

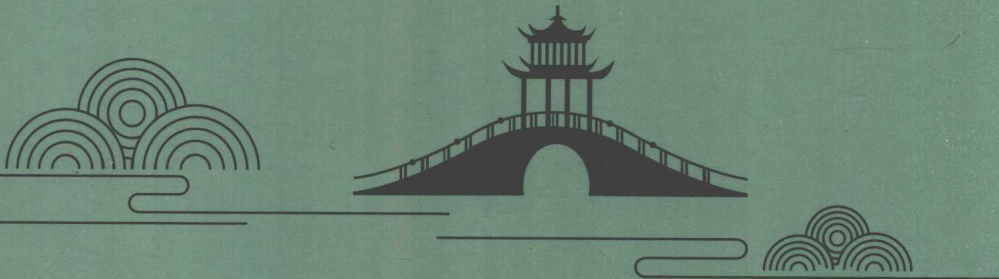


杨国荣 ○ 原著

Planned by Zhuang Zhixiang Edited by Pan Wenguo

READINGS OF
CHINESE CULTURE SERIES
ACADEMICS II

Translated by Gong Haiyan



中国经典文化走向世界丛书
学术卷 二

庄智象 ○ 总策划 潘文国 ○ 总主编
龚海燕 ○ 译



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

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“Cherish one’s own beauty, respect other’s beauty, and when both beauties are respected and cherished, the world will become one”, said Fei Xiaotong, a famous Chinese sociologist at a celebration party in honor of his eightieth birthday about thirty years ago. In a time of growing interest in intercultural communication today, these words sound especially wise and far-sighted. Translation, as one of the most important means for cultural communication, is usually done into one’s mother tongue from other languages by native translators. This largely guarantees the quality of translated text, so far as the linguistic readability is concerned. However, this method implies a one-sidedness in correspondence, as only the translator’s “respect for other’s beauty” is concerned, regardless, though not completely, of how the local people look upon and cherish their own beauty. It should be compensated by translations on the other way, that is, works selected, interpreted, and translated by the local people themselves into languages other than their own. This approach may go directly against the prevalent views in modern translation theories but, in my opinion, is worthy of practicing. It is perhaps an even more effective way to bring about successful communication in cultures, and the beauties of the world can really be shared by the world’s people. It is with such understanding that the Shanghai Foreign Languages Education Press is organizing a new series of books, entitled *Readings of Chinese Culture*, to introduce Chinese culture, past and present, to the world, with works selected and translated by the Chinese scholars and translators.

The series will cover a wide range of writings including but not restricted to works of different literary genres. For the first batch, we are glad to provide three books of essays and one book of short stories, all written by authors of the 20th century. They will be continued by a batch of serious academic writings on premodern Chinese classics in philosophy, literature, and historiography, written by influential scholars of our time.

Later, we will offer more books on classical Chinese drama, classical Chinese poetry, etc.

Some of the books in the series have been published before, but they have been revised and rearranged for the new purpose to meet the current needs of broader readers. We are looking forward to hearing comments and suggestions on the series for future improvement.

Pan Wenguo

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INTRODUCTION

Through years of efforts of the authors and translators, the Chinese-English Series of Pre-modern Chinese Classics and Traditional Culture has finally come under publication. The word *pre-modern* 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 pre-modern 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 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 the 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 the 1930s till today is actually a resurgence of the 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 the 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 in 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 in the Song Dynasty who, by continuing the tradition of *Spring-Autumn Annals* in the ancient time, revived the annalistic style in history writing, thus not only successfully inheriting the achievement of the 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 the 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 have 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 *Confucian Analects* and *Mencius*, 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 *Laoze* and *Zhuangzi* 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 *pre-modern* 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 pre-modern 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 20th 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 pre-modern 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 Pre-modern Poetry and Prose, written by Chen Yinchi, translated by Zhang Deshao

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 Yinchi 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 the 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 School of Foreign Languages 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 head of the 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 unwaveringly 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

