fundamental virtue of humanity. After all, "Do rites refer merely to jade and silk?"³ And, "if a man is lacking in the virtue of humanity, what can propriety or the rites do for him?"⁴

That is why the followers of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu have abandoned propriety in order to speak of human nature. They say that propriety arises out of the decline of real virtue. Hence, with the loss of humanity and righteousness, we have already fallen into the abyss of nothingness. Yet worldly scholars continue to abandon nature and to seek propriety. Saying that propriety consists merely in the knowledge of sacrificial utensils-- of their numbers, and of regulations [governing their use], they discuss the sounds and shadows of this virtue, as though these comprehend the whole meaning of propriety. We ought therefore to recognise the fact that if the rules of propriety of the ancient Sage Kings have been obscured by smoke and even reduced to ashes, the disaster cannot be attributed solely to the fires of the Ch'in dynasty.⁵

Foolhardy and without considering my limitations, I had always wanted to make an exposition of the main themes and of the foundations of the Book of Rites, and to give explanations of its contents, in order to make manifest the unity of the "roots" and "branches" of the Way (Tao). However, my lack of virtue as well as my fear that the time was not yet ripe, inhibited me. But I have often said: "Propriety is to the ceremonies what the compass and the quadrant are to the shapes of circles and squares. Without circles and squares there can be no use for quadrant or compass. Yet circles and squares are made by compasses and quadrants, without being themselves compass or quadrant. When the compass and the quadrant are applied to make circles and squares, they can be used indefinitely. But when the compass and the quadrant are not used to make circles and squares, and when the shapes of circles and squares are used as though these were themselves compasses and quadrants, then the real compass and quadrant would no longer have any usefulness. For the compass and the

quadrant are not limited to certain definite circles and squares, while circles and squares are ruled by definite compasses and quadrants."⁶ This explains the essential meaning of propriety. On this account, men of abundant virtue remain in accord with the Mean in their action and demeanour, and in their relationship with one another.⁷

Lamenting the confused state in which the canonical ritual texts found themselves, the Sung scholar, Chu Chung-hui 朱仲晦 [Chu Hsi] wanted to examine, correct and revise them, taking Yi-li 儀禮 [The Ceremonials] to be the canonical book, and the Book of Rites to be its commentary. However, he was unable to finish the work. After him, Wu Yu-ch'ing [Wu Ch'eng] decided to compile an annotated edition,⁸ without repeating anything that Chu had already said. He explained many important points, distinguishing between questions of precedence and of gravity. The opinions of both Chu and Wu are based on the instructions left behind by the Han scholars. I only regret that I was born too late to be able to hear what they said about [the importance of] seeking the fundamental unity of the rules of propriety, in order to act in accord with the principles of the rites. True, if the later Sages had written on the subject, there would then be no need to say more. But since the later Sages had not written on the subject, Wu Ch'eng's book, the Annotated Edition of the Book of Rites remains the necessary "sieve and fur-coat"⁹ and "fish-trap and bait"¹⁰ for anyone who wishes to learn the rites. It cannot, therefore, be neglected....

(WWKC 7:241b-242b)

¹The Odes, "Chou-sung" 周頌 [Chou Sacrificial Odes], Legge, Classics, v.4, 570. This is cited in the Doctrine of the Mean, ch.26. [Legge, v.1, 421].

²The preceding part of this paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.139.

³Analects 17:11; Legge, Classics, v.1, 324.

⁴Analects 3:3; Legge, Classics, v.1, 155.

⁵See Shih-chi 6:25 for the account of the burning of books in the Ch'in dynasty.

⁶Part of this paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.140.

⁷Chu's unfinished work was entitled Yi-li ching-chuan t'ung-chieh 儀禮經傳通解 [Complete Explanations of the Classic and Commentaries of Yi-li]. See SKTY 22:26.

⁸For Wu Ch'eng's book, see SKTY 21:4.

⁹Allusion to the Book of Rites. See Li-chi cheng-yi "Hst'eh-chi" 學記 [On Learning], SPPY ed., 11:5b-6a; Eng. tr. in Legge, Li Ki, v.2, 90. The reference is to sons learning their fathers' trades.

¹⁰Allusion to Chuang-tzu 26, SPPY ed., 9:6a; Eng. tr. by Burton Watson, op.cit., 302. See also Chapter III, n.2.

Preface to the Collected Writings of Lu Chiu-yüan(1520)

The teaching of the Sages is that of hsin(the mind-and-heart). Yao passed it to Shun, and Shun to Yü, saying: "Man's mind-and-heart is prone to error, [while] the mind-and-heart of the Way(Tao-hsin) is subtle. Remain discerning and single-minded; keep steadfastly to the Mean".¹ This was the beginning of the teaching of hsin. The "Mean" refers to the Tao-hsin. The discerning quality and singleness of mind of the Tao is called jen(humanity), which again, refers to the Mean. The teaching of Confucius and Mencius, centred on the quest for jen, transmitted to us the doctrine of discernment and of singleness of mind. However, at their time already, certain people made the mistake of seeking the Tao in external things. Tzu-kung for example, asked [the Master] if it might reside in an abundant learning,² and regarded as jen the practice of "procuring extensive benefits for the people."³ The Master, however, taught him to seek an "all-pervading unity",⁴ and to learn to judge others by what is near oneself,⁵ that is, to seek that Tao in one's own mind-and-heart. At the time of Mencius, the philosopher Mo-tzu spoke of the virtue of jen to the point of 'rubbing his head and wearing out his heels'⁶ and the disciples of Kao-tzu taught that although jen(humanity) resides inside the person, yi (righteousness) is to be found outside of the self.⁷ Such teaching greatly injured the school of hsin. Mencius attacked the opinion that righteousness was external to man, and insisted also that humanity pertained properly to the mind-and-heart. He said: "There is naught else in learning except the restoration of the lost mind-and-heart."⁸ He said also: "Humanity, righteousness, propriety and wisdom are not infused into us from without. We possessed them from the beginning, but we do not think much of this fact."⁹

When the Way of the Sage-kings was forgotten, the art of the hegemony took over. The seekers of fame and profit pretended to act according to T'ien-li(perfect virtue), but only in order to fulfil their selfish desires. They

deceived others by saying: "Such is the 'principle of Heaven'", without realising that he who no longer has the right mind cannot possess the "principle of Heaven". Thenceforth, the mind-and-heart(hsin) and virtue(li) became two different things, and the teaching of discernment and singleness was lost. The scholars of the world became fragmentary in their learning, seeking externally for the detailed knowledge of laws, of [sacrificial] utensils and of [their] numbers, in order to understand what is called "the meaning of things"(wu-li 物理). They did not know that the mind-and-heart is itself the source of all being and virtue(li), which need not be sought outside. As for the Buddhists and the Taoists, they spoke of emptiness(sūnyatā) and the void, abandoning the regular principles of human relationships and of worldly affairs, in order to seek the understanding of the mind-and-heart, without realising that the mind-and-heart is itself the source of all principles, and cannot be attained by neglecting these very principles. In the Sung dynasty, the philosophers Chou [Tun-yi] and Ch'eng [Hao] sought again to return to the sources of inspiration in Confucius and Yen-tzu. They taught of Wu-chi (Ultimateless) and T'ai-chi (Ultimate), and confirmed these teachings with explanations of jen (humanity) and yi (righteousness), of remaining in accord with the Mean, and of the importance of tranquillity. They said that the mind-and-heart is always the same, whether active or tranquil, there being no division between the inner and the outer, between following after or going forward to meet external events.¹⁰ Thus they nearly recovered the message of discernment and singleness.

After these men, came Lu Hsiang-shan [Lu Chiu-yüan]. His teaching did not equal that of Chou and Ch'eng in purity and harmony. But it was direct, and transmitted to us the genuine teaching of Mencius. [True], certain features of his doctrine were peculiar to him, but that was due to the differences of temperament and opinion

which distinguished him from Mencius. However, in his teaching others to seek the Tao in the mind-and-heart, he remained united to that great philosopher. For this reason I used to say that Lu's teaching was the very teaching of Mencius.¹¹ The critics, however, attacked him for his disagreements with Hui-an[Chu Hsi], and accused him of having been a Ch'an Buddhist. [As we know], the Ch'an Buddhists advocated the abandonment of moral relationships and of the principles of things(wu-li), and, what is more important, forbade the service of the country and the world. Was Lu's teaching really like theirs? If the answer be Yes, he would have to be classified as a Ch'an Buddhist. But there are books in existence today which explain both Ch'an Buddhist teachings and Lu's. Scholars need merely read to find out the truth for themselves. And then, the causes of right and wrong, as well as similarities and differences, need no more debates to become known. Yet people act like a dwarf who follows the crowd in an open-air theatre, conforming to the opinions already expressed, without knowing why they are laughing or weeping. Is this not a case of honouring the ears excessively and neglecting the eyes? Are they not committing the fault of "not seeing in the mind-and-heart what is not attained in words"?¹² Talks of right and wrong, similarities and differences, often take their rise from the fact that people desire to excel, to justify themselves--their old habits and their own opinions. For this reason even worthy men are not entirely free from the desire to excel and from certain habits.

Li Mao-yüan 李茂元, the Prefect of Fu-chou 撫州, wishes to publish again the Collected Writings of Lu Chiu-yüan. He has asked me to write a preface for it. What else can I say, except to exhort the readers to seek the answer in their own minds-and-hearts, without being hindered by old habits and by private opinions? Then will the difference between coarse husks and fine rice naturally become known to the mouths of those who taste them.

¹Book of Documents, "Ta-Yü mu". See Legge, Classics, v.3, 61. See also Chapter I, n.95.

²Analects 15:2; Legge, Classics, v.1, 295.

³Analects 6:28; Legge, Classics, v.1, 194.

⁴Analects 15:2; Legge, Classics, v.1, 295.

⁵Analects 6:28; Legge, Classics, v.1, 194.

⁶Mencius 7A:26; Legge, Classics, v.2, 464-465.

⁷Mencius 6A:4-5; Legge, Classics, v.2, 397-400.

⁸Mencius 6A:11; Legge, Classics, v.2, 414.

⁹Mencius 6A:4-5; Legge, Classics, v.2, 397-400.

¹⁰Allusion to Chuang-tzu 6, "Ta Tsung-shih", 3:7b.

¹¹This is cited in Chapter V. See pp.181-182.

¹²Reference to the teaching of Kao-tzu. See Mencius 2A:2; Legge, Classics, v.2, 188.

On the "Love the People" Pavilion (1525)

When Nan Yüan-shan was appointed Prefect of Yüeh [Shao-hsing], he came to Yang-ming to ask for counsel. Yang-ming said: "Government consists in loving the people." He asked: "How does one love the people?" Yang-ming answered: "By making clear virtue manifest." He asked: "How does one make clear virtue manifest?" The answer was: "By loving the people." He pursued: "Is 'making clear virtue manifest' and 'loving the people' the same thing?" Yang-ming replied: "Yes, they are one and the same thing. Making clear virtue manifest means making manifest the nature of the 'ordinance of Heaven' (T'ien-ming). [The ordinance of Heaven] is the intelligible and brilliant principle (li) of all principles [of being and virtue] (li). All men know what being filial to their fathers, or being fraternally respectful toward their elder brothers, entails. All possess a natural understanding [of such virtues], which operates when they are required to respond to events and things. This flows from the [knowledge] in their minds-and-hearts (hsin), which is full of spiritual brilliance, and which continues through past and present without changing and without becoming obscured. This is what we call 'clear virtue'. If, at times, it suffers hindrance from unruly desires (wu-yü), the man of understanding is capable of removing the hindrance and of keeping intact the brilliance of the pen-t'i [of his hsin]. But it does not mean that anything can be added to this pen-t'i."¹

[Nan] continued: "But why should all this consist in loving the people?" I answered: "Virtue cannot make itself manifest. The man who wishes to make manifest his virtue of filial piety, must love his father. Then only will the virtue of filial piety become manifest. The man who wishes to make manifest his virtue of fraternal respect, must love his elder brother. Then only will the virtue of fraternal respect become manifest. The same is true of the virtues which govern the relationship

between sovereign and subject, husband and wife, friend and friend. This is why making clear virtue manifest must consist in loving the people, while loving the people is the way by which clear virtue can be made manifest. Thus they refer to one and the same thing." He asked: "I can see how loving the people is the way by which clear virtue is made manifest and the cultivation and perfection of self is promoted. But what has it to do with the family, the country, and the world?" I answered: "Man is the mind-and-heart (hsin) of Heaven-and-Earth. The word 'people' refers to the self. With people [i.e., 'man'], the way of the 'Three Powers' (sants'ai 三才) is complete.² This is why, when I extend affection for my father to other people's fathers, there will be affection between all the fathers and sons of the world. If I extend love for my elder brother to other people's elder brothers, there will be affection between all the elder and younger brothers of the world. The same can be said about the virtues which govern the relationships between sovereign and subject, husband and wife, friend and friend, and even about [what touches the life of] birds and beasts and trees and grass.³ There can be affection for all. And this affection will always promote the complete development of the mind-and-heart, as it makes its clear virtue manifest. This is [what I mean by] making manifest clear virtue, giving order to the family, good government to the country, and peace to the world."³

He said: "But then, what does 'resting in the highest good' consist of?"

I said: "In the past, there were men who really wanted to make their clear virtue manifest. But some of them made the mistake of falling into [the state of mental] emptiness and void, neglecting thereby the service of the family, the country, and the world, as they did not know that 'making manifest clear virtue' consists in 'loving the people'. These were the Buddhists and the Taoists. There were also others, who made the mistake of relying on power politics and on cunning dealings,

while neglecting the practice of sincere benevolence and of commiseration, as they did not know that loving the people is the way of making clear virtue manifest. These were the disciples of the Five Despots, seekers of fame and profit. Neither of these kinds of people knew the meaning of 'resting in the highest good.' In fact, the 'highest good' refers to the 'ultimate' in 'clear virtue' and in 'loving the people'. The 'ordinance of Heaven' (T'ien-ming) is full of pure goodness. Its spiritual brilliance reveals this highest virtue. This is the pen-t'i of 'clear virtue', which may also be called 'knowledge of the good' (liang-chih). The highest good clearly reveals right and wrong. It is the discerning principle (li) with which the mind-and-heart (hsin) is naturally endowed, and it cannot be increased or diminished. Increase or diminution comes through selfish motives or petty cunning, and does not pertain to the 'highest good'. However, because people do not know that the highest good resides in the mind-and-heart, they apply their cleverness to seek it outside. They thus obscure the principle of right and wrong, to the point of confusing [the two]. In this way, unruly desires are let loose and the 'principle of Heaven' (T'ien-li) is lost. The teaching of manifesting virtue and of loving the people is thus distorted. From all this, we can see 'resting in the highest good' stands in relation to 'manifesting virtue' and 'loving the people', as do the compass and quadrant to circles and squares, and what the ruler and measure do to length, as also what the scale does to weight. If circles and squares are not ruled by the compass and quadrant, they would lose their functions. If length is not governed by the ruler and the measure, it would disturb the usage. If weight is not controlled by the scale, it would lose its criterion. And if 'manifestation of virtue' and 'love of the people' do not rest in the highest good, they would lose their governing principles. This is the teaching of the Great Man. For the Great Man is he who regards Heaven-and-Earth and all things

as one body, and who can also really become one body with Heaven-and-Earth and all things."

[On hearing this], Yüan-shan sighed and said: "Really, how very simple is this teaching of the Great Man. Now I know that Heaven-and-Earth and all things are one body. Now I know that all under Heaven is one family, and the whole Middle Kingdom is one person. So long as there is yet one man who has not received the benefit [of the good rule of the Sage Kings], it will be as though I myself had pushed him into a ditch.⁴ Yi-yin must have had the same insights as my own mind-and-heart." So he named his official hall the "Love the People Pavilion" (Ch'in-min t'ang 親民堂), saying: "My official duty is to love the people. I must love my people in order to make manifest my clear virtue." So he had these words engraved on the wall to remain as a record for all to see.

(WWKC 7:247a-248b)

¹The discussion revolves around the main themes of the Great Learning.

²See Chou-yi cheng-yi, 9:2a-b; Legge, Yi King, 423-424. The reference is to the "way" of Heaven, which is allegedly that of yin and yang, the "way" of Earth, which is that of "softness" and "hardness", and the "way" of Man, which is that of humanity and righteousness.

³Part of the preceding paragraph is cited in Chapter VI. See pp.203-204.

⁴See Mencius 5A:7; Legge, Classics, v.2, 363-364. The allusion is to the words of Yi-yin, explaining his reasons for accepting the invitation of King T'ang, founder of the Shang dynasty, to serve in his government.

On the "Respect the Classic" Pavilion of
Chi-shan College (1525)

The Classics (ching 經) contain the constant Way (Tao). In Heaven, this is called "destiny" or "ordinance" (ming). Bequeathed to man, this is called human nature (hsing).¹ As the master of the person, this is called mind-and-heart (hsin). The mind-and-heart is one with nature and destiny. They are all one. This "Way" penetrates persons and things, reaching the four seas, filling up Heaven-and-Earth, going through past and present, comprehending all that exists, one with all that exists, and without changing anything. This is the constant Way. When it responds to events, it becomes compassion, sense of shame, modesty in yielding to others, and discernment of right and wrong. When it is expressed in affairs, it becomes the affection between father and son, the righteousness between sovereign and subject, the relationship between husband and wife, the order between elders and juniors, and the fidelity between friend and friend.² Thus, compassion, sense of shame, modesty, discernment of right and wrong, intimate affection, righteousness, order, and conjugal relationship, as well as fidelity, all refer to the same thing, and express the same mind-and-heart. Thus too, nature, destiny, penetration of persons and things, extension to the four seas, the filling of Heaven-and-Earth, and the continuity between past and present, as well as the comprehension of all that exists and the oneness with all that exists, but without changing anything-- all these refer to the constant Way.

Thus, this constant Way explains the movements of yin and yang, in the Book of Changes, presents the execution of decrees, ordinances and government in the Book of Documents, gives expression to human nature and emotions through songs and poems in the Odes, and lays down the rules and regulations of propriety in the ritual texts. It also expresses joy and peace in the Classic of Music, distinguishes between sincerity and hypocrisy, perversity

and orthodoxy in the Spring-Autumn Annals. Hence, everything is one-- from the movements of yin and yang, to the discernment of sincerity and hypocrisy, perversity and orthodoxy. Everything expresses the same mind-and-heart, the same nature and the same destiny-- all of which penetrates persons and things, reaching the four seas, filling up Heaven-and-Earth, joining past and present, embracing all, and identical with all that exists, without changing anything. Such are the so-called Six Classics. They are nothing other than the constant Way in my mind-and-heart. Hence, the Book of Changes gives the operations of my mind-and-heart. The Book of Documents gives the laws, ordinances and government of my mind-and-heart. The Odes give the musical and lyrical expressions of my mind-and-heart. The ritual texts give the regulations of my mind-and-heart. The Classic of Music gives the joy and peace of my mind-and-heart. The Spring-Autumn Annals give the distinction between sincerity and hypocrisy, perversity and orthodoxy of my mind-and-heart.

In using the Six Classics, the gentleman seeks the movements of yin and yang of the mind-and-heart, in order to act in accordance with them, by his reverence for the Book of Changes. He seeks the laws and ordinances and government of the mind-and-heart, in order to put them into practice, by his reverence for the Book of Documents. He seeks the musical and lyrical expressions of the emotions of the mind-and-heart, in order to give vent to these, by his reverence for the Odes. He seeks the regulations and rules of the mind-and-heart, in order to pay attention to them, by his reverence for the Book of Rites. He seeks the joy and peace of the mind-and-heart, in order to give expression to them, by his reverence for the Classic of Music. He seeks the distinctions between sincerity and hypocrisy, perversity and orthodoxy of the mind-and-heart, in order to understand their differences, by his reverence for the Spring-

Autumn-Annals.³

In the past, the Sages who were the support of the ultimate human criteria of morality, made a written record of the Six Classics for the benefit of posterity. They acted in the same way as the ancestors of a rich clan, who, fearing that their descendants might forget and scatter the accumulated wealth and become reduced to poverty and destitution, committed to writing an inventory of their property, and then, in bequeathing everything on their descendants, told them to preserve this accumulated wealth, and avoid falling into poverty. Thus, the Six Classics are the "records" of my mind-and-heart. The reality of the Six Classics is contained in my mind-and-heart, just as the real, accumulated wealth of all kinds, and each item of this, is preserved in the rich family, while the inventory book merely presents an account of their names, kinds and numbers. The scholars of the world, however, do not know how to seek the reality of the Six Classics in the mind-and-heart, and instead look for it in shadows and sounds, becoming hindered by details of words and meanings, which they proudly consider to be the Six Classics. Their behaviour resembles that of the descendants of the rich clan, who have been careless in their management of the inherited property, until all has been forgotten and lost, while they themselves are reduced to poverty and beggary. They can only point in vain to the inventory books, saying, "Here is our accumulated wealth!" What difference is there between the two courses of action?

Alas, the teachings of the Six Classics have been lost to the world for a much longer time than a day or a night! To esteem fame and profit and false teachings is to transgress the [teachings of the] Classics. To study exegesis and to remember words and sentences by heart, to become attached to superficial knowledge and inferior ideas, using these to cover the ears and eyes of the world, is to insult the Classics. To indulge in extravagant language, to resort to cunning debates, to

cover up treacherous motives, to perform wicked deeds in the world and yet occupy important positions, monopolising knowledge by claiming to be Classical scholars, is to pilfer the Classics. Such people are even ready to tear up and discard the inventory books of their wealth! How can they retain any reverence for the Classics?

The city, Yüeh, used to have a school called the Chi-shan 稽山 College, which was situated on the Wo-lung 卧龍 Hill in the west. The place had long been neglected. The Prefect, Nan Ta-chi [Yüan-shan]... ordered ...the restoration of the College, and the addition to it of a building called Tsun-ching Pavilion, saying: "When the Classics are respected, the people will prosper; when the people prosper, there can be no wickedness." Now that this building has been completed, he requested a few words from me to serve as a notice to other scholars. Not being able to decline from the honour, I have written this essay. How I wish that the scholars of the world, on hearing my words, would seek for the Way in their minds-and-hearts! Then will they know what is the meaning of reverence for the Classics (tsun-ching).

(WWKC 7:250a-251b)

¹Reference to the Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter 1.

²Part of this preceding paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.137.

³This paragraph is cited in Chapter IV. See p.138.

On the Reconstruction of the Shan-yin
Prefectural School (1525)

On account of age, the Shan-yin 山陰 Prefectural School has been in a dilapidated condition. The Education Officer, Mr. Wang Han 汪翰 and others, requested ... that it be renewed. They also asked me to write an essay to serve as notice to the students. As I was then in mourning, I declined the invitation.... [Since then], Mr. Wu Yin 吳瀛 of Loyang, who had become Prefect, renewed the request for an essay. Earlier, when I was serving an official position in Nanking, I once responded to the request of the Mayor, and wrote an essay for his school. My general message was: "In promoting scholarship, the desire of the Court is not specifically to have the students pass their civil examinations, but rather to dispose them to the learning of sagehood. Here too, by enlarging and restoring the school buildings, by providing it with boarding facilities and by introducing regulations, the authorities desire to encourage learning. [They] seek [as students] those persons who regard the entire world as their large house¹ and peaceful dwelling², to offer them [the opportunity of] the cultivation and perfection of their selves. This is the way by which both teachers and students can promote [true] learning." All those who read these words then were moved to reflection. However, I did not say much about how learning is to be carried out. I shall do so now, for our students of Yüeh.

The teaching of the Sages is that of hsin (mind-and-heart). The goal of learning is the complete development of hsin, the mind-and-heart. The teaching which Yao transmitted to Shun, and Shun to Yü, was: "Man's mind-and-heart is prone to error; the mind-and-heart of the Way (Tao-hsin) is subtle. Remain discerning and single-minded, and keep steadfastly to the Mean."³ This Tao-hsin refers to [pure] human nature--without admixture of selfish desires-- which is to be followed. It is beyond sound or odour, extremely subtle and yet very

clear, the very source of sincerity. The mind-and-heart of man, however, being tainted with selfishness, is prone to error. [Among other things], it contains the beginnings of hypocrisy. For example, while commiserating an infant falling into the well is in accordance with nature, rescuing him and bringing him back to his parents in order to gain their favour and obtain a good name in the village, comes from man's mind-and-heart. Also, to eat when one is hungry, to drink when one is thirsty, is to act in accordance with nature. But to seek for what is best in taste, to indulge one's mouth and belly, is to follow man's mind-and-heart (jen-hsin).

As to the word "single-mindedness", it refers to the intent quest for the Tao-hsin, while the word "discernment" refers to the effort of keeping oneself in singleness of purpose without becoming tainted with the jen-hsin. To have the Tao means to hold always to the Mean. To remain singly intent on the Tao-hsin is to hold steadfastly to the Mean. When one is intent on the Way (Tao), one is always in accord with the Mean while in a state of rest, and always attains harmony when aroused. Thus, when this mind-and-heart of Tao is expressed in the relationship between father and son, there is always affection; when it is expressed in the relationship between sovereign and subject, there is always righteousness; when it is expressed in the relationships between husband and wife, elders and juniors, and between friend and friend, there is always differentiation of duty, order and fidelity. Such is the harmony of due degree, the universal path of all under Heaven. It reaches the four seas without going astray, joins past and present without becoming exhausted. It is the same mind-and-heart, the same human nature, the same universal path, which is shared by all under Heaven. Shun asked Hsieh 契 to be the Grand Tutor, to teach the people, his people, the moral principles governing human relationships, which is nothing other than this universal path.⁴ At that time,

all men were gentlemen, all qualified for enfeoffment.⁵ For those who taught, taught only this teaching [of hsin], those who studied, studied only this teaching.

However, with the disappearance of the Sages, the teaching of hsin became obscure. Men practised hypocrisy, and aimed at fame and profit. They applied their efforts to the work of exegesis, to studying by heart, and to writing artful prose. With the passage of months and years, learning became more and more fragmented. Year after year, scholars copied from one another, seeking to make their mistakes appear correct. The jen-hsin became daily more prominent, and no longer knows the subtlety of the Tao-hsin. If, at times, certain persons perceived these errors, and sought to return to the roots and sources [of the teaching of the Sages], they were criticised and accused by the multitudes as disciples of Ch'an Buddhism. Alas, how, then, can one make known again the teaching of hsin?

The teaching of Ch'an Buddhism and the teaching of the Sages both seek the complete development of the mind-and-heart (hsin). There is only a slight difference between the two. The Sage seeks to develop his mind-and-heart completely, by regarding Heaven-and-Earth and all things as one body. When he finds affection in his own father-son relationship, but knows it to be lacking for others in the world, he will not consider his mind-and-heart to be completely developed. When he finds righteousness in his own sovereign-subject relationship, but knows it to be lacking for others in the world, he will not consider his mind-and-heart to be completely developed. When he finds the proper differentiation of duty in his own husband-wife relationship, when he finds order in his own elder-junior relationship, and fidelity in his relationship with friends, but knows these to be lacking for others in the world, he will not consider his mind-and-heart to be fully developed. When his own family is well fed and warmly clad, with leisure to enjoy themselves, but he knows there are others in the world,

who have not the essentials of life and these advantages, can he expect them to have affection, righteousness, differentiation of duty and fidelity[in their relationships]? This shows him that his own mind-and-heart is not yet fully developed. On that account, he sets up laws and government, and dispenses rites, music and education, in order that the completion of himself and of others may be promoted, through the full development of his mind-and-heart. When his mind-and-heart is fully developed, his family will also be in good order, his country will be well governed, and all under Heaven will enjoy peace. That is why the teaching of the Sages is nothing other than the full development of hsin(the mind-and-heart).

[On the other hand], the teaching of Ch'an Buddhism, while it also speaks of the mind-and-heart, considers the universal path, that of the mind-and-heart, as consisting merely in keeping it free from passions, without having to seek for any external fulfilment. And, when there is something amiss in the external [circumstances], it does not bother to seek for understanding from within. This is what they mean by the complete development of the mind-and-heart. However, in holding to this teaching, they hardly realise that they have fallen into the pitfall of self-interest. That is why the abandonment of human morality, and of affairs and things of the world, may perhaps contribute to the perfection of the self, but cannot promote the government of family, country and world.

The teaching of the Sages makes no distinction between the self and others, between the inner and the outer. It considers Heaven-and-Earth and all things as hsin. The teaching of Ch'an Buddhism, however, is rooted in self-interest, and cannot avoid the division between the inner and the outer. That is why it is different. Those persons today who devote themselves to the learning of hsin(mind-and-heart) and hsing(nature) would certainly be disciples of Ch'an Buddhism if they were to abandon human

morality and concern for affairs and things. But if they do not abandon human morality or concern for affairs and things, but concentrate on keeping to the mind-and-heart and on nurturing human nature, theirs would be the learning of discernment and of singleness of mind, taught by the School of Sages. How, then, can these be called disciples of Ch'an Buddhism? Unfortunately, scholars of today inherit the practice of preparing for civil examinations through the writing of artful prose, and injure their minds-and-hearts by such indulgence. They depart daily from what the Sages teach of the complete development of the mind-and-heart, until it looks as though the two will never meet. When they are presented with the teaching of the mind-and-heart and of nature, by those who wish to lead them back to the right path, they become astonished, accuse their benefactors of Ch'an Buddhism, and regard them as enemies. Is this not very lamentable?

To be ignorant of one's wrong, and yet to accuse others others of being wrong, may be due to the hindrances of old habits, and cannot be considered a fault. However, there are people who know what is wrong, who despise the mistakes of others, and yet refrain from telling them. This is plain selfishness. There are also people who are told of their mistakes, but who continue blindly without making any self-examination. These seem to despise themselves....

(WWKC 7:251b-253b)

¹Mencius 7A:36; Legge, Classics, v.2, 471.

²Mencius 2A:7; 4A:10; Legge, Classics, v.2, 204, 302. The allusion is to the virtue of jen (humanity) which Mencius considered to be the gentleman's "peaceful dwelling."

³See Chapter I, n.95.

⁴See Book of Documents, "Shun-tien" 舜典 [Canon of Shun]; Legge, Classics, v.3, 44.

⁵Reference to certain words used by Wang Mang 王莽 (6-73) when speaking of the days of the sage-kings. See Han shu, 99A:35.

Poems Written in the Company of Chan Jo-shui
on My Departure for the South¹

The waters of Chu and Ssu flow over a small area,
The waters of Yi and Lo appear to be only a thin line.
As to the three or four later philosophers--
Their qualities cannot adequately make up for their
defects.

Alas, that I should refrain from measuring my own
weakness:

Limping in my walk, yet I desire to go so far.
Repeatedly, I fall down and I rise up again,
Breathing heavily, often near the point of breaking.

On the way I met a man with the same ambition,
Together, we dare to proclaim the greatness of moral
character,
We fight for the important differences which exist
between nuances,
And encourage each other to go forward ten thousand li.
The winds and waves are rising; I suddenly lose sight
of you--
As I utter these words, my tears are vainly falling.

(WWKC 19:572b)

This same hsin and this same li we both share,²
What need is there to discern between self and other?
Whose sigh has been immortalised throughout the ages,
Lamenting his separation from the others?³

Between the vastness of Heaven and Earth,
Is there someone who does not share the same Spring?
Our thoughts of each other should serve as mutual
encouragement--

We must not let worldly affairs separate us.
Do not allow our minds to be separated by any distance,
Then will ten thousand li only serve to strengthen
our friendship.

.....

(WWKC 19:572b-573a)

Ch'i ^德₁₂ and Tao are inseparable,⁴

To make two out of one is against nature (hsing),
Confucius, the Sage, preferred to remain wordless:⁵
Inferior learning can only lead to flippant responses.

The gentleman is assiduous in little things;
Their accumulation builds up his conduct.
I recited the chapters of ceaseless searching,
And heard, with you, the meaning of destiny.
How can the solitary scholar
Find tranquillity in an empty valley?

(WWKC 19:573a)

Tranquil emptiness is not empty nothingness:
It contains within itself, the pre-stirred equilibrium.
What does it possess within itself,
Without which one would be really empty?

When the desire to see the True Self⁶ is lacking,
"Not forgetting" and "Not assisting"⁷ are no longer
genuine efforts.

The secret of mysterious transformation is profound
indeed,
With whom else can I probe it, if not with you?

(WWKC 19:573a)

¹The poems translated here are the third, fourth, fifth and sixth of the group, all of which were written in 1507. The first one of these has been cited in Chapter II. See p.65.

²Allusion to HSCC 34:8a.

³Allusion to the words of Tzu-hsia 子夏, a disciple of Confucius. See Li-chi Cheng-chu, "T'an-kung" 檀弓 pt.1, 2:10a; Legge, Li Ki, v.1, 135-136.

⁴Allusion to the Appendix of the Book of Changes. See Chou-yi cheng-yi, 7:18b; Legge, Yi King, 377.

⁵Analects 17:19; Legge, Classics, v.1, 326.

⁶The words used here are chen-t'i 真體 which refer to "metaphysical reality".

⁷Mencius 2A:2; Legge, Classics, v.2, 190.

Two Poems for Ch'u Ch'ai-hsü¹

Once we decided: you and I
 To probe into the Book of Changes and seek its mysteries.
 You had to travel to the Western Mountains,
 Returning only after one entire year.
 And then, on the point of this endless quest,
 We had to utter new farewells again.
 Separated by a distance of over ten thousand li
 How can we count on a future re-union?
 You ask for the secret of long life:
 I do not wish to deceive you.
 Hidden behind growths and declines,
 How perfect are the secret springs of Heaven and Earth!
 A divine abyss separates mad ardour (k'uang) and sagehood--
 Truth and error diverge on an infinitesimal point.²

To discern an infinitesimal error:
 Look into the mind-- does one seek Self, or the Others?
 The Unselfish differs from the Selfish
 As the action of Heaven from that of Man.
 How precious is this body of ours, received from parents:³
 The fulfilment of character⁴ can bring it no loss.
 May you excel in respect of moral nature,⁵
 And avoid division in your learning.
 Let not temperament lead you astray,
 And do not allow things to deceive you.

.....

(WWKC 19:573b-574a)

¹ 儲柴壚 was also known as Ch'u Huan 儲巖 (1457-1573). There are really three poems in this group. But only the first two are translated here.

²The last three lines have been cited at the very beginning of Chapter VIII. For the reference to an "infinitesimal error", see Chapter IV, n.7.

On the T'ai-chi Cave, Written for Wang Chin-chih¹

Whose intelligence made an opening for primaeva] chaos,
 To give Tao-chou² its thousand-year old form?
 To believe that the mind is no bright mirror:
 Know well that the T'ai-chi (Ultimate) was originally the
Wu-chi (Ultimateless).

To believe that the mind is no bright mirror³
 Know well that the bright mirror is smirched with dust.
 Every man carries his own little circle:
 Do not sit on the rush-mat till your mind turns to dead
 ashes.⁴

(WWKC 20:620a)

¹ 汪遵之 His other name was Wang Hsün 汪循.

² 道州 a place in Hunan, home of Chou Tun-yi.

³ This allusion again to the gathas of Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu. See Ch. III, n. 33.

⁴ Chuang-tzu 2 "Ch'i-wu lun," 齊物論 [On Making All Things Equal], 1:10a. Eng. tr. by Burton Watson, 36.

Sitting at Night³

Under the new autumn moon, I sit alone in the courtyard,
Where else between Heaven and Earth has man more freedom
and ease?

My loud songs move away with the fresh breeze
My quiet feelings flow off with spring's clear water.

The thousand sages have no secret outside hsin,
The Six Classics exist only to wipe away the mirror's dust.
As long as the dreams of Duke Chou still disturb me,
I have not awakened to the beauty of living in a poor alley.
(WWKC 20:628a)

Two Poems: Answers to Questions on liang-chih⁴

Knowledge of the good is knowledge of self,
Outside of this there is no knowledge.
Who is there without this knowledge?
Yet who is there that understands it?

Who is there that understands this knowledge?
One's pain and irritation is known only to oneself.
Should one ask others what is pain and irritation,
They will answer: what else is it?⁵

(WWKC 20:629b)

¹This poem is cited in Chapter IV, p.141.

²The last two lines of the first poem have been cited in Chapter II, together with the entire second poem. See p.74.

³This poem is cited in Chapter IV. See p.148.

⁴These poems were written around 1524.

⁵By giving the example of pain or irritation--especially related to the sense of touch-- Yang-ming sought to emphasize the experiential character of the knowledge of the good.

A Poem Written on the New Name of
Ch'ien Hsi-ming: Hsin-yü¹

A fisherman sings:

The art of fishing depends not on the eye,
but on the mind(hsin).

The mind is not on the fish, but on something
more profound.

The whales of the Northern Ocean are all very small,²
It is not enough to catch six sea-turtles at one
cast of the net.³

May I ask then, how do you fish?

Yes-- My net is the Way(Tao)

My ropes are my knowledge of the good(liang-chih)

My bait is the Great Harmony(T'ai-ho)

My boats are Heaven and Earth.

I adjust the net without thinking,

And cast it without considering the direction.

So I cannot glory in my gains,

Nor need I fear lest anything be forgotten.

(WWKC 20:628a)

¹ Ch'ien Hsi-ming 钱希明 was the father of Yang-ming's disciple Ch'ien Te-hung. He was blind since early childhood. The new name, Hsin-yü 心漁, means "fishing with the mind(hsin)". The dialogue form of this poem, as well as the theme of fishing, recalls to mind the conversation which supposedly took place between Ch'ü Yuan 屈原 (340?-278 BC) and a fisherman, some time before the poet committed suicide by drowning himself in the River Mi-lo 汨羅. See Shih-chi 84:210; Ch'ü-tz'u pu-chu [An Amended and Annotated Edition of the Songs of Ch'ü], ed. by Wang Yi, (Taipei: 1966), 7:1b.

² Allusion to Chuang-tzu 1, 1:1a; Eng. tr. by Burton Watson, op.cit., 29.

³ Allusion to Lieh-tzu, "T'ang wen" 易問 [Questions of King T'ang], SPPY ed., 5:5a.

On the Departure of Lin Ju-huan¹

Every man can emulate Yao and Shun¹

This saying of the ancient worthy is no deception.

Henceforth, you can go forward a thousand li in one day,

Remember that I too, was once lost and led astray.

The myriad principles have always resided in my nature,

The Six Classics serve merely as steps of the ladder.

The rustic life offers its own joy and leisure:

When will you cross the waters again, in your solitary
boat?

(WWKC 20:627b)

¹ 林汝桓. This poem was written some time after 1521.

² Mencius 6B:2; Legge, Classics, v.2, 424.

Four Poems on liang-chih Written for My Students¹

Confucius resides in every man's heart,
 Hidden by distractions of ears and eyes.
 The real image being now discovered,
 Doubt no longer [your] liang-chih.

Why, sir, are you always agitated:
 Wasting efforts in the world of sorrows--
 Know you not the Sages' occult word:
Liang-chih is your Ts'an-t'ung ch'i

In every man there is a [mariner's] compass,
 His mind-and-heart is the seat of a thousand transformations.
 Foolishly, I once saw things in reverse:
 Leaves and branches sought I outside.

The soundless, odourless moment of solitary self-knowledge
 Contains the ground of Heaven, Earth and all beings.
 Foolish is he who leaves his inexhaustive treasure,
 With a bowl, moving from door to door, imitating the beggar.

(WWKC 20:629a-b)

¹These poems, written in 1524, are cited in Chapter VII.
 See p.257.

Answers to Questions on the Tao¹

To eat when hungry,

To sleep when weary;²

Such is asceticism--

The Mystery of Mystery.³

The world cannot believe when it hears this,

It seeks immortality outside of the body.

(WWKC 20:630a)

Bidding My Students Farewell⁴

The sages' instruction lasted a thousand years:

Liang-chih is its oral transmission.

Compasses give circles and quadrants squares,

To discover pristine unity, do not wield an axe.

Without leaving the ordinary realm of actions and
movements

Go straight to the primaeval moment, before any diagram
was made.

.....

(WWKC 20:630a)

¹These poems were written around 1524.

²See Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, TSD No.2076, LI, 6:247.

³Lao-tzu, ch.1; see SPTK ed., 1a. [In the SPPY ed., the word used is yüan 淵 rather than hsüan 玄, which is given here in the poem.] Wing-tsit Chan translates it as "deep" and "profound". See Source Book, 139.

⁴This poem is cited in Chapter V. See p.183.

On Immortality¹

Immortality I merely envy
 Lacking pills and money.
 Famous mountains I have combed,
 Till my temples yield silken hairs.

 My light body fettered by smrti
 Daily move I farther from Tao.
 Awakened suddenly in the middle age of life, I find the
 Pill of Nine Returns.

 No need for oven, nor for tripod.
 Why seek I k'an 坎 and why li 離
 No end is there, nor beginning.
 So too, for birth and death.--
 The magicians' wise words
 Only increase my doubts;
 Confusedly these old men
 Transmit arts difficult and complex,

 In me is Ch'ien(Heaven), in me K'un(Earth):
 I need not seek elsewhere--
 The thousand sages pass as shadows,
Liang-chih alone is my guide.

(WWKC 20:632b)

¹This poem is cited in Chapter VII. See pp.245-246.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Works in Chinese

A. Philosophical and Historical Texts

These include the Confucian Classics and their Commentaries, the Buddhist sutras and their Commentaries, the Taoist texts and Commentaries, the Dynastic Histories and Other Historical Sources, the writings of the Sung-Ming philosophers, especially those of Wang Yang-ming himself, and all works which treat of their philosophy that were written before the mid-nineteenth century.

Avataṃsaka sutra. (Hua-yen ching 華嚴經), TSD No. 279, IX, 395-688.

Chan Jo-shui 湛若水 (1471-1555). Kan-ch'üan wen-chi 甘泉文集 [Collected Writings of Chan Jo-shui]. Chih-cheng t'ang 資政堂 ed. [1866]. Microfilm copy.

_____. Sheng-hsüeh ko-wu t'ung 聖學格物通 [A Penetrating Study of the Doctrine of Investigating Things According to the School of Sages]. Yang-chou 揚州 ed., Preface 1533. Microfilm copy.

Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章學誠 (1738-1801). Wen-shih t'ung-yi 文史通義 [Reflections on Literature and History]. 1922 ed. Reprinted in Taipei: Commercial Press, 1967.

Chang Lieh 張烈 (1622-85). Wang-hsüeh chih-yi 王學質疑 [Questions on Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy] CYTC ed.

Chang Po-hsing 張伯行 (1651-1725) comp. Cheng-yi t'ang ch'üan-shu 正誼堂全書 [Complete Works of Cheng-yi t'ang], [1866-1870].

_____. Lien-Lo Kuan-Min shu 濂洛關閩書 [Collected Writings of the Philosophers of the Schools of Chou Tun-yi, the Ch'engs, Chang Tsai and Chu Hsi], CYTC ed.

_____. Tao-t'ung lu 道統錄 [On the Orthodox Transmission of the Way]. CYTC ed.

Chang Po-tuan 張伯端 (983-1082). Wu-chen p'ien chu-su 悟真篇注疏 [Commentary on the "On Awakening to Truth"] Tao-tsang 道藏 [Taoist Canon]. LXI/LXII.

- _____. "Tzu-yang chen-jen hou-hsü." 紫陽真人後序
[Epilogue to the Three Commentaries on "On
Awakening to Truth"]. Tao-tsang LXIV, 1a-3a.
- Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 (1672-1755) et. al. comp. Ming-shih 明史 [Ming Dynastic History], Erh-shih-wu shih 廿五史 [Twenty-five Histories] series, K'ai-ming 開明 ed.
- Chang Tsai 張載 (1020-1077). Chang-tzu ch'üan-shu 張子全書 [Complete Works of Chang Tsai]. SPFY ed.
- Chao T'ai-ting 趙泰定 (fl. 1570). Mai-wang 脈望 [On Conducting Breath-circulation]. TSCC ed.
- Chao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814). Erh-shih-erh shih cha-chi 廿二史劄記 [Study Notes on the Twenty-two Histories]. SPFY ed.
- Ch'en Chien 陳建 (1497-1567). Hsüeh-pu t'ung-pien 學部通辨 [A General Critique of Obscure Learning]. CYTC ed.
- Ch'en Ch'un 陳淳 (1153-1217). Pei-hsi tzu-yi 北溪字義 [The Neo-Confucian Dictionary of Ch'en Shun]. TSCC ed.
- Ch'en, Hsien-chang 陳獻章 (1428-1500). Po-sha-tzu 白沙子 [Selected Works of Ch'en Hsien-chang]. SPFY ed.
- Ch'eng Hao 程顥 (1032-85) and Ch'eng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu 二程全書 [Complete Works of the Two Ch'engs], incorporating Yi-shu 遺書 (1-10 attributed to both brothers, 11-14 to Ch'eng Hao, 15-25 to Ch'eng Yi), Wai-shu 外書 (attributed to both brothers), Ts'ui-yen 粹言 (attributed to Ch'eng Yi), Ming-tao wen-chi 明道文集 and Yi-ch'üan wen-chi 伊川文集. SPFY ed.
- Ch'en Liang 陳亮 (1143-1194). Lung-ch'üan wen-chi 龍川文集 [Collected Writings of Ch'en Liang]. SPFY ed.
- Chi Tseng-yün 稽曾筠 (1671-1739) et. al. comp. Che-chiang t'ung-chih 浙江通志 [Chekiang Gazetteer]. Edited by Shen Yi-chi 沈翼機 (fl. 1706) and others. 4 volumes. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934.
- Chi Yün 紀昀 (1724-1805) et. al. Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要 [Essential Information on the Complete Catalogue of the "Four Libraries" Series]. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933.

