

# RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY IN ANCIENT CHINA.

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(Concluded).

## IV. HUAI NAN TZU TO CHU FU TZU (C. 190 B. C. to 1200 A. D.)

**A**FTER the Burning of the Books there was an almost immediate repudiation of the Ch'in tactics and in 205 B. C. the first Emperor was slain and the Han dynasty was established. Huai Nan Tzu<sup>56</sup> was a grandson of the Duke of Han, but having no political ambitions he became a devotee of the mystic lore of Taoism, writing a series of 21 essays with the general title of *Ta Kuang Shih—History of the Great Enlightenment*. Herein are discussed matters of the utmost diversity: legends, dialogues, Cosmic Philosophy, magic, government, agriculture, alchemy and ethics. The work is a good example of the openminded interests of the age and serves as a ready introduction to the versatile achievements of the Han period whose scholarship, now remembered as unique in devotion to study, was sufficiently solid and profound to give lasting prestige to Chinese civilization.

It was about this time that Buddhist influence was beginning to reach China, and especially Huai Nan's legends of the moon's inhabitants closely fit in with what the traveller Pao P'o Tzu<sup>57</sup> and the nature-lovers Chang Heng and Tung Chung Shu

淮南子 卷之四 安  
<sup>56</sup> About 190-122 B. C. He was also called Liu An. The term Huai Nan, representing the fief conferred on him by Emperor Hsiao Wen, was another name for its location near Heng Shan, the southernmost of the five mountains to the west of the River Hsiang in modern Hunan. Metaphysics and the elixir-search were his forte.

抱朴子 卷之四 安  
<sup>57</sup> Also called Ko Hung, and lived about the first part of the fourth century A. D. Some say that Ko Hung was his true name and that he merely assumed the title of Pao P'o (Beloved Reconteur) for more or less obvious reasons while wandering in search of the elusive formula of immortality. At any rate it is established that he was a poor but precocious scholar who became Magistrate of Kou Lou (?), perhaps the island Kowloon near Hong-

soon afterward openly admitted as coming from the hymns of the Hindus. This tinge of Buddhism also accounts for his modern editor, Wu Chin Chuang (1788), saying that Huai Nan Tzu's attitude and general procedure in philosophy were comparable to that of his famous successor Yang Hsiung; but it seems to me that the latter is far more direct and reasonable in argument.

This thinker,<sup>58</sup> also known by his literary name Tzu Yün, was a native of Ch'eng Tu in Ssu Ch'uan and, being unfortunate in having a faulty manner of speech which gave cause for much cheap mockery by his companions, he early acquired the modest habit of quiet meditation and amiable reserve, noting very keenly however the tendency of surrounding events. In his youth he was a precocious student of the Odes and later on studied astrology, mathematics, and the humanities under Yen Tsum, the leading Yih scholar of the Shu tribe. His most notable literary work, called *Fa Yen*,<sup>59</sup> was composed not so much out of regard for the Confucian discourses as has been claimed, but rather in order to show up the insincerity of the anti-Buddhist "quoters" and substitute instead the plain and honest motives supplied in the Dharmapada and its *Eight-fold Path to Freedom*. This work, first written between the years 3 and 6 A. D., and now edited with both Duke Wen's and Tai Chen's very learned commentary remarks, contains

kong, but soon tired of such an uneventful life while dreaming that a certain potion of cinnabar roots and pheasant claws constituted the elixir of life. It is said that he finally, at the age of 81, had a strange vision of being carried off to heaven like an Elijah, and immediately set to work, even at one sitting (?), supposedly before he should be carried away, and composed the reminiscences of his travels and experiences, dreams and hallucinations in a work called *Lives of the Immortals*. In this romantic work, however, he does seem to anticipate many of our modern theories regarding the tides, the origin of the moon, earthquakes, etc. One of the immortals here chronicled was Tung Chung Shu, above mentioned, a native of Kiangtu who became a minister under Emperor Wu Ti in the second century B. C. Pao P'o's account says that he was a most diligent student, pulling down the shade and never looking out the window for three years, whence he became a Hanlin doctor and a recognized authority on the "Spring and Autumn", both Confucianism and Taoism, and an able interpreter of the strange phenomena of Nature. He was thus a contemporary of Huai Nan Tzu.

