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**Morality as politics: The restoration of Ch'eng-Chu
Neo-Confucianism in late imperial China**

Chiu, Wei-chun, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1992

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MORALITY AS POLITICS:
THE RESTORATION OF CH'ENG-CHU NEO-CONFUCIANISM IN
LATE IMPERIAL CHINA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By

Wei-chun Chiu, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1992

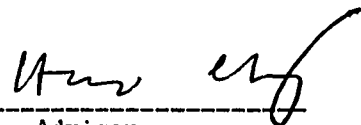
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To My Parents

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in the mid-19th century China through the examination of the thoughts of three major Neo-Confucianists who contributed to it: T'ang Chien (1778-1861), Wo-jen (1804-1871), and Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872). Through the analysis of the thoughts of these three minds, this study will display the development, character, and their socio-political implications of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in late imperial China.

There are two foci in this study: the Ch'eng-Chu circle as an intellectual school and Ch'eng-Chu doctrine as a political ideology.¹ To cope with this dual foci, this study will discuss how this Ch'eng-Chu school was successfully achieving intellectual hegemony over the three other competitive schools like ching-shih (statecraft), T'ung-ch'eng, and chin-wen (New Text) in the first half of 19th century. It will also analyze the characteristics of inner structure of this ideology, which was marked by a strong socio-moral concern, seen as a response to the growing tides of foreign imperialism in the post-Opium-War period and its close relationship with the T'ung-chih Restoration Movement (1862-

¹ This is based on the idea that Confucianism was not only an intellectual system but also a state ideology. See Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism", Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), p.37.

1874).²

As a case study of a major intellectual school in the post-k'ao-cheng period, this research will discuss the background of the emergence of this 19th-century Ch'eng-Chu school. To do so, this study will first examine the school's relationship with two intellectual movements prior to the emergence of Ch'eng-Chu school in the late Ch'ing. They were: the first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the second half of 17th century and the k'ao-cheng movement which was initiated in the mid-17th century but came to dominate the Chinese intellectual arena after the mid-18th century. After expounding the school's relationship with the two intellectual movements prior to the 19th century, this study will also consider the school's early development, and its significance as well, by comparing this school's intellectual characteristics with other competitive schools like Statecraft, T'ung-ch'eng, and New Text in the first half of 19th century. Finally, this study will touch on the causes of the triumph of this school as an intellectual hegemony in the 1860s by connecting it to the T'ung-chih Restoration Movement.

But more important to this study is the attempt to examine the character of the ideological structure of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in mid-19th century China, which was first supported by the Hsien-feng Emperor and, later, endorsed by the absolute power of the empire typified in the two empress dowagers in the T'ung-chih reign. To do so, this study will

² The T'ung-chih Restoration in the 1860's has been characterized as a reassertion of the orthodox political goals of the Confucian state. See Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford, 1957), pp.43-67. See also Hao Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p.30.

explore the world views of these three representative Neo-Confucian minds. There are two foci in my analysis of their world views: moral praxis and social praxis; or to put them in Confucian terms, the ideas of hsiu-shen (self-cultivation) and ching-shih (statesmanship). Through the concept of praxis, the inward-bent idea of hsiu-shen and the outward-bent idea of ching-shih were interlocked to function as a meaningful system which T'ang Chien, the pioneer of this school in the late Ch'ing, called tao (Way).

In the Neo-Confucian system, the idea of hsiu-shen was employed to mean a kind of ascetic praxis of self-discipline and self-mastery. It was primarily practiced by the Neo-Confucianists for this purpose: to clear up and diminish the material force in the human self so as to make one's true self shine forth and, thereby, also to restore the spiritual unity with the Heavenly Way.³ That is, to be unified with Heaven one has to undertake a process of "inward transcendence". This concept of "inward transcendence" can be understood from two dimensions. First, hsiu-shen as the core concept in the Neo-Confucian system stressed that man could, and should, spiritually promote himself by transforming his regular mind-heart (jen-hsin) into the "mind-heart of the Way" (tao-hsin)--in order to achieve sagehood in oneself. To do so, involved the second step: methods. In this regard, Neo-Confucian methodology was characterized by taking an "inward" approach in which hsiu-shen did not depend on the forces outside oneself but on the inherent moral mind-heart. That is, the more one could dig deep into one's Heaven-conferred

³ Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism", Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), pp.38-39.

inner moral resources, embodied in one's moral mind-heart, the more one could successfully transcend himself and thus became unified with the transcendent Heaven.⁴

In this study, we will see that this concept of moral praxis, which was typified by the process of "inward transcendence", was primarily crystallized in the idea of "character-building" program of personality improvement. First employed by T'ang Chien and then introduced to his younger followers, this "character-building" program of personality improvement was supposed to lessen one's desires and faults in daily life. In terms of goal, this program was created to refine the personality of Confucian gentlemen because the orthodox Neo-Confucianists believed that a moral man is an essential possession of the state.

The process of "inward transcendence" as a crystallization of the idea of "moral praxis" was, indeed, crucial in both classical and Neo-Confucian systems. However, this process was only one side of the realization of morality or ch'eng-teh. In the Confucian tradition, the realization of morality was involved with two aspects: the accomplishment of personal morality (ch'eng-chi) and, thereafter, the accomplishment of morality of other men and things (ch'eng-wu). In the Neo-Confucian system, the accomplishment of personal morality, or the idea of hsiu-shen, was regarded as an "internal" virtue, while the accomplishment of morality of other men and things, or the idea of ching-shih, was seen as an "external" virtue. In this regard, the

⁴ Tu Wei-ming, Ju-hsüeh ti-san-ch'i fa-chan ti ch'ien-ching wen-t'i (The problems of the future development of the "Third Stage" Confucianism), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), pp.188-189.

Confucian idea of tao (Way), which was the source of meaning for Confucianists of all schools, was, in fact, a "union" of these two virtues.⁵ Following this view, the major members of the Ch'eng-Chu school in the mid-19th century reckoned "internal" virtue as the root of "external" virtue, or to put it the other way, the idea of ching-shih was the extension of the idea of hsiu-shen, though both were seen by the orthodox Neo-Confucianists as the indispensable pillars of the Way. In a sense, in the Neo-Confucian system the ideas of hsiu-shen and ching-shih need each other as two sides of the same coin.

As the extension of the idea of hsiu-shen, ching-shih was literally an abbreviation of ching-shih chi-ming which means managing the world and saving the people. In imperial China, what distinguished Confucianism as a dominant philosophy from Taoism and Buddhism was not so much the idea of hsiu-shen as the idea of ching-shih. In contrast to the emphasis of other-worldliness in Buddhist traditions, the Confucian idea of ching-shih was a value-commitment to this-worldly activism and participation. Characterized by Confucian humanism, the idea of ching-shih concerned the establishment of an ideal order in this world and the definition of an ideal order.⁶ It is, indeed, out this concern of political participation and the establishment of an ideal order in this world that these orthodox Neo-Confucianists emerged in the mid-19th century in the post-Opium-War period to employ their "social praxis".

In order to display the historical significance of this twin

⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, in The Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Culture Book Co. 1979), p.97.

⁶ Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism" Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), pp.36-37.

concepts of moral praxis and social praxis employed by the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the mid-19th century, we need to sketch an intellectual setting by which the three minds were shaped. For this purpose, I produced Chapter One: "The Intellectual Milieu". This chapter is primarily devoted to the discussion of the two aforementioned intellectual movements prior to the mid-19th century: the first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine which began in the mid-17th century and lasted about one century, and the k'ao-cheng (Evidential Research) movement which started in the mid-17th century but did not become an intellectual hegemony until the mid-18th century. Both intellectual movements emerged as a reaction to the Tai-chou school's Yang-ming learning in the late Ming which, in their views, emphasized too much metaphysical discussion, such as "good" and "evil", and neglected the significance of the idea of practicality in the Neo-Confucian tradition.

The first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the second half of 17th century was discussed because it greatly influenced the second restoration of Ch'eng-Chu circle in the mid-19th century in terms of the key concepts of Neo-Confucianism. First, the ideas of tao and tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way) which T'ang Chien, the forerunner of 19th-century Ch'eng-Chu school, stressed in his seminal work Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), was primarily an echo to this early intellectual movement one century ago. Furthermore, the idea of praxis, which T'ang Chien and his followers emphasized in their Neo-Confucian system, was also an intellectual heritage of the first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu

doctrine.

The ideas of tao and tao-t'ung were not only employed by Ch'eng-Chu advocates like T'ang, and others, to exclude Wang Yang-ming learning from the garden of Confucian orthodoxy, they were also applied to orthodox Neo-Confucianists to oppose k'ao-cheng learning which, in the view of Ch'eng-Chu scholars, misinterpreted the meaning of Confucian tao. K'ao-cheng learning as a new academic discipline emerged from the intellectual debates on the disparities between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools in the mid-17th century. Appealing to the Classics for intellectual authority, evidential research scholars during this time had basically moved their attention from the so-called "honoring the moral nature" (tsun teh-hsing) to "following the path of inquiry and study" (tao wen-hsüeh). As a result of this new intellectual development, we see the rise of what professor Yü Ying-shih called "Confucian intellectualism",⁷ which emphasized not so much the metaphysical problems of moral philosophy and its praxis as the nature of Confucian knowledge (i.e. the characteristics and constitution of Confucian canons) and its development. Becoming a forceful intellectual movement in the 18th century, k'ao-cheng learning experienced greater specialization in scholarship and penetrated into not only conventional primary subjects in the Classics but also previously disregarded auxiliary disciplines of the Confucian tradition such as phonology, epigraphy, collation, local gazettes, geography, astronomy, and

⁷ Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), p.17.

mathematics.⁸ However, this growth of greater specialization in k'ao-cheng scholarship had, to a great degree, dismissed the Confucian concern about the existing socio-moral order--which was the core of Confucianism. This development in Confucian studies caused a crisis of Confucianism from within: Confucian "intellectualism" had become "textualism".⁹ In a sense, this was a crisis of "means" (textual criticism) becoming an "end" (the exploration of the Way). It is rightly against this background of crisis in Confucian learning that the Ch'eng-Chu school began to emerge in the first half of the 19th century.

To see how T'ang Chien, the founder of Ch'eng-Chu school in the late Ch'ing, responded to the inner crisis within Confucian learning, I produced the second chapter. In my study, I pointed out that T'ang's response toward the crisis of Confucianism was two-fold. First, he saw this crisis of Confucianism as a direct result of intellectual poverty in Confucianism. That is, this crisis became possible because of the "textualization" of Confucianism which was propelled by k'ao-cheng scholars. Second, he saw this inner crisis of Confucianism as closely connected to the socio-political crisis of the state, which was best seen in the new foreign challenges after the Opium War and subsequent social unrest in the coastal provinces. That is, the socio-political crisis of the state became possible because that scholars had been obsessed by the "textualization" of Confucian studies and had thus

⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, "Bibliography", pp.iv-xxxiv. See also his Chung-kuo chin san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1966), chapter 13, 14, 15, and 16.

⁹ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.158.

dismissed socio-moral concerns---the nucleus of Confucianism. For T'ang, these two factors were interlocked and the crises his country encountered could not be resolved by either the k'ao-cheng school, which lacked a socio-moral concern, or the T'ung-ch'eng and New Text schools, which demonstrated limited influence among the intellectuals.

To save the country from crisis, T'ang Chien and his younger comrades in the capital established a consensus that a revival of the empire would have to rely on the revival of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. To put their beliefs into action, T'ang, as the leader of the group in Peking, was pondering how to best present the spirit of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism to intellectuals in his time. Accordingly, he strove, between 1843-46, to elucidate his ideas in his seminal work: Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty).

In this Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, T'ang Chien, who was intellectually inspired by the major Ch'eng-Chu scholars of the second half of 17th century, strove to redefine the Confucian tradition in the Ch'ing with a theme of the idea of tao (Way). Related to the idea of tao, the notion of tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way) became an exclusive criterion to measure the orthodoxy of Ch'ing Confucian scholars. In this work, tao as a "source of meaning" was interpreted by T'ang as a transcendental concept embodying the Neo-Confucian ideas of hsiu-shen and ching-shih. That is, to explore the "source of meaning" in Confucianism, a true orthodox Neo-Confucianist needed to practice the twin ideas of self-cultivation and statesmanship.

For T'ang Chien, all theories concerning self-cultivation and

statesmanship had been well spelled out--either in the Neo-Confucian classics like the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean, or by the celebrated thinkers of previous times. Thus he felt his mission was not so much to refine Neo-Confucian theoretical structure as to illuminate the implications of the true value and spirit of the Ch'eng-Chu school. Given this conviction, T'ang established his doctrine of hsiu-shen based on Chou Tun-i's theory of sincerity (ch'eng) and the Ch'engs' idea of reverence (ching). Characterized by a "sense of darkness,"¹⁰ this doctrine of moral philosophy of self-cultivation was developed by T'ang to highlight the idea of "lessening one's faults and desires" (kua-kuo kua-yu) from a perspective of principle-desire dichotomy.

T'ang Chien did not stop with personal achievement in ethical refinement and forget the ultimate Confucian mission of socio-political salvation. T'ang believed that a Confucian-intellectual should sustain the responsibility of political participation for the purpose of the socio-political salvation. With regard to political participation, he took a stance by viewing the political order as an extension of the social order and this social order needed to be regulated by ethical-moral codes. In other words, the realization of an orderly world (p'ing-t'ien-hsia) was presumably a completion of a moral universal community.

This dual idea of hsiu-shen and ching-shih which T'ang Chien highlighted in his Neo-Confucian system was inherited and developed by

¹⁰ "Sense of darkness" is, by definition, a sense of apprehension or caution against the inherent dark side within human nature and the dark force deep rooted in society. See Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yu-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), p.56.

Wo-jen. To see how this tough-minded scholar-official comprehended and practiced this pair of ideas which constituted the core of Neo-Confucianism, I produced chapter three. Wo-jen was originally a follower of Lu-Wang philosophy. After his encounter with T'ang Chien in the capital in 1840, Wo-jen underwent a drastic intellectual conversion. He was convinced by T'ang's orthodox Neo-Confucianism that when it came to the learning of Confucianism the Lu-Wang approach he was committed to was false. Equally important to this intellectual conversion is that T'ang Chien's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine also supplied a new world view to Wo-jen. Feeling pressure from the decline of the empire and worrying about the future of his country, Wo-jen, in the early 1840s, discovered that T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine provided a formula for saving the country from crisis. According to this formula, a true Confucianist needed to first build up a good and moral personality in order to save the country. To do this, Wo-jen set up a "character-building" program of personality improvement by keeping a diary of self-criticism to record his practices of self-discipline.

As a record of self-examination and self-mastery, this diary of Wo-jen's displayed the methods of self-discipline in Confucian learning. Because of its value as an exemplary work embodying the methods for personality improvement in the Neo-Confucian tradition, this diary first circulated among Wo-jen's Ch'eng-Chu comrades like Tseng Kuo-fan, Ho Kwei-cheng, Tou Hsü, Wu T'ing-tung, and other arduous Ch'eng-Chu proponents in the 1840s. It then circulated outside the Ch'eng-Chu circle during the 1860s. The wide circulation of this diary among the Confucian elites in the capital bespoke the weight and influence of this

work within the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the mid-19th century. More importantly, it indicated the trait of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy during this period in the mid-19th century: the emphasis of the idea of moral praxis.

Wo-jen's moral philosophy which emphasized the ascetic practices of self-discipline and self-mastery was primarily based on Chu Hsi's "chü-ching ch'iung-li" (Dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost)--a theory introduced to him by T'ang Chien. Wo-jen interpreted this theory as an approach of "inward transcendence". That is, by digging deep into one's Heaven-conferred inner moral resources embodied in one's moral mind-heart, one could transcend himself and thus became unified with the transcendent Heaven.

Through this "character-building" program of personality improvement, Wo-jen built up a strong moral character and established an image as an moral vanguard within and without the court. It is, rightly, because of this image as a moral vanguard that he saw quick promotions in his career during the T'ung-chih reign (1862-1874), particularly when the empress dowagers found it appropriate, in 1861-2, for them to emulate the high moral tone of the early Hsien-feng years. Becoming the esteemed chancellor of the Hanlin Academy and, concurrently, the tutor of the T'ung-chih Emperor, Wo-jen could not only convey orthodox Neo-Confucian teachings to his Ch'eng-Chu comrades within the circle but also spread the gospel of Ch'eng-Chu tenet to the ruler and the elites of the empire. Wo-jen's personal success in his political career brought the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism he embraced to a new situation. Not only was he hailed by his contemporaries as a "Great Worthy", but also the

Ch'eng-Chu doctrine he defended and advocated become an "orthodox learning" during his times in the 1860s.

While Wo-jen was mainly promoting the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the court, his younger intellectual comrade, Tseng Kuo-fan, was popularizing the orthodox Neo-Confucian tenet during his battles against the Taipings and, then, in his career as governor-general in several major provinces. To see how this celebrated general and outstanding official was influenced by Ch'eng-Chu doctrine to achieve his extraordinary career in the 1850s and 60s, I produced chapter four.

Tseng Kuo-fan's Neo-Confucian heritage primarily came from T'ang Chien and Wo-jen. As a Hanlin official in the capital in 1841, Tseng was convinced by T'ang Chien that the decline of the empire in the first half of the 19th century was due to the parallel demise of Confucianism as a faith among scholar-officials. He was persuaded by T'ang's belief that the revival of the empire was therefore dependent upon the rejuvenation of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. Influenced by T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine, Tseng experienced, like Wo-jen, a drastic intellectual conversion and shifted, in 1842, from his literature-based study to the learning and practice of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. Becoming a devoted student of orthodox Neo-Confucianism, he set up a "Learning Curriculum" for his personal study in early 1843 and, influenced by Wo-jen, kept a diary of self-examination in which he reflected upon his behavior and recorded each deviation from the rules which he had set for himself.

The crucial concern of Tseng Kuo-fan's "character-building" program, which was typified in both his "Learning Curriculum" and diary,

was to determine how to achieve a moral Confucian gentleman, (or a step further, sagehood), by ascetic practices. In other words, the goal of Tseng's "character-building" program was how to expel desires out of oneself in order to retain the Heavenly Principle within (ch'ü jen-yu ts'un t'ien-li). To achieve this goal, Tseng Kuo-fan, like T'ang Chien and Wo-jen, focused on the ideas of "lessening angers and restraining desires" in his "character-building" program. To materialize the ideas of "lessening angers and restraining desires", Tseng began to practice quiescence and reverence in 1843. Tseng's idea of quiescence was best seen in his practice of quiet-sitting, which was practiced by Tseng to supposedly calm and empty the mind of distracted thoughts and emotions. The idea of ching (reverence) was equated by Tseng to the substantial attitude of seriousness and respect in life. Ching as a great Neo-Confucian virtue in this sense means, as Wm. Theodore de Bary claims, "collecting the mind and directing it toward one thing"--often this "one thing" represented the unity of all things in principle.¹¹

Beginning in the late 1840s, Tseng was involved with increasing bureaucratic duties. Having less time to practice his intensive program of "character-building", Tseng, however, applied principal Neo-Confucian idea like ching (reverence) to his civil administration. As a principle, the idea of ching was not only applied by Tseng to the improvement of personality in one's interior world alone, but also to social dealings with others in one's exterior world as well. This development of applying the vital values in the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-

¹¹ Wm. Theodore de Bary, Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1981), p.14.

cultivation to the exterior world, became even more salient after the eruption of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), which turned out to be the greatest catastrophe of the empire.¹²

After the breakout of this sudden social revolution, Tseng was ordered by the emperor to recruit and train the militia, later known as Hsiang-chün or the Hunan Army, to fight against the Taipings in Tseng's native Hunan province. As a commander-in-chief in the battlefield, Tseng nicely applied his moral philosophy, which was derived from his intensive practice of his "character-building" program of personality improvement, to military administration. Now playing a role more as a soldier rather than as a scholar, he did not approach the idea of ching as a metaphysical concept discussed only by a handful of philosophical elites. Rather, he regarded this idea as a principle of life. Tseng's successful application of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation to the world of statesmanship, made him a "moral Confucian general". As a corollary of this successful application, Tseng was not only able to enjoy immense respect from his military colleagues, intellectual comrades, and friends; he was also able to win the wholehearted trust of the court. Taken together, these two factors of support from the army and trust from the court, which were closely connected to his employment of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, Tseng achieved one of the greatest careers in modern times by pacifying the Taiping revolution. Since Tseng's successful career was closely associated with Ch'eng-Chu tenet, Tseng's personal success in his career marks, in a sense, the

¹² In this social revolution, the Ch'ing Empire lost as many as 16 provinces and some 300 cities to the Taipings.

success of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in his own times.

CHAPTER I

THE INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

The emergence of the Ch'eng-Chu school in mid-19th century China was closely related to two earlier major intellectual movements in the Ch'ing: the restoration of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine movement and the k'ao-cheng (Evidential Research) movement. The former movement began from the mid-17th century and arrived at its zenith during the turn of the century. The later movement was also initiated in the mid-17th century, but it did not become an intellectual hegemony until the waning of Neo-Confucianism after the mid-18th century. In terms of nature, both intellectual movements emerged as a reaction to the T'ai-chou school's Yang-ming learning in the late Ming. Both movements were opposed to the T'ai-chou school's unfavorable "pure discussion" on metaphysical problems such as "good" and "evil".¹ It is, indeed, from this reaction to Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism that one comes to see the unfolding of the

¹ This came from Wang Yang-ming's well known "Four Dicta" which he taught his disciples: "In the original substance of the mind there is neither good nor evil. When the will becomes active, there is good and evil. The function of innate knowledge is to recognize good and evil. The investigation of things is to do good and reject evil." Huang Tsung-hsi, Ming-ju hsüeh-an (An Intellectual History of Ming Scholars), (Taipei: Ho-lo, reprinted), ch.12, p.1. See also, Wm. Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought, Self and Society in Ming Thought (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1970), p.126. Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo Chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol. 1, pp.9-12.

two given intellectual movements which greatly influenced the emergence of the Ch'eng-Chu school in late imperial China.²

A. The Typology of Confucian Learning in the Early Ch'ing

For the convenience of discussion, we can generalize the leading Confucian scholars in the early Ch'ing into three groups. The first group was characterized by its intellectual roots in the Lu-Wang school but, to some extent, welcomed and accepted Ch'eng-Chu learning. Taking a "revisionist" stance, this group stressed not only the idea of pen-t'i (original substance or ultimate substance) but also the notion of kung-fu (method or moral effort) in the Lu-Wang Neo-Confucian tradition. That is, this group did not appreciate the value of Lu-Wang Neo-Confucian tenet, but had become more aware of the problem of moral praxis which was stressed by both the Lu-Wang and Ch'eng-Chu schools. The representative scholars within this group include Sun Ch'i-feng (1585-1675), Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695), and Li Yung (1627-1705). They were regarded by the 18th century historian Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705-1755) as "three great scholars" of the early Ch'ing: Sun in the north, Huang in the south, and Li in the West (i.e. the northwest).³

The second group was characterized by its critical attitudes against Lu-Wang learning and its endorsement on Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. Realizing the poverty of Lu-Wang philosophy as an

² The opposition to the Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism was salient in the Ch'eng-Chu school of the mid-19th century and was particularly emphasized by T'ang Chien who was the pioneer of this school.

³ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.151.

intellectual system, the members of this group, newly awakened from lamenting of the fall of a dynasty, felt emotionally uneasy with Lu-Wang doctrines and, thus, wanted to bring Ch'eng-Chu tenet back in. Among them, Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) and Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692) were the most exemplary in terms of the endeavor of so-called "honoring Ch'eng-Chu and dishonoring Lu-Wang".⁴ We will discuss the further development of this group later.

The third, and last, group was known for its severe opposition to Neo-Confucian tradition. Unlike the aforementioned two groups, the members of this group, typified by P'an P'ing-ke (1610-1677) and Yen Yüan (1635-1704), rejected both the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools because these two Neo-Confucian schools had, in their eyes, been tainted by Taoism and Buddhism and, thus, had deviated from the true Confucian track.⁵ They denied Neo-Confucian teaching not so much for the radical purpose of destroying the Neo-Confucian system as a tradition, but in order to go beyond the Neo-Confucian tradition to probe the true Way of Confucian tradition.⁶ It is from this perspective that we come to see, very briefly, the characteristics of their intellectual efforts: P'an's claim that one can reach the true Way himself by simply investigating

⁴ Hsü Shih-Ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.8, p.1.

⁵ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol.1, p.54, 58.

⁶ It needs to be pointed out that this group's approach is different from that of k'ao-cheng school, even though the goal, to return to the classical Confucian tradition, looks similar.

the development of the doctrine of Jen,⁷ and Yen's well-known assertion that "one bit of Ch'eng-Chu thought destroyed is one bit of Confucius-Mencius thought gained."⁸

B. The Restoration Movement of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism

Among the above-mentioned three groups, the second, "honoring Ch'eng-Chu and dishonoring Lu-Wang", spoke louder than the other competitive groups. It is interesting to see that this effort of "honoring Ch'eng-Chu and dishonoring Lu-Wang" typified by Ku Yen-wu and Wang Fu-chih soon became an intellectual movement which lasted more than a half century: the restoration movement of the Ch'eng-Chu school.⁹

The intellectual movement for restoring the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the second part of 17th century was best seen in the context of the promotion of the notion of tao-t'ung (the succession of the Way), which was also the core idea in T'ang Chien's seminal work Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty). The notion of tao-t'ung was often applied by Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists to mean the

⁷ This is seen in P'an's primary work ch'iu-jen lu (A Record of the Investigation of Jen), published in 1657. See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol., pp.55-63.

⁸ Ibid., p.159.

⁹ Logically, "dishonoring Lu-Wang" does not necessarily lead to the development of "honoring Ch'eng-Chu". However, in the case of early Ch'ing, "honoring Ch'eng-Chu" and "dishonoring Lu-Wang" were, indeed, two sides of the same coin, in terms of the development of Neo-Confucianism.

repossession and transmission of the Way.¹⁰ Under the banner of tao-t'ung, these Neo-Confucian literati regarded the Ch'eng-Chu school as the exclusive orthodoxy within the Confucian tradition while all other schools, including the Lu-Wang school, were heterodox. One of the first primary works which geared up this restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism was Hsüeh-pu t'ung-pien (General Critique of Obscuration to Learning) written by the late Ming scholar Ch'en Chien (1497-1567). As a vigorous and thoroughgoing defense of Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy, this account repeatedly stigmatized Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-1192) and Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528) as "outward Confucians and covert Buddhists" through its critical argument of distinguishing the intellectual differences, instead of emphasizing the similarities, between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-wang schools. Its indictment of Lu and Wang together as collaborators in a vast conspiracy to betray Confucianism won enthusiastic echo among some early Ch'ing scholars who disapproved the Lu-Wang system. As a result of its powerful and convincing theme, this work became the "bible" of the Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement in its initial period in the early Ch'ing.¹¹

¹⁰ Wm. Theodore de Bary, Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart (NY: Columbia University Press, 1981), p.2-13. In terms of character, professor de Bary further distinguished two aspects of tao-t'ung as prophetic and scholastic, depending on whether one stresses inner inspiration or solitary perception, or whether one appeals to receive authority by continuous transmission of either texts or instruction from teacher to student. See *ibid.*, p.9. See also his The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.30.

¹¹ Three centuries later, Juan Yüan (1764-1849), a follower of evidential research master Tai Chen (1724-1777) but who took an eclectic view toward Neo-Confucianism, wrote a new preface for this reprinted work in 1828 and praised Ch'en as one of the most erudite scholars in the past three hundred years. Mai Chung-kwei, ed., Ming-Ch'ing ju-hsüeh-

The anti-Lu-Wang movement initiated by Ch'en Chien in the late Ming, was so closely related to the Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement in the second half of 17th century that one can hardly draw a clear line between the two. However, this movement, (constituted by the anti-Lu-Wang movement and the Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement), which unfolded in the early Ch'ing, can be seen from two aspects: alienation from the ruling regime and identification with the existing sovereign. The former was typified by scholars who kept their distance from the Manchus;¹² the latter was exemplified by Confucian literati who attempted to achieve careers through the conventional channel of examination in order to be connected to established socio-political order.

