

Research Notes

From the *Chu-Tzu Yü-Lei* (1270) to the *Chu-Tzu Ch'üan-Shu* (1714): Change and Stability of Orthodox Ch'eng-Chu Learning*

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ABSTRACT

In an influential paper published in 1975, Wing-tsit Chan found several new trends in seventeenth-century Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy: increased emphasis on the concrete topics at the cost of such metaphysical concepts as human nature (*hsing* 性), decree (*ming* 命), *li* 理, and *ch'i* 氣; more rationalistic trends; and stronger adherence to the idea of *tao-t'ung* 道統. Chan's claims have gone largely unchallenged since they were made nearly three decades ago, although there have been significant works on various aspects of the early Ch'ing period.

In this paper, I will re-examine the shifts in priorities and emphases of orthodox Ch'eng-Chu learning by comparing two important compilations of the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries: the *Chu-tzu yü-lei* 朱子語類 and the *Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu* 朱子全書. The result of my study yields a picture more nuanced than what Wing-tsit Chan found in his study of the shift from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* 性理大全 to the *Hsing-li ching-i* 性理精義. To be sure, many of Chan's findings are reconfirmed: the *Ch'üan-shu* did show an increased rationalistic spirit, did contain more concrete scientific knowledge, and did emphasize the importance of the method of learning. At the same time, however, the traditional Confucian concerns of human nature and *li* (*hsing-li*), *li-ch'i*, and *kuei-shen* (and the supreme ultimate and yin-yang within the category of *li-ch'i*) were still important. The basic orientation—priorities and emphases—of the orthodox thought of the Ch'eng-Chu School turns out to have not

* I would like to thank one of the reviewers for helping me see the need to clarify some of the points made in the paper.

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changed very much after all, at least in the government-initiated compilations of the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu Confucians.

Key Words: Chu Hsi, *Chu-tzu yü-lei*, *Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu*, Ch'eng-Chu School

As Neo-Confucian thought evolved from its rise in the eleventh century, there were many shifts in the priorities and emphasis of the Confucian learning. The shifts could be found even within the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu 程朱 school. Based on the study of the content of an early eighteenth-century compilation of Neo-Confucian philosophy, the *Hsing-li ching-i* 性理精義 (compiled in 1715), and of the writings of three major seventeenth-century thinkers of the Ch'eng-Chu school, Wing-tsit Chan found the following new trends in the seventeenth-century Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy:¹ 1) increased emphasis on the methodology of "learning" (*hsueh* 學) at the cost of such metaphysical concepts as human nature (*hsing* 性), decree (*ming* 命), *li* 理, and *ch'i* 氣; 2) even within the category of "*li-ch'i*" 理氣, shift of interest from such abstract ideas like "supreme ultimate" (*t'ai-chi* 太極) and yin-yang 陰陽 to such concrete topics as heaven and earth, the sun and moon, etc.; 3) more rationalistic trends in discussions of topics like *kuei-shen* 鬼神 and other strange phenomena; 4) stronger adherence to the idea of *tao-t'ung* 道統 (the tradition of [the orthodox transmission of] the [Confucian] Way), with the increased eminence of Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Chan attributed these shifts to the shifts in the intellectual climate of the day: to the increased interest in practical knowledge caused by the mid-seventeenth-century national crisis, and especially to the influence of Western science that was having a great effect on many Chinese thinkers, including Li Kuang-ti 李光地 (1642-1718), the compiler of the *Hsing-li ching-i*, and even the K'ang-hsi 康熙 emperor (r. 1662-1722) himself, who ordered the compilation.²

1. Wing-tsit Chan, "The *Hsing-li ching-i* and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," Wm. Theodore de Bary ed., *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 543-579.

2. On the interest in Western scientific knowledge of Li Kuang-ti and K'ang-hsi, Rita Hsiao-fu Peng, "The K'ang-hsi Emperor's Absorption in Western Mathematics and Astronomy and His Extensive Applications of Scientific Knowledge," *Bulletin of Historical Research* 3 (1975): 349-422; Benjamin A. Elman, *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900* (Harvard University Press, 2005), chapters. 4-5; Han Ch'i 韓琦, "Chün-chu he pu-i chih chien: Li Kuang-ti tsai K'ang-hsi shi-tai te huo-tung chi ch'i tui ke-hsueh de ying-hsiang" 君主和布衣之間: 李光地在康熙時代的活動及其對科學的影響, *Ch'ing-hua hsueh-pao* 清華學報, new series, 26 (1996): 421-445.

These claims of Chan have gone largely unchallenged since they were first made nearly three decades ago, although there have been significant works on various aspects of the early Ch'ing period. Some of these works have stressed the continuities, rather than the shifts, in the Ch'eng-Chu learning, but they have generally agreed with Chan in noting the inclination for rationalism, empiricism, practicality, and concrete knowledge in the early Ch'ing Ch'eng-Chu learning.³

In this paper, I will look again at the shift in the priorities and emphasis in the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu learning, by comparing the contents of the two important compilations of Chu Hsi's sayings and writings published in the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries: the *Chu-tzu yü-lei* 朱子語類 (compiled in 1270, hereafter abridged as *Yü-lei*), and the *Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu* 朱子全書 (compiled in 1714, hereafter abridged as *Ch'üan-shu*), compiled just a year earlier than the *Hsing-li ching-i* by the same Li Kuang-ti upon the order of the same K'ang-hsi emperor. Study and comparison of these two compilations will yield, in my view, more significant and interesting results than did Chan's choice of the *Hsing-li ching-i* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* 性理大全 (compiled in 1415), because the former pair of compilations cover a wider range of topics in classification schemes better and more developed than the latter pair.⁴ Also, the *Ch'üan-shu* and the *Yü-lei*, both being collections of Chu Hsi's conversations and writings, are more homogeneous and comparable in nature, than the other two quite heterogeneous anthologies of separate treatises and writings by various authors. Even the sizes of the *Ch'üan-shu* and the *Yü-lei* are more nearly comparable, whereas those of the *Hsing-li ching-i* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* are quite different from each other.

The result of my study yields a picture more nuanced than what Chan found in his study of the shift from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. To be

3. Yü Ying-shih, "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," *Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 10 (1975): 105-136; Yamanoi Yü 山井湧, *Min Shin shisōshi no kenkyū* 明清思想史の研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1980), part 2; Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); William Theodore de Bary, *The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), chapters 4-6; Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Linguistic Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); On-cho Ng, *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi (1642-1718) and Qing Learning* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

4. Of course, it is possible that, as one of the reviewers has pointed out, the *Ch'üan-shu*, by trying to be complete (*ch'üan*), could not sufficiently reflect the shift, and that there were other texts that could show the shift more clearly.

sure, some of his findings are reconfirmed. For example, the *Ch'üan-shu* showed more rationalistic tendencies compared with the *Yü-lei* and some evidence for the rigidification of the idea of *tao-t'ung*. The *Ch'üan-shu* also included more concrete scientific knowledge than its precursor. Yet, on the whole, such shifts were not so pronounced in the comparison of the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu* as Chan found in his study of the shifts from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. Indeed, contrary to Chan's findings, the relative importance of such abstract topics as human nature, *li-ch'i*, and *kuei-shen* did not decrease, but increased from the *Yü-lei* to the *Ch'üan-shu*; and within the category of *li-ch'i*, the subjects of the supreme ultimate and the yin-yang became more important than more concrete topics. My own closer examination of the shifts from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i* also shows that, even there, some of the shifts seen by Chan did not really take place.