**揚雄子** <sup>58</sup> Lived about 53 B. C.-18 A. D. Tai Chen's critical edition asserts many items of classical learning in contradiction to the claims of the Sung philosophers. It was first published about 1760 and is revised and enlarged with the Sung versions in a new edition (1893) of which I have a copy.

**法言** <sup>59</sup> A title which may mean either "Exemplary Words", "Legal Expressions" or "Meaning of Law". In view of the Buddhist temper of a great deal of Yang Hsiung's thought, I have favored the latter interpretation in a translation which I am now preparing.

13 sections dealing respectively with learning and conduct, our teacher Confucius, personal culture, inquiry into Taoism, inquiry into the supernatural, inquiry into intelligence, the rarity of clear-sighted observation, everybody in general, ancient wisdom, importance of improving the people, Yen Tzu, the princely man, and filial piety.

With a sense of eclectic moderation Yang Hsiung diverged from Hsün Tzu's premise of human depravity by insisting that the nature of man at birth is neither good nor bad, but partly both; and that, depending on environment and the sort of character we choose to develop, our lives become subject to the old adage "as the twig is bent so's the tree inclined." We have innate propensities for both good and evil deeds, and it is the function of intelligence to see that conduct has the proper expedient and that virtue is the more durable economy of life. Laws are intended as restraints on the one and aids to the other. One of the principal conclusions to be drawn from Yang's theory of Law is that God is not the creator of all things; so far as listening to human whims and wishes is concerned He is a fainéant Deity indeed, although as a resolute Judge and Sustainer of the Cosmos He is the active guiding force which keeps the ten-thousand-things in their proper order. Section 4 is especially good as an elucidation of Lao Tzu's original conception of T'ien as God, and Tao as the Reason which is the root of all intelligence both human and divine.

Closely following Yang Hsiung's influence as an eclectic of all the then existing philosophical hypotheses, comes the "prince of abundance" Wang Ch'ung,<sup>60</sup> one of the most able exponents of the I-Tuan or heterodox teachings. He was the author of the so-called *Animadversions, Lun Heng, or Critical Essays* (84 are now extant) on the most various of subjects all the way from considerations of God and the First Cause down to bodily vitality and how to be superior to the vicissitudes of life. In these discourses he adversely criticized Confucius and Mencius, blaming them for blinding men's eyes to the actual situation which makes ethics a daily necessity. He assailed the contemporary fashion of bigotry and threw panic into the camps of those whose orthodoxy was a mere policy, using always such exact and clear notes of opposition

王充子

<sup>60</sup> About 27-97 A. D. Dr. Anton Forke has translated the *Lun Heng* into English, 2 vols.: Vol. I, *Philosophical Essays*, and Vol. II, *Miscellaneous Essays*; Berlin, 1911. See note 13.

that he is even to this day ranked along with Chu Tzu as one of the leading heterodox philosophers.

Like Yang Hsiung he emphasized the point, that it is the *manner of birth*, rather than mere heritage, which decides what proportion of good and bad there is in our nature, and that all that we do subsequently is no more than a development or exaggeration of whichever way the proportion happens to stand. A man with an evil disposition does nothing noble or benevolent even when in the most fortunate circumstances, and a man of noble character will do nothing mean even when such a course seems expedient. The only spiritual heritage at birth is bound up in the strength of pulse and the warmth of blood derived from our parents.