1. The Alienation from the Ruling Regime

In the early Ch'ing those who intended to maintain a distance from the Manchurian regime and who were also dissatisfied with Lu-Wang teaching, can be best embodied in three scholars: Chang Lū-hsiang (1611-1674), Lū Liu-liang (1629-1683), and Lu Shih-i (1611-1672). Among the three, Chang and Lu were highly regarded by T'ang Chien in his Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty) as the "transmitters of the Way" to mean the legitimate successors of the

chia chu-shu sheng-tsu nien-piao (A Table of Writings and Dates of Birth and Death of Ming-Ch'ing Confucian Scholars), (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng Shu-chü, 1977), vol.2, p.599. Ch'ien Mu, Chu-tzu-hsüeh t'i-kang (An Outline of the Learning of Chu Hsi), (Taipei: San-ming, 1971), pp.222-3.

¹² They either had official positions in the Ming government or had sentimental and nostalgic ties to the destroyed dynasty.

"learning of sages".¹³

Praised by T'ang Chien as the "first true orthodox Neo-Confucian scholar after Master Chu",¹⁴ Chang Lü-hsiang had been exposed to Tung-lin teaching, which was critical toward Yang-ming learning, during his early life, and then, at 34, turned to the teachings of Liu Tsung-chou (1578-1645), the last champion of the Yang-ming school in the late Ming.¹⁵ Feeling that Liu's idea of shen-tu (vigilant solitariness of self-watchfulness when alone) is nothing more than Wang Yang-ming's notion of ch'eng-i (sincerity of the will), Chang became completely converted to Chu Hsi's doctrines in 1649 when he was 39.¹⁶ As a bitter adversary of Yang-ming learning, he totally disliked Wang's Ch'uan-hsi lu (Instructions for Practical Living) which contained the major thoughts of Wang Yang-ming. Going so far as to blame all of China's troubles on it, he published Liu Tsung-chou's critical comments on Wang Yang-ming, which was intended to be a corrective of Yang-ming learning as interpreted by the T'ai-chou school, and called the collection Liu

¹³ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), t'i-yao (Proposal), p.1.

¹⁴ Ibid., vol.1, p.22.

¹⁵ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.141.

¹⁶ Mai Chung-kwei, ed., Ming-Ch'ing ju-hsüeh chia chu-shu sheng-tsu nien-piao (A Table of Writings and Dates of Birth and Death of Ming-Ch'ing Confucian Scholars), (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1977), vol.1, p.302. Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (Columbia University Press, 1975), pp.550-551.

Tzu ts'ui-yen (Master Liu's Pure Words).¹⁷

In the last year of his life, 1674, Chang Lǔ-hsiang produced a work known as Pei-wang lu (Memorandum) in 4 chüan which was regarded by his nien-p'u (chronological biography) compiler in 1836 as "the most important work" Chang ever produced.¹⁸ Composed from selected passages out of Chang's diary between 1660 to 1674, this account criticized Buddhist doctrines and, particularly, Yang-ming learning on the one hand, and displayed the author's concern about the Ch'eng-Chu approach of chü-ching ch'iuung-li (dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost) on the other hand. Through his criticism of Lu-Wang learning, Chang presented his idea of tao-t'ung which connected Hsüeh Hsüan and Hu Chü-jen (1434-1484) of the Ming to the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi in the Sung.¹⁹

Although Chang declined to pursue an official career and led a relatively frugal and independent life,²⁰ he stressed the significance of both moral and social praxis which greatly influenced the Ch'eng-Chu

¹⁷ Su Ch'ang-yüan, comp., Ch'ang Yang-yüan shen-sheng nien-pu (A Chronological Biography of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), 1836 edition, in Chang Yang-yüan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Work of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), (Taipei, Chung-kuo wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she, reprinted, 1968), p.11. See also, Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (Columbia University Press, 1975), pp.550-551.

¹⁸ Su Ch'ang-yüan, comp., Ch'ang Yang-yüan shen-sheng nien-pu (A Chronological Biography of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), 1836 edition, in Chang Yang-yüan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Work of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), (Taipei, Chung-kuo wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she, reprinted, 1968), p.21.

¹⁹ Chang Yang-yüan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Work of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), ch.41, pp.28-29.

²⁰ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.141.

circle in the mid-19th century. For moral praxis, he emphasized the idea of reverence (ching) and "returning to oneself" (fan-ch'iu chu-chi), i.e. "recovery of the nature" or fu-hsing. He claimed, for instance, that "only he who has returned to himself can dwell in jen (humanity, benevolence) and undertake i (righteousness).²¹ For social praxis, he highlighted the idea of ching-shih which needed to be, he asserted, based on Confucian Classics, namely, the Four Books and the Five Classics.²² Taken together, these two ideas of praxis are best presented in his well quoted dictum: "set one's goal in (Chang Tsai's) Hsi-ming (Western Inscription) and behave according to the teaching of chung-yung (The Doctrine of the Mean)" (chih t'sun hsi-ming, hsing chun chung-yung).²³

Due to his isolated life as a Chekiang scholar, Chang Lŭ-hsiang was known only to a very small intellectual circle in his time.²⁴ However, after his death Chang was highly regarded by Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851), a respected T'ung-ch'eng scholar, as a person "above Lo Ch'in-shun (1466-1547), Ch'en Chien, and Chang Lieh (1622-1685)"²⁵ in terms of Ch'eng-Chu scholarship, and was praised by Fang as the

²¹ Chang Lŭ-hsiang, Pei-wang lu (Memoranda), in Chang Yang-yŭan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Chang Lŭ-hsiang), ch.42, p.46.

²² Ibid., ch.39, p.15.

²³ Ibid., ch.39, p.15.

²⁴ All his life Chang never came to know his fellow Chekiang Lu Lung-ch'i (1630-1693) who was only miles away. See Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.5, p.1.

²⁵ Lo Ch'in-shun (1466-1547) is a Ch'eng-Chu scholar in the late Ming. Chang Lieh is a Ch'eng-Chu scholar in the early Ch'ing who will be discussed below.

"unmatched scholar after Master Chu".²⁶ During the T'ung-chih period (1862-1874), an epoch which witnessed the second restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in the Ch'ing, the site of Chang's residence was made public property and a tablet was erected to his memory.²⁷ Furthermore, we should not also forget that Chang was so well praised by T'ang Chien that he was regarded by T'ang as the second "transmitter of the Way" in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih.

Among Chang Lü-hsiang's few intellectual comrades, Lü Liu-liang was one of his closest ones in terms of an alienated attitude toward the Manchus. Like Chang Lü-hsiang, Lü Liu-liang was also a Chekiang scholar and a radical antagonist of Yang-ming learning. Lü asserted, for instance, that "the Way of Master Chu will not become illuminated unless Yang-ming learning becomes extinguished."²⁸ To dishonor Lu-Wang learning, Lü went so far as to claim that Lu Hsiang-shan was inseparable from blame for the fall of the Sung while Wang Yang-ming and his follower Li Chih (1527-1602) were responsible for the demise of the Ming.²⁹ To correct the "false" approach of liang-chih (innate knowledge) of the Yang-ming school, Lü suggested the approaches of chih-

²⁶ Fang Tung-shu's preface, written in 1837, for Su Ch'ang-yüan, comp., Ch'ang Yang-yüan shen-sheng nien-pu (A Chronological Biography of Chang Lü-hsiang), 1836 edition, collected in Chang Yang-yüan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Work of Chang Lü-hsiang), (Taipei: Chung-kuo wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she, reprinted, 1968).

²⁷ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, p.46.

²⁸ Lü Liu-liang, Lü Wan-ch'un shen-sheng wen-chi (A Literary Collection of Lü Liu-liang), (Taipei: Chung-ting, 1967), reprinted, p.596.

²⁹ Ibid., p.82.

chih (broadening knowledge to the utmost) and chu-ching (to maintain a reverence-based way of life).³⁰ It is from this aspect of "dishonoring Lu-Wang learning" that Lǔ developed his vision of tao-t'ung which was best spelled out in his letter to P'an P'ing-ke (1610-1677): "I believe in Master Chu because I studied his commentaries on the Classics during my youth. I keep my faith in Master Chou (Tun-i) and the Ch'engs because of (the medium) of Master Chu. I came to know and trust Confucius and Mencius because of Ch'eng-Chu."³¹ This view of tao-t'ung might be narrow, as pointed out by Wm. Theodore de Bary,³² but it shows that "dishonoring Lu-Wang learning" as an intellectual approach in the early Ch'ing was closely associated with one's political stance. This is particularly true for those alienated Neo-Confucianists who felt that a dominant doctrine of an epoch, such as Lu-Wang learning, should bear a socio-moral responsibility for the rise and fall of a state. It is probably because of Lǔ's later involvement with literary inquisition that Lǔ's name was absent from T'ang Chien's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, even though Lǔ's role was crucial in the restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the mid-17th century.

Like Chang Lǔ-hsiang and Lǔ Liu-liang, Lu Shih-i, who was regarded by T'ang Chien as the third "transmitters of the Way", also adopted an alienated attitude toward the new regime by discouraging all efforts to

³⁰ Ibid., p.600.

³¹ Ibid., p.43.

³² Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.135.

recommend him for service under the Manchus.³³ But, unlike Chang and Lü who were comparatively tough-minded in terms of their attitude toward Lu-Wang learning, Lu, a Chiangsu scholar, was a tender-minded Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianist who took a sympathetic posture toward the Yang-ming school.³⁴ His Neo-Confucian thought was best presented in the Ssu-pien lu (Records of Thinking and Sifting) which was begun by him at age 27 and was not completed until his last years of life.³⁵ Avoiding an uncritical eclecticism and a narrow exclusivism, Lu viewed, in this work, the Confucian tradition itself more in historical terms and acknowledged the individual contributions of various thinkers.³⁶ Even though Lu did not strongly attack the Yang-ming school, his basic approach, seen in Ssu-pien lu, was orthodox in the sense that it promoted Chu Hsi's idea of "dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost" and stressed the notion of moral praxis in daily life.³⁷ Because of the academic attitude Lu adopted, this treatise was honored by the historian Ch'üan Tsu-wang as a "pure" Neo-

³³ Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i" and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeen Century", in Wm. Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Seventeenth-Century Chinese Thought, ed. The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (NY: Columbia University Press, 1975), p.549.

³⁴ Ch'ien Mu, Chu-tzu-hsüeh t'i-kang (An Outline of the Learning of Chu Hsi), p.222.

³⁵ Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.3, pp.1-2.

³⁶ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.147.

³⁷ Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.3. p.1. See also, Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.147.

Confucian work in terms of style.³⁸ Because of Lu's promotion of the orthodox Neo-Confucianism, he, together with Chang Lǔ-hsiang, was regarded by Fang Tung-shu as the "true follower" of the Ch'engs and Chu Hsi and was compared by this great T'ung-ch'eng scholar to a "bright candle" to those who went astray.³⁹

2. The Identification with the Existing Sovereign

While Chang Lǔ-hsiang is the pioneer of "alienated" Ch'eng-Chu scholars in the early Ch'ing, Wei I-chieh (1616-1686), who was regarded by T'ang Chien as one of the tao preservers in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, is one of the major forerunners of the "identified" Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists". Unlike Ch'en Chien who endeavored to distinguish the intellectual differences between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools, Wei, a Hopei scholar, was much more interested in the establishment of Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy. As one of the first Neo-Confucianists in the early Ch'ing consciously constructing the Ch'eng-Chu orthodox lineage, Wei, in his Sheng-hsüeh chih-t'ung-lu (A Record of Intellectual Transmission of the Sages' Teaching), written in 1665, attempted to link the transmission of teaching of the sages from Fu Hsi, Yao, and Shun of the idealized sage-kings of "Golden Age" to Confucius, and through Confucius and his doctrines, to Hsü Heng (1209-1281) of the Yüan and Hsüeh Hsüan

³⁸ Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.4, p.29.

³⁹ Fang Tung-shu's preface, written in 1837, for Su Ch'ang-yüan, comp., Ch'ang Yang-yüan shen-sheng nien-pu (A Chronological Biography of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), 1836 edition, collected in Chang Yang-yüan shen-sheng ch'üan-chi (The Complete Work of Chang Lǔ-hsiang), (Taipei, Chung-kuo wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she, reprinted, 1968).

(1389-1464) of the Ming.⁴⁰ Wei's tao-t'ung system was definitely greater in scale than that of Chang Lü-hsiang, even though they formulated their doctrines at about the same time. Impressed by Wei's Sheng-hsüeh chih-t'ung-lu, Lu Shih-i sent his four students to the North to study under Wei.⁴¹

To highlight the idea of Confucian orthodoxy, Wei I-chieh compiled another work known as Chou Ch'eng Chang Chu cheng-mai (The Orthodox Lineage of Chou Tun-i, the Ch'engs, Chang Tsai, and Chu Tzu). In this account, he collected Chou Tun-i's T'ai-chi t'u-shuo (An Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate), Chang Tsai's Tung-ming (Eastern Inscription) and Hsi-ming (Western Inscription), Chou Ju-ten's Ch'eng-men wei-chih (The Subtle Meanings of the Ch'engs'), and, finally, Sun Ch'eng-tze's K'ao-cheng wan-nien ting-lun (An Evidential Research into (Wang Yang-ming's) Chu Hsi's Final Conclusion Arrived at Late in Life). Although this work was less well known than his Sheng-hsüeh chih-t'ung-lu,⁴² taken together the two works show Wei's primary focus in his study of Neo-Confucianism, which was embodied in the idea of tao-t'ung. Partly because of his enthusiastic promotion of Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy and partly because of his loyalty to the Ch'ing house,⁴³ Wei was favorably

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.262.

⁴¹ Wei Li-t'ung, Wei Chen-an shen-sheng nien-p'u (A Genealogical Biography of Wei I-chieh), collected in Chi-fu t'sung-shu, p.31.

⁴² One cannot even find any source about this work through his "chronological biography" (nien-pu) compiled by his son Wei Li-t'ung. Nevertheless, a summary of this account was preserved in Hsü Shih-Ch'ang's Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars).

⁴³ He proposed to the K'ang-hsi Emperor the policy of pacifying Yün-nan and Kuei-chou provinces. Even though his suggestion was not materialized, his loyalty pleased his lord. See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo

accepted by Emperor K'ang-hsi (r. 1662-1722) who appointed him to prominent positions like president of the Board of Civil Office (1663) and Grand Secretary (1664).⁴⁴ It goes without saying that the Ch'eng-Chu doctrines Wei ardently promulgated were implicitly endorsed by the Ch'ing ruler.

This imperial endorsement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrines was further enforced by the function of the examination system which decided the careers of many. For instance, in the 1670 Metropolitan Examination under Wei, three scholars, who later became eminent Ch'eng-Chu proponents, were selected to become chin-shih: Li Kwang-ti (1642-1718), Lu Lung-ch'i (1630-1693), and Chang Lieh (1622-1685).⁴⁵ Traditionally, these new chin-shihs needed to proclaim themselves as "students" of Wei, who decided their fates in the examination. As a result of Wei's role in the court and his symbolic political influence, the Ch'eng-Chu camp was thus supplied with new blood through the institutionalized channel of the examination system.

Wei I-chieh's "honoring Ch'eng-Chu" stance was shared by Hsiung T'zu-li (1635-1709), who was also regarded by T'ang Chien as one of the

chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, p.262.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.262. See also, Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.849-850. Hsü Shih-Ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.19. pp.1-9. T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1947), pp.164-168.

⁴⁵ Mai Chung-kwei, ed., Ming-Ch'ing ju-hsüeh-chia chu-shu sheng-tsu nien-piao (A Table of Writings and Dates of Birth and Death of Ming-Ch'ing Confucian Scholars), (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng Shu-chü, 1977), vol. 1, p.350.

tao preservers in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, about two decades later. By condemning Wang Yang-ming as a "bandit" (t'zei), Hsiung regarded himself like Wei as a person with the mission of "defending the Way" (wei-tao chih-shih).⁴⁶ In his Hsien-tao-lu (The Record of Defending the Way), which was completed in 1667 when he was in his early 30's, Hsiung honored Master Chu for inheriting the teachings of Confucius, Yen Tzu, Tseng Tzu, and Mencius, and condemned the teachings of Lu Hsiang-shan and Wang Yang-ming as "heterodox learning". This "honoring Ch'eng-Chu and dishonoring Lu-Wang" approach shown in this work pleased the K'ang-Hsi emperor so much that the emperor placed it on his desk for frequent reference. As a result of imperial endorsement, Hsiung, along with his Hsien-tao-lu, became popular among his contemporaries.⁴⁷ Also as a result of the imperial endorsement of his Ch'eng-Chu learning, Hsiung's political career was as marvelous as that of Wei I-chieh's: chancellor of the Hanlin Academy in 1670, Grand Secretariat and concurrently president of the Board of Punishments in 1675, president of the Board of Ceremonies in 1688, and president of the Board of Civil Office in 1692.⁴⁸

Despite of the popularity of Hsien-tao-lu, Hsiung best presented his idea of tao-t'ung in another work known as Hsüeh-t'ung (The Orthodox Succession of Teaching), which was completed in 1685. In this 56-chüan

⁴⁶ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo Chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol. 1, p.262.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.308-9.

account, Hsiung specified five kinds of teachings: the teaching of orthodox succession (cheng-t'ung), the teaching of aiding succession (i-t'ung), the teaching of supplementary succession (fu-t'ung), the teaching of promiscuous succession (t'za-t'ung), and, finally, the teaching of heterodox succession (i-t'ung). According to Hsiung, the lineage of "orthodox succession" consisted of 10 persons who were: Confucius, Yen Tzu, Tseng Tzu, Tzu Ssu, Mencius, Chou Tzu (Chou Tun-i), the Ch'eng brothers, Chang Tzu (Chang Tsai), and Master Chu. The idea of "aiding succession" comprised, in Hsiung's eyes, 23 persons beginning with Min Shun (Min Tzu-ch'ien, 536-487 B.C.), a disciple of Confucius known for his virtue, to Lo Ch'in-shun of the Ming. The "supplementary succession" referred to Hsiung included 178 persons beginning with Jan Ken (Jan Po-niu, 544B.C.-?) to Kao Pan-lung (1562-1626) of the Ming. The "promiscuous succession" contained 7 persons from Hsün Tzu down to Wang Yang-ming. As for "heterodox succession", it consisted of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Yang Chu, Mo Tzu, Kao Tzu, Taoists, and Buddhists.⁴⁹ Despite the author's intention--either to please the imperial house or to sincerely promote Ch'eng-Chu tenet, this work was one of the most complete versions of "orthodox succession" ever produced among the early Ch'ing Ch'eng-Chu scholars. It is from this work that T'ang Chien, the hero of the next chapter, was able to produce his account of orthodox succession, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), a century and half later.

In the following, we will briefly discuss the three above-

⁴⁹ Hsü Shih-Ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.38, pp.22-23.

mentioned "students" of Wei I-chieh who were indispensable protagonists in Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement in the late 17th century: Li Kwang-ti, Lu Lung-ch'i, and Chang Lieh. As the senior of the three, Chang Lieh, who was regarded by T'ang Chien as one of the "assistants of the Way" in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, was disinterested in the pursuit of power and political opportunities, partly because of his belated chin-shih degree--at the age of 49. Out of the Lu-Wang tradition, Chang, a Hopei scholar, later decided to devote himself to Ch'eng-Chu learning and took the restoration of Ch'eng-Chu tao-t'ung as his mission. To defend Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy, he contended that "the advent of Wang Yang-ming implies the distress of the Way of the sages".⁵⁰ His seminal work Wang-hsüeh chih-i (To Question Yang-ming Learning) was completed in 1681, four years before his death. Because of its forceful attack against Yang-ming learning, Wang-hsüeh chih-i was often compared to Ch'en Chien's General Critique of Obscuration to Learning. While Ch'en Chien's General Critique of Obscuration to Learning highlighted the differences between Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan, this work of Chang Lieh's stressed the differences between Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming. Chang's account, which primarily highlighted Wang Yang-ming's Ch'uan-hsi-lu (Instructions for Practical Living) which embodied Wang's philosophy, focuses on three major problems in Wang's system: the idea of hsin-chi-li (mind is principle), the theories of chih-chih (broadening knowledge to the utmost) and ko-wu (investigating things),

⁵⁰ Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.23. p.11.

and the tenet of chih-hsing ho-i (unity of knowing and acting).⁵¹ Taken together, they were articulated and challenged by Chang to prove the invalidity of Yang-ming learning--in order to justify the authority of Ch'eng-Chu doctrines.⁵²

Like Chang Lieh, Lu Lung-ch'i, a Chekiang thinker, was also an enthusiastic proponent of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism.⁵³ Influenced by Chang Lieh and, particularly, Lü Liu-liang, Lu claimed, in his three-part treatise Hsüeh-shu-pien (Critique of Scholarship), that Wang Yang-ming's theory of liang-chih (innate knowledge) was a theory of Ch'an buddhism in the guise of Confucianism.⁵⁴ Like Lü Liu-liang, he accused Yang-ming learning of being responsible for the demise of the Ming. "The fall of the Ming was not due to bandit uprisings or factionalism but to (Wang's) teachings."⁵⁵ Because of his uncompromising insistence upon Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy, Lu bitterly attacked the Yang-ming school and scholars whose views stood between those of the Ch'eng-Chu and Yang-ming

⁵¹ Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.23, p.1.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Lu Lung-ch'i and Chang Lieh had known each other when they both achieved the chih-shih degree in the same year of 1670. But it is because of Lu's encounter with Chang in Peking in 1683 that he was able to read the latter's Wang-hsüeh chih-i. See his San-yü-t'ang wen-chi (Literary Collections of Three Fishes Hall), 1889 edition, ch.8, p.14. Lu published Chang's Wang-hsüeh chih-i and wrote a preface for this book after Chang's death. See *ibid.*, ch.5, p.26.

⁵⁴ San-yü-t'ang wen-chi (Literary Collections of Three Fishes Hall), ch.2, p.2.

⁵⁵ San-yü-t'ang wen-chi (Literary Collections of Three Fishes Hall), ch.2, p.2. See also Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, p. 552.

schools as well.⁵⁶ His advocacy of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine would, as pointed out professor Wing-tsit Chan, allow no room for any deviation.⁵⁷

Lu's tough-minded character shown in his attitude toward Confucian orthodoxy won homage from many during his times and later. As an ardent admirer of Lu's profound scholarship and his firm position on Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy, Chang Po-hsing (1652-1725), President of the Board of Rites, suggested to the imperial house in 1724 that Lu be honored as a fixture of the official cult. Along with 19 scholars of various dynasties, Lu was celebrated in the Temple of Confucius--the first scholar in the Ch'ing to enjoy such recognition.⁵⁸ Partly because of the honorary recognition of the court, Lu was highly regarded by T'ang Chien as the first among the four "transmitters of the Way" in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih.

Unlike Chang Lieh and Lu Lung-ch'i, Li Kuang-ti was a tender-minded Ch'eng-Chu scholar who did not ruthlessly oppose Lu-Wang

⁵⁶ For instance, he was unsatisfied with Sun Ch'i-feng's Li-hsüeh tsung-chuan (The Essential Legacy of the Learning of Principle) which, printed in 1666, regarded both Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang as Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. See Lu Lung-ch'i, San-yü-t'ang jih-chi (A Diary of Lu Lung-ch'i), (Shanghai: Shang-wu ing-shu-kuan, 1937), pp.24-25.

⁵⁷ Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, p.552. See also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (An Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1966), pp.99-100.

⁵⁸ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, reprinted, p.547. Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.164. Lu's prominent recognition by the imperial house was in ironic contrast to his own intellectual hero Lü Liu-liang who was beheaded by the Ch'ing court for his Chinese loyalism 47 years after his death.

learning. Li, who was regarded by T'ang Chien as one of the tao preservers in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, was exposed to Ch'eng-Chu learning at 18 and compiled a work about the Four Books at 19.⁵⁹ Partly because of his profound Neo-Confucian scholarship and partly because of his loyalty to the imperial house,⁶⁰ Li was treasured by Emperor K'ang-hsi.

As a principal advisor to the emperor, Li managed to promote Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism without highlighting the idea of tao-t'ung, which was, in his mind, subject to becoming a kind of partisanship and only added to controversy. In Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu (A Complete Work of Master Chu)⁶¹ and Hsing-li ching-i (Essential Ideas of [the Ch'eng-Chu school of] Nature and Principle)⁶², two major works of orthodox Neo-

⁵⁹ Li Ch'ing-chih, Wen-chen-kung nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Li Kuang-ti), in Shen Yüan-lung, ed. Chin-tai chung-kuo shih-liao ts'ung-kan, no. 621, (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she), pp.13-14.

⁶⁰ When Li was at home in Fukien in 1674 after obtaining the chih-shih degree in 1670, he rejected joining the rebel Keng Ching-chung (d. 1682). In 1675 he furtively presented a memorial giving intelligence about rebels in his own province. In 1678 he sent relatives to guide the Manchu armies to pacify his native region. In addition, Taiwan was retaken by the Manchus in 1681 upon his recommendation. Because of his close connection to the imperial house, Li was therefore described by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as a figure pleasing the emperor for the sake of personal success. See Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, pp.546-7. See also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p.76.

⁶¹ Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu (A Complete Work of Master Chu) was completed in 1712. See *ibid.*, p.216.

⁶² This was an abridgement of the Hsin-li ta-ch'üan (Philosophy of Nature and Principle in Its Completeness), an anthology of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism compiled by Hu Kuang (1370-1418) and others by imperial command in 1415. See Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary,

Confucianism in which Li played a major role in the compilation by imperial command in 1706 and 1715 respectively, Li skillfully avoided this sensitive issue of tao-t'ung by omitting sections concerning it.⁶³ The K'ang-hsi emperor, who started to study the Confucian classics as a young boy and continued throughout his life,⁶⁴ seemed to pay less attention to Li's omission of tao-t'ung and more attention to the "comprehensiveness" of Chu Hsi's thought. It is said that after the completion of A Complete Work of Master Chu Emperor K'ang-hsi was so impressed by the "pure thought" of Master Chu presented in this work that he decided to promote Chu Hsi's rank in the Temple of Confucius from the 10th to the 5th. Feeling that this was improper, Li convinced the emperor to maintain the previous arrangement by honoring Chu Hsi at the 10th rank.⁶⁵ Taking the emperor's intention to honor Chu Hsi and the imperially commanded compilation of the above-mentioned two orthodox Neo-Confucian works together, we have reason to suggest that the Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement which began in the latter part of 17th century had reached its zenith in the early 18th century.

Before we conclude this section on the restoration movement of

The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, pp.543.

⁶³ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, pp.175-185.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.217. See also Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li ching-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the Seventeenth Century," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, pp.545.

⁶⁵ Li Ch'ing-chih, Wen-chen-kung nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Li Kuang-ti), pp.216-8. See also Huang Chin-shing, "Hsüan-an t'i-ts'ai ch'an-sheng ti ssu-hsiang pei-chin" (The Emergence of an Historical Genre: the Background to the "Philosophical Records"), Han-hsüeh yen-chiu (Chinese Studies), ch.2, v.1, June 1984, pp.204-5.

Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, we should not forget to mention Chang Po-hsing who, as you recall, proposed the idea of installing Lu Lung-Ch'i in the Temple of Confucius as the first Ch'ing scholar to be so saluted.⁶⁶ By so doing, Chang had, as aptly pointed out by professor Wm. Theodore de Bary, successfully connected the unofficial spokesmen for Chu Hsi--Chang Lü-hsiang, Lü Liu-liang, and Lu Shih-i--to the established lineage typified by Wei I-chieh, Hsiung T'zu-li, Chang Lieh, Lu Lung-ch'i, and Li Kuang-ti.⁶⁷ To crystallize his effort of honoring Ch'eng-Chu teaching, in addition to the nomination of Lu Lung-ch'i to be installed in the Confucian temple, he edited and published, between 1707-1713, the tremendous series of 63 works by orthodox Neo-Confucianists under the title of Cheng-i t'ang ch'üan-shu (Collectanea of the Hall for Rectifying Moral Principles).⁶⁸ Through this valuable collectanea, one can see the development of substantial efforts of orthodox Neo-Confucians in the second half of 17th century--in terms of the promotion of the idea of tao-t'ung.