Before presenting my own findings in the later sections, I will first look at the efforts of the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* to reorganize and improve the original classification scheme of the *Yü-lei*.

Reorganization of the Classification Scheme in the *Ch'üan-shu*

The situation surrounding the compilation of the *Ch'üan-shu* and the *Hsing-li ching-i* is fairly well known. The two anthologies were compiled by Li Kuang-ti, the most prominent Neo-Confucian scholar at the time, under the order of K'ang-hsi. But the emperor himself had a great interest in the compilation work, and played an active role in it, sometimes intervening in details of selecting and arranging the passages. These were the first anthologies sponsored by K'ang-hsi on Neo-Confucian philosophy, but came fairly late in his reign, during which many compilation and anthology projects were carried out. Based on this, Wing-tsit Chan concluded that K'ang-hsi's motivation in compiling them could not have been solely, or even mainly, political—seeking ideological conformity and control. For there was no more need for that at this late date. Instead, Chan considered K'ang-hsi's genuine interest and sincere admiration for Chu Hsi to have been a more important factor.⁵

In addition to "Preface" (*hsü* 序), written by the emperor, the *Ch'üan-shu* has "Explanatory Statements" (*fan-li* 凡例), which is attributed to K'ang-hsi, but is likely to have been written by Li Kuang-ti, and can be considered to reflect the

5. Chan, "*Hsing-li ching-i* and Ch'eng-Chu School", 544-545.

views shared by the two men. The “Explanatory Statement” begins by offering the reasons for compiling it. First, they chose Chu Hsi, because in their views, his learning was the most “pure” (*ch'un* 醇) among the important Confucians of the recent period, and his writings are most “complete” (*pei* 備).⁶ They also explained why their new compilation was called “*ch'üan-shu*” (the complete works), while in fact it was compiled by selecting passages from the *Yü-lei* and the *Chu-wen-kung wen-chi* 朱文公文集 (compiled in 1534): “Although not all the passages [from the two works] are included, [Chu Hsi’s] subtle words and essential ideas are there almost completely.”⁷ The “Explanatory Statement” also says that, in preparing the compilation, the compilers corrected many errors by comparing various editions of the *Yü-lei* and the *Wen-chi*, by examining the meanings of the texts, and on the topic of harmonics (*lü-lü* 律呂), by performing computations themselves.⁸ They also corrected the imbalance in Chu Hsi’s discussion of historical personages which was too detailed on the Sung dynasty and too brief on earlier periods.⁹

What was most important for K’ang-hsi and Li Kuang-ti, however, was that the arrangements and the classifying schemes of the topics in the earlier compilations—the *Yü-lei* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*—were not satisfactory. In the “Explanatory Statement” they listed the aspects in which the arrangement in the *Yü-lei* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* were deficient:¹⁰ 1) that the discussion on the calendrical method (*li-fa* 曆法) should not have come before the discussion of the sun, the moon and the stars and the movement of the heavens; 2) that the yin-yang, the five phases (*wu-hsing* 五行) and the four seasons (*ssu-shih* 四時), which are nothing but *ch'i*, should have come right after *li-ch'i*; 3) that the discussion of the phenomena like thunder, lightning, wind, and rain, which do not belong to “the heavenly pattern” (*t'ien-wen* 天文),¹¹ should not have been attached to the

6. *Ch'üan-shu*, “Explanatory Statement”, 1a. Indeed, in the “Preface” to the *Ch'üan-shu*, after mentioning Tung Chung-shu, Han Yü, Shao Yung, Chou Tun-i, and the Ch’eng brothers, whom Chu Hsi “collected into a great synthesis” (*chi-ta-ch'eng* 集大成), the emperor added: “Even if the sages were to arise again, they would never be able to exceed this.”

7. *Ch'üan-shu*, “Explanatory Statement”, 1b.

8. *Ibid.*, 3b-4a.

9. *Ibid.*, 3b.

10. *Ibid.*, 2a-3a.

11. The word “*t'ien-wen*,” which I translate as “the heavenly pattern,” means “astronomy” in modern Chinese, but had a different and broader meaning in traditional period, covering various, usually qualitative, aspects of the sky and celestial bodies, including their astrological significances.

section on the latter topic; 4) that “maintaining reverence” (*chu-ching* 主敬) and “maintaining quietude” (*chu-ching* 主靜) are part of “keeping and nourishing [the self]” (*ts'un-yang* 存養), and thus the discussion on the former two topics should not have been separate from that on the latter one; 5) that in the discussion on *tao-t'ung*, the Ch'eng brothers' many disciples were put together without properly differentiating them; 6) that the order of the discussion of topics in the category of “the way of governing” (*chih-tao* 治道) were not proper; and 7) that since the *Yü-lei* is mostly a collection of Chu Hsi's teachings of his disciples, there should not have been a separate category of “teaching of the disciples” (*hsün men-jen* 訓門人), which had many overlaps with the category of “learning” any way.

In classifying and arranging the topics, the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* had initially begun by simply collating the categories of the *Yü-lei* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*, and thus “could not avoid many duplications and inconsistencies.”¹² In several letters written to the emperor, Li Kuang-ti frequently talked about, and answered the emperor's comments about, the order and the classification of various topics in their new compilation.¹³ Indeed, in a letter discussing the arrangement of the topics in a draft version, Li had pointed out the same problems that were to be mentioned in the “Explanatory Statement” that we have seen above, and proposed ways to change the arrangement, which were adopted in the finished compilation.

The subcategories in the category of “*li-ch'i*” begin with the general discussion; followed by the supreme ultimate; next by the heaven and earth; next by the degrees of [the movements of] the heavens (*t'ien-tu* 天度) and the calendrical method; next by the heavenly pattern, next by thunder, lightning, wind, rain, snow, hail, frost, and dew; next by the yin-yang, the five phases and the seasons; and [lastly] by geography and the sea tides. In my humble opinion, it seems that [the subcategory of] the yin-yang, the five phases and the seasons should come [right] after the supreme ultimate and the heaven and earth, for Master Chou [Tun-i]'s 周敦頤 (1017–1073) *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* 太極圖說 first speaks of the supreme ultimate, and immediately follows it by the two modes of yin and yang, the five phases, and the four seasons. It appears that [the subcategory of] the degrees of the heavens and the calendrical method should come after the heavenly pattern, for there are [first] the sun, the moon, and the stars, afterwards there are the

12. *Yung-ts'un-chi* 榕村集 (*Wen-yüan-k'o Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* 文淵閣四庫全書 edn.), 32.14b.