Likewise also, not a little knowledge of physiology seems to have given color to his notions about immortality, for we find him making an argument that a vital fluid, residing in the blood and, although not spiritual, yet sufficiently immaterial to survive the body's death, passes throughout all parts of the body (a clear anticipation here of Dr. Harvey's great discovery). This fluid and the body it animates are, we are told, mutually dependent for their proper functions and for the very (incarnate) life which those functions help to maintain. Thus, when the body fails at death, the fluid has no organ by which it may be sustained and its continued circulation secured, and accordingly the fatal rupture of their dual harmony renders negative any prospect of a personal immortality—that is, no manner of continuity in the form of life known as physical. In this way then, Wang Ch'ung denied earthly immortality, holding the reservation however that the Vitality (a material sort of spirituality) of the first natal conception is reclaimed at death by the world's First Cause, of which it is a part. While, as at birth, the individual soul or spark of vitality is indirectly derived from this First Cause for the sake of some certain desired accomplishment, so too at death it returns to its original source so that no part of the divine shall ever be lost. The body *per se* is of the earth earthy and remains so whether living or dead.

In this connection he further points out that God (the impersonal, vague and formless First Cause) has no direct power over the length of life of good and bad men, because this is a matter not of the divine but of the natural order; it is a physical not a metaphysical affair. It is for this very reason also that the so-called Divine Will cannot be discovered through divination, and proves secondarily that God is not, as cunning men pretend, so intimate

with nor condescending to the vanity of human wishes. These are some of the arguments by which Wang Ch'ung sought constantly and valiantly to free the Chinese religious mind from its slavery to tradition and futile ceremonials. He made a very able philosophical attempt to overthrow the anthropomorphic theism which had sapped the otherwise reverent intelligence of the sages, the manmade religion fostered by Confucius and put into such a bathos of intimacy by Wang's presumptuous critic of the third century, Ch'in Mi. And far above all vulgar or self-serving forms of worship, it was at the same time a failing yet worthy attempt to preserve the attitude, so highly representative of all honest religious conceptions, that God is our souls' most cherished original as well as our thirsting spirits' goal.

Buddhist writings were first officially introduced into China during the reign of Emperor Ming of the Later Han dynasty (c. 200 A. D.), although there had been numerous accounts of travellers both native and Indian for four or five centuries before this time which told more or less truthfully the deeds and doctrines of Buddha and the encouraging legends of Maitreya. The organized effort to carry on officially recognized propaganda did not mature, however, until (in 405) the 19th western patriarch of Buddhism, Kumarajiva,<sup>61</sup> became state preceptor at the court of Yao Hsing of the eastern Chin dynasty. Among his indefatigable labors as linguist, tutor, philosopher, and interpreter of religious exaltation he either translated or caused to be translated the metaphysical appendices of the Tripitika and the Prajna Paramita (Wisdom's Highest Sublimation), a profound treatise on the Mahayana. Such a work, it appears, was a little precocious in view of the fact that Sanga Pala (c. 506) had not yet introduced his scheme for transliterating Sanskrit words into Chinese and Wang Tung had not yet clarified the Chinese ethical atmosphere with his Discursive Opinions (Shen Shuo, c. 614). Nevertheless there were a few educated Chinese who were sufficiently openminded and aspirant

羅什 <sup>61</sup> Is the Chinese (Cantonese) pronunciation of the third and fourth syllables of his name and are said to mean "Young in years but old in virtue" or "Pliable but well-seasoned". He was about 40 years of age at this time and died in 412, seven years later. This famous Hindu devotee of the Mahayana, now called one of the "Four Suns of Buddhism", not only translated Indian works into Chinese, but found time and talent to compose also in his newly adopted language. One of such writings is called Shih Hsiang Lun "Discourses on Reality and Appearance",—not a few points therein anticipate Francis Bradley's work of 20 years ago.

to relish if not understand the ultra-Confucian conceptions which it contained, one for example being that of the *akänishta*, the 18th and last heaven in the Mahayana cosmogony, pictured as the ultimate goal of sentient desire and "a place where all the needs and aims and experiences of the human soul are sifted to the bottom to prove the degree of our spiritual purity."

Hence, by the time of Han Yü or Han Wen Kung,<sup>62</sup> Buddhism had obtained a strong foothold in Chinese religious life, and thrusting aside the contention between Confucianism and Taoism, it was seeking to lead a middle way neither contra-ceremonial nor anti-mystic. At least it had so far succeeded in becoming a fixed faith that the "Literary Duke" Han was banished from his native state merely for having exhorted the people to "give up this new spoilment of heart," and return to the simplicity and substantial wisdom of the ancients. Realizing in more ways than one the story that he carried his studies far into the night by "burning candles to lengthen the shadow on the dial", he gave constant voice to the belief that the energy of life cannot be destroyed, but continues in various forms of both bodily and spiritual (i. e., disembodied) expression. It cannot abruptly cease functioning with the event of death, else there would be no disembodied spirits of past sages that care for the virtuous nor any as yet unborn spirits who, anxious for our welfare, await an opportune time to come back into the world and help in the proper guidance of the State.

It was a strictly spiritual economy which Han Yü brought to the rule of human life. Even departed spirits are often reincarnated to carry on the purposes for which their former life was inadequate; no moral distinction is found governing their immortality, because we find both good and evil spirits at work in the world. Even though the disembodied spirits have no form, color, sound or weight by which we can be sensitive of them, yet they make their reality manifest by either contributing to or detracting from the happiness of mankind, the good carrying on the benevolent office of making our sacrifices sufficient and acceptable to the divine patronage which is proven in our daily blessings of health, long life, prosperity and peace.

It was then one of the ironies of fate that he was banished

・韓文公 <sup>62</sup> About 768-824 A. D., a poet, statesman and "orthodox" (i. e. Confucian) philosopher of the latter part of the T'ang dynasty. His friend Tsung Yüan (773-819 A. D.) had been a Secretary of the Board of Rites before banishment, and this made Han Yü that much more stringent upon his Buddhist heresy.

to the same barbarous region (Liu Chou in Kuangsi) that his subsequent friend Tsung Yüan had been banished to as governor. The latter was an able devotee of Buddhism, a poet, essayist and expert calligrapher. He was thoroughly set against the ephemeral glory of worldly power and prestige, but owing to the vast misery, injustice and misfit conditions in the world, he thought there was not enough evidence to warrant our belief in God. Han Yü was greatly surprised at the double heresy and in a friendly but by no means temporizing way rebuked him for it.

Han Yü is also a noteworthy name in the history of Chinese philosophy on account of his having developed another phase to the problem of human nature. His position however is somewhat of a take-off from Yang Hsiung's theory, in that he considers man's nature, both at birth and for the whole course of subsequent life, to be presented in three different degrees of moral suasion, whence the individual point d'appui may be either good, formative, or perverse when valued according to the ethics of their respective performances. Thus both Mencius and Hsün Tzu are once more criticized for partiality while an attempt is made to establish a more philosophical ground and middle course of conduct.

The Sung dynasty which ruled the north and south of China from 960 to 1278 marks was, even more than the Han, the high tide of eclectic scholarship. It was an age when clever and subtle commentators put Confucianism again in the ascendent, when historical research was the popular hobby and criticism enjoyed a patronage unknown in any previous age. It was during the fertile years of this long period that the Yih philosophy was given new and more virile exposition, that many doubtful points of classical literature were cleared up, and the psychology of thought and personality was first established as a department in philosophy. The achievements of this era were no mere rechauffe of what previous scholars had done; they were in practically every sphere of intellectual activity totally new departures and, being accomplished in view of the wider range of vision and piety, may also be considered a new departure in cultural devotion.

This memorable period had four leaders of thought whose work seems to have been pivotal to the whole course of Chinese religion and philosophy from that day to this. The first of these scholars was Chou Tun-I,<sup>63</sup> supposed to be a direct lineal descendant

of Duke Chou, but at any rate a man of the most varied and profound learning, an achievement for which he was canonized as Tao Kuo Kung or Prince in the Empire of Reason. That he deserved this posthumous honor is most clearly evident in the contents of one of his compiled works entitled *T'ung Shu* or *Book of Generalities*, a sort of encyclopedia of all matters dealing with the better understanding of Nature and the Yih hypothesis. It was a companion volume to his other great extant work on the proper interpretation of cosmogony called the *Design of the Supreme Origin* in which he brings rational processes of thought to bear on the numerous and conflicting theories regarding Reality, Life and the universal principles of nature. These two works constitute the second and first chapters of Yung Lo's encyclopedia of Sung metaphysics published in 1415 under the title Hsing Li Ta Ch'uan.<sup>64</sup>

The title of this encyclopedia recalls that the philosophers of Chou's time were beginning to wax hot over which was the more fundamental principle Li or Hsing, Reason or Natural Essence. And it seems that the unique distinction of Chou was that he harmonized the two factions by his assurance that Reason is the cause while Nature is the means by which the Reality in the universe becomes manifest; Li serves as intelligent purpose while Hsing serves as practical method of realization, but both are inferior to the Infinite which functions as a sort of impersonal God. He then explains in not very clear language that the Infinite is the Supreme Principle, the Great Origin of all things.<sup>65</sup> The Great Principle moves and produces Yang (the male principle); finishing this motion the Great Principle takes a rest. While resting it produces Yin (the female principle), whence having completed the purpose of its rest it again moves, thus alternating male and female, positive and negative proportions. This is an endless process going on indefinitely and, being accomplished on an infinite scale, serves to maintain the equilibrium of the Cosmos, producing fire and wood (Yang), water and metal (Yin) at their proper periods. Heaven is active in that it is the scene or domain of the cause, while earth (both as globe and element) is passive or neutral in that it is the domain of effect. Though all this is an endless procedure for the sake of cosmic maintenance, it is yet the Great Extreme or Supreme

<sup>64</sup> This phrase is the main title and the first two chapter titles of the encyclopedia "*Complete Rationale of Natural Dispositions*".

性理大傳太極圖  
通書

<sup>65</sup> 無極是太極大原



Principle in that nothing else is necessary. It is the *ne plus ultra* or all reality and life in the Universe.

Posthumous honor is also reflected upon Chou for having been the chief instructor of those famous brothers, Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I.<sup>66</sup> He seems to have received this commission through his friendship for their uncle, Chang Tsai, whose Buddhist and Taoist syncretism found expression in a formal treatise, called *Cheng Meng*, on the origin of the universe. The elder brother, Ch'eng Hao, soon retired from official life to a place called Kun Lo, where he found leisure to write the *Ting Hsin Shu*,<sup>67</sup> or *Book of Fixed Purposes*, while also using his influence as a Confucian expositor in resistance to the irreverent theories and radical innovations of Wang An Shih.<sup>68</sup> The younger brother, Ch'eng I, was a critical thinker fully the equal of Wang Ch'ung, and devoted practically all of his life to revising and explaining doubtful questions relating to the classics, especially the *Yih King*. While he was of an even more retiring nature than his brother, yet late in life he was persuaded to take office and, with this aid of his talented pupil, Kuei Shan Tzu,<sup>69</sup> succeeded in bringing Wang An Shih into disfavor and final disgrace. Before this final denouement when Wang An Shih had been urging men to do away with the sentimental scruples which so often retarded an otherwise economically supported government, his special target was the age-old custom of prizing benevolence and sympathy above all else of material welfare to the State. But Ch'eng Hao came to its rescue with the ably argued thesis that "Fellow-feeling and the equitable relation of one being toward another is the norm of the universe. If this norm is anywhere destroyed there ensues much lawlessness and discord."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Lived 1032-1085 and 1033-1107 respectively. 程顥程頤二師 The elder brother is often called Ming Tao, "Illustrious Reasoner" and Shun Kung, "Unspotted Prince"; while the younger brother is sometimes called by his posthumous title, Cheng Kung, "Prince of Rectitude".

定心書 <sup>67</sup> Many of its arguments seem to be veiled refutations of his uncle's book, especially its Buddhist features. Chang Tsai (1020-1076), however, carried his points over to Chu Tzu.

王安石 <sup>68</sup> 1021-1086, was nominally a socialist-minded man, but has the native reputation for being a very irreverent and radically unscrupulous official. However, cp. Dr. H. H. Gowen's articles in the *Open Court* for Dec. 1913 and Jan. 1914.

毛山子 <sup>69</sup> Also called Yang Shih, a native of Fukien, 1053-1135.

70 仁者天下之正理。  
失正理則無序而不和

The man, however, who took the whole panorama of past civilization in from one grand universal viewpoint was Chu Hsi or Chu Fu Tzu,<sup>71</sup> the eclipsing follower of Chou-Tun-I, who was destined to become famous as one of the foremost interpreters both pro and con of the Confucian Canon. With a keen philosophical insight he saw the limitations that were fettering the customary religious and philosophical notions of his contemporaries: so he boldly turned their anthropomorphic god into an eternal principle, one which was intrinsic and spontaneous, the ultimate law and sacred providence of the Universe. Thus he courageously departed from the finite and worldly God-conception of the Odes,<sup>72</sup> and held instead that Li the great colorless, immaterial, governing principle of the Cosmos is God. No more the personal whim-satisfying deity of antiquity, who was now shown to be but a mere abstraction of human passions and characteristics, but God who had more to do with maintaining the universal order and guiding the destiny of things than with serving the petty desires and ambitions of human beings.

Chu Tzu was thus not so much atheistic as anti-theistic: he did not deny God's existence as an actual and determinable power in the affairs of the world, but he did deny and make heroic efforts to refute the man-made theism of the less philosophical Confucianists and Hinyana Buddhists. His doctrine of the deity thus harkened back to Lao Tzu's Tao, the principle of Reason and Righteousness in the Universe, which is manifested on earth as the forward evolution of life and the upward aspiration of virtue. His Li principle is hence no more than Tao or T'ai Kih, only it is put forth in a new development and a more up-to-date and illustrative manner of exposition. It might even be said that T'ien, Tao, T'ai Kih, and even Shang Ti (the Supreme Ruler) are but terms of equal potential which serve to express the immaterial principle (Li) which governs the motions of heaven, the earth, men, ani-

朱夫子

<sup>71</sup> Lived 1130-1200. See my article, *Open Court*, March, '21.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. notes 11 and 32. Even so great a critic as Tai Chen (1722-1777), the Imperial Librarian under the exacting Ch'ien Lung, even tho opposed to Chu Tzu's non-Confucian Mahayana sympathies when he wrote his essays on the Odes, yet acknowledged in his treatise on astronomy and the Yih calculus that Chu's attack on the man-made pantheon of the Odes was justified from a philosophical viewpoint. See also note 82.

mals, and all inanimate things.<sup>73</sup> And while thus governing the Universe in all justice and rectitude of law, it was yet not to be known by tangible definition, verbal predication or any other form of finite comprehension; human intelligence being capable only of witnessing its operation in and power over all the things of earth and sky.

Accordingly then, we find that Chu Tzu was not at all content with Confucius' and Mencius' dictum that we should accept unquestioningly the apparent conditions of existence as set upon us by heaven and earth. On the other hand, he sought with tireless energy a more reasonable answer to life's riddle; in the Yih King he proposed to find the secret of the cosmic structure and thereon to establish a systematic theory of rational cosmogony; in his own political treatise entitled Chin Ssu Lu<sup>74</sup> he tried to harmonize and simplify the popular digressions in governmental policy—one dealt with heaven, the other with earth and man.

His system from the standpoint of the one was drawn up on the following theses: Primary matter (ch'i), though subtle and ethereal, is yet passive and determinable; it is the receiver of the immaterial principle (li) which is eternal and intangible but yet requires matter for its place of manifestation and the organic means of its functioning. Though this principle is to be known, not through the sense-channels of ordinary empirical knowledge, but through the inductive interpretation<sup>75</sup> afforded by the Yih phi-

**理治萬物** <sup>73</sup> Chu Tzu's theory of the relative position and importance of these terms in metaphysics is presented in his commentary edition of Chou Tun—1's "T'ai Kih T'u—Design of the Supreme Origin".

**經畧** <sup>74</sup> Meaning "A Resumé of Recent Thoughts (on public affairs)". It was published about 1179 thru the influence and under the supervision of his friend and advisor, the historian Lü Tsu-Ch'ien popularly called Tung Lai Tzu (1137-1181) who wrote a history of the Sung period as well as critical commentaries on the Odes and the Yih which defended Chu's position.

<sup>75</sup> That the whole system of the Yih is an inductive calculus of natural phenomena is a proposition which has often been contested by both native and western scholars, especially those who prefer to value it from the standpoint of mythology, political history, or romantic anagoge. But as a simple hypothesis of cosmogony from a First Cause down thru derivative media to the multiple functions of the ten-thousand-things, it is really the reverse expression of what was the original process of thought. From any certain set of experiences or collection of data we always work back inductively toward the general principle or source before we turn around and claim to derive all the multiple functions from the original one. The Yang and Yin dualism of the Yih long anticipated the binary system of Leibnitz; its cryptic geology and meteorology arranged according to the 384 days of the lunar year inspired Dr. Reidel's *almanac* interpretation; and its synonymizing of

losophy, yet it is for man not only to be exemplified negatively in the mere animation of his physical life, but positively also in the striving of his mind and heart after truth and goodness. This truth and goodness should properly be conceived and valued as equal to the Li itself, especially when we look upon the function of the latter as proving an eternal and perfect power of justice whose benevolence is a real existent in the Universe, whence the Li become the lofty model of our conduct even though we do not often find it clothed in the worldly robes of a material habitation. There is only one thing which we can consider second in importance to the Li, and that is Ch'i the subtile primary matter, also called the aether, breath or spirit of organic life. Chu is thence very eager to point out its lieutenantancy under direction of the Li by often remarking words to the effect that: "There is in the Universe a subtile aura which permeates all things and makes them what they are. Below it is shaped forth as land and water: above as sun, moon and stars. In man it is called spirit, and there is nowhere that it is not. Therefore you cannot distinguish what is existent from what is not existent in the Universe without first looking for the Ch'i and then for the Li which controls it. These two are the substance, the form and the principle of life; before heaven and earth they were, and after heaven and earth they shall survive."

Chu Tzu had a county home at Wu I amongst the hills of north Fukien, where he had many friendly bouts with Lu Tzu<sup>76</sup> on questions of education and philosophy. It was here that he wrote (c. 1172) his famous synopsis<sup>77</sup> of Ssu Ma Kuang's great historical

certain metonymous words with stroke-count symbols indeed affords a very complex lexicograph, showing that Zottoli and Lacouperie make far-fetched assumptions. It is most appropriately called a "universal book" in Chou Tun-I's analysis and Yung Lo's "Rationale of Natural Dispositions" (see note 66). Cf. note 25.

**陸九淵** <sup>76</sup> Is Lu Tzu's full name (Lu Chiu Yüan, 1140-1192), a native of Chin Ch'i in Fukien. He became governor of Ching Men in Hupeh about 1190, serving until he died two years later. Before this he had a country seat at Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) not far from where Chu Tzu lived, hence he is known in literature by this home name, his collected writings being called Hsiang Shan Chi. He was a great controversialist and friendly opponent of Chu Tzu, teaching and writing on philosophy and education. His general theory in the latter subject was that all the paraphernalia and expense of external education are practically useless and can be readily dispensed with, while self-control and the development of one's personality (largely thru introspection and meditation, physical exercise and useful work) constitute the proper and only efficient means of true education.

**通鑑綱目** <sup>77</sup> Tung Chien Kang Mu—"Universal Mirror (of history) in General Outline". Shih Tzu of Mei Shan (latter part of the eleventh century) was also a learned commentator

work covering all antiquity down to the Sung dynasty. He also had a meditative retreat at the White Deer Grotto near Po Yang lake (where the 17th century philosopher Wei Hsi founded a school), where he wrote the *Hsiao Hsüeh, Little Learning or Juvenile Instructor*,<sup>78</sup> and where he is said to have "taken rest after arguing three days and nights with Chang Ch'ih<sup>79</sup> over the ethics and ritualism of the *Chung Yung*." But taking his just and exemplary record in official life as evidence, we can hardly think that he had any adverse motive in criticizing or reforming the Confucianism of his day. Even with all their Buddhist sympathies his efforts were far more successful both politically and philosophically than the attempt 30 years ago of his proud emulator, the Kuangtung scholar, Kang Yu Wei who, under the pseudonym of Chang Su sought to give the impression that he was superior to Confucius. At least Chu Tzu's position<sup>80</sup> in this regard is quite

on Ssu Ma Kuang's Mirror. I recently learn that the Newberry Library at Chicago, thru the Wing Foundation, has come into possession of a complete copy of both the Mirror and Chu's Synopsis.

**小學集註** <sup>78</sup>This is the title of my Copy in two volumes published by royal decree in Dec. 1908. The preface explains that Sheng Tsu Jen, the second Manchu Emperor, left a will expressing the desire for a new edition of Chu Tzu's book. Accordingly his successor, Yung Cheng the third Emperor, caused a new critical edition to be published in Dec. 1728 in one volume quarto. The present edition is a reprint in two volumes octavo. The last commentary note to the original preface says that Chu Tzu wrote this work in 1177 at a conservatory or studio called Hui An, whence he derived his *hao* name. This preface also explains that Chu Tzu is seeking to fill the gap between childhood's need of proper guidance and maturity's introduction to the "Great Learning"; and that his arguments are based on the six classics, the four philosophers (Confucius, Mencius, Tzu Ssu and Ts'eng Tzu), and the Sung conception of Hsing Li, or "individual nature-principle",—whence all the writings of his predecessors are to be valued as the progressive steps of a ladder leading up to wisdom and virtue. (Vol. I) Book 1 analyzes the education of boys and girls; book 2 explains the five ethical relations (between parents and children, ruler and officials, man and wife, old and young, and between friends); book 3 encourages respect for one's person, including proper care as to one's mind, conduct, clothes and food; book 4 considers wisdom and virtue as exemplified under the four great dynasties of antiquity (Shun, Hsia, Shang and Chou, c. 2255-255 B. C.). (Vol. II) Outward applications of these principles in (Book 5) good words, including both opinions and viewpoints, and in (Book 6) good deeds, including both practical and exemplary or heroic conduct. Pluquet's French translation of 1784 has been out of print long since.

**張栻** <sup>79</sup>A classical commentator of Ssu Ch'uan, also called Nan Hsien Tzu, a friendly opponent of Chu Tzu, lived c. 1133-81.

<sup>80</sup>Probably what may be called the actual situation of Chu's revision of the Confucian code is presented in two works by a thirteenth century scholar who can hardly be said to have favored his syncretist efforts. This scholar was Weng Meng-Te, author of the Yao Lun

effectually vindicated in an expository work, reputed to have been from his own hand, but published posthumously (c. 1270), entitled *Chu Tzu Yu Wei—A Defense of Chu Tzu's Discourses*.

(Critical Discourses) and the *Chih Shih* (Gathered Fruits). A defense of the classical attitude of both Ch'eng I and Chu Tzu, but an opposition to their mathematical and scientific theories, has been made by Yao Nai the famous Hanlin president, teacher of philosophy, and editor of original Taoism in Ch'ien Lung's encyclopedia. He tells us that Hsing Li as a term for psychology and metaphysical hypothesis in philosophical speculations, was first used by Ch'en Shun 1151-1216, a disciple of Chu Tzu. In this he is borne out by his famous contemporary, the Yih scholar Wu Ting (1728-1800) compiler of the textbook *Po Yih Hsiang Chi Shuo* (Variorum Commentary on the Yih Symbols) which embraced the different viewpoints and arguments, with commentary notes, of ten philosophers of the Sung Yüan and Ming periods.