- Chiang Fan 江藩 (1761-1831). Sung-hsüeh yüan-yüan chi
宋學淵源記 [The Origins of Sung Learning].
SPPY ed.
- Ch'i-sung 契嵩 (fl. 1062). Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi
傳法正宗記 [A Record of the Orthodox
Transmission of the Buddhist Doctrine]. TSD
No. 2078, LI, 715-68.
- Chih-yi 智顓 (530-97). Miao-fa lien-hua ching hsüan-yi
妙法蓮華經玄義 [The Metaphysical Ideas
of the Lotus Sutra]. TSD No. 1716, XXXIII, 681-
814.
- _____. Miao-fa lien-hua ching wen-chü 妙法蓮華經文句
[On the Sentences of the Lotus Sutra]. TSD
No. 1718, XXXIV, 1-149.
- Chou Ju-teng 周汝登 (1547-1629). Sheng-hsüeh tsung-chuan
[The Orthodox Transmission of the School of
Sages], amended by T'ao Wang-ling 陶望齡,
Preface 1606.
- _____. Wang-men tsung-chih 王門宗旨 [The Essential
Doctrines of the School of Wang Yang-ming],
Preface 1609.
- Chou Tun-yi 周敦頤 (1017-73). Chou-tzu T'ung-shu 周子
通書 [Penetrating into the Book of Changes].
SPPY ed.
- Chou-li Cheng-chu 周禮鄭注 [The Rites of Chou, with
Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 (127-200) Commentary].
SPPY ed.
- Chou-yi cheng-yi 周易正義 [Correct Meaning of the
Book of Changes]. Annotated by Wang Pi. Edited
by K'ung Ying-ta. SPPY ed.
- Chu Chih-yü 朱之瑜 (1600-1682). Chu Shun-shui ch'üan-
chi 朱舜水全集 [Complete Works of Chu Chih-
yu]. Taipei: World Book Shop, 1963.
- Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Chin-ssu lu chi-chieh 近思錄
集解 [Collected Explanations of the Chin-ssu
lu]. Compiled by Chang Po-hsing. CYTC ed.
- _____. Chin-ssu lu chi-chu 近思錄集注 [Collected
Commentary on the Chin-ssu lu of Chu Hsi and
Lü Tsu-ch'ien 呂祖謙 (1137-81). Compiled
by Chiang Yung 江永 (1681-1762). SPPY ed.
- _____. Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu 朱子全書 [Complete Works
of Chu Hsi]. 1714 ed., compiled by Imperial
command.
- _____. Chu-tzu yü-lei 朱子語類 Comp. by Li Ching-te 黎靖德.
1473 ed. Reprinted in Taipei, 1962.

- _____ . Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen Kung wen-chi 海庵先生朱文公文集 [Collected Writings of Chu Hsi]. SPPY ed.
- _____ . Ssu-shu chi-chu 四書集注 [Collected Commentary on the Four Books], incorporating Ta-hsüeh chang-chü 大學章句, Chung-yung chang-chü 中庸章句, Lun-yü chi-chu 論語集注 and Meng-tzu chi-chu 孟子集注. SPPY ed.
- _____ . Ts'an-t'ung ch'i k'ao-yi 參同契考異 [An Investigation into Wei Po-yang's 魏伯陽 (fl. 147-167) Taiying Ideas of Taoist Cultivation with the Book of Changes]. SPPY ed.
- Chu Yi-tsun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709). Ching-yi k'ao 經義考 [An Investigation into the Classics and their Meanings]. SPPY ed.
- Chu-fo ching-chieh she chen-shih ching 清佛境界攝真實經 [The Sutra of Collected Truths of the Buddha's Realms]. TSD No. 868, XVIII.
- Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (340?-278 BC). Ch'ü-tz'u pu-chu 楚辭補注 [An Amended and Annotated Edition of the Songs of Ch'ü] Edited by Wang Yi 王逸 Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1966.
- Chuang-tzu 莊子 SPPY ed.
- Chung-ching 忠經 [Classic of Loyalty], in Po-tzu ch'üan-shu 百子全書 [Complete Works of a Hundred Philosophers]. Shanghai: Shac-yeh shan-fang 掃葉山房, 1927.
- Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712). Chin-shih-tzu chang 金師子章 [Treatise on the Golden Lion]. TSD No. 1881, XLV, 668-670.
- Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-445). Hou Han-shu 後漢書 [History of the Latter Han Dynasty]. Erh-shih-wu shih. K'ai-ming ed.
- Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (578-648), et al. Chin-shu 晉書 [Chin Dynastic History]. Ern-shih-wu shih. K'ai-ming ed.
- Feng K'o 馮訥 (fl. 1562). Ch'iu-shih p'ien. 求是篇 [In Quest of Correct Learning]. CYTC ed.
- Han Fei Tzu 韓非子 SPPY ed.
- Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824). Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan-chi 韓昌黎全集 [Complete Works of Han Yü] SPPY ed.
- Hsi-yün 希運 (fl. 850 AD). Huang-po-shan Tuan-chi 黃蘗山斷際禪師傳心法要 [The Essential Teaching of the Transmission of the Mind]. Comp. by P'ei Hsiu 裴休 (767-870). TSD NO. 2012A, XVIII, 379-384.

- _____ . Huang-po Tuan-chi Ch'an-shih Wan-ling lu
黃蘗斷際禪師宛陵錄 (The Wan-ling Record of Ch'an Master Hsi-yün).
Compiled by P'ei Hsiu. TSD No. 2013B, XLVIII,
384-387.
- Hsia Hsieh 夏燮 (fl.1850). Ming T'ung-chien 明通鑑
(Comprehensive Mirror of the Ming Dynasty).
Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959.
- Hsiao Liang-kan 蕭良幹 et al. comp. Shao-hsing fu-chih
紹興府志 (The Shao-hsing Prefecture Gazetteer). 1586 ed. Microfilm copy.
- Hsiao-ching chu-su 孝經注疏 (The Classic of Filial Piety, with Emperor Hsüan-tsung's Commentary)
SPPY ed.
- Hsieh Liang-tso 謝良佐 (1050-1103). Shang-ts'ai yü-lu
上蔡語錄 (Recorded Conversations of Hsieh Liang-tso). Edited by Chu Hsi. CYTC ed.
- Hsieh Lin-yün 謝靈運 (385-433). "Yü chu tao-jen pien-tsung lun". 與諸道人辨宗論 (On the Essentials of Learning, Addressed to the Reverend Gentlemen). Kuang Huang-ming chi 廣弘明集
SPPY ed. 20: 9a-10b.
- Hsien Jo-chü 閻若璩 (1636-1704). Ku-wen Shang-shu su-cheng
古文尚書疏證 (A Documented Commentary on the Old Text Version of the Book of Documents), in Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh hsi-p'ien
皇清經解續篇 (Supplement to the Collection of Classical commentaries of the Ch'ing Dynasty).
Compiled by Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1917).
Contracted ed. Preface 1889.
- Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu 續傳燈錄 (Supplement to the Transmission of the Lamp). TSD No. 2076, LI, 469-714.
- Hsü Shen 許慎 (c.30-124 A.D.). Shuo-wen chieh-tzu Tuan-chu
說文解字段注 (The Lexicon of Hsü Shen, with Annotations by Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁 1735-1815).
Taipei reprint: Yi-wen 藝文 1964.
- Hsüeh Hsüan 薛瑄 (1392-1664). Tu-shu lu 讀書錄 (Study Notes). CYTC ed.
- Hsüeh Tao-kuang 薛道允 (fl. 1106), et. al. Tzu-yang chen-jen Wu-chen p'ien san-chu
紫陽真人悟真篇三注 (The Three Commentaries to "On Awakening to Truth"),
Tao-tsang LXIII/LXIV.
- Hsün-tzu 荀子 SPPY ed.
- Hu Hung 胡宏 (1105-1155). Chih-yen 知言 (Knowledge of Words), in Po-tzu ch'uan-shu.
Shanghai: Shou-yeh, shan-fang, 1927.
- Hu Kuang 胡廣 (1370-1418) et. al. Hsing-li ta-ch'uan 性理大全
(A Great Compendium of the Hsing-li philosophy). 1597 ed.

- _____. ed. Ming shih-lu 明實錄 [True Records of the Ming Dynasty]. Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1962.
- Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲 (1610-95). Ming-ju hsüeh-an 明儒學案 [Philosophical Records of the Ming Dynasty]. SPPY ed.
- _____. and Ch'üan Tsu-wang 全祖望 (1705-1755). Tseng-pu Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an 增補宋元學案 [Philosophical Records of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties, Expanded Version]. SPPY ed.
- Huang Wan 黃綰 (1477-1551). Ming-tao p'ien 明道篇 [An Elucidation of the Way]. With introduction by Hou Wai-lu. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959.
- Hui-k'ai 慧開 (1184-1260). Wu-men kuan 無門關 [The Pass Without Door]. TSD No. 2005, LI, 292-99.
- Hui-ssu 慧思 (514-77). Ta-ch'eng chih-kuan fa-men 大乘止觀法門 [The Method of Concentration and Insight in the Mahayana]. TSD No. 1924, XLVI, 642-661.
- Kao P'an-lung 高攀龍 (1562-1626). Kao-tzu yi-shu 高子遺書 [Surviving Works of Kao P'an-lung]. 1631 ed.
- Ko Hung 葛洪 (253-333?). Pao-p'u Tzu 抱朴子 [The Philosopher who Embraced Simplicity]. SPPY ed.
- Keng Ting-hsiang 耿定向 (1524-1596). Keng T'ien-t'ai hsien-sheng wen-chi 耿天台先生文集 [Collected Writings of Keng Ting-hsiang], in Shen Yun-lung's Ming-jen wen-chi ts'ung-k'an 明人文集叢刊 [Collected Writings of Ming Personalities]. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pang-she 文海出版社 1970.
- Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-85). Jih-chih lu chi-shih 日知錄集釋 [Record of Daily Knowledge, with Collected Commentary]. Compiled by Huang Ju-ch'eng 黃汝成. SPPY ed.
- Lankavatāra sutra (Leng-chia ching 楞伽經). TSD No. 670, XVI, 479-514.
- Lao-tzu 老子 SSPY ed.
- Li Hsin-ch'uan 李心傳 (1126-1243). "Hui-an hsien-sheng fei su-yin." 晦庵先生非素隱 [Master Chu was not a Recluse] in Chien-yen yi-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi 建炎以來朝野雜記 [Miscellaneous Notes on Court and Country since Chien-yen Period (1127-30)]. TSCC ed.

- Li Po 李白 (705?-762), Li T'ai-po chi [Collected Poems of Li Po], Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930.
- Li Yen-shou 李延壽 (7th Cent. AD), Nan-shih [History of the Southern Dynasties], Erh-shih-wu-shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Li Yuan-kang 李元綱 (fl. 1190), "Sheng-men shih-yeh t'u," 聖門事業圖 [Diagram of the Transmission of the School of Sages], in Po-ch'uan hsüeh-hai 百川學海 Vol. 2, 1001-2.
- Li-chi cheng-yi 禮記正義 [Correct Meaning of the Book of Rites], with Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 annotations, Edited by K'ung Yin-ta, 孔穎達 SPPY ed.
- Lin-pao wu-liang tu-jen shang-p'ing miao-ching 靈寶無量度人上品妙經 [The Excellent and Wonderful Canon of the Most Precious and Limitless Salvation]. Tao-tsang I.
- Liu An 劉安 (d. 122BC) et al. Huai-nan tzu 淮南子 SPPY ed.
- Liu Hsiang 劉向 (c. 77-6BC) Chan-kuo ts'ie chiao-chu 戰國策校注 [Intrigues of the Warring States Annotated Version], SPPY ed.
- _____. Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳 [Biographies of the Taoist Immortals], in Ku-chin yi-shih 古今逸史 [Histories of Hermits, Past and Present] Ming ed. Reprinted in Shanghai: 1937.
- Liu Hsiü 劉昫 (887-947) et al. Chiu T'ang-shu 舊唐書 [T'ang Dynastic History, Old Version], Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Liu, Tsung-chou 劉宗周 劉子全書 (1578-1645), Liu-tzu ch'üan-shu [The Complete Works of Liu Tsung-chou], 1824 ed.
- _____. Yang-ming ch'uan-hsin lu 陽明傳信錄 [Yang-ming's Transmission of Truth] in Liu-tzu ch'üan-shu yi-p'ien 劉子全書 遺編 [Supplement to the Complete Works of Liu Tsung-chou], 1850 ed.
- Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching 六祖大師法寶壇經 [The Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch]. Compiled by Fa-hai 法海. [Full title of this version is: Nan-tsung Tun-chiao tsui-shang Ta-ch'eng prajñā pāramitā ching -- Liu-tsu, or Hui-neng ta-shih yü Shao-chou Ta-fan-shih shih-fa T'an-ching 南宗頓教最上大乘摩般若波羅密經: 六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法

- 壇經 [The Southern School] Sudden Doctrine Supreme Mahayana Great Perfection of Wisdom: The Platform Sutra preached by the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng at the Ta-fan Temple in Shao-chou] TSD No. 2007, XLVIII, 337-345.
- _____. Compiled by Tsung-pao 宗寶 TSD No. 2008, XLVIII, 345-65.
- Lo Ch'in-shun 羅欽順 (1465-1547). Lo Cheng-an chi ts'un-kao 羅整庵存稿 [Surviving Writings of Lo Ch'in-shun]. CYTC ed.
- _____. K'un-chih chi 困知記 [Record of Assiduous Learning]. CYTC ed.
- Lo Hung-hsien 羅洪先 (1504-1564). Nien-an Lo hsien-sheng chi 念庵羅先生集 [Collected Writings of Lo Hung-hsien]. 1586 ed.
- Lo Ju-fang 羅汝芳 (1515-1588). Lo Chin-hsi yü-lu 羅近溪語錄 [The Recorded Conversations of Lo Ju-fang]. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chu 廣文書局, 1960.
- Lu Chiu-yüan 陸九淵 (1139-93). Hsiang-shan ch'üan-chi 象山全集 [Complete Works of Lu Chiu-yuan]. SPPY ed.
- Lu Lung-ch'i 陸隴其 (1630-92). Lu Chia-shu chi 陸稼書集 [Collected Works of Lu Lung-ch'i]. CYTC ed.
- Mahāparinirvāna sūtra [Ta-p'an Nieh-p'an ching 大般涅槃經]. TSD No. 375, XII, 1-852.
- Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇齡 (1623-1716). Ming Wu-tsung Wai-chi 明武宗外紀 [An Unofficial Account of Emperor Wu-tsung]. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chu, 1964.
- _____. Wang Wen-ch'eng chuan-pen 王文成傳本 [Draft Biography of Wang Yang-ming], in Hsi-ho ho-chi 西河合集 [Collected Writings of Mao Ch'i-ling] 2 volumes. Preface 1685.
- Mo Tzu 墨子. SPTK ed.
- Mo Han-chai 墨憨齋 [Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍] (d. 1645); Wang Yang-ming ch'u-sheng ching-nan lu 王陽明出身靖難錄 [Wang Yang-ming's Life and Pacification Campaigns]. Taipei reprint: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1968.
- Nieh Pao 聶豹 (1487-1563). Shuang-chiang Nieh hsien-sheng wen-chi 雙江聶先生文集 [The Collected Writings of Nieh Pao]. 1572 ed.

- Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-72). Ou-yang Wen-chung kung wen-chi 歐陽文忠公文集 [Collected Works of Ou-yang Hsiu]. SPTK ed.
- Ou-yang Te 歐陽德 (1496-1554). Ou-yang Nan-yeh hsien-sheng wen-hsüan 歐陽南野先生文選 [Selected Writings of Ou-yang Te]. Edited by his disciple Li Ch'un-fang 李春芳. Preface 1569.
- Pan Ku 班固 (32-92 A.D.). Han-shu 漢書 [History of the Former Han Dynasty]. Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Saddharma pundarika sūtra (Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經). TSD No. 262, IX, 1-62.
- Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (c.145-c.86 B.C.). Shih-chi [Historical Annals]. Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-86). Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma wen-kung wen-chi 溫國文正司馬公文集 [Collected Works of Ssu-ma Kuang]. SPTK ed.
- Seng-chao 僧肇 (374-414). Chao-lun 肇論 [Book of Chao]. TSD No. 1858, XLV, 150-61.
- Sun Ch'i-feng 孫奇逢 (1585-1675). Li-hsüeh tsung-chuan 理學宗傳 [The Orthodox Transmission of Neo-Confucian Philosophy]. 5 volumes. 1666 ed. Reprinted in Taipei, Yi-wen, 1969.
- Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-81) et. al. Yüan-shih 元史 [Yuan Dynastic History]. Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Surangama sūtra (Leng-yen ching 楞嚴經). TSD No. 945, XIX, 105-55.
- Tai Chen 戴震 (1724-77). Meng-tzu tzu-yi su-cheng 孟子字義疏證 [A Documentary Commentary of the Meanings of Words in the Book of Mencius], Appendix to Hu Shih's Tai Tung-yuan te che-hsueh. Taipei: 1963, 37-137.
- _____. Yüan-shan 原善 (An Inquiry into Goodness). Appendix to Hu Shih's Tai Tung-yuan te che-hsueh. Taipei: 1963, 1-36.
- T'ang Chen 唐甄 (1630-1704). Ch'ien-shu 潛書 [Book of Depth]. Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she 古籍出版社, 1955.
- T'ang Chien 唐鑑 (1778-1861). Ch'ing hsüeh-an hsiao-shih 清學案小識 [A Few Notes on the Philosophical Records of the Ch'ing Dynasty]. Preface 1845, Taipei reprint, Commercial Press, 1969.

- Tao-yüan 道原 (fl. 1004). Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 TSD No. 2076, LI, 196-497.
- T'ò-[q]-t'ò 脫克脫 (fl. 1320) et. al. Sung-shih 宋史 [Sung Dynastic History]. Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed.
- Tsou Shou-yi 鄒守益 (1491-1562). Tung-kuo hsien-sheng wen-chi 東廓先生文集 [Collected Writings of Tsou Shou-yi]. Ming ed. Microfilm copy.
- Tsung-mi 宗密 (780-841). Yüan-jen lun 原人論 [Inquiry into Man]. TSD No. 1886, XLV, 708-10.
- Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (2nd cent. B.C.). Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu 春秋繁露 [Luxuriant Gems of the Spring-Autumn Annals]. SPPY ed.
- Vajracchedikā sūtra (Chin-kang ching 金剛經). TSD No. 235, VIII, 748-52.
- Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-86). Lin-ch'uan chi 臨川集 [Collected Writings of Wang An-shih]. SPTK ed.
- Wang Chi 王畿 (1497-1582). Wang Lung-hsi hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 王龍溪先生全集 [Complete Works of Wang Chi]. 1822 ed. Taipei reprint, Hua-wen shu-chü 華文書局, 1970.
- Wang Chün 汪俊 (fl. 1494). Ta Tsung-po Wang Shih-t'an hsien-sheng chuo-chioukao 大宋伯汪石潭先生滌舊稿 [Selected Writings of Wang Chün]. Preface of 1529. Handwritten copy of Edo kept at the Naikaku Bunkō 内閣文庫.
- Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (1619-92). Chang-tzu Cheng-meng chu 張子正蒙注 [A Commentary on Chang Tsai's Treatise on the Correction of Ignorance]. Reprinted in Peking, Ku-chi ch'u-pang she, 1956.
- _____. Sung-lun 宋論 [On Sung History]. Reprinted in Peking, Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1964.
- Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻緒 (1645-1723). Ming-shih kao 明史稿 [A Draft History of the Ming Dynasty]. 1714 ed. Reprinted in Taipei by Wen-hai ch'u-pan shê 文海出版社 1962.
- Wang Ken 王艮 (1483-1541). Wang Hsin-chai hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 王心齋先生全集 [Complete Works of Wang Ken]. With Additions by Wang Yuan-ting 王元龍. Ming ed.
- Wang Mou-hung 王懋竑 (1668-1741). Chu-tzu nien-p'u Hsi 朱子年譜 [Chronological Biography of Chu Hsi]. TSCC ed.

- Wang Wen-lu 王文祿 (fl. 1531). T'ai-hsi ching-sü
胎息經疏 [Commentary on the Embryo Breath
Canon], in Po-tzu ch'üan-shu. Shanghai: 1927.
- Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 (1472-1529). Hsiang-chu Wang
Yang-ming ch'üan-shu 詳注王陽明全書
[A Fully Annotated Version of the Complete
Works of Wang Yang-ming]. Annotated by Ni Hsi-
en 倪錫恩, Shanghai: Shou-yehshan-fang
, 1935.
- _____. Ta-hsüeh Ku-pen p'ang-chu 大學古本旁注
[The Old Version of the Great Learning with
Side Commentaries]. Han-hai 函海. Compiled
by Li Tiao-yuan 李調元. Taipei: Hung-yeh
shu-chu 宏業書局, 1967, vol. 13, pp. 8155-
8164.
- _____. Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu 王文成公全書
[Complete Works of Wang Yang-ming]. Compiled
by Hsieh T'ing-chieh 謝廷傑 1572 SPTK 1st
series, double-page lithograph ed.
- _____. Yang-ming ch'üan-shu 陽明全書 [Complete
Works of Wang Yang-ming]. SPPY ed.
- _____. Yang-ming hsien-sheng chi-yao 陽明先生集要
[The Essential Writings of Wang Yang-ming].
Compiled by Shih Pang-yao 施邦曜 (1585-1644)
SPTK ed.
- _____. Yang-ming wen-lu 陽明文錄 [Collected Writ-
ings of Wang Yang-ming], 1536 ed. Library of
Congress Microfilm No. 2015.
- Wu-ming 悟明 (fl. 1189). Lien-teng hui-yao 聯燈會要
[Essentials of the Combined Lamps] Zokuzōkyō
續藏經 [Supplement to the Buddhist Canon]
Pt. 2B, Case 9, [v. 136], 208-475.
- Yin-fu ching-chu 陰符經注 [Commentary on the Yin-fu
Canon]. Attributed to Chang Liang 張良 (3rd
cent. B.C.). Po-tzu ch'üan-shu. Shanghai:
1927.
- Yü Hsien 俞憲 (fl. 1540). Huang-Ming chin-ssu teng-k'o
k'ao 皇明進士登科考 [A Record of the
Successful Candidates for the chin-shih Examin-
ations in the Ming Dynasty], Ming-tai shih-chi
hui-k'an 明代史籍彙刊 [A Collected Deposi-
tory of the Historical Records of the Ming
Dynasty]. Edited by Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里
Taipei: Hsueh-sheng shu-chu 學生書局 1969.
- Yüan-wu 圓悟 (d. 1135). Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄 [Records
of the Green Cave]. TSD No. 2003, XLVIII, 139-
225.

Yü-ch'ing wu-chi tsung-chen Wen-ch'ang ta-tung hsien-ching
 玉清無極總真文昌下洞仙經

[The Purest, Limitless, Truest, Wen-ch'ang Classic
 of Immortality]. Tao-tsang LI.

Yüeh-fu shih-chi 樂府詩集 [Collected Ancient Ballads].

Compiled by Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩. Peking:

Wen-hsüeh ku-chi k'an-hsing she 文學古籍刊行社
 1955.

B. Other Works in Chinese:

- Chan Wing-tsit 陳榮捷. "Chu-tzu tao-t'ung kuan chih che-hsüeh hsing," 朱子道統觀之哲學性 [The Philosophical Nature of Chu Hsi's Doctrine of the Orthodox Transmission of the Confucian Way] Tung-hsi wen-hua 東西文化 XVI, (1968), 25-32.
- Chang Chün-mai 張君勱 (1886-1969). Pi-chiao Chung-Jih Yang-ming hsüeh 比較中日陽明學 [A Comparative Study of the School of Wang Yang-ming in China and Japan] Taipei: China Culture Publications, 1956.
- Chang Hsi-chih 張希之 陽明學傳. Yang-ming hsüeh-chuan [The Teaching of Wang Yang-ming] Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961.
- Chang Hsi-t'ang 張西堂 王船山學譜. Wang Ch'uan-shan hsüeh-p'u 王船山學譜 [An Intellectual Biography of Wang Fu-chih]. Changsha: Commercial Press, 1938.
- Ch'en An-jen 陳安仁 明代學術思想. Ming-tai hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang [The Scholarship and Thought of the Ming Dynasty]. Changsha: Commercial Press, 1940.
- Ch'en Yüan 陳垣 南宋初河北新道教考. Nan-Sung ch'u Hopei hsün Tao-chiao k'ao 南宋初河北新道教考 [A Study of the New Taoism of Hopei at the Beginning of the Southern Sung Period, 1127-1279] Peking: Chung-hua, 1957.
- Ch'en T'ieh-fan 陳鐵凡. "Ssu-shu chang-chü chi-chu k'ao-yüan." 四書章句集注考源 [An Investigation of the Origins of the Collected Commentaries of the Four Books]. K'ung-Meng hsüeh-pao 孔孟學報 [Journal of the Confucius-Mencius Society] IV, (Taipei, 1962), 206-253.
- Ch'eng Fa-jen 程發軔. "Ch'eng-Chu chi ch'i men-jen chih Li-hsüeh" 程朱及其門人之理學 [Philosophy of the Ch'eng-Chu School] K'ung-Meng hsüeh-pao, XVI, (1968), 143-170.
- Chia Feng-chih 賈豐臻. Yang-ming hsüeh 陽明學 [The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming]. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1930.

- Chiang Tsu-yen 蔣祖怡 and Chiang Po-ch'ien 蔣伯潛 .
Li-hsueh tsuan-yao 理學纂要 [The Essentials
of Neo-Confucian Philosophy]. Taipei: Cheng-
chung shu-chü 正中書局, 1953.
- Chiang Wei-ch'iao 蔣維喬 . Chung-kuo chin-tai san-pai
nien che-hsueh shih 中國近代三百年哲學史
[A History of Chinese Philosophy in the Last
Three Hundred Years]. Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-
chu, 1936.
- Ch'ien Mu 錢穆 . Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsueh-shu
shih 中國近三百年學術史 [The
History of Thought and Scholarship in China
During the Past Three Hundred Years]. Shanghai:
Commercial Press, 1937.
- _____ . Kuo shih ta-kang 國史大綱 [An Outline His-
tory of China]. 2 volumes. Changsha: Commercial
Press, 1940.
- _____ . Sung-Ming li-hsueh kai-shu 宋明理學概述
[A General Discussion of the Philosophy of the
Sung and Ming Dynasties]. 3rd ed. Taipei:
Chinese Culture Publications, 1962.
- _____ . Yang-ming hsueh shu-yao 陽明學述要 [The
Essentials of Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy].
3rd ed. Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chu, 1930.
- Chou Yü-t'ung 周予同 . Ching chin-ku wen 經今古文
[Old and New Text Classical Scholarship].
Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1926.
- Chu Ch'ien-chih 朱謙之 . Jih-pen te Chu-tzu hsueh 日本
的朱子學 [The Chu Hsi School in Japan].
Peking: San-lien shu-chu 三聯書局, 1958.
- _____ . Jih-pen te ku-hsueh chi Yang-ming hsueh 日本的
古學及陽明學 [The School of Old
Learning and the Yang-ming School in Japan].
Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan she 人民出版社,
1962.
- _____ . "Shih-pa shih-chi Chung-kuo che-hsueh tui Ou-
chou che-hsueh te ying-hsiang" 十八世紀中國
哲學對歐洲哲學的影響 [The Influ-
ence of Chinese Philosophy on European Philosophy
in the Eighteenth Century], Che-hsueh yen-chiu
哲學研究 [Philosophical Studies], IV
(Peking: 1957), 48-57.
- _____ . Sung-ju li-hsueh tui-yü Ou-chou wen-hua chih
ying-hsiang 宋儒理學對於歐洲文化之
影響 [The Influence of the Sung Neo-
Confucian Philosophy on European Culture].
Address given at the National Sun Yat-sen Univer-
sity, in December, 1935, n.p. [1937].

- Fan Shou-k'ang 范壽康 . Chu-tzu chi ch'i che-hsüeh
[Chu Hsi and His Philosophy]. 朱子及其哲學
Taipei: K'ai-ming, 1964.
- Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭 . Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih 中國
哲學史 [A History of Chinese Philosophy].
Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935.
- _____ . Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih lun-wen chi 中國哲學史
論文集 [Collected Essays on the History of
Chinese Thought]. Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan
shē, 1958.
- _____ . Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih lun-wen ch'u-chi 中國哲學
史論文初集 [Collected Essays on the
History of Chinese Thought, First Series].
Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan shē, 1958.
- Ho Lin 賀麟 . "Sung-ju te ssu-hsiang fang-fa." 宋儒的
思想方法 [The Method of Thinking of the
Sung Philosophers]. Sung-shih yen-chiu chi
宋史研究集 [Studies in Sung History]. Sec-
ond Collection. Edited by the Committee on
Sung History. Taipei: Chung-hua tsung-shu
中華叢書, 1964, 39-66.
- Ho Shan-ch'ün 郝善群 . "Tui Wang Yang-ming chu-kuan
wei-hsin chu-yi te p'i-p'ing," 對王陽明主觀
唯心主義的批評 [A Criticism of
Wang Yang-ming's Subjective Idealism], Hsin
Chien-she 新建設 [New Construction], IV,
(1957), 30-35.
- Hou Wai-lu 侯外廬 et al. Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-
shih 中國思想通史 [A General History
of Chinese Thought]. 6 volumes. Peking:
Jen-min ch'u-pan shē, 1957.
- Hsiao Kung-ch'üan 蕭公權 . Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-
hsiang shih 中國政治思想史 [A History
of Political Thought in China]. 6 volumes.
Taipei: China Culture Publication, 1954.
- Hsieh Wu-liang 謝無量 . Yang-ming hsüeh-p'ai 陽明學
派 [The Philosophical School of Wang Yang-ming].
Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1930.
- Hsiung Shih-li 熊十力 . Tu-ching shih-yao 讀經不
要 [On Reading the Classics]. First published,
1948. Taipei reprint: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1960.
- Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀 . Chung-kuo jen-hsing lun-shih,
Hsien-Ch'in p'ien 中國人性論史·先秦編
[The History of the Chinese Philosophy of Human
Nature, Pre-Ch'in period]. Taichung: Tung-hai
University Press, 1963.

- _____ . Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang shih lun-chi 中國思想史
論集 [Collected Discussions on the History
of Chinese Thought]. Taichung: Tung-hai Uni-
versity Press, 1959.
- Hsü Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌 (1858-1939). Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an
清儒學案 [Philosophical Records of the
Ch'ing Dynasty]. 5 volumes. Taipei: National
War College, 1967.
- Hsüeh Chung-san 薛仲三 et al., comp. Liang-ch'ien-nien
lai Chung-Hsi li tui-chao piao 兩千年來中西
曆對照表 [A Sino-Western Calendar for
Two Thousand Years, 1-2,000 AD]. First published,
1940. Revised edition, Peking 1956. Reprinted
in Hong Kong: 1961.
- Hu Che-fu 胡哲敷 . Lu-Wang che-hsüeh pien-wei 陸王
哲學辨 [On the Differences of Nuances
in the Philosophies of Lu Chiu-yüan and of
Wang Yang-ming]. Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chu,
1930.
- Hu Shih 胡適 (1891-1962). "Chi-ko fan li-hsüeh te ssu-
hsiang chia." 幾個反理學的思想家
[Several Anti-Nao-Confucian Thinkers]. Hu Shih
wen-ts'un 胡適文存 [The Writings of Hu Shih]
v. 3. Taipei: Far East Publications, 1953.
- _____ . Chung-kuo ku-tai che-hsüeh shih 中國古代哲學
史 [History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy].
3rd ed. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968.
- _____ . Tai Tung-yüan te che-hsüeh 戴東原的哲學
[The Philosophy of Tai Chen]. Taipei: Commercial
Press, 1963.
- Huang Chang-chien 黃彰健 . "Ô-hu chih-hui Chu-Lu yi-
t'ung lüeh-shuo." 鵝湖之會朱陸異同
略說 [The Goose Lake Meeting and the Differ-
ences Between Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan]. Sung-
shih yen-chiu chi. Second Collection. Taipei:
1964, 31-38.
- Huang Chien-chung 黃建中 . "Yang-ming che-hsüeh
k'ia-wei." 陽明哲學簡微 [Explanations
of the Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming]. Ko-ming
ssu-hsiang 革命思想 [Revolutionary Thought]
IV, (Taipei: 1958) 4-6.
- Huang Kai-chee 黃繼持 . "Wen yü tao, ch'ing yü hsing,
li-hsüeh chia chih wen-yi ssu-hsiang shih-lun."
「文」與「道」, 「情」與「性」, 理學家之文藝思想
試論 [The Literary Theory of the Neo-
Confucianists: A Preliminary Survey]. Ch'ung-
chi hsueh-pao 崇基學報 [The Ch'ung-chi
Journal], VII (1968), 187-96.

- Huang Tun-han 黃敦涵 . Yang-ming hsüeh-shuo t'i-hsi
 陽明學說體系 [The System of
 Thought of Wang Yang-ming] . Taipei: T'ai-
 shan ch'u-pan she 泰山出版社 , 1962.
- [Jung Chao-tsu] 容肇祖 . Ming-tai ssu-hsiang-shih.
 明代思想史 [The History of Ming
 Thought] . First published 1941. Reprinted
 in Taipei: K'ai-ming, 1962.
- _____ . Wei-Chin te tzu-jan chu-yi 魏晉的自然主義
 [The Naturalism of the Wei-Chin Periods].
 Peking: Peking University, 1934.
- Ku Chieh-kang 顧頌剛 . Han-tai hsüeh-shu shih-lüeh
 漢代學術史略 [A Brief History
 of Scholarship during the Han Dynasty] .
 Shanghai: Chung-kuo wen-hua fu-wu she 中國
 文化服務社 , 1936.
- _____ . "Ming-tai wen-tzu yü k'ao-lüeh." 明代文字獄
 考略 [A Study of Literary Persecution
 during the Ming Dynasty] Tung-fang tsa-chih
 XXXII, (1935), 21-34.
- K'uo Ai-ch'un 郭藹春 . Yen Hsi-chai hsüeh-p'u 顏習齋
 學譜 [Intellectual Biogra-
 phy of Yen Yüan] . Shanghai: Commercial
 Press, 1957.
- Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873-1929). Chung-kuo chin
san-pai nien hsüeh-shu shih 中國近三百年
 學術史 [The History of Thought and
 Scholarship in China During the Past Three
 Hundred Years] in Yin-ping-shih ho-chi 飲冰
 室合集 chuan-chi 專集, v.75.
 The Yin-ping-shih ho-chi or "Collected Writ-
 ings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao" include Wen-chi 文
 集 as well as chuan-chi 專集 Shanghai:
 Chung-hua shu-chü, 1941.
- _____ . "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chuan." 南海康先
 生傳 [Biography of K'ang Yu-wei]
 in Yin-ping-shih ho-chi, wen-chi 6:57-
 89.
- _____ . "Pao-chiao fei suo-yi tsun-K'ung lun." 保教非
 所以尊孔論 [To Defend Ideology
 is not to Respect Confucius] (1902), Yin-
ping-shih ho-chi, wen-chi 4:50-59.
- _____ . "Tai Tung-yüan hsien-sheng chuan." 戴東原先生
 傳 [Life of Tai Chen] . Yin-ping
shih ho-chi, wen-chi 40:41-52.
- _____ . Wang Yang-ming chih-hsing ho-yi chih chiao
 王陽明知行合一之教 [Wang Yang-ming's
 Doctrine of the Unity of Knowledge and Action]
Yin-ping-shih ho-chi, wen-chi 43:23-68.

- Liao Yu-jen 廖宇仁 . "Lun Yang-ming che-hsüeh yü Sun Wen hsüeh-shuo chih hsiang-hu fu-yi," 論陽明哲學與孫文學說之相互輔益
[The Interrelationships between Yang-ming's Philosophy and Sun Yat-sen's Theory] Hsueh-tsung 學宗 II, (Taipei: 1961), 47-9; 57.
- Lin Chi-p'ing 林繼平 "Kan-ch'üan hsüeh t'an-chiao yü Wang-Chan pi-chiao." 甘泉學探究與王港比較
[A Study of the Philosophy of Chan Jo-shui and the Comparison of Chan with Wang Yang-ming] Jen-sheng 人生 XXX, (1965), 14-21.
- _____ . "Wang-hsüeh te kung-fu wen-t'i." 王學的工夫問題
[The Problem of Moral Effort in Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy] Jen-sheng 人生 XXV, (1963), 7-13.
- Liu Shih-p'ei 劉師培 (1884-1919) . "Han-Sung chang-chü hsüeh yi-t'ung lun," 漢宋章句學異同論
[Similarities and Differences between the Exegetical Studies of Han and Sung], Han-Sung hsüeh-shu yi-t'ung lun 漢宋學術異同論, in Liu Shen-shu hsien-sheng yi-shu 劉申叔先生遺書
[Surviving Works of Liu Shih-p'ei], n.p., [1936], [v. 15], 4a-6a.
- _____ . "Han-Sung yi-li hsüeh yi-t'ung lun," 漢宋義理學異同論
[Similarities and Differences Between the Moral Philosophy of Han and Sung], Han-Sung hsüeh-shu yi-t'ung lun, in Liu Shen-shu hsien-sheng yi-shu, [v. 15], 1a-4a.
- _____ . Li-hsüeh tzu-yi t'ung-shih 理學字義通釋
[A History of the Meanings of Words in Neo-Confucian Philosophy], in Liu-Shen-shu hsien-sheng yi-shu [v. 12].
- _____ . "Nan-pei li-hsüeh pu-t'ung lun," 南北理學不同論
[Differences between the Neo-Confucianism of the North and that of the South], Nan-pei hsüeh-p'ai pu-t'ung lun 南北學派不同論
[Differences between Northern and Southern Scholarship], in Liu Shen-shu hsien-sheng yi-shu, [v. 15], 4b-12b.
- Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁 . "Ming-ju yü Tao-chiao." 明儒與道教
[Taoism and Neo-Confucianists in Ming Times] Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao VIII, (Feb. 1967), 259-96.
- _____ . "Tao-tsang Wu-chen p'ien san-shu pien- u." 道藏悟真篇三注辨誤
[On the Edition of the Combined Three Commentaries on the Wu-chen p'ien in the Taoist Tripitaka]. Tung-hsi wen-hua XV, (1968), 33-41.

- _____ . "Wang Yang-ming yü Tao-chiao." 王陽明與道教
[Wang Yang-ming and Taoism] written for Yōmei gaku daikai 陽明學大系 [A Compendium of Yang-ming's Philosophy], to be published in Japan, 1971-2. Private manuscript copy [1970].
- Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉 Li-hsüeh kang-yao 理學綱要 [The Essentials of Neo-Confucian Philosophy]. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931.
- Mou Jun-sun 牟潤孫 . "Shih Lun-yü k'uang-chien chang," 釋論語在簡音 [An Interpretation of the "K'uang-chien," chapter of the Analects] Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao II (Feb. 1957) 79-86.
- Mou Tsung-san 牟宗三 . Chung-kuo che-hsüeh te t'ie-hsing 中國哲學的特性 [The Special Characteristics of Chinese Philosophy]. Kowloon, Hong Kong: Jen-sheng ch'u-pan shē 人生出版社, 1963.
- _____ . Ts'ai-hsing yü hsüan-li 才性與玄理 [On Capacity, Nature and Metaphysical Reason] Kowloon, Hong Kong: Jen-sheng ch'u-pan shē, 1963.
- _____ . "Tsung-lun Chu-tzu san-shih-ch'i sui ch'ien chih ta-t'ie ch'in-hsiang yi-chi ch'ih-hou ch'i ch'eng-shu chih yi-li hsi-t'ung chih hsing-t'ai," 總論朱子三十七歲前之大體傾向以及此後其成熟之義理參說之形態 [A Study of Chu Hsi's Scholarship Before the Age of Thirty-seven and the Later Mature Form of His Philosophical System]. Hsin-ya hsüeh-pao X (Sept., 1969) 37-57.
- _____ . Wang Yang-ming chih-liang-chih chiao 王陽明致良知教 [Wang Yang-ming's Teaching on the Extension of liang-chih] Taipei: Chung-yan wen-wu kung-ying shē 中央文物供應社, 1954.
- P'i Hsi-jui 皮錫瑞 (1850-1910). Ching-hsüeh li-shih 經學歷史 [A History of Classical Studies]. Annotated by Chou Yü-t'ung. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1929.
- _____ . Ching-hsüeh t'ung-lun 經學通論 [A Discussion of the Five Classics]. 5 volumes. n.p. [1923].
- Sun K'e-k'uan 孫克寬 . Sung-yüan Tao-chiao fa-chan 宋元道教發展 [The Development of Taoism during the Sung and Yuan Dynasties]. Vol. 1. Taichung: Tunghai University Press, 1965.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925). Kuo-fu ch'üan-shu 國父全書 [Complete Works of Sun Yat-sen]. Compiled by Chang Ch'i-yün 張其昀. Taipei: National War College, 1963.

- _____. Wei-Chin Hsüan-hsueh lun-kao 魏晉玄學論稿
[A Preliminary Discussion of the Metaphysical Learning of the Wei-chin Period]. Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan shê, 1957.
- Uno Tetsujin 宇野哲人. Chung-kuo chin-shih ju-hsueh shih 中國近世儒學史 [History of Confucianism in Modern China]. 2 volumes. Translated from the Japanese by Ma Fu-ch'eng 馬福辰. Taipei: China Culture Publications, 1957.
- Wu K'ang 吳康. "Lu Hsiang-shan hsueh-shih." 陸象山學述 [The Philosophy of Lu Chiu-yüan]. Sung-shih yen-chiu chi First Collection. Taipei: 1958, 107-130.
- Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾. Tung-pei-shih lun-ts'un 東北史論叢 [On the History of the North-east]. Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1959.
- Yasuoka Masaatsu 安國正篤. "Ming-chih wei-hsin yü Yang-ming hsueh," 明治維新與陽明學 [The Meiji Reforms and the Yang-ming School]. Translated into Chinese from Japanese by Ching-chia 景嘉. Tung-hsi wen-hua XXV, (July 1969), 3-19.
- [Yeh] Ting-yi 葉丁易. Ming-tai te t'e-wu cheng-chih 明代的特務政治 [The Secret Police Politics of the Ming Dynasty]. Peking: Chung-wai ch'u-pan shê 中外出版社, 1950.
- Yü Ch'ung-yao 余重耀. Yang-ming hsien-sheng chuan-tsuan 陽明先生傳纂 [A Collected Biography of Wang Yang-ming]. Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1923.

II. Works in Japanese

- Abe Yoshio 阿部吉雄 . "Ra Kinjun" 羅欽順 (Lo Ch'in-shun), in Chūgoku no shisōka 中国の思想家 [The Thinkers of China]. Edited by the Tokyo University, Department of Chinese Philosophy. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1963, 571-83.
- Akizuki Tanetsugu 秋月胤繼 . Riku-ō kenkyū 陸王研究 [A Study of Lu Chiu-yüan and Wang Yang-ming], n.p., Shōkasha 章華社 , 1935.
- Amada Takeo 天田武夫 . "O Yōmei ni okeru byōdō no shisō ni tsuite." 王陽明に於ける平等の思想について [Wang Yang-ming's Ideas on Human Equality] Chūgoku Tetsugaku 中国哲学 II, (1962), 1-6.
- _____ . "Tairei no gi to Ō Yōmei." 大禮の議と王陽明 [The Great Ceremonial Dispute and Wang Yang-ming], Chūgoku Tetsugaku I, (1961), 1-9.
- Andō Shūichi 安藤州一 . Ō Yōmei no gedatsu-kan 王陽明の解脱観 [Wang Yang-ming's Ideas on Salvation], Ōsaka, Shōbunkan 叢文館 1942.
- Araki Kengo 荒木見悟 . Bukkyō to Jukyō: Chūgoku shisō o keisei suru mono 仏教と儒教—中国思想を形成するもの [Buddhism and Confucianism: the Formation of Chinese Thought]. Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten 平樂寺書店 , 1963.
- _____ . "Chikō gōitsu ron no ichi kentō," 知行合一論の検討 [An Examination of the theory of the Unity of Knowledge and Action] Shinagaku kenkyū 支那學研究 XVII, (1957), 23-32, XVIII, (1958), 33-42.
- _____ . "Minmatsu ni okeru Ju Butsu chōwaron no seikaku." 明末に於ける儒仏調和論の性格 [On the Thought of the Late Ming Era as Revealed in the Attempts at Harmony between Confucianism and Buddhism], Nippon Chūgoku gakkai hō 日本中国學會報 , XVIII, (1966), 210-24.
- _____ . "Tan Kansen to Ō Yōmei." 湛甘泉と王陽明 [Chan Jo-shui and Wang Yang-ming]. Tetsugaku nenpō 哲學年報 , XXVII, (1968), 275-305.
- _____ . "Yōmei gaku to zen gaku, toku ni tongo no mondai ni tsuite." 陽明學と禪學—特に頓悟の問題について [The Yang-ming Philosophy and Zen: the Question of Sudden Enlightenment]. Shibun 斯文 , XX, (1958), 22-37.