13. Such letters are collected in *ibid.*, 28.1b–2a, 4a, 6a–7a, 12b, 13b–14a, 29.7b–10a, 32.13b–16a.

degrees of [their] movements, and afterwards the calendrical method. It appears that the geography should come right after the heavenly pattern, the degrees of the heavens, and the calendrical methods, for in general if there is the heavenly pattern then there must be the geography. It appears that thunder, lightning, wind, rain, snow, hail, frost, and dew should be after the geography, for these several things cannot be referred to as the heavenly pattern, but are [things formed as] the *ch'i* of the earth rises and interacts with the heaven, becoming misty, and aggregating and dispersing between the two [i.e., heaven and earth], and thus [the discussion on them] should be appended to the end of heaven and earth. Yet, since my views cannot be accurate, I did not dare change the original. I made a separate copy, and am submitting the two books.¹⁴

In other letters Li Kuang-ti mentioned other problems in the draft versions. He pointed out, for example, that while, in the list of topics in the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*, “the rites” (*li* 禮) and “the music” (*yüeh* 樂) were in the category of “the way of governing” and not in the “six classics” (*liu-ching* 六經) category, and the opposite way in the *Yü-lei* list, the *Ch'üan-shu* draft version had the topics of “the rites” and “the music” both in the “way of governing” and in the “six classics” categories. The final version of the *Ch'üan-shu* corrected the problem by including the topics in the category of the classics only.¹⁵ He also pointed out that, while the *Yü-lei* placed discussion on “Buddha” (Shih-shih 釋氏) after the discussions of the ancient Taoists like Lao-tzu 老子, Chuang-tzu 莊子, and Lieh-tzu 列子, and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* did not have a separate topic of “Buddha,” the draft version of the *Ch'üan-shu* placed it after Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101) and Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-1086). Li Kuang-ti thought this arrangement inappropriate because “the categories do not correspond to each other,” and in the complete version had the discussion on Buddha appended to the discussion on Lü Chiu-yüan 陸九淵 (1139-1193), who apparently was considered more akin to Buddhism than the two northern Sung scholars were.¹⁶

The compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* also reassigned many individual passages to more appropriate categories. Most frequently reassigned were the passages that were classified in the *Yü-lei* under the categories of their sources, such as the classics like the *Analects* (*Lun-yü* 論語) and the *I-ching* 易經 or the individual philosophers, which they moved to the subject categories like “heaven and

14. *Ibid.*, 28.14a-14b.

15. *Ibid.*, 32.14b.

16. *Ibid.*, 32.15b-16a. The discussion on Buddha, however, came to occupy nearly 80 percent of the space of the 60th chüan titled, “Mr Lu [Chiu-yüan].” (Lu-shih 陸氏)

earth” and “yin-yang.” For example, a passage discussing the *Analects* remark (2.1) on “the north *ch’ên*” (*pei-ch’ên* 北辰) which was originally classified under the category of “the *Analects*,” was moved to the category of “the heavenly pattern” in the *Ch’üan-shu*.¹⁷ Many passages discussing the *kuei-shen* 鬼神 which were placed under the category “*Chung-yung*” 中庸 in the *Yü-lei* were moved to the category “*kuei-shen*” in the *Ch’üan-shu*.¹⁸ Similarly, a discussion of the *I-ching* remark, “Winds following [each other] is [the image of] the *sun* 巽 [hexagram],” was moved from the category of “the *I-ching*” to the category of “thunder, lightning, wind, rain, etc.”¹⁹ Also reassigned to the same category in the *Ch’üan-shu* was another *Yü-lei* passage discussing Shao Yung’s 邵雍 (1011-1077) remark, “The rain is the walk of ‘the transforming things’ (*hua-wu* 化物), and the wind is the flying of the transforming things,” which originally belonged to the category “Shao Yung.”²⁰ And many *Yü-lei* passages under the category of Chou tun-i were reassigned to the yin-yang category in the *Ch’üan-shu*.²¹ Of course, there are numerous other examples of similar reassignment. In particular, the 49th *chüan* of the *Ch’üan-shu* titled, “*Li-ch’i*”, contains materials from various other *Yü-lei* categories, showing a real editorial effort on the part of the compilers.

Rearranging the categories and reassigning the passages in this manner, the compilers of the *Ch’üan-shu* reorganized and improved the classification scheme of the *Yü-lei* and came up with a new one in the *Ch’üan-shu*. And as a result, the *Ch’üan-shu* classifications were much better organized, showing signs of a long development of the classifying scheme. The table of contents of the *Ch’üan-shu* is given in Appendix.

Relative Spaces Devoted to Various Topics in the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch’üan-shu*

Of the changes made by the compilers of the *Ch’üan-shu* in the process of the reorganization, the most notable aspect was to bring the category “learning” to

17. From *Yü-lei*, 23.2a2-2b0 to *Ch’üan-shu*, 50.5a4-6a0. The following abbreviations are used for references to the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch’üan-shu*. *Yü-lei*, 23.2a2 refers to the *Chu-tzu yü-lei* (1270 edition, reprinted in 1473), the 23th *chüan*, the second passage beginning on 2a; *Ch’üan-shu*, 50.6a0 refers to the *Chu-tzu ch’üan-shu* (1714 edition), the 50th *chüan*, the passage that has begun in the previous page (5b) and is continued on 6a.

18. From *Yü-lei*, 63.21b3, 23a3, 23b1, 24b1 to *Ch’üan-shu*, 51.5-7.

19. From *Yü-lei*, 73.16a3 to *Ch’üan-shu*, 50.50b1.

20. From *Yü-lei*, 100.6b1 to *Ch’üan-shu*, 50.49a3.

21. E.g., *Yü-lei*, 94.5a0, 8b4 to *Ch’üan-shu*, 49.32b1, 33a2.

the beginning, while relegating such more speculative topics as “*li-ch'i*,” “*kuei-shen*,” and “human nature and *li*” (*hsing-li* 性理), with which the *Yü-lei* began.²² The “Explanatory Statement” is explicit about the compilers’ position on this.

The headings of the books of the *Yü-lei* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* usually began with the categories like “the supreme ultimate,” “yin-yang,” “*li-ch'i*,” and “*kuei-shen*,” thus missing the [proper] order of “studying down below [first and then] attaining up above” (*hsia-hsueh shang-ta* 下學上達). Tzu-kung 子貢 said, “One cannot get to hear Confucius speak about human nature (*hsing*) and the way of heaven (*t'ien-tao* 天道).” When Tzu-lu 子路 asked about serving *kuei-shen*, Confucius said, “Till one has learned to serve men, how can one serve ghosts?” This is the order of the learning of the Sages. When one sees that Master Chu [Hsi]’s *Ssu-shu chi-chu* 四書集注 begins with the *Ta-hsueh* 大學, followed by the *Analects* and *Mencius*, and afterwards ends with *Chung-yung*, one can see his intention.²³

Yet, what is at issue here is only the order of the discussion. Comparison of the content of the *Ch'üan-shu* with that of the *Yü-lei* does not show a decrease of interest in the topics of “*li-ch'i*,” “*kuei-shen*,” and “human nature and *li*.” On the contrary, these subjects, which were moved down to later *ch'üan* in the *Ch'üan-shu* actually came to occupy greater relative spaces. In fact, as can be seen in Table 1 which compares the percentages of spaces given to various categories in the *Yü-lei* and *Ch'üan-shu*, the coverage increased not only for the category of “learning” (from 3.7 to 9.7%), but the percentages for “*li-ch'i*,” (from 0.9 to 3.4%), “*kuei-shen*” (from 0.7 to 2.0%), and “human nature and *li*” (from 2.0 to 8.0%) all show comparable, or even greater, increases. These latter topics, as well as “learning,” continued to be the important topics in the *Ch'üan-shu*.²⁴

22. And this is the aspect that Chan emphasized most in his paper. “*Hsing-li ching-i* and Ch'eng-Chu School,” 567ff. See esp. p. 560, where he says: “Five hundred years after Chu Hsi’s death, his method of procedure was formally recognized for the first time in *Hsing-li ching-i*.”