Unlike Li Kuang-ti, who advocated Ch'eng-Chu teaching without directly invoking the concept of tao-t'ung, Chang's intellectual temperament and approach were closer to that of his intellectual hero Chang Lü-hsiang who was noted for his strict view of orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition. While serving local officialdom, Chang abolished

⁶⁶ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.185.

⁶⁷ Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, p.185.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.186. This serial is now collected in Yen I-ping, ed. Pai-pu tz'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (Taipei: I-Wen, 1965).

both Buddhist temples and Roman Catholic churches and converted them into free schools where sacrifices were made in honor of Chu Hsi. Nevertheless, he was not so lucky as Chang Lü-hsiang who enjoyed the honor for being installed in the Confucian temple. Nor was he able to please his lord with his orthodox Ch'eng-Chu doctrines thus gaining prominent appointments in the government. His principal work Hsing-li cheng-tsung (The Orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism), which was completed in 1725 a few weeks before his death, defended the legitimacy of the Ch'eng-Chu school and rebutted the heterodox learning of the Yang-ming school.⁶⁹ Because of his enthusiastic defense of the legitimacy of the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine, Chang was praised by T'ang Chien and highly regarded as the fourth "transmitters of the Way" in T'ang's Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih.

Seen from the discussion above, we can distinguish a powerful theme dominating the first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine: the idea of tao-t'ung, or the transmission of the Way. Even though this theme was spelled out by Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists in the second part of 17th century and the first part of 18th century to mainly oppose Yang-ming learning, it provided T'ang Chien a major inspiration to compose his seminal work Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih.

C. The Emergence of the "K'ao-Cheng" Movement and its Implications

The formal confrontation between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang

⁶⁹ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, p.51-52. See also, T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), vol.1, pp.30-42.

schools might have become weaker, on the surface, when Ch'eng-Chu teaching gradually became an established ideology in the later part of 17th century and the first two decades of 18th century. The informal confrontation between the two rival schools did not stop but was carried on in a new form of Han Learning (Textual Criticism or Evidential Research) versus Sung Learning (Neo-Confucian philosophy).⁷⁰

Strictly speaking, Han Learning refers to a school of scholarship that came into fashion in the Soochow area during the mid-18th century.⁷¹ Rejecting the Sung Learning of both the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools, Hui Tung (1697-1758), a leader of K'ao-cheng movement during the mid-18th century, and his followers turned instead to a study of Later Han (25-220) classical interpretations, particularly those made by Cheng Hsüan (127-200), who had successfully synthesized the earlier New and Old Text doctrines. It was believed that such interpretations of the Classics were, because they were closer to the time when those Classics were compiled, more likely to express the true implications of the Classics than those interpretations made by Neo-Confucianists since the Sung.⁷²

⁷⁰ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1976), p.153.

⁷¹ Because of this, one cannot equate k'ao-cheng (evidential research) with Han Learning. This is because, in terms of approach, the latter, which was characterized by its radical opposition to Sung Learning, is not fully identical with the k'ao-cheng scholars before Hui Tung and Tai Chen. Indeed, scholars like Ku Yen-wu, Yen Jo-chü, and others of earlier generation of k'ao-cheng tradition did not oppose Sung Learning as a whole.

⁷² Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.xxvi.

However, k'ao-cheng learning as an intellectual movement which became salient after the mid-18th century cannot be detached from the heated debate in the early Ch'ing. During the process of debates on the problems of the intellectual disparities and similarities between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang school, scholars of both rival schools were forced to seek evidence supporting their arguments and ideas in the original texts--namely, the Classics and their ancient commentaries. This is an effort of what can be called "back to the origin".⁷³ In this effort, scholars like Ku Yen-wu and Huang Tsung-hsi of mid-17th century had managed to establish a new "paradigm" for this intellectual approach in which the methodology of evidential research was gradually developed. Important as it is, one cannot touch the problem of k'ao-cheng without mentioning the scholars of mid-17th century.

1. The First Period of the K'ao-Cheng Movement

Unlike the later evidential research scholars in the mid-18th century who severely opposed the Neo-Confucian tradition, scholars like Ku and Huang, who are regarded as forerunners of the k'ao-cheng movement, represented, and defended as well, their respective Neo-Confucian traditions of the Ch'eng-Chu and the Lu-Wang school. With insight into the demerits of Neo-Confucianism, Ku proposed the renowned idea of "what is the learning of the Classics is the learning of Principle" (ching-hsüeh chi li-hsüeh). This theory of "what is the learning of the Classics is the learning of Principle" is, to be sure, a

⁷³ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), pp.133-4.

softened proposition of using the learning of the Classics (ching-hsüeh) to replace the idea of the learning of Principle (li-hsüeh). However, to crystallize the concept of "what is the learning of the Classics is the learning of Principle", one is confronted with the problem of methodology. That is, to utilize the learning of the Classics, one needs to first master the method of study of the Confucian canons. Unlike Huang, who gave the idea of textual criticism a general definition,⁷⁴ Ku was, through his case study on the Classics, more substantial on the k'ao-cheng method. He claimed that: "To study Nine Classics, one should begin from the criticism of the texts. To do so, one needs to start from the understanding of phonetics."⁷⁵ For Ku, and for those who followed Ku as well, phonetics was the key to studying the Classics.⁷⁶

However, it needs to be clarified that this attack against Neo-Confucianism employed by Ku was not so much in opposition to the whole

⁷⁴ In comparison with Ku, Huang adopted a more general and broad definition on the methodology of k'ao-cheng which suggested that students of Confucianism should comprehend interpretations of Classics other than the versions made by Neo-Confucian scholars. Huang was especially unsatisfied with Ming scholars who too often relied upon Neo-Confucian yü-lu (recorded conversations) to study the text of the Confucian Classics. He stressed that in terms of the interpretation of Classics one should refer to the Han scholars who investigated the subjects of Confucian scholarship in extensive and detailed approaches. As for moral praxis, he urged students to follow the path of the Neo-Confucianists. See Hsieh Kuo-chen, Huang li-chou hsüeh-pu (An Intellectual History of Huang Tsung-hsi), collected in Shen Yün-lung, ed. chin-tai chung-kuo shih-liao tz'ung-k'an no.782-3, (Taipei: Wen-hai), pp.28-31.

⁷⁵ See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, p.134.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

Neo-Confucian tradition as an antagonism with Lu-Wang teaching *per se*.⁷⁷ As a bitter adversary of the Yang-ming school, Ku disliked the tenets of Mind-heart (hsin) and nature (hsing) which the Yang-ming school expounded.⁷⁸ All his life, Ku never attacked the Ch'eng-Chu school in his works but was known to honor Chu Hsi by remodelling the temple of master Chu during the time he had traveled in Shanshi.⁷⁹

While Ku was a pro-Ch'eng-Chu scholar, Huang Tsung-hsi was a pro-Lu-Wang thinker, even though both of them were attempting to refine the new approach of Textual Criticism in the same period. Unlike Ku, who had developed his evidential research for the purpose of opposing the Lu-Wang school's "pure discussion", Huang undertook k'ao-cheng learning to challenge Ch'eng-Chu's authority.⁸⁰ In his I-hsüeh hsiang-shu lun (On the Images and Numbers in the Studies of Changes), Huang criticized the Ch'eng-Chu cosmological ordering of the universe.⁸¹ He argued that the

⁷⁷ Ku said, in a letter to Shih Yü-san, that "The learning of principle in the old time is the learning of Classics which could not be mastered by one even within several decades. ...Today's learning of principle is the learning of Ch'an which does not count on the Five Classics but on "recorded conversation" (yü-lu)..." See Hu Shih, Tai tung-yüan te che-hsüeh (Tai Chen's Philosophy), p.12. The learning of Ch'an Ku referred to here was, in the eyes of anti-Lu-Wang scholars in the early Ch'ing, the equivalent of Yang-ming learning.

⁷⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, p.29.

⁷⁹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ju-chia cheh-hsüeh (The Philosophy of Confucianism), (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977), p.61. See also Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.147.

⁸⁰ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.146.

⁸¹ It is very likely that Huang's study of Changes was employed to challenge Chu Hsi's Chou-i pen-i (The Original Meaning of Chou's Changes). See *ibid*.

commentaries of I-Ching written by Wang Pi (226-249) were brief and yet clear. But those commentaries of Shao Yung's, which were added to the new edition of I-Ching by Chu Hsi, became, however, an obstacle to understanding this classic.⁸²

In the battle of Ch'eng-Chu versus Lu-Wang, this new approach of k'ao-cheng initiated by Ku and Huang was inherited by their followers. For instance, Huang's approach of opposing the Ch'eng-Chu school through evidential research on the I-Ching was borrowed by Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716). Mao's T'u-shu yen-ch'uan pien (A Treatise on the Original Errors of the Diagram) was written to prove that the diagram of the Supreme Ultimate composed by Chou Tun-i came from Taoism—for the purpose of discounting the Ch'eng-Chu school's Confucian authority.⁸³ Mao was far more radical than Huang in terms of dishonoring Chu Hsi. In addition to his work about the Book of Changes, he also challenged the Ch'eng-Chu school on other Confucian canons on which the Ch'eng-Chu's authority relied. He compiled a work known as Ssu-shu kai-ts'o (The Four Books: to Correct from Wrong) in 1708 at the age of 86. In this treatise he claimed that those annotations made by Chu Hsi on the Four Books, which was the standard work relied on by the governments of Yüan and Ming as the "textbook" for the examinations, were wrong; paragraph after

⁸² Hsieh Kuo-chen, Huang li-chou hsüeh-pu (An Intellectual History of Huang Tsung-hsi), pp. 80-81. See also, Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.146; Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1976), pp.136-7. Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.117.

⁸³ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, p.229. Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.146.

paragraph and page after page.⁸⁴ This exaggerated description was, of course, not taken seriously by scholars.⁸⁵

While evidential research was borrowed by Mao Ch'i-ling to attack Chu Hsi, it was applied by Yen Jo-chü (1636-1704) to harass Lu-Wang teaching. Yen's major work Shang-shu ku-wen shu-cheng (Evidential Analysis of the Old Text Documents), in 8 chüan, was published in 1745 but circulated in manuscript form among some prominent scholars earlier.⁸⁶ As a masterpiece of k'ao-cheng learning, this work was basically a study on the nature of authenticity of Shang-shu (the Book of Documents) in the Old Text. Although this treatise might be regarded as pure scholarship primarily from Yen's personal academic interests, it contains, according to professor Yü Ying-shih, a kind of "philosophical motivation" of the author besides the "pure" motivation of evidential research. In this regard, Yen's "philosophical motivation" can be best seen in his management of the so-called shih-liu tzu hsin-ch'uan (Sixteen-word Message). The famous "Sixteen-word Message"--namely, in translation, "human mind being precarious, the mind of the Way being subtle," "having utmost refinement and singleness of mind," and "holding fast to the Mean"--was originally from a chapter of the Book of Documents. Involved with the idea of "transmission of the mind" (ch'uan-

⁸⁴ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, pp.230-2.

⁸⁵ It was said that Mao destroyed the printing blocks of this work after hearing that the K'ang-hsi Emperor would raise Chu Hsi's position in the Confucian temple. See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), p.171.

⁸⁶ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.909.

hsin), this "Sixteen-word Message" was greatly employed by the Lu-Wang school,⁸⁷ which was also known as the "school of mind". Because the Book of Documents in the Old Text was challenged by Yen for its textual authenticity, the "Sixteen-word Message" suddenly lost its textual foundation.⁸⁸ Aware of Yen's "motivation", Mao wrote a critical letter to argue with Yen after reading the manuscript and, later, published a treatise known as Ku-wen shang-shu yüan-t'zu (Complaints on Behalf of Old Text Documents) to defend the authenticity of the "Sixteen-word Message".⁸⁹

Under the paradigmatic promotion of Yen and Mao, evidential research had become a new intellectual fashion in the second half of 17th century,⁹⁰ along with the growth of the officially patronized Ch'eng-Chu restoration movement. Obligated by the intellectual climate of the time which focused on the intellectual disparities between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools, evidential research during this period was not developed to disprove the whole Neo-Confucian tradition. However, this is no longer the story in the mid-18th-century k'ao-cheng movement.

2. The Second Period of the K'ao-Cheng Movement

⁸⁷ This is in contrast to Ch'eng-Chu school's "transmission of the Way".

⁸⁸ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), pp.148-9.

⁸⁹ Ibid. See also Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.26, pp.1-2.

⁹⁰ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, p.234.

Unlike the evidential research scholars of previous generations in the early Ch'ing which did not particularly stress the distinction between Confucian and Neo-Confucian traditions, the new k'ao-cheng generation with Hui Tung and Tai Chen as vanguards had, beginning from mid-18th century, taken a more radical intellectual position against the Sung version of classical Confucianism. Rejecting the philosophical discussion of moral philosophy, they believed that the meaning of Confucianism can be spelled out only after the texts and versions of the Classics were carefully studied. That is, Confucianism as a discipline of philosophy in Sung Learning had become a study of philology in Han Learning.

As a leader of the so-called "Wu school" in Soochow, Hui Tung was intellectually indebted to his family.⁹¹ Out of his triple-decade long study of the I-Ching, Hui concluded that in terms of evidential research one should completely abandon the Sung version of classical Confucianism and relied on the scholars of the Later Han as typified by Cheng Hsüan.⁹² Hui applied this approach of honoring commentaries of the Han

⁹¹ Hui Tung built upon the teachings of his great-grand father Hui Yu-sheng (d.ca.1678) and his grand father Hu Chou-t'i (fl.ca.1691), which had been transmitted to him by his distinguished father, Hui Shih-ch'i. Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p.6.

⁹² Chiang Fan, Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi (Intellectual Genealogy of the Ch'ing Period School of Han Learning) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), pp.23-29. With regard to abandoning the Sung version of classical Confucianism, Hui Tung had an almost unreasonable prejudice against Sung Learning. He said that "the disaster caused by Neo-Confucians was greater than Ch'in-shih-huang's burning of the books." See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol. p.321. See also Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", unpublished paper, p.2.

dynasty to the study of other Confucian canons and gained a remarkable achievement. Hui's approach was popularized by his two pupils who later became distinguished evidential research scholars: Chiang Sheng (1721-1799) and Yü Hsiao-k'e (1729-1777).⁹³ Because the Soochow school emphasized the idea of "what is archaic is good" in terms of Classics commentaries, the approach of Hui and his followers was thus characterized by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as: "That which is ancient must be authentic and that which is of the Han must be good".⁹⁴ It is because of this "Han-centered" approach which Hui and members of the Soochow school developed that evidential research was later labeled as "Han Learning".⁹⁵

As a response to the Soochow Han Learning school, Tai Chen and members of Wan school in Anhwei took a critical approach toward historical materials and texts related to the Classics. In contrast to the Soochow school's uncritical adherence to chia-fa (school method, school system), which was popular in the Han, the Wan school critically sought various evidence to support even one single argument--except evidence from the Sung Learning scholars.⁹⁶ Unlike Hui Tung who took

⁹³ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, p.320.

⁹⁴ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp.52-53.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp.51-54.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp.54-58. To compare Hui with Tai, Wang Ming-sheng (1722-1798), a pupil of Hui Tung, said, for instance, that: "According to the judgement of modern scholars, Mr. Hui's approach (of evidential research) stresses the (idea of) "ancientness" (ku) while Mr. Tai's emphasizes (the idea of) "correctness" (shih)." See Hu Shih, Tai tung-yen t'uan te che-hsüeh (Tai Chen's Philosophy), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1963),

texts as an "end", Tai Chen regarded evidential research as a "means" to probe the Way of the Sages,⁹⁷ even though Tai and Hui were side by side in opposing both the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools.⁹⁸ Like some leading k'ao-cheng scholars of previous generations, Tai's evidential studies of the Classics also contained a "philosophical motivation".⁹⁹ In his seminal work Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng (Evidential Analysis of the Meanings of Terms in the Mencius), completed in 1777,¹⁰⁰ he attacked the Ch'eng-Chu school by asserting that the idea of "principle" (li) this school expounded and advocated was derived from Buddhist and Taoist tradition, and thus deviated from the original meaning of Confucius and Mencius.¹⁰¹ In addition to negative critique, he attempted, in this

p.29.

⁹⁷ Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Tai Tung-yuan shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Tai Chen), (Taipei: Wen-hai), reprinted, pp.67-68.

⁹⁸ As a pupil of Chiang Yung (1681-1762), an ardent follower of Chu Hsi and an expert on the Chou Rites, Tai Chen did not oppose Ch'eng-Chu until 1757 when he became acquainted with Hui Tung at Yang Chou. See Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), pp.106-7.

⁹⁹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), p.40. Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), p.123.

¹⁰⁰ Tuan Yü-ts'ai mistakenly put it in 1766. See his Tai Tung-yuan shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Tai Chen), p.33. According to Ch'ien Mu, this work was presumably completed in 1777, the year Tai Chen died. See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, pp.326-330.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion of this problem, see Tai Chen, Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng, Appended to Hu Shih's Tai tung-yüan te che-hsüeh (Tai Chen's Philosophy), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1963), pp.53-56. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Tai Tung-yuan shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Tai Chen), p.33. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp.58-62. Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang

treatise, to positively bestow this Neo-Confucian "principle" with new implications through the methodology of evidential researches.¹⁰² Rejecting the Neo-Confucian dualism which viewed li and ch'i (ether) as two heterogeneous elements,¹⁰³ Tai interpreted the idea of "principle" from his "naturalistic" monism and regarded it as an inseparable element of ch'i which was conventionally taken by Neo-Confucianists as an alternative of "human desires" (jen-yü). For Tai, the idea of "principle" can only be investigated in the context of the idea of "human desires" (jen-yü).¹⁰⁴

Although Tai Chen was proud of his Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng which he finished late in life, this work caused only a minor impact in the circle of evidential research during his time.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to the interest of evidential studies in the later part of 18th century which was dominated by the phenomenon of "textualism", Tai's philosophy-oriented k'ao-cheng learning, which was formulated in his later life, was only a sidestream in the k'ao-cheng movement, even though Tai

Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), pp.107-8.

¹⁰² Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Tai Tung-yuan shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Tai Chen), p.33. See also Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), pp.107-8.

¹⁰³ Often, li or principle was employed by orthodox Neo-Confucian thinkers as "good" while ch'i or ether as "evil".

¹⁰⁴ Tai Chen, Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng, Appended to Hu Shih's Tai tung-yüan te che-hsüeh, pp.53-56. See also Hu Shih, Tai tung-yüan te che-hsüeh, pp.68-77.

¹⁰⁵ Chiang Fan (1761-1831), whose tutor was a pupil of Hui Tung, said that: "In those days the readers of the Shu-cheng could not comprehend its meaning, and only Hung Pang (1745-1779) took an interest in it." See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, p.62.

himself was respected as a major leader of the k'ao-cheng movement in his time.

D. The Challenges of K'ao-Cheng Learning

K'ao-cheng learning as a new academic discipline emerged, as we have seen from the above discussion, from the intellectual debates on the disparities between the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools in the mid-17th century. Appealing to the Classics for intellectual authority, Evidential Research scholars during this time had basically moved their attention from the so-called "honoring the moral nature" (tsun teh-hsing) to "following the path of inquiry and study" (tao wen-hsüeh). As a result of this new intellectual development, we see the rise of what Yü Ying-shih called "Confucian intellectualism",¹⁰⁶ which emphasized not so much the metaphysical problems of moral philosophy and its praxis as the nature of Confucian knowledge (i.e. the characteristics and constitution of Confucian canons) and its development. Under the influence of this intellectual climate of "Confucian intellectualism", both pro-Ch'eng-Chu and pro-Lu-Wang scholars needed to present their arguments, whether they were employed to defend or challenge the authority of a certain school, within an evidential language. For instance, Wang Mao-hung (1668-1741) spent decades to compile Chu-tzu nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Master Chu) and, at about the same time, Li Fu (1675-1750) exhausted his energy to compile Lu-tzu hsüeh-p'u (An Intellectual Genealogy of Master Lu)--efforts of applying evidential

¹⁰⁶ Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), p.17.

research method to the study of the Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan traditions respectively.¹⁰⁷ Becoming a forceful intellectual movement in the 18th century, k'ao-cheng learning experienced greater specialization in scholarship and penetrated into not only conventional primary subjects in the Classics but also disregarded auxiliary disciplines of the Confucian tradition such as phonology, epigraphy, collation, local gazettes, geography, astronomy, and mathematics.¹⁰⁸ This scholarly blossoming in 18th-century China might be compared to the "European Renaissance Movement" which Liang Ch'i-ch'ao did.¹⁰⁹ However, the growth of this greater specialization in k'ao-cheng scholarship had, to a great degree, dismissed the Confucian concern about the existing socio-moral order--which was the core of Confucianism.¹¹⁰ This development in Confucian studies caused a crisis of Confucianism from within: Confucian "intellectualism" had become "textualism".¹¹¹ One of the first scholars to comprehend this crisis was Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738-1801).

¹⁰⁷ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.153.

¹⁰⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, "Bibliography", pp.iv-xxxiv. See also his Chung-kuo chin san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1966), chapter 13, 14, 15, and 16.

¹⁰⁹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, p.62.

¹¹⁰ Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", Paper delivered at the annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies in Chicago, April 1990, p.46.

¹¹¹ Yü Ying-shih, Li-shih yü ssu-hsiang (History and Thought), p.158.

Disagreeing with the development of taking "means" (textual criticism) as an "end" (the exploration of the Way), Chang proposed a new theory of "the Six Classics are all Histories" in his principal work Wen-shih t'ung-i (The General Meaning of Literature and History).¹¹² By "historicizing" classical studies, he claimed that the Six Classics were a substantial record of the realization of the Way of ancient sage-kings.¹¹³ By so doing, he had discredited evidential research subjects such as phonology, epigraphy, collation, geography, astronomy, and mathematics as having little relevance to the pursuit of Way of the sages. Nevertheless, Chang's voice was weak and was not heard by his age--not because of the quality of his work but because of its opposition to intellectual currents.¹¹⁴

1. The T'ung-Ch'eng School

Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng was not alone in his struggles against the k'ao-cheng movement. Like Chang, Yao Nai (1732-1815) was also under the growing pressure of the phenomenon of "textualized" Confucianism. To wrestle with such an improper development of Confucianism, Yao in the

¹¹² Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), p.391.

¹¹³ Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng, Wen-shih t'ung-i (The General Meaning of Literature and History), (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), p.1. See also Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, pp.390-2.

¹¹⁴ Chang was not taken seriously until in Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun, See Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tran. by Immanuel Hsü, pp.68-69. Chang's theoretical writings on history and historiography were not highly regarded until the 20th century, when interest in him was revived by Naito Torajiro and Hu Shih. See Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China, p.66.

1770s invented the T'ung-ch'eng school which combined literature with Confucian ideals.¹¹⁵ To save Confucianism, as a practical doctrine, from becoming "textualized", he proposed a threefold scheme of learning which was supposed to provide an alternative structure reinstating the larger goal of Confucian teaching: i-li (moral philosophy), k'ao-chü (textual criticism) and tz'u-chang (literary writing).¹¹⁶ The intent of this proposition was to integrate k'ao-cheng learning in a larger system and, meanwhile, give "moral philosophy" a balanced role within

¹¹⁵ Yao Nai's creation of the T'ung-ch'eng school in the 1770s is closely connected to the compilation of the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature) project which was suggested to Emperor Ch'ien-lung by Chu Yün (1729-1781)--then a commissioner of education of Anhwei. After becoming a chih-shih in 1763, Yao was made a compiler at the Ssu-k'u commission in 1773. The chief editor Chi Yün (1724-1805) took a strong dislike to the exegetical aspects of Sung and Yüan scholarship. In addition, most of the commissioners were k'ao-cheng-oriented scholars. As a result of the growing pressure from evidential research scholars, Yao found it difficult to continue his work there because most of the reviews he wrote were repeatedly rejected by Ssu-k'u editors. Requesting to be relieved of his duties in 1774, he left Peking the following year, and declined all invitations to office, preferring to teach in various academies. See Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", p.29, 32. R. Kent Guy, The Emperor's Four Treasuries: Scholars and the State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp.140-156. Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.900.

¹¹⁶ Dividing Confucian learning into three major categories of moral philosophy, textual criticism, and literary works, began in the mid-18th century when the study of textual criticism became an intellectual movement. Tai Chen was the first person to propose this new classification in 1755. See Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (On Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng), pp.111-3. See also his "Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu shih-hsiang-shih chung-yiao kuan-nien t'ung-shih" (A General Interpretation of Some Important Ideas in Ch'ing Intellectual History", collected in Yü Ying-shih, Chung-kuo shih-hsiang chuan-t'ung ti hsien-tai ch'uan-shih (A Modern Interpretation of the Chinese Intellectual Tradition), (Taipei: Linking, 1989), pp.457-469. For a discussion of this classification from the literary perspective, see Theodore Huters, "From Writing to Literature: the Development of Late Qing Theories of Prose", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 47,1: 51-96, (1987).

this system.¹¹⁷ However, Yao's proposition was only accepted by the members of the T'ung-ch'eng school, which did not attract a large following even in literary circles.¹¹⁸ Like Chang, Yao's pro-Neo-Confucian thought was not taken seriously by the scholars of his days.

The k'ao-cheng scholars who dominated the intellectual mainstream in the later part of the 18th century might have been able to ignore Yao Nai and members of the T'ung-ch'eng school, those in the early 19th century could not, however, neglect Yao's pupil Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851),¹¹⁹ and his powerful critiques of the assumptions and methodological fallacies of Han Learning.¹²⁰ Fang's major work Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), in 4 chüan, was completed in Canton in the yamen of Governor-general Juan Yüan (1764-1849) in 1824.¹²¹ It was published in 1831 and revised in 1838.¹²² As an ardent defender of Ch'eng-Chu teaching, Fang bitterly attacked, in

¹¹⁷ Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", p.47.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.49.

¹¹⁹ At age 22, Fang became a pupil of Yao Nai at Nanking in 1793. He studied with Yao for five years. In 1799, at age 28, he decided to change from his literature-centered study to the investigation of the Way of the sages. See Cheng Fu-chao, compiled, Fang I-wei shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Fang Tung-shu), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1978), reprinted, p.2b, 3a. See also Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, reprinted, p.238.

¹²⁰ Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", p.50.

¹²¹ Cheng Fu-chao, compiled, Fang I-wei shen-sheng nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Fang Tung-shu), p.6a.

¹²² Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.242.

this account, the members of the k'ao-cheng school including not only contemporary scholars like Chiang Fan (1761-1831) and Juan Yüan,¹²³ but also evidential research masters like Hui Tung and Tai Chen and forerunners of the school like Ku Yen-wu and Huang Tsung-hsi.¹²⁴

Fang's attacks against the k'ao-cheng school were severe, direct, and always aimed at the school's Achilles heel. Taking a strategy of "attacking somebody with his own statements", Fang exhibited his remarkably broad knowledge of k'ao-cheng scholarship and attacked it from the inside, on its own terms.¹²⁵ He accused his rival of creating the myth of "academic objectivity". "Academic objectivity" was a concept the k'ao-cheng school claimed to have established but in any case used to dwarf the school of Neo-Confucianism--because the devotees of the two major Neo-Confucian schools, i.e. the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools, had, in the eyes of k'ao-cheng scholars, hopelessly exhausted their energy for centuries in arguing the insignificant problems of moral philosophy without arriving at an objective conclusion. Fang contended that in terms of "objective knowledge" evidential research scholars were not necessarily doing any better than Neo-Confucian scholars. He said that in the study of the structure of archaic carriage, k'ao-cheng scholars were not only unable to provide us with an

¹²³ Fang was particularly opposed to the Huang-ch'ing ching-chieh (Ch'ing Exegesis of the Classics) in 1,400 chüan compiled by Juan Yüan in 1825 and printed in 1829. According to Fang, this collectanea excluded all works irrelevant to evidential research.

¹²⁴ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1937), pp.22-23, 25-36.

¹²⁵ Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", p.10.

