

Appendix A

Tables of Critical Information and Evaluation of the Documents in the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng

N.B. 1. The documents are classified into four groups according to their authenticity and their qualifications for the purpose of the present research:

Class A: the Masters' own writings: considered the best material.

Class B: recorded sayings of known origin.

Class C: recorded sayings of unknown origin, or sayings compiled from records of unknown writers.

Class D: unauthentic material.

2. Only material of Classes A and B is used for the main purpose of the research.
3. For fuller information about each document, see 1.2 of Introduction, and Chu Hsi's critical notes in Appendices B and C (Tables A.1, A.2, A.3, A.4, A.5 and A.6).

Table A.1 I Shu or Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng (25 bks. Plus App. Ed. by Chu Hsi, 1168 A.D.^a)

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Name of recorder	Date	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified ^b	Class
IS I	8	Li Yü	Undated	Both	CH, 5. CI, 2	B
#IS II A	26	Lü Ta-lin	1079	Both	CH, 23. CI, 7	B
IS II B	8	Uncertain	Unknown	Both	CI, 1	C
IS III	7	Hsieh Liang-tso	Undated	Both	ALL	B?
#IS IV	5	Yu Cha	1081 ^c	Both	CH, 3. CI, 2	B
IS V	3	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS VI	11	Unknown	Unknown	Both	CI, 1	C
IS VII	3	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS VIII	2	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS IX	4	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
#IS X	5	Su Ping	1077	Both	All	B

(continued)

Table A.1 (continued)

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Name of recorder	Date	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified ^b	Class
IS XI	13	Liu Hsüan	Undated	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XII	2	Liu Hsüan	1082	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XIII	1	Liu Hsüan	1083	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XIV	2	Liu Hsüan	1083	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XV ^d	22	Kuan Chung scholars	1080?	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XVI	1	Unknown	1089	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XVII	6	Unknown	Before 1088	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XVIII	48	Liu An-shieh	Between 1090 and 1097	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XIX	14	Yang Ti	After 1100	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XX	1	Chou Fu-hsien	1101	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXI A	5	Chang I	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXI B	3	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXII A	14	T'ang Ti	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXII B	5	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXIII	5	Pao Jo-yü	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXIV	4	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXV	9	Ch'ang Ta-yin ?	Unknown	Ch'eng I?	?	D
IS App.	15					A/B ^e

^aChu Hsi remarked in the Preface to the *Wai Shu* that all the 25 books in the *I Shu* were complete notebooks, each being written by a disciple (except IS XV. See Introduction 1.2, Footnote 98: 2). In other words they were unabridged and unmixed (WS, Contents, 2a).

^bCH stands for Ch'eng Hao, while CI for Ch'eng I.

^cYu Cha studied under Ch'eng Hao in 1081 and under Ch'eng I in 1093 (*Yu Ting-fu Hsien Sheng Chi*, *chüan shou*, 5b, 6b). The fact that Chu Hsi mentioned only the former event indicates that he believed the record to belong to that time (IS, Contents). Ch'eng I seemed to be staying with his brother then (IS, IV, 1a: 11–12).

^dSee Introduction 1.2, Footnote 98 for critical remarks.

^eAuthentic writings about the Masters, including a document by Ch'eng I.

Table A.2 *Wai Shu* or Secondary Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng (12 bks. Ed. by Chu Hsi, 1173 A.D.^{a-d})

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Gleanings from MS compiled by	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified	Class
WS I	7	Chu Kuang-t'ing	Both	CH, 5 CI, 3	C
WS II	4	Chu Kuang-t'ing	Both	Almost all	C
WS III	4	(MS owned by Ch'en Yüan)	Both	CH, 1	C

(continued)

Table A.2 (continued)

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Gleanings from MS compiled by	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified	Class
WS IV	1	Li Ts'an	Both?	None	C
WS V	2	Feng Chung-shu	Ch'eng I?	None	C
WS VI	10	(MS owned by Lo Ts'ung-yen)	Both	Mostly	C
WS VII A	4	(MS owned by Hu An-kuo)	Both	CH, 2 CI, 6	C
WS VII B	1/2	(do.)	Both	CH, 1	C
WS VIII	2	(MS owned by Yu Cha)	Both	CI, 1	C
WS IX	1	Wang P'in	Ch'eng I	None	C
WS X	5	(Printed Collection)	Both?	CI, 1	C
WS XI	7	Shih Tsu-chih	Ch'eng I?	CH, 4 CI, 17	C?
WS XII	19	(20 sources)	Both	All	B/C

^aBooks I–XI were “Gleanings” from MSS originally compiled from records made by various disciples, except Bk. X which was a printed collection.

^bNo date was given of any of the MSS from which these Gleanings were made.

^cBook XII includes anecdotes. It was compiled by Chu Hsi from 20 sources in 1173.

^dCH stands for Ch'eng Hao, while CI for Ch'eng I.

Table A.3 Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi or Collected Writings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Author	Compiler and date	Editor and date	Class
*MTWC	5	39	Ch'eng Hao	Unknown	T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A
*ICWC	8	101	Ch'eng I	Ch'eng Tuan-chung 1112	T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A
Appendix I		5	(Writings and sayings of, and Anecdotes about, both)		T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A/B ^a
Appendix II		9	(Letters and PSS by Chu Hsi and others about book)		T'an Shan-hsin 1323	

MTWC *Ming Tao Wen Chi* or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng Hao*

ICWC *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng I*

^aWritings Class A, except the “Preface to the Book of Changes” (Li Hsü), see Chap. I, Footnote 22. Recorded Sayings and Anecdotes Class B.

Table A.4 I Chuan or Commentary on the Book of changes

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Author and date	Collator and date	Class
*IC	4	228	Ch'eng I 1099	Lü Chu-ch'ien 1169	A

Table A.5 Ching Shuo or scriptural expositions of the Master Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	Title	No. of leaves	Portion of book covered	Critical remarks	Class
CS I	Exp. of YK Appendix III	3	1 section out of 2	Compiled by disciples from records of Ch'eng I's oral explanations	C
CS II	Exp. of Bk of History	11	2 bks out of 50	Ditto	C
CS III	Exp. of Bk of Odes	27	64 out of 305 odes	Ditto	C
*CS IV	Com. on Spring & Autumn Annals	1-16	To Duke Huan 9	Ch'eng I's own writing. Preface dated 1103	A
CS IV	Ditto	16-26	To Duke Ai 8	Compiled from records of CI's oral explanations	C
*CS V	Text of Great Learning	1-3 3-5	Whole Whole	Corrected by Ch'eng Hao Corrected by Ch'eng I	A A
CS VI	Exp. of Analects	12	9 out of 20 chs.	Compiled from records of CI's oral explanations	C
CS VII	Exp. of Mencius	Text unprinted		Unauthentic	D
CS VIII	Exp. of Doctrine of the Mean	10		Unauthentic	D

Table A.6 Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen or Choice Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Editor	Date	Critical remarks	Class
SY	2	73	Unknown	Unknown	Unauthentic	D

Appendix B

Table of Contents of the I Shu with Critical Notes: By Chu Hsi, 1168 A.D.

BOOK I: *Tuan-pai's Tradition of the Masters' Words*

— Sayings of Both Masters: I

N.B. Li Yü, styled Tuan-pai, was from Loyang. The Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I) said, "Of all the records of sayings only Li Yü's represents my idea. No mistake has been found in what he has taken down." Hence it is placed at the beginning of the present volume.

BOOK II A: *Sayings Recorded during Lü Yü-shu's Visit to the Two Masters in the East in the Year Chi Wei in the Reign of Yüan Feng*

— Sayings of Both Masters: II A

N.B. Lü Ta-lin, styled Yü-shu, was from Lan T'an. He first studied under the Master Chang Tsai. After the latter's death (1077) he came to Loyang. Chi Wei was the second year of Yüan Feng (1079). But the record includes also references to things which happened after that date.

BOOK II B: (Appendix to Book II A)

— Sayings of Both Masters: II B

N.B. Certain MS ascribes this also to Yü-shu (Lü Ta-lin). Hence it is appended here.

BOOK III: *Hsieh Hsien-tao's Reminiscences of Former Sayings*

— Sayings of Both Masters: III

N.B. Hsieh Liang-tso, styled Hsien-tao, was from Shang Ts'ai. He became a disciple in the reign of Yüan Feng (1078–1085). Hsieh once remarked, "When I studied under the Two Masters, all scholars except me made records of their sayings." Hence these must be reminiscences.

BOOK IV: *Yu Ting-fu's Record*

— Sayings of Both Masters: IV

N.B. Yu Cha, styled Ting-fu, was from Chien Chou. He became a disciple in the reign of Yüan Feng (1078–1085).

BOOK V:

— Sayings of Both Masters: V

N.B. This and the following three books were originally without titles. It is not known by whom they were recorded. They are attached here because the sayings of the Two Masters are not separately identified.

BOOK VI:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VI

N.B. The same as above. In this and the following book there are places where the texts seem erroneous and are obscure. We have retained them all without omission, in the hope that some one may be able to understand them.

BOOK VII:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VII

N.B. Same as above.

BOOK VIII:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VIII

N.B. This was found as an individual book, containing only explanations on the *Analects* and *Mencius*. It looks one of the special collections. But its material is not mixed with that of other books. Hence it is attached here.

BOOK IX: *Sayings Learned from the Masters and Friends during My Early Days*

— Sayings of Both Masters: IX

N.B. The MS was originally placed next after the MS of Book I. We do not know by whom it was recorded. It is appended here because the sayings of the Two Masters are not separately identified.

BOOK X: *Discussions in Loyang*

— Sayings of Both Masters: X

N.B. In the tenth year of Hsi Ning (1077) the Master Heng Ch'ü (Chang Tsai) went through Loyang, where he had discussions with the Two Masters. This precedes all the other records in time. But since it includes sayings by Chang Tsai, it is attached here.

— Recorded by Su Ping (Chi-ming)

N.B. Su Ping was from Kuan Chung. He was a disciple of Chang Tsai.

BOOK XI: *The Teaching of the Master*

— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: I

— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

N.B. Liu came from Hou Shih.

BOOK XII: *What I Heard in the Winter of Hsü during My Visit to the Master Pai Ch'un (Ch'eng Hao) in Loyang*

N.B. Hsü is Jen-hsü, the 5th year of Yüan Feng (1082).

— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: II

— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XIII: *What I Heard in the Eighth Moon of Hai during My Visit to the Master in Loyang*

N.B. Hai is Luei-hai, the 6th year of Yüan Feng (1083).

— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: III

— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XIV: *What I Heard in the Ninth Moon of Hai When I Passed Through Ju Chou*

N.B. At that time the Master was Superintendent of Wine Tax in Ju Chou.

— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: IV

— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XV: *Recorded Sayings of the Master during His Visit to Kuan Chung*

N.B. Recorded by Kuan Chung scholars. According to the *Collected Writings* the Master visited Kuan Chung both in the year Keng-Shen of Yüan Feng (1080) and the year Hsin Wei of Yüan Yu (1091). But in the latter date Lü Yü-shu (Ta-lin) was already dead. Since Yü-shu's name is mentioned here, it looks like the year Keng Shen (1080).

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: I

N.B. Some maintained that they are sayings of the Master Ming Tao (Ch'eng Hao).

BOOK XVI: *What I heard in the Winter of Chi Ssu*

N.B. Recorder unknown. Chi Ssu is the 4th year of Yüan Yu (1089). The book was originally placed next after the MS of Book IX.

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: II

BOOK XVII:

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: III

N.B. No title in the MS. Recorder unknown. Some said it was by Chou Hsing-chi (Kung-shu) of Yung Chia. Others said it was by Liu An-chieh (Yüan-ch'eng) of Yung Chia. Still others ascribed it to some Kuan Chung scholar. But none of them had any clear evidence. Hence the text is here retained without a title. We know that Liu Hsüan died in the third year of Yüan Yu (1088). Since his name is mentioned, the sayings must be dated before that time.

BOOK XVIII: *Edited by Liu Yüan-ch'eng's own Hands*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: IV

N.B. Liu An-chieh, styled Yüan-ch'eng, was from Yuan Chia. In the record references were made to things which happened after his (Ch'eng I's) father's death in the 5th year of Yüan Yu (1090) and before his own banishment in the 4th year of Shao Sheng (1097). The MS was obtained by Ch'en Yüan (Chi-shou) of Yen P'ing, from the recorder's son. There is a P.S. by Ch'en.

BOOK XIX: *Recorded by Yang Tsun-tao*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: V

N.B. Yang Ti, styled Tsun-tao, came from Yen P'ing. He was the eldest son of Wen Ching Kung (Yang Shih). The record refers to things which happened after [Ch'eng I's] return from Fu Ling in the end of Yüan Fu (1100).

BOOK XX: *Recorded by Chou Pai-ch'en*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VI

N.B. Chou Fu-hsien, styled Pai-ch'en, came from Pi Ling. He became a disciple in the beginning of Chien Chung Ching Kuo (1101).

BOOK XXI A: *Sayings of the Master*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VII A

— Recorded by his disciple Chang I

N.B. Chang I, styled Ssu-shu, came from Shou An.

BOOK XXI B: (Appendix to Book XXI A)

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VII B

N.B. MS owned by Hu An-kuo (Wen Ting Kung). Sayings, which are repetitions of material contained in other books, have been eliminated. Owing to its similarity in style with XXI A, we have placed it here.

BOOK XXII A: Record of Miscellaneous Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VIII A

— Recorded by T'ang Ti (Yen-ssu)

N.B. He came from Pi Ling.

BOOK XXII B: (Appendix to XXII A)

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VIII B

N.B. MS owned by Ch'en of Yen P'ing. It was originally an individual book without the name of the recorder. Some of the sayings are similar to what we find in XXII A. Hence it is attached here.

BOOK XXIII: *Recorded by Pao Jo-yü*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: IX

N.B. Pao Jo-yü was from Yung Chia, styled Ju-lin, a variant says Shang-lin.

BOOK XXIV: *MS Owned by Chou Te-chiu*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: X

N.B. Chou Ping, styled Te-chiu, was son of Chou Tao-hsiang of Pi Ling [*Sung Yüan hsüeh An*, XXXV]. He never saw the Master. We do not know whose tradition this MS represents. It was formerly attached to Book II A.

BOOK XXV: *Recorded by Ch'ang Ch'ien-tao*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: XI

N.B. Ch'ang Ta-yin was styled Ch'ien-tao. His name is seen in Book II A. The material of this book was found in the *Chao Shih K'e Yü*, where no indication was made as to whose sayings they were and who recorded them. However, some of the sayings have been quoted in a special collection of Lo of Yen P'ing, where it is annotated as from the Ch'ang MS. Could the record, then, have been made by Ch'eng Ch'ieu-tao? Some of the sayings are also seen in the MS owned by Hu where it is said that they were transmitted by Chang Kuo (Yang-shu), and that there was a suspicion that many of the sayings were not made by the Master. After an examination we have found that the latter statement is quite true. Hence it is appended here at the end of the book.

Appendix C

Table of Contents of the Wai Shu with Critical Notes: By Chu Hsi, 1173 A.D.

BOOK I: *Gleanings from Notes taken by Chu Kung-tan*

N.B. Chu Kuang-t'ing, styled Kung-tan, studied under both Masters. In the reign of Yüan Yu (1086–1094), he serves as a Counsellor at the Imperial Court. These notes were originally mixed up with those of IS, XI and IS, XV. It looks as though Mr. Chu recorded what he himself had heard and that he then made copies of these other notes as appendices. But there is no definite evidence for this conjecture. The following are gleanings of sayings which have not appeared elsewhere.

BOOK II: *Gleanings from Chu Kung-tan's Enquiries and Learnings*

N.B. Originally it forms a separate book. But many of the sayings are repetitions of the last book. These repetitions have been omitted here.

BOOK III: *Gleanings from MS Owned by Ch'en*

N.B. Ch'en Yüan of Yen P'ing, styled Chi-shou, was a disciple of Yang Wen Ching Kung (Yang Shih).

BOOK IV: *Gleanings from the learning of the Master Ch'eng*

N.B. Recorded by Li Ts'an. Ts'an was the younger brother of Li Yü [recorder of IS, I]. He studied under the Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I). This MS contains ten books, five of which are Liu Hsüan's (Chih-fu) compilation of *Explanations on the Ch'un Ch'iu*. The other five books contain material which is mixed up with that of IS, I, IS XI–XIV, and IS XV.

BOOK V: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Feng Family*

N.B. Feng Li, styled Sheng-hsien, studied under the Master I Ch'uan. He calls himself "Tung Kao Tzu." His son Chung-shu, styled Kuan-tao, who studied under

Yin (T'un), compiled this book. The compilation includes material from IS, XV and other MSS.

BOOK VI: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Lo Family*

N.B. Lo Ts'ung-yen of Yen P'ing, styled Chung-su, disciple of Yang Shih (Wen Ching Kung).

