

Cheng Duanmeng 程端蒙 1143–1191

Cheng Duanmeng was a native of Fanyang 鄱陽 (in modern-day Jiangxi). Cheng began his studies with Jiang Jie 江介 (1126–1183) of Raozhou 饒州, who was a follower of the Cheng brothers and Yang Shi's Guishan 龜山 School. Cheng soon became Jiang's favourite student. Later Cheng travelled to Wuyuan 婺源, where he received instruction from Zhu Xi and became a devoted follower of the Learning of Principle (*Li xue*). In 1180, Cheng was chosen as a prefectural nominee to become a lecturer at the Imperial Academy. However, Cheng came to the central court around the time of the Learning of the Way (*dao xue*) Controversy of 1182–83. This struggle at court culminated in an imperial ban on *daoxue* in 1194 and a release of a blacklist containing names of its fifty-nine leaders in 1197. Because Cheng disagreed with the official prohibition on the *daoxue* fellowship led by Wang Huai 王淮 (1127–1189), he retired from his position and returned to his home region. From that point, Cheng refused to take another official posting, but instead devoted himself to teaching for the rest of his life.

Among Cheng's best-known works are *Xingli zixun* 性理字訓 (*Lessons on Human Nature and Principle*) and *Cheng Dong er xiansheng xueze* 程董二先生學則 (*Lessons from the Teachings of the Two Masters Cheng Duanmeng and Dong Zhu*). Zhu Xi had nothing but praise for Cheng's writing. When Cheng died, Zhu Xi personally delivered a eulogy, in which he publicly mourned the premature death of a great scholar who 'took pursuing the *Dao* and cultivating his character as his personal responsibility'. In this Zhu referred to Cheng's devotion to ritual study, in which self-cultivation played as important a role as disciplined textual study did. Cheng described the two goals in his studies as 'clarifying principle' (*mingli* 明理) and 'preserving principle' (*Cunli* 存理). By these particular points, Cheng referred to the elucidation of the pattern of

behaviour required to become a sage and the personal means for preserving the good and rejecting the bad. In 'clarifying principle', Cheng selected humaneness (*ren*), social obligation (*yi*), ritual (*li*), innate knowledge (*zhi*), the Way (*dao*), virtue (*de*), sincerity (*cheng*), trustfulness (*xin*), and loyalty (*zhong*) for specific attention.

At the core of his teaching, Cheng argued that human nature (*xing*) and principle (*li*) were the same thing. In *Lessons on Human Nature and Principle* Cheng makes three points in this regard. Firstly, the origin of human nature is found in the Principle of Heaven (*Tian li* 天理). Secondly, human nature is necessarily expressed through the individual talents of all persons. Finally, the heart/mind dictates all human action. In this sense, Cheng's thinking departed somewhat from the School of the Cheng brothers, because these earlier Song philosophers made a distinction between heavenly nature (*tian xing* 天性) and physical nature (*qi zhi* 氣質).

References: Hou *et al.*, 1984: 539; Wu & Song, 1992.

JAMES A. ANDERSON

Cheng Hao 程顥

1032–1085

(*zi* Bochun 伯淳, master Mingdao 明道先生)

Cheng Hao was one of the most inspiring exemplary teachers in the long Confucian tradition. As both a successful local administrator and a respected philosophical and spiritual teacher, he fulfilled the Confucian dual responsibilities for political service and moral education. Together with his younger brother Cheng Yi, he led a pioneering group of disciples on the path of Neo-Confucian renewal.

Life

Cheng Hao was born in Huangpo 黃陂 in present-day Hubei, where his father Cheng Xiang 程 [王+向] (*zi* Bowen 伯溫 1006–1090) was serving as district defender (*xianwei*

縣尉). Cheng Hao's grandfather and great-grandfather had also been government officials, and his great-great-grandfather Cheng Yu 程羽 (913–984) had served the dynasty at its founding on the national level. His mother née Hou was literate and enjoyed reading historical books and took her sons' education extremely seriously.

Before he could talk, Cheng Hao was already being helpful; when his great-aunt's hairpin fell off unnoticed, toddler Cheng Hao found it for her. He was a bright child who could read poetry by age eight and write poems by age ten. At age twelve or thirteen, while boarding at the county school, his manner was uncommonly mature and likeable. The Vice Minister of Census Peng Siyong 彭思永 (?–?) paid a visit to the school and was so impressed that he arranged for his daughter to be engaged to him.

When he was about fifteen, his father sent him and Cheng Yi to study with Zhou Dunyi. Evidently, the main idea they learned from Zhou was to disregard the current standards for examination learning and focus on sagely learning as their personal intent. According to Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao set his heart on seeking the Way at this time, but 'before understanding its essentials' he roamed for nearly ten years among the teachings of various schools including Daoist and Buddhist studies. Apparently, Cheng Hao studied widely and then came to new conviction about the meaning and relevance of the Confucian Six Classics (*Liu jing*). During this time, his mother died in Jiangning 江宁 (present-day Jiangsu) at the age of forty-nine, and was later enfeoffed with an honorary court title. Cheng Hao decided to embark on an official career, and attained the *jinshi* degree in 1057.

For his first appointment, Cheng Hao was assigned as assistant magistrate (*zhubu* 主簿) in Hu county 鄠縣 (present-day Shaanxi), from 1060 to 1062. According to the preface to a series of his travel poems, he had requested appointment to that area because of its natural scenery. In 1063, he was reappointed as assistant magistrate for Shangyuan 上元 (present-day Jiangsu);

when the magistrate was dismissed in 1065, Cheng Hao filled in. He demonstrated concern for the common people's well-being by balancing land distribution and reducing taxes, and by arranging for ill soldiers to receive food and medicine promptly. In his next appointment, as magistrate of Jincheng 晉城 in Zezhou 澤州 (present-day Shaanxi), he was noted for promoting local education; his motto was 'every village should have a school' (*xiang bi you xiao* 鄉必有校). As a result of his influence, the atmosphere of moral and classical education flourished in the numerous village and community schools of Jincheng for decades.

From there, he was recommended for central government posts beginning in 1069, as Assistant Editorial Director (*zhuzuo zuolang* 著作左郎), as Companion to the Heir Apparent (*taizi zhongyun* 太子中允) and as Probationary Investigating Censor (*jiancha yushi lixing* 監察御史裏行). During this time, Wang Anshi was serving as Chief Counsellor and vigorously promoting his institutional reforms known as the 'new policies'. There was much controversy and opposition at court, but Wang had the emperor Shenzong's confidence and pressed ahead. During Cheng Hao's time in office, the major issue discussed by all policymakers was how to evaluate Wang's reforms. Though Cheng had originally got along with Wang and they had exchanged a series of poems, he disagreed with Wang's approach to government policy. Cheng submitted several memorials to the emperor, including one on 'Ten matters calling for reform' in which he argued that there are certain perennial patterns (*li* 理) of humane governing which do not change with the times. He used the classical legacy to critique current practice, a time-honoured rhetorical strategy in Chinese political culture.

Because he did not agree with Wang's administration, Cheng Hao was sent in 1070 to be probationary administrative assistant (*pan guan* 判官) in Zhenning commandery 鎮寧軍 and Caocun 曹村 in Chanzhou 澶州 (present-day Puyang county 濮陽縣

Henan). There was dangerous flooding along the Yellow River at this time (a major source of disaster throughout the Song period). Cheng took charge of emergency measures and successfully contained the floods and repaired the dikes. In the following year, his father retired from government service, so Cheng Hao resigned and went home to Luoyang.

In 1075, he was again called to administrative service as magistrate of Fugou district 扶溝 in present-day Henan. When there was drought, he stabilised commodity prices and had wells dug for irrigation, so that the crop harvest was plentiful. His motto was 'treat the people as if treating the wounded' (*shimin rushang* 視民如傷); according to his disciple **Xie Liangzuo**, he kept the motto next to his official desk. He also established schools as he had in Jincheng. His leading students **Xie**, **You Zuo**, and **Lü Dalin** came to study with him at this time. Cheng Yi was with him during part of his time in Fugou, and together they became the centre of the Learning of the Way (*Dao xue*) revival.

In 1080, Cheng Hao was removed from office. He accompanied his father to Yingchang 潁昌 (in present-day Henan), where **Yang Shi** joined the group of his disciples. He then moved back to Luoyang to teach, and in 1084 his wife née Peng died. Finally, he was again appointed to national office as assistant in the Court of the Imperial Clan (*zongzheng sicheng* 宗正寺丞), but before he could take up the position, he fell ill and died in the sixth month of 1085. Posthumously, he was enfeoffed as Earl of Henan 河南伯 in 1241 and venerated in the temple of Confucius.

Main teachings

Among the early Neo-Confucians, Cheng Hao is particularly noted for harmonising or blending the major concepts, such as human nature (*xing*), heart/mind (*xin*), Way (*Dao*), and principle or pattern (*li*). His most influential writing on *xing* is a letter to **Zhang Zai** known as *Dingxing shu*. In addition,

he gave a controversial discourse on 'what is inborn is called the *xing*' (*sheng zhi wei xing* 生之謂性). In it, Cheng identified *xing* with *qi* (vital force), whereas other Neo-Confucians identified *xing* with *li* (principle or pattern) in opposition to vital force. Cheng spoke of evil in *xing*, saying that 'it cannot be said that evil is not nature (*xing*)'. To solve this problem, later Confucians distinguished between the *li* nature, and the nature of one's *qi*-endowment.

Cheng Hao elevated the discussion of humanity (*ren* 仁) to the level of the cosmos, the heart/mind of Heaven and Earth (*tian di*). As described in his *Shiren pian*, he taught that *ren* is the sensitive bond that forms one body with all things (*wanwu yiti*). His most characteristic explanation of *ren* draws on a medical description found in the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (*The Yellow Emperor's Internal Medicine Classic*): 'A book on medicine describes numbness and paralysis of the four limbs as *bu ren* (不仁, not-*ren*); this is the best description. The person of *ren* regards Heaven and Earth and all things as one body; nothing is not oneself. Recognised as one's own, what is not included? If it is not in oneself, then there is no mutual concern. Like the hands and feet being 'bu ren', the *qi* no longer penetrates them, and they no longer belong to oneself.'

In Cheng Hao's view, *ren* is fundamental for understanding society. To ensure the health of the body politic, there must be open communication from the extremities to the centre, on the analogy of 'pain and itch' in the extremities of the body; the feedback system is crucial. Based on this sensitivity, it is within the power and range of the imperial court's conscientious awareness to be sympathetic to the people's plight. Cheng Hao taught, and exemplified, that all people can develop this humane awareness.

Legacy

The relatively few writings in Cheng Hao's *wenji* (literary collection) include official

memorials, poems and letters, and other occasional writings. He is most noted for his comments and discussions with disciples and friends, recorded in the *Ercheng Yishu* and *Ercheng Waishu*, which often do not distinguish between the two brothers. These are now part of *Ercheng quanshu*, the brothers' collected works. The most extensive English translations of Cheng Hao's sayings are found in Graham 1992 and Chan 1963d.

It has become common to distinguish two lines of Neo-Confucian teaching, Cheng-Zhu and Lu-Wang (see **Cheng-Zhu xuepai**; **Lu-Wang xuepai**), in a way that treats the two Chengs as one figure. On the other hand, it is sometimes said that Cheng Hao was the intellectual forebear of the 'subjective' tendency to focus on the heart/mind in Neo-Confucian thought, while Cheng Yi sired the 'objective' tendency of looking for the *li* (pattern or principle) in things, later developed by **Zhu Xi** and his followers. The modern Confucian scholar **Mou Zongsan** paid particular attention to the teachings of Cheng Hao and traced the authentic lineage through his disciples, particularly **Xie Liangzuo**, to the Hunan School (*Huxiang xuepai* 湖湘學派) of **Hu Hong** and his successors. In the Chengs' own time, though, the differences between them were mostly matters of nuance and temperament. In his intellectual and personal style, Cheng Hao was warm, affable and synthetic or unitive, whereas his brother was cooler and more analytic.