23. *Ch'üan-shu*, “Explanatory Statement”, 1b-2a. Both Tzu-kung’s and Confucius’s remarks come from the *Analects*, 5.12 and 11.11 respectively.

24. It is true that this increase may have been simply due to the rearrangement of the topics, as the result of which many passages originally placed in other categories in the *Yü-lei* were moved into these categories in the *Ch'üan-shu*. This resulted in the decrease of the coverage of such category as “the *Analects*,” “the tradition of the Way” (from Confucius to Chu Hsi), “teaching of the disciples,” etc.: many *Yü-lei* passages from these source headings were reassigned to the subject headings in the *Ch'üan-shu*. But this reorganization cannot account for all of the increases of “*li-ch'i*,” “*kuei-shen*,” and “nature and *li*.” Furthermore, it cannot be denied that the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu*, by including the passages under these categories, enhanced the importance of the topics.

Table 1. Spaces given to various categories in the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu* (in percentages).

categories	<i>Yü-lei</i> (%)	<i>Ch'üan-shu</i> (%)
<i>li-ch'i</i> 理氣	0.9	3.4
<i>kuei-shen</i> 鬼神	0.7	2.0
human nature and <i>li</i> (<i>hsing-li</i> 性理)	2.0	8.0
learning (<i>hsueh</i> 學)	3.7	9.7
<i>Great Learning</i> (<i>Ta-hsueh</i> 大學)	5.4	3.9
<i>Analects</i> (<i>Lun-yü</i> 論語)	23.2	15.8
<i>Mencius</i> (<i>Meng-tzu</i> 孟子)	7.8	7.2
<i>Doctrine of the Mean</i> (<i>Chung-yung</i> 中庸)	3.7	2.4
<i>Book of the Changes</i> (<i>I</i> 易)	11.1	11.6
<i>Book of Documents</i> (<i>Shu</i> 書)	2.6	3.0
<i>Book of Poetry</i> (<i>Shih</i> 詩)	2.1	2.3
<i>Annals of Spring and Autumn</i> (<i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> 春秋)	1.0	1.1
rites (<i>li</i> 禮)	4.8	7.8
music (<i>yüeh</i> 樂)	0.4	1.4
the tradition of the Way (<i>tao-t'ung</i> 道統, from Confucius to Chu Hsi)	7.8	5.6
Chu Hsi on himself (<i>Chu-tzu tzu-lun</i> 朱子自論)	0.8	2.0
the way of governing (<i>chih-tao</i> 治道)	3.1	2.6
teaching of the disciples (<i>hsün men-jen</i> 訓門人)	6.7	1.7
thinkers of the Sung dynasty*	1.2	2.1
Taoist philosophers*	0.6	0.5
Buddha (<i>Shih-shih</i> 釋氏)	1.1	1.1
successive dynasties (<i>li-tai</i> 歷代)	6.4	3.7
various masters (<i>chu-tzu</i> 諸子)	0.8	1.2
the other subjects*	1.4	4.2

* These categories are constructed by myself and are not present in the original list of contents of the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu*.

This is in a sharp contrast to what Wing-tsit Chan observed in the case of changes from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. As is shown in Table 2, the percentages of “human nature and decree” (*hsing-ming* 性命) and “*li-ch'i*” decreased, while that of the category “the way of governing” increased.

Table 2. Spaces given to various categories in the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* and the *Hsing-li ching-i* (in percentages).

categories	<i>Hsing-li ta-ch'üan</i>	<i>Hsing-li ching-i</i>
learning (<i>hsueh</i> 學)	44.8%	41.1%
human nature and decree (<i>hsing-ming</i> 性命)	27.9%	19.9%
<i>li-ch'i</i> 理氣	12.6%	8.2%
the way of governing (<i>chih-tao</i> 治道)	14.5%	30.8%

But it should be noted that the percentage for “learning” also decreased from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. And although the decreases for “human nature and decree” and “*li-ch'i*” are greater than that for “learning,” it could be because these topics are treated in such key Neo-Confucian texts as Chou Tun-i's *T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* 太極圖說 and Chang Tsai's 張載 (1020–1077) *Cheng-meng* 正蒙 that are already included in the earlier part of the *Hsing-li ching-i*. Moreover, it should also be noted that the *Hsing-li ching-i* was compiled only a year after the *Ch'üan-shu* by essentially the same persons: it is quite possible that the decrease reflect the compilers' intention to avoid duplicating too many passages in the two compilations.

The real important shifts concerning these categories of “*li-ch'i*,” “*kuei-shen*” and so on can be seen when we look at the actual content of the passages included under them. That is the task of the next two sections.

Continuing Emphasis on the Basic Abstract Concepts and Hardening of the Orthodoxy

One category within which Chan saw a great shift of emphasis from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i* is “*li-ch'i*.” According to Chan, when compared with the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*, the emphasis in the “*li-ch'i*” category of the *Hsing-li ching-i* shifted from such abstract topics as the supreme ultimate and the yin-yang to such concrete topics as “the heaven and earth,” and “the sun and the moon.” His explanation is that as early as the beginning of Ming, the subject of the supreme ultimate lost its abstract appeal: while the early Ming philosophers turned away from it to internal self-cultivation, the Ch'ing Neo-Confucians turned to everyday affairs. In the *Hsing-li ching-i*, the category of “the supreme ultimate” even disappeared.²⁵

25. Chan, “*Hsing-li ching-i* and Ch'eng-Chu School”, 563–564.

Yet, when we look at the shift from the *Yü-lei* to the *Ch'üan-shu* within the *li-ch'i* category, we find something quite different from what Chan found for the case of the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. To be sure, as the above-quoted letter of Li Kuang-ti to K'ang-hsi shows, both men were very much concerned with the order and arrangement of the topics in the *li-ch'i* category. And indeed, the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* put in a great amount of editorial work in selecting, omitting, and adding passages in the category. But when we examine what they finally came up with and compare the relative spaces given to the topics within the category to the corresponding percentages of the *Yü-lei* (see Table 3), the changes we find are of a quite different kind.