"objective" result but they were also subject to falling into self-contradiction in their conclusions, even though this question had been discussed by eminent scholars like Chiang Yung, Tai Chen, Juan Yüan, and Chin O (d. 1819). In addition, studies of ancient clothing, ceremonial caps, and conical caps had culminated in different opinions among k'ao-cheng scholars like Huang Tsung-hsi, Chiang Yung, Jen Ta-ch'un (1738-1789).¹²⁶

After pointing out the fallacy of the "objective approach" of Han Learning, Fang came to defend the Neo-Confucian idea of i-li (meaning and principle, moral philosophy) in at least three ways. First, that it is inadequate to investigate i-li through the approach of hsün-ku (exegesis).¹²⁷ Second, that the Confucian i-li does not necessarily survive in ancient constitutions and institutions (tien-chang chih-tu).¹²⁸ Third, that Chu Hsi and his followers did not reject the method of exegesis in the learning of the Classics, when they felt it

¹²⁶ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1937), p.165. See also Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.2, p.518. Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", pp.13-14.

¹²⁷ In this regard, Fang was opposed to Yen Jo-chü's idea of "glossing the Classics without touching 'principle'". He contended that only in the study of astronomy or mathematics could people disregard "principle." Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), p.80. See also Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", p.20.

¹²⁸ Fang argued that the Confucian idea of i-li was not, as k'ao-cheng scholars claimed, preserved in ancient constitutions and institutions. He asserted that ideas like ch'eng (sincerity), jen (humanity, benevolence), chung (conscientiousness or truthfulness), shu (reciprocity), etc. have little relevance to constitutions and institutions. Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), p.89. See also Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", p.22.

was necessary.¹²⁹ He thus concluded that one cannot separate i-li and k'ao-cheng in Confucian tradition in probing the original meanings spelled out by the ancient sages.¹³⁰

It is from this relation between i-li and k'ao-cheng that Fang attempted to clarify that he came to attack one of the most powerful weapons of k'ao-cheng learning: terminological reinterpretation. Initiated by Tai Chen, mainly from his Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng, and followed by Ling T'ing-k'an (1757-1809), Juan Yüan, and other k'ao-cheng scholars, terminological reinterpretation was used by them to reconceptualize key ideas like hsin (mind-heart), hsing (nature), and others in the Neo-Confucian system.¹³¹ But one of the most vital ideas k'ao-cheng scholars reinterpreted was to replacing the transcendental idea of li (principle) with the institutional idea of li (rite, ceremony).¹³² In this regard, he repudiated Juan Yüan's formula that "principle originated from rite", and believed instead that

¹²⁹ Fang said that the commentaries of the Classics which might be overlooked by the Lu-Wang school of Neo-Confucianism, were highly esteemed by Master Chu. The Ch'engs might drop some unnecessary commentaries of the Classics, but it was for the proper purpose of directly probing the original meanings of the ancient sages in the texts. Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), p.88.

¹³⁰ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), pp.120-125.

¹³¹ Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", p.23.

¹³² Ling T'ing-k'an best made it clear. "The sages did not investigate the idea of principle (li) but the idea of rite (li). This is because the investigation of the idea of principle would result in referring to one's mind-heart while the investigation of the idea of rite can lead one to "returning to the nature" (fu-hsing)." See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol. p.494.

the idea of li (rite, ceremony) was merely a synopsis of "Heavenly principle".¹³³ Fang acknowledged that it is correct to say that principle functions by means of rite. However, it is definitely incorrect, he asserted, to say that one should study rite while avoiding the investigation of principle.¹³⁴ In short, Fang denounced the Han Learning approach of "inquiring moral philosophy with a method of textual criticism" because, he said, this kind of approach "would not provide access to the moral philosophy of the sages."¹³⁵

2. The Chin-Wen School

While the T'ung-ch'eng school challenged Han Learning by returning to Ch'eng-Chu teaching in the Sung, the chin-wen (New Text) school challenged Han Learning for returning to the Former Han (206 B.C.-8 A.D.)--the epoch before the Later Han (25-220), which was the period which intellectually inspired Ch'ing evidential research schools. Because the Former Han is closer to the time of Confucius and Mencius, the implications that the New Text school's interpretation of the Classics is closer, and therefore truer, to the Way of the sages. New Text scholars argued that much of what had once been considered orthodox by Sung and Ming Neo-Confucians and Ch'ing evidential scholars was actually based on Old Text sources concocted by Confucian scholars

¹³³ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), p.61. See also Wang Fan-shen, "Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851) and the Waning of Han Learning", pp.23-24.

¹³⁴ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), p.62.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.150.

during the reign of the "Han usurper," Wang Mang (45 B.C.-23 A.D.). New Text proponents turned instead to the Kung-yang commentary on Confucius' Spring and Autumn Annals because it was the only New Text annotation on one of the Classics that had remained intact from the Former Han.¹³⁶

The pioneer of the New Text school was Chuang Ts'un-yü (1719-88) who emerged in Ch'ang-chou of Kiangshu province during the active days of Tai Chen. Chuang's approach to Confucian teaching was, however, different from that of Tai Chen. In his Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-tz'u (Correct Terms in the Spring and Autumn Annals), Chuang disregarded trivial philological points and the nomenclature of artifacts, stressing only the so-called "great principles in subtle words" (wei-yen ta-i) in the texts of the Spring and Autumn Annals.¹³⁷ Two shorter works were appended to Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-tz'u: ch'un-ch'iu chü-li (Examples of Precedents in the Annals) and ch'un-ch'iu yao-chih (Essential Points in the Annals). These titles reflect Chuang's assertion of the legitimacy of "precedent tradition" and emphasized the phraseology of the Annals as the key to its interpretation.¹³⁸ That is to say, unlike the Han Learning and Sung Learning scholars who regarded Confucius as "historian" and "philosopher" respectively, the New Text scholars considered Confucius a "politician" who subtly drew his picture of

¹³⁶ Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China, pp.xxvi-xxvii.

¹³⁷ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun (Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period), tran. by Immanuel Hsü, p.88.

¹³⁸ Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China, p.173.

utopia in his Spring and Autumn Annals.¹³⁹ And to correctly grasp the "secret codes" of "great principles" which Confucius put in the Annals, one needs, according to New Text scholars, to carefully read the text of the Annals between the lines.

Although Chuang and his New Text approach were little known in his day, his New Text Confucianism was inherited and developed by a younger clansman Liu Feng-lu (1776-1829), a contemporary of Fang Tung-shu. Becoming a chin-shih in 1814 and, quickly, being appointed to a position in the Ministry of Rites, where he served for 12 years, Liu was able to bring his Ch'ang-chou New Text Confucianism to Peking which had been dominated by the Han Learning school for decades.¹⁴⁰ As a scholar-official in the capital, Liu himself proved the validity of the doctrine of New Text Confucianism to the k'ao-cheng scholars by solving problems in ritual protocol and legal decisions.¹⁴¹ It goes without saying that New Text Confucianism soon impressed, if not convinced, the k'ao-cheng scholars in Peking.

After becoming acquainted with Juan Yüan, a leading patron of Han Learning, Liu suggested, around 1820, that Juan compile a comprehensive collection of Ch'ing dynasty contributions to classical scholarship. The result was the 1829 publication, in Canton, of the Huang-ch'ing ching-

¹³⁹ Chou Yü-t'ung, preface for P'i Hsi-jui's Ching-hsüeh li-shih (A History of Confucian Classics), (H.K.: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), p.3.

¹⁴⁰ Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China, p.215, 218.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.218.

chieh (Ch'ing Exegesis of the Classics) in 1,400 chüan.¹⁴² This collectanea contains more than 180 works, all treatises written on the Classics in the Ch'ing period.¹⁴³ With Liu's influence, a number of works by scholars connected to the Ch'ang-chou New Text tradition were reprinted in the collection.¹⁴⁴ Unlike Fang Tung-shu who complained about the Han Learning school's indifference toward Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism of the T'ung-ch'eng school, Liu had successfully won respect from k'ao-cheng scholars for his New Text Confucianism--primarily through his skillful command of the methods of textual criticism.

3 The Reactions of the Han Learning School Toward the Challenges

As we have seen above, the challenges to the Han Learning school were basically of two pulls: the New Text school's pull to draw Confucian studies toward the earlier Former Han period on the one hand, and the T'ung-ch'eng school's pull to draw Confucian studies toward the later period of the Sung dynasty on the other hand. Responding to these two major challenges, the Han Learning camp produced two kinds of reactions. The first reaction was the reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the k'ao-cheng tradition which was best typified by Chiang Fan.

In his Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi (Record of Han Learning Masters), produced in 1812 and published in 1818, Chiang imitated the school of

¹⁴² Ibid., .219.

¹⁴³ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.401.

¹⁴⁴ Benjamin A. Elman, Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: the Ch'ang-chou school of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China, p.219.

Sung Learning to establish an intellectual lineage. As a disciple of Hui Tung's Han Learning students Chiang Sheng, Chiang Fan strictly interpreted the intellectual transmission of k'ao-cheng learning. In this work, he dropped eminent scholars like Wang Mao-hung who, we recall, used evidential research methods and spent more than 20 years studying the chronological biography of Chu Hsi. He also discarded renowned scholars like Mao Ch'i-ling, a pro-Lu-Wang thinker, who applied textual criticism knowledge to produce a number of influential treatises on the Book of Changes. It was said that Chiang reluctantly appended the biographies of Ku Yen-wu and Huag Tsung-shi, who represented the Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming traditions respectively in the early Ch'ing, to the end of his work because of the critiques from a friend for the absence of these two pioneer k'ao-cheng scholars in the lineage.¹⁴⁵ After the completion of this work, Kung Tzu-chen (1792-1841), a New Text scholar and a friend of Chiang, felt the book title was inappropriate and suggested to Chiang in his 1817 letter a new one Ching-hsüeh shih-ch'eng-chi (Record of Classics Masters)--replacing the acute term "Han Learning" (han-hsüeh) with the softened term "Classics" (ching-hsüeh). Kung's idea was not adopted by the tough-minded k'ao-cheng writer.¹⁴⁶

The other reaction toward these challenges was the employment of eclecticism which worked to presumably absorb the most valuable points from outside Han Learning. The person who best represented this approach was the scholar-official Juan Yüan who, beginning from the late 1810s,

¹⁴⁵ Ch'ien Mu, Chu-tzu-hsüeh t'i-kang (An Outline of the Learning of Chu Hsi), p.223.

¹⁴⁶ Kung Tzu-chen, Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan-chi (A Complete Work of Kung Tzu-chen), (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), vol.2, pp.346-347.

used Canton as the center for the eclectic movement to synthesize Han Learning methods with Sung Learning socio-moral concerns.¹⁴⁷ After publishing Chiang Fan's Han-Learning-centered Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi in 1818, Juan--then a governor-official in Canton--put Fang Tung-shu's Sung-Learning-bent Han-hsüeh shang-tui, which criticized Juan's compilation of Huang-ch'ing ching-chieh and Chiang's Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi, in print in 1824. Juan not only accepted works which defended the k'ao-cheng tradition, but also tolerated critiques from the T'ung-ch'eng school.

More symbolic in Juan's syncretism was his promotion of the learning of the New Text school, which was best embodied in the establishment of Hsüeh-hai-t'ang Academy in Canton in 1820. Unlike his earlier school Ku-ching ching-she established in Hang-chou and named after Cheng Hsüan and Hsü Shen (30-124), this new academy was named in honor of the New Text scholar Ho Hsiu, who had been known honorifically as "Hsüeh-hai" (Sea of learning) because of his great erudition on the Classics.¹⁴⁸ Although Juan had befriended Chin Wen scholar Liu Feng-lu, one should not be mistakenly led to believe that this academy was established merely to promote New Text Confucianism. Rather, it was an academic institute stressing Confucian syncretism which sought to blend Han Learning and Sung Learning into one pot. Historically, the New Text school had a very limited influence in the first three decades of the

¹⁴⁷ Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China, p.246.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.220. It needs to be pointed out that Hsüeh-hai-t'ang Academy was established on the model of the Ku-ching ching-she in Hangchow. See Benjamin A. Elman, "Ch'ing Dynasty 'Schools' of Scholarship," Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i, 4.6:31 (December 1981).

19th century when compared with the Han Learning school. Figures using "great principles in subtle words" of New Text Confucianism as a means to undertake political reform, like K'ang Yü-wei (1858-1927) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929), were still half century away.

Juan's interest in Sung Learning and New Text studies might indicate, as Benjamin A. Elman pointed out, that the intellectual atmosphere at the Hsüeh-hai-t'ang was not as monotonously oriented to Han Learning as Fang Tung-shu supposed.¹⁴⁹ It implies, however, that the k'ao-cheng movement which dominated the Chinese intellectual climate for more than half century was now going downhill. Perhaps this decline was because of louder voices from its critics or perhaps it was more because of the degeneration of creativity within this school, or, more than likely like many other historical phenomena, it was because of the two interlocked factors.¹⁵⁰

In the above, I have briefly discussed two major intellectual movements, the restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine and the Evidential Research movement, prior to the emergence of the Ch'eng-Chu school in the late Ch'ing. As we have seen, both intellectual movements emerged as reactions to Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism interpreted by the T'ai-chou school in the late Ming. This concern, attacking Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism as heterodox learning, was, as you will see in the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.246.

¹⁵⁰ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), vol.1, pp.2-3.

following chapters, inherited by the Ch'eng-Chu school in the mid-19th century.

However, k'ao-cheng learning, which became a forceful intellectual movement in the second part of 18th century, had gone so far as to transfer the anti-Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism movement into an anti-Neo-Confucianism movement. In the eyes of Evidential Research scholars, the reason the two major Neo-Confucian schools, the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang, were often at odds and unable to reach an intellectual consensus for the past decades, was because of their lack of an "objective approach". Employing its "empirical", and therefore supposedly to be "objective", approach toward Confucian studies, the Evidential Research school emphasized the idea of "intellectualism", which was mainly concerned with the characteristics and constitution of Confucian canons, and dismissed moral philosophy and its praxis in Confucianism.

Becoming a new intellectual hegemony since the mid-18th century, k'ao-cheng learning experienced increasing specialization in scholarship and penetrated into not only conventional primary subjects in the Classics but also traditionally disregarded auxiliary disciplines. This development of specialization in Confucian scholarship, which turned "intellectualism" into "textualism" in Confucian studies had, indeed, turned the means, namely, the study of texts, into an end. It is this disregard of the socio-moral concern in Confucian studies that formed the points of departure for T'ang Chien's intellectual development in the 1840s.

CHAPTER II

T'ANG CHIEN: CH'ENG-CHU NEO-CONFUCIANISM AS VOCATION

"The learning of the sage was but investigating things, extending knowledge, being sincere in heart, rectifying hearts, cultivating persons, regulating families, well ordering states, and harmonizing the universe. Those who were away from this learning were against tao (the Way). Those who could not come up to this learning were remote from tao."--T'ang Chien

In the year of 1840 T'ang Chien (1778-1861), after serving in local officialdom in the southwestern frontier area for almost two decades, arrived in Peking to take office as Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang ssu-ch'ing). In the capital, T'ang Chien did not catch the eye of people as an intellectual leader in the beginning. However, it was, a couple of years later, on the political side that he first established his fame: impeaching Ch'i-shan (i.e. Kishen, d. 1854) and Ch'i-ying (i.e. Kiyang, d. 1858) for their signing of the unequal treaties with the British after the Opium War (1840-42).¹ Becoming popular among the intellectuals at the capital for his

¹ Although the content of impeaching Ch'i-shan (i.e. Kishen) and Ch'i-ying is unavailable in the biography of T'ang Chien, we can still estimate the nature of the charges judging from the many other accusations against these two officials during that time: xenophobia and being incapable of confining the activities of foreign barbarians on the southern coast. Cf. Chiang T'ing-fu (i.e. T.F. Tsiang), "Ch'i-shan yü Ya-p'ien chan-cheng" (Ch'i-shan and the Opium War), Tsing-hua hsüeh-pao, 6,3:4-5 (October, 1931).

moral courage along with his Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian learning, T'ang at the ripe old age of 63 came to know some younger scholar-officials who admired his character, which was characterized by a socio-moral concern. Among them were Wo-jen (1804-1871), Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872), Wu T'ing-tung (1793-1873),² Li T'ang-chieh (1798-1865),³ Lü Hsien-chi (?-1853), Ho Kwei-cheng (1817-1855), Tou Hsü (1807-1867), Shao I-ch'en (1810-1861), Kuo Sung-t'ao (1818-1891),⁴ and others.⁵ Known as an expert on

² After several years self-learning on Neo-Confucian doctrine, Wu saw the emergence of a new encouraging intellectual climate in the capital in the beginning of 1840s which became possible because of the advent of T'ang Chien, an authority and enthusiastic promoter of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. Found himself accepted by T'ang's followers in their discussion of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian moral philosophy, Wu soon became an active member of this group. Meeting T'ang and his Neo-Confucian followers was a milestone in his intellectual life. He disclosed the significance of this impact in his letters to his brother-in-law. He said, in the letters, that before he was but "a person of self-deception and a liar" in terms of the study of Neo-Confucianism. After making these tutor-like friends such as T'ang Chien and Wo-jen, he felt, we were told, so shameful on his previous unqualified approaches toward the Confucian learning. He now learned and realized that the exclusive method of this learning was nothing but to "turn around and seek the cause of one's failure in oneself" (fan-ch'iu chu-chi). Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronical Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), pp.12b-13a, pp.15a-b. See also Wu T'ing-tung, Cho hsu chi (A Collection of Self-Cultivation), ch'uan 10, pp.1a-2a.

³ In contrast to Wu who was a true believer of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, Li T'ang-chieh was however synthesizing the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang thought. His intellectual system was characterized by connecting together the orthodox Neo-Confucian approach of "dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost" (chü-ching ch'iung-li) and the approach of "the cure of mind-heart and self-mastery" (chih-hsin k'e-chi) developed by the Ming Ch'eng-Chu scholar Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464). See Li T'ang-chieh, Li Wen-ch'ing kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Li T'ang-chieh), preface by T'u Tsung-ying, p.2a-2b.

⁴ Kuo became acquainted with his fellow Hunanese T'ang Chien at Peking in the year of 1844. Kuo regarded T'ang's words ordinary in his first impression on T'ang. But he was very much struck when he read T'ang's Hsing-shen jih-k'o (A Daily Lesson of Self-Reflection). This account was understood by Kuo to mean that the principle of the universe needed to be probed within oneself instead of outside oneself. See Kuo T'ing-yee, K.Y. Yin, and Lu Pap-ch'ien, Kuo Sung-t'ao hsien-sheng nien-

Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, T'ang was warmly accepted by them for his profound knowledge on the moral philosophy of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine which was refreshing in the still Han-Learning-bent capital. Under the influence of T'ang Chien, they came to believe that the decline of the empire in the first half of the 19th century happened because of the decline of Confucianism as a faith among scholar-officials. They thus came to a consensus that a revival of the empire would have to rely on the revival of their Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. Armed with the conviction that man can cultivate himself by self-effort and that a good man is a fundamental asset of state and society, these elites strove, under the coaching of T'ang Chien, to improve their personalities through an extensive "character-building" program.⁶

A. The Man and his Times

T'ang Chien was born into a scholar-official family in Shan-hua,

p'u (Chronological Biography of Kuo Sung-t'ao), vol.1, (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academica Sinica, 1971), p.54.

⁵ There were, according to Tseng Kuo-fan, at least two more or less known persons: Tou Jen and Ch'en Yüan-yen. See Li Shu-ch'ang, Tseng Kuo-fan nien-p'u (Chronological Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Ch'ang-sha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.7. Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), chüan 67, T'ang Chien chuan (The Biography of T'ang Chien) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987), vol. 17, pp. 5400-5401.

⁶ Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), Paper on China, vol.14, Dec. 1960, p.5. Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph. D. Dissertation. (Yale University, 1975), p.19. See also Hellmut Wilhelm, "Chinese Confucianism on the Eve of the Great Encounter," collected in Marius B. Jansen ed. Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp.283-310.

Hunan. We know little about his early life and education experiences.⁷ His father, Chung-mien, was a Provincial Administration Commissioner (pu-cheng-shih) at Shensi. Young T'ang Chien seems to have been intellectually influenced by his father, particularly in his attitude toward Confucian learning.⁸

T'ang Chien became a chin-shih in 1809, and then began his career of Hanlin bachelorship (1809-1811). It is noteworthy that during the period of his Hanlin bachelorship in his early 30s, T'ang witnessed k'ao-cheng learning, the intellectual hegemony since the mid-18th century, losing its vitality as a dominant school.⁹ The decline of k'ao-cheng learning was best symbolically seen in the awareness of the limit of its philological approach to probe the meanings of Confucianism within the k'ao-cheng circle among some orthodox evidential research scholars. For instance, in 1805 at age 71 Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735-1815), Tai

⁷ T'ang Chien's inscribed biography was written by Tseng Kuo-feng and can be seen in Miu Ch'üan-sun's Hsü pei-ch'uan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), and T'ang ch'üeh-shen kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien) in Ssu-pu pei-yao. Also see, Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History) and Hsü Shih-ch'ang's Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (The Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars).

⁸ Against the intellectual current, the senior T'ang went so far as to ignore the academic mainstream of k'ao-cheng learning in which empirical researches on Confucian literatures were stressed. Instead, the senior T'ang took the approach of so-called "mastering the Confucian Classics for the sake of practicality (t'ung-ching chih-yung). This unique family background of T'ang Chien can explain, in part, his later rejection of the intellectualism of k'ao-cheng learning and his stress on the praxis of Neo-Confucian doctrine. See "The Biography of T'ang Chung-mien," in Li Huan, ed. Kuo-ch'ao ch'i-hsien lei-cheng ch'u-pien (A Collection of Eminent Figures of the Ch'ing): first pien, vol.196, (Taipei: Ming-wen shu-chü, reprinted).

⁹ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol.1, pp.2-3.

Chen's disciple, wrote with regret that: "(All my life I have been) fond of exegesis and textual criticism. This is like searching for triviality while ignoring essentials. I am old now and achieved little. However, it is too late for me to seek penance."¹⁰

Tuan's remorse for disregarding moral philosophy in Confucian learning is not an exception in the k'ao-cheng camp. Chiao Hsün (1763-1820), an admirer of Tai Chen, was also trying to seek a balance point between Han Learning and Sung Learning. Chiao was very much impressed by Tai's philosophy-oriented works like Yüan-shan (Inquiry into Goodness) and Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng (Evidential Analysis of the Meanings of Terms in the Mencius). With Tai's Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng as model, Chiao completed his Lun-yü t'ung-shih (A General Interpretation of the Analects) in 1804.¹¹ As the title suggests, Chiao did not stress so much exegesis and textual criticism as a general understanding of the Confucian canon. Taking a Han-Sung syncretic approach in his Confucian learning, he argued, elsewhere, that in terms of studying the Classics one should base his study on the texts of Classics, and use the commentaries of Han dynasty scholars as support. He stressed that to understand the meaning of the Six Classics is not an effort to overshadow the points made by the scholars of Sung dynasty.¹²

¹⁰ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shangwu, 1987), vol.1. p.367.

¹¹ Ibid., vol.2, pp.453-4.

¹² See Wang Chia-chien, "Yü han-sung t'iao-ho tao chung-t'i hsi-yung: shih lun wan-ch'ing ju-chia shih-hsiang ti yen-pien" (From Han-Sung Syncretism to Chinese Learning as Substance while Western Learning as Function: A Preliminary Discussion on the Changes of Confucian Thought in the Late Ch'ing", The Historical Journal of National Taiwan

It is against this intellectual background, which was eclectic but still k'ao-cheng-bent, that young T'ang Chien arrived at the capital.¹³ During the period of his Hanlin bachelorship, T'ang appears to have started shaping his ideas about Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism and completed some of his most important works. These works are: Chu-tzu nien-p'u k'ao-i (Criticism of Master Chu's Biographical Chronicle), Hsing-shen jih-k'o (A Daily Lesson of Self-Reflection), and Chi-fu shui-li shu (A Study of Irrigation in the Capital Area).¹⁴

Normal University, no.12, (June 1984), p.4. Nowhere was this Han-Sung syncretism more noticeable than Juan Yüan (1764-1849), a friend of Chian Hsüan. But Juan's syncretism was primarily known in the 1820s and 1830s.

¹³ It needs to be pointed out that the great k'ao-cheng scholar Wang Yin-chih (1766-1834), eldest son of a distinguished disciple of Tai Chen, Wang Nien-sun, had stayed in Peking most of the time since gaining the chin-shih degree in 1799, even though he was occasionally dispatched to other areas for short-term positions. Wang was primarily in charge of educational affairs in the 1810s and 20s. Wang as a symbol of Han Learning was, however, balanced by another notable scholar Yao Wen-t'ien (1758-1827) who emphasized a Han-Sung eclecticism. Beginning in 1800, Yao had been entrusted with provincial examinations. Meanwhile, he filled various posts in the Central Government in the 1810s and 20s. Some of the most important ones were: libationer of the Imperial Academy (1813), sub-chancellor of the Grand Secretariat (1814), vice-president of various Boards (1815-1824), and president of the Censorate (1824-27) and of the Board of Ceremonies (1827). See Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.841-2, 901-902. Liu P'an-shui, compiled, Kao-yu Wang-shih fu-tzu nien-p'u (Chronological Biographies of Wang Nien-sun and Wang Yin-chih), (Taipei: Wen-hai), pp.36-75. Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.115, pp.1-17.

¹⁴ Tseng Kuo-feng, Mu-chih ming (T'ang Chien's inscribed biography), in T'ang ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), p.2b. According to T'ang Erh-tzao, T'ang Chien's son, Hsing-shen jih-ko was completed in T'ang Chien's last years. See his Hsing-shu (A Biography), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), p.10a. It seems possible that T'ang Chien shaped his major ideas and started writing this work at an earlier age, but the work was revised in his last years.

These works nicely reflected his intellectual interest during this period. They can also be regarded as an example of the gradual but significant intellectual transition of his times--a transition from the waning k'ao-cheng tradition toward other new intellectual substitutes. His work on Chu Hsi, i.e. Chu-tzu nien-p'u k'ao-i, revealed the impact of k'ao-cheng learning and that he was, to some extent, under the influence of this school. This study also indicated that his Neo-Confucian interests originated from the moral philosopher Chu Hsi. In other words, this work blended the intellectual traditions of both Han Learning and Sung Learning. Nevertheless, his Hsing-shen jih-k'o undoubtedly marked a new effort at a departure from the current empirical k'ao-cheng tradition and he nicely presented himself as a Neo-Confucian thinker. Even though this account in 14 chüan is no longer available, an incomplete portion of this work was preserved in Hsü Shih-ch'ang's Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (An Intellectual History of the Ch'ing). From Hsü's collection, we know that this notebook-style work was T'ang's personal reflections on his practices of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. As far as Chi-fu shui-li shu was concerned, it can be associated with the new rising interest in socio-political concern typified by the later so-called ching-shih school which was led by T'ang's close friend Ho Ch'ang-ling (1785-1848) and Ho's assistant Wei Yüan (1794-1857). We will discuss this school's characteristics and its relationship with T'ang later.

In 1811 T'ang was given the office of Examining Editor (chien-t'ao). Because of this appointment, he later assumed prestigious positions such as the metropolitan examiner of the 1814 class and

provincial examiner of the 1818 class of Shun-t'ien (i.e. Peking area).¹⁵ Because of his outstanding performance, he was promoted to the office of Supervising Censor (ch'ien-ch'a yü-shih) of Chekiang Circuit in 1818. But he was soon demoted from this office as a result of a memorial he wrote "Tsuo-lun huai-yen yin-ti" (On the Tax of Huai Salt) in the late 1810s.¹⁶

During the period of career fluctuation in the 1820's and 1830's, T'ang amused himself by studying the Book of Changes¹⁷ and the Book of

¹⁵ Although this is not specified in T'ang Chien chuan (Biography of T'ang Chien) in Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), it was aptly pointed out by Tseng Kuo-fan. It is noteworthy that Liu Feng-lu (1776-1829), a distinguished New Text scholar, and Ch'i Chün-tsao (1793-1866), a Han-Sung syncretist who later became Grand Secretary in 1851, became chin-shih due to passing this 1818 examination. See Tseng Kuo-fen, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung mu-chih-ming (The Inscribed Biography of T'ang Chien), in Miu Ch'üan-sun, ed. Hsü pei-chuan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), ch.17. Mai Chung-kwei, ed., Ming-Ch'ing ju-hsüeh chia chu-shu sheng-tsu nien-piao (A Table of Writings and Dates of Birth and Death of Ming-Ch'ing Confucian Scholars), (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, 1977), vol.2, p.675. Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.125-6.