Like **Wang Shouren**, with whom his intellectual tendencies are often linked, Cheng Hao spent much of his time in office, attempting to solve practical problems. In the various places that Cheng Hao served, there are records and remembrances of his benevolent administration. The local academy he set up in Fugou has been preserved for nine hundred years, and is today known as Dacheng Shuyuan 大程書院 (Elder Cheng Academy; see Hao 1993). As the winds of political fortune in contemporary China become more favourable to Confucian traditions,

the academy is being treated as a valuable historical and cultural landmark.

Cheng Hao was eulogised by his younger brother as having discovered, and made available, the 'untransmitted learning' (*buchuan zhi xue* 不傳之學) that had been obscured for fourteen hundred years since the time of **Mengzi**, a claim that the elder Cheng would perhaps not have made for himself. But this estimation of Cheng Hao's singular achievement was shared by various disciples and friends who wrote eulogistic comments in his memory, and became part of the official history of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. Even with allowances for respectful hyperbole, there is still a remarkable and historically long-lasting sense that Cheng Hao was a key figure in the rejuvenation of authentic Confucian humane learning.

References: Cai Fanglu, 1996; Chan, Wing-tsit, 1963d: 518–43 and 1967; Cheng & Cheng, 1981; Chiang, 1997; de Bary, *et al.*, 1960: 453–8; Franke, 1976: 169–74; Graham, 1992; Hao, 1993; Huang & Quan, 1966: 535–84; Li, 1986; Mou, 1963; Veith, 1966: 252; Zhang Delin, 1986.

THOMAS SELOVER

Cheng ren 成人

(Becoming a whole person)

The significance of this compound term (成人, literally, 'the formation of a person', or 'a fully-formed person') in Confucian thought goes far beyond its common meaning as a colloquial expression for an adult, or for the process of biological and social maturation. The idea of 'becoming a whole person' in the sense of bringing to realisation one's inborn moral potential constitutes a crucial tenet in the teachings presented in the *Zhongyong*. In chapter 25 of this text, it is taught that the process of 'completion of the self' (*cheng ji* 成己) provides the grounding for the broader aims of contributing to the 'completion of other

the first to bring the family distinction as a recipient of the *jinshi* degree through the civil service examinations in 1169. He was immediately appointed to the post of instructor (*jiaoshou* 教授) in the military prefecture of Guiyang 桂陽 (in modern southern Hunan 湖南) and he would often serve in this capacity over the course of a well-travelled and varied career. Nevertheless, we should remember Lu Jiuling chiefly for his participation – as a second to his more prominent brother Lu Jiuyuan – in the philosophical confrontation with Zhu Xi that occurred at the lakeside monastery atop Goose Lake Mountain (E hu shan 鵝湖山) – in modern northeastern Jiangxi 江西 – in the summer of 1175. This great debate largely determined the future composition of what retrospectively became called the *Lixue* 理學 (Learning of Principle) movement. In debate, Lu Jiuling consistently showed himself to be the more pliant of the two Lu brothers. However, Lu Jiuyuan would concede nothing to Zhu Xi and, in the end, Lu Jiuling – perhaps more out of fraternal loyalty than reason – sided with his brother. In 1226, in homage to his dedication to officialdom, Lu Jiuling was specially honoured as a gentleman for court service (*chaofeng lang* 朝奉郎) and an auxiliary in the Imperial Archives (*zhi bige* 直祕閣). He received the posthumous title (*shi*) of Wenda 文達 in that same year.

References: Liu Wu-chi, 1955: 165; Tillman, 1992b: 39, 188, 202, 204–6, 212.

DON J. WYATT

Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵

1139–1193

(zi Zijing 子靜, hao Xiangshan)

Lu Jiuyuan was born the sixth of six brothers and the scion of a family that had become a well-established militia elite by the beginning of the twelfth century. In his youth, Lu repeatedly heard about the tragic events of the Jingkan 靖康 period (1126–1127) that

had resulted in the fall and occupation of North China. He therefore resolved that he would personally take a lead in avenging this humiliation suffered at the hands of the Jurchen (Nüzhen) 女真 tribes of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) and, with this aim in mind, reputedly pared away his scholar's fingernails in order to master archery and horsemanship. Lu also visited with warriors, discussing with them his grand strategies for the recovery of the lost territories and, based on his exchanges with them, he wrote five essays describing point by point how this objective could be achieved. Lu's essays even attracted the favourable attention of the emperor.

However, in time, Lu Jiuyuan, like all except one of his brothers, increasingly redirected his energies toward more refined scholarship and he used it as the primary means for expressing his talents and loyalties. After first qualifying as an 'exalted man' (*ju ren* 舉人) at the provincial level of the civil service examinations in 1162, Lu was appointed to serve as keeper of records (*zhu bu* 主簿) in Jing'an 靖安 (northwestern Jiangxi 江西) during the brief reign of the Xiaozong emperor (r. 1163–1164). Citing family reasons, however, he chose not to assume this post or any other immediately. Subsequently, by securing a first-place ranking *jinshi* degree in 1172, Lu Jiuyuan joined his brother Lu Jiuling as the only members of the family to obtain the doctorate. He was shortly thereafter appointed to the post of reviser (*shanding guan* 刪定官) in the Law Code Office (*chiling suo* 敕令所).

Lu Jiuyuan's continuing association with his former examiner Lü Zuqian led to his being invited – together with his brother Jiuling – to meet with the eminent Zhu Xi at Goose Lake Monastery (E hu si 鵝湖寺) – in modern northeastern Jiangxi – in 1175. Lü Zuqian, once having arranged the meeting, accompanied Zhu Xi. The great debate at Goose Lake between Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan became a defining and demarcating episode in the history of the *dao xue* (Learning of the Way) movement – one

that was destined to determine its future course to a substantial degree.

In 1187, Lu Jiuyuan received an appointment to oversee (*zhu guan* 主管) the Veneration of the Way Monastery (*chongdao guan* 崇道觀 in Taizhou 台州 (central coastal Zhejiang 浙江), which afforded him the luxury of being able to return conveniently to his native place of Jinxi 金溪 (in modern eastern Jiangxi). Once having returned there, he resided on Mount Xiang 象, beside the stream called the Gui 貴, where students converged upon him in droves. The Guangzong emperor (r. 1189–1195), upon his ascension, recognised Lu's commanding influence as a teacher by showering honorific titles upon him and, ultimately, appointing him prefect of Jingmen military prefecture or commandery 荆門軍 (in modern central Hubei 湖北). Lu's appointment to this particular post and area rekindled his lifelong hope that he might play some role in recovering the northern areas that had long ago been lost to the Jurchen. Unfortunately, however, it was an opportunity presented to him too late. Lu assumed this post in late 1191; he performed assiduously in it until the day of his death at the beginning of 1193.

Thought and works

We must delineate Lu Jiuyuan's philosophy – at every point – in contradistinction to that of Zhu Xi. Consequently, the substance and tenor of the great debate at Goose Lake assumes seminal importance. Aside from the primacy to be rightly placed on the pivotal concept of *li* (principle), the two men essentially agreed on nothing else.

Central in their disagreements was the role we should assign to the *xin* (heart/mind). While both men regarded it as innately good and the most noble and most powerful of agents abetting one's progress toward self-cultivation, Zhu Xi held the human mind to be a necessary but not sufficient construct. For Zhu, one could never hope to succeed at the goal of recov-

ering what Mengzi had referred to as one's 'original mind' (*ben xin* 本心) without a specific externalised regiment to assist in the task. By contrast, Lu Jiuyuan espoused a theory of mental immanence, insisting that the mind alone is sufficient unto itself for achieving self-cultivation. He in fact even equated the mind with the universe itself and all of the principles in it.

One conspicuous result of this position taken by Lu Jiuyuan on the autonomy of the mind was that it fostered an extremely anti-bookish attitude. For Lu, Zhu Xi's method – which relied heavily on the incremental acquisition of knowledge through techniques of extensive investigation – was as pointless as it was futile. Zhu Xi stressed that the chief object of this investigation should be the classical literary canon – beginning with the Six Classics (*Liu jing*) and culminating with the Four Books (*Si shu*). However, in Lu's view, one could uncover all the principles in the universe and, thereby, reclaim one's original mind simply through a process of introspection and contemplation on the mind. Thus, in Lu's schema, books constituted 'crutches' to be discarded and thus the whole of the vaunted classical corpus became diminished – relegated to the level of mere adjuncts to self-inquiry.

Given his antipathy toward all bookish approaches, we should not be surprised that the literary production of Lu Jiuyuan is scant in comparison to that Zhu Xi and his *Daoxue* influenced predecessors and contemporaries. Virtually the entirety of Lu's written output is contained in the single collection *Xiangshan ji*. Moreover, the stark similarities between Lu's proclivities and the tenets normally associated with Buddhism (especially in its Chan 禪 form) were not lost upon Lu Jiuyuan's critics and, regardless of his preconceptions prior to the debate, Zhu Xi ultimately joined others in disapproving of Lu on these grounds. Little did it matter that Lu did not perceive himself as harbouring Buddhist sensibilities of any sort.

But perhaps the most fundamental difference between Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan lay precisely at the level of method. Most in dispute in their differences is the direction – outward or inward – that one should properly pursue in the quest for the apprehension of *li* or principle – a quest that, after all, is at the root of the acquisition of all knowledge. Zhu Xi was absolutely convinced that one had no hope of achieving any level of self-realisation in the absence of *gewu zhizhi* (investigating things and extending one's knowledge). Zhu argued that we obtain knowledge of the mind and the self only through an established set of techniques that inquires exhaustively into everything external to these quantities. But Lu Jiuyuan was equally convinced that we indeed could and should achieve this same end through the simple act of looking inwardly upon ourselves. 'Principle is vested in me by Heaven', he declared, 'not drummed into me from outside' (*Xiangshan ji*, 1.3). Inasmuch as he stressed a regimen, Lu was more inclined to recommend techniques derived from Buddhism and Daoism, such as *jing zuo*. He held that when we are really prepared to grasp it, we find that self-realisation of the most enlightened kind is never at a great remove from what and who we ourselves already are.

Influence

The significance of Lu Jiuyuan lies primarily in the fact that his doctrines represent the first sustained attack on and coherent departure from the more orthodox system espoused by Zhu Xi and his followers. Lu's stance doubtless posed the most serious challenge to Zhu Xi in their time. But it is probably even more important as a catalyst – that is, for its having inspired a long line of alternative paradigms, culminating in the subjective idealist philosophy known as *Xin xue* 心學 (Learning of the Mind) of Wang Shouren.

Interestingly, despite the irresolution of their debate at Goose Lake, the chances for Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan to reach some form

of compromise never fully dissipated. The two men continued to maintain sporadic contact until the time of Lu's death. In 1181, Lu visited Zhu while the latter was serving as prefect of Nankang 南康 (in modern southern Jiangxi). After Zhu Xi solicited him to give a lecture, Lu Jiuyuan purportedly delivered a sermon on a theme from the *Lunyu* that roused the emotions of all present. After this occasion, Zhu Xi continued to correspond with Lu and to direct inquiries about him to their mutual associates. Although there is much in his writings to others that is critical, the admiration that Zhu reserved for Lu is incontestable. Nevertheless, the deep schism in views that had emerged at Goose Lake ultimately proved both fateful and unbridgeable, and it is therein that the branching of the revived Song tradition of Confucianism – also known generically as *Li xue* (Learning of Principle) – into two distinct wings has its origins.