- Kimura Eiichi 木村英一 Chūgoku jitsuzai-kan no kenkyū 中國實在觀の研究 [A Study of Chinese Realism] Part 1. Tokyo, Kōbundo 弘文堂 1948.
- Kimura Ki 木村毅 Meiji jimbutsu ronshū 明治人物論集 [On the Personalities of the Meiji Period]. Meiji bungaku zenshū 明治文學全集 [Collected Writings on the Literature of the Meiji Period]. Vol. 92. Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 筑摩書房 1970.
- Kōda Shigetomo 幸田成友 (1783-1837). Ōshio Heihachirō 大塩平八郎 Tokyo: Shogensha, 1942.
- Kojima Yūma 小島祐馬 Chūgoku shisō shi 中國思想史 [A History of Chinese Thought]. Tokyo, Sōbun-sha 創文社, 1968.
- Kusumoto Fumio 久須本文雄 Ō Yōmei no zenteki shisō kenkyū 王陽明禪的思想研究 [A Study of the Zen Buddhist Elements in Yang-ming's Thought] Nagoya, Nisshindō Shoten 日進堂書店, 1958.
- Kusumoto Masatsugu 楠本正繼 "Ō Yōmei hennen no shisō," 王陽明晚年の思想 [Wang Yang-ming's Thought in Later Life] Josetsu 叙説 V, (1956), 1-45.
- _____. Sō-Min jidai Jugaku shisō no kenkyū 宋明時代儒學思想の研究 [A Study of the Confucian Thought of the Sung and Ming Periods] 2nd ed., Chiba-ken, Kashiwa-shi Hiroike Gakuen Shuppanbu, 1963.
- Mano Senryū 間野潜龍 "Yōmei gaku to Ju Butsu ronsō - tokuni Chōkō Shoin o chūshin to shite-" 陽明學と儒仏論争—特に姚江書院を中心として [The Yang-ming School and the Confucian-Buddhist Debates as Focused in the Yao-chiang Academy] Shina gakuō 支那學報 1, (1956), 12-22.
- Mishima Fuku 三島復 Ō Yōmei no tetsugaku 王陽明の哲學 [The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming] Tokyo, Cokayama shoten 大同山書店 1934.
- Motoyama Yukihiro 本山幸彦 Meiji shisō no keisei 明治思想の形成 [The Formation of Meiji Thought]. Tokyo: Fukumura shuppansha 福村出版社 1969.

- Murayama Yoshihiro 村山吉廣 "Min-gaku kara Shingaku e." 明學から清學へ [From the Learning of Ming to that of Ch'ing], part 1. Chūgoku koten kenkyū 中國古典研究 [Journal of Sinology], XII, (1964), 15-23.
- Nakamura Hajime 中村元 and Uno Seichi 宇野精一. Kōza Tōyō shisō 講座東洋思想 [On the Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples]. Vol. 2, 3, 4: Chūgoku shisō 中國思想 [Chinese Thought]. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1967.
- _____. Kōza Tōyō shisō. Vol. 5: Bukkyō shisō 仏教思想 [Buddhist Thought]. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1967.
- Nakayama Hachirō 中山八郎 "Futatabi 'Kasei' chō tairi mondai no hottan ni tsuite," 再び嘉靖朝大禮の問題と發端の再考 [Another Discussion on the Origin of the Ceremonial Dispute in the Chia-ching 嘉靖 1522-1567 Period]. Shimizu Hakase tsuitō kinen Mindaishi ronsō 清水博士追悼紀念明代史論叢 [Studies on the Ming Period Presented to the late Taiji Shimizu in Memory of His Achievements in the Field of Ming History]. Tokyo: Daian 大伴 1962; 61-84.
- Nemoto Makoto 根本誠, Sensei shakai ni okeru teikō seishin Chūgoku initsu no kenkyū 尊師社会に於ける抵抗精神—中國隱逸の研究 [The Spirit of Resistance in Authoritarian Societies A Study of Chinese Hermits.] Tokyo, Sōgensha 創元社, 1952.
- Nishi Junzō 西順藏 "Sōdai no Jukyō." 宋代の儒教 [The Confucianism of the Sung Dynasty] Rekishi Kyōiku 歴史教育 II, (1954), 33-38.
- Nomura Keiji 野村恵二 "Denshū roku ni okeru inyō tenrei," 伝習録に於ける引用典例 [Classics, Similes and Examples quoted in Denshuroku] Ōsaka Furitsu Daigaku kiyō 大阪府立大學紀要 [Bulletin of the University of Osaka Prefecture] XIII, (1965), 103-19; XIV, (1966), 101-14.
- _____. "Ō Yōmei dōkiran ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu." 王陽明動機論に於ける一考察 [A Study of Motivism in Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy], Ōsaka Furitsu Daigaku kiyō XI, (1963), 83-93.
- _____. "Ō Yōmei ni okeru Kyōgaku to Chūyō no kankei," 王陽明に於ける教學と中庸の關係 [The Relationship between Wang Yang-ming's Teaching and the Doctrine of the Mean] Geirin 藝林 XVIII, (1967), 143-150.

- _____ . "Yōmei gaku ni okeru ningen-gainen jiga ishiki no tenkai to ki igi," 陽明學に於ける人間
觀念・自我意識の展開と其意義 [The
Evolutions of the Notion of "the Human and of
the Consciousness of Self in the Yang-ming School
and the Meaning of this Evolution] Toyōshi kenkyū
東洋史研究 VIII, (July, 1943), 143-168;
233-258.
- Shimizu Taiji 清水泰次, "Yōmeigaku shōron," 陽明學
小論 [A Short Discussion on the Yang-ming
Philosophy] Rekishi kyōiku 歴史教育 II,
(1954), 26-32.
- _____ . "Yōmeigaku no seisei," 陽明學の生成 [The
Origin and Development of the Yang-ming Philoso-
phy] Shakai kagaku kenkyū 社会科学研究
III [Studies of Social Sciences, Waseda Univer-
sity], (1958), 59-110.
- Shimotomai Akira 下斗米 晟, "Yōmei gaku no san kōryō"
陽明學の三綱領 [The Three Themes of Yang-
ming's Philosophy] Daitō Bunka Dai-gaku Kiyō 大東
文化大學紀要 I, (1963), 55-72.
- Suzuki Tadashi 鈴木正, "Mindai sanjin kō." 明代小人
考 in Shimizu Hakase tsuitō kinen Mindaishi
ronsō. Tokyo: Daian, 1962, 357-88.
- Takahashi Kōji 高橋行司, "Ō Yōmei ni okeru aku no
seiritsu." 王陽明に於ける悪の成立 [The
Origin of Evil in the Philosophy of Wang Yang-
ming] Daitō Bunka Dai-gaku Kan-gaku-kai shi 大東
文化大學漢学会誌 [Bulletin of the
Sinological Society of the Daitō Bunka University]
IV, (1961), 19-25.
- _____ . "Ō Yōmei no 'shiku ketsu' ni tsuite," 王陽明の
四句訣について [On Wang Yang-ming's
"Four Maxims"] Chūgoku tetsugaku I, (1961), 10-
18.
- _____ . "Yōmei kyōgaku no mujun - seijin-kan o chūshin
to shite." 陽明教學の矛盾—聖人觀を
中心として [The Contradiction in
Yang-ming's Teaching: the Notion of Sagehood]
Chūgoku tetsugaku III, (1965), 1-10.
- Takahashi Kyō 高橋亨, "Chōsen no Yōmei gakuha,"
朝鮮の陽明學派 [The Wang Yang-ming School in
Korea], Chōsen gakuhō 朝鮮學報 IV, (1953),
131-56.

- Takao Giken 高橋義堅, "Unsei daishi Shukō ni tsuite." 雲棲大師株宏に就て [On the Master Yun-ch'i Chu-hung], in Naitō Hakase shōjū kinen shigaku ronsō 内藤博士頌壽紀念史學論叢 [Historical Essays Presented to Dr. Naitō in Honour of His Birthday] Kyoto: Shōbundo, 1930, 215-72.
- Takase Takejirō 高瀬武次郎, Ō Yōmei shōden 王陽明詳傳 [A Detailed Biography of Wang Yang-ming], Tokyo: Bunmeidō 文明堂, 1905.
- _____. "Yōmeigaku no jinsei kan." 陽明學の人生觀 [The Philosophy of Life of the Yang-ming School] Zengaku kenkyū 禪學研究 X, (1928), 1-12.
- Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄, Chūgoku shisō shi 中國思想史 [History of Chinese Thought] Tokyo: Iwanami, 1957.
- _____. Shushi Yōmei 朱子陽明 [Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming] Tokyo: Iwanami, 1936.
- Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎, Shiki kaichū kōshō 史記會注考證 [An Investigation into the Collected Commentaries of Shih-chi]. Tokyo: Tokyo University, Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho 東洋文化研究所 1956-1960.
- Tasaka Kō 田坂昂, "Sono shi no bawai: Mishima Yukio no nihilism." その死の場合: 三島由紀夫のニヒリズム — [Mishima Yukio's Nihilism: the Circumstances Surrounding His Death] Tenbō 展望 No. 148 (April, 1971) 100-107.
- Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō 支那に於ける仏教と儒教道教 [Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism in China] Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1930.
- Tomoeda Ryūtarō 友枝竜太郎, "Yōmei no Daigaku kaishaku ni tsuite - sei to chi ryōchi -" 陽明の大學解釈について — 誠意と致良知 — [Yang-ming's Explanation of the Great Learning: the Sincerity of the Will and the Extension of liang-chih] Tetsugaku 哲學 XIII, (Hiroshima: 1961), 116-29.
- Uete Michiari 植手通有, "Meiji keimo shisō no keisei - Seiyō - kan no tenkai to no kanren ni oite." 明治啟蒙思想の形成 — 西洋觀の転回との關連について [The Formation of the Idea of "Enlightenment" of the Meiji Period: the Evolution of Japanese Attitudes to the West], Shisō 思想 No. 511, (1967), 56-72; No. 512, (1967), 183-201.

- _____ . "Tegami yori mitaru Ō Yōmei no shisō taiyō."
 手紙に見たる王陽明の思想七書
 [The Essentials of Wang Yang-ming's Thought as
 Seen in His Letters]. Tetsugaku kenkyū No. 380,
 (1949), 19-36.
- Yasuoka Masaatsu. 宇岡正徳 Ō Yōmei kenkyū 王陽明研究
 [A Study of Wang Yang-ming] Tokyo: Meitoku
 shubansha, 1967.
- Yoshida Kenkō 吉田賢抗 "Shin soku ri no tetsugaku"
 心即理の哲學 [The Philosophy of hsin
chi li] Tōyō gaku 東洋學 VI, (1961), 89-102.
- _____ . Chūgoku shisō-shi 中國思想史 [A History of
 Chinese Thought] Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院,
 1947.
- Yoshida Shōin 吉田松蔭 . "Kyōfu no gen." 狂夫の言
 [Words of a Mad Man]. Yoshida Shōin zenshū
 吉田松蔭全集 [Complete Works of Yoshida
 Shoin] Tokyo: Iwanami, 1934, Vol. 4, 13-19.
- Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 et al., comp. Meiji bunka zen
shū 明治文化全集 [Collected Writings on
 the Meiji Period]. Vol. 2-3: Seishihen 正史篇
 [Section on History], Pts., 1 & 2. Tokyo: Nippon
 hyōronsha 日本評論社, 1927-30.

- Confucian Analects. (Lun-yü). Translated by James Legge with introduction, critical and exegetical notes, and indexes. The Chinese Classics, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1893. Reprinted by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Doctrine of the Mean. (Chung-yung). Translated by James Legge. The Chinese Classics, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1893. Reprinted by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Great Learning. (Ta-hsueh). Translated by James Legge. The Chinese Classics, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1893. Reprinted by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Han Fei Tzu. The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu. Translated by W.K. Liao. 2 volumes. London: Probsthain, 1939 and 1959.
- _____. Han Fei Tzu: Basic Writings. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Hsi-yun. The Zen Teaching of Huang Po on the Transmission of the Mind. Translated by John Blofeld. London: Rider, 1958.
- Hsün-tzu. Hsün-tzu. Translated by Hermann Köster with annotations. Kaldenkirchen: Steyler Verlag, 1957.
- _____. Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings. Translated by Burton Watson with annotations. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- Hui-k'ai. Wu-men-kuan, Der Pass ohne Tor. Translated by Heinrich Dumoulin, SJ. Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1953.
- Hui-neng. The Platform Scripture: the Basic Classic of Zen Buddhism. Translated with introduction and annotations by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: St. John's University Press, 1963.
- _____. The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: the Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript. Translated with introduction and annotations by Philip B. Yampolsky. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- The Lankāvatara-sūtra, A Mahayana Text. Translated by Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki. London: Routledge, 1932. Reprinted in 1959.
- Lao-tzu. The Way and Its Power. Translated by Arthur Waley. London: Allen and Unwin, 1935.

- Liu Hsiang, comp. Chan-kuo ts'ie. Translated by J.I. Crump, Jr. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
- Mencius. The Works of Mencius. Translated by James Legge. The Chinese Classics, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon, 1895. Reprinted by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Mo-tzu. Mo Tzu: Basic Writings. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- Pan Ku, ed. A History of the Former Han Dynasty. A critical translation with annotations by H.H. Dubs with the collaboration of Jen T'ai and P'an Lo-chi. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938-1955.
- _____. ed. Po Hu T'ung 白虎通, the Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall. Translated by Tjan Tjoe Som with introduction. 2 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1949 and 1952.
- Saddharma pundarīka Sūtra, The Lotus of the Wonderful Law. Translated by William E. Soothill. Oxford: Clarendon, 1930.
- Seng-chao. Chao lun: The Treatises of Seng-chao. Translated by Walter Liebenthal. Peiping: Catholic University of Peking, 1948. 2nd rev. ed., the Hong Kong University Press, 1968.
- Spring-Autumn Annals (Ch'un-ch'iu) and Annals of Tso (Tso-chuan). The Ch'un Ts'ew, with the Tso Chuen, parts 1 and 2. Translated by James Legge with introduction, critical and exegetical notes and indexes. The Chinese Classics, vol. 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1893. Reprinted by the Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. Compiled and translated by Wing-tsit Chan. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Sources of Chinese Tradition. Edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, Burton Watson et al. 2 volumes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Sources of Japanese Tradition. Edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary, R. Tsunoda and D. Keene. 2 volumes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Tao-yüan. The Transmission of the Lamp: Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism, Selected from the Transmission of the Lamp. Translated by Chang Chung-yüan. New York: Pantheon, 1969.

- Tai Chen. Yüan Shan. Tai Chen's Inquiry into Original Goodness. Translated by Ch'eng Chung-ying with annotations. New Haven: Oriental Society, 1969.
- Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā. (Buddhist Wisdom Books: The Diamond Sutra and the Heart Sutra). Translated by Edward Conze. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Wang Yang-ming. Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings. Translated by Wing-tsit Chan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- _____. "Lettres doctrinales de Wang Yang-ming." Translated into French by Y. Henry, S.J. Bulletin de l'Université de l'Aurore IX, (1921), 19-41; X, (1924-25), 40-77; XIII, (1925-27), 50-69.
- _____. The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming. Translated by Frederick G. Henke. Chicago: Open Court, 1916. Reprinted in New York, Paragon, 1964.
- B. Other Works in European Languages
- Abegg, Lily. The Mind of East Asia. Translated by A.J. Crick and E.E. Thomas, from the German work, Ostasien Denkt Anders. London: Thomas and Hudson, 1952.
- Balazs, Etienne. Political Theory and Administrative Reality in Traditional China. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1965.
- Bernard, Henri, S.J. "Chu Hsi's Philosophy and Its Interpretation by Leibniz." T'ien Hsia 天下 Monthly V, (1937), 9-18.
- _____. Sagesse chinoise et philosophie chrétienne. Tientsin: Institut des Hautes Études, 1935.
- Bodde, Derk. "Harmony and Conflict in Chinese Philosophy." In Studies in Chinese Thought, ed. by Arthur F. Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 19-80.
- Brière, O. Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy, 1898-1950. Translated by Laurence G. Thompson. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1956.
- Bruce, J. Percy. Chu Hsi and his Masters. An Introduction to Chu Hsi and the Sung School of Chinese Philosophy. London: Probsthain, 1923.

- Busch, Heinrich, SVD. "The Tung-lin Academy and Its Political and Philosophical Significance." Monumenta Serica XIV, (1949-55), 1-163.
- Cady, Lyman Van Law. The Philosophy of Lu Hsiang-shan, A Neo-Confucian Monistic Idealist. New York: Union Theological Seminary Doctoral Thesis, 1939; University Microfilms, microfilm copy.
- _____. Wang Yang-ming's 'Intuitive Knowledge', Peiping, privately published, 1936.
- Cahill, James F. "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting." The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 115-140.
- Callahan, Paul E. "Chu Hsi and St. Thomas: A Comparison." Papers on China, IV. Harvard University Regional Studies Seminar, mimeographed for private distribution by the Committee on International and Regional Studies, (1950), 1-23.
- Cavino, Grace E. "The Intuitive Element in Metaphysics," Philosophy East and West IV, (1954), 3-18.
- Chai, Ch'ü. "Neo-Confucianism of the Sung-Ming Period." Social Research XVIII, (1951), 370-392.
- Chan, Wing-tsit. "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming," in Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 29-52.
- _____. "Chinese Philosophy in Mainland China 1949-1963." Philosophy East and West XIV, (1964), 25-38.
- _____. "Chinese Theory and Practice, with Specific Reference to Humanism," in The Chinese Mind. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: Hawaii University Press, 1967.
- _____. "The Evolution of the Confucian Concept Jen," Philosophy East and West IV, (1954-5), 295-319; reprinted in Chan, Neo-Confucianism, Etc. 1-44.
- _____. "The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle." Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, n.s., 4, no. 2 (1964), 123-149. Reprinted in Chan, Neo-Confucianism, Etc., 45-87.
- _____. "How Buddhist was Wang Yang-ming?" Philosophy East and West XII, (1962), 203-216.

- _____. "The Neo-Confucian Solution of the Problem of Evil," in Studies Presented to Hu Shih on His Sixty-fifth Birthday (Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 28) Taipei: 1957, 773-791; reprinted in Chan, Neo-Confucianism, Etc., 88-116.
- _____. Neo-Confucianism etc.: Essays by Wing-tsit Chan. Compiled by Charles K.H. Chen. New Haven: Oriental Society, 1969.
- _____. "Neo-Confucianism: New Ideas in Old Terminology," Philosophy East and West XVII, (1967), 15-36.
- _____. "The Unity of East and West," in Radhakrishnan, Comparative Studies in Philosophy Presented in Honour of His 60th Birthday. Edited by W.R. Inge et al. London: Allen & Unwin, 1951, 104-117.
- Chang, Carsun. "Buddhism as a Stimulus to Neo-Confucianism." Oriens Extremus II, (1955), 157-166.
- _____. "Chinese Intuitionism: A Reply to Fergl on Intuition", Philosophy East and West X, (1960), 35-49.
- _____. The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought. 2 volumes. New Haven: Bookman Associates, 1957-62.
- _____. "Reason and Intuition in Chinese Philosophy", Philosophy East and West IV, (1954), 99-112.
- _____. Wang Yang-ming, Idealist Philosopher of Sixteenth-Century China. New York: St. John's University Press, 1962.
- _____. "Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy." Philosophy East and West V, (1955-6), 3-18.
- Chang, Chung-yüan. Creativity and Taoism, A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art and Poetry. New York: The Julian Press, 1963.
- Chang, Yü-ch'üan. "Wang Shou-jen as a Statesman." Chinese Social and Political Science Review XXIII, (1939-40), 30-99, 155-252, 319-75, 473-517.
- Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. Buddhism in China. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.
- Ch'eng Chung-yin. Tai Chen's Inquiry into Original Goodness, New Haven: Oriental Society, 1969.
- Ching, Julia. "The Problem of Evil as a Possible Dialogue Between Christianity and Neo-Confucianism." Contemporary Religions in Japan IX, (1968), 167-193.

- _____. "Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529): A Study in 'Mad Ardour'." Papers on Far Eastern History III, (March, 1971), 85-130.
- Chow, Yi-ching. La Philosophie Morale dans le Néo-Confucianisme (Tcheou Touen-yi). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.
- Contag, Victoria. "Erkenntnisse des alter Chu Hsi", Sinologica VII, (1963), 217-27.
- Conze, Edward. Buddhism, Its Essence and Development. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1951.
- Creel, Herrlee G. Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- _____. Confucius, the Man and the Myth. New York: John Day, 1949.
- Dai, Shen-yu. Mao Tse-tung and Confucianism. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Pennsylvania, 1953. Microfilm copy.
- De Bary, Wm. Theodore, ed. "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought", in Self and Society in Ming Thought, ed. by W.T. de Bary, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- _____. "A Re-appraisal of Neo-Confucianism", in Studies in Chinese Thought, ed. by Arthur F. Wright, Chicago University Press, 1953, 81-111.
- _____. ed. Self and Society in Ming Thought. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- _____. "Some Common Tendencies in Neo-Confucianism", in Confucianism in Action, ed. by David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 25-49.
- De Groot, J.J.M. Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China. 2 volumes. Amsterdam: J. Miller, 1903.
- _____. Universismus: die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas. Berlin: Verlag v. Georg Reimer, 1918.
- De Harlez, Charles. L'École Philosophique Moderne de la Chine, ou Systeme de la Nature Sing-li. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique XLIX, (1890-3).

- Demiéville, Paul. "Le Miroir Spirituel." Sinologica I, (1948), 112-37.
- _____. "La Pénétration du Bouddhisme dans la Tradition Philosophique Chinoise." Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale I, (1956), 19-38.
- Descartes, René. Philosophical Writings. A Selection tr. by Elizabeth Driscombe and Peter T. Geasts. Melbourne: Nelson, 1970.
- Drake, David. "Logic of the One-Mind Doctrine." Philosophy East and West XVI, (1966), 207-20.
- Dubs, Homer H. "The Development of Altruism in Confucianism." Philosophy East and West I, (1951), 48-55.
- _____. Hsün-tzu, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism. London: Probsthain, 1927.
- _____. "Mencius and Sünz on Human Nature." Philosophy East and West VI, (1956), 213-22.
- Dumoulin, Heinrich, ed. Buddhismus der Gegenwart. Freiburg: Herder, 1970.
- _____. The Development of Chinese Zen after the Sixth Patriarch in the Light of Mumonkan. Translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki. New York: First Zen Institute of America, 1953.
- _____. A History of Zen Buddhism. Translated by Paul Peachey. London: Faber & Faber, 1963.
- _____. Östliche Meditation und Christliche Mystik. München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1966.
- Eberhard, Wolfram. Guilt and Sin in Traditional China. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.
- Erkes, E. "Die Dialektik als Grundlage der chinesischen Weltanschauung." Sinologica II, (1949), 31-43.
- Fairbank, J.K., ed. Chinese Thought and Institutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Fang, Achilles. "Some Reflections on the Difficulty of Translation," in Studies in Chinese Thought. Edited by A.F. Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Forke, Alfred. Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie. Hamburg: Friederichsen, 1927.
- _____. Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie. Hamburg: Friederichsen De Gruyter, 1934.

- _____. Geschichte der neuren chinesischen Philosophie. Hanische Universite Abhandlungen B. 46, Hamburg: Friederichsen De Gruyter, 1938.
- Franke, Otto. Li Tschi 李贄 Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte der chinesischen Geisteskampfe im 16 Jahrhundert. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1938.
- _____. "Die religiöse und politische Bedeutung des Konfuzianismus in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart." Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie VIII, (1931), 579-588.
- Fung Yu-lan. A History of Chinese Philosophy. Translated by Derk Bodde. 2 volumes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952-3.
- _____. A Short History of Chinese Philosophy. Edited by Derk Bodde. New York: Macmillan, 1948.
- _____. The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy. Translated by E.R. Hughes. London: Kegan Paul, 1947.
- Gotō, Motomi. "Studies in Chinese Philosophy in Post-war Japan." Monumenta Serica XIV, (1949-55), 164-187.
- Gotō, Toshimidzu. "The Ontology of the 'Li' Philosophy of the Sung Dynasty of China." Philosophical Studies of Japan II, (1960), 119-143.
- Graf, Olaf. "Chu Hsi und Spinoza." Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Philosophy (Amsterdam, August 11-18, 1948). Edited by E.W. Berth, H.J. Pos, and J.R.A. Hollak. Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1949, 238-42.
- _____. Tao und Jen: Sein und Sollen im sungchinesischen Monismus. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970.
- Graham, Angus C. The Problem of Value. London: Hutchinson, 1961.
- _____. Two Chinese Philosophers, Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan. London: Lund Humphries, 1958.
- Granet, Marcel. La Pensée Chinoise. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre 1934.
- Grimm, Tilemann. Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit, 1368-1644. Hamburg: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1960.

- _____. "Ming Educational Intendants." Chinese Government in Ming Times, Seven Studies. Edited by Charles C. Hucker. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969, 129-47.
- _____. "War das China der Ming-Zeit totalitär?" Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens Nachrichten LXXIX/LXXX, (1956), 30-36.
- Harootunian, H.D. Toward Restoration, the Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Hisamatsu, Shin-ichi. "The Characteristics of Oriental Nothingness." Philosophical Studies of Japan II, (1960), 65-9.
- Hocking, W.E. "Chu Hsi's Theory of Knowledge." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies I, (1936), 109-127.
- _____. "Value of the Comparative Study of Philosophy." in Philosophy East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, 1-11.
- Holzman, Donald. "The Conversational Tradition in Chinese Philosophy." Philosophy East and West VI, (1956), 223-230.
- _____. "Les Sept Sages de Forêt de Bambous." T'oung-Pao XLIV, (1967), 317-46.
- Hsieh Yu-wei. "Filial Piety and Chinese Society." in Philosophy and Culture East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962, 411-427.
- Hsu, Pao-ch'ien. Ethical Realism in Neo-Confucian Thought. Columbia University Ph.D. Thesis, 1933. Microfilm copy of typescript made in 1969 by Columbia University Libraries.
- Hu Shih. "Ch'an Buddhism in China: Its History and Method." Philosophy East and West III, (1953), 3-24.
- _____. "Chinese Thought." in China. Edited by H.F. MacNair. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946, 221-30.
- _____. "Religion and Philosophy in Chinese History." in Symposium on Chinese Culture. Edited by Sophia H. Ch'en Zen. Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931, 31-58.
- _____. "The Scientific Spirit and Method in Chinese Philosophy." Philosophy and Culture East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962, 199-222.

- Huang Siu-chi. "Chang Tsai's Concept of ch'i." Philosophy East and West XVIII, (1968), 247-59.
- _____. Lu Hsiang-shan, A Twelfth Century Chinese Idealist Philosopher. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1944.
- Hucker, Charles C. The Censorial System of Ming China. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- _____. ed., Chinese Government in Ming Times: Seven Studies. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.
- _____. "Confucianism and the Chinese Censorial System." Confucianism in Action. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 182-208.
- _____. "Government Organization of the Ming Dynasty." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies XXI, (1958), 1-66.
- _____. The Traditional Chinese State in Ming Times (1368-1644). Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1961.
- Hughes, E.R. Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times. Revised edition. London: Dent, 1954.
- Hughes, Margaret. The Epistemological Foundations of Ethics with Specific Reference to the Views of Wang Yang-ming and Immanuel Kant. Hong Kong University, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1965.
- Hurvitz, Leon. "Chu-hung's One Mind of Pure Land and Ch'an Buddhism," in Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 451-82.
- Iki, Hiroyuki. "Wang Yang-ming's Doctrine of Innate Knowledge of the Good." Philosophy East and West XI, (1961), 27-33.
- James, William (1842-1910). The Varieties of Religious Experience, A Study in Human Nature. New York: Modern Library, 1929.
- Jen, Yu-wen. "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of Nature." Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 53-86.
- Jiang, Paul Yun-ming. "Ch'en Pai-sha (1428-1500) in the Development of Neo-Confucianism." Paper for delivery to the Interdisciplinary Seminar on Asian Studies, University of Auckland, 26th July, 1968.

- Jung, Hwa Yol. "Wang Yang-ming and Existential Phenomenology." International Philosophical Quarterly, v, (1965), 612-36.
- Kimura, Eiichi. "The New Confucianism and Taoism in China and Japan from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Centuries, A.D." Cahiers d'histoire Mondiale V, (1959-60), 801-29.
- Kōsaka, Massaki. Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era (Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era, v.9). Translated and adapted by David Abosch. Tokyo: Pan-Pacific Press, 1958.
- Kusumoto, Masatsugu. "Conflict between the Thoughts of the Sung Dynasty and the Ming Dynasty." Philosophical Studies of Japan V, (1964), 39-68.
- Ku Chieh-kang. "A Study of Literary Persecutions during the Ming." Translated by L. Carrington Goodrich. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies III, (1938), 254-311.
- LeGall, Stanislas, S.J. Tchou Hi, sa Doctrine, son Influence, Variete Sinologiques, 6. 2nd ed. Shanghai: la Mission Catholique, 1923.
- Levenson, Joseph. Confucian China and Its Modern Fate. Vol. 1: The Problem of Intellectual Continuity. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.
- _____. Confucian China and Its Modern Fate. Vol. 2: The Problem of Monarchical Decay. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- _____. Confucian China and Its Modern Fate. Vol. 3: The Problem of Historical Significance. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Levy, Andre. "Un Document sur la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes more sinico," T'oung-Pao LIV, (1968), 51-274.
- Liu, James T.C. Reform in Sung China: Wang An-shih (1021-86) and His New Policies. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Liu Ts'un-yan. "Lin Chao-en 林兆恩 (1517-1598) The Master of the Three Teachings." T'oung-Pao LIII, (1967), 253-78.
- _____. "Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought." Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 291-330.
- _____. Wu Ch'eng-en His Life and Career. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

- _____. "Yuan Huang and His 'Four Admissions'." Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia V, (1967), 108-32.
- MacNair, Harley F., ed. China. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951.
- Maruyama Masao 丸山眞男. Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics. Edited by Ivan Morris. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Maspero, Henri. Les Religions chinoises, Melanges posthumes sur les Religions et l'Histoire de la Chine: le Taoisme. Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1950.
- McKeon, Richard, ed. Selections from the Medieval Philosophers. 2 volumes. New York: Charles Scribner's, 1929-30.
- Masson-Coursel, Paul. "True Philosophy is Comparative Philosophy," Philosophy East and West I, (1951), 6-9.
- Mei, Y.P. "The Basis of Social, Ethical, and Spiritual Values in Chinese Philosophy." Essays in East-West Philosophy. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1951, 301-16. Reprinted in The Chinese Mind. Edited by Charles A. Moore, 149-166.
- Meskill, John. "Academies and Politics in the Ming Dynasty." Chinese Government in Ming Times, Seven Studies. Edited by Charles O. Hucker. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969, 147-174.
- Miyuki, Mokusen. An Analysis of Buddhist Influence on the Formation of the Sung Confucian Concept of Li-ch'i. Unpublished Claremont Graduate School and University Center Thesis, 1965. University Microfilms, Xeroxed copy.
- Moore, Charles A., ed. The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture. Honolulu: East-West Center Press and University of Hawaii Press, 1967.
- _____. ed. Essays in East-West Philosophy. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1951.
- _____. ed. Philosophy and Culture, East and West. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962.
- _____. ed. Philosophy-East and West. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946.

- Mote, Frederick W. "Confucian Eremitism in the Yüan Period." The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 202-40.
- Munro, Donald J. The Concept of Man in Early China. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969.
- Munz, Peter. "Basic Intuitions of East and West," Philosophy East and West V, (1955), 43-56.
- Muramatsu, Yuji. "Some Themes in Chinese Rebel Ideologies." The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 241-67.
- Murayama, Milton A. A Comparison of Wang Yang-ming and Zen Buddhism. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Columbia University, 1950. Microfilm copy.
- Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilisation in China. Vol. 2: History of Scientific Thought. London: Cambridge University Press, 1956.
- Nivison, David S., and Arthur F. Wright, ed. Confucianism in Action. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- _____. "The Problem of 'Knowledge and Action' in Chinese Thought Since Wang Yang-ming." Studies in Chinese Thought. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, 112-45.
- _____. "Protests Against Conventions and Conventions of Protest" The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 176-201.
- Northrop, Filmer S.C. "The Complementary Emphasis of Eastern Intuitive and Western Scientific Philosophy." Philosophy-East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1951, 168-90.
- _____. The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding. New York: MacMillan, 1947.
- _____. "Methodology and Epistemology, Oriental and Occidental." Essays in East-West Philosophy. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1951, 151-60.
- _____. "Theory of Types and Varification of Ethical Theories." Essays in East-West Philosophy. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1951.

- Okada, Takehiko. "Wang Chi and the Rise of Existentialism." Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Politella, Joseph. "Meister Eckhart and Eastern Wisdom." Philosophy East and West XV, (1965), 117-34.
- Pulleyblank, Edwin G. "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755-805." The Confucian Persuasion. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 77-114.
- Richards, I.A. Mencius on the Mind Experiments in Multiple Definition. London: Kegan Paul, 1932.
- Sakai, Tadao. "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works." Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W. T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, 331-66.
- Sargent, Galen Eugene. "Les débats personnels de Tchou Hi en matière de méthodologie." Journal Asiatique 243, (1955), 213-28.
- Seuberlich, Wolfgang. "Kaisertröwe oder Auflehnung? Eine Episode aus der Ming-Zeit." Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft Zeitschrift 102, (1952), 304-13.
- Schwartz, Benjamin. "Some Polarities in Confucian Thought," in Confucianism in Action. Edited by David S. Nivison and Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959, 50-62.
- Shih, Vincent Y.C. "The Mind and the Moral Order." Mélanges chinoises et bouddhiques X, (1955), 347-64.
- _____. "Some Chinese Rebel Ideologies." T'oung-Pao XLIV, (1956), 151-226.
- Shryock, John K. The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius. New York: Paragon, 1966.
- Sih, Paul, K.T. Chinese Culture and Christianity. Selected Works of Paul K.T. Sih. Preface by Chang Ch'i-yun. Taipei: China Culture Publications Foundation, 1957.
- Shirokauer, Conrad M. "Chu Hsi's Political Career: A Study in Ambivalence." Confucian Personalities. Edited by Arthur F. Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, 162-88.
- Spinoza, Benedictus de. Spinoza: Selections. Edited by John Wild. New York: Charles Scribner's, [1930].

- Sun, Stanislaus, S.J. "The Doctrine of Li in the Philosophy of Chu Hsi." International Philosophical Quarterly VI, (1966), 155-88.
- Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro. Essays in Zen Buddhism. 1st series. London: Rider, 1927.
- _____. Essays in Zen Buddhism. 2nd series. London: Rider, 1950.
- _____. Essays in Zen Buddhism. 3rd series. London: Rider, 1953.
- _____. "Interpretation of Zen Experience," in Philosophy-East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946, 109-29.
- _____. Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra. London: Routledge, 1930.
- _____. Studies in Zen. London: Rider, 1955.
- _____. "Zen: A Reply to Hu Shih." Philosophy East and West III, (1953), 25-46.
- _____. The Zen Doctrine of No-Mind. London: Rider, 1949.
- Takakusu, Junjirō. "Buddhism as a Philosophy of Thusness." Philosophy-East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946, 69-108.
- _____. The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy. Edited by Wing-tsit Chan and Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947.
- T'ang Chün-i. "Chang Tsai's Theory of Mind and Its Metaphysical Basis." Philosophy East and West VI, (1956), 113-36.
- _____. "The Development of the Concept of Moral Mind from Wang Yang-ming to Wang Chi." Self and Society in Ming Thought. Edited by W.T. de Bary. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- _____. "The Development of Ideas of Spiritual Value in Chinese Philosophy," in Philosophy and Culture East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962, 225-44.
- Tu Wei-ming. The Quest for Self-realization - A Study of Wang Yang-ming's Formative Years, (1472-1509). Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1969. Microfilm copy.

- Twitchett, Denis, and A.F. Wright, ed. Confucian Personalities. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- Waley, Arthur. "History and Religion: On Suzuki and Hu Shih's Exchange." in Philosophy East and West V, (1955), 75-8.
- _____. "Notes on Chinese Alchemy." Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies VI, (1930), 1-24.
- _____. Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939.
- Wang Tchang-tche, S.J. La Philosophie Morale de Wang Yang-ming. Variété sinologiques, no. 63. Shanghai-Paris: T'ou-se-we, and P. Geuthner, 1936.
- Weber, Max. The Religion of China, Confucianism and Taoism. Translated by Hans H. Gerth. London: George Allen, 1951.
- Wen, Hsi-tseng. The Status of Man in Neo-Confucianism. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of South California, 1954. Microfilm copy.
- Welch, Holmes. The Parting of the Way, Laotzu and the Taoist Movement. London: Methuen, 1957.
- Wilhelm, Hellmut. "The Heresies of Ch'en Liang (1143-94)." Asiatische Studien XI, (1958), 102-11.
- _____. "A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism," The China Quarterly XXIII, (1965), 122-39.
- Williamson, H.R. Wang An-shih, Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty. 2 volumes. London: A. Probsthain, 1935-7.
- Wright, Arthur F. Buddhism in Chinese History. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- _____. and Twitchett, Denis, ed. Confucian Personalities. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.
- _____. ed. The Confucian Persuasion. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.
- _____. and D.S. Nivison, ed. Confucianism in Action. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- _____. ed. Studies in Chinese Thought. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Wu, John C.H. "Chinese Legal and Political Philosophy." Philosophy and Culture East and West. Edited by Charles A. Moore. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1962, 611-30.

- Wu, Nelson I. "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang 董其昌 1555-1636: Apathy in Government and Fervor in Art." Confucian Personalities. Edited by A.F. Wright and D. Twitchett. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962, 260-93.
- Zaehner, R.C. Mysticism Sacred and Profane. An Inquiry into some Varieties of Preternatural Experience. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957.
- _____. At Sundry Times, An Essay in the Comparison of Religions. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- Zenker, E.V. Histoire de la Philosophie Chinoise. Paris: Payot, 1932.
- Zürcher, E. The Buddhist Conquest of China, Sinica Leidensia No.11. 2 volumes. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

Translator's Note

There are enough books published on the subject of the life and thought of Wang Shou-jen, more commonly known as Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529), to fill a library, but these are written in Japanese or Chinese. Where European languages are concerned, the situation is quite different. There are only two English translations of Yang-ming's selected writings. The first, of Frederick Henke (1916), contains an abridged translation of the *Ch'uan-hsi lu*, thirty-six of Yang-ming's letters, and twelve of his short essays. The second is Wing-tsit Chan's *Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings* (1963) which gives a complete translation of the *Ch'uan-hsi lu* together with certain official documents on social and political affairs issued by Yang-ming. This has filled a definite need since Henke's translation is incomplete, very faulty, and lacks the support of critical scholarship. However, on account of the wealth of biographical material and especially philosophical content contained in Yang-ming's private letters, students of Yang-ming must still refer to Henke's translation, which was republished even after the appearance of Wing-tsit Chan's book, under the title, *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming* (1964).

These considerations have led me to the translation of all of Yang-ming's letters with sufficient philosophical content to justify the effort, and to offer critical annotations and references where necessary. Sixty-seven letters have therefore been chosen, of which thirty-one had never been translated before. Simple subject-headings have also been given for each letter. A bibliography of reference books used is included at the end.

Letters chosen for translation have all been taken out of the *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'üan-shu* [Complete Works of Wang Yang-ming] of the Ssu-pu ts'un⁴k'an [Four Libraries Series] edition, which is a reproduction of the 1572 edition compiled by Hsieh T'ing-chieh. It contains a total of some 160 letters - including the seven that make up *Ch'uan-hsi lu*, part 2.¹ They were written to about one hundred people: some letters were written to several persons, others to individuals whose names have not been given. A few, written to Yang-ming's superior officials, are concerned with details of practical administration

or military campaigns. Many are of a friendly nature, with little philosophical content. Several were written to various members of his family, giving either news or practical instructions. All these extant letters were written between 1503 and 1528,² the year of his death. We have no letters for the years 1504-6, nor for 1510.

All of the letters translated were written between 1503 and 1527, and so cover a span of twenty-four years. No letters for the year 1520 have been translated, although two short ones are extant.

Before making this selection for translation, other existing selections, such as Liu Tsung-chou's *Yang-ming ch'uan-hsin lu* [Record of Yang-ming's Transmission of Truth] from *Liu-tzu ch'uan-shu yi-pien* [Supplement to Master Liu's Complete Works],³ Huang Tsung-hsi's *Ming-ju hsieh-an* [Philosophical Records of Ming scholars],⁴ and the earlier Sun Ch'i-feng's *Li-hsueh tsung-chuan* [Orthodox Transmission of the 'School of Principle']⁵ were examined. Other available collections of Yang-ming's writings, such as *Yang-ming wen-lu* [Collected Writings of Yang-ming] of 1536,⁶ Shih Pang-yao's *Yang-ming hsien-sheng chi-yao* [Collection of Important Works by Master Yang-ming] originally of 1636,⁷ Ni Hsi-en's *Hsiang-chu Wang Yang-ming ch'uan-shu* [Complete Works of Wang Yang-ming, Fully Annotated], as⁸ well as the *Yang-ming ch'uan-shu* of Ssu-pu pei-yao [Essentials of Four Libraries] edition,⁹ have also been consulted.

In his article, 'Tegami yori mitaru Ō Yōmei no shiso daiyō' [The Essentials of Wang Yang-ming's Thought as Seen in His Letters],¹⁰ the Japanese scholar, Yasuda Kiyoshi, has pointed out for us the importance of studying Yang-ming's letters in order to attain a better appreciation of his philosophy. Referring first to the fact that Yang-ming's friends and contemporaries, as well as later Ming scholars, have offered varying ideas of what they consider to be the philosopher's 'essential thought', he goes on to indicate six recurring themes, which, he contends, have been important in the evolution of Yang-ming's ideas. Five of these themes are taken from one early letter, that of 1509, written to his students at Ch'eng-chou,¹¹ shortly after the end of his exile. They show Yang-ming's concern for the all-pervading

universal truth or wisdom, his preoccupation with the cultivation of the inner self and the contrary attraction of official service, his disapproval, however, of working for motives of gaining reputation and profit, and his conviction of the need for mutual encouragement and admonition as a help to those seeking the same moral goals. The sixth theme is taken from a letter, written in 1518, to Wang's younger brothers.¹² There, he explains how the minds of sages and those of the ordinary man are similarly prone to error, the difference being that the sages know how to correct and avoid faults. Yasuda then refers extensively to other letters where these themes are also present and traces especially the gradual development of Yang-ming's most important contribution to philosophy – the idea of *liang-chih*, and, even more, that of *extending liang-chih* – which pervades the letters of 1527 and 1528. He also explains how the letters of 1527 provide a background for a better understanding of the theory of 'Four Axioms', expounded that same year, and given in *Ch'uan-hsi lu*, part 3.¹³

An example of how the letters of Yang-ming provide further light on ideas expressed in the *Ch'uan-hsi lu* and in the *Nien-p'u* [Chronological Biography] is shown in Yang-ming's answer to his student, Liu Yüan-tao, who desired to retire to a life of contemplation in the mountains. The *Ch'uan-hsi lu* gives only a few sentences:

Liu Chün-liang wanted to engage in sitting in meditation in the mountains. The teacher said, 'If you seek tranquillity because you feel disgusted with external things, you will only build up an air of arrogance and laziness. But if you are not disgusted with external things, it will be good for you to cultivate yourself in a quiet place.'¹⁴

The *Nien-p'u* states:

Liu [Chün-liang] asked about retiring into the mountains for the cultivation of tranquillity . . . He [Yang-ming] told Liu that the gentleman's learning regarding the cultivation of the mind resembles the art of healing of a good physician, who measures the gravity of the disease and the temperature of the patient, in order to decide on the use of medication. The essential need is to remove the disease. He has no fixed prescription in the beginning, which must be followed by everyone. If a person is merely intent upon retiring into the mountains, abandoning the affairs of the world, and giving

up thought and worry, he [Yang-ming] fears that when a disposition for emptiness has once been developed, even if the person wishes no longer to fall into such emptiness, he can no longer prevent it.¹⁵

The letter written to Liu, which is much longer, is Letter 44 in this work. A comparison of the three passages will show that Yang-ming regards quiet meditation as one of the means of self-cultivation, but not as the only or absolute means. The emphasis he makes is always on flexibility and judgment. The parable of the good physician is thus important. But that is not given in *Ch'uan-hsi lu*. The *Nien-p'u* refers briefly to the parable, but does not explain the issue sufficiently to show the recognition by Yang-ming of the role of quiet meditation in self-cultivation, as well as the need for flexibility of judgment in making use of this means.