¹⁶ This memorial, which contained outspoken suggestions on the improvement of taxation methods on Huai salt, provoked the aged Chia-ch'ing Emperor. Nevertheless T'ang Chien was recommended by Liu Huan-shih to the new emperor, Tao-kwang (1821-1850), who, like previous rulers, requested his ministers to recommend men of ability available for imperial service. T'ang was thus promoted again this time to a far southwestern office as a prefect of P'ing-yüeh, Kwanghsi. See Tseng Kuo-fen, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung mu-chih-ming (The Inscribed Biography of T'ang Chien), in Miu Ch'üan-sun, ed. Hsü pei-chuan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), ch.17. See also Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.67, T'ang Chien chuan (Biography of T'ang Chien).

¹⁷ In this regard, he worked out a book known as Tu-i fan-shen lu (A Memorandum and Self-Reflection on Reading I-Ching). But it is no longer available today.

Rites¹⁸. In contrast to T'ang's isolation in the southwestern frontier area, there were salient intellectual changes in the South (Canton) and North (Peking). In Canton, Han-Sung syncretism was endorsed by Juan Yüan (1764-1849), a follower of evidential research master Tai Chen (1724-1777). Juan was, we recall, known for establishing the Hsüeh-hai-t'ang Academy in 1820 to promote New Text Confucianism; reprinting Hsüeh-pu t'ung-pien (General Critique of Obscuration to Learning), which was written by the late Ming Neo-Confucian scholar Ch'en Chien (1497-1567), to reappraise Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism around 1828; and publishing Fang Tung-shu's influential work Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning) to recognize the status of the T'ung-ch'eng school in 1831. Corresponding to the refreshing intellectual air in the South, there were also intellectual changes in the North. In the capital, the New Text school had gained a footing because of Liu Feng-lu's becoming a chin-shih in 1814 and, soon, being appointed to a position in the Ministry of Rites, where he served for 12 years. A decade later than the New Text school, the T'ung-ch'eng school also established a beachhead in the capital when Mei Tseng-liang (1786-1856)--one of Yao Nai's "four great disciples"--gained his chin-shih degree in 1823 and had a longer career in the Board of Finance to help spread the influence of Yao in the capital.¹⁹

¹⁸ Later, this turned into Tu-li hsiao-shih-chi (Small Things about the Book of Rites). This work was completed roughly between 1821 and 1832. See Tseng Kuo-fen, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung mu-chih-ming (The Inscribed Biography of T'ang Chien), in Miu Ch'üan-sun, ed. Hsü pei-chuan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), ch.17.

¹⁹ See Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", Paper delivered at the annual Conference of Journal of Asian Studies in Chicago, April

Because of his geographical and intellectual isolation, T'ang Chien was unable to respond to those new intellectual ferments. However, as an official in the southwestern frontier area, T'ang was characterized by his honesty, incorruptibility, and most importantly, administrative capability. No time to mourn over his political exile, he was trying to popularize Confucian learning in these culturally backward areas like Kwanghsi and Kueichow. To educate the Yao minority in Kwanghsi province, he, in 1834, established a Wu-yüan school in P'ing-lo county hiring Confucian instructors to teach Confucian moral education for Yao children.²⁰ As a result of this, T'ang became popular among the Yao people. Because of his excellent performance, T'ang was later promoted to the Provincial Administration Commissioner in Kiangsu. During the late 1830s when T'ao Chu (1779-1839), the governor-general of Kiangsu, Kiangsi, and Anhwei, was ill and died, T'ang was temporarily assigned to act for T'ao. In 1840 he was called back by the court to the capital for a new assignment as Minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices.²¹

It was during the period when he served in the Ministry of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices at the capital between 1840-46 that T'ang Chien found himself experiencing one of the most rewarding periods in his intellectual life. Thanks to the waning of k'ao-cheng learning,

1990, p.49. See also, Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies in the History of Ch'ing), ch.73, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987), vol.19, p.6026.

²⁰ Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), chüan 67, T'ang Chien chuan (The Biography of T'ang Chien), vol. 17, p. 5400. T'ang Chien, T'ang ch'üeh-shen kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien), ch.3, pp.1b-2b.

²¹ Ibid.

T'ang along with his Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism was, like the new emergence of other competitive intellectual schools such as T'ung-ch'eng, New Text, and Ching-shih, able to attract a certain audience in the capital. Here in Peking T'ang was warmly accepted by a handful of intellectuals who were interested in his moral philosophy of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine which had been disregarded for decades.²² Among them, Ho Kwei-cheng was in his early 20s, Tseng Kuo-fan, Shao I-ch'en, and Tou Hsü were in their early 30s, Wo-jen in his mid-30s, Li T'ang-chieh in his early 40s, and Wu T'ing-tung in his late 40s.

T'ang's Confucian view during this period can be best seen in his talk with Tseng Kuo-fan in 1841. T'ang claimed that there were only three approaches toward scholarship: i-li (moral philosophy), kao-ho (textual criticism), and wen-chang (literary works). He said, among the three, i-li was the most vital approach. This is, he asserted, because the learning of kao-ho usually sought after vulgarity and missed the essence, and the learning of wen-chang could not be refined without mastering the learning of i-li. Furthermore, he added that the learning

²² Even though the T'ung-ch'eng school had defended Neo-Confucianism, it is, after all, more like a literary than a philosophical school. In a sense, the T'ung-ch'eng school emphasized more the distinction between Han Learning and Sung Learning than the distinction between Ch'eng-Chu learning and Lu-Wang learning. In addition, Fang Tung-shu's Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning) was published in 1831 in the Canton. Its influence in Peking in the late 1830s cannot be over-estimated because Fang was primarily intellectually active in the South and his name was hardly known in the intellectual circles of the capital. Taken together, Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian doctrine was, to some extent, relatively refreshing to the intellectuals of k'ao-cheng-learning-bent Peking.

of ching-shih was, in fact, within the learning of i-li.²³ Taken together, this suggested that in T'ang eyes k'ao-cheng learning was nothing but an insignificant school which simply pursued trivia and, therefore, ignored the cream of Confucianism. With regard to the T'ung-ch'eng school which combined literature with Confucian ideals, T'ang believed that the members of this school could hardly make literary or intellectual achievements without mastering the learning of Confucian moral philosophy--because they regarded moral philosophy as content while they saw literature as form. As far as the emerging ching-shih school is concerned, T'ang confidently claimed that the notion of ching-shih was originally included in the idea of moral philosophy. This means that as long as one can master the approach of i-li one will naturally command the knowledge of statecraft. In short, T'ang entertained the idea that the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine he embraced is the supreme intellectual system in his time.

Overwhelming as T'ang's system was, many of these elites in the capital soon found themselves captured by the forceful themes of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, which were typified by the ideas of self-cultivation and ching-shih T'ang Chien promoted. They could not help instantly committing themselves to this Neo-Confucian tenet. Unlike the T'ung-ch'eng and New Text schools which slowly demonstrated their influence in Peking, the Ch'eng-Chu school was fortunate enough to

²³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan jih-chi (A Diary of Tseng Kuo-fan), in Tseng Kuo-fan chun-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan) (Changsha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu she, 1987), Diary vol.1, p.92. See also Chu Tung-an, Tseng Kuo-fan chuan (A biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Ssu-ch'uan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1980), pp.18-19. But Mr. Chu had misplaced the date as July 21 instead of July 14.

develop a solid intellectual alliance in a short period of time (1840-46).

Becoming a leader of the Ch'eng-Chu school in the capital, T'ang Chien frequently discussed with these elites the problems of Confucian moral learning and, particularly, its practices.²⁴ To characterize the Ch'eng-Chu school, he was, meanwhile, employing a project which was presumably to spell out the nature of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. As a corollary, T'ang completed his most celebrated scholarly work, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty).²⁵ In this account, he reinterpreted the Confucian tradition in the Ch'ing with a theme of tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way).

In 1846 T'ang Chien retired from his office and returned to the south in order to take a teaching chair at the prestigious Chin-ning Academy in Nanking. Though retired, he was not completely forgotten. He was summoned back to the capital at least fifteen times by the new Hsien-feng emperor for consultation on national and international matters, which were mainly involved with the Opium War and subsequent social unrest in the southern provinces. Once while visiting the Son of Heaven, he presented the Hsien-feng emperor his earlier work A Study of Irrigation in the Capital Area and was rewarded by the emperor with a

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ This study was generally regarded by scholars as one of the most important works on Ch'ing intellectual history prior to Hsü Shih-ch'ang's more complete work Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (An Intellectual History of the Ch'ing).

new appointment. He declined the offer for age reasons.²⁶ In 1853, T'ang retired from his teaching chair and moved to Hunan. He isolated himself from all political activities during these final years and amused himself intellectually by studying the Book of Changes. He produced three works about the subject and, in addition, compiled Chu-tze hsüeh-an (An Intellectual History of Master Chu).²⁷ He passed away in 1861 at the age of eighty-four.²⁸

T'ang Chien's emergence on the intellectual stage at the capital was, to be sure, quite short: 1840-1846. But his Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, which was primarily illustrated through his personal moral charisma, was able to capture some of the most brilliant minds of his times in a brief period. To understand how this occurred, we need to study this pioneer of Ch'eng-Chu school in the mid-19th century from three aspects: the idea of tao-t'ung, the idea of hsiu-shen, and the idea of ching-shih.

²⁶ In 1851, T'ang Chien was summoned back to the capital by the new emperor Hsien-feng for consultation on national and international matters for the first time. It was said that the emperor inquired about his learning and family background in detail. The Hsien-feng emperor was also very impressed by his health. T'ang replied with four major approaches in this regard: to restrain one's anger, to restrain one's desires; to reform and do good; and to lessen one's faults. The method of these four approaches, he told the emperor, could be found in his Hsing-shen jih-k'o (A Daily Critique of Self-Reflection). But because this work was still in draft form, T'ang presented Hsien-feng emperor his Chi-fu shui-li shu instead. See "Appendix," in Hsü Shih-ch'ang, ed. Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (The Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.140.

²⁷ Tseng Kuo-fen, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung mu-chih-ming (The Inscribed Biography of T'ang Chien), in Miu Ch'üan-sun, ed. Hsü pei-chuan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), ch.17.

²⁸ Ibid. Also see Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.67, T'ang Chien chuan (Biography of T'ang Chien).

B. The Idea of Tao and the Idea of Tao-T'ung

T'ang Chien's effort in promoting Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in the mid-19th century was primarily responding to two new developments in his time: on the intellectual side, the waning k'ao-cheng school in the first half of 19th century and, on the political side, the new foreign challenges after the Opium War and subsequent social unrest in the coastal provinces.²⁹ For T'ang, these two factors were interlocked and the crisis his country encountered could not be resolved by either the k'ao-cheng school, which lacked a socio-political concern, or the T'ung-ch'eng and New Text schools, which demonstrated limited influence among the intellectuals.

To save the country from crisis, T'ang Chien and his younger comrades in the capital established a consensus that a revival of the empire would have to rely on the revival of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. But a consensus would not change the deteriorating socio-political situation they lived in. To put their beliefs into action, T'ang as the leader of the group was pondering how to best present the spirit of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism to intellectuals in his time. Accordingly, he strove, between 1843-46, to elucidate his ideas in his seminal work: Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty). T'ang stated, in this work, that a revival of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed needed to begin from the clarification of the spirit of orthodox Neo-Confucian doctrine.

²⁹ For a discussion of social unrest in the Southern China, see Frederick Wakeman Jr., Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp.1-70.

In the Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, T'ang Chien redefined the Confucian tradition in the Ch'ing with a theme of the idea of tao (the Way). In this work, the notion of tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way)³⁰ became an exclusive criterion to measure the orthodoxy of Ch'ing Confucian scholars. To T'ang, tao as a source of meaning was absolute and thus highest among all values in the Neo-Confucian system. But the light of tao could be kept and delivered to future Confucianists only by the hands of tao transmitters--in order to construct a meaningful "chain" (t'ung). It is in this sense that T'ang highlighted the role of tao transmitters and used it to connect the idea of tao and the idea of tao-t'ung.

T'ang Chien's redefinition of the ideas of tao and tao-t'ung can be seen as an opposition to the interpretations made by k'ao-cheng scholars. In the evidential research tradition, Tai Chen, to recall, took a "naturalistic" approach to annotate the idea of tao. Rejecting Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian dualism which viewed li (Principle) and ch'i (ether) as two heterogeneous elements, Tai interpreted, in his major work Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng (Evidential Analysis of the Meanings of Terms in the Mencius), the idea of tao with his "naturalistic" monism. He believed that the idea of tao was not a composition of hsing-erh-shang (above the realm of ordinarily experienced forms), i.e. li, and hsing-erh-hsia (amidst the realm of ordinarily experienced forms), i.e.

³⁰ In the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition, the word t'ung indicated both the sense of a chain or link and a sense of overall control or coordination. For Chu Hsi, tao-t'ung represented the active repossession or reconstituting of the Way in a manner akin to regaining or reconstituting the Empire as the basis for legitimate dynastic succession. See Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (NY: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.31.

ch'i, as Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian scholars claimed, because this kind of distinction of two realms was, he said, not seen in the Six Classics.³¹ Rather, the idea of tao was simply a naturalistic hsing (course, path, flow) which was constituted by successive movement of the materialistic concepts of Yin and Yang--the inactive and active operations.³²

K'ao-cheng scholars rejected not only the idea of tao but also the idea of tao-t'ung Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists developed. In this regard, Fang Tung-shu rightly pointed out, in 1824, that the intention of k'ao-cheng scholars might vary from person to person, but their goals were, however, the same: to destruct the moral philosophy of Neo-Confucianism and to go beyond the tao-t'ung formulated by scholars of the Sung dynasty.³³ According to Fang, Wang Chung (1745-1794) and Chiang Fan (1761-1831) were two major figures involved with the establishment of tao-t'ung of Han Learning. Wang said that the emergence of k'ao-cheng scholars in the Ch'ing has rejoined the chain, which had been broken for 2,000 years, to that of great Confucian masters before the Ch'in dynasty. These profound and erudite scholars included: Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), Yen Jo-chü (1636-1704), Mei Wen-ting (1633-1721), Hu Wei (1633-1714), Hui Tung (1697-1758) and Tai Chen. They not only carried on past tradition but also opened up a way for those who followed. Among them, Tai Chen was the greatest scholar because of his excellent

³¹ Hu Shih, Tai tung-yüan te che-hsüeh (Tai Chen's Philosophy), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1963), pp.73-75.

³² Ibid., p.73., pp.29-32.

³³ Fang Tung-shu, Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1937), p.134.

synthesis of various k'ao-cheng traditions.³⁴ Wang's view was, according to Fang, shared by Chiang Fan. Chiang claimed that the learning of the Hui family emerged in Soochow, Kiangsu. Following the Huis, Chiang Yung (1681-1762) and Tai Chen arose in Anhwei province. Henceforth Han Learning became illustrated, and Confucian learning, which has been a dark age for a millennium, was again vitalized.³⁵

Mindful of the ambiguous explanation of the ideas of tao and tao-t'ung made by k'ao-cheng scholars, T'ang Chien first clarified the definition of tao in the Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih in terms of the learning of the sage.

The learning of the sage was but investigating things (ko-wu), extending knowledge (chih-chih), being sincere in hearts (ch'eng-i), rectifying hearts (cheng-hsin), cultivating persons (hsiu-shen), regulating families (ch'i-chia), well ordering states (chih-kuo), and harmonizing the universe (p'ing-t'ien-hsia). Those who were away from this learning were against tao. Those who could not come up to this learning were remote from tao.³⁶

According to this definition, which was definitely based on the Great Learning, k'ao-cheng scholars were definitely "against tao" and "remote from tao".

According to T'ang Chien, the learning of the sage was equal to the learning of tao, and this learning was virtually composed of two components which were disregarded by k'ao-cheng scholars: the idea of hsiu-shen and the idea of ching-shih. Apparently, T'ang's idea of tao was different from the naturalistic definition of course or path, or

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), pp.1-2.

flow as Tai Chen claimed. It was in line with the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition of regarding Confucian doctrine as a system developed from within toward without: self-cultivation, family regulation, and universe pacification.

As an exclusive highway toward tao, this from-within-toward-without procedure virtually emphasized a dualistic concept of praxis: moral praxis and social praxis. Through the concept of praxis, the inward-bent idea of hsiu-shen and the outward-bent idea of ching-shih were interlocked to function as a meaningful system. It was primarily based on this Confucian world view that the socio-political order needed to be built up on the base of the moral-spiritual order of the individual, i.e. the outer order must start from the inner order. In the words of the Doctrine of the Mean, "Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families."³⁷

This dualistic characteristic of tao was, in T'ang's eyes, absent not only in k'ao-cheng tradition but also in other Confucian schools emerging in the first half of 19th century. For T'ang, the "intellectualism" of k'ao-cheng learning, which emphasized the nature of Confucian knowledge (i.e. the characteristics and constitution of the Confucian canon) and its development, offered little room for Confucian moral philosophy and its praxis. The T'ung-ch'eng school might stress, as Fang Tung-shu did, the idea of moral philosophy but it as a literary

³⁷ The Doctrine of the Mean, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), pp.80-81.

school was concerned more about the subtle balance among moral philosophy (i-li), textual criticism (kao-chü) and literary works (wen-chang).³⁸ The ching-shih school did endorse the idea of praxis, but seemed to focus too much on social praxis to behold personal moral praxis.

As a corollary, the idea of tao was regarded by T'ang Chien as being absolute--not only because of its irreplaceable status as a source of meaning, but also because it involved a set of systematic procedures to crystallize this irreplaceable status as a source of meaning. To T'ang, the idea of tao can only be approached by this from-within-toward-without procedure which was represented in the ideas of hsiu-shen and ching-shih. This approach toward the true spirit of Confucianism was so critical as to become the exclusive criterion for judging the Confucian content of various schools. According to T'ang, although this from-within-toward-without approach was already specified in the Confucian canon Great Learning, it was best elucidated by Ch'eng-Chu's formula of "dwelling in reverence and investigating to the utmost" (chü-ching ch'iung-li) in the Neo-Confucian tradition. That is, to defend Ch'eng-Chu's formula of chü-ching ch'iung-li is to defend the idea of tao--because this formula is valid, and therefore orthodox, for following the systematic approach of from-within-toward-without in the concepts of hsiu-shen and ching-shih.

³⁸ For T'ang, the learning of textual criticism usually sought after vulgarity and missed the essence, and the learning of wen-chang could not be refined without mastering the learning of i-li. We will discuss T'ang's view about these three items later.

1. The Implications of the Idea of Tao-T'ung

In T'ang Chien's Confucian system, the idea of tao is closely involved with concepts such as orthodoxy and "exclusiveness". For T'ang, being orthodox in Confucian tradition means being "exclusive"--to first exclude Han Learning from Sung Learning in Confucian tradition and, then to exclude "heterodox" schools from the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu school in the Sung Learning tradition. It is mainly from this perspective of orthodoxy that T'ang applied this criterion of "exclusiveness" to develop his doctrine of tao-t'ung.³⁹

In order to make his intention clear, T'ang Chien first explained the nature of tao-t'ung and its implications. He contended that: "From whom could the Way be transmitted? The answer is from Confucius-Mencius and Ch'eng-Chu. To whom could the Way be transmitted? The answer is to those who follow Confucius-Mencius and Ch'eng-Chu."⁴⁰ What T'ang suggested here is that the only dependable intellectual resources stemmed from two intellectual systems: Classical Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. These two systems were related to each other and were identified by Confucius-Mencius and Ch'eng-Chu respectively. After clarifying the nature of the Way transmission, T'ang then stated his motive for upholding this sense of tao-t'ung. "Why was it suddenly

³⁹ It is noteworthy that during the time when T'ang was engaged in writing his Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, 1843-1846, the intellectual climate was characterized by a salient syncretism which was best seen in Juan Yüan's promoting first New Text Confucianism and later Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. T'ang's concept of "absolutist" tao, which embodied in the idea of "exclusiveness", was employed by him to mainly oppose the prevailing syncretist current.

⁴⁰ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), t'i-yao (Proposal), p.1.

called 'transmission'? The answer is: the Way of Confucius-Mencius and Ch'eng-Chu had become dim."⁴¹ It is interesting to find that the main reason that the light of tao had become "dim" was not primarily due to the dominance of the intellectualism of the k'ao-cheng school in his immediate past--in the 18th century. It was, more importantly, due to the development of Lu Hsiang-san's doctrine since the 12th century and the prevalence of Wang Yang-ming learning since the 16th century. It is basically out of this anti-Lu-Wang stance that the "exclusiveness" of the idea of tao-t'ung was spelled out by T'ang Chien. Like orthodox Ch'eng-Chu scholars in the second half of 17th century, T'ang also attributed the failure of the true idea of tao in the present time to the emergence of the "false" approach of "innate knowledge" of the Yang-ming school. This suggests that to defend the true idea of tao one needs to first distinguish the "false" approach of Lu-Wang learning from the "valid" approach of Ch'eng-Chu learning.

After expressing his motive for upholding the idea of tao-t'ung, T'ang Chien then came to elucidate his system of the transmission of the Way. According to T'ang, the idea of tao was preserved in the teachings of Confucius and his true followers such as Master Yen, Master Tseng, Master Tze-ssu, and especially Mencius. In T'ang view, during the period of Classical Confucianism after Confucius, Mencius was the most

⁴¹ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), t'i-yao (Proposal), p.1. In this regard, we should not forget that T'ang's stance was similar to Mencius'. Mencius believed that his responsibility of defending the Way was to "stop" the principles of Yang and Mo and "set forth" the principles of Confucius. The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.679.

important tao transmitter of all and best sustained the spirit of the "learning of the sage" in terms of both hsiu-shen and ching-shih. For T'ang, Mencius was the vital figure who developed and synthesized the orthodox Confucian legacy to illuminate the true idea of tao.⁴²

Although T'ang claimed to be a true proponent of orthodox Neo-Confucianism, his definition of tao-t'ung lineage was not necessarily conventional. Unlike Chu Hsi who expelled the Han and T'ang Confucianists from the line of transmission, T'ang Chien held that the Mencian learning was developed and promoted by Tung Chung-shu (179?-104? B.C.) of the Han, and Han Yü (768-824) of the T'ang.⁴³ In addition, T'ang included the eminent Confucianists of the Han period such as Fu Sheng (260 B.C-?), K'ung An-kuo, Chia I (201-169 B.C.) and Cheng Hsüan (127-200) as tao transmitters.⁴⁴

T'ang also expressed a unique explanation of the tao-t'ung lineage for the post-Classical period of Confucianism. Again, unlike Chu Hsi who emphasized the role of Chou Tun-i (1017-73) and the Ch'eng brothers, i.e. Ch'eng Hao (1032-85) and Ch'eng I (1033-1108), in the line of tao transmission, T'ang Chien believed that most of the major founders of Neo-Confucianism in the early Sung were tao transmitters. They included:

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., p.2.

⁴⁴ Ibid. It needs to be pointed out that T'ang's definition of tao-t'ung lineage was not identical with the orthodox Neo-Confucianists in the 17th century either. For instance, in his Hsüeh-t'ung (The Orthodox Succession of Teaching), one of the most complete works in elaborating the idea of tao-t'ung in the early Ch'ing, Hsiung T'zu-li (1635-1709) specified 10 persons in the lineage of "orthodox succession": Confucius, Yen Tzu, Tseng Tzu, Tzu Ssu, Mencius, Chou Tun-i, the Ch'eng brothers, Chang Tsai, and Master Chu. None of them belongs to either the Han or T'ang dynasty.

Chou Tun-i, Chang · Tsai (1020-77), the Ch'eng brothers, and the Ch'eng's disciples; Yang Shih (1053-1135), Yu Tso (1053-1132), Yin Ch'un (1061-1132), and Hsieh Liang-tso (1050-1103).⁴⁵ Apparently, T'ang Chien's definition of the idea of tao-t'ung was broader than that of Chu Hsi, one of the first persons who employed the term tao-t'ung, in terms of implication.

In T'ang Chien's view, the final synthesis of Neo-Confucianism awaited the advent of the great Neo-Confucian master Chu Hsi (1130-1200). Chu Hsi's intellectual contribution to Neo-Confucianism was, in T'ang's mind, characterized by the following features. First, based on the principles and subordinates of the Great Learning, Chu Hsi clarified the methodology of Neo-Confucian teaching for students of Neo-Confucianism. Second, from the idea of Heavenly Way (t'ien-tao) and human Way (jen-tao) from the Doctrine of the Mean, Chu proposed the "law of the mind" which was transmitted from one to another in the Confucian school (k'ung-men ch'uan-shou hsin-fa). Finally, with the notion of "dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost" (chü-ching ch'iung-li), he formulated two major approaches to Confucian learning: "Honoring the moral nature" (tsun-te-hsing) and "Following the path of inquiry and study" (tao-wen-hsüeh).⁴⁶ T'ang Chien made it

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.2.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.2. To be very brief, the approach of tao-wen-hsüeh, taken by Chu Hsi, emphasized the role of empirical knowledge and regarded this knowledge as a valid and exclusive key toward the door of Confucian learning. The approach of tsun-te-hsing, taken by Lu Hsiang-san, highlighted the role of mind-heart and regarded it as a short cut to the door of Confucian doctrine. For a discussion of tsun-te-hsing and tao-wen-hsüeh, see Ying-shih Yü, "Morality and Knowledge in Chu Hsi's Philosophical System," in Wing-tsit Chan ed. Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism, (University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp.228-54.

clear that Master Chu was the key figure who had inherited the spirit of the Confucian Way, refined it, and enhanced its strength. In his words, "(Chu Hsi's) mind and tao were no different from that of (Master) Yen, (Master) Tseng, (Master) Tze-ssu, and Mencius."⁴⁷

After elaborating his theory of tao-t'ung, T'ang Chien distinguished three kinds of tao from the perspective of tao-t'ung and confined them to the Ch'ing dynasty: 1)the Way of transmission (ch'uan-tao); 2)the Way of assistance (i-tao); and 3)the Way of preservation (sou-tao).⁴⁸ With historical concerns in mind, T'ang specified four "transmitters of the Way": Lu Lung-ch'i (1630-1692), Chang Lŭ-hsiang (1611-1674), Lu Shih-i (1611-72), and Chang Po-hsing (1652-1725). They were all Ch'eng-Chu proponents and were treated by T'ang as legitimate

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.2.

⁴⁸ To some extent, T'ang's theory of tao-t'ung was inspired by Hsiung T'zu-li (1635-1709) who presented his idea of tao-t'ung in his Hsüeh-t'ung (The Orthodox Succession of Teaching), which was completed in 1685. In this 56-chüan account, Hsiung specified five kinds of teachings: 1)the teaching of orthodox succession (cheng-t'ung), 2)the teaching of aiding succession (i-t'ung), 3)the teaching of supplementary succession (fu-t'ung), 4)the teaching of promiscuous succession (t'za-t'ung), and, finally, 5)the teaching of heterodox succession (i-t'ung). According to Hsiung, the lineage of "orthodox succession" was constituted by 10 persons who were: Confucius, Yen Tzu, Tseng Tzu, Tzu Ssu, Mencius, Chou Tun-i, the Ch'eng brothers, Chang Tsai, and Master Chu. The idea of "aiding succession" comprised, in Hsiung's eyes, 23 persons beginning from Min Tzu-ch'ien, a disciple of Confucius known for his virtue, to Lo Ch'in-shun of the Ming. The "supplementary succession" was referred by Hsiung to include 178 persons beginning from Jan Po-niu, a disciple of Confucius, to Kao Pan-lung of the Ming. The "promiscuous succession" contained 7 persons from Hsün Tzu down to Wang Yang-ming. As for "heterodox succession", it consisted of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Yang Chu, Mo Tzu, Kao Tzu, Taoists, and Buddhists. However, T'ang Chien did not completely agree with Hsiung and attempted to directly connect his four "transmitters of the Way" to orthodox Neo-Confucianists in the Sung dynasty.

successors of the "learning of sages".⁴⁹

These four "transmitters of the Way" had the same mind-heart as that of Ch'eng-Chu and studied the same learning as that of Ch'eng-Chu. Their speech and behavior, which were so excellent that they became models of the empire, could be traced back as far as Confucius, Tseng-tze, Tze-ssu, and Mencius, and could be connected to those as near as Hsü Heng (1209-1281), Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464), Hu Chü-jen (1434-1484), and Lo Ch'in-sun (1465-1547). These four "transmitters of the Way" were so broad and yet delicate with their learning that they were able to transmit the spirit of ancient sages and worthies. This is why that they were singled out.⁵⁰

It is noteworthy that these four "transmitters of the Way" selected by T'ang Chien were all renowned for their defense of the Confucian Way in the early Ch'ing. They were not chosen by T'ang mainly for their academic achievements in the interpretation of orthodox Neo-Confucianism. Rather, they were simply singled out by T'ang for their brave fortification of the orthodox tao transmission. For instance, Lu Lung-ch'i, the first "transmitter of the Way" according to T'ang, was a well-known opponent of Yang-ming learning. Bitterly criticized by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao for his "sectarian bias" (men-fu chih-chien),⁵¹ Lu accused, we recall, Yang-ming learning of being "incorrect teaching", "defective from its very sources", and more vigorously, "the fall of the Ming was not due to bandit uprisings or factionalism but to Wang's teachings." He not only attacked the Yang-ming school but also scholars whose views

⁴⁹ For a discussion of these four transmitters of the Way, see Chapter one.