Table 3. Spaces given to various topics within the *li-ch'i* category in the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu* (in percentages).

topics	<i>Yü-lei</i> (%)	<i>Ch'üan-shu</i> (%)
general discussion (<i>tsung-lun</i> 總論)	---	8.2
the supreme ultimate (<i>t'ai-chi</i> 太極)	9.5	11.1
heaven and earth (<i>t'ien-ti</i> 天地)	14.9	10.3
yin-yang, the five phases, and the seasons (<i>yin-yang wu-hsing shih-ling</i> 陰陽五行時令)	9.1	17.6
heavenly pattern (<i>t'ien-wen</i> 天文)	10.4	5.6
degrees of (the movements of) the heavens (<i>t'ien-tu</i> 天度)	25.7	13.8
calendrical method (<i>li-fa</i> 曆法)	7.5	5.3
geography (<i>ti-li</i> 地理)	15.7	24.3
thunder, lightning, wind, rain, snow, hail, frost, and dew (<i>lei-tien-feng-yü-hsüeh-po-shuang-lu</i> 雷電風雨 雪電霜露)	7.1	3.7

In particular, the importance of the supreme ultimate did not decrease from the *Yü-lei* to the *Ch'üan-shu*, but actually increased slightly. And if we take into consideration the great increase in the percentage of the *li-ch'i* category as a whole (from 0.9 to 3.4%, see Table 1), the percentage of discussion of the topic of supreme ultimate in the whole *Ch'üan-shu* shows a great increase from that of the *Yü-lei* (from less than 0.1% to nearly 0.4%). Also, the percentage for the topic of “yin-yang and the five phases” increased greatly. What shows an even more remarkable contrast to Chan’s findings is that while the coverage of these more general and speculative topics thus increased, the percentages of the more concrete topics—such as “heaven and earth,” “heavenly pattern,” “degrees of the

heavens,” “calendrical method,” and “thunder, lightning, etc.”—all decreased. Furthermore, my own page counts for the shift from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i* do not agree with those of Chan's, and do not support his general observation. Whereas Chan saw a shift of interest from the abstract topics to the concrete topics, it is difficult to see from my own counts (See Table 4) any such shift, except that the sub-category of “supreme ultimate” was dropped in the *Hsing-li ching-i*.

Table 4. Number of pages given to different topics in the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* (TC) and the *Hsing-li ching-i* (CI)

	Chan's counts		my own counts	
	TC	CI	TC	CI
the supreme ultimate; <i>li-ch'i</i>	19	3.5	25	3.5
heaven and earth; the sun and the moon	24	10	63	8.5

Another category discussed in some length by Chan is that of “*tao-t'ung*”—the tradition of the true Confucian Way from Confucius to Chu Hsi himself. As Chan noted, this category was eliminated from the *Hsing-li ching-i*, but he also noted that the arrangement in the *Hsing-li ching-i* nevertheless still closely followed the orthodox *tao-t'ung* line: i.e. Chou Tun-i—the Ch'eng brothers—Chang Tsai—Shao Yung—the disciples of the Ch'engs—Chu Hsi—Chu Hsi's disciples, “without even such modifications as would bring it up to date.”²⁶ Yet, an examination of the content of the *Hsing-li ching-i* further shows that within this orthodox tradition, the relative importance of Shao Yung decreased compared with the other northern Sung masters, Chou Tun-i and Chang Tsai. This shift can be seen in the first part of the *Hsing-li ching-i* where important Neo-Confucian

Table 5. Number of pages given to various Neo-Confucian texts in the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* (TC) and the *Hsing-li ching-i* (CI)

	TC	CI
Chou Tun-i (<i>T'ai-chi-t'u shuo</i> , <i>T'ung-shu</i> 通書)	170.5 (16.2%)	30 (24.9%)
Chang Tsai (<i>Hsi-ming</i> 西銘, <i>Cheng-meng</i>)	134 (12.7%)	20 (16.6%)
Shao Yung (<i>Huang-chi ching-shih</i> 皇極經世)	276 (26.2%)	18.5 (15.4%)
Chu Hsi (<i>Chia-li</i> 家禮)	297.5 (28.2%)	39.5 (32.8%)
Other texts	176.5 (16.7%)	12.5 (10.4%)

26. *Ibid.*, 567-568.

works are excerpted. As Table 5 shows, the spaces given to the works of Chou Tun-i (*T'ai-chi-t'u shuo* and *T'ung-shu* 通書) and of Chang Tsai (*Hsi-ming* 西銘 and *Cheng-meng*) increased, while the space for Shao Yung's *Huang-chi ching-shih* 皇極經世 decreased.

This shift obviously reflects the fact that the concept of the *tao-t'ung* itself was strengthened and hardened by the time of the compilation of the *Hsing-li ching-i*.

The hardening of the orthodoxy can be seen more clearly if we compare the *Ch'üan-shu* with the earlier compilations, the *Yü-lei* and the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*. In the list of topics in the *Yü-lei*, the word *tao-t'ung* was not used. And in the list of the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* which did use the word, it did not cover the entire line of Confucians from Confucius to Chu Hsi. While presenting, under the heading of *tao-t'ung*, a general discussion on the term, the compilers of the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* used different words "the sages" (*sheng-hsien* 聖賢) and "various Confucians" (*chu-ju* 諸儒) to refer to the philosophers from Confucius on: the former term for Confucius, Mencius, and their disciples, and the latter for the Confucian philosophers of the Sung. In the *Ch'üan-shu*, on the other hand, the entire line from Confucius to Chu Hsi is presented under the title *tao-t'ung*. And among Chu Hsi's northern Sung forerunners, the importance of Chou Tun-i is greatly enhanced, especially in comparison with Chang Tsai and Shao Yung. As Table 6 shows, the percentage of Chou increased greatly, while those of the latter two decreased. Chou's percentage became equal to that of the Ch'eng brothers in the *Ch'üan-shu*, while it was only about half in the *Yü-lei*. (And since both the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu* were compilations devoted to Chu Hsi's sayings and writings, we need not talk about the shift in the importance of Chu Hsi.)

Table 6. Spaces given to various topics within the *tao-t'ung* category in the *Yü-lei* and the *Ch'üan-shu* (in percentages).

topics	<i>Yü-lei</i> (%)	<i>Ch'üan-shu</i> (%)
general discussion; the pre-Sung thinkers	5.3	7.6
Chou Tun-i	18.4	30.8
the Ch'eng brothers	35.7	30.8
Chang Tsai	13.8	9.6
Shao Yung	5.1	3.0
the disciples of the Ch'eng brothers	16.0	13.9
the others	5.6	4.3

The hardening of the Confucian orthodoxy can also be discerned in the compilers' handling of the topic of "Budda" in the *Ch'üan-shu*: as we have seen, they relegated the topic, which constituted a separate *chüan* in the *Yü-lei*, to an appended account to a *chüan* on Liu Chiu-yüan.

Rationalism and Concrete Scientific Knowledge

When we look at the actual content, not simply the number of pages, of the passages in the *Ch'üan-shu* and compare them with those in the *Yü-lei*, we can note some other shifts.

The compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* could not include all the passages of the *Yü-lei*, and had to leave out many of them. Obviously, the passages thus omitted show the different intellectual outlook of the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* from that of their thirteenth-century precursors. Many of the omitted passages are the ones containing superstitious beliefs about various strange phenomena or those containing some ambiguous cosmological or numerological theories. This trend can be seen even more clearly in those *Yü-lei* passages which they chose to include in the *Ch'üan-shu*, but portions of which they omitted. Some examples of such omitted portions are especially revealing. For example, in a *Yü-lei* passage speaking of various strange things such as the giants, the mountain monsters, the dragon bones, and the prior and the posterior lives, whose "*li* are not completely clear," the compilers left out the portion discussing the stories about the lizards making hails.²⁷ In another passage speaking of the spirits and the rainbow, they omitted Chu Hsi's ambiguous saying that "since [the rainbows] can absorb water, they must have intestines and bowel,"²⁸ In including two long passages of the *Yü-lei* discussing the motions of the sun and the moon, they omitted the beginning sentences discussing the Ch'eng brothers' remark, "The sun and the moon ascend and descend thirty thousand *li*," which seems to refer to the ancient theory of "four wanderings" (*ssu-yu* 四遊).²⁹ Also, while including a very long *Yü-lei* passage, running over more than seven *Ch'üan-shu* pages, they omitted

27. From *Yü-lei*, 3.2b2-3a0 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 51.4a2-4b0.

28. From *Yü-lei*, 3.3b1 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 51.4b1-5a0

29. From *Yü-lei*, 2.5a2-5b0, 5b1-6a0 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 50.14b1-15b0, 15b1-16a0. The idea of "the four wanderings" appeared in various ancient sources, including the *Chou-pi suan-ching* 周髀算經 (ch.5), and were variously interpreted as movements of the earth, heaven or the luminaries. For brief discussions of "the four wanderings," see, e.g., Chung-kuo t'ien-wen-hsueh shih cheng-li yen-chiu hsiao-tsu 中國天文學史整理研究小組 *Chung-kuo t'ien-wen-hsueh shih* 中國天文學史 (Beijing: Ke-hsueh ch'u-pan-she 科學出版社, 1987), 171-173.

one paragraph devoted to numerological discussions.³⁰ From a *Yü-lei* passage on the seven feelings (*ch'i-ch'ing* 七情), they included the discussion on their yin-yang associations—joy (*hsi* 喜), love (*ai* 愛), and desire (*yü* 欲) with yang and anger (*nu* 怒), sadness (*ai* 哀), fear (*chü* 懼), and hatred (*wu* 惡) with yin—but omitted the five-phase associations—desire with Water, joy with Fire, love with Wood, hatred and anger with Metal, and sadness and fear again with Water.³¹ Finally, in including a *Yü-lei* passage, which, after a long discussion on the relation between *li* and *ch'i*, ends with the sentence, “But if there is this *ch'i*, then the *li* is simply inside it [i.e., inside the *ch'i*]” (*Tan yu tz'u ch'i chih li tsai ch'i chung* 但有此氣則理在其中), the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* omitted that last sentence. This clearly has a bearing on their views of the relation between *li* and *ch'i*; by this omission they were apparently rejecting the notion of a separate physical existence of *li*, and an explicit, direct connection, or even submission, of *li* to *ch'i*.³² Obviously, the compilers could not accept the stories about the strange phenomena discussed in the first two examples or the views discussed in the latter four examples.

The shift discussed in the above paragraph is generally in line with the “rationalistic” shift Chan found from the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan* to the *Hsing-li ching-i*. Chan saw such shift especially pronounced in the discussion of *kuei-shen*. While the topic occupied a due space in the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*, it was dropped from the list of the *Hsing-li ching-i*. In fact it is explicitly stated in the “Explanatory Statement” of the *Hsing-li ching-i* that discussion of *kuei-shen* is omitted. Yet, the same is not true for the shift from the *Yü-lei* to the *Ch'üan-shu*. For as we have seen, *kuei-shen* still received a significant coverage in the *Ch'üan-shu*. Not only was one whole *chüan* of the *Ch'üan-shu* devoted to *kuei-shen*, but the discussion in the *chüan* contained many passages dealing with *kuei-shen* in the

30. From *Yü-lei*, 67.1b1–3a0 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 27.1a1–4a0.

31. From *Yü-lei*, 87.13b4–14a0 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 37.40b1.

32. From *Yü-lei*, 1.2b3–3a0 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.2b2–3a0. It is to be noted, however, that they included such assertions as “Under heaven there is no *li* without *ch'i*” (*T'ien-hsia wei-you wu-ch'i chih li* 天下未有無氣之理: *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.1a1); “Without this *ch'i*, this *li* has no place to be attached to” (*Wu shih ch'i chih shih li i wu kua-ta-ch'u* 無是氣則是理亦無掛塔處: *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.1b1); “When *ch'i* does not congeal or aggregate, *li* also has nowhere to be adhered to” (*Jo ch'i pu-chieh-chü-shih li i wu so-fu-cho*: *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.2b1); “*Li* acts while being attached to the *ch'i*” (*Li ta yüch'i hsing* 理搭於氣行: *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.4b2); “Once there is this *ch'i*, this *li* has a place to be settled in” (*Chi yu tz'u ch'i jan-hou tz'u li yu an-tun-ch'u* 既有此氣然後此理有安頓處: *Ch'üan-shu*, 49.6a1). For more detailed discussion on Chu Hsi's views about the relation between *li* and *ch'i*, see Yung Sik Kim, *The Natural Philosophy of Chu Hsi* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000), Sec. 3.3.

sense of “spiritual beings,” that respond to prayers and sacrificial services.³³ The *Ch'üan-shu* also had many passages showing the belief that great natural objects and phenomena—heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, lands, valleys, mountains and rivers, cold and hot weather, floods and draughts, the crops—have spirits associated with them and have to be offered sacrifices.³⁴ Obviously, unlike the *Ching-i* (Essential Meaning), the *Ch'üan-shu* (Complete Works), could not omit a topic that was clearly important in Chu Hsi's philosophy.³⁵ Chan saw the similar rationalistic shift also in the discussion on “auspicious omens and strange events” (*chen-i* 禎異). The discussion on the topic was moved to the end of the category of “the way of governing” in the *Hsing-li ching-i*, which Chan considered as showing the decrease in the compilers' belief in the efficacy of omens. He noted that the passages retained in the *Hsing-li ching-i* dealing with the topic stress principles underlying the strange events rather than their efficacy as omens.³⁶ But again, such rationalistic shift was not so pronounced in the shift from the *Yü-lei* to the *Ch'üan-shu*. There is a passage in the *Ch'üan-shu*, which even suggests that *kuei-shen* may have emotions, which are manifest in natural events.³⁷

Another feature of the *Ch'üan-shu* that can be discerned from the examination of its content is a greater emphasis on concrete scientific knowledge. We have already noted that the compilers corrected many errors in the discussion on harmonics in the *Yü-lei* by performing computations themselves. The compilers also chose to include many passages containing discussions of concrete scientific knowledge that were not in the original *Yü-lei* or *Wen-chi* passages. For example, they included a passage from the *Ching-chi wen-heng* 經濟文衡 (compiled by T'eng Kung 滕珙, a disciple of Chu Hsi) discussing the yearly variation of the paths of the sun and the moon and the precession of the equinoxes (*s'ui-ch'a* 歲差), which was not included in the two main sources of the *Ch'üan-shu*.³⁸ They also included a passage taken from the *Ch'u-tz'u chi-chu* 楚辭集註, discussing the

33. *Ch'üan-shu*, 51.3b1, 22.5a2, 33.15b0, 39.46a1. On Chu Hsi's ideas about the various senses of *kuei-shen*, see Yung Sik Kim, “*Kuei-shen* in Terms of *Ch'i*: Chu Hsi's Discussion of *Kuei-shen*,” *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, new series, 17 (1985), 149–163.