The translation of certain philosophical terms, especially those used most frequently by Wang Yang-ming, has posed a real problem. I realise that Professor Wing-tsit Chan and others have made a great contribution in this regard by their lucid translations of Neo-Confucian texts. However, to preserve the richness and ambiguity of meaning inherent in the Chinese characters, I have preferred to transliterate certain key-words, such as *hsin* [mind or heart, principle and source of all human activity], *liang-chih* [man's inborn capacity for knowing and doing the good, that which, when developed to the utmost, unites him with heaven and earth and all things], and so on. I have included in this book a brief Selection of Terms – 'On the Interpretation of Certain Key-words' – endeavouring thereby to point out the hidden richness of the words themselves as well as the difficulty which every translator of Chinese philosophical texts encounters.

Finally, the translations presented here have been arranged, as much as possible, in chronological order. This has been done in accordance with the wishes of Yang-ming himself, who desired that readers in later ages should be able to discern the development of his thought.¹⁶

The translator hopes that this work will serve to promote greater knowledge and understanding of the philosopher who has exerted such an important influence on East Asian thought for the past five hundred years, and who also has much to say to the Western reader of the twentieth century.

- 1 *Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'uan-shu*, Ssu-pu ts'un³k'an double-page lithograph edition (hereinafter referred to as *WWKC*). See Wing-tsit Chan (trans.), *Instructions for Practical Living and other Neo-Confucian Writings* (1963), pp. 88 ff. (hereinafter referred to as *Instructions*).
- 2 An important letter written by Yang-ming shortly before his death in 1528 was that to Nieh Wen-yu (1487-1563). It has been included in *Ch'uan-hsi lu*, pt 2. See Chan's *Instructions*, pp. 1172 ff.
- 3 Liu's dates are 1578-1645. The edition used is of 1850.
- 4 Huang's dates are 1610-95. Ssu-pu pei-yao edition.
- 5 Sun's dates are 1584-1675.
- 6 Library of Congress microfilm no. 2015.
- 7 Ssu-pu ts'un³k'an edition.
- 8 Published in Shanghai by Shao-yeh shan-fang, 1935. The edition used was of 1568.
- 9 This is the same as *WWKC*, but contains many mistakes.
- 10 In *Tetsugaku Kenkyū* [Philosophical Studies], vol. 380 (1949), pp. 665-82.
- 11 See Letter 3 in this work.
- 12 See Letter 28 in this work.
- 13 See Chan's *Instructions*, p. 243.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 214.
- 15 *WWKC*, 34:961-2.
- 16 See Preface by his student, Ch'ien Te-hung (1496-1574), in *WWKC*, p. 12.

ASIAN PUBLICATIONS SERIES NO. I

The Philosophical Letters of Wang Yang-ming

Calligraphy on the frontispiece may be translated as 'The thousand sages are all passing shadows; *liang-chih* alone is my master' (from a poem by Wang Yang-ming). Calligraphy is by Ku Yu-hsiu of the University of Pennsylvania. The large seal was carved by Ch'i Pai-shih.

The Philosophical Letters of Wang Yang-ming

translated and annotated by Julia Ching

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS

CANBERRA 1971

© Julia Chia-yi Ching

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card no. 76-148301

National Library of Australia Card no. and

ISBN 0 7081 0127 5

For my mother

Acknowledgments

I should like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Liu Ts'un-yan, Dr J.D. Frodsham, and Dr K.H.J. Gardiner for their kind direction and generous help without which this work could not have been completed; Professor A.L. Basham for his constant encouragement; Miss Ludmilla Panskaya for her kind assistance and valuable suggestions; Mrs Audrey Marks and the typing staff of the Asian Studies Faculty for typing the manuscript, as well as the staffs of the National Library of Australia and the Australian National University Library for help given.

Finally, thanks are due to the Publications Committee of the Asian Studies Faculty, Australian National University, for assistance in the publication of this work.

Australian National University
Canberra, 1970

J.C.

Events in the life of Wang Yang-ming

- 1472 Birth of Wang Yang-ming at Yu-yao on 31 October.
- 1482 The family moves to Peking.
- 1484 Death of Yang-ming's mother.
- 1488 Journey to Kiangsi to get married.
- 1489 Visit to the philosopher Lou Liang (1422-91).
- 1492 Yang-ming passes provincial examinations.
- 1499 Yang-ming obtains the *chin-shih* degree and serves in minor official posts.
- 1501 Visits to many Buddhist and Taoist monasteries in Anhwei.
- 1502 Retirement to the 'Yang-ming Cave' and practice of Taoist cultivation. (several months).
- 1504 Return to official life and Confucian principles.
- 1505 Yang-ming begins to receive disciples as a Confucian teacher.

- 1506 Flogging and imprisonment as a result of the memorial intervening on behalf of some officials imprisoned unjustly by the powerful eunuch Liu Chin.
- 1507 Exile to Kweichow.
- 1508 Enlightenment.
- 1509 Yang-ming begins to speak of the unity of knowledge and action.
- 1510 Return from exile, to Kwangsi and Peking.
- 1511 Minor official posts and teaching of philosophy in Peking, Nanking, and other places.
- 1516 Yang-ming appointed Censor-in-Chief and Grand Co-ordinator of the border regions of Kiangsi, Kwangtung, and Fukien.
- 1517-18 Pacification of bandits and re-organisation of local government.
- 1518 Publication of two works: 'The Old Version of the *Great Learning*' and 'The Definitive Views of Chu Hsi, Arrived at Late in Life'. Hsüeh K'an, Yang-ming's disciple, publishes the first collection of his recorded conversations with the Master, the *Ch'uan-hsi lu*.
- 1519 Suppression of the rebellion of Prince Ch'en-hao. Southern expedition of the Emperor Wu-tsung (r. 1506-21).
- 1520 Emperor Wu-tsung returns to Peking.
- 1521 Yang-ming begins to speak of the 'extension of *liang-chih*'. Accession of the Emperor Shih-tsung (r. 1522-66). Honours accorded to Yang-ming.
- 1522 Death of Yang-ming's father.
- 1522-7 Six years of teaching in retirement.
- 1527 Yang-ming recalled to active service to suppress rebellions in Kwangsi. Teaching of the 'Four Maxims'.
- 1528 Pacification and re-organisation of Kwangsi. Yang-ming's health deteriorates steadily. Homebound journey.
- 1529 Death of Yang-ming at Nan-an, Kiangsi, on the way home, on 9 January.

Abbreviations

CTYL	<i>Chu-tzu yü-lei</i>
CWKW	<i>Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen Kung wen-chi</i>
HSCC	<i>Hsiang-shan ch'üan-chi</i>
MJHA	<i>Ming-ju hsüeh-an</i>
SPPY	Ssu-pu pei-yao edition
SPTK	Ssu-pu ts'un-k'an edition
TSD	Taisho shinshu daizokyo
WWKC	<i>Wang Wen-ch'eng-kung chüan-shu</i>
Classics	<i>The Chinese Classics</i>
Instructions	<i>Instructions for Practical Living and Other Neo-Confucian Writings</i>
Li Chi	<i>Li Chi, Book of Rites [The Li Ki]</i>
Reflections	<i>Reflections on Things at Hand</i>

Contents

Translator's Note	page 00
Acknowledgments	
Events in the Life of Wang Yang-ming	
Abbreviations	00

LETTER

1. To Prefect T'ung, on Asking for Rain (1503) 00
2. In Reply to Questions about Spirits and Immortals (1508) 00
3. To Students at Ch'eng-chou, on Learning (1509) 00
4. To Hsü Ch'eng-chih, on Learning (1511) 00
5. To Huang Tsung-hsien and Ying Yuan-chung, on the Mind (*hsin*) as a Mirror 00
6. To Wang Shih-t'an, the Han-lin Academician, on Emotions (1511) 00
7. To Chu Yung-ming, on Civil Examinations (1511) 00
8. To Wang Hu-ku, on Spontaneity (1511) 00
9. To Huang Tsung-hsien, on Humanity and Reciprocity (1511) 00

10. To Wang Ch'un-fu, on Patience (1512) oo
11. To Ch'u Ch'ai-hsu, on Friendship (1512) oo
12. To Ch'u Ch'ai-hsu, on Being a Teacher
(1512) oo
13. To Ho Tzu-yuan, on the Rites (1512) oo
14. To Huang Tsung-hsien, on Sincerity
(1513) oo
15. To Wang Ch'un-fu, on Sincerity (1513)
16. To [Tsai] Hsi-yuan, on Learning (1513)
17. To Tai Tzu-liang, on Determination
(1513)
18. To Hu Po-chung, on the Gentleman-
Living with Inferior Men (1513)
19. To Huang Ch'eng-fu, on Fixing the
Determination (1513)
20. To [Wang] T'ien-yü, on Fixing the
Determination (1514)
21. To [Wang] T'ien-yü, on Investigation of
Things (1514)
22. To Li Tao-fu, on the Educative Mission
of the Official (1515)
23. To Lu Yuan-ching, on Learning (1516)
24. To Yang Shih-te and Hsueh Shang-
ch'ien, on Moral Cultivation (1517)
25. To Wen-jen Pang-ying and [Wen-jen]
Pang-cheng, on Civil Service (1518)
26. To Wen-jen Pang-ying and Pang-cheng,
on Civil Service (1518)
27. To Hsueh Shang-ch'ien, on *liang-chih*
(1518)
28. To My Younger Brothers [and Cousins],
on Correction of Faults (1518)
29. To [Ts'ai] Hsi-yuan, on Patience under
Criticism (1519)
30. To [Chan] Kan-ch'uan, on Similarities
and Differences in Opinion (1519)
31. To Fang Shu-hsien, on the Old Version
of the Great Learning (1519)
32. To Hsia Tun-fu, on Learning (1521)

33. To Hsi Yüan-shan, on Lu Chiu-yüan (1521)
34. To [Chan] Kan-ch'üan, on Similarities and Differences in Opinion (1521)
35. To Lun Yen-shih, on *hsin* (1521)
36. To T'ang Yü-tso, the Regional Inspector, on Learning (1521)
37. To Fang Shu-hsien, on Learning (1521)
38. To Yang Shih-ming, on the Extension of Knowledge (1521)
39. To Lu Yüan-ching, on Cultivation of Life (1521)
40. To Lu Yüan-ching, on Patience under Criticism (1522)
41. To Hsü Ch'eng-chih, on Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan (1522)
42. To Hsü Ch'eng-chih, on Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan (1522)
43. To Shu Kuo-yung, on Efforts and Spontaneity (1523)
44. To Liu Yüan-tao, on Cultivation of Life (1523)
45. To Hsueh Shang-ch'ien, on Extending *liang-chih* (1523)
46. To Yang Sui-an, the Grand Secretary, on the Art of Government (1523)
47. To Huang Mien-chih, on Learning (1524)
48. To Huang Mien-chih, on Various Questions (1524)
49. To Liu Nei-chung, on Learning (1525)
50. To Tung Yün (Lo-shih), on *liang-chih* (1525)
51. To Tsou Ch'ien-chih, on *liang-chih* (1526)
52. To Tsou Ch'ien-chih, on the Rites (1526)
53. To Tsou Ch'ien-chih, on *liang-chih* (1526)
54. To Tsou Ch'ien-chih, on Unity of the 'Three Ways' (1526)
55. To Tsou Ch'ien-chih, on *liang-chih* (1526)
56. In Reply to a Friend, on Learning (1526)

57. In Reply to Inquiries from a Friend, on Knowledge and Action (1526)
 58. No Nan Yüan-shan, on *liang-chih* (1526)
 59. To Chi Ming-te, on *hsin* (1526)
 60. To Wei Shih-yüeh, on Extending *liang-chih* (1527)
 61. To Ma Tzu-hsin, on *liang-chih* (1527)
 62. To Mao Ku-an, the Vice Regional Commissioner, on Extending *liang-chih* (1527)
 63. To Huang Tsung-hsien, on Extending *liang-chih* (1527)
 64. To Ch'en Wei-chün, on Extending *liang-chih* (1527)
 65. To My Friends in An-fu, on *liang-chih* (1527)
 66. To Lu Ch'ing-po, on *liang-chih*
 67. To Hsu T'ai-chung, on Emotions
- On the Interpretation of Certain Key-words
 Selected Bibliography
 Glossary and Index

On Prayers for Rain

I. TO PREFECT T'UNG,
 ON ASKING FOR RAIN¹

1503

Yesterday, your two subordinates, Yang and Lee, came with your letter, and inquired about the art of making rain.

... The Way of Heaven is hidden and distant. How can an ordinary mortal probe and understand it? However, your concern for the welfare of the people, and your diligence on their behalf, are so sincere, that I must not neglect sending you a word of reply.

Confucius once said, 'I have already been praying for a long time.'² The prayer of a gentleman is not limited to the moments spent in formal prayer for Yüeh, but refers especially to daily conduct. You have been governor in Yueh for several years already. All that pertains to removing evils for the people, promoting their welfare and benefit, can be called 'prevenient'

prayer, and need not wait until today. But the summer drought is still with us, and the rain has not yet come. Is there perhaps some reason for this? In the ancient times, during periods of drought, the ruler would eat less and refrain from enjoying music, re-examine judicial cases, and decrease taxation. He would pay special attention to sacrifices, to inquiring about the sufferings of the people, and take the blame for the drought on himself – distributing alms, and praying for the people to the spirits of the mountains, rivers, of earth and harvest. That was why there were sacrifices begging Heaven for rain, and proclamations of self-criticism and examination, and vows for self-reform. What historical records referred to by saying, 'King T'ang [d. 1753 B.C.?] blamed himself for six things',³ what the *Book of Rites* said: 'During the great summer sacrifice for rain to God, all the instruments of music are employed',⁴ what the *Spring-Autumn Annals* recorded: 'In autumn, during the ninth month, there was a great sacrifice for rain'⁵-all belong to this category. I had heard of these ancient practices, but never of magic or charms for obtaining rain. Only later magicians practised these from time to time. When these were men of integrity and perseverance, then, even if their actions were not always in accordance with the Mean, but differed from the ordinary, they were still able to obtain rain. All such reports, however, come to us from miscellaneous accounts of minor importance and not from the Classics. The gentleman tends to consider these happenings as coincidences. As to our present-day priests and sorcerers, many of these are little different from the loafers and ruffians of the market places. How can we therefore expect them to rebuke the thunder, to call forth wind and rain?

I would rather advise you to come out and ^{to}contemplate yourself at the official hall, to stop whatever business is not urgent, open the door for the reform of self, to set aright cases of injustice, forbid luxury and sophistication, strengthen your sincerity and purify your mind, reproaching yourself, and praying on behalf of the people of the eight counties [of Yueh],⁶ the spirits of the mountains, rivers, of the earth and grain. And, if the people wish to employ the service of priests to pray for them, let them do so without interference, but also without your sponsorship, and without your relying on them. For, with your

style of conduct, you have certainly nothing to be ashamed of in front of the spirits. And if, facing such events, you examine yourself even more, leading your subordinates to beg sincerely for rain, then, even though Heaven sends us drought, there will be no harm. If only human affairs can be regulated, some response from Heaven ought to come within ten days. And, on my part, though I am no different from the common people, if I did know the art of obtaining rain, how would I dare to sit back and watch the people suffer without doing anything about it? . . . In one or two days, I too shall pray at Nan-cheng,⁷ to help your fervour. If only you beg with your whole heart for the people, without allowing yourself to be deceived by false teachings, and without anxiety to obtain a better reputation, then, although the way of Heaven is distant, it has never failed to respond to a case of such fervour.

WWKC, 21:634-5

¹ Acc. to Hsiao Liang-kan *et al.* (comp.), *Shao-hsing fu-chih* [Shao-hsing Prefecture Gazetteer] pub. 1586, 26:11b. T'ung Cheng was Prefect of Shao-hsing.

² *Analects (Lun-yu)*, VII:34. See James Legge (trans.), *The Chinese Classics* (1893, reprinted by Hong Kong University Press, 1960; referred to hereinafter as *Classics*), vol. I, p. 206. I have modified Legge's translation nearly every time, but still refer to him in the footnotes to show that I have consulted him on every occasion.

³ Although 'historical records' are mentioned, this line is not found in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*. The reference, rather, is to Wang Ch'ung (b. A.D. 27) and Hsun-tzu (fl. 298-238 B.C.). See 'Kan-hsü' ['Fictitious Influences'] in Huang Hui (ed.), *Lun-heng chiao-shih* [Annotated Version of Wang Ch'ung's *Lun-heng*], Taipei, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 237-8 and Wang Ch'ung, *Lun-heng* [Balanced Inquiries], translated by A. Forke, *Lun-heng* (1962), vol. 2, pp. 183-4. The six things are enumerated in *Hsun-tzu*, 'Ta-lueh' [Miscellaneous Items], SPPY ed., 19:9b. See Herman Koster's German translation, *Hsun-tzu* (1967), 27:354.

⁴ *Book of Rites (Li-chi)*, 'Yueh-ling' (Proceedings of Government in Different Months). See Legge (trans.), *Li Chi, Book of Rites* (1885, reprinted by University Books, New York, 1967, hereinafter referred to as *Li Chi*), vol. 1, pp. 273-4.

⁵ The great rain sacrifice often took place 'in autumn, during the ninth month', as, for example, during the sixth and the sixteenth year of Duke Chao, the first year of Duke Ting. See *Spring-Autumn Annals (Ch'un-ch'iu)*, Legge's *Classics*, vol. v, pp. 607, 661, 742.

⁶ These counties were: Shan-yin, K'uai-chi, Hsiao-shan, Chu-chi, Yü-yao, Shang-yü, Sheng, and Hsing-ch'ang. See *Che-chiang t'ung-chih* [Chekiang Gazetteer], Shanghai reprint, 1934, 1:114 and *Ming-shih* [Ming Dynastic History], K'ai-ming ed., 1937, ch. 44:100.

⁷ The name of a place east of K'uai-chi in modern Chekiang, with a temple dedicated to King Yu. See *Che-chiang t'ung-chih*, 1:210-14. Also see Yang-ming's prayer for rain in *WWKC*, 25:723.

2. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS ABOUT
SPIRITS AND IMMORTALS

1508

You asked me whether spirits and immortals exist. Thrice you have written and I have not replied, not because I do not wish to reply, but because I did not know what to say! Yesterday, your younger brother came, and desired very much to get an answer. Actually, ever since the age of eight I have been interested in such matters. More than thirty years have passed since then. My teeth are becoming unsteady, several of my hairs have turned white, my eyes cannot see beyond a foot's distance, and my ears cannot hear beyond the distance of ten feet. Moreover, I am often bedridden with sickness for entire months. My need of medicine as well as my capacity for it is growing. These are all the results of my interest in spirits and immortals. But people who know me still say glibly that I can yet attain this Way of Immortality, and you too, having heard such talk and believing it readily, have asked me about it! Since there is no way out for me, I shall say a few foolish words to you about it.

In ancient times, there were perfect men, of genuine virtue and mature *tao*, who lived in harmony with *yin* and *yang* and the four seasons, away from the world and its vanities. Concentrating their sperm [*ching*] and their energies, they moved between Heaven and Earth, seeing and hearing things which were beyond the scope of ordinary experience. Such were Kuang-ch'eng-tzu¹ who lived to the age of one thousand five hundred years without weakening his powers, Li Po-yang² who lived through the dynasties of Shang and Chou, and who went west through the Han-ku Pass. These men really existed. To deny that would be to deceive you. However, to correspond to the *tao* in our breathing and movements, to keep our energy and bones intact, refer to a natural endowment received at the beginning of our existence. This is the work of Heaven, not what human force can compass.

Stories concerning men of later generations who could ascend with their families into the air, transform objects, borrow corpses and return to life again, refer to deceptive and strange things

belonging to the realm of secret magic and ingenious arts – what Yin-wen-tzu³ called illusion, what the Buddhists call heterodoxy. If such actions are called real, you would be equally deceived. After all, words cannot describe what lies between existence and non-existence. One can understand after long reflections and deep self-cultivation. Before having reached the proper state, it is not possible to force such knowledge.

However, we Confucians also have our own doctrine of immortality. Yen-tzu⁴ died at the age of thirty-two, and yet still lives today. Can you believe this? Men of later generations such as Shang-yang-tzu⁵ possessed certain skills, which could not be called the real *tao*. As to Bodhidharma [fl. 460–534?]⁶ and Hui-neng [638–713],⁷ they would be closer to the *tao*. But we can still not be sure of this. If you wish to hear more about this doctrine, you need to retire into the mountains or forests for thirty years, perfect your ears and eyes, unify your mind and ambition, keep your breast free from the least particle of dust. And then you can discuss this Way. But at present, you are still far from the Way of Immortality. – Please forgive my bold words!

WWKC, 21:638

¹ A legendary immortal who supposedly lived in the K'ung-t'ung mountain and was visited by the Yellow Emperor who asked for his advice on the way of immortality. See 'Tsai-yu' [To Put the World at Peace] in *Chuang-tzu*, SPPY ed., 4:18a; English translation by Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (1968), pp. 118–20.

² One of the names given to Lao-tzu in *Shih-chi* [Historical Records of Ssu-ma Ch'ien]. See Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed., 63:180–1.

³ A philosopher of late Chou times who studied under the logician Kung-sun Lung (b. 380 B.C.?). See the book ascribed to him, *Yin-wen-tzu*, 2 vols., SPTK ed.

⁴ Favourite student of Confucius.

⁵ Ch'en Chih-hsu, alias Shang-yang-tzu. He compiled the *Shang-yang-tzu Chin-tan ta-yao* [Essentials of the Golden Pill] in late 1335. See Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Ming-ju yü tao-chiao' (Taoism and Neo-Confucianists in Ming times) in *Hsin-ya hsueh-pao* [New Asia Journal], vol. 8 (1967), p. 4.

⁶ The supposed first patriarch of Ch'an Buddhism in China (fl. A.D. 420–79). See Tao-hsüan, *Hsiü kao-seng chuan* [Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks], TSD No. 2060, vol. 50, p. 551.

⁷ Sixth Patriarch of Ch'an Buddhism in China who started the Southern School of Sudden Enlightenment. He lived supposedly from A.D. 605 to 706. See Tao-yüan, *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, SPTK ed., 3:14a–16a.

3. TO STUDENTS AT
CH'ENG-CHOU¹

1509

Since the tradition of learning has been abandoned, few people seek the *Tao* [Way]. A man of Ch'i living in the midst of a multitude from Ch'u is very easily swayed by temptation.² Except for men of heroic virtue, very few remain firm and unchanged. True, there are some among our modern scholars and officials who know a little about seeking the Way, but they all show off their attainments before having acquired genuine virtue, drawing to themselves criticisms in the world, and therefore often toppling down for lack of solid foundation and becoming even a hindrance to this Way. You, my friends, ought to take that to be a warning. Detaching yourselves from wordly fame, you must apply real effort in your innermost selves. What I said earlier in the temple about sitting meditatively was not meant for the sake of your attaining *samadhi*.³ Rather, since we are usually distracted by many objects and affairs, and do not know how to take care of ourselves, I wished to recommend such a remedy to our lack of learning by an effort of the recollection of the mind. [Ch'eng] Ming-tao [1032--85] had said, 'When one begins to study, one ought to know where to apply one's effort; when one has already studied, one ought to know where one has acquired strength'.⁴ You, my friends, ought to apply your efforts here, in order to make progress. Later, you will see where you have acquired strength.

Study requires directing the whip towards the inner self.⁵ 'The way of the gentleman is hidden but becomes more prominent every day'.⁶ Although reputation and profit imply a greater or lesser degree of purity and impurity, nevertheless they manifest the same desire for gain. 'Modesty brings its reward'.⁷ 'Seek not to be different from others, but to be in agreement with *li* [moral principle or reason]'.⁸ These words should be written on the wall, to be looked at many times by the eyes. Our learning to write examination essays will not prevent our pursuit of knowledge (or virtue), but may injure our firm determination [to become sages].⁹ If you proceed systematically in your work,

according to what we agreed upon the other day, neither will interfere with each other. As it has been said, when we know how to sprinkle water on the floor and sweep it, how to answer the door and respond to the questions of other people,¹⁰ the refined meanings of knowledge will have entered our spirits.¹¹

WWKC, 4:170-1

- ¹ These students included Chi Yuan-heng, Chiang Hsing, and Liu Kuan-shih. See 'Nien-p'u' in *WWKC*, 32:911. Ch'eng-chou is in the present province of Hunan.
- ² This refers to the parable given in *Mencius*, comparing the difficulty of keeping one's own convictions alone to that of a man learning the language of Ch'i while living in the midst of people speaking that of Ch'u. His lone teacher, a man of Ch'i, cannot help him very much if the men of Ch'u are continually shouting into his ears. See *Mencius*, 3B:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 275.
- ³ The Chinese work *ting* is a translation of the Sanskrit *samādhi* rendered into English by Derk Bodde as 'intent meditation'. See his translation of Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy* (1953), vol. 2, p. 395.
- ⁴ Ch'eng Ming-tao was the other name of Ch'eng Hao. This saying comes from *Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu* [Complete Works of the two Ch'engs], *Yi-shu* [Surviving Works], SPPY ed., 12:20, *Yi-shu*, *Wai-shu*, *Ts'ui-yen*, *Ming-tao wen-chi*, and *Yi-ch'uan wen-chi* are all from *Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu*.
- ⁵ A famous sentence of Ch'eng Hao, advocating the direction of our efforts inwards, *Yi-shu*, 11:11b. See also Chiang Yung, *Chin-ssu lu chi-chu* [Collected Commentaries on Chu Hsi's *Chin-ssu lu*], SPPY ed., 2:11b, and Wing-tsit Chan's translation, *Reflections on Things at Hand* (1967; hereinafter referred to as *Reflections*), p. 58. Chan translates this: 'In learning it is only necessary to drive with a whip, as it were, so that one may get nearer to the inside and be genuinely concerned with one's internal life'. The expression *p'ien-p'i* (drive with a whip), according to Chu Hsi, was a colloquial expression in Lo-yang, where the Ch'eng brothers lived. The driver of a carriage had to whip people to make them get off the streets into the houses. See *Chu-tzu yü-lei* [Classified Sayings of Master Chu], 1473 ed. (Taipei reprint, 1962), 45:3a. This book will be abbreviated as *CTYL*.
- ⁶ *Doctrine of the Mean (Chung-yung)*, 33:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 431.
- ⁷ *Book of Documents (Shu-ching)*, 'Ta-Yu mu' ['Counsels of the Great Yu']. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 65.
- ⁸ *Mencius*, 6A:7, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 430.
- ⁹ Ch'eng Yi (1033-107), *Wai-shu* [Other Works], 11:5a. See *Chin-ssu lu chi-chu*, 7:6b; also Chan's *Reflections*, p. 199.
- ¹⁰ Confucians and Neo-Confucians have always esteemed manual work and training in the ways of ordinary life as part of their program of education, following the instance given in the *Analects*, 19:12, (Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 343). Ch'eng Hao had said, 'Even sprinkling and sweeping the floor and dealing with and answering questions belong to the realm of what exists before physical form, for in principle there is neither great nor small.' See *Yi-shu*, 13:1b.
- ¹¹ Allusion to *Book of Changes (Yi-ching)*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 2, James Legge (trans.), *The Yi King*, Oxford, 1822, Delhi reprint, 1966 (referred to hereinafter as *Yi King*), p. 390; also *Yi-shu*, 4:4b, 15:8a.

On Learning

4. TO HSÜ CN'ENG-CHIH¹

1511

. . . The perfection of self and the government of men are not actually two different things. Administrative duties are complicated, but remain within the realm of learning. I believe that you, my Ch'eng-chih, benefit much from every situation

While reflecting recently upon your efforts to make progress in learning, I had the slight impression that you are over-exerting yourself. Former scholars have said that while the earnest determination to attain the *tao* [Way] is sincerity, too much haste and impatience in seeking it would make of it instead selfishness.² This cannot be left unattended to. In our daily life, is there anything that is not the functioning and movement of *T'ien-li* [Principle of Heaven]? If we only guard this mind and not allow it to become dispersed, the principles of reason will mature themselves. This is what Mencius meant when he said: 'Let not [the mind] forget its work or assist [the growth of the vast, overflowing *ch'i*]',³ and also: '[The gentleman] advances in learning with deep earnestness, [wishing] to get hold of it in himself'.⁴ True, how can the work of learning be left to move slowly? And yet, I fear that too much effort to force and exert ourselves, even if it brings progress, may not allow us to have security

WWKC, 4:171

¹ His private name was Hsü Shao-ch'eng, and he was, like Yang-ming, a native of Yü-yao. See *Shao-hsing fu-chih*, 41: 48a-b.

² A paraphrase of one of the sayings of the Ch'eng brothers, identified by Chu Hsi as Ch'eng Yi. See *Yi-shu*, 2A:1a and *Chin-ssu-lu chi-chu*, 2:7b, Chan's *Reflections*, p. 48.

³ *Mencius*, 2A:2. Earlier in this passage, Mencius had spoken of the 'vast, overflowing *ch'i*', or *hao-jan-chih-ch'i*, as a certain moral rectitude in one's character which can somehow unite the gentleman to Heaven and Earth. Later in the passage, he gave the parable of a foolish man who seeks to assist the growth of his crop by 'pulling up' his plants, only to cause them all to wither away. For Legge's translation of this passage, see vol. II, pp. 190-1.

⁴ *Mencius*, 4B:14, *ibid.*, p. 322.

On the Mind (*hsin*) as a Mirror

5. TO HUANG TSUNG-HSIEN¹ AND
YING YUAN-CHUNG²

1511

The heart and mind of the sage cannot tolerate the least particle of dust and has naturally no need of polishing. The heart and mind of the average man, however, resembles a spotted and dirty mirror which needs thorough polishing to have all its dust and dirt removed. Then will the tiniest speck of dust become visible, and only a light stroke will wipe it away, without our having to spend much energy.³ At this stage, one already knows the substance of perfect *jen* [virtue]: When the dirt is not yet removed, the mirror may still have certain bright spots, which allow us to detect falling particles of dust and to rub them off. But whatever accumulates on top of the dirt and dust cannot even be seen. This shows why learning benefits from hard and diligent work.⁴ Please do not doubt my words because of the difficulties involved. Human nature tends to prefer ease and dislike difficulty; it is naturally affected by selfish desires and habits. But when we see through this, naturally we no longer find it difficult. There were men in ancient times who gladly risked their lives ten thousand times, on account of this realisation. Formerly, we did not understand the meaning of directing efforts inwards; and so we could say nothing of this work. Now that we realise this, we fear being dragged by love of ease and hate of difficulty into Ch'an Buddhism.⁵ Yesterday we discussed the difference between Confucianism and Buddhism. Ming-tao had already disclosed eighty or ninety per cent of the truth when he said that [the Buddhists] straighten their interior disposition by reverence, but do not perfect their exterior conduct by righteousness, and therefore, in the end, do not even succeed in straightening their interior disposition by reverence.⁶

WWKC, 4:171-2

¹ Huang Tsung-hsien (1477-1551), private name Huang Wan, literary name Chiu-an. He met Yang-ming and Chan Jo-shui in 1510, and later became Yang-ming's disciple, and also relative through the marriage of his daughter to Yang-ming's son. Huang rose to the official rank of Minister of Rites. In later life, he was much displeased with the excesses of some of Yang-ming's disciples, and wrote the controversial *Ming-tao p'ien* [Elucidation of the Way] to criticise them. For his biography, see Huang Tsung-hsi,

Ming-ju hsueh-an [Philosophical Records of Ming Scholars], SPPY ed., (hereinafter referred to as *MJHA*), 13:5b-6b and *Ming-shih*, 197:470.

² Private name Ying Liang. For his life, see *WWKC*, 33:911; see also *Ming-shih*, 283:699.

³ Comparison of the mind or heart to a mirror represents a rich tradition in Chinese thought going back to the philosophers Chuang-tzu (about 4th century B.C.) and Huai-nan-tzu (d. 122 B.C.). But Yang-ming must have had in mind especially the account in the *Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching* [Platform Scripture of the Sixth Patriarch] concerning the *gathas* of the two Buddhist monks, Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng, the later Sixth Patriarch (see TSD, No. 2008, 48:348-9). Yang-ming's use of the metaphor manifests a preference for Shen-hsiu's *gatha*. See Wing-tsit Chan's translation, *The Platform Scripture* (1963) and also Paul Demiéville's 'Le miroir spirituel', *Sinologica*, 1 (1948), pp. 117-19.

⁴ Allusion to *Doctrine of the Mean*, 20:9. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 407.

⁵ Again he voices his opposition to *Ch'an* Buddhism.

⁶ This refers to *Yi-shu* 4:4b. Yang-ming, following Chu Hsi, attributes the saying to Ch'eng Hao (Ming-tao). See *Chin-ssu lu chi-chu*, 13:1b, Chan's *Reflections*, p. 281. The quotation contained in it comes from the *Book of Changes*, Hexagram 2, 'K'un', Appendix 4, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 420. Wing-tsit Chan translates *ching* as 'seriousness'. I prefer 'reverence', implying reverence to one's inner self, or to one's moral nature.

On Emotions

6. TO WANG GHIH-T'AN, THE HAN-LIN ACADEMICIAN¹

1511

... Pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy, are emotions. When we refuse to yield to them, they remain *wei-fa* ['unstirred'].² This *wei-fa* of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy refers to their substance, that is to human nature. This explanation began, not with Ch'eng [Yi], but with Tzu-Ssu.³ Since you disagree on this point, let us begin our discussion with Tzu-Ssu's *Doctrine of the Mean*.

Pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy, as well as thought and consciousness, all proceed from the mind (*hsin*). The mind controls nature and emotions.⁴ Nature (*hsing*) is the 'substance' of *hsin*, emotions are its 'functions'. Ch'eng [Yi] said: 'The mind is one'. Where the substance is concerned, it is 'quiet and passive'. Where the functions are concerned, it 'penetrates all things immediately, when it is acted upon'.⁵ I can add nothing to this. You can find the answer in this theory of substance and function. After all, substance and function have the same origin. If you know how substance is function, you would also know how function is substance. But substance is obscure and difficult to know; function is obvious and easily seen. You are quite right in what you said. The person who claims that, from morning till night, there is not a moment of passivity, sees function only and not substance.

In his studies the gentleman seeks 'substance' through 'function'. As Ch'eng-tzu [Ch'eng Yi] said, thought is that which is 'stirred'⁶ (*yi-fa*), to have consciousness is to have that which is active. All this refers to the time before the four emotions have been stirred but does not say that they are never stirred. In the beginning, Chu-tzu [Chu Hsi, 1130-1200] also doubted this theory of *wei-fa*. He held repeated discussions and debates – dozens of them – with [Chang] Nan-hsüan [1133-80]⁷ before he finally made up his mind. The results are now gathered together in his *Chung-yung chu-shu* [Commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean].⁸ This is therefore no haphazard theory. Only what he said about beginning with vigilance and apprehension, in the control of oneself, and arriving at the harmony of supreme tranquillity, as well as beginning with caution in solitude, in refinement of spirit, and arriving at perfect response to events of life, seems to show over-analysis. Later readers divided this into two sections, thinking that there might be a special time of quiet and passivity, for tranquillity and for nurturing and preserving *hsin*, the mind. They did not realise that we should always preserve a vigilant, cautious, and apprehensive mind, without a moment's pause in such effort of self-cultivation, and also without having necessarily to preserve and nurture the mind by vigilance over self at the times when one is neither seen nor heard.

I would recommend you to make more effort in what regards activity, without allowing such effort to suffer any interruption. When activity no longer lacks harmony, neither will passivity or tranquillity lack equilibrium. Then would one know what is called the quiet and passive substance. If, before attaining this state, we try to guess its meaning, we would be 'discussing the pagoda's finial while looking at it'.⁹ Even Chu-tzu spoke merely of the conscious person, and not of consciousness. This points to a lack of clarity. You have good reasons, therefore, for your doubts. But pay attention, that your doubt may not resemble the action of a man who abstains from food after an experience of choking. When a gentleman has a theory which differs from those of the ancients, he should not consider it as definitive, but should first investigate it thoroughly, until he really finds it inadequate, before he makes his decision. Thus will he be able to discuss the question clearly and analyse it properly

WWKC, 4:172

- ¹ Private name Wang Chün, courtesy name Che-chih. Shih-t'an was his literary name. He became *chin-shih* (presented scholar) in 1493. Later he was dismissed from office as Minister of Rites (1524) on account of his uncompromising attitude concerning the awarding of posthumous titles to Emperor Shih-tsung's father. For his biography, see *MJHA*, 48:1a-b.
- ² This whole letter is a discussion on the control of emotions as given in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch.1. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 384.
- ³ Confucius's grandson, to whom is attributed the authorship of the *Doctrine of the Mean*.
- ⁴ Chang Tsai, *Chang-tzu ch'üan-shu* [Complete Works of Master Chang], 'Hsing-li shih-yi' [Additional Sayings on Nature and Principle], SPPY ed., 14:2a.
- ⁵ Ch'eng Yi, *Ts'ui-yen* [Pure Words], 1:10b. The quotation marks indicate Ch'eng's citation of the *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 1, ch. 10, see Legge's *Yi King*, p. 370. See also the discussion given in Angus C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers* (1958), pp. 51-3. But the translation given for the citation is my own.
- ⁶ *Yi-shu*, 18:14b.
- ⁷ See the correspondence exchanged between Chu Hsi and Chang Shih (Nan-hsüan) in *Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen Kung wen-chi*. [Collected Works of Master Chu], SPTK ed., chs. 31-2. This book will be abbreviated as *CWKW*.
- ⁸ Yang-ming is referring to Chu's *Chung-yung chang-chü* [Commentary on the Text of the *Doctrine of the Mean*] which forms part of Chu's *Ssu-shu' ji-chu* [Collected Commentaries on the Four Books].
- ⁹ This expression was also employed by the Ch'eng brothers. See *Yi-shu*, 1:4a-b. It means that one cannot discourse about an experience which one has not yet reached.

On Civil Examinations

7. TO CHU YUNG-MING¹

1511

A gentleman has only one fear: that he neglect his study. Whether he succeeds in the civil examinations earlier or later is not important. Besides, my dear brother, I expect much more of you than the passing of examinations. I wonder whether you thought of that. Please tell me of it when you have time. I heard that my two nephews, Chieh and Yang,² both took the examinations last year. Although I do not object to their youthful ambitions, I still do not approve of it. If, unfortunately, they succeeded at this immature stage, would that not spoil their whole lives? The talents of youth should be carefully cultivated in obscurity and hiddenness. If the Way of Heaven does not concentrate, it will not, later on, radiate. All the more so with human beings. The flower with a thousand leaves cannot yield fruit, for its beauty is too manifest. If my nephews would not consider my words as foolish and unrealistic, they would certainly make progress.

In your letter, you advised me to enter the government service. Surely, I have no intention of keeping myself pure from politics. My hesitations are due not only to the times, which prescribe my remaining in obscurity, but also to the fact that my studies are not yet complete

WWKC, 4:173

¹ The younger brother of Yang-ming's first wife, who, together with his two sons, became Yang-ming's disciple. See Yü Ch'ung-yao, *Yang-ming hsien-sheng chuan-tsuan* [Collated Biography of Master Yang-ming] (1923), pt 1, p. 39.

² Chu Yung-ming's two sons.

On Spontaneity

8. TO WANG HU-KU¹

1511

... What you said about being broad-minded and vigorous² is very right, but then to say 'we ought neither to abandon our efforts, nor to diminish them, neither to stay at a standstill, nor to stop short of reaching the goal', shows yet a 'forced' feeling of doing what is necessary. Between such 'forced' feeling and the spontaneous feeling of advancing without cease, is yet another step. Ch'eng-tzu [Ch'eng Yi] said, 'to reach it because we know it, implies that it is a joy to conform to principle, and a deprivation of joy not to conform to principle'.³ That which naturally cannot cease to advance is finding joy in conforming to *li* [moral principle]. But this cannot be easily attained except by those who really know their nature. To know nature is to know *jen* [humanity]. Humanity is proper to the mind of man. The substance of the mind is of itself naturally broad and vigorous. When it is not broad, that is on account of some obstruction. When it is not vigorous, that is on account of some hindrance. So when the principle is clearly seen, selfish desires naturally cannot hinder the mind, and when selfish desires present no hindrance, our mind cannot but naturally be broad and vigorous. To be broad does not mean having to expand or enlarge something. To be vigorous does not mean having to do or strengthen something. For there is no need to make any slight addition to what lies within the realm of our duty. Tseng-tzu⁴ said, 'Do not lack in breadth of mind and vigour'. This was meant for the scholar. But Tseng-tzu said this after he had exhausted the depths of principle, and after he had already seen the substance of *jen*. Yet our own scholars only know they must not lack in breadth and endurance, and do not know how to exhaust principle, believing only that to expand [knowledge] is to be broad, to work on strengthening it is to be vigorous. This too comes from a momentary selfishness of the temperament, and is still quite far from the way of *jen*. It shows a distinction between the universal and the particular, between righteousness and working for profit

WWKC, 4:173-4

¹ The literary name of Wang Yün-feng (1465-1517), whose courtesy name was Ying-shao. His biography is in *Ming-shih*, 165:388.

² *Analects*, 8:7. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 210.

³ *Yi-shu*, 15:16b, 18:5a. Yang-ming paraphrased Ch'eng Yi's words.

⁴ Disciple of Confucius. His name was Tseng Shen. For the quotation, see note 2.

On Humanity and Reciprocity

9. TO HUANG TSUNG-HSIEN

1511

. . . What men do to me, that I do not wish, I do not do to them.¹ What I do wish, proceeds from the desire of my heart, naturally and spontaneously, without being forced. Not doing to others [what they do not wish] is possible after some effort. This indicates the difference between *jen* [humanity] and *shu* [reciprocity].² But reciprocity, the method of acquiring humanity, is precisely our business. Even Tzu-lu, with all his courage, was not admitted by the Master as having humanity.³ To have courage but not judgment shows that this courage may not completely proceed from the universal *T'ien-li*.⁴

To serve the sovereign to the point of not running away from him when he is in danger, is about all that we can ask of a man of *jen*. But not knowing that to serve Ch'e [Marquis of Wei] as an official and to receive recompense from him for this service is unrighteous, shows that the courage [of Tzu-lu] was not properly directed, and cannot be regarded as *jen*.⁵ But, as a property or quality of *jen*, courage is indeed what people like us yet lack . . .

WWKC, 4:174

¹ *Analects*, V:11, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 177.

² For reciprocity, see *Analects*, XV:23, *ibid.*, p. 301.

³ *Analects*, V:7 *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Tso-chuan*, fifteenth year of Duke Ai. During the rebellion of K'ung Kuei, the Marquis of Wei escaped to the state of Lu. Tzu-lu, a disciple of Confucius, who was in the service of the Marquis, died during the troubles. Confucius had predicted that Tzu-lu would die an unnatural death. See *Tso-chuan* (Annals of Tso), Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, p. 843, and *Analects*, XI:12, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 241.

On Patience

10. TO WANG CH'UN-FU¹

1512

. . . I also used to have the habit of looking down on others of the same rank as myself, and of despising the ways of the world. Later, I knew a little better about how to correct myself, but

only by resisting [this temptation] and by maintaining an exterior appearance [of modesty]. It was only with my three-year exile in Kueichow, where I suffered every possible difficulty, that I received some insight, and began to believe that the words of Mencius about 'being born in sorrow and calamity'² are no deception. I had often thought that 'the gentleman regulates his conduct according to the condition in which he finds himself, desiring nothing beyond. In wealth and honour, he seeks to adjust himself to wealth and honour. In poverty and abjection, misfortune and suffering, he seeks to adjust himself to poverty and abjection, misfortune and suffering . . . That is why, always and everywhere, he is always himself'.³ The gentlemen of later times ought also to act thus

WWKC, 4:177

¹ Private name Wang Tao. See *MJHA*, 42:18a-b.