Chapter One

Evolution of the Principlism: Historical Prerequisite for the Formation of Mindology

During the Song and Ming Dynasties, a series of classical philosophical works were gradually published along with the development of the Principlism, and *Records of the Instructions and Reviews* by Wang Yangming^① was a prominent one. Although not in great length, it is an important book of Wang Yangming's Mindology, which exerted a far-reaching influence on the Chinese intellectual and cultural history after the middle of the Ming Dynasty. When we review the Chinese intellectual history in about four hundred years, we always have to trace back to this philosophical classic that epitomizes Wang Yangming's Mindology.

As a ramification of the Principlism, the formation of Wang Yangming's Mindology relied on the development of the Principlism as its prerequisite. Therefore, in order to have a good command of the meanings of the Mindology, we must first make a brief examination of the course of the evolution of the Principlism and the relevant problems involved.

1. Nature is Principle, and Others: Intensification of Metaphysical Noumenon

The relation between Mind and Nature is an important issue for

① Wang Yangming (1472 – 1529), a celebrated philosopher, educator, calligrapher, and government official of the Ming Dynasty. He is commonly regarded as the most important Neo-Confucian thinker after Zhu Xi.

analysis in the Principlism. It is because of the focal concern on Mind and Nature that the Principlism is often called the Study of Mind and Nature. The first scholars who made the systematic examination of the relation between Mind and Nature are two Cheng brothers (Cheng Hao^① and Cheng Yi^②) and Zhu Xi^③.

In Chengs-Zhu's view, Mind referred to general spiritual activity and spiritual phenomena, and was connected with man's sensitive existence. Two Chengs said: "Every man is born with Nature, and the master of body is Mind." (*The Posthumous Writings of Two Chengs*, vol.18) Man, being opposite to body, is emphasized for the universal essence as human beings, whereas body is primarily connected with the sensible life of an individual. The master of body implies not only the restraint of intelligent apperception of Mind over body, but also the infiltration of sensitive existence into Mind.

Mind as the unity of intelligent apperception and sensitive existence often manifests an original state (original suchness). From original state to oughtness (a should-be state), there is an involvement of the relations between Mind and Principle, and Mind and Nature. Zhu Xi held that Mind and Principle were not separable from each other: "Mind and Principle are in unity." (*Ibid.*) The unity of Principle and Mind does not mean they are identical to each other or blended into oneness. It unfolds concretely an existence of Principle in Mind: "Mind embodies all Principles, and all Principles are embodied in one Mind." (*Ibid.* vol.9) Embodiment of Principle in Mind means that Principle is in and dominates Mind. Principle in Mind is also Nature: "Principle in Mind of man is Nature." (*Categorized Quotations from Zhuzi*, vol.98). In Chengs-Zhu's view, the relation between Nature and Principle was quite different

① Cheng Hao (1032 – 1085), a philosopher of the Northern Song Dynasty. He and his younger brother Cheng Yi were among the pioneers of the Song Dynasty Neo-Confucianism.

② Cheng Yi (1033 – 1107), a philosopher of the Northern Song Dynasty. He lived and taught in Luoyang, and gave lectures to the emperor on Confucianism.

③ Zhu Xi (1130 – 1200), a prominent philosopher, writer and government official of the Southern Song Dynasty. He was the leading figure of the School of Principlism and the most influential rationalist Neo-Confucian in China. He made contributions to Chinese philosophy by assigning special significance to the Four Books.

from the relation between Mind and Principle. Nature as Principle in Mind shares the identity with Principle. It is in this sense that Chengs-Zhu repeatedly emphasized: “Nature is Principle. It is called Nature in Mind, and Principle in Thing.” (*Ibid.*) Mind and Principle often manifest a relation of inclusion, as indicated in “All Principles exist in Mind”, or “Mind embodies all Principles”. This relation mainly focuses on the two mutually related aspects: Mind holds Principle as its substance, and Principle is the master of Mind. Hence, according to Chengs-Zhu’s view, in discussion of Nature, it could certainly be said that Nature was Principle (the word “was” has the meaning of “oneness”); but in talking about Mind, it could not be said in the same sense that Mind was Principle.