⁵⁰ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), vol.2, pa (colophon), p.1. This colophon was written by Huang Jo, T'ang Chien's nephew.

⁵¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Chung-kuo chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1966), pp.99-100.

stood between those of the Ch'eng-Chu and Yang-ming schools. His advocacy of the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine would allow no room for any deviation. It is, indeed, from this perspective of "sectarianism" that the idea of "exclusiveness" of was spelled out by T'ang Chien to characterize the notion of tao-t'ung.

Next to the four "transmitters of the Way", T'ang Chien identified 19 "assistants of the Way" in his work. Among them, there were, just to name some, T'ang Pin (1627-1687), Ku Yen-wu, Chang Erh-ch'i (1612-1678), Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692), Chang Lieh (1622-1685), Wei Hsiang-shu (1617-1687), Li Yung (1627-1705), Chu Shih (1665-1736), Wang Mao-hong (1668-1741), Chiang Yung (1681-1762), and Yao Nai (1731-1815). In contrast to the highly selective number of "transmitters of the Way," the "assistants of the Way" were comparatively large in number. According to T'ang, they had contributed to the transmission of the Way by assisting the tao transmitters in fortifying the supreme tao. They were important because they chose to stand on the same side the tao transmitters did.

The Way would not be left to stand alone if it was aided. And if the Way was not left to stand alone, then the Way-injurers (luan-tao-che) could not jeopardize this transmission. Therefore, legitimacy and order (t'ung-chi) could be unified.⁵²

From the perspective of Ch'ing learning, these "assistants of the Way" could, to be sure, not be completely judged by the pure standard of "sectarianism" which T'ang Chien emphasized, because some of them had a salient eclectic background. For instance, T'ang Pin, the first "assistant of the Way" in T'ang Chien's tao-t'ung lineage, was a disciple of Sun Ch'i-feng (1585-1675) who was a great master of Lu-Wang

⁵² T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), vol.1, pp.1-2.

doctrine in the early Ch'ing. Because of his later commitment to Ch'eng-Chu doctrine and complete discarding of Lu-Wang learning,⁵³ T'ang Pin was singled out by T'ang Chien as the champion of "assistants of the Way". With similar reason, T'ang Pin's disciples like Tou Ke-ch'in (1653-1708) and Chang Hsia were favorably recognized by T'ang Chien as other "assistants of the Way". This arrangement regarding T'ang Pin and his disciples suggests that those who had been wrongly guided by the "false" approach such as Lu-Wang tenet can still be accepted in the garden of orthodox tao-t'ung as long as they convert their heterodox belief to orthodox belief. That is, T'ang Chien's tao-t'ung system was designed to be an open one.

Although the notion of "sectarianism" might appear to be a critical standard to judge Confucian scholars in the Ch'ing, it was, according to T'ang Chien, not the only standard to determine the orthodoxy of Confucian scholars. For instance, Chang Lieh (1622-1685), the sixth "assistant of the Way" in T'ang Chien's tao-t'ung lineage, was a famous orthodox Neo-Confucian scholar in late 17th century. His Wang-hsüeh chih-i (To Question Yang-ming Learning), completed in 1681, attacked Yang-ming learning so forcefully that it was often compared to the Hsüeh-pu t'ung-pien (General Critique of Obscuration to Learning) written by late Ming scholar Ch'en Chien (1497-1567).⁵⁴ However, Chang

⁵³ In this regard, T'ang Chien justified T'ang Pin's sincere commitment to Ch'eng-Chu doctrine by quoting a letter of T'ang Pin's to Lu Lung-ch'i. See T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1947), vol.1, p.45.

⁵⁴ While Ch'en Chien's General Critique of Obscuration to Learning highlighted the differences between Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan, this work of Chang Lieh's stressed the differences between Chu Hsi and Wang

was not chosen by T'ang Chien as a "transmitter of the Way". Nor was he placed in a salient position in T'ang's tao-t'ung lineage. This was, T'ang contended, partly because Chang's work was characterized by a kind of "utilitarian view" (kung-li chih-chien) and flowery language, and more because of Chang's failure to personally practice Ch'eng-Chu moral philosophy typified in the idea of "dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost" (chü-ching ch'iung-li).⁵⁵

In addition to both the tao transmitters and the tao assistants, T'ang Chien listed 44 tao preservers. Among them, there were scholars like Yü Ch'eng-lung (1638-1700), Wei I-chieh (1616-1686), Li Kwang-ti (1642-1718), Hsiung T'zu-li (1635-1709), Fang Pao (1668-1749), and many others who were less known. According to T'ang, the majority of them might lack extraordinary talents like the tao transmitters and the tao assistants, but they had quietly fostered and guarded tao all the time without expecting any fame for their contribution. Their acts might be discarded by the ordinary people because the ordinary people cared less about losing what they already owned--things such as the Way. But T'ang believed that: "thanks to the Way preservers, the Way did not break off entirely."⁵⁶ Although the k'ao-cheng movement had been popular and dominant in the 18th century and early decades of 19th century, T'ang Chien proved and showed that the Way of orthodox Confucianism never completely broke off because of the efforts of so many tao preservers.

Yang-ming. A comparison of the two scholars can be seen in the previous chapter.

⁵⁵ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), vol.1, p.87.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.2-3.

2. The Characteristics of the Idea of Tao-T'ung

As an intellectual history of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih highlighted, as is seen above, the idea of tao and, more importantly, tao-t'ung. Given the emphasis on defense of tao and its transmission, T'ang's idea of tao-t'ung seen in the Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, was characterized by a kind of what can be called "exclusiveness" which rejected all heterodox lineages and non-orthodox elements in Ch'ing Confucian tradition. Closely related to the concept of orthodoxy in Confucian tradition beginning from the establishment of Confucianism, this sense of "exclusiveness" emphasized by T'ang Chien tended to be critical of all heterodox doctrines such as Buddhism and Taoism, and even more critical of other non-orthodox schools within Neo-Confucianism like Lu-Wang doctrine.

The idea of tao-t'ung was proposed by T'ang Chien in the early 1840s for two main purposes. First, it was employed to demonstrate the theoretical consistency, succession, and completeness of Confucian tradition--particularly from the lineage of Classical Confucianism to Neo-Confucianism. Second, and more importantly, it was specified to distinguish the character of the Ch'eng-Chu school from other Confucian schools which also claimed their origins in the Confucian-Mencian tradition. In this regard, T'ang was actually fighting against two major adversaries in his days: the waning but still influential Han Learning and Lu-Wang learning which reemerged in the guise of Han-Sung syncretism.

First of all, the emphasis on "exclusiveness" in the idea of tao-t'ung has its historical origin in Confucian tradition. It could be,

according to T'ang Chien, traced back as far as the times of Confucius and Mencius in the Classic Confucian period on the one hand, and to the Ch'engs and Chu Hsi in the Neo-Confucian period on the other hand. In other words, it is, in T'ang Chien's own words, "like Confucius against heterodoxies" or "Mencius against Yang Chu and Mo Ti" in Classical Confucianism.⁵⁷ It is, T'ang added, also like "the Ch'engs against Buddhism and Taoism" or "Master Chu against Chang Chiu-cheng (1092-1159) and Lu Hsiang-shan" in Neo-Confucianism.⁵⁸ This implies that his own role in struggling with heterodox doctrines like Han Learning and Lu-Wang learning in the mid-19th century is similar to the opposition to heterodoxies employed by Confucius and Mencius in the Spring and Autumn period and the Ch'engs and Master Chu in the Sung.

With regard to the second purpose, T'ang understood very well that Sung Learning's becoming a target of bitter criticism of Han Learning scholars was mainly because of the former's over-emphasis on the problem

⁵⁷ In this regard, Confucius said: "The study of strange doctrines (*i-tuan*) is injurious indeed.", The Confucian Analects, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.141. Following Confucius, Mencius formulated the theory of "exclusiveness" to oppose Yang Chu and Mo Ti, two great intellectual adversaries in Mencius' time. Mencius said: "Once more, sage emperors cease to arise, and the princes of the states give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The words of Yang Chu and Mo Ti fill the empire. If you listen to people's discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views of either Yang or of Mo....If the principles of Yang and Mo are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness....I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defense of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo." The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, pp.677-79.

⁵⁸ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), vol. 1, Hsüeh-an hou-hsü (postscript), p.1.

of pen-t'i (substance) and disregard of the problem of kung-fu (method, moral effort). For T'ang, the k'ao-cheng scholars' accusation that Neo-Confucianism might not be completely correct, was not without reason--at least seen from the allegations and conduct of Lu-Wang scholars in the late Ming period. Mindful of this paradox, T'ang found it necessary to draw a clear line between the Ch'eng-Chu school and the Lu-Wang school in Neo-Confucian tradition--for whatever a historical or present reason. To do so, the idea of "exclusiveness", which was by nature a kind of "sectarianism" or "absolutism",⁵⁹ was spelled out by T'ang Chien to characterize his tao-t'ung system.

In his effort to discriminate the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu school from the "heterodox" Lu-Wang school, T'ang Chien employed the concept of "exclusiveness" to attack the doctrines of Lu Hsiang-shan and, particularly, Wang Yang-ming and their followers.

"There were some novel advocates (of tao) who quoted the heterodoxies of (Lu) Hsiang-san (as the truth); who took the half-word of liang-chih (innate knowledge of the good) as their goal; who relied on (Wang Yang-ming's) realization (of liang-chih) at Lung-ch'ang as their determination; who referred to the idea of li-ti-cheng-fo (to become a Buddha instantly) and held that the streets were full of sages."⁶⁰

Asserting that the liang-chih approach was invalid in the pursuit of the idea of tao, T'ang vigorously opposed the "false learning" of Lu-Wang

⁵⁹ Wang Yang-ming himself was opposed to the idea of "absolutism" of tao and tao-t'ung. He said, in his Ch'uan-hsi lu (Instructions for Practical Living), that "The Way, as it is, is the public Way (kung-tao) of the world. The learning, as it is, is the public learning (kung-hsüeh) of the world. They cannot be owned privately by Master Chu. And they cannot be owned privately by Confucius either." See Wei Cheng-t'ung, ed. Chung-kuo cheh-hsüeh tz'u-tien (A Dictionary of Chinese Philosophy), (Taipei: Ta-lin ch'u-pan-she, 1977), p.661.

⁶⁰ T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), preface, p.2.

Neo-Confucian doctrine.

These advocacies had fooled people greatly. The more these ideas were advocated, the more absurd they became. They had gone so far as to fear nothing. Those who had heard them turned to them. Shortly, they had tried to exceed (the learning of) Ch'eng-Chu!"⁶¹

T'ang Chien believed that the Lu-Wang followers had misinterpreted the basic tenets of Confucianism. According to T'ang, the Lu-Wang school with their subjective idealism contended that the Way could simply be approached by one's mind-heart instead of by more substantial procedures. These substantial procedures included, in T'ang's mind, orthodox Neo-Confucian approaches toward the Way such as ko-wu (things investigation), chih-chih (knowledge extension), ch'eng-i (being sincere in heart), cheng-hsin (heart rectification), hsiu-shen (self-cultivation), ch'i-chia (family regulation), chih-kuo (the well ordering of states), and p'ing-t'ien-hsia (universe harmonization). They were all basic methods to approach the Way listed in the Great Learning. Other substantial procedures beside them could, T'ang pointed out, involve steps such as po-hsüeh (learning extensively), shen-wen (inquiring into cases), shen-ssu (speculating carefully), ming-pien (discriminating rightly), and tu-hsing (practicing sedulously).⁶² These five subsequent steps were fundamental procedures to approach the Way specified in the Doctrine of the Mean. In other words, the supreme tao could only be attained by these two sets of approaches formulated in the two great Neo-Confucian canons: the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean. Any approach other than these two were regarded as

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

"incorrect". In short, T'ang's stress on the sense of "exclusiveness" was based on his preoccupation with methodology toward tao.

While the idea of "exclusiveness" was greatly spelled out by T'ang Chien to characterize the tao-t'ung theory he formulated in the 1840s, the idea of "critical spirit", which was one of the most primary characteristics in the idea of tao and the idea of tao transmission in the Confucian tradition since the so-called "Axial Age", was largely absent from T'ang Chien's tao-t'ung formula.

The Confucian idea of tao-t'ung or the transmission of the Way was conventionally juxtaposed with the idea of chih-t'ung (the transmission of governance) in the Chinese intellectual tradition even since the establishment of the Confucian system. This juxtaposition was best presented by Mencius in such dichotomies as the spiritual Way (tao) versus political authority (shih) or virtue (teh) versus political rank (wei).⁶³ Mencius said:

With regard to our stations, you are sovereign, and I am subject. How can I presume to be on terms of friendship with my sovereign? With regard to our virtue, you ought to make me your master. How may you be on terms of friendship with me?⁶⁴

But Mencius seemed to regard those who embrace virtue as superior to those who own power.⁶⁵ He argued:

⁶³ Hao Chang, "Some Reflections on the Problems of the Axial-Age Breakthrough in Relation to Classical Confucianism," in Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman, ed. Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp.24-25. See also Yü Ying-shih, Shih-hsüeh yü ch'uan-t'ung (History and Tradition), (Taipei: China Times Press, 1982), pp.50-64.

⁶⁴ The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), pp.842-3.

⁶⁵ Yü Ying-shih, Shih-hsüeh yü ch'uan-t'ung (History and Tradition), p.55.

The able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity loved virtue and forgot power. And shall an exception be made of the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity, that they did not do the same? They delighted in their own principles, and were oblivious of the power of princes. Therefore, if kings and dukes did not show the utmost respect, and observe all forms of ceremony, they were not permitted to come frequently and visit them. If they thus found it not in their power to pay them frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?⁶⁶

Even though the idea of tao-t'ung was endorsed by those who owned power, i.e. those who comprised of the idea of chih-t'ung, since the fourth century B.C.,⁶⁷ these discriminations between tao transmission and governance transmission implied a gap between the two orders, i.e. the order "as it ought to be" versus the order "as it actually is." The order "as it ought to be" was an idealized world in which only the "sage-kings" as moral as those of the "Golden Age" were qualified to be leaders. It was on the basis of this "order as it ought to be" that Mencius formulated his well-known dictum: "Heaven sees according as my people see; Heaven hears according as my people hear."⁶⁸ That is, in Mencius' view, power should comply with virtue, i.e. the order "as it actually is" should bend to the order "as it ought to be".

The Mencian concept of tao-t'ung as supreme to chih-t'ung is involved with a concept of "dualism" of authority. Namely, one who with his Heaven-conferred virtue in his mind-heart could also reach the transcendental Heaven and thus establish an inner order of authority.

⁶⁶ The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, pp.937-8.

⁶⁷ Yü Ying-shih, Shih-hsüeh yü ch'uan-t'ung (History and Tradition), pp.59-60.

⁶⁸ The Works of Mencius, James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.795.

According to Mencius, an individual was born with the virtue of goodness within his nature. If one could well develop this virtue of goodness, he could partake of the nature of Heaven and metaphysically be united with the Heaven.⁶⁹ In his words, "He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven."⁷⁰ That is, tao proponent appeal to Heaven for their authority: the authority of Heaven. This channel of appealing to Heaven is always open to those who commit to the Confucian tao. Like the "Son of Heaven" who claimed his legitimacy of authority from the Mandate of Heaven, tao advocates also justified the validity of their authority which was presumably endorsed by the transcendental Heaven. As a result of the nature of this transcendental concept of tao, the authority of tao-t'ung was supposed to be independent from the existing order of authority.⁷¹

It is out of this "transcendental consciousness" and out of this "dualism" of authority that the "critical spirit" of tao and tao-t'ung was spelled out by Confucianists, and Neo-Confucianists as well, to contend with, and to balance, the existing political order. In terms of

⁶⁹ Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yu-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), pp.35-37. Hao Chang, "Some Reflections on the Problems of the Axial-Age Breakthrough in Relation to Classical Confucianism," in Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman, ed. Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp.23-25.

⁷⁰ The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.932.

⁷¹ For a discussion of the "dualism" of authority, see Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yu-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), p.35-49.

the idea tao-t'ung, this sense of "critical spirit" has been more articulated than the sense of "exclusiveness" in the Confucian tradition. Nevertheless, T'ang Chien's idea of tao-t'ung was not formulated along this line of "critical spirit" to criticize the order "as it actually is". In his Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, we have seen that his idea of tao-t'ung was merely applied to oppose heterodoxies such as Han Learning and non-orthodox Confucian schools like Yang-ming learning. That is, the supreme tao-t'ung consciousness has been reduced to "exclusiveness consciousness" which was developed by T'ang to simply defend the idea of Confucian orthodoxy.

Indeed, T'ang Chien's tao-t'ung formula stressed the idea of "exclusive consciousness" rather than "critical consciousness". It highlighted the idea of orthodoxy of Way transmission rather than the legitimacy of governance transmission. This implies that the idea of tao-t'ung was not formulated by T'ang Chien to criticize the order "as it actually is". It was, paradoxically, developed by T'ang to defend the order "as it actually is": to save his country from both intellectual and socio-political crisis. In a sense, this unusual characteristic of T'ang's tao-t'ung theory, which emphasized the idea of orthodoxy of Way transmission, bespeaks T'ang's great concern about the falsified meaning of tao during his time: by first Han Learning scholar and later Han-Sung syncretists. For T'ang, it is mainly this distorted interpretation of Confucian tao that the "false" transmission lineages developed by Han Learning scholars and Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianists became possible. In order to bring the true tao back into Confucian discourse and to make subsequent tao proponents understand that the nature of tao is primarily

a socio-political concern, T'ang felt compelled to clarify the definition of the idea of tao and to document those who defended and promoted this idea to constitute a meaningful transmitting "chain".

C. Hsiu-Shen: the Cultivation of One's Character

In the above, we have discussed how T'ang's idea of tao was different from the naturalistic definition of hsing (course, path, flow) which k'ao-cheng scholars claimed. In line with the orthodox Neo-Confucian interpretation, T'ang's idea of tao, which was characterized by a strong socio-political concern, was, by nature, a system which projected a methodology to achieve the dualistic ideals of both "inner sagehood" and "outer kingship". Originating in the Great Learning, this system emphasized the concept of orderly procedure in terms of implementation, namely, self-cultivation, family regulation, and universe pacification. In this sense, T'ang's idea of tao was actually involved with a dualistic concept of praxis: moral praxis (hsiu-shen) and social praxis (ching-shih). That is, for T'ang, these two concepts of praxis, rooted in the idea of tao, are two major pillars of the Confucian Way.⁷²

It is noteworthy that during T'ang's intellectually active days in the mid-19th century this dualistic concept of praxis, which stemmed out

⁷² T'ang said, we recall, that: The learning of the sage was but investigating things (ko-wu), extending knowledge (chih-chih), being sincere in hearts (ch'eng-i), rectifying hearts (cheng-hsin), cultivating persons (hsiu-shen), regulating families (ch'i-chia), well ordering states (chih-kuo), and harmonizing the universe (ping-t'ien-hsia). Those who were away from this learning were against tao. Those who could not come up to this learning were remote from tao. See T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), pp.1-2.

of the idea of tao, was absent from not only the k'ao-cheng school but also other newly emerging intellectual camps like New Text, T'ung-ch'eng, and ching-shih schools. It is true that T'ung-ch'eng scholars were mindful of the fallacies of the k'ao-cheng school which overlooked the meaning of socio-political concern in the idea of Way. However, they only came to the point of exposing the fallacies of k'ao-cheng learning and failed to implement the concept of praxis. As a result, the idea of Confucian praxis is merely a concept to T'ung-ch'eng scholars and did not become materialized to function in the real socio-political world.

As we have pointed out, the New Text school did not become intellectually significant until the emergence of K'ang Yü-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in the late 19th century. We can thus put this school aside in our discussion. With regard to the ching-shih school, we should know that this school, with Ho Ch'ang-ling and Ho's assistant Wei Yüan as leaders, was known primarily for Ho's compilation of Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien (A Literary Compilation of Statecraft in the Ch'ing Period), which was assisted by Wei Yuan. Completed in 1826 in 120 chüan, this many-time-reprinted work, which brought Ho an immeasurable reputation, consisted of collected essays written by eminent Ch'ing officials and scholars. It covered social, political, economic, and military fields. Using traditional categories, Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien included significant subjects such as hsüeh-shu (scholarship), chih-t'i (the essence of governance or the principle of governance), li-cheng (personnel management), hu-cheng (revenue management), li-cheng (Rites management), pin-cheng (war management), hsing-cheng (justice management), and kung-cheng (works management). It comprised the

traditional Six Ministries (liu-pu) plus hsüeh-shu and chih-t'i. In a broader sense, the first part of the work highlighted the principle of governance while the rest was concerned with the problem of practical methods of governance. But the latter part was more emphasized.⁷³ In short, the ching-shih school fundamentally stressed "instrumental rationality" (social praxis) rather than "substantive rationality" (moral praxis) to which the idea of hsiu-shen appealed.⁷⁴ Given the characteristics of competitive schools during the 1840s, we have reason to believe that T'ang's proposition of the idea of hsiu-shen was unique. It was also significant because of T'ang's insight into the true nature of Confucian tao.

Hsiu-shen was a concept of both theory and practice. For T'ang and other orthodox Neo-Confucianists, the idea of hsiu-shen played a more fundamental role than the idea of ching-shih in their Neo-Confucian system because the latter idea was regarded by them as merely an extension of the idea of the former. Hsiu-shen was stressed by T'ang Chien and other Neo-Confucianists for at least two reasons. First, it defined the goal of Neo-Confucianism, i.e. the ideal of the "sage-king". Second, it was involved with means. These means mainly dealt with some ascetic self-control programs which were supposed to help one clear up and purify the material force in the human self--in order to attain the

⁷³ For a general discussion of Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien, see Frederick Wakeman The Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien, Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i, 2,1:8-22, (Feb., 1969); Peter Mitchell, A further note on the HCCSWP, Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i, 2,3:40-46, (July 1970).

⁷⁴ For a discussion of instrumental and substantive rationalities, see H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, (NY: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp.298-9.

goal of the "sage-king". To understand T'ang's goal and the means of hsiu-shen, we need to first know the development of his hsiu-shen thought.

1. The Development of T'ang Chien's Idea of Hsiu-Shen

In his view of the hsiu-shen doctrine, T'ang Chien was primarily influenced by Chou Tun-i's idea of ch'eng (sincerity) and the Ch'engs' doctrine of ching (reverence). In his Hsing-shen jih-k'o (A Daily Lesson of Self-Reflection), completed during the period of his Hanlin bachelorship, T'ang displayed the impact of their moral thoughts. He said: "If one was remote from reverence, then there would be no methods of self-cultivation (tsu-hsiu kung-fu). If one was remote from sincerity, then there would be no methods of self-humility (tsu-ch'ien kung-fu)."⁷⁵ Often juxtaposed by him, these two concepts, the idea of ch'eng and the idea of ching, were regarded by T'ang as one same idea without major differences in their original connotation.⁷⁶

As an orthodox Neo-Confucianist, T'ang Chien's moral theory which emphasized a kind of asceticism was affected by Chu Hsi and Hsüeh Hsüan. In particular, he was, we were told, influenced by Chu's Chin-ssu lu (Reflections on Things at Hand) and Hsüeh Hsüan's Tu-shu lu (Notes of

⁷⁵ Hsing-shen jih-ko, collected in Hsü Shih-chang, ed. Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (The Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, ?), ch.140, p.20. But elsewhere he stressed the role of the idea of reverence, or used this idea to include the idea of sincerity. See T'ang Chien, "Ching" (On the Idea of Reverence), in his T'ang Ch'ueh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.1, p.3b.

⁷⁶ T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'ueh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.3, p.15b-16a.

Study).⁷⁷

T'ang Chien had studied Chin-ssu lu as early as the winter of 1812 when he was in his mid-30s.⁷⁸ This work was important and caused a fundamental impact on T'ang's moral thought. It seems that T'ang's Hsing-shen jih-ko, produced during this period but revised in his last years, was primarily an intellectual echo to this work of Chu Hsi. Chin-ssu lu is one of the first Neo-Confucian collections.⁷⁹ It comprised the principal thought of distinguished Northern Sung thinkers such as Chou Tun-i, the Ch'eng brothers, and Chang Tsai. It is, according to Wm. Theodore de Bary, "not only an excellent outline of their teachings but also presents the whole Neo-Confucian philosophy in a short, yet comprehensive, survey."⁸⁰ In terms of nature, this momentous composition covers issues from metaphysical problems of the substance of the Way to the dispositions of sages and worthies. It discusses subjects from the essentials of learning to the methods of teaching and from preserving one's mind-heart and nurturing one's nature to the methods of

⁷⁷ See Ho Hsi-ling's preface for T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), p.1a.

⁷⁸ T'ang admitted, in his letter to his friend Chen Hang, that after studying Chin-ssu lu, he "was very much moved by the work and thought what had acted on his behaviors before he read Chin-ssu lu were nothing but ailments and pains." He added that after studying Chin-ssu lu he then began to practice self-discipline. Yü Chen Chiu-feng shu (A letter to Chen Hang), collected in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), ch.3, pp.12a-12b.

⁷⁹ Wing-tsit Chan, "The Hsing-li cing-i and the Ch'eng-Chu School of the 17th Century", in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1975), p.569

⁸⁰ Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Introduction" for Wing-tsit Chan, tr. Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on things at hand), (NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.xxi.

self-discipline. Moreover, it brings up problems and their resolutions from the Way of regulating the family to the principles of governing the state. In short, this work comprised almost all the crucial issues from hsiu-shen to ching-shih in the Neo-Confucian system on a grand scale.

In contrast, T'ang Chien's Hsing-shen jih-ko, judged from the incompletely preserved portions, was involved with a narrow realm of ideas. Without discussing any ching-shih subject, this work mainly concerned moral practice in the context of the idea of self-cultivation. He said, for instance, "One will become broad (with his mind-heart) if (he can) remove his trivial desires; one will become open and aboveboard if (he can) purify the polluted root (in the mind-heart)." ⁸¹ That is, the goal of self-cultivation lies in the removal of improper desire within oneself. To do so, one has to, he suggested, "beware of avarice when (one) encounters profit (li), (and) beware of hypocrisy when (one) encounters celebrity." ⁸²

Out of these concerns, we can discern that T'ang's theory of hsiu-shen as seen in this work, was primarily based on Chou Tun-i's idea of sincerity and the Ch'engs' idea of reverence. He said, for instance: "An easy manner could reveal one's appearance of sincerity to the utmost. Proper behavior could disclose one's attitude of reverence to the utmost." ⁸³ To quote him again:

(If one) was not remote from reverence in ordinary times, (he

⁸¹ Hsing-shen jih-ko, collected in Hsü Shih-chang, ed. Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (The Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), ch.140,, p.22.

⁸² Ibid., p.21.