² *Mencius*, 6B:15, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp. 447-8.

³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 14, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 395.

On Friendship

II. TO CH'U CH'AI-HSU¹

1512

. . . The gentleman considers only righteousness in his relations with others . . . Friendship depends on *tao* and *te* [virtue] . . . and has nothing to do with age or position . . . *Jen* is the virtue of the mind or heart. The man who has no *jen* is not worthy of being a man. To promote *jen* through friendship² is to complete the virtue of the mind. This is what friendship means. . . . Mencius said, 'Friendship should not admit presumptions of superiority.'³ Meng Hsien-tzu had five friends, but none of these was from his own family.⁴ Did he entertain considerations of nobility or lowliness of rank? Chung-yu⁵ was three years younger than Yen Lu,⁶ but he regarded Yen Hui⁷ as a friend. Yen Hui and Tseng Tien⁸ were contemporaries, but Tseng Shen⁹ spoke of [Yen Hui] as his friend. Were there considerations of age or seniority? . . . Formerly Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan (Ch'eng Yi) and Lü Hsi-che were school friends, and regarded each other as such. Then, Hsi-che became Yi-ch'uan's disciple, and was regarded as a disciple. Could we say that Yi-ch'uan was respectful to Hsi-che when they were school friends, but not when the latter became

his disciple? Confucius regarded Yang Hu as an official¹⁰ but Yen Hui and Tzu-kung as disciples. Could we say that he regarded [Yen] Hui and Ts'u (Tzu-kung) with less esteem than Yang Hu? The way of master and disciple has long been neglected. Among younger men, the intelligent and able ones often have the intention of seeking *tao*, but, because their elders do not regard them with sufficient seriousness and do not understand their hearts, they treat the younger men with empty politeness, trying thereby to please them and seek the reputation of practising kindness to scholars . . . Hence, the way of master and disciple becomes daily more degenerate . . . I often think how fortunate I would be if I had the opportunity to be disciple to such philosophers as Chou Tun-yi [1017-73] and the Ch'engs. If not, I would still be fortunate if I could become a disciple of Chou's and Ch'engs' disciples. However, we no longer have these men with us in the world. Whither then, can men of ambition turn in disappointment? How can they be free from anxiety? To have anxiety and not to reproach oneself, to express oneself and not to seek for help from others, will eventually bring no accomplishment. With regard to the younger men of this generation, I do not presume to consider myself their master. I only seek to discuss with those among them who are intelligent and able, in order also to promote *jen* in myself. But if they regard themselves as my juniors, and seek for my teaching, even though they do not serve me as their master, there is still a relationship of elders and juniors . . . It has been said, 'When the teacher is severe, the Way is honoured; when the Way is honoured, the people esteem learning'.¹¹ Men need some discipline and fear, in order to listen to the words of others. Yi-yin said, 'Heaven, in giving life to the people, causes those who are first enlightened to enlighten those who are later enlightened, I am [one of] the first enlightened of Heaven's people. If I do not awake the others, who will do so?'¹² Hence, the very wise enlighten those who possess a little wisdom, while those who possess a little wisdom enlighten those who have no wisdom; the well-awakened awaken those who are slightly awakened, the slightly awakened awake those who are not awakened. Would it then be better to wait until one is already very wise and awakened before seeking to awaken all

under Heaven? But this is not possible. And so, if one considers oneself as possessing only a little wisdom, and as being only slightly awakened, and therefore does not dare to awaken others, one will eventually not awaken any one. Does a man of *jen* act in this way? The man of *jen* establishes others' characters when he wishes his own to be established and enlarges others' [minds] when he wishes [his own] to be enlarged.¹³ My idea is that when one already has a little portion of wisdom, one ought to wish at once to share this little portion of wisdom with others, and when one already has a little bit of enlightenment, one ought to wish at once to share this little bit of enlightenment with others. The more people there are who possess a little wisdom and a little enlightenment, the easier it will be to have them share with one another their wisdom and enlightenment. And then, after this, we might look forward to great wisdom and great enlightenment. With regard to the younger generation of today, I hardly dare to consider myself as one who possesses a little wisdom and enlightenment. Rather, I should use the example of a man suffering from hunger and cold. He knows that the farming of rice and mulberry can give him food and clothing. He has also heard, by accident, of the ways of planting rice and growing mulberry, and desires to attempt these. Thereupon, he tells others who are also suffering from hunger and cold, to make them take part in this work. For he does not let his own lack of experience in farming prevent him from telling others of its advantages. However, the gentleman first possesses something in himself before he requires it in others. I do not possess anything in myself. How could I therefore require anything of others? But then, I have been speaking about those who, of their own will, come to me. . . .

WWKC, 21:642-4

¹ Ch'u Ch'ai-hsu (1457-1513), private name Ch'u Huan and courtesy name Ching-fu. See *Ming-shih*, 286:708.

² *Analects*, XII:24. Legge's translation of the whole sentence, from which this part is taken, is: 'The superior man, on grounds of culture, meets with his friends, and by their friendship, *helps his virtue*' (*Classics*, vol. I, p. 262).

³ *Mencius*, 5B:3, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.* Meng Hsien-tzu did not wish his friends to consider him as a nobleman.

⁵ The other name of Tzu-lu, disciple of Confucius.

⁶ The father of Yen Hui, favourite disciple of Confucius. He is mentioned in *Analects*, XI:7, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 239.

⁷ See note 6.

⁸ Tseng Shen's father, also called Tseng Hsi. See *Analects*, I:25, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 246-7.

⁹ Also called Tzu-yu, son of Tseng Tien. To him is attributed the authorship of the *Great Learning*.

¹⁰ *Analects*, XVII, 17:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 317.

¹¹ *Book of Rites*, 'Hsueh-chi' [On Education]. See Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. 2, p. 88.

¹² *Mencius*, 5A:7, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 363. For Yi-yin, see *Shih-chi*, 3:11.

¹³ *Analects*, VII, 28, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 194.

On Being a Teacher

12. TO CH'U CH'AI-HSU

1512

. . . In your letter, you reproved me for not regarding myself as a teacher, and you fear that I have not sincerely spoken out on everything. But who am I to dare to regard myself as a teacher? In our former letters, when we spoke about the relationship between elders and juniors, it was taken for granted that I would be slightly older, and that my correspondent would have the intention of seeking the *tao*. If he were about the same age as I, and had no intention of seeking the *tao*, I would naturally regard him as a guest or a friend. How can I follow the rule of elders and juniors? I would be making a fool of myself! Moreover, is there any reason in the world why I should presume to regard myself as a teacher without even considering the other person's intention in coming to me? One cannot acquire the dignity of being a teacher by taking it for granted. If someone comes to me to learn the truth from me, then I can respond to him in the appropriate way. Alas, in these days, is there any real 'teacher'? There are teachers today for the apprentices of various arts and crafts. There are also teachers today for those who learn to write examination essays and seek after reputation and profit. Such students know that arts and crafts can procure for them a means of livelihood, while examinations can obtain for them reputation, profit, and a high official position. Unless a person is well aware of the fact that the development of his own nature and endowment is even more important than the means of livelihood or an official position, would he seek a teacher? However, the ignorance of arts and crafts merely brings with it a lack of food and clothing; the ignorance of examination essays merely implies the deprivation of an official position. But if the

person's nature and endowments were somewhat obscured, he would no longer be human. People understand the former, but not the latter. Is this not a cause for great sorrow?

Formerly, I attended the *t'ai-hsüeh* [State University] together with Wang Yin-chih and Liu Ching-su. Yin-chih was always ahead of Ching-su in every seasonal examination, but did not consider himself Ching-su's equal in systematic studies and suddenly one day paid him the respect due to a teacher, and asked for instruction from him. I used to admire him for this. Such a person can really become a hero of virtue. If Yin-chih had only turned his mind to seeking the *tao*, would there be any degree of sagehood beyond his reach? When Tseng-tzu was very sick, he changed the mat on which he was lying.¹ When Tzu-lu was dying he took care to adjust the tassels on his cap.² Chang Heng-chü (Chang Tsai) was humble enough to remove the tiger skin from his seat and make his disciples take lessons from the two Ch'engs.³ Only men of great courage and selflessness in the world can do this.

The world today has long been morally degenerate. It does not differ from a sick man approaching death. And yet, every man continues to hold stubbornly to his own opinions, and refuses to seek in humility for guidance and correction. That is why, in today's world, only the heroic and independent scholars, who really recognise the urgency of the need to seek one's own nature and endowment, take upon themselves the responsibility of seeking the way of sages, and are anxious to find a teacher to follow. And yet, you, my friend, consider it unsuitable to treat as guests those younger scholars, though their talents and purposefulness are not adequate for learning the *tao* . . . True, if there were a great difference of age, the question of seniority remains, and hardly needs mentioning. Even Confucius caused a youth of the Ch'üeh village to take messages for him, and said 'I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man. He walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man.'⁴ However, he did not refrain from giving the youth his instructions. I need not say, all this refers to people who are less perfect than ourselves. In the case of those of great virtue and superior knowledge, who happen to have been

born several decades of years after me, I would prefer to consider the greater ones as my teachers, and the lesser ones as my friends. How can I yet take into consideration the difference of age? . . .

WWKC, 21:645

¹ *Book of Rites*, 'T'an-kung', Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. I, pp. 128-9.

² To show that he was dying as a gentleman. See *Tso-chuan*, fifteenth year of Duke Ai, Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, pp. 842-3.

³ See *Sung-shih* [Sung Dynastic History], 427, p. 1098; also *Wai-shu*, 12:13a.

⁴ *Analects*, XIV:47, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 293.

On the Rites

13. TO HO TZU-YUAN¹

1512

⁴ . . . According to the *Book of Rites*, Tseng-tzu had asked: "Suppose the feudal princes are assembled in a body to appear before the Son of Heaven. They have entered the gate, but are unable to go through with the rites [of audience]. - How many occurrences will cause these to be discontinued?" Confucius replied, "Four". Tseng-tzu asked again: "Suppose the feudal princes are visiting one another. [The visitors] have entered the gate after customary bowings and courtesies, but are unable to go through with the rites [of audience]. - How many occurrences will cause these to be discontinued?" Confucius replied, "Six, including an eclipse of the sun". Tseng-tzu said: "If, during [an important] sacrifice, an eclipse of the sun occurs, or the grand ancestral temple takes fire, what should be done?" Confucius replied: "The sacrifice should be hurried on. But if the victims have arrived, and have not yet been slain, the sacrifice should be discontinued."² I (Meng-ch'un), however have doubts concerning these replies. The death of the Son of Heaven, the grand ancestral temple taking fire, the funeral rites of the queen [or of the princess of the state], the robes getting unsightly through soaking rain are all unforeseeable events which may occur. The eclipse of the sun, however, can be calculated in advance. When the feudal princes were performing the rites, could they not have avoided this? And why should they have had to perform sacrifice that very day, and even to hurry it on? If the sacrifice may be discontinued when the victim has not yet

been slain, may I ask why the time of the eclipse of the sun was not known when the time for the slaying was fixed? . . . '

[Yang-ming's answer:]

. . . In ancient times, the Son of Heaven had a *jih-kuan* [officer of days], the feudal lords had *jih-yü* [superintendent of days]³ . . . So how could it happen, that it should not yet be known, on the day of the sacrifice, that an eclipse of the sun would occur? I suppose that during the time of the Spring-Autumn Period [722-481 B.C.] these officials were often negligent in their work, so that eclipses of the sun sometimes took place without their knowing in advance. Yao had entrusted to the families of Hsi and Ho, the work of 'delivering respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people'.⁴ This meant he considered it a very important thing. Yet, during the time of Chung-k'ang which was not so long after Yao, Hsi and Ho were already negligent in their duties. Confused in the reading of the heavens, they did not know when the eclipse of the sun would occur. That was why Yin was sent on a punitive expedition against them.⁵ By the times of Shang and Chou, this position became even less important. With the removal of the capital by King P'ing to the east [77 B.C.], the political control and instructions, the commandments and orders of the government could not reach the whole world. We can therefore imagine how the officials became even more negligent in their duties after that. In the *Spring-Autumn Annals*, thirty-six eclipses of the sun were recorded.⁶ But if we verify these in the *Tso-chuan* [Annals of Tso], we shall find out that one out of three times some transgression was committed against the rites either by the beating of drums and offering of victims and silks, or by other irregularities.⁷ Also two out of four of the officials were negligent in their appointed duties. Tu Yu⁸ regarded all officials who did not record the days on which the eclipse of the sun occurred as being negligent in their duties. That is why these things can be verified. In the *Spring-Autumn Annals* it is recorded: 'In the winter of the seventeenth year of Duke Huan, on the first day of the tenth month, there was an eclipse of the sun'.⁹ The *Tso-chuan* said: 'Not to record the date would be a negligence of official duty'.¹⁰ Again, in the summer of the fifteenth year of Duke Hsi [663 B.C.], in the fifth month, there was an eclipse of the sun. The *Tso-chuan* said: 'Not to record

the character "shuo"¹¹ and the date, was a negligence of official duty.¹² Hence, the *Tso-chuan* has already given us this information. In the winter of the twenty-seventh year of Duke Hsiang on the *yi-hai* day of the twelfth month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹³ But the *Tso-chuan* said: "This was really the ninth month. So the mistakes made in calculations led to the omission of two intercalations."¹⁴ Hence, the ignorance concerning the eclipses of the sun would rather be considered as a small mistake. Besides, in ancient times, before the sacrifice, seven days of fast and abstinence were observed as a sign of sincerity and respect towards the spirits. When the day for the sacrifice arrived and the eclipse of the sun occurred, since the rites were already begun, it would not have been possible to interrupt them. To hurry on the sacrifice means to go faster, with simplified ceremonies. Thus could the sacrifice also be preserved without harm. Especially with regard to the seasonal sacrifices of the Son of Heaven to Heaven and Earth, these should be completed as the great sacrifices of the state. Other minor sacrifices could perhaps have been stopped. They had to be decided according to their degree of importance. For example, during a sacrifice performed in the ancestral temple, if the temple was to take fire, it would seem that the sacrifice would have to be stopped. Although there is nothing clearly written about this, I would think so. . . .

WWKC, 21:646

¹ His private name was Ho Meng-ch'un. A *chin-shih* in 1493, he later became Vice-Minister of Civil Officials. Always interested in questions of rites, he led the opposition to Emperor Shih-tsung's awarding of certain posthumous titles to the Emperor's deceased father, going to the extreme of kneeling and crying one entire morning with a group of officials in front of the palace gate. See *Ming-shih*, 191:453. In the light of his life, it is interesting that the only extant letter written to him by Yang-ming should be on the subject of rites.

² See *Books of Rites*, 'Tseng-tzu wen' [Questions of Tseng-tzu], Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. 1, pp. 328-31.

³ These were court astronomers. See *Tso-chuan*, Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, p. 69.

⁴ *Book of Documents*, Yao-tien [Canon of Yao], *ibid.*, vol. III, pt 1, p. 18.

⁵ *Book of Documents*, 'Yin-cheng' [Punitive Expedition of Yin], *ibid.*, pp. 162-9.

⁶ See Feng Cheng, *Ch'un-ch'iu jih-shih chi-cheng* [Collected Proofs of the Eclipses of the Sun during the Spring-Autumn Period], Shanghai, 1929.

⁷ For irregularities connected with 'beating of drums and offering of victims and silks', see *Tso-chuan*, Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, pt 1, pp. 108-10, 268-72.

⁸ The Chin scholar (A.D. 222-84) who wrote a standard commentary on *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso-chuan*.

⁹ 3 October, in the year 594 B.C., in Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, pp. 67-69.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ It meant the beginning of the lunar month.

¹² Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, p. 167. Also, it would seem that the eclipse really took place in the third month. See Feng, *op.cit.*, p. 75.

¹³ It was 7 October, the 12th cycle day, in 545 B.C. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. V, pp. 528-36.

¹⁴ Ibid.

On Sincerity

14. TO HUANG TSUNG-HSIEN

1513

... Mencius said, 'If anyone loves others but is not loved in return, let him examine himself to see whether his *jen* is perfect'.¹ and, 'If anyone does not attain the goal sought after in his actions, let him examine himself.'² Unless we have personally experienced such things, we would not be able to realise the perennial truth and the earnest meaning of these words. . . .

... Recently, whenever I discussed learning with friends, I spoke only of two words: 'establishing sincerity'.³ As in killing a man, the knife ought to be placed on the throat, so in studying, efforts should be made to enter the fine points of the mind. Then would study naturally become earnest and solid and radiate brightness, and even if selfish desires sprout up, they will disappear in the same way as a few flakes of snow melt upon a fiercely burning stove. Thus, the fundamental, universal principle will be established. If an individual only pays attention to the tips of the twigs, to the unessential decorations and to making comparisons, then such things which we usually call learning and inquiry, reflection and making distinctions, will only tend to increase his pride and conscious error, so that while he considers himself to be becoming more intelligent and superior, he fails to realise that he is sinking into the depths of hatred and jealousy. . . .

WWKC, 4:176

¹ Mencius, 4A: 4, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 294.

² Ibid., p. 295.

³ *Book of Changes*, Hexagram 1, 'Ch'ien', Appendix 4. See Legge's *Yi-King*, p. 410.

. . . In your letter you said, 'while the goal of study is certainly the understanding of the good and the attainment of sincerity,¹ I do not know what is really the good, where it comes from, where it now is, how should one make efforts to understand it, how these efforts should be begun, whether the search for sincerity contains systematic stages, and what sincerity is really about. These points are minute and complicated. . . .'

. . . Your mistake is to have divided things into isolated units, and to have gone outside of yourself too much without being conscious of it. The mind is the master of the person; the nature is within the mind, and the good originates in nature. This is what Mencius meant, when he talked about human nature being good.² The good refers to nature, rather than to any external form or any determinate direction. Since it is formless and resides in no fixed place how can anyone receive it from somewhere? . . . You think as you do because you have not inquired carefully into the real teaching of the school of sages, but are used to stopping at the etymological research of later ages. You think that every thing and object has its own good, and so to seek the supreme good, one must begin with things and objects, before one can be said to 'understand the good'. On that account you use such words as 'Where does it come from?' and 'Where is it now?'. . . .

What one calls 'moral principles' in an event of object, 'righteousness' in our adapting ourselves towards it, and 'good' in nature, are differently designated on account of the things to which they refer, but in reality are all manifestations of my *hsin*.³ There is no object, no event, no moral principle, no righteousness, and no good that lies outside the mind. When my mind regards events and objects purely from the viewpoint of moral principles (*li*) and without any falsity, there is good. This is not fixed in events and objects, and can be sought for in a definite place. Righteousness means to adapt oneself properly to objects; it refers to my mind having done what is appropriate. For righteousness is not an external object,⁴ which one can seize and take over.

To 'investigate' means to investigate this, to 'extend' means to extend this. To insist on seeking the supreme good in every event and object is to separate what is one into two things. Yi-ch'uan (Ch'eng Yi) has said, 'If you use that you would know this',⁵ meaning that this and that are not to be distinguished in nature, or principle or goodness. As to what you say about 'how to make efforts to understand the good, how to begin such efforts, whether there are definite steps towards the attainment of sincerity, and what is sincerity all about', these show that you think there is a special effort for the attainment of sincerity. But according to my idea, the understanding of the good is itself the effort of attaining sincerity. When we say sincerity means freedom from falsehood, we mean also that the attainment of sincerity means to have no falsehood in ourselves. And so the effort of attaining sincerity is also that of understanding the good. That is why the man of wide learning learns this, the man of careful inquiry inquires into it, the man of cautious reflection reflects upon it, the man of discernment discerns it, and the man of earnest belief puts it into practice.⁶ This is all the effort of understanding the good and of becoming sincere. And so there is a way to attain sincerity, and this way is the understanding of the good. If a man does not understand the good, he cannot become sincere. There is no other way outside the understanding of the good which can be called the effort of becoming sincere. When one begins to strive after sincerity, one is not yet sincere, and so one calls this work the understanding of the good. But the goal of the understanding of the good is to become sincere. If we say that understanding the good has its own effort, while attaining sincerity also has its own effort, we are separating it into two things. And then it will be difficult for us not to make the mistake of falling into the danger of making a slight error which will take us a thousand *li* astray from our goal. . . .

WWKC, 4:178-9

¹ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 20, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 412-13.

² *Mencius*, 6A. See the discussion between Mencius and Kao-tzu who maintained that human nature was neither good nor evil. Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp. 394-9.

³ This shows the difference between Yang-ming's philosophy and Chu Hsi's. To develop the innate moral knowledge in the mind is, for Yang-ming, the only thing necessary in the pursuit of sagehood, while Chu Hsi had said that one ought to investigate the principles of all things.

⁴ Allusion to Kao-tzu's teaching. See *Mencius*, 6A:4, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 396.

⁵ Referring to *Yi-shu*, 18:5b.

⁶ *Doctrine of the Mean*, 20:19, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 413.

On Learning

16. TO [TS'AI] HSI-YUAN¹

1513

... There is naught else in the way of learning, except to seek for the lost mind.² This one sentence is enough. As to the items of our effort, these multiply endlessly the more we speak about them. . . .

I heard from friends that many wish you to keep your aloofness and not come out. But then the various factors involved ought to be weighed. If your parent could continue to get rice, there is no need to talk of remaining aloof, and then, of course, it is not appropriate for you to come out. Otherwise I fear that people might be trying to 'justify' their selfish sentiments. We cannot let this go unnoticed.

WWKC, 4:180

¹ Private name Ts'ai Tsung-tui, literary name Wo-chai. He was an early disciple of Yang-ming. See *MJHA*, 11:5a-b.

² *Mencius*, 6a:11, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 414. The 'lost mind' refers to a mind or heart that has gone astray from the principle of *jen* or humanity and the path of *yi* or righteousness.

On Determination

17. TO TAI TZU-LIANG¹

1513

... The man of determination will accomplish his desire. I wish you much courage. It is not just for one day already that learning has been obscure. For too few people have the ambition or determination to apply themselves to it. Yet, since it is common and normal for people in general to desire virtue,² how could one say that there is absolutely nobody interested? Rather, what happens is that many cannot overcome their selfish desires, and fall eventually into the conventional ways, which means the same thing as saying that they have no firm determination. . . .

WWKC, 4:181-2

¹ His private name was Tai Te-ju. As Prefect of Lin-chiang he assisted Yang-ming in his victorious campaign against the rebel Prince Ning in 1519. See 'Nien-p'u' in *WWKC*, 33:939.

² Allusion to *Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching*), "Tang-chih shih' [Decade of Tang], pt 3, bk 3, ode 6 (Legge's *Classics*, vol. IV, p. 541).

On the Gentleman Living with Inferior Men

18. TO HU PO-CHUNG¹

1513

... When a gentleman must live with men of inferior virtue, there is no reason why he should compromise himself and become like them. If, unfortunately, at the end of his power and reason, he is injured by them, he ought merely to endure this in peace. If his reactions are not sufficiently in accord with the *tao* – if he has an excessive hatred of evil, or suffers from justifiable anger – these would be of no help to him, and would only increase the hatred and venom of his opponents. It would then all be the fault of the gentleman. Men in the past have said, in anything which does not oppose the principle of righteousness, custom, or convention may be followed. While a gentleman does not follow custom or convention lightly, neither does he mind differing from custom.

To live with evil men would be the same as 'sitting with court robes and court cap amid mire and ashes'. This refers to the purity of Po-yi.² 'Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?'³ This refers to the peace-loving nature of Liu-hsia Hui. As a gentleman regards the transformation of natural endowments to be learning, it seems to me that you should imitate such a peace-loving method of conducting yourself, by not allowing the three highest dignities of the empire to change your determination.⁴ Surely, the others [with whom Po-chung was having difficulty] do not have the purity of Po-yi. But my attitude towards you can be described thus: 'Virtue is light as a hair, but few are able to lift it. When I think over the matter, [I find that] only Chung-shan Fu can lift it. I love him but can do nothing to help him.'⁵ Upright men are difficult to find; orthodox learning is difficult to understand. Vulgar conventions are difficult to change; the straight path is difficult to keep to. I feel quite lost as I write this letter. I cannot say all that I wish to say. Only the heart understands.

WWKC, 4:182

¹ I have not been able to identify him.

² *Mencius*, 5B:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 369. As a hermit, Po-yi refused to serve the Chou court. He was regarded as a sage of 'purity'.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 370-1. In contrast to Po-yi, Liu-hsia Hui, minister of Lu, the sage of 'peace', was ready to serve under any ruler and in any capacity.

⁴ *Mencius*, 7A:28, *ibid.*, p. 466.

⁵ *Book of Odes*, 'Tang-chih-shih', Pt 3, bk 3, ode 6 (Legge's *Classics*, vol. IV, p. 544).

On Fixing the Determination

19. TO HUANG CH'ENG-FU¹

1513

... It sounds almost nagging to talk about fixing our determination. Still, in speaking with close friends, we cannot give it up. For those whose minds are fixed on the attainment of virtue, glory and fame are not sufficient to deter them. For those whose minds are fixed on glory and fame, wealth and honour are not sufficient to deter them. But what the recent ages have considered as virtue, is merely glory and fame. And what the recent ages have considered glory and fame, is merely wealth and honour. A man of *jen* conforms to the requirements of righteousness without seeking profit, and understands *tao* without calculating merit.² When once he has the intention of calculating gain, then even if he conforms to the requirements of righteousness and understands *tao*, it is nothing but vain glory and profit. ...

WWKC, 4:182

¹ Private name Huang Tsung-ming (d. 1536). See his biography in *MJHA*, 14:4a-b.

² Tung Chung-shu, *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* [Luxuriant Gems of the Spring-Autumn Annals], SPTK ed., 32:33a-b.

On Fixing the Determination

20. TO [WANG] T' IEN-YÜ¹

1514

... You, T'ien-yü, said of yourself, 'I have the determination, but cannot remain diligent'. But then, what is meant by determination, and who is it that cannot be diligent? You also said, 'the learning of the sages and worthy men can control activity by tranquillity'. But then, how can you be tranquil, and do 'tranquillity' and 'activity' refer to two minds? You say, 'when

one is performing official and administrative duties, one forces oneself to grasp virtue and to imitate virtuous deeds. In so doing, one is forcing things to conform to the *tao* [Way], though in the end one does not frequently succeed'. But then, '[The gentleman] cleaves [to virtue] in moments of haste and danger'.² What sort of efforts can one make in that regard? You also said, 'one can learn something every time one opens a book, and one is moved by inspiration when one meets wise worthy men and superior men'. But then, what is it with which one is thus inspired? And if one must rely on these two things to be inspired, what must one do without them? Also where is the so-called determination at this moment? . . .

These sentences can only arise because you, T'ien-yü, really apply effort. But they are also sufficient to show that you have not always understood what you have been taught. If you gain any insight after thinking it over, do not hesitate to instruct me in it.

WWKC, 4:183

¹ Private name Wang Ch'eng-yü (1465-1538); T'ien-yü was his courtesy name. See his biography in *MJHA*, 9:5.

² *Analects*, IV:5, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p.167.

On Investigation of Things

21. TO [WANG] T' IEN-YU¹

1514

. . . In your letter you said, 'To investigate things one must attain sincerity in person'. On first reading I was not free from doubt. Later, after carefully questioning Hsi-yen [T's'ai Hsi-yüan], I understood what it meant.

But I have not taught about any such relationship concerning personal sincerity and the investigation of things. Has it, perhaps, come from Hsi-yen? According to my humble opinion, sincerity of intention is essential in the learning of the gentleman, while the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge are the results achieved by sincerity of intention. This can be compared to a hungry man seeking satiation as his goal, and food and drink as the means towards the goal of satiation. Hsi-yen is quite acquainted with my ideas, and ought not give such a

different interpretation. Perhaps my teaching has lacked clarity sometimes; please consider it in detail.

You also said, 'The *Great Learning* gives the steps taken systematically by the ancients in their striving for learning.' Chu-tzu said that the intention become sincere when the principles (*li*) of all things have been exhaustively [studied].² But then, this would be in contradiction to what he also said about maintaining a reverent and serious disposition and exhausting *li* and about the extension of knowledge being impossible without the employment of the mind.³ For the theory about maintaining reverence and employing the mind comes from an addition in the commentary, while the holy Classic declared directly that the mind is rectified when the principles are exhausted. Beginning scholars use the Classic without investigating its commentary. This leads to mistakes. How can our study, therefore, not become isolated and fragmentary?

The *Great Learning* discusses systematically only the investigation of things, which brings about the attainment of perfect knowledge, and the attainment of perfect knowledge, which brings about the sincerity of intention. As to the intention becoming sincere after exhausting the principles of things, it is the doctrine of Chu-tzu, and is not so self-contradictory, except that it may not completely conform to the original meaning of the text of the *Great Learning*. As to 'Without employing the mind, it is impossible to extend knowledge', not only does this sentence not conform completely to the *Great Learning*, but also not to what is meant in the *Doctrine of the Mean* about the respect of virtuous nature and of study through inquiry.⁴ But this would require a long discussion, which we can have only when we see each other. Later scholars adhere to added commentaries, and do not investigate deeply the meaning of the Classics. Stopping at the literal understanding of words, they do not pay attention to the direct experience of their mind and person. That is why knowledge becomes fragmentary, and they achieve nothing in the end. This, I fear, is the fault of adhering to the Classics without consulting the commentary.

You also said, 'To apply oneself to the attainment of sincerity in person without starting from the exhaustive study of *li*, risks the danger of not attaining any real sincerity, but only practising pretence.'

This is very well said. But then how would the effort of seeking sincerity in person operate? I hope you will recognise that.

You also gave the example of traveller for whom the destination is the capital city which can be called the Supreme Good. The traveller braves any danger, obstructions and difficulties, being determined to advance. This can be called the determination of the mind. Now if this man does not know where the capital city is, but still wants recklessly to go there, it would be a wonder if he did not go south to Yueh or north to Hu.⁵

This example is generally correct. But to take his fearlessness of dangers, obstructions and difficulties, and his determination to advance, to be the employment of the mind, is somewhat far-fetched and misses the crux of the problem. Not to fear dangers, obstructions and difficulties, but to be determined to advance, is concerned rather with the word 'intention' referred to in the 'sincerity of intention'. In that case, all that pertains to asking for directions, getting travelling provisions, and taking certain boats and vehicles, cannot be neglected. Otherwise, how can he be determined to advance, and yet advance recklessly? Not to know where the capital city is, but to want recklessly to go there, shows only a desire to go, rather than the reality of going. Because he only desires to go, and does not really go, he neglects asking for directions, getting his travelling provisions, and taking the correct boats and vehicles. Otherwise, if he is determined to advance, he would really get there. How can a person who really goes there act in the way you described? This is where effort must be urgently applied. . . .

You also said, 'Formerly men spoke about the investigation of things as the defence of self from external objects.⁶ When external objects are kept away from us, our minds are properly employed. When the mind is employed, the person can apply himself to knowledge. . . .'

This way of speaking makes of the defence of self against external objects one thing, and the application or extension of knowledge another thing. While the defence against external objects is not so harmful, to stop at defending oneself externally does not imply the removal of the roots of the disease. It is not what has been called the effort of self-conquest to seek *jen*. My theory about the investigation of things is also different from this. What the *Great Learning* means by the sincerity of intention⁷ is exactly what the *Doctrine of the Mean* means by sincerity in

person.⁸ What the *Great Learning* says about the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge⁹ is exactly what the *Doctrine of the Mean* calls the understanding of the good.¹⁰ Wide learning, careful, questioning, attentive reflections, clear discernment and earnest application are all what is called the understanding of the good and are all efforts in striving for sincerity in person. There is no other effort of making oneself sincere outside of the understanding of the good. Outside of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge, is there another so-called effort of making the intention sincere? What the *Book of Documents* says about having a single purpose,¹¹ what the *Analects* say about having a wide knowledge of books and conforming to the rules of propriety,¹² what the *Doctrine of the Mean* says about the esteem of the virtuous nature and the direction of learning through inquiry¹³ – all mean the same thing as we have said. This is the essential point of learning and of making efforts. It is here that the difference of a hair's breadth can lead one a thousand *li* astray. . . .

WWKC, 4:183-5

¹ This letter should be read in relation to Yang-ming's second letter to Wang Ch'un-fu (oo) in which he also discusses the problems of attaining personal sincerity and understanding the good.

² Referring to Chu's commentary on the *Great Learning*, 1:4-5. See *Ta-hsueh chang-chu* in *Ssu-shu chi-chu*, SPPY ed., 1b-2a.

³ *CTVL*, 11:1a-5b, 12:4b-6b, 15:2a-7b.

⁴ *Doctrine of the Mean*, 27:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 422.

⁵ Yueh refers here to the present province of Chekiang, and Hu to northern frontier.

⁶ Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-86). See *Ssu-ma Wen-kung wen-chi*, SPTK ed., 71:11a.

⁷ *Great Learning*, ch. 6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 366. The Chinese word *yi*, sometimes translated as 'thought', refers also to 'intention'.

⁸ *Doctrine of the Mean*, 20:17-22, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 412-15.

⁹ *Great Learning*, 1:4-5, *ibid.*, pp. 358-9.

¹⁰ *Doctrine of the Mean*, 20:37, *ibid.*, p. 413.

¹¹ *Book of Documents*, "Ta-yü mu", in Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pt 1, p. 61. I prefer 'single purpose' to 'being undivided'.

¹² *Analects*, VI:25, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 193.

¹³ See note 4.

On the Educative Mission of the Official

22. TO LI TAO-FU¹

1515

. . . I heard recently that when you first took charge of your prefecture, you wanted to teach people this learning at once.

This is of course natural to the heart of a man of *jen*. On this account, I am really very pleased with you, but at the same time very worried for you.

Since the learning of the sages has been forgotten and the Way of virtue lost, vulgar conventions have been all powerful, and those contaminated may be compared to a man struggling in the midst of great sea waves. He needs to be helped to land on the shore² before he can be given clothes and food. If we threw to him clothes and food into the waves, we would only increase his chances of drowning by adding to his weight. He would thus consider it not an act of kindness, but rather the contrary. Therefore, in our present times, we ought to adjust to opportunities and circumstances in directing and counselling others, making use of special affairs which arise to opening and enriching [the minds of others],³ influencing them in a calm and unagitated manner. When their feelings are awakened and their interest is aroused, we can then begin to expound to them our opinions. In this way, we need expend little energy and yet obtain large results. Otherwise, there would be danger of meeting conflicts and unsurmountable obstacles.⁴ Besides, it would also become a burden for the gentleman to love others. . . .

WWKC, 4:185

¹ I have not been able to identify him.

² Allusion to *Mencius*, 4A:17, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 307.

³ Allusion to *Book of Documents*, 'Yueh-ming' [Charge to Yueh], Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 252.

⁴ *Book of Rites* 'Ch'ü-li' [Minutiae of Etiquette], Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. I, p. 86.

On Learning

23. TO LU YUAN-CHING¹

1516

. . . We have already discussed in detail the theory concerning an extensive learning. Why should you still be preoccupied by it today? I fear this is also due to lack of firmness of determination, and to the obstacles set up by worldly customs. If I had really no ambitions of renown and gain, then, even though I be engaged in affairs of finance, collecting revenues, or of warfare, of transporting firewood or rice,² I can go nowhere without finding genuine learning, and meet with nothing that will not

be full of *T'ien-li*. This is all the more so, if I am reading books on philosophy, history, poetry, and literature, But if I still harbour ambitions of renown and profit, even though I might talk every day about virtue, about *jen* and *yi* [righteousness], these would still be affairs of merit and gain, all the more so if I happen to be reading books on philosophy, history, poetry, and literature. To speak about abandoning and renouncing all things, is still to be hindered by old habits. This happens when our daily efforts and applications to study bring no special discovery. I recommend that you purify yourself of conventional concepts, and recover your original determination. Then, if you think further of [my] parables contained in our daily eating and drinking for the nourishment of the body, and in the planting, cultivating and watering of trees, everything would certainly become very clear to you. 'In all things, we ought to distinguish between the essential and the accessory; in all affairs, we ought to distinguish between the roots and the branches. He who knows what comes first and what comes after is not far from the Way of perfection.'³ . . .

WWKC, 4:186

¹ Private name Lu Ch'eng, courtesy name Ch'ing-po. He obtained his *chin-shih* degree, in 1517. See *MJHA*, 14:3a-b.

² Allusion to the Ch'an Buddhist idea that enlightenment can be found in menial labour. The Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng was given the task of pounding rice for eight months when he went to the Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen for instruction. See *Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching*, TSD, No. 2008, 48:34b. See also Wing-tsit Chan (trans.), *The Platform Scripture* (1963), p. 31, and Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (second series, 1950), p. 41, no. 2.

³ *The Great Learning*, 1:3, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 357.

On Moral Cultivation

24. TO YANG SHIH-TE¹ AND HSUEH SHANG-CH'EN²

1517

. . . I have reached Lung-nan³ today, and shall invade the bandits' headquarters tomorrow. The soldiers from the four routes are all proceeding according to appointed times, and it looks as if the bandits will certainly be defeated. When I was in

Heng-shui,⁴ I once wrote to you, Shih-te, saying: 'It is easy to defeat the bandits in the mountains, but difficult to defeat the bandits in our minds.' That I am able to eliminate a few petty thieves is no cause for surprise. But for you, my worthy friends, to sweep your hearts clean of the bandits inside, and to succeed in restoring inner clarity and peace and calm, would certainly be an epoch-making accomplishment of great men. I suppose that during the past few days, you must have already obtained a strategy which will be sure of victory, so that we can already await the reports of your triumph in the near future. What cause for joy is this!

WWKC, 4:187

¹ Yang Shih-te's private name was Yang Chi. He died before his brother Yang Shih-ming with whom he had studied first under Chan Kan ch'uan and then under Yang-ming. See *WWKC*, 25:731 and *MJHA*, 30:1a-b.

² Private name Hsueh K'an (d. 1545). See *MJHA*, 30:3a.

³ In the present province of Kiangsi. During Ming times, it was a county attached to Kan-chou. See *Ming-shih*, 43:97.

⁴ In the present province of Kiangsi; Yang-ming established a county there. See 'Nien-p'u', *WWKC*, 32:926. The letter referred to is not included in these *Complete Works*. But according to 'Nien-p'u', Yang-ming was in Heng-shui two months earlier. See also note 3.

On Civil Service

25. TO WEN-JEN PANG-YING AND PANG-CHENG¹

1518

... When our family is poor and our parents old, how can we not seek after an official's emolument?² Yet, when we do seek after an official's emolument, but pay no attention to preparations for examination, we would merely be negligent in making human efforts, and blaming Heaven and fate in vain. This is silly. If we could only make our determination very firm, and always keep to the *tao* in every affair, without being moved by considerations of gain and loss, then, even if we work hard to prepare for examinations, and even if we talk daily of virtue, we would only acquire the defect of becoming listless and vain. That is why men in the past spoke about losing one's determination [to seek sagehood] as being more dangerous than the hindrances to making

45

efforts.³ Now, to speak of losing determination means that one already has a determination which can be lost. If one has not yet a determination which may be lost, must one [not] therefore think deeply and reflect upon oneself as early as possible? . . .

WWKC, 4:187

¹ Wen-jen Pang-ying and Pang-cheng were two brothers, Yang-ming's cousins and disciples. Their private names were Yin and Chuan. See *Shao-hsing fu-chih*, 33:436. Also *Yang-ming hsien-shang chuan-tsuán*, pt 1, p. 35.

² *Mencius*, 5b:b, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 383.

³ Ch'eng Yi, *Wai-shu*, 11:5a.

On Civil Service

26. TO WEN-JEN PANG-YING AND PANG-CHENG

1518

The gentleman only seeks to do what is right. If he takes up an official position, it is not normally on account of poverty, although sometimes it might be on account of poverty.¹ Former men all did that; why should we alone be different? But it is wrong to say that the participation in the civil examinations goes against the learning of the sages. Ch'eng-tzu said that 'If the mind does not forget [its objective] even though one might have to take care of worldly affairs, there is nothing that is not solid learning, nothing that is not *tao* [virtue]'.¹ The same is true of participation in examinations. However to say that participation in civil examinations does not at all work against the learning of sages is also wrong. Ch'eng-tzu also said that, if the mind forgets [its objective], then even if you spend a whole lifetime, all that you do is but superficial.³ This is all the more so with participation in civil examinations. Between 'forgetting' and 'not forgetting', the difference is slighter than a hair's breadth. The essential is in thinking deeply and understanding in silence, what thing is that which he says one ought not forget. To know this is to know learning. . . .

WWKC, 4:187-8

¹ *Mencius*, 5B:5, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 383.

² This saying is attributed to Chang Tsai by Chu Hsi. See *Chin-ssu lu chi-chu*, 2:23b Chan's *Reflections*, p. 85.

³ This is the continuation of Chang Tsai's saying (note 2).

. . . Several years of studying together can only help us to fix our determination and to distinguish between righteousness and profit.² If we have not yet acquired strength in this regard, all our daily talk will be vain words, and all our daily insights will be quite unreal. We must not fail to realise and examine ourselves with effort upon this. The man who falls once acquires one more experience. There is no reason why the failure of today cannot very well become the success of the day after. But we have come to the Second Principle, while we really ought to apply our efforts first to the First Principle.³ The truth in one is the truth in all.⁴ Since it is the case with this little thing [*liang-chih*], there is no more need to seek for what is not true.

WWKC, 4:188

¹ See Letter 24.

² *Analects*, IV:16, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 170.

³ 'First Principle' (*ti-yi-yi*) and 'Second Principle' (*ti-erh yi*) are Buddhist terms, referring respectively to the Highest Truth and to secondary truths. In Ch'an Buddhism, the First Principle is that which is beyond the realm of the conscious mind and hence inexpressible. The Sanskrit word for 'First Principle' is *paramārtha*. See *Lankavatāra Sūtra*, TSD No. 670, 16:500, English translation by D.T. Suzuki, *The Lankavatāra Sūtra: A Mahayana Text* (1959), p. 35.

In the case of Yang-ming, *liang-chih* is his 'First Principle' and everything else is secondary, as the rest of this letter shows.

⁴ Allusion to the *T'ien-t'ai* philosophy of Buddhism, with its 'one-in-all and all-in-one' proposition. See the *Ta-ch'eng chih-kuan fa-men* [The Method of Concentration and Insight of the Greater Vehicle] ascribed to Hui-ssu (514-577) in *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, ch. 17, TSD No. 2060, 50:562-4. Yang-ming is trying to say that *liang-chih* contains all truth. This is the first time, in these letters, that he hints at his teaching of *liang-chih*. We know this to be so -- that 'this little thing?' (*che-hsieh-tzu*) refers to *liang chih* -- through the information given in the *Nien-p'u*; see WWKC 33:951 for the account of Yang-ming's discovery of *liang-chih*.

On Correction of Faults

28. TO MY YOUNGER BROTHERS [AND COUSINS]¹

1518

. . . Our *pen-hsin*² is as bright and clear as the sun in the day time. No one who has faults does not know them himself. The only

fear is that he does not correct them. Once determined to reform, he recovers at once his own mind.

Which human being, indeed, is without fault? The noble thing is to correct one's fault. Ch'ü Po-yü was a very worthy man.³ Yet he said, 'I wish to correct my fault, but am unable to do so'. King T'ang and Confucius were two great sages. And yet one said, 'I willingly correct my faults',⁴ and the other, 'I wish to be free from big faults'.⁵ Everyone says, 'Except for Yao and Shun, who can be without fault?'

This also is a conventional way of talking. We cannot learn adequately from this how the minds of Yao and Shun were like. If Yao and Shun really considered themselves as faultless, they would not be sages. The advice they gave to each other was, 'The mind of man is prone to error, the mind of *tao* is subtle. Keep always to the Mean; practise discernment and single-mindedness'.⁶ Since they themselves regarded the mind of man as prone to error, it shows that their minds were as prone to faults as those of other men. Only because they were always wary were they able to hold fast to the Mean and avoid transgressions.⁷ Sages and worthy men of the past always saw their own faults and corrected them. Hence they were able to avoid faults. This is not due to their minds being really different from those of other men. He who is vigilant without being seen, and apprehensive without being heard,⁸ constantly obtains the results of seeing for himself his faults. Recently, I have really seen where I can apply effort in this aspect of learning, but, on account of accumulated habits and deep-seated faults, I lack courage to correct myself. That is why I warn you of this earnestly in advance as my brothers, so that you may not allow yourselves to develop such deep-seated faults as mine are, and then find it difficult to correct them. When people are young, they have enough vital energy and physical power to keep up their courage. Besides, family worries are not yet so pressing. So they find it rather easy to apply their efforts [to the task of self-cultivation]. But as they grow older, they become more and more involved in the cares of the world while their vital energy diminishes daily. If they are able to devote themselves with earnest determination to study, they can yet do something useful with themselves. But by the time they reach forty or fifty, they resemble the setting

sun, which decreases in power, and cannot be held back any more. That is why Confucius said, 'The person who at the age of forty or fifty has not yet been heard of by others, is not worthy of being regarded with respect'.⁹ He also said, "When a man is old, and his physical powers have diminished, he ought to guard against covetousness".¹⁰ Recently, I have seen this defect also in myself. That is why I earnestly warn you of it in advance, my brothers, so that you may make efforts while you still have time, and not wait until it is too late, when you will only regret in vain.

