A STUDY OF CHOU TUN-I'S (1017-1073) THOUGHT

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .......................................................... 6
ABSTRACT ...................................................................................... 7
INTRODUCTION .............................................................................. 9
CHAPTER 1. Historical Background .............................................. 20
CHAPTER 2. Chou's Life and Works .............................................. 44
   2.1 Chou's Life ........................................................................... 44
   2.2 Chou's Works ....................................................................... 83
CHAPTER 3. A Study of the Origin of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate .......................................................... 91
   3.1 The Ts'an t'ung ch'i (Tally to the Book of Changes) and the Han-shang yi-chuan (Han-shang's Commentary on the Changes) ........................................................................... 93
   3.2 The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven .......................................................... 118
   3.3 The Wu-chi t'u (Diagram of the Ultimateless) ........................................................................... 127
   3.4 The Buddhists Influences ...................................................... 143
      3.4.1 Shou Ya ........................................................................... 143
      3.4.2 Tsung Mi ........................................................................... 152
   4.1 Cosmology ............................................................................ 163
      4.1.1 Ultimateless (wu-chi) ...................................................... 168
      4.1.2 Supreme Ultimate (t'ai-chi) ............................................ 175
   4.1.3 The Debate of the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate .......................................................... 182
      4.1.4 The Problem of tzu (from) and wei (become) ........................................................................... 199
### Table of Contents (Continued)

4.2 Moral Philosophy........................................ 209

**CHAPTER 5. A Study of the Yi-t'ung**.......................... 218

5.1 Ch'eng................................................. 218
5.2 Incipience (chi).......................................... 229
5.3 A Theory of Cultivation.................................. 242
5.4 Nature (hsing).......................................... 245

**CHAPTER 6. The Relationship between the Yi-t'ung and the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate**............................... 252

**CONCLUSION**.................................................. 260

**APPENDIX 1. The Translation of the Yi-t'ung (Penetrating the Book of Changes)**................................. 275

2. Glossary of Chinese and Japanese characters. 304

**REFERENCE**.................................................. 324
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. The **Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate**............ 265

Figure 2. The **Diagram of the Outline of [the Forces of Water and Fire and the Diagram of the Three and Five Supreme Essences**..................... 266

Figure 3. The **Diagram of the Eight Rings**..................... 267

Figure 6. The **Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven**.......................... 268

Figure 7. **Hsu-wu tzu-jan chih t'u**............................... 269

Figure 7. **1 T'ai-chi ti-yi**...................................... 270

Figure 8. **Tao-miao hu-huang chih t'u**............................ 271

Figure 9. The **Diagram of the Ultimateless**.................... 272

Figure 11. The **Diagram of the Process of Enlightenment and Delusion**.................. 273

Figure 12. The **Tsang-shih chart**................................. 274
ABSTRACT

This is a study of Chou Tun-i's (1017-1073) life and philosophy, the latter being commonly regarded as the intellectual foundation for the whole of Neo-Confucian thought. The metaphysical cosmology found in the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and Confucian moral philosophy explained in the Yi-t'ung are two major subject-matters of this dissertation.

This study consists of six chapters. The first chapter is a discussion of the historical background of Sung Neo-Confucian thought. The subject of the second chapter is a discussion of Chou's life and works. Although traditionally Chou's life is described as that of a stern Confucian scholar, through discussing poems and writings written by his friends I offer a broader perspective on Chou's life to clarify the intellectual background of his thought. In this chapter I also deal with Chu Hsi's accounts about the origin of Chou's learning. The traditional belief that Chu Hsi opposed the theory that the ideas of the Taoist Ch'en T'uan were the origin of Chou's philosophy is criticized. In chapter three through a discussion of the traditional claims regarding the origin of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, I have indicated how these claims contain serious defects. The fourth chapter is a discussion of the implications of
the Supreme Ultimate and the Ultimateless and their relationship to each other. I demonstrate that these two ideas are simultaneously used by the three teachings. Through investigating the debate between Lu Hsiang-shan and Chu Hsi I point out that from the philological point of view the relationship between these two concepts cannot be clarified. My conclusion that Chou used these two as a way to refer to the same reality is based on an intellectual understanding of Chou's philosophy.

The fifth chapter is a discussion of Chou's Yi-t'ung which explains his moral philosophy. From the discussion of such major philosophical ideas as ch'eng and chi one can see that Confucian ethics is at the heart of Chou's thought. Despite Taoist and Buddhist influences on his philosophy, Chou was truly a Confucian.
INTRODUCTION

The goal of this dissertation is to describe Chou Tun-yi's (1017-1073) life and philosophy, the latter being commonly regarded as the intellectual foundation for the whole of Neo-Confucian thought. The major materials for this study are Chou Tun-yi's two works, the T'ai-chi t'u shuo (Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate) and the Yi-t'ung (Penetrating of the Book of Changes). The metaphysical cosmology found in the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and the Confucian ethics explained mainly in the Yi-t'ung are two major subject areas of this dissertation.

Among the so-called five Masters of the Northern Sung, the philosophical ideas of Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng Yi, Chang Tsai and Shao Yung have been studied in detail by western scholars. But despite the importance of Chou's philosophy in the historical development of the Neo-Confucian tradition, no in-depth study of his thought exists in English.² I

¹To avoid ambiguity, "yi" is used instead of "i" in this dissertation.

²For example, John Henderson's book, The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984) does not deal with Chou's cosmology. Furthermore, the Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching, which contains Kidder Smith's, Peter Bol's, Joseph Adler's and Don J. Wyatt's articles, also does not discuss Chou's understanding of the Yi-ching. Considering the Yi-ching's
found only two English articles on Chou Tun-yi: one is written by Joseph Adler and the other one is written by A.C. Graham. But the major subject-matter of these two articles is not a discussion of Chou's thought itself but an explanation of Chu Hsi's characterization of Chou as the founder of the Neo-Confucian tradition. Considering the important role of Chou's philosophy in the development of later Neo-Confucian thought, this is an unfortunate situation for English readers. This lack of work done on Chou's thought is one of the reasons I chose Chou's philosophy as the subject of my dissertation. Although Chinese, Japanese and Korean scholars have dealt with Chou's thought in their works, their studies focus primarily on the metaphysical cosmology of the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* and generally fail to recognize the importance of Chou's moral philosophy in the *Yi-t'ung*. This is another reason which led me to study Chou's thought as my dissertation subject. In this dissertation I will focus

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influence on Chou's thought and Chou's status in the Neo-Confucian tradition, this is somewhat surprising.

These two articles will be discussed below.


I will use more space to discuss the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* than the *Yi-t'ung* because there are many historical materials with regard to the interpretations of *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* and the origin of the *Diagram of the*
on both the Yi-t'ung's ethics as well as the Explanation of
the Diagram's cosmology in order to gain a complete
understanding of Chou's philosophy.

This dissertation consists of six chapters. The first
chapter is a discussion of the historical background of Sung
Neo-Confucian thought. The major concern of this chapter
will not be a comprehensive description of Sung China but
only those historical factors which contributed to the
revival of Confucianism in the Sung. In general, the Sung
dynasty is known as a period characterized by the revival of
Confucian thought. Historically, the most remarkable event
in the Northern Sung with regard to the revival of
Confucianism was the rise of the shih as a civil
bureaucracy. The rise of the shih in the Sung was possible
largely due to the Sung founders' desire to build a civil
bureaucracy in order to lessen the power of the military
governors. In order to establish a civil bureaucracy, they
created the examination system. In the Sung, one who wanted
to become an (high) official had to pass the civil service
examinations. Because the subject matter of the

Supreme Ultimate.

"There was another route to become an official called
the "yin privilege (yin-en)," which was an official's right
to make a relative eligible for rank and appointment. But
through the yin privilege one cannot be promoted to a high
official. Chou Tun-yi, for example, remained a low ranking
local official for his entire life because he became an
official through this yin privilege."
examination was the Confucian classics, Sung literati devoted themselves to the study of them. As a result, Confucian doctrines and attitudes became more and more popular in the Sung. In other words, the examination system and the revival of Confucian thought were closely related. Other political, economic and social factors related to the revival of Confucian thought are also briefly dealt with here: the political policies of the Sung founders, economic developments and the spread of printing.

In this chapter the general characteristics of the intellectual background to Chou's thought are also mentioned; that is the Sung Confucians' great interest in the classics, a theory of cultivation, sagehood, cosmology, and Buddhism. Through a discussion of these matters one will see the type of intellectual problems the Sung Neo-Confucians were generally interested in. Most of these problems are treated in detail in the process of discussing Chou's philosophy: they are central to Chou's philosophy.

The subject of the second chapter is a discussion of Chou's life and works. The most important source for discussing Chou's personal life is his biography written by Tu Cheng. In this biography, Tu Cheng discusses Chou's life as a scholar-official in detail, but he does not deal with other aspects of Chou's life such as his personal relationships and his intellectual intimacy with Taoism and
Buddhism. Tu Cheng presents Chou's life as that of a strict Confucian official, but according to other materials written by his relatives and close friends Chou's life was quite different from this. He was not a man concerned with authority and worldly advantages. Their writings give us a much broader perspective on Chou's life than Tu Cheng's biography. Chou's own poems are also important for understanding his life because they express his deep inner sentiments. Chou's extant poems represent his intellectual intimacy with Taoism and Buddhism. Indeed, from a discussion of his poems, one will get a picture of Chou's intellectual life as a whole. By discussing these materials I will give a new perspective on his life. In this chapter I will also deal with Chou's relationship to the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi's claims about the origin of Chou's learning. The traditional beliefs that the Ch'eng brother's philosophical ideas were derived from Chou and that Chu Hsi opposed the theory that the ideas of the Taoist Ch'en T'uan (d. ca. 989) were the origin of Chou's thought are both examined. An inquiry into these two problems will help one understand the status of Chou within the tradition of Neo-Confucianism. In the second part of this chapter the philological problems surrounding Chou's works (editions, etc) are dealt with in detail.

The third chapter is an investigation of the origin of
the T'ai-chi t'u (Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate). Most scholars consider that Chou's Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and its Explanation grew out of a long Taoist and Buddhist tradition. They accept, for example, the traditional claims that the Taoist Ch'en T'uan is the genesis of Chou's diagram and that the works of the Buddhists Shou Ya and Tsung Mi are the origin of Chou's diagram. Other studies examine the intellectual background of the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate when they study the origin of the diagram itself. They believe that an inquiry into the origin of Chou's diagram should include an investigation of the content of the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. Although it is true that Chou's diagram and explanation are closely related, I think that an inquiry into the origin of the diagram must be kept separate from the more general question of the Taoist or Buddhist influences on Chou's thought. Because of the remarkable Taoist and, to a lesser degree, Buddhist influences on Chou's Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, there is a tendency among scholars to presuppose that Chou's diagram was undoubtedly derived from Taoist or Buddhist sources. In order to avoid this judgment one should separately discuss the origin of the diagram and its explanations. The Taoist and Buddhist's influences on Chou's Explanation of the Diagram of the
Supreme Ultimate are dealt with in chapter four. Therefore, in this chapter I focus on the genesis of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate without dealing with the Taoist and Buddhist influences on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate.

In chapter three, I focus on the traditional hypotheses with regard to the origin of the diagram. This chapter consists of four major portions. The first section is a discussion of Chu Chen's claims found in his Han-shang yi-chuan. The Sung literati's belief that Chou's diagram originated with Ch'en T'uan was primarily based on Chu Chen's accounts. By comparing Chu Chen's (1072-1138) accounts with those of Ch'ao Yueh-chih (1059-1129) and Shao Po-wen (1057-1134) I will show that Chu Chen's interpretations are not reliable. In the second section, I investigate the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven found in the Taoist canon. Previous studies consider this Tao Tsang diagram as the prototype for the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, yet my investigations of these materials show that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven was not created before the Sung dynasty. In the third section, I consider whether Ho-shang Kung's Diagram of the Ultimateless is the archetype for Chou's diagram, examining Huang Tsung-yen's accounts of the Diagram of the Ultimateless in detail. The intent in
the fourth section is to examine the Buddhist ideas and sources with regard to the origin of the diagram. Shou Ya's *Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth* and Tsung Mi's *Diagram of Alayavijnana*, which are generally regarded as sources of Chou's diagram, are examined in detail. Through a discussion of these two materials one will see that these two Buddhist sources are not the genesis of Chou's diagram. The relationship between Shou Ya and Chou was not that of a teacher and a disciple. Furthermore, I will indicate that the *Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth* ascribed to Shou Ya traditionally was written not by Shou Ya but by Shan Hui. Through a discussion of Tsung Mi's works one will also see that Tsung Mi's diagram was not created before Chou's, although his work, however little or much, influenced Chou's thought.

The fourth chapter is a discussion about the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*. Here one will see how greatly Chou's cosmology was influenced by both Taoist and, to a lesser degree, Buddhist ideas. The major concern in this chapter will be the implications of the *wu-chi* (ultimateless) and the *t'ai-chi* (supreme ultimate) and their relationship to one another. This relationship is one of the most important philosophical problems in Chou's work. In discussing this issue, I will examine the historical developments of these two terms in
the Chinese classics. Many Taoist and Buddhist texts are investigated to confirm the genuine meaning of the terms and their relationship to each other. A long polemic between Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-1193), which focused on the implications of these two ideas, is discussed in detail. Through the understanding of their debate one will understand the historical and philosophical problems behind Chou's *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*. At the end of this chapter I will also explain Chou's ethics found in the second half of the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*. There Chou connected his cosmological speculations to ethics by linking the evolutionary process of the universe to the moral development of the human being. Indeed, Chou's contribution to Neo-Confucianism was to connect metaphysical cosmology to moral philosophy within one philosophical system. The Sung Neo-Confucians made the revival of ancient Confucian moral philosophy possible by linking their moral teachings to their theories about the universe. Their achievement was greatly inspired and guided by Chou's *Explanation of the Diagram*. By defining man as the most intelligent being in the cosmos and a member of a trinity with Heaven and Earth, Chou successfully connected his cosmology to moral teachings. His theory of cultivation and sagehood are also dealt with here.
The fifth chapter is a discussion of Chou's Yi-t'ung which expresses his moral philosophy. Along with the second half of the Explanation of the Diagram, the Yi-t'ung represents Confucian moral philosophy. Although the importance of the Yi-t'ung in Chou's thought is undeniable, it is almost entirely ignored by specialists in Neo-Confucian thought. In the West as well as in China, Japan and Korea only a few studies have been done on this work. Through my discussion of the Yi-t'ung one will see that Chou's philosophy was characteristically Confucian. Here I will focus on the major ideas of Chou's moral philosophy: his interpretations of ch'eng, incipience (chi), desirelessness (wu-yu) and human nature (hsing). Through a discussion of these ideas one will see how Chou faithfully followed Confucian moral doctrines. This is important because those who relied greatly on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate to understand Chou's thought believed that Chou was not a true Confucian but a hybrid thinker incorporating ideas from Taoism and Buddhism in his thought. It is true that Chou was greatly influenced by these two religions, but he remained in the Confucian realm despite this influence. This point will be clarified in the discussion of the Yi-t'ung.

The goal of the last chapter is to show that there is an inner relationship between the Yi-t'ung and the T'ai-chi
t'u shuo. Since the Lu brothers doubted whether the Yi-t'ung was written by Chou many scholars have suspected the authenticity of this work. In this chapter my aim will be to demonstrate that these two works were written by one author, Chou Tun-yi. By comparing these two works I will show that they contain almost the same passages and that they hold very similar philosophical ideas.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By the middle of the tenth century the great clans which had dominated Chinese society since the Han dynasty (202 B.C.- A.D. 220) had lost their preeminent position, and by the first decades of the eleventh century the shih (scholar-official) class had become the sociopolical elite of the Sung dynasty. The members of the shih group gained their social and political power not because they represented powerful clans but because they possessed a mastery of the Confucian classics, history, and literarily skills. These scholar-officals were chosen for state service through the competitive written examinations on the basis of their knowledge of classical culture, and were

7The discussion that follows is not a comprehensive description of Sung China. I will focus on the historical factors which caused the revival of Confucianism in the Sung. At the end of this chapter I will also discuss the general characteristics of Sung Neo-Confucianism as the intellectual background to Chou's thought.

promoted to high office due to their competence demonstrated in government service. They generally were of extraordinarily high quality.

The Sung founders, the brothers Chao K'uang-yin (Emperor T'ai-tsu, r. 960-976) and Chao K'uang-yi (Emperor T'ai-tsung r. 976-997), were military men, and most of their efforts were devoted to completing the task of reunifying China through military conquest. For the reunification of China, the Chao brothers needed strong military power, but they were aware of the potential danger of powerful military leaders and their troops not being under the emperor's direct control. Because T'ai-tsu had himself usurped the throne through his control over the Palace Corps (tien-ch'i-en-chun) in 960, he wanted to make sure that no other military commander could imitate his actions. Thus from early in his reign T'ai-tsu limited the power of his leading generals, as the following conversation with his chief advisor Chao P'u (922-992) reveals:

One day the emperor summoned Chao P'u and asked, "since the T'ang dynasty ... royalty has changed surnames eight times all together ... What is the reason for this? I want to put an end to the fighting in the empire and make everlasting plans for the country. What is the way [to achieve this]?” Chao P'u said, "... The reason is none
other than that the military governors are too strong and that the ruler is weak and the ministers powerful. The single way to manage this problem is gradually to strip their [military] power, control their tax revenues, and recall their crack troops..."\(^9\)

T'ai-tsu changed the military institution so that no military governor would again be in a position to challenge the throne. By restructuring the system of command in the military and by leaving important positions vacant or appointing them to men of relatively low rank, T'ai-tsu maintained direct control over the military governors.\(^10\) He also did not allow the military governors on the borders to develop significant power.\(^11\) Indeed, centralizing power and diminishing the influence of the military to manageable proportions were T'ai-tsu's most important political policies. In general, the Sung emperors used the shih to reduce the power of the military. Both T'ai-tsu and T'ai-


tsung were aware that military men were useful but dangerous, thus they wanted to employ civilian officials who depended on an emperor for their political position. In brief, the Sung founders wanted to use "men with ability but without a power base." They patronized the shih because they believed that, as cultured men, the shih were the only social group that could secure their dynasty. By entrusting governmental administration to the scholar-officials, who were loyal to the imperial will, the first two Sung emperors protected themselves from the rise of any potential power group that might threaten their authority. T'ai-tsu was aware of the importance of the shih as a social group, thus he created a law stating that no corporal punishment should ever be inflicted on intellectuals. This dynastic rule was followed by his successors for more than three hundred years. The Sung-shih (Sung History) praised T'ai-tsu's support of the shih by saying, "when the first emperor changed the mandate of Heaven, he first employed civil officials and took power away from the military governors. The Sung emperors' esteem of cultured men took its start

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from [T'ai-tsu]."\(^{14}\) As a matter of fact, this statement overexaggerates T'ai-tsu's patronage of the shih. Although T'ai-tsu was interested in using the shih as a means for diminishing the influence of military men, he still utilized many military officials in his government. In a strict sense, it was T'ai-tsung who showed a marked preference for the civil officials. During T'ai-tsung's reign, the supremacy of a civilian bureaucracy emerged.\(^{15}\) Thus the traditional belief that T'ai-tsu's patronage of the shih represents the triumph of the civil (wen) over the military (wu) is incorrect. Although the Sung emphasis on the civil began with T'ai-tsu, it was completed by T'ai-tsung.\(^{16}\)

The Sung founders recognized that the best means to achieve a stable centralized government was to consolidate civilian officials in government who were faithful to the throne. T'ai-tsu created the examination system as a means for staffing the civil bureaucracy. Through the examination system, the Sung emperors could select men who were ready to uphold the new civil order and who were loyal to the imperial will. For example, those who passed the Palace


\(^{15}\)This will be clarified in the discussion of the examination system.

Examination received their degrees from an emperor. They were eligible for promotion to higher positions in government. In such a system the officials realized that an emperor, not a high minister, was their patron. In brief, the examination system exemplifies the Sung founder's attempt to centralize power. Indeed, the examination system was characteristically political. T'ai-tsu's successors were well aware of the political importance of the examination system. They saw it as an effective means for recruiting men to staff the government. Even though T'ai-tsu set up the examination system, it was T'ai-tsung who saw the political potential of the candidates as tools for bringing about centralization. During his twenty-three year reign, he conferred 1400 chin-shih, while in T'ai-tsu's sixteen year reign only 188 candidates obtained chin-shih degrees. Apparently T'ai-tsung wanted to build the civil bureaucracy through the civil service examination system. He closed down other routes into government and raised the status of chin-shih degree holders within the bureaucracy as a whole. T'ai-tsu wanted to use men recommended by the local government to staff the central government, but T'ai-

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tsung did not use this recommendation system.\textsuperscript{18} The road to official service was closed for those who were not learned men (\textit{wen}).\textsuperscript{19} Thus those with political aspirations now had sufficient reason to pursue higher education. Through the examination system, the shih with literary talents and abundant knowledge of history and the Confucian classics had become the dominant political group in T'ai-tsung's reign. Those who had political ambitions had to study the Confucian classics, history, and literature in order to pass the civil service examinations. As a consequence of T'ai-tsung's policies, many cultured men took the civil service examinations: for example, around 5,200 men took the departmental examination (\textit{sheng-shih}) in 977, over 10,000 took it in 982, and 17,300 in 992.\textsuperscript{20} Some passed it and many failed. But they together formulated the new intellectual atmosphere in early Sung China. The shih and candidates were not only at the top of the hierarchy of power but also at the top of a new intellectual movement -- the revival of Confucianism. Because passing the examinations depended primarily on a knowledge of the

\textsuperscript{18}Peter Bol, \textit{This Culture of Ours}, pp. 51-53.

\textsuperscript{19}Ma Tuan-lin, \textit{Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao} [Comprehensive discussion of the documentary Record] chuan 35, p. 322a. Cited in Peter Bol, \textit{This Culture of Ours}, p. 55.

\textsuperscript{20}See Chaffee, \textit{The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China}, p. 50.
Confucian classics and commentaries, literati devoted themselves to studying these works. As a result, Confucian values became more and more important.

Although the Sung founder's desire to establish a civil bureaucracy lead to the rise of the shih, which was the almost exclusive source of civil officials in the early Sung dynasty, there were, of course, certain other factors which set the stage for the rise of the shih class. For example, the Five Dynasties period was a time of political fragmentation and economic panic, while the Sung dynasty was a politically stable and economically developed society. The fact that a stable society can achieve intellectual development is undeniable. As for the social and economic situation, the medieval agricultural revolution began in the Northern Sung. The most revolutionary aspect of the agricultural advances in the Sung was the introduction of the so-called champa rice, which was more drought-resistant than China's earlier types of rice. Moreover, this champa rice was fast-ripening. With the improvement of agricultural technology, the dissemination of these new


strains greatly increased the productive capacity of Sung agriculture. Regional specialization and inter-regional trade also increased as the economy became more commercialized. The volume of money in circulation greatly increased: at the end of the eleventh century it had reached around twenty times the maximum amount in circulation during the T'ang dynasty. With the development of a commercial economy, the Sung developed an economy based entirely on money. The most remarkable monetary innovation was the creation of paper money in Ssu-ch'uan in 1024. Great advances were made in industry and science as well. Domestic peace, new crops, and commercial and technological advances fostered a great population growth in Sung China. Although the available statistics are not entirely reliable, it seems that the population in China reached around a hundred million in the Sung.

With these advances, the appearance of printed books in the Sung was closely related to the rise of the shih group, which was in turn one of the major factors causing the

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revival of Confucianism. Printing, invented in the T'ang dynasty, reached its full potential under Sung China. The Northern Sung was the first society with printed books. One of the major factors leading to the growth of education in the Sung was the spread of printed books. Books became available to many people who previously had difficulty obtaining them. The first woodblock printing of the Confucian classics, undertaken by the official Feng Tao (882-954) of the Later T'ang, was completed a few years before the founding of the Sung. In 988 scholars working at the Directorate of Education printed the Five Classics With Commentaries and in 1001 Chen Tsung (r. 997-1021) ordered the Directorate of Education to print the Nine Classics With Commentaries. The printing of Buddhist works was also supported by the government. The publication of the entire Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka, which ran to five thousand chuan, was completed between 972 and 983. Besides


religious and classical works, printing also made possible the wide propagation of agricultural and technological works which contributed to a more affluent standard of living. Indeed, printing became a flourishing industry in the Sung. The most important aspect of the wide dissemination of printed books was the democratization of knowledge. People were led, for example, to think that personal instruction from a master was not essential. The wide dissemination of printed books apparently laid the foundation for a great expansion of the literati. It undoubtedly set the stage for a revival of widespread interest in the Confucian classics. It was in this political, economic and social milieu, that the shih appeared as a dominant social group in the early Sung. At the beginning of the eleventh century this new elite group was in power. The important point I want to emphasize here is that they gained their positions by mastering the Confucian canon.

With the rise of the shih, many new Confucian thinkers appeared in the Sung. The academic position of the Sung

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^31Defining the difference between the shih and the Neo-Confucians is a difficult problem. Here I use shih in a more broader sense than the term Neo-Confucian. The shih refers
thinkers can be described as a return to the doctrines of Confucius. Free from their intellectual reliance on Buddhism and Taoism, these thinkers proclaimed the revival of Confucianism. Although it would be wrong to underestimate the intellectual importance of Buddhism and Taoism in the Sung, nevertheless it is fair to say that Confucian values became more and more important. The revival of Confucian thought in the Sung was one of the most outstanding cultural events of the age. The Sung Confucians felt that they had a responsibility to reveal the Confucian Tao which had been lost since the time of Mencius. They wanted to rediscover the Tao of the Confucian sage and to show that Buddhism was not the true Tao. They believed that there was only one Tao; as Confucius said, "a single thread binding it all together." They also believed that the true Confucian Tao was explained in the Confucian Classics. They believed that only by reading the Confucian texts to the Sung literati as a whole, while the Neo-Confucians indicate those who were greatly interested in the revival of Confucius' teachings. I know that this demarcation is not clear, yet it can, to some extent, help us to differentiate the Neo-Confucians from the shih.

In the early Sung the position of Mencius in the Confucian tradition was still the subject of much dispute. His position as the second great Confucian sage was established in the Southern Sung.

carefully could they truly apprehend the Tao. They also emphasized the importance of directly comprehending the fundamental messages of the Confucian canon without relying on the commentaries of the Han and T'ang dynasties. Because the Neo-Confucians sought the Tao primarily by reinterpreting the Confucian canon, they gave fresh impetus to China's tradition of classical scholarship. Although it is clear that the Sung Confucians tended to be subjective and philosophical rather than textually critical in reading the classics, they were serious students of the classics. The Confucian classics were revered as the primary means for interpreting and transmitting the Confucian Tao. For example, the Ch'eng brothers devoted themselves to studying the Confucian classics. Because of their profound understanding of them, they could place priority upon the specific texts which Chu Hsi later classified as the Four Books (ssu-shu): the Analects, the Mencius, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Great Learning. The Ch'eng brothers taught their disciples that one should first study these four works in order to understand the Confucian Tao. If one studies these four books carefully, then the Confucian Tao would become clear in one's mind-- only then could one comprehend the other classics more effectively. The Four Books came to supersede the other classics, including the five classics, in the intellectual concerns of the eleventh
and subsequent centuries.

The Neo-Confucians claimed that through the profound learning of the Confucian canon and inner moral-cultivation, one could become a sage. Indeed, the claim that through learning and cultivation one can achieve sagehood was a typical Neo-Confucian slogan. The Neo-Confucians emphasized the importance of learning the classics as a path for cultivating the self rather than as a route to success in the civil service examinations. It was true that political ambition motivated many shih to study the Confucian canon, but others studied it for the purpose of self-cultivation. For the ancient Confucians, to accomplish sagehood was something theoretically possible but practically impossible. The disciples of Confucius regarded Confucius as a sage, but Confucius himself never professed to be a sage. Confucius once said, "I have no hopes of meeting a sage." 34 Confucius himself suggested that becoming a sage was an ideal goal and thus he wanted his disciples to become superior men (chun-tzu). But the Sung Confucians believed that a man could achieve sagehood and they considered that Yen Hui, the disciple of Confucius, was the best model for someone striving to become a sage. 35 Ch'eng Yi's well-

34Analects 7.26, D.C. Lau, Analects, p. 89.
35For example, see Yi-t'ung chapter 23.
known essay entitled "Discussion of What sort of Learning Master Yen Likes" addresses the goal of becoming a sage.\footnote{For a discussion of this work, see chapter 2.}

It states that one can attain this goal through learning. The individual's quest for sagehood was a new emphasis in Confucian discourse.\footnote{The belief that one can achieve sagehood is similar to the Buddhist claim that one can attain Buddhahood. The Neo-Confucians' emphasis on achieving sagehood is one of the examples of the Buddhist influences on Neo-Confucian thought.}

The Neo-Confucians had such confidence in their quest for sagehood that they blamed earlier generations for failing to strive for this highest goal. Chang Tsai said, "To understand man but not Heaven, to seek to become a worthy statesman but not a sage -- these are the great faults of those since the Ch'in and Han dynasties."\footnote{The Sung-shih, chuan 427. Cited from Hoyt Tillman, Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'eng Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 43.}

The Sung Confucians considered that the sage was not just a figure of the distant past. They believed that they themselves could become living sages. Chou Tun-yi, for example, emphasized that every one could achieve sagehood.\footnote{Yi-t'ung ch. xx. For a discussion of this chapter, see chapter 5.} In sum, if the attainment of sagehood was theoretically possible for the ancient Confucians, it was practically possible for the Neo-Confucians. It was a goal
said to be within every one's reach.

Becoming a sage lay precisely in attaining the realization of one's original moral nature and resisting human desires which, according to the Neo-Confucians, arose from the physical nature. To recover the moral nature which men are endowed by Heaven was the primary goal of moral cultivation for the Neo-Confucians. Moral cultivation as a path to achieve sagehood was the process of recovering the lost original (moral) nature. Extinguishing selfish desires and other impulses which arose from one's physical nature was necessary to attain sagehood. The emphasis on moral-cultivation was one of the important characteristics of Neo-Confucian thought. The Neo-Confucians claimed that man's nature is originally pure, but it is like a pearl immersed in impure water. By removing it from the dirty water, it can become as lustrous as before. If one realizes that it is human desires that corrupt one's original nature, it would be clear where one's moral efforts must be concentrated: eliminating human desires through self-improvement. As for the methods of self-cultivation, the practice of the Neo-Confucians was primarily rooted in the teachings of the Great Learning: rectifying the mind (cheng-hsin) by making one's intentions sincere (ch'eng-yi), making one's intentions sincere by extending one's knowledge (chih-chih), and extending one's knowledge by investigating things
(ko-wu). In this method of self-improvement, the Neo-Confucians also practiced "quiet-sitting (ching-tso)," which is similar to Buddhist meditation. Quiet-sitting was a form of practice that allowed one to penetrate the very core of human nature. For the Neo-Confucians it was popular as a path to achieve self-realization. For example, Chou Tun-yi's stress on tranquillity as a means for cultivating oneself might be considered as a different expression of quite-sitting. Eminent Confucian thinkers like the Ch'eng brothers, Lo Tsung-yen (1072-1135), Li T'ung (1088-1158), and Chu Hsi all practiced quiet-sitting. For example, Li T'ung practiced quiet-sitting as the method of revealing the subtle Heavenly Way in the human mind. Due to a strong emphasis on self-cultivation, the theory of inner moral-cultivation became one of the important subjects of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy.

Another important intellectual stream in the Northern Sung was that scholars were more and more interested in cosmological speculation. Assimilating philosophical

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elements from Taoism and Buddhism, just as Tung Chung-shu's eclecticism had accommodated Taoist cosmological speculation in the Han, the Sung Confucians generated a new intellectual excitement about the evolution of the universe and its relationship to man. Scholars generally consider that Taoism and Buddhism stimulated interest in metaphysical cosmology among Sung Confucians. This area of study became one of the most important branches of Neo-Confucian thought.

In general, the new intellectual movement in the early Sung was a reaction to the philosophical influences of Buddhism and Taoism on Confucian philosophy. The major philosophical concerns for the Neo-Confucians stimulated by both Buddhism and Taoism include both the nature of man and how it relates to the universal principle. The Neo-Confucians believed that Buddhists claimed that the multiple world perceived by the senses is illusion\(^2\) and one can be

\(^2\)The Neo-Confucians misunderstood the Buddhist theory of śūnyatā (emptiness) as a denial of the reality of things. Many Neo-Confucians made an unqualified condemnation of the conception of emptiness. Chu Hsi, for example, considered that it referred to nothingness. Thus he said, "The Buddhists, however, consider heaven and earth as illusory and erroneous and the Four Elements (Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind) as temporary (unreal) aggregates. This means complete non-being." See Wing-tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 646. Because of this poor understanding of Mahayana doctrine, the Neo-Confucians could not grasp the true meaning of the conception of emptiness. Their critique of it is entirely incorrect. In fact, the doctrine of emptiness never denies existence. The Buddhist theory of emptiness means that all things depend upon causes and
freed from this illusion through meditation. This freedom from illusion is called enlightenment. The Taoists had always maintained that there is an ultimate ground behind this phenomenal world. Behind multiplicity of the visible world there is an unchanging "One." These doctrines stimulated the Neo-Confucians to speculate on the fundamental foundation of phenomena. They compared their philosophical doctrines with those of the other two teachings. As a result, they began to construct their own cosmology and "moral metaphysics" with considerable appropriations from Taoism and Buddhism. Indeed, metaphysical cosmology and its relation to ethics was primary philosophical concern to the Sung Neo-Confucians.

The so called three masters in the early Sung, Sun Fu (992-1057), Hu Yuan (993-1059) and Shih Chieh (1005-1045) were not interested in cosmology. Their philosophical interests focused wholly on moral philosophy. But shortly thereafter men like Shao Yung (1011-1077), Chou Tun-yi and

conditions for their origination. This provides the starting point for the Mādhyamika viewpoint that what is produced by causes is not produced in itself, and does not exist in itself. Because all things are produced by causes and conditions, they do not have any independent reality. When these conditions disappear, at the same time the things also disappear. Therefore, they are said to be empty. The Neo-Confucians did not understand this central point of Mādhyamika doctrine.

"It is Mou Tsung-san who first uses this term for expressing the metaphysical aspect of Neo-Confucianism.
Chang Tsai devoted themselves to constructing a theory of the evolution of the universe. They established their own metaphysical paradigm in order to elucidate the fundamental ground of the universe. Although they used different terms to express it, these three eminent Confucian thinkers claimed that this phenomenal world is derived from one single primal unity. They used the terms "Supreme Ultimate" (t'ai-chi), "Great Emptiness" (t'ai-hsū) and "Vital Power" (ch'i) to refer to the utmost ground of the cosmos.

The Neo-Confucians not only claimed that the phenomenal world was derived from a primal unity but was also controlled by it. The first principle of the universe is immanent in every minute thing. In Chu Hsi's words, the Supreme Ultimate is manifest in the world. They linked the primal reality to men and their activities in society. If there is an ultimate reality as an utmost origin of the world, it is natural that it must also exist in all myriad things, including one's nature. In other words, it is immanent in one's nature. Therefore, one's (moral) nature is inseparably linked with the primal reality. To practice moral-cultivation in order to actualize one's (moral) nature, according to the Neo-Confucians, is to participate

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"The Supreme Ultimate was also a significant conception for Shao Yung's philosophical system. Shao Yung understood it as Tao and the mind."
in realizing the principle of the ultimate reality.

Most Sung scholars adopted certain phrases from the Book of Changes, particularly from the Hsi-tz'u chapters of the Ten Wings, as the basis for their ideas on cosmology. The Hsi-tz'u chapters of the Book of Changes were used as the source for Confucian cosmology. Besides Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng brothers and their disciples, Shao Yung and Chou Tun-yi also greatly depended on the Book of Changes for establishing their metaphysical cosmology. Shao Yung's works are replete with quotations from the Changes and his many well-known diagrams are also based on it. Chou's two works, as I will show, also greatly relied on the cosmology of the Changes. In other words, although the Neo-Confucians absorbed certain tenets from Buddhism and Taoism in order to construct a metaphysical cosmology, their metaphysical theories were based primarily on the Changes.

The Buddhist influence on Neo-Confucian thought must be mentioned here. It was one of the main intellectual factors which set the stage for the philosophical development of Sung Confucianism. Buddhism was a powerful stimulus to Chinese thought if for no other reason than that it provided the philosophical ideas which Neo-Confucian thought

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45 Most Sung Confucians believed that the Changes was written by Confucius, but Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) doubted the authorship of the Hsi tz'u and was critical of the cosmology of the Changes.
partially or wholly lacked. Buddhist conceptions, like śūnyatā (emptiness), anātman (no-self) and bodhi (awakening), were quite new to the Chinese. These notions and other Buddhist theories have given the Chinese much material for reflection. The Confucians compared Buddhism with their own system of thought. Because of the influence of Buddhism, the Neo-Confucians had the opportunity to survey their own philosophy, which certainly helped them to establish new philosophical theories. The revival of Neo-Confucianism in Sung China should be understood against the background of this Buddhist stimulus to Confucianism. No one entirely denies that the paradigm of Neo-Confucian thought was, however little or much, affected by Mahayana Buddhism. In Sung China, Buddhist terminology and ideas had become a part of the intellectual world of all the Chinese literati. Because of Buddhist influence, the Neo-Confucians became familiar with a philosophical system that dealt with epistemological and ontological problems; something the Confucian tradition lacked.

In general, many Neo-Confucians felt their mission was to refute Buddhist ideas and to free themselves from their intellectual reliance on Buddhism. They believed that Buddhism was harmful to the Chinese spirit. For the orthodox Confucians, despite its significant sinicization, Buddhism was merely a foreign religion. The three masters
of the early Sung, Sun Fu, Hu Yuan, and Shih Chieh all openly attacked Buddhism. Shih Chieh said, for example, "I study the Tao of the sage. If someone [Buddhist] attacks the Tao of my sage, I must counterattack him." Many early Neo-Confucians spoke of the harmful influence of Buddhism. They believed that it was necessary to remove the influence of Buddhism in order to revive Confucianism. But in spite of Confucian antagonism, the theoretical system of Buddhism was attractive to many Neo-Confucians. Sun Fu, despite his hostile attitude toward Buddhism, admitted to the widespread influence of Buddhism: "In China the followers of Buddhism are everywhere." Great Neo-Confucian thinkers, like Chang Tsai, Ch'eng Hao, and later Chu Hsi studied Buddhism in their youth, and Ou-yang Hsiu and Wang An-shih (1021-1086) were drawn to it in their later years. Chou Tun-yi also, as I will show, had a close relationship with the Ch'an monks of the Tung-lin temple. Wang An-shih wrote Buddhist poems which contain a strong Mahāyāna spirit. One of them entitled "On the Wall of Pan-shan [halfway up the mountain] Temple--Number Two" says, "All mortals are not different from Buddha. Buddha is all


Many Neo-Confucians were greatly influenced by Buddhist doctrines to a far greater degree than they would acknowledge. They believed that their philosophical ideas were derived from the Confucian tradition, but the strong Buddhist influence on their ideas cannot be denied. Ch'eng Yi, for instance, was once asked whether his ideas about enlightenment were not similar to those of the Buddhists. His reply was that because Mencius had already mentioned enlightenment, there was no reason to refer to Buddhism for explaining it. Ch'eng Yi could not recognize how his ideas and terminology were affected by Buddhist doctrine. Indeed, Buddhism especially Ch'an Buddhism, became one of the fundamental foundations of Chinese philosophy in Sung China. Although according to traditional accounts Buddhism was no longer a major intellectual force in the Sung, it is undeniable that Ch'an Buddhism was an important and integral component of Sung culture.

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50 For more information, see chapter 2, pp. 62-63.
CHAPTER 2

LIFE AND WORKS OF CHOU TUN-YI

2.1 CHOU'S LIFE

Chou Tun-yi was born in the year 1017 at Ying-tao in Tao-chou (present-day Tao-hsien of Hu-nan province).

His tzu is Mao-shu but he is best known by his hao Lien-hsi, which was taken from the name of a brook in his native village. Chou's ancestors came from Nu-nan (located near present-day Shan-hsi province). Nothing is actually known about his ancestors prior to his great-grandfather. From the time of his great-grandfather, Ts'ung-yuan, Chou's family lived in Ying-yueh of Tao-chou district. Both his great-grandfather and grandfather Chih-ch'iang chose not to participate in official life, although they both were

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51 Many sources mistakenly say that Chou is a native of Ch'ung-ling. See Wang Ch'eng, Tung-tu shih lueh (Taipei: Wen hai, 1967), vol. 4, p. 1761. The cemeteries of Chou's forefathers are in Ch'ung-ling, but Chou was born in Tao-chou.

52 This place is located in the extreme southern end of present-day Hu-nan province.

53 Ying-yueh is located near Ying-tao of Tao-chou district.
Confucian scholars.\textsuperscript{54} Chih-ch'iang had five sons, Chou's father, Fu-ch'eng, was his fourth son. Chou's father obtained the chin-shih degree through the vin privilege (vin-en) in 1013. He was a magistrate of Kuei-ling in Ho-chou. After his first wife\textsuperscript{55} died he remarried one of Cheng Ts'an's daughters, who was a left palace attendant (tso-shih-chin)\textsuperscript{56}. Together they produced Chou. Chou's father died when he was fourteen years of age, and he was taken to live with his maternal uncle Cheng Hsiang, who was an auxiliary academician of the Dragon Diagram Hall (lung-t'lu ko).\textsuperscript{57} Cheng Hsiang loved Chou as his son and gave him the name Tun\textsuperscript{58} as he gave to all of his sons. His original

\textsuperscript{54}See NP in CTCS, p. 383.

\textsuperscript{55}Her surname was T'ang. She gave birth to a son named "Li." Li was Chou's half brother.

\textsuperscript{56}For more information of tso-shih-chin, see Charles Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (California: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 524.

\textsuperscript{57}The Dragon Diagram Hall was established between 1008 and 1016 to house official documents. See Charles Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 325.

\textsuperscript{58}His middle name, Tun, is not \textsuperscript{58} but \textsuperscript{58}. Because these two characters have the same pronunciation, some mistakenly use the former Tun as Chou's middle name. P'an Hsing-ssu who wrote Chou Tun-yi's epitaph said, "The name of my friend Chou Mao-shu was Tun-yi \textsuperscript{58}, and his forefather lived in Ying-tao... His parents died when he was young. He was taken to live with his maternal uncle, Cheng Hsiang, an auxiliary academician of the Dragon Diagram Hall. Since he had talent, his maternal uncle loved him as his son. His maternal uncle gave him the name Tun \textsuperscript{58} as he gave it to all
personal name was Tun-shih but was later changed to Tun-yi because of the taboo on using the personal name of Emperor Ying-tsung.\textsuperscript{59} At nineteen he married the daughter of Lu Ts'an,\textsuperscript{60} a lower-level official of the regional military organization (chih-fang lang-chung). Chou's mother died the following year. In the year 1036, through the influence of his uncle\textsuperscript{61}, he was appointed an assistant magistrate (chü-pu)\textsuperscript{62} of Fen-ning in Hung-chou (which is present-day Kiang-si). Yet because of the three year mourning period for his sons."

This epitaph was written immediately after his death, thus this is a more reliable source than other sources like the Sung-shih. See, CTCS, p. 399. Scholars have suggested the possibility that these two Tuns can be used interchangeably, but, in my opinion, one should use Chou's name correctly. For example, Eichhorn thinks these two Tuns can be used as Chou's middle name. see W. Eichhorn, "Chou Tun-I: Ein Chinesisches Gelehrtenleben," Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 21, Nr. 5 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1966), p. 15. Chu Hsi and other Sung literati correctly used Tun as his middle name in their postscript to Chou's works. For example, see Ch'i K'uan's postscript written in 1144 to the Yi-t'ung, CTCS, p. 212. Also see Chu Hsi's postscript to the Yi-t'ung, Chu Wen-kung wen-chi (Taipei: Ta hua, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 5885-5887. This is not collected in CTCS. The editorial problems of the Chou-tzu ch'üan-shu will be discussed below.


\textsuperscript{60}For more information on him, see Ssu Ma-kuang, Su shui chi wen (Peking: Chung hua, 1989), p. 372, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{61}See NP, in CTCS, p. 386.

\textsuperscript{62}For chu-pu, see Hucker, Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 182.
mother, he took this position in 1040. From the year 1040 to the year 1044 he had served as an assistant magistrate in Fen-ning. In office, he was skilful in settling complicated lawsuits, which his predecessors could not judge. Because of his accomplishments in 1044, he was promoted to an administrator for public order (ssu-li ts' an-chun) in Nan-an (which today corresponds to the southern part of the same province). From Nan-an, we have an anecdote which demonstrates Chou's strong character. In 1045 Wang K'uei, Chou's superior officer, wanted to execute

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63At that time, he was twenty three years of age. Regarding this point other studies have some errors. Carsun Chang claims that Chou's official career commenced "in his twenty-fifth year." See The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought (New York: Bookman associates, 1957), p. 138. Hsu Yu-feng maintains that Chou was nominated as an assistant magistrate in 1040 without the assistance of his uncle. See Sung Chou Lien-hsi hsien-sheng Tun-yi nien-p' u (Taipei: Shang wu, 1986), p. 15. Hereafter Tun-yi nien-p' u. Huang Tsung-hsi mentioned that Chou's official career began in 1036 instead of 1040. See SYHA, vol. 1, p. 283. Yet, according to the Nien-p' u, Chou was appointed as an assistant magistrate through the yin privilege in 1036 and began to work in 1040. Chu Hsi also made this point. See Lien-hsi hsien-sheng shih-chuang [Records of Life of Master Lien-hsi] in CTCS, pp. 400-402. Also see "P' eng t'ui kuan shih hsu," CTCS, p. 337.


a certain criminal. Among the officials, Chou alone vigorously opposed the severity of the death-sentence and saved his life. Chou threatened to resign if Wang K'uei did not lift the death-sentence. This story is commonly taken as demonstrating Chou's strong sense of justice.

In 1046 Chou made the acquaintance of Ch'eng Hsiang (1006-1090) who asked him to teach his two sons, Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng Yi. At that time they were fourteen and thirteen years old, respectively. The traditional understanding of the relationship between Chou and the Ch'eng brothers is that Chou, by instructing them in their youth, provided the Ch'eng brothers with the foundation for their philosophical system. It was Chu Hsi who maintained that Chou played an important role for the development of the Ch'eng brothers' philosophical system. Chu Hsi stated definitely that the Ch'eng brothers derived their philosophical ideas from Chou. Chu Hsi claimed that Chou Tun-yi rediscovered the Confucian Way by himself and transmitted it to the Ch'eng brothers. This traditional assumption has been criticized by scholars.66 Teng Kuang-ming, for example, claims that Chou

was not regarded in the Northern Sung as an eminent thinker and thus did not have any important disciples. As a matter fact, already in the Sung dynasty, Wang Ying-ch'ên (d. 1176) did not accept Chu Hsi's claim. Wang Ying-ch'ên claimed that the Ch'êng brothers' philosophical ideas were not derived from Chou.

It is true that the Ch'êng brothers themselves confessed that they were influenced by Chou: for example, they decided not to hunt because of Chou's influence.

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tzu, "Mao-shu." By indicating that Ch'êng Yi "always" called Hu Yuan (993-1059) as "master Hu," Graham denies that a student-teacher relationship existed between Chou and the Ch'êngs. See pp. 160-162. Hsu Yu-feng, however, demonstrates that it was not exceptional for Sung literati to call their teacher by his tzu. Hsu gives two examples from the Ch'êngs' works, in which the Ch'êngs addressed Hu Yuan as Hu An-ting without saying "master." Although Graham claims that these two sayings were probably mentioned by Ch'êng Ming-tao because he did not study under Hu Yuan, Hsu Yu-feng's point is that it was not exceptional that Sung Confucians called their teachers by tzu without saying "master." He gives several examples of Sung literati referring to their master by their tzu alone. See Tun-yi nien-p'u, pp. 20-23.


"For this well-known story, see Erh Ch'êng chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1981), vol. 1, p. 96. For the Ch'êng brother's comments on Chou, see vol. 1, pp. 59, 60, 67.
Moreover, Ming-tao decided not to take the civil service examination after he discussed the issue with Chou.\(^{70}\) The Ch'engs also said, "When we received instruction from Chou, he always taught us to seek out what Confucius and Yen Tzu took delight in."\(^{71}\) The traditional belief that the Ch'eng brothers developed Chou's ideas further is based primarily on these records. These stories can verify that in their youth the Ch'engs had been influenced by Chou, yet they cannot demonstrate that their philosophical ideas were actually derived from Chou. The best way to confirm the relationship between Chou and the Ch'engs is to compare Chou's works with those of the Ch'engs. Of the Ch'eng brothers works, it is the *Yen-tzu so hao bo hsüeh lun* (Discussion of What sort of Learning Master Yen Likes) which seems to have traces of Chou's influence. In this work Ch'eng Yi asserted that through learning one can become a sage. This is what Chou Tun-yi emphasized in chapter XX of the *Yi-t'ung*.\(^{72}\) Moreover, by following Chou he defined

\(^{70}\)This was mentioned by Ch'eng Yi in "Ming-tao hsien-sheng hsing-chuang" [Record of Life of Master Ming-tao]. See *Erh Ch'eng chi* (Peking: Chung hua, 1981), vol. 2, p. 638. Also see Wang Ch'eng, *Tung-tu shih lueh*, p. 1761.


\(^{72}\)For discussions of the *Yi-t'ung*, see chapter 5.
"ch'eng" as "sagehood,"73 and said that a man receives "the five agents in their highest excellence."74 Therefore, this work, which attracted Hu Yuan's attention when Ch'eng Yi was in the academy, contains echoes of important aspects of Chou's work. These examples seen in the Discussion of What Sort of Learning Master Yen Likes demonstrates that Ch'eng Yi was faithful to Chou's teaching in his younger days.75 Besides this text, no other work written by the Ch'eng brothers exists that demonstrates Chou's influence on their thought. Chu Hsi claimed that Chou transmitted the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate to the Ch'eng brothers, but there is no reference to the Supreme Ultimate in the collected works of the Ch'engs.76 The fact that the Ch'eng brothers never

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73See chapter i of the Yi-t'ung.

74See T'ai-chi t'u shuo, CTCS, p. 19.

75Yi-ch'uan hsien-sheng nien-p'u does not say when this work was written. According to Huang Yi-kang, it was written when Yi-ch'uan was eighteen. See Chu-tzu yu-lei, chuan 93, (Taipei: Cheng chung, 1973), vol. 6, p. 3745. Yet this contrasts with P'an Shih-chu's record in the same work. P'an mentioned that it was written when Yi-ch'uan was twenty. See chüan 30, vol. 2, p. 1245. For Huang Yi-kang and P'ao Shin-chu, see Wing-tsit Chan, Chu-tzu men-jen [Chu Hsi's disciples], pp. 260-261, p. 328, respectively. Through discussions of these two and other sources Hsu Yu-feng concludes that the Yi-ch'uan hsien-sheng nien-p'u was written when he was twenty-three years of age (1056). See Tun-yi nien-p'lu, pp. 40-43.

76It is found only once in the Preface to the Book of Changes. But this preface was not written by Ch'eng Yi. See Erh Ch'eng chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1981), vol. 3, pp. 690-691.
mentioned the Supreme Ultimate" means that the Ch'engs did not follow Chou's theoretical structure. Therefore, the Ch'engs were not under Chou's influence throughout their entire lives. Chou introduced philosophy to them at an early age, but they constructed their own philosophical system without his influence.

Chu Hsi's claim on the origin of Chou's learning must be discussed here. Chu Hsi claimed that Chou's philosophical speculations were his own and did not come from others. Chou, according to Chu, drew the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and wrote the Explanation of it without influence from others. Chu's claim about the origin of Chou's learning is closely related to his contention that Chou was the founder of the Tao-hsueh tradition in the Northern Sung. Chu maintained that it was Chou who

"For a discussion of the Supreme Ultimate, see chapter 4.

Although Chu Hsi was the one responsible for making Chou the founder of the Tao-hsueh tradition, prior to Chu Hsi, Hu Hung already regarded Chou as the founder of the Tao-hsueh movement. In his preface to the T'ung-shu, Hu Hung described Chou as the founder of the new scholarly tradition. See "T'ung-shu hsü lüeh," CTCS, pp. 211-212. Chou was also treated by Chu Chen (d. 1138) as one of the leading scholars in the new scholarly movement of the Northern Sung. See Han shang yi chuan, Hsu Kan-hsueh ed., T'ung chih t'ang ching chieh (Taipei: Ta t'ung, 1969), vol. 1, p. 425. Wang Ch'eng, who was an opponent of the Tao-hsueh movement, considered Chou to be the founder of Neo-Confucian thought. See his Tung-tu shih lüeh, p. 1761. As Tillman indicates, Hu-nan scholars had always emphasized Chou's position in the Tao-hsueh tradition. Aside from
independently rediscovered the Confucian Tao, which had not been passed down for 1400 years since the death of Mencius (4th B.C.E.). From the time of Mencius to Chou Tun-yi there had been no Confucians who could teach the genuine Confucian Tao and transmit it to their disciples. Chou revived the Tao by himself without the aid of a teacher, and he passed on the Tao to his disciples, the Ch'eng brothers. Apparently Chu Hsi wanted to set up the lineage of the Confucian sage. Chu Hsi devoted himself to the formulation of the lineage of tao-t'ung (succession of the Tao) in the last decade of his life.79 As discussed above, Chu Hsi's claim that Chou transmitted the Confucian Tao to the Ch'eng brothers was criticized by scholars even in Chu Hsi's own time. Among Chu's many statements of the origin of Chou's learning, the representative one is the following statement written in 1177:

In the case of Master [Chou] Lien-hsi, was he not
dicussing Chou's philosophy, for example, Chang Shih (1133-1180) wrote "at least six pieces in praise of Chou." See Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy, pp. 114-119. Graham certainly goes too far when he says, "Chou Tun-i was not known as a philosopher in the eleventh century." Two Chinese Philosophers, p. 156. Tra A. Kasoff follows Graham. See The Thought of Chang Tsai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 8. In short, one should be careful not to underestimate Chou's position in the Tao-hsueh movement.

79In 1189 Chu first used this term in the preface to his commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean. See Ssu-shu chi chu (Taipei: Shih chieh, 1985), p. 1.
one who received the propagation of this tao conferred by Heaven? Otherwise how did he continue it so easily after such a long interruption, and bring it to light so abruptly after such extreme darkness? After the death of Mencius and the decline of the Chou [dynasty], the propagation of this Way was not continued... until the Sage-ancestor [founding father] of the Sung recieved the Mandate. The Five Planets were in conjunction, marking a turning point in culture. Then the heterogeneous ch'i homogenized and the divided [ch'i] coalesced; a clear endowment was received in its entirety by one man, and the Master appeared. Without following a scholarly tradition, he silently registered the substance of the Way, constructed the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and attached a text to it [the T'ai-chi t'u shuo], to give an ultimate foundation to the essentials.80

A year later the same assertion was also made:

Since Mencius' death the Tao of the sage had not been transmitted... After a thousand years later Master Lien-hsi began to search for the Tao of the sage. [Finally, he] manifested the ultimate origin of the creative power of the universe and apprehended it with his mind alone. By drawing the diagram and writing explanations [of it he] clarified the mysterious secret of [the Tao]...It was transmitted [only] to Master Ch'eng.81

Here Chu Hsi claimed that Chou perceived the Tao "with his mind alone," without transmission from his teacher, and actualized the succession of the Tao by transmitting it to the Ch'eng brothers. Other studies note that Chu Hsi always maintained that Chou apprehended the Confucian Tao without another's help. But Chu Hsi sometimes alluded to the idea that the Taoist Ch'en T'uan's learning was the genesis of Chou's thought. Although Chu did not say it explicitly, he sometimes indirectly suggested that Chou's thought and his diagram did originate with Ch'en T'uan. In the postscript to Chou's works written in 1179, Chu Hsi first suggested that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate derived from the Taoist tradition. By saying that Chang Yung (946-1015)

81 "Yuan-chou chou-hsueh san-hsien-sheng ssu chi" [Commemoration of the Construction of the Three Masters Temple in Yuan-chou], CTCS, pp. 426-427.
followed Ch'en T'uan's teaching and Chang Yung's learning was in accord with the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*, Chu suggested that Ch'en T'uan might be one of the sources of Chou's learning. In this postscript Chu did not deny that Chou's thought is related to Ch'en T'uan's theories, although he said that "Chou first made the *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* to manifest the concealed secrets [of the origin of the universe]." 82 Chu Hsi also mentioned the relationship of Chou and Chang Yung in the *Chu-tzu yu-lei* (Classified Conversations of Chu Hsi). There Chu said that although many scholars believed that Chou's diagram had its origins from Ch'en T'uan, no evidence existed to show that Ch'en T'uan actually employed something like the *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* in his writings. But, after saying this, Chu also immediately stated:

Or [Chou's learning] might originally be based on both Taoism and Buddhism, but nobody knows its ultimate origin. [In the past] I read Chang Yung's sayings. [There] Chang Yung asked Li T'ien, "Do you know that there is *yin* and *yang* in public affairs? and so forth." His thought is entirely the same as that of Chou. Chang Yung followed Ch'en T'uan's [teaching], thus [the

82"T'ai-chi t'u shuo T'ung-shu shu-hou" [The Postscript to the *T'ai-chi t'u shuo* and *T'ung-shu*], CTCS, p. 208.
similarites of Changs' and Chou's learning] has its origin in Ch'en T'uan's thought. 83

By admitting that Chang Yung's theory of yin and yang is the same as that of Chou, Chu did not deny that Ch'en T'uan could have been one of the original sources of Chou's and Chang Yung's learning. Which part of Chang Yung's work reminded Chu of Chou's thought? Chu Hsi referred to a dialogue between Chang Yung and Li T'ien found in Kuai-ya wen-chi (Collection of Master Kuai-ya) 84:

Chang Yung said to Li T'ien: 'Did you know that in judicial cases there is yin and yang? When he answered 'No', Chang Yung said: 'All judicial cases, until they are decided in writing, belong to the Yang. What is important in the Yang is producing; it can be adapted to changing situations. After the written decision they belong to the Yin; what is important in the Yin is punishment (or 'assuming form'; hsing ). In punishment we respect the correct use of names; names are not to be altered. 85


84 Kuai-ya is Chang Yung's tzu.

It is difficult to see why these statements reminded Chu of Chou's theory. But the important point is that Chu Hsi twice admitted the theoretical similarities between Chou's thought and that of Chang Yung, who studied under Ch'en T'uan. In other words, Chu Hsi did not entirely deny that Ch'en T'uan's tenets were one of the possible sources of Chou's thought. Chu knew that the traditional belief that Ch'en T'uan's tenets were the source of Chou's learning could not be denied. This is the reason why Chu Hsi avoided discussing the Taoist influence on the genesis of Chou's thought in the debate with Lu Hsiang-shan. When Lu pointed out that Chou's diagram had evolved from the Taoist tradition, Chu did not directly respond.

In short, one should be careful not to over exaggerate Chu's opinion that Chou's speculations and his works were his own and not transmitted from others. Because he hoped to establish the succession of the Confucian sage, Chu could not openly accept the traditional hypothesis that Chou's thought grew out of a long Taoist tradition. However, he

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86 Matsukawa Kenji notes that Chang Yung's explanations of yin and yang are similar to the content of chapter xi and xxxvi of the Yi-t'ung. But there is no similarity between these chapters and Chang Yung's interpretation of yin and yang. Matsukawa Kenji should have explained his point more clearly. See Sō Min no Shisōshi (Hokkaido: Hokkaido Daigaku Press, 1982), pp. 38-39.

87 For the debate between Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan, see chapter 4.
knew that this traditional claim regarding the genesis of Chou's thought had ground. The Chu-tzu yu-lei contains important comments with regard to the original of Chou's thought. When Chu was asked whether or not Chou's learning was transmitted from someone, he mentioned Lu Ts'an, Chou's father-in-law:

Chou's learning must have been handed down [from someone else]. He was the son-in-law of Lu Ts'an. Ssu Ma-kuang's Su shui chi wen kept a record about him. Lu was a sincere, generous and prudent man.\(^{88}\)

Ssu Ma-kuang's Su shui chi wen mentioned the matter of Lu Ts'an\(^{89}\) briefly: in his youth he loved to study. He


\(^{89}\)Tung Chu, one of Chu Hsi's disciples, mistakenly recorded the name of Chou's father-in-law as Lu Shen. This caused Shu Ching-nan to confuse Lu Ts'an with Lu Hsien, who saved the life of Chang Po-tuan, the well-known Taoist of the Ch'uan-chen school in the Sung dynasty. Shu maintains that Chou received the knowledge of inner alchemy from Lu, who in turn got it from Chang Po-tuan, who wrote the famous Taoist work Wu chen pien. See Shu Ching-nan, "Chu Tun-yi T'ai-chi t'u shuo hsin-k'ao," in Chou-yi yen-chiu lun-wen chi (Peking: Peking Normal University Press, 1990), pp. 235-237. Also see Chu-tzu ta chuan (Fu-chien: Fu chien chiao yu, 1992), p. 278. Lu's name is found in the preface to the Wu chen pien. See Wang Mu-ch'ien, Wu chen pien ch'ien chieh (Peking: Chung hua, 1990), p. 3. But Lu Ts'an and Lu Shen are two different persons, although Shu argues that Ts'an and Shen can be used interchangeably. The Sung History contains the biographies of Lu Shen and his son, Lu Shih-min. Therefore, it is clear that Lu Ts'an and Lu Shen are different persons. See Sung shih, chüan 332,
resided with only his mother. And he earned the chin-shih degree and wrote a book entitled "Meng-shu" (Book of the Unenlightened). Unfortunately, nothing more is mentioned about Lu Ts'an's scholarly background or his book.

In any case, here Chu changed his original claim that Chou's knowledge was his own and not inherited from others. Apparently Chu knew something about the ultimate root of Chou's thought, but because of his desire to establish the Tao-t'ung, he did not wish to clarify it. Therefore, one should be careful not to over-emphasize Chu Hsi's claim that Chou was born a sage, "something like a Confucian pratyeka-buddha." It is true that Chu stressed the idea that Chou perceived the Tao in his mind alone, but Chu sometimes alluded to the possibility that Chou's learning was transmitted from someone else.

From the winter of 1046 to 1055 Chou worked as the magistrate of Ch'en-chou and Kuei-yang in Hu-nan province and Nan-ch'ang in Kiang-si province. During this period he

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Erh shih wu shih (Taipei: Hsin wen feng, 1975), vol. 34, pp. 4138a-4140a. For Lu Shen, see Ch'ang Pi-te et al., eds., Sung-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao (Taipei: Ting wen, 1974-6), vol. 3, p. 2657. This work mistakenly notes his dates as 1022-1070. The correct date is 1011-1070. Moreover, even though Chang Po-tuan's dates are commonly known as 984-1082, Liu Ts'an-yen claimed that they actually may be 1076-1155. See Liu Ts'an-yen, "Tao-tsang-pen Wu-chen-p'ien san-chu pien-wu," in Tung-hsi wen-hua, no. 15 (1968), pp. 33-41.

achieved a wide reputation as a good judge. In Ch'en-chou, Chou won the admiration of his superior, the Subprefect Li Ch'u-p'ing. Li, according to the Nien p'u, did not treat Chou as a subordinate. Li desired to study Confucian doctrine, and accordingly asked advice from Chou. Chou felt that Li was too old to study by private reading and so taught him through discussion of the Confucian tenets. For two years their discussions continued, and finally Li accomplished an understanding of the Confucian Tao. When Li died in 1049, his children were still young. Thus Chou made the necessary arrangements for the funeral ceremony and managed all the affairs for the Li family. After the funeral Chou continually cared for Li's children. Chou's friends and acquaintances praised his generous care of the Li family. In 1054 Chou was promoted to an assistant administrator for the Court of Judicial Review (Ta-li ssu ch'eng-chih) in Nan-ch'ang. The story that Chou had saved an innocent man in Nan-an from a sentence of death was already known to the people of Nan-ch'ang. Thus the news of his appointment was received by the people with great delight. The innocent victims of injustice thought that they would be able to plead their cause in a just court. Because of strenuous work, Chou one day became ill and fell

91 For more information, see Hucker, Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 468.
down unconscious. When his friend, P'an Hsing-ssu, visited Chou's house, he found that Chou's belongings could be packed into a single suitcase and he had less than a hundred copper coins. Although this may be an exaggeration, it seems that Chou maintained a very modest degree of material comfort.

From 1055 to 1060 Chou worked as a judge in Ho-chou, (present-day Sse-chuan province). In 1057 his first son Shou was born and a year later his wife died. In 1059 Chou married his second wife, who was the sister of Fu Tsung-meng, the assistant director of the left (tso ch'eng) in the Department of State Affairs. When Fu Tsung-meng first met Chou, they discussed the Confucian Way continuously for three days. Fu was very impressed by Chou at this first meeting and therefore let his younger sister marry him. On his way back to the capital in 1060, Chou, according to the Nien p'u, met Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and for a whole day talked with him. Tu Cheng claimed that after his discussion with Chou, Wang An-shih was so impressed by Chou's ideas that he forgot to eat and sleep. Ts'ai Shang-hsiang,

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92See NP in CTCS, pp. 388-389.

93For tso ch'eng, see Hucker, Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 522.
however, claims that they never met. In this same year Chou served as an erudite of the National University (*kuo-tzu po-shih*) in the capital. In 1061 Chou was transferred to the position of controller-general (*t'ung-p'an*) of Ch'ien-chou (present-day Kiang-si province).

As Chou passed through Lu-shan in Northern Kiang-si, a holy place for Buddhists, he was greatly attracted by the scenery, and therefore intended later to reside there. He built his private auditorium behind a stream which reminded him of the rivulet in his native village, thus he named his village schoolhouse the "Lien-hsi auditorium." When he

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94 Ts'ai Shang-hsiang makes this claim after comparing Wang An-shih's *nien-p'u* with that of Chou. See Wang Ching-kung *nien-p'u k'ao-lüeh* [Discussion of Wang An-shih's biography] (Shang hai: Jen min, 1974), pp. 136-138.

95 For *kuo-tzu po-shih*, see Hucker, *Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 300, p. 389. According to Wing-tsit chan, Chou was promoted to an erudite of the national university and simultaneously served "as an assistant prefect of Ch'ien-chou Prefecture" in 1061. Yet Chou was in the capital in 1060 and a year later he served as a "controller-general" (*t'ung-p'an*) of Ch'ien-chou. See CTCS, p. 391. In the early Sung, *t'ung-p'an* was a central government official "delegated to serve as resident overseer of the work of a Prefect." See the next footnote.

96 For *t'ung-p'an*, see Hucker, *Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 555.

was in Ho-chou, Chou had a misunderstanding with his superior official Chao Ch'ing-hsien. In Ch'ien-chou, Chou again served Chao Ch'ing-hsien. Even though Chou came under the displeasure of his superior official, he acted the same as before. As time passed, Chao had more opportunities to closely watch Chou, and thus was able to appreciate his real worth. Finally Chao took him by the hand, saying "I almost lost you, today I finally recognize you." Afterwards Chao became Chou's strong supporter. When he was forty-six, Chou's second wife gave birth to his second son named T'ao. In 1063 Chou became a vice director (yuan-wei-lang) of the "Bureau of Forestry and Crafts" (yu-pu) while simultaneously continuing to serve as a "controller-general" of Ch'ien-chou. In May in the same

98 No records actually explain why Chao was hostile to Chou. What Tu Cheng wanted to say is that Chou was unperturbed despite the hostility he received from his superior.

99 NP, CTCS, p. 391.

100 According to Huang T'ing-chien, Chao said, "Chu Mao-shu is the shih (elite) of the world," and strongly recommended Chou to the central government. See, Lien-hsi tz'u ping hsii, CTCS, p. 371.

101 Ho P'ing-chung, one of Chou's friends wrote a poem to congratulate the birth of his son. See CTCS, p. 369.

102 The "Bureau of Forestry and Crafts" regulated hunting and food-gathering in mountains and forests, and provided the government with forest products. For more information, see Hucker, Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 591.
year Chou wrote his well-known prose poem entitled *Ai lien shuo*, which was frequently discussed by scholars as evidence demonstrating Chou's intellectual intimacy with Buddhism.\(^{103}\) Because of a large fire in 1064 which destroyed more than a thousand houses in Ch'ien-chou, Chou was transferred to Yung-chou (present-day Ling-ling in Hu-nan province) as a "controller-general."\(^{104}\) After three years serving in Yung-chou, he served briefly in Shao-chou (present-day Shao-yang in Hu-nan province).\(^{105}\) By Lu Kung-chu's recommendation a year later, Chou was appointed as an assistant fiscal commissioner (chuan-yun p'an-kuan)\(^{106}\) of Kuang-nan tung-lu (present-day Kuang-tung province). In

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\(^{103}\)For a discussion of the *Ai lien shuo* see below.

\(^{104}\)Even though his official rank was not demoted, he was reassigned to the remote area known as Yung-chiou. In China this is a type of demotion. See NP, CTCS, p. 392.

\(^{105}\)In 1067 Chou held a temporary position (*she*). No records explain why this was so. It seems that something bad happened to him at this time, unfortunately we do not know what that was. For more information of *she*, see Hucker, *Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 416. The Sung shih mistakenly mentions that Chou was in Ch'en-chou at this time, but actually he was in Ch'en-chou from 1046 to 1055. See NP, CTCS, p. 393.

\(^{106}\)For chuan-yun p'an-kuan, see Hucker, *Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 186, 363. Hsu Yu-feng claims that the Sung shih mistakenly states that Chou was appointed as a "fiscal commissioner (*chuan-yun shih*)" in this year. I, however, discovered that the Sung-shih correctly points out that Chou was nominated as an "assistant fiscal commissioner." This is Hsu's error. For chuan-yun shih, see Hucker, p. 186.
he was promoted to the position of judicial commissioner (hsing-yu) in the same area. In the course of his inspection trip, he passed the Buddhist temple in Ch'ao-chou dedicated to the Buddhist monk Ta-tien Pao-t'ung (732-824) to whom the anti-Buddhist personage, Han Yu (768-824) had sent a gift.\textsuperscript{107} Chou inscribed a poem on the wall of the Ta-tien hall:

\begin{quote}
T'ui-chih said of himself that he resembled Confucius.
In his Inquiry on the Way he strongly attacked the errors of Buddhism and Taoism.
I do not know what kind of a person Ta-tien was (That made Han Yu) repeatedly write him to send regards, and even leave some clothing.\textsuperscript{108}
\end{quote}

Wing-tsit Chan claims that in this poem Chou showed stronger anti-Buddhist tendencies than Han Yu.\textsuperscript{109} Because of Chan's interpretation, one might believe that Chou wrote this poem to express his anti-Buddhist disposition. As seen


\textsuperscript{108}"An-pu chih Ch'ao-chou t'i Ta-tien t'ang pi" [Inscribing on the Wall of the Ta-tien Hall after Arriving at Ch'ao-chou on an Inspection Trip], CTCS, p. 346. Translation is modified from Wing-tsit Chan, "Neo-Confucian Philosophical Poems," in Renditions, no. 4 (1975), p. 6.

\textsuperscript{109}"Chou Tun-I" in \textit{Sung Biographies}, p. 280.
above, however, Chou did not criticize Han Yu or Ta-tien. He simply mentioned the story that Han Yu left some clothing for Ta-tien as a farewell gift.

On the eighth month of 1071 Chou requested to be sent to Nan-k'ang (present-day Kiang-si) as a prefect (chih chün). This enabled him to reside among the Lu montains. On the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the same year, Chou removed his mother's grave from its original resting place to a spot near Lotus Flower Peak in Lu-shan. Apparently Chou was preparing for his death. After moving his mother's grave, he said, "serious illness comes to [me]!" In 1072 he resigned and went to reside in Lu-shan. In these two years Chou seemed to look back wistfully to the memories of childhood. Flowing at the foot of the Lotus Flower Peak was a tributary of the P'en river. Chou called it "Lien-hsi", which was the name of the rivulet in his hometown at Ying-tao. He died on the seventh day of the sixth month in 1073, and was buried by request next to his mother's grave. He was posthumously honored as Yuan-kung in 1200 and the Duke of Ju-nan in 1241. Both his house

110For more information of chih chün, see Hucker, Official Titles in Imperial China, p. 155, p. 200.

111The Sung-shih states incorrectly that the Lien-hsi hall was built in this year. Wing-tsit Chan makes this point. See "Chou Tun-I," p. 280.

112See NP, CTCS, p. 394.
and the monuments in the tomb were destroyed by the T'ai P'ing rebels. The tomb was restored two times in the Hsien feng reign (1851-1861) and in the Kuang hsu reign (1875-1907, around 1884).

From the time he was twenty-three years of age, Chou served as a government official for more than thirty years. Although he, according to my investigations, took fifteen different government posts as a local official throughout his life, the highest position he held was nothing more than a prefect. He was a prefect for only a half year, and at that time he was already sick. Because he did not have a chin-shih degree, his official life was not a successful one.

Chou's biography written by Tu Cheng mentions only one aspect of his life as a government official. Most of the Nien-p'u presents Chou as a stern scholar-official. Tu Cheng recorded Chou's official life in detail, yet it gives no information on other aspects of his life such as his personal life, education, and intellectual interests. Based on Tu Cheng's biography of Chou, one might believe that Chou lived as a strict scholar-official. In order to

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113 I calculated them based on the Nien-p'u.

114 For example, J. P. Bruce says, "It is not surprising that such a strenuous life was a comparatively short one." Chu Hsi and His Masters (London: Probsthain, 1923), p. 21.
understand Chou's life comprehensively, however, one should discuss other materials such as the writings of his friends and his own poems, which express the inner sentiments of his personality. Aside from his two major works, which I will discuss below, Chou Tun-yi wrote ten chuans \(^{115}\) of poetry.\(^{116}\) Although many of Chou's poems are no longer extant, some remain which enable us to see the genuine nature of his personal life. By piecing together Chou's extant poems and discussing the materials written by Chou's close friends, one is able to construct a new perspective of his intellectual life. His extant poems show that Chou was not concerned with authority and worldly advantages.

Consider the following:

A mountain range over the river seems like a living dragon wiggling to and fro,
A temple buried under the clouds [is seen] way off in the distance.
Where is the tasteful life I admire,
A drooping old pine tree and a high rising cypress together make the [beautiful] forest.\(^{117}\)

\(^{115}\)"Chuan" is commonly translated as "volume," yet it is not exactly the same as "volume." Thus, here I use chuan instead of "volume."


\(^{117}\)"Hsien tou kuan," CTCS, p. 345.
Leaving worldly concerns I wish to enjoy a tranquil life,
A little salary is not enough to buy a mountain,
Wandering, a fine sight I cannot leave,
Staying in a room made of clouds I sleep on a couch.\textsuperscript{118}

These two poems were carved on the wall of the Taoist Feng tou temple.\textsuperscript{119} They suggest that Chou strongly yearned to live in comfortable retirement. When Chou passed through Lu-shan in Northern Kiang-si in 1061, as I said above, he was greatly attracted to its beautiful scenery, and vowed to live there. Thus he built his private library there. In other words, Chou desired to lead a rural life and at the age of forty-five he had already prepared a village house for his retirement. This suggests that his innermost feelings pined after a retired life in a secluded spot. The following poem clearly shows how he wished to retire from the world.

\begin{quote}
In the palace who knows the retired life of the world
To sing a song under the shadow of a pine tree,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118}"Su shan fang," CTCS, p. 346.

\textsuperscript{119}In religious Taoism, Feng-tou refers to the place near the entrance to the infernal regions, and Feng-tou ch'eng means "Hades."
In pursuing honorable positions and profit people are tied down by ambition.

In a high mountain, everyone is unfettered,
A wild bird is fit for me,
A cloud stays with me,
Friend! do not blame my long recess,
Here I am thinking how to retire from the world.\textsuperscript{120}

In this poem we can see how eagerly Chou wanted to live away from worldly cares. In the last phrase, Chou directly expressed what was at the bottom of his heart. This attitude is quite different from that of a strenuous Confucian scholar. This poem certainly contains a Taoist air about it.

Let me give two more examples to show how Taoist concerns filled his life.

Finding a high mountain, [I] make an ascent to that mountain,
Going outside the cloud, [I] enter the shadow of a pine.
Although its scenery is not as beatiful as that of a Fairy-land,

\textsuperscript{120}"T'ung shih shou yu" CTCS, p. 344.
[Here] it is distant from a worldly spirit.\textsuperscript{121}

Wherever [I] go as an official, [I] visit a scenic spot.

Without Ho-yang there is no more scenic spots.

In the red pond there is an old immortal.\textsuperscript{122}

To climb a high mountain and to go where my steps lead me is [my] life\textsuperscript{123} as an official.\textsuperscript{124}

Aside from Chou's poems there are also other reliable materials which provide a picture of Chou's actual life. P'u Tsung-meng, the brother of his second wife, said that Chou considered himself as an anchoret. In a scenic spot, Chou composed a poem, extolling its natural beauty and played a Chinese harp with his friends. Doing so he forgot to come back home even for a month.\textsuperscript{125} P'u's comments correspond with the mood found in Chou's poems. Moreover, P'u Tsung-meng also said that Chou enjoyed close intimacy with the Taoists and the Buddhists. In fact, P'u's epitaph

\textsuperscript{121}"T'ung yu lo yen," CTCS, p. 344.

\textsuperscript{122}The word "hsien" refers to a Taoist immortal.

\textsuperscript{123}Literally, "mind."

\textsuperscript{124}"Shu hsien t'ai kuan pi," CTCS, p. 342.

\textsuperscript{125}"Chou Tun-yi mu chieh ming" [An Epitaph of Chou Tun-yi], Ch'en K'o-ming eds., Chou Tun-yi chi (Peking: Chung hua, 1990), pp. 85-88, especially, p. 87. P'u's epitaph must not be confused with P'an Hsing-ssu's epitaph.
is one of the most important sources for understanding Chou's actual life, for P'u, as Chou's brother-in-law, got to know him very well. Moreover, the epitaph was written immediately after Chou's death. Thus it is much more reliable than other materials, such as Tu Cheng's biography and Chu Hsi's record of Chou's life (shih-chuang). Once P'u wrote a poem to send to Chou. It says:

During [your] entire life [you] liked mountains and rivers,
And wished to live quietly in retirement and alone,
Working hard in P'en-p'u,
To return to Lien-hsi [you] built a straw-thatched house for rest.\textsuperscript{126}

The writings of Chou's friends also demonstrate that Chou eagerly yearned for retired life. K'ung P'ing-chung, for example, in his T'i Lien-hsi t'ang (In the Commemoration of Building Lien-hsi Hall) mentioned that even though Chou was a Confucian official, he always sought after a rural lifestyle.\textsuperscript{127} Later Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1104), who

\textsuperscript{126}This poem is not titled. See CTCS, p. 368.

\textsuperscript{127}CTCS, p. 370.
acclaimed Chou as a man of exceedingly high character, also said, "Although Mao-shu served in government for [more than] thirty years, his dearest wish was to live in the heart of a mountain." Even Chu Hsi, who so eagerly wanted to establish the lineage of the Confucian sage, admitted that Chou's life had a Taoist flavor.

Not only was Chou's life affected by Taoism but also his thought was greatly influenced by Taoist philosophy. One of his poems demonstrate his strong interest in Taoist alchemy:

As soon as I read the Secret of Alchemy, I believed in Hsi-i
For in it is found the activating forces of yin and yang in the process of creation.
The Son is born of the Mother and thus can find its master.
The semen and the spirit having been united, the subtlety (of creation) can further be known.

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128 Huang T'ing-chien said, "Chou's feelings are as free and unforced as a balmy breeze in a cloudless sky." See "Lien-hsi tz'u ping hsü," CTCS, pp. 371-372.

129 Ibid.


Not only is the poem thoroughly Taoistic but it also expresses that Chou read Taoist works regarding alchemy and followed Ch'en T'uan's teachings. Thus, Chou's intimacy with Taoist thought is undeniable.

Among extant poems there is a prose poem which shows that Chou was influenced by Buddhism. It is entitled Ai lien shuo (On Love of the Lotus) which was written when he was forty-seven. Chou Tun-yi compared the lotus to the peony with its profusion of display, and the chrysanthemum, which to him was suggestive of excessive modesty and reserve. Chou regarded the Lotus as the most beautiful of all flowers, and as typical of the noblest virtues. Chou said:

Among all kinds of loveable plants on land or in the water, the Ch'in Dynasty poet, T'ao Yuan-ming, adored the chrysanthemum. After the T'ang Dynasty, most people turned to the peony. I myself love the lotus because it grows out of the mud and yet is not defiled, and because it lives in the pure and rippling water without appearing like a fascinating and seductive lady. It has a system of tubes inside and is straight outside.

132 The Taoist influences on Chou's thought will be clarified in the following chapters. Here I wish only to point out that Chou had intimate knowledge of Taoist thought.
Without branches or spreading vines its scent comes from afar. And how pure is that fragrance! It is stately and unsullied. It is better to look at it from a distance than from too near - like a lady's petticoat. I consider the chrysanthemum to be a hermit among plants and the peony a flower signifying riches and power. But the lotus is a flower with a noble character. Alas! Where is a lover of the chrysanthemum like T'ao Yuan-ming? Who will love the lotus as much as I? Most people love only the peony!\(^{133}\)

Here Chou directly used the well-known anecdote from Buddhism: The Lotus grows up from the mud but is not sullied by it.\(^{134}\) Scholars consider that Chou's *Ai lien shuo* reveals his spiritual intimacy with Buddhism\(^{135}\), which

\(^{133}\)CTCS, p. 333. Translation is modified from Carsun Chang, *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought* (New York: Bookman, 1957), pp. 139-140.

\(^{134}\)This means that an enlightened man lives in the world but he is not defiled by the ways of the world. This is what the symbol of the lotus flower refers to in Buddhism. See Taisho, vol. 35, Fa Tsang, *Hua-yen ching t'an hsüan chi*, chuan 3, p. 163a-b.

\(^{135}\)Regarding the lotus flower, Chiu Han-sheng claims that Chou's *Ai lien shuo* is a copy of the explanations of the *Hua-yen-ching t'an-hsüan chi*. See Hou Wai-lu et al. eds., *Sung Ming li-hsheh shih* [History of Sung Ming Neo-Confucianism] (Peking: Jen min, 1984), pp. 80-82. According to Kurosaka Mitsuteru, the *Hua-yen ching t'an hsüan chi* was well-known to T'ang literati prior to Sung China. "Shu Tons' i no 'Ai lien shuo' nitsuite," in Chūgoku kankei ronsetsu
takes the lotus as its symbol. Chou built a village schoolhouse in Lo-shan in 1045 and Ai lien shuo was written two years later. Lo-shan is a sacred place for Buddhists. In this Buddhist holy mountain, Chou had ample opportunity to contact Ch'an monks. In fact, there are some sources which mention that Chou had made contact with such Ch'an monks as Shuo Ya, Hei Nan (1003-1069)\textsuperscript{136}, Ch'ang Ts'ung (1025-1091)\textsuperscript{137}, F'o Yin (or Yao Yin 1032-1098)\textsuperscript{138}, and Tsu Hsin (1025-1100)\textsuperscript{139}. The relationship between Chou and the Ch'an monk Shuo Ya was first mentioned by Ch'ao Kung-wu (d. 1171). The traditional belief that Shuo Ya's Hsien t'ien-ti

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\textsuperscript{137}For a description of his life, see Taishō, vol. 49, \textit{Hsü ch'uan-teng lu}, pp. 573c-574a. Also see, Abe Joichi's book, pp. 338-343 or Kuan Shih-chien's translation, pp. 437-443.


chih chieh (Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth) is the origin of Chou's thought is accepted by almost every scholar.\textsuperscript{140} Hei Nan was the founder of the Yellow Dragon school of Lin-chi tsung, and Tsu Hsin was his disciple.\textsuperscript{141} Among them only F'o Yin belonged to Yun-men tsung, others are all monks of Lin-chi tsung.

As the Sung figure Hsiao Ying mentioned, the contact between Chou and these Ch'an monks is undeniable. However one must not go so far as to say that these Ch'an monks were Chou's spiritual teachers. The Buddhists have strongly maintained that Chou's learning was directly derived from these Ch'an monks. Chu Shih-en of the Ming dynasty, for example, claimed that Chou Tun-yi himself confessed that his thought was derived from the teachings of the Yellow Dragon school: "My mind is inspired by Hui Nan and guided by F'o Yin."	extsuperscript{142} The content of Chou's Explanation of the Diagram, according to him, is based on the "charms" (k'ou-

\textsuperscript{140}For a full discussion of Shuo Ya as the source of Chou's thought. See chapter 3.

\textsuperscript{141}Concerning the lineage of the Yellow Dragon School, see Hsü tsang ching (Taipei: Hsin wen feng, 1977), vol. 147, Tsung t'ung pien nien, pp. 559-565. Also see the Zengaku Daijiten (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1985), revised edition, p. 12. Further, information on them is available in the Chung-kuo f'o-hsüeh jen-ming tz'u-dien (Taipei: Fang-chou, 1974), p. 551, p. 289.

\textsuperscript{142}See Chu-shih fen-deng lu in Hsü tsang ching (Taipei: Hsin wen feng, 1977), vol. 147, p. 908b.
chüeh) of the Tung-lin temple. He also said that Chou did not cut the grass in front of his window because of F'o Yin's influence. Yet this probably is an invented story based on the well-known anecdote that Chou did not cut the grass in front of his window. When Chou was asked why he did not cut it, according to the Ch'eng brothers, he said, "I feel its instinctive love of life." The same anecdote is also found in the F'o-fa chin-t'ang pien. Apparently these two Buddhist sources intentionally fabricated the story in order to emphasize that these Ch'an monks played an important role in the development of Chou's intellectual maturity. The intellectual foundation of Neo-Confucian thought, according to the F'o fa chin t'ang pien, is derived from the two Ch'an figures, Shou Ya and Ch'ang Ts'ung. By insisting that the fundamental principles of Chou's thought, which are generally regarded as the foundation of Neo-Confucianism, had their genesis in Buddhist philosophy, Hsin T'ai wanted to prove that Buddhism was the ultimate source for the rise of Neo-Confucianism.

The source for both Chu Shih-en's and Hsin T'ai's


claims is the Ming monk K'ung Ku's\textsuperscript{145} \textit{Shang chih pien} and it, in turn, is based on the Yuan dynasty monk Chueh Yin's\textsuperscript{146} \textit{Hsing-hsueh chih-yao}. They wrote these two works, which are no longer extant, to emphasize the Buddhists' influence on Neo-Confucian thinkers. Based on these four works, scholars claim that Chou's learning has its origins in the teachings of the above Ch'an monks. Kusumoto Bunyu and Tokiwa Daijo, for example, use these works as the main sources for demonstrating their arguments.\textsuperscript{147} Yet the \textit{Hsing-hsueh chih-yao} and the \textit{Shang chih pien} were written more than two hundred years after Chou's death. Moreover,


\textsuperscript{146}Nothing is actually known about him.

the aim of these two works was to show that Neo-Confucianism was influenced by Buddhism in its origin and later development.\textsuperscript{148} The more reliable Buddhist works such as the Sung kao-seng chuan, the Ch'uan teng lu and the F'o tsu t'ung chi never mentioned any of these Ch'an monks as Chou's teacher.

I do not mean to suggest that Chou never received any inspiration from these monks. But it seems unlikely that the relationship between these Ch'an monks and Chou was one of Master to disciple.\textsuperscript{149} Rather, their relationship was that of a Ch'an monk and a layman. The southern Sung figure Hsiao Ying mentioned that Chou discussed the Tao with F'o Yin and they together set up the Green Pine circle (Ch'ing-sung she). Hsiao Ying also said that "although Chou was a Neo-Confucian" he recommended F'o Yin as the chair of the circle. Hsiao Ying described the relationship of these two as merely that of "friends."\textsuperscript{150} He never mentioned any specific teaching that Chou learned from these Ch'an monks. It is ironic that Chueh Yin and K'ung Ku, who lived much


\textsuperscript{149}Abe Joichi claims that the relationship between F'o Yin and Chou is that of a Ch'an monk and a layman. See Chūgoku zenshūshi no kenkyū (Tokyo: Kyubun, 1986), pp. 257-260.

\textsuperscript{150}Yun-wo chi-t'an, Hsū-tsang ching, vol. 148, p. 5a-b.
later, could state more about the relationship between Chou and these Ch' an monks than Hsiao Ying.

Generally speaking, scholars have thought that during the T' ang period Buddhism reached its apex, and that during the Sung, Buddhism declined.\textsuperscript{151} However, it seems that the situation was more complex. In opposition to this long-held assumption, a few scholars have claimed that Ch' an Buddhism during the Sung flourished among the highest strata of society as never before. Ch' an Buddhism was an important and integral component of Sung culture. In Sung China, Buddhist conceptions and values, according to Robert Gimello, were first manifest in Chinese art and literature.\textsuperscript{152} He describes a close relationship between Ch' an Buddhism and secular culture in the Sung. Although many scholars have generally thought that Ch' an Buddhism deteriorated during the Sung dynasty, it actually became an integral part of public life and secular culture. Ch' an

\textsuperscript{151}For example, see Heinrich Dumoulin, \textit{Zen Buddhism: A History}, vol. 1, (New York: Macmillan, 1988) pp. 244-245.

monks were very familiar with Confucian issues and they also attended to the traditions of discourse that were customary. Therefore, it is very possible that Chou had contact with such Ch'an monks as Hei Nan and F'o Yin in Lu-shan, and thus he may have been inspired by discussions with them. As a matter of fact, Chou's brother-in-law P'u Tsung-meng mentioned that Chou frequently contacted a "high learned monk" (kao seng). These facts, however, do not prove that Chou's intellectual foundation was derived from Ch'an Buddhism.

2.2 CHOU'S WORKS

Regarding Chou's works, P'an Hsing-ssu's epitaph to Chou is the most reliable source. It says that Chou wrote the T'ai-chi t'u yi shuo, the Yi-t'ung, and many

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153 For examples of the discussions between Ch'an monks and literati, see Ko Ch'ao-kuang, Ch'an tsung yu chung kuo wen hua [Ch'an Buddhism and Culture of China] (Shang hai: Jen min, 1986), pp. 43-50. For the dialogue between F'o Yin and Su Shih, see pp. 46-47.

154 This is the earliest comment on the relationship between Chou and the Buddhists. Unfortunately, P'u did not provide us with any of the names of the Ch'an monks. See Chou Tun-yi chi, p. 87.

155 Chu Hsi read it as "T'ai-chi t'u" and "Yi-shuo." Thus he claimed that the Yi-shuo (Explanation of yi) was no longer extant. Eichhorn follows Chu Hsi. See W. Eichhorn, "Chou Tun-I: ein Chinesisches Gelehrtenleben," p. 9. But most scholars regard the T'ai-chi t'u yi shuo as the T'ai-
poems. Chou, according to P'an, had a profound knowledge of the Book of Changes. In fact, Chou's two major works are rooted in its doctrine. Aside from these two major works, Chou wrote the T'ung-jen shuo and the Kou shuo, which are no longer extant. Most likely P'an did not see these two major works otherwise he would have mentioned them in his epitaph. These two are the explanations of the hexagrams of the Book of Changes: T'ung-jen and Kou are hexagram no 13 and no 44, respectively. Thus these two works are also related to the tenets of the Book of Changes.

All extant versions of the Chou-tzu ch'üan-shu (Collected Works of Master Chou) are based on Chu Hsi's chi t'u and its shuo (explanation). Thus, it actually refers to the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. For example, see Hou Wai-lu et al., eds., Sung Ming li-hsüeh-shih (Peking: Jen min, 1984), pp. 50-51. If Chu Hsi is correct, Chou drew only the diagram and did not write its explanation (t'u shuo). This is unlikely.

This work is commonly known as the "T'ung-shu." See below.

See CTCS, p. 400.

Chou sent these two works to his friend, Fu Ch'i. See Tu Cheng's biography, CTCS, p. 389. Also see pp. 341-342.

For a presentation of these hexagrams, see Legge's translation, The I Ching (New York: Dover Publications, 1963) pp. 86-87, 154-155 respectively.
redaction. Before Chu Hsi revised Chou's works, several different versions were extant. It must be noted that most of those who possessed Chou's works received them directly or indirectly from the Ch'eng brothers' nephew Hou Chung-liang, who studied under the Ch'engs. Chou's works, according to Ch'i K'uan's postscript to the Yi-t'ung, were made known outside the Ch'eng school by Hou Chung-liang, who gave them to Kao Yuan-chu and Chu Chen. Ch'i K'uan received Chou's works from these two men and also obtained them from one of Ch'eng Yi's disciples Yin T'un (1071-1142), who in turn received them from Ch'eng Yi. Thus it would seem likely that the Ch'eng brothers possessed Chou's works. Later his works were transmitted to their disciples after Ch'eng Yi's death. The important point, here is that Ch'i K'uan regarded the version which he received from Yin T'un as the "current version." Furthermore, Ch'i K'uan compared

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160 The Chu ju ming tao, believed to be compiled by Chang Chiu-ch'eng's disciple in the 1160s, contains the Yi-t'ung in the first chapter. But it does not contain the T'ai-chi t'u shuo.

161 He was Hou K'o's (1007-1079) grandson.

162 See Ch'i K'uan's postscript to the Yi-t'ung written in 1144 in CTCS, p. 212.

163 Chu Chen used this edition in his Han-shang yi-chuan. For a discussion of Chu Chen's Han-shang yi-chuan, see chapter 3.

Kao Yuan-chu's, Chu Chen's, and Yin T'un's versions with another version which he found in the house where Chou had lived at Chiu-chiang. The difference between this Chiu-chiang version and the other three editions was that the former did not include the T'ai-chi t'u (The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate). Regarding this point, Ch'i K'uan explained that Chou himself gave the T'ai-chi t'u to the Ch'eng brothers, and that it was attached to the end of Chou's works possessed by the Ch'eng school.\textsuperscript{165} This apparently means that prior to Chu Hsi's redaction of Chou's works there were different editions. One of them, which Ch'i K'uan did not mention, was Hu Hung's version,\textsuperscript{166} which before Hu Hung revised it, might have been the same as the one Hou Chung-liang possessed, for Hu Hung had studied under Hou Chung-liang. Hu Hung wrote an undated preface to the Yi-t'ung. Unfortunately he did not mention the differences among the various editions.\textsuperscript{167}

Hu Hung, according to Chu Hsi, deleted each title of

\textsuperscript{165}Ch'i K'uan, "The Postscript to the T'ung-shu," CTCS, p. 212.

\textsuperscript{166}Okiwara Ko mistakenly believes that Hu Hung's version was the Chang-sha edition (Chang-sha pen). Yet the Chang-sha edition actually was one of Chu Hsi's revised versions. Chang-sha is the name of the place, in which Chu Hsi resided. Chinese scholars usually call it "Chang-sha pen."

\textsuperscript{167}See, Hu Hung, "The preface to the T'ung-ssu," CTCS, pp. 211-212.
the Yi-t'ung and added "Master Chou says," to the head of every chapter.\textsuperscript{168} The present versions of Chou's works were redacted by Chu Hsi a total of four times.\textsuperscript{169} In 1169 Chu made his first revised edition,\textsuperscript{170} and ten years later he made his second redacted edition of the Collected Works of Master Chou. His postscript to this second version gives useful information regarding the editorial problems of Chou's works. According to the postscript, there were already forgeries attributed to Chou: they were the Kua shuo (Explanation of the hexagrams) and the Hsi-tz'u shuo (Explanation of the Hsi-tz'u). Chu Hsi emphasized that in his epitaph to Chou, P'an mentioned that the T'ai-chi t'u existed prior to the Yi-t'ung and that the latter is the full explanation of the former.

As Ch'i K'uan indicated, Chou's collected works possessed by the disciples of the Ch'eng brothers contained the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and its Explanation but they were placed at the end of the Yi-t'ung. Chu Hsi in his redacted edition put them in the beginning because he felt

\textsuperscript{168}See "The postscript to the T'ai-chi t'u shuo and the T'ung-shu," in CTCS, pp. 206-208.

\textsuperscript{169}His first redaction of the text was made in 1169 and the final revision in 1187. See below.

\textsuperscript{170}See "The Postscript to Master Chu's T'ai-chi and T'ung-shu," Chu wen-kung wen-chi (Taipei: Ta hua press, 1985), vol. 2, pp. 5528-5531. This is not found in CTCS.
that one could mistakenly regard the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate and the Explanation as the last chapter of the Yi-t’ung.\footnote{This point is already mentioned in his postscript to the first redaction. Okiwara Ko incorrectly states that Chu's postscripts to the first and the second edition are "exactly the same." Although these two mention many similar points, the second postscript contains Chu Hsi's own annotations which give useful information about editorial problems. See Shū Ren-kei no Tetsugaku (Tokyo: Fuji shoten, 1935), p. 198. Also see pp. 196-204.} Chu Hsi emphasized that the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate must be placed in the beginning of Chou's works, since P'an's epitaph "first mentioned it prior to other works."\footnote{See "The postscript to the T'ai-chi t'u shuo and the T'ung-shu," in CTCS, p. 206-208.}

He also considered that the T'ung-shu refers to the Yi-t'ung. Already in Chu Hsi's time nobody could explain why the Yi-t'ung was also called the "T'ung-shu." As seen in Ch'i K'uan postscript written in 1144, Ch'eng Yi's disciples already called it the "T'ung-shu" instead of the "Yi-t'ung." It, however, is clear that the original title of the work is the "Yi-t'ung" as seen in P'an's epitaph.\footnote{The English translation "Penetrating the Book of Changes" is an inappropriate translation of the T'ung-shu. But the "Yi-t'ung" can correctly be translated as "Penetrating the Book of Changes."}

Chu Hsi's third revision of Chou's works was made because he received another version, which Yang Fang found in Chou's house at Chiu-chiang. It was different in
nineteen places from Chu's own version. In fourteen of the places the meaning was not changed although the characters were slightly different. In two places Chou corrected his original edition by following Yang Fang's edition. In the remaining three places Chu considered his edition to be more correct than Yang Fang's. Of these three the first case must be discussed here. In Yang Fang's edition the opening part of the Explanation of the Diagram was wu-chi erh sheng t'ai-chi, which means the wu-chi (Ultimateless) generates the t'ai-chi (Supreme Ultimate). This implies the Taoist metaphysical theory that Non-being gives birth to Being. Chu Hsi decided that here the character sheng (generate) was incorrect because all other versions, especially those which the Ch'engs' disciples possessed, did not contain the character sheng. Chu Hsi's correction was grounded on the fact that at that time all other extant editions of Chou's works did not include that character. It is true that Chu could not admit that Chou's work contained elements of Taoist thought, but in this case

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174These nineteen examples were enumerated by Chu Hsi. See "Yu Yen-p'ing pen," CTCS, pp. 208-209.

175I found that these differences are minor.

176Another two cases are found in chapter i and xxxii of the Yi-t'ung. Their differences are minor.
Chu's decision was fully based on philological analysis.\textsuperscript{177}

Chu's final redaction of Chou's works was made in 1187. The present edition of the Chou-tzu ch'uan-shu is based on this final version, which contains abundant commentaries on Chou's works. In a recent study, Ch'en K'o-ming compared five different extant versions of the Collected Works of Master Chou published prior to the modern period.\textsuperscript{178} Of them the earliest was published in 1526 by the Ming figure, Lu Nan. This is also the shortest version. This version only contains Chou's two major works with some postscripts to them. The largest collection was published by Tung Jung in 1756.\textsuperscript{179} It contains not only Chou's works including his many poems but also abundant materials written by Neo-Confucian scholars. Ch'en K'o-ming's study is valuable because he shows the differences that exist among these five versions, although the differences found are minor.

\textsuperscript{177}Another important editional problem will be discussed in chapter 4.
A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DIAGRAM OF THE SUPREME ULTIMATE

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the origin of Chou Tun-yi's T'ai-chi t'u (Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, see fig. 1). One of Chou Tun-yi's important contributions to Neo-Confucianism is undoubtedly his T'ai-chi t'u shuo (Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate), a Chinese version of the theory of the creation and evolution of the universe. It serves as the theoretical basis for all later Neo-Confucian cosmological speculations.

Authorities believe that Chou's Explanation of the Diagram grew out of a long Taoist and Buddhist tradition. Most scholars accept the claim that Chou received the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate from the Taoist, Ch'en T'uan (d. ca. 989) and maintain that the Taoist effect on Chou's Explanation of the Diagram is remarkable. Whether Chou received the diagram from Ch'en T'uan is a debatable issue, but the influences of Taoism on his thought are evident. In any case, the question of the origin of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate must be kept separate from the more general question of the Taoist or Buddhist influences behind Chou's

doctrines. As a result, this chapter does not deal with such influences on Chou's philosophy, instead, it will focus on traditional hypotheses regarding the origin of Chou's diagram and show that these hypotheses contain some serious flaws.

Sung literati and the Ch'ing critics discussed the problem of the diagram's origins in detail; it is useful to examine their views first. The first section of this chapter begins with a discussion of Mao Ch'i-ling's (1623-1716) claim that Chou's diagram was derived from the Taoist and Buddhist traditions. It will also focus on Chu Chen's claims regarding the genealogy of the Sung yi studies found in his Han-shang yi-chuan. Next is an investigation of whether or not the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven found in the Taoist canon is the archetype of Chou's diagram. The third section is a discussion about whether or not Ho-shang Kung's Diagram of the Ultimateless is the initial origin of Chou's diagram. Finally in the last section, I will examine Buddhist ideas and sources regarding the origin of Chou's diagram, namely Shou Ya's Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth and Tsung Mi's Diagram.

179 I used this version for writing this dissertation. Chou tzu chuan shu (Taipei: Kuang hsueh, 1971).
180 Hereafter, the Explanation of the Diagram.
181 I will focus on the ideas of the following scholars: Ch'ao Yueh-chih (1059-1129), Ch'ao Kung-wu (d. 1171), Chu Chen (1072-1138), Shao Po-wen (1057-1134), Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716), Huang Tsung-yen (1616-1686), and Chu Yi-tsun (1629-1709)
of the Process of Enlightenment and Delusion.

3.1 The Ts'an t'ung ch'i (Tally to the Book of Changes) and the Han-shang yi-chuan (Han-shang's Commentary on the Changes)

In general, the figure of Mao Ch'i-ling represents those scholars who studied the intellectual sources for Chou's speculations, including those pertaining to the origin of the diagram. In his T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi (Supplementary Discussion on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate), Mao claimed that both the diagram itself and the Explanation of the Diagram were derived from the Taoist canons and Buddhist works.\(^3\) According to Mao,

\(^3\)This work is not included in the Hsi-ho wen-chi. I used the Hsi-ho ho-chi (Yi tuan t'ang edition). It is worth noting that Mao Ch'i-ling deals with both Taoist and Buddhist influences on Chou Tun-yi's intellectual foundation. Many scholars have supposed that Mao only stated the Taoist effects on Chou's thought. For example, Fung Yu-lan indicates only the influences of Taoism on Chou's speculation when he deals with Mao's work. See A History of Chinese Philosophy, trans. D. Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 438-442. Generally, Japanese scholars claim that it was a Japanese scholar who first indicated the influences of Buddhism on Chou's thought. Imai Usaburo maintains that it is Takeuchi Yoshio who "first" interpreted the Buddhist influence on Chou's Explanation of the Diagram. However, this is not true at all. Even among Japanese scholars Takeuchi Yoshio is not the first scholar who discusses it. See Imai Usaburo, Sōdai Ekigaku no Kenkyū [A Study of the yi Philosophy in the Sung Dynasty] (Tokyō: Meijitosho, 1958), p. 242, p. 280. For his interpretation concerning the Buddhist influences, see pp.
the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate itself originated with the Taoist Ch'ên T'üan and the Ch'an Buddhist Shou Ya. More fundamentally, Ch'ên T'üan's diagram was based on two diagrams which originally appeared in Wei Po-yang's Ts'ân t'ung ch'i (Tally to the Book of Changes). The titles of these two diagrams were the Shui huo k'uang k'uo t'u (Diagram of the Outline of [the Forces] of Water and Fire), and the San wu chih ching t'u (Diagram of the Three and Five Supreme Essences). Mao maintained that the second portion of Chou's diagram, which describes the interactions of yin and yang, was derived from the Diagram of the Outline of 280-291.

183 T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, pp. 1a-2a. Its full title is Chou-yi ts'ân t'ung ch'i, and it is believed to have been written by Wei Po-yang around the second century A.D. The oldest biography of Wei Po-yang is in the Shen-hsien chuan compiled by Ko Hung. For more information on the Ts'ân t'ung ch'i, see Liu Ching-ch'eng, Chung kuo tao chiao shih (Taipei: Wen-chin, 1993), pp. 59-67. Jen Chi-yu et al., eds., Chung-kuo tao-chiao-shih (Shang hai: Jen min, 1990), pp. 25-31. Ts'ân t'ung ch'i is generally regarded as the first book on alchemy in history. It should not be confused with the work Ts'ân t'ung ch'i written by the Buddhist monk Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-790). Wu Lu-ch'iäng and Tenney L. Davis translated this work into English. See "An Ancient Chinese Treatise on Alchemy entitled Ts'ân T'ung ch'i," ISIS, no. 18 (1932), pp. 210-285. J. Needham translates the title of it as "Book of the Kinship of the Three" or "the Accordance of the Kua of the Book of Changes with the Phenomena of Composite Things." J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 330-331, p. 441. Here I follow Livia Kohn's translation. Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1989), p. 20, p. 28, p. 305.
[the Forces] of Water and Fire, and that the central portion of the diagram which expresses the interactions among the five phases was derived from the Diagram of the Three and Five Supreme Essences. It would be useful to see these two diagrams (see fig. 2).

Mao asserted that Chou put these two diagrams together in his Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. In appearance, these two are very similar to the second and third part of Chou's diagram. By indicating the fact that these two diagrams were existent in Taoist works before Chou Tun-yi, Mao believed that he had proven that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was derived from Taoist sources. He also specifically mentions the Taoist canon. This will be discussed in detail. see p. 108f.

Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, op. cit., 4b.

P'eng Hsiao lived at the end of the T'ang dynasty and during the Five Dynasties period (907-959).
extant in the present edition of P'eng Shao's work.\footnote{See the Taoist canon fasc. 623. These diagrams are also not found in the \textit{Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu} edition. The \textit{Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu} edition is published as a separate volume by Chung chou ku-chi press. (Chung-chou: Chung-chou ku chi, 1989), pp. 9-182.} In the present edition we can find only the Diagram of the Clear Mirror, \textit{Ming-ching t'u}, which is very different from Chou's diagram. This diagram is also called the \textit{Diagram of the Eight Rings}, \textit{Pa hwan t'u} (see fig. 3). It is worth noting that among the many commentaries on the \textit{Tally to the Book of Changes}, P'eng's work is the first commentary containing the diagram.

This diagram consists of eight circles, and its main theme is the preparation of an immortality elixir. It adopts many complicated religious Taoist theories and uses explanations on the hexagrams of the \textit{Changes}.\footnote{For more information, see Imai Usaburo, \textit{Sodai Ekigaku no Kenkyu}, op. cit., pp. 313-314. Lao Ssu-kuang, \textit{Chung-kuo che-hsueh-shih} (Taipei: San min, 1985), vol. 3, \textit{shang}, pp. 131-132.} In the entire work, P'eng's major interest focuses on how to prepare an elixir of immortality. Not only is it dissimilar to Chou's diagram in form but its main content differs significantly from Chou's thought. Instead, the thirty small circles seen in the third ring are reminiscent of Tsung Mi's (740-841) \textit{Diagram of the Process of Enlightenment}.
and Delusion\(^{189}\) seen in the Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu (Preface to the Collected Writings on the Sources of Ch'an). The difference between these two diagrams is that Tsung Mi's diagram consists of twenty small circles. P'eng's diagram is dated to the year 947. Considering that Taoism absorbed a great deal of Buddhism in T'ang China, one might imagine that P'eng Shao referred to Tsung Mi's diagram in drawing his own. Yet Tsung Mi's diagram may have been, as I will discuss later, added to the Ch'an Preface in subsequent generations.\(^{190}\)

In any case, the problem is that we cannot determine whether the original edition of the Tally to the Book of Changes actually contained the two diagrams that Mao mentioned. There is no way to examine whether or not Chu Hsi really deleted these two diagrams from the original edition. In his commentary on the Tally to the Book of Changes, Chu Hsi did not mentioned that he eliminated these diagrams.\(^{191}\) More fundamentally, modern Japanese scholarship considers that the present Tally To the Book of

\(^{189}\)See figure 11.

\(^{190}\)For the relationship between Tsung Mi and Chou's diagram, see p. 143f.

\(^{191}\)See Chu Hsi's preface to the Ts'an t'ung ch'i k'ao-yi.
Changes is not the same as the original version. The present edition also may be different from the work which Mao actually used. Because there is no way to confirm which version he had, Mao's claim becomes impossible to verify.

Yet we can examine Mao's other claim: that Chou Tun-yi's diagram was derived from the Taoist Ch'en T'uan. The traditional belief that Chou Tun-yi's learning came from Ch'en T'uan was already mentioned frequently by Sung scholars. Among the Sung writers, Chu Chen (1072-1138) was the main source for supporting this contention. Chu Chen's views are found in the Han-shang yi-chuan (Han-shang's Commentary on the Changes), a work in which he presented his explanations of the Book of Changes. Chu Chen commented that from the Wei dynasty Confucians were deeply influenced by the Taoist interpretations of Wang Pi and Chung Hui on the speculative approach to the Book of Changes. He went on to outline the three schools of the Changes in the Sung dynasty. He said:

The Diagram of What Antedates Heaven, Hsien-t'ien t'u, was transmitted from Ch'en T'uan of P'u Shang to Ch'ung Fang (died 1015), from Fang to Mu Hsiu (979-1032), from Hsiu to Li Chih-ts'ai (died 1045), and from Chih-ts'ai to Shao Yung (1011-1077). The River Chart and Lo Writing were

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transmitted from Ch'ung Fang to Li Kai (dates uncertain), from Kai to Hsu Chien (Later T'ang figure), from Chien to Fan O-ch'ang (dates uncertain), and from O-ch'ang to Liu Mu (1011-1064). The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was transmitted from Mu Hsiu to Chou Tun-yi, and from Tun-yi to Ch'eng Yi (1033-1107) and Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085)... As a result of the transmission, Shao Yung wrote the Huang-chi ching-shih; Liu Mu expounded the fifty-five numbers of Heaven and Earth; Chou Tun-yi wrote Penetrating the Book of Changes; Ch'eng Yi wrote the Commentary on the Changes; and Chang Tsai (1020-1077) wrote the Supreme Harmony and the Three and the Two. [Thus] they expounded symbology, or argued numerology, or transmitted the expositions of the Changes.¹⁹⁴

Chu Chen outlined the transmission of these important diagrams which had became the most important materials for the development of Sung cosmology. We can arrange Chu's outline as follows:

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Ch'en T'uan
   ↓
Ch'ung Fang
      ↓
   Li Kai   Mu Hsiu
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¹⁹³We need to pay attention to the fact that Chu Chen did not mention the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate.

¹⁹⁴Chu Chen's Chin chou-yi piao. This is in the beginning of his Han-shang yi-chuan. Chin chou-yi piao is absent from the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'uan edition. I used the T'ung-chih t'ang ching-chieh edition, edited by the Ch'ing figure Hsu Kan-hsueh (Taipei: Ta t'ung, 1969), vol. 1, p. 425.
From this figure, it would appear that the early Sung schools of the Changes including the so-called Hsiang-shu school (school of symbology-numerology), all traced their origin back to Ch'en T'uan. Such a view is also seen in the biography of Chu Chen in the Sung-shih. Although T'o T'o doubted Chu Chen's source, he repeated Chu Chen's claims.195

First, I wish to discuss the transmission of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. As we have seen, Chu Chen mentioned three men who received it before Chou. They were

195T'o T'o, Sung-shih, chuan 435. This work was compiled under the Mongols in the 1340s. See Erh shih wu shih: Sung-shih (Taipei: Shin wen feng, 1975), vol. 36, p. 5222a.
Ch'en T'uan, Ch'ung Fang and Mu Hsiu. Among them Mu Hsiu died in the first year of the Ming-tao reign (1032). At that time Chou was only 15 by the western calendar system. Because of Chou's young age, scholars have doubted the transmission of the diagram from Mu to Chou. Some scholars have even argued that they never actually met each other. But it is true that both Mu and Chou were in the metropolitan area, Ching-shih, in 1031-1032. Mu arrived at the capital in the summer of 1031 to sell the T'ang edition of Han Yu's works. According to the historical record, Mu's family had severe financial problems at that time. Due to the death of his father during that same year, Chou, along with his mother, arrived in the capital to stay at the home of a maternal uncle. Mu died in 1032 upon

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196This is mentioned in Ssu Tzu-mei's Ai mu hsien-sheng wen. Ssu Tzu-mei was Mu Hsiu's best friend. He wrote Mu's epitaph. See the Ho-nan Mu-kong chi, SPTK shu pen edition, ch'u pien, vol. 45, pp. 29a-30a.


returning to his hometown of Tsun-hsi. 199

From this, we cannot deny that they might have met in the capital sometime during or after 1131 to 1132. However, scholars doubt the possibility of the transmission of the Diagram between these two. A.C. Graham, for example, says, "Chu Chen's claim is just credible although very unlikely." 200 In the thirteenth century Liu Yin (1249-1293) raised the issue of Chou's young age at the time of Mu's death as an objection to the tradition that Chou received the Diagram from Mu, 201 but Liu Yin thought Chou was 14 at that time. 202 In any case, this interpretation in itself is not enough to refute Chu Chen's claim and therefore we cannot entirely reject his accounts. The relationships between Ch'ung Fang (d. 1015) and Mu Hsiu and between Ch'en T'uan (d. ca. 989) and Ch'ung Fang do not contain similar problems. 203


200 A.C. Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, op. cit., p. 156. Also see p. 171.

201 The Ching-hsiu hsin-sheng wen-chi, chuan 22, SPTK suo pen edition, ch'u pien, vol. 73, p. 105a-b.

202 See footnote 199. This is also seen in SYHA.

203 For Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang's biography, see Sung-shih, chuan 457.
Further light can be shed on this problem by examining each man's scholarship. There have been scholars who have questioned the transmission of the diagram from Mu to Chou by pointing out differences in their scholarship. Hsu Yufeng, for instance, indicates that Mu's scholarship is quite different from that of Chou. According to Ssu Tzu-mei (1008-1048), Mu's best friend and the writer of his epitaph, Mu Hsiu was an expert of ancient prose style, ku-wen. Mu's specialty was not intellectual speculations about being or philosophy. Rather, his main interest was literature. Among the three who received the transmission before Chou, only Mu Hsiu has left works of undisputed authenticity. They contain nothing on philosophy. His extant works are all related to literature. But Chou Tun-yi's major background, as we know, was not ancient style literature. Cosmological speculations and moral philosophy are the two main themes seen in Chou's works. The *Penetrating the Book of Changes* deals entirely with Confucian moral philosophy from the viewpoint of the *Book of Changes* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the subject of the *Explanation of the Diagram* is mainly related to the evolution of the universe. These two subjects are definitely not found in Mu's works.

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204 See the *Ho-nan Mu-kung chi* in the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*, suo pen edition, *ch'u pien*, vol. 45, pp. 1-31. In my scan of Mu's corpus I have found no reference reminiscent of Chou's work.
This point may not be a crucial objection to Chu Chen's claim, but it is one of the logical reasons which makes us hesitate to agree with him. Among Sung scholars, Hu Hung (1102 or 1105-1161) doubted Chu Chen's view on the transmissions of the diagrams. In his *Preface to the Penetrating Book of Changes* Hu Hung said:

People say that Chou Tun-yi received the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate from Mu Hsiu. [People also say that] Hsiu received the Diagram of What Antedates Heaven from Ch'ung Fang and Ch'ung Fang received it from Ch'en T'uan. Is he one of the original sources of Chou's learning? He is not the ultimate origin of Chou's learning.\(^{205}\)

Although Hu Hung had his suspicions about Chu Chen's accounts regarding the origin of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, he did not discuss them in detail. The traditional claim that the diagram was passed down to Chou from Ch'en T'uan, however, relies mainly on Chu Chen's interpretations, so it is significant that the twelfth century figure Hu Hung, who was almost a contemporary with Chu Chen, had doubts about Chu Chen's claim. Chu Chen's

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\(^{205}\)Hu Hung, "T'ung-shu hsueh lueh" (Preface to the Penetrating the Book of Changes) in CTCS, p. 211.
Chin chou-yi piao was written in 1134, sixty-one years after Chou Tun-yi died in 1073. One can rightly wonder about which sources Chu Chen had for supporting his claim. As a matter of fact, some scholars, men like T'o T'o and Hu Wei (1633-1714), distrusted whether Chu Chen had reliable grounds for his well-organized explanations.

In tracing the transmission of the diagrams, it is useful to compare the claims of the great bibliographer Ch'ao Yueh-chih (1059-1129) and of Shao Po-wen (1057-1134) with those of Chu Chen. Ch'ao Yueh-chih, a member of the Shao school, wrote the Ch'uan yi t'ang chi (Record of the Transmission of the Yi Studies), which dealt with the origin of Sung yi learning. Ch'ao Yueh-chih claimed, as Chu Chen did, that all Sung schools of the Changes had their origin in Ch'en T'uan. According to this view, the yi learning was passed from Ch'en T'uan to Ch'ung Fang, from Fang to Mu Hsiu and Fan O-ch'ang, from O-Ch'ang to Liu Mu, from Liu Mu to Hang Hsi and Ch'en Ch'un-ch'en, from Mu Hsiu to Li Chih-ts'ai, and from Chih-ts'ai to Shao Yung. In the Biography of Li Chih-ts'ai, Ch'ao also briefly mentioned the

\[\text{\textsuperscript{206}}\text{Chu Chen spent 18 years (1116-1134) writing the Han-shang yi-chuan. See the Chin chou-yi piao, p.425.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{207}}\text{For more information on Ch'ao Yueh-chih, see p. 135f.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{208}}\text{Sung-shan wen-chi SPTK hsu pien edition, chuan 16, pp. 8a-12a, especially pp. 11a-12a.}\]
genealogy of the yi learning, which runs as follows: from Ch'en T'uan to Ch'ung Fang, from Fang to Mu Hsiu, from Hsiu to Li Chih-ts'ai, and from Chih ts'ai to Shao Yung. Ch'ao Yueh-chih's claims presented in these two works can be arranged as follows:

![Genealogy diagram](image)

This figure illustrates Ch'ao's affirmation of the idea that Ch'en T'uan was "the ultimate source" of the studies of

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209 Sung-shan wen-chi, op. cit., chuan 19, pp. 15-18, especially pp. 16a-b.
Shao Po-wen made the same assertion in the *Yi-hsüeh pien-huo*. The role of Ch'en T'uan's thought as a forerunner to the Sung dynasty *yi* learning was clearly recognized by these two Sung literati. Shao Po-wen, the son of Shao Yung, clearly indicated Ch'en T'uan as the ultimate source of Shao Yung's philosophy. Shao Yung's *"yi* learning," according to him, was derived from Ch'en T'uan through Mu Hsiu and Li Chih-ts'ai, and his "symbology (hsiang-hsueh)" was also derived from Ch'en T'uan. The genealogy is as follows: from Ch'en T'uan to Hsu Chien, and from Hsu Chien to Fan O-ch'ang.

Ch'ao and Shao's works were written before Chu Chen's *Han-shang yi-chuan*, and are therefore quite important for those who study the origin of the genealogy of the Sung dynasty *yi* learning. Although they have many similarities,

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210 See the Biography of Li Chih-ts'ai in the *Sung-shanwen-chi*, chüan 19, p. 16a.


212 See the *Yi-hsueh pien-huo*, op. cit., p. 13a. Shao Yung was also obviously aware of his debt to Ch'en T'uan. See Anne Birdwhistell, *Transition to Neo-Confucianism: Shao Yung on Knowledge and Symbols of Reality* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 207-209.

213 *Yi-hsüeh pien-huo*, op. cit., pp. 2a-3b, p. 4b.

214 *Yi-hsüeh pien-huo*, op. cit., p. 6b.
Ch'ao's and Shao's lineages are somewhat different from Chu Chen's. The transmission of the diagrams, i.e. the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, the Diagram of What Antedates Heaven and the River Chart, are separately explained in Chu Chen's pedigree, while Ch'ao and Shao elucidated them together by using the somewhat vague expression, "the transmission of yi learning." The most significant point here is that both Ch'ao and Shao did not deal with the transmission of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate separately from that of the entire transmission of yi learning. Thus, even though these two works were written earlier than Chu Chen's, we cannot directly use them as the immediate sources for the discussion of the origin of Chu's diagram.

The differences seen in these three figures, however, greatly help us to determine whether Chu Chen's accounts on the transmission of the diagrams and the Lo writing are reliable or not. Comparing Chu Chen's accounts with both Ch'ao's and Shao's, we find that Chu Chen mentioned a mysterious figure to whom neither Ch'ao nor Shao referred (see fig. 4 and 5). The figure is Li Kai. Furthermore, Ch'ao did not discuss Hsu Chien, although he was mentioned in the pedigrees of Chu Chen and Shao Po-wen. In Chu Chen's accounts, Li Kai and Hsu Chien are found in the genealogy of the River Chart and the Lo Writing.
For the successful discussion of these two lesser-known figures, we should examine the entire pedigree of the *River Chart* and the *Lo Writing*. In the line of transmission of these two works, Chu Chen mentioned six figures. The genealogy goes as follows: from Ch'en T'uan to Ch'ung Fang, from Fang to Li Kai, from Kai to Hsü Chien, from Chien to Fan 0-ch'ang, and from 0-ch'ang to Liu Mu. Interestingly, the same line of transmission is seen in the Buddhist work *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*. Unfortunately, we do not have reliable materials to fully elucidate the relationship among these six figures, but we have partial information about each of them. We should discuss these six figures individually. The *Sung History* contains the biographies of Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang. Tu Cheng, one of the disciples of Chu Hsi, stated that the works of Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang are not similar to those of Chou at all. This indicates that Tu Cheng read their works or was at least familiar with them. The preface of the *Dragon Chart* ascribed to Ch'en T'uan has survived, although its authenticity has been questioned. The work entitled *Ma-yi tao-che cheng-yi hsin-fa*, which deals mainly with the

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215 Chih P'an, Taisho, vol. 43, pp.395c-396a. Chih P'an seems to follow Chu Chen's genealogy.

cosmology of the Changes, has been transmitted under Ch'en T'uan's name. The Tao Tsang contains the works ascribed to him. Ch'ung Fang (T. Ming-yi) was appointed tao ssu-kan

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For the Dragon Chart, see Hu Wei's Yi-t'u ming-pien, TSCC ch'u pien edition vol. 438, chuan 4, pp. 85-97. Here Hu Wei discussed the Dragon Chart including its preface in detail. He claimed that it was a forgery. The preface of the Dragon Chart is also seen in the Sung Yuan hsueh-an pu-yi, chuan 9, pp. 1a-3a. The preface and several charts appear in the Tao Tsang. See Yi-hsiang t'u-shuo nei-p'ien (dating from the fourteenth century) fasc. 71, shang, pp. 1a-8b. Chou yi-t'u (dating from the end of the twelfth century) fasc. 69, shang, pp. 20a-21a, hsia, pp. 26b-27b. For the Ma-yi tao-che cheng-yi hsin-fa, see Li Yuan-kuo, "Cheng-yi hsin-fa k'ao-pien," in She-hui k'o-hsueh yen-chiu, no. 6 (1984), pp. 67-75. The Ma-yi tao-che cheng-yi hsin-fa is collected in the Chin-tai mi-shu of the Pai pu t'sung-shu chi-ch'eng (Taipei: Yi wen), case 99, vol. 1078. Chu Hsi argued that the Ma-yi tao-che cheng-yi hsin-fa was forged by Tai Shih-yu who was the author of a postscript to it. See the end of vol. 1078 (no page numbering). Ogiwara Ko discussed this work in his book, see the Shu Renkei no tetsugaku (Tokyo: Fujii shoten, 1935), pp. 222-225. The Tao Tsang contains the work entitled "Yin-chen-chun huan-tan ke chu." See fasc. 59. The biography of Ch'en T'uan is seen in the Li-shi chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung chien, chuan 47, Tao Tsang fasc. 147. Part of it (The Sleep of the Perfected) is translated into English, see Livia Kohn, Taoist Experience (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 272-276. For Ch'en's sleep practice see "The Twelve Sleep-Exercises of Mount Hua" tr., by Teri Takehiro in Taoist Resources vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 73-94. A French translation also exists. See Kunio Miura, "The Revival of Qi" in Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques ed., by Livia Kohn (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press), p. 346, p. 278. The Ho-lo chen-shu and Ho-lo li-shu have also been ascribed to Ch'en T'uan. For more information, see "Ch'en T'uan" in the Ssu-ch'uan ssu-hsia-chia ed., by Chia Shun-hsien (Ssu-ch'uan, Ch'eng-tu: Pa shu, 1987) pp. 181-222. This article is written by Li Yuan-kuo, who is a specialist on Ch'en T'uan's thought. Also see Li Yuan-kuo, "Wu-chi-t'u ssu-hsia-chia t'an-suou chian-chi ch'i yuan-yuun yu ying-hsiaot'o ke k'ao-ch'a" in Shih-chiieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu no. 2 (1987), pp. 95-105. For Ch'en T'uan's personal life, see Livia Knaul, Leben und Legende des Ch'en T'uan, Wurzburger
(Left Office of the Department of State Affairs) by the emperor Chen-tsung (r. 997-1021). Ch'ung Fang's works entitled Ch'ung Ming-yi chi (The Collected Writings of Ch'ung Ming-yi) are recorded in Ch'ao Kung-wu's Chun-chai tu-shu chih even though they are no longer extant. The eleventh century figure Chu Kuang-t'ing (T. Kong-shan, 1037-1094) stated that Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang's scholarship was well-known to other scholars:

Sin-Japonica, no. 9 (Frankfurt am Main and Bern: Verlag Peter Lang, 1981). Also by the same author "Ch'en T'uan in History and Legend" in Taoist Resources, vol. 2, no. 1 (1990), pp. 8-32. This entire volume is devoted to Ch'en T'uan. Here Livia translated Ch'en T'uan's biography into English, see pp. 1-7.

Graham argues that Chu Chen and Ch'ao Yueh chih's accounts on the transmission of the yi learning are more reliable than Shao Po-wen's. He thinks that Shao Po-wen did not refer to Ch'ung Fang as coming between Ch'en T'uan and Mu Hsiu, whereas Chu Chen and Ch'ao Yueh-chih did. If this is true, Shao Po-wen's pedigree can not be accepted. When Ch'en T'uan died in 989, Mu Hsiu was only 10. See Graham, p. 153. However Shao Po-wen also added Ch'ung Fang between these two. See Yi-hsueh pien-huo, op. cit., p. 6b. In addition, Graham says that "Shao Yung's son Po-wen stated that the science of numbers was transmitted from Ch'en T'uan to Mu Hsiu" (p. 153), but Po-wen did not use the expression "the science of numbers" (shu-hsueh). He used "yi (studies)" and "symology" when mentioning the line of transmission. Shao Yung's philosophical system is closed to symological speculation, while Liu Mu's theoretical system is generally regarded as numerology. Interestingly, the expression "science of numbers" is used in the SYHA Pu Yi when Wang Tzu-ts'ai cited Po-wen's work. see vol. 3, chuan 9, p. 3a.

In the time of the Imperial ancestors, Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang were offered appointments. Their high reputation and simplicity of life were known to the whole world; but I consider that Ch'eng Yi's worth is not necessarily less than theirs...

Although here Chu Kuang-t'ing is recommending Ch'eng Yi to the emperor, this quote also indicates that Ch'en T'uan and Ch'ung Fang were well-known figures to the Sung literati of the eleventh century.

Liu Mu was an important interpreter of the numerological aspects of *yi* philosophy. He was one of the famous leading scholars belonging to the Hsiang-shu learning. His work on the *Book of Changes* was presented to the emperor Jen-tsung in the Ch'ing-li period (1041-48).

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221 See Ch'ao Kung-wu's comment on his work "Kou yin t'u," *Chao-te hsien-sheng chun-chai tu-shu chih*, op. cit., vol. 1, chuan 1, p. 321.

222 Ch'ao Kung-wu, *Chao-te hsien-sheng chun-chai tu-shu chih*, op. cit., vol. 1, chuan 1, p. 321. Ch'ao recorded only two of Liu Mu's works: the *Liu chang-min yi* and the *Kou yin t'u*. But the works of the thirteenth century bibliographer Ch'en Chen-sun offer more information on Liu Mu's works. See Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i, Shu mu hsu pien edition (Taipei: Kuang wen, published dates uncertain), vol. 1, pp. 32-33. For his numerology of the *Changes*, see Cheng Chi-hsiung "Lun Sung-tai yi-t'u chih hsueh chi ch'i hou te fa-chan " in *Chung-kuo wen-hsueh yen-chiu*, no. 1 (1987), pp. 5-8, pp. 17-18. The *Tao Tsang* contains his famous work, the
His numerological study of the Book of Changes was criticized by Sung Confucians. The Ch'eng brothers were extremely critical of Liu Mu.223

About Fan O-ch'ang, we also have some information, though practically nothing is known about his personal life. Fan, according to Ch'ao Kung-wu, wrote the Cheng chui chien during the T'ien-hsi period (1017-1021). This work was used by Ch'eng Yi when he discussed editions of the Book of Changes.224 Even though it is no longer extant, Fan O-ch'ang's work, according to Ch'en Chen-sun, denied the relationship between the Great Appendix of the Book of Changes and Confucius. Ch'en Chen-sun also referred to Fan's other works: the Pu chu and Yuan-liu t'u.225

The historical existence of the aforementioned four figures, can be confirmed by various albeit often incomplete sources. Regarding Li Kai and Hsü Chien, however, I had

Yi shu kou yin t'u. See fasc. 71. The popular edition is the T'ung-chih t'ang ching-chieh, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 120-136.


225Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i, op. cit., p. 31-32.
difficulty finding support for Chu Chen's accounts. First, nothing is known of Li Kai. It was only Chu Chen who mentioned Li Kai. Chu discussed his work entitled "Kua ch'i tu (The Hexagram and Ch'i Chart)," and claimed Li's thought was based on the Yi-wei. His name is seen in many important materials: the Po-tsu t'ung-chi, the T'ung-tu shih-lueh, the Sung-shih, the Sung Yuan hsueh-an and the Sung Yuan hsueh-an pu-yi, but these works simply repeat Chu Chen's claims in the Han-shang yi-chuan. Therefore, these materials do not provide more information about him. As I indicated above, Ch'ao Yueh-chih and Shao Po-wen never mentioned Li Kai's name in their works. We should remember that their works were written before Chu Chen's Han shang yi-chuan. I also checked the standard biographical materials for Sung figures, but I could find no reference to Li Kai.

In addition, both Ch'ao Kuang-wu and Ch'en Chen-sun

\[226\] See Chu Chen, the Chou-yi kua-t'u in the Han-shang yi-chuan, T'ung-chih-t'ang ching chieh edition, chuan chung, op. cit., p. 621b.

stated that Fan O-ch'ang's learning came from Hsu Chien through Li Ch'u-yüeh. Here we encounter another mysterious figure, Li Ch'u-yüeh. Like Li Kai, nothing is known about him. Hu Wei wondered whether or not these two figures, Li Kai and Li Ch'u-yüeh, were the same person.\textsuperscript{228}

Now let us turn to the case of Hsü Chien. Fan O-ch'ang himself, according to Ch'ao Kung-wu, mentioned that his learning had its origin in Hsü Chien.\textsuperscript{229} He, according to Chu Chen, derived his learning from Ch'ung Fang's disciple Li Kai, but Shao Po-wen asserted that he was the immediate disciple of Ch'ung Fang without mentioning Li Kai. Yet Ch'ao Yüeh-chih never noted these two mysterious figures in his genealogy on the transmission of the diagrams. It is important to remember that Ch'ao's work written in 1107 dates earlier than that of both Chu Chen and Shao Po-wen.

Hsü Chien's case clearly shows that Chu Chen's claim has a serious flaw. Although we do not know his exact dates, Hsü Chien probably lived before the Sung, and Ch'ung Fang was a Taoist recluse during the Sung dynasty. Hsü Chien might even have lived before Ch'en T'uan,\textsuperscript{230} so it is

\textsuperscript{228}Yi-t'u ming-pien, pp. 87-88.

\textsuperscript{229}Ch'ao Kung-wu, Chao-te hsien-sheng chun-chai tu-shu chih, op. cit., vol. 1, chüan 1, p. 317.

\textsuperscript{230}Graham affirms that Hsu Chien's dates are earlier than those of Ch'en T'uan. His claim is entirely based on Yang Shih's epitaph of Hsu Hang (1058-1115), who was the
descendant Hsu Hang (1058-1115) written by Yang Shih. Yet, strictly speaking, Hsu Chien was a Later T'ang and Five Dynasty period figure. This is quite clear from Hsu Chien's biography found in Ma Ling's Nan-T'ang shu. Yang Shih said that Hsu Hang's (T. Te-chan) ancestry was known only for four generations: Hsu Cheng-hsien (great-great-grandfather), Hsu Huai-su (great-grandfather), Hsu Yen-fu (grandfather) and his father Hsu Yi, the lineage from Hsu Chien to Hsu Cheng-hsien (great-great-grandfather) "having been lost in the disorders of the fall of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties." The Ch'uan T'ang shih also mentions Hsu Chien. Although it only states that he wrote five poems, it indicates that Hsu Chien was a contemporary of Li Ching (916-961), the second ruler of the Later T'ang. Li Ching and his son Li Yu (937-978), the third and last ruler of the Later T'ang, were well-known ruler-poets. The poems written by these two ruler-poets were

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231 Graham relies solely on Yang Shih for Hsu Chien's dates, but see the Ma-shih Nan-T'ang shu SPTK edition, chüan 15 Yin-che chuan [The Biographies of the Recluses], pp. 4-5. The Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu also contains the biography of Hsu Chien, see Ssu k'u chuan shu chen pen [shan chi] edition ed., by Wang Yun-wu, chüan 34, pp. 6a-7a.


233 The Ch'uan T'ang shih (Peking; Chung-hua, 1960), chüan 757, p. 8613, p. 7934. His biography is, of course, contained in the Nan T'ang shu.
compiled in the **Nan-T'ang erh-chu tz'u** (Lyric Poems of the Two Lords of Southern T'ang). This work mainly contains Li Yu's poems, but it also includes those of Li Ching. In any case, it is clear that Hsu Chien lived before the Sung dynasty.

The above discussions clearly show that Chu Chen's genealogy on the transmission of the diagrams is not entirely reliable. The actual meeting between Chou Tun-yi and Mu Hsiu has been questioned, and the cases of both Hsu Chien and Li Kai show that Chu Chen's pedigree has a serious flaw. Interestingly, Chu Hsi, who so eagerly wanted to show that Chou Tun-yi was the founder of Sung Confucianism, could not demonstrate that Chu Chen's line of the transmission of the diagrams is not reliable. If Chu Hsi had carefully examined Chu Chen's accounts, he might have found that Chu Chen's claims contain serious defects.

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234 There is an English translation of this work: Daniel Bryant, *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang* (Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1982). For Li Ching's poems, see pp. 61-64.

235 The **Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien** also has the biography of Hsu Chien. Its content overlaps with Ma Ling's *Nan- T'ang shu* and Wu's *Shih kuo ch'un ch'iu*, but interestingly it that Hsu Chien's corpus was popular in the Kan-te reign (963-967) and that he died in the Ching-te reign (1004-1007). The record of the **Li-shih chen hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien** is incompatible with Hsu Hang's epitaph, but it also denotes that Hsu Chien died before Ch'ung Fang. See TT fasc. 147, chüan 46, pp. 11b-13a.
3.2. The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven

Mao Ch'i-ling pointed out that a diagram very similar to the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate can be found in the Taoist Canon. This Taoist Cannon bears the lengthy title: Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan miao-ching t'u. It contains five diagrams which deal with the techniques for acquiring immortality. Among these diagrams, the third entitled "T'ai-chi hsien-t'ien chih t'u" (The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven) is almost the same as Chou's diagram (see fig. 6).

In appearance, the similarities between this and Chou's diagram are striking. Many scholars have claimed that from it Chou gained inspiration for his own diagram. Mao maintained that during the T'ang dynasty an anonymous Taoist drew it by uniting the Diagram of the Outline of [the Forces] of Water and Fire (hereafter, Diagram of Water-Fire) and the Diagram of the Three and Five Supreme Essences (hereafter, Diagram of Three-Five). In this work there

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236 Taoist Canon case 23, fasc. 196.

237 Taoist Canon case 23, fasc. 196 (t'u), p. 3b.

238 As we discussed above, these two diagrams, according to Mao, were originally in the Ts'an t'ung ch'i. Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, op. cit., pp. 5a-8a.
is a preface ascribed to the T'ang Emperor Hsuan-tsung (r. 713-755), although its genuine author is unknown. If its preface was actually written by Hsuan-tsung, then it would antedate Chou's diagram by three centuries. Therefore, this Taoist diagram has been used as evidence that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was known in the Taoist circles of the T'ang dynasty before the Sung. Many scholars have subscribed to this view. J. Needham, for example, notes that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven, which is "very similar to that of Chou Tun-yi," is to be found in an eighth century Taoist work. J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 467-468. Fung Yu-lan also notices the resemblances between this Taoist work and Chou's diagram and deduces that it antedates Chou's diagram "by several centuries." Fung Yu-lan also notices the resemblances between this Taoist work and Chou's diagram and deduces that it antedates Chou's diagram "by several centuries."240

Although it is true that the foundations of the Taoist Canon were laid in the eighth century,241 many works were


later incorporated into it. In other words, there are many forged works in the extant Taoist Canon, which were added by anonymous figures. This means that there is a possibility that this preface was not written by the emperor Hsuan-tsung. In fact, there is crucial evidence which shows that it was not written during the T'ang dynasty. The preface freely used two Chinese characters regarded as taboo in the T'ang dynasty: shih and min.\(^{242}\) Shih-min was the name of the second Emperor T'ai-tsung (r. 627-49). These characters could not be unrestrictedly used in T'ang China.

Moreover, the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven is found not in the Shang-fang ta-tung chen-yuan miao-ching p'in (The Levels of the Mysterious Cosmogonic Classic of the Tung-chen Scripture, hereafter p'in) but in the Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan miao-ching t'u (The Diagrams of the Mysterious Cosmogonic Classic of the Tung-chen Scripture, hereafter t'u). In the Taoist Canon fasc. 196, these two treatises comprise one volume and the diagram very similar to Chou's diagram is in the latter treatise. Many scholars have mistakenly believed that the

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\(^{242}\) TT fasc. 196, p. 2a (preface). A.C. Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, op. cit., p. 172. Graham also indicates another Chinese character yuan, which was the name of the first Emperor T'ai-tsu. This character, however, is not found in the preface.
Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven is in the t'u, (The Diagrams of the Mysterious Cosmogonic Classic of the Tung-chen Scripture), yet they should have distinguished the latter treatise (t'u) from the former (p'in).\textsuperscript{243} By failing to do so, they did not see that the latter (t'u) does not have a preface ascribed to the T'ang Emperor Hsuan-tsung. The preface ascribed to Hsuan-tsung was written only for the former (p'in).\textsuperscript{244}

When we consider that Hsuan-tsung's preface has been used by many scholars as proof that Chou's diagram took its rise from T'ang Taoist circles, the fact that a preface ascribed to him is not found in the t'u, in which the diagram is actually contained, but in the p'in, is a significant point. I think that this is a strong objection to the belief that the original form of Chou's diagram was known to the Taoists of the T'ang dynasty.

More fundamentally, by examining the explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven we can grasp the nature of the diagram. I believe that we can

\textsuperscript{243}A. C. Graham, for example, notices that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven is in the Diagram-Levels of the Mysterious Cosmogonic Classic of the Tung-chen Scripture. But he should have distinguished the t'u from the p'in. See Two Chinese Philosophers, op. cit., p. 172.

\textsuperscript{244}Imai, Sodai ekigaku no kenkyu, op. cit., pp. 272-273. He thinks that a Taoist, Niu Tao-sun (fl. 1295-1307) is the genuine author of the work.
better determine the authenticity of the diagram by examining its explanation. Below is the translation of the diagram's explanation:

[As is well recognized,] There exists the spirit of the Supreme Change, the ch'i of the Earliest Prime, the Essence in the Primordial, the Form of the Primitive Materials and the Way of the Supreme Ultimate; [all these five] are ageless and they are without beginning and end. [The Book of Changes says,] "Therefore there is in the Changes the Great Primal Beginning. This generates the two primary forces. The two primary forces generate the four images. The four images generate the eight trigrams. The eight trigrams determine good fortune and misfortune. Good fortune and misfortune create the great field of action." [This quotation means that] all beings have the manifestations of the Supreme Ultimate, the two modes (referring to yin and yang) and the four images. The state when the four images and the eight trigrams are in existence without moving is called the Supreme Ultimate. Is not the Supreme Ultimate the great foundation of Heaven and Earth? Heaven and Earth participate in the Supreme Ultimate. The myriad things participate in Heaven and Earth. A human being is assimilated in the Essential Primal ch'i of Heaven and Earth. [In so doing] a man grows up and flourishes. [Thus if] a man studies his body, he can see the body of Heaven and Earth. Therefore the master says, "if ch'i reaches

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246 Dr. Koyanagi states definitely that "master" here refers to a Taoist called Niu Tao-sun (fl. 1297-1307). Imai follows this. See Imai, op. cit., pp. 272-273. But Wang K'a argues that the master was Yao-min (T. Hsiao-yao, a contemporary of Wang Chung-yang (1112-1170). See Wang K'a "Chen-yuan miao-tao yu chen-yuan miao-ching-t' u" in Shih chieh tsung chiao yen chiu no. 2 (1993), pp. 52-53. Wang K'a claims that he was the master of the lesser-known Taoist school, the Chen-yuan School, which has not yet been studied
its limit, it brings about a change. And a change is penetration. Is penetration not the Way?" Moreover, "Turning back is how the Way moves" and "There is a thing confusedly formed, Born before Heaven and Earth. Soundless and formless, It stands alone and does not change. Goes round and does not weary. It is capable of being the mother of the world. I know not its name." Motherness is the Tao. How great the Supremacy of the Tao! By taking non-action a man can follow it. There are different Taos: Some are pure, while some are impure. Some are in movement, whereas some are still. If a man goes along with the Tao, he will become a spiritual being. [If] a man keeps away from a worthy, he will lose everything. Trust what I say."

As we can see, many portions of the explanation were obviously copied from other Chinese classics. Its purpose is not to interpret the evolution of the universe as Chou's work does, rather it is an unrefined miscellaneous work which is copied from other materials: the Great Appendix of the Yi-ching, Ts'an t'ung ch'i, Lao-tzu and Hsiao-ching kou by scholars. He discusses this new Taoist school in detail: its canons and tenets. See pp. 49-56.


248 Lau's translation is "Silent and void."

249 The Tao-Te-Ching chapter xxv, D. C. Lau, p. 82.

250 This expression is seen in the Ts'an t'ung ch'i. See Imai Usaburo, Sodai ekigaku no kenkyu, op. cit., p. 274.

251 TT fasc. 196, the Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan miao-ching-t'u, pp. 4a-b.
Within the entire diagram, the Diagram of Water-Fire and the Diagram of Three-Five, which comprise the second and third portions of the diagram, are the most significant sections. The explanation of the diagram should have illustrated these two sections. Without expounding on them the diagram as a whole cannot be interpreted. Strangely, the explanation never mentions these important diagrams.

The most important point, here, is that there is no relationship between the diagram and its explanation. Thus it is not clear at all what the diagram means. Here we need to remember how Chou Tun-yi systematically elucidated his diagram in the Explanation of the Diagram. He consciously illustrated the evolution of the universe from the Supreme Ultimate to a human being.\footnote{253}{For a discussion of Chou's Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, see chapter 4.}

I think that the above discussions are enough to show that the preface was not written by Hsuan-tsung and the content of the work, including the diagram itself, cannot be considered as the original source of Chou's thought. I also wish to discuss the first and second diagrams among the five diagrams contained in the t'u to support my viewpoint. The

\footnote{252}{Imai Usaburo, \textit{Sodai ekigaku no kenkyu}, op. cit., pp. 273-274.}
first diagram, Hsu-wu tzu-jan chih t'u is almost the same as Liu Mu's diagram, T'ai-chi ti-yi (see, figure 7 and 7.1). The difference between them is that the latter consists of five black points and five white points, while the former consists of three black points and seven white points. Liu Mu's diagram expresses the ten numbers of Heaven and Earth by the use of five black and white points: in the numerological system of the Yi-ching the numbers of Heaven are odd numbers; one, three, five, seven and nine, whereas the numbers of Earth are even numbers; two, four, six, eight and ten. In the diagram the upper white point represents the number of Heaven (one) and the bottom black point expresses the number of Earth (six). By connecting the white and black points in turn, the big circle is produced, which refers to the Supreme Ultimate. Yet in the Hsu-wu tzu-jan chih t'u two black points are missing. What the diagram means by only having three black points is not elucidated in the explanation of the diagram. Here again the diagram itself and its explanation do not match.

The second diagram is the Tao-miao hu-huang chih t'u (see figure 8). Its appearance is somewhat similar to P'eng Hsiao's diagram of the Eight Rings. For this diagram we can

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immediately determine that its explanation was written in
the Sung dynasty. The explanation cites the words of Shan
Ku. Shan Ku was the "hao" of Huang T'ing-chien (1045-
1104). This is another important example demonstrating
that the work was not written in T'ang China.

Before going further, I would like to briefly mention
the Shang-fang ta-t'ung cheng-yuan yin-yang chih-chaing t'u-
shu hou-chieh (hereafter, hou-chieh) (TT. fasc. 197). This
work is the text following the t'u (fasc. 196). Even though
these two works are separated in the Tao Tsang, I think that
together they comprise a single volume. The preface to the
t'u mentions that the t'u holds twelve diagrams, but the
t'u, as I mentioned, has only five diagrams. The other
seven diagrams are contained in the hou-chieh. Thus these
two works must be regarded as one volume dealing with the
same tenets. In other words, examining the hou-chieh will
help us determine when the t'u was written. The hou-chieh
quotes Sung materials. It, for instance, cites Kao Hsiang-

\[255\] TT fasc. 196, (t'u) p. 2b. Li Shen, The Shuo hua
ta'i chi t'u (Peking: Chih shih, 1992), p. 25. Wang K'a,
"Chen-yuan miao-tao yu chen-yuan miao-ching-t'u" op. cit.,
P. 53. Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein also indicates this. see
Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the Term
188.

\[256\] Wang K'a briefly summarizes the main theme of these
twelve diagrams. See Wang K'a, "Chen-yuan miao-tao yu chen-
yuan miao-ching-t'u," op. cit., p. 54.
This also verifies that both the t'u and the hou-chieh were written in the Sung dynasty.

3.3 The Wu-chi t'u (Diagram of the Ultimateless)

The claim that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate came from Ho-shang Kung's Diagram of the Ultimateless was maintained by Huang Tsung-yen (1616-1686) in his T'ai-chi t'u pien (Discussion on the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate). He asserted that the archetype of Chou's diagram was the Wu-chi t'u (the Diagram of the Ultimateless) (see, figure 9). Another Ch'ing scholar Chu Yi-tsun (1629-1709) followed him in his T'ai-chi t'u shou-shou (A Study of the Transmission of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate). These two Ch'ing scholars asserted that the prototype of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was the Diagram of the Ultimateless, which illustrates the techniques leading to the attainment of immortality. These two famous Ch'ing scholars offered more explanations than those found in Chu Chen's accounts of the transmission of the diagram. First,

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257 TT fasc. 197, pp. 13a-b.

Chu Chen did not mention the mysterious Han figure, Ho-shang Kung, as the ultimate origin of its transmission. Secondly, he never mentioned the diagram entitled "Diagram of the Ultimateless." It will be helpful for us to examine exactly what Huang Tsung-yen said:

This diagram was originally called the Diagram of the Ultimateless. Ch'en T'u-nan [referring to Ch'en T'uan] carved it on the cliff of Hua-shan. It was originally created by Ho-shang Kung. Wei Po-yang obtained it, so he was able to write the Ts'\text{\'an} t'\text{\'ung} ch'i. Chung-li Ch'\text{\'uan} [dates uncertain] obtained it and gave it to Lu T'\text{\'ung-pin}.\textsuperscript{259} Later T'\text{\'ung-pin} with Ch'en T'u-nan lived in retirement at Hua-shan, and T'\text{\'ung-pin} gave it to Ch'en T'\text{\'uan}. Ch'en also got the Diagram of What Antedates Heaven from the Taoist Ma Yi [dates uncertain]. He gave both of them to Ch'\text{\'ung} Fang (died 1015). Fang gave them to Mu Hsiu (979-1032) and the monk, Shou Ya [dates uncertain]. Hsiu gave the Diagram of What Antedates Heaven to Li T'\text{\'ing-chih} [referring to Li Chih-ts'ai, died 1045]. T'\text{\'ing-chih} gave it to Shao T'\text{\'ien-sou} [referring to Shao Ku], T'\text{\'ien-sou} gave it to his son Yao-fu [referring to Shao Yung 1011-1077]. Hsiu gave the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate to Master Chou Mu-shu [referring to Chou Tun-yi]. Chou Mu-shu also got the Hsien-t'\text{\'ien-t\text{\'i} chich chieh} (Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth) from Shou Ya. [It contained the explanation of] the Taoist techniques of nourishing life. The diagram illustrated the techniques for making the elixir of immortality when a man reads it from bottom to top.\textsuperscript{260}

\textsuperscript{259}According to Giles, his date is 755-805.

\textsuperscript{260}Huang Tsung-yen, T'ai-chi t'u pien (The Discussion on the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate) in the T'u-hsueh pien ho. SPTK chen pen, ch'i chi edition p. 32a. The Sung Yuan hsueh-an also contains T'ai-chi t'u pien. See vol. 1, chuan 12, pp. 301-302, but the Sung Yuan hsueh-an does not include these diagrams. The Chao tai ts'ung shu also contains it. But in this edition the title is Yi-hsueh pien-ho, and its
Huang's above discussion can be arranged as follows:

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Ho-shang Kung
  ↓
Wei Po-yang
  ↓
Tsung Li-ch'uan
  ↓
Lu T'ung-pin
  ↓
Ch'en T'uan
  ↓
Ch'ung Fang
  ↓
Mu Hsiu
  ↓
Li T'ing-chih
  ↓
Shao T'ien-sou
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Ma Yi

Shou Ya

Chou Tzu (Tun-yi)

(The Diagram of the Ultimateless and the Secret Code Antedates Heaven and Earth)

diagrams and some terms are slightly different from those of the SPTK, chen pen edition. Imai states definitely that Huang's diagram is based on Chu Hsi's, and he indicates that among the Five Elements, water and a metal are not connected in Huang's diagram. In the SPTK edition, however, water and a metal are connected. See Imai Usaburo, Sodai ekigaku no kenkyu, op. cit., pp. 264-265.
Here we need to compare Huang's genealogy to those of Chu Chen, Ch'ao Yueh-chih and Shao Po-wen. The most remarkable point here is that in the line of transmission the Ming scholar Huang Tsung-yen mentioned legendary figures whom the Sung literati never discussed. They are: Ho-shang Kung, Wei Po-wang, Chung-li Ch'uan and Lu T'ung-pin. Huang alleged that Ho-shang Kung, the Master on the River, was the initial source of the transmission of the diagrams. However, as we have already discussed, in the lineage accepted by Sung literati Ch'en T'uan was the ultimate origin of the transmission. Ho-shang Kung is known to us only through a legend, in which his authorship of a commentary on the Lao-tzu has been asserted. Ho-shang Kung, according to the legend, lived during the reign of Emperor Wen of Han (r. 179-157 B.C.E.)\(^{261}\) Because of the legend, 

his commentary on the Lao-tzu has traditionally been dated
to the period of the Former Han dynasty, yet its
authenticity was already doubted by T'ang literati. They
pointed to the fact that it was not recorded in the Han-shu
(Han History). The Ho-shang Kung commentary, according to
modern Japanese scholarship, did not come into existence
before the fifth century although it is true that it
contains ancient ideas. In a recent study, Alan Chan
places the commentary "in a Later Han context." Yet there
is no consensus on the date of the commentary. Ideas on the
date of the origin of its scholarly viewpoints range from
the first century B.C.E. to the end of the Six Dynasties
period.

The problem of the historicity of Ho-shang Kung is very
complicated. Nothing definite is actually known about him.
The biography of Ho-shang Kung is available in the preface
to the SPTK edition of the Ho-shang Kung commentary.

63.

For example see, Kobayashi Masayoshi, "Kajo Shinjin
Shoku no Shiso to seiritsu" in Toho Shukyo no. 65 (1985),
pp. 20-43. Also see L. Kohn, Early Chinese Mysticism, op.
cit., pp. 64-65.

107-118.

The SPTK version is based on the Sung version.
Presently around thirty versions of Ho-shang Kung commentary
are in existence. Among them, the earliest versions are two
T'ang versions. For more information, see Alan Chan, Two
The preface has been ascribed to the well-known Taoist, Ko Hsuan (ca. 164-224). The authorship of Ko Hsuan has hardly been denied by traditional Chinese scholars. If his authorship can be confirmed, the work would date to around the second century. Ko Hsuan, according to a Buddhist source, fabricated the legend of Ho-shang Kung to "confuse" people.不幸. Unfortunately, modern scholarship cannot confirm whether Ho-shang Kung was a historical figure or not. In fact, the T'ang literati could not confirm whether he was a historical individual or not. Thus, it is unreasonable to suppose that Huang, who lived in the seventeenth century, had access to reliable materials on the historicity of Ho-shang Kung that T'ang scholars did not have.

I believe that Huang was wrong when he pointed out the legendary figure as the initial source of the diagram. It is true that the Ho-shang Kung commentary on the Lao-tzu played a central role in the elaboration of religious Visions of the Way, op. cit., pp. 231-232.

265Hsuan Yi, Chen-cheng lun [On Distinguishing the Orthodox View], in Taisho vol. 52, no. 2112, p. 568. For more information, see Alan Chan, Two Visions of the Way, op. cit., pp. 92-93. "The Authorship of Ko Hsuan".

266In a recent study, Alan Chan also states that "It is unlikely that Ho-shang Kung, the 'old Man by the River,' was a historical individual." See p. 90.
Taoism\textsuperscript{267} and that Chou Tun-yi's speculations were greatly influenced by religious Taoism. Huang may have paid attention to the similarities between Chou's speculations and the Ho-shang Kung commentary. Yet these minor similarities do not prove that Chou's diagram originated with Ho-shang Kung.

Aside from Ho-shang Kung, in the pedigree that Huang describes, three figures preceded Ch'en T'uan. Of the three, Wei Po-yang is mentioned above. Chung-li Ch'uan and Lu T'ung-pin were the founders of the so called "Chung-Lu tradition" of religious Taoism. The Chung-Lu School was one of the two major lineages of the nei-tan school.\textsuperscript{268} These two men became known as the authors of many Taoist works\textsuperscript{269}, and they are also regarded as the masters of some Taoist lineages. Moreover, they are included in the group of

\textsuperscript{267}Wang Pi's commentary on the \textit{Lao tzu}, as we know, played an important role for the development of Confucian thought.


\textsuperscript{269}For example, the \textit{Pai wen p'ien} [Hundred Questions] in the \textit{Tao shu} (TT fasc. 641). This short work was translated into English by Rolf Homann, \textit{Pai wen p'ien}, (Leiden: Nisaba, 1976).
the Eight Immortals. Chung-li Ch'uan is generally believed to have lived in the Han dynasty, but some sources state that his activities occurred in the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In the Hsuan-ho shu-p'u, he himself declared that he was born in the Han dynasty. Chao Tao-yi denoted that he was Chung-chien Ch'uan's younger brother, who was a Han figure. Yet according to other sources, he was a T'ang figure. These arguments, however, are not conclusive. Most scholars believe that he existed.

270 For the Eight Immortals, see P'u Chiang-ch'ing, "Pa Hsien k'ao" in Ch'ing-hua Journal, vol. 11, no. 1, (1936) pp. 89-136, for Chung-li Ch'uan, pp. 121-125, Lu T'ung-p' in, pp. 113-121. Also Percival Yetts, "The Eight Immortals," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1916), pp. 773-807, for Chung, pp. 776-781, for Lu, pp. 789-799. P. Yetts article includes the translation of the Lieh hsien chuan compiled by Huan Ch'u. T.C. Lai, The Eight Immortals (Hong Kong: Swindon Book Company, 1972), pp. 11-16. It contains many of Lu's poems, see pp. 65-87. Yett and Lai's works do not deal with the authenticity of the materials which they used. We should be careful in using these two works, since they did not study the apocryphal nature of the materials. For example, Rolf Homann quotes some passages from Lai's work without a study of their apocryphal nature. See Pai wen p'ien, op. cit., pp. 2-5.

271 Hsuan-ho shu-p'u, compiled by an anonymous author during the Hsuan-ho reign (1119-1125), is a catalogue of calligraphy. chuan 19, cited P'u Chiang-ch' ing, "Pa Hsien k' ao," op. cit., pp. 121-122.

272 The Li shih chen-hsien t'i tao t'ung-chien, chuan 20, cited P'u Chiang-ch'ing, "Pa Hsien K'ao" op. cit., p. 124.

273 See, W. Percival Yetts, "More Notes on the Eight Immortals," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1922), pp. 413-415. I do not want to discuss this problem in detail here. The aim of the present chapter is not to deal with the problem of Chung's historicity. It is enough
although some doubt that he was a historical individual.\textsuperscript{274} The cause for this confusion can be attributed to the complex nature of religious Taoist hagiography, which mixes historical facts with mythological legends.

At any rate, Chung-li Ch'uan, according to many Taoist materials, instructed Lu T'ung-pin about \textit{nei-tan} techniques of immortality. In the Northern Sung dynasty, a number of \textit{nei-tan} works ascribed to these two men were in circulation.\textsuperscript{275} It has been said that Lu T'ung-pin was an historical figure of the T'ang,\textsuperscript{276} although scholarly viewpoints on his dates very greatly. He, according to the historical materials, lived from 755 to 805.\textsuperscript{277} If this is true, then the transmission of the diagram from him to Ch'en T'uan is impossible, for Ch'en T'uan died in ca. 989. Even

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item for us to indicate that his dates are not clear. For more information, see P'u Chiang-ch'ing, "Pa Hsien k'ao," op. cit., pp. 121-125.
\item For example, Jen Chi-yu, \textit{The Chung-kuo te tao-chiao}. This entire book is translated into Korean. See Kwon Deog-ju, \textit{JungKug ieh yuga wa doga}, (Seoul: Dong-a, 1991), p. 360.
\item The \textit{Chung-Lu ch'uan tao chi} (in the \textit{Hsiu chen shih shu}, TT fasc. 122-131), the \textit{Mi chuan cheng yang chen jen ling pao pi fa} (TT. fasc. 874) and the \textit{Hsi shan chun hsien hui chen chi} (TT. fasc. 116) are three representative works of the Chung-Lu School.
\item P'u Chiang-ch'ing, however, denies that he was a historical figure. P'u claims that Lu's legend was created in the early Sung. See "Pa hsien k'ao," op. cit., pp. 113-116, p. 121.
\item Giles, for example, notes that he lived 755-805.
\end{itemize}

\normalsize
if we suppose that Ch'en T'uan lived around a hundred years, he was born after Lu T'ung-p'ın died. This means that they could not have met. Yet we should remember that modern scholarship cannot confirm his exact dates. Moreover, although authorities agree that Ch'en T'uan died in ca. 989, there is no consensus on his exact birth date. Ch'en T'uan, according to tradition, lived more than a hundred years. Thus it is not entirely safe, based on the vague dates of these two mysterious figures, to deny the meeting of the two. Yet the above discussions should cause us to doubt Huang's account.

Along with investigating these mysterious figures, I wish to examine Huang's other claims. In his explanations on the Diagram of the Ultimateless, Huang stated that the main theme of this work was the depiction of the Taoist theory of nei-tan. The original diagram illustrates the techniques for attaining immortality when a man reads it from bottom to top. At the same time, it also elucidates the creation and evolution of the universe if he reads it from top to bottom. (see figure 9) In this way, it is

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278 Most scholars consider that he lived ca. 906-989, but based on two important Taoist sources Li Yuan-kuo notes that he was born in 871. See The Ssu ch'uan ssu hsiang chia, op. cit., p. 183.

279 Some Taoist materials notice that Lu T'ung-p'ın was a contemporary of Ch'en T'uan.
called the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. In other words, Ho-shang Kung's diagram called the Diagram of the Ultimateless is the reverse of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. It was Chou Tun-yi who reversed the sequence of the diagram. By using Confucian cosmology he reinterpreted it from top to bottom. Huang's contention implied that Chou's speculation, which has generally been regarded as the primary foundation of Neo-Confucian thought, was actually rooted in religious Taoism. In fact, Huang eagerly wanted to show that Chou was not a genuine Confucian.280

The diagram consists of five portions, and Huang claimed that from bottom to top it expresses the five-levels-practice of nei-tan theory. Huang interpreted the five levels of nei-tan theory seen in the diagram as follows (see fig. 9):

1. Hsuan-p'in chih men (The Gate of the Mysterious Female)

   2. Lien-ching hua-ch'i (Cultivation of the Essence, ching and Transmutation of ch'i), Lien-ch'i hua-shen (Cultivation of the ch'i and Transmutation of the spirit)

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280 For Huang's motivation for writing the treatise, see Thome Huang, The Hsin ju-chia che-hsueh shih-pa chiang (Taipei: Li ming, 1985), p. 112.
3. Wu-ch'i ch'ao-yuan (Five ch'is assembled at the Source)

4. Ch'u-k'an t'ien-li (To take k'an unifying with li)

5. Lien-shen h'uan-hsu (Cultivating the spirit and returning to Emptiness), Fu-kuei wu-chi (Returning to the Ultimateless).

The lowest circle in the diagram is called the gateway of the mysterious female, hsuan-pin chih men. The mysterious female, according to Huang, is identified with the spirit of the valley, ku-shen. In the human body these two are in the gate of life, ming-men in which the primary ch'i, tsu-ch'i, originates. Thus in Huang's account, "gate of life" refers to the tan-tien, cinnabar.

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281 "The gateway of the mysterious female" is Lao Tzu's expression. See The Lao-tzu chapter VI. trans., D. C. Lau, op. cit., p. 17. In the Chao tai ts'ung shu edition the term yuan pin (primal female) is used instead of the "mysterious female."

field, a spot three inches beneath the navel.²⁸³ Thus the first circle means that the primary ch'i originates in the [lower] cinnabar field.²⁸⁴ The second circle signifies that the inner alchemist cultivates his essence, ching, and through this cultivation it becomes ch'i. By cultivating ch'i, the practitioner's ch'i becomes the divine shen-ch'i. In nei-tan theory, it is typical to encounter discussions of the cultivation and transmutation of these three elements. At the next level, this divine ch'i penetrates the "five orbs and six repositories" in our body.²⁸⁵ This means that the divine ch'i penetrates the ²⁸³ The tan-t'ien is not identified with any specific part of the human body. Michel Strickmann states that it is a "mysterious part to be discovered by each person for himself during meditation." This term first appears in the Huang-t'ing ching. See "The Longest Taoist Scripture", op. cit., pp. 369-370.


²⁸⁵ "Orb" is a translation of tsang, generally rendered as the viscera i.e., the heart, liver, lungs, stomach and kidneys. There is a difficulty translating Chinese medical terms into western terminology. The translation "orb" was first proposed by Manfred Pokert, The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1974). Cited Hidemi Ishida, "Body and Mind" in the Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques, op. cit., p. 42, p. 45. For more explanations, see pp. 51-55.
entire inner organs. This is represented in the central part of the diagram. The fourth circle explains that through the union of water\textsuperscript{286} and fire\textsuperscript{287} the sacred embryo (sheng-t'ai) is created.\textsuperscript{288} The genuine ch'i can be restored in the sacred embryo. Finally, in the last circle, a man returns to the Ultimateless, which means that he becomes an immortal.\textsuperscript{289}

If the main theme of Ho-shang Kung's Diagram of the Ultimateless is to illustrate the nei-tan theory, it signifies that the nei-tan theory already existed in Han China. It is true that the early alchemical works, for example the Ts'an t'ung ch'i, contain many passages which can be interpreted as inner alchemy. This is the reason why some scholars have regarded Ts'an t'ung ch'i as "the king of

\textsuperscript{286}This refers to the hexagram k'an.

\textsuperscript{287}This refers to the hexagram li.

\textsuperscript{288}In nei-tan practice the inner alchemists believed that they could produce pure yang ch'i, through the union of water [referring to a dragon] and fire [referring to a tiger]. In the next level they circulate the pure yang ch'i in their entire body. In the standard nei-tan practice, however, this happened in the beginning step of inner cultivation. Strangely, Huang placed it in the fourth level. Yet, whether it is placed in the first or fourth level, this theory is quite mysterious and to some extent ambiguous. For detailed explanations, see Azuma Juji, "T'ai chi t'u no keisei [The Formation of the Tai-ji tu]," in The Nippon-Chugoku Gakkai-Ho (Bulletin of the Sinological Society of Japan), no. 46 (1994), pp. 77a-79a.

\textsuperscript{289}For all these explanations, see the T'u hsueh pien-ho, op. cit., pp. 32b-33a.
the nei-tan canons. Yet the Ts'an t'ung ch'i never even mentioned the term nei-tan. The term was in use in T'ang China and became popular in Sung China. It was Sung and Chin Taoism, such as the Chung-Lu Tradition and the Ch'uan-Chen School, that emphasized the value of the inner cinnabar. Generally speaking, the Sung Taoists devoted themselves to the study of inner alchemy and considered it superior to wai-tan, exterior alchemy. Huang Tsung-yen ignored the historical origin of the nei-tan theory and claimed that it originated with Ho-shang Kung. Quite clearly Huang misunderstood how this religious Taoist theory developed.

It is worth noting that the passages similar to Huang's accounts appeared in the Chung ho chi written by Li Tao-

For example, see the Chin tan ko (The Song of the Golden Elixir) written by Kao Hsien, who is mentioned above.

Hui Ssu's (515-577) vow entitled "Nan-yueh ssu-ta ch'an-shih li shih yuan wen [Text of the vows taken by the Great Ch'an Master Ssu of the Southern Sacred Mountain]" is believed to be the first work to mention the term nei-tan. It is A. Waley who notes this. Many scholars, for example J. Needham, follow him. Ch'en Kuo-fu, however, indicates that the term was first used by the Taoist Ssu Yuan-lang in the Chin tao p'ien "Inner Alchemy," [A Demonstration of the Tao]. See Tao Tsang yuan liu k'ao (Peking: Chung hua, 1963), p. 438. Both these sources, however, are criticized by Baldrian-Hussein. See "Inner Alchemy: Notes on the Origin and Use of the Term neidan" op. cit., pp. 164-171. The term nei-tan, according to her, was in current use in the ninth century.

ch'un (fl. 1220. d. 1306), one of the important members of the Ch'uan-Chen School. The beginning of the nei-tan practice, according to Li Tao-ch'un, starts with producing the primary ch'i (tsu-ch'i) in the lower cinnabar field about three inches beneath the navel. Li Tao-ch'un repeated the same mysterious cultivation processes seen in Huang's account: from ching to ch'i, from ch'i to shen. The important point here is that he re-explained the reverse process: from shen to ch'i, from chi to ching. Both the reverse procedure (ni, referring to it from bottom to top), which explains how to attain the elixir of immortality, and the direct procedure (shun, referring to it from top to bottom), which describes how the universe is created, were discussed in his work. Huang mentioned both of these procedures with similar explanations. This suggests that Huang's speculations were influenced by Li Tao-ch'un's ideas. For instance, the term tsu ch'i (primary ch'i) used by Li Tao-ch'un was also used in Huang's accounts. It seems that Huang adopted Li Tao-ch'un's ideas and expressions to describe the Diagram of the Ultimateless.

Li Tao-ch'un wrote the T'ai-chi t'u chieh (The

See TT fasc. 118-119.

Azuma Juji, "T'ai chi t'u no keisei [The Formation of the T'ai-ji t'u]," op. cit., pp. 78a-79a.
Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, in which he adopted the nei-tan theory and used it to reinterpret Chou's diagram and its explanation. The significant point here is that in the work the reverse process of the diagram was discussed in detail: from ch'ing to ch'i, from ch'i to shen from shen to wu (emptiness) and wu-chi (Ultimateless). Li linked the Ultimateless to Lao-tzu's gateway of the mysterious female. After Chou's Explanation of the Diagram appeared in the Northern Sung, many Taoists adopted his diagram and its explanation to describe their theory of internal alchemy. Li Tao-ch'un's works were one of the representative examples of this process. Because of his weak background on the development of religious Taoist history, Huang could not detect that the inner alchemists used Chou's diagram for establishing their own theories.

3.4 The Buddhists Influences

3.4.1 Shou Ya

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295 For example, see Tao Tsang fasc. 119, the Ch'uan chen chi hsuan mi yao.

296 See Li Shen, Shuo hua ta'i chi t'u, op. cit., pp. 36-48.
Mao Ch'i-ling also pointed out the possible Buddhist influences of Chou's philosophical system. In the Supplementary Discussion on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, he claimed that the Ch'an monk Shou Ya was another source for the origin of Chou's diagram. Furthermore, he alleged that Shou Ya was Ma Yi, the one generally believed to be Ch'en T'uan's master. By saying that the Taoist Ch'en T'uan, who was regarded as the main source of Sung cosmology, was the disciple of the Ch'an Buddhist Shou Ya, Mao Ch'i-ling obviously wanted to demonstrate that Buddhism, his chief philosophical and religious interest, was the ultimate source for the rise of the Sung school.

As Mao cited, it was Ch'ao Kung-wu (d. 1171) who first mentioned the relationship between Shou Ya and Chou Tun-yi. In his Chao-te hsien-sheng chun chai tu-shu chih Ch'ao Kung-wu, the great Sung bibliographer, cited the words of his uncle Ch'ao Yueh-chih (1059-1129), who was also a great

297Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, op. cit., p. 1a, 21b. This, however, is not clear at all. Unfortunately, Isabelle Robinet subscribes to it. See "The Place and Meaning of the Notion of Taiji in Taoist Sources Prior to the Ming Dynasty," in History of Religion vol. 23, no. 4 (1990), p. 375.

298Sung-shih, chuan 444. For Ch'ao's family, see Peter Bol, This Culture of Ours, op. cit., pp. 64-70, also see the genealogy of Ch'ao's family in pp. 348-349. P'an Mei-yueh, Sung-tai tsang-shu chia k'ao (Taipei: Hsueh hai, 1980), pp. 129-130.
bibliographer:

In Jun-chou the monk Shou Ya of the Ho Lin temple taught both Hu Mu-p'ing and Chou Mu-shu [referring to Chou Tun-yi]. Afterwards, Mu-p'ing imparted his learning to his family and Mu-shu imparted it to the Ch'eng brothers. ²⁹⁹

Concerning the academic background of Chou's thought, Ch'ao Kung-wu's work is significant, since it is one of the earliest sources which mentions Chou's learning and his personal human relationships. What he mentioned, however, was only that Shou Ya once educated Chou. What I want to point out is that Ch'ao Yueh-chih did not mention the specific transmission of the diagram from Shou Ya to Chou or the specific teachings between them. On the contrary, he stated only that Shou Ya was Chou's teacher. From his comments on their relationship, I do not see any substantial reasons to trust Mao Ch'i-ling's viewpoint that Chou's diagram was directly derived from Shou Ya. I do not think that the seventeenth century figure Mao knew more about Shou Ya than did the Sung scholar Ch'ao Yueh-chih. This is the reason why Mao discussed many Taoist sources in his work, whereas he mentioned comparatively few Buddhist sources.

As illustrated by one of his "haos", T'ien-t'ai Chiao-

²⁹⁹Ch'ao Kung-wu, Chao-te hsien-sheng chun ch'ai tu-shu chih, (Taipei: Kuang wen, 1967), chuan 1, p. 327.
Ch'ao Yueh-chih was a T'ien-t'ai Buddhist. He was a serious Buddhist as well as a famous bibliographical researcher of Chinese classics. Buddhism was part of his family heritage. Because of his family background, he probably had opportunities to hear stories about various Buddhist figures including those about Shou Ya's personal human relationships. But whatever he had heard about the relationship between Chou and Shou Ya, he told his nephew, Kung-wu, only that Shou Ya was once Chou's teacher during Chou's youth. Since Ch'ao was only 14 when Chou died in 1073, he obviously could not get direct information about the relationship between these two. Similarly Mao, who lived in the eighteenth century, could not get any more information about their relationship than could Ch'ao Yueh-chih.

At almost the same time Huang Tsung-yen (1616-1686) also mentioned Shou Ya's influence on Chou's thought.

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300 He was known by different "haos": Ching-yu, Sung-shan and Kuo-an Lao Fa-hua.


Interestingly, Huang explained it more than Mao did. After saying that Chou's diagram was initially derived from Ho Shang-kung, Huang Tsung-yen noticed that Shou Ya gave Chou Tun-i the so-called *Hsien t’ien-ti chih chieh* (Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth). So here we finally encounter the specific work which was traditionally believed to have significantly influenced Chou's speculations. We, of course, need to examine it:

There is being before heaven and earth.

Nonexistence itself is emptiness.

Nonexistence can be the master of every living being.

If living beings do not follow the four seasons, then they will cease to exist.

The beginning sentence means that there is Non-being before all beings. It reminds us of the first phrase of Chou's *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate*, "The Ultimateless and also the Supreme Ultimate." Comparing this with the *Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth*, the term *wu-chi* (Ultimateless) seems to have the same meaning as

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303 Huang Tsung-hsi, "Lien-hsi hsueh-an" part 2, *Sung Yuan hsueh-an* vol. 1 (Taipei: Shih chieh, 1983) the fourth edition, pp. 301-303. It should be noted that this part was actually written by his brother Tsung-yen.

304 This was mentioned not by Huang Tsung-yen but by his nephew Huang Pai-chia. See SYHA, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 307.
Non-Being. T'ai-chi (Supreme Ultimate) can be considered the equivalent of Being. This suggests that Chou's term wu-chi might be affected by Shou Ya's Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth. Chou might have developed his idea of the Ultimateless (wu-chi) under the influence of Ch'an Buddhism.

Thus, one can imagine that Chou might have been inspired by Shou Ya's work, but the problem is that Huang did not reveal the source of the so-called Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth. Prior to Huang, the other Sung and Ch'ing scholars who had studied the intellectual origin of Chou's thought never mentioned it. It was Huang who first maintained that it was significant to Chou's speculations. Many scholars have thought that Huang's assertion was based on Ch'ao Yueh-chih's comments in the Chun-chai tu-shu chih. Togiwa Daijo, for example, notes the Chun-chai tu-shu chih and the Sung Yuan hsueh-an as two sources of Huang's account of the Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth. Yet The Sung Yuan hsueh-an simply repeats Huang's assertion, and the Chun-chai tu-shu chih does not even mention it. Ch'ao, as we have seen above, simply noticed that Chou, probably in his youth, followed

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305 For example, Ogiwara Ko, Shu Renkei no tetsugaku, p. 165.

Shou Ya without commenting on the Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth or the transmission of the diagram. If the Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth was mentioned by Ch'ao Yueh-chih, who lived at the same time as Chou Tun-yi, then it must be regarded as tremendously important to Chou's thought. Yet Ch'ao Yueh-chih did not mention it in his work. Strangely, many scholars have believed that Ch'ao Yueh-chih's words were the initial source of Huang's claim and his nephew Ch'ao Kung-wu recorded it in his Tu-shu chih. Ogiwara also believes that it was recorded in Ch'ao Kung-wu's work.\(^{307}\) It, however, is not found in the Tu-shu chih.

As a matter of fact, it was Shan Hui (497-569) who wrote the so called Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth. It was recorded in the Shan-hui ta-shih yu-lu (The Record of the Words of Master Shan Hui), which is also called the Fu ta shih lu (The Record of the Master Fu).\(^{308}\) For some

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\(^{307}\)Ogiwara Ko, Shu Renkei no tetsugaku, op. cit., p. 165

\(^{308}\)This is indicated by Onishi Harutaka. See "T'ai-chi t'u shuo seiritsu ko [Discussion on the Formation of the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate]" in KwaiToku, no. 39 (1968), p. 36, p. 42. Onishi simply states that Shan Hui was the author of the Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth without explaining who Shan Hui was and where his book can be found. Azuma Juji notes Shan Hui as the author of this work, but he also does not reveal the exact source. Ajuma mistakenly indicates that this work is in the Hsu tsang ching vol. 2. See "T'ai chi t'u no keisei," op. cit., pp. 84b-85c. Shan Hui's work, according to my investigation, is in the Hsu tsang ching vol. 120. I
reason which we do not know, the authorship of Shan Hui's work has traditionally been ascribed to Shou Ya. In Shan Hui's work the title is not the Secret Code Anterior Heaven and Earth but is simply the Two Songs, although its content is exactly the same as that in Huang's quotation. Huang Tsung-yen mistakenly claimed that it was written by Shou Ya, and most scholars, even today, have followed this view.

Ogiwara Ko's claim of the historicity of Shou Ya must be mentioned here. Ogiwara Ko strongly maintains that Shou Ya was a fictitious figure. He can find no references to Shou Ya in any of the standard Buddhist sources. He examined the Hsu ch'uan-teng lu, Sung kao-seng chuan, Fo-tsu t'ung-chi and Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai and others, but could not find any references to him. Thus Ogiwara considers the story of the monk Shou Ya teaching Chou to be nothing more than a legend.

carefully read the entire Shan-hui ta-shih yu-lu, and found that it is in chuan 3, p. 25a.

309 Ogiwara Ko, Shu Renkei no tetsugaku, op. cit., p. 186.

But I think that Ogiwara goes too far, since Tu Cheng also mentioned Shou Ya as Chou's Master. Shou Ya is supposed to have been someone whom Chou knew when he was still in his adolescence.\textsuperscript{311} Chou Tun-yi lived in Jun-chou from age 21-23\textsuperscript{312}, and the Tung Lin temple, in which Shou Ya lived, was also in Jun-chou. Chou's uncle Cheng Hsiang who was his patron, and his mother died when Chou was 21. Tung Lin temple was in the district where Chou was living. Obviously his mother and uncle's death caused him great pain, so he might have gone to Tung Lin temple to relieve his terrible sadness. Probably the relationship between Chou and Shou Ya was simply that of a Ch'an monk and a layman. Their relationship as a master and disciple was not serious and it lasted only for a short time. At least this possibility cannot be entirely denied. In addition, Shou Ya may have been a minor figure in Buddhist circles at that time, so he might not have been well-known to academic circles, including Confucian and Taoist circles.

In short, even though there is no proof which confirms that Chou's diagram was inspired by Shou Ya, I also cannot find reliable references to gainsay Shou Ya as Chou's

\textsuperscript{311} Fusumoto Bunyu claims that Chou met Shou Ya when he was 15-20. \textit{Sodai jugaku no zen shiso kenkyu}, op. cit., p. 82.

teacher. I believe that unless better evidence is discovered we should not deny Ch'ao Yueh-chih' and Tu Cheng's comments on the relationship between these two men. Simultaneously we also should not forget that Ch'ao's and Tu's comments on these two could not prove that Shou Ya's teaching was the ultimate origin of Chou's diagram.

3.4.2 Tsung Mi

Regarding the possible Buddhist influences on Chou's thought, Mao Ch'i-ling also indicated that Tsung Mi's (780-841) Inquiry into the Origin of Man and Tu Shun's (557-640) Hua-yen shu were two of the sources that influenced Chou's Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. But Tu Shun did not write the work entitled Hua-yen shu, therefore one cannot discuss Tu Shun. Mao cited a sentence from the Inquiry into the Origin of Man to show that it is similar to what Chou said in the Explanation of the Diagram. His quotation contained the term t'ai-yi (the Great Change) and t'ai-chi (the Supreme Ultimate), and Mao suggested that t'ai-yi corresponds to the term wu-chi.

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313Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, op. cit., p. 11a-b.
314Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u-shuo yi-yi, op. cit., p. 11b, 21a.
(Ultimateless). Thus the relationship of these two terms t'ai-yi and t'ai-chi, according to him, is similar to that of the first phrase of the Explanation of the Diagram, "the Ultimateless and also the Supreme Ultimate" (wu-chi erh t'ai-chi). In appearance, his interpretation is plausible. However, I cannot find his quotation in the extant Inquiry into the Origin of Man. In addition, the concept, t'ai-yi, was already regarded as a superior idea to the t'ai-chi in many Taoist works of the Han dynasty. So Mao's words were not new at all.

In any case, modern scholarship has also regarded the Inquiry into the Man as one of the sources for Chou's Explanation of the Diagram. Takeuchi Yoshio, for example, claims that Chou Tun-yi established his philosophical system by consulting this text. He claims that the ideas implied in some passages of the Explanation of the Diagram come from the Inquiry Into the Man. He also indicates that both Tsung Mi and Chou considered man to be

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315Tsung Mi, Taisho vol. 45, pp. 707c-710c.


317He indicates the following passage: "It is a man alone who receives [the material forces] in their highest excellence and therefore he is the most intelligent." For a discussion of this passage, see chapter 4.
the most intelligent being among all beings.\textsuperscript{318} Even without these points, I have discovered that Tsung Mi also explained the evolutionary process of the cosmos. His discussions of universal evolution remind us of Chou's interpretations of the evolution of the universe, although Chou's explanation are more organized.\textsuperscript{319}

In general, it is true that this work contains viewpoints similar to Confucianism. One can, as Peter Gregory indicates, view this work "from the perspective of the subsequent development of Neo-Confucianism".\textsuperscript{320} Many scholars have claimed that Neo-Confucianism was greatly influenced by it.\textsuperscript{321} In fact, we can find some Confucian and Taoist views on the world in this work. Tsung Mi studied the Chinese Classics extensively before he became a monk, so in his works we can encounter many well-refined Confucian and Taoist expressions. He also had a thorough

\textsuperscript{318} Takeuchi Yoshio, \textit{Chugoku shisosi}, op. cit., p. 164.

\textsuperscript{319} See, the beginning and concluding parts of the \textit{Inquiry Into the Man}. See Taisho vol. 45, pp. 708a-b, p. 710c. There are three English translations of this work. For more information, see Peter N. Gregory, \textit{Tsung Mi and the Sinification of Buddhism}, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 321.


knowledge of the Buddhist canon.

What Tsung Mi wished to say in this short treatise was that although both Confucianism and Taoism grasp one aspect of the truth, the ultimate truth can be found only in the doctrines of Hua-yen Buddhism. In his critiques of Confucianism, he also interpreted its tenets. In doing so he not only indicated how Confucianism was inferior to Buddhism but also located its disciplines within a Buddhist discourse. So the purpose of this essay is not merely an apology for the faith but also a chance to confute the Chinese objections to Buddhism. Tsung Mi's work goes beyond the polemical intentions of earlier Buddhist works, and it shifts the field of debate between Buddhism and Confucianism to a more intellectual level of polemic. Tsung Mi, according to Peter Gregory, first put Buddhism in position of "the intellectual context in terms of which Confucianism was called upon" to respond.322 In this way, scholars have generally considered it as one of the pioneering works for the unification of the three teachings in Sung China: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Indeed, it is characterized by a strong tendency to harmonize the three

322Peter N. Gregory, Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism, op.cit., p. 84.
teachings. But this does not mean that the idea of Chou's diagram was inspired by this work. At most it may indicate that Chou's thought was affected by it.

For another possible Buddhist effect on Chou Tun-yi, Mao pointed to Tsung Mi's Diagram of the Process of Enlightenment and Delusion as one of the sources for the origin of the diagram. Mao takes up this issue not in the Supplementary Discussion on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate but in the Fu Feng-shan kung lun T'ai-chi T'u shuo (Second Discussion on the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate with Feng-shan kung) 324: the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was derived from the Diagram of the Ten Reciprocal Stages 325 of the T'ang monk Kuei Feng. 326 Tsung Mi's diagram seen in the Ch'an-yuan chu-ch'uan-chi tu-hsu (Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an, hereafter, Ch'an Preface) is seen in figure 11.

The basic idea and structure of the diagram is based upon the phrase, "two gates of one mind," found in the

323See the concluding section of this work. Peter Gregory discusses it in detail. pp. 285-293.

324Mao Ch'i-ling, Hsi-ho chi, SKCS chen pen edition, chuan 18, pp. 7b-9b.

325This refers to the Diagram of the Ten Process of Enlightenment and Delusion.

326Kuei Feng is the "hao" of Tsung Mi.
Awakening of Faith. This diagram depicts the process of the realization of enlightenment. The main theme of the diagram is a theory of marga (way), and its structure is derived from the five-stage cosmogony seen in the Awakening of Faith.\textsuperscript{327} I do not think that we need to discuss this theory in detail. What we should do is to indicate that in this diagram, the Diagram of the Alavavijnana is quite similar to the second portion of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, which depicts the interactions of yin and yang. The Diagram of the Alavavijnana shows the dynamic ambivalence between delusion and enlightenment. Twenty white and black circles indicate that the phases of delusion and enlightenment evolve and change like the waxing and waning of the moon. These twenty small circles effectively describe the process of enlightenment.\textsuperscript{328} This process is completed when a man has attained Buddhahood. Therefore, the theme of Tsung Mi's diagram, of course, is to obtain final enlightenment.

Many scholars have maintained that the Diagram of the Alavavijnana is one of the main sources of the Diagram of

\textsuperscript{327}P. Gregory, Tsung Mi and the Sinification of Buddhism, op. cit., pp. 196-205, especially p. 196, p. 200, p. 203.

\textsuperscript{328}P. Gregory rearranged this part of the diagram in the form of a big circle. see Tsung Mi and the Sinification of Buddhism, op. cit., p. 204.
the Supreme Ultimate. Japanese scholars have strongly advocated this idea.\textsuperscript{329} If the Diagram of the Alayavijnana existed before Chou's diagram, this contention must be accepted. The present Taisho edition of the \textit{Ch'an Preface} contains the diagram. Yet other versions, like the Tun Huang and the Korean texts, do not contain the diagram. These versions date earlier than the present Taisho version. A colophon at the end of the Tun Huang text states that it was written in the second year of the Kuang-shun reign (952).\textsuperscript{330} Two Korean versions, which were published in the sixth year of the Hung-chih reign (1493) and the fourth year of the Wan-li reign (1576, hereafter Wan-li edition) respectively, are based on the Sung dynasty version.\textsuperscript{331} The initial text of the present Taisho edition was published in the seventh year of the Ta-te reign (1303, Yuan dynasty).\textsuperscript{332} The Wan-li edition, according to Kamata


Shigeo, preserves the original form of the *Ch'an Preface*. Yet the *Ch'an Preface* in the Taisho canon is better arranged than the Wan-li version. The most significant difference between these two versions is that only the Taisho version contain the diagram of the alayavijnana. The Tun Huang and the two Korean versions contain the *Tsang-shih* chart, which does not contain any diagram (see, figure 12). Without the diagram, the content of the *Tsang-shih* chart is very similar to that of the Taisho version.

The fact that the earlier versions do not contain the *Diagram of the Alayavijnana* is a tremendously significant point because it suggests that the *Diagram of the Alayavijnana* did not appear before Chou Tun-yi's diagram. This means that the diagrams of the Taisho version may have been added to the *Ch'an Preface* in later generations. Therefore, it is wrong to regard the *Diagram of the Alayavijnana* as the archetype of Chou's diagram. Although authorities, especially Japanese scholars, have strongly

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333 After comparing the Wan-li edition with the Taisho version, Kamata arrives at this conclusion. *Shumitsu kyogaku no shisosi teki kenkyu*, op. cit., pp. 244-265.

334 Kamata Shigeo claims that the genuine author of the *Diagram of the Alayavijnana* is the Buddhist monk, Ch'ien yen chueh kung. See *Shumitsu kyogaku no shisosi teki kenkyu*, op. cit., p. 265. Ajuma juji discusses this in detail and he follows Kamata. See "T'ai chi t'u no keisei," op. cit., pp 79b-80c. Their contention is based on one of the prefaces to the *Ch'an Preface*. See the preface written by Teng Wen-yuan in Taisho vol. 48, pp. 397b-398a, especially, p. 397c.
Anterior Heaven and Earth are the main source for the creation of Chou's diagram. Yet as I have argued, none of these hypotheses, which have been traditionally accepted, is sufficient to illustrate the genesis of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. Scholars should not trust these hypotheses. Although each hypothesis makes an important point each also contains a serious flaw. I do not mean that these traditional hypotheses are useless for discussion about the origin of Chou's diagram, but their defects are explicit. Unless better evidence is discovered one should not consider any one of them to be the correct interpretation of the genesis of Chou's diagram.

The next chapter will investigate the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate for further insight into the intellectual and historical background of Chou's philosophy. This will help us grasp the philosophical foundations of Chou's doctrines. Through the investigation of the origin and the implications of Chou's philosophical ideas one will better understand Chou's intellectual foundations. This endeavor might further illustrate the intellectual origin of Chou's diagram.
CHAPTER 4

A STUDY OF THE EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAM OF THE
SUPREME ULTIMATE

Chou's Explanation of the Diagram determined the direction of Neo-Confucian cosmology. This short treatise, which contains only 256 Chinese characters, became the ground for the later cosmological speculations of Neo-Confucianism. The main goal of the Explanation of the Diagram is to interpret the ultimate ground of the cosmos and its evolution. Chou claimed that this world is derived from a primal unity, the Supreme Ultimate. For him the Supreme Ultimate is the most fundamental reality, and is said to produce and underlie all things. As I said above, cosmology is one of the most important branches of Neo-Confucian thought. The Neo-Confucians connected it to Confucian moral philosophy. In fact, one of the Sung school's great achievements was to revive the ethical teachings of ancient Confucianism by bringing these teachings into close relationship with a reasoned theory of the universe. This achievement owes its accomplishment to Chou's doctrine of the Supreme Ultimate as set forth in the Explanation of the Diagram. In order to give a new intellectual foundation to Neo-Confucian thought, Chou assimilated the cosmological and the metaphysical elements
of both Taoist thought and, to a lesser degree, Buddhist thought into his system. It will be clear that Chou's thought is greatly inspired by Taoist metaphysics and, to a comparatively lesser degree, Buddhist thought.

The content of the Explanation of the Diagram can be divided into two major subjects: Confucian cosmology and ethics. In the first half of the Explanation of the Diagram, Chou discussed the creation and evolution of the universe and then connected this to his moral philosophy in the next part. He ingeniously integrated his cosmological speculations with his ideas about man's moral activity in society.

4.1. Cosmology

As Taoists claimed that the Tao is the ultimate source of all beings, Chou maintained that the *wu-chi* (Ultimateless) and *t'ai-chi* (Supreme Ultimate) are the primordial origin of the myriad things. Ontologically, the Supreme Ultimate is prior to *yin* and *yang* and is the foundation of these two cosmic forces. The Supreme Ultimate through movement and stillness produces these productive powers, which in turn unite and transform to produce the five agents.\(^\text{336}\) *Yin* and *yang* and the five agents are

\(^{336}\) water, fire, wood, metal and earth.
conceived of as material causes rather than as concrete things, and thus they are considered as the common basis for all beings. When these five agents interact among themselves and reach a harmonious order, the four seasons run their orderly course. This furnishes the appropriate circumstances for the five agents to come into "mysterious union." Such a union includes the male and the female elements, which interfuse with each other to generate and transform all beings. Through continuous producing and reproducing, the myriad things transform themselves unendingly.

The above is a concise summary of Chou's interpretations on the genesis and evolution of the universe. Although I have just now condensed his ideas on the subject, it would be desirable to see exactly what he said in the Explanation of the Diagram.

The Non-ultimate! And also the Supreme Ultimate (t'ai-ch'i)" The Supreme Ultimate through movement generates the yang. When its activity reaches its limit, it becomes tranquil. Through tranquillity the Supreme Ultimate generates the yin. When tranquillity reaches its limit, activity begins again. Thus movement and tranquillity alternate and become the root of each other, giving rise to the distinction of yin and yang, and these two modes are thus established. By the transformation of yang and its union with yin, the five agents of water, fire, wood, metal and earth arise. When these five material-forces (ch'i) are distributed in harmonious order, the four seasons run their course. The five agents constitute one system of yin and yang, and yin and yang constitute one Supreme
Ultimate. The Supreme Ultimate is fundamentally the Non-ultimate. The five agents arise, each with its specific nature. When the reality of the Non-ultimate and the essence of yin and yang and five agents come into mysterious union, integration ensues. The heavenly principle (ch'ien) constitutes the male element, and the earthly principle (k'un) constitutes the female element. The interaction of these two material forces engenders and transforms the myriad things. The myriad things produce and reproduce, resulting in an unending transformation.  

These paragraphs not only represent Chou's cosmology but also provide the basic intellectual foundation for the cosmological speculations of the later Neo-Confucians. The idea of the Supreme Ultimate, for example, plays a central role in Chu Hsi's philosophical system. One cannot understand the cardinal points of Chu Hsi's philosophy without recourse to a discussion of the Supreme Ultimate. Indeed, Chou's introduction of the

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338 For the t'ai-chi of Chu Hsi, see Wing-tsit Chan, Chu-tzu hsin t'an so (Taipei: Hsueh sheng, 1988), pp. 215-227. By the same author, also see Chu Hsi (Taipei: Tung ta, 1990), pp. 35-52, especially pp. 44-48. Yamanoi Yu claims, however, that for the theoretical system of Chu Hsi's philosophy "the word t'ai-chi is not an indispensable one." He points out that Chu Hsi frequently used t'ai-chi when he discussed some philosophical issues relevant to the Explanation of the Diagram and the Hsi-tzu of the Book of Changes. According to Yamanoi, there are "very few instances" where Chu used it when he explained his own
conceptions of the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate generated much controversy among the Sung and the Ming dynasty Confucian thinkers. However, without these two notions found at the beginning of the Explanation of the Diagram, Chou's cosmology would not contain any difficult problems. The issue surrounding these two ideas in this text is that although Chou Tun-yi briefly interpreted what he meant by the term Supreme Ultimate, he gave no explanation as to what he meant by the term Ultimateless and how it is related to the Supreme Ultimate. Chou simply said "wu-chi erh t'ai-chi" (the Ultimateless and also the Supreme Ultimate) in the opening part of the Explanation of the Diagram. Although he used this term two more times in the rest of the Explanation of the Diagram, he did not offer further comment on its implication nor its relationship to philosophical theory. See Min-Shin shisoshi no kenkyu [Study of the Intellectual History of the Ming-Ch'ing Dynasties] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku, 1980), pp. 58-80, especially, pp. 67-80. Also see his English translation of this portion, "Great Ultimate and Heaven in Chu Hsi's Philosophy," in Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 77-90, especially, 77-84. This view is criticized by Wing-tsit Chan in Chu Hsi: New Studies (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), pp. 146-148.

Therefore I focus upon these two ideas for the discussion of the Explanation of the Diagram. Most scholars focus entirely upon these two conceptions when they deal with Chou's metaphysical cosmology. In fact, those who wish to understand Chou's cosmological speculations must discuss these two important ideas.
the Supreme Ultimate.

It was very difficult even for Sung literati to understand the genuine implication of the first five epigrammatic characters in this work. Thus, the objective meaning of the Ultimateless and the relationship of these two notions has caused much controversy among Neo-Confucians down even to today. Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-1193) carried on a long polemic concerning the relationship between these two ideas. Lu Hsiang-shan maintained that the term Ultimateless, *wu-chi*, is not a pure Confucian term, but a Taoist term. He also claimed that Chou Tun-yi might not be the author of the *Explanation of the Diagram*. Chu Hsi, as we know, maintained that Chou Tun-yi invented the term Ultimateless in order to establish his theory of Confucian cosmology. He also claimed that Chou's Ultimateless differs from Lao Tzu's term, which means simply "limitless" or "infinite," in the sense that Chou's Ultimateless actually refers to the Supreme Ultimate. Because their polemic is related to the conception of *wu-chi* in the *Tao-te-ching* and *t'ai-chi* in the *Book of the Changes*, one should first discuss the implication of these two concepts in the Chinese classics before examining the debates between Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan.

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340 For it, see p. 86f.
4.1.1. Ultimateless (wu-chi)

This term first appears in the Tao-te-ching and the Chuang-tzu. First, let me discuss the idea of wu-chi in the Tao-te-ching:

Know the male
But keep to the role of the female
And be a ravine to the empire.
If you are a ravine to the empire,
Then the constant virtue will not desert you
And you will again return to being a babe.

Know the white
But keep to the role of the black
And be a model to the empire.
If you are a model to the empire,

Then the constant virtue will not be wanting
And you will return to the infinite\(^{341}\)

Know honor
But keep to the role of the disgraced
And be a valley to the empire.
If you are a valley to the empire,

Then the constant virtue will be sufficient

\(^{341}\)wu-chi
And you will return to being the uncarved block.\textsuperscript{342}

D. C. Lau translates the Chinese \textit{wu-chi} as "the infinite." This translation is quite correct, since in this chapter the \textit{wu-chi} refers to "the unlimited" without having the meaning of substance. Arthur Waley also translates it as "the Limitless."\textsuperscript{343} The three "returns" mentioned in this chapter are a further illustration of the idea, \textit{Fu-kuei yu wu-wu} (return to non-being), seen in chapter XIV of the \textit{Tao-te-ching}.\textsuperscript{344} "The infinite," "being a babe," and "being the uncarved block" refer to various attributes inherent to the Tao. This means that "the infinite" cannot be a synonym for the Tao. This term is also seen in the \textit{Chuang-tzu}, and there it means "the infinite" too. The significance of the \textit{wu-chi} in the \textit{Chuang-tzu} is quite similar to that of the \textit{Lao-tzu}. It is enough for us to see one representative example:

The Yellow Emperor bowed twice and said, "Master Kuang Ch'eng, you have been as a Heaven to me!"

Master Kuang Ch'eng said, "Come, I will explain to

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\textsuperscript{344}See D. C. Lau, \textit{Tao-te-ching}, op. cit., p. 70.
you. This Thing I have been talking about is inexhaustible\textsuperscript{345}, and yet men all suppose that it has an end. This Thing I have been talking about is unfathomable, and yet men all suppose that it has a limit\textsuperscript{346}... All the hundred creatures that flourish are born out of dust and return to dust. So I will take leave of you, to enter the gate of the inexhaustible and wander in the limitless\textsuperscript{347} fields, to form a triad with the light of the sun and moon, to partake in the constancy of Heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{348}

In the above citation the limitless (\textit{wu-chi}) is used along with \textit{wu-ch'iung}, which refers to "the inexhaustible." Here the meaning of \textit{wu-chi} is analogous to "the infinite" of the \textit{Tao-te-ching}. Thus in these two important Taoist philosophical works \textit{wu-chi} merely means the "infinite" or "limitless" regardless of the category of ultimate substance. The \textit{wu-chi} is also employed in other Taoist works. It, for example, appears in the \textit{Lieh-tzu}, \textit{Huai-nan-}

\textsuperscript{345}\textit{wu-ch'iung}

\textsuperscript{346}\textit{chi}

\textsuperscript{347}\textit{wu-chi}

\textsuperscript{348}Burton Watson, \textit{The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p. 120. This term also appears in chapter i and xv.
tzu\textsuperscript{349}, Ts'an t'ung chi\textsuperscript{350}, and T'ai-p'ing ching\textsuperscript{351}. In these works the meaning of wu-chi is the same as those of the Tao-te-ching and the Chuang-tzu. The representative example is found in the Lieh-tzu:

The Emperor T'ang of Yin asked Chi of Hsia: 'Have there always been things?' 'If once there were no things, how come there are things now? Would you approve if the men who live after us say there are no things now?' 'In that case, do things have no before and after?'\textsuperscript{(1)}

- 'The ending and starting of things
  Have no limit from which they began.
  The start of one is the end of another,
  The end of one is the start of another.
  Who knows which came first?
But what is outside things, what was before events, I do not know.' 'In that case, is everything limited and exhaustible above and below and in the eight directions? 'I do not know.' When T'ang pressed the question, Chi continued: - 'It is Nothing which is limitless, Something which is inexhaustible.\textsuperscript{(2)} How do I know this?...

\textsuperscript{(3)} But also there is nothing limitless outside what is limitless, and nothing inexhaustible within what is inexhaustible.\textsuperscript{(4)} 'There is no limit, but neither is there anything limitless; there is no exhausting, but neither is there anything inexhaustible. That is why I know that they are limitless and inexhaustible, yet do not know whether they may be limited and


\textsuperscript{350}See Chu Yuan-yu, Ts'an t'ung chi ch'an yu [Commentary on the Ts'an t'ung chi] (Taipei: Chen shan mei, 1971), p. 242. This entire work is translated into Korean. Lee Yun-hee, Cham dong kyoe cheon yu (Seoul: Yeou kang, 1993).

exhaustible. ³⁵²

In this chapter, of the Lieh-tzu, wu-chi appears four times and its meaning is the same as those of both the Tao-te-ching and the Chuang-tzu. This means that the conception of wu-chi in the ancient philosophical and religious Taoist works was used in the sense of "the infinite." Most other studies maintain that before Sung China, it was merely used as an adjective to depict the Tao or a divine being. ³⁵³ Yet they entirely neglect the usage of the wu-chi found in Buddhist texts. In these materials it seems to have the meaning of a reality. One of the earliest Buddhist works which contains the term wu-chi is Seng Chao's (383-414)³⁵⁴ Chao lun:

Further, the Sutra says: "Without leaving all dharmas, Nirvana is achieved." It further says: "All things are limitless." Therefore, bodhi is limitless. Thus, we know that the way of reaching Nirvana rests upon subtle identity. The attainment of subtle identity is based upon the


³⁵³ For example, Robinet, "Taiji in Taoist Source," op. cit., p. 390. Robinet does not refer to any of the specific examples which I mentioned above.

³⁵⁴ For Seng Chao's date, see next footnote.
invisible unity of opposites. Hence, things are no different from the self, and the self is no different from things. Things and the self identify and return to the Ultimateless.\footnote{Taisho, vol. 44, p. 161a. Trans. Chang Chung-yuan, "Nirvana is nameless: A Translation of an Early Chinese Buddhistic Treatise," Journal of Chinese Philosophy no. 1 (1974), p. 269. For a critical analysis of Seng Chao's Chao lun, see Richard H. Robinson, Early Madhyamika in India and China (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967). pp. 123-155. This work does not include the translation of Seng Chao's fourth essay, "Nirvana is nameless." The most comprehensive work on Seng Chao is the Joron Kenkyu, et al., eds., Tsukamoto Zenryu (Kyoto, 1955). Tsukamoto claims that Seng Chao died in 414 at the age of forty-one, rather than at the age of thirty-one. See p. 121. Although most scholars follow Tsukamoto (see Robinson, p. 123, p. 254), I found that his claim is groundless. I will take this issue up at a later date.}

Here \textit{wu-chi} is not used in the sense of the infinite. The \textit{wu-chi} of this work seems to contain the meaning of ultimate reality. Another example is the passage found in the \textit{Ch'ao-jih-ming san-mei-ching}: "To carry out the great wisdom, thereby [one] can reach the \textit{wu-chi}."\footnote{Taisho, vol. 15, p. 534b. Cited in Chang Li-wen Sung Ming li-hsueh yen-chiu (Peking: Jen min, 1985), p. 118.} This work also says "the wisdom of the \textit{wu-chi}."\footnote{Taisho. vol. 15, p. 531c.} These examples seem to have different implications for the meaning of \textit{wu-chi} from those of the Taoist works. The implication of \textit{wu-chi} in these cases is not merely the infinite. The term, rather, seems to contain the meaning of ultimate reality.
Robinet asserts that *wu-chi* is used as "a simple adjective" and does not take "a truly metaphysical connotation" before Sung China. However, as these examples suggest, this might not be true. In the Buddhist works cited above, *wu-chi* is not "a simple adjective" but a noun functioning as a subject or object.

As a matter of fact, in Taoist materials one also can find a similar usage. For example, in the *Pao hsuan ching*, *wu-chi* is mentioned as a separate noun: "The first is nature, and the second is *wu-chi*." Another text mentions, "The Supreme *Wu-chi*-Great *Tao* is the Supreme Ultimate-Truth." In a recent study, Zhang Jun-fu indicates that the early T'ang dynasty Taoist Cheng Hsuan-ying interpreted the *wu-chi* as the Tao in his commentary on the *Lao-tzu*. This would suggest that in the T'ang dynasty the *wu-chi* is no longer used as an adjective to describe the existence of the *Tao* but as a noun referring to an ultimate entity equivalent to the *Tao*.

In brief, the *wu-chi* appearing in the ancient texts is most accurately interpreted as infinite (space) or

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358 *Tao Tsang*, cited in Okiwara, op. cit., p. 249.

359 *Tao Tsang*, *Ling pao tzu jan ching chueh* cited in Okiwara Ibid.

limitless. Yet as time passed, its meaning changed. Even though this change is not that remarkable, some Taoist and Buddhist materials employ it to refer to an ultimate reality. More importantly, although most other studies claim that wu-chi is a purely Taoist term, it appears in Buddhist works as well. It is very important to note that even though the term obviously contains Taoist nuances, Buddhists as far back as the Wei Chin period used it as well.

Wu-chi can also be found in Liu Tsung-yen's (773-819) work prior to Chou Tun-yi. There it is identified with "the infinite." The conception of wu-chi as the utmost origin of the cosmos is not found in any true Confucian works before Chou Tun-yi. Chou Tun-yi as a Confucian was the first thinker who used this term. In order to establish his metaphysical cosmology, he might have borrowed it from the Taoist and Buddhist materials whereby it came to be a synonym for the Supreme Ultimate.

4.1.2 Supreme Ultimate (t'ai-chi)

We also need to investigate the historical development

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of the term Supreme Ultimate. Traditionally, the Supreme Ultimate has been regarded as one of the most important Confucian concepts. Other studies denote that it first appears in the Book of Changes. In the Hsi-tz'u of the Book of Changes the Supreme Ultimate signifies the origin and ground of all beings. The Supreme Ultimate engenders yin and yang, the two material forces, which in turn produce the symbols and ideas that are actually forms of yin and yang.

The Book of Changes says:

> Therefore there is in the Changes the Supreme Ultimate, which generates yin and yang, the two primary forces. The two primary forces generate the four symbols, which again produce the eight trigrams.\(^{362}\)

Comparing it with the Explanation of the Diagram which is cited above, we can see that Chou's Explanation of the Diagram is greatly influenced by the cosmology of the Book of Changes. In these two works, the Supreme Ultimate is the highest and the most fundamental reality and is said to engender all phenomena. It is used to denote the cosmic

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origin. Yet we can also see that between these two works
there are not only similarities but also differences. Chou
specifies the cosmic process as follows: the Ultimateless or
the Supreme Ultimate through movement and tranquility
generates the two primary forces, *yin* and *yang*, which in
turn transform and unite to give rise to the five agents,
*Wu-hsing*. The similarities and differences between these
two perspectives can be represented as follows:

The **Book of Changes**

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The **Supreme Ultimate**

↓

Yin and Yang

↓

The **Four Symbols**

↓

The **Eight Hexagrams**

↓

The **Myriad things**

The **Explanation of the Diagram**

↓

The **Ultimateless**

↓

The **Supreme Ultimate**

↓

Yin and Yang

↓

The **Five Agents**

↓

The **Myriad things**

**Figure 13**

The outstanding difference between them is that the
Book of Changes does not use the term Ultimateless, which is first mentioned by Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. This certainly means that the cosmological system of Chou's thought is affected by Taoism. That is, Chou borrowed the metaphysical element of Taoist thought and, to a lesser degree, Buddhist thought for establishing his own Confucian cosmology.

Another important difference is that Chou employs the five agents (wu hsing), an obvious Taoist concept in his cosmology, while The Book of Changes mentions the four symbols and eight trigrams instead. It is true that the Confucians also apply the five agents to their philosophical system, but their five agents are not water, fire, wood, metal and earth which Chou adopts in the Explanation of the Diagram, but humaneness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and sageliness.363 This is further evidence to show that

Traditionally, the five elements of Confucianism are regarded as humaneness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and trustworthiness. These, in fact, are the five constants. But according to P'ang P'u, who studies the Mawangdui wu-hsing manuscripts, the five agents of Confucianism are humaneness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and sageliness. I have studied this Mawangdui manuscript under Dr. Donald Harper's guidance, and I think that P'ang P'u's view is reliable. See P'ang P'u, Po shu wu hsing p'ien yen chiu [A Study of the Five Agents copied on Silk] (Peking: Chi lu, 1980), especially, pp. 1-22, pp. 71-
Chou's *Explanation of the Diagram* is greatly affected by Taoist thought. Nevertheless, despite these differences, it is very clear that Chou's cosmological speculations are deeply rooted in the cosmology of the *Book of Changes*.

Yet the traditional claim that the Supreme Ultimate is a purely Confucian idea requires some discussion. The term Supreme Ultimate appears in the *Chuang-tzu* prior to the *Hsi-t'zu* chapter of the *Book of Changes*. Thus the traditional view that it is first found in the *Book of Changes* is groundless.³⁶⁴ Chuang Tzu said:

> As for the Way, it is something with identity, something to trust in, but does nothing, has no shape. It can be handed down but not taken as one's own, can be grasped but not seen. Itself the trunk, itself the root, since before there was a heaven and an earth inherently from of old it is what it was. It hallows ghosts and hallows God, engenders heaven, engenders earth; it is farther than the utmost pole but is not reckoned high, it is under the six-way-oriented³⁶⁵ but is


³⁶⁵This is the translation of *liu-ho*. 

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not reckoned deep, it was born before heaven and earth but is not reckoned long-lasting, it is elder to the most ancient but is not reckoned old.366

Although Chuang Tzu did not offer any interpretation of the Supreme Ultimate, it is obvious that he used it to describe the Tao. Apparently it is placed after the Tao. The Supreme Ultimate is also found in other Taoist works. In the Lieh-tzu the term t'ai-chi is not mentioned, although it mentions the so called Ssu-t'ai (Four Geneses): t'ai-yi, t'ai-ch'u, t'ai-shih, and t'ai-su.367 In the Huai-nan-tzu, it is used in a similar way as it is in the Chuang-tzu.368 Moreover, the Wei-shu frequently mentions it. It, for example, is taken up in the Hsiao-ching Kou-ming-chueh and is referred to as one of the five Geneses: t'ai-yi, t'ai-ch'u, t'ai-shih, t'ai-su, and t'ai-chi.369 As time passed, the term became more common in the Taoist writings of the


369Imai Usaburo, Sodai ekigaku no knkyu, op. cit., p. 342.
medieval period and began to take on a metaphysical or cosmological meaning. Just as it is done the Hsi-t'zu of the Yi-ching, the eighth century figure, Chang Chih-ho, identified the t'ai-chi with the origin of the world.\textsuperscript{370} He also identified it with the "the primordial breath" and with "the extreme north."\textsuperscript{371} In brief, even though t'ai-chi was not the most important concept in Taoist works before the Sung, it frequently appeared in them.\textsuperscript{372}

Although most other studies have maintained that the t'ai-chi is obviously a significant Confucian idea, the Confucian classics rarely adopted it. Besides the example found in the Hsi-tz'u of the Book of Changes, of the important Confucian classics only the Ch'un-ch'u fan lu employs the term: "The middle is the t'ai-chi of heaven and earth."\textsuperscript{373} Although it is not a major idea for them, the Buddhists also adopted the concept of t'ai-chi. It


\textsuperscript{371}TT, fasc. 672, Hsuan chen tzu wai p'ien, p. 1, 6b. Cited in Robinet, Ibid.,


\textsuperscript{373}Tung Chung-shu, Hsun t'ien chih Tao [Following the Tao of Heaven], Ch'un-ch'u fan lu chin chu chin yi (Taipei: Shang wu, 1984), p. 416. Later Lu Hsiang-shan followed Tung Chung-shu in interpreting the t'ai-chi as the Middle. See my discussion of the debate between Lu and Chu Hsi below.
appeared, for example in the *Pien cheng lun*. It also appeared in the *Inquiry into Man* by Tsung Mi prior to Chou Tun-yi. Therefore the traditional claim that the t'ai-chi is undoubtedly a genuine Confucian notion is obviously incorrect. The three teachings all employed it prior to the Sung dynasty. Nevertheless, it is true that the t'ai-chi as the utmost origin of the universe is first mentioned in the *Hsi-tzu*. In the *Chuang-tzu* it does not have the cosmological meaning of the universal origin. According to Robinet, t'ai-chi does not have a "metaphysical and cosmological meaning" in Taoist works prior to the seventh and eighth centuries. In brief, it is the *Hsi-tzu* of the *Book of Changes* that uses the t'ai-chi as a cosmological term in the ancient period. Only later did the Taoists adopt it for establishing their cosmological system.

4.1.3. The Debate of the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate

Having presented the historical developments of these two terms, I will now discuss the polemic between Chu Hsi

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374See Chang Li-wen, *Sung Ming li hsueh yen-chiu*, op. cit., p. 120-121.

375Taisho, vol. 45, p. 710c.

and Lu Hsiang-shan. It is tremendously important to examine their controversy for correctly grasping the implications of the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate because their debate centers on the relationship between the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate and the implications of both wu-chi and t'ai-chi. By examining their controversy one will better comprehend the meaning of these two very important concepts for not only Chou's thought but also the whole of Neo-Confucian thought.

The polemic between Chu and the Lu brothers on the Explanation of the Diagram is contained in nine letters: two written by Lo Chiu-shao, an elder brother of Lu Hsiang-shan, three by Lu Hsiang-shan himself and four by Chu Hsi. The debate was initiated by Lu Chiu-shao, but later Lu Hsiang-shan continued the controversy. The contents of their letters are centered on the meanings of the two terms and their relationship with each other, but they also

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377 The problem of how to interpret the wu-chi was central to their controversy, and thus how to translate it into contemporary English is a difficult matter. Wilson claims that one should translate it "according to speaker's interpretation rather than attempt to use a single translation." He translates it as "formless ultimate" for Chu and as "ultimate non-being" for Lu. I think that this method helps one to understand the key points of their debate. Here I will use the original Chinese term and "Ultimateless" interchangeably. See Thomas A. Wilson, Genealogy of the Way (California: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 204-205, p. 316.

378 They are no longer extant.
contain many trifling arguments, such as the problem of how to interpret minor expressions. Moreover, in the letters Chu and Lu Hsiang-shan also personally attacked each other.\(^{379}\) Here, of course, I will focus on their philosophical contentions.

The letters of the Lu brothers contain the following views.\(^{380}\) First, the *Explanation of the Diagram* was different in character from another Chou Tun-yi's work, *Penetrating the Book of Changes*, so Lu Chiu-shao suspected that either the *Explanation of the Diagram* might not have been written by Chou or that it could have been written when Chou was young. He also indicated that the term *Ultimateless* is not seen in Chou's mature writing, *Penetrating the Book of Changes*. Second, Lu Chiu-shao claimed that the Supreme Ultimate is apparently the central point of the universe; it is the ultimate source of the cosmic system. Using the term *Ultimateless* to describe the foundation of the universe, when the concept Supreme


Ultimate already serves this function, is a mere redundant. In other words, the Ultimateless is just a redundancy. Third, Lu Hsiang-shan criticized Chu's following contention: Chu Hsi claimed that Chou Tun-yi introduced the *wu-chi* because without it the *t'ai-chi* would be considered a finite thing; unable to be the origin of all beings. And without mentioning the *t'ai-chi*, the *wu-chi* would perish in emptiness and absolute quiet; also unable to be the origin of all beings. Lu Hsiang-shan maintained that in the Confucian classics the term *t'ai-chi* was employed to refer to the foundation of the myriad things. Everyone understood it as the ultimate entity, thus nobody mistakenly regarded the Supreme Ultimate as just "a finite thing." Lu contended, then, that even without the *wu-chi*, one can understand *t'ai-chi* to be an ultimate reality. Furthermore, Lu advised Chu that if he were concerned about his disciples mistaking the *t'ai-chi* for a physical thing, Chu should use the expressions "soundless and odorless," which the *Book of Poetry* used to depict the transcendent characteristics of Heaven. Lu asserted that these words sufficiently represent the transcendent character of the *t'ai-chi*. No recourse to the compound *wu-chi* is necessary. Fourth, the

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381 These two points were also mentioned in Hsiang-shan's letters.

term *wu-chi* must be of Taoist origin, since it did not occur in the Confucian classics, but occurred in the *Tao-te-ching*. Lu contended that "the canons of our sage⁸³" possess no reference to it. Lu Hsiang-shan used the first chapter of the *Lao-tzu* to support his argument. This chapter discusses the nameless, *wu-ming*, as the beginning of Heaven and Earth, and the named, *yu-ming*, as the mother of the myriad creatures.⁸⁴ Lu Hsiang-shan claimed that this central theme of the *Lao-tzu* can be found in the opening section of the *Explanation of the Diagram*; apparently Lu read *wu-chi erh t'ai-chi* as Non-being and then being. Fifth, he also indicated that the Explanation of the Diagram was handed down by Mo Po-ch'ang and his teacher Ch'en T'uan who were both followers of Lao Tzu's teachings. This means that the *Explanation of the Diagram* evolved from the Taoist tradition, or at least it was seriously influenced by Taoist doctrine.

Lu also indicated that the voluminous works of the Ch'eng brothers who were educated by Chou contained no mention of *wu-chi*. The content of the *Explanation of the Diagram*, Lu asserted, differed from the teachings of the Ch'eng brothers. Moreover, he criticized Chu Hsi's

⁸³referring to Confucius

⁸⁴See the *Tao-te-ching*, chapter i, also see chapter ii, xi, xl and xliii.
reference on P'an Hsing-ssu's eulogy to support the contention that the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate was not transmitted from Ch'en T'uan. Lu argued that it was entirely possible that Chou's contemporaries, including the Ch'eng brothers, got to know Chou far better than P'an.\textsuperscript{385}

Sixth, Lu interpreted chi as the Mean, while Chu read it as the utmost. Lu explained that chi meant the ridgepole of a roof which was equidistant from all sides. Thus the significance of chi can be extended to the sense of the Mean. As a matter of fact, this is a very common interpretation of chi.\textsuperscript{386} Kung Ying-ta, for example, interpreted it as the Mean when he commented on the huang-chi (imperial ultimate) in the "Great Norm" chapter of the Book of Documents.\textsuperscript{387} If this interpretation of the Ultimate as the Mean is accepted, then wu-chi refers to "without Mean," which is a meaningless term. Therefore, Chou's wu-chi is a fundamentally incorrect expression.

The main points of Chu Hsi's replies are as

\textsuperscript{385}For this point, see Chu's reply below.

\textsuperscript{386}For the interpretation of this term, see Imai, op. cit., pp. 345-347. Also see, Pei-hsi Tzu-li [Neo-Confucian Terms Explained], trans., Wing-tsit Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 121-122.

\textsuperscript{387}See Imai, op. cit., p. 345.
follows\textsuperscript{388}: first, Chu Hsi rejected the traditional belief that Chou's diagram is derived from the Taoist Ch'en T'uan. His contention was entirely based on the grounds that P'an Hsing-ssu's epitaph never mentioned the connection between Chou's learning and Taoism. In fact, Chu Hsi did not directly respond to Lu's inquiry about the Taoist origin of Chou's scholarship. Rather, he simply ignored the traditionally alleged belief that Ch'en T'uan's tenets were the origin of Chou's learning. In doing so, he claimed that Chou silently understood the substance of the \textit{Tao} without any teacher.\textsuperscript{389} Chou's philosophical speculations were his own and not inherited from others.\textsuperscript{390} Second, Chu Hsi


\textsuperscript{389}As I discussed in chapter 2, Chu Hsi did not entirely deny that Ch'en T'uan's thought was the genesis of Chou's thought. Because of his \textit{tao t'ung} claim, Chu Hsi could not openly admit the fact that Chou's thought was inspired by the Taoists. For Chu Hsi, Chou was the founder of the \textit{Tao-hsueh} tradition in the Northern Sung.

\textsuperscript{390}Chu Hsi emphasized this point many times. For example, Chu said:

\begin{quote}
In the case of Master Lien-hsi, is not he one who received the propagation of the Tao conferred by Heaven?... He silently understands the substance of the Tao [without any teacher].
\end{quote}

See \textit{Chiang chou Lien-hsi shu t'ang chi} [Commemoration of the Construction of Lien-hsi's Hall in Chiang chou], CTCS, pp. 425-426. In the \textit{Chu wen-kung wen-chi}, the title is recorded
pointed out that the sages of antiquity had never used the compound *t'ai-chi* before Confucius. It was Confucius who first used the term. Chou Tun-yi coined the new philosophical term *wu-chi* to express his philosophy as Confucius first employed the term *t'ai-chi*. This is Chu's reply to Lu's statement that the *wu-chi* is not a term used by Confucius. Third, by indicating that Chou Tun-yi's usage of the term Ultimateless differed from that of Lao Tzu, Chu Hsi tried to absolve Chou Tun-yi from any Taoist influence. He claimed that in the *Tao-te-ching*, Lao Tzu's *wu-chi* simply referred to the idea of the infinite or boundless, and Chuang Tzu's example was also very similar to that of Lao Tzu. To enter the gate of the inexhaustible and wander the boundless field was not the same in meaning as what Chou Tun-yi said. Thus, if one maintains that Chou's idea is truly derived from the *Lao-tzu*, one misunderstands the implication of the Ultimateless in the *Explanation of the Diagram*. In fact, in the *Explanation of the Diagram* the Ultimateless denotes the Supreme Ultimate as a substance. Further, Chu Hsi claimed that Chou regarded Being and Non-being as two different aspects of the same entity whereas Lao Tzu considered them as two separate things. Fourth, the

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word chi signified the utmost or ultimate. Although it can be interpreted as the Mean, the Mean was merely a derivative meaning. The original meaning of chi referred to the ultimate beyond what words could describe. Fifth, without wu-chi, the Supreme Ultimate would degenerate into referring to something finite, in which case it cannot denote the origin of things. And without the idea of the Supreme Ultimate, the Ultimateless falls into emptiness and annihilation, and will be unable to be the origin of the manifoldness of things. Chu Hsi said:

If the Ultimateless were not mentioned, the Supreme Ultimate would appear to be the same as a finite thing and insufficient to serve as the foundation of the myriad things. If the Supreme Ultimate were not mentioned, the Ultimateless would be engulfed in emptiness and incapable of being the foundation of the myriad things.391

What Chu Hsi wished to point out is that the wu-chi and the t'ai-chi are two different aspects of one substance. Wu-chi refers to the transcendant characteristic of reality; the noumena which transcends phenomena. The t'ai-chi specifies the creative characteristics of reality; the

noumena which creates phenomena. Therefore Chu said:

The operations of Heaven have neither sound nor
smell, and yet this is really the axis of creation
and the origin of all things. Therefore, [Chou]
says, the Ultimateless and also the Supreme
Ultimate. There is no Ultimateless outside the
Supreme Ultimate.

This citation clearly shows Chu Hsi's understanding of
the relationship between the Ultimateless and the Supreme
Ultimate. The noumena is called the *wu-chi* when it means
transcendence. And the noumena is called the *t'ai-chi* when
it means creativity -- two different aspects of one ultimate
entity.

For Chu Hsi, the Supreme Ultimate generates every
minute thing and at the same time it is the principle, *li*,
of all things. The Supreme Ultimate is the fundamental
source of the universe and is also an all-encompassing force
underlying minute things in the universe. It constitutes
and resides in the myriad things. For Chu Hsi this ultimate

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392 These two Kantian terms may contain more connotations
than what Chou originally meant. Yet I think they help to
grasp the genuine meaning of Chou's ideas.

393 Chu Hsi, *T'ai-chi t'u shuo chieh* [The Commentary on
the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate],
CTCS, pp. 3-5.

104-105.
source of the universe is identical with the Ultimateless. 395

Chu Hsi affirmed the identity between these two conceptions by arguing that the Ultimateless is not something outside or beyond the Supreme Ultimate. Both the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate denote the same fundamental reality. Therefore, the expression "wu-chi erh t'ai-chi" means that the Ultimateless is equal to the Supreme Ultimate.

The Lu brothers successfully pointed out the initial origin of the term wu-chi and the traditional belief regarding the genesis of Chou's learning. For them, Chou's philosophical background is undoubtedly Taoistic. Their arguments are based on philological and historical facts. They read the text much more literally than Chu. 396 They believed that Chu's acceptance of the wu-chi above the t'ai-chi means that Chu never really comprehended the nature of the t'ai-chi. Chu Hsi's accounts, on the other hand, centered on speculative interpretations about the implication of the idea of wu-chi and its relationship to


396 Tillman, Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy, op. cit., p. 219.
the t'ai-chi. It would be completely wrong for one to think that Chu could not grasp the genuine meaning of t'ai-chi. Yet it is true that Chu avoided discussing the Taoist origin of Chou's learning. Rather he focused upon the philosophical intent of Chou's abstract ideas. This is the reason why scholars have considered Chu's arguments to be more philosophically refined than those of Lu Hsiang-shan.397

Indeed, Chu Hsi regarded Chou's Explanation of the Diagram to be a significant philosophical work. Chu Hsi considered it fundamental to his thought and wrote detailed commentaries on it. In doing so, he gave us abundant information about it. However, because of his zealous philosophical interest in the text, Chu Hsi's interpretations, including those in reference to the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate, differ from Chou Tun-yi's original intent. The crucial difference is that Chu Hsi interpreted the Supreme Ultimate as principle, li, while Chou considered it as the vital power, ch'i.398 In the


398See Onozawa Seiichi et. al., eds., Ki no shiso [The Thought of Chi'] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1994), pp. 356-358. This part is written by Yamanoi Yu.
Explaination of the Diagram, Chou said:

When these five material-forces (ch'i) are distributed in harmonious order, the four seasons run their course. The five agents constitute one system of yin and yang, and yin yang constitute one Supreme Ultimate. 399

Here Chou Tun-yi asserted that the five agents which are the material forces, constitute yin and yang, which are also ch'i 400, and that these two material forces constitute the Supreme Ultimate. Therefore, for Chou Tun-yi the Supreme Ultimate is not a principle, li, but a vital power, ch'i. This means that this work is written not from the viewpoint of the theory of li, but from the perspective of the theory of ch'i. Although Chu Hsi believed that the Supreme Ultimate is the li of Heaven, earth and all things 401, this is not Chou's original intent. In fact,


400See Penetrating the Book of Changes, chapter xxii, CTCS, p. 168. "The two vital forces and the five agents transform and produce the myriad things."

many Neo-Confucians indicated that Chu misinterpreted Chou's purpose because of his doctrine of "li's priority over ch'i." ⁴⁰²

In any case, the debate between the Lu brothers and Chu greatly helps us grasp the authentic meaning of wu-chi and its relationship to the Supreme Ultimate. The relationship between these two notions has been discussed by many specialists, but there is no clear and conclusive answer. There has been difficulty in comprehending the meaning of these five epigrammatic characters, t'ai-chi erh wu-chi, ever since the days when the Sung Neo-Confucians themselves were trying to explain their implications. Following Chu Hsi's interpretation, most authorities have considered that the Chinese word erh is a coordinating conjunction. Ch'en Ch'un (1159-1223) followed Chu Hsi's explanations when he wrote his philosophical dictionary of Neo-Confucian terms. It is worth noting how he expounded it:

- The meaning of the Great Ultimate remained obscure until Lien-hsi [Chou Tun-yi] drew the Diagram of the Great Ultimate (i.e., Supreme Ultimate) to make it clear. [In its beginning sentence], "The

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Ultimate of Non being erh the Great Ultimate" (wu chi erh t'ai chi), the word erh [also] is merely a slight conjunction and does not mean to break the sentence into two sections. Wu-chi (having no extremity) means infinity; it merely describes principle as having no shape or appearance, spatial restriction, or physical form, very much like the description of the operation of Heaven as "having neither sound or smell."\(^{403}\)

J. Needham claims that "now" authorities agree that in the phrase wu-chi erh t'ai-chi, the particle erh is "a copula expressing not temporal succession but paradoxical identity."\(^{404}\) \(^{405}\) We need to examine how modern scholars, such as J. Needham, Wing-tsit Chan and W.T. de Bary, interpret this phrase.

J. Needham: "That which has no pole and yet (itself) the Supreme pole."\(^{405}\)

Wing-tsit Chan: "The Ultimate of Non-being and also the


Great Ultimate (T'ai chi)!"406

W.T. de Bary: "The Non-Ultimate and also Great Ultimate"407

A.C. Graham: "It is the Ultimate of nothing which is the Supreme Ultimate."408

J. Adler: "Non-polar (wu-chi) and yet Supreme Polarity (t'ai-chi)."409

D. Bode: "The Ultimateless (Wu chi)! and yet also the Supreme Ultimate (T'ai chi)"410

Alfred Forke: "Das Prinzip des Nichtseins ist zugleich das Urprinzip"411


408Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, op. cit., p. 156. Also see p. 172.


Chow Yih-ching: "Sans-Faite et Faite Supreme"\textsuperscript{412}

J.P. Bruce: "Infinite, and also the Supreme Ultimate"\textsuperscript{413}

Carsun Chang; "The Ultimate of Nothingness, but in turn the Supreme Ultimate"\textsuperscript{414}

As these above translations demonstrate, these scholars follow Chu Hsi in considering that the Ultimateless is not something outside or beyond the Supreme Ultimate. They believe that these terms should not be regarded as two separate entities. Instead \textit{wu-chi} and \textit{t'ai-chi} are two aspects of one fundamental substance. Some of them also maintain that the Supreme Ultimate, as Chu Hsi claimed, is identical with principle, \textit{li}.\textsuperscript{415} In fact, Ch'en Ch'un, in his \textit{Pei-hsi tzu yi} [Neo-Confucian Terms Explained], adopted Chu-hsi's interpretation that the Supreme Ultimate is


\textsuperscript{413}J.P. Bruce, \textit{Chu Hsi and His Masters} (London: Probsthain & Co., 1923), p. 128.


\textsuperscript{415}Adler always follows Chu Hsi and Wing-tsit Chan is also very faithful to Chu's interpretations. Aside from these two, see J.P. Bruce, \textit{Chu Hsi and His Masters}, op. cit., pp. 128-141, Carsun Chang, \textit{The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought}, op. cit., pp. 143-153.
principle, li.\textsuperscript{416} The fact that most eminent scholars follow Chu Hsi's interpretation means that they think that Chu's accounts on this matter are more reliable than those of the Lu brothers.

4.1.4 The Problem of Tzu (from) and Wei (become)

In recent studies many Chinese scholars maintain that the opening section of the original edition of the Explanation of the Diagram does not begin "wu-chi erh t'ai-chi" but "tzu wu-chi erh wei t'ai-chi," which means "from the wu-chi and then becomes the t'ai-chi."\textsuperscript{417} Their claims are based on Mao Ch'i-ling's contention that Chu Hsi crossed out Chou's two words tzu (from) and wei (become) in the beginning of the Explanation of the Diagram. Mao maintained that the Explanation of the Diagram found in Chou's biography written by the historian Hung Ching-lu (1123-416).

\textsuperscript{416}See Pei-hsi Tzu-li [Neo-Confucian Terms Explained], trans. Wing-tsit Chan, op. cit., pp. 115-120, 188-195, especially, p. 117, 189.

1202), originally included the characters tzu and wei, thus the initial sentence of the text meant that the Supreme Ultimate is derived from the Ultimateless. If Chou's work originally had these two extra words, "from" and "become," then Chou in his cosmological speculations placed the wu-chi ontologically prior to the t'ai-chi.

As a matter of fact, Chu Hsi himself noted that he requested the historian, Hung Ching-lu, who was writing Chou Tun-yi's biography as part of the National History of the Four Dynasties, to delete these two words. Chu Hsi said:

On Yu Mountain I encountered the historian Hung Ching-lu who was writing the National History. I borrowed his manuscripts and found the biographies of Lien-hsi, Ch'eng and Chang etc., and Chou's Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. Among these eminent Confucians, Hung first wrote Chou Tun-yi's biography. This shows that he understands how important Chou's thought is. The first phrase of the Explanation of the Diagram is "the Ultimateless and also the Supreme Ultimate," but Chou's biography which Hung Ching-lu was writing begins as "The Supreme Ultimate is derived from the Ultimateless." I do not know what his source is...If one adds these two
words⁴¹⁸, then it is obvious that one misinterprets the teachings of a former worthy and later scholars will be confused. Thus I kindly requested him to cross them out.⁴¹⁹

This certainly alludes to the possibility that Chu Hsi eliminated the two words, tzu and wei, when he edited Chou's work. Mao Ch'i-ling maintained that Chu Hsi regarded the edition that contained the words tzu and wei as corrupt because it did not fit into Chou's philosophical system. After the Sung dynasty these two words gradually disappeared from Chou's work. By the time of Mao Ch'i-ling the characters tzu and wei were absent from Chou's biography.⁴²⁰ Mao's account relies solely on the record that Chu Hsi requested Hung Ching-lu to delete the tzu and wei from his National History. Based on Mao's accounts, many scholars believe that Chou's original work included the words, "from" and "become."

Yet one should remember that Hung was an opponent of the tao hsueh movement. Along with Wang Hsin, Shen Chieh-tsü and Kung Tun-yi, he participated in Wang Huai's anti-tao

⁴¹⁸referring to tzu (from) and wei (become)


⁴²⁰Mao Ch'i-ling, T'ai-chi t'u shuo yi-yi, op. cit., pp. 13b-14b.
hsueh campaign. Scholars, like Chang Li-wen, think that Hung's compilation must be well-grounded because he was a historian appointed by the government to compile the National History. Yet they should remember that politics always played a role in the writing of the National History. It might not be entirely safe to trust an official history compiled by a scholar official dominated by the emperor. Shu Ching-nan maintains that Hung may have intentionally falsified the opening part of Chou's Explanation of the Diagram to undermine the reputation of the tao-hsueh. He tries to show how Hung played an important role in the attack on tao-hsueh scholars.

Moreover, Chu Hsi often mentioned the problems with Hung's version. Besides the above quotation, Chu noted in two other places that Hung misinterpreted Chou's original purpose. In 1189, Chu again mentioned Hung's falsification in his letter to Lu Hsiang-shan. At that time, both Chu and Lu were in heated discussion with regard

421 For example, see Chang Meng-lun, "Sung-tai t'ung-chih chien-chi tsai hsuan-hsiu kuo-shih shang te tou-cheng" [The Political Struggle of the Ruling class for Writing the National History during the Sung Dynasty] in Lan-chou ta-hsueh hsueh-pao no. 4 (1981), pp. 48-67.

422 For more information, see Shu Ching-nan, Chu-tzu ta-chuan, (Fu-chien: Fu-chien chiao-yu, 1992), pp. 672-684.

to the t'ai-chi and its relationship with the wu-chi. It is significant that Chu mentioned the problem of Hung's edition while debating with Lu. Chu addressed that if Chou's original work really had the words, "from" and "become," he would have to concede that Lu was correct. Undoubtedly, Chu Hsi believed that Hung intentionally added these two extra words. Indeed, the long polemic between Chu and Lu would have promptly ended if Chou's work had really contained these two extra words.424 This proves that Chu's strong belief in Hung's fabrication must be reliable. The fact that the Lu brothers, including their many disciples, could not verify that Chu eliminated these two words is a very significant point. Moreover, Hung also failed to support his view when he could not provide Chu with his source for Chou's Explanation of the Diagram. This certainly means that Hung did not have a version of the Explanation of the Diagram which contained the words tzu and wei.

Before going further, I wish to offer my own understanding of the relationship between the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate. From the philological point of view it is impossible to clarify the exact relationship between these two ideas, for the phrase, "wu chi erh t'ai-chi," can be interpreted as either from wu-chi to t'ai-chi

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424 Shu Ching-nan, Chu-tzu ta chuan, op. cit., p. 679.
or wu-chi and also t'ai-chi. This is the reason why although many specialists have discussed this matter, there is no conclusive solution. Some scholars focuses upon the philological meaning of this phrase when they translate it. J. Needham, for example, translates the phrase as "That which has no pole and yet (itself) the Supreme pole" by emphasizing the literal meaning of the Chinese word chi. Even though his translation is a little different from other translations, it is merely more literal than others. J. Adler follows Needham by translating chi as "polar" or "polarity." Adler considers that "polarity" conveys "the idea that the most fundamental pattern /principle/ order (li)... is the yin/yang polarity."\(^{425}\) In a strict sense their translations do not reflect the genuine relationship between the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate. Rather, they presuppose that erh refers to "and also" without discussing the relationship of these two notions in detail.

In any case, if the philological approach to this phrase cannot help one to solve this matter, the only possible way to do it is to interpret Chou's philosophy.\(^{426}\) Chu Hsi's comment that the Yi-t'ung is the commentary on the


\(^{426}\) In this sense, Chu's interpretation is acceptable.
Explanation of the Diagram may not be correct but it is true that the Yi-t'ung greatly helps one to grasp the meaning of Chou's teachings. Although the major subject-matter of the Yi-t'ung is Confucian moral philosophy, it also contains Chou's cosmological views. Chou, twice, briefly discussed these views in this work. Undoubtedly, both of Chou's works together interdependently express his thought. Therefore, Chou's cosmological speculations found in the Yi-t'ung, which are related to those of the Explanation of the Diagram, can help one to solve the problem of the relationship between the Ultimateless and the Supreme Ultimate. The significant point here is that Chou never mentioned the Ultimateless in the Yi-t'ung when he explained his cosmology:

[Although] water is yin, it is rooted in yang. [Similarly, even though] fire is yang, it is rooted in yin. The five agents are yin and yang, and yin and yang are the Supreme Ultimate. The

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427 For Chou's moral philosophy, see chapter 5.

428 J. Adler is entirely correct when he says "But the T'ung-shu is less metaphysical; the emphasis here is on the moral psychology of the sage." See "Chou Tun-i" in Sources of Chinese Tradition, revised ed., forthcoming.

429 For the interrelationship between these two works, see chapter 6.

430 The Lu brothers pointed it out, yet they did not discuss the cosmology of the Yi-t'ung.
four seasons circulate, and all things end and begin [continually].

It is very significant that here Chou did not mention the Ultimateless in the evolutionary process of the universe; from the five agents to yin and yang, and from yin and yang to the Supreme Ultimate. If the Ultimateless precedes the Supreme Ultimate in Chou's philosophical system, then Chou must mention the Ultimateless in order to point out its ontological priority. In Confucian cosmology the Supreme Ultimate (Being) is the utmost substance, thus if Chou wishes to add the Taoist idea of the Ultimateless (Non-Being) being ontologically prior to the Supreme Ultimate, he must make his point clear. The Yi-t'ung also says:

The two vital forces and the five agents transform and produce the myriad things. The five [agents] constitute the differential characteristics of [the myriad things] and the two [vital forces constitute] their actuality. These two are fundamentally one.

It is clear that "fundamentally one" refers to the Supreme Ultimate or both it and the Ultimateless. If "one"

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431 Yi-t'ung, ch. xvi, CTCS, pp. 157-158.
432 Yi-t'ung ch. xxii, CTCS, p. 168.
means only the Supreme Ultimate, it is apparently the utmost entity. If it refers to both of them, it means that they are two aspects of one fundamental substance. Thus they are an unseparated entity.

One might claim that "one" may refer to the Ultimateless, yet it is very unreasonable to suppose that Chou omitted the Supreme Ultimate in his explanations of the process of the universal evolution. Without the Ultimateless, Chou can expound the evolutionary process of the cosmos, yet without the Supreme Ultimate he cannot elucidate that process. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that if "one" refers to the Ultimateless, Chou would have clarified this point. It is not difficult for him to do that at all. He can make his point explicit by simply saying "the Ultimateless produces the one." Otherwise it is more appropriate to infer that the Ultimateless is equal to the Supreme Ultimate as an entity in his cosmological system.

The interpretation of Mou Tsung-san on this matter is worth noting. Mou claims that the Ultimateless is the apophatic expression of a substance, whereas the Supreme Ultimate is the kataphatic expression of it. Both of them denote the same thing; speaking negatively it is something having no limit and speaking affirmatively it is the
Ultimate which is great or supreme. It seems that this interpretation of Mou is very useful to grasp the genuine relationship of these two ideas. Mou also maintains that the Ultimateless cannot be used as a substance without the Supreme Ultimate, for it functions as an adjective, modifying the Supreme Ultimate. This point might illustrate why Chou did not mention the Ultimateless when he explained the evolution of the universe in chapter XVI of the *Yi-t'ung*.

The following question still remains: why did Chou use the Taoist metaphysical term Ultimateless, along side the Confucian notion of the Supreme Ultimate to describe the characteristic of an entity? What he wished to do was to assimilate the cosmological or metaphysical elements of the two other teachings, namely those of Taoism and Buddhism, into Confucian thought. In his works, he adopted both Taoist and Buddhist elements i.e., *wu* (emptiness) and *wu-chi* (Ultimateless) etc. In doing so he not only created a new intellectual foundation for his thought but also for that of the whole Neo-Confucian foundation. Chou adopted the term

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434 Ibid.

435 See above.
Ultimateless with all of its Taoist and Buddhist overtones and adapted it to Confucian cosmology. By introducing this term into Neo-Confucian philosophical speculation, Chou intended to provide a metaphysical explanation for the origin of the cosmos.

4.2. Moral Philosophy

Typically in Confucian thought no metaphysical or cosmological theories exist apart from moral philosophy. The Confucian thinkers did not engage in abstract speculation for its own sake, but rather for very practical and moral aims. This is also true of Chou's philosophical system. In the second half of the *Explanation of the Diagram*, Chou ingeniously connected the evolutionary process of the cosmos to the moral development of man. Chou places man in a pivotal position in the whole universe. Man in Chou's system receives the highest, most rarefied form of the five agents, and thus is considered capable of playing a creative role in the evolutionary process of the universe. Chou said:

> It is man alone who receives [the material forces] in their highest excellence, and therefore he is most intelligent. His corporeal form appears, and his spirit develops consciousness. The five moral
principles of his nature (humanity, righteousness, decorum, wisdom, and good faith) are aroused by, and react to, the external world and engage in activity; good and evil are distinguished and human affairs take place.436

By defining human spirituality in terms of the idea that it is man alone who receives the cosmic forces in their most refined form, Chou espoused what one might call Confucian humanism. The notion of man as the most intelligent being in the universe was already mentioned in the Book of Rites: "man... receives the five agents in their highest excellence."437 Moreover, man, who receives the highest purified form in the evolutionary process of the Supreme Ultimate, is not merely a creature. He can participate in the cosmological evolution that brings about the completion of the Supreme Ultimate. In other words, he is also a creative agent. This view implies the characteristic Confucian idea of a trinity: Heaven, Earth, and Man. Chu presented his idea of a trinity by citing passages from the Book of Changes:

Hence the character of the sages is "identical

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with that of Heaven and earth; his brilliance is identical with that of the sun and moon; his order is identical with that of the four season; and his good and evil fortunes are identical with those of heavenly and earthly spirits".438

Chou faithfully followed Confucian moral teaching by saying that the sage accords in his virtue with Heaven and Earth.439 In general, the Confucians always emphasize the virtuous unification of man and moral Heaven (tao-te t'ien). It is clear that the unique Confucian belief of the moral structure of the universe,440 which is presupposed as the fundamental foundation of all Confucian philosophy, takes the central position in Chou's philosophy. Chou also said:

The yin and the yang are established as the way of Heaven; the elements of strength and weakness as the way of earth; and humaneness and rightness as


439For the Confucian notion of a trinity, see the Doctrine of the Mean, ch. xxii. Also see the Book of Rites chuan 5 Li yun, Wang Meng-ou, Li-chi chiao-cheng (Taipei: Yi wen, 1976), pp. 146-162, especially, pp. 156-160.

the way of man."441

These passages cited from the Shuo-kua of the Yi-ching also express the unique Confucian idea of a triad. They explained the Ways of Heaven, Earth and Man, respectively. Furthermore, in the Yi-t'ung, Chou praised the virtue of Confucius because he became a triad with Heaven and Earth. In his mind, Confucius was the living embodiment of sagehood.442 On this point Chou's system again finds its characteristically Confucian focus. It is particularly clear in his discussion of the sage. The sage, according to Chou, is the most authentic and genuine man. He establishes himself as the moral standard for all of mankind. Chou said:

The sage orders these affairs by the principles of the Mean, correctness, humaneness, and righteousness443, considering tranquillity to be the ruling factor.444 Thus he establishes

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442"Yi-t'ung, ch. xxxix, CTCS, p. 197.

443Chou's own annotation: "for the way of the sage is none other than these four."

444"Chou's own annotation: "Having no desire, there will therefore be tranquillity."
himself as the ultimate standard for man.\textsuperscript{445}

It is obvious that Chou devoted himself to Confucian ethics by insisting that the sage settles human affairs by the moral principles of the Mean, correctness, humaneness, and righteousness. Chou's sage is a perfect-moral man.\textsuperscript{446} In Chou's moral philosophy this perfect-moral man, who can participate in the production and evolution of all things, is the central figure of the moral universe.

By referring to these four principles, Chou himself might have felt that he faithfully followed the traditional teachings of Confucius, for most Sung Confucians believed that the Book of Changes was actually written by Confucius. Yet the moral teachings of both the Analects and the Mencius are quite different from the religious tenets of the Book of Changes. In general, the latter is more cosmological, while the former are comparatively more ethical in character. Indeed, it is the Book of Changes and the Doctrine of the Mean that contribute much to the development of cosmological or metaphysical speculations in Confucian thought. Chou's intellectual foundation is deeply rooted in the metaphysical

\textsuperscript{445}Explanations of the Diagram, de Bary, et al., eds., Sources of Chinese Tradition, op. cit., p. 514. For jen "humaneness" rather than "humanity" is used in this translation.

\textsuperscript{446}For another aspect of Chou's conception of the sage, see pp. 116-117.
and cosmological theories found in these two works. For example, of the four moral principles, Chou emphasized the Mean and correctness which are both adopted from the Book of Changes. He mentioned strength and weakness being the way of earth; a notion he also borrowed from the Changes. In the Yi-t'ung, Chou frequently used these works to explain his theories. However I do not want to imply that the Analects and the Mencius are not important for Chou's philosophical system. It is clear that, of the four moral standards, humaneness and righteousness are the basis for both Confucius' and Mencius' moral doctrines. Thus, this fact shows that Chou was well-versed in the ethical doctrines of the Analects and the Mencius as well as the metaphysical cosmology of the Book of Changes and the Doctrine of the Mean. What I wish to point out here is that Chou might have believed that he was loyal to the authentic

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447 For the Doctrine of the Mean as the major source of Chou's thought, see the discussion of the Yi-t'ung in chapter 5.

448 It must be noted that strength and weakness are originally Taoist terms. The Ten Wings of the Book of Changes absorbs many important elements of Taoist thought. For this point, see Wang Pao-hsuan, "Tao-chia yin-yang kang-jou shuo yu Hsi-tz'u tso-che wen-t'i," Ch'en Ku-ying, et al., eds., Tao-chiao wen-hua yen-chiu (Shang-hai: Ku chi, 1994) pp. 153-158. Ch'en Ku-ying also wrote some articles regarding this subject.

449 This will be more clear in the discussion of the Yi-t'ung.
teachings of Confucius in using the philosophical ideas of
the Book of Changes because most Sung literati believed that
the Book of Changes was written by Confucius. Yet we
now know that this is not true. Modern scholarship cannot
confirm the genuine author of the Book of Changes. The Ten
Wings portion of it, which was a primary source for Chou's
thought as well as that of other Neo-Confucian thinkers, was
written during the early Han period, although it contains,
to some extent, the teachings of Confucius.

In any case, Chu Hsi unreasonably interpreted the Mean
and correctness as propriety and knowledge, respectively and
he claimed that Chou's four moral standards were exactly the
same as Mencius' four virtues: humaneness, righteousness,
propriety, and knowledge. What Chu Hsi wanted to do was
to show that Chou was faithful to traditional Confucian
norms in establishing his own moral system. It is, however,
clear that the Mean and correctness can not be interpreted
as propriety and knowledge. Chou's usage of these two terms
in the Yi-t'ung shows that propriety and knowledge cannot
satisfactorily replace them.

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450 Very few, like, Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) claimed that
Confucius was not the genuine author of the Ten Wings of the
Book of Changes.

451 For Chu Hsi's interpretations of the Mean and
Correctness, see CTCS, p. 23.

452 See the discussion of the Yi-t'ung below.
As Chou's cosmological speculations were greatly influenced by Taoism and, to a lesser degree, by Buddhism, his accounts of ethical cultivation also possess traces of both Taoist and Buddhist influence. In explanations of the theory of self-cultivation, his emphasis upon tranquillity (ching) and desirelessness (wu-yu) betrays his indebtedness to both Taoist and Buddhist thought. Chou placed the notions of tranquillity and desirelessness, which are important philosophical ideas in both Taoism and Buddhism, at the center of his theory of moral cultivation. He claimed that the sage considers tranquillity as fundamental to self-cultivation. He asserted that by concentrating the mind in tranquillity a man will transform himself into a sage. Further, he interpreted tranquillity as desirelessness. The importance of these two ideas to the path of inner self-cultivation is also emphasized in the Yi-t'ung. In chapter XX entitled "Sagehood and Learning" Chou spoke of oneness as the key to accomplishing sagehood and explained it as desirelessness.\footnote{For more discussions of these two terms, see pp. 139-141.}

If the sage is a man who is able to accomplish a state of profound tranquillity and who is without desires, then this definition is quite different from the conception of the sage as the ultimate moral standard for man. In Chou's
explanations the sage is both the fundamental foundation of the five constant virtues, the source of all moral norms, and one who is in a state of absolute tranquillity without desires. Apparently Chou's idea of the sage was greatly influenced by both Taoist thought and, to a lesser degree, Buddhist thought. In general, the Confucian sage, who is the perfect-moral man, differs from both the "true man (chen jen)" of Taoism and the "Bodhisattva" of Buddhism. The Taoist "true man" is described as one who dwells in a state of non-action and transcends the difference between right and wrong and the Buddhist enlightened being can also be described as one who lives without attachment to things of the world, whereas the Confucian sage is endowed with the virtues of humaneness and righteousness and must face complicated human affairs. Chou seemed to have these different images of the sage in mind. He might have wished to absorb the conception of the true man or that of the enlightened being into the Confucian paradigm for sagehood. In other words, he might have wished to create a new definition of the sage. Yet these seemingly opposing images of the sage remain in Chou's works without resolution.

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454 See above pp. 113-114 and the discussion of the Yi-t'ung ch. i and ch. ii below.
CHAPTER 5

A STUDY OF THE Yi-T'ung

5.1. Ch'eng

While the Explanation of the Diagram is a very terse text, the Yi-t'ung is much longer and replete with concrete explanations of ch'eng,\(^{455}\) chi (incipience), and with discussions of self-improvement, moral activities, human nature and the rites. The Yi-t'ung focuses upon the notion of ch'eng as the fundamental foundation of the sage. In this work Chou depicted the sage as the living embodiment of ch'eng, a term found prominently in the Doctrine of the Mean.\(^{456}\) This term, which is identified with sagehood, is

\(^{455}\)The Chinese term ch'eng has been variously translated as "sincerity" or "sincere" (Chan Wing-tsit and Legge), "authentic" (Robert M. Gimello and J. Adler), "truth" (Bruce, and Carsun Chang), "realness" (Hughes), "sense of truthfulness" (Thome Huang), "veracity [Wahrhaftigkeit]" (Eichhorn and Grube), "perfection [Vollkommenheit]" (Forke). However I found that, as J. Needham explains, it is almost impossible to translate it. Here I transliterate it. It will be clear in the course of our discussion that ch'eng has more than one meaning which these translations do not capture.

\(^{456}\)For an excellent discussion of the meaning of ch'eng in the Classics, see Wu Yi, Chung-yung ch'eng te che-hsueh [A Study of the Philosophy of Ch'eng in the Doctrine of the Mean] (Taipei: Tung ta, 1986), pp. 15-30. Also see U. Libbrecht, "The Concept of Ch'eng, Its Origin, Development and Philosophical Meaning," presented in International
the most important philosophical idea in the *Yi-t'ung*.\(^{457}\)

In the first two chapters, both entitled "ch'eng", Chou was concerned entirely with the conception of ch'eng. There Chou defined this term as sagehood:

> Ch'eng is the [basic] foundation of the sage...
> [It (ch'eng)] is pure and the ultimate goodness.\(^{458}\) Sagehood is nothing more than ch'eng. Ch'eng is the foundation of the five constant virtues and the source of all affairs. [When ch'eng does not come into contact with things] it is tranquil and imperceptible, and [when ch'eng comes into contact with things] it is active and perceptible. [Moreover,] it is the ultimate correctness and that which clearly pervades.\(^{459}\)

The conception of sagehood is interchangeable with ch'eng when a person possesses it. Thus Chou stated that ch'eng is the fundamental characteristic of sagehood. The viewpoint that ch'eng comprises the fundamental nature of

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\(^{457}\)See the comments of Huang Tsung-hsi on Chou's learning in SYHA, p. 306.

\(^{458}\)*Yi-t'ung* ch. i, CTCS, pp. 116-117.

\(^{459}\)*Yi-t'ung*, ch. ii, CTCS, pp. 123-124.
the sage was claimed by Li Ao (d. 844) prior to Chou and in turn Li Ao's view is based on the Chung-yung. For Chou ch'eng is also the fundamental foundation of the five moral principles: humaneness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and trustworthiness. Chou apparently considered that ch'eng is not only a virtue of the sage but also the highest goodness itself. It is the fundamental source of all moral standards: "[If] the five constant

460 It seems that Chou's thought was greatly inspired by Li Ao. In his Fu hsing shu [On Restoring Nature], Li Ao said:

Therefore it is sincerity that the sage takes as his nature, absolutely still and without movement, vast and great, clear and bright, shining on Heaven and Earth. When stimulated he can then penetrate all things in the world. In action or at rest, in speech or in silence, he always remains in the ultimate. See Li, wen kung chi, SPTK ch'u pien, chuan 2, p. 8b. Trans., T.H. Barrett, Li Ao: Buddhist, Taoist, or Neo-Confucian? (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 102. Also see pp. 103-104.

461 It is very clear that here Chou follows the teachings of the Chung-yung. For example, in chapter xxxii it says: Only those who are absolutely ch'eng can order and adjust the great relations of mankind, establish the great foundations of humanity, and know the transforming and nourishing operations of heaven and earth. Does he depend on anything else? How earnest - he is humanity! How deep and unfathomable - he is abyss! How vast and great - he is heaven!
See Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, op. cit., p. 112. "Ch'eng" is used instead of "sincere" in this translation.

virtues and all human affairs are not ch'eng, [then they are] falsehood."463

This suggests that ch'eng contains a metaphysical meaning. Although ch'eng, is commonly considered as an ethical term and thus generally translated as "sincerity," in the Yi-t'ung, ch'eng denotes more than the usual moral connotations in the human social arena. It is elevated to a metaphysical dimension. Chou used ch'eng to integrate the ethical realm with the metaphysical realm. Chou said:

[The Book of Changes says,] "Great is the Originator, Ch'ien-wen. Every thing obtains its beginning from it."464 [It is] the source of ch'eng. [The Book of Changes also says,] "The way of ch'ien is to change and transform [so that all things obtain] their correct nature and destiny."465 In this manner ch'eng is established. [It (ch'eng)] is pure and the utmost goodness... "origination and flourishing" characterize the penetration of ch'eng, and "advantageousness and correctness" are its

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463 Yi-t'ung, ch. ii, CTCS, p. 124.

464 The Book of Changes, the Treatise on the T'uan in hexagram no. 1. See Legge, I Ching, op. cit., p. 213.

465 The Book of Changes, Ibid., see Legge, I Ching, op. cit., p. 213
recovery. Great is the Changes, and [the Changes is] the source of nature and destiny.  

Here the implication of ch'eng is not only ethical but also metaphysical. By citing the statement from the Book of Changes, Chou connected the ethical context of ch'eng to the metaphysical context. These statements cited above obviously show that the Originator, ch'ien-wen, which is actually identified with the Supreme Ultimate, is the fundamental foundation of ch'eng. Chou interlinked the ch'eng of the Chung-yung with the first hexagram ch'ien of the Yi-ching, which symbolizes Heaven. In the cosmology of the Yi-ching, ch'ien is rendered as the emblem of creativity. The Tao of ch'ien transforms the myriad things, and it also takes care of correcting (cheng) their natures and determining (ming)  

the goal of their life. Chou bestowed the creative element of ch'ien on ch'eng. This is the reason why Chu Hsi interpreted ch'eng as the Supreme Ultimate.  

As the ultimate origin of the universe, the Supreme Ultimate must be good, otherwise the whole world would be evil. Ch'eng as the ultimate source of moral

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466Yi-t'ung, ch.i, CTCS, pp. 116-119.

467It is symbolized as the Mandate of Heaven.

468Chu Hsi also interpreted ch'eng as the realized principle (shih li). See Chu Hsi's comments for ch. i, CTCS, p. 116.
principle, must also be good. It is described as being pure and the highest good. Therefore, it can be considered the same as the Supreme Ultimate, the utmost origin of the phenomenal world. In this manner, Chu Hsi's exposition is theoretically correct, but Chou, as seen in the above quotation, explained that the Originator, ch'ien-wen, is "the source of ch'eng." This means that Chou did not consider ch'eng to be exactly the same as the Supreme Ultimate. In this chapter, Chou seems to regard ch'eng as one virtue of the Supreme Ultimate.

Yet many scholars interpret ch'eng as being equal to the Supreme Ultimate.\footnote{For example, see Ueno Tsutomu, "Shu Ton-yi no Shuyoko" [Discussion of the Theory of Cultivation in Chou's Thought], in Yomeikagu no. 6 (1994), pp. 55-56. Wang K'ai-fu, "T'ai-chi t'u shuo k'ao pien" [Discussion of the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate] in Chiao-hsueh yen-chiu no. 1, Feb. (1979), pp. 66-67. Wu K'ang, "Chou Tun-yi hsueh shuo yen-chiu" [A Study of Chou Tun-yi's thought] in Chung-kuo che-hsueh ssu-hsiang lun-chi (Taipei: Mu t'ung, 1977), pp. 130-134. Lo Kuang criticized Wu K'ang's view on ch'eng, see Lun Chou Lien-hsi t'ung-shu te ch'eng [Discussion of Ch'eng of Chou Lien-hsi], Jen-wen hsueh-pao no. 1 Sep. (1970), p. 17.} From the axiological point of view, absolute ch'eng is the utmost goodness, and it has an ontological or metaphysical aspect: it is the fundamental ground of all beings. In this sense, it is rendered as equivalent to the Supreme Ultimate. In the Yi-t'ung, ch'eng is defined as the state of "absolute quiet and inactivity
Chou also stated, "in ch'eng there is no moving (wu-wei)." These expressions, "chi-jan pu tung" and "wu-wei," are initially employed in the Yi-ching to praise the mysterious efficacy of yi (change): "In yi, there is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement." In the history of Chinese philosophy, these two passages are used to refer to the essential state of an entity. Indeed, these passages of the Yi-ching set the pattern for the Neo-Confucian theory of a substance and its function. Chou applied them to describe the fundamental state of the utmost ch'eng. This means that in Chou's mind ch'eng is sometimes considered to be a substance, or the equivalent of it. Therefore, the claim that ch'eng is identified with the Supreme Ultimate has theoretical ground.

470 Yi-t'ung ch. iv, CTCS, p. 135.
471 Yi-t'ung, ch. iii, CTCS, p. 126. Mou Tsung-san claims that wu-wei here is derived not from the Lao-tzu but the Yi-ching (Hsi-tzu A10.4) But the meaning of wu-wei in these two works is the same. It signifies something like non-intentional action. I think that Mou should have explained how they are different. See Hsin-t'i yu hsing-t'i (Taipei: Cheng chung, 1968), vol. 1, p. 331. Adler follows Mou. See "The Mind of the Sage: Chu Hsi's Appropriation of Chou Tun-I," New England Symposium on Chinese Thought, May 16 (1992), p. 23.
473 "What is quiet is substance and what penetrates things is function." Wing-tsit Chan's comment on the Hsi-t'zu, see Source Book op. cit., p. 267.
As a matter of fact, the conception of *ch'eng* as a metaphysical principle\(^{474}\) is present already in the *Doctrine of the Mean* prior to Chou. Among many examples, the representative one is that which comes at the beginning of chapter XXV:

*Ch'eng* means the completion of the self, and the Way is self-directing. *Ch'eng* is the beginning and end of things. Without *ch'eng* there would be nothing. Therefore the superior man values *ch'eng*. *Ch'eng* is not only the completion of one's own self, it is that by which all things are completed.\(^{475}\)

*Ch'eng* is the fundamental foundation of all existence. *Ch'eng* is the end as well as the beginning of all beings. Without it there would exist no beings. It is indeed the creative power of the universe. In chapter XXVI absolute *ch'eng* (chih *ch'eng*) is described as a cosmic power.\(^{476}\)

Therefore absolute *ch'eng* is ceaseless. Being

\(^{474}\)Many scholars discuss this point. For example, see Takeuchi Yoshio, *Takeuchi Yoshio zenshu*, vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 83-86.

\(^{475}\)Wing-tsit Chan, *Source Book*, op. cit., p. 108. For *ch'eng*, *ch'eng* rather than "sincerity" is used in this translation.

ceaseless, it is lasting. Being lasting, it is evident. Being evident, it is infinite. Being infinite, it is extensive and deep. Being extensive and deep, it is high and brilliant... In being extensive and deep, it is a counterpart of Earth. In being high and brilliant, it is a counterpart of Heaven. In being infinite and lasting, it is unlimited. Such being its nature, it becomes prominent without any display, produces changes without motion, and accomplishes its ends without action.477

It is clear that in these two chapters the author of the Doctrine of the Mean describes the metaphysical aspect of ch'eng; it is the existential ground of all things. Thus, Libbrecht interprets ch'eng of the Chung-yung as the cosmic power which gives life to everything.478 The Doctrine of the Mean also says that "Ch'eng is the Tao of Heaven; to apply oneself to ch'eng is the Tao of man,"479 Similarly, the Mencius says, "Hence being ch'eng is the Way


of Heaven; to reflect upon this is the Way of Man."\textsuperscript{480}

Ch'\textsuperscript{eng} as the Way of Heaven is apparently different from "sincerity" as a personal quality. These two statements in the Mencius and the Doctrine of the Mean concisely express ch\textsuperscript{eng} as the substantial virtue of the Heavenly Tao. One might say that Heaven has ch\textsuperscript{eng} itself, since ch\textsuperscript{eng} faithfully follows its true nature and does nothing against its Tao. This aspect of ch\textsuperscript{eng} causes some scholars to interpret the ch\textsuperscript{eng} of the Doctrine of the Mean as Heaven itself, which is theoretically rendered as the Originator, Ch\textsuperscript{ien-wen}, in the Yi-ching.\textsuperscript{481}

Therefore, one can see that the common translation of ch\textsuperscript{eng}, namely "sincerity" completely ignores its metaphysical implications. Yet its metaphysical

\textsuperscript{480}Mencius, 4a: 12, trans., D. C. Lau, Mencius (London: Penguin Classics, 1970), p. 123. "Ch\textsuperscript{eng}" is used instead of "true" in this translation.

There is a way for him to please his parents. If upon looking within he finds that he has not been ch\textsuperscript{eng} to himself, he will not please his parents. There is a way for him to become ch\textsuperscript{eng} to himself. If he does not understand goodness he cannot be ch\textsuperscript{eng} to himself. Hence being ch\textsuperscript{eng} is the Way of Heaven; to reflect upon this is the Way of man.

The similarity of these two passages leads scholars to conclude that the Chung-yung is a Mencian text of the late Warring States or early Han. See Benjamin I. Schwartz, The World of Thought in Ancient China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 404-406. A.C. Graham, Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argumentation in Ancient China (Illinois: Open Court, 1989), pp. 132-137.

\textsuperscript{481}For example, Fung Yu-lan, trans., Bodde, History of Chinese Philosophy op. cit., vol. 1, p. 375-376.
significance seems too obvious to be overlooked. In brief, there are two distinct meanings of ch'eng, the ethical and the metaphysical. Chu Hsi defined ch'eng in these two distinct ways.⁴⁸² These two meanings of ch'eng are fully developed both in the Chung-yung⁴⁸³ and later in the Yi-t'ung. In this sense, one can say that Chou was apparently loyal to the teachings of the Doctrine of the Mean. The following paragraph taken from the Doctrine of the Mean shows how Chou was faithful to the spirit of this text.

Only those who are absolutely ch'eng can fully develop their nature. If they can fully develop their nature, they can then fully develop the nature of others. If they can fully develop the nature of others, they can then fully develop the nature of things. If they can fully develop the nature of things, they can then assist in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and


Earth. If they can assist in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth, they can thus form a trinity with Heaven and Earth.\textsuperscript{484}

The individual natures of men and other things are all received from Heaven\textsuperscript{485}, and so the man who can fully develop his own nature can do the same for the natures of other people and things. The man who attains perfect ch'\textsuperscript{eng} can assist the transforming and nourishing operations of Heaven and Earth, and thus form a trinity with them. Such a man is called a sage. The state of sagehood is harmonious with Heaven and man and ch'\textsuperscript{eng} is the quality which brings them together. Consistent with this spirit Chou said, "Ch'\textsuperscript{eng} is the [basic] foundation of the sage," and "Sagehood is nothing more than ch'\textsuperscript{eng}."\textsuperscript{486}

5.2 Incipience (chi)

Ch'\textsuperscript{eng} is the essential nature of the Heavenly Tao (t'\textsuperscript{i}en-t\textsuperscript{ao}), thus it must be the utmost goodness. The sage


\textsuperscript{485}"What Heaven (T'\textsuperscript{i}en, Nature) imparts to man is called human nature." ch. i, trans., Wing-tsit Chan, \textit{Source Book}, op. cit., p. 98.

\textsuperscript{486}Tu Wei-ming, "The Neo-Confucian Concept of Man," in \textit{Humanity and Self-Cultivation} (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979), pp. 72-73.
as the particular embodiment of ch'eng manifests authentic and genuine humanity and he settles human affairs by moral principles. But how does evil take place? After Chou explained ch'eng as pure good, he employed the term incipience (chi) to expound the problem of evil.

In ch'eng there is no moving, and in incipience (chi) there is the demarcation of goodness and evil.

Chou continued:

"That which is still and unmoving" is ch'eng. "That which penetrates [all beings] when stimulated" is spirit. That which is moving but [has not manifested] in physical form between existence and nonexistence is incipience. Ch'eng is pure and hence clear. The spirit is responsive and therefore mysterious. The incipience is subtle and therefore abstruse.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to understand the meaning of incipience based on Chou's exposition of it.

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488Yi-t'ung, ch. iii, CTCS, p. 126.

489Yi-t'ung, ch. iv, CTCS, p. 135.
It must first be noted that Chou adopted the term incipience from the *Yi-ching*:

The system of Change is that by which the sage reaches the utmost of things and examines their subtle incipience (chi, subtle activating force). Only through depth can the will of all men be penetrated, only through subtle activation can all undertakings in the world be brought to completion; and only through spirit is there speed without hurry and the destination reached without travel.490

Along with the term shen (spirit), incipience is apparently taken from these passages of the *Great Appendix of the Yi-ching*. The fact that many ideas of Chou are rooted in the *Great Appendix of the Yi-ching* is frequently mentioned by scholars, but the origin of the term incipience is hardly treated. Thus the above quotation is further evidence for supporting the view that the *Yi-ching* is a tremendously important source for Chou's philosophical system. To simply identify its source does not, however, illustrate what particular meaning the term, "incipience," has for Chou.

490Hsi-tz'u chuan A.10, trans., Wing-tsit Chan, *Source Book*, op. cit., p. 207. For chi, "incipience" rather than "emergence" is used in this translation.
In the *Yi-t'ung* the idea of incipience signifies the incipient activity of the human mind. If it is not interpreted in terms of the first subtle movement of the mind, then one will not understand Chou’s statements cited above, and hence will not grasp Chou’s purpose. What Chou explained is that in *ch'eng* [-mind] as the state of "absolute quiet and inactivity" there is no activity of the mind, but in the next level, in incipience, there is an initial, subtle sign of human mental activity. With this activity of the mind (*hsin tung*) not only morality but also human desires arise. Consequently, there must be intentional human behaviors (*wei*), and in both human desires and human behaviors good and evil necessarily happen. Thus Chou emphasized that a superior man is cautious not to act contrary to the moral code. A superior man patterns his behavior according to correctness (*cheng*). Chapter V of the *Yi-t'ung* entitled "Action with Caution" says:

Moving but [remaining] correct is called the Way. Functioning but [remaining] harmonious is called virtue... Depraved action is disgraceful. [If you] go to an extreme, [it is] dangerous. Therefore, a *chun-tzu* (superior man) is careful in action.\(^\text{491}\)

\(^{491}\)*Yi-t'ung* ch. v, CTCS, pp. 137-138. Also see ch. xxxi "Will we not be careful in our action?" CTCS, p. 187.
By using the Confucian theories found both in the Yi-ching and the Chung-yung Chou's notion of incipience can be interpreted as follows. The original ch'eng [-mind] is the state of the absolute tranquillity (chi-jan pu tung) of an entity and the idea of incipience means that this ch'eng [-mind] is stimulated by external things (kan erh sui t'ung). The stimulation of the tranquil substance of the mind would result in the incipient activity of the mind. As soon as the subtle beginning of mental activity arises, thought appears. As soon as thought appears the moral mind as the essential state of ch'eng [-mind] and human desires as the deviated state of ch'eng [-mind] activate. Consequently moral and abnormal behaviors appear. The Chung-yung used the concept of chung (equilibrium) to describe the original state of the mind:

Before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are aroused it is called equilibrium.\(^{492}\)

Equilibrium indicates the state of the original moral mind, which specifically refers to the absence of any desire in the mind. In the Chung-yung the state of the human mind being free from desire is depicted as a virtuous state wherein the superior man's nature is completely consistent

\(^{492}\)Ch. i, trans., Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book op. cit., p. 98.
with the Tao of Heaven. If one applies this meaning of equilibrium to Chou's accounts of ch'eng, one will realize that both of them describe the state of the initial moral mind. That is, ch'eng [-mind], like the equilibrium of the Chung-yung, is not yet stimulated by external things. It exists in a state of "absolute quiet and inactivity." The Chung-yung also says:

When these feelings are aroused and each and all attain due measure and degree, it is called harmony.

This explains that when the still substance of the ch'eng [-mind] is stimulated (kan), it follows the appropriate moral principles. If it does not deviate from the moral standards of the Tao of Heaven then no evil would be perpetrated, thus it is called harmony (ho). In the Chung-yung, both equilibrium and harmony depict the superior man's state of mind: the former connotes the natural state of the mind and the latter connotes self-reflection on the movement of the mind. Therefore, it is quite clear that

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493 The notion of equilibrium with regard to the state of a superior man is discussed in detail in the first nineteen chapters of the Chung-yung.

494 Ch. i, trans., Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, op. cit., p. 98.

495 In the Chung Yung, equilibrium is the great foundation of the world and harmony is its universal path. See ch. i, trans., Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, op. cit., p.
Chou's two philosophical ideas, ch'eng and incipience, are deeply rooted in the theories of the Yi-ching and Chung-yung.

To grasp Chou's own purpose one must be careful about relying too heavily on Chu Hsi, for his interpretations of Chou's thought are also expressions of his own philosophical theories. Regarding the problem of interpreting incipience, however, Chu Hsi's comments greatly help us grasp Chou's original meaning. Chu Hsi said:

Incipience is the imperceptible subtle [sign] of [mental] activity. [In incipience] good and evil are divided. In the first subtle movement of the human mind the principle of Heaven is certainly [also] manifested [with the movement of the human mind]; yet human desires have also sprouted with it.496

It should be first noted that Chu Hsi interpreted the notion of incipience in terms of the imperceptible subtle beginning of mental activity.497 He considered Chou's

496 Yi-t'ung, CTCS, p. 126. Here I referred to Adler's translation.

497 For Chu Hsi's comment on incipience, see Adler, "Divination and Philosophy: Chu Hsi's Understanding of I Ching," Dissertation, University of California Santa Barbara 1984, pp. 246-253.
incipience as the subtle movement of the mind through the stimulation of external things.⁴⁹⁸ He also pointed out that in incipience there must be human desires. What is significant is that it is at this incipient point of mental activity that the moral effort of self-improvement should be directed, for in incipience both the original moral mind and human desires arise simultaneously. These human desires must be, of course, guided or suppressed by moral principle. This is where moral effort must be directed and the process of sorting out good from evil has to occur.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, in incipience one can see the need for inner moral cultivation. The following figure will clarify where self-improvement is required:

![Diagram]

⁴⁹⁸In a recent study, U. Libbrecht fails to indicate this point when he discusses Chou's conception of chi. See "The Concept of ch'eng, its Origin Development and Philosophical Meaning," op. cit., pp. 25-26.

Hu Hung interpreted Chou's discussion from ch'eng to incipience, being either the moral mind or human desires, as the "same substance [and] different function (t'ung-t'i yi-yung)." Here "same substance," of course, refers to ch'eng and "different function" means good and evil as the result of the activity of ch'eng. Chao Chih-tao (fl. 1190), one of Chu Hsi's disciples, arranged Hu Hung's interpretation about the relationship of ch'eng and incipience as follows:

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500Hu Hung, Chih-yen [On Understanding Words], cited in CTCS, p. 130.

501For more information on Chao Chih-tao's life, see Wing-tsit Chan, Chu-tzu men jen [Chu Hsi's Disciples] (Taipei: Hsueh-sheng 1982), pp. 293-294.
This figure shows that Hu Hung believed that both the moral mind and human desires are derived from the same fundamental source, *ch'eng*. Hu Hung's misinterpretation of Chou's purpose is clear because he supposed that human desires, which themselves are regarded as evil by the Neo-Confucians, take its origin from pure goodness. In Hu Hung's understanding, good and evil are mutually opposed conditions, but it is clear that the moral mind (good) is the result of the "legitimate (tsung)" process associated with *ch'eng* and human desires (evil) are the result of the "illegitimate (nieh)" process associated with *ch'eng*. If good and evil exist within the same dimension as a result of the activity of *ch'eng* [-mind], then *ch'eng* itself contains something evil; it is an ontologically impossible. Furthermore, it also signifies that there would

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502 This figure is seen in CTCS, p. 131.
503 For Chao Chih-tao's expression, see CTCS, p. 131.
504 Ibid.
be no place for self-examination. In other words, the whole Neo-Confucian theory of moral cultivation would be meaningless. The moral mind must result from the activity of ch'eng, while human desires must be regarded as the deviant branch of its activity. Therefore, Chao Chih-tao was entirely correct when he said "What comes out straight [from ch'eng] is good; what comes out deviant [from ch'eng] is evil." 505

It is clear that Chao Chih-tao's expositions of Chou's ideas are generally correct, yet the question still remains: if ch'eng is pure goodness how can evil arise from the activity of ch'eng? More simply put how can evil derive from pure goodness? 506 Chou Tun-yi and Chu Hsi both could not answer this question. Indeed, they did not know that their expositions on the relationship between ch'eng and human desires contain a serious defect.

Moreover, it must be noted that this question can be applied to the entire Neo-Confucian system. Chu Hsi's interpretation of the conception of incipience hints at the Neo-Confucian doctrine of "keeping the principle of Heaven and eliminating human desires (ts'un t'ien-li, ch'u jen-

505 Yi-t'ung, CTCS, p. 131.

506 This is similar to the so-called "problem of evil" in western philosophy.
This statement is one of the representative teachings of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. It places inner moral cultivation at the heart of the Neo-Confucian self-cultivation process. One needs inner self-cultivation to extirpate human desires. In other words, this is the same process of segregating the original [moral] nature, which Heaven endows on man, from the physical nature which is the "deviant" branch of the original [moral] nature. These two terms, the original moral nature (pen-jan chih hsing) and the physical nature (ch'i-chih chih hsing), are Chang Tsai's great contributions to Neo-Confucian philosophy. They are used to emphasize the importance of inner self-examination. Extirpating the physical nature is the primary path for recovering the pure good nature. For all Neo-Confucians the aim of learning is "to transform this material endowment (pien-hua ch'i-chih)," that is to cultivate the innate moral potential produced by Heaven. In brief, Chou's incipience is the intellectual bud of the Neo-Confucian theory of inner self-realization. Here one can

507For Chu Hsi's interpretation, see Ch'ien Mu, Chu-tzu hsin hsueh an [A New Scholarly record of Chu Hsi] (Taipei: San min, 1971), vol. 1, pp. 406-419.

again see how Chou paved the way for the intellectual foundation of Neo-Confucianism and how he determined its direction.

Yet everything in the world, according to the Neo-Confucians, is created and governed by the Tao of Heaven and the principle of Heaven is immanent in every being. Chu Hsi expressed this in terms of "the outflowing of the Mandate of Heaven [in the world] (t'ien-ming chih liu-hsing)." So then how can human desires be evil? How can evil desires be out of the control of the Tao of Heaven? It is logically impossible to suppose that their power surpasses the Heavenly principle. Chou, like other Confucians, claimed that "[When] the Heavenly way operates, all things comply with [it]." Therefore, to answer these questions Chou must illustrate how and why this rule does not apply to human desires. For the case of incipience, he must explicate how ch'eng, being pure goodness, can produce evil. Chou Tun-yi like other great Neo-Confucian thinkers could not successfully solve these problems.  

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509 Yi-t'ung, ch. xi, CTCS, P. 150.

510 Neo-Confucians, of course, tried to solve this problem. As a matter of fact, Chang Tsai offered the theory of the original moral nature and the physical nature to answer the question about where evil comes from. Yet both the moral nature and the physical nature are endowed by Heaven as the Chung-yung says, "What Heaven imparts to man is called human nature." Thus the question still remains: how can the physical nature which is also endowed by Heaven
5.3 A Theory of Cultivation

The theory of inner self-cultivation is one of the most significant branches of Chou's moral doctrines. Chou emphasized the peculiar Confucian claim that man can achieve sagehood through learning. When Chou was asked whether or not man can become a sage, he answered that there is only one way to accomplish sagehood. This singular way is "having no desire (wu-yu)," Chou said:

[Question:] "Can sagehood be learned?" [Reply:] "It can" [Question:] "Is there any main point?" [Reply:] "Yes" [Question:] "I beg to hear it." [Reply:] "The singular way is necessary. This singular way is to have no desire. When a man is without desire, then he will be empty when tranquil and upright when active. Being empty when tranquil, [his mind] will be clear; being clear, [his mind] will be penetrating. Being upright in activity, [he] can be impartial; being impartial [he] can be all-embracing. Being clear

be evil? Chu Hsi also explained this problem many times but he failed to solve it. For example, see Chu-tzu ch'uan-shu 43:46, trans. Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, op. cit., pp. 624-5. Wing-tsit Chan believes that Chang Tsai's theory of the physical nature is the answer to this problem. See "The Neo-Confucian Solution of the Problem of Evil," op. cit., pp. 88-112.
and penetrating, impartial and all-embracing are close to Sagehood.\footnote{\textit{Yi-t'ung}, chapter, xx, CTCS., p. 165.}

I already discussed this idea above. Chou mentioned "having no desire" as the way of the sage in the \textit{Explanation of the Diagram}. The important point is that the Buddhist and the Taoist influences on this idea are remarkable.\footnote{Wing-tsit Chan maintains that it is Taoism rather than Buddhism that influences Chou on this point. See \textit{Source Book}, op. cit., pp. 473-474. Lo Kuang claims, however, that it is Buddhist influence. See \textit{Lun Chou Lien-hsi t'ung-shu te ch'eng} [Discussion of Ch'eng of Chou Lien-hsi], Jen wen hsueh pao no. 1, Sep. (1970), p. 23. I think that it is both.} Prior to Chou Tun-yi, Confucians never maintained having no desire as a path to self-realization, although Mencius once advocated lessening desire to nurture the mind.\footnote{Mencius, 7B:35 "There is nothing better for the nurturing of the heart than to reduce the number of one's desire." Trans., D. C. Lau, op. cit., p. 201.} Extinguishing human desires is the basic Buddhist approach to liberation. Lao Tzu also strongly advocated the importance of desirelessness for self-cultivation.\footnote{\textit{Lao-tzu}, ch. xxxvii.} Chu Hsi wished to save Chou from the influences of Buddhism and Taoism by interpreting that having no desire is the same as
Ch'eng Yi's "inner mental attentiveness (ching)". In fact, Ch'eng Yi used "inner mental attentiveness" instead of Chou's desirelessness and tranquility (ching) in his theory of moral cultivation in order to eliminate the Buddhist and Taoist ethos implied by the term. For example, when Ch'eng Yi was asked whether "inner mental attentiveness" is the same as tranquility, he replied that one should not use tranquility because it is a Buddhist term. In any case, desirelessness and "inner mental attentiveness" apparently have different philosophical antecedents and thus their implications cannot be interpreted as being the same. Chu Hsi himself was well aware that the term desirelessness contains Buddhist and Taoist nuances and hence he could not but say that although this idea is eloquent it contains an unexpected difficulty.

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516 For Ch'eng Yi, ching is a state of mind that "emphasizes unity (chu yi)". See Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers, op. cit., pp. 67-72. Graham translates it as "composure". Ch'eng Yi said that ch'eng is the substance and ching is its function. See Graham, p. 72.

517 Yi-t'ung, CTCS, ch. xx, p. 165. J. Adler mentions that Chu Hsi did not criticize Chou, however, I must note that, as we can see here, this is not true. Chu Hsi also indicated that Chou's interpretation of equilibrium (chung) does not fit the original teaching of the Chung-yung. See Chu Hsi's comments on ch. vii, CTCS, p. 141.
It should be noted that although Chou claimed that desirelessness is the singular way to achieve sagehood, in a strict sense, it cannot be considered as a process of inner self-realization. Rather, it must be understood as the final result of moral cultivation. From Chou's point of view a man who has achieved the state of desirelessness is a sage, and one can become a sage through the process of self-cultivation. Therefore, it is clear that Chou confounded the process of inner self-improvement with the final result of it.\textsuperscript{518}

5.4 Nature (Hsing)

The theory of human nature plays a central role in the Confucian system. Ever since the debate between Mencius and Kao Tzu (fourth century B.C.E.), the discussion of nature became an important topic for Chinese thinkers. It has always fascinated Chinese intellectuals, even those who are not interested in philosophical issues. The representative opinions of Mencius and Hsun Tzu are too famous to explain. Many Chinese thinkers held a position somewhere between Mencius' view that human nature is good and Hsun Tzu's opinion that it is evil. Eliminating Hsun Tzu's and

\textsuperscript{518}Lao Ssu-kuang, \textit{Chung-kuo che-hsueh shih}, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 120-122.
Mencius' views, theories on human nature espoused by Chinese thinkers prior to Chou Tun-yi can be arranged as following:

a. Kao Tzu claimed that nature is neither good nor bad. It is neutral in the sense that it can be either good or evil. Whether it is good or evil is the result of education and habit. 519

b. Tung Chung-shu's (174-104 B.C.E.) theory of human nature was an attempt to harmonize the viewpoints of both Mencius and Hsun Tzu. Tung Chung-shu maintained that although nature contains elements of goodness, it cannot itself be considered good. According to him, goodness is like a kernel of grain and nature is like the stalk of the grain. As the stalk produces a kernel, nature produces goodness, yet as the stalk is not a kernel itself, the nature cannot be equated with goodness. The silk cocoon, for example, contains silk fibers but it cannot be regarded as silk itself. 520 He believed that a good nature is the result of instruction and perception. It must be noted that Tung Chung-shu's theory of human nature focuses only on the nature of the average man. He said "What I call nature does not refer to that of the highest or lowest class, but is


that of the average."\(^{521}\) Besides the nature of the average man, there are the natures of the sage and the mean. This idea influenced Han Yu's (768-824) theory of the three grades of nature.

c. Yang Hsiung (52 B.C.E. - A.D.18) argued that human nature is a mixture of good and evil. If one cultivates good elements, one becomes a good man, but if one cultivates evil elements, one becomes an evil man.\(^{522}\) Apparently Yang Hsiung also tried to reconcile the divergent points of Mencius and Hsun Tzu.

d. Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27-ca. 100) maintained that Mencius' view of human nature applies to men above the average, while that of Hsun Tzu's refers to men below the average. What Yang Hsiung calls the absolute mixture of good and evil, Wang Ch'ung argues, refers to the average man. Apparently, Wang merely united the views of these three thinkers. Wang Ch'ung claimed that evil nature can be changed to good through moral cultivation.\(^{523}\)


\(^{523}\)Lun heng, chuan 13 and 4, see Fung Yu-lan, trans., Bodde, A History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 161-162.
e. Seven hundred years later Han Yu developed the views of both Tung Chung-shu and Wang Ch'ung by maintaining that there are three grades of human nature: they are the superior, the intermediate and the inferior. The superior is good, and good only. The inferior is evil, and evil only. Only the intermediate can be changed: it may become good or evil.\textsuperscript{524} Han Yu rejected Wang Ch'ung's view that evil nature can be changed to good through self-cultivation.

Han Yu's theory of the three grades of nature might have affected Chou Tun-yi's accounts of human nature, for Chou claimed that there are five different types of human nature. He said, "In human nature there are only strength and softness, good and evil, and the Mean."\textsuperscript{525} It is somewhat surprising that Chou, a man considered to be the successor of ancient Confucianism, did not follow Mencius's view that human nature is fundamentally good.\textsuperscript{526} Chou considered that of these five natures, the ideal human nature is that of the Mean. Chou said:


\textsuperscript{525}\textit{Yi-t'ung}, ch. vii, CTCS, p. 140. Graham mistranslated this sentence. See \textit{Two Chinese Philosophers}, op. cit., p. 46. Adler follows Graham in his translation. forthcoming.

\textsuperscript{526}In early Sung China the authority of Mencius had not yet been accepted by the Sung literati. Fung Yu-lan thinks that Chou followed Mencius in his theory of human nature, yet this is not true. See below.
[When human nature] is strong and good, it can be righteous, upright, decisive, dignified and firm. [When human nature] is strong and evil, [it can be] violent, narrow and obstinate. [When human nature] is soft and good, [it can be] compassionate, docile and modest. [When human nature] is soft and evil, [it can be] weak, indecisive and perverse. Only the Mean is harmonious, 'moderately regulated' and 'the ultimate way of the world.' These are the affairs for the sage. Therefore, the sage establishes education so as to enable common people to change their evil [natures] by themselves, and to reach the Mean and remain there.\(^{527}\)

Chou reiterated the same point in chapter XXII:

The strong [nature] can become good or evil, and the soft [nature] is also the same. [Ideal human nature] lies in the Mean [between strength and softness].\(^{528}\)

Chou claimed that man can change his evil nature through moral education and that he should attain the Mean [nature] and remain there. In appearance his theory looks

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\(^{527}\text{Yi-t'ung ch. vii, CTCS, pp. 140-141.}\)

\(^{528}\text{Yi-t'ung, ch. xxii, CTCS, p. 168.}\)
like a developed form of Han Yu's views, yet his accounts contain a major problem. It is very hard to illustrate the exact relationship between the Mean nature and the good nature in Chou's accounts. There is no problem in saying that "Ideal human nature lies in the Mean [between strength and softness]," and thus it is neither strong nor soft. Yet if ideal human nature lies in the Mean between good and evil, this means that the state of the ideal human nature is neither good nor evil. If he claims, as Kao Tzu did, that nature is originally neutral, it would be no problem at all, but it is unreasonable to think that the ideal human nature is neutral. It must be good according to the Confucian moral perspective. Chou suggested that the Mean nature and the evil nature are pitted against one another when he said that common people can change their evil tendencies through education and attain the Mean nature. In this manner, evil nature is not opposed to the concept of good nature. Rather, it is opposed to the Mean nature. One might think that Chou may have considered the Mean nature as good. Yet if the Mean nature refers to the good nature, it is redundant to use the term Mean nature in addition to the term good nature. And if the Mean nature is not good what Chou wished to say is not clear at all. Chou should have

See Yi-t'ung, ch. vii, cited above.
explained his ideas about the Mean nature more clearly. It is clear that Chou's expositions of human nature contain a theoretical defect.
I have already discussed the relationship between the Explanation of the Diagram and Yi-t'ung in the section dealing with the polemic between the Lu brothers and Chu Hsi.\(^{531}\) Lu Chiu-shao maintained that the Yi-t'ung is different from the Explanation of the Diagram in style, and thus it might be either another person's work or the product of Chou's immature thinking.\(^{532}\) Contrary to this point, Chu Hsi affirmed that these two works were written by Chou Tun-yi, and claimed that the Yi-t'ung is a commentary on the Explanation of the Diagram. He said, "All words of the Yi-t'ung explain the profound [doctrines] of the Explanation of the Diagram."\(^{533}\)

Although Chu Hsi went too far in

\(^{530}\)It is very important for one to understand the relationship between these two works. In order to explain their relationship I have to repeat some of the points I discussed above.

\(^{531}\)For this debate, see chapter 4.

\(^{532}\)CTCS, p. 39.

\(^{533}\)The Postscript to the T'ai-chi t'u shuo and the T'ung-shu, CTCS, pp. 206-207.
believing that the Yi-t'ung is a commentary on the Explanation of the Diagram, his idea that these two works were written by the same author and that they are theoretically interlinked to each other seems to be true.

In general, Chou's two works are undoubtedly based on the cosmological speculations of the Yi-ching. The influence of the Yi-ching on the Explanation of the Diagram is generally accepted by scholars. The Yi-t'ung too was heavily impacted by the Yi-ching. In this work, Chou directly cited the words of the Yi-ching in many chapters to illustrate his thought. He even entitled some chapters with the names of the hexagrams. For example, the hexagrams Ch'ien (Heaven), Sun (diminish), Yi (increase), Chia-jen (family) and K'uei (opposition) are employed as titles. Furthermore, Chou praised the efficacy of the Yi-ching in both of his works. In the last sentence of the Explanation of the Diagram, Chou praised the Changes by saying, "Great is the Book of Changes! Here lies its excellence." And the last sentence of the first chapter of the Yi-t'ung also says "Great is the Changes, and [the Changes] is the source of nature and destiny."

It would be desirable to see more specific examples for

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534 For example, see Yi-t'ung, ch. xxxi, xxxii and lx.

535 de Bary et al., eds., Sources of Chinese Tradition, op. cit., p. 514.
confirming the view that the *Yi-t'ung* is consistent with the intellectual atmosphere of the *Explanation of the Diagram*. Chou considered the Supreme Ultimate as the original source from which all things come. Through movement and tranquility, it produces two cosmic vital forces, yin and yang, which in turn transform and unite to generate the five agents. They are the immediate materials by which every thing comes into existence. This evolutionary process from one to two, from two to five, and from five to all things also appears in chapter xxii of the *Yi-t'ung*:

> The two vital forces and the five agents transform and produce the myriad things. The five [agents constitute] the differential characteristics of [the myriad things] and the two [vital forces constitute] their actuality. These two are fundamentally one.536

"Fundamentally one" quoted in the last sentence refers to the Supreme Ultimate. Therefore the evolutionary process of the universe seen in this paragraph is the same as that in the *Explanation of the Diagram*.

In the same chapter, Chou expounded the concepts of principle, nature, and the Mandate of Heaven, which provide the Neo-Confucians with a theoretical structure. The most

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536 *Yi-t'ung*, ch. xxii, CTCS, p. 168.
important philosophical ideas in this chapter may be the conception of li-yi fen-shu. Although Ch'eng Yi is responsible for making this a cardinal doctrine in the whole of Neo-Confucian thought, the idea that principle is one but it is manifested in many different ways is already mentioned in Chou's works. Chou said:

[Accordingly the many are one and the one is substantially divided into the many. [If] both the one and the many are correct, [then] both the large and the small have their definite [duties].]

As Chu Hsi indicated, the fundamental tenet of Neo-Confucian thought that principle is one but it is expressed in many ways is here implied. What Chou meant is that the Supreme Ultimate as a substance (t'ie) is one but its manifestations (yung) are many. This means that the Supreme Ultimate is immanent in the myriad things. In other place of the Yi-t'ung, Chou similarly said, "The five agents are yin and yang, and yin and yang are the Supreme Ultimate." This signifies that the Supreme Ultimate generates yin and yang, the five agents, and the myriad

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538Yi-t'ung ch. xxii, CTCS, p. 168.

539Yi-t'ung, ch. xvi, CTCS, p. 158.
things and it is immanent in these things. The same idea is also found in the *Explanation of the Diagram*: "The five agents constitute one system of *yin* and *yang*, and *yin* and *yang* constitute one Supreme Ultimate."\(^{540}\) If one adds the sentence that the myriad things constitute one system of the five agents to the head of the above passages then one can see that it actually implies the notion of *li-yi fen-shu*. In brief, the fundamental doctrine of Neo-Confucian thought, *li-yi fen-shu*, is found in both of Chou's works.\(^{541}\)

Another similarity between Chou's two works is found in the idea that mutually opposite things become the source of each other. The *Explanation of the Diagram* says, "Thus movement and tranquillity alternate and become the root of each other." Similarly the *Yi-t'ung* says, "[Although] water is *yin*, it is rooted in *yang*. [similarly, even though] fire is *yang*, it is rooted in *yin*."\(^{542}\) Movement and tranquillity are the representative examples of the conceptions of *yang* and *yin*, respectively. Therefore, the above passages apparently express the same idea.

\(^{540}\)de Bary et. al., ed., *Source of Chinese Tradition*, op. cit., p.513

\(^{541}\)Wing-tsit Chan points out that the idea of *li-yi fen-shu* is implied in chapter xxii of the *Yi-t'ung*, yet he fails to indicate that the *Explanation of the Diagram* also contains it. See *Source Book*, pp. 474-476.

\(^{542}\)Yi-t'ung ch. xvi, CTCS, p. 157.
In the *Explanation of the Diagram*, Chou claimed that desirelessness and tranquillity are the fundamental means of inner moral cultivation. As indicated above, he interpreted tranquility as desirelessness. The same accounts are found in chapter XX of the *Yi-t'ung*. Thus, this evidence further demonstrates the inner relationship of these two works.

A final example can be found in Chou's accounts of the conception of the sage. In the *Explanation of the Diagram*, Chou described man as a being who received the most refined form in the evolutionary process of the universe. For Chou a man is not only a mere creature but also a creative agent. This perspective certainly contains the typical Confucian idea of a triad: Heaven, Earth and Man. In the *Yi-t'ung* Chou repeated this view: he admired Confucius as a member of a trinity with Heaven and Earth. In his two works Chou expressed what one might call Confucian humanism. Furthermore, Chou emphasized four Confucian norms as the way of the sage. In the *Yi-t'ung* Chou said, "The way of the sage is nothing other than humaneness, righteousness, the

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Cited above.

See *Yi-t'ung* ch. xxxix, CTCS, p. 197.
Mean and Correctness." A very similar point is mentioned in the *Explanation of the Diagram*: "The sage orders these affairs by the principle of the Mean, correctness, humaneness, and righteousness." These passages show that Chou used the Mean and correctness, and humaneness and righteousness as a pair. Chou places these four terms together in order to explain, in his own unique way, moral standards.

In short, through the examples discussed above one can see that both the *Yi-t'ung* and the *Explanation of the Diagram* hold very similar intellectual perspectives. Some passages appear in both works word for word. This means that these two works were written by the same author. Yet it is wrong to think that the *Yi-t'ung* is merely a commentary on the *Explanation of the Diagram* as Chu Hsi so strongly espoused. One should remember that the conception of ch'eng, which plays such a central role in the moral theory of the *Yi-t'ung*, is never mentioned in the *Explanation of the Diagram*. This signifies that the *Explanation of the Diagram* cannot be regarded as a succinct epitome of the *Yi-t'ung*. It is clear that Chou's two

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545*Yi-t'ung*, ch. vi, CTCS, p. 138. He also stated, "The way of the sage is nothing but the utmost fairness" ch. xxxvii, CTCS, p. 196.

works are interdependent on one another for illustrating his philosophical system.
CONCLUSION

The Neo-Confucians wanted to invent a new theoretical structure which would employ metaphysical theory as the basis for their moral philosophy. Generally speaking, ancient Confucian thought lacks metaphysical theory. Therefore, the Neo-Confucians attempted to create a metaphysical theory in order to establish a new Confucian philosophical system. As indicated by scholars, the Neo-Confucians achieved this goal by assimilating Taoist and Buddhist doctrines. The revival of Sung Neo-Confucianism is generally defined as an intellectual reaction to Buddhist and Taoist influences on Confucian thought. Chou's doctrine of the Supreme Ultimate is one example of the Sung Confucian attempt to provide a metaphysical foundation to their own moral doctrines by adapting the other two philosophical traditions. As a leading Confucian scholar, Chou Tun-yi absorbed the philosophical elements of Taoism and Buddhism, thereby giving Confucianism a new intellectual dimension. Because of this contribution scholars generally consider that Chou Tun-yi's thought laid the intellectual foundation for the later development of Neo-Confucian thought. Since Chu Hsi praised the Explanation of the Diagram as the "crystal" of ancient Confucianism, scholars' interest in Chou has focused on the Explanation of the Diagram's
cosmology. Modern studies of Chou's thought also focus on the theory of the evolutionary process of the universe and its relationship to man explained in the *Explanation of the Diagram*. The problem is that they have overemphasized it to the neglect of the *Yi-t'ung*. As a result, most studies generally fail to see the import of the *Yi-t'ung* for understanding Chou's philosophical system. The metaphysical cosmology found in the *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* and ethics explained mainly in the *Yi-t'ung* are not separate and unrelated subjects in Chou's philosophical system. These two works together express his thought. Therefore, scholars should study the *Yi-t'ung* as well as the *Explanation of the Diagram* for an objective understanding of Chou's thought. Because other studies discuss Chou's philosophy through primarily the cosmological perspective of the *Explanation of the Diagram*, they, as a result, overexaggerate the cosmological aspect of Chou's thought and ignore the important role of moral philosophy as explained in the *Yi-t'ung*. Due to their neglect of the ethics of the *Yi-t'ung*, they believe that Chou Tun-yi was not a true Confucian. They suggest, as seen in the *Explanation of the Diagram*, that Chou's philosophy was greatly influenced by Taoism and Buddhism. Thus one could, on the basis of this, accuse him of being nothing more than a hybrid thinker. Those who believe that Chou was merely a
hybrid thinker should study his moral philosophy. From the
discussion of such major philosophical ideas as ch'eng, chi
(incipience), and hsin (nature) in chapter five, one can
see that Confucian moral philosophy is at the heart of
Chou's thought. The discussion of the Yi-t'ung in chapter
five of this dissertation offers a more objective
interpretation of Chou's thought. Despite Taoist and
Buddhist influences on his theoretical system, Chou was
truly a Confucian. One of the most important points of this
dissertation was to show that Chou faithfully followed
Confucian doctrines, although he was influenced by both
Taoism and Buddhism.

Through a discussion of the traditional claims
regarding the origin of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate,
I have indicated how those claims contain serious defects.
Traditional accounts of the origin of Chou's learning like
those of Chu Chen found in the Han-shang yi chuan, the
Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate that Antedates Heaven, Ho-
shang Kung's Diagram of the Ultimateless, Shou Ya's Secret
Code Anterior Heaven and Earth and Tsung Mi's Diagram of
Alayavijnana are all criticized in detail. None of them can
be regarded as the genesis of Chou's diagram. Although most
modern studies follow the traditional claim that Chou's
diagram was derived from Taoist or Buddhist materials, I
demonstrated that these traditional beliefs contain serious
defects.

I have discussed the implications of the *wu-chi* and the *t'ai-chi* and their relationship to each other in detail. Most other studies claim that the *t'ai-chi* is a typical Confucian term, while the *wu-chi* is an important Taoist philosophical term. But I verified that these two ideas were simultaneously used by the three teachings: the *t'ai-chi* frequently appears in Taoist works and the *wu-chi* is also employed by Buddhists. After examining a long polemic between Lu Hsiang-shan and Chu Hsi regarding these two ideas, I have pointed out that from the philological point of view the relationship between these two notions cannot be clarified. The best way to illustrate the relationship between them is to interpret them through an intellectual analysis of Chou's works. My conclusion that Chou used these two as a way to refer to the same entity is based on an intellectual understanding of Chou's philosophy. I do not deny that this is speculation, but I support it by comparing in detail the *T'ai-chi t'ou shuo* with the *Yi-t'ung*.

Another important point discussed in this dissertation was that the traditional descriptions of Chou's life are too narrow. I offer a broader perspective on Chou's life to clarify the intellectual background of his thought. Chou's public life in the traditional material is described as that of a stern Confucian official, but I argued that Chou's
actual life was quite different from the life style of a strict Confucian scholar. He always wanted to live away from worldly cares. As seen in both his own poems and his friends' writings, Chou's innermost feelings pined after a retired life in a secluded place. To understand Chou's life style correctly is important because it helps one apprehend his philosophical tendencies. Chu Hsi, who so admired Chou as the reviver of the Confucian tradition, indicated that Chou's life style was similar to that of a Taoist hermit.
Figure 1

Chou Lien-hsi chi, cheng yi t'ang ch'üan-shu, p. 1b.
Figure 3

Figure 6

Tao Tsang. fasc. 196
Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yüan mioo-ching-t'ü, p. 3b.
Figure 7

Tao Tsang fasc. 196
Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yüan miao-ching-t'ü, p. 1a.
Figure 7.1

Tao Tsang fasc., 71
Yi-shu kou yin t'u, p. 1a.
Figure 8

Tao-tsang fasc. 196
Tao-miao hu-huang chih t'u, pp. 2a-b.
Figure 11

Figure 12

Chapter I Ch'eng Part 1

Ch'eng is the [basic] foundation of the sage. [The Book of Changes says] "Great is the Originator, Ch'ien-wen. Every thing obtains its beginning from it."\(^1\) [It is] the source of ch'eng. [The Book of Changes also says] "The way of ch'ien is to change and transform [so that all things obtain] their correct nature and destiny."\(^2\) In this manner ch'eng is established. [It (ch'eng)] is pure and the ultimate goodness. Therefore, [The Book of Changes says] successive movement of yin and yang is called the Tao. To follow it [the Tao] is goodness, and to complete goodness is the nature of all beings."\(^3\) "Origination and flourishing" characterize the penetration of ch'eng, and "advantageousness and correctness are its recovery. Great is the Changes, and [the Changes is] the source of nature and destiny.

Chapter II Ch'eng Part 2

\(^2\)Ibid.
Sagehood is nothing more than *ch'eng*. *Ch'eng* is the foundation of the five constant virtues and the source of all affairs. [When *ch'eng* does not come into contact with things] it is tranquil and imperceptible⁴, and [when *ch'eng* comes into contact with things] it is active and perceptible.⁵ [Moreover,] it is the ultimate correctness and that which clearly pervades. [If] the five constant virtues and all human affairs are not *ch'eng*, [then they are] falsehood. [There will be] vice and it will accumulate. Therefore, one who has *ch'eng* has no need for undertaking. [To be *ch'eng*] is not difficult, yet to practice it is difficult. [But] with determination and certainty, there will be no difficulty. Therefore, [Confucius says] "[If] in one day [a man] actualizes himself and returns to propriety, [then] all under heaven will return to humaneness."⁶

Chapter III *Ch'eng*, Incipience and Virtue

In *ch'eng* there is no moving, and in incipience (*chi*) there is the demarcation of goodness and evil. Among the virtues, loving is called humaneness, suitability is called

⁴Literally, "nonexistent." See Chu Hsi's interpretations, CTCS. p. 44.
⁵Literally, "existent."
⁶Analects 12.1
righteousness, being patterned is called propriety, 
penetration is called knowledge and preserving is called 
faithfulness. [A man who takes these five virtues] as his 
nature and [acts] with ease is called a sage. A man who 
recovers his nature and preserves it is called a worthy. 
[Although it] rises subtly, it is all-pervasive, and is 
called a spirit.

Chapter IV Sagehood

"That which is still and unmoving"7 is ch'eng. "That which penetrates [all beings] when stimulated"8 is a 
spirit. That which is moving but [has not manifested] in 
physical form between existence and nonexistence is 
incipience. Ch'eng is pure and hence clear. The spirit is 
responsive and therefore mysterious. The incipience is 
subtle and therefore abstruse. [A man who attains] ch'eng, 
[and also] is spiritual and incipient is called a sage.

Chapter V Action with Caution

Moving but [remaining] correct is called the Way. 
Functioning but [remaining] harmonious is called virtue.

Wilhelm, English translation by Cary Baynes, The I Ching or 
Book of Changes, p. 315. 
8 Ibid.
Inhumaneness, unrighteousness, impropriety, non-wisdom and unfaithfulness, these are all depraved. Depraved action is disgraceful. [If you] go to an extreme, [it is] dangerous. Therefore, a superior man (chun-tzu) is careful in action.

Chapter VI The Way

The way of the sage is nothing other than humaneness, righteousness, the Mean and correctness. [If you] preserve it [the way], [you will be] ennobled. [If you] practice it, [you will] benefit. [If you] enlarge it, You will be equal to Heaven and Earth.

Is the way of the sage not easy and simple? [Do you think that] it is difficult to know? [If so, it is simply because you] do not preserve, practice and enlarge it.

Chapter VII The Teacher

Someone asked, "How can [we] make all under Heaven good?" I (Chou Tun-yi) replied, "[By the teaching of] the teacher." [The questioner asked again] "What do you mean?" I answered, "In human nature there are only strength and softness, good and evil, and the Mean." [The questioner] did not understand, [so I] explained, "[When human nature] is strong and good, it can be righteous, upright, decisive, dignified and firm. [When human nature] is strong
and evil, [it can be] violent, narrow and obstinate. [When human nature] is soft and good, [it can be] compassionate, docile and modest. [When human nature] is soft and evil, [it can be] weak, indecisive and perverse. Only the Mean is harmonious, 'moderately regulated'\(^9\) and 'the ultimate way of the world.'\(^{10}\) These are the affairs for the sage. Therefore, the sage establishes education so as to enable common people to change their [natures] evil [natures] by themselves, and to reach the Mean and remain there. That is to say,\(^{11}\) those who are first enlightened [should] awaken those who are later enlightened, and the unenlightened [should] seek help from the enlightened, so the way of teaching\(^{12}\) is established. As the way of instruction is established, the good will proliferate. As the good proliferates, the government will be correct and all under Heaven will be in order."

Chapter VIII Fortune

In human life, it is a misfortune not to be told about one's mistakes, and it is a great misfortune to lack shame. Only with a sense of shame can a man be educated. [If] a man

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\(^9\)The *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1.  
\(^{10}\)The *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 1.  
\(^{11}\)Literally, "Therefore."  
\(^{12}\)Literally, "the way of the teacher."
is told about his errors, [then] he can become a worthy.

Chapter IX Thinking

The Great Norm [of the Book of the Document] says "Thinking is called sagacity [and] sagacity makes one a sage." Having no thinking is the foundation [of the mind, and] penetrating thinking is the function [of it]. [When] there is subtle incipient movement on the one hand, ch'eng [, in response,] is moving on the other. With no thinking and yet penetrating all, a man is a sage.

[But] common people cannot penetrate subtlety if they do not think. [Similarly] common people cannot penetrate all if they are not sagacious. Thus, [the capacity] to penetrate everything comes from penetrating subtlety, [and the capacity] to penetrate subtlety comes from thinking. Therefore, thinking is the [basic] foundation of the sage's achievement and is [also] the incipience of good fortune or misfortune. The Book of Changes says, "the chun-tzu (a superior man) acts [as soon as] he perceives the subtle incipient omen [which bring to good fortune or misfortune] without waiting all day." It also says, "Knowing subtle

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incipience is the spirit."

Chapter X The Will to Study

The sage aspires [to have] heavenly virtue, the worthy aspires [to become] a sage, and the literate aspires [to become] a worthy. Yi Yin and Yen Yuan were great worthies. Yi Yin was ashamed that his ruler was not like the sage emperors, Yao and Shun, and if even one person did not obtain his [rightful] place, [he felt] disgraced as if he had been whipped in a public place. Yen Yuan "did not transfer his anger and did not repeat an error," and "for three months he did not act contrary to humaneness." [If a man] sets his heart on what Yi Yin determined and learns what Yen Yuan learned, and [if he exceeds what they achieved he] will be a sage. [If he] reaches [what they achieved he] will be a worthy. [Even if he does not reach [what they achieved he] will still be a man of honorable reputation.

Chapter XI Acquiescence and Transformation

Heaven creates the myriad things through yang and

\[^{15}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{16}\text{Lit. "The sage aspires to become Heaven."}\]
\[^{17}\text{See Legge, trans., The Book of Document, p. 262.}\]
\[^{18}\text{Analects 6.2.}\]
\[^{19}\text{Analects 6.5.}\]
\[^{20}\text{Literally, "He will not miss an honorable reputation."}\]
completes them through yin. Creating is humaneness, and completing is righteousness. Therefore [when] a sage is above [on the throne], he nurtures the myriad things with humaneness and corrects all things with righteousness. [When] the Heavenly way operates, all things comply with [it]. [As] the virtue of the sage is cultivated, all people are transformed. [So both] great compliance and great transformation exist. [But great compliance and great transformation] leave no trace, common people do not know how they come to be. [For this reason,] this is called the spirit. Therefore, the multitude under Heaven depends upon one person, the sage king. How can the way be distant? How can its methods be numerous?

Chapter XII Government

Teaching by speaking directly to people is impossible [even] in a village of ten households. How can it be possible in a vast expanse under Heaven with millions of people! [Then, how can the sage king govern all people?] My answer is this: "Purify the mind [of the sage king], that

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21This refers to "great compliance and great transformation." This means that the common people do not know why all under Heaven are well-governed. They do not realize that all are governed well, through the "great compliance and great transformation" of the sage.
is all." "Purify" signifies to do nothing contrary to
humaneness, righteousness, propriety and wisdom whether in
activity or in tranquillity neither, in speech, complexion,
seeing, or hearing. [When] his mind is pure, [then] worthy
and talented men will assist him. With their assistance all
under Heaven will be [well-] governed. Purifying the mind
is [very] important, and employing worthy men is an urgent
matter.

Chapter XIII Ritual and Music

Ritual is principle and music is harmony. Only when
yin and yang [operate according to] principle can they be
harmonious. [Then] the ruler will truly be a ruler, the
minister will truly be a minister, the father will truly be
a father, the son will truly be a son, the elder brother
will truly be an elder brother, the younger brother will
truly be a younger brother, the husband will truly be a
husband and the wife will truly be a wife. The myriad
things are in harmony only when they achieve their
principle. Therefore ritual comes first and music
afterward.

Chapter XIV Striving for Realization

For realization to dominate is good, [but] for fame to
dominate is shameful. Therefore, the superior man improves his virtue and cultivates his works with uninterrupted diligence [in order to] devote himself to the dominance of realization. [If] his virtue and affairs do not become remarkable, he anxiously fears that others will know it. [In this manner, it is possible that] he distance himself from shame. [On the other hand] the mean man is merely hypocritical. Therefore, the superior man is at ease at all times, while the mean man is always apprehensive.

Chapter XV Love and Reverence

[Someone asked] "[If] I do not measure up to the goodness of others, [then what]?" [I replied,] "[If] you do not measure up, then learn to do so." [He asked again,] "[What if] others are not good?" [I replied,] "If they are not good, then inform them that they are not good. Moreover, admonish them, saying, 'why don't you reform your errors?' This is the way of the superior man. If a man has one good and two evil aspects, then learn from his good aspect and admonish his evil aspects. If someone says, 'Although this person has done something which is not good, it is not a great evil' then [you should] say, 'who does not make errors? How do we know that he cannot reform [his errors]? [If he] corrects [his errors] then he can be a
superior man. Not correcting [his errors] results in vice, and vice is what Heaven dislikes. How can he not fear Heaven? How do we know that he cannot correct [his errors]?" Therefore, the superior man possesses all goodness, [so] no one does not love and revere him.

Chapter XVI Movement and Tranquility

A thing cannot be still while in movement or move while in stillness. [But] spirit can move without movement and be still without stillness. Movement without movement and stillness without stillness does not signify that [spirit is] neither in movement nor in stillness. Things can not penetrate [mutually], [while] spirit renders all things subtle.

[Although] water is yin, it is rooted in yang. [Similarly, even though] fire is yang, it is rooted in yin. The five agents are yin and yang, and yin and yang are the Supreme Ultimate. The four seasons circulate, and all things end and begin [continually]. How chaotic! How open!

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22 According to Chu Hsi, the dialogue ends here.
23 This means that tranquility exists within movement, and movement within tranquility.
24 The same statement exists in the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate. "The five agents constitute one system of yin and yang, and yin and yang constitute one Supreme Ultimate."
And how inexhaustible!

Chapter XVII Music Part 1

In antiquity the sage kings enacted the ritual and cultivated moral education. They corrected the Three Bonds and arranged the Nine Categories [of the Great Norm]. All people were in great harmony and all things were in concord. Accordingly the sage kings created music to give expression to the feelings of the people of the eight regions and to pacify their dispositions. Therefore the sounds of music are peaceful and not baleful, harmonious and not licentious. [As] people listen to music and it affects the mind, no one is not tranquil and harmonious. [If the sounds of music] are peaceful, the desirous mind is made calms, [and if they] are harmonious, the haste mind disappears. Compliance, docility, tranquility and the Mean are the height of virtue. As the world is transformed and brought to the Mean, government is perfected. This is what is meant by the way which matches Heaven and Earth. It is the Ultimate [standard] of the ancient [sage kings].

Later generations have disregarded ritual. Government has been in disorder, and punishment is severe. [The rulers

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\textsuperscript{25}\text{Paraphrasing Lao Tzu ch., 68.}
of later generations were addicted to their desires, and consequently the common people have severely suffered. They say that ancient music is not worth listening to, and accordingly they replace it by new music, which is seductive, licentious, depressive and resentful. It stimulates desires and increases lamentation, which people cannot control by themselves. Therefore there have been cases of people killing their rulers, casting away their fathers, taking life lightly and destroying human relations. These incidents can not be made to disappear. Alas! In antiquity music appeased the mind, [but] presently it stimulates craving. In antiquity music developed an enlightening influence, [but] presently music increases spite. Without returning to the ancient ritual and changing the present music we cannot reach the ultimate government.

Chapter XVIII Music Part 2

Music is based on government. [If] government is good and people are at ease, the minds of all under Heaven and Earth will be harmonious. Thus the sage creates music to give expression to these harmonious minds. [When it] spreads throughout Heaven and Earth, the ch'i of Heaven and Earth is stimulated [so] there will be great harmony.

*"Literally, "It reaches Heaven and earth."
When Heaven and earth are in harmony, the myriad things will be acquiescent. Therefore the spirits of Heaven and Earth come, and birds and beasts are domesticated.

Chapter XIX Music Part 3

[If] the sound of music is dispassionate), then the listener's mind is placid. [If] lyrics of a song are good then the singer admires them. Thus manners and customs change. The affection of wicked sounds and salacious lyrics is also like this.

Chapter XX Sagehood and Learning

[Question:] "Can sagehood be learned?" [Reply:] "It can" [Question:] "Is there any main point?" [Reply:] "Yes" [Question:] "I beg to hear it." [Reply:] "The singular way is necessary. This singular way is to have no desire. When a man is without desire, then he will be empty when tranquil and upright when active. Being empty when tranquil, [his mind] will be clear; being clear, [his mind] will be penetrating. Being upright in activity, [he] can be impartial; being impartial, [he] can be all-embracing. Being clear and penetrating, impartial and all-embracing are close to Sagehood.
Chapter XXI Impartiality and Clearness

A man who is impartial towards himself can be impartial towards others. There has never been a man who is partial towards himself and yet impartial towards others. [When] a man is not entirely clear then doubts arise; clearness is the absence of doubts. [Someone] says that being able to doubt is being clear. [But] How can these words be only a thousand miles off the mark?

Chapter XXII Principle, Human Nature and Mandate

[Principle] is manifest and subtle. [If the mind] is not divine, then [it is] not bright. The strong [nature] can become good or evil, and the soft [nature] is also the same. [Ideal human nature] lies in the Mean [between strength and softness].

The two vital forces and the five agents transform and produce the myriad things. The five [agents constitute] the differential characteristics of [the myriad thing] and the

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27This chapter deals with the three primary conceptions of Neo-Confucianism: principle, human nature and the Mandate. The interesting point here is that none of these ideas appear in this chapter.

28Literally, "It." According to Chu Hsi, "it" refers to principle.

29Literally, "Strength can become good or evil." I think that here Chou Tun-yi is discussing human nature. See chapter vii. Chu Hsi agreed that Chou deals with human nature in this and the next sentence.
two [vital forces constitute] their activity. These two are fundamentally one.\(^{30}\) [Accordingly] the many are one and the one is substantially divided into the many.\(^{31}\) [If] both the one and the many are in the correct state, [then] both the large and the small have their definite [duties].

Chapter XXIII Master Yen.

"Living in a mean dwelling on a bowlful of rice and a ladleful of water is a hardship most men would find intolerable, but Master Yen does not allow this to affect his joy."\(^{32}\) Wealth and honor are what people want. Master Yen did not love and seek them, and so he enjoyed poverty. What kind of mind did he have? In the world\(^{33}\) there is a great honor\(^{34}\) which deserves to be loved and sought after,

\(^{30}\)This should remind us that "The five agents constitute the system of yin and yang, and yin and yang constitute one Supreme Ultimate" in the Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate.

\(^{31}\)Here we can see the theory of li-yi fen-shu "principle is one and its manifestations are many." In the philosophical system of Chu Hsi, the one is principle.

\(^{32}\)Analects 6, 11. This is D. C. Lau's translation. I used Master Yen rather than "Hui." The Analects, p. 82. In A. Waley's translation it is in Book VI, 9. See p. 117.

\(^{33}\)Literally, "Between Heaven and Earth"

\(^{34}\)Chu hsi thinks that here we should add "the greatest wealth." Wing-tsit Chan follows him, so he translates this sentence as "There are the higher honor and the greatest [wealth to] love and seek. But he acted differently because he saw what was great and ignored what was small." See A Source Book p. 475. "But he acted differently" is the translation of erh i hu pi che . But this
and this is different from wealth and [common] honor.35

Master Yen saw the great36 and neglected the small37.

Seeing the great, the mind is tranquil. When the mind is tranquil, there is no discontent. Having no dissatisfaction [Master Yen] dealt with wealth, honor, poverty and humbleness in the same way. Dealing with them in the same way, he could transform them and equalize them. Therefore Master Yen is second only to the Sage.

Chapter XXIV Teacher and Companion (or Friend) Part 1.

In the world the highest honor is the Tao, and the greatest value is virtue. To obtain the benefits of a man is the most difficult matter. [The reason why] to obtain the benefits of a man is the most difficult is because he [should] possess both the Tao and virtue. Suppose that a man wishes to possess the Tao and virtue,38 then he cannot

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phrase implies something different in Chinese. See the next footnote.

35Here a great honor is contrasted with "wealth and [common] honor." I do not see the need for translating it as "the greatest wealth," since Chou Tun-yi here tells us that "only a great honor" deserves to be sought," although people generally seek "wealth and [common] honor." I do not believe that Chou Tun-yi would advice that "the highest honor and the highest wealth deserve to be sought."

36This refers to "the greatest honor."

37This refers to "wealth and [common] honor."

38Literally, "In getting a man the most difficult thing is in his body."
possess them without [the aid] of teachers and companions.

Chapter XXV Teachers and Companions Part 2.

The Tao and righteousness are valuable and honorable [only when] a man possesses them [through cultivation]. When a man is born he is unenlightened. He remains as a foolish person when he is brought up if he has no teachers and companions [to help him]. He possesses the Tao and righteousness through [the assistance] of teachers and companions, and consequently he becomes valuable and honorable. Is this not significant? To meet\(^3\) [teachers and companions] is delightful is it not?

Chapter XXVI An Error

Chung-yu\(^4\) was delighted to hear about his errors,\(^5\) so his honorable name has been conveyed continually. Presently [when] people make errors, they dislike it when others admonish them. It is as though a man hides his disease and shuns a doctor. He would rather destroy his

\(^3\)Wing-tsit Chan's translation is "Is man's possession not enjoyable?" But the Chinese word chu does not mean "possess", "contain" or "have" etc. It signifies "assemble" and "meet."

\(^4\)One of Confucius' disciples. He lived in 542-480 B. C. E.

\(^5\)The Mencius, 2A. 8.
life\textsuperscript{42}. He should enlighten himself. Alas!

Chapter XXVII Power

Under Heaven there is power. Power can be weak or strong. \[If power\] is extremely strong, it cannot be controlled.\textsuperscript{43} [But] it can be controlled if a man immediately responds to it when he knows that it is gaining strength. To control it, \[requires\] effort. If a man does not detect \[its initial stage\] it is hard to apply effort. To exert effort and not quarrel is Heaven. Not realizing \[its initial stage\] or not applying effort is to be a man. [The success or the failure of the affairs under Heaven is not due to] Heaven \[but due to\] man. Why complain?

Chapter XXVIII Composition and Expression

A composition should convey the Way. \[Although\] the wheels and the shafts \[of a cart\] are in good condition\textsuperscript{44}, if a man does not use the cart, they\textsuperscript{45} are useless.\textsuperscript{46} How \[much more useless\] would a cart be \[without the wheels and the shafts]\textsuperscript{47}?

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\textsuperscript{42}Literally, "his body"  
\textsuperscript{43}Literally, "to return" or "to recover."  
\textsuperscript{44}Literally, "are decorated"  
\textsuperscript{45}Here, "they" refers to "the wheels and the shafts."  
\textsuperscript{46}Literally, "they are [uselessly] decorated."  
\textsuperscript{47}Literally, "an empty cart"
Literary expression is art, and the Way and virtue are substance. [If] a man understands the importance of the Way and virtue and writes an artistically excellent composition, it will be beautiful and loved. [If] people love to read it, it will be transmitted to posterity. [So] a worthy can learn it and [he can] actualize what it teaches [in his ordinary life]. This is education. Therefore, [the Tso-chuan] says "If a composition is written without artistic excellence, it will not be transmitted to later generations." However, the unworthy does not want to learn even if his parents and older brothers supervise him or his teachers and tutors admonish him. He does not obey even though he is forced to. He does not devote himself to the Way and virtue and he [merely] indulges in literary expressions. [What he does] is anything but art. Alas! This abuse has gone on for a long time.

Chapter XXIX The Deep Mind of the Sage

[Confucius said,] "I never enlighten anyone who has not been driven to distraction by trying to understand a

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48Literally, "To say"
49Literally, "will not go far."
50Tso-chuan, the 25th year of Duke Hsiang. See Legge Ch'un Ts'ew, p. 517.
51Literally, "does not know to devote"
difficulty or who has not got into a frenzy trying to put his ideas into words. When I have pointed out one corner of a square to anyone and he does not come back with the other three, I will not point it out to him a second time."\textsuperscript{52} He also says "I am thinking of giving up speech... What does Heaven ever say? Yet there are the four seasons going round and there are the hundred things coming into being."\textsuperscript{53} Thus the deep mind of the sage\textsuperscript{54} could be seen only by Master Yen. Master Yen manifests the deep mind of the sage and teaches for ten thousand years without end. Sagehood is equivalent to Heaven. Is it not profound? When common people have knowledge of something, they are anxious that others do not immediately know that they have it. They hasten to let people know and to achieve a reputation. How frivolous they are!

Chapter XXX The Essence and Deep Mind of the Sage

The refined [messages] of the sage are shown in the hexagrams, and the depth of the sage is manifested in terms of the hexagrams. [If] the hexagrams were not drawn, [then] the refined [messages] of the sage could not be known\textsuperscript{55} to

\textsuperscript{52}Analects 7:8, D.C. Lau, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{53}Analects 17:19, D.C. Lau, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{54}It refers to Confucius.
\textsuperscript{55}Literally, "cannot be got and seen"
[us]. If there were no hexagrams it is almost impossible to know\textsuperscript{56} the depth of the sage. The Book of Changes is not merely the root of the Five Canons. It is the mysteriously hidden meaning of Heaven, Earth and spiritual beings.

Chapter XXXI The Three hexagrams: Ch'ien (Heaven), Sun (Diminish) Yi (Increase)\textsuperscript{57} and Action

"The superior man is active and vigilant, he incessantly practices ch'eng." But he must "restrain his wrath and repress his desires," "move towards good," and "correct his mistakes"\textsuperscript{58} before he attains [ch'eng]. Of the [many] functions of the ch'ien hexagram, the best is to accomplish [ch'eng]. The importance\textsuperscript{59} of both the Sun and Yi hexagrams [also] does not go beyond [accomplishing ch'eng]. The Teachings of the Sage is abstruse indeed! "Good fortune, misfortune, repentance and regret all arise from action."\textsuperscript{60} Alas! good fortune is only one [among these four]. Will we not be careful in our action?

\textsuperscript{56}Literally, "cannot be got and heard"
\textsuperscript{57}These are the hexagrams of the Book of Changes; no. 1, 41 and 42, respectively.
\textsuperscript{58}These phrases are from hexagram numbers 1, 41 and 42. See Legge, The I Ching, op. cit., p. 317, p. 319, p. 410.
\textsuperscript{59}Literally, "greatness"
\textsuperscript{60}Legge, The I Ching, op. cit., p. 380.
Chapter XXXII The Hexagrams of Chia-jen (Family), K'uei (Opposition), Fu (Return) and Wu-wang (Genuineness)

There is a foundation that governs all under Heaven. It is the ruler. There is a model that governs all under Heaven. It is the family. The foundation must be upright. Only ch'eng can make it upright. The model must be good. To keep harmony among kin is the only way for the model to be good. [To control] a family is difficult but to govern all under Heaven is easy [because] in the family you cannot [easily] judge the members of your family but in society you [can easily] judge people according to the law. [If] the family members leave [the house], its reason is surely because of the conflicts among women.

Therefore the hexagram K'uei (Opposition) follows the hexagram Chia-jen (Family) [in the Book of Changes.] It says "When two women live in a house, their intents are different." This is the reason why the Emperor Yao

61 These are also hexagram numbers: 37, 38 and 25, respectively.
62 Literally, "It is the [ruler's] body."
63 Here it means an Emperor.
64 Literally, "Because the family is near but all under Heaven are distant."
65 Literally, "[the reason] must lie in women"
married his two daughters to Shun of Kuei-jui. The Emperor Yao said "I would like to test whether Shun deserves to become an Emperor." This means that to see how an Emperor governs his empire, one needs to observe how he controls his family, and to see how he controls the family, one needs to observe how the Emperor governs himself. The Emperor is upright, which means that his mind is ch'eng. To be ch'eng in his mind, means that he recovers goodness. To do evil is absurd. If falsehood is turned away, then there is genuineness. Genuineness is ch'eng. This is the reason why the hexagram Wu-wang (Genuineness) comes after the hexagram Fu (Return). It says "In antiquity the sage king formulated the rules in accordance with the seasons, [so they can] nourish all creation."

Chapter XXXIII Wealth and Honor

To complete the Way brings honor to the superior man (chun-tzu). He wishes to have a peaceful life. Therefore he is always comfortable and satisfied with his ordinary

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"Literally, "The body"
"Literally "He returns from evil behaviors."
"Literally, "The moving of evil behaviors is absurd."
"The commentary on hexagram no. 25 Wu-wang. See Legge, The I Ching, op. cit., p. 299"
"Literally, "To fill the Way"
"Literally, "His body is comfortable [and he regards] it as his wealth."
life. [The superior man] considers the carriages and the ceremonial caps [, which are symbols of honor] as trivial73, and regards gold and jade as dust. "To complete the Way and to have a peaceful life," these two are the most significant affairs for the superior man.74

Chapter XXXIV Vulgarness

The way of the sage is heard through the ear and consequently preserved in one's mind. [If you] accumulate it [in your mind] you can perform moral behavior. [If you] practice it you can guide people. Those who indulge in only literary art are vulgar.

Chapter XXXV Consultation and Deliberation

The Ultimate ch' eng touches a man's heart. Being moved, a man can be changed, and being changed, a man can be virtuous.75 Therefore, [the Book of Changes says] "A man should discuss with others before he speaks and deliberate before he acts. By such consultation and deliberation, he can accomplish all changes and transformations."76

73The Chinese term chu refers to an ancient silver coin. Its weight is equal to a hundred grains of millet.
74Literally, "Their importance needs nothing."
75Literally, "transformed"
Chapter XXXVI Punishment

Heaven generates the myriad things in the spring, and stops producing them in the fall. [If Heaven] does not stop producing the myriad things after they have become mature, it would be an error. Therefore there is the fall to accomplish [this process]. The sage models himself after Heaven, and he nourishes all people through [benevolent] government. He also makes them act reverently through punishment. [As] a man grows up, desires are aroused and his feelings are superior to his reason. They compete against each other for profit. [If they do not] stop [attacking one another], they will destroy [themselves] and ruin human relationships. Therefore [the sage] governs the people by punishment.77

The human emotions are false, subtle and obscure. They change in a thousand ways. They cannot be controlled by those who are not upright, brilliant and brave.78 The Sung (conflict) hexagram says, "It will be wonderful to see the great man... Strength has got the central position."79 The

77This paragraph shows that Chou Tun-yi was obviously influenced by Hsun Tzu's thought.
78Literally, "those who are not the Mean, upright, brilliant, penetrating, brave and firm."
79See, hexagram no. 6, Legge, The I Ching, op. cit., p. 69. Here it means that a judge should be impartial. Chou Tun-yi outlined the characteristics of a judge as upright, brilliant and brave etc.
hexagram *Shih-ho* (biting and uniting) says, "It will be good to use punishment"[^80],[^81] since it is a fair action. Ah! A judge[^83] adjudicates whether a suspect is guilty or not. Should their appointment be frivolous?

Chapter XXXVII Fairness

The Way of the sage is nothing but the utmost fairness. Someone asks, "What does this mean?" I reply, "[The Way of] Heaven and Earth are nothing other than the Ultimate fairness."[^84]

Chapter XXXVIII Confucius Part 1

[The role of] the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is to correct the kingly way and to clarify the great laws. Confucius wrote it for the kings of later generations. Confucius judged [once more] the rebellious ministers and the wicked sons who already died [by recording what they

[^80]: Literally, "a prison"
[^82]: Literally, "by action [it will be] clear."
[^83]: I translate the term *ssu-ming* as "judge." *Ssu-ming* refers to an official who judges suspects. But in medieval China, the idea of the separation of the three powers of government did not exist. In China, *ssu-ming* was also a term for an executive official.
[^84]: Literally, "Heaven and Earth are nothing other than the ultimate fairness and [they] stay there."
did,] in order to warn the ministers and sons who will live after him. Kings ought to have sacrificed to Confucius for ten thousand generations without ceasing. [In so doing] they should uninterruptedly recompense Confucius' virtues and contributions.

Chapter XXXIX Confucius Part 2

[His] Way is high and his virtue is great."55 [He] unceasingly56 enlightens [people]. He can form a triad with Heaven and Earth and he is equal to the four seasons. Confucius is the only one [who can do this]. Is he not?

Chapter LX The Hexagram of Meng (Youthful Folly) and Ken (Cease)57

"The youthful and ignorant seek [advice] from me."58 [Thus] I [should] act as correctly and resolutely as [I do] when in divining. To divine is to seek advice from spirits. To divine [the same affairs] twice or three times [thus showing a lack of belief in the spiritual beings, is to defile the spirits. "[If a man] defiles the spirit then the

55Literally, "his virtue is thick."
56Literally, "infinitely"
57These are hexagram number, 4 and 52, respectively.
58This is the commentary on hexagram no.4, Legge, The I Ching, op. cit., p. 64.
spirit will not give him any advice" [This hexagram expresses] that a spring issues forth from the bottom of a mountain. The spring is clear when it is still. [If] it intensely gushes out, it will swirl greatly. [If we apply this to human affairs it signifies that when you are confused, you can not decide [what you should do]. Be careful! You should do what you want to do at the correct time.

"Keeping his back still," the back is not seen. Stillness means to cease, and to cease signifies doing nothing. To do something is not to cease. Indeed, the Way of these two hexagrams is recondite.

89Literally, "confused"
90This is the commentary on hexagram no. 52. See R. Wilhelm, English translation by C. Baynes, The I Ching or the Book of Changes, op. cit., p. 652.
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Ch'ien-wen
Ch'ien yen chüeh kung
Chih-ch'ai shu-lu chieh-t'i
Chih-ch'iang
chih ch'eng
chih-chih
chih-chün
chih-fang lang-chung
Chih P'an
Chih tao p'ien
Chin chou-yi piao
chin-shih
Chin-tai mi-shu
Chin-tan ko
ching
ching-hsiu hsien-sheng wen-chi
ching shih
ching-tso
Ch'ing-li
Ch'ing sung she
Chiu-chiang
Chou Tun-yi
Chou Tun-yi t'ai chi t'u shuo hsin k'ao
Chou tzu ch'uan shu
Chou-yi ts'an-t'ung-ch'i t'ung-chen-yi
Chou yi-t'u
Chou-yi yen-chiu wen chi
Chu Chen
Chu Hsi
Chu Kuang-t'ing (Kong-shan)
ch'u pien
chüan
Chuan-yun p'an-kuan
Chuan-yun shih
Ch'üan-Chen
Ch'üan chen chi hsüan-mi yao
Ch'üan t'ang shih
Ch'üan yi t'ang chi
Chuang-tzu
Chüeh Yin
Chun chai tu-shu chi
chün-tzu
chung
Chung ho chi
hao
ho
Ho-chou
Ho-lo li-shu
Ho-nan ch'eng-shih yi-shu
Ho P'ing-chung
Ho-shang Kung
Hou Chung-liang
Hou K'o
Hsi-ho ho-chi
Hsi-ho wen-chi
Hsi shan chün hsien hui chen chi
Hsi-tz'u
hsia
hsiang hsüeh
hsiao-ching kou ming chieh
Hsiao Ying
hsien
Hsien t'ien-ti chih chieh
Hsien-t'ien t'u
Hsin T'ai
hsin tung
hsing
Hsing-hsüeh chih-yao
hsing-yü
Hsiu chen shih shu
Hsü Cheng-hsien
Hsü Chien
Hsü Hang
Hsü Huai-su
Hsü Kan-hsüeh
hsü pien
Hsü Te-chan mu-chih-ming
Hsü-wu tzu-jan chih t'u
Hsü Yen-fu
Hsü Yi
Hsü Yü-feng
Hsüan-ho shu-p'u
hsüan-p'in chih men
Hsüan-tsung
Hsüan Yi
Hsün Tzu
Hu Hung
Hu-nan
Hu Wei
Hu Yuan
Hua shan
Hua-yen
Hua-yen shu
Huai-nan-tzu
Huang-chi
Huang-chi ching-shih
Huang Hsi
Huang Pai-chia
Huang T'ing-chien
Huang t'ing ching
Huang t'ing nei ching ching
Huang Tsung-hsi
Huang Tsung-yen
Huang Yi-kang
Hui Nan
Hui Ssu
Hung-chih
Hung Ching-lu
Hung-chou
jen
Jen Chi-yu
Jun-chou
Kan
Kan erh sui t'ung
K'an
Kao Hsiang-hsien
Kao-seng
Kao Tzu
劉牧
劉國
劉國從彦
陸九韶
陸象山
吕公著
盧山
陸說
陸參
盧洞霞
盧國傑
馬令
馬-易 諤-渓 心-法
毛奇齡
毛叔
蒙書
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pu chu
P'u Chiang-ch'ing
P'u shu t'ing chi
Sakai Tadao
san chi
San-wu chih-ching t'u
Seng Chao
Shan-ku
Shan Hui
shang
Shang chih pien
Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan miao-ching t'u
Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan miao-ching t'u p'ien
Shang-fang ta-t'ung chen-yuan yin-yang chi-ch'ing t'u-shu
hou-chieh
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Shao Ku
Shao Po-wen
Shao-yang
Shao Yung
she
shen
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sheng
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宋史
Suzuki Yujiro
Ta-li ssu ch'eng-chih
Ta-tien Pao-t'ung
Tai Shih-yu
Tai-chü hsien-t'ien chih t'u
T'ai-ch'i ti-yi
T'ai-ch'i t'u
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T'ai-ch'i t'u shuo
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T'ai-ch'u
T'ai-hsi
T'ai P'ing
T'ai-p'ing ching
t'ai-shih
t'ai-su
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tso ssu-kan
tsu-ch'i
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Tsun-hsi
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Ts'ung-yüan
Tu Cheng
Tu Shun
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Yao-lüeh
Yao-min
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Yi-shuo
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Yi-wei
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Yin T'un
Ying-tao
Yoshioka Yoshitoyo
Yü-pu
Yüan-kung
Yüan-liū t'ū
yüan pin
yüan-wai-lang
Yun-men tsung
yung
Yung-chou
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The following abbreviations are used in this dissertation:

CTCS
KHCPTS
NP
SYHA
SYHA Pu Yi
SKCS
SPTK
SPPY
T
Taisho
TSCC
TT

Chou-tzu ch'üan-shu
Kuo hsüeh chi pen ts'ung shu
Nien-p'u
Sung Yuan hsüeh-an
Sung Yuan hsüeh-an pu-yi
Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu
Ssu-pu t'sung-k'an
Ssu-pu pei-yao
Tzu
Taishō shinshu daizokyo
Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng
Tao Tsang

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