BOOK VII: *Gleanings from MSS Owned by the Hu Family*

N.B. MS owned by Hu An-kuo's (Wen Ting Kung) descendants. There is also another MS of special collection of sayings. In the latter, the sayings have been changed from the vernacular into classical style. Each saying is prefixed with the phrase "The Master said" [as in the *Analects*]. Sayings from these MSS which have not appeared elsewhere have been selected and attached here.

BOOK VIII: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Yu Family*

N.B. MS owned by the descendants of Yu Cha (Ting-fu).

BOOK IX: *Gleanings from Recorded Explanations on the Ch'un Ch'iu*

N.B. Wang P'in of Wu, styled Hsin-pai, studied under the Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I). He compiled the oral explanations on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* into this MS.

BOOK X: *Gleanings from the Comprehensive Collection or Ta Ch'üan Chi*

N.B. A book printed in Chien Yang.

BOOK XI: *Gleanings from the MS of Shih*

N.B. A collection made by Shih Tzu-chih, entitled the *Profound Sayings of the Master Ch'eng*, 25 books. In this collection, many of the Master's original sayings have been altered.

BOOK XII: *A Collection of Sayings and Anecdotes*

[Compiled by Chu Hsi from twenty different sources the names of which we have omit].

Appendix D

Main Stages in the History of the Compilation of the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng

The history of the compilation of the *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng* may be briefly told as follows:

1. The Sung Edition: About 140 years after Ch'eng I's death in the reign of Ch'un-yu (1241–1252), a Sung scholar by the name of Chang Chi¹ made printed editions of the *I Shu*, the *Wai Shu*, the *Ching Shuo* and the *Wen Chi* and called them the Four Books of the Ch'engs. No effort, however, was made to combine them into one book. They remained as four single publications.
2. The Yüan Edition: In 1323, a similar effort was made by the Yüan scholar T'an Shan-hsin.² He edited the *Wen Chi* according to Chu Hsi's text and committed it to printing along side with the *I Shu* and *Wai Shu*. He also planned to collate and print the *Ching Shuo*. But whether he ever succeeded in the latter attempt we do not know.
3. The Ming Ch'eng-hua Edition: The title *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu* appeared for the first time in the 1472 edition of Yen Yü-hsi.³ It was given by Li Hsien who wrote in the preface dated 1465⁴: “More than four hundred years⁵ have elapsed since the times of the two Ch'engs, and yet no *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu* has been made available to scholars. Nothing can be more regrettable than this....” The contents of the book follow the general patterns of the Sung and Yüan editions; namely, they include the *I Shu*, the *Wai Shu*, the *Wen Chi* and the *Ching Shuo*. They make a total of 62 books. Ting Ping⁶ thinks that this is the earliest edition since those of Sung and Yüan.

¹Ting Ping, *Shan Pen Shu Shih Ts'ang Shu Chih*, bk. 15, 9b–10b.

²ICWC, Appendix, Contents, 1bf; Appendix 13b: 8, 14a; 11.

³Ting Ping, *loc. cit.*

⁴Ting Ping, *ibid.*

⁵This is not accurate as Ch'eng Hao died in 1085 while Ch'eng I in 1107.

⁶Ting Ping, *ibid.*

4. The Ming Hung-chih Edition: A second Ming edition was made by K'ang Shao-tsung in 1498. It was based on the 1472 edition following the same "Four Books" pattern and made a total of 65 books.
5. The Hsü Pi-ta Edition: A third Ming edition bears the name of Hsü Pi-ta, whose life is seen in the *Ming Shih* or *History of the Ming Dynasty*.⁷ Having no access to a copy⁸ of his edition at the time of writing, we are not able to tell the exact date nor the contents, though we know that it has 68 books.⁹
6. The Lü Edition: The earliest edition to which we can trace current printed editions¹⁰ is the Lü Edition (or Shih Men Lü Shih K'an Pen) which was made by Lü Liu-liang (1629–1683)¹¹ somewhere between 1662–1683.¹² It is considered by expert opinion to be a "good" edition.¹³ It includes the I Chuan and the Sui Yen both of which are not seen in the first four editions mentioned above. Whether they were also included in the Hsü Pi-ta edition, or whether they were introduced for the first time in the Lü edition we cannot tell, for the reason given above. Should we be able to lay our hands on copies of the Hsü and Lü editions, especially the preface of the Lü edition,¹⁴ we ought not only to be able to answer this particular question, but also to gain a more definite knowledge of the general relation of the Lü edition to previous editions.

⁷*Ming Shih*, bk. 292, under his son's name, "Hsu Shih-ch'un". Hsü Pi-ta qualified for the *Chin Shih* degree in 1592 and flourished until his retirement from official life in 1623.

⁸There are at least two copies of this book in Japan, the one a Ming original (which unfortunately is not complete), the other a Japanese reprint. See *Seikadō Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku* (Tokyo, The Seikadō Library, 1930. See Bibliog. 2, 69) p. 427; *Naikaku Punko Toshō Mokuroku* (Tokyo, the Cabinet Library, 1890. See Bibliog. 2, 70) p. 379.

⁹Mo Yu-chih, *Lü T'ing Chih Chien Ch'uan Pen Shu Mu*, bk. 7, 3a, b.

¹⁰For instance, the Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Kuan has a copy of the Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai printed edition, and another copy of the Hsing Sha Hsiao Lang Huan Hsien Kuan printed edition, both of which are recorded as "reprints of the Lü Edition" (See Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Tsung Mu, bk. 44, p. 37a). The former, i.e., the Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai edition, is probably the edition upon which the Su Pu Pei Yao edition was based, as the latter was based on a "Chiang Ning Printed Edition", and Fan Hsi-tseng noted a "Ch'iu Wo Chai Chiang Ning printed Edition" made in the tenth year of T'ung-chih (1871) (See *Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng*).

¹¹We learn from the *Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng* that the Pao Kao T'ang books were edited and printed by Lü Liu-liang. The latter was a Ming loyalist. His views against the Manchus were brought to light during the years 1728–32. Early in 1733, the case was concluded and resulted in the unearthing and dismembering of his corpse. Fifty years later, all of his writings that could be found were burned, even to occasional poems and complimentary prefaces written for his friends. See Hummel, "Lü Liu-liang", *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*.

¹²The book is dated by bibliographers "in the reign of K'ang Hsi" (1662–1722). But Lü Liu-liang, the editor, died in 1683. Therefore, the book must be edited between 1662 and 1683.

¹³Mo Yu-chih, *ibid.*

¹⁴If no preface is found to appear in the Lü edition, we are not surprised, because all his writings were ordered to be burned during the reign of Ch'ien Lung. See Footnote 11.

Appendix E

Some Minor Points of Historical Criticism Concerning the Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi

1. Is a fifth postscript missing?

In the table of contents of Appendix II in both the printed editions which we use, “five pieces” of postscripts are listed, but only four are actually found in the book. Is the fifth postscript then missing? Without access to an early printed copy of T'an Shan-hsin's edition, it does not seem possible to give a conclusive answer to this question. But in the absence of other direct evidence, the writer ventures to give the following theory:

- (1) Judging from the present arrangement of the book, it looks as though T'an Shan-hsin handled the material now printed as Appendix II by letting it stand at the end of the book without calling it a second book or listing its headings in the table of contents. This will explain the apparent awkward position of his own postscript which is placed at the end of the table of contents of Appendix I, which accounted for only one book of Appendix, and which seemed to indicate that the book ended with the Appendix.
- (2) Who then made the table of contents for Appendix II and called it a book? Apparently an unknown later hand, which left its traces not only here, but also in the table of contents of the *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi* itself in connection with the genealogical chart, which we shall presently take up. He did it simply for the sake of his readers' convenience, because too many things were printed at the end of the book.
- (3) But why did he say “five” when there are only four postscripts? The reason is not difficult to find. When T'an Shan-hsin printed Chu Hsi's letters at the end of the book, under the general heading for the letters he noted: “Chang Shih's remarks attached”. By that he meant a short postscript about Chu Hsi's additional collection of nine pieces of writing of the Ch'eng brothers. This incidentally was printed just in front of the four postscripts. It was natural that one who did not himself know the material well enough should easily make a mistake here.

If the above theory is correct, it will confirm the statement of the editors of the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* (See *Ssu K'u T'i Yao* under “Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi”) that Appendix II was compiled by T'an Shan-hsin. This latter statement is of significance because it supports the authenticity of Chang Shih's postscript just mentioned, to which we have referred in Introduction 1.2 Footnote 109, and which is not seen in the *Complete Works* of Chang Shih. It will also indicate through two of the postscripts here included the interesting fact that T'an Shan-hsin had used two very old printed editions of *I Shu* plus *Wai Shu*, both printed in 1246, 46 years after Chu Hsi's death, and possibly a still earlier printed edition of the *Wen Chi*, because one of the said printed editions of *I Shu* plus *Wai Shu* was made to match the *Wen Chi*.

2. Genealogical chart of the Ch'eng family

A heading which reads “Ho Nan Ch'eng Shih Shih Hsi Chih T'u” is found in the table of contents of *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* at the end of Book VI. But the chart is missing in the current printed editions. We know that this was prepared by T'an Shan-hsin and was originally placed “in the front of Book XII”, as he told us in the postscript (*Wen Chi*, Appendices, contents, p. 2a). However, one might wonder why what was arranged in Book XII should now be listed at the end of Book VI. This is not difficult to understand. Because *Ming Tao Wen Chi* has five books, and *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* eight. T'an Shan-hsin was editing a combined edition of the two, so that Book VII in *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* will in the combined edition become Book XII. The heading of the chart was listed by T'an Shan-hsin in the beginning of Book XII (or Book VII of the separate edition) before the general headlines of the book, as logically it should. But it must have appeared awkward to a later editing hand solved the apparent difficulty by simply switching the words “Book VII” forward, with the result that we get the heading in its present position, namely end of Book VI.

This, however, could not have been done before the chart had disappeared from the book. Because if the chart had been seen in the front of Book VII, no difficulty would have arisen at all. As to the reason why the chart disappeared, we have no information. It might simply be due to difficulty in printing. Another chart about burial listed under the article “Tsang Shuo” in Book VI is also found missing from the book.

3. Chou Tz'u-ch'en's remark about the insertion of newly collected articles into the original classified books

Chou's remark is seen in his postscript written for T'an Shan-hsin's edition in 1322. But this apparently was not carried out, because T'an Shan-hsin's collection appears as a separate book in the Appendices. This can be explained by the fact that

Chou's postscript was written almost one year before T'an's, which marks the date of publication as 1323, by which time T'an might have revised his original plan. If, however, T'an had never planned to insert the new articles, it could still be understood by the supposition that Chou had heard of T'an's new collection, and had simply assumed that T'an was going to insert them, and that it being a minor point, T'an did not think it necessary to trouble Chou by asking him to correct the statement.

Appendix F

The Political and Social Ideas of Ch'eng I

1. Political Ideas¹⁵

Ch'eng I's political ideas have to do chiefly with the ethical duties of man in the traditional political strata, and the principle and practice of government. The traditional body politic in China consisted of four main strata, namely the king, the ministers, the scholars and the people. The king and his ministers were the rulers. The people were the ruled. The scholars as a group stood in between the rulers and the ruled. It is not to be denied that many of the scholars were sons of officials,¹⁶ nevertheless it is also true that a very significant portion of them came from families of the common people. These latter, however, through the system of civil service

¹⁵Although political and social ideas do not form part of Ch'eng I's main contribution, they occupy much space in his writings and recorded sayings. For those who are interested in these particular subjects, this article is written and placed here for reference.

¹⁶Karl August Wittfogel is of the opinion that the Chinese ruling officialdom reproduced itself socially more or less from its own ranks (see "New Light on Chinese Society", American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., New York, 1938, pp. 11–12). E. A. Kracke, Jr., however, after a study of the examination lists of 1148 and 1256, came to the conclusion that the examinations of the period concerned regularly served to recruit into the governmental service "a very significant proportion of new blood". This, however, is not really so contradictory to Wittfogel's findings as it may seem, according to Kracke, because Wittfogel reached his preliminary conclusion on the basis of biographical data of eminent officials drawn from Chinese dynastic histories. These latter were the topmost elite of the Chinese officialdom: men especially noted for their administrative achievements, and consisted of only a very small percentage of men in the civil service. If this elite contained a higher proportion of men with official background in the family, we need not be surprised. The Sung period data that he (Kracke) examined, on the other hand, were a cross section, at two points, of the entire body of men passing the civil service examination, and may be taken to give a more representative picture of the real situation. See E. A. Kracke, Jr., "Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations Under the Empire", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Sept., 1947, pp. 103–123.

examinations and other supplementary methods¹⁷ could be taken into the civil service and thus jump from the status of the ruled to that of the rulers. This and the fact that they were not expected to be economic producers made them a separate group. As the group whose duty was to learn the spiritual heritage of the nation and translate it into political action, they were believed to be entrusted with a mission ethical and cosmic in nature. It was with this group that Ch'eng I identified himself. It was from the point of view of a member of this group that he did most of his thinking.

(1) The Political Strata

a. The King

The Idea of Kingship The king is king by the appointment of Heaven. This appointment, seen in the light of Ch'eng I's idea of history discussed in Chap. 4, is involved in the cyclical movement of the cosmos. It may have been made because of the ripeness of time. Or it may have been a result of the working of the law of cause and effect. Anyhow it is Heaven's appointment. When the time comes for a change of dynasty, it is called the change of appointment.

"The king 'acts in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven',¹⁸ therefore he is designated T'ien Wang or 'Heavenly King'; his decree is called T'ien Ming or 'Heavenly Decree', and his punishment T'ien T'ao or 'Heavenly Punishment'. So who fulfills this way of government [fulfills] Wang Tao or 'the Way of the Sage-Kings'. Rulers of later generations who controlled the empire by cleverness followed the Fa Tao of 'the Way of the Princely Chieftains'."¹⁹—*CS, IV, 2b: 11–12. Cf. 2a: 3–4.

"... Royal rulers arise by receiving appointment from Heaven. That is why the change of dynasty is called 'the change of appointment'.²⁰"—*IC, IV, 9a: 8–9.

It was asked, "If [the sage-emperor] Shun could influence [his father] Ku Sao and [his brother] Hsiang so that they did not become men of great wickedness,²¹ why could he not convert [his son] Shang Chün?"

¹⁷E. g., by recommendation of high officials, through selection from among the governmental employee holding lower positions not considered to be in the civil service, through degrees occasionally conferred by special grace on those who had taken examinations unsuccessfully a number of times, etc. (Ref. *Ibid.*, p. 119).

¹⁸*Shu King*, IV, VIII, ii, 1.

¹⁹The terms "the Way of the Sage-Kings" (Wang Tao) and "the Way of the Princely Chieftains" (Pa Tao) are derived from *Mencius*, II, I, III, 1, where Mencius said, "He who, using force, makes a pretence to benevolence, is the leader of the princes.... He who, using virtue, practises benevolence—is the sovereign of the empire". By way of illustration Mencius went on to tell how the sage-kings T'ang and Wen won the hearts of the people by virtue, etc. Mathews in his Dictionary renders the terms "the way of right" and "the way of might". These convey the general sense, but they are not historically accurate.

²⁰The Chinese original for the "change of appointment" is Ke-ming, which in the modern period is used in the sense of revolution.

²¹*Shu King*, I, I.

He said, “The statement that they did not become men of great wickedness means that he was only able to prevent them from doing harm to himself and from reaching the stage of great wickedness. But with Shang Chün the case is different. When Shun was going to hand over the government of the empire to someone else, he wanted to find a person who was as good as himself. Shang Chün unfortunately was not up to the standard. But that was all that was wrong with him. He was never greatly wicked. We may say in general that the Five Emperors²² took the duty of ruling the empire as a commission. Hence they selected one who was the most worthy in the whole empire to hand over the office to him. The Three Kings²³ regarded the empire as a family possession, therefore they gave it to their sons. Considering the matter from the point of view of its fundamental principles, he who rules the empire ought to pick the most worthy person in the whole empire and put him above all the people: this is the most [ideal and] impartial law. On account of the difficulty in securing a right person, however, there arose contentions in later generations over the throne, therefore it was given to the son. To be sure this practice of giving the throne to the son is partial, it nevertheless is a legal procedure universally recognized in the empire. The trouble is that he who observes the law does it with a selfish heart.”—IS, XVIII, 34a: 12–34b: 4.

The Way of the Sage-Kings The ideal path for the king to follow is the Wang Tao or the way of the Sage-Kings. It is a rule by virtue and benevolence as in contrast with the Pa Tao or ‘the Way of the Princely Chieftains’,²⁴ which is a rule by force and cleverness. This path was believed to have been practiced by the sage-kings of the ancient time and could still be followed by modern rulers if they wanted to. It was in order to help rulers in this practice that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* was written by Confucius.