WWKC, 4:189-90

- ¹ The eldest son of his parents, Yang-ming had three younger brothers: Shou-chien, Shou-wen, Shou-chang, as well as a younger sister, married to his favourite disciple, Hsu Ai. He was, however, the only child of his mother, who died when he was twelve. I add 'and Cousins' because of the appearance of the words *ti-pei* (brothers' generation) in China, paternal cousins regarded one another as brothers.
- ² The word *pen-hsin*, literally 'original mind', was frequently used by Lu Chiu-yuan [Lu Hsiang-shan] (1139-93). In the writings of Yang-ming, it does not occur very often.
- ³ A famous minister of Wei, and contemporary of Confucius. See *Analects*, XIV: 26, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 285-6.
- ⁴ *Book of Documents*, 'Chung-hui chih kao' [The Announcement of Chung-hui], Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 180.
- ⁵ *Analects*, VII: 16, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 200.
- ⁶ *Book of Documents*, 'Ta-Yu mu', Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pp. 61-2.
- ⁷ *Book of Documents*, 'Kao-yao mu' [Counsels of Kao-yao], *ibid.*, p. 73.
- ⁸ *Doctrine of the Mean*, 1:2-3, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 384.
- ⁹ *Analects*, IX:22, *ibid.*, p. 223.
- ¹⁰ *Analects*, XVI:7, *ibid.*, p. 313.

On Patience under Criticism

29. TO [TS'AI] HSI-YUAN

1519

... Although someone might treat him harshly and unjustly, a gentleman would first examine himself saying, 'Could I not be lacking in *li* [propriety] towards him?' And if he then decides he has not failed in *li*, he must still examine himself saying, 'Could I not be lacking in *chung* [fidelity] towards him?'¹ Since, Hsi-yuan, your effort of self-conquest is becoming daily more perfect and sincere and earnest, you certainly will not presume to be perfect in fidelity.

In the past during my exile in Kuei^wchot^w, not a month passed without my suffering tribulation [at the hands of others] all the time. Yet, when I think of it now, it was there that I could have

made the most progress in all that relates to the stimulation of the mind, the strengthening of human nature,² the practice of polishing and perfecting oneself. At that time, however, I only stopped at an imperfect accomplishment of my duties in order to pass time, and so I wasted the precious opportunity. . . .

WWKC, 4:181

¹ *Mencius*, 4B:28, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp. 333-4.

² *Mencius*, 6B:15, *ibid.*, p. 447.

On Similarities and Differences in Opinion

30. TO [CHAN] KAN-CH'UAN¹

1519

. . . In your letter, you reproached me earnestly for not having written to you for so long. This shows how much you love me. I am really at fault in this respect.

Given the same *hsin* [mind], and the same *li* [moral principles],² if we only know how to apply efforts on this point, then, in spite of a hundred anxieties and different paths, we shall tend to the same goal.³ Otherwise, even if we seek to prove every word, and to pursue the meaning of every sentence, the slightest divergence in our beginnings will lead to a difference of a thousand *li* [Chinese mile] at the conclusions . . . While, in our common purpose of advancing forward with the determination of attaining the goal [of sagehood], our minds may meet unconsciously and inadvertently, it may also not be possible for us not to find occasionally small differences in our insights. But since you manifest no weariness to me in this regard, I also am not anxious to influence you. What is important is that, sharing the same ambition, we resemble two men, both on their way to the capital, but possibly taking different routes, whether straight or circuitous. They both know that at the end they will arrive in the same place.

Formerly, when we were together in the boat at Lung-chiang [Nanking], I used to tell you how I preferred the old version of the Great Learning, and also about my theories on the *ko-wu* [investigation of things]. You did not, then, agree with me, and I too put such questions aside without insisting upon them. For

I knew you would, soon enough, come to a thorough understanding. Now that my judgment has been proved correct, my joy is of course beyond description! The waters coming from the K'un-lun mountain⁴ may sometimes flow underground, but they will eventually reach the sea. I am like a pauper. Were I to discover a translucent jade, others would not believe me, and would consider it a false imitation. Such a gem must enter the house of Ch'i-tun,⁵ in order to be made manifest to the world, so that its discoverer may at least be free of the crime of forgetting the gem. However, even this parable remains ambiguous. A translucent jade is obtained after a search outside of self. What I have been referring to, on the other hand, is something I originally possessed, without the need of any external search. But it might occasionally be forgotten, or, without being forgotten, it might get obscured from vision. . . .

WWKC, 4:190

¹ His private name was Chan Jo-shui. A native of the present province of Kuangtung, he became *chin-shih* in 1505, and later rose to the rank of Minister of Rites, of Civil Service, and of Military Affairs. He was also a famous philosopher, and a student of the philosopher Ch'en Hsien-chang (1428-1500). See *MJHA*, 37:2a-b.

² Allusion to a saying of Lu Chiu-yuan: 'Sages appeared tens of thousands of generations ago. They shared the same *hsin*, the same *li*. Sages will appear tens of generations after us. They will share the same *hsin*, the same *li*. . . . 'See *Hsiang-shan chüan-chi* [Complete Works of Lu], SPPY ed. (referred to hereinafter as *HSCC*), 22:5a.

³ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 2, ch. 5, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 389.

⁴ The longest mountain range in China.

⁵ A ancient rich man. See *Shih-chi*, ch. 129, p. 276.

On the Old Version of the *Great Learning*

31. TO FANG SHU-HSIEN¹

1519

Recently I received your letter together with the two letters exchanged between you and Kan-ch'üan. I read quickly through them and felt as refreshed as a man being soothed by a clear, cool breeze after having been in the heat. Your opinions are above the ordinary. You have made rapid progress – going forward a thousand *li* [distance] a day!

The re-publication of the old text of the *Great Learning* is especially a great event. I rejoice very much over it. In your discussions concerning Hsiang-shan, you cited several passages

from Mencius with regard to the 'lost mind',² but Kan-ch'uan still did not consider that adequate, and cited in addition: 'Sages arise in the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Seas; they have the same *hsin*, the same *li*',³ and also 'all that is within the universe is our concern'.⁴ His quotations are certainly to the point. But I prefer the intimacy and earnestness of your insights, Hsi-ch'iao! He who grasps the essentials must also make intimate and earnest efforts. If such intimate and earnest efforts are not made, his seemingly 'important' insights are mere hypothesis. Ever since Mencius made of original goodness the source of mind and nature,⁵ scholars have often discussed the problem back and forth. But their learning became finally fragmentary and external, without their being aware of it, precisely because their efforts lack in earnestness. . . .

WWKC, 4:191-2

¹ Private name Fang Hsien-fu, literary name Hsi-ch'iao. He became a *chin-shih* in 1505, and a disciple of Yang-ming. See *Ming-shih*, 196: 466-7.

² *Mencius*, 6A:11, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 414.

³ *HSCC*, 22:5a.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Mencius*, 6A:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 401.

On Learning

32. To Hsia Tun-fu¹

1521

. . . Formerly Confucius said to Tzu-kung, 'Tz'u [Tzu-kung's name] do you consider me as a learned man who remembers a great deal of things?' He responded 'Yes - or is that not correct?' Confucius said, 'No, I merely seek an all-pervading unity in my knowledge'.² And so, should the learning of sages not possess certain essential doctrines? The desertion of human morality and of the principles of things by the Buddhists and their consequent fall into the void, certainly cannot be called the understanding of the mind. On the other hand, can the external quest of wordly scholars, who seek for knowledge through investigations, without knowing how to focus on the mind, be called investigation of *li*? . . .

WWKC, 5:194

their own thinking, and in so doing, become more conscious of its depths. What is your honourable opinion thereof? Where the theory of the extension of knowledge is concerned, I fear that I shall not change my ideas, and hope you will have the kindness to think it over more and tell me at your convenience what is your second thought. For it forms the essential core of doctrine in the 'transmission of mind' of the learning of sages. If this is clear, everything else will be too. When the purpose is sincere and earnest, one cannot but be straightforward. Please do excuse my boldness. . . .

WWKC, 5:195

¹ This was the constant teaching of Chan Kan-ch'uan. See *MJHA*, 37.

² *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 2, ch. 5, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 389.

³ *Great Learning*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 355-9.

On *hsin*: Activity and Tranquillity

35. To Lun Yen-shih¹

1521

. . . The mind (*hsin*) is that which can neither be described as active nor tranquil. Tranquillity refers to its substance, while activity refers to its function. That is why the learning of the superior man makes no distinction between activity and tranquillity.² When he is tranquil he is constantly aware of the tranquillity of the mind and therefore it cannot be said to be non-existent. That is why he responds constantly to the external world. When he is active he is also constantly in control of the activity of his mind, so that it cannot be said to be existent. That is why it seems always to be quiet. Constantly responding and constantly quiet, both activity and tranquillity are present. This is called *chi-yi*³ [concentration of righteousness]. Such concentration of righteousness can free one from great regrets,⁴ for the mind remains fixed whether active or tranquil. The mind is only one. Tranquillity is its substance. If you seek for another foundation of tranquillity, you are disturbing its original substance. Activity is its function; if you fear its being easily stirred, you are preventing its functioning. That is why the desire for tranquillity is itself activity, while the aversion for activity is not [necessarily] tranquillity.⁵ This activity is active,

¹ His private name was Hsia Shan-p'u. He became a *chin-shih* in 1511. In his youth he had studied under the philosopher Lou Liang [1422-91]. See *MJHA*, 4:1a.

² *Analects*, XV:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 295.

On Lu Chiu-yuan

33. TO HSI YUAN-SHAN¹

1521

. . . The teaching of [Lu] Hsiang-shan is simple and direct. In this, he ranks only after Mencius. While his theories about study, inquiry, reflection and discernment,² about the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things,³ are not free from 'conformity' to tradition, his basic insights are definitely far beyond what the other philosophers can hope to have. . . .

WWKC, 5:195

¹ His private name was Hsi Shu (1461-1527). He became a *chin-shih* in 1490 and later rose to the rank of a Grand Secretary. See *Ming-shih*, 197:468.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 20, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 413.

³ *Great Learning*, ch. 1, *ibid.* p. 358.

On Similarities and Differences in Opinion

34. TO [CHAN] KAN-CH'UAN¹

1521

. . . To recognise everywhere the principle of Heaven¹ is a truthful proposition, and quite free from deceit. I used to teach it too, in the beginning. But when I investigated the starting points of your ideas, I seem to find slight divergences of a hair's breadth from my teaching. However, we should eventually reach the same destination, even by taking different routes.² The cultivation of self, the ordering of one's family, the governing of the country, and the pacification of the world remain always *ko-wu*,³ but if one wished to explain these passages repeatedly, one would seem to be talking too much. Besides, the simpler and more ancient are the meanings of the words used, the harder and more obscure they become when compared to the original text, so that readers would find more difficulty in searching for understanding. Is there not some defect of the mind in this? It would be better to use clear and simple terms, to point out briefly the general direction, and so to enable others to reach the meaning through

and even tranquillity is active, the movement back and forth, up and down, becomes endless. That is why obedience to principles is called tranquillity while assent to unruly desire is called activity. Desire does not necessarily refer to the external luring of music and dancing, women, possessions or profit. All that which the mind is privy to is desire. That is why the following of *li* (moral principles) is always tranquil, even in the midst of changing vicissitudes. This is what [Chou] Lien-hsi [Chou Tun-yi] meant by the emphasis on tranquillity giving no place to desire.⁶ This is what is meant by the concentration of righteousness. When a man follows the impulse of his desire, were he then to practise the fasting of the mind and even attain the [transcendental] state of *tso-wang* [self-forgetfulness], he would remain active.⁷ What Kao-tzu⁸ meant by forced restraint merely promotes [*ch'i*].⁹ It makes of righteousness an external thing. . . .¹⁰

WWKC, 5:196

¹ His private name was Lun Yi-hsün (born in 1498). A *chin-shih* in 1517 (he ranked second that year) he later became Chancellor of the National University in Nanking. See Yü Hsien, *Huang-Ming chin-shih teng-k'o k'ao* [Study on the Successful Candidates of the Chin-shih Degree of the Ming Dynasty] (pub. between 1521 and 1566), in Chü Wan-li (comp.), *Ming-tai shih-chieh hui-k'an* [Collected Historical Documents of the Ming Dynasty], Taipei, 1969.

² See Ch'eng Hao, *Ming-tao wen-chi*, 3:1a-b (Answer to Master Heng-chu's letter on calming Human Nature). See also, in connection with this subject, the letter (oo) written by Yang-ming to Wang Ch'un-fu (1513).

³ *Mencius*, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 190.

⁴ Allusion to *Book of Changes*, Commentary on the Hexagram 'Fu', see Legge's *Yi King*, p. 108.

⁵ See note 2.

⁶ See *Chou-tzu T'ung-shu* [Chou Tun-yi's *Book of Penetration*], 'Sheng-hsüeh' [Learning to Be a Sage], SPY ed., ch. 20.

⁷ Allusion to *Chuang-tzu*, ch. 5, Watson (trans.), p. 90.

⁸ A contemporary of *Mencius*, see *Mencius*, 2A: 2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp. 189-91.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Mencius*, 2A:2, 4A:4, *ibid.*, pp. 190, 397.

On Learning

36. TO T'ANG YU-TSO, THE REGIONAL INSPECTOR¹

1521

. . . Fu Yueh said, 'If you study the instructions of the ancients, you will certainly obtain knowledge.'² To study the instructions

of the ancients does not refer to being proficient in letters, to being eloquent in speech,³ and to obtaining knowledge outside of one's self through incidental deeds of righteousness.⁴ To 'obtain' means to get in the mind; it is not infused from without.⁵ One must proceed according to the ancient instructions, learning all that which the ancients learned, and then make oneself sincere. 'Completing such task by silent study, and securing the faith of others without recourse to words'⁶ refers to the fruit of study. 'To have a humble mind and to maintain a constant sagacity'⁷ does not refer to covering up one's feelings by showing external humility, while being anxious to obtain success in one's career and reputation. To have a humble mind means to act like the earth underneath us, which supports everything, or like the empty ocean, which contains everything. To maintain a constant sagacity means to act in accordance with the virtue of Heaven, being always cautious and apprehensive without waiting to see or hear things, somewhat like the *t'ai-ho* [Great Harmony]⁸ which moves without ceasing. In this way, one can 'wait for a hundred generations, without misgiving, for the rise of the sage',⁹ 'all-embracing and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth his virtues in due season, so that he speaks and the people all believe him, he acts, and the people are all pleased with him.'¹⁰ 'His fame will extend to the barbarian tribes',¹¹ and his virtue will last for ever. This is why Yueh is Yueh . . . Yen-tzu had said, 'Shun was a man; I am also a man.'¹² Could you not, Yü-tso, say the same of yourself in relation to Fu Yueh? . . .

WWKC, 5:196-7

¹ His private name was T'ang Lung. A *chin-shih* in 1508, he was to fill many important positions, such as Minister of Justice, of Civil Officials, and of Military Affairs. See *Ming-shih*, 202: 482.

² *Book of Documents*, 'The Charge to Yueh', pt 2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pt 1, p. 260. Fu Yueh was the worthy minister of King Wu-ting (1323-1264 B.C.) of the Shang dynasty.

³ *Hsün-tzu*, 'Ch'üan-hsüeh', [Encouraging Learning] See Burton Watson (trans.), *Basic Writings of Hsün-tzu* (1963), 20.

⁴ *Mencius*, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 190.

⁵ *Mencius*, 4A:6, *ibid.*, pp. 402-3.

⁶ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 1, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 378.

⁷ *Book of Documents*, Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pp. 250-1.

⁸ An idea developed by Chang Tsai. See his first chapter in *Chang-tzu ch'üan-shu*, *Cheng-meng* [Correcting Youthful Ignorance], 2:1b-5b.

⁹ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 24, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 426.

¹⁰ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 31, *ibid.*, p. 429.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Mencius*, 3A:1, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 235.

On Learning

37. TO FANG SHU-HSIEN

1521

. . . There is only one *tao*!¹ With regard to its ultimate roots and sources, there is not one of the Six Classics and the Four Books that cannot be explained in harmony with it – not just the *Hung-fan* [Great Plan]² in relation to the *Ta-hsüeh* [Great Learning]. This is what I frequently say to my friends. We can use plants as an example. They resemble one another in their growth. But if all is to be alike – the display of flowers and fruit, the height of leaves and branches – I fear that the creator of nature would not do as well as the sculptor of art. . . .

. . . True learning has remained obscure for several hundred years already. Now, thanks to those who share my ideals, such as Kan-ch'üan and yourself, who discuss learning together and provide one another with the benefit of mutual corrections and encouragements, we have been able to obtain some light. If you suddenly return to such excessive concern with the literal meanings of words, to whom can I turn? True, in discussing learning the gentleman follows only the path of truth, without always seeking agreement with others . . . In what pertains to the extension of learning and the investigation of things, Kan-ch'üan's theory is still slightly different from mine, although that does not prevent their being essentially in harmony. . . .

WWKC, 5:197

¹ *Mencius*, 3A:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 234.

² A chapter in the *Book of Documents*. See Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pp. 320-43.

On the Extension of Knowledge

38. TO YANG SHIH-MING¹

1521

. . . You spoke of your daily efforts at learning, how you merely follow your own *liang-chih*, doing away with the hindrances,

while seeking to expand and complete its substance, and doing all that without complying with the caprices of our epoch by compromising with the conventional practice. This is all very good. To act thus is to extend your knowledge and investigate things,² to understand the good and attain personal sincerity.³ In acting thus, how can your virtue not be renewed daily, and your merits not be enriched?⁴ . . . You spoke of watching yourself every day without being able to permeate the entire day with this vigilance. This means merely that the effort of extension of knowledge is interrupted. After all, the value of *jen* also depends upon [constant practice] bringing it to maturity.⁵

You also spoke about testing such effort with the similarities and differences in what earlier scholars have written, and find that [your effort] does not correspond to what they say. This gives rise to frequent doubts.

What I say about the extension of knowledge is the 'treasure of the orthodox dharma-eye' of the Confucian school.⁶ He who sees the truth of this 'sets it up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in it in which he transgresses. He presents himself with it before spiritual beings, and no doubt arises concerning it. He examines it by comparing [it] with the doctrines of the three sage kings, and finds it free from error. He is ready to wait for a hundred years for a sage, without harbouring any misgiving.'⁷ Only he who knows this can be said to know *tao*. Only he who attains this can be said to possess virtue. He who learns something different from this is a heretic. He who teaches something different from this teaches falsehood. He who acts without understanding this acts blindly. Even though a thousand devils and ten thousand phantoms may delude and confuse us with their transformations,⁸ we have only to touch them in order to pierce the illusions, to receive them in order to dissolve them, just as the devils and phantoms have nowhere to hide when the sun rises. . . .

WWKC, 5:198

¹ Together with his elder brother Yang Shih-te, he was first the disciple of Kan-ch'uan and then of Yang-ming. Both brothers died before Yang-ming. See Yang-ming's *chi-wen* (obituary essay) written in memory of Yang Shih-ming in 1526, in *WWKC*, 25:73 and *MJHA*, 30:1a-b.

² *Great Learning*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 356-9.

³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 20, *ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 1. See Legge's *Yi King*, p. 355.

⁵ *Mencius*, 6A:19, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 421.

⁶ Allusion to the Buddhist story concerning the origin of Ch'an Buddhism. See *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, 1:4a. 'Dharma' refers to truth. 'Dharma-eye' is that which looks into the depths of truth. See also D.T. Suzuki, *Studies in Zen* (1955), pp. 12, 21.

⁷ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 29, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 425-6.

⁸ Allusion to the Buddhist notion of men's deception by phantoms which are the products of the delusions of his own mind. The Chinese word *mo* is the abridged form of the transliteration of the Sanskrit word *Mara*, referring to the devil, who sends his daughter or assumes monstrous forms to tempt men. See for example *Surangama sūtra*, TSD No. 945, 15:629.

On Cultivation of Life

39. TO LU YUAN-CHING

1521

. . . I hear that on account of your frequent sicknesses, you intend to apply yourself to the 'cultivation of life'.¹ In the past, I also did so. Only later did I realise that it was unnecessary, and then I began again to concentrate on the learning of sages. Generally speaking the cultivation of virtue and the cultivation of life are one and the same thing. If what you call 'the real self' could really 'remain vigilant when not seen, and apprehensive when not heard',² and concentrate on such practices, then your *ch'i* [ether] and your *ching* [sperm] will be collected.³ In this case, what the Taoists call physical immortality will also be present. The school of immortals is different from that of sages, but its purpose and starting point is also to direct men to *tao*.⁴ It is said in the epilogue of *Wu-chen p'ien* [Treatise on Awakening to Truth], The Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu took pity on their covetous desires, and used the art of immortals to give them gradual and systematic direction.⁵ If you will read this over, you will see for yourself its hidden meanings. The sages from Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, King Wen, and King Wu down to the Duke of Chou and Confucius, have been all-embracing in their love of the people and for things. If there had been an art of physical immortality, they would not have been unwilling to show it to others. As to people like Lao-tzu and P'eng Keng,⁶ they are naturally endowed with the propensity to long life, which is not a thing one can acquire by learning. Later men, such as Po Yü-ch'an⁷ and Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un,⁸ known among the Taoists as patriarchs and teachers, lived only to the age of fifty or sixty, which shows that the so-called theory of physical immortality should certainly refer to something different. Since you have a weak constitution and are often sick, you need merely to abandon the path of honours and reputation, purify your mind and your desires, concentrate on the learning of sages, in the sense in

to see whether what they say may be true, and whether there are yet things which they say, which we have not accepted. We ought to try hard to seek for the truth, and not always consider ourselves right and others wrong. On the other hand, if what they say is wrong, and we are right in our own convictions, we should the more put our principles into practice, and seek to be humble. This is what is meant by 'Meditate upon it and you will complete it, use no words and people will believe you'.¹ However, are not the many criticisms of today occasions for us to practise patience, forbearance, and mutual admonition?² Besides, the criticisms do not necessarily arise out of personal grudges. People say such things because they consider themselves the defenders of truth. Moreover, their sayings come originally from the general theories of former scholars, and so they do have their proofs, while our words appear suddenly as being different from those of the past, rather like forced interpretation and things invented by the imagination. For people do not know that the teaching of the sages was originally so, but, through transmission, has lost its pristine purity. The teachings of former scholars became daily so fragmentary, also because later scholars kept on copying from one another and thereby accumulated many errors. Since they [our critics] decided first not to believe, and refused to investigate with humility, while we, in our discussions, may also be carried away by a desire to excel and by other superficial dispositions, without avoiding certain excesses of expression, we deserve their ridicule and alarm. This is our responsibility, for which we ought not blame them solely.

Alas, when we teach today, do we seek to say things that differ from what others say, or do we seek to say the same things as the others? Do we seek to excel by goodness, or to educate others by goodness? We only pay lip service to the theory of the unity of action and knowledge. When have we really united our knowledge and action? If we seek the source of the difficulty, then someone like myself will be found most guilty, since, ordinarily, I merely expound this with my lips, and have not applied it to myself, so that my words do not correspond to reality, and my actions cannot cover my words. Without having really practised the extension of knowledge, I say that the teachings of former men on this subject are incomplete, in the

which the theory of the 'true self' was referred to earlier. You ought not to believe easily in heterodox teachings, thus confusing your understanding needlessly, wasting your mental and physical energies as well as your time. If you stay away long and do not return to society, you will become easily a frenzied and mentally sick man. . . .

WWKC, 5:199

- ¹ Taoist cultivation aiming at prolonging one's life. Its classics include Wei Po-yang (fl. 147-67), *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i* [Tallying Ideas of Taoist Cultivation with the Book of Changes]. See Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Lu Hsi-hsing and His Commentaries on the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*', *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 7 (1968), p. 80.
- ² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 384.
- ³ These are Taoist terms. See Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Ming-ju yu tao-chiao', *Hsin-ya hsueh-pao*, vol. 8 (1967), pp. 1-38, for an exposition of Taoist practices and influence in Yang-ming's time.
- ⁴ Here Yang-ming probably means by *tao*, transcendental human destiny.
- ⁵ The *Wu-chen p'ien* of Ch'en Chih-hsu (see Letters 2 and 5 00) was criticised earlier by Yang-ming in a poem of 1514; see WWKC, 20:606. Here he speaks of the Epilogue of Chang Po-tuan (dated 1078) given in the *Tao-tsang* (Ming ed., Shanghai reprint, 1923-6), 64, Epilogue, lb. See Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Taoist Self-cultivation in Ming Thought' in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (1970), pp. 311-15.
- ⁶ His name was Chien Keng. P'eng was given to him as a fief. He was supposed to have lived for over 800 years, during the Hsia and nearly throughout the Shang dynasty. For his story see *Lieh-hsien chuan*, attributed to Liu Hsiang (first century B.C.) in *Ku-chin yi-shih* [History of Hermits of Past and Present] (Ming ed., reprinted in Shanghai, 1937), pt 1, 8a, French translation by Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-Sien Tchouan* [Biographies of Immortals] (1953), p. 82.
- ⁷ His real name was Ko Ch'ang-keng. He lived during the Southern Sung dynasty and is regarded as the last of the five patriarchs of the Southern branch of religious Taoism. See Chi Yun (1724-1805) *et al.*, *Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* [Essential Information on the Complete Catalogue of the Four Libraries], Shanghai, 1933, 28:88.
- ⁸ His real name was Ch'iu Ch'u-chi (1148-1227). A native of Shantung, he was summoned by Genghis Khan to the region between Kabul and Anderob in present-day Afghanistan to preach to him. He lived to the age of 79, though Yang-ming gave him much less. See 'Yuan Ch'iu Ch'u-chi Nien-p'u' [Chronological Biography of Chiu Ch'u-chi of the Yuan dynasty] in Yao Ts'ung-wu, *Tung-pei-shih lun-ts'ung* [On the History of the North-east] (1959), vol. 2, pp. 214-76.

On Patience under Criticism

40. TO LU YUAN-CHING

1522

. . . To stop criticisms by not arguing, was what was taught by former men. In our present situation, would this not be even more correct? On account of differences and similarities in their teachings, heroes of virtue and leaders everywhere are now engaged in many discussions. Would our people be able to win arguments with them? We should rather reflect upon ourselves,

same way as a poor beggar may talk about gold, and yet still follow and beg for food from others. You, my friends, have suffered through your faith in and your affection for me. You liked me so much that you did not see my faults, and this [indulgence] has led to many [unpleasant] talks today . . . [Ch'eng] Yi-ch'uan and [Chu] Hui-an were not able³ in their times to avoid slander, criticism, and exile. This is all the more for us, as our actions have often fallen short of our ideals, so that the slander, abuse, and criticism of others are just what we deserve. Besides, the people today who argue about learning must necessarily desire to learn. We ought not remain distant from them just because their ideas are different from our own.

Everyone has the ability to distinguish between right and wrong. Only on account of long established habits, they are unable easily to understand our teachings. After all, did not some of you, my friends, when you first heard my words, ridicule and slander them? After some time, you have come to an understanding, and even express theories that show a certain excess. How do we not know that the strength expended today in criticism will not become the depth of belief at some later date? . . .

All men have this moral ability to judge between right and wrong.⁴ This is what we call *liang-chih*. Who does not have this *liang-chih*? There are only people who do not know how to extend it. The *Book of Changes* speaks of 'knowing the utmost point to reach, and reaching it'.⁵ To know the utmost point is real knowledge. To reach it is to extend knowledge. This is how knowledge and action become united. In recent ages, the teaching concerning *ko-wu* and *chih-chih* cover only one word: *chih* [knowledge], and that quite inconclusively. As to the effort of *chih* [extension] – this has been completely omitted. This is why knowledge and action have become two things.

WWKC, 5:200

¹ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 1, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 378.

² *Mencius*, 6B:15, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 447.

³ See *Sung-shih* K'ai-ming ed., 1937, 427:1097-8 on Ch'eng Yi and 429:1101-3 on Chu Hsi.

⁴ *Mencius*, 6A:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 402.

⁵ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', Legge's *Yi King*, p. 410.

You asked me about the similarities and differences between the philosophers Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan [Lu Hsiang-shan]. As I read carefully over your letter, I would say that while [Wang] Yü-an¹ is mistaken in preferring Lu to Chu, you too are mistaken in preferring Chu to Lu. The world has long held that Chu is right and Lu is wrong. Such opinion has become difficult to change . . . But it is my opinion that in your present dispute you should not seek to win the argument, to put Hsiang-shan definitely in the wrong and Hui-an definitely in the right. Rather, go back to the roots and to the source, in order really to see the nuances of their strong and weak points in very small things. This would be acting like a clever judge, hearing judicial cases. He has to see why the man in the wrong might have done something because he could not help it, while the party in the right may also have shown some faults. In this way, he would allow the persecuted party to state his situation, while the party receiving redress also must not escape responsibility. This would be to exhaust to the utmost the justice of the cause and its principles, rest the minds of men, and wait a hundred generations for a sage.²

. . . You two, however, have discussed this question, each with the idea of seeking to win over the other. To seek to win is to be moved by passion. And does not being moved by passion, take [one] more than a thousand *li* away from the course of reason and righteousness?

In discussing the qualities and defects of the ancients, one must never rely on the imagination and decide the case summarily. Now, in speaking of Hsiang-shan, Yü-an said, 'Although he concentrated on the respect of the virtuous nature,³ he did not avoid falling into the emptiness of Ch'an Buddhism. However, his conduct and faith would still be adequate to allow him to be counted as a disciple of the sage. But Hui-an, on the other hand, insisted on study and inquiry,⁴ and became fragmentary and divided in his knowledge, teaching what was no longer the sincerity of thought and the rectification of the mind of the school

of sages.' And you, in speaking of Hui-an, said: 'Although he insisted mainly on knowledge and inquiry, and did not avoid keeping to the conventions and becoming fragmentary in his learning, he followed the teaching and order and gradual improvement, without going against the instructions of the *Great Learning*. Hsiang-shan, however, in concentrating on respect for virtuous nature, became empty and abstract, and no longer taught the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge in the *Great Learning*.'

However, if one speaks of the respect of virtuous nature, one cannot also speak of falling into the emptiness of Ch'an Buddhism. And when one speaks of falling into the emptiness of Ch'an Buddhism, one cannot also speak of respect of virtuous nature. Also, when one speaks of study and inquiry, one cannot speak of keeping to the conventions and becoming fragmentary in knowledge. While when one speaks of keeping to the conventions and becoming fragmentary in knowledge, one cannot also speak of study and inquiry. The distinction between the two is very minute indeed. Yet the discussion which you two have held was not free from imaginative judgments. Formerly, when Tzu-ssu discussed learning, in an essay not less than a thousand and several hundred words,⁵ he summarised these in the sentence concerning 'respecting virtuous nature yet studying through inquiry'.⁶ In your argument, however, with one emphasising respect for virtuous nature, and the other study and inquiry, you are each insisting too much on one aspect, and so cannot decide who was right and who was wrong. But how can each of you take one thing to be right and the other wrong? I wish you would both keep your minds fair and broad, without any desire to win. How can the discussion of learning with the motive of winning be called respect of virtuous nature, or study and inquiry? It would seem that not only are your criticism of Hsiang-shan and Yü-an's criticism of Hui-an both wrong, but your approval of Hui-an and Yü-an's approval of Hsiang-shan are also not given in their right contexts. . . .

WWKC, 21:639

¹ See 'Nien-p'u', WWKC, 32:912.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 29, Legge's *Classics*, vol. 1, p. 426.

³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 27, *ibid.*, p. 422.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Referring to the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

⁶ See note 3.

... In your earlier letter you said that I made a vague and equivocal reply to you, which, on close reading, you found to be secretly on Yü-an's side. I could not help but laugh as I read that!

... Yü-an favoured Hsiang-shan, and said that he concentrated on the respect of virtuous nature. Now, when I read the *Collected Writings of [Lu] Hsiang-shan*, I find that he too, taught his disciples to read books and exhaust principles, and where he claimed himself to be different from others in understanding words, he meant that he did this through experience of life. What he constantly instructed others to do was: 'Always maintain respect. Practise reverence in the management of affairs, and fidelity in dealing with others',¹ and also: 'Conquer yourself and recover *li* [propriety]'.² and again: 'All things are already complete in us. There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on reflecting upon ourselves',³ and then: 'There is naught else in learning except the recovery of the lost mind',⁴ and: 'Remain steadfast in that which is great [the mind] and that which is little will not be taken from you'.⁵ These are the words of Confucius and Mencius. Can we say they are empty? Only, his teaching 'on ease and freedom'⁶ concerning awakening and enlightenment was held in doubt by his contemporaries. But this teaching on ease and freedom came from the Appended Remarks to the *Book of Changes* and while what he said about enlightenment bears resemblance to Buddhist teachings, it may also be said that these Buddhist teachings also bear resemblance to our Confucian teachings, except for certain nuances of difference. And so, why should such similarity be hidden and not proclaimed? Why should the differences also keep us away from a close examination of them? So even Yü-an, taking Hsiang-shan's side, has not exhausted all the reasons in his favour. You, on the other hand, taking Hui-an's side, say that he concentrates on study and inquiry. But Hui-an had said: 'We should keep reverence and exhaust principles',⁷ and: 'Unless we employ our minds, we cannot extend knowledge',⁸ and: 'The mind of the gentleman constantly preserves reverence and apprehension.

He is not negligent, even when he is not seen or heard. Thus, he preserves the foundation of the principle of Heaven, without letting it leave him even for a minute."9 Although such words are not entirely clear, they show that he too, was concerned with the respect of virtuous nature. And so, how can one say he was fragmentary in his knowledge?

However, Hui-an paid a great deal of attention to the interpretation of the Classics, and even wrote commentaries on, and did textual criticisms of such works as the writings of Han-wen Kung [Han Yü], the *Ch'u Tzu* [*Songs of Ch'u*], *Yin-fu Canon*, and the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*. Others suspected that he was merely being superficial. Then again, his worry that students might not follow the proper steps in learning, and thus waste their efforts, caused him to make them first investigate things and extend knowledge until all was clear, before making their intentions sincere and their minds up right and therefore free from error. The scholar in the world, however, becoming preoccupied with one thing, forgets ten thousand others. The more he seeks, the more he loses. Some even use up the energy of a whole lifetime, and still attain no real insights. Thus, they criticise Hui-an for being fragmentary in his quest for knowledge, without realising that this was rather the error of later scholars, while Hui-an himself was not at fault. And so, even your approval of Hui-an has not gone far enough. Now, since both of you have not exhausted the reasons for which you considered either of the two scholars to be correct, have you, in your disapproval of the one or the other, exhausted all the reasons that exist? Because you argue back and forth, you cannot, for once, reflect upon yourselves. This is why I suspect that you do so out of the motive to win the argument. Yet such motivation destroys the foundation of learning. How can you still be discussing it? So I wish you two would reflect upon yourselves. How could I have given vague and equivocal explanations, which sought to help Yü-an secretly?

When a gentleman discusses learning, the essential is what he has received in his mind. When one considers something correct, yet reflects upon it without finding that it agrees in his mind, he does not dare to proclaim it correct. When one considers something to be incorrect, and yet, when he reflects upon it and in his mind finds it correct, he does not dare to proclaim it

incorrect. The mind is the principle that we receive from Heaven. It is not different in Heaven and man, in the past and the present. If I exhaust my mind to seek truth, even if I do not attain it, I cannot be far from it. To study means to seek to exhaust my mind. That is why one ought to respect virtuous nature and study through inquiry. This is what we respect. This is what we inquire. If we do not acquire something in our mind, and only believe the external words of others considering this to be learning, how can we call it study? I used to think that while Hui-an and Hsiang-shan were different as scholars, they both remained followers of the sages. Today, however, the teaching of Hui-an is studied by every man and child in the world. It has penetrated deeply into the minds of men, and can hardly tolerate to be questioned. The teaching of Hsiang-shan, however, on account of his disagreement with Hui-an, has been neglected. Actually, if the two had been considered different as were Yu [Tzu-lu] and Tz'u [Tzu-kung]¹¹ it would be more acceptable. Rather, Hsiang-shan has been criticised and rejected, as though the difference between the two was like that between an inferior agate and a precious gem. Is that not somewhat excessive? Hui-an synthesised the teachings of many scholars, in order to proclaim to the world the meaning of the Six Classics, of the *Analects*, and of the *Book of Mencius*. The ensuing benefit to later students is indisputable. But Hsiang-shan also distinguished between righteousness and profit, established the great foundation [of learning], taught the recovery of the lost mind, and pointed out to later students the way towards a genuine and solid self-discovery. Can we forget his contributions and berate him entirely? However, the scholars of the world, out of motives of conformity to established patterns, and without studying the facts, all regard him as a teacher of Ch'an Buddhism. This was certainly undeserved. That was why I once used to wish to risk the ridicule of the world by explaining the teaching of Hsiang-shan. Were I to be condemned for it, I should have no regret. However, even towards Hui-an I remain greatly indebted. How could I want to take up his lance to enter his house? For since the teachings of Hui-an are illuminating the world as the sun and stars, while Hsiang-shan alone is being unjustly berated, already for four hundred years, without anyone to proclaim his innocence,

I would imagine that if Hui-an were conscious of the situation, he would certainly not enjoy for a day the position accorded him in the annex of the Confucian temple! This is my personal feeling, which I must finally reveal to you. So, how could I have wanted to give an equivocal explanation, in order to help Yu-an surreptitiously? I still find Yu-an's saying incomplete!

The learning of the sages of the past and the present is the public property of the whole world and not a private possession of the three of us. The learning of the whole world should be publicly and justly proclaimed to the world, and belongs not just to Yu-an.

You also mentioned the argument concerning *t'ai-chi*,¹² saying that Hsiang-shan did not even understand completely the meaning of these words, and yet argued with such confidence. Where, therefore, was his self-cultivation? However, to say that he was not entirely clear on the meaning of the words does not alter the fact that he did not go into details. To say that his self-cultivation left something to be desired, does not mean his not having attained the highest degree of cultivation was his fault. When one has studied, and yet has not attained sagehood, how can one avoid excess or deficit? Yet, people try to vilify him entirely on this ground. I fear that Hui-an's criticism of Hsiang-shan being influenced by Ch'an Buddhism shows a certain amount of injustice due to passion. For it is the one who failed to know well the meaning of words, and the other who was unfair. Both show some defect in self-cultivation. Confucius was a great sage, and yet he said: 'Give me a few years to study the *Book of Changes*, and then I should be without faults.'¹³ Chung-hui praised King T'ang, saying merely, 'He was not slow in correcting his errors.'¹⁴ How can the fact that these men were lacking in self-cultivation alter the fact of their being virtuous? This shows precisely why the perception of Hui-an and Hsiang-shan did not reach that of Yen-tzu and [Ch'eng] Ming-tao. It is precisely here that we ought to admire their unequal qualities, and reflect over their deficiencies, as a means to cultivation and self-correction. We should not allot to them selfish motives, thus adding to or subtracting from their greatness. 'The faults of a gentleman are like eclipses of the sun and the moon. Everyone sees them. Also, everyone looks up to them when he corrects

them.¹⁵ 'But the mean man is sure to gloss over his faults.'¹⁶ The scholars of the world consider that Chu Hui-an, as the great Confucian, should not have faults, and so try to cover these up for him and add to his greatness. However, they have only ridicule for Hsiang-shan, as a Ch'an Buddhist, for they believe that in this way they aid the orthodox side, the side of Hui-an. They do not understand that the faults of Hui-an were those of a gentleman, but regarded from the viewpoint of a mean man who tries to gloss over them. Hui-an possessed the virtue of knowing how to rejoice when he heard of his faults.¹⁷ Why should we follow him vainly, and engage in making excuses for him? Hui-an had hoped that later generations would follow the teaching of sages and worthy men, yet the world's scholars regard him with the etiquette more appropriate for a mean man. How can we not say they slander Hsiang-shan generously, and yet treat Hui-an with coldness. If I say these things, it is not only in regret for Hsiang-shan, but also as a lament for Hui-an. You know well my unusual regard for Hui-an. That is why I say this now. So you should be able to understand my motive . . . Mencius said, 'The gentleman seeks only *jen*. Why should he wish to be the same as the others.'¹⁸ I hope you will reflect carefully over this, and correct your views.

WWKC, 21:640-2

- ¹ *Analects*, XIII:19, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 271. See *HSCC*, 1:3b, 34:24b.
- ² *Analects*, XII:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol I, p. 250. See *HSCC*, 1:1b, 10:3a, 13:2b.
- ³ *Mencius*, 7A:4, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp. 450-1. See *HSCC*, 1:3b-4a, 35:7b, 35:18a.
- ⁴ *Mencius*, 6A:11, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 414. See *HSCC*, 32:1b-2a, 35:22a.
- ⁵ *Mencius*, 6A:15, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 418. See *HSCC*, 11:1a, 13:7a, 34:5a.
- ⁶ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt. 1, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 349. See also *HSCC*, 11:6a.
- ⁷ This is not a direct quote from Chu Hsi, but refers to his teaching. See *CTYL*, 15:2b-7b.
- ⁸ This too is not a direct quote from Chu, but refers to his teaching. See *CTYL*, 11:1a-5b, 12:4b-6b, 15:2a.
- ⁹ This is a direct quote from Chu's *Chung-yung chang-chü*, in the *Ssu-shu chi-chu*, SPPY ed., 1b.
- ¹⁰ *Yin-fu Canon* is a Taoist book attributed to the Yellow Emperor.
- ¹¹ These were two disciples of Confucius.
- ¹² Referring to Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yuan's arguments concerning Chou Tun-yi's ideas on *t'ai-chi* (Ultimate) and *Wu-chi* ("Ultimateless"). See *CWKW*, 36:4b-5b and *HSCC*, 2:5a-11b.
- ¹³ *Analects* VII:16, Legge, *Classics*, vol. I, p. 200.
- ¹⁴ *Book of Documents*, 'Chung-hu chih kao', Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 100.
- ¹⁵ *Analects* XIX:21, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 346.
- ¹⁶ *Analects* XIX:8, *ibid.*, p. 342.
- ¹⁷ See Huang Tsung-hsi and Ch'uan Tsu-wang, *Tseng-pu Sung-Yuan hsüeh-an* [Philosophical Records of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties, expanded version], SPPY ed.
- ¹⁸ *Mencius* 6B:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 433.

. . . You said, 'The increase of respect and reverence entails the loss of spontaneity and freedom', and that 'Respect and reverence imply conscious effort of the mind. But how can one go beyond such conscious effort of the mind? How can one act with natural spontaneity, without having any doubt concerning his actions?' All this refers to what I mean by the danger of desiring to assist at the rapid growth [of the vast, overflowing *ch'i*].² What the gentleman means by respect and reverence has nothing to do with what is called fear and anxiety. It refers rather to practising vigilance³ without being seen, and apprehension without being heard. What the gentleman means by spontaneity and freedom also has nothing to do with dissipation and the free play of passions. It refers rather to the substance of the mind not being hindered by unruly desire, so that he finds himself in no situation in which he is not himself.⁴ The substance of the mind is the principle of Heaven. That which is bright and spiritual and conscious in the principle of Heaven is what we call [*liang-chih*]. The gentleman practises vigilance and apprehension, lest that which is bright and spiritual and conscious becomes obscured and dissipated, and even degenerates into perversion and falsehood, thus losing the correctness of its original substance. The effort of vigilance and apprehension should never be interrupted, so that the principle of Heaven may always remain, and its bright and spiritual and conscious substance may suffer no loss or hindrance, no complication or involvement, no fear or anxiety, no preference or anger,⁵ no foregone conclusion, no stubbornness, obstinacy or selfishness,⁶ no discontent, disgrace, discouragement. But rather, it enjoys harmony and brilliance, filling up all space in its operations, 'movements and countenance are natural but in accordance with propriety',⁷ 'following the desires of the heart without transgressing what is right'.⁸ This can be called true spontaneity and freedom. Such spontaneity and freedom arise out of the constant presence of the principle of Heaven, and the constant presence of the principle of Heaven arises out of the continuity of caution and apprehension. Who can say, then, that the increase of respect and reverence can become a

hindrance to spontaneity and freedom? This only happens when one does not know that spontaneity and freedom belong to the substance of the mind, while respect and reverence are the functions of spontaneity and freedom. These are then regarded as two separate things, which divide the efforts of the mind, and so come to mutual conflict, causing contradiction in action, and degenerating into a process of hastening the growth [of the vast, overflowing *ch'i*]. Thus, what you, Kuo-yung, call respect and reverence, refers rather to the fear and anxiety of the *Great Learning* than to the vigilance and apprehension of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. Master Ch'eng [Yi] often said that when people speak of *wu-hsin* – literally, not having a mind – they can only mean not having a selfish mind. They cannot mean not having any mind.⁹ To practise caution when one is not seen, and apprehension when one is not heard, refers to a state of the mind which one ought to have. But to be fearful and anxious refers to a selfish mind, which one ought not to have. The efforts of Yao and Shun in 'being wary and fearful',¹⁰ of King Wen in being 'watchful and reverent',¹¹ all refer to respect and reverence, and all arise out of the natural operation of the substance of the mind. To arise out of the natural operation of the mind, to do something without conscious action, refer all to natural spontaneity. The effort of respect and reverence makes no distinction between activity and tranquillity; this is what we mean by 'practising respect to straighten the interior, and righteousness to square the exterior'.¹² When reverence and righteousness are established, the way of Heaven is attained, and one no longer harbours doubt concerning one's own action. . . .

