

汉英对照近世经典与传统文化系列  
潘文国 主编

Chinese-English Series of Premodern  
Chinese Classics and Traditional Culture  
Edited by Pan Wenguo

# 走向良知 ——《传习录》 与阳明心学

杨国荣 著 龚海燕 英译

To Attain Innate Knowledge  
— Records of the Instructions and Reviews  
and Yangming's Mindology

Written by Yang Guorong  
Translated by Gong Haiyan

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历经多年，在诸位作者与译者的共同努力下，《汉英对照近世经典与传统文化系列》终于就要问世了。这里所谓的“近世”（pre-modern）有特定的含义，指后于“古代”（ancient）而早于“近代”（modern）的一个历史时期。这一时期我们认为肇始于宋代。

宋代是中国历史上一个非常重要的时代，从某种意义上，甚至可以以之为界，将中国历史分为前后两段，它是古典中国的结束和近世中国的开端。宋代以前的中国是贵族化的，能够进入历史而为我们所知的人物，再落魄潦倒的也有个不错的门第或家世，如陶渊明或杜甫；而在宋代，真正的平民或低层出身的人物也可能进入统治阶层，比如两宋都有不少平民出身的宰相或大学者。其原因在于从隋唐开始的科举考试制度到宋代得到了更充分的实施，真正成为选拔人才的摇篮，“朝为田舍郎，暮登天子堂”不再是空想，从而实现了社会阶层的上下对流。同时朝廷采取重文偃武的政策，鼓励和推动文化事业的发展，从而使宋代成为中国乃至世界历史上最富裕和经济最繁荣的朝代。张择端《清明上河图》、柳永《望海潮》所描写的，以及孟元老《东京梦华录》、周密《武林旧事》所记载的开封和杭州市民经济的景况，都是宋以前未尝有过的。这使我们直观上感觉到宋和唐属于两个时代，宋和我们相距得更近一些。享誉世界的中国“四大发明”除造纸外，有三项是在宋代完成的，其后相继传到了西方，推动了西方的近代化。

文化上，宋代更是一个继往开来的伟大时代。“继往”，是对古典时期文化的全面总结和继承；“开来”，是宋代文化的成果影响了其后700多年的中国乃至东亚，直至今日。人们可能没有意识到，我们今天所津津乐道的“中国传统”，在绝大多数情况下是宋代以后开创的，或者是打着古代的旗号却是经过宋代人阐释的，而不是我们想象中的来自汉唐乃至先秦。比方说，“五四”时期“反封建”，高喊的是“打倒孔家店”的口号，其实严格地说，应该是“打倒朱家店”，因为他们的批判锋芒所向其实是程朱理学，并不是真正意义上的

的“孔”“孟”之道。而20世纪30年代迄今海内外很多人鼓吹的“儒学复兴”，实质上很多只是“理学复兴”。朱熹通过“述而不作”的方法，巧妙地把先秦儒学改造成了朱学，由于宋末以后特别是从明代开始，朱学成了科举考试的唯一标准，影响所及，使后人的继承和批判都失去了准头。从这个例子就可以看到宋代对后世的影响。朱熹的这种“借鸡生蛋”“以述代作”的治学方法可说是“宋学”的特色。儒学上如此，其他领域也是如此。例如史学上有“两司马”之说，汉代司马迁开创了纪传体史学的传统，奠定了“二十五史”的基础；而宋代的司马光另辟蹊径，遥承上古《春秋》的编年体史学传统，编出《资治通鉴》这一部旷古大书，既是对《史记》以降“十七史”的继承与改造，又开了其后史学研究的无数法门，例如“纪事本末体”“纲目体”等。而南宋郑樵又别开生面，以毕生心血完成《通志》，弥补了《资治通鉴》在继承《史记》《汉书》“志”上的不足。这两套书成为了宋以后与正史并行的史学传统，影响了直到今天的历史研究。

从以上例子可见，不研究宋代，不研究宋代的文化成就，就无法真正地了解中国、了解中国的传统。然而多年以来，在中国文化的对外译介中，几乎把重点都放在先秦。四书五经、诸子百家甚至有了多种译本，而宋代及其后的著作，除词曲小说外，真正有影响的文化巨著，却乏人译解。我们译《孔子》《孟子》，却不知道束缚中国人几百年的“封建道德”并不来自孔孟而是理学；我们译《老子》《庄子》，而不知真正影响宋以后知识分子的精神世界已不是纯粹的老子、庄子，而是经过南北朝玄学和唐代佛学洗礼而融合形成的宋代禅学。鉴于此，多年前我们就想推出一套介绍宋以后中国文化典籍的书，以引起海内外对“近世”中国文献的关注。本系列就是第一步尝试。