Someone asked concerning the length of time required to set the state in order. He said, “Chung-ni²⁵ has already made some clear statements on this matter: ‘If there were (any of the princes) who would employ me, in the course of twelve months I should have done something considerable. In three years the government would be perfected.’²⁶ What Chung-ni meant by perfecting was the achievement of good government, as in the time of the sage-emperors Yao and Shun. Only this can be called perfect. But this is the work of the sages which is beyond the reach of ordinary people....

“The remark ‘I should have done something in the course of twelve months’ means the announcement of laws and regulations. The expression ‘In three years the government would be perfected’ means the achievement of good government. The work of the sages is not what people of later generations dare to hope to

²²According to *Ta Tai Li* and *Shih Chi*, the Five Emperors are: Huang Ti, Chuan Hsü, Ti K’u, Yao and Shun. See *Tz’u Yüan* under “Wu Ti”.

²³Yü, T’ang, and Wen-and-Wu. See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.

²⁴See Footnote 19 for explanation of terms.

²⁵The style of Confucius.

²⁶*Analects*, XIII, X.

accomplish. The government of the Two Emperors²⁷ only sages can attain. Nevertheless, the great careers of the Three Kings²⁸ and their successors are [definitely] within the power of every man of great virtues.”

It was asked again, “Confucius said in regard to the supposition of his being employed that in three years the government would be perfected. But in regard to the supposition of the rise of a truly royal ruler why did he say that ‘it would still require a generation, and then virtue would prevail?’”²⁹

He said, “The expression ‘virtue would prevail’ means the stage when customs are changed, when the people yield to virtue, and when the whole empire is transformed. How can this be accomplished without the passage of time? Therefore it is quite reasonable to say that it would require a generation....”—IS, XVIII, 29a: 4–12.

“Preface to the Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals.”

“Where Heaven produces a people there is bound to be some outstanding person who rises to rule over them. He governs them and their strife comes to an end. He guides them and their livelihood is made plenteous. He educates them and their ethical relationships are made clear. Thus the way of man is firmly set, the way of Heaven is brought to completion, and the way of Earth is made plain.... When sage-kings had ceased to appear, even though those who possessed the empire desired to imitate the achievements of the ancients, yet what they did could scarcely be anything but absurd actions based on private ideas.... The Master, living in the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, seeing that sages had ceased to appear, and that government in accordance with the will of Heaven and in compliance with the requirement of time was no more practiced, proceeded to write the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to serve as the unchangeable law and pattern for all rulers.... When later kings learn the principles contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, they may yet imitate the government of the Three Dynasties³⁰ even though their virtues be not those of the sage-kings Yü and T’ang....”³¹—*CS, IV, 1a: 2–4, 6–7, 8–9; 1b: 5.

The King’s Duty Towards Himself He must practice the attitude of reverent devotion³² in order to serve as the moral pattern of his people. He must also make up his mind to carry out the Way of the Sage-Kings, firmly believing that it can be done.

“I have heard Mr. Hu Yüan³³ say, ‘The virtuous king (lit. the gentleman) who reigns above is the moral pattern of the people. He must be extremely solemn and reverently devoted in attitude, so that his subjects may take him as an object of

²⁷Yao and Shun.

²⁸Yü, T’ang and Wen-and-Wu. See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.

²⁹*Analects*, XIII, XII.

³⁰See Chap. 2, Footnote 16.

³¹See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.

³²See Sect. 7.5.1.

³³993–1059 A.D. Styled Yi-chih, also called the Master An-ting.

contemplation and be influenced by him.’ Therefore he who is the object of contemplation of the people must be like a royal worshipper in the ancestral temple [when he is most solemn] at the commencement of the service when he has washed his hands, but must not be like him after he has presented his offerings. Then the subjects will look up to him with reverent regard and absolute sincerity.... The washing of the hands is the beginning of the service when one is most solemn and full of sincerity. After the presentation of the offerings, having gone through numerous ceremonial steps, one’s mind is less concentrated and his attentiveness is not so good as at the commencement when the hands are washed....”—*IC, II, 18b: 7–11 (YK, Hex. 20).

“... But I believed there are three things which are more essential than these.³⁴ Allow me to state them before Your Majesty. The first is the making up of the mind. The second is the entrusting of responsibility. The third is the seeking for the worthy....

“What I mean by the making up of the mind is this: that with utmost sincerity and singleness of heart [Your Majesty] will take [the carrying out of] the Tao as Your Majesty’s own responsibility, being confident that the teachings of the sages are absolutely believable and that the political achievements of the sage-kings are absolutely practicable, not being hindered by current usages, nor misled by the opinions of the crowd, but determined to enable the empire to arrive at a status comparable to the times of the Three Dynasties....”³⁵—A letter to the Emperor written for his father. *#ICWC, I, 3a: 1–2, 5–7.

The King’s Duty Towards His Ministers He must make a careful selection of right persons to whom he can entrust the responsibility of the government.

“What I mean by the entrusting of responsibility is this: that the country being so extensive and the population so large, a person cannot rule alone. He must rely on the assistance of worthy ministers in order that the affairs of the empire may be properly accomplished. There has never been a sage-king from of old who has not made it the first thing to seek to entrust [the responsibility of the government] to [able] ministers.... The essential step in entrusting such a responsibility is careful selection. Selecting carefully one knows the persons clearly. Knowing the persons clearly one believes in them truly. Believing in them truly one trusts them wholeheartedly. Trusting them wholeheartedly, one treats them with generosity and commits great responsibilities to them.... All the present great ministers are choice material picked by the late emperor, and men of great reputation in the empire. [Their usefulness] depends on how much Your Majesty will entrust them with responsibilities....”—*#ICWC, I, 3b: 10–12; 4a: 1–3; 5a:1–2.

The King’s Duty Towards the Scholars But in order to secure right personnel for the achievement of good government, it is essential that the king do all within his power to seek out worthy scholars and appoint them to offices. Ch’eng I criticized

³⁴Here reference is made to the most urgent and fundamental things to be taken up for the welfare of the empire at a time when there was outward peace but when imminent danger was threatened.

³⁵See Chap. 2, Footnote 16.

the way in which examinations were carried out as a wrong method for picking up the best person for imperial service. He thought that a good system of recommendation would work out better. If, he said, all the officials who are able to recommend good persons for government employment are consistently promoted, and all those who keep the virtuous from being known are repudiated, the government will soon be filled with good men.

“What I mean by the seeking for the worthy is this: the sage-kings of the ancient times were able to achieve good government for the empire; they did it with no other technique than that of ensuring that all officials in the imperial court and throughout the empire were fit for their [specific] responsibilities. How were they able to be fit for their responsibilities? Simply because of the fact that worthy men were put in the offices and able men were given the posts. But how could they secure the worthy and the able for employment? Simply because they knew how to seek for them.... To try to secure worthy men of the empire by using the present scheme of subjects of examinations and by adopting the present method of procedure in the appointments to office, is like planning to go to the [southern] state of Yüeh³⁶ by getting the shafts of the carriage in a northward direction: is it not far off the mark?... If Your Majesty could truly, with one heart and purpose, and by tireless efforts, concentrate on the seeking for worthy men, always apprehensive lest any men of ability be left unappreciated, promoting those ministers who are able to recommend the worthy and the able, repudiating those who by keeping the virtuous from being known grasp power for themselves, if, I say, Your Majesty could truly do this, the whole empire would naturally turn towards your [virtuous] influence. From men of the lowest rank up to those the highest, who would not deem it a good deed to put other persons first, who would not consider it an urgent matter to recommend the wise and virtuous? When seeking and appointing are thus carried out extensively, no man of talent and virtues is left in obscurity. Scholars will then be held in higher esteem, and their moral integrity will become firmer. Honesty and sense of shame will prevail, and public morals will become refined. Will any worthy man in the empire be left behind? None. But since all worthy men in the empire are secured it goes without saying that the empire will be properly governed.”—*#ICWC, I, 5a: 10–12; 5b: 7–8; 6a: 10–6b: 1.

“... Since ancient times whenever the ruler has humbled himself to seek for worthy men in the empire, [and whether he has sought for them] with absolute sincerity and in the central and correct way, it has never happened but that he has found them....”—*IC, III, 51b: 5–6 (YK, Hex: 44: 5).

Further references on this topic: *IC, II, 17b: 11–13; *IC, III, 59a: 3–4; *IC, II, 14b: 5–7; *IC, I, 19a: 12–13; *IC, II, 42b: 5–7.

“Ancient sages who occupied the most venerable position [of the empire], even though their discerning intelligence was sufficient to understand all things, their strength of determination sufficient to make all decisions, their influence sufficient to grasp all power, yet they never failed to listen to the opinions of all the people,

³⁶The present province of Chekiang.

taking heed even of the rustics. This is how they were able to be sages, for they were able to occupy the imperial throne and remain enlightened. Had they trusted in their own strength and intelligence, and been determined to carry out their own decisions without paying attention to public opinion, even when they were in the right, it would have been a dangerous way to pursue: how could they have held firm to their position? If it is dangerous for those who have the gifts of strength and intelligence to trust in themselves, how much more for those who lack these gifts.”—*IC, I, 39b: 9–12 (YK, Hex. 10: 5). Already quoted in Sect. 6.2.2.1.

The King’s Duty Towards the People The king’s essential duty towards the people is to reign as a benevolent sovereign by practicing the Way of the Sage-Kings. This means a benevolent heart expressed in benevolent actions. In his letters to the emperor, he warned that in spite of superficial peace and tranquillity the empire was threatened with impending danger and disorder. He pointed out that the people were living on a level of subsistence with no margin of surplus to pull themselves through days of want. He also pointed out that the government was doing a poor job by calling attention to the fact that nowhere in the empire were the government granaries filled with grain for more than one year. Should there be famine for two years or more, as is not infrequently the case in North China, what could the people do? The old and the weak would die as beggars, while the able-bodied would turn brigands and criminals. That could not be called benevolent government. Under such circumstances, he was concerned with the fact that there were more than one million soldiers in the army fed by the state with the people’s grains and engaged in no production. He thought that that was a serious matter and hoped that something could be done about it.

“... Now I beg to discuss the affairs of the empire: I wonder whether in Your Majesty’s opinion the empire is secure or in danger.... The present situation may well be likened to a man who, having put fire under a heap of wood, lies down on it, saying while the flame has not yet come up that the place is safe enough. It is written in the Book of History³⁷: ‘The people are the root of the state. When the root is firm the state is tranquil.’ I believe that the way to make the ‘root’ firm is to make life secure for the people. The way to make life secure for the people is to enable them to have an adequate provision of food and clothing. At present the people in the whole empire are poor and exhausted, not having sufficient to eat or wear. They plough the fields and sow seeds in the spring, and wait anxiously for the harvest. Should the crops fail in any one year, they are bound to become wandering beggars. When the ‘root’ is like this, it is certainly not to be called ‘firm’.... Not only have the people no surplus food to be stored against times of need, but also the government granaries are empty. I have noticed that in the area around the capital and for that matter throughout the empire, there is no place where there is a storage of grain for two years. If there should be a continuous famine for more than one year, as happened in the reign of Ming Tao,³⁸ I do not know how the government

³⁷*Shu King*, III, III, 2.

³⁸1032–1033 A.D.

can ever face it. The nation feeds an army of more than a million soldiers who are unproductive. When they can not be provided for, increased taxation may be levied from the people. [When the people find it too much for them], they will disperse. Then strong enemies may take the advantage from without, and able scoundrels conspire from within, and the danger of the disintegration [of the empire] would become serious indeed....”—*#ICWC, I, 14b: 6–11; 15a: 2–5 (“Letter to Emperor Jen Tsung”, dated 1050 A.D. at the age of 18).

“... I venture to say that at present when no trouble has happened to the empire and when the people’s lives are not threatened with actual danger, it is advisable that Your Majesty should be vigilant at heart, and be desirous to practice the Way of the Sage-Kings.... I am of the opinion that the essence of the Way of the Sage-Kings is benevolence. I see that Your Majesty’s benevolence is the benevolence of [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun. Nevertheless the empire is not yet well governed. The true reason is none other than this: that there is a benevolent heart without benevolent political practices. That is why Mencius said, ‘There are now princes who have benevolent hearts, and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, nor will they leave any example to future ages;—all because they do not put into practice the way of the ancient kings.’³⁹...”—*#ICWC, I, 15b: 5–6; 10–12 (“Letter to Emperor Jen Tsung”, dated A.D. 1050 at the age of 18).

“The Second Moon and the Fifteenth Day: Ch’eng I (Ch’eng-shu) lectured [before His Majesty the Emperor] on [the following passage from the *Analects*]: ‘Tzu-kung asked, saying: Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one’s life? The Master said: Is not shu or reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.’⁴⁰ He said that the sovereign ought to put himself in the position of his subjects in order to have a sympathetic understanding of their hunger and cold, and their hard toil in raising crops....”—WS, XII, 1b: 11–12. From the *Diary* of Fan Tsu-yü (Ch’un-fu).

[Text]: “In the summer, the city wall of Chung-ch’iu was completed.”

[Comment]: “The purpose of having a ruler over the people is that he may nourish them. In nourishing the people the ruler must be considerate in demanding their physical strength. When the people have sufficient physical strength, their livelihood will be satisfactory. Livelihood being satisfactory, education and moral influence will prevail, and the way of life will become refined. Hence good government requires that full attention should be paid to [the conservation of] people’s physical strength. In the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, every employment of people’s physical strength was recorded. Undertakings which were untimely and unrighteous were recorded, obviously because they were wrong. But those that were timely and righteous were also recorded, in order to show that the employment of people’s labour was a serious matter of the state.... In completing the building of the city

³⁹*Mencius*, IV, I, I, 2.

⁴⁰*Analects*, XV, XXIII. Abridgment in the original quotation is here restored.

wall of Chung-ch'iu, the people were used in an untimely way. This certainly did not befit the heart of a virtuous ruler.”—*CS, IV, 8b: 1–4, 8.

“It is not possible that anything should continue to be difficult to the very end. When the difficulty comes to its limit it will be relieved. The hexagram Chieh means to loosen or to relieve. It is that which is to come after the hexagram Chien [which means difficulty].... It symbolizes the removal of difficulty and adversity.... It indicates the time when difficulties and adversities in the empire are removed.”

“When difficulties of the empire have just been removed, the people who have just been relieved from sufferings must not be governed with harshness and severity, but must be treated with liberality and simplicity: which is the only right thing to do. When this is done, the People will be submissive and composed at heart.... When T'ang adopted liberal government after doing away with the tyranny of Chieh, when King Wu went back to the regular way of government of the Shang Dynasty after punishing the despotism of Chou, they were both following the idea of liberality and simplicity....⁴¹

“The constitution and laws of an empire must first have been discarded and ruined before calamities spring up. The sage having removed the difficulties and brought about peace and order, must restore good government, set right and make clear all laws and regulations, and go a step further to bring back the rule of the wise kings of previous dynasties. This is ‘coming back’, a return to moral law.... It is a common observation of history that whenever a sage-king engaged himself in saving the people from sufferings and bringing peace out of chaos, he did not at first have time to take immediate [new] actions. But when the nation had settled down, he took action to effect a government which would be lasting. Rulers since the Han dynasty as a rule did not take [new] actions after the discontinuance of disorder, but only tried to maintain the status quo. That was why they were not able to accomplish good government. Because they did not understand the idea implied in the phrase ‘coming back’.”—*IC, III, 32b: 6–33a: 6 (YK, Hex. 40).

b. The Ministers

Within the political hierarchy, the term ‘ministers’ includes all members of officialdom. They are expected to be scholar-statesmen in the fullest Confucian sense. Their political activities are expressions of their moral convictions. It is their highest mission to assist the king to realize a benevolent government by carrying out the Way of the Sage-Kings. In so doing, it is essential that they should secure the confidence and cooperation of the king. Should they fail in this, they would not need to be discouraged. If they are sincere enough, the king is bound to be won over. The following quotations in this regard are found in the *Commentary on the Book of Changes* written during Ch'eng I's banishment. It is astonishing how his

⁴¹T'ang and Wu were the sage-emperors of the Shang and Chou dynasties, respectively. Chieh and Chou were the last emperors of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, respectively, both of them (according to later chroniclers) being notorious despots.

faith in the efficacy of absolute sincerity⁴² stood the tests of his political frustrations and remained unscathed after the years of unfortunate experiences.⁴³ The welfare of the people is of course the sole object of the service of the ministers. But they must also not forget the scholars. In order to realize good government, it is absolutely necessary that the ministers should seek the assistance of all the wise and worthy men of the empire and appoint them to offices.

“The prime minister shouldering the responsibility of the empire, must achieve peace and order in the empire, in order not to fail the trust of the emperor, the hope of the people, and his own intention in devoting himself to the cause of the Tao...”—*IC, IV, 15b: 1–2 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 50: 4).