WWKC, 5:201-2

- ¹ I have not been able to identify him. He may be related to Shu Fen (1484-1527), a disciple of Yang-ming's, also known as Shu Kuo-shang. See *MJHA*, 58:13b-16a.
- ² *Mencius*, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 190.
- ³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 384.
- ⁴ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 14, *ibid.*, p. 395.
- ⁵ *Great Learning*, ch. 7, *ibid.*, p. 368.
- ⁶ *Analects*, IX:4, *ibid.*, p. 217.
- ⁷ *Mencius*, 7B:33, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 495.
- ⁸ *Analects*, II:4, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 147.
- ⁹ Cheng Yi, *Wai-shu*, 12:16a.
- ¹⁰ *Book of Documents*, 'Kao-yao mu', Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 73.
- ¹¹ *Book of Odes*, 'Ta-ya' [Greater Odes], Wen-wang chih-shih [Decade of King Wen], pt 3, bk 1, ode 2 [Legge's *Classics*, vol. IV, p. 433].
- ¹² *Book of Changes*, Hexagram 2, 'K'un', Appendix 4, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 420.

In your letter you spoke of your desire to retire into the depths of the mountains, to abandon worldly affairs, to give up thought and worries, in order to nourish your intelligence and clairvoyance, until you know they can penetrate ceaselessly day and night, and then you will respond with unfeeling equanimity to the affairs of the world. You also said that it seemed to you more direct to seek such a goal in tranquility, as long as you can avoid falling into the danger of emptiness.

Reading this, I see well the firmness of your sense of responsibility with regard to *tao* and the unusualness of your determination.² However, when a good physician treats an illness, he must follow the reality and gravity of the disease, the inside and outside temperatures, before he can decide on medical prescriptions and the quantity of drugs. The essential goal being to remove the disease, he does not begin with a fixed formula . . . This is not different from what the nurture of the mind is for a gentleman. You, Yüan-tao, ought to measure the degree of your sickness, the state of your physical constitution, and then you will know how to decide on a treatment, without doing yourself any harm. If you are only intent on abandoning worldly affairs, on giving up thought and worry, on seeking tranquillity, I fear that you have already developed the emptiness of your nature beyond your control. In your free time, reflect upon what Ch'eng Ming-tao wrote in his *Ting-hsing shu* [Letter on Calming One's Nature].³ Your disposition will then become different. . . .

WWKC, 5:202

¹ His private name was Liu Chun-liang. See Chan's *Instructions*, p. 243, and Translator's Note to this work.

² *Analects*, VIII:7, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 210-11.

³ *Ming-tao wen-chi*, 3:1a-b.

On Extending *liang-chih*

45. TO HSUEH SHANG-CH' IEN

1523

In your letter you blamed yourself, attributing your faults to carelessness and pride. This shows how earnestly you are applying your efforts. But it is *liang-chih* which recognises these faults. For this *liang-chih* to eliminate carelessness and pride is to investigate things. The extension of this knowledge is the secret transmission of the ancient learning of the school of sages. Formerly, when I was in Ch'ien-chou [in Kiangsi] I spoke of this all the time, but many among our friends did not comprehend it well. Recently, I changed a few words in my Preface to the edition of the old version of the *Great Learning*, developing these ideas further. But those who read it do not always notice them . . . This is the 'treasure of the orthodox dharma-eye'¹ of the Confucian school. Many former scholars did not realise it, and therefore promulgated fragmentary teachings. . . .

WWKC, 5:208

¹ For an explanation of this expression, see p. 00, n.

On the Art of Government

46. TO YANG SUI-AN, THE GRAND SECRETARY¹ 1523

. . . Since your Excellency entered upon the confidential charge of government, scholars and officials of the world have been visibly joyous and pleased in the belief that the great peace would soon be attained. However, your humble student alone has been most worried, for I consider the goal still very difficult of attainment . . . A rudder weighing 10,000 *hu*² cannot be controlled by one hand alone. Questions concerning speed and direction cannot be decided completely in accordance with one's own wishes. To lack the authority of managing alone the direction of the ship, and yet to have to be blamed for the loss of the ship when affairs go wrong, is what I mean by the difficulties involved . . . But does that mean that one can do nothing for the affairs of the world? Only he who makes himself responsible for the

calamity of the world can handle the power of the world. And only he who handles the power of the world can remedy the evils of the world . . . Those who usually strive to obtain control of the rudder weighing 10,000 *hu* do so out of motives of gain. Once the winds and storms shake the ship, and suddenly its future becomes unknown, everyone gets frightened and seeks merely to escape death. Who else will then compete for her control? If, at that time, someone comes forth to take over the control, everyone else will rely on him to mitigate fear, and the affair may be remedied. If this person also follows the crowd in showing cowardice and passivity, all will undoubtedly drown. That is why I say, when power is given to him, it becomes easy to exercise. The gentlemen of former times understood the direction of affairs and held fast to the pivot. They observed the waxing and waning of *yin* and *yang* and made use of their movements. That is why their activity was always rewarded with success, and fortune smiled upon them. This was how Yi-yin and Tan, the Duke of Chou, served Shang and Chou. In the Han and T'ang [dynasties] it was almost like this. For while learning was somewhat deficient in those ages, it was yet adequate for strengthening the foundation of the state and for appeasing the altars of Earth and Grain.³ Later generation of cowardly opportunists could not achieve even this. For power controls the benefit or the harm of the world. An inferior man who steals it uses it to accomplish evil, while a gentleman exercises it to bring about good. That is why the government cannot be without the gentleman for a day, nor can it tolerate the inferior man for a day. If you wish to cure the evil of the world, without taking up the reins of power, you act as though you are holding a sword backward, giving someone else the handle, and hoping that he will not thrust it. So the gentleman has a way of gaining power. He should be rooted in complete sincerity, to establish his virtue, and surround himself with good men to assure the help of others, show forth a boundless magnanimity to stabilise their feelings, extend it with a mind that seeks no emulation to calm their passions, make it radiant with an immovable strength of moral character to justify his direction, apply to it an unfathomable intelligence to ward off the wicked and cunning, and give it form with a reliable knowledge so as to attract the confidence of all.

He should lower himself in an easy and natural way so that he will be raised by others, yield precedence so that he will be made the foremost of by others. In this way, his merits can cover the whole world without attracting envy. He can do good to all things, without occasioning strife. All this is something your ability and resourcefulness enable you to do and it is moreover what you have undertaken to do in a moment of urgency, when you take responsibility for the calamity of the world, and decide to accept the direction of affairs. To take upon himself the calamity of the world is not what a gentleman would prefer to do, were there a choice. But when he does take this responsibility, knowing that he will not be able to escape from the calamity of the world, and so preferring to take it upon himself, he does so in order to save the world from that calamity. The inferior man, on the other hand, does not realise that one cannot escape from calamity by chance, and so attempts a hundred intrigues in order to save himself, but finishes only in creating a great calamity from which he cannot run away. That is why only those gentlemen who are faithfully and sincerely devoted to the country can take upon themselves the calamity that faces them, while the inferior men are incapable of doing so . . .

WWKC, 21:649-50

¹ Private name Yang Yi-ch'ing (1454-1530). He became a *chin-shih* in 1472 and was Grand Secretary from 1515 to 1516. In late 1524 he was recommended again to this post and in late 1525 he was finally summoned. See *Ming shih-lu* [Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty], Taipei, 1966, 43:8b, 57:5-6 and *Ming-shih* 198:471-2. It is not known whether this letter bears an erroneous date, or refers to an office other than that of Grand Secretary.

² The rudder refers to the direction of government. A *hu* was a corn measure holding 5 or 10 pecks (*tau*). A peck contains 316 cubic inches.

³ Originally, the emperor was entitled to sacrifice on the altar of Earth and the feudal lords on the altar of Grain. The two words 'Earth' and 'Grain' came to represent the state itself. See *Book of Rites*, 'Chü-li', pt 3, Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. 1, p. 116.

On Learning

47. TO HUANG MIEN-CHIH¹

1524

Mencius said, 'There is naught else in learning outside of finding one's lost mind'.² The reading and studying of the classics and of history certainly belong to the realm of learning, and ought not to be neglected. But the danger is to forget the root and to chase

after the branches. Ch'eng Ming-tao warned against 'trifling with things to the detriment of our determination'.³ As to making theories and transmitting one's own instructions [when they are considered yet imperfect], these above all are not what a scholar should anxiously pursue. You were very kind to show me your *Ko-wu shuo* [Book of Investigation of Things] and *Hsiu-tao chu* [Commentary on the Cultivation of *Tao*], but it is hardly what I would dare to expect of you. Besides, what you said in these is not completely in harmony with what I have in mind. I shall explain everything to you when you put these together. Please do not yet show them to others. . . .

. . . I only did my explanation of the Old Text of the *Great Learning* because I had to do so, but even then I did not dare to say too much, fearing precisely that the weeds and ivy might obscure the tree and its branches. I amended my short foreword three times, and they sent the last copy to the engraver [1518]. Now I am sending you a copy of each, so that you will know that my earlier opinions should not be considered as definite theories.

WWKC, 5:203

¹ His private name was Huang Hsing-tseng (1490-1540). He became Yang-ming's disciple. See *MJHA*, 25:4a-b.

² *Mencius*, 6A:11, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 414.

³ Originally from the *Book of Documents*, 'Lü-ao' [The Hounds of Lü], Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, pp. 348-9. Reference to this was attributed to Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan in Sun Ch'i-feng (1584-1675), *Li-hsueh tsung-chuan* [Orthodox Transmission of Neo-Confucianism], reprinted in Taipei in 1969, 3:13.

On Various Questions

48. TO HUANG MIEN-CHIH

1524

. . . In your letter you said, 'Considering your teaching on *liang-chih* I find that it alone is present in activity and tranquillity, by day and night, past and present. It does not depend upon the tiniest bit of reflection, does not increase even the smallest part of [*Ch'i*],¹ adjusts correctly [to things and events], remains conscious and bright, responds to stimulus, perceives through experience, reflecting all things, being conscious of all things, attaining all things. It is the same path by which a thousand sages have travelled, over which ten thousand virtuous

men have left their marks. There is no other spirit, other than this spirit, no other *T'ien* [Heaven] to imitate other than this *T'ien*, no other *Ti* [God] to submit to other than this *Ti*. By nature, there is nothing in it that is against the Mean, nothing in it that is not perfectly just. One can deal with affairs all day without it being noticeably stirred, one can stay home all day without it remaining noticeably inactive. This is the real, intelligent substance of *Ch'ien* [Heaven] and *K'un* [Earth], the marvellous principle of operations for us men. Besides, I think that what the *Book of the Mean* calls the understanding of sincere people is precisely this *liang-chih*, and what is called the vigilance and apprehension of the man practising sincerity is also precisely this *liang-chih* under the aspect of caution and apprehension. These, like compassion and the hatred of evil, are all conditions of *liang-chih*. To know vigilance and apprehension, to know compassion, to know hatred of evil, means *liang-chih* which is also understanding. . . .'

In this you discussed the question very clearly. Knowing this, one knows that there is no other effort outside that of extending knowledge, and that what is called 'that which is set up in face of Heaven and Earth, and does not go against them, presented before the spirits, and arouses no doubt, prepared to wait for a hundred generations for the rise of a sage, and has no misgivings',² are no empty words. Sincerity, understanding, caution, apprehension, did not originally have two meanings when effects and efforts are concerned. Since it is known that what penetrates activity and tranquillity, death and life, is nothing but this [*liang-chih*], therefore, how can understanding and sincerity, caution and apprehension, as well as compassion and hatred of evil, be something different?

You also said, 'The *ch'i* [ether] of *yin* and *yang* interact in harmony and produce all things. Hence all things receive this harmonious *ch'i* in their existence. That is why man's principle of life was originally harmonious, and not without joy. If you observe the hawks flying, the fish leaping, the birds singing,³ and the animals dancing, and the plants flourishing, you see that they all share this joy. However, this joy is sometimes interrupted by the invasion of extraneous *ch'i*, and by unruly desires. Confucius recommended 'learning with constant perseverance and application'⁴ as a means to attaining an uninterrupted effort.

For pleasure is the beginning of joy. When friends come, learning is complete and the joy of the original substance of my nature is restored. That is why he said "Is it not pleasant [to have friends come]?" and also "Though others may not know me, I feel no sorrow": he means, not the least sorrow which interrupts the joy of my nature. The sage feared that the scholar's joy is not continuous. That was why he said this. As to the other things he said about "not murmuring, not complaining",⁵ "joy being in the midst of this",⁶ and "without changing his joy"⁷ – do they all refer to the uninterrupted joy?

Joy belongs to the mind – in – itself. The man in *jen* is one with Heaven and earth and all things, being united with all in harmony and concord without experiencing any hindrance. What you said about man's principle of life originally being in harmony and full of joy, until disturbed by extraneous *ch'i* [ether] and unruly desires, is quite right. To learn with constant perseverance is to seek the recovery of the mind-in-itself. When 'we are pleased'⁸ we gradually recover this mind-in-itself. When 'friends come',⁹ the peaceful harmony of the mind-in-itself fills everything without meeting any hindrance. This peaceful harmony of the mind-in-itself was originally so, and did not receive any increase [from the friend's visit]. Even if no friends come, and no one in the world knows us, the harmony should not decrease.

You also said that 'the meaning of joy not being interrupted' also refers to the sage of his being 'perfectly and continually sincere'.¹⁰ The only effort required is to learn constantly, and the essential of learning constantly is to watch over ourselves when we are alone, and this vigilance in solitude¹¹ is precisely the extension of *liang-chih*, while *liang-chih* is nothing other than joy-in-itself.

In this section, also, what you said is generally right. But it is important that [the person concerned] should not be clinging to the matter with undue effort.

You also said, 'Han Ch'ang-li [Han Yu] said that "universal love is called *jen*".¹² This seems quite right on the whole. Why should the Sung scholars criticise it, by taking love to refer to feeling, and *jen* to refer to nature, so that love cannot be identified with *jen*? I would propose that "nature is feeling before it is

stirred, feeling is nature after it is stirred. *Jen* is love before it is stirred, love is *jen* after it is stirred. Why can not we call love *jen*? For to speak of love is also to speak of *jen*!"¹³ Chou-tzu said, "Love is *jen*".¹⁴ Hence what Han Yu said here is not so different from what Mencius and Chou-tzu meant. We ought not to ignore it just because he was a man of letters [and not a philosopher].⁷

The teaching of universal love is not really much different from the teaching of Chou-tzu. When Fan-ch'ih asked what *jen* meant, Confucius said, 'to love others'.¹⁵ Hence, why can one not use the word 'love' to speak of *jen*? Formerly, when the scholars read the words of the ancients, they often manifested preference for this person or that. Here is an instance of this. But while the original substance of love can be called *jen*, there is a kind of love that is correct and a kind that is not correct. Only the correct kind of love is the original substance of love, and can be called *jen*. If one knows only universal love, without distinguishing between the correct and incorrect kinds of love, there will be a difference. I used to say that the word *po* [universal] was not as good as the word *kung* [just]. On the whole, when one seeks to explain the meanings of words, one can merely get a general idea. The refined subtle nuances are only reached through personal reflection, not through verbal explanations. Later scholars frequently clung to words and form, trying to dig through the vocabulary. Their minds merely rotate with the *Lotus Sutra (Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra)*.¹⁶

You also said, '*The Great Learning* says, "... as beautiful colours (or women) are liked; as evil odour, is disliked" [and so on].¹⁷ What is said about the dislike of all bad odour presents no difficulty. But if all beautiful women everywhere must be liked, should one delight in every beautiful woman who passes before the eye? This instruction of the *Great Learning* probably made use of ordinary, instinctive feelings of like and dislike to describe the sincerity of the sage and the worthy man in loving good and hating evil. But what is meant here may be that while sages and worthy men like beauty, they can keep their thoughts pure even when a beautiful [woman] passes before their eyes, and not [have] any disturbance in the substance of their minds. It is said in the *Book of Odes*: "There are beauties like clouds".¹⁸

The person concerned was quite aware of their beauty, yet, in spite of that, he continued to say, "but my thoughts are not of them".¹⁹ Since his thoughts are not of them, his thoughts are pure and do not hinder the substance of his mind. The same can be said of a man who sees pavilions and coronets, gold and jade. While recognising them to be pavilions and coronets, gold and jade, he does not become envious or greedy in his mind – I wonder whether my interpretations here are correct? . . . '

Ordinarily, in human likes and dislikes, there may be lack of genuineness. However, the love of beauty and the hatred of bad odour both emanate from the real mind, and seek for their satisfaction, without the least bit of pretence. The *Great Learning* merely refers to that which is genuine in everyone's likes and dislikes, to show us that we should be just as sincere in our love of good and hatred of evil. It only describes the one word 'sincerity'. Now, if you develop so many reflections over the words 'love of beauty', you would seem to suffer from the defect of an excessive imagination taking the finger to be the moon.²⁰ Many men in the past were hindered by words and sentences, and misinterpreted the holy Classics. They did that on account of this same fault. You must therefore watch over it. . . .

Your letter said: 'There are people who wish to stop thinking completely, because Hsueh Wen-ch'ing [Hsueh Hsuan, 1390–1456] thought to excess and did violence to his *ch'i* [temper].²¹ I remember Confucius once said, "I once refrained from food for a whole day, and from sleep for a whole night, in order to think".²² Would one say that Confucius went to an excess and did violence to *ch'i* [temper]? It would seem to me that one goes to excess when one thinks outside of *liang-chih*. If one seeks, in every thought, to experience *liang-chih*, then, even though he may think all day and all night as did Confucius, he would not go to excess . . . "If one thinks nothing outside the sphere of *liang-chih*, when can he be at fault in employing his mind or contemplating. What excess will there be?"'

To say that excessive thinking may lead to a bad temper is quite correct. But to wish therefore to give up thinking would be like abandoning eating after having got something caught in your throat. What you said in your letter concerning 'going to an

excess when one thinks outside of *liang-chih*', and, 'if one seeks, in every thought, to experience *liang-chih*, then, even though he may think all day and all night, there would be no excess', and also 'If one thinks nothing outside the sphere of *liang-chih*, when can he be at fault in employing his mind and contemplating?' – these words express well my thought. Confucius said, 'I once refrained from food for a whole day, and from sleep for a whole night, in order to think. There is nothing more beneficial than studying'.²³ He does not necessarily mean that he really acted in this way. He merely pointed out the danger of only thinking without learning. If one only thinks and does not learn, how can one avoid thinking to excess?

WWKC, 5:204-5

- 1 *Mencius*, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 189. The word *ch'i* refers here to that moral rightness which unites man to the universe.
- 2 *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 29, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 426.
- 3 *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 12, *ibid.*, p. 392.
- 4 *Analects*, I:1, *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 5 *Analects*, XIV:37, *ibid.*, p. 288.
- 6 *Analects*, VII:15, *ibid.*, p. 200.
- 7 *Analects*, VI:9, *ibid.*, p. 188.
- 8 *Analects*, I:1, *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 26, *ibid.*, p. 419.
- 11 *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, *ibid.*, p. 384.
- 12 'Yüan-tao' [Inquiry into the Original Way] in *Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan-chi* [Complete Works of Han Yu], SPPY ed., 11:1a-b. An English translation can be found in Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1963), p. 454.
- 13 *Mencius*, 6A:6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 402.
- 14 See *Chou-tzu T'ung-shu*, 1:1a.
- 15 *Analects*, XII:22, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 260.
- 16 Allusion to the *Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching*, TSD No. 2008, 48:355^{7 43}. See Chan (trans.), *The Platform Scripture*, p. 115. 'If your mind is correct, it will turn the *Lotus Scripture* around. If it is perverse, the *Lotus Scripture* will turn it around.' Men should be masters of words, not *vice versa*.
- 17 *Great Learning*, ch. 6, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 366.
- 18 *Book of Odes*, 'Odes of Cheng', *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 146.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Allusion to the parable contained in *Surangama sutra*. If a man mistakes a finger stretched out to be the moon he loses sight of the true nature both of the finger and of the moon, see TSD No. 945, 19:111. This story, however, is contained in a late version of the sutra. It is not in the earlier version of TSD No. 642, 15:629-45. See also Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (first series, 1927), p. 17.
- 21 His private name was Hsüeh Hsuan. See his biography in *MJHA*, 7:2a-3b.
- 22 *Analects*, XV:32, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 302-3.
- 23 *Ibid.*

. . . A scholar who has already determined to become a sage in order to gain insight needs merely to extend his *liang-chih*, in its intelligent and conscious aspects, to the uttermost, proceeding gradually and naturally day by day. He does not need to worry about externals and details. Criticisms, praises and blame from others can also be used profitably as warning, correction, and encouragement, but without having these affect his mind in the least; otherwise he would become daily more and more fatigued without his being aware of it himself. . . .

In his action, the sage does not really differ so much from ordinary men. When the people of Lu had a hunting contest,² Confucius also took part in the hunting contest. When the villagers performed their exorcist ceremonies to drive away pestilences, Confucius also [showing his interest], put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps.³ He received in interview a boy from Hu-hsiang, a village where the people had a bad reputation for being argumentative and difficult.⁴ Already, there were those who could not help wondering over such conduct. And then, when Confucius visited Nan-tzu, his disciple Tzu-lu showed visible displeasure. Not knowing, at that point, how to explain to Tzu-lu the reasons for his action, Confucius could only have recourse to swearing.⁵ And why was that so? If he had tried to explain his reasons for seeing Nan-tzu, it would have required much labour on his part. On the other hand, if he was to follow Tzu-lu's ideas and acknowledge his conduct as having been incorrect, then Tzu-lu would never have discovered the real motives of the sage, and his learning would have remained obscure. Such mental deliberation was only understood by Yen-tzu. That is why he said of him: 'In nothing that I said did he not take delight' . . .⁶

I offer you these examples, because I desire to see you also keep a humble mind, broaden your capacity for understanding, remove distinctions between the self and others, and abandon any foregone conclusion and stubbornness.⁷ Then will you certainly receive insights on this essential point, and sigh [in the company of Yen-tzu], wishing to follow Confucius in everything, and yet finding him beyond your reach.⁸

In general, the strange and extraordinary feats of the men of old easily provoke admiration among later generations. Sages and worthy men do not consider that as something very valuable. 'The man who lives away from society, and works wonders, will be remembered by posterity',⁹ while the gentleman who 'acts in accordance with the Mean, feels no regret even though he may be completely unknown to the world' . . .¹⁰

WWKC, 5:206-7

- ¹ I have not been able to identify him.
² *Mencius*, 5B:4, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 381.
³ *Analects*, X:10, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 233.
⁴ *Analects*, VII:28, *ibid.*, p. 204.
⁵ *Analects*, VI:26, *ibid.*, p. 193. Nan-tzu was the wife of the Marquis of Wei.
⁶ *Analects*, XI:3, *ibid.*, p. 238.
⁷ *Analects*, IX:4, *ibid.*, p. 217.
⁸ *Analects*, IX:10, *ibid.*, p. 220.
⁹ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 12, *ibid.*, p. 391.
¹⁰ *Ibid.*

On *liang-chih*

50. TO TUNG YUN (LO-SHIH)¹

1525

You told me, 'I am by nature obedient, straightforward, conscientious, and submissive. On meeting eloquent persons, I often feel ashamed of my slowness. I fear that my natural endowments are very feeble.'

All this suggests a certain emphasis on externals, and neglect of the inner life. If you would only practise *chi-yi* [concentration of righteousness]² in your ordinary life, then you would naturally cultivate the 'vast, flowing, sublime *ch'i*',³ which fills heaven and earth, so that 'wealth and nobility will not be able to corrupt you, poverty and lowliness will not be able to change you, might and power will not be able to subdue you',⁴ and you will naturally 'understand the words [of others]'⁵ while all that is prejudiced, extravagant, depraved and evasive speech, will become quite powerless in front of you. How could you still remain ashamed of yourself? To accumulate righteousness is only to extend the innate knowledge. For righteousness is what is appropriate to the mind, and in extending *liang-chih* the mind will attain what is appropriate to it.

WWKC, 5:207-8

- ¹ His literary name was Lo-shih (1457-1533). A poet without official position or degree, he became Yang-ming's disciple at the age of 67. See *MJHA*, 14:1a-b.
- ² *Mencius*, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 190. It refers to the practice of virtue. See Letter 4, n. 3.
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ *Mencius*, 3B:2, *ibid.*, p. 255.
- ⁵ *Mencius*, 2A:2, *ibid.*, p. 191.

On *liang-chih*

51. TO TSOU CH' IEN-CHIH¹

1526

Recently, I have had many family troubles, and the application of effort has become very arduous for me. However, the two words *liang-chih* have become even more personal and meaningful to me now than before, 'This is really the 'great root' and the 'broad way'.² Outside of this, there is no learning that can be discussed. Concerning our efforts, the teaching to recognise everywhere the principle of Heaven³ is, generally speaking, not incorrect. However, if we merely pursue this, we should only be chasing the wind and running after shadows. Even if we turn our direction towards the inner self,⁴ our efforts would still remain slightly different from what the school of sages teaches regarding the extension of *liang-chih*. If again, we make there a tiny error, we would risk going astray for a thousand *li*. . . .

WWKC, 6:209

- ¹ His private name was Tsou Shou-yi (1491-1562). A *chin-shih* in 1511 (he ranked first that year), he was Yang-ming's disciple and frequent companion. After Yang-ming's death he continued the 'Yang-ming school of thought' in Kiang-si, and is said to have received the 'correct transmission'. See *MJHA*, 16:2a-3a.
- ² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 384-5.
- ³ The teaching of Chan Kan-ch'uan. See *MJHA*, 37.
- ⁴ Allusion to Ch'eng Hao, *Yi-shu* II:11b.

On the Rites

52. TO TSOU CH' IEN-CHIH

1526

Thank you for explaining to me *Yü-su li-yao*.¹ These follow in general the principles laid down in the *Wen-kung Chia-li*,² while simplifying them, and remaining very true to human nature. All

this is very good indeed . . . Of the ancient rules of propriety still extant, many venerable masters and aged scholars found their teachings too difficult to exhaust even in a lifetime. The people today usually regard them as being too complicated, and so put them aside and do not act in accordance with them. That is why those who are placed in official positions of responsibility over the people today, and wish to instruct them in propriety, find it hard, not so much to give detailed explanations, but to present in a simple and clear way inducements which would lead the people to practise them.

Concerning the arrangement of the ancestral tablets of four generations, and questions of the associated sacrifices, these I had formerly wanted to adapt to conventional usage. Your adaptation has been found to be in harmony with human feelings, which is the best thing. After all, men of the past and present share the same nature and the same feelings. Former kings gave due consideration to the rules of propriety according to what is universal in human feelings, and that is why these have become a pattern for all generations. If there are certain points which cause our minds to be ill at ease, these may be due either to errors of transmission, or to differences of customs and manners between the past and the present. . . .

If we were to remain so attached to ancient customs that we followed rules blindly without understanding them in our mind, we would not be acting according to real *li* [propriety] . . . The learning of the mind was forgotten by later generations. Man lost his genuine feelings, and now finds it hard to speak about real propriety. However, since *liang-chih* remains the same throughout all ages in human hearts, we need merely to follow our minds' *liang-chih*, then 'even if, without knowing the size of the foot, one tries to make sandals, we know he will not end up making a basket'.³ 'It belongs to the Son of Heaven only to order ceremonies, to fix the measures'.⁴ If we discuss this subject now, it is not for the sake of ordering ceremonies, but only because, in this degenerate age when rites have become so utterly neglected, we wish to point out its meaning a little, in order to begin to revive it. This is why I wish to explain it in a simple and easy manner, so that it can be easily understood and followed.

To add to ceremonies for capping, marriage, mourning and

sacrifice, certain village regulations, which can be quite beneficial to the people's ways and manners . . . As to arrangement of tablets in the ancestral temple, . . . someone remarked, 'According to the *Wen-kung Chia-li*, the tablets of the great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather, grandfather and father are all placed in the west, in a line which goes towards the east. This does not make me very happy at heart.' I had answered, 'In ancient temples, the gates all faced the south, the tablets all faced east. When a general sacrifice is made, those on the left were moved to the northern windows, those on the right were moved to the southern windows, so that all would be in accord with the prior dignity of the first ancestor, who ought to face east. That was why the tablets are placed from the west, eastward. Now that the ancestral temples are no longer the same as those of old, and the tradition of having the first ancestor's tablet face east has been lost, the arrangement of the tablets in the west does seem incorrect.' He said thereupon, 'What should we do about it now then?' and I answered, 'The rites should be in accord with the times. If we are to serve the dead as we serve the living, then the great-great-grandfather's tablet should face south, the great-grandfather's, grandfather's, and father's tablets should be arranged on the east and west, on slightly lower places, without facing each other. This seems to put our hearts more at ease . . . However, I fear that the ordinary people's halls are often too small and narrow, and lack often the required vessels, so that this course of action is difficult for all to follow.'

I was then asked, 'In the case of someone who dies without descendants, if he happens to belong to the generation of my sons and nephews, then there is no difficulty in placing his tablet in a lower position. But what should be done if he happens to belong to the generations of my ancestors?'

I answered: 'In the past, the Great Officers were entitled to three temples, which did not include their great-great-grandparents. An Officer of the First Grade was entitled to two temples, which did not include his great-grandparents.⁵ Now, however, the ordinary people are allowed to sacrifice to their great-great and great-grandparents, which shows a real recognition of genuine human feelings. If ancient customs were to be again followed, this would be considered a transgression, all the more so if

such sacrifice included those who died without descendants. In the past, an official who had no son was given adopted heirs, so that there were few people who were without descendants. In later ages, human feelings became crass, so that the poor and lowly were neglected. In the past, those who died without descendants were usually people who died before maturity.

According to 'Chi-fa' [Laws of Sacrifice],⁶ under the rank of king, there were five classes of deceased young who received sacrifices: rightful son, rightful grandson, rightful great-grandson, rightful great-great-grandson, rightful great-great-great grandson – five generations in all [always the children of the first wives]. Those under the rank of feudal princes had the right to sacrifice to three generations, the Great Officers could sacrifice to two generations, the Officers of the First Grade and the common people could sacrifice only to their sons. Hence, the sacrifice offered to those who died without issue referred to one's sons and grandsons. Now, since the common people of today can sacrifice to four generations, then, it would be all right to sacrifice to those of a younger generation, such as our nephews.
...

WWKC, 6:210-1

¹ [Instructions on the Essentials of Customs and Propriety], probably an essay written by Tsou Ch'ien-chih.

² [Chu Hsi's Treatise on Family Rites].

³ *Mencius*, 6A:7, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 405.

⁴ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 28, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 424.

⁵ *Book of Rites*, ch. 12, 'Wang chih' [Royal Regulations], Legge's *Li Chi*, vol. 1, p. 223.

⁶ *Book of Rites*, ch. 46, 'Chi-fa', *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 207.

On *liang-chih*

53. TO TSOU CH' IEN-CHIH

... Recently, I find the words *liang-chih* daily more genuine and simple.¹ Day and night, when I speak with my friends, I merely regret that I cannot develop this concept to its fullest. For these two words represent something which everyone has in himself, and even the most foolish and least endowed awakens to truth on hearing of it. If we only extend this to the utmost limit, we shall find in it that which even sages [do not know], and even heaven and earth cannot satisfy. Hence, the meaning of these

words cannot be exhausted even if we go on until the end of *kalpa*.³ If worldly scholars still maintain doubt with regard to it, and find it still rather inadequate, this would be only due to their not really having seen it. Recently, a retired official invited me to give a lecture, saying, 'Beside *liang-chih*, is there anything else [you can] talk about?' I answered, 'Besides *liang-chih*, is there anything else [to] talk about?'⁴

WWKC, 6:212

¹ According to Ch'ien Te-hung (1496-1574), Yang-ming's disciple from 1521 on, Yang-ming's teaching became more and more simplified and he spoke almost always of '*liang-chih*'. See his preface to the *Wen-lu* [Collected Writings] of Yang-ming, WWKC, 1:13.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 29, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 425-6.

³ The Chinese word used here, *chieh*, is the translation of *kalpa*, the Sanskrit word meaning a Buddhist aeon or world period.

⁴ In the original Chinese, the question and answer are phrased in a similar way.

On Unity of the 'Three Ways'

54. TO TSOU CH'IEN-CHIH

1526

... There is only one *tao*. The man of *jen* [humanity] sees it, and calls it humanity. The man of *chih* [wisdom] sees it, and calls it wisdom.¹ What the Buddhists call Buddhist, what the Taoists call the follower of Lao-tzu, what the common people do daily without knowing² – all are *tao*. How can there be two *tao*? The true or false, orthodox or perverse doctrines of the past and present, resemble *mock jade* and jade. Yet many people remain confused during their whole lives, without being able to distinguish between them. It is precisely because this *tao* is only one, and its changes and transformations fill up all space, vertically, horizontally, and in every direction, that all can be inferred from it. The worldly Confucian scholars, each start from a partial view of it, and embellish their image with comparisons and imitations, give expression to it through divisions of chapters and sentences and borrowed explanations. They are used to such practices, which can instil enough self-confidence, producing sections and items which give them a sense of make-believe security, with which they can deceive themselves and others, remaining in this pitfall for a whole lifetime without realising it. And yet, it was a very slight divergence which led to this difference of a thousand

li. Those who do not have the sincere determination to become sages, and to devote themselves to being 'discerning and single-minded'³ will not be able to diagnose the root of this disease, and unveil the hidden, mysterious evil. . . .

WWKC, 6:212-3

¹ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', pt 1, Legge's *Yi King*, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Book of Documents*, 'Ta-Yü', Legge's *Classics*, vol. III, p. 61.

On *liang-chih*

55. TO TSOU CH' IEN-CHIH

1526

. . . To recognise the principle of Heaven in every event¹ refers to the effort of vigilance and apprehension.² I consider this still slightly different [from my own teaching], for it implies that every event and object in the world has its own fixed principle, which one must seek outside of one's self. If the effort of the extension of *liang-chih* is understood, this teaching will be without harm. If not, the danger remains that a slight divergence may lead one a thousand *li* astray. In your letter you mentioned the fear that this [searching to recognise the principle of Heaven] may lend too great emphasis on events or affairs. This shows that you have thrown light on its weak point.

Thank you for sending me Kan-ch'üan's essay - 'Tsun-ching-ko Chi' [Record on 'Respect the Classics' Pavilion]. It is very good. His general theme is similar to that which I expressed in my essay on the Chi-shan Shu-yüan [Chi-shan College].³ I had formerly sent that essay to Kan-ch'üan, thinking that it did contain some real insights. Now Kan-ch'üan speaks about 'those today who say that intelligence and consciousness need not be sought externally in the Classics, and need not be invoked in order to awaken',⁴ and so on. In so doing, he seems to be too anxious to set up theories, without taking time to see carefully what I mean. If the later generations found learning obscure, this has not been due to the lack of intelligence and understanding of later men when compared to the ancients. Rather, this is generally due to their great desire to excel, which prevents them from learning from each other's good points with modesty. While

knowing that someone has propounded a right theory, one wishes all the same to propose another theory in order to excell the first. That is why the more theories there are, the more confused people become . . . This is therefore the fault of people like us, who seek to excell each other. Now the theory of *liang-chih* has already made very concrete the essential points of learning. If only all could eliminate the desire to excel, and seek rather to co-operate in propagating this teaching, and, paying attention to endowment and individuality, teach and persuade others systematically to follow this doctrine, we should certainly achieve real results. Otherwise, if we merely seek to establish different schools of thought, using the external pretext of the defence of doctrine, to obtain the goal of excelling others, and without paying attention to the growing neglect of orthodox teaching, people's minds will become increasingly confused. To form one's own party in order to attack others, to conceal our shortcomings while we argue about our supposed qualities in order to promote certain selfish interests, is not what a man of *jen* can tolerate. Kan'ch'uan may not have this intention. But his words stirred me up and I just give my general impressions of what I consider to be the common sickness to today's teachers. Even I myself may not perhaps be free from this. However, I would not dare not to seek to cure myself of it radically. . . .

WWKC, 6:213-14

¹ A constant teaching of Chan Kan-ch'uan. See *MJHA*, 37.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 384.

³ See *WWKC*, 7:250.

⁴ Quoting Chan Jo-shui's essay. See [Chan] *Kan-ch'uan wen-chi* [Collected Writings of Chan Jo-shui], Preface 1581, republished 1866, 18:8a-9b.

On Learning

56. IN REPLY TO A FRIEND

1526

The learning of the gentleman is concentrated merely on the quest within himself.¹ Should there be criticisms, praise, glory, or disgrace these things not only cannot move his mind, but can even provide him with something with which he can polish and improve himself. That is why the gentleman can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself,² since whatever he does

is, for him, learning. If one is glad on hearing praise, and sad on hearing criticism, one becomes always fearful, until even the day is found not sufficiently long³ for all his fears. How can such a person be a gentleman? Formerly, when His Majesty Emperor Wu-tsung was in Nanking [1520], his entourage vied with each other to slander me in his august presence. At that time, I faced unknown calamity, and my equals and subordinates all feared for me, saying that since I was being suspected by so many, I ought to attempt to explain myself. I answered that the gentleman does not expect the world to believe him, but is rather satisfied with his belief in himself. Since I already lacked adequate time to cultivate such belief in myself, where would I find time to persuade others to believe me? . . .

WWKC, 6:214

¹ *Analects*, XV:20, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 300.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 14, *ibid.*, p. 395; *Mencius*, 4B:16, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 323.

³ *Book of Documents*, T'ai-shih' [The Great Declaration], *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 290.

On Knowledge and Action

57. IN REPLY TO INQUIRIES FROM A FRIEND 1526

You asked: 'The former scholars all regarded study, inquiry, reflection and discernment as belonging to the realm of knowledge, while earnest action was assigned to the realm of action.¹ These were therefore clearly regarded as two different realms. Now you alone say that knowledge and action are one. I cannot but doubt your words.'

I answer thus: 'I have spoken many times of this already. All that is meant by activity is to do something concretely. If one applied earnest effort to study, inquiry, reflection, and discernment, these four things would therefore become action also. Learning means learning to do this, inquiry means seeking to do this, reflection and discernment also mean reflecting upon this and discerning between it and other things. If one is first to study, inquire, reflect and discern, before one acts, how can one not study, inquire, reflect and discern in a vacuum? And how can one do these things during one's action? In its intelligent, conscious, and discerning aspects, action is knowledge. In its

genuine, concrete, and practical aspect, knowledge is action. If one acts without intelligence, consciousness, and refined observation, one is acting blindly. This is what is meant by "Learning without thinking is labour lost".² That is why one must also remember knowledge. However, if one knows without being genuine, concrete, and practical in knowledge, one is merely harbouring illusions. That is what "Thinking without learning is perilous" means.³ Therefore one must also speak of action in knowledge. Essentially, it is the same effort all throughout. Where the ancients spoke of knowledge and action, they did so always to correct or clarify some effort, and so differ from the people today who divide them into two separate things. When I speak now of the unity of knowledge and action, I do so also to correct and remedy certain present errors. However, in substance and procedure, knowledge and action are also fundamentally one. We need merely to experience it in our minds in order to reach this realisation. But if one seeks only to understand it through the meanings of words, one gets very involved in hair-splitting, and more and more confused. This is precisely the disadvantage of not being able to unite knowledge and action.'

You also said: 'There are many similarities and differences between the teachings of [Lu] Hsiang-shan and those of [Chu] Hui-an. You used to say that Hsiang-shan saw very directly and clearly whatever concerns the great point of departure of learning. Now, when I consider the teachings of Hsiang-shan, I find that he divides learning into clear exposition and concrete application. He regards also the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things as belonging to the category of clear exposition. Thus I find his teaching quite similar to that of Hui-an, but rather different from your teaching on the unity of knowledge and action.'

I answer: 'With regard to learning, the gentleman does not place importance on similarities and differences, but only on what is right. If my teaching presents similarities with the teaching of Hsiang-shan, it is not due to any imitation on my part. If there are differences also, I should not try to hide these differences. Where I do differ from Hui-an, it is not due to my seeking to be different. Where I teach as he did, there is no harm either coming from this similarity. If Po-yi,⁴ Liu-hsia Hui,⁵

Confucius, and Mencius were to find themselves in the same room, and each were to express his particular views, it would be impossible for them to hold identical views. What is essential is that they are all sages. Later scholars, however, sought merely to defend those who have similar opinions and attack those who differ from themselves, being moved this way by selfish minds and superficial habits, regarding the work of sagehood as a child's game.'

You asked also: 'The unity of knowledge and action is an essential part of your teaching. Since this differs from the teaching of Hsiang-shan, may I ask what in it is the same?'

I answer: 'Knowledge and action are really two words describing the same, one effort. This one effort requires these two words in order to be explained completely. If a person sees clearly the essential point of departure, he would know this is only one, and that though these may be described as two activities, they really remain one effort. If, in the beginning, the two activities do not seem to harmonise, they would always tend towards unity in the end. If, however, someone does not see clearly the great point of departure, and regards them as two entirely different things, then, even if he were to speak of the two as one, they would still lack harmony, and would be separated into two things in action, resulting in losing head and tail of the body'. . . .

You asked also: 'Since the teaching of the extension of *liang-chih* is viewed by one who, having held it, may "wait for a hundred generations for a sage, without having any doubt",¹ and since Hsiang-shan saw clearly the essentials of learning, why would he present different views in this regard?'

I answer: 'Scholars have followed one another in similar interpretations of the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things. Hsiang-shan followed their footsteps, and did not cast doubt on their explanations. This showed also that Hsiang-shan's teachings present imperfections, which it is not necessary for us to hide.'

I also wish to add: 'Action is knowledge in its genuine and concrete aspects. Knowledge is action in its intelligent, conscious, and discerning aspects. If, when one knows, the mind is not genuine and concrete, then one's knowledge also lacks intelli-

gence, consciousness and discernment. It does not mean that one needs merely to know with intelligence, consciousness and discernment, without having to seek after genuineness and concreteness. And, when one acts, if the mind is not intelligent conscious, and discerning, then one's action cannot be genuine and concrete. It does not mean that one needs merely to be genuine and concrete in action, without having to seek after intelligence, consciousness, and refinement. The substance of the mind knows the changes and transformations of Heaven and Earth.⁷ Together with Heaven, it also knows the great beginning.⁸

WWKC, 6:215

¹ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 20, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 413.

² *Analects*, II:15, *ibid.*, p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See *Shih-chi*, 61:179. Also see *Mencius*, 5B:1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, pp.370-1.

⁵ His real name was Chan Ch'in. A man of Lu, he lived under Liu-hsia, and became the symbol of a sage-minister. See, *ibid.*, pp. 370-2.

⁶ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 29, *ibid.*, p. 426.

⁷ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 33, *ibid.*, p. 340.

⁸ *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', Legge's *Yi King*, p. 349.