⁸³ Ibid., p.23.

would) naturally become independent and fearless. (If one) did not allow any cheating and false (ideas in the mind) even when one was alone, (he would) naturally become sincere to the utmost and ceaselessly.⁸⁴

Apparently, T'ang regarded these two ideas of sincerity and reverence as the major theme that constituted his doctrine of moral thought in the Hsing-shen jih-ko, though he did not systematically elucidate them in this work.⁸⁵

If T'ang Chien was inspired by Chu Hsi's Chin-ssu lu in his doctrine of moral thought, he was influenced by Hsüeh Hsüan in his doctrine of moral practice. T'ang was influenced by Hsüeh, and his Tu-shu lu—particularly in the idea of "returning to the nature" (fu-hsing). Hsüeh Hsüan was a Ch'eng-Chu proponent in the early Ming and emphasized the need for moral practice in the Neo-Confucian system. His hsiu-shen thought, seen from Tu-shu lu, was mainly influenced by the orthodox Sung Neo-Confucian philosophers. He was particularly inspired by their idea of "dwelling in reverence and investigating Principle to the utmost" (chü-ching ch'iuung-li).⁸⁶ But he remodeled this doctrine

⁸⁴ Ibid., ch.140, p.22.

⁸⁵ He was able to better address them elsewhere in his other works. For instance, in his letter to Ho Kwei-cheng, T'ang Chien placed the ideas of sincerity and reverence as the base of both hsiu-shen and ching-shih. T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.3, p.15b-16a.

⁸⁶ Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang chuan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-cheng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), preface of Chang Po-hsing and Chang Fu-chang. For a brief introduction of Hsüeh's philosophy, see Huang Tsung-hsi, Ming-ju hsüeh-an (An intellectual history of Ming scholars), (Taipei, Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1961), ch.7, pp.43-44. For a modern interpretation of his thought, see Wu K'ang, Sung-ming li-hsüeh (Sung-Ming Neo-Confucianism), (Taipei: Hua-kuo, 1977), pp.299-301.

into his idea of "returning to the nature".

In the Ch'eng-Chu tradition, the idea of reverence (ching), (often, it was meant to include the implication of the idea of sincerity), and the idea of knowledge (chih) were regarded as two major keys to the door of moral philosophy of hsiu-shen. However, to exert reverence (yung-ching) and to broaden knowledge to the utmost (chih-chih), two indispensable dual avenues of hsiu-shen in the Ch'eng-Chu system, were simplified by Hsüeh into one as "returning to the nature" (fu-hsing).⁸⁷ To Hsüeh, both approaches were supposed to illustrate the Heaven-conferred nature in an individual (ming-hsing).⁸⁸ But the idea of ming-hsing was merely a means. The goal of this idea was fu-hsing or "returning to the nature". In his words, "The methods taught by the ancient sage-kings were nothing but to return to the nature."⁸⁹ In short, Confucian learning to him was nothing but the learning of illustrating the nature and returning to the nature. This act of simplifying Confucian and Neo-Confucian learning into one single idea of "returning to the nature", virtually disregarded the rationalistic approach of the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian tradition of "broadening

⁸⁷ Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (An intellectual history of the Ming), (Taipei: Taiwan Kai-ming shu-tien, 1973), p.15.

⁸⁸ He said: "In order to preserve and nourish one's Heaven-conferred nature (han-yang), one should exert reverence. Why? It is but to save the nature. In order to enter upon studies (chin-hsüeh), one should broaden knowledge to the utmost. Why? It is but to illustrate the nature." See Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.6, p.2a. See also, Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (An intellectual history of the Ming), (Taipei: Taiwan K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1973), p.15.

⁸⁹ See Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (An Intellectual History of the Ming), (Taipei: Taiwan K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1973), p.15.

knowledge to the utmost".

To Hsüeh, "returning to the Heaven-conferred nature" was for the purpose of, so-called, "preserving the Heavenly Principle" (t'sun-t'ien-li). To do so, one had to "restrain his desires" (eh-jen-yü).⁹⁰ That is, one had to clear up and purify the material force in the human self so as to make one's true self shine forth and thereby also to restore the spiritual unity with the Heavenly Way. Since fu-hsing and ming-hsing were treated by him as the highest values in the Neo-Confucian system, the guarding of thought was thus regarded by him as the most vital task to be practiced in the moral philosophy of self-cultivation.⁹¹ He said: "The most crucial thing in learning is to restrain and break off the improper thoughts just when they arise."⁹² To guard one's thought means the restraint of affection in an individual. It is, to be sure, supposed to lessen one's desires and faults. To Hsüeh, fu-hsing and ming-hsing were not abstract metaphysical concepts but, more importantly, something that needed to be put into daily practice. "The crux of study lies," as he put it, "not in making plenty of opinions (wei-hsüeh pu-tsai tuo-yen) but in how well one practices (the moral philosophy of self-cultivation)."⁹³ It is rightly Hsüeh's praxis-centered moral thought, which had fundamentally influenced T'ang Chien,

⁹⁰ Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.5, p.10a.

⁹¹ Jung Chao-tsu, *ibid*, p. 16.

⁹² Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.5, p.8b.

⁹³ *Ibid*, ch.5, p.9b.

that constitutes the major characteristic of T'ang Chien's hsiu-shen doctrine.

2. The Characteristics of T'ang Chien's Hsiu-Shen Doctrine

In his view of moral praxis, T'ang Chien specified two major ascetic approaches in his hsiu-shen doctrine: kua-yü (lessening desires) and kua-kuo (lessening faults). Both ascetic approaches characterized T'ang Chien's praxis-centered doctrine of hsiu-shen, because T'ang primarily regarded the nucleus of hsiu-shen as an ascetic process of self-discipline. T'ang best showed this viewpoint in his interview with emperor Hsien-feng (r. 1851-1861). Asked by the emperor for the secrets of his regimen, T'ang, over seventy in age but still in good shape and health, answered politely: "'Restraining one's wrath and repressing one's desires' (ch'eng-fen chih-yü), and 'moving to good and correcting one's mistakes' (ch'ien-shan kai-kuo)". It was said that the emperor was very impressed on hearing that.⁹⁴

T'ang Chien's viewpoint of self-discipline, seen in the context of lessening desires and faults, was best presented in his Hsing-shen jih-k'o. Characterized by moral reflections of self-indictment (tzu-sung) and self-reproach (tzu-tse), this work was a memorandum and record of T'ang's practice of ascetic self-discipline. He claimed, for instance:

⁹⁴ T'ang Erh-tzao, Hsing-shu (A biography of T'ang Chien), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), p.6b. Ch'eng-fen chih-yü (to restrain one's anger and lusts), ch'ien-shan (to move toward good) and kai-kuo (to correct one's mistakes) are originally quotations from the Book of Changes, commentaries on hexagram no. 1 (ch'ien), no.41 (sun), and no.42 (i). Cf. James Legge, tr., respectively. But T'ang's quotation here is, definitely, coming from Chou Tun-i's saying in Chin-shih-lu, chap.v, item 1. Cf. Wing-tsit Chen's translation and notes, p.154.

Did I make any fault in my talks? If I did, then I need to think of the causes of this mistake: of no benevolence; of no righteousness; of no propriety; of no credibility; of wrath; or of making fun? Get to the point where the faults stem from in the mind-heart and then restrain them from there in the mind-heart.⁹⁵

Mindful of the evil of passion which caused faults in the individual, T'ang repeatedly reminded himself, and his readers, of the danger of desires.

(If one could) obliterate miscellaneous desires, (he would therefore) naturally become wide and profound (in his mind). (If one could) clean up the root of pollution, (he would therefore) naturally become bright (in his heart).⁹⁶

T'ang paid special attention to this problem of desires in his essay Chih-yü shuo (On Restraining the Lusts). Since desires were related to thought in oneself, T'ang warned in this piece that a matter as simple as a single thought could decide whether one was to be a sage-worthy or otherwise.⁹⁷ Accordingly, desire was compared by him in dreadfulness to a flood. "If one did not restrain when the desire just raised up, it would be like resisting the bursting of the dikes without doing any defence-works."⁹⁸ T'ang made his words clear that there was no ground where one could compromise with desires.

But desires stemmed from affection (ch'ing) and according to T'ang, one could not live without affection. In other words, one could

⁹⁵ Hsing-shen jih-ko, in Hsü Shih-Ch'ang, ed., Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual History of Ch'ing Scholars), ch.140, p.19.

⁹⁶ Ibid., ch.140, p.22.

⁹⁷ T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.2, pp.24b-25b.

⁹⁸ Ibid, ch.2, pp.24b-26a.

hardly live without desires. In this regard, T'ang followed Chu Hsi to take a rational stance. Chu Hsi believed that the emergence of human desires was because of the poor compliance of one's mind-heart with the Heavenly Principle.⁹⁹ Echoing Chu Hsi, T'ang contended: "That affection was sent forth by nature (hsing), therefore it should be in accord with Principle (li). If there was a lack of Principle, then desire would raise up."¹⁰⁰ This implies that if one could be in accord with the Heavenly Way, then there would be no such thing as desires in the individual. If there were no desires in the individual, one would become wrath-free. In short, if one could be free from desires and wrath, one was getting close to sagehood.

Accordingly, the purpose of restraining desires was to make one become "desire-free" (wu-yü) and "wrath-free" (wu-fen). Only when one was totally desire-free and wrath-free, could Principle (li) then become illustrious, and could the nature or hsing be therefore returned in an individual.¹⁰¹ T'ang said:

Those who seek quiescence (ching), should keep in mind that if there is wrath (rising up in oneself), it should be restrained; if there is a desire (coming up), it should be repressed. If one can restrain again and again, (one should be able to) become wrath free (wu-fen). If one can repress again and again, (one should be able to) become desire free (wu-yü). (Consequently,) the principle (of Tao) will thus become illustrious and (human) nature will be

⁹⁹ Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu yü-lei (Classified conversations of Master Chu), (Taipei: Cheng-chung Book Co., 1962), ch.13, vol.1, p.514.

¹⁰⁰ T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.2, pp.24b-26a.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, ch.3, p.8b.

returned.¹⁰²

Here T'ang had made it clear that the purpose of "restraining desires and wrath" was to "return to the nature"(fu-hsing). By "returning to the nature", T'ang followed Mencius and meant that if one has exhausted all his mental constitution, he can know his nature. And if one has known his nature, he can know Heaven. In other words, an individual was born with the virtue of goodness within his nature. If one could well develop this virtue of goodness, he could partake of the nature of Heaven and metaphysically be united with Heaven.

What we must ask here is: what is the ultimate factor which triggers the desires in an individual? After his numerous practices, T'ang Chien agreed with the Neo-Confucian tradition that it is one's mind-heart and its functions that caused desires and wrath. T'ang argued, in his essay Ch'eng-fen cheng (Admonition of Restraining one's Wrath), that the mind-heart was the origin and base of one's indignation. He first criticized indignation in the individual:

Ch'ien was known as father, Kun was known as mother, what did they own me? Other people are like my siblings, things are like my associates, what did they offend me? Without any particular reason one complained about the Heaven; without any particular reason one complained about other persons; (when) turning and seeking for the causes in oneself, I was virtually of no benevolence.¹⁰³

He then pointed out the problem of desires and wrath in an individual lay in one's mind-heart:

¹⁰² Ti Wang Jung-fu shen-sheng shu Chu-Ko Wu-hou chieh-tze-shu hou (After Prefacing Mr. Wang Chung's Calligraphy of "Chu-Ko Liang's Commandment Letter to His Son"), see Ibid, ch.3, p.8b.

¹⁰³ T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.3, pp.6a-6b.

What made one's temper perverse; made one's countenance stern; made one's speech hasty; made one's hand and feet act disorderly; made one's behavior unrestrained, were all due to the perverseness of one's mind-heart.¹⁰⁴

That is, to lessen one's indignation one should, according to T'ang, learn to control and regulate one's mind-heart. In other words, a matter of self-discipline was simply a matter of mind-heart regulation. As we have seen, the job of mind-heart regulation could only be attained by the two major ascetic approaches: kua-yü (lessening desires) and kua-kuo (lessening faults).

D. Ching-Shih: The Realization of an Orderly World

Indeed, the Neo-Confucian ascetic praxis of self-discipline is primarily for this purpose: to clear up and purify the material force in the human self so as to make one's true self shine forth and thereby also to restore spiritual unity with the Heavenly Way. That is, to be unified with Heaven one has to undertake a process of "inward transcendence", which was embodied in the ascetic praxis of self-discipline. This process of "inward transcendence" was also known as a process of the realization of morality or ch'eng-teh. In the Neo-Confucian tradition, the realization of morality was involved with two aspects: the accomplishment of personal morality (ch'eng-chi) and, thereafter, the accomplishment of morality of other men and things (ch'eng-wu). The former concept was well spelled out in the idea of hsiu-shen, while the latter concept was systematically formulated in the

104 Ibid.

idea of ching-shih.¹⁰⁵

As the term implies, ching-shih was an abbreviation of ching-shih chi-ming which means managing the world and saving the people. In imperial China, what distinguished Confucianism as a dominant philosophy from Taoism and Buddhism was not so much the idea of hsiu-shen as the idea of ching-shih. In contrast to the emphasis of other-worldliness in Buddhist traditions, the Confucian idea of ching-shih was a value-commitment to this-worldly activism and participation. Characterized by Confucian humanism, the idea of ching-shih concerned the establishment of an ideal order in this world and the definition of an ideal order.¹⁰⁶ In other words, this this-worldly activism was supposed to implement the establishment of order "as it ought to be".

1. Ching-Shih as an Extension of Hsiu-Shen

In the Neo-Confucian system, the accomplishment of personal morality (ch'eng-chi), or the idea of hsiu-shen, was regarded as an "internal" virtue, while the accomplishment of morality of other men and things (ch'eng-wu), or the idea of ching-shih, was seen as an "external"

¹⁰⁵ In this regard, T'ang Chien quoted the Doctrine of the Mean to support himself: "The completing himself (ch'eng-chi) shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things (ch'eng-wu) shows his knowledge. Both these are virtues belonging to the nature (hsing), and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he--the entirely sincere man--employs them,--that is, these virtues,--their action will be right." This passage can be seen in The Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Culture Book Co. 1979), p.97. And T'ang's quotation can be seen in his T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A Collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1972), ch.1, p.16b.

¹⁰⁶ Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism" Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), pp.36-37.

virtue. The Confucian Way was a "union" of these two virtues.¹⁰⁷ Following this view, T'ang Chien, and other orthodox Neo-Confucianists as well, reckoned the "internal" virtue as the root of the "external" virtue, or put it the other way, the idea of ching-shih was the extension of the idea of hsiu-shen, though both were seen by T'ang and others as the indispensable pillars of the Way.¹⁰⁸

In the Neo-Confucian tradition, the idea of ching-shih was primarily discussed in two major portions: chih-tao, (the principle of governance) and chih-fa (the method of governance).¹⁰⁹ Ch'eng I, the great Neo-Confucian master in the Northern Sung, was one of the first Neo-Confucianists to make a valid distinction between the two.¹¹⁰ To

¹⁰⁷ The Doctrine of the Mean, in The Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Culture Book Co. 1979), p.97.

¹⁰⁸ The orthodox Neo-Confucianists held that the school of Neo-Confucianism would be no different from the Legalist school if they simply stressed the idea of ching-shih and disregarded the idea of hsiu-shen. They also believed that Neo-Confucianism would be no different from Buddhism and Taoism if they simply emphasized the idea of hsiu-shen and disregarded the idea of ching-shih. They thus argued the indispensability of both ideas in the Neo-Confucian system. See Chang Hao, Sung-Ming i-lai ju-chia ching-shih ssu-hsiang shih-shih (A Preliminary Interpretation of Confucian Ching-shih Idea Since the Sung and Ming), Seminar on Modern Chinese Ching-shih Idea, (Taipei: Institute of Modern China, Academica Sinica, 1984), p.7.

¹⁰⁹ Chih-tao was also known as chih-t'i (the essence of governance).

¹¹⁰ He first defined the idea of chih-tao: "What is concerned in everything from managing the self (chih-shen) and regulating the family to bringing peace to the world is principles of governance." After defining chih-tao, he went on to define the idea of chih-fa: "What is concerned in everything from instituting fundamental laws of government (chih-kang), differentiating and rectifying the various offices of government, and starting various activities according to the seasons, to creating institutions and establishing systems, thus covering all the affairs of the world, is methods of governance." See Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), compiled by Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, and translated by Wing-tsit Chan, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press,

Ch'eng I, chih-tao belonged to the category of morality and ethics while chih-fa fell into the category of institutions and laws. He believed that these two components were inseparable in terms of the attainment of the Way of sage-kings. In his words: "The way in which the sage governs the world consists of these two items alone."¹¹¹

In the Neo-Confucian thought of T'ang Chien, and most of his followers' in the 19th century as well, the principle of governance and the method of governance became virtually one thing and it was heavily loaded with a moral concern. To T'ang, the methods of governance, institutions, and laws were all natural products of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. He did not discern a distinction between the two. Rather, he put both concepts within ching-shih thought in the category of moral philosophy of self-cultivation. In other words, he regarded the idea of ching-shih as an extension of the idea of hsiu-shen. Dominated by moral thought, T'ang believed that the idea of ching-shih needed to be governed by the idea of hsiu-shen. He held that the idea of ching-shih was only part of Confucian moral thought, or in his words, part of i-li (moral philosophy of self-cultivation).¹¹² He best expressed this view in his talk with Tseng Kuo-fan in 1841. T'ang said, we recall:

There were merely three approaches toward scholarship; namely, i-li (moral philosophy), kao-ho (textual criticism), and wen-chang (literary works).¹¹³ The learning of kao-ho usually sought

1967), p.211.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² See Hao Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) p.15.

¹¹³ These three categories were more well known as i-li, k'ao-chü (textual criticism), tz'u-chang (political literature).

after vulgarity and missed the essence (ch'iu-ts'u ehr i-ching), and looked (at the sky) through a tube and measured (the sea) with a calabash (kuan-k'wei ehr li-ts'e). The learning of wen-chang could not be refined without mastering the learning of i-li; and the learning of ching-shih was then within the learning of i-li.¹¹⁴

Although the idea of ching-shih was regarded by T'ang as one of the two major pillars to constitute the Way, the learning of this idea was not included in the three major approaches toward Confucian scholarship. He did not regard the idea of ching-shih as an independent factor in the Confucian system as the ching-shih school did. According to T'ang, the "learning of ching-shih", or in his word, ching-chi, was within the learning of "moral philosophy" of self-cultivation.¹¹⁵ That is, if one could achieve the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, one would naturally command the approach to achieve ching-shih.

This vision of regarding the learning of ching-shih as a part of the learning of moral philosophy, surely follows the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition which held that the external ching-shih needed to be shepherded by the internal hsiu-shen. According to the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean, two major Neo-Confucian canons, the Confucian system was developed from within toward without: self-

¹¹⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan jih-chi (A Diary of Tseng Kuo-fan), in Tseng Kuo-fan chun-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan) (Changsha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu she, 1987), Diary vol.1, p.92.

¹¹⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Tz'a chu (Miscellaneous volume), ed. by Li Han-chang, (Taipei: Wen-hai, reprinted), p.17284. However, to acquire the "learning of ching-shih", T'ang Chien said, one needed to study histories because they stored plentiful, invaluable experiences and information created by great men of the past and they contained detailed descriptions of magnificent institutions of the previous glorious dynasties. See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol.1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.92.

cultivation, then family regulation, and finally the pacification of the universe.¹¹⁶ This from-within-toward-without moralistic vision suggests that ching-shih as a sort of this-worldly activism can be attained only within the framework of morality.

2. The Attitude toward Utility

The aim of ching-shih as a sort of this-worldly activism was to attain the immediate goal of improving substantially the welfare of the people. This was a primary aspect of "the method of governance" (chih-fa) which was to serve the moral purpose of realizing "the principle of governance" (chih-tao). With regard to the idea of chih-fa, Neo-Confucianism contained a sort of "instrumental rationality". This "instrumental rationality" was involved with some technical skills, mainly in the field of bureaucratic matters, which dealt with empirical observation, and thereafter accepting empirical lessons. Because of the nature of technical skills, Neo-Confucianism seen in the idea of chih-fa concerned with cost and effect, and, therefore, stressed the principle of cost and interest.¹¹⁷

T'ang's interest in "instrumental rationality" was, to be sure, associated with the rising ching-shih thought in the early 19th century.

¹¹⁶ For instance, The Great Learning said: "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons...." See The Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), pp.4-5.

¹¹⁷ Chang Hao, Sung-Ming i-lai ju-chia ching-shih ssu-hsiang shih-shih (A Preliminary Interpretation of Confucian Ching-shih Idea Since the Sung and Ming), Seminar on Modern Chinese Ching-shih Idea, (Taipei: Institute of Modern China, Academia Sinica, 1984), p.17.

During the 1820s when opium trading and the foreign threat in Canton mounted in intensity, Juan Yüan (then governor-general) and scholars of the Hsüeh-hai T'ang, which was established by Juan in 1820, were drawn into foreign affairs and the problem of opium trafficking in Southeast China. But Juan and his Hsüeh-hai T'ang faculty were unable to develop a practical policy to contain the foreign threat.¹¹⁸ As a member of the staff in Juan's yamen between 1824-26, Fang Tung-shu was privileged to witness the evil of the opium trade. Viewing the unsuccessful policies employed by Han Learning scholars in the 1820s, Fang Tung-shu who became a member of secretarial staff of Governor-general of Teng T'ing-chen (1776-1846) in 1837, recommended to Teng the complete eradication of the opium evil. It was said that Fang even advised Teng to assassinate Charles Elliot, the British Superintendent of Trade.¹¹⁹ Taken together with both the k'ao-cheng and T'ung-ch'eng schools involvement with the opium problem, it is natural to suggest that all major intellectual schools in the early 19th century tended to take a new turn toward ching-shih concerns.

T'ang Chien's ching-shih thought, which was presented within a socio-political concern, seems to have been developed prior to the rise of the opium problem. In this regard, T'ang's attitude toward the notion of "utility" (li) in his ching-shih thought can be discussed from two periods: his Hanlin bachelorship (1809-1811) and the period of his

¹¹⁸ Benjamin A. Elman, From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p.244.

¹¹⁹ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.238-9.

career fluctuation in the 1820's and 1830's. Historically, T'ang's "instrumental" view in his ching-shih thought in the first period was a "theoretical" orientation--compared with his "pragmatic" orientation in the second period. In the latter period, during his bureaucratic career as a local or regional administrator, T'ang developed this "instrumental" view in his ching-shih thought, primarily because his jobs involved frequent contacts with peasants.

T'ang's "instrumental" view in his ching-shih thought first emerged in his study of an agricultural irrigation project during his Hanlin bachelorship in his early 30s. As a practical consideration, T'ang noticed that the huge area of unused land around the capital might be turned to constructive production and thus ease the state's financial difficulties if the central government had it irrigated. He therefore did research on that problem by turning to historical literature for references and by making an empirical investigation into the irrigation system in the capital area himself.¹²⁰ As a result, he completed a report entitled the Chi-fu shui-li shu (A Study of Irrigation in the Capital Area).

To implement this project, T'ang, in one of his memorials to the Hsien-feng Emperor, suggested that the Ch'ing ruler select a couple of persons from among his ministers, who were familiar with rice-field irrigation, to take charge. He estimated the expenditure in the first year would be around 100,000 to 200,000 silver liang. But "in the next year the already-become-rice-field could reap a good harvest. Year after

¹²⁰ T'ang Chien, T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), chüan-shou, pp.6a-6b.

year, interest would accumulate interest...The way of making profit would be no greater than this."¹²¹ However, his rather idealistic suggestion was not approved.

Although T'ang's project was not accepted by the government, he did not discontinue the development of this kind of "instrumental" view. In his later period of serving as a local administrator, T'ang Chien developed a more practical view in this regard to meet his ideal of "managing the world and saving the people." This view often involved consideration of improving irrigation for the peasants. In a brief piece, "An Instruction Exhorting People Digging Ponds for the Cultivation of Rice Fields" (ch'uan-min k'ai-t'ang chih-t'ien shih), for instance, he advised the peasants not to expect a "timely rain" (ling-yü) during the drought periods, but to dig ponds in advance for the future." He said, if one could be well prepared by digging ponds for the rice fields, he should be able to "have a nice profit of more than several times" (mei-li shu-pei).¹²²

Not content with giving advice, T'ang introduced practicable methods to peasants. For instance, in his essays "Four Ways to Dig a Pond" (kai-t'ang ssu-fa), T'ang distinguished four key steps in digging an economic yet good pond: 1)to study a suitable location (hsiang-ti-yi); 2)to receive a water resource (ying-shui-yüan); 3)to build a pond jetty (chu-t'ang-chi); and lastly 4)to refine a pond base (lien-t'ang-

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ch'üan-min k'ai-t'ang chih-t'ien shih (An instruction to exhorting people digging ponds for the cultivation of rice field), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.5, pp.18a-b.

ti).¹²³ After pond digging, there was the matter of the cultivation of rice fields. In sequence, we find his instruction-essay known as Chih-t'ien ssu-fa (Four Ways to Manage a Rice Field). It proposed four practical measures to manage a rice field: 1)the method of rice-field cultivation (ken-t'ien fa), 2)the method of "drawing white water" (ta pai-shui fa), 3)the method of dragging a rice-field path (ch'e t'ien-ken fa), and 4)the method of digging drains (kai-kou fa).¹²⁴ This shows he was not only interested in the idea of innovation but also the practical welfare of peasants.

T'ang Chien's "instrumental" view in his ching-shih thought falls, indeed, into the category of chih-fa or the method of governance. The idea of "instrumental rationality" endorsed within this category, was supposed to serve a moral concern: the improvement of social welfare. In other words, chih-fa as a means needed to be regulated by a moral end, even though it might involve some non-moralistic, practical methods to maintain an orderly world.

3. Jen-Ts'ai: Men of Ability in the Context of Men of Morality

To participate politics in order to "manage the world and save the people" requires more than practical spirit like "instrumental rationality". It needs the "chosen persons" to implement the ching-shih programs which were associated with "instrumental rationality". In this

¹²³ K'ai-t'ang ssu-fa (Four ways to dig a pond), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.5, pp.18b-19b.

¹²⁴ Chih-t'ien ssu-fa (Four ways to manage a rice field), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), ch.5, pp.19b-20a.

regard, these chosen persons were known, in Neo-Confucian terms, as jen-ts'ai (talented person, men of ability, or fit person). Combining both the virtue of morality and talent, a jen-ts'ai was supposed to balance himself between two poles: the inner dimension of hsiu-shen and the outer dimension of ching-shih. Out of this balance, people of jen-ts'ai status were supposed to defend and serve institutions for the purpose of stable government and social harmony.

The idea of jen-ts'ai was stressed by the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism. It was particularly discussed in the chapter on chih-fa (methods of governance) in the Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand). Ch'eng Hao, for instance, once proposed this idea to the emperor: "The foundation of government is to make public morals and customs correct and to get virtuous and talented men to serve".¹²⁵ To do so, Ch'eng Hao suggested the criteria to select jen-ts'ai for the court:

All scholars are to be chosen to serve on the basis of their correct and pure character, their filial piety and brotherly respect demonstrated at home, their sense of integrity, shame, propriety, and humility, their intelligence and scholarship, and their understanding of the principles of governance.¹²⁶

All these criteria for selecting men of ability were morality oriented, the capability to handle administrative affairs was a secondary qualification.