“... In serving the emperor the gentleman, when he fails to win his confidence, will with his utmost sincerity try to move his heart and regenerate his moral purposes. If his sincerity succeeds in moving him, then though the emperor’s mind be obscured, it can be opened up; though the emperor’s character be weak, it will be possible to give him assistance; though the emperor’s heart be not upright, it can be rectified. The ancients who served commonplace rulers were yet able to carry out their moral convictions, because their sincerity was felt by the rulers and the rulers were able to have true faith in them....”—*IC, IV, 32b: 2–4 (YK, Hex. 55: 2). Ref. *IC, III, 26a: 12–13.

“If [the minister’s] purpose is set upon bringing prosperity (increase) to the empire, the emperor is bound to have confidence in him and follow his advice. A minister does not need to worry about his sovereign not being willing to follow his advice. What he needs to worry about is the fact that his own purpose is not sincere.”—*IC, III, 43b: 8–9 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 42: 4).

“The fourth line represents the office of the prime minister, who bears the responsibility of the empire. The affairs of the empire cannot be shouldered by one single person. He must seek the assistance of the worthy and the wise in the empire. When he succeeds in securing the right persons, good government for the empire can readily be achieved. But if he should employ the wrong persons, he would ruin the affairs of the state and bring calamity on the empire....”—*IC, IV, 15a: 6–8 (YK, Hex. 50: 4).

c. The scholars

Following the Confucian tradition, Ch’eng I believed that the supreme calling of the scholars is to serve the nation through government offices. Before they are appointed, it is their duty to cultivate their personalities. After they are appointed, it is their duty to carry out their moral convictions. For the training of the scholars, Ch’eng I’s statement of the idealized ancient educational system is interesting. It reminds one of Plato’s training programmes for the philosopher kings.

“... He who occupies a low rank cannot do anything. When he wins the confidence of a high ranking minister [and is employed by him], he ought to assist his

⁴²See the Concept of Ch’eng, Sect. 6.1.5.

⁴³See Introduction Sect. 1.1.6.3.

superior by putting his moral convictions into practice, doing something which will bring great benefit to the empire....”—*IC, III, 41b: 9–16 (YK, Hex. 42: 1).

“... A gentleman of great virtues, who cherishes his moral convictions but is cramped and confined by reason of his lowly position in society, must be sought out and employed by some virtuous ruler before he can carry out what lies hidden in his mind....”—*IC, IV, 2b: 5–6 (YK, Hex. 47: 2).

“... When a worthy man is employed, then he himself is able to carry out his moral purposes, the emperor receives the credit of his accomplishments, and the people profit from his good works: thus everyone in the empire is benefited.”—*IC, IV, 7a: 9–10 (YK, Hex. 48: 3).

“In ancient times a boy was admitted in the primary school at the age of eight, and the academy⁴⁴ at the age of fifteen. Those who were promising were picked out and gathered together. Those who fell short of standard were sent back to the farms. For the scholar and the farmer do not exchange their callings. When a person joins the academy he is no more engaged in farming, so that the scholar and the farmer are clearly distinguished.

“With regard to the financial support of the scholars, the sons of the official class do not need to worry about their own support. Even the sons of the ordinary people, once they have joined the academy, are sure to get their support. Scholars of ancient times, counting from the time they entered academies at fifteen until the time when they became officials at forty, had a period of twenty-five years during which they could devote themselves to studies. There was no temptation to go after wealth, so that [the singleness of] their purpose was assured. Being away from the temptation of wealth⁴⁵ and pursuing [constantly] after the good, their virtuous character were thus formed. [It is different, however, with] men of later generations, who from the time of childhood already show strong inclinations towards the pursuit of wealth: how can they be expected to go after the good? That is why the ancients had to wait till forty before they entered civil service, to make sure that their life purpose was stabilized. For though it is harmless to earn food and clothing, it is most injurious to fall into the temptation of seeking after wealth and prosperity.”

“To be an official [for the sake of wealth and power] takes away a person’s moral purpose.”—#IS, XV, 17b: 10–18a: 3.

d. The People

We have seen that in Ch’eng I’s thought man is man by reason of the Li of Man in him. The Li is his nature. Human nature is Li.⁴⁶ This Li is the same in every man. From this point of view, and from the point of view that every man can achieve perfect personality,⁴⁷ we can see how in the Confucian tradition, and especially in Ch’eng I, the dignity of man as a man is assured to members of all political strata.

⁴⁴The terms “primary school” and “academy” are hisao-hsüeh and ta-hsüeh in Chinese.

⁴⁵The context here indicates the need to supply the character li or wealth after ch’ü (away from) although our texts agree in not having it.

⁴⁶See Sect. 5.2.3.

⁴⁷See Chap. 5, Introductory paragraphs.

Some people may be poor, others may be low in social rank, or they may have had no opportunity for good education, but they are men just the same and must be treated as such.

However, because of the difference in the purity of the energies with which men are endowed,⁴⁸ and because of the difference in their opportunities of education and in the efforts of the cultivation of personality, men in actually are different in their power of the understanding of moral truth. Thus the ordinary people may not be expected to have the same amount of moral knowledge. But they are not to be blamed for it. It is a matter of education the responsibility for which lies with the state.⁴⁹

“... ‘Men of inferior rank’ means the ordinary people. They see things darkly and superficially, and are unable to understand the way of the gentleman: this is their regular lot, and cannot be blamed on them. Should the gentleman do so, then it would be a matter of regret.”—*IC, II, 19b: 7–8 (YK, Hex. 20: 1).

It was asked, “Confucius said: ‘The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it’: does it mean that the Sage did not want them to understand or does it mean that the people are unable to understand?”

He said, “It does not mean that the Sage did not want the people to understand. The Sage in laying down instructions naturally desired every household to understand them so that entire neighbourhoods could become eligible for promotion to nobility.⁵⁰ But the fact was that the Sage was only able to make the people follow a path of action: for how could he enable every single person to understand it? This is because the Sage is unable to do it. Therefore it is said, ‘they may not be made to understand it.’ If you say that the Sage did not want the people to understand, how can this befit the heart of the Sage? ...”—IS, XVIII, 28b: 11–20a: 1.

The people may lack moral understanding, and they are nevertheless the “root of the state”.⁵¹ It is they whom the ruler, the ministers and the scholars are out to serve. In this sense, the Confucian idea of government is essentially a government for the people.” When Ch’eng I wrote about the political career of his brother Ch’eng Hao, he said:

“When he was magistrate, he regarded the people as his children.... The people loved him as a parent.”—*ICWC, VII, 3a: 8–9.

This is characteristic of the Confucian attitude, which is essentially paternalistic.

In principle, therefore, the government is a government “for the people”. But whether it is also one “of the people” and “by the people” requires separate considerations. Did Ch’eng I ever have the idea of a government by the people? From his paternalistic attitude, we could perhaps safely infer that he believed in government by the cooperation of the people⁵² but not by the active participation of the

⁴⁸See Sect. 5.2.4.

⁴⁹See Appendix F, 1, (2), c.

⁵⁰The last clause is a description of political success under the sage-emperors Yao and Shun.

⁵¹See Footnote 37.

⁵²See Appendix F, 1, (2), a.

people. Did he believe in the idea of government “of the people”? The answer he might have given is that the government is not exactly of the people nor of the ruling classes, but of Heaven. The members of the ruling class rule by the appointment of Heaven. They are agents by whom the will of Heaven is carried out⁵³ for the good of the people. But the interesting thing is that the Confucianists believed that the people represent the will of Heaven. “Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear,” says the *Shu King*,⁵⁴ and this quotation is constantly on the lips of Confucian scholars. When the ruling class reaches a certain limit of degeneration, Heaven’s appointment is changed. It is reflected in the wishes of the people, and a revolution takes place.

(2) Principle and Practice of Government

a. The Concept of Political Change

The principle of change, according to Ch’eng I, is inherent in natural law. As there are cyclical changes in the four seasons, so there are periodical changes in the political order of the empire. He endorsed the idea that the dynastic revolutions carried out by the sage-kings were done in accordance with the ordinance of Heaven and in response to the wishes of the people. But he did not go into the question of the right of revolution as Mencius did.⁵⁵ He chiefly dwelt rather on the idea of political reforms. According to him, political changes must be carried out at the right time. For a right time means that there is a real need and that circumstances are ripe for action. Moreover, they must be carried out by the man in the right position and with the right talent. Above all, every major change must be done with the full confidence and cooperation of the people. The people are instinctively suspicious of any change. They must first be taught to understand until they believe in the new measures. When it is the right time for making a change, it is the duty of the ruler or minister to undertake to do it. If for lack of courage or determination he fails to do so, it is a loss of opportunity and a neglect of obligation.

This discussion is specially interesting when we bear in mind that the *Commentary*, from which most of the date on this subject are drawn, was written during Ch’eng I’s banishment by the regime of the radical party under the leadership of the followers of Wang An-shih.⁵⁶ Wang An-shih and his friends had undertaken drastic political changes. Ch’eng I also was in favour of change. It seems that he agreed with his opponents in believing that it was a right time for some change. His greatest criticism of Wang An-shih and his friends, as indicated in the date here quoted, would seem to be their failure to give due regard to public opinion.⁵⁷

⁵³See Appendix F, 1, (1), a. of the present Appendix above.

⁵⁴*Shu King*, V, I, ii.

⁵⁵E.g., *Mencius*, I, II, VIII.

⁵⁶See Introduction Sect. 1.1.6.3.

⁵⁷Whether Ch’eng I was justified in his criticism is another question. Because the opposition to Wang An-shih’s reform measures was voiced by the officials and the educated class. How the masses felt about them remains to be examined.

In other words, he felt that the radical party carried out changes without first winning the people's confidence, thus acting against their wills. "To be able to achieve good government," said he, "without the people's confidence, such a thing has never been heard of before."

[Text]: "The heaven and the earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions. T'ang changed the appointment [of the line of Hsia to the throne], and Wu [that of the line of Shang], in accordance with [the will of] Heaven, and in response to [the wishes of] men. Great indeed is what takes place in a time of change."

[Comment]: "Here the discussion of the principle of change is carried to the limit of its application in the changes of the heaven and the earth and the beginning and end of the cyclical movement of time. The heaven and the earth, the yin and the yang, move and change in order to complete the functions of the four seasons. All creatures and things are thus enabled to grow and to attain their ends, each according to what is fit. This is what is meant by the expression 'the heaven and the earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions'.

"When the cyclical movement of time comes to an end, there is bound to be some one who changes [things] and brings in a new [order]. Royal rulers arise by receiving appointment from Heaven. That is why the change of dynasty is called 'the change of appointment'. When T'ang and Wu became royal rulers they did it in accordance with the appointment of Heaven above, and in response to the wishes of men below...."—*IC, IV, 9a: 6–9 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 3).

"The way of government may be considered both from the aspect of what is fundamental and from the aspect of practical affairs. Considered from the aspect of what is fundamental, it must begin with the rectifying of what is wrong in the mind of the ruler⁵⁸: rectifying the mind [of the ruler] in order to rectify court ministers, and rectifying court ministers in order to rectify all officials. Considered from the aspect of practical affairs, if one does not want to save [the nation] then one may do nothing. If, however, one is determined to save [the nation], changes must be made. Great changes will bring great benefits. Small changes will bring small benefits."—#IS, XV, 17a: 6–8.

"Possessing the talents and virtues of the subject of the second line, occupying his particular position and living in his particular time, he is fully qualified to change the evil practices and renew the government of the empire. He ought to go forward and assist the sovereign in order to carry out his moral convictions. The actions he takes will be 'fortunate'. 'There will be no error'. If he does not go forward, he loses the opportunity when something could be done; then 'there will be error'....

"... It means that if, at a time when one may change the evil practices in the empire and renew its affairs, one remains where he is without going forth, it shows that he does not have the intention to help the world and save the empire from evil

⁵⁸Quoted from *Mencius*, IV, I, XX.

practices. He loses his opportunity and ‘there is error’.”—*IC, IV, 10a: 3–4, 9–10 (Y, Hex. 49: 2; Appendix II, Hex. 49: 2).

“... Occupying a position which is above men of the lower ranks in a time of change, if there are things which ought to be changed and yet on account of fear one does not go ahead and do them, one loses an opportunity and does harm. But, [if one wants to do them] one must be extremely careful. One must not rely on one’s own strength and wisdom, but must investigate public opinion. If the change is carried out after having been ‘three times [discussed and] found to be in accord with the people’s wishes’, there will be no fault.”—*IC, IV, 10b: 3–5 (YK, Hex. 49: 3).

“When changes are being made the confidence of the common people cannot readily be gained. Hence it requires a considerable length of time (lit. a whole day) before changes are accepted. He who occupies a high position ought, at the time of making a change, to take time to instruct the people in full detail and make announcements time and again in order to win the confidence of the people. If the people are suspicious (lit. do not believe), even though they are forced to do it, nothing can be accomplished. In the case of the edicts of the ancient [sage] kings, there might have been times when the people distrusted them at first. But after a long time they were bound to believe in them. To be able to achieve good government without having the people’s confidence, such a thing is absolute unheard of.”—*IC, IV, 8b: 11–13 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 2). Ref. *IC, II, 50b: 7–8.

“... When in undertaking a change one is able to base his action on the understanding of the underlying *Li* of things and to seek the harmonies cooperation of the people, there will be ‘great progress and success’ and what is done will be ‘correct’. When change thus takes place ‘in the proper way’, ‘occasion for repentance disappears’. When affairs of the empire are changed in the wrong way, they become injurious. Hence ‘occasion for repentance’ is implied in the principle of change. But when changes are made properly, then ‘occasion for repentance’ in both the old and the new disappears.”—*IC, IV, 9a: 3–5 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 2).

“Change is a great undertaking. It requires the right time, the right position, and the right talent. It also requires careful thinking and cautious action in order to avoid ‘an occasion for repentance’.”—*IC, IV, 9b: 3 (YK, Hex. 49: 1).

When laws are made, they must be carried out with a resolution and with absolute justice. In making this point, he touched one of the greatest difficulties in Chinese ethical and political life, namely the problem of the relation of family love to political justice.

“... Ever since ancient times it has often happened that after laws were drawn up and legislation enacted, they were hampered by personal relationships and prevented from being eventually carried out. For example, in the prohibition of extravagance obstruction arose [because it was awkward to enforce the law on] the near relatives [of the royal family], or in the restriction on the purchase of farm land, hindrance came up [because it was difficult to apply the legislation to families of the nobility]. Cases like these, where one is unable to take decisive actions in the spirit of absolute justice and persistently carry things out, illustrate the fact that one is hindered by selfish friendships....”—*IC, I, 42a: 10–12 (YK, Hex. 11: 2).

In taking necessary actions for the good of the empire, it is sometimes unavoidable to shed blood. But if the action is righteous and must be done, one must go ahead and do it.

“... I was telling Sun Chüeh that Chu-ke Liang had the air of a true Confucian. He said he did not agree. Because, argued he, no sage or worthy man will commit one act of unrighteousness or put to death one innocent person even if by doing so he may obtain the empire.⁵⁹ But Chu-ke Liang in trying to preserve one single kingdom killed one does not know how many people. I told him that while it is true that one may not commit one act of unrighteousness or put to death one innocent person in order to benefit one’s own self, yet what harm does it do to kill many lives when one punishes the rebels of the empire by the forces of the empire? When Ch’en Heng murdered his sovereign, Confucius requested [Duke Ai] to punish him.⁶⁰ Could Confucius guarantee that [in sending troops] to punish Ch’en Heng, no one would be killed? For in carrying out a punishing campaign against the rebels of an empire there are things that one cannot help doing...”—IS, XVIII, 38a: 10–38b: 1.

b. Land Reform

A very interesting passage found in the *Complete Works* has to do with the perennial problem of land reform. It is the record of a discussion between Chang Tsai and the two Ch’eng brothers before the death of the former in the year 1077 A. D. It reflects the trend of political thinking among some of the most active minds of the time. The nation was suffering from internal political strife and external military aggression. Wang An-shih (1021–1086 A.D.) had just resigned from public service.⁶¹ But political controversies between his party and that of Ssu Ma Kuang (1019–1086 A.D.) were still going on. Under such circumstances, scholars, who represent the thinking public, were naturally deeply concerned with the nation’s political issues, especially with the life of the common people.

The discussion about land reform was based on the alleged Chou Dynasty system called the ching-t’ien or nine-squares farm system.⁶² According to that, a piece of land of one li (about 1/3 mile) square is divided into nine allotments in the form of the character ching (meaning a well), i.e., in tree rows of three square pieces, each of which is of the size of one hundred mu (the present mu is equal to about 15/100 acre).⁶³ Eight families work on this piece of land each taking care of one allotment and owning its products. The ninth allotment which is in the centre is the common farm, for the cultivation of which the eight families are responsible as

⁵⁹*Mencius*, II, A, II, 24.

⁶⁰*Analects*, XIV, XXII, 1–2.

⁶¹Wang An-shih resigned in the latter part of 1076 A.D., while the discussion was dated 1077. See Ch’en Pang-chan, *op. cit.*, bk. 37; Appendix B of the present book, under “Book X”.