34. *Ch'üan-shu*, 11.39b0, 12.11a1, 33.15b0, 37b1, 51.10b1, 58.4a2.

35. This clearly contradicts Chan's remark that Chu Hsi was reluctant to discuss *kuei-shen* as “spiritual beings.” See Chan, “*Hsing-li ching-i* and Ch'eng-Chu School,” 566.

36. Chan, “*Hsing-li ching-i* and Ch'eng-Chu School”, 566.

37. *Ch'üan-shu*, 64.34b0.

38. From *Ching-chi wen-heng* (*Wen-yüan-k'o Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* edn.), A9.1a to *Ch'üan-shu*, 50. 23b3–24a0.

twelve *ch'en* 辰, the twelve heavenly positions where the sun and the moon meet in a year.³⁹ While a *Yü-lei* passage, after speaking of the differences in the daily rotations of the sky, the sun, and the moon, simply says that it is very accurately discussed in Wang Fan's (王蕃, 3rd century, AD) "Hun-t'ien theory" (Hun-t'ien-shuo 渾天說) contained in the sub-commentary (*shu* 疏) of the "Shun-tien" 舜典 chapter of the *Shu-ching* 書經, the compilers of the *Ch'üan-shu* included the actual content of the theory.⁴⁰ After including a part of Chu Hsi's letter to a disciple in which he commented on Yü Ching's 余靖 (fl. 1025) theory of the tides, the compilers attached the relevant part of Yü's *Hai-chao t'u-lun* 海潮圖論.⁴¹

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, it can be said that while the *Ch'üan-shu* did show an increased rationalistic spirit, contained more concrete scientific knowledge, and emphasized the importance of the method of "learning," the traditional Confucian concerns of "human nature and *li*" (*hsing-li*), "*li-ch'i*" and "*kuei-shen*"—and the supreme ultimate and yin-yang within the category of "*li-ch'i*"—were still important in this early eighteenth-century compilation. The basic orientation—priorities and emphasis—of the orthodox thought of the Ch'eng-Chu school turns out to have not changed very much after all. If changes did take place, they were not to be found in the government-initiated compilation, which tried to be complete like the *Ch'üan-shu*. More shifts and changes will certainly be found in personal collections of individual scholars.⁴²

39. From *Ch'u-tz'u chi-chu* (reprinted in 1973, Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan 藝文印書館), 3.98 to *Ch'üan-shu*, 50.7a2-7b0.

40. *Ch'üan-shu*, 50.8a1.

41. *Ch'üan-shu*, 50.46a1.

42. Benjamin A. Elman, "Changes in Confucian Civil Service Examinations from the Ming to the Ch'ing Dynasty," in B. A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, eds., *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 111-149.

Appendix Table of Contents of the *Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu*

<i>chüan</i>	category	topics
1	learning (<i>hsueh</i> 學)	lesser learning (<i>hsiao-hsueh</i> 小學); general discussion on the method of learning (<i>tsung-lun wei-hsueh chih fang</i> 總論爲學之方)
2		keeping and nourishing (<i>ts'un-yang</i> 存養); maintaining reverence (<i>ch'ih-ching</i> 持敬); quietude (<i>ching</i> 靜)
3		self-examination (<i>sheng-cha</i> 省察); knowledge and action (<i>chih-hsing</i> 知行); extension of knowledge (<i>chih-chih</i> 致知)
4		forceful exertion (<i>li-hsing</i> 力行); self-control and correcting mistakes (<i>k'e-chi kai-kuo</i> 克己改過); establishing the mind and dealing with affairs (<i>li-hsin ch'u-shih</i> 立心處事); distinction between <i>li</i> and desire, righteousness and profit, and between gentleman and small man (<i>li-yü i-li chüin-tzu hsiao-jen chih pien</i> 理欲義利君子小人之辨); going out (<i>ch'u-ch'u</i> 出處)
5		teaching people (<i>chiao-jen</i> 教人); human relation and respectful friends (<i>jen-lun shih-yu</i> 人倫師友)
6		method of reading books (<i>tu-shu fa</i> 讀書法); method of reading the classics (<i>tu-chu-ching fa</i> 讀諸經法); explaining the classics (<i>chieh-ching</i> 解經); reading histories (<i>tu-shih</i> 讀史); historical learning (<i>shih-hsueh</i> 史學)
7-9	<i>Great Learning</i> (<i>Ta-hsueh</i> 大學)	
10-19	<i>Analects</i> (<i>Lun-yü</i> 論語)	
20-23	<i>Mencius</i> (<i>Meng-tzu</i> 孟子)	
24-25	<i>Doctrine of the Mean</i> (<i>Chung-yung</i> 中庸)	
26-32	<i>Book of the Changes</i> (<i>I</i> 易)	
33-34	<i>Book of Documents</i> (<i>Shu</i> 書)	
35	<i>Book of Poetry</i> (<i>Shih</i> 詩)	
36	<i>Annals of Spring and Autumn</i> (<i>Ch'un-ch'iu</i> 春秋)	

37	rites (<i>li</i> 禮)	<i>I-li</i> 儀禮; <i>Chou-li</i> 周禮; <i>Hsiao tai-li</i> 小戴禮; <i>Ta tai-li</i> 大戴禮
38		examination of the general principles of the rites (<i>k'ao-li kang-ling</i> 考禮綱領); capping ceremony (<i>kuan</i> 冠); wedding (<i>hun</i> 婚); funeral (<i>sang</i> 喪)
39		sacrificial service (<i>chi</i> 祭)
40		miscellaneous rites (<i>tsa-i</i> 雜儀)
41	music (<i>yiih</i> 樂)	
42	human nature and <i>li</i> (<i>hsing-li</i> 性理)	human nature and decree (<i>hsing-ming</i> 性命); human nature (<i>hsing</i> 性); nature of man and things (<i>jen-wu chih hsing</i> 人物之性)
43		nature of <i>ch'i</i> and qualities (<i>ch'i-chih chih hsing</i> 氣質之性); decree (<i>ming</i> 命); talent (<i>ts'ai</i> 才)
44		mind (<i>hsin</i> 心)
45		mind, nature and emotion (<i>hsin-hsing-ch'ing</i> 心性情); fixed nature (<i>ting-hsing</i> 定性); emotion and intention (<i>ch'ing-i</i> 情意); the <i>ch'i</i> and intention of will (<i>chih-ch'i chih-i</i> 志氣志意); thought (<i>ssu-lü</i> 思慮)
46		way (<i>tao</i> 道); <i>li</i> 理; virtue (<i>te</i> 德)
47		humaneness (<i>jen</i> 仁)
48		humaneness and righteousness (<i>jen-i</i> 仁義); humaneness, righteousness, propriety and knowledge (<i>jen-i-li-chih</i> 仁義禮知); humaneness, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and faith (<i>jen-i-li-chih-hsin</i> 仁義禮知信); sincerity (<i>ch'eng</i> 誠); loyalty and faith (<i>chung-hsin</i> 忠信); loyalty and considerateness (<i>chung-shu</i> 忠恕)
49	<i>li-ch'i</i> 理氣	general discussion (<i>tsung-lun</i> 總論); the supreme ultimate (<i>t'ai-chi</i> 太極); heaven and earth (<i>t'ien-ti</i> 天地); yin-yang 陰陽; five phases (<i>wu-hsing</i> 五行); seasons (<i>shih-ling</i> 時令)