宋代的承前启后之功集中体现在几部大书里。宋初的《太平御览》《册府元龟》《太平广记》《文苑英华》四大类书，其中三部都达1000卷之巨，是宋代文化的重要标志。《开宝藏》奠定了《大藏经》的基础。《广韵》《集韵》《大广益会玉篇》《类篇》在语言文字史上开拓了新局面。《资治通鉴》开创了新史学，郑樵的《通志》为《十通》的形成起了重要的承启作用。洪迈的《容斋随笔》、沈括



的《梦溪笔谈》和王应麟的《困学记闻》开了近世学术之先河。《朱子全书》虽然近年才编成，但其内容作为散行本早在宋末就已流行，其中的《四书集注》《近思录》《朱子语类》更是宋后至清末七百年间理学的教科书。而由朱学我们又联想到明代后影响极大的王阳明心学。因此我们决定以介绍大书及其发展流变的方式，系统介绍近世几部经典著作及其对中国文化的影响。这一辑我们选了六部书，分别是《朱子全书》《传习录》《资治通鉴》《文苑英华》《太平广记》和《大藏经》，并竭诚邀请相关领域的专家以“大家写小书”的通俗方式各写成几万字的简要专著，再请有中文背景的英语专家译成英文。这六本书的著者和译者分别是：

《〈朱子全书〉及其传承》	傅惠生著	潘文国译
《走向良知——〈传习录〉与阳明心学》	杨国荣著	龚海燕译
《〈资治通鉴〉与中国史学》	庄辉明著	张春柏译
《〈文苑英华〉与近世诗文思潮》	陈引驰著	张德劭译
《〈太平广记〉与通俗文学》	陈大康著	傅惠生译
《汉语佛藏及其文化关怀》	李向平著	傅惠生译

著译者名单中有多位响彻国内外学界的名字。如杨国荣教授是教育部长江学者、华东师大人文社会科学学院院长，庄辉明教授是华东师范大学原党委副书记、副校长、孟宪承书院院长，陈引驰教授是复旦大学中文系主任、教育部“新世纪优秀人才”，陈大康教授是华东师大原中文系主任、图书馆馆长、国务院学位委员会学科评议组成员，李向平教授是华东师范大学社会学系主任、上海市宗教学会副会长，张春柏教授是华东师范大学外语学院前院长、教育部外语教学指导委员会委员、上海外文协会副会长，傅惠生教授是华东师大对外汉语系主任、中国英汉语比较研究会常务理事，等等。这些学者的加盟为本丛书的完成提供了质量保证。在此我谨向诸位作者、译者表示衷心的感谢！

本书的计划其实十多年以前就已开始，许多作者也早已提交了他们的著稿，但主要由于我的责任，加上翻译的不易，拖宕至今。这些年来，在诸位著译者，特别是傅惠生教授锲而不舍的努力下，全书终于告就。傅教授一人承担了一部书的写作和两部书的翻译，还帮我审

读了大部译稿，是书之成，厥功至伟。

最后我要向多年来致力于推动我国外语教育事业，近年来又特别重视中国文化对外传播并作出重要贡献的上海外语教育出版社及庄智象社长表示敬意，感谢他们愿意出版这么一套目前看来还有点“冷门”的汉英对照系列丛书。

潘文国

2016年6月28日于上海

# FOREWORD

Through years of efforts of the authors and translators, the Chinese-English Series of Premodern Chinese Classics and Traditional Culture has finally come under publication. The word *premodern* here refers to a specific period in Chinese history between *ancient* and *modern*, starting, as I propose, from the Song dynasty.