⁶²For a short bibliography on the question whether the ching-t’ien system is a historical fact, see J. J.L. Duyvendak, *The book of Lord Shang*, Probsthain, London, 1928, p. 42, Footnote 1.

⁶³This is according to *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13–20. But the area of the ching seems to vary in different parts of the Empire. See Duyvendak, *Ibid.* p. 41f.

their duties to the feudal lord.⁶⁴ The system just described had been hallowed down through the centuries as an ideal measure initiated and practiced by the sages, but lost since the latter part of Chou. Confucianists since Mencius had been dreaming of its restoration. Upon this basis, our philosophers in the discussion believed that all the arable land in the empire should be redistributed equally among the farming population. The proposition was drawn up by Chang Tsai. But our material shows that both the Ch'eng brothers fully endorsed the idea. Moreover, towards the close of the discussion, Ch'eng I seemed eager to get down to the point as to how it could actually be carried out. However, with the unequal status of land ownership in the Sung Dynasty as it is indicated in the text,⁶⁵ our philosophers were not unaware that its practice was going to mean radical change, hence Cheng' I's warning that it must not be put into practice unless one could make sure that it was not going to go against the feelings of the people.⁶⁶

Yung-hsiu asked whether the "ching-t'ien" or nine-squares system of land distribution was practicable today. He said, "How can anything which was practicable in the ancient time be impracticable in the present day? ..."—IS, XXII A, 10b: 2.

"Cheng-shu (Ch'eng I) said that among the men he had met, there were many who worked on the scriptures and discussed the Tao, but in being willing to talk about practical problems of government there is none like Tzu-hou (Chang Tsai)."—#IS, X, 1a: 12.

"The two Ch'eng said that physical features of land need not be level so as to mark square boundaries. Mathematical methods may be used to figure out the right areas of land to be given to the people.

"Chang Tsai⁶⁷ said⁶⁸ that boundaries of land division must be correctly defined first.⁶⁹ When boundaries are not defined correctly no legal measure can be definite. An area of land may be determined by [the straight lines] between the four survey staffs, irrespective of the existence of mound or hollow.... Furthermore, boundaries must be made in strictly north-south direction. Where physical features of land are irregular, boundary lines [will be drawn just the same] without trying to avoid the crookedness caused by the appearance of hills and rivers. Where sufficient arable land falls within the shape of a ching,⁷⁰ let it be a ching. Where it is impossible to form a ching, be there five or seven plots, three or four plots, or even one single plot [it does not matter], for the number of arable plots is there, [and an arrangement according to the ching-t'ien or nine-squares system of farming can still be worked

⁶⁴Since *Mencius* mentioned a tithe as an alternative to the cultivation of the ninth allotment, it seems that the tithe as simpler method was practised when the strictly nine-squares arrangement is difficult to work out. See Footnote 71.

⁶⁵#IS X, 1b: 12–13.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷The recorder Su Ping refers to all the three masters by their styles for the sake of courtesy. Here for the convenience of English readers, their official names are supplied instead.

⁶⁸The character wei for "not yet" is a mistake of wei for "said". Here the *Wan Yu* Text is followed.

⁶⁹See *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13.

⁷⁰See introductory note of the present section, under "Land Reform", in the present Appendix above.

out]. Even where there is not sufficient arable land to form one single allotment, it is always possible to find land elsewhere to make up one full allotment of 100 mu; so that under whatever circumstances the scheme is thoroughly workable. Thus land boundaries will be drawn in spite of mountains and rivers. When boundary lines are fixed in this way, they can stand for hundreds of years; not even oppressive rulers or corrupt officials would be able to destroy them.⁷¹ It is not true that the destruction of boundary lines took place entirely in the Ch'in Dynasty (221–207 B.C.). It had begun long before that and the process was gradual.

“Ch'eng I said that in the state of Lu it was said that not even the taxation of two-tenths brought sufficient returns for expenditure,⁷² and raised the question how it might be kept down to one-tenth.

“Chang Tsai said that [in the expression in Mencius that the founder of the Chou Dynasty enacted] the hundred mu allotment and the system of Ch'e,⁷³ if the word ch'e is interpreted as ‘to take away’, it is meaningless. Rather is it to be understood as ‘to be thorough-going’. When farming is thorough-going, work and labour will be even. Moreover, by mutually urging on, no family can be lazy. When the harvest is over, the grains may be divided up according to the number of mu [of land]; if tithing is adopted, one-tenth may be taken.⁷⁴

“Someone present remarked that the proposition [of the restoration] of the nine-squares system should not lightly be told to people for fear of bringing ridicule and criticism.

“Chang Tsai said that there must be ridicule and criticism so that one may benefit therefrom. If someone should hear of the idea and take it upon himself to work it out, as indeed you, Sir, have well put it, ‘If someone is able to do it, I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of his people,’⁷⁵ that would be very fortunate.

“Ch'eng Hao expressed the opinion that in adopting the nine-squares system one would have to take the people's land and redistribute it so that the rich and the poor might have equal shares. In that case, many would be willing and few unwilling.

“Ch'eng I said that that was uncertain. When the people are made to cherish grievance and anger against any measure, then it becomes simply a matter of whether the thing ought or ought not to be done. General absence of grievance and anger in both the upper and lower classes must be affected before it can be put into practice.”

“Ch'eng I remarked also that the contents of the proposition was complete in the main; what remained was how to carry it out.

⁷¹Ref. *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13.

⁷²*Analects*, XII, IX.

⁷³pai mu erh ch'e. Ch'e was rendered “share system” by Lagge. See *Mencius*, III, I, III, 6.

⁷⁴In *Mencius*, III, I, III, 15, two alternative methods of taxation were suggested, namely service rendered to the state on the ninth, or the public, field by the eight families working on the “nine-squares” farms, or the paying of a tenth part of farm produce. Here the latter method is referred to.

⁷⁵The latter part of the expression is from *Mencius* III, I, IV, 1.

“Chang Tsai replied, ‘How dare I? I only intend to write it out in a book, with the hope that someone may adopt the idea.’

“Ch’eng I declared that it made no difference if one’s ideas were not carried out during his lifetime but are carried out in later generations.

“Chang Tsai said, ‘[It is written]: “Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice.”⁷⁶ Again, [it is said in effect that] there are those who have benevolent hearts and a reputation for benevolence, while yet they are unable to realize a good government, all because they do not put into practice the ways of the ancient kings.⁷⁷ We must imitate the ancient kings.’

“Ch’eng I remarked that these sayings of Mencius were well put. For by the sheer power of the eyes, how can one bring into perfection the square and the circle, the plain and the straight line. One must certainly depend on the compass, the square, etc.”—#IS, X, 1a: 13–2a: 4.

c. Education

Ch’eng I held that education was an essential condition of good government. It is the secret of the idealized successful administration of the sage-kings. All men within the empire are entitled to education. When that is not provided, the scholars at least must be adequately trained. The nature of education is of course not merely intellectual. It must aim at the development of personality. When that kind of education is universally provided, laws and punishment will still be instituted, but they will rarely be used at all. Ritual and music play an important role in the programme of education, ritual especially, not only because of its educational value in the narrow sense, but also because of the significance of the idea of propriety in the social order which we have already had occasion to mention above.⁷⁸

“... I venture to say that the essential way to take care of the people is education. That was why in ancient times places of instruction were found in the family, the village, and the state. A person was sent to the primary school at the age of eight, so that there was no one in the empire who was not educated. Since all men in the empire were educated, the ordinary subjects cultivated their own persons, while the gentleman illustrated moral truth. Consequently worthy and able men gathered at court, and a high moral spirit prevailed among the people. Propriety and right conduct were universally practiced. Habits and usages became refined. Punishments were instituted but no one committed any crime. This is the prosperous administration of the Three Dynasties successfully achieved through education.⁷⁹

⁷⁶*Mencius*, IV, I, I, 3.

⁷⁷*Mencius*, IV, I, I, 2.

⁷⁸See Sect. 2.3.1.5.

⁷⁹The government of the Three Dynasties here and elsewhere described is to be understood not as a historical fact, but as a myth representing the political ideal of the Confucian tradition. For the term “Three Dynasties” see Chap. 2, Footnote 16.

“Later generations, on the other hand, did not understand what is essential in government. Instead of making the people’s hearts good, they urged them on by force. Laws were severely enforced from above, but education was not carried out among the social ranks below. When the people thus became reckless and depraved, they resorted to the use of punishments. Alas! Is this how fine customs and good government are to be achieved?”

“Of late the imperial court, being convinced of this truth and desirous to work on what is essential, decreed that public schools and academies be established in all the seats of government from the capital down to the level of the district. Such a measure, though it may not be able to bring education to every household and every individual person as was accomplished in the ancient time, yet it is at least sufficient to educate the scholars. If education can be truly begun with the scholars, so that all who are called by that name understand moral truth and are content to lead a virtuous life, know the principles of government and the essentials of building up moral influence in the country: when as private subjects they are good enough to serve as models of good virtue for the local community, and when at the time of getting appointments they are good enough to be employed by the imperial court. If, I say, this can be done, then even though this modern attempt may not be able to compete with ancient education in its completeness, yet the essentials are grasped which will serve as steps leading gradually towards the ancient ideal status....”—*#ICWC, V, 2b: 4–12. “Letter written for my father requesting Yü-wen to accept the principalship of the Han Chou county academy.”

“Great is the number of gifted persons in the empire. But, owing to the fact that moral truth is not widely taught (lit. not illustrated) in the empire, not many have had the chance to be perfected. In building up their moral personalities the ancients made a start in the *Odes*, were established through the practice of propriety, and were perfected by music. How can modern men do that? The ancients used the *Odes* as people now use songs. Even village children were familiar with their explanations and understood their meaning. That was why they were able to make a start in the *Odes*. In later generations not even aged teachers or old scholars understand their meaning, how can it be expected of the ordinary students? This is why modern men cannot make a start in the *Odes*. Since ancient rules of propriety have long been discarded and human relationships untaught, people do not even know the right way to regulate their families. This is why modern men cannot establish their moral characters through the practice of propriety. The ancients had singing by which to cultivate their dispositions, music by which to cultivate their ears, and dancing by which to cultivate their physiques. All these are now lost. That is why modern men cannot perfect themselves through music. It was easier to perfect a person in ancient times. It is much harder to perfect a person in these modern days.”—IS, XVIII, 14a: 10–14b: 2.

The Master Ch’eng said, “It was easier for ancient scholars [to learn]; it is harder for modern scholars [to do the same]. The ancients entered the primary school at the age of eight, and the academy at fifteen, There were colourful ornaments by which

to cultivate their eyes, [harmonious] sounds by which to cultivate their ears, ceremonial attitudes by which to cultivate their bodies, singing and dancing by which to cultivate their mind. All these are now lost. Moral truth alone is left by which to cultivate the mind. [Being thus deprived of the facilities], should we not all the more make strenuous efforts [in order to achieve our purpose?]"—IS, XXI A, 1b: 3–5.

Soon after Ch'eng I had been appointed Expositor at Ch'ung Cheng Hall in 1086, he was commissioned with two other ministers to investigate the rules and regulations of the Imperial Academy.⁸⁰ The suggestions he made for the improvement of the Academy were many. First among them may be mentioned the establishment of the Hall of the Worthy.⁸¹ The purpose of this was to provide facilities so that the Academy might entertain scholars of great virtues who happened to visit the capital. He pointed out that in the contemporary period the homes of great scholars like Hu Yüan (I-chih, also called the Master An-ting, 993–1059), Chang Tsai and Shao Yung⁸² were crowded with scholars from all over the country. The latter came from places maybe hundreds of miles away, in order to make their acquaintance and hear them speak. When great scholars such as these were available, it would be a great inspiration for all students if the Academy could entertain them on the premises for a certain length of time.

A second recommendation was the abolition of the frequent competitive examinations in practice, and the adoption instead of a tutorial method by which the students were called in turn to have interviews with their tutors.⁸³

A third recommendation was the reduction of the number of students to actual capacity of available dormitory facilities.⁸⁴ He pointed out that the old regulations permitted the admission of 2400 students when the dormitories could only reasonably accommodate 1500.

A fourth recommendation⁸⁵ was that for the education of the general public provisions be made so that visitors might see something of the life of the Academy. He mentioned two facts for illustration. Many years ago when Dr. Hu Yüan lectured on the *Book of Changes*, he said, many outsiders requested to be admitted to the audience. The number sometimes went up to about one thousand. When Sun Fu (Ming-fu, 992–1057) lectured on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, people from outside the Academy who came to the lectures during the first ten days were simply countless. They were admitted until the hall was absolutely packed. A great many people had to stand outside to listen. As a result, the study of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* became very popular.

⁸⁰IS, Appendix 8b: 12 ff. Documents in this connection are collected in *ICWC, III.

⁸¹Tsun Hsien T'ang, lit. Hall of Respect to the Worthy. See *ICWC, III, 2b: 11 ff; 6a: 3–6b: 9.

⁸²See Sect. 1.1.2 in Introduction.

⁸³*ICWC, III, 1a: 4–7; 2b: 11–3a: 4; 6a: 3–6b: 9.

⁸⁴*ICWC, III, 1b: 12ff; 3a: 13ff; 6a: 11ff.

⁸⁵*ICWC, 5a: 8–5b: 6; 6b: 10.

He also recommended, besides many other things, that students in the Law Academy be required to study the scriptures and history, and that to the curriculum of the Military Academy the study of the *Hsiao King*, or *Classic of Filial Piety*, the *Analects*, and *Mencius* be added.⁸⁶ Unfortunately his recommendations were on the whole rejected by the conservative Board of Rites.⁸⁷ The President of the Board, Hu Tsung-yü, even went so far as to attack Ch'eng I as one who should not be allowed to serve in the court.⁸⁸

d. Propriety

We have in chapters above dealt with the concept of propriety as natural order in the Confucian tradition, especially in Ch'eng I's thought.⁸⁹ This concept when applied to social and political life becomes the fundamental principle of social and political order. For propriety means that each person occupies his right place and maintains his right relationships with all other members of society. These relationships are complicated especially under the Confucian idea of graded love. A person's relationship to his father is different from his relationship to his son, or wife, or brother, or cousin, or neighbour, or king, or teacher. As relationships are different, one must act differently to each particular person according to what is required by his particular relationship to him. Such right relationships are maintained by the help of ritual. Rituals are practiced in everyday life. They include calling a person by his right name, regard for precedence. But they are dramatically enacted on ceremonial occasions, when every specific relationship is demonstrated by ritualistic acts. It goes without saying that when relationships are thus clearly illustrated, duties proper to each particular relationship are expected to be performed, and when duties are thus fulfilled, society is kept in order. Therefore Ch'eng I could say that "where propriety is observed, peace prevails. When propriety is violated, disorder sets in."

"Fundamentally speaking, 'Propriety' is nothing but order...."—IS, XVIII, 32b: 6 (Already quoted under Sect. 2.3.1.5).

"... Where natural order (or propriety) is observed, peace prevails. When natural order is violated, disorder sets in. Where natural order is preserved, [the reigning dynasty] is preserved. When natural order is discarded, [the reigning dynasty] perishes."—*ICWC, Appendix, 1b: 6. "Preface to the *Li Ki*," already quoted in Sect. 2.3.1.5.

"... The discrimination between high and low being made clear, the aims of the people will then be settled. The aims of the people being settled, the empire may be ordered. Without the aims of the people being settled, the empire cannot be ordered.

⁸⁶*ICWC, III, 8b: 2–11.

⁸⁷*ICWC, III, 5b: 12–11b: 1.

⁸⁸IS, Appendix 9a: 3–4.

⁸⁹Sects. 6.1.2 and 2.3.1.5.

In the ancient time from the dukes, nobles and high officials downward every office was held by a man of fit virtue. He occupies the position throughout his life, because he was given the right part. If the position did not fit his virtue, the sovereign would promote him to some other position that did. The scholar cultivated his learning. When learning was accomplished the sovereign sought him out. This had nothing to do with self-seeking motives. The farmer, the artisan, and the merchant each went about their work with diligence and each received their due and limited reward. Consequently they all had their settled aims, and the minds of all in the empire were thus able to be brought to a harmonious whole. In later generations from the common people and scholars up to the dukes and nobles, all aim daily at honour; farmers, artisans, and merchants all aim daily at wealth and luxurious life. With the minds of the whole people rushing together after profit, the empire is in confusion. How can it be brought to one harmonious whole? To try to prevent it from being disorderly is hard indeed. All this is owing to the fact that among 'high and low' there are no 'settled aims'"—*IC, I, 38a: 5–11 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 10).

e. The Rectification of Names

When the duke Ching of the state of Ch'i asked Confucius about government, Confucius replied, "There is government when the prince is prince and the minister is minister; when the father is father and the son is son."⁹⁰ Upon another occasion, when his disciple Tzu Lu said, "The prince of Wei has been waiting for you in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?" Confucius replied, "What is necessary is to rectify names."⁹¹ From that time on rectification of names has become a regular part of Confucian political doctrine, and has been specially emphasized by commentators on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It means calling a person by his right name or title, giving him what is due to him, and expecting from what he owes to others, according to what is indicated by the name. Fundamentally this is part of the doctrine of propriety. There is a saying in the third class material which reads: "When names are rectified, the empire is settled."⁹² This can well sum up Ch'eng I's position in this regard.