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- 50 the heavenly pattern (*t'ien-wen* 天文); degrees of [the movements of] the heavens, with calendrical method appended (*t'ien-tu li-fa fu* 天度曆法附); geography, with sea tides appended (*ti-li ch'ao-hsi fu* 地理潮汐附); thunder, lightning, wind, rain, snow, hail, frost, and dew (*lei-tien-feng-yü-hsüeh-po-shuang-lu* 雷電風雨雪霜露)
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- 51 *kuei-shen* 鬼神 general discussion (*tsung-lun* 總論); *kuei-shen* in man (*tsai-jen kuei-shen* 在人鬼神); sacrificial services and ancestral spirits (*chi-ssu tsu-k'ao shen-ch'i* 祭祀祖考神祇); miscellaneous discussion on sacrificial services and *kuei-shen* (*tsa-lun chi-ssu kuei-shen* 雜論祭祀鬼神)
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- 52 tradition of the Way (*tao-t'ung* 道統) general discussion on the sages and various Confucians (*sheng-hsien chu-ju tsung-lun* 聖賢諸儒總論); Confucius (K'ung-tzu 孔子); Yen Yüan 顏淵, Tseng-tzu 曾子, Tzu-ssu 子思, and Mencius (Yen-Tseng-Ssu-Meng 顏曾思孟); disciples of the Confucian school (*K'ung-men ti-tzu* 孔門弟子); Chou Tun-i (Chou-tzu 周子)
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- 53 The Ch'eng brothers (Ch'eng-tzu 程子); Chang Tsai (Chang-tzu 張子); Shao Yung (Shao-tzu 邵子)
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- 54 disciples of the Ch'eng brothers (*Ch'eng-tzu men-jen* 程子門人); disciples of Yang Shih 楊時 (1053-1135) (*Yang-shih men-jen* 楊氏門人); disciples of Lo Ts'ung-yen 羅從彥 (1072-1135) (*Lo-shih men-jen* 羅氏門人); disciples of Hu Hung 胡宏 (1105-1155) (*Hu-shih men-jen* 胡氏門人)
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- 55 Chu Hsi's own discussion on learning and laborious efforts (*tzu-lun wei-hsueh kung-fu* 自論爲學工夫); Chu Hsi's own writings (*tzu chu-shu* 自著書)
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- 56 prefaces to Chu Hsi's own writings (*tzu chu-shu hsiüpa* 自著書序跋)
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- 57 teaching of the disciples (*hsiin men-jen* 訓門人)
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58	various masters (<i>chu-tzu</i> 諸子)	Lao-tzu 老子; Lieh-tzu 列子; Chuang-Tzu 莊子; Mo-tzu 墨子; Kuan-tzu 管子; K'ung-ts'ung-tzu 孔叢子, with Tzu-hua-tzu 子華子 appended; Shen Pu-hai 申不害 and Han Fei 韓非 (Shen-Han 申韓); Hsün-tzu 荀子; Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (Tung-tzu 董子); Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (Yang-tzu 揚子); Wen-chung-tzu 文中子; Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) (Han-tzu 韓子); Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) (Ou-yang-tzu 歐陽子)
59		Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101) (Su-shih 蘇氏); Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-1086) (Wang-shih 王氏); Lü Tsu-ch'ien 呂祖謙 (1137-1181) (Lü Po-kung 呂伯恭); Ch'en Fu-liang 陳傅良 (1137-1203) (Ch'en Chün-chü 陳君舉); Ch'en Liang 陳亮 (1143-1194) (Ch'en T'ung-fu 陳同父)
60		Lü Chiu-yüan 陸九淵 (1139-1193), with Buddha appended (Lü-shih Shih-shih <i>fu</i> 陸氏釋氏附)
61	successive dynasties (<i>li-tai</i> 歷代)	Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and the three ancient dynasties of Hsia 夏, Shang 商, and Chou 周 (<i>T'ang yü san-tai</i> 唐虞三代); the Spring and Autumn period (Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋); the Warring States period (Chan-kuo 戰國); Ch'in 秦; Western Han (Hsi Han 西漢); Eastern Han (Tung Han 東漢); Three Dynasties (San-kuo 三國); Chin 晉; T'ang 唐; the Five Dynasties (Wu-tai 五代)
62		Sung 宋
63	the way of governing (<i>chih-tao</i> 治道)	general discussion; kings and nobilities (<i>wang-po</i> 王伯); feudalism (<i>feng-chien</i> 封建); offices (<i>kuan</i> 官); employing people (<i>yung-jen</i> 用人)
64		wealth and taxes (<i>ts'ai-fu</i> 財賦); relieving the distressed (<i>chen-hsü</i> 賑恤); schools and examinations (<i>hsueh-hsiao kung-chü</i> 學校貢舉); soldiers (<i>ping</i> 兵); punishment (<i>hsing</i> 刑); remonstrance (<i>chien-cheng</i> 諫諍); auspicious omens and strange events (<i>chen-i</i> 禎異)

65	the remaining topics (<i>ch'i-t'a</i> 其他)	discussion of literary compositions (<i>lun-wen</i> 論文); discussion of poetry (<i>lun-shih</i> 論詩); study of Chinese characters (<i>tzu-hsueh</i> 字學); study for the examinations, with discussion of medical study appended (<i>ke-chü chih hsueh lun i-hsueh fu</i> 科舉之學 論醫學附)
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66		<i>fu</i> 賦, <i>ts'u</i> 詞; <i>ch'in-ts'ao</i> 琴操; <i>ku-shih</i> 古詩; <i>lü-shih</i> 律 詩; <i>chüeh-chü</i> 絕句; <i>shih-yü</i> 詩餘; <i>tsan</i> 贊; admonitions (<i>chen</i> 箴); inscriptions (<i>ming</i> 銘)

從《朱子語類》到《朱子全書》： 正統程朱之學的穩定與轉變

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摘 要

陳榮捷在 1975 年曾發表過一篇極有影響力的文章，在該文中其發現，17 世紀的程朱學說整體而言呈現出較為理性主義、嚴守道統、及捨形上學概念而就具體論題的趨勢。雖然學界目前已有許多重要作品係針對清朝初葉不同面向的程朱之學進行研究，陳氏的主張 30 多年來卻幾乎未曾受到質疑。

本文藉由比較 13 世紀和 18 世紀的兩本重要著作：《朱子語類》和《朱子全書》，重新檢視正統程朱之學重心的轉移，比先前陳榮捷由《性理大全》到《性理精義》的轉向所產生的研究成果，更能得到精確的圖像。本文重新證實陳氏的許多主張，例如：《朱子全書》的確展現更為理性主義的精神、包含更具體的科學性知識、以及更強調學習方法的重要性。但是，傳統儒家所關心的人性、理（性理）、理氣、鬼神（以及理氣範疇裡的太極和陰陽兩儀）仍然具有重要性。因此，正統程朱學派思維的基本傾向其實並沒有太大改變，至少在官方所主導編纂的程朱儒家典籍來說是如此。

關鍵詞：朱熹，朱子語類，朱子全書，程朱學派

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