References: Cady, 1939; Collins, 1998: 5, 6, 74, 75, 304, 307, 313, 316, 319, 507, 551; He, 1991: 298, 300, 301, 303–4, 314, 315, 347, 360, 365; Huang Siu-chi, 1976, 1999; Jiang, 1994: 199, 200, 281, 288; Liu Shu-hsien, 1998: 60, 68, 114, 122, 149, 153, 157, 174, 184, 188–92, 197, 204, 211; Liu Wu-chi, 1955: 165–7, 170–2; Tillman, 1982: 25, 58–9, 62, 88, 180, 185, 196, 265n. 35.

DON J. WYATT

Lu Longqi 陸隴其

1630–1692

(zi Jiashu 稼書)

Lu Longqi, a native of Pinghu 平湖 (Zhejiang), initially committed not to pursuing an official career but later was compelled by poverty to seek office. He earned the *jinshi* degree in 1670. Lu's experience represented one pattern of resolution to the ambiguity towards the Manchu regime in the early Qing. Lu was a good friend of Lü Liuliang 呂留良 (1629–1683). Both

sought to revive the authority of Zhu Xi's learning as the orthodoxy. Their identical ideological position, however, did not lead to the same decision regarding rendering service to the Manchu regime.

Lu belonged to a group of officials who championed Zhu Xi's learning and were entrusted by the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662–1722) in the 1680s and 1690s. He was committed to a denunciation of Wang Yangming's (see Wang Shouren) teachings. For Lu, the mistake of Wang Yangming was his confusion of human nature with the mind (*ren xin wei xing* 認心為性). For him this erroneous view was identical with Chan Buddhism and it was no accident that even Wang himself did not advocate Chan Buddhism, his disciples openly championed Chan Buddhism.

Among the exponents of Zhu Xi's teachings in this period, Lu was uncompromising. He was dissatisfied with those who were merely critical of the 'problems' of Wang Yangming's teachings but called for a reconciliation of the view of Zhu Xi with that of Wang Yangming. He insisted that only the teachings of Zhu Xi were correct renderings of the sages' teachings. Inspired by the precedent of Dong Zhongshu, Lu recommended exclusive endorsement of Zhu Xi's learning by the imperial government. His devotion to battling the influence of Wang Yangming's ideas was nowhere more manifest than in his underwriting of the printing of a polemical work by Zhang Lie (1622–1685), whose *Wangxue zhiyi* 王學質疑 (*Critique of Wang [Yangming]'s Learning*) dismissed Wang's learning as outright Buddhism.

In the early Qing period, classical study had been regarded as the most effective correction to heterodox approaches to Confucian ethics. Lu upheld the exegeses of Zhu Xi's and other Song and Yuan Confucians as superior to those by Han classicists even though he regarded the exegetical works by Han scholars like Zheng Xuan as valuable to the understanding of the Classics. His philosophical views were laid

out in his treatise 'Critique of Scholarship' (*Xueshu bian* 學術辯). In his effort to promote the teachings of Zhu Xi, Lu helped to redirect interest to the ritual and classical scholarship of Zhu Xi as well as the Song and Yuan *daoxue* 道學 Confucians. He showed a strong interest in the study of ancient rites, which he found intricately linked to institutions in high antiquity. His major works include *Duli zhiyi* 讀禮志疑, *Songyang jiangyi* 松楊講義, *Sishu jiangyi* 四書講義, *Sanyu tang wenji* 三漁堂文集. Lu was held in highest esteem by many high officials and Lu was honoured with a place in the Confucian temple after his death, the first Qing scholar to receive such an honour.

References: De Bary, 1989: 163–9; Chow, 1994: 134, 149, 180.

KAI-WING CHOW

Lu shi 魯詩

(The Poetry of Lu)

The *Lu shi* is one of three traditions of interpretation and transmission of the *Shi jing* that were recognised as canonical texts to be taught in the Imperial Academy established during the reign of Han Wudi (r. 141–87 BCE). The 'Rulin zhuan' 儒林傳 chapter of the *Shi ji* credits the establishment of this tradition to Shen Pei 申培 (c. 220–140 BCE), a native of the state of Lu 魯 in present-day Shandong and a second-generation disciple of Xun Qing 荀卿 [Xunzi]. Shen first came to the attention of Han Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), and served as Grand Tutor at the court of Liu Ying 劉郢, king of Chu 楚 (r. 178–175 BCE). After Liu Ying's death, Shen Pei returned to Lu to begin public teaching, specialising in the *Shi* 詩. The 'Yiwen zhi' 藝文志 chapter of the *Han shu* 漢書 lists among writings on the *Poetry* a *Lu gu* 魯故 in 25 *juan* and a *Lu shuo* 魯說 in 28 *juan*, both of which presumably derive from his teaching. According to both the 'Rulin zhuan' and 'Yiwen zhi', Shen Pei's explanation of the *Poetry* was the

according to the Old Text (*guwen*) version, including the apocryphal chapters, and the *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan* according to the commentary by Du Yu 杜預 (222–284). It was only in the interpretation of the *Li ji* according to the commentary of Zheng Xuan that the South and the North were agreed. In general the southerners were not adverse to allowing Buddhist and Daoist influences to affect their interpretations.

In the North the canonical exegetes seem to have deliberately turned their backs on the revolutionary thinkers of the third century and attempted to reach back to the methods used by the scholiasts of the Later Han who limited their interpretations to exhaustive explications of individual words and phrases. The canon was interpreted exclusively according to the commentaries by Zheng Xuan and to the commentary of the *Zuo zhuan* by Fu Qian 服虔 (d. after 190) that we know from a quotation in the *Shishuo xinyu* closely followed Zheng Xuan. Almost nothing remains of these commentaries except the names of some of the commentators and the titles of some of their commentaries quoted in the dynastic histories. These and those of the Southern exegetes have been collected by Pi Xirui in the sixth chapter of his *Jing xue lishi*. If these men do have the merit of keeping canonical studies alive during one of the darkest periods of their history, the fact that almost nothing exists any longer of the works is eloquent. During the Tang, the exegetical studies followed almost exclusively the traditions of the Southern School.

Reference: Pi Xirui, 1959: 186ff.

DONALD HOLZMAN

Neisheng waiwang 內聖外王 (Sageliness within, kingliness without)

Nei means 'internally', 'inside' or 'within'; *sheng*, 'sage'. *Wai* means 'outwardly', 'externally' or 'without'; *wang*, 'king'. The expression first appears in the 'All Under Heaven'

(*Tian xia* 天下) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 in a passage that laments that the Way (*Dao*) of being a sage inwardly but being a king outwardly has fallen into obscurity. The oneness of the Way, the passage asserts, has splintered into the partial and cramped perspectives of latter-day thinkers who lack a holistic vision of all under heaven. The chapter in which this passage appears is a critical analysis of the approaches of such thinkers as the Moists and Shen Dao 慎到 (395?–315? BCE); Confucius is not mentioned there, even though he appears elsewhere frequently throughout the *Zhuangzi*. The actual content of inner sageliness and outer kingliness is unarticulated in this passage.

Oddly enough, this phrase from a quintessential 'Daoist' text came to be considered, from post classical commentaries to modern times, an expression of core elements of the *Analects*, the *Mengzi*, the *Xunzi*, and the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), even though the expression, strictly speaking, does not occur in those texts. Later thinkers retroactively searched earlier documents for paths of 'sageliness within' and 'kingliness without'. *Mengzi*, for example, was considered a key figure for the development of the former as he had outlined various internal qualities characteristic to the human condition, whereas *Xunzi* purportedly exemplified the latter in his teachings on the social aspects of ritual. The expression, then, became largely a lens through which later thinkers constructed their interpretations of the Classics. Inward sageliness was variously associated with such elements as self-cultivation and inner moral content; outward kingliness, with action and governance.

Shao Yong saw both embodied in the character of the culture hero Yao. For the Song scholar Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (c. 1210–c. 1273), the halves of the dyad were understood as substance (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用; see *ti yong*), respectively. For the Ming scholar Li Zhi, on the other hand, they were true learning and true administrative skills, respectively, two elements that were

fully developed, he believed, in the *Great Learning*.

Late Qing and twentieth-century scholars interpreted contemporary exchanges with Europe and the West in terms of contrasts between inner sageliness and outward kingliness, and they moreover understood China's purported historical strengths and weaknesses in these areas as shaping the interaction between China's own culture, on the one hand, and cultural forces from outside, on the other. Chinese culture as represented, for example, by Song learning, was possessed of inner sageliness but was weak on outward kingliness, which was the hallmark instead of the western powers. What was needed, some believed, was for China to develop a new outer kingliness from its substratum of inner sageliness.

References: Lin Xiyi, 1997: 490–3; Liu Shu-hsien, 1988: 401–22; Mair, 1994: 335; *Zhongguo ruxue baike quanshu bianji weiyuanhui*, 1997: 85–7.

DEBORAH SOMMER

Neo-Confucianism

Neo-Confucianism is the term used in English to stand for the Song–Ming Confucian Learning in regard to its metaphysical and ethical thinking on realising the Way (*Dao*) and principle (*li*). It is otherwise used to refer to the study of heart/mind (*xin*) and human nature (*xing*) as well as principles and processes of the universe. It is thus alternatively known as *Li xue* 理學 (Learning of Principle), *Qi xue* 氣學 (Learning of Qi), *Xin xue* 心學 (Learning of Heart/Mind) and *Dao xue* 道學 (Learning of the Way). In its broadest use, the term suggests a tradition of philosophical learning and thinking on fundamental issues of reality, life and morality as based on the Confucian Classics, which covers a long period of development in Chinese history from the early Song to the beginning of the Qing (roughly from the tenth century to the seventeenth century).

The term also covers its adapted forms in Korea and Japan since the sixteenth century. Neo-Confucianism is a complex philosophical system or systems and a complex cultural phenomenon.

Rise of Neo-Confucianism

Han Yu, in the late Tang dynasty (618–907), was the first Confucian to oppose Buddhism. This radical move started a movement in the intellectual gentry to suppress Buddhism as a religion and form of life, leading to the slow renaissance of Confucianism over the next 200 years. Han Yu's deep reflection on the living spirit of the tradition of classical Confucianism is special. For him, *dao* had been transmitted from the earliest sages—kings Yao, Shun (see Yao Shun) and Yu to Tang, Wen, Wu, Duke Zhou (Zhou Gong), Confucius and Mengzi. But after Mengzi the transmission was lost and it was Han Yu who wished to restore it. In the Way of Confucianism, Han Yu saw a whole system of values, moral and political institutions and religious rituals and form of life. (See his work *Yuan Dao*.) The Way of Confucianism is not the Way of Laozi and the Buddha, but the Way of humaneness (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*) among people. In this sense he implicitly came to define Confucianism as the learning of the Way (*Dao xue*), which the Song Confucians then adopted.

It is from Han Yu's novel perspective that he sees Mengzi as the last spokesman for the Way of Confucianism. His reason for this choice is evidently that Mengzi resisted and argued strongly against Moism and the Yang Zhu School, just as Han Yu himself resisted and argued strongly against Buddhism and Daoism. Although Han Yu did not appear to utilise the theory of goodness of human nature as a basis for his opposition to Buddhism, he did develop a comprehensive theory of human nature in which there were three kinds of people: those whose nature is completely good, a mixture of good and bad nature and those who are completely bad. Han Yu's theory no doubt has led to the Neo-Confucian

distinction between the nature of Heaven-and-Earth (*tiandi zhi xing*) and the nature of temperament (*qizhi zhi xing*) or between principle (*li*) and vital force (*qi*). This roughly corresponds to the Platonic distinction between reason and desires in a human soul. In this sense one must admit that all people have a dual nature of rationality and emotionality. How to reach pure goodness in principle and eliminate badness by controlling or even removing emotions and desires becomes a central concern of Neo-Confucianism.