It will be noted that our philosopher here follows the Kung-yang and Ku-liang tradition in his interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, believing that the book was written by Confucius not as history but as a textbook on political ethics, and that the terse entries are carefully phrased to imply an ethical judgment on the persons or events in question. George A. Kennedy in his article: Interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*" showed with convincing proof the probability that the omissions and variations in the book are the result of natural causes beyond the control of the author,

⁹⁰*Analects*, XII, XI.

⁹¹*Analects*, XIII, III, 1.

⁹²IS, XXI B, 3a: 3.

and the improbability of their having any cryptographic meaning whatever.⁹³ This, however, does not eradicate the fact that the doctrine of the rectification of names was taught by Confucius and developed by later Confucianists, even though Kung-yang, Ku-liang and followers of their tradition were mistaken in basing their development of the doctrine on the *Ch'un Ch'iu*.

“... In the time of King P'ing⁹⁴ the idea of kingship had ceased to be practiced. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* made use of the Chou Dynasty to restore (lit. rectify) the law of the monarchy. Under Duke Yin, no record was made of his ascending the throne. This is to illustrate the real meaning of law in the very beginning.⁹⁵ The setting up of a feudal lord must be done by the appointment of the king. Duke Yin set himself up. Therefore his ascending the throne was not recorded, in order to show that the writer did not recognize him as a ruler [in the real sense of the term]...”—*CS, IV, 2a: 5–6.

“The high officials of feudal lords ought to receive their offices by the ordinance of the emperor. In those days, however, request for such an ordinance was no more made. Therefore [in the *Annals*] all high officials of feudal lords were recorded without titles, in order to show that the writer did not recognize them as officials...”—*CS, IV, 3b: 4–5.

“... In the earlier part of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* all [princes] who murdered the ruler were not called princes. For having committed such a great crime, they had served themselves from their fathers. How could they be their sons and grandsons any longer? ... In the latter part of the book, every [prince] who committed such a crime in order to set himself up was called by name. This was done either to show that for the sake of kinship the duke had shown him too much favour, and given him too much responsibility, which led to the disorder, or to show how natural relationship had been violated and members of the family had turned enemies. In each case a specific meaning was intended...”—*CS, IV, 6a: 5–9.

f. Law and Punishment

From the Confucian point of view of the goodness of human nature, good government does not depend so much on law and punishment as on education and welfare measures. When the people have plenty to live on and are well educated, law and punishment will not be used to any large extent. Nevertheless, law and punishment are useful in that they serve to keep the people within bounds, and are therefore not to be totally ignored. The relation between law and natural law or Li was not discussed.

With regard to the handling of law, Ch'eng I believed that law must be observed according to its spirit and not according to its letter.

⁹³George A. Kennedy, “Interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 62, no. 1, March 1942, pp. 40–48.

⁹⁴Accession of King P'ing, 770 B.C. In the latter part of his reign the Ch'un Ch'iu Period began.

⁹⁵The *Spring and Autumn Annals* began with Duke Yin.

“... In order to dispel the ignorance of the subjects, punishments and prohibitions must be clearly shown them, letting them have something to fear, then proceed to educate them. It was the practice of the ancient sage-kings that they instituted punishments in order to regulate the people, and carried out education in order to improve their custom. Punishments having been provided, education became effective. Though the sage esteemed virtue and not punishment, yet the latter was not ignored. Hence as a primary step of government law is of prior importance.... If in ordering the empire one should rely exclusively on punishments, the people might be afraid, but their ‘ignorance’ would be ‘dispelled’. If the people were merely saved from punishment without a real sense of shame, the [moral] influence of the government would not have been accomplished.... The purpose of drawing up laws and instituting punishments is in order to educate the people....”—*IC, I, 17b: 11–18a: 1, 4–5, 8 (YK, Hex. 4: 1; Appendix II, Hex. 4: 1).

“... There are millions of people in the empire. When they let loose their evil desires, the sovereign who attempts to bring them under control by force will not be able to succeed, even if the laws be strict and punishments severe. Everything has its essential point and every development has its hidden beginning. The sage knowing how to lay his hand on the vital points sees the minds of a million people as if they were one mind. He leads them and they go. He stops them and they halt. Hence without toiling he is able to order [the empire]. “... Take for instance the question of preventing robbery. The people have desires. When they see wealth their hearts are stirred. If they are not educated and if furthermore they are oppressed by cold and hunger, how can their desires be subdued even though punishment and death penalty be applied every day? The sage, however, knows the right way to restrain them. He does not rely on severity and punishment, but instead he works on good government and education, enabling the people to have [their livelihood by being engaged in adequate] occupations such as farming or sericulture, and to exercise moral judgment in regard to other people’s possessions, so that the people would naturally refuse to steal even if they should be encouraged to do so. The way to bring evil under control, therefore, lies simply in knowing the root [of the problem] and attacking it at its vital points. One is not to resort to severe punishments, but on the other hand, he is to work on good government....”—*IC, II, 41a:7–9, 11–41b:3 (YK, Hex. 26:5).

“... Since one serves as an official in the present day, one ought to try to do something under the actual circumstances of the present day. Owing to the restrictions of the existing legislation, there are many who have found it impossible to do anything. As I look at it, however, I believe that if one tries to compromise there are still many things which one can do. When my late brother, the Master Ming Tao, was handling the affairs of a district⁹⁶ and the people, many of the things he did were generally considered to be outside the bounds of strictly legal procedure. But he was able to do it in such a way as never to violate the law, and people were not greatly startled either. One cannot say that by thus doing he was able to

⁹⁶Ref. *ICWC, VII, 2a: 2–5; 5a: 11–5b: 2.

carry out his ethico-political convictions [lit. his purpose]. Nevertheless, in seeking to 'mend society in a small way'⁹⁷ he was far ahead of most of the present day officials. People might feel strange about such a way of doing things, but they would not go so far as to call it crazy. (When they do call it crazy, the thing would have been really startling.) Thus, with absolute sincerity one may say pursue such a course. When it comes to the point where one is not tolerated, one can always quit. What harm does it do? This is my humble opinion. I wonder what you think of it, Chin-pai...."—*ICWC, V, 9b: 1–5. "Letter in reply to Lü Chin-pai Chien-san)."

2. Social Ideas

Ch'eng I's social ideas are not so lofty and inspiring as some of his other ideas presented above. His concept of the female sex reflects a philosophy of nature in which the yang element is characterized as good and the yin element as evil. It also reflects a society in which women had a very inferior position. Women are thought to be without a clear understanding of moral truth and are ranked with small men and barbarians. Their proper character is to be meek and submissive.

In regard to the question of remarriage, he thought that wedlock is a lifelong relationship and that in principle a man should not marry again after losing his first wife.

But he maintains that no gentleman should hesitate to divorce his wife if she is found not to be fulfilling her functions as a wife.

If in Ch'eng I's thought womanhood is inferior, motherhood is quite otherwise. Mother is to be revered along with father. Brothers are to be loved because they are the sons of one's parents. Just as one loves the body and the belongings of one's parents, so must one love their sons.

(1) The Female Sex

"... To be able to obey even though one is unable to see [the reason for it] clearly, this is the way of the female. This in the case of a female is 'firm correctness'...."

"For a gentleman not to be able to see the Great Way which is strong, masculine, central and correct, but merely to peep into its vague resemblance, even though he be able to obey, it is similar to the 'firm correctness of a female', and is 'a thing to be ashamed of'."—*IC, II, 20: 1, 4–5 (YK, Hex. 20: 2; Appendix II, Hex. 20:2).

"... He who marries a female desires to have one who is meek and obedient in order to establish family life...."—*IC, III, 48b: 13 (YK, Hex. 44).

"... Whenever the female, the small (or unworthy) man, or the barbarian, is ascending in power, he or she should not be long associated with...."—*IC, III, 49a: 7 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 44:2).

⁹⁷*Mencius*, VII, I, XIII, 3.

(2) Remarriage and Divorce

“When man and woman are joined together in wedlock, [the union] is unchangeable throughout their lives. Hence according to the principle of propriety there should not be any remarriage.⁹⁸ From the high officials downward, when the mistress of the house is gone, and the essential functions of the family cannot be fulfilled,⁹⁹ remarriage is allowed for the simple reason that there is no other alternative. But in the case of the king (lit. son of heaven) and the feudal lords, where all family duties can be taken care of by the concubines, there should not be any remarriage according to the principle of propriety....”—*CS, IV, 2b: 13–3a: 2.

It was asked whether one may divorce his wife. He said, “If the wife is unworthy what harm does it do to divorce her? Even a man like Tzu Ssu¹⁰⁰ did it. Nowadays ordinary people take divorce to be a shameful act and are therefore afraid to do it. It was otherwise with the ancients. When the wife is not good, she ought to be divorced. But owing to the fact that modern people take this as a serious matter, they usually secretly tolerate [dissatisfactions], not daring to expose them or when there is hidden evil, they try to conceal and sustain it, until the persons concerned give themselves over to unrestrained indulgence culminating in immorality: is that not harmful? For him who cultivates his person it is most urgent to regulate (lit. serve as model to) his family. Immediately one tries to cultivate the person, he must deal with the question of regulating the family.”

It was asked again, “The ancients divorced their wives sometimes on the ground that the latter shouted at a dog in front of the mother-in-law, or that she cooked food without getting it thoroughly done. In cases like these there is no grave evil, why should they be divorced?”

He replied, “This is how the ancients practiced their generosity. The ancients did not utter an unkind word when they severed their relationship with a friend. The gentleman cannot bear to divorce his wife by exposing her great faults, and so he divorces her on the ground of a small mistake. From this one can see the greatness of his generosity. In the case of shouting at a dog in front of the mother-in-law, there must be very great wrongs behind it. It is because of these great wrongs

⁹⁸A short discussion is recorded in the third class material, IS, XXII B, 3a: 5–7, in regard to the remarriage of widows which has been much quoted by modern writers as a basis for their attack upon the inhumanity of conventional Confucian ethical tradition. The record reads as follow:

“It was asked, ‘In principle it seems that one may not marry a widow: What is your opinion, Sir?’

“He said, ‘Right. Marriage means matching. Hence he who matches himself with one who has lost her matrimonial fidelity by marrying her has himself lost fidelity.’

“It was asked again, ‘Suppose a widow is all alone and poor, with no one to depend on for support, may she marry again?’

“He said, ‘It is only because of the fact that people of these later generations are afraid of cold and starvation that there has been such a supposition. But starvation is an extremely small matter while the loss of matrimonial fidelity is an extremely important matter.’”

⁹⁹According to IS, XXII B, 4b: 13–5a: 3, which is third class material, the essential functions were given as services to the parents-in-law, sacrifices, and the heading up of affairs of the home.

¹⁰⁰Confucius’ grandson, believed to be Author A of the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

accumulated in the previous days that this one incident was taken as an excuse to divorce her.”

Someone objected, “How then can she fail to grumble if she is divorced for such a small matter? Moreover, other people would not know who is right and who is wrong.”

He answered and said, “She herself will surely know her own fault. Besides, when one does a thing he need only take heed that he does it in full accord with Li, why should he try to make everybody understand? Nevertheless the wise will naturally understand it. Whereas if one insists on making the wife’s faults known in order to make people understand, it simply shows that he is a superficial man. The gentleman does not do a thing like this. When a man explains thing he tends to make others appear crooked and himself straight. But the gentleman possesses a spirit of tolerance.”

Someone added, “An ancient proverb has it: ‘In divorcing the wife one makes it possible for her to be married again. In breaking off relationship with a friend one makes it possible for him to have other friends.’ Is this what you mean?”

He said, “Yes.”—IS, XVIII, 45b: 2–13.

(3) Regulating the Family

“... To regulate the family is to regulate a group of people. Unless they are restrained with rules, people tend to go loose until there develop matters for regret (lit. until there is ‘reason for repentance’). For instance precedence between seniors and juniors ceases to be maintained; discrimination between the two sexes becomes lax; affection is hurt, relationship is injured, and so on. If from the beginning they are restrained with rules nothing like this happens....”—*IC, III, 22a: 7–9 (YK, Hex. 37: 1).

“In family life in the relation between parents and children people generally let affection take precedence of propriety and let love take the place of right conduct. Only the strong man can so control his personal feelings that he is never diverted from moral truth....”—*IC, III, 22b: 2–3 (YK, Hex. 37:2)

“In regulating the family it is impossible to do without absolute sincerity. Hence one must be sincere at heart so that one can continue long, and members of the family can be influenced and become good... Therefore for the regulating of the family it is essential ‘to be possessed of sincerity’. In the affectionate relationships with one’s wife and children, excessive tenderness tends to eliminate [a due degree of] sternness, while immoderate love shuts off [the fulfillment of] right conduct. Therefore the trouble of family [life] often lies in the negligence of rules of propriety which results in members becoming rude to each other. It never has been that the family, in which the seniors lost their dignity and the juniors were unmindful of the respect and obedience they owed to the seniors, did not fall into a state of chaos. Therefore a certain amount of severity and sternness is required in order that ‘in the end there will be good fortune.’”—*IC, III, 23b: 13f; 24a: 2–4 (YK, Hex. 37: 6).

(4) Fraternal Love

“Many men of the present day do not understand the love between brothers. When an ordinary man gets some good food, he will first serve it to his parents. Why? Because he deems his parents’ satisfaction (lit. mouth) more important than his own satisfaction. When he gets a piece of clothes, he will give it to his parents. Why? Because he deems his parents’ bodies more important than his own body. The same is true in his dealings with dogs and horses. He treats his parents’ dogs and horses better than his own dogs and horses. But (contrary to this spirit) he loves his parents’ sons less than his own. In certain extreme cases, he treats them as enemies. Everywhere you can find such men. They are very stupid indeed!”—IS, XVIII, 45a: 7–10.

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Glossary

A	
Abide in oneness, see <i>chu i</i>	
A Fang Palace	阿房宫
An Lo Hsien Sheng, see Shao Yung	
An Ting, the Master, see Hu Yüan	
<i>Analects</i>	论语
Artifact, see pattern and artifact	
B	
Battle of Ch'ang P'ing, see Ch'ang P'ing	
Board of Rites	礼部
<i>Book of Changes (Yi King)</i> , see <i>I</i>	
<i>Book of Odes</i> , see <i>Shih King</i>	
<i>Book of Poetry</i> , see <i>Shih King</i>	
C	
Centered in one, see <i>chu i</i>	
(Ceu-tsi), see also Chou Tun-i	周子
<i>Chan Kuo Ts'e</i>	战国策
Chan Wing-tsit	陈荣捷
Ch'an (Buddhism), see Ch'anism	
Chang Chi	张玘
Chang Hung-chung	张闳中
Chang I (Ssu-shu), from Shou An	张绎字思叔寿安人
Chang Kuo (Yang-shu)	张杲, 字叻叔
Chang Pai-hsing	张伯行
Chang Ping-lin (T'ai-yen), see also Bibliog. 2, (31)	章炳麟, 字太炎
Chang Shih (Ch'in-fu, Ching-fu, Nan-hsien) see also Bibliog. 2, (22)	张栻, 字敬夫, 一字钦夫号南轩
<i>Chang Shih Ts'ung Shu: Chien Lun</i> , "T'ung Ch'eng", see Bibliog. 2, (31)	

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Chang Tsai (Tzu-hou), Master Heng Ch'ü	张载, 字子厚, 称横渠先生
Chang Tun	章惇
Chang Tung-sun, see also Bibliog. 2, (40)	张东荪
<i>Chang Tzu Ch'üan Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (11)	
Ch'ang Ch'ien-tao, see Ch'ang Ta-yin	
Ch'ang P'ing, Battle of	长平之战
Ch'ang Ta-yin (Ch'ien-tao)	物大隐, 字潜道
Ch'anism	禅宗, 禅学
Chao (state of)	赵
<i>Chao Shih K'e Yü</i>	晁氏客语
Che Tsung	哲宗
Ch'e (The hundred mu allotment and the system of Ch'e)	(百亩而) 徼
Ch'en Chen-sun, see also Bibliog. 2, (56)	陈振孙
Ch'en Heng	陈恒
Ch'en Kuei-i	陈贵一
Ch'en Pang-chan, see also Bibliog. 2, (52)	陈邦瞻
Ch'en Yin-k'e	陈寅恪
Ch'en Yüan (Chi-shou)	陈渊, 字畿叟
Cheng, man of	郑人
Cheng I T'ang Ch'üan Shu, Ref. Bibliog. 2, (5), (9), etc.	
<i>Cheng Meng</i>	正蒙
Cheng-shu, see Ch'eng I	
Ch'eng (being true to oneself, sincerity)	诚
Ch'eng, (King), see Wen, Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang	
Ch'eng-Chu School	程朱学派
Ch'eng Hao (Pai-ch'un), the Master Ming Tao	程颢, 字伯淳, 称明道先生
Ch'eng Hua, (Ming)	(明) 成化
Ch'eng I (Cheng-shu), the Master I Ch'uan	程颐, 字正叔, 称伊川先生
<i>Ch'eng Shih Ching Shou</i>	程氏经说
<i>Ch'eng Shih I Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (2), a	
<i>Ch'eng Shih Tsa Shuo</i>	程氏杂说
Ch'eng Tuan-chung	程端中
<i>Ch'eng Tzu Sui Yen</i>	程子粹言
Chi (minister of agriculture under Shun)	稷
Chi (period of twelve years)	纪
Ch'i (state of)	齐
Chi Chi (Hexagram 63)	既济
Chi Ssu (year)	己巳
Ch'i (energy, vital energy, breath)	气
<i>Chia T'ai P'u Teng Lu</i>	嘉泰普灯录
Chiang Chou	江州