The Song dynasty is a very important period in China which, in a sense, marks the end of the classical China and the beginning of the premodern China. Before the Song dynasty, China had always been a society of aristocrats when all important persons known to us, even the humblest ones like Tao Yuanming or Du Fu, had an aristocratic or noble background, whereas from the Song dynasty on, common people from grassroots might have a chance to enter the elitist gentry; in fact, certain people from poor families had even become prime ministers or esteemed scholars in the Song dynasty. The reason is that the imperial examination system which was founded in the Sui and Tang dynasties was brought into full play in the Song dynasty and yielded its best effect. "A muddy-footed farmer in the morning, an official in the emperor's court in the evening" became a realizable dream and the social strata became a convective and lively one. At the same time, thanks to the imperial policy which lay more emphasis on culture than on army, education and cultural undertakings were highly encouraged, which made the Song dynasty the most wealthy and prosperous period in the history of China or even in the world. What was described in the famous genre painting of *A Clear Bright Day on the River* by Zhang Zeduan and the famous tune-poem *Watching the Sea Tide* by Liu Yong, or recorded in the memoirs of *The Prosperous Days in Kaifeng* by Meng Yuanlao and *The Past Memories of Hangzhou* by Zhou Mi reflected the thriving and vigorous civil life never found in earlier dynasties, and gave us a direct impression that the Song and the Tang belong to two different epochs with the Song much closer to us. The much talked-



about “four great inventions of China”, with the exception of *paper*, were achieved in the Song dynasty and introduced to the West, leading to the great Renaissance in Europe.

Culturally speaking, the Song dynasty is an epoch of historic importance which creates the future by inheriting the past. This is a time when all the past cultural achievements were inherited and summarized; it is also a time when people made cultural achievements to influence the coming times till today in China as well as in East Asia. It might not be everybody's knowledge that the “traditional China” or “Chinese tradition” we talk about proudly today was not that of Han, Tang or pre-Qin as we imagine or believe, but was actually created from the Song dynasty, or reshaped by the Song people in the name of earlier periods. For instance, in the May Fourth Movement in 1919, people raised the banner of “Down with the Kong stash (Confucian doctrines)”, but their criticism should actually be targeted at the “Zhu stash”, as what they repudiated was not the doctrines of Kong Zi or Meng Zi, but the doctrine of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, only disguised as the former. And the Confucianism or neo-Confucianism many people have been advocating since 1930s till today is actually a resurgence of Song-Ming Principlism. Using the method of “elaboration instead of creation”, Zhu Xi successfully transformed Kong ideology into Zhu ideology, which later became the dominant ideology especially since the Ming dynasty as it was adopted as the only authorized standard for imperial examinations. The methodology of Zhu Xi is a typical example of Song scholars, which was adopted by other people in other fields as well. Everyone is familiar with the stories of two Sima's. The former refers to Sima Qian of the Han dynasty who created the chronological-biographical style in writing history, thus laying the foundation of the 25 orthodox histories in China, whereas the latter refers to Sima Guang of the Song dynasty who, by continuing the tradition of *Spring-Autumn Annals* of the ancient time, revived the annalistic style in history writing, thus not only successfully inheriting the achievement of past 17 *Histories*, but also opening a broader way for later history writing such as the event-focused style and the outline-focused style. Zheng Qiao

of the Southern Song dynasty found another new path by emphasizing the memorandum part of *Historical Records* and *History of the Han Dynasty* and spent his whole life finishing the book *Comprehensive Study of Memorandums*, a vital complement to Sima Guang's book which merely reorganized the biography part of *Histories*. The two books formed another tradition in historical studies, working side by side with the orthodox 25 *Histories* and impacting the historical study till today.

From above examples we conclude that one cannot really understand China and Chinese tradition without studying the Song dynasty and its cultural contribution. However, for a very long time in our translation and introduction of Chinese culture to the world, we lay too much emphasis on the pre-Qin part and neglect the Song dynasty. The pre-Qin classics and philosophical works had more than scores of translations while important books since the Song dynasty, save poetry, plays and novels, have drawn little attention and translation. We translated Kong Zi and Meng Zi, but did not know that the "feudal ideology" which had restrained the Chinese nation for centuries did not come directly from them but from the Song-Ming Principlism; we translated *Laozi* and *Zhungzi* but did not know that what influenced the thoughts of intellectuals after the Song dynasty was already an amalgam that merged Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, with the Chan Buddhism playing a very important role. Realizing this, we planned to do something to fill in the blank so as to draw attention from home and abroad to the introduction of the *premodern* cultural literature, of which the present series is the initial step.