T'ang's emphasis on jen-ts'ai was surely inspired by the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism. Following the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition, T'ang saw the idea of jen-ts'ai as a category of chih-fa in

¹²⁵ Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), tr. by Wing-tsit Chan, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.219.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.220.

ching-shih thought--especially when he considered the Ch'ing empire's humiliation, both militarily and diplomatically, from the invasion of foreign imperialism, and various social unrest and economic crises. The importance of this idea was best seen in an interview with the emperor. Once asked by the emperor Hsien-feng what the priority job of current political affairs was, T'ang suggested the matter of jen-ts'ai as the top priority (jen-ts'ai wei-hsien).¹²⁷ The idea of jen-ts'ai here was meant by T'ang as persons able to "pacify the riot and well govern (a given region)" (k'an-luan ting-chih), and the person who was qualified to meet these criteria was Tseng Kuo-fan.¹²⁸

But what kinds of talent should a jen-ts'ai possess according to T'ang Chien's idea of chih-fa? In this regard, T'ang Chien proposed four ordinances for future men of ability in his essay Tao-hsiang shu-yuan hsüeh-kwei (The Ordinance of Tao-hsiang Academy): li-chih (setting the goal); ch'in-hsüeh (earnestness in study); ching-shih (to reverence the teacher); and lastly, che-yu (to choose company).¹²⁹ Putting li-chih as the first criteria for jen-ts'ai was a Neo-Confucian tradition. It also needs to be pointed out that li-chih was no simple act of decision making. It was a task of goal setting which would decide the direction

¹²⁷ T'ang Erh-tzao, Hsing-shu (A biography of T'ang Chien), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972,) p.7b.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.7b. Concurring with T'ang on the current critical situation, the emperor asked if there were any proper persons to meet the immediate need for the prevailing crises. After thinking twice, T'ang reluctantly recommended but one person--Tseng Kuo-fan. See Ibid., pp.8a-b.

¹²⁹ Tao-hsiang shu-yuan hsüeh-kwei ssu-che (The four ordinances of Tao-hsiang Academy), in T'ang Ch'üeh-shen kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), ch.5, pp.12a-13b.

of an intellectual-student (shih-tze); whether he would turn into a sage (hsi-sheng) and become as perfect as Heaven (hsi-t'ien), or otherwise. When a goal was set, the learning program for an intellectual-student could thus be meaningful and a promising future for an intellectual-student could then be expected.¹³⁰ That is, this resolution was not one of aiming at a given profession--which the k'ao-cheng school emphasized. Rather, it was a moralistic goal of a person aimed toward the manifestation of moral consciousness--which is concerned more about human activities than the idea of "intellectualism" of k'ao-cheng learning.

T'ang's emphasis on moral consciousness does not necessarily mean that he defended his moral thought from an anti-intellectual stance. He did recognize the value and necessity of intellectualism, but this intellectualism needed to be conditioned within a socio-moral concern. It is from this perspective that he annotated his idea of ch'in-hsüeh (earnestness in study). T'ang asserted that with earnestness one would not discontinue his study upon learning the Book of Odes (Shih-ching), and the Book of Documents (Shu-ching). However, to study the Odes and Documents is, he asserted, not to investigate intellectualism. Rather, it is a task to explore the idea of i-li (moral philosophy) in the texts of those canons.¹³¹ Indeed, this notion was primarily a response to his earlier view (in 1841) that moral philosophy was the base of evidential research.

As for reverence toward teachers, this was rooted in the widely

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.12a.

¹³¹ Ibid, pp.12a-b.

accepted notion that where there was a severe teacher there was a revered Way (shih-yen jan-hou tao-tsun). It was related to a Neo-Confucian preconception that a teacher was presumably a tao transmitter, and the idea of tao could be honored by students only when a teacher, a tao bearer, was first respected by students. This regulation was designed to enforce the authority of an educator, and, more importantly, to let students be pious and respectful toward the knowledge given out by their instructors.¹³² Finally, for the matter of choosing company, a student should, T'ang claimed, follow what was given by his teacher. A student should also practice with his companions what they were taught by their teachers in order to morally refine himself as much as possible.¹³³

From the above, we find that jen-ts'ai, supposedly a practical concept understood in the context of method of governance, was approached by T'ang in a highly moral fashion. On the first day of becoming a jen-ts'ai, a student was, in T'ang's program, already required to set his goal of becoming as moral a man as a sage. All other guidelines, like earnestness in study, reverencing teachers, and choosing company, were created to realize this moralistic goal.

This morality-centered view of jen-ts'ai was even more obvious in a parting essay written for Ho Chang-ling: Tseng Ho Ou-keng t'ai-shih t'i-hsüeh shan-hsi hsü (A Parting Composition Preface to Superintendent of Training at Shan-hsi, Hanlin Academy Compiler Ho Chang-ling). T'ang believed that because a man of ability would be in charge of statecraft,

¹³² Ibid, pp.12b-13a.

¹³³ Ibid, pp.13a-b.

a jen-ts'ai should be full of morality and his sincerity and seriousness should fit into other men's requirement in order to be qualified as an official.¹³⁴ Based on this general consideration, T'ang Chien proposed nine articles to implement his suggestion: 1)chih-shen (to cultivate oneself); 2)ch'ü-yü (to select friends); 3)li-chiao (to establish teaching); 4)yü-ts'ai (to foster talent); 5)tuan-shih-hsi (to position an intellectual-student's habits); 6)tsuo-shih-ch'i (to generate an intellectual-student's spirit of courage); 7)shen-ts'ai-fang (to be cautious in selecting and visiting company or comrades); 8)shen-ch'ü-she (to be careful in choosing men of ability); and lastly, 9)ch'iung-pi-tou (to investigate cheating on the examination).¹³⁵

Again, moral concern was put at the top of all guidelines in the program of training a jen-ts'ai. Morality was far more important than practical ability for a jen-ts'ai. In this sense, T'ang's arrangement of locating chih-shen (to cultivate oneself) in the first position was thus, by no means, without significance. According to T'ang, the major job of a bureaucrat, who was supposed to implement the authority of the government, was to rectify the behavioral errors of the common people. To do this, he needed to have an honorable, proper, moral personality. That is, the important thing for a bureaucrat was not only to foster a qualified talent to govern, but also to make himself a decent moral example, presumably to guide society toward order. In short, a jen-ts'ai was, according to T'ang, supposed to balance himself between inner moral concern and outer empirical talents.

¹³⁴ Ibid, ch.2, pp.11b-12a.

¹³⁵ Ibid, pp.11b-16b.

The idea of jen-ts'ai might be more conceptual than substantial for T'ang as well for other Neo-Confucianists, it was, however, materialized by Tseng Kuo-fan in his mu-fu (secretarial staff) system. Founded as an institute to recruit the men of ability, mu-fu, as a kind of "think tank" for Tseng Kuo-fan, played an influential role in not only Tseng's campaigns of pacifying the Taiping rebellion but also the modernization movement which Tseng patronized during the T'ung-chih Restoration period (1862-1874). As crucial as it was for Tseng's career, it was mu-fu as an organization which best presented the Neo-Confucian idea of jen-ts'ai that was closely associated with Tseng's name in the late Ch'ing.¹³⁶

E. Conclusion

Throughout his life, T'ang Chien's political and intellectual activities were characterized by a deep concern for morality. Building on his orthodox Neo-Confucian heritage, this moral concern was marked by a dualistic praxis: moral praxis and social praxis. The former praxis, i.e. hsiu-shen, emphasized the idea of ascetic praxis such as "lessening

¹³⁶ One of the famous examples of Tseng's mu-fu system in recruiting men of ability was his discovery of Hsüeh Fu-ch'eng (1838-94), a distinguished diplomat in the late Ch'ing. In 1865 when Tseng Kuo-fan was charged with the task of subduing the Nien bandits, bulletins were posted in various places appealing for men of ability to help in the task. In response to this call, Hsüeh submitted to Tseng a long letter giving his opinion on the problems confronting the nation. Tseng was pleased with the suggestions and invited Hsüeh to join his mu-fu. See Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp.331-2. For a discussion of mu-fu system, see T'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Local Government in China under the Ch'ing (Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 93-115. For a discussion of Tseng's mu-fu system, see Li Ting-fang, ed., Tseng Kuo-fan chi ch'i mu-fu jen-wu (Tseng Kuo-fan and his Secretarial Staff), (Ch'ang-sha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1985), passim.

desires and faults", and the latter, i.e. ching-shih, was crystallized in the notion of this-worldly activism. Following the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian tradition, T'ang regarded ching-shih thought as an extension of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, although both the idea of hsiu-shen and ching-shih were regarded by him as the two major pillars of the Way. To T'ang, hsiu-shen thought stressed not only moral substance, like the idea of sincerity and reverence, but also ascetic practice, such as "restraining lusts and wrath".

T'ang Chien's formula of hsiu-shen and ching-shih was developed to primarily defend his idea of Confucian tao which was, in his eyes, distorted by the major intellectual schools during his time. In particular, tao as a meaningful system, which was constituted by the inward-bent idea of hsiu-shen and the outward-bent idea of ching-shih, was spelled out by T'ang to oppose two great intellectual adversaries: k'ao-cheng learning, which has been the intellectual mainstream since 18th century, and Lu-Wang learning, which reemerged in the guise of Han-Sung syncretism in the early 19th century.

For T'ang, the dimming of the light of Confucian tao since the 18th century was primarily because of three major factors. The first was the popularity of Han Learning's intellectualism which dismissed the spirit of Confucianism's socio-moral concern. Closely related to this intellectualism of k'ao-cheng learning was the falsification of the true spirit of tao by Han Learning scholars--the interpretation of the idea of tao as a kind of naturalistic monism. Rejecting the idea of

transcendence which tao was supposed to embrace,¹³⁷ Han Learning scholars regarded the idea of tao as a naturalistic hsing (course, path, flow) which was constituted by successive movement of the materialistic concepts of Yin and Yang--the inactive and active operations. Misinterpreting the Confucian tao as a naturalistic hsing, k'ao-cheng followers were therefore involved with the establishment of the tao transmission of Han Learning. Taken together, these three factors, i.e. the popularity of intellectualism, the naturalistic interpretation of the idea of tao, and the establishment of Han Learning's Way transmission, were the immediate reasons which caused T'ang Chien's formulation of the absolutism of the idea of tao.

While T'ang was applying Sung Learning to oppose Han Learning, he did not forget the other major enemy within the wall of Sung Learning: the Lu-Wang school. Unlike Han Learning scholars who disregarded socio-moral concern, Lu-Wang scholars highlighted, like the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists, moral philosophy and its praxis. As a paradox, this will add a confusion of identification to the students of Confucianism on both the true spirit of the idea of tao and the nature of orthodox Neo-Confucianism. Mindful of this hazard, T'ang thus strove to distinguish Lu-Wang from Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism by defining the latter's unique, yet systematic, approach to exploring the Way. Rejecting the false approach of "innate knowledge" of the Lu-Wang school, T'ang believed that the true tao can only be attained by undertaking the model presented in the Great Learning, namely, self-cultivation, family

¹³⁷ Namely, the transcendental principle (li) and, in Mencian tradition, the transcendental mind-heart of an individual.

regulation, and the pacification of the universe. It is from this stance of opposing heterodox thought that the sense of "exclusiveness" was spelled out by T'ang in his tao-t'ung formula to sternly exclude Lu-Wang thought from orthodox Neo-Confucianism.

In short, T'ang's proposition of orthodox Neo-Confucianism was an intellectual response to his time. It was for two reasons: to respond to the mounting socio-political crisis on the one hand, and to respond to the intellectual anomie of his time on the other hand. Even though T'ang had bravely drafted his blueprint of a program for the restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, the implementation of that program awaited extraordinary figures like Wo-jen and Tseng Kuo-fan.

CHAPTER III

WO-JEN: MORALITY AND STATECRAFT

"Managing the state relies on getting rid of mean ministers while practicing self-cultivation relies on getting rid of desires." Wo-jen

When Wo-jen (1804-1871) met T'ang Chien in the year of 1840, he was, in his late 30s, serving as an examiner in the metropolitan examinations in Peking. As an enthusiastic supporter of Lu-Wang philosophy, he was told by T'ang Chien that the approach toward Confucian learning should rely exclusively on Ch'eng-Chu's "chü-ching ch'iung-li" (dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost), and that anything other than this were all false approaches. Struck at hearing that, Wo-jen soon converted to the Ch'eng-Chu learning and began to practice the doctrine of ch'eng (sincerity or authenticity) in the year of 1840.¹

Wo-jen was not only attracted by T'ang Chien's Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism as a scholarship per se, but also by T'ang's combination of his study with a socio-political concern, i.e. connecting his Ch'eng-Chu

¹ Fang Tsung-ch'eng, Po-t'ang shih-yu yen-hsing chi (A Note of Words and Actions of Mentors and Friends of Fang Tsung-ch'eng's), in Po-t'ang i-shu (Surviving Works of Fang Tsung-ch'eng), (Taipei: Wen-hai reprinted), ch.2, p.1a. See also Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), (Chi-fu chih-chü, 1878), p.63.

doctrine to the deteriorating situation of the empire during this period of the early 1840s. In this regard, Wo-jen was persuaded by T'ang Chien that the decline of the empire in the first half of the 19th century happened because of the decline of Confucianism as a faith among scholar-officials. He was convinced by T'ang's formula that a revival of the empire would have to rely on the revival of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. Wo-jen thus became devoted to this school of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine. He not only later became a major intellectual heir of T'ang Chien, but he also became the leader of the Ch'eng-Chu school after the death of T'ang Chien in 1861.²

A. The Man and his Mission

Wo-jen, a Mongolian of the Plain Red Banner, was born into the Wu-Ch'i-ko-li clan in Honan province where the family was a part of the garrison forces. In the year of 1829, Wo-jen became a chin-shih and was chosen as a bachelor of the Hanlin Academy.³ He stayed in this institute until he was appointed the examiner in the metropolitan examinations in 1835.

During his Hanlin bachelorship in the capital, Wo-jen, as a young Confucian gentleman, witnessed the drastic intellectual changes in the learning of Confucianism. First of all, k'ao-cheng learning as the

² Fumoto Yasutaka, "Shindai Juka Shichojo ni Okeru Wa Bun-tan-ko no chii" (The Status of Wo-jen seen from the Confucian Intellectual History of the Ch'ing), *Toyo Gakuho*, 32:1 (Oct. 1948), p.96. See also Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), Paper on China, vol.14, Dec. 1960, pp.5-6.

³ Arthur W. Hummel, ed. Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, reprinted, 1970), p.861.

mainstream of scholarship in the country had, we recall, experienced a kind of decline in the first two decades of 19th century, even though it was still enthusiastically defended by k'ao-cheng scholars like Chiang Fan (1761-1831). In 1818, Chiang published his Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi (Record of Han Learning Masters) which justified the evidential research tradition by strictly interpreting the intellectual transmission of k'ao-cheng learning. In contrast to Chiang's exclusively ardent support for k'ao-cheng learning was a more salient trend of eclecticism which was primarily propelled by Juan Yüan (1764-1849), who was the patron for publishing Chiang's Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi in Canton. Juan's eclecticism was characterized by two points: relating New Text Confucianism to the Old-Text-centered k'ao-cheng learning and, then, connecting Han Learning to Sung Learning. The former was best seen in Juan's establishment of Hsüeh-hai-t'ang Academy in Canton in 1820 for the promotion of the learning of the New Text school. The latter was best known by Juan's publication of Fang Tung-shu's Han-hsüeh shang-tui (An Assessment of Han Learning), which paradoxically criticized Juan's compilation of Huang-ch'ing ching-chieh (Ch'ing Exegesis of the Classics) and Chiang's Han-hsüeh shih-ch'eng chi, in 1831.⁴ It is against this newly emerging syncretism that Wo-jen, during this period of his Hanlin bachelorship, spelled out his Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism, of which we know very little.⁵

⁴ For a discussion of the decline of the Han Learning, see Chapter One.

⁵ That Wo-jen first studied Lu-Wang learning was first disclosed by his close friend Wu T'ing-tung. See Fang Tsung-ch'eng, Po-t'ang shih-yu yen-hsing chi (A Note of Words and Actions of Mentors and Friends of Fang Tsung-ch'eng's), in Po-t'ang i-shu (Surviving Works of Fang Tsung-

Wo-jen's encounter with T'ang Chien in the capital in 1840 was a watershed for his intellectual life. He was convinced by T'ang's orthodox Neo-Confucianism that in the learning of Confucianism the Lu-Wang approach he was committed to was a false one. As a quick response to T'ang's modification in his intellectual approach, Wo-jen noted in his diary in 1840 that in studying philosophy one should adhere strictly to the Ch'eng-Chu interpretation, for all the other approaches proved "tortuous and weedy paths". He added that those who defended the Lu-Wang doctrine as an effective and practical approach in the pursuit of Confucian learning had based their ideas on what he called "utilitarian viewpoints" (kung-li chih-chien). The duty of a true Confucianist was, he said, to do away with "utilitarian viewpoints".⁶ Taken together, this brief but critical comment shows that his conversion to the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine was made on the grounds of completely comprehending the natures of both Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism. He endorsed the former because he foresaw the danger of the latter, which fortified the idea of "innate knowledge" (liang-chih) as a simple and short-cut approach to the pursuit of the Way of Confucianism.

Indeed, T'ang Chien's Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism rendered Wo-jen a new approach to scholarship. Equally important is that T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine also supplied a new vision of world view to Wo-jen. Feeling

ch'eng), (Taipei: Wen-hai reprinted), ch.2, p.1a-b. See also Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), (Chi-fu chih-chü, 1878), p.63.

⁶ Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), (Chi-fu chih-chü, 1878), p.63. See also Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), Paper on China, vol.14, Dec. 1960, p.7.

the pressure from the decline of the empire and worrying about the future of his country in the early 1840s, Wo-jen came to believe that T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine provided a formula for saving the country from crisis. According to this formula, a true Confucianist needed to first build up a good and moral personality in order to save the country. To do so, he began to keep a diary of self-criticism to record his practices of self-discipline.

Writing a diary as a record of self-examination was introduced by Wo-jen to Tseng Kuo-fan in the capital. Like Wo-jen, Tseng decided to "write down every (improper) single idea and thing" in the diary for the purpose of self-cultivation.⁷ He was told by Wo-jen that the most critical thing in the matter of self-examination lay in the idea of yen-chi (the investigation of the subtle differentiation), because, according to Wo-jen, the subtle differentiation between goodness and evil in one's mind-heart was "transmittable" (t'ung) to the order and disorder in a state.⁸ This implied that the order of a state was built upon the moral mind-heart in oneself. In other words, man could cultivate himself by self-effort and, in this sense, a good man was a fundamental asset of the state and society. As a result, Tseng's diary of self-examination functioned, like Wo-jen's, as a "character-building" program for personality improvement.

In 1850 Wo-jen, now an ardent proponent of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine,

⁷ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.40.

⁸ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1988), p.113.

was appointed deputy lieutenant-general and was dispatched to Turkestan as an assistant agent at Yarkand. A severe personality training regimen for the past four years had built him a morally strong character. This character helped him survive the dangerous trip toward the western frontier.⁹ He did not stay long in Yarkand. Three years later, he was recalled to Peking and demoted from his office for having lodged accusations against a Mohammedan prince without adequate evidence. In late 1855, however, he was promoted to the position of an expectant sub-expositor of the Hanlin Academy and was ordered to serve in the palace school for princes as a tutor to I-tsung (1831-1889).¹⁰ This promotion marked not only a new beginning of his prosperous career but also in his Ch'eng-Chu learning.

In the 1860s, during China's eventful times against the growing tide of foreign imperialism, Wo-jen saw several promotions in his bureaucratic career. First, he was sent to Korea in 1861 to proclaim the accession to the throne of Emperor Mu-tsung (i.e. T'ung-chih). Then he was summoned to Peking and made president of the Censorate. In 1862 he became president of the Board of Works and was chosen as the tutor of the T'ung-chih Emperor, at the same time holding the esteemed

⁹ According to his Sha-chü chi-hsing (A trip to Yarkand), this thousand-mile trip took him more than six months from Peking to Yarkand. When he left Peking in the spring of 1851, the wind was chilly, snow could still be seen, and rivers were all frozen. See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp. 679-749.

¹⁰ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, p.862.

chancellorship of the Hanlin Academy.¹¹ Also during this year, he was made a Grand Secretary with supervision of the Board of Revenue. It is from this period that Wo-jen has been left in history with the two polarized images: the favorable image of a "Great Worthy", depicted by his contemporaries, and the unfavorable image of an anti-foreignist and the leader of the opposition to the reform movement, portrayed by modern scholars.¹²

Together with two other intellectual comrades, Wu T'ing-tung (1793-1873) and Li T'ang-chieh (1798-1865), Wo-jen was known in his own time during the 1860s in the T'ung-chih reign as one of the "Three Great Worthies" (san ta hsien) for his image as moral vanguard and for his informed scholarship. With the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism the three embraced, all of them took salient posts in the government during this period. Among the three, Wo-jen, armed with the Ch'eng-Chu doctrines of

¹¹ As a tutor of the T'ung-chih emperor, Wo-jen established his authority in the court not so much by his Confucian knowledge as by his fearful moral character. It was said that once he expostulated with the T'ung-chih emperor on an impropriety. Because the admonition was not accepted by the child emperor, Wo-jen decided to report to the two dowager Empresses. While Wo-jen was drafting his memorial, the emperor cried out and promised not to do such a thing ever again if the tutor could forgive him this time. Another story is about his attitude toward the child emperor's toys. Once he found that the T'ung-chih emperor entertained himself with opera equipment provided by the eunuchs, he soon reported to the two dowager Empresses. The opera equipment was immediately ordered to be destroyed by the two dowager Empresses. See Yao Yung-p'u, Ch'iu-wen shui-pi (A Note of Old Days), (Taipei: Wen-hai, reprinted, 1968), p.19.

¹² By "anti-foreignism", we mean "opposing everything foreign, whether foreigners or foreign goods or relationship with foreign countries." See Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), p.2. For Wo-jen's opposition to the reform movement, see Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957), pp.244-8.

sincerity and reverence, was the most influential figure for his being appointed to the several above-mentioned prominent positions in the central government. After Wo-jen, Wu also saw quick promotions in his career in the 1860s. As a close friend of both Wo-jen and Tseng Kuo-fan, Wu was made Chief Minister of the Court of Judicial Review in 1863 at age 71. That same year he was further promoted to the office of vice-president of the Board of Punishments.¹³ Even though he was appointed to the office of Financial Commissioner of Shantung in 1866, Wu was still called back to the court four times for consultation on the government's monetary policy against inflation problem.¹⁴ Like Wo-jen and Wu T'ing-tung, Li T'ang-chieh also saw several promotions in his bureaucratic career in the 1860s during the T'ung-chih reign.¹⁵ In

¹³ Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), pp.66b-67a. Despite the fact that he came from a T'ung-ch'eng background which emphasized the literary and ideological approach to the study of the Classics, Wu T'ing-tung at an early age converted wholeheartedly to Ch'eng-Chu moral philosophy through the learning of the Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand). Wu was intellectually closer to Wo-jen, who was also inspired by the Chin-ssu-lu in his Neo-Confucianism, than any one else in this Ch'eng-Chu circle we are studying, in terms of Neo-Confucian scholarship and personal temperament. Nevertheless, he was closer to Tseng Kuo-fan in terms of friendship which was established in the 1840s and lasted to the end of their lives. His moral character, which best typified the learning of the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation, greatly influenced Tseng. See Wu T'ing-tung, Cho hsiu chi hsü chi (A Collection of Self-Cultivation, continued), preface by Wu T'ing, p.1a. See also Miu Ch'üan-sun, ed. Hsü pei-chuan-chi (A Collection of Inscribed Biography, continued), chüan 12, (Shanghai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan se, 1987), vol. 2, p.856, sec. 1.

¹⁴ Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), pp.35b-36b. 36b-42b.

¹⁵ In contrast to Wu, who was a true advocate of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, Li T'ang-chieh was synthesizing Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang thought. His intellectual system was characterized by connecting together the orthodox Neo-Confucian approach of "dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost" (chu-ching chung-li) and the

1862 when Emperor T'ung-chih ascended the throne, Li was made director of the Court of Judicature and Revision. The same year, he was appointed the office of the vice-president of the Board of Ceremonies, and finally president of the Censorate and concurrently a Grand Councilor. In 1863, Li was transferred to the presidency of the Board of Works. When Nanking was recaptured and the Taiping Rebellion was suppressed he was honored with the title of Junior Guardian for the Heir Apparent.¹⁶ Taking these three cases together, one is impressed by the unusual relationship between Ch'eng-Chu doctrine and politics in the court. Almost all of a sudden some of the most important offices in the court were given to enthusiastic Ch'eng-Chu philosophy proponents. This unusual phenomenon made the students who were interested in the "orthodox learning" (cheng hsüeh) in the capital take these three as their models.¹⁷

In contrast to the favorable image of a "Great Worthy" depicted by his contemporaries, Wo-jen was also portrayed by modern scholars with unfavorable images as an anti-foreignist and as the leader of the

approach of "the cure of mind-heart and self-mastery" (chih-hsin k'e-chi) developed by the Ming Ch'eng-Chu scholar Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464). Because of his Confucian syncretism, he was criticized by Wu for the "impureness" of his scholarship. However, Li intellectually maintained a close relationship with Wo-jen, who became the leader of the Ch'eng-Chu school after the death of T'ang Chien in 1861, and was therefore accepted by the Ch'eng-Chu circle as a major member during the T'ung-chih periods. For Li's approach of scholarship, see Li T'ang-chieh, Li Wen-ch'ing kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Li T'ang-chieh), preface by T'u Tsung-ying, p.2b. For Wu's comment on Li, see Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), pp. 67a-b.

¹⁶ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp.485-6.

¹⁷ Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), (Chi-fu chih-chü, 1878), pp.67a-b.

opposition to Prince Kung and Wen-hsiang, the two important figures for implementing China's modernization policy in the 1860s.¹⁸ This image of "conservatism" was best reflected in his 1867 memorial which attacked the teaching of mathematics and astronomy suggested by the T'ung-wen Kuan, a new institute for introducing foreign knowledge. Wo-jen held that the way of building a state did not lay in intrigue (ch'üan-mo) but in propriety and righteousness (li-i). The making of a good government was not decided by specialized training (chi-i) but by people's mind-heart (jen-hsin). But the government, according to Wo-jen, was planning to hire foreign barbarians as teachers and make Chinese students learn the low-end of a specialized knowledge. Wo-jen predicted that no matter how hard the teachers worked and how diligently the students learned, the result would, at best, produce some magicians and geomancers. One never heard of a state rising up by magic and geomancy, he said.¹⁹ Although this view was rejected as impractical by the Western-bent reformists, it received echoes among others who were later known as "conservatives" in the imperial court.

Wo-jen died in 1871 at the age of sixty seven.²⁰ After his

¹⁸ Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957), pp.244-8.

¹⁹ Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.46, p.3638. See also Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957), p.245. For a detailed discussion of this, see Lu Pao-ch'ien, Wo-jen lun (On Wo-jen), Chin-tai-shih yen-chiu-shou ch'i-k'an, Institute of Chinese Modern History, Academia Sinica, June 1971, pp.257-70.

²⁰ Arthur W. Hummel, ed. Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912), (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, reprinted, 1970), pp.861-862. See also Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen

death, a memorial temple was erected by the imperial house in his memory in the province where he was born.²¹ Of the "Three Great Worthies", Li T'ang-chieh died first, in 1865. After the deaths of Wo-jen and Tseng Kuo-fan in the years 1871 and 1872 respectively, Wu T'ing-tung died in 1873 at the age of 81. The decease of these eminent, orthodox Neo-Confucianism proponents greatly worried their contemporaries who feared that a great age of Restoration would soon end.²² Paradoxically, the T'ung-chih Emperor died too, in 1874, which symbolically marks the closure of a decade of the Restoration Movement.

Wo-jen's life can be roughly divided into three periods in terms of his intellectual development. The first period was characterized by his study of Lu-Wang philosophy, about which we know very little. The second period, dating from his encounter with T'ang Chien at the capital in the early 1840s, was marked by his baptism in Ch'eng-Chu doctrine. The most significant activity in his practice of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine during this period was his "character-building" program, typified in his diary. This diary first circulated among his Ch'eng-Chu comrades, like Tseng Kuo-fan, Ho Kwei-cheng, Tou Hsü, Wu T'ing-tung, and other arduous Ch'eng-Chu proponents, as an exemplary work embodying the "character-building" program for personality improvement. During the 1860s, when Wo-jen became an influential politician in the court with his moral

(1804-1871), Paper on China, vol.14, Dec. 1960, pp.3-4.

²¹ Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), Paper on China, vol.14, Dec. 1960, p.2.

²² Fang Tsung-ch'eng, ed. Wu Chu-ju hsien-sheng nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Wu T'ing-tung), (Chi-fu chih-