On *liang-chih*

58. TO NAN YUAN-SHAN¹

1526

Only a scholar of real virtue can see the brilliance and conscious intelligence of his *liang-chih* in harmony and penetration, one with *t'ai-hsu* [Great Void].² *T'ai-hsu* embraces all things, without letting anything become a hindrance to itself. For the substance of my *liang-chih* is naturally and originally 'quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge'³ as well as 'magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild',⁴ and also 'unfolding, energetic, firm, and enduring',⁵ 'self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean',⁶ 'accomplished, distinctive, concentrating, and searching',⁷ 'vast and all-embracing, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth its virtues in due season'.⁸ Essentially there are no wealth and honours to be admired, no poverty or lowliness to be anxiously avoided, no gains or losses that merit joy or sadness, no love or hatred to choose from.⁹ For if my ear is not *liang-chih*, it cannot

hear, and how can it be called quick in apprehension? If my eye is not *liang-chih*, it cannot see, and how can it be called clear in discernment? If my mind is not *liang-chih*, it cannot think and become conscious, and how can it be said to be far-reaching in intelligence and all-embracing in knowledge? . . . That is why the admiration of wealth and honours, the anxiety over poverty and lowliness, the joy or sorrow over gains or losses, as well as love and hatred, can all obscure the apprehensive and intelligent substance of *liang-chih*, and hinder its function in sending forth [virtues] in due season. They are what dust is to the eye, and wooden plugs to the ears . . . Scholars of virtue regard the removal of such things . . . as bathing their eyes of dust, and of extracting the wood from their ears . . . From them, wealth, poverty, gain, loss, love, and hatred are worth as much as the passing storm and the floating smoke, which move and change in the *t'ai-hsu*, while the substance of *t'ai-hsu* remains always vast and unlimited. . . .

WWKC, 6:216-17

¹ His private name was Nan Ta-chi. (1487-1541). A *chin-shih* in 1511, he became Prefect of Shao-hsing, Yang-ming's home country. He was also Yang-ming's disciple. See *MJHA*, 29:11a-b.

² The term *t'ai-hsu* was used by Chang Tsai; see *Chang-tzu sh'uan-shu*, *Cheng-meng*, ch. 1:2a. It refers to the universe or to space.

³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 31, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 428.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁹ *Mencius* 3B:2, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 265.

On *hsin*

59. TO CHI MING-TE¹

1526

. . . Recently, a friend told me to change to *Pei-mu* pills² [for my cough]. I have found them quite effective. However, this is nothing compared to your advice about using the methods of cultivation of life³ to remove the roots of the disease and reach the source [of the problem]. This is valid not only for curing sickness, but also for our application in study.

You told me that your determination to study has increased,

that you consider sagehood as certainly attainable by study, that you cautiously learn from experience in concrete affairs, and besides, that feelings of annoyance arising from your relationship with friends are decreasing. This is a cause for rejoicing. You also said that the teaching of sagehood requires also the accumulation of gradual efforts. This is all very solid. As to your using the teachings of Yao, Shun, King Wen, Confucius, and Lao-tzu to develop the meaning of the chapter on 'Fixing Determination in Learning' in the *Analects*,⁴ it adequately shows your diligence in seeking progress . . . Ming-te! It would be all right to make use of this idea to encourage your own spirit, and improve your own morale. But if you wish also to divide up every section of these writings, giving commentaries and citing proofs, taking these to be systematic steps of the pathway by which a sage advances in *tao* . . . then you will not be free from the defects of making comparisons and of being fettered by words. To show in this way the fact that sagehood is attainable by learning might give some insights but would tend to make of the status of sagehood something very high and far away, without showing everyone that it is really attainable . . . There is much in the instructions of the sages that cannot be adequately given in books and words.⁵ In reading the Classics, we must use what helps our learning in order to extend our *liang-chih*. Thus, all that is in thousands of classics, in whatsoever inverted and transposed order, can serve our purpose. But if we fall into fixed types of comparisons, we become fettered by these, and, in spite of occasional insights, which have some value, prejudiced and arbitrary judgments will be lurking around and hindering our *liang-chih* without our being conscious thereof . . . To speak of *liang-chih* would make things easier for people to understand. That is why I have been saying recently that the *liang-chih* of *hsin* is sagehood . . . Man is the *hsin* [mind] of Heaven and Earth and all things. The mind is the master of Heaven and Earth and all things. The mind is the word of Heaven; the mind suggests Heaven and Earth and all things. This is direct, simple, and intimate. So it would be better to say, for study one merely needs to develop the mind. . . .

WWKC, 6:218-19

- ¹ His private name was Chi Peng. He became a *chin-shih* in 1517. See *MJHA*, 13:1a-2a.
² A species of *Fritillana thunbergii* used in Chinese medicine.
³ Referring to Taoist physicalmental cultivation.
⁴ *Analects*, II:4, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 146.
⁵ Allusion to *Book of Changes*, 'Appended Remarks', Legge's *Yi King*, p. 377.

On Extending *liang-chih*

60. TO WEI SHIH-YÜEH¹

1527

... You spoke about following one's *ch'ing* [feelings] and thoughts,² and acting according to these as though they were *liang-chih*, rather than according to the real *liang-chih*. This shows that you have already located the danger. Thought and *liang-chih* should be clearly distinguished one from the other. Thought arises out of response to an object, and may be either good or bad. *Liang-chih* is that which can distinguish between the good and the bad in the thought. When one follows one's *liang-chih*, all that one does cannot be wrong.

As to your questions concerning considerations of 'face' and the modification of circumstances, all refer to *hsin* [mind], which, while applying itself to the extension of *liang-chih*, does not succeed in concentrating itself with sufficient earnestness. If [the mind] could apply such earnest concentration [in this work], there would be no such difficulty. Those who, in doing things, find the beginning difficult, or tend to be careless and compromising, all do so because they are not sufficiently concentrated in extending their *liang-chih*. This means that they have not completely understood *liang-chih*. If they clearly comprehend it, then, even such considerations of face and circumstances become its operations, and there is no other *liang-chih* beyond 'face' and circumstances. And, so how can one be disturbed by 'face' or circumstances? When that happens, a man has already been moved by selfish desire, and has already lost his original *liang-chih*. Although now our companions all know that *liang-chih* is present everywhere, they tend to separate human feelings and the principles of things from *liang-chih* whenever they are involved in human affairs. This is certainly something for which we should be on the watch.

WWKC, 6:221

- ¹ His private name was Wei Liang-pi (1492-1575). See *MJHA*, 19:19b-20a.
² The Chinese word *yi* is translated here as 'thought'. It refers actually to 'intention' also, as the Chinese do not separate the operations of the intellect from those of the will.

On *liang-chih*

61. TO MA TZU-HSIN¹

1527

... Even before, we often spoke of *liang-chih*; I wonder whether you have now a clearer understanding of it. [Ch'eng] Ming-tao said, 'Although I derive my teaching partly from others, yet the two words *T'ien-li* is what I myself have discovered by experience'.² *Liang-chih* is *T'ien-li* (Principle of Heaven). To experience it means actually to possess it in oneself.³ It is not the same as what is done by those in the world who teach what they imagine. In these days, all our companions speak of *liang-chih*, but I have not yet seen any who can really experience it, which is why they are still not free from doubt. For some say that *liang-chih* itself is not adequate to exhaust all the principles in the world, so that a thorough external investigation is still necessary in order to complement its work. Others say that the mere extension of *liang-chih* may not bring one into complete conformity with the principle of Heaven, so that it is necessary to use *liang-chih* to seek what is called principle of Heaven. Thus they hold on to certain fixed rules which they follow systematically in order to be free from defect. With regard to such theory, unless one can really apply the effort of experience and attain to real insight of *liang-chih* one will not be able to distinguish between what is true, and what only seems true. ...

WWKC, 6:222

¹ His private name was Ma Ming-heng. A *chin-shih* in 1517, he was Yang-ming's disciple, and was to bring Yang-ming's teachings to the province of Fukien. See *Ming-shih* 207:497.

² *Wai-shu*, 12:4a.

³ *Great Learning*, ch. 9, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 371.

On Extending *liang-chih*

62. TO MAO KU-AN, THE VICE
REGIONAL COMMISSIONER¹

1527

... What I teach concerning the extension of *liang-chih* and what is being taught today concerning the recognition of *T'ien-li* (principle of Heaven)² is not so very different except for certain

slight divergences, with one taking a straight road and the other a detour. Take planting, for example. He who extends his *liang-chih* cultivates life from the root upward until it reaches the branches and leaves. He who recognises the principle of Heaven enriches the life in the branches and the leaves, and then seeks to return it to the roots. However, while promoting life in the roots, one can certainly conduct it to the branches and leaves, in enriching the life in the branches and the leaves, how can one abandon the roots and seek elsewhere for life with which to enrich the branches and leaves? . . .

WWKC, 6:222-3

¹ His private name was Mao Hsien (1469-1535). Together with Hsi Shu, he became Yang-ming's disciple during Yang-ming's exile in Kueichow. See Chiao Hung (ed.), *Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu* [Documentary Records of the Ming dynasty], Ming ed., reprinted in Taipei, 1965, 80:51.

² The constant teaching of Chan Kan-ch'uan. See *MJHA*, 37:1a-23a.

On Extending *liang-chih*

63. TO HUANG TSUNG-HSIEN

1527

For the man in an official position, the task [of self-perfection] is ten times more difficult than when he is living in retirement in mountains or forests. Without the help of friends who warn and correct him, his original determination will easily be weakened. . . .

. . . Recently, I was telling [Huang] Ch'eng-fu that, since you have few friends in Peking, the two of you should arrange in advance with each other, so that, when one observes a slight movement of passion,¹ the other should at once talk about the extension of *liang-chih*, in order that you may correct each other in this way.

Only the bravest man in the world² can stop himself suddenly and keep silent while he is in the course of an interesting conversation, can recollect and control himself when his temperament is about to become manifest, and can melt his anger and desire, just when these are near the boiling point. However, for one who sees intimately the *liang-chih*, even such effort is not so difficult. Hence the difficulties mentioned do not originally belong to the realm of *liang-chih*. They only appear when *liang-chih* becomes obscured and obstructed. When *liang-chih* awakens,

it is as though the bright sun has arisen, and ghosts and spirits naturally disperse. The *Doctrine of the Mean* says, 'He who possesses the sense of shame is close to being brave'.³ The shame to which this sentence refers is due merely to not being able to extend one's own *liang-chih*. People today often feel ashamed of not being able to win over others in speech, to subdue others through temperament, or to follow their own impulses of anger or desire. They do not know that these difficulties all arise from obstruction of *liang-chih*, which is really what a gentleman should be ashamed of. Now, if they consider as shame not being able to obstruct their own *liang-chih*, they are really feeling shame in what they ought not to feel shame, while they do not feel shame in what is really shameful. Is this not a very sad thing? . . . I only wish that you will become like the officers of ancient times. They were not noted for any crafty knowledge and ability, but were 'plain and sincere, without other ability, but with a straightforward and generous mind, which is capable of holding much'.⁴ Your knowledge and ability are certainly beyond those of most people. If you have not yet self-confidence, it is because you are not yet able to extend your own *liang-chih* and have not yet attained the state of 'plain sincerity and straightforward generosity'. The present situation in the world resembles that of a man who is seriously sick with accumulated diseases. The only hope of restoring the dead to life rests with you. If you have not yet removed your own sickness, how can you cure the sickness of the world? . . . You must really overcome your own selfish desires and become one with heaven and earth and all things, in order really to bring benefit to the world to restore the perfect rule of the Three Dynasties,⁵ and thus be not unworthy of our intelligent Sovereign, manifest gratitude for the trust placed in you, also not wasting the great privilege⁶ of having lived this life in the world. . . .

WWKC, 6:223-4

¹ Mencius, 2A:2, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 20, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 407.

⁴ *Book of Documents*, 'Ch'in-shih' [The Speech of the Duke of Ch'in], *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 629.

⁵ The three dynasties are Hsia (2205?-1766? B.C.), Shang (1766?-1122 B.C.), Chou (1122-221 B.C.), according to traditional Chinese chronology.

⁶ The Chinese term used — *ta-shih* — suggests a Buddhist term — alluding to the 'great cause' for which Buddha appeared in the world. See *CTYL*, 13:7a, where Chu Hsi says that the sage also lives for a great cause. For the Buddhist usage, see Saddharma-pundarika sutra, TSD ed., No. 262, 9:7; Eng. tr. by W. E. Soothill, The Lotus of the Wonderful Law (1930), 71.

On Extending *liang-chih*

64. TO CH'EN WEI-CHÜN¹

... When sages speak of learning [they teach] that there is no effort which cannot be applied. However, the three words *chih liang-chih* [the extension of *liang-chih*] are especially simple and clear, providing a concrete starting point for our efforts, so that we shall not go astray. Among our companions now, there is not one who does not know this theory of the extension of *liang-chih*. Yet there are very few who really apply their efforts in this direction. This is so because they do not yet see their *liang-chih* clearly, and especially take the word *chih* [extension] too light-heartedly, so that from many points of view they do not gain much in strength. Although this represents a slight improvement when compared to their former attachment to fragmentary teachings, their real progress is like the difference between two soldiers, one of whom retreats a hundred paces, and the other retreats fifty. . . .²

WWKC, 6:225

¹ His private name was Ch'en Chiu-ch'uan. He became a *chin-shih* in 1514. See *MJHA*, 19:15b-19b.

² *Mencius*, 1A:3, Legge's *Classics*, vol. II, p. 130.

On *liang-chih*: Orthodoxy

65. TO MY FRIENDS IN AN-FU¹

1527

... Ming-tao once said, 'I prefer to learn to follow the sages and not succeed, rather than to become famous for one good deed'.² He said this for the sake of those who have the ambition to become sages and yet have not attained the learning of sages. The teaching of *liang-chih* which we are promulgating today is the genuine doctrine transmitted by the sages. If we only learn from this, we may be certain to attain sagehood. The only fear is that we still prefer to become famous through one good deed, and are therefore unwilling to devote our minds to such efforts . . . Our efforts must be simple and true. The truer they are, the simpler they become. The simpler they are, the truer they become. . . .

WWKC, 6:225-6

¹ This was a county in the present province of Kiangsi belonging to Chi-an, from which many of Yang-ming's disciples came. See especially *MJHA*, 19.

² This is actually taken from a eulogy written in honour of Ch'eng Hao after his death by Lü Yu-shu [Lü Ta-Lin, 1044-90]. See *Chün-ssu lu chi-chu*, 14:6b, and Chan's *Reflections*, p. 305.

On *liang-chih*

66. TO LU CH'ING-PO¹

. . . When a man does what is not good, even acting to the extreme of unreasonableness and the disruption of morality, the *liang-chih* of his mind will not be without awareness of its evil. However, because he cannot extend his naturally endowed 'innate knowledge', he does not investigate things, he does not render his intention sincere, and so he enters finally the ranks of the mean men. Hence all who extend their knowledge extend merely their naturally endowed knowledge of the good [*liang-chih*]. What the *Great Learning* calls *chih-chih* and *ko-wu* [the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things],² what the *Book of Documents* calls *ching-yi* [being discerning and single-minded],³ what the *Doctrine of the Mean* calls *shen-tu* [watching over self when one is alone],⁴ and what Mencius calls *chi-yi* [the concentration of righteousness]⁵ – all refer to the application of the same effort. . . .

WWKC, 27:769

¹ Another name of Lu Ch'eng, also known as Lu Yuan-ching. See Yang-ming's other letters to him in 1516, 1521, and 1522 (pp. 000).

² *Great Learning*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, pp. 358-9.

³ *Book of Documents*, 'Fa-Yü mu', *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 61.

⁴ *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 6, *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 384.

⁵ *Mencius*, 2A:2, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 190.

On Emotions

67. TO HSÜ T'AI-CHUNG¹

. . . When joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure are stirred to movement and remain moderate,² they are said to produce the state of harmony. There is harmony in sorrow. This refers to its taking rise from complete sincerity and without any affectation. The excess of feeling is not harmony. The movement of *ch'i* [temperament] is not harmony. To be attached to selfish desires and stubbornness is not harmony. The infant cries all day without hurting his throat.³ This is the extreme of harmony. To know this is to know that the teaching concerning how to observe mourning does not differ from the teaching concerning practical living. . . .

WWKC, 27:769

¹ His private name was Hsü Hsiang-ch'ing (1479-1557). He became a *chin-shih* in 1517. See *Ming-shih*, 208:500, and *WWKC*, 4: 186.

² *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1, Legge's *Classics*, vol. I, p. 384.

³ *Lao-tzu*, 55. See Chan's translation in *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p. 165.

On the Interpretation of Certain Key-words

The following key-words, all substantives, have been selected for discussion because of their frequent occurrence in the writings of Wang Yang-ming, and also because they illustrate the *unitary* character of his thought. Very often, these words manifest the different dimensions of the same truth which persistently pre-occupied Yang-ming's mind. That this truth pertains both to the ontological – the given, as well as the goal to be attained – and the methodological – the way of attaining the goal – realms is a fact which should emerge from the reading of his letters and from this discussion of certain key-words he used.

hsin : literally, the heart or mind, the seat of consciousness

For Wang Yang-ming, it is the source and principle of all human activity, identical to moral conscience, to human nature, to the self, to the person.

hsing : literally, nature, the natural

Chu Hsi regarded *hsing* as the source and principle of moral and ontological goodness in man and the universe, that which is full of *li*, while he took *hsin* as that which contains both *li* and *ch'i* and therefore morally ambivalent.

Wang Yang-ming considered that *hsing* and *hsin* represent one and the same reality. For him, *hsing* is somehow the tranquil dimension of this reality, that by which man shares in *T'ien-li* [principle of Heaven], while *hsin* is the more dynamic principle, that which directs all human activity, the 'given' nature of man as well as that which is to be acquired, through experience and action – in other words, both starting-point and goal.

li : etymologically, the veins in jade; according to ordinary usage, reason or truth, pattern

For Chu Hsi, it is being, reality, the principle of organisation, that which constitutes the essence of a thing, moral truth and goodness, the principle of moral action.

Wang Yang-ming considered *li* especially under its moral aspect. He regarded *hsin* to be full of *li*, thus departing from Chu Hsi's views.

T'ien-li: literally, heavenly reason, 'principle of Heaven'

For Wang Yang-ming, it represents the supreme moral truth or the plenitude of moral goodness in which man participates, as well as that to which our moral judgments and actions should conform. At times he also opposed it – as did Chu Hsi – to '*jen-yu*' [human desire in a pejorative sense].

ch'i: literally, breath, ether, vital force, temperament Chu Hsi considered it to be the concrete, material, differentiating principle of things, that which together with *li* constitutes all beings, that which gives life to things.

For Wang Yang-ming, *li* and *ch'i* represent, not distinct principles, but the rational and moral *versus* the irrational and vital manifestations of the same human nature or of nature at large.

liang-chih: literally, knowing the good, knowledge of the good

In *Mencius*, 7A:15, the expression refers to man's inborn capacity to know the good.

For Wang Yang-ming, it is that in man which enables him to discern between right and wrong, the inborn capacity to know and do the good, a capacity to be developed as well as a goal to be attained, since the perfect development of *liang-chih* would signify sagehood.

Yang-ming also spoke of *liang-chih* as the principle of vitality, of consciousness, and of conscious activity in man. Besides, he identified it with *hsin*, especially to the latter in a state of 'equilibrium' – before feelings are aroused. In this sense, he spoke interchangeably of the 'original substance' [*pen-t'i*] of *hsin* – the 'mind-in-itself' – and of the 'original substance' of *liang-chih* – '*liang-chih* in itself'.

jen: literally, kindness, benevolence, humanity, goodness, love

In Confucian philosophy, the perfect and universal virtue.

Ch'eng Hao and other Sung philosophers gave this word a cosmic, life-giving connotation, making it that power or virtue by which man becomes one with heaven and earth and all things and shares in the creative processes of the universe.

Wang Yang-ming also identified *jen* with the 'original substance' of *hsin*, that is, with the 'mind-in-itself'.

t'ai-chi: literally, the Great and Ultimate, or the Supreme and Ultimate

For Chou Tun-yi, it represents the source and principle of all being and goodness, the Beginning, the One behind the Many, the Fullness of Perfection, of Being, of *li*.

Wang Yang-ming seldom referred to it, and then usually as the source and principle of moral goodness.

t'ai-hsu: literally, the Great Void

For Chang Tsai, it is full of *ch'i* [ether], the shapeless stuff which makes up the universe. Wang Yang-ming spoke of *liang-chih* as being somehow one with *t'ai-hsu*, thus endowing the latter not only with life and vitality but also with consciousness and a certain intelligence and spirituality.

tao: literally, the Way

In Taoist philosophy, the ultimate truth and reality.

In Confucian philosophy, virtue, the fullness of moral teaching, the authentic doctrine of the sages. Wang Yang-ming understood this word in its Confucian meaning. He identified his own teaching of *liang-chih* with the Confucian Way or *tao*.

Selected Bibliography

A. WORKS IN CHINESE AND JAPANESE (MOSTLY PRIMARY SOURCES)

Chan Jo-Shui

Kan-ch'uan wen-chi, Preface 1581, republished 1866.

Chang Po-tuan

'Epilogue' to Hsueh Tao-kuang *et al*, *Wu-chen p'ien san-chu* in *Tao-tsang* 64, Ming ed., reprinted in Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923-6.

Chang Tsai

Chang-tzu ch'uan-shu, SPPY ed.

Ch'eng Hao [Ming-tao] and Ch'eng Yi [Yi-ch'uan]

Erh-Ch'eng ch'uan-shu, incorporating *Yi-shu* [1-10 attributed to both brothers, 11-14 to Ch'eng Hao, 15-25 to Ch'eng Yi], *Wai-shu* [attributed to both brothers], *Ts'ui-yen* [attributed to Ch'eng Yi], *Ming-tao wen-chi*, and *Yi-ch'uan wen-chi*, SPPY ed.

Chi Yun (1724-1805) *et al*.

Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933.

Chiang Yung (ed.)

Chin-ssu lu chi-chu, SPPY ed.

Chiao Hung (ed.)

Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, Ming ed., reprinted in Taipei, 1965.

Chou Tun-yi

Chou-tzu Tung-shu, SPPY ed.

Chu Hsi

Chu-tzu ch'uan-shu, 1714 ed., compiled by Imperial command.

Chu-tzu wen-chi, SPTK ed.

Chu-tzu yü-lei [CTYL], comp. Li Ching-te, 1473 ed., reprinted in Taipei, 1962.

Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen kung wen-chi [CWKW], SPTK ed.

Ssu-shu chi-chu, incorporating *Ta-hsueh chang-chü*, *Chung-yung chang-chü*, *Lun-yü chi-chu*, and *Meng-tzu chi-chu*, SPPY ed.

Chuang-tzu, SPPY ed.

Feng Cheng

Ch'un-ch'iu jih-shih chi-cheng, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1929.

Han Yü

Han Ch'ang-li ch'uan-chi, SPPY ed.

Hsiao Liang-kan *et al*. (comp.)

Shao-hsing fu-chih, pub. 1586.

Hsun-tzu, SPPY ed.

Huang Hui (ed.)

Lun-heng chiao-shih [Annotated version of Wang Ch'ung's *Lun-heng*], 2 vols., Taipei: Commercial Press, 1964.

Huang Tsung-hsi

Ming-ju hsueh-an [MJHA], SPPY ed.

Huang Tsung-hsi and Ch'uan Tsu-wang

Tseng-pu Sung-Yuan hsueh-an, SPPY ed.

Huang Wan

- Ming-tao p'ien*, ed. Hou Wai-lu, Peking, 1959.
- Lankavatara sūtra* [*Leng-chia-ching*], TSD ed., No. 670.
- Liu Hsiang
Lieh-hsien chuan in *Ku-chin yi-shih*, Ming ed., reprinted in Shanghai, 1937.
- Liu Tsung-chou
Yang-ming ch'uan-hsin lu in *Liu-tzu ch'uan-shu yi-pien*, 1850 ed.
- Liu Ts'un-yan
 'Ming-ju yu tao-chiao', *Hsin-ya hsueh-pao*, vol. 8 (1967), pp. 1-38.
- Liu-tzu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching*, TSD ed., No. 200⁷, 2008.
- Lu Chiu-yuan [Hsiang-shan]
Hsiang-shan ch'uan-chi [HSCC], SPPY ed.
- Ming-shih*, Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed., 1937.
- Ming-shih-lu*, Academia Sinica ed., Taipei, 1966.
- Shen Yi-chi et al. (comp.) *Saddharma pundarika sūtra* [1]
fa-tien-hua ching or *Lotus Scriptu*
 TSD ed., No. 262.
- Che-chiang t'ung-chih*, first pub. 1736, reprinted in Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934.
- Shih-chi*, Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed., 1937.
- Ssu-ma Kuang
Ssu-ma Wen-kung wen-chi, SPTK ed.
- Sun Ch'i-feng
Li-hsueh tsung-chuan, reprinted in Taipei, 1969.
- Sung-shih*, Erh-shih-wu shih series, K'ai-ming ed., 1937.
- Surangama sūtra* [*Leng-yen ching*], TSD ed., No. 945.
- Tao-shuan
Hsu kao-seng chuan, TSD ed., No. 2060, vol. 50.
- Tao-tsang*, Ming ed., reprinted in Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923-6.
- Tao-yuan
Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, SPTK ed.
- Tung Chung-shu
Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu, SPTK ed.
- Wang Shou- jen [Yang-ming]
Hsiang-chu Wang Yang-ming ch'uan-shu, ed. and annot. Ni Hsi-en, 1568 ed., reprinted in Shanghai, 1935.
- Wang Wen-ch'eng kung ch'uan-shu* [WWKC], SPTK double page lithograph ed.
- Yang-ming ch'uan-shu*, SPPY ed.
- Yang-ming hsien-sheng chi-yao*, comp. Shih Pang-yao in c. 1636, SPTK ed.
- Yang-ming wen-lu*, 1536 ed., Library of Congress Microfilm No. 2015.
- Yasuda Kiyoshi
 'Tegami yori mitaru Ō Yomei no shiso daiyo', *Tetsugaku genkyū*, vol. 380 (1949), pp. 665-82.
- Yao Ts'ung-wu
Tung-pei-shih lun-ts'ung 2 vols., Taipei, 1959.
- Yin-wen-tzu*, SPTK ed., 2 vols.
- Yü Ch'ung-yao
Yang-ming hsien-sheng chuan-tsuan, Shanghai, 1923.

religious creeds, and social institutions. 2 vols. Oxford University Press, 1885; reprinted by University Books, New York, 1967.

The Yi King [Yi-ching, Book of Changes]. The Sacred Books of the East Series (The Texts of Confucianism, Part II in The Sacred Books of China). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882; reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass (Indian Series of Unesco Collection of Representative Works), Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, 1966.

Liu Ts'un-yan

'Lu Hsi-hsing and his Commentaries on the *Ts'an tung-ch'i*', *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, vol. 7 (1968), pp. 71-98.

'Taoist Self-cultivation in Ming Thought' in *Self and Society in Ming Thought* ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, pp. 291-330.

Suzuki, Daisetz T.

Essays in Zen Buddhism (published for the Buddhist Society, London). London: Rider, first series, 1927; second series, 1950; third series, 1953. *Studies in Zen*, London: Rider, 1955.

The Lankavatara Sūtra: A Mahayana Text. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, reprint 1959.

Watson, Burton

Basic Writings of Hsün-tzu. Translated from the Chinese with annotations, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu. Translated from the Chinese with annotations, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968.

GLOSSARY AND
INDEX

Ai, Duke	哀公
An-fu	安福
Chan Ch'in	展禽
Chan Jo-shui	湛若水
[Chan] Kan-ch'uan	湛甘泉
Chan Wing-tsit	陳榮捷
Ch'an	禪
[Chang] Ching-fu	張敬夫
[Chang] Heng-chu	張橫渠
Chang Nan-hsuan	張南軒
Chang Po-tuan	張伯端
Chang Shih	張枳
Chang Tsai	張載
<i>Chang-tzu ch'uan-shu</i>	張子全書
Chao, Duke	昭公
Che	輒
<i>Che-chiang t'ung-chih</i>	浙江通志
che-hsieh-tzu	這些子
Chekiang	浙江
Ch'en Chih-hsu	陳致虛
Ch'en Chiu-ch'uan	陳九川
Ch'en Hsien-chang	陳獻章
Ch'en Wei-chün	陳惟■ 瞻
<i>Cheng-meng</i>	正蒙
Ch'eng	誠
Ch'eng Hao	程顥
Ch'eng Ming-tao	程明道
Ch'eng Yi	程頤
Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan	程伊川
Ch'eng-chou	辰州
Ch'eng-tzu	程子
Chi Ming-te	季明德
Chi Peng	季本
Chi Yuan-heng	冀元亨
Chi Yun	紀■ 昀
Chi-an	吉安
chi-fa	祭法
<i>Chi-shan shu-yuan</i>	稽山書院
chi-wen	祭文
chi-yi	集義
Ch'i	齊
ch'i	氣

'
n


ch'u

che

Ch'i-tun	猗頓
Chiang Hsing	蔣信
Chiang Yung	江永
Chiao Hung	焦■ 竑
Chieh	階
chieh	劫
Chien Keng	錢鏗
ch'ien	乾
Ch'ien Te-hung	錢德洪
Ch'ien-chou	虔州
chih-chih	致知
chih liang-chih	致良知
chin-shih	進士
<i>Chin-ssu lu</i>	近思錄
<i>Chin-ssu lu chi-chu</i>	近思錄集■ 注
<i>Chin-tan ta-yao</i>	金丹大要
Ch'in-shih	秦誓
ching	敬，靜，精
<i>Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu</i>	景德傳燈錄
Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un	邱長春
Ch'iu Ch'u-chi	邱處機
Chou	周
Chou, Duke of	周公
[Chou] Lien-hsi	周濂溪
Chou Tun-yi	周敦頤
<i>Chou-tzu Tung-shu</i>	周子通書
Chu Hsi	朱熹
Chu-chi	諸暨
[Chu] Hui-an	朱晦庵
Chu Yung-ming	諸用明
Chu Po-yu	■ 伯玉 濠
Ch'ü Wan-li	屈萬里
Chu-tzu	朱子
<i>Chu-tzu ch'uan-shu</i>	朱子全書
<i>Chu-tzu yü-lei</i>	朱子語類
Ch'u	楚
Ch'u Ch'ai-hsu	儲柴墟
Ch'u Huan	儲■ 山 麓
Ch'u Tz'u	楚辭
Ch'u-li	曲禮
<i>Ch'uan-hsi lu</i>	傳習錄
ch'uan-hsueh	勸學
Ch'uan Tsu-wang	全祖望
<i>Chuang-tzu</i>	莊子
Ch'üeh	闕
<i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i>	春秋
<i>Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu</i>	春秋繁露
<i>Ch'un-ch'iu jih-shih</i>	春秋日蝕集證
<i>chi-cheng</i>	
Chung K'ang	仲康
Chung-hui chih-kao	仲虺之誥
Chung-shan Fu	仲山甫

?. 卷 8

K ?

Chung-yu	仲由
Chung-yung	中庸
Chung-yung chang-chu	中庸章句
Chung-yung chu-shu	中庸注疏
<i>Erh-Ch'eng ch'uan-shu</i>	二程全書
<i>Erh-shih-wu shih</i>	二十五史
Fan Ch'in	樊遲
Fang Hsi-ch'iao	方西樵
Fang Hsien-fu	方獻夫
Fang Shu-hsien	方叔賢
Feng Cheng	馮  敷
fu	復
Fung [Feng] Yu-lan	馮友蘭
Fu Yueh	傅說
Fukien	福建
<i>Han Ch'ang-li</i>	韓昌黎全集
<i>ch'uan-chi</i>	
Han Wen Kung	韓文公
Han Yu	韓愈
Han-ku	函谷
Han-lin	翰林
hao-jan-chih-ch'i	浩然之氣
Heng-shui	橫水
Ho	和
Ho Meng-ch'un	何孟春
Ho Tzu-yuan	何子元
Hou Wai-lu	侯外盧
Hsi	羲
Hsi, [Duke]	僖公
Hsi Shu	席書
Hsi Yuan-shan	席元山
Hsiang, [Duke]	襄公
<i>Hsiang-chu Wang</i>	詳注王陽明全書
<i>yang-ming ch'uan-shu</i>	
<i>Hsiang-shan ch'uan-chi</i>	象山全集
Hsia Shang-p'u	夏尚樸
Hsia Tun-fu	夏敦夫
Hsiao-shan	蕭山
Hsiao Liang-kan	蕭良幹
Hsieh T'ing-chieh	謝延傑
hsin	心
Hsin-ch'ang	新昌
<i>Hsin-ya hsueh-pao</i>	新亞學報
hsing	性
Hsing-chuang	行狀
'Hsing-li shih-yi'	性理拾遺

史

<i>Hsiu-tao chu</i>	修道注
Hsu Ai	徐愛
Hsu Ch'eng-chih	徐成之
Hsu Hsiang-ch'ing	許相卿
<i>Hsu kao-seng chuan</i>	續高僧傳
Hsu Shao-ch'eng	徐紹誠
Hsu T'ai-chung	許台仲
Hsueh Hsuan	薛瑄
Hsueh K'an	薛侃
Hsueh Shang-ch'eng	薛尚誠
Hsueh Shang-ch'ien	薛尚謙
Hsueh Tao-kuang	薛道光
Hsueh Wen-ch'ing	薛文清
Hsueh-chi	學記
Hu	胡
hu	斛
Hu Po-chung	胡伯忠
Hu-hsiang	互鄉
<i>Huai-nan tzu</i>	淮南子
Huan, Duke	桓公
Huang Ch'eng-fu	黃誠甫
Huang Chiu-an	黃久庵
Huang Hsing-tseng	黃省曾
Huang Hui	黃暉
Huang Mien-chih	黃勉之
Huang Tsung-hsi	黃宗羲
Huang Tsung-hsien	黃宗賢
Huang Tsung-ming	黃宗明
Huang Wan	黃綰
<i>Huang-Ming chin-shih</i>	皇明進士
<i>teng-k'o k'ao</i>	登科考
<i>Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu</i>	晦庵先生朱文
<i>Wen Kung wen-chi</i>	公文集
Hui-neng	慧能
Hui-ssu	慧思
Hung-fan	洪範
Hung-jen	弘忍
jih-kuan	日官
jih-yu	日御
Kan-chou	贛州
<i>Kan-ch'uan wen-chi</i>	甘泉文集
'Kan-hsu'	感虛
Kao-tzu	告子
'Kao-yao mu'	皋陶謨
Ko Ch'ang-keng	葛長庚
ko-wu	格物
Ko-wu shuo	格物說
<i>Ku-chin yi-shih</i>	古今逸史

K'uai-chi	會稽
Kuang-ch'eng-tzu	廣成子
Kueichow	貴州
k'un	坤
K'un-lun	崑崙
kung	公
Kung-sun Lung	公孫龍
K'ung Kuei	孔惺
K'ung-t'ung	崆峒 <small>徵</small>
<i>Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu</i>	國朝獻 <small>錄</small>
Lao-tzu	老子
Lee	李
<i>Leng-chia ching</i>	楞伽經
<i>Leng-yen ching</i>	楞嚴經
li	里·禮·理
Li Po-yang	李伯陽
Li Tao-fu	李道夫
<i>Li Chi</i>	禮記
<i>Li-chi</i>	禮記
<i>Li-hsueh tsung-chuan</i>	理學宗傳
liang-chih	良知
<i>Lie-Sien Tchouan</i>	列仙傳
<i>Lieh-hsien chuang</i>	列仙傳
Lin-chiang	臨江
Liu Chin	劉謹
Liu Ching-su	劉景素
Liu Chün-liang	劉君亮
Liu Hsiang	劉向
Liu Kuan-shih	劉觀時
Liu Nei-chung	劉內重
Liu Ts'un-yan	柳存仁
Liu Tsung-chou	劉宗周
Liu Yuan-tao	劉元道
Liu-hsia Hui	柳下惠
<i>Liu-tzu ch'uan-hsin-lu</i>	劉子傳信錄
<i>Liu-tzu ch'uan-shu</i>	劉子全書遺編
<i>yi-pien</i>	
<i>Liu-tsu ta-shih fa-pao t'an-ching</i>	六祖大師法寶壇經
Lo-yang	洛陽
Lou Liang	婁諒
Lu	魯
Lu Ch'eng	陸澄
Lu Ch'ing-po	陸清伯
Lu Chiu-yuan	陸九淵
Lu Hsiang-shan	陸象山
Lu Yuan-ching	陸元靜
Lu-ao	旅 <small>整</small>

Lü Hsi-che	呂希哲
Lü Ta-lin	呂大臨
Lü Tsu-ch'ien	呂祖謙
Lü Yu-shu	呂與叔
Lun Yen-shih	倫彥式
Lön Yi-hsun	倫以訓
Lun-heng	論衡
Lun-heng chiao-shih	論衡校釋
Lun-yü	論語
Lung-chiang	龍江
Lung-nan	龍南
Ma Ming-heng	馬明衡
Ma Tzu-hsin	馬子■ 幸
Mao Hsien	毛憲
Mao Ku-an	毛古庵
Meng Hsien-tzu	孟獻子
Ming	明
Ming shih-lu	明實錄
Ming-ju hsüeh-an	明儒學案
'Ming-ju yü tao-chiao'	明儒與道教
Ming-shih	明史
Ming-tai shih-chieh hui-k'an	明代史籍集刊
Ming-tao p'ien	明道編
Ming-tao wen-chi mo	明道文集 麈
Nan Ta-chi	南大吉
Nan Yuan-shan	南元善
Nan-an	南安
Nan-cheng	南鎮
Nan-tzu	南子
Nanking	南京
Ni Hsi-en	倪錫恩
Nieh Wen-yü	聶文蔚
'Nien-p'u'	年譜
pei-mu	貝母
pen-hsin	本心
P'eng Keng	彭鏗
pien-p'i	鞭辟
P'ing, King	平王
po	博
Po Yu-ch'an	白玉蟾
Po-yi	伯夷
Shan-yin	山陰
Shang	商
Shang-yang-tzu	上陽子

史籍

87

K' ?

<i>Shang-yang-tzu</i>	上陽子金丹大
<i>Chin-tan ta-yao</i>	要
Shang-yü	上虞
Shao-hsing	紹興
<i>Shao-hsing fu-chih</i>	紹興府志
Shao-yeh shan-fang	掃葉山房
Shen Yi-chi	沈翼機
Shen-hsiu	神秀
shen-tu	慎獨
Sheng-hsüeh	聖學
Shih Pang-yao	施邦曜
<i>Shih-chi</i>	史記
<i>Shih-ching</i>	詩經
Shih-tsung	世宗
Shu Fen	舒芬
Shu Kuo-shang	舒國裳
Shu Kuo-yung	舒國用
<i>Shu-ching</i>	書經
Shun	舜
shuo	朔
<i>Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu</i>	四庫全書總目
<i>tsung-mu t'i-yao</i>	提要
Ssu-ma Ch'ien	司馬遷
Ssu-ma Kuang	司馬光
<i>Ssu-ma Wen-kung</i>	司馬文公文集
<i>wen-chi</i>	
Ssu-pu pei-yao	四部備要
Ssu-pu ts'un ¹ k'an	四部叢刊
<i>Ssu-shu chi-chu</i>	四書集注
Sun Ch'i-feng	孫奇逢
<i>Sung-shih</i>	宋史
Suzuki, Daisetz T.	鈴木大拙
<i>Ta-ch'eng chih-kuan</i>	大乘止觀法門
<i>fa-men</i>	
<i>Ta-hsueh</i>	大學
<i>Ta-hsueh chang-chu</i>	大學章句
'Ta-lüeh'	大略
Ta-shih	大事
Ta-yü	大雅
'Ta-Yü mu'	大禹謨
Tai Te-ju	戴德儒
Tai Tzu-liang	戴子良
T'ai-chi	太極
T'ai-ho	太和
T'ai-hsü	太虛
t'ai-hsueh	太學
'T'ai-shih'	泰誓
<i>Taishō shinshu daizokyo</i>	大正新修大藏
	經
Tan	旦

史

'T'an-kung'	檀弓
'Tang-chih-shih'	蕩之什
T'ang, King	湯王
T'ang Lung	唐龍
T'ang Yü-tso	唐虞佐
tao	道
Tao-hsuan	道宣
<i>Tao-tsang</i>	道藏
Tao-yuan	道原
'Tegami yori mitaru	手紙より見太
Yomei no shiso	る王陽明思
daiyo'	想大要
<i>Tetsugaku genkyu</i>	哲學研究
Ti	帝
ti-erh-yi	第二義
ti-pei	弟輩
ti-yi-yi	第一義
T'ien	天
T'ien-li	天理
T'ien-t'ai	天台
Ting, Duke	定公
ting	定
'Ting-hsing-shu'	定性書
tou	斗
'Tsai-yu'	在宥
Ts'ai Hsi-yen	蔡希顏
Ts'ai Hsi-yuan	蔡希淵
Ts'ai Tsung-tui	蔡宗兌
Ts'ai Wo-chai	蔡我齋
<i>Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i</i>	參同契
Tseng Hsi	曾■ 皙
Tseng Shen	曾參
Tseng Tien	曾點
<i>Tseng-pu Sung-Yuan</i>	增補宋元學案
<i>hsueh-an</i>	
Tseng-tzu /	曾子，曾子問
'Tseng-tzu wen'	
<i>Tso-chuan</i>	左傳
tso-wang	坐忘
Tsou Ch'ien-chih	鄒謙之
Tsou Shou-yi	鄒守益
<i>Ts'ui-yen</i>	粹言
Tsun-ching-ko chi	尊經閣記
Tu Yu	杜預
Tung Chung-shu	董仲舒
Tung Lo-shih	董蘿石
Tung Yün	董■ 澐
<i>Tung-pei-shih</i>	東北史論叢
<i>lun-ts'un</i>	
T'ung Cheng	佟珍

史

<i>T'ung-shu</i>	通書
Tz'u	賜
Tzu-kung	子貢
Tzu-lu	子路
Tzu-ssu	子思
<i>Wai-shu</i>	外書
Wang Che-chih	汪折之
Wang Ch'eng-yü	王承裕
Wang Chün	汪俊
Wang Ch'un-fu	王純甫
Wang Ch'ung	王充
Wang Hu-ku	王虎谷
Wang Shih-t'an	汪石潭
Wang Shou-chang	王守章
Wang Shou-chien	王守儉
Wang Shou-jen	王守仁
Wang Shou-wen	王守文
Wang Tao	王道
Wang T'ien-yü	王天 _■ 字
<i>Wang Wen-ch'eng kung</i> <i>ch'üan-shu</i>	王文成公全書
Wang Yang-ming	王陽明
Wang Yin-chih	王寅之
Wang Ying-shao	王應韶
Wang Yu-an	王輿庵
Wang Yün-feng	王雲鳳
'Wang-chih'	王制
Wei	衛
Wei, Marquis of	衛公 _→ 良
Wei Liang-pi	魏 _■ 弼
Wei Po-yang	魏伯陽
Wei Shih-yueh	魏師說
wei-fa	未發
Wen, King	文王
Wen-chi	文集
Wen-jen Ch'üan	聞人詮
Wen-jen Pang-cheng	聞人邦正
Wen-jen Pang-ying	聞人邦英
Wen-jen Yin	聞人闡
<i>Wen-kung Chia-li</i>	文公家禮
'Wen-wang chih-shih'	文王之什
<i>Wen-lu</i>	文錄
Wu, King	武王
<i>Wu-chen p'ien</i>	悟真篇
<i>Wu-chen p'ien san-chu</i>	悟真篇三注
Wu-chi	無極
wu-hsin	無心
Wu-ting, King	武丁
Wu-tsung	武宗

Yang, yang	楊, 陽
Yang Chi	楊驥
Yang Hu	陽虎
Yang Shih-ming	楊仕鳴
Yang Shih-te	楊仕德
Yang Sui-an	楊邃庵
Yang Yi-ch'ing	楊一清
<i>Yang-ming ch'uan-hsin lu</i>	陽明傳信錄
<i>Yang-ming ch'uan-shu</i>	陽明全書
<i>Yang-ming hsien-sheng chi-yao</i>	陽明先生集要
<i>Yang-ming hsien-sheng chu'an-tsu'an</i>	陽明先生傳纂
<i>Yang-ming wen-lu</i>	陽明文錄
Yao	堯
Yao Ts'ung-wu	姚從吾
'Yao-tien'	堯典
Yasuda Kiyoshi	保田清
Yen Hui	顏回
Yen Lu	顏路
Yen-tzu	顏子
yi	義, 意
<i>Yi-ching/Yi King</i>	易經
<i>Yi-ch'uan wen-chi</i>	伊川文集
yi-fa	已發
yi-hai	乙亥
Yi-yin	伊尹
<i>Yi-shu</i>	遺書
Yin/yin	胤, 陰
'Yin-cheng'	胤征
<i>Yin-fu Canon</i>	陰符經
<i>Yin-wen-tzu</i>	尹文子
Ying Liang	應良
Ying Yuan-chung	應原忠
Yu [Tzu-lu]	由
Yu, King Emperor	禹
Yu Ch'ung-yao	余重耀
Yu Hsien	俞憲
<i>Yu-su li-yao</i>	諭俗禮要
Yu-yao	餘姚
Yuan Ch'iu Ch'u-chi nien-p'u	元邱處機年譜
'Yuan-tao'	原道
Yueh	越
'Yueh-ling'	月令
'Yueh-ming'	說命