Han Yu's philosophy of human nature influenced his disciple **Li Ao** (772–841). In his essay *Fuxing shu*, Li Ao discussed the relationship between nature and emotions, and considered human emotions as an indication of the presence of what he calls the nature (*xing*) of the human person and considered human nature as a source for giving rise to emotions. In this sense nature is substance and emotions are functions. However, even though what is generated by nature is naturally good, nature can be overwhelmed by circumstances and objects and can turn out to be bad. Hence it is important to restore one's genuine nature by removing emotions. This clearly reveals Li Ao's appreciation and adoption of the ideas and ideals of Buddhism and Daoism. He stresses the importance of reaching this state of 'no thinking' and transcending both motion (*dong*) and rest (*jing*) by not clinging to external things, even though the mind has a consciousness of clarity of the *dao* and by making no distinctions. He called this state 'supreme sincerity' (*zhicheng* 至誠), a term he derived from the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong*). In this way, he made the *Zhongyong* and its author **Zisi** (**Kong Ji**) more conspicuous. Together with Han Yu's emphasis on the wisdom in the *Analects* (*Lunyu*), **Mengzi** (*Book of Mencius*) and the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), and Li Ao's emphasis on the *Zhongyong*, these Four Books (*Si shu*) of Classical Confucianism become the foundation and central concern of Neo-Confucianism.

The rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Song dynasty (960–1279) was not a sudden event but a matter of social and intellectual revolution based on the social movement. When the Song Founder (r. 960–976) consolidated his power, his main support came from farmers and impoverished intellectuals, who aspired to positions in government via the civil service examinations based on the Confucian Classics. Such were the cases of **Fan Zhongyan**, **Ouyang Xiu**, **Hu Yuan**, **Sun Fu** and **Shi Jie**. In promoting their studies and their basic beliefs in the Confucian Classics, they all followed Han Yu's example of opposing Buddhism. It is noteworthy that all early Song Confucian scholars dedicated themselves to the study of *The Book of Changes* (*Yi jing*). The *Yi jing* offers a fundamental outlook of a creatively evolving and vitalistic universe as opposed to the emptiness-oriented and idealistic or quietistic views of reality in Buddhism and Daoism. It also suggests a positive and substantive activist outlook and vision of life and a mentality, which could be applied to society and government. Based on these insights, the classically simple way of writing is promoted, echoing Han Yu's call for the restoration of ancient ways of expression devoid of decoration and verbosity. By 1041, a host of county schools and private academies were established in which many scholars, notably Hu Yuan, Sun Fu and Shi Jie, gave public lectures and trained disciples in the Confucian Classics. After a number of years, the campaign for the restoration of Confucian Learning made its mark and the influence of Confucian philosophy spread far and wide. Under these conditions, it was up to individual thinkers to make their innovative moves for establishing a new philosophy and a new way of thinking.

Philosophical issues in Neo-Confucianism

Neo-Confucian doctrines arose from a creative rethinking of the metaphysical insights of the *Yi jing* philosophy and a creative synthesis of Daoism and Buddhism into the

Confucian Ontocosmology of the Supreme Ultimate (*tai ji*) and Mengzi's humanology (meaning not humanism, but understanding of the human person as endowed with a special ability to transform himself into a perfectly moral person or sage) of nature and the heart/mind. It succeeded in establishing a systematic philosophical understanding of the ontocosmological relationship between Heaven and the human person. We may identify a few basic categories and key issues in this general philosophical system as shared by most of the Neo-Confucians. Firstly, for ontocosmology there are the fundamental categories of *li* (principle, order and pattern) and *qi* (vital force, material elements, energy), *tai ji* (the Supreme Ultimate) and *dao* (the Way). Reality is seen as a world of things originating from the generative force of *qi* based on the pattern(s) of *li* or leading to the formation of an order of *li*. *Li* ultimately comes to mean the ultimate ground for existence, apart from being existence itself. Even though *li* is not *qi* and does not contain the creative potential of *qi*, it is *li* which gives rise (in some mysterious sense) to *qi* and thus by way of *qi* gives rise to all differentiation of things in the world. *Qi* is substantially active and acts by way of the polarity-dynamics of yin and yang (see *yin-yang*). There is an essential harmonisation and unity of all things in the world, but the world is in constant transformation and renewal via the activity of the *qi*. In this sense creative novelty amidst common regularity is promised and guaranteed. In a sense *li* and *qi* as the source of things is the *tai ji*, whereas *li* and *qi* as the process of things is the *dao*. Whereas the *tai ji* gives rise to all things, it is itself given rise to by the *wu ji* (the Non-Ultimate, the unlimited, the void, the absolute potential). In this sense *tai ji* functions like *qi* or the yang polarity of *qi* whereas *wu ji* functions like *li* or the yin polarity of *qi*. But the essential issue is still how *li* is related to *qi* and how *wu ji* is related to *tai ji*. The second issue is how this ontocosmology of *li* and *qi* gives rise to human

nature (*xing*) and human mind (*xin*). It is understood that *xing* is endowed with *li* and the heart/mind endowed with *qi*. Human nature as principle gives rise to the rational-moral. But there is a *qi*-side of human nature which gives rise to emotions (*qing*). On the other hand, human mind both perceives and self-reflects. It also has the penetrating power of perceiving and intuiting the ultimate reality. Morality is both a function of human nature and human mind, and thus is an expression of the ultimate reality. But a human being has a physical aspect too. The body as material existence has desires that may cloud the mind and impede morality. In this sense there is a dual nature of the human person, the rational-spiritual and the physical-conative, corresponding to the duality of *li* and *qi*. In order to achieve or implement morality, one has to control physical desires and cultivate one's heart/mind from his moral nature. How this is possible and how it is to be realised often becomes the subject of many debates. This then is the third main issue in Neo-Confucianism.

Neo-Confucianism is a philosophy for moral practice. It defines a way of thinking and a form of life. It has many subschools, notably the school of principle (*li xue*) and the school of mind (*xin xue*), as well as a school of vital force (*qi xue*). Different philosophies within different traditions need understanding on common grounds of both principle and material force, human nature and mind.

Creative thinkers of Neo-Confucianism

The heritage of Neo-Confucian philosophy can be traced to many independent thinkers (see **Quan Zuwang's** Preface to *Song-Yuan xue'an*), including **Zhou Dunyi**, who inspired **Cheng Hao** and **Cheng Yi** to seek philosophical understanding and reflect on Confucian ideas and vocation; as well as **Zhang Zai** and **Shao Yong**. It is **Zhu Xi** who inherited the ideas of the Cheng brothers (particularly Cheng Yi) and who integrated all the ideas of the other two into

a grand system of *li* and *qi* and thus brought Neo-Confucian philosophy into a unity and an architectonic. But there are other important positions too: **Hu Hong** and **Lu Jiuyuan**, who nonetheless were influenced by the Cheng brothers, had fundamentally differing views from Zhu Xi. They to some degree succeeded in establishing new schools in the Song period. Lu, for example, contributed to the development of **Wang Shouren's** teaching in the Ming period (1368–1644), but Wang's philosophy to a great extent was shaped by his own experiences and reflections on Zhu Xi.

One must assume that Zhou Dunyi made his commitment to Confucian philosophy as a philosophy of life and articulated his ultimate concern as 'learning to be a sage' (*shengren zhi xue*), independently and in spite of living in austerity and poverty. Zhou had a basically Daoistic perspective toward nature as exhibited in his famous attitude of 'letting the grass in his garden grow without being cut.' This is an attitude of 'wu wei' (non-action) but it is also an attitude of appreciating life in nature. But he was not a rustic hermit, for he conceived the best quality of life as that of a pure lotus growing out of dirty waters. In comparison with other flowers, he deemed the lotus to be equivalent to the noble person (*junzi*). In his instructions to the Cheng brothers, it is said, he asked them to find the joy of Confucius and Yan Hui. Zhou Dunyi wrote two very influential works: *Taijitu shuo* (*Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*) and *Tong shu* (*the All-Embracing Book*). He lays out a schematic theory of the origin of the universe and all the things in the universe in terms of the yin-yang forces and the five powers (*wu xing*). He specifically relates *tai ji* to *wu ji*, and makes the insightful statement that *tai ji* arises from *wu ji* and yet *wu ji* is still *tai ji*.

Shao Yong is one of the five most important Neo-Confucian philosophers. Prior to Zhou Dunyi, Shao Yong had developed ancient Chinese cosmology into an ontocosmogenic system, namely a system that

traces the evolution or creative process of cosmos to the ultimate reality which is both ontologically and temporarily present. The conception of such a system is both logically clear and metaphysically profound for Shao Yong. Shao Yong also clarifies some basic philosophical terms, which are applied by most Neo-Confucian philosophers. Shao Yong's philosophy contributed to the overall development of the Neo-Confucian philosophy and shows how interpretation of the *Yi jing* may provide a base for the development of later Neo-Confucian philosophy such as that made by Zhu Xi. His main work is *Book of Supreme World-Ordering Principles* (*Huangji jingshi shu*), in which he argues that we should observe things from the point of view of the things themselves, rather than from our own minds.

Zhang Zai is another Neo-Confucian philosopher who develops his philosophy based on his understanding of the *Yi jing* and classical Confucianism. His philosophical insights no doubt largely come from his reflections on the commentaries of the *Yi jing*, but it is through a process of integration of the moral and social and intellectual aspects of classical Confucianism that his insights become possible. In a sense he has provided an ontocosmological foundation and premises for an altruistic development of Confucian morality and social ethics. Moreover, he introduces a methodological unity to the Four Books of Confucian tradition in terms of an open mind and benevolent heart.

Cheng Hao and his younger brother Cheng Yi provided the leading force for the development of Neo-Confucian philosophy in the Song Period. Not only did they live in the central region of Luoyang, lecturing and attracting many disciples, but also very early on they conscientiously made an effort to found a new philosophy combining *dao* and *li*, going directly back to Mengzi. They stressed spiritual and mental self-cultivation and always spoke out from their profound experiences of their heart/minds. Whereas Zhou, Shao and Zhang

formulated a more or less systematic philosophy of *dao* based on the commentaries on the *Yi jing*, Cheng Hao actually engaged himself in contemplating and commenting on the nature of *dao* and tried to experience the truth of the change in his busy political career. He did not want to become obtuse or abstract, but wished to make *dao* a matter of practical life. In this sense he discovered an ontocosmological aspect of *dao* as the 'Heavenly Principle' (*tian li*): 'Although I have my lineage of learning, the word "*tian li*" is what I myself gained by deep experience.' *Tian li*, in other words, is the ultimate reason for the given order of things in the world.

Cheng Yi devoted himself to the study of *dao* after reaching the age of twenty-seven; and through his long career as a teacher succeeded in formalising Neo-Confucian thinking. The central idea of Cheng Yi is *li*, which is explained as that by which something is thus and so (*suo yi* 所以). In this sense one can see how *dao* is *li*: *dao* is that by which the yin-yang becomes yin-yang and things become things. To say 'one yin and one yang is *dao*' is only to remark that the changes of yin-yang cannot be separated from *dao*. It is not to say that *dao* is simply yin-yang. Yin-yang is a matter of *qi*, and *qi* becomes *li* because of *li*. Even though inseparable from *li*, *qi* is not *li*. Cheng Yi also developed the thesis of nourishing one's mind for the purpose of maintaining rectitude in regard to things yet to happen. This is a thesis related to seeking the so-called centrality (*zhong*) of the heart/mind. The centrality of the heart/mind is by definition the state of non-aroused emotions which function as the precondition for achieving harmony of emotions when they become aroused. To seek centrality therefore can only imply the preparation of one's heart/mind with alertness and attentiveness so that one's emotions and feeling will not be misled or become distorted, thereby preventing one from reaching one's objective and achieving harmony. This effort to prepare one's heart/mind with alertness and attentiveness is called

'holding reverence' (*chi jing*). To hold reverence is to prepare the mind for achieving ritual/propriety (*li*) in one's action and to attain harmony eventually in one's relationship with other people and with the world.

Zhu Xi finds himself in a strategic position to further develop the Neo-Confucian philosophy of *dao* and *li* into a more comprehensive and more logically organised system. There are several major special traits in his development of Neo-Confucian views, which are essential for understanding his contributions to Neo-Confucian philosophy. Firstly, he inherited from Cheng Yi the basic methodology and ideas of the Learning of Principle in metaphysics, epistemology, humanology and ethics. He deepened these ideas and issues, and tried to work out a systematic view based on his own reflective insights. Secondly, he looked into the views of other preceding Neo-Confucian systems such as those explored by Zhou Dunyi, Shao Yong, Zhang Zai and Cheng Hao for enrichment, and integrated them into a comprehensive architectonic unity. Thirdly, with his mind primed with an integrative view, he endeavoured to systematically comment upon all the classical Confucian texts, therefore establishing a tradition of Confucian Learning of hermeneutic continuity. Fourthly, he absorbed the best spirit from Daoism and Buddhism in his implicit methodology of interpretation and reinterpretation of earlier Neo-Confucian works. Fifthly, although Zhu Xi succeeded in establishing a large system of Neo-Confucian philosophy, he also brought Neo-Confucian ideas to a state open to critique and radical transformations. All in all, Zhu Xi presents a comprehensive system of rationalistic philosophy of cosmic reality, knowledge and morality of self-cultivation, and reaches the highest point of the Learning of the principle (*li xue*) beginning with Zhou Dunyi. Zhu Xi integrates all the insights of his predecessors into a framework initiated by Cheng Yi. But there are obviously problems, which remain open to criticism. There is the problem of the nature of *li* and

its relation to *qi*. There is also the problem of the two natures of the human person and the consequent problem of the dualism of the heart/mind of the Way and the heart/mind of humans, as well as the problem of unity and priority of moral knowledge over moral action.

Lu Jiuyuan took a different approach to the problem of *li*. He sees *li* as not something which reveals itself in one's intellectual learning and which one can posit as a transcendent entity prior to the *qi*, but rather takes it to be something that is directly experienced in one's heart/mind and hence cannot exist apart from one's heart/mind. He considers this heart/mind of ours to be the heart/mind of the sages, which lasts beyond one's individual life span. He further considers his method of knowing *li* in the heart/mind as direct and simple (*yi jian* 易簡) whereas he deems Cheng-Zhu's doctrine of 'investigation of things' (*ge wu*) to be scattered and misleading. Both points are well made in his poem composed at the famous meeting with Zhu Xi at Goose Lake Temple in the summer of 1175. Based on his view of reality, Lu further refutes the need for the concept of *wu ji* in Zhou Dunyi, which Zhu Xi defends. Taking a contrary view to Zhu Xi, Lu can be said to be the founding figure of the School of Heart/Mind (*xin xue*) of the Song-Ming *li xue*. In stressing the Book of Mencius above other Confucian Classics, Lu's moral centralism narrows his understanding of the human person. He has specifically lost sight of the objective meaning of *li* as both internal and external principles of things and human minds. If one has to force an answer from him regarding a status of *li*, he might state that *li* depends on activities of the mind and has no other special metaphysical status. He may otherwise be considered as subscribing to a *qi* philosophy.

Wang Shouren was the major philosopher in the Ming era who revived Lu Jiuyuan's understanding of Confucianism and revolted against Zhu Xi's School of Principle after

Zhu Xi dominated academic circles for two hundred years. Wang's revolt against Zhu Xi came as no accident, as Zhu's *li xue* had become so formalised that apart from becoming a tool of political suppression of the Ming Court, it stifled the minds of intellectuals due to its closure and internal issues in the system as we have observed. In this sense Zhu Xi serves a starting point for the Learning of the Heart/Mind of Wang, as the latter wanted to overcome the passivity and vacuity of *li* with internal activity and substantial engagement of the human mind. Wang did try to follow Zhu Xi in investigating the principle of bamboo, but fell ill after gaining nothing in connection with becoming a sage. For Wang, this example shows that one cannot grasp the principle apart from one's own self-understanding of the Way and self-determination on the moral vision of self. Wang became enlightened about this position when he was reduced to his own solitude in his exile in the year of 1506. In order to make sure that we can live a life of unity of moral knowledge and moral action, Wang put forth a doctrine of 'extending the innate knowledge of the good' (*zhi liangzhi*) in contrast with 'reaching for knowledge' (*zhi zhi*) as propagated by the Cheng-Zhu School. Following Mengzi and Lu Jiuyuan, Wang asserted the possession of 'the innate knowledge of good' (*liang zhi*) as a universal endowment of humanity. Thus if one follows up one's innate knowledge one would act out one's life in a process of moral fulfilment and become a sage. In this sense the unity of knowledge and action must be regarded as a dynamic process of moral practice in the unfolding, cultivation, rectification and fulfilment of an ultimate moral purpose. This is none other than the attainment of supreme goodness of a person. In the doctrine of 'Four Sentences Teaching' (*si ju jiao* 四句教) formulated by Wang Yangming in 1528, one year before his death, Wang summarised his final teaching in four sentences: 'No good and no bad is the substance of the mind; having good and having bad

is the movement of intention; knowing good and knowing bad is the innate knowledge of good; to do good and to remove bad is to rectify things.'

Conclusion

After Wang Shouren, we see the rise of some strong Chan Buddhist tendencies in the School of the Heart/Mind. But we also see a return to philosophy of *li* and *qi* whereby *li* and *qi* become better fused in people like Luo Qinshun (1465–1547), Wang Tingxiang (1474–1544) and Yi Hwang. We also see a return to some basics in moral experiences as the basis for reconstruction of a moral personality in Luo Rufang (1515–1588) and Liu Zongzhou (1578–1645). We finally see a pervasive movement of critical reflection and critique toward both the School of Principle and the School of the Heart/Mind of the Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism in the light of the downfall of the Ming Court. Even though these new theories did not resolve the philosophical issues raised in Neo-Confucian philosophy, a new age with its own problems of dealing with history and culture, life and political power, started to set in.

The influence of Neo-Confucianism as a philosophy and as a model/paradigm of thinking and living has been wide, deep and long-ranging, from the time of Zhu Xi to the present-day. Not only have Chinese intellectual circles and the civil service examination system come under its influence, but Tokugawa Japan, the Yi dynasty in Korea, as well as southern countries like Vietnam have also absorbed Neo-Confucianism to varying degrees in their examination systems, moral standards, mental attitudes and cosmological outlook. In this sense Neo-Confucianism truly constitutes the essence of East Asian culture and civilisation.

References: Huang & Quan, 1966; Huang Zongxi, 1985; Mou Zongsan, 1963; Chung-ying Cheng, 1991.

CHUNG-YING CHENG

Nihon Shoki 日本書記

(The Chronicles of Japan, also Nihongi 日本記)

Published in 720, the *Nihon shoki* is an official history of Japan from its mythological origins to the eleventh year of the reign of Emperor Jitō 持統 (697 CE). Commissioned by the central court government in the early eighth century to justify the line of sovereigns, Prince Toneri-shinnō 舍人親王 was put in charge of the compilation of an annals of the imperial family based largely on ancient folklore which had been orally transmitted. It was written in *kambun* 漢文 (Chinese ideographs) and received more attention than the *Kojiki* in premodern Japan.

References: Aston, 1972; Sakamoto, 1980.
WAI-MING NG

Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 1828–1902

(gō: Hakuō 伯翁, tsūshō: Heitarō 平太郎)

Nishimura Shigeki, one of the most influential educational thinkers of Meiji Japan, represents a unique combination of western learning with Confucian values. He was born the eldest son of a samurai in the service of Hotta Masayoshi 堀田正睦 (1810–1864), lord of Sakura 佐倉 domain (northern Chiba prefecture). Masayoshi was a progressive daimyo from a family that had long been prominent in the councils of the shogunate, and Shigeki's father had played an important part in developing education in the domain, including Dutch Learning (*Rangaku*). He had also experimented in western military methods and submitted proposals for domain reform. Shigeki succeeded him after his death in 1850. After a Confucian education that emphasised study of the *Dai Nihonshi* (see *Mito School and the Dai Nihon-shi Project*), *Nihon gaishi*, and *Shinron*, in 1851 he entered the school of Sakuma Shōzan to improve his knowledge of western gunnery.

essentially related and interacting to each other, in a way similar to one's breathing in and out. He was dissatisfied with the available books explaining Zhu Xi's theory, and therefore spent about twenty years on careful textual research of Zhu's original works and ideas. In his four *juan* *Zhuzi nianpu* 朱子年譜 with two *juan* *Kao yi* 考異 and two *juan* *Fu lu* 附錄, he comprehensively identified and corrected many misuses of Zhu Xi's works and misunderstandings of his ideas. The works Wang left were regarded as singularly important achievements in Zhu Xi studies during that period. He advocated textual studies and based his investigations on the original works, in order to explain the scholars' own historical ideas. His book on the *Mengzi* (*Mengzi Xu Shuo kao* 孟子序說考) examined different works of different ages and compared them in an effort to explain the original ideas of Mengzi. Wang's other books include the *Zhuzi Wenji zhu* 朱子文集注, *Zhuzi Yulu zhu* 朱子語錄注, *Du jing jiyi* 讀經記疑, *Du shi jiyi* 讀史記疑, among others.

Reference: Wu & Song, 1992.

OUYANG KANG

Wang Mingsheng 王鳴盛

1722–1798

(zi Fengjie 鳳喈, Litang 禮堂; hao Xizhuang 西莊, Xizhi 西沚)

A native of Jiading 嘉定 (Shanghai), Wang was a classicist and historian. He had studied the Confucian Classics as a student of Shen Deqian 沈德潛 (1673–1769) and Hui Dong 于東 at the Ziyang Academy 紫陽書院 in Suzhou 蘇州 before he gained the *jinshi* degree in 1754. He was appointed as a compiler 編修 in the Hanlin Academy. Having served in various positions in the capital and provinces, he retired as the Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainment (*guang lu si qing* 光祿寺卿) in 1763.

Wang's major contribution to scholarship was his critical studies of the

Seventeen Dynastic Histories, entitled *Shiqi shi shangque* 十七史商榷, first printed in 1787 and later incorporated in the Guangya Congshu. In this book he conducted a thorough examination and correction of the materials and facts involved in the Seventeen Dynastic Histories and provided correct details on places, official posts, institutions and affairs mentioned in the histories. Making a critical break with the allegedly forged Old Text version of the *Book of Documents*, he produced a work entitled *Shangshu houan* 尚書後案 (*Later Commentaries on the Book of Documents*), in which he reconstructed in large measure the Han dynasty text of the *Shang shu* by collecting fragmentary commentaries from Zheng Xuan, Ma Rong, and Kong Anguo. He also wrote a work on the Institutes of the Zhou dynasty entitled the *Zhouli junfu shuo* 周禮軍賦說. His miscellaneous notes, classified under ten headings and entitled *Eshu bian* 蛾術編, covered a wide range of ancient political systems, characters, historical figures, tablet inscriptions, utensils and geography. His literary works, composed before 1763, were printed in about 1766, under the title *Xizhuang shi cunqao* 西莊始存稿, while the works produced during the latter part of his life were published in an 1823 collection entitled *Xizhi jushi ji* 西沚居士集.

References: Hummel, 1943–4; Loewe, 1993; *Qing shi gao*, 1970.

REBEKAH X. ZHAO

Wang Pin 王蘋

1082–1153

(zi Xinbo 信伯, hao Zhenze 震澤)

Wang was a late student of the Cheng brothers (see Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi), who enjoyed only a modest bureaucratic career. His scholarship impressed the Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162) during an audience, and he was rewarded with *jinshi* status and a low-ranking post in the palace

library. He later worked on the *Veritable Records of Shenzong's Reign* (r. 1068–1085) (*Shenzong shilu* 神宗實錄). He eventually ran afoul of the controversial minister Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155, zi Huizhi 會之) and was stripped of his posts. He ended his official career in a temple sinecure.

According to Quan Zuwang, Wang was an important link in the transmission of *dao xue* learning in two distinct ways. Firstly, Wang was credited with spreading the teachings of the Chengs into the southeastern region of Wu 吳 (Jiangsu). Secondly, he acted as a bridge between the disciples of the Cheng brothers and the so-called thinkers of the mind (*xin xue*). The source of his inspiration was Yang Shi, but his reputation has rested on the similarity between his ideas and those of Lu Jiuyuan. Although censured by Zhu Xi, he was praised by Wang Yangming (*Song-Yuan xuean*, 29.1a). What survives of his writings certainly reveals a willingness to draw on Daoist and Buddhist sources to explain his ideas.

Wang's writings included an unfinished commentary (now lost) on the *Lunyu*. His literary collection, the *Wang Zhuzuo ji* 王著作集 (*The Literary Collection of Editorial Director Wang*) is still extant.

References: Song-Yuan xuean, 1966; Wang Pin, 1782.

ANTHONY DEBLASI

Wang Shouren 王守仁

1472–1529

(zi Boan 伯安, hao Yangming 陽明)

Better known as Wang Yangming throughout East Asia, Wang Shouren was born on 31 October 1472 in Yue 越 in the district of Yuyao 餘姚 near Hangzhou, a descendant of the great calligrapher Wang Xizhi (321–379). He evidently combined great powers of concentration with an insatiable curiosity. The story is told that when he was married at the age of seventeen, on his wedding night he became so engrossed in

a conversation with a Daoist priest that he forgot to return home. In 1492 he received the *juren* degree, but failed the *jinshi* exam in both 1493 and 1496. In 1499 he passed the *jinshi* exam, ranking second among all the examinees. Within a short time he was appointed to positions of considerable responsibility, first in public works, then in justice, examinations and military affairs. His practical experience in administration had a profound effect on the development of his own philosophy, making him aware of the limits that real life often places in the way of abstract theory.

As his reputation grew, Wang began to attract students drawn by his independent frame of mind. He was already criticising the tendency of teachers to focus on flowery language and empty memorisation, instead encouraging students to concentrate on their own motives and purposes in learning, to start out by purifying themselves before they directed their efforts to learning about the more conventional subjects of history and philosophy.

At this point he experienced such a reversal of his fortunes that it provoked a fundamental reevaluation of his life. When a number of prominent officials were imprisoned by the palace eunuch Liu Jin in 1506, Wang wrote a memorial protesting the action. He was ordered to receive forty lashes in the presence of the emperor, after which he was transferred to a remote post in the southern province of Guizhou. Isolated and confronted with all manner of personal hardship, he underwent a liberating experience of intellectual enlightenment in 1508 that led in the following year to the articulation of his doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action (*zhixing heyi*).

After 1510 he climbed rapidly in the administrative hierarchy. In 1517 he was given the responsibility of suppressing a local rebellion in Fujian province. His immediate and remarkable success in putting down that and other rebellions and then in implementing policies of good government – such as building schools – that would

restore confidence in the future greatly enhanced his reputation. In 1519 he was named governor of Jiangsi province, where once again he implemented a series of reforms that won widespread praise.

His success inspired jealousy among some officials of the emperor's court, and his official career fell into decline. From 1521 to 1527, he retired to his home in Yue. It was in these years that he developed his doctrine of the extension of innate knowledge (*liang zhi* 良知), which represented a synthesis of his basic philosophy. His willingness to depart from the orthodox commentaries of **Zhu Xi** provoked intense criticism by those scholars loyal to the Song philosopher. In 1528 he was called back into public service to suppress a rebellion in Guangsi, which he did but at the cost of his health. He died *en route* to his home on 9 January 1529.

Thought

Wang Yangming is generally credited with making three specific contributions to Chinese philosophy: his understanding of the term 'investigating things' (*gewu* 格物), his doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action (*zhixing heyi*), and the extension of innate knowledge of the good (*zhi liang zhi*).

As he pursued the subject of the investigation of things, he was compelled to redefine the context in which the term was defined by the Song Neo-Confucian thinkers. Zhu Xi had defined it as the pursuit of objective knowledge outside of oneself, a pursuit that was a prerequisite to sagehood. The problem for Wang Yangming was that not everyone had the time or resources to devote to such study. This would seem contrary to Mengzi's belief in the essential goodness of human nature and the possibility that everyone can achieve sagehood. As a consequence, Wang Yangming changed the meaning of the term from what had been accepted since Zhu Xi to 'making one's intentions sincere'. The way to purify those intentions was to eliminate selfish desires (*ren yu* 人欲).

The doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action (*zhixing heyi*), which Wang Yangming began preaching in 1509, the year after his experience of enlightenment, also addressed the problem of making sagehood available to the everyday person, not just the scholar. It did so by emphasizing the existence of principle, *li*, in the mind, and by defining knowledge primarily as moral knowledge or knowledge of the good, i.e., wisdom. Action, in turn, meant activity that conformed to one's knowledge of the good, and that was not separated by selfish desires. Thus one could learn virtue not just by studying it but equally by putting it into action, which everyone can do. As he said, 'knowledge is the beginning of action, and action is the completion of knowledge' (Chan, 1972: 10).

Through meditation, or quiet-sitting (*jing zuo*) one can recover one's true – and good – self, and eliminate selfish desires. Contemplation, to which Wang Yangming was powerfully attracted throughout his life, and which he frequently engaged in, was therefore seen as a means to an end, but never as an end in itself and never as a means of escaping the cares of the world.

Wang Yangming's crowning achievement was his doctrine of the development, or extension, of the innate knowledge of the good, *zhi liang zhi*, as the true path to sagehood. He defined innate knowledge as the 'original substance of the mind', by which he meant the knowledge of right and wrong. By 'development' or 'extension' (*zhi* 致) he meant the constant effort or exertion necessary to purify one's heart/mind of selfish desires. Mere knowledge in the abstract of what is right and wrong is not sufficient for the attainment of sagehood – one must act in accordance with that knowledge, and through that very action deepen one's understanding of the knowledge. By sagehood Wang Yangming meant becoming a fully authentic person, true to oneself, genuine, at ease with oneself and with the world at large. His doctrine was in part derived from **Mengzi's** admonition that

'the sense of right and wrong is common to all men' (Mengzi 7A: 15). This quality is the fundamental basis of human dignity, compassion and moral action.

To distill his thought into a short statement, he developed in 1527 his Four Dicta: 'In the original substance of the mind there is no distinction between good and evil; when the will becomes active, however, such distinction exists; the faculty of innate knowledge is to know good and evil; the investigation of things is to do good and remove evil'. He wrote that his insight was 'achieved from a hundred deaths and a thousand sufferings' (Chan, 1972: xxxvi). The heart/mind, *xin*, was the source of all our perfection as well as the instrument of our improvement. It was the ultimate, transcendent truth, and through it we can transcend ourselves. Wang was therefore much less concerned than his counterparts in the Zhi Xi School with issues such as principle, *li*, or material force, *qi*, or the Supreme Ultimate, *tai ji*. For him everything was embodied in heart/mind.

Wang Yangming's views inspired controversy by their independence of spirit and particularly by their differences with the orthodox interpretations of Zhu Xi. Two publications in particular drew the most sustained criticism. The first was Wang Yangming's repudiation of Zhu Xi's edition of the Confucian Classic, the *Daxue* (*Book of Learning*), entitled *Daxue guben pangzhu* 大學古本旁注 (*Old Version of the Great Learning, with Side Commentaries*). Zhu Xi claimed that the text as it had been handed down to the Song dynasty contained errors. He reissued the text, which changed the order of the sections in order to give greater support for his own interpretation of the meaning of the 'investigation of things' as the means of making the intentions sincere. Wang Yangming restored the original order, which appeared to give priority to making the intentions sincere, in accordance with his view that the central issue was what took place in the heart/mind (*xin*) not what one learned by studying the Classics.

His second controversial publication was a study of Zhu Xi's letters, *Zhu Xi wannian dinglun* 朱子晚年定論 (*Definitive Ideas of Zhu Xi as Developed Later in Life*), in which Wang Yangming extracted excerpts, out of context, appearing to suggest that Zhu Xi had changed his mind on important subjects later in life. These changes, not surprisingly, appeared to support Wang Yangming's own interpretation. Although these two publications did much to enhance Wang Yangming's own scholarly reputation, they also prompted charges of unfair scholarship, since he appeared to have deliberately misrepresented the ideas of the Song philosopher to justify his own positions.

Significance

Wang Yangming has inspired praise as well as blame. Most observers regard him as the greatest philosopher in China since Zhu Xi in the twelfth century. But many accused him of promoting a destructive form of individualism by later philosophers who justified all manner of bizarre behaviour as expressing their 'innate knowledge'. Some Qing philosophers like **Gu Yanwu** even went so far as to blame Wang's philosophy, in part, for the eventual decline of the Ming dynasty.

The textual exegesis movement was promoted by a follower of Wang Yangming in the late Ming, **Jiao Hong**. This led to one of the principal intellectual currents of the Qing dynasty. His followers included **Qian Dehong**, **Huang Wan**, **Nie Bao** 聶豹 (1487–1563), **Wang Gen**, **Wang Ji**, and his favourite student, **Xu Ai**.

Wang's independence of mind, together with his focus on the standards of the mind itself, encouraged in those who followed him a tendency to set their own standards. Many became eccentric and opposed to external authority of any kind. Others tended to drift back to the emphasis on cultivating serenity through quiet-sitting of the Zhu Xi School. He was important as well in the movements that arose in reaction to him. The Donglin movement of Confucian revival at the end of the Ming blamed

Wang's followers for the decline of dynastic institutions.

Wang Yangming's influence extended to Japan and Korea as well as China. In Japan his philosophy, known as Yomeigaku, had the effect of strengthening the movement for reform during the late Tokugawa. It inspired some of the most important Meiji reformers such as **Yoshida Shōin** and Saigō Takamori (1827–1877). In Korea the Zhu Xi School dominated the intellectual horizon, as it did in China. But Wang Yangming's philosophy also inspired a dynamic movement under the leadership of **Chóng Chedū** in the Yi dynasty (1393–1910).

References: Chan, Wing-tsit, 1972: 63–92; Ching, 1976; Chu, Hung-lam, 1998: 47–70; Cua, 1982, 1993: 611–47; Nivison, 1953; *Philosophy East and West* 23 (January/April) 1973; Tu, 1976b.

ALAN T. WOOD

Wang Shu 王恕

1416–1508

(*zi* Zongguan 宗貫, *hao* Jian 介庵, Shiqu 石渠)

Wang Shu was a native of San Yuan 三原 (Shanxi). He obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1448, at which time he received an appointment to the Hanlin Academy, although he soon left this position eventually to become prefect of Yangzhou. He remained in government service for forty-five years, and became well known during his tenure as Minister of Personnel. Although Wang was permitted to take leaves of office on the occasions of both his mother's and father's deaths, he returned to service a short while thereafter (only two months in the case of his mother). His administrative talents ranged from a successful bandit suppression campaign in 1466 to the compilation of a history of the Grand Canal in 1471. Wang's work has been preserved in fellow official Wang Qiong's 王瓊 (1459–1532) 1496 work *Portrait of the Grand Canal* 漕河圖志.

Wang also became famous for his denunciations of the court's use of eunuch advisers and what he determined to be the excessive court patronage of Buddhism. In particular, Wang accused the eunuch Qian Neng 錢能 of colluding with Vietnamese Lê court officials during an imperial mission to purchase gemstones. Surprisingly, the court eunuch had nothing but praise for Wang when the two officials finally met again at court in about 1480. However, Wang had begun to lose allies at court late in his career, and his criticisms of the imperial decisions did not go unnoticed. In 1486, under intense political pressure from the emperor himself, Wang Shu retired from government service. However, he was recalled by imperial decree from the subsequent ruler in 1488. In 1493, Wang was again denounced and removed from office, allegedly for poor judgement in the selection of officials and for an excessive desire to remain in the limelight. He died at the age of ninety-two after spending his last years editing and annotating his collected works. In retirement, Wang also established a school in his home region of Sanyuan called the Hongdao 宏道 Academy.

Wang's works include an autobiography and several collections of his memorials, as well as philosophical writings such as *Thoughts on the Book of Changes* (*Wanyi Yijian* 玩易意見) and a book of various commentaries on other Confucian classics *Thoughts of Master Shiqu* (*Shiqu Yijian* 石渠意見). In these works Wang voiced doubts regarding some of the famous Southern Song scholar Zhu Xi's commentaries on the Confucian Classics. Wang chose to express his independent views of these works, and such opinions have left Wang with the reputation for idiosyncratic thinking. However, Wang focused largely on practical political matters, and his limited commentary on the Classics reflected this point of view. As Huang Zongxi commented 'as to what concerns the great roots of learning, (Wang) probably did not achieve them'. Julia Ching notes that Wang's scholarship in

Confucian Learning of his time was limited, but he instead distinguished himself in government service, following in the footsteps of fellow northern **Neo-Confucian** **Xue Xuan**.

References: Giles, H. 1898: 841; Goodrich & Fang, eds., 1976: 1417; Huang Tsung-hsi, 1987: 99–100; Huang, Z., 1985: 9: 158; Wu & Song, eds., 1992: 1096.

JAMES A. ANDERSON

Wang Su 王肅

195?–256

(*zi* Ziyong 子雍)

Son of a famous exegete on classics and Wei statesman, Wang Lang 王郎, Wang Su made commentaries on all the books of the canon that had great authority in the Imperial Academy. His fame was such that his daughter became the wife of the son of the usurper of the Wei dynasty (220–265) and thus his grandson mounted the throne as the first emperor of the Jin. In the traditional Han method of exegesis, Wang Su was counted as the seventeenth successor of the New Text scholar **Fu Sheng** in the study of the *Shang shu* which is perhaps one of the reasons he waged a relentless war against the great Han exegete **Zheng Xuan** whose independent views tended to destroy the old method of canonical study by reference to hereditary schools of interpretation. Not content with attacking Zheng Xuan's views directly, Wang Su either forged or tinkered with a book already in existence purporting to contain quotations from Confucius, the *Kongzi jiaiyu*. He added his own commentary pointing out how Zheng Xuan's views went against those of Confucius himself given in the *Kongzi jiaiyu*. Although his commentaries on the canon were used in the Imperial Academy during the Jin dynasty (265–420) and his ideas were followed in court ritual, Wang Su's views were seldom quoted in canonical studies after the Jin and his forgery of the *Kongzi jiaiyu* has been

almost unanimously acknowledged since the eighteenth century.

Reference: Kramers, 1950.

DONALD HOLZMAN

Wang Tanzhi 王坦之

330–375

One of the most famous of the adepts of 'Pure Talk', *Qingtān* 清談, fashionable conversation on philosophical or literary themes, Wang Tanzhi is above all known for his opposition to the philosophy of Zhuangzi 莊子. He wrote an essay called 'On Rejecting Zhuangzi', *Fei Zhuang lun* 廢莊論, in which he criticised Zhuangzi for producing a philosophical system cut off from the needs of ordinary humanity. When paragons of virtue and men of high, single-minded morality were unable to 'enter into the *dao* (Way)', how much more was it difficult for ordinary men to achieve the mystical experience and the kind of self-realisation taught by Zhuangzi. By aiming too high at absolute absorption into the All, Zhuangzi lost sight of the real world and led men to let themselves go in dissipation. What is interesting in this very short essay is not so much the criticism of Zhuangzi, which is fairly well taken, but the fact that Wang Tanzhi preaches a syncretic philosophy in which Zhuangzi is presented as a muddleheaded thinker who failed to understand the basic mystical truths that Confucius and Laozi both espoused centuries earlier.

DONALD HOLZMAN

Wang Tao 王綽

1828–97

(*zi* Ziquan 紫詮, *hao* Zhongtao 仲弢)

Reformist thinker and statecraft scholar, Wang Tao was born to a village tutor family in Suzhou, Jiangsu province. He abandoned

朱子注 commentary on Classics)

zhu, literally meaning 'to flow', was a form of commentary introduced in the second century CE by scholars like **Zheng Xuan** (writing *zhu* for the ritual canons *Zhou li*, *li*, and *Li ji*) and **Zhao Qi** (writing *zhu* in the *Mengzi*). This new form represented a departure from earlier commentarial genres like those of the *zhuan* (tradition, commentary) and its related forms *ji* (records) and *shuo* (explanations) in that it was physically integrated directly into the text of the canon, providing interlinear exegetical notes that were 'flowing around' individual words and phrases of the main text. After this model had been established in Later Han times, scholars in Wei and Jin times wrote *zhu* commentaries for an increasing number of texts, among them the *Yi jing* (Wang Bi, 226–249), *Laozi* (Wang Bi), (*Chunqu*) *Zuo zhuan* (Du Yu 杜預 222–284) and *Er ya* (Guo Pu 郭璞 276–324); for most canonical works, two or three competing *zhu* commentaries were produced. In later times, *zhu* became a standard designation for interlinear commentaries; in the Song dynasty compilation of the Thirteen Classics under the title *Shisan jing zhushu*, *zhu* denotes the early (Han through Jin) layer of commentaries, while *shu* refers to the Tang and Song subcommentaries.

References: Nylan, 2001; Wang Baoxuan, 1994: 20–8.

able to preserve peace. As this power declined, the entire kingdom was thrown into chaos. Confucius, **Mengzi**, and many others developed their doctrines in the midst of this disarray. For example, a quote in the *Mengzi* (5B: 2) is revealing. When asked what the system of rank and income was under the House of Zhou, **Mengzi** replies with 'This cannot be known in detail, for the feudal lords destroyed the records, considering the system to be detrimental to themselves'; and he continues, 'But I have heard a brief outline of it. The King, the duke (*gong* 公), the marquis (*hou* 侯), and the earl (*bo* 伯) each constituted one rank, while the viscount (*zi* 子) and the baron (*nan* 男) shared the same rank, thus totalling five grades.'

References: Lau, 1970; Morohashi, 1960.

TODD CAMERON THACKER

朱子静主静

(Concentrating on quiescence)

'Concentrating on quiescence' in the attempt to achieve mastery of it was the methodological approach most favoured by **Zhou Dunyi** in the quest for the attainment of *cheng* – his supreme virtue of sincerity or authenticity. In Zhou's view, attaining *cheng* could only occur by emulating the placid qualities obtaining to the virtue itself. He claimed that 'sincerity engages in no activity' and, incorporating a phrase from the *Yi jing* to underscore the point, he stated that

朱松

1097–1143

(*zi* Qiaonian 喬年, *hao* Weizhai 韋齋)

Zhu Song was the father of **Zhu Xi**, and a native of Wuyuan 婺源 in modern-day Anhui. Zhu received his *jinsi* degree in 1118. In 1134 Zhu received an appointment as Proofreader (*Zhengzi* 正字) in the Palace Library. Eventually Zhu Song achieved the honorific official position of secretary in the Bureau of Merit Titles (*Sixun* 司勳) of the Ministry of Personnel. However, due to his opposition to the appeasement policies of Qin Hui 秦檜 (1090–1155), Zhu was criticised at court and subsequently demoted to the position of Raozhou 饒州 prefect (in modern Fujian). He was demoted even further, soon thereafter, and finally chose early retirement to excuse himself from the political turmoil. Zhu Song died at the relatively young age of forty-seven.

Zhu Song provided Zhu Xi with his earliest Confucian training, although he would have a less lasting effect on his son's mature philosophical writings. Zhu Song had been a student of **Yang Shi** and an associate of **Luo Gongyan**, both of whom influenced his thinking and that of his son in the early years. One of Zhu's main philosophical concerns was the investigation of *yi ti* (righteousness and profit) and its application to public life. Before he died Zhu Song made certain that his son would learn the important tenets of the Cheng brothers' teachings. Zhu asked his friend Luo Gongyan's

朱文

(Text of Prayer)

The Text of Prayer is written on boards and read at the beginning of the ceremony after the preliminary libation offering to inform the spirit of the ceremony. The invocator (*yin zan* 引贊) reads the prayer announcing the circumstances of the ceremony (i.e., the date, location and bureaucratic authority responsible for the rite) and the names of the consecration officers, then invokes the spirits that receive the sacrifice by intoning or chanting their names and praising the virtues of the principal recipient. For example, a prayer at the sacrifice to Confucius in the early Ming typically began with 'On this date, magistrate X dares to make known to the First Sage, Exalted King of Culture, whose virtue matches Heaven and Earth, whose **Dao** permeates all time, who edited and composed the Six Classics that bequeathed the founding charter to the ten thousand generations, now the appointed time has come to respectfully offer up this victim and silk damask, this wine, bowls of grain and sundry offerings all lined up in rows. Correlate sacrifices are offered to the Returning Sage Master Yan, the Ancestral Sage Master Zeng, the Following Sage Master Zisi and the Second Sage Master Meng.' The prayer is followed by the three offerings (*san xian*).

THOMAS A. WILSON

had a profound and lasting impact on his personality and thinking; moreover, this impact deepened during his teens as he lost two of the three designated mentors and his two brothers. Firstly, his mother's example gave him a model for promoting not only widow's chastity but also wife's management of household finances for the good of her husband's family, so men could pursue education and the cultivation of generosity unencumbered by worries about household stringencies. In devoting herself to the Zhu family's economic welfare, Zhu's widowed mother was such a striking model because her conduct went against the dominant Song trend for widows to take their dowry property into second marriages arranged by their natal families. Zhu's praise of a wife's absolute devotion to the husband's patriline influenced his followers to advocate tighter rules of female chastity and legal subordination of a wife's property rights to the interests of the husband's family.

Secondly, Zhu's three designated mentors were faithful to their charge, but his education did not lead to the levels of career success for which most literati of his day aimed. Still, their efforts bore fruit when Zhu passed the national civil service examinations about six years later at nineteen (which was about half the median age for successful candidates during that era). No doubt his mentors deserve some credit for Zhu's success in the examinations at such an early age. While most literati had to focus on examinations for twenty or more years longer than Zhu, he was free to pursue other avenues of learning and to devote himself to scholarship. With such an early start, Zhu had a marked advantage in the length of his intellectual career of teaching and research. Moreover, passage of the examinations meant that Zhu could enter the governmental bureaucracy at an earlier age and have a longer official career. Nevertheless, he held only a few posts as a local official and spent only about forty-six days in an official capacity at the emperor's

court. Although he would have had additional opportunities if he had not declined appointments to several offices, his limited official career was not particularly noteworthy, so he had to look elsewhere for validation of his worth and status as a scholar. He would ultimately present personal morality, instead of government degrees and officers, as the criterion for literati class status.

Thirdly, during the intellectually formative years of his youth, Zhu was left without a definitively authoritative mentor; moreover, without the influence of one dominant teacher, Zhu was compelled into an independent quest for certainty. When his father died, the thirteen-year-old Zhu was no longer under the ultimate authority figure for young men in his culture. His three mentors exposed him to a range of thought beyond his own father's focus on the Learning of the Way (*dao xue*) and especially the writings of the Cheng brothers (**Cheng Hao** and **Cheng Yi**) and **Sima Guang**. Most significantly, they did not discourage his exploration of Daoism and Buddhism, especially Chan discipline of silent meditation. When in his mid-twenties he finally returned to Confucian teachings under the influence of **Li Tong**, Zhu apparently had something of a conversion experience and accepted Li Tong's fundamentalist zeal for orthodoxy. By his mid-thirties, Zhu had become so hostile to the prevailing trend toward greater common ground between the Three Teachings (*san jiao jiu liu*) that he wrote his 'Critique of Adulterated Learning' to condemn those Song Confucian scholars whose commentaries corrupted the Classics with ideas drawn from Daoism and Buddhism. Zhu's own series of commentaries on the classical Four Books (*Si shu*) illustrates his continuing quest for authority. In his early thirties to late forties, he wrote three sets of commentaries through which he progressively worked back to the views of the Cheng brothers; moreover, he gradually rejected most of the distinct views expressed by their

disciples. After his late forties, he grew increasingly critical in his reading, even of the *Book of Changes*; moreover, he became more independent in developing his own readings of the Classics, particularly in his last set of commentaries on the Four Books.

As he made progress in projecting himself as the authoritative reader of the tradition, he developed the concept of the *dao tong*, i.e., the transmission and succession of the Way from the ancient sages, through **Zhou Dunyi** and the Chengs, and ultimately to himself. Although he articulated the idea in his early fifties, it attained full philosophical expression in his 1189 preface to the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), in which he outlined how the oral transmission from one ancient sage to another had been transferred to the Classics as the textual carrier of the Way. Especially the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*) provided a thread for later generations to grasp the sages' true Way. Nevertheless, although the Classics were essential in ensuring that the Way would not be lost, the texts alone had failed to ensure the transmission of the Way, for the Way was not transmitted for about twelve centuries between **Mengzi's** death and **Zhou Dunyi's** recovery of the Way. While Zhu was elaborating on this textual linkage to the ancient sages and the doctrine of the transmission of the Way, he was also developing a personal connection to the spirit of Confucius. Leading his students in burning incense and offering sacrificial foods to the ancient sages and recent worthies, as well as in making prayerful reports to Confucius, Zhu's actions and words at shrines mirrored rituals reserved strictly for one's own ancestors. Indeed, he appropriated the concept of the most direct lineage decent (*zong* 宗) within the patrilineal kinship system to present himself as the imagined heir of Confucius. Thus, his prayers and intercessions in the presence of his disciples seemingly conveyed an image of Zhu as spiritually linked directly to the Sage and thus empowered with an authoritative

voice to speak for the Way. Even though it was **Zhang Shi** who drew Zhu's attention to shrine building, Zhang had disagreed with Zhu's embrace of popular religious rituals, not in accord with the Classics, like offering food to departed relatives at their gravesites and selecting gravesites through geomancy (*feng shui* 風水). Perhaps Zhu's early loss of his father and his search for approval from an authority figure influenced his unprecedented claims to a direct lineage connection to Confucius' spirit. In any event, his documented invocation of Confucius' spirit adds a dimension to his other efforts to project himself as the authoritative voice of tradition and reader of the Classics.

Zhu's self-confidence in his particular readings is evident in his special attention to elaborating rules for reading texts. He emphasised that the purpose of reading was to improve one's self as a person, rather than to enhance one's erudition or advance one's welfare, career and status. Therefore, he streamlined traditional culture in his curriculum focused resolutely on the Four Books, so that the principles he identified therein would serve as the guide for any and all other reading, which was quite secondary in importance. After memorising and internalising the Four Books, one could understand and communicate with the ancient sages. Thereafter, one would not lose one's focus on what was primary or lose one's Way amidst the details of the Five Classics (*Wu jing*), the histories or literature. In his rules for reading texts, Zhu urged students to approach texts reverently and diligently; however, his own stewardship of texts fell short of the ideals he championed. For example, he interjected a section into the *Great Learning*, purged objectionable passages from **Hu Hong's** *Zhi yan* 知言 (*Understanding Words*), and omitted key letters and essays while entrusted with editing Zhang Shi's collected works. For instance, it is only a passing comment in a letter Zhu later wrote to **Lü Zuqian's** brother that reveals that it was actually Zhang who

initiated the first half of the definition of *ren* (humaneness) which has traditionally been credited to Zhu alone. Zhu is renowned for characterising humaneness as 'the virtue of the heart/mind' (*xin zhi de* 心之德) and 'the principle of love' (*ai zhi li* 愛之理).

Zhu is also famous for his synthesis of ideas advanced by Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, Zhang Zai, and others. For instance, seizing upon Zhou's isolated postulation that the *wu ji* (Non-Ultimate) was also the *tai ji* (Supreme Ultimate), Zhu incorporated it into his refutation of Buddhist philosophical teachings about the essential emptiness of all things and moral principles. Further equating the Supreme Ultimate with the Chengs' concept of *li* (principle) as the origin and manifestation of all things in Heaven and Earth, Zhu constructed a philosophical system in which *li* and *qi* (material force) formed all things. The *li*, with which Heaven endowed humans at birth, was human nature (*xing*). Even though *qi*, in itself, was not evil, it easily became clouded and obscured perception of innate goodness because *qi* was in flux and usually turbid. Hence, Zhu advanced both a philosophical defence of Mengzi's claims regarding innate goodness in all people and an explanation for the ethical gap in actual human behaviour. Because the heart/mind (*xin*) was the purest *qi*, the mind enclosed principle, and Zhu entrusted the mind with the responsibility for self-cultivation so that one's physical *qi* nature would be transformed to reflect and accord with the goodness of the *li* inherent within one's moral nature. Another way Zhu articulated this ethical task was: the wayward human mind (*ren xin*) had to be restrained and transformed to conform to the moral mind or the mind of the Way (*dao xin*), which existed as a subtle spark within us. Scholars have debated for centuries whether or not Zhu was monistic (based on the primacy of *li*) or dualistic (based on the interaction between *li* and *qi*). Most of Zhu's philosophical statements suggest a monistic view of 'principle being one and

its manifestations being manifold' (*liyi fenshu*); for instance, *li* and *qi* could not exist independently, and *li* only had a logical priority. However, when he turned his attention to the real world of history and politics, a gulf opened between *li* and *qi* because of his obsession with the ethical gap prevalent in human actions. For instance, in his debates with Chen Liang, Zhu claimed that the Way (*dao*) had been lost or absent for centuries of human history. Zhu's critics have often quoted such statements to prove that he was dualistic. However, such claims ignore the context of Zhu's debate with Chen, for both men were dealing with the *dao* as cultural values, not as speculative (metaphysical) philosophy. Nonetheless, since *dao* and *li* were synonymous in Zhu's system, the debate does demonstrate the dualistic strains within Zhu's larger holistic philosophy. Scholarly perception of this tension has been eclipsed by a rigid assumption among mainstream scholars that Zhu was the most systematic Chinese philosopher and that his philosophy was completely rationalistic and coherent. However, striving for a fuller understanding of this gifted and conflicted human being, recent work has highlighted the tensions and inconsistencies within Zhu's thought and actions, as well as the relevance of his communion with Confucius' ghost.

The principal obstacle to comprehending Zhu both as a person and as a philosopher has been his elevation as the central figure of what became intellectual and state orthodoxy in East Asia. Although Zhu died under a government ban against his teaching, the Four Books and his commentaries thereupon soon became the core curriculum of the civil service examinations, and he was enshrined in the Confucian Temple in 1241. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Yuan dynasty recommitted the examination system to Zhu's commentaries and officially endorsed a narrow version of Learning of the Way focused on Zhu. Later dynasties further enhanced Zhu's status in the Temple of Confucius and in official

culture; moreover, his writings became orthodoxy in Korea and Japan, too.

References: Birge, 1999; Bol, 1992; Gardner, 1986; Neskari, 1993; Tillman, 1982, 1992a, 1992b, 2004.

HOYT TILLMAN

Zhu Yixin 朱一新

1846–1894

(zi Rong Sheng 容生)

Born in Yiwu (Zhejiang), Zhu Yixin became a successful candidate in the civil service examinations at the provincial level (*ju ren* 舉人) in 1870 and at the higher level (*jinshi*) in 1876. After that for some years he served as *Neige Zhongshu* 內閣中書 and *Shu jishi* 庶吉士, becoming one of the chief examiners of Hubei province and later the supervisor of Shanxi province. For exposing the affairs of personnel matters in the navy and impeaching the imperial eunuch Li Lianying 李蓮英 (1848–1911), Zhu Yixin was demoted to *Zhushi* 主事. Then he was invited by Zhang Zhidong to serve as the president of Duanxi Academy 端溪書院 in Zhaoqing 肇慶 and Guangya Academy 廣雅書院 in Guangzhou. His basic political attitude was to protect the social system of the Qing dynasty and its related ideology. He criticised Kang Youwei's reformation ideas and his textual research of the Six Classics (*Liu jing*). He thought that Kang's textual criticism of the Confucian Classics was unnecessary and would lead to scepticism about the ancients and abandonment of historical property. He opposed the reform movement led by Kang Youwei and Liang Qizhao, characterising it as an unnecessary borrowing from abroad. He respected Song–Ming Neo-Confucianism and took it as the main trend of Chinese cultures. He agreed with the idea that principle is prior to material force (*li zai qi xian* 理在氣先) and controls material force. For Zhu, if there is no principle, there is no material force. He insisted on the necessity and rationality of

the permanent existence of the traditional ethical code and Confucian values. He suggested that since there are matters, then there are laws, since there is nature, then there are principles, since there are fathers and sons, then there is love, since there are monarchs and their subjects, so it is necessary to have Confucian ethics. He thought that the society of his time was changeable, so it was better to do more study than administration of society. He studied history and wrote some books on the subject, including the *Wuxie tang dawen* 無邪堂答問, *Zou shu* 奏疏, *Shi guwen ci za zhu* 詩古文詞雜著, *Jingshi fangxiang kao* 京師方巷考, *Han shu guanjian* 漢書管見, among others.

Reference: Wu & Song, 1992.

OUYANG KANG

Zhu Zhen 朱震

1072–1138

(zi Zifa 子發, master Hanshang 漢上先生, shi Wending 文定)

Zhu Zhen was a native of Jingmen commandery 荊門軍 in present-day Hubei province. A specialist in *Yi jing* studies, Zhu was one of the followers of the Cheng School (*Luo xue*) who rose to prominent position at court during the early part of the Southern Song dynasty.

Zhu attained the *jinshi* degree during the Zhenghe period (1111–1118) and subsequently was appointed to local office. Hu Anguo considered him a person with great potential and recommended him as Vice Director of the Bureau of Merit Titles in the Ministry of Personnel (*sixun yuanwailang* 司勳員外郎). Zhao Ding 趙鼎 (1085–1147, zi Yuanzhen 元鎮, wen Zhongjian 忠簡), who became Chief Counsellor from 1134 to 1138, also recommended him. Zhu's most influential position was as an academician at the Hanlin Academy and tutor to the heir apparent. He had been slated to head the *jinshi* examinations of 1138 but he was never appointed, for the winds of