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Chiang Nan Shu Chü	江南书局
Chiang Ning	江宁
Chieh (Hexagram 40)	解
Chieh (last emperor of the Hsia Dynasty, a despot)	桀
Chien (Hexagram 39)	蹇
Chien Chou	建州
Chien Chung Ching Kuo	建中靖国
<i>Chien Lun</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (31)	
Chien Yang	建阳
Ch'ien (Hexagram 1)	乾
Ch'ien (Hexagram 15)	谦
Ch'ien Lung	乾隆
Ch'ien Mu, see also Bibliog. 2, (34)–(39), (46)	钱穆
Ch'ien Tseng, see also Bibliog. 2, (61)	钱曾
Chih (notorious brigand of classical time)	跖
Chih (raw material, substance), see substance and pattern	
Chih (to rest)	止
<i>Chih Chai Shu Lu Chieh T'i</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (56)	
Chih Cheng (Yüan)	(元) 至正
Chin (Chap. 4, Footnote 8)	今
Chin (Dynasty)	晋
<i>Chin Hua Ts'ung Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (23)	
Chin Ling	金陵
Chih Ling Shu Chü	金陵书局
Chin-pai, see Lü Chin-pai	
Chin Shih (degree)	进士
<i>Chin Ssu Lu</i> , see bibliog. 2, (21)	
Ch'in (Dynasty, also state of)	秦
Ch'in Tsung	钦宗
Ching (a well)	井
Ching (attitude of reverent devotion)	敬
<i>Ching Shuo</i> , see <i>Ch'eng Shih Ching Shuo</i>	
Ching t'ien	井田
Ching Tsung I	经总义
Ch'ing (Dynasty)	清
Ch'ing (feelings, see also Chap. 5, Footnote 11)	情
(Choo Foo Tze) = The Master Chu (Hsi), see Chu His	
Chou (Dynasty)	周
Chou (last emperor of the Shang Dynasty, a despot)	纣
Chou Fu-hsien (Pai-ch'en)	周孚先, 字伯忱
Chou Hsing-chi (Kung-shu)	周行己, 字恭叔

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<i>Chou I Ch'eng Chu Chuan I</i>	周易程朱传义
<i>Chou I Ch'eng Chuan, see I Chuan</i>	
<i>Chou I Chuan I</i>	周易传义
<i>Chou I Pen I</i>	周易本义
<i>Chou I Ts'an T'ung Ch'i</i>	周易参同契
Chou Kung-hsien (Pai-wen)	周恭先, 字伯温
Chou Pai-ch'en, see Chou Kung-hsien	
Chou Pai-wen, see Chou Kung-hsien	
Chou Ping (Te-chiu)	邹炳, 字德久
Chou Tao-hsiang	邹道乡
Chou Tun-i (Mao-shu), Master of Lien Ch'i	周敦颐, 字茂叔, 称濂溪先生
Chou Tz'u-ch'en	邹次陈
Chou Yü-pin, see also Bibliog. 2, (66)	周毓彤
Chu (centre for the mind)	(心有) 主
Chu and Chün, see Tan Chu, and Shang Chün	
Chu Ch'ang-wen	朱长文
Chu Hsi (Yüan-hui or Chung-hui), also known as Hui-an	朱熹, 字元晦, 一字仲晦, 号晦庵
Chu i (to abide in oneness, or to be centered in one)	主一
Chu-ke Liang	诸葛亮
Chu Kuang-t'ing (Kung-tan)	朱光庭, 字公掞
Chu Kung-tan, see Chu Kuang-t'ing	
<i>Chu Tzu Ch'üan Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (16)</i>	
<i>Chu Tzu Pien, see Bibliog. 2, (60)</i>	
<i>Chu Tzu Ta Ch'üan, see Bibliog. 2, (17)</i>	
<i>Chu Tzu Yü Lei, see Bibliog. 2, (18)</i>	
Ch'u, man of	楚人
Ch'ü (away from)	去
Chuan Hsü	颛顼
Chüan shou	卷首
<i>Chang Tzu</i>	庄子
Chün, see Shang Chün	
<i>Ch'un Ch'iu (Spring and Autumn Annals)</i>	春秋
<i>Ch'un Ch'iu Chuan (Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals)</i>	春秋传
Ch'un Yu (Sung)	(宋) 淳祐
Chung (the state of equilibrium; the central self; the mind; the mean; the middle way)	中
Chung Ch'iu (city wall of)	中丘
Chung Hua Book Company	中华书局
Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Shih, see Bibliog. 2, (44), (45)	

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<i>Chung Kuo Hsüeh Shu Shih Chiang Hua</i> , see Yang Tung-chuan	
<i>Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (51)	
Chung-ni, see Confucius	
Chung T'ai, see also Bibliog. 2, (45)	钟泰
Chung Yung (the golden mean, also the <i>Doctrine of the Mean</i>)	中庸
<i>Chung Yung Chieh</i>	中庸解
<i>Chung Yung I</i> , ref. "Preface to the <i>Chung Yung I</i> "	
Ch'ung Cheng Hall, Ref. Ch'ung Chen Tien Shuo Shu	
Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu (Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall)	崇政殿说书
<i>Commentary on the Book of Changes</i> , see <i>I Chuan</i>	
Commercial Press	商务印书馆
<i>Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng</i> , see <i>Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu</i>	
Confucius (Chung-ni)	孔子, 名丘, 字仲尼
(to) Conquer oneself and return to propriety	克己复礼
Contending States	战国
<i>Corrected Text of the Great Learning</i>	改正大学
<i>Corrected Text of the Wu Ch'eng</i>	改正武成
Correlate (Chap. 6, Footnote 33)	应
Counsellor at the Imperial Court	给谏
(Cu-hi), see Chu His	
D	
<i>Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained</i>	太极图说
Distinction of duties, see Li is one	
Diversities of duties, or distinction of duties, see Li is one but etc.	
Divinity	神
<i>Doctrine of the Mean</i> , see Chung Yung	
Duke Ai	哀公
Duke Ching of the state of Ch'i	齐景公
Duke Huan	桓公
Duke of Chou	周公
Duke Yin	隐公
E	
Energy, see Ch'i	
<i>Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (1)	
<i>Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Sui Yen</i>	二程先生粹言
"Erh Ch'eng Hsüeh Shu Shu P'ing", see Bibliog. 2, (34)	
<i>Erh Ch'eng I Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (2)	

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<i>Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (5)	
<i>Erh Ch'eng Tzu Ch'ao Shih</i>	二程子抄释
<i>Erh Ch'eng Tzu I Shu Ch'uan</i>	二程子遗书纂
<i>Erh Ch'eng Wai Shu</i>	二程外书
<i>Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (3)	
<i>Erh Ch'eng Yü Lu</i>	二程语录
“Exceedingly great, exceedingly strong, and straight”	至大至刚以直
Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall, see Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu	
F	
Fan chen (governors with both civil and military powers, T'ang Dynasty)	藩镇
Fan Chung-yen (Hsi-wen), Wen Cheng Kung	范仲淹, 字希文, 文正公
Fan Tsu-yü (Ch'un-fu)	范祖禹, 字淳夫
Fang Yüan-ts'ai	方元家
Fate and luck	命与运
Feng Chung-shu (Kuan-tao)	冯忠恕, 字贯道
Feng Li (Sheng-hsien)	冯理, 字圣先
Fidelity to principle, see love of reputation etc.	
Five constant virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and good faith)	五常 (仁义礼智信)
Five Dynasties	五代, 五季
Five elements	五行
Five Virtues, theory of the, (the Five Powers of the five elements)	五德
Formation, station, destruction and annihilation (four period cycle of history)	成住坏空
Forms, see Two Forms	
“Four Admonitions”	四箴
“Four Books of the Ch'engs”	程氏四书
Four Criminals, the	四凶
Four Heavenly Seedlings (lit. four beginnings: namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom)	四端 (仁义礼智)
Four period (cycle of history), see formation, station etc.	
Fu (Hexagram 24)	复
Fu Chou, also called Fu Ling	涪州, 涪陵
Fu Ling, see Fu Chou	
Fung Yu-lan	冯友兰
G	
“Gleanings”	拾遗
Good faith, see five constant virtues	
Great Harmony, the, see “T'ai Ho P'ien”	

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<i>Great Learning</i> (Ta Hsüeh)	大学
Great Middle Way	大中之道
Great Void	太虚
Guarding against evil and preserving the true self	闲邪存诚
H	
Hai, see Kuei Hai	
Han (Dynasty)	汉
Han Chiang	韩绛
Han Chou, see Yü-wen	
<i>Han Fei Tzu</i>	韩非子
Han Lin Academy	翰林院
Han Lin Yüan Hsüeh Shih	翰林院学士
Han River	汉江
<i>Han Shu</i> (<i>History of the Han Dynasty</i>)	汉书
Han Wei (Ch'ih-kuo)	韩维, 字持国
Han Yü	韩愈
Hao Jan Chih Ch'i (Life of the Spirit)	浩然之气
Heavenly Seedlings, see Four Heavenly Seedlings	
Heng Ch'ü, see Chang Tsai	
Ho (harmony)	和
Ho Nan Ch'eng Shih Shih Hsi Chih T'u	河南程氏世系之图
<i>Ho Nan Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Wen Chi</i>	河南二程先生文集
Hou Chung-liang (Shih-sheng)	侯仲良, 字师圣
Hou Shih	纛氏
<i>Hsi Hsüeh Chi Yen</i> , see Yeh Shih	
"Hsi Ming" ("Western Inscription" by Chang Tsai)	西铭
Hsi-ning (Sung)	(宋) 熙宁
Hsi Tz'u (YK, Appendix III)	系辞
Hsia (Dynasty)	夏
Hsiang (YK, Appendix II)	(易) 象
Hsiang (brother of Shun)	(舜弟) 象
Hsiang (symbolism)	象
Hsiang Hsiu	向秀
"Hsiang Tang" (<i>Analects</i> , Bk. X)	乡党
Hsiao hsüeh (primary school)	小学
<i>Hsiao King</i> (Classis of Filial Piety)	考经
Hsieh Chin-t'ang	谢金堂
Hsieh Liang-tso (Hsien-tao)	谢良佐, 字显道
Hsieh T'ien-shen (Yung-hsiu)	谢天申, 字用休
Hsien Chu	先主
Hsin chih (see Chap. 7, Footnote 58)	心志

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Hsin Tang	新党
Hsin Wei	辛未
Hsing Sha Hsiao Lang Huan Hsien Kuan	星沙小娘嬛仙馆
Hsiung Shih-li	熊十力
Hsü (winter of), see Jen Hsü	
<i>Hsü Kua</i> (YK, Appendix VI)	序卦
Hsü, P. C., (Hsü Pao-ch'ien)	徐宝谦
Hsü Pi-ta	徐必达
Hsü Shih-ch'un (Chung-ming)	徐世淳, 字中明
Hsü Yang-cheng	徐养正
Hsüan Tsung	玄宗
Hsüntze, see Hsün Tzu	
Hsün Tzu	荀子
Hu An-kuo (K'ang-hou), Wen Ting Kung	胡安图, 字康侯, 文定公
Hu Shih	胡适
Hu Tsung-yü	胡宗愈
Hu Yüan (I-chih), Master An Ting	胡瑗, 字翼之, 称安定先生
Huan (king), see Yu, Li, etc.	
Huan T'ui of Sung	宋桓黼
Huang Chen	黄震
Huang-fu Pin	皇甫斌
<i>Huang Shih Jih Ch'ao</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (57)	
Huang, Siu-chi	黄秀玑
Huang Ti	黄帝
Hui, see Yen Hui	
<i>Hui K'e Shu Mu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (66)	
Hui Neng (Sixth Patriarch of Ch'anism)	慧能
Hui Tsung	徽宗
Hung Chih (Ming)	(明) 宏治
I	
<i>I</i> (<i>Book of Changes</i> or <i>Yi King</i>)	易; 周易
I (Hexagram 42)	益
<i>I Ch'eng Chuan</i> , see <i>I Chuan</i>	
<i>I Chuan</i> (<i>Commentary on the Book of Changes</i> by Ch'eng I)	易传, 又名易程传, 周易程传
<i>I Ch'uan Chi</i> , see <i>I Ch'uan Wen Chi</i>	
"I Ch'uan Hsien Sheng Nien P'u", see Bibliog. 2, (6), a	
<i>I Ch'uan I Chieh</i>	伊川易解
<i>I Ch'uan Sui Yen</i>	伊川粹言
<i>I Ch'uan Wen Chi</i>	伊川文集
"I Hsü" (also spelled "Yi Hsü")	易序
I-shan, see Lü I-shan	

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<i>I Shu</i> , see <i>Erh Ch'eng I Shu</i>	
<i>I Shuo: Hsi Tz'u</i>	易说: 系辞
<i>I Wen Chih</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (54)	
I Yin	伊尹
Imperial Academy	国子监
Imperial counselor	谏官
Investigation of things, see ke wu	
J	
Jen (benevolence; true manhood)	仁
Jen Hsü	壬戌
Jen Tsung	仁宗
Ju Chou	汝州
K	
Kaifeng	开封
K'ai Yüan (T'ang)	(唐) 开元
K'ang (King), see Wen, Wu, etc.	
K'ang Hsi (Ch'ing)	(清) 康熙
K'ang Shao-tsung	康绍宗
Kao P'ing	高平
Kao Tsung	高宗
Kao Tzu	告子
Ke ming	革命
Ke wu (investigation of things)	格物
Ken (Hexagram 52)	艮
Keng Shen	庚申
Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Kuan etc., see Bibliog. 2, (67)	
"King of the Scriptures of Immortality" (Tan Shu Wang)	丹书王
King P'ing (see P'ing)	
Ko Text	开本
K'o tzu	诃子
Ku-sao (father of Shun)	瞽叟 (舜父)
<i>Ku I Ts'ung Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (4), b	
Kuan Chung	关中
"Kuan Wu P'ien"	观物篇
Kuang Wu	光武
Kuei Hai	癸亥
<i>Kuei Shan Hsien Sheng Ch'üan Chi</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (13)	
Kuei Yu	癸酉
K'un (Hexagram 2)	坤
K'un Hsüeh Chi Wen, see Bibliog. 2, (55)	

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Kunai Sho Toshō Ryō Kanseki Zenpon Shomoku, Tokyo, the Imperial Household Library. 1930. See Bibliog. 2, (68)	
Kung (all-inclusive impartial interest)	公
Kung-sun Ch'ou	公孙丑
K'ung Wen-chung	孔文仲
Kuo Hsiang	郭象
<i>Kuo Hsiieh Chi Pen Ts'ung Shu</i> , ref. Bibliog. 2, (41), c	
<i>Kuo Hsiieh Kai Lun</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (46)	
Kuo Tzu-i	郭子仪
L	
Lan T'ien	蓝田
"Lang Pa"	狼跋
Laotze, see Lao Tzu	
Lao Tzu, also spelled Laotze: The man or the book. The latter is also called <i>Tao Te Ching</i> or <i>Tao Te King</i>	老子
Law Academy	律学
Li (natural law)	理
Li (Hexagram 30)	离
Li (King), see Yu, Li etc.	
Li (a measure of distance = about 1/3 mile)	里
Li (wealth, profit)	利
Li Ao	李翱
Li Chih-ts'ai	李之才
Li Ch'u-tun (Chia-chung)	李处遯, 字嘉仲
Li Hsien (Wen-ta)	李贤, 字文达
Li Hsing (rational nature)	理性
Li Hung-chang	李鸿章
"Li is one but there are diversities of duties"	理一分殊
<i>Li Ki</i>	礼记
Li Kuang-ti	李光地
Li Ts'an	李参
Li Yü (Tuan-pai)	李吁, 字端伯
<i>Li Yün</i>	礼运
Lien Ch'i, see Chou Tun-i	
Life of the Spirit, see Hao Jan Chih Ch'i	
Lin Fang	林放
Lin, Prince of Yung	永王璘
Lin Yutang	林语堂
Liu An-chieh (Yüan-ch'eng)	刘安节, 字元承
Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai	六安求我齐
Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)	刘绚, 字质夫