In elucidation of the connotations of Mind and Nature respectively, Chengs-Zhu at the same time defined their relation. Zhu Xi once compared the Extreme Ultimate (*Taiji*) and *yin-yang* to Nature and Mind: “Nature is like the Extreme Ultimate, and Mind *yin-yang*.” (*Categorized Quotations from Zhuzi*, vol. 5) The Extreme Ultimate was often regarded in the works of Chengs-Zhu as the highest form of Principle, and *yin-yang* as *qi* (vital energy); while in the theory of the Way of Heaven, Principle determined *qi*, in the relation between Mind and Nature, Nature determined Mind. The above relation between Mind and Nature was usually much briefly generalized as that “Mind holds Nature as its noumenon.” (*Ibid.*) Thus it can be seen that in the domain of Mind and Nature, Chengs-Zhu focused their attention on establishing the supremacy of human nature.

Starting from the prerequisite of Nature as noumenon, Zhu Xi criticized “the explication of Nature with Mind”. (*Ibid.* vol.4) Explication of Nature with Mind implies the restoration of Nature to Mind, or the definition of Nature with Mind. Contrary to this, Chengs-Zhu preferred to transform Mind into Nature. This point is easily perceived in the above analysis, and can be further seen in the theory of Mind of Man and Mind of the Way. Mind of Man is mainly associated with sensitive existence (shape of the body), whereas Mind of the Way originates from the universal Principle and is therefore pure out of purity. With regard to Principle as substance, Mind of the Way and Nature are inseparably connected. In fact,

Zhu Xi also affirmed this point: “Nature, therefore, is Mind of the Way.” (*Ibid.* vol.61) In Chengs-Zhu’s view, the rational relation between Mind of Man and Mind of the Way should be that Mind of Man was in submission to Mind of the Way, and dominance of Mind of the Way implies that Mind of Man should be transformed to Mind of the Way: “With Mind of the Way in dominance, Mind of Man is then transformed into the Mind of the Way.” (Reply to Huang Zigeng, *Collected Writings of Master Zhu*, vol.51) In terms of their internal logic, transformation of Mind of Man into Mind of the Way, and transformation of Mind into Nature are the two mutually connected aspects, and both direct to the same goal: purification of perceptual domain with noumenon of Principle-Nature.

The above tendency was further manifested in Chengs-Zhu’s theory of Nature and Feeling. Feeling as an aspect of Mind belongs to Mind in a broad sense, and is on the level of perceptual experience. The concrete unfoldment of the relation between Mind and Nature is thus logically involved with the relation between Nature and Feeling. Cheng Yi in his essay “On What Yan Yuan Liked to Learn” put forward the two Principles as to the relation between nature and feeling, i.e., “temper Feeling with Nature” and “temper Nature with Feeling”. “Temper Feeling with Nature”, first put forward by Wang Bi^① in his Annotation of the Qian Hexagram of *The Zhou Book of Change*, basically means the dominance of Nature over Feeling and the transformation of Feeling into Nature, while “temper Nature with Feeling” implies the restraint of Nature with Feeling. Cheng Yi absorbed and elucidated Wang Bi’s theory of “temper Feeling with Nature”, and thus rejected “temper Nature with Feeling”. This principle of the relation between Feeling and Nature was repeatedly affirmed later by Zhu Xi. In the same way as transforming Mind of Man into Mind of the Way, “temper Feeling with Nature” reflected the generalized tendency of the essence of Principlist nature: “temper Feeling with Nature” in essence means the rationalization of Feeling. In this process, Feeling of Man in connection with perceptual

① Wang Bi (226–249), a philosopher whose most important works are commentaries on Lao Zi’s *Dao De Jing* and *The Zhou Book of Change*.