The role of the Song dynasty as a linkage between the ancient and the modern can be seen principally in the several "great" books or anthologies. In the early Northern Song period there already appeared the "four great works" of *Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia*, *Referential Records from Imperial Archives*, *Taiping Miscellany* and *Choice Blossoms of Literature*, three out of the four containing 1,000 volumes. These were doubtlessly the representative establishments of the Song culture. The *Kaibao Tripitaka* laid the foundation for the Buddhist pitaka compilation. The *Enlarged Rhyming Dictionary*, the *Collected Rhyming Dictionary*, the *Enlarged Sinographic Dictionary* and the

*Classified Sinographic Dictionary* marked new achievements in dictionary compilation. The *History as a Mirror for Governance* opened up a new path for historiography. The *Comprehensive Study of Memorandums* served as an important continuation in the formation of the ten *Comprehensives*. Hong Mai's *Miscellaneous Notes from the Tolerance Study*, Shen Kuo's *Pen Talk in the Dreamed Creek Garden* and Wang Yinglin's *Record of Observances from Arduous Studies* marked the beginning of premodern academic research. Although the *Complete Works of Zhu Xi* was compiled just recently, most of the works contained therein were already popular in the late Song dynasty. Among them, the *Collected Annotations to the Four Books*, the *Close Reflections*, and the *Classified Analects of Zhu Xi* even became the most important textbooks of Principlism during the 700 years from the late Song dynasty to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. And from Zhu Xi one would naturally relate to Wang Yangming whose Mindology had played no less important role since the mid-Ming dynasty. Thus we decided to introduce the premodern classics and their influence to Chinese culture by way of introducing some "great books" and their developments. In the present series we have chosen six books. They are respectively, the *Complete Works of Zhu Xi*, the *Records of Instructions and Reviews*, the *History as a Mirror for Governance*, the *Choice Blossoms of Literature*, the *Taiping Miscellany*, and the *Buddhist Tripitaka*. And we invited established experts in relevant areas to write concise, introductory books in the manner of "big heads preparing small pamphlets", before asking English experts with Chinese study background to translate them into English. Specifically, the authors and translators of the six books are:

*Complete Works of Zhu Xi and Its Inheritance*, written by Fu Huisheng,  
annotated & translated by Pan Wenguo

*To Attain Innate Knowledge — Records of the Instructions and Reviews  
and Yangming's Mindology*, written by Yang Guorong, translated by  
Gong Haiyan

*History as a Mirror for Governance and Chinese Historiography*,  
written by Zhuang Huiming, translated by Zhang Chunbai

*Choice Blossoms of Literature and the Trends of Premodern Poetry and Prose*, written by Chen Yinchí, translated by Zhang Deshao

*The Taiping Miscellany and Chinese Popular Literature*, written by Chen Dakang, translated by Fu Huisheng

*The Buddhist Triptaka in Chinese and Its Cultural Concern*, written by Li Xiangping, translated by Fu Huisheng

You may find in the list not a few names very familiar to the academic circles. For example, Professor Yang Guorong is the Changjiang Scholar of the State Ministry of Education and dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of East China Normal University (ECNU), Professor Zhuang Huiming is the ex-vice-president of ECNU and dean of Meng Xiancheng Academy, Professor Chen Yinchí is head of the Department of Chinese Language and Literature of Fudan University and “Talent of the New Century” assigned by the State Ministry of Education, Professor Chen Dakang is the former head of Department of Chinese Language and Literature, former head of the ECNU Library as well as member of the Discipline Appraisal Group of the Degree Committee of the State Council, Professor Li Xiangping is head of the Department of Sociology of ECNU and vice-chairman of Shanghai Society for Religious Studies, Professor Zhang Chunbai is the former dean of the College of Foreign Languages Studies of ECNU and member of the Guidance Committee for Teaching Foreign Languages of the State Ministry of Education, as well as the vice chairman of the Shanghai Society of Foreign Languages, Professor Fu Huisheng is the head of Department of International Chinese Studies of ECNU and standing council member of China Association for Comparative Studies between English and Chinese, so on and so forth. Their participation is an important guarantee of the success of the present series. Here I would like to express my personal gratitude to these eminent scholars!

The plan for this series actually started a dozen of years ago and many authors handed their manuscripts rather early. It's mainly my delay and the difficulty in translation that had kept the process so long. Now,

with the efforts of all the authors and translators, this series is finally under publication. Special thanks must go to Professor Fu Huisheng who personally took up the writing of one book and the translation of another two books. Besides, he has helped me to read over most of the manuscripts of translations. Without his persistence the series would not be successful.

Finally I would like to extend my thanks to Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press and its president and editor-in-chief, Professor Zhuang Zhixiang, who has been unswervingly in support of the country's foreign languages teaching cause, and who, in recent years, has shown special concern for promoting the traditional Chinese culture to the world. Without their support, this seemingly unpopular title would not have an opportunity to go to the public.

Pan Wenguo

Shanghai

June 28, 2016



王阳明先生全集卷之四十五

（一） 阳明先生全集卷之四十五

（二） 阳明先生全集卷之四十五

阳明先生全集卷之四十五

## 走向良知

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## 理学的演变：心学形成的历史前提

宋明时期，随着理学的展开，逐渐诞生了一系列具有经典意义的哲学文本，王阳明的《传习录》便是其中引人瞩目的一种。尽管《传习录》的篇幅不大，但它作为王阳明心学的重要载体，在明中叶以后的中国思想文化史上产生了深远的影响。当我们回顾近四百余年中国思想发展的历程时，总是不能不追溯到这部浓缩了王阳明心学精华的哲学典籍。

作为理学的分支，王阳明心学的形成以理学的演变过程为其历史前提。要把握心学的理论内涵，便应当对理学衍化的过程，以及这一过程中所涉及的问题，作一简要的考察。

### 第一节 性即理及其他：形上本体的强化

心性关系是理学所辨析的重要问题；正是对心性的关注，使理学常常被称为心性之学。首先对心性关系作系统考察的，是二程（程颢、程颐）和朱熹。

在程朱那里，心泛指一般的精神活动及精神现象，并与人的感性存在相联系。二程说：“在人为性，主于身为心。”（《二程遗书》卷十八）与身相对的人侧重于人之为人的普遍本质，身则首先与个体的感性生命相联系。主于身既意味着心的灵明知觉对形体的制约，又蕴含着感性存在对心的渗入。

心作为灵明知觉与感性存在的统一，更多地表现为一种本然（本来如此的形态）。从本然到当然（应当达到的形态），便涉及心与理、心与性的关系。朱熹认为，心与理并不彼此分离：“心与理一。”（同上）理与心的统一并不是指心与理彼此等同或融合为一，它具体展开为心具理：“心包万理，万理具于一心。”（同上，卷九）所谓心具理，也就是理内在于心而主宰心。具于心之理，也就是

性：“理在人心，是之为性。”（《朱子语类》卷九十八）在程朱那里，性与理的关系与心和理的关系颇有不同。性作为在心之理，与理具有同一性，在此意义上，程朱一再强调性即理：“性即理也，在心唤作性，在事唤作理。”（同上）心与理则更多地表现为一种包含关系，所谓心具众理、心包万理，都点出了此义。这种关系所侧重的主要是相互联系的两个方面，即心以理为内容，理为心之主宰。这样，按程朱的看法，讨论性，诚然可说性即理（此“即”有合一义），但谈到心，则不可在相同意义上说心即理。

在对心与性的内涵分别加以解说的同时，程朱又对二者的关系作了规定。朱熹曾以太极和阴阳比喻性和心：“性犹太极也，心犹阴阳也。”（《朱子语类》卷五）太极在程朱那里常常被视为理的最高形态，阴阳则是气；正如在天道观上，理决定气一样，在心性关系上，性决定心。心与性的如上关系，往往被更简要地概括为“心以性为体”（同上）。可以看出，在心性之域，程朱的注重之点更多地在于确立人性的至上地位。

从性为本体的前提出发，朱熹批评“以心来说性”。（同上，卷四）以心说性意味着将性还原为心，或者说，以心来规定性。与之相对，程朱更倾向于化心为性。这一点，在以上分析中已不难窥见，而在人心与道心说中则可进一步看出。人心主要与人的感性存在（形体）相联系，道心则出于普遍的义理，并因此纯而又纯。就其以理为内容而言，道心与性相通，事实上，朱熹亦肯定了这一点：“性则是道心。”（同上，卷六十一）在程朱看来，人心与道心的合理关系应当是人心听命于道心，而以道心为主则意味着化人心为道心：“以道心为主，则人心亦化而为道心矣。”（《答黄子耕》，《朱文公文集》卷五十一）就其内在逻辑而言，化人心为道心与化心为性乃是相互关联的二个方面，二者指向同一目标：以理性本体净化感性之域。

如上倾向在程朱的性情论中得到了进一步展示。情属于广义的心，作为心的一个方面，它处于感性经验的层面。心性关系的具体展开，便逻辑地涉及性与情的关系。在《颜子所学何好论》中，程颐提出了性情关系上的两种原则，即“性其情”与“情其性”。性其情之说最初出于王弼（参见王弼《周易·乾卦》注），其基本涵义是以性统情和化情为性；情其性则意味着以情抑制性。程颐吸取并发挥了王