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Liu I-cheng, <i>Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (51)	
Liu Kung (Kung-fu)	刘珙, 字共父
Lo Tang (Loyang Party)	洛党
Lo Ts'ung-yen (Chung-su)	罗从彦, 字仲素
Love of reputation and fidelity to principle	名节
Loyang	洛阳
Lu (state of)	鲁
Lu Chiu-yüan (Tzu-ching), Master Hsiang Shan	陆九渊, 字子静, 象山先生
Lu Hsiang-shan, see Lu Chiu-yüan	
Lu-Wang School (Lu Hsiang-shan Wang Yang-ming School)	陆王学派
Lü Chin-pai (Chien-san)	吕进伯 (简三)
Lü Chu-ch'ien (Pai-kung), Master Tung Lai	吕祖谦, 字伯恭, 东莱先生
Lü I-shan	吕义山
Lü Jan	吕楠
Lü Kung-chu	吕公著
Lü Liu-liang	吕留良
Lü Ta-chün, ref. Lü Tzu-chü	
Lü Ta-lin (Yü-shu)	吕大临, 字兴叔
Lü T'ing Chih Chien Ch'uan Pen Shu Mu, see Bibliog. 2, (63)	
Lü Tzu-chü	吕子居, 吕大钧 (和叔) 之子, 一云吕义山之字
Lü Yü-shu, see Lü Ta-lin	
Luck, see Fate	
<i>Lun Yü Chieh</i> , or <i>Exposition of the Analects</i>	论语解
<i>Lung Men Tzu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (60)	
M	
Ma Tuan-lin, etc., see Bibliog. 2, (58)	
Mencius (the man or the book)	孟子
<i>Meng Tzu Chieh</i> , (<i>Exposition of the Book of Mencius</i>)	孟子解
Military Academy	武学
Ming (ordinance, appointment; Fate)	命
Ming (Chap. 4, Footnote 8)	命
Ming Ch'eng Hua, see Ch'eng Hua	
Ming Hung Chih, see Hung Chih	
Ming I (Hexagram 36)	明夷
Ming Shih (History of the Ming Dynasty)	明史
Ming Tao (Sung)	(宋) 明道
<i>Ming Tao Chi</i> , see <i>Ming Tao Wen Chi</i>	
<i>Ming Tao Wen Chi</i>	明道文集
Mo the Philosopher, see Mo Ti	

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Mo Ti	墨翟
Mo Yu-chih, see also Bibliog. 2, (63)	莫友芝
Mu (a measure of land)	亩
Mysterious way	神道
N	
<i>Naikaku Bunko Toshō Mokuroku</i> , Tokyo, The Cabinet Library, 1890. See Bibliog. 2, (70).	
Neo-Confucianism	理学
Nü Chen Tartars	金
O	
<i>Odes</i> (=Shih King)	
Ou-yang Hsiu	欧阳修
P	
Pa Tao (the Way of the Princely Chieftains)	霸道
Pai Ch'un, the Master, see Ch'eng Hao	
pai mu erh ch'e, see Ch'e	
Pao Jo-yü (Ju-lin, or Shang-lin)	鲍若雨, 字汝霖, 一云商霖
Pao Kao T'ang, see Bibliog. 2, (1), c	
Pattern, see substance and pattern	
Pattern and artifact	象与器
Pei Ch'i	白起
Physical nature	气质之性
Pi Ling	毗陵
P'i (Hexagram 12)	否
Pien (Captial of Sung)	汴
Ping i (the natural law that every man holds, see Chap. 7, Footnote 28)	秉彝
P'ing (King), see Yu, Li, etc.	
Powers, see ts'ai	
"Preface to the Chung Yung I"	中庸义序
"Preface to the Li Ki"	礼序
Preserving the true self, see guarding against evil	
<i>Profound Sayings of the Master Ch'eng</i>	程子微言
Propriety	礼
Pu k'uei wu lou	不愧屋漏
R	
Reader to the Emperor, see Shih Tu	
Reverent devotion, see ching	
S	
San Kang (the three cardinal bonds of relationship)	三纲
Scholar in the Han Lin Academy, see Han Lin Yüan Hsüeh Shih	

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Scriptural Expositor, see also Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu	经筵讲官
Seikadō Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku, see Bibliog. 2, (69)	
Self-mortifying fidelity to principle	苦节
<i>Shan Pen Shu Shih Ts'ang Shu Chih</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (65)	
Shang (Dynasty)	商
Shang Chün	商均
Shang-lin, see Pao Jo-yü	
Shang Ts'ai	上蔡
Shanghai	上海
Shansi	山西
Shao Sheng (Sung)	(宋) 绍圣
Shao Yung (Yao-fu), A Lo Hsien Sheng	邵雍, 字尧夫, 号安乐先生
Shensi	陕西
Shih (a measure of time, = two hours; time; timely action)	时
<i>Shih Chi</i>	史记
Shih Chieh	石介
<i>Shih Chieh, (Exposition of the Book of Odes)</i>	诗解
"Shih Jen P'ien"	识仁篇
<i>Shih King (Book of Odes, or Book of Poetry)</i>	诗经
Shih Men Lü Shih K'an Pen, ref. Bibliog. 2, (1), c	
Shih Text	时氏本
Shih Tu (Reader to the Emperor)	侍读
Shih Tzu-chih	时紫芝
Shou An, see Chang I	
Shu (reciprocity; placing oneself in the other man's position, like-heartedness)	恕
<i>Shu Chieh (Exposition of the Book of History)</i>	书解
<i>Shu King (Book of History)</i>	书经
<i>Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (64)	
Shu Tang (Szechuan Party)	蜀党
Shun (Emperor)	舜
<i>Shuo Kua</i> (YK, Appendix V)	说卦
Siu-chi Huang, see Huang, Siu-chi	
Spiritual beings	鬼神
<i>Spring and Autumn Annals</i> , see <i>Ch'un Ch'iu</i>	
<i>Ssu Hsiang Yü Shih Tai</i> , ref. Bibliog. 2, (32)	
<i>Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (62)	
<i>Ssu K'u T'i Yao</i>	四库提要
Ssu-ma Kuang	司马光
<i>Ssu Pu Pei Yao</i>	四部备要

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Stillness (of mind)	靜
Stumbling block caused by incorrect views of truth (Buddhist theory)	理障
Su Ping (Chi-ming)	苏昞, 字季明
Su Tsung	肃宗
Su Tung-p'ò	苏东坡, 讳轼
Substance and pattern (chih and wen)	质与文
Sui (Dynasty)	隋
Sui (Hexagram 17)	隨
<i>Sui Yen</i> , see <i>Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen</i>	
Sun (Hexagram 41)	損
Sun Chüeh	孙觉
Sun Fu (Ming-fu)	孙复, 字明复
Sung (Dynasty)	宋
Sung, man of	宋人
<i>Sung Ch'eng Ch'un Kung Nien P'u</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (6)	
"Sung I Hsia Chung Kuo Wen Hua Chih Ch'ü Shih", see Bibliog. 2, (39)	
Sung Lien, see also Bibliog. 2, (60)	宋濂
<i>Sung Shih Chi Shih Pen Mo</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (52)	
<i>Sung Shih: I Wen Chih</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (54)	
<i>Sung Yüan Hsüeh An</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (41)	
Supreme Ruler	帝, 上帝
Supreme Ultimate, see T'ai Chi	
T	
<i>Ta Ch'üan Chi</i>	大全集
<i>Ta Hsüeh</i> , see <i>Great Learning</i>	
<i>Ta Hsüeh Chang Chü Chi Chu</i>	大学章句集注
"Ta Hsüeh Ku Pen Hsü"	大学古本序
Ta Kuo (Hexagram 28)	大过
<i>Ta Tai Li</i>	大戴礼
Ta Yu (Hexagram 14)	大有
Tai Tung-yüan	戴东原
T'ai (Hexagram 11)	泰
T'ai Chi (the Ultimate, the Supreme Ultimate)	太极
<i>T'ai Chi T'u Shuo</i> , see <i>Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained</i>	
"T'ai Ho P'ien" ("the Great Harmony")	太和篇
T'ai Tsung	太宗
Tan Chu (son of Yao, Prince of Tan, see Chap. 6, Footnote 52)	丹朱
Tan Ya T'ang	澹雅堂

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T'an Shan-hsin	譚善心
T'ang (Dynasty)	唐
T'ang (King)	沕
T'ang Ti (Yen-ssu)	唐棣, 字彥思
Tao	道
Tao Sheng	道生
<i>Tao Te Ching</i> or <i>Tao Te King</i>	道德经
Tarter kingdoms in North China, setting up of the (Tchang-tze) = Chang Tzu or the Master Chang, see Chang Tsai	五胡乱华
(Tchou Hi) = Chu His	
(Tchu Hi) = Chu Hsi	
(Thai-kih-thu) = <i>T'ai Chi T'u</i> , ref. <i>Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained</i>	
Three cardinal bonds of relationship, see San Kang	
Three Dynasties	三代 (夏商周)
Three Kings (Yü, T'ang, and Kings Wen and Wu counted as one)	三王 (禹, 沕, 文武)
Ti K'u	帝嘗
"Ti Tung"	蝮螻
T'i (substance) of the Tao	道体
T'ien Li	天理
T'ien Ming	天命
T'ien Pao (T'ang)	(唐) 天宝
T'ien T'ao	天讨
T'ien Wang	天王
Ting (Hexagram 50)	鼎
Ting (fixed state of contemplation)	定
"Ting Hsing Shu"	定性书
Ting Ping, see also Bibliog. 2, (65)	丁丙
<i>Tosho Ryo Kanseki Zenpon Shomoku</i> , Tokyo, The Imperial Household Library, 1930. See Bibliog. 2, (68)	
Totality of divinity	聚天神而言之
Transmutation of energy	气化
True Original Ch'i, the; or the True Original Vital Energy	真元之气
<i>Tsa Kua</i> (YK, Appendix VII)	杂卦
Ts'ai (powers; material; talent)	才
Ts'ai Ch'en (Chung-mo)	蔡沈, 字仲默
Ts'ai, Yung-ch'un	蔡詠春
"Ts'ai Wei"	采薇
Ts'ao Han	曹翰
Ts'ao Pin	曹彬

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“Tsang Shuo”	葬说
Tseng Ts’an	曾参
Tseng Tzu	曾子
(<i>Tso Chuan</i>) = <i>Tso Chuan</i>	左传
Tsou Yen	邹衍
Tsun Hsien T’ang	尊贤堂
Ts’un Mu	存目
Tu (to stake) and tu (to see), see Chap. 6, Footnote 42	赌, 睹
<i>Tu Shu Min Ch’iu Chi</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (61)	
Tuan-pai, see Li Yü	
T’uan (YK, Appendix I)	彖
Tung Chung-shu	董仲舒
Tung Hai (filial daughter-in-law of)	东海 (孝妇)
Tung Kao Tzu	东皋子
<i>Tung Lai Chi</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (23)	
Tung Lai Hsien Sheng, see Lü Chu-ch’ien	
<i>Tung Tu Shih Lüeh</i>	东都事客
“T’ung Ch’eng”, see Bibliog. 2, (31)	
T’ung Chih (Ch’ing)	(清) 同治
<i>T’ung Shu</i>	通书
Two Emperors, the (Yao and Shun)	二帝 (尧舜)
Two Forms	两仪
<i>Tzu Ch’eng Tzu</i>	子程子
Tzu-chü, see Lü Tzu-chü	
Tzu-hou, see Chang Tsai	
“Tzu I”	缙衣
Tzu Kung	子贡
Tzu Lu	子路
Tzu Mo	子莫
Tzu Shan T’ang	资善堂
Tzu Ssu	子思
<i>Tzu’u Yüan</i>	辞源
U	
Ultimateless, see Wu Chi	
V	
Vacuity (Buddhist idea of)	空
Vernacular changed into classical style	变语彙而文之者也
Vital energy, see Ch’i	
Void, the	太虚
W	
<i>Wai Shu</i> , see <i>Erh Ch’eng Wai Shu</i>	

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Wan Yu (Text)	万有文库 (版本)
Wang An-shih	王安石
Wang Hsiang	王祥
Wang Mang	王莽
Wang Pi	王弼
Wang P'in (Hsin-pai)	王蘋, 字信伯
Wang Shou-jen, Master Yang Ming	王守仁, 阳明先生
Wang Tao (the Way of the Sage-Kings)	王道
Wang Tch'ang-tche	王昌祉
Wang Yang-ming, see Wang Shou-jen	
Wang Ying-lin, see also Bibliog. 2, (55)	王应麟
Watanabe, see also Bibliog. 2, (49)	渡边秀方
Wei (Dynasty)	魏
Wei (the prince of, see <i>Analects</i> XIII, III, 1)	卫
Wei (to say) and wei (not yet)	谓, 未
Wei Chi (Hexagram 64)	未济
Wei, Francis Cho Min	韦卓民
Wen, King	文王
Wen, see substance and pattern	
<i>Wen Che Yüeh K'an</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (40)	
<i>Wen Chi</i> , See <i>Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi</i>	
Wen Ching Kung, see Yang Shih	
<i>Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (58)	
Wen Ting Kung, see Hu An-kuo	
Wen, Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang (the Kings)	文, 武, 成, 康
<i>Wen Yen</i> (YK, Appendix IV)	文言
Wen Yen-po (The Grand Tutor)	文彦博 (太师)
"Western Inscription", see "Hsi Ming"	
"What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?"	颜子所好何学论
Will	志
wisdom, see five constant virtues	
Wu, King	武王
Wu (name of place)	吴
Wu (Non-being)	无
Wu (things; externals)	物
Wu instead of i (Chap. 6, Footnote 4)	物, 义
Wu Chi (the Ultimateless)	无极
<i>Wu Ch'eng</i> , see Corrected Text etc.	
Wu hsing (human nature with the five constant virtues, Chap. 7, Footnote 5)	五性
Wu hui, also wu t'ou (a poisonous herb)	乌喙, 乌头, 又名草乌头

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Wu Tai, see Five Dynasties	
Wu Ti	五帝
Wu Wang (Hexagram 25)	无妄
Wu Ying Tien edition, ref. Bibliog. 2, (62)	
Y	
Yang, see yin and yang	
Yang, the philosopher	杨子 (杨朱), 杨子 (杨雄)
Yang Hsi-min, see Bibliog. 2, (6)	
Yang Hsiung	扬雄
<i>Yang Ming Ch'üan Shu</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (25), a	
Yang Shih (Chung-li), Wen Ching Kung	杨时, 字中立, 文靖公
Yang Ti (Tsun-tao)	杨迪, 字遵道
Yang Tsun-tao, see Yang Ti	
Yang Tung-chuan, <i>Chung Kuo Hsüeh Shu Shih Chiang Hua</i>	杨东莼, 中国学术史讲话
Yang Wen Ching Kung, see Yang Shih	
Yangtze, the	扬子江
Yao (Emperor, a sage-king)	尧
Yeh Shih (Master Shui-hsin), <i>Hsi Hsüeh Chi Yen</i>	叶适, 水心先生, 习学记言
Yen Hsi-chai	颜习齐
Yen Hui	颜回
Yen P'ing	延平
“Yen Tzu So Hao Ho Hsüeh Lun”, see “What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?”	
Yen Kuang (Tzu-ling)	严光, 字子陵
Yen Yü-hsi (Tzu-yü)	阎禹锡, 字子兴
Yi (Hexagram 42), see I	
Yi-chih, see Hu Yüan	
“Yi Hsü”, see “I Hsü”	
<i>Yi King</i> , see I	
Yin and Yang	阴阳
“Yin Pen Chi”	殷本纪
Yin T'un	尹焯, 字德充, 和靖处士
Yu, Li, P'ing, Huan (the kings)	幽, 厉, 平, 桓
Yu Cha (Ting-fu)	游酢, 字定夫
<i>Yu Ting-fu Hsien Sheng Chi</i> , see Bibliog. 2, (15)	
Yü (Hexagram 16)	豫
Yü (minister of water conservancy under Shun, later king)	禹
<i>Yü Lu</i>	语录
Yü P'an	虞槃
Yü-wen—“Letter Written for My Father Requesting Yü-wen to Accept the Principalship of the Han Chou County Academy”	为家君靖宇文中允典汉州学书

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Yüan (Dynasty)	元
Yüan Feng (Sung)	(宋) 元丰
Yüan Fu (Sung)	(宋) 元符
Yüan Yu (Sung)	(宋) 元祐
Yüeh (state of)	越
Yung Chia	永嘉
Yung-ch'un Ts'ai, see Ts'ai, Yung-ch'un	
Yung-hsiu, see Hsieh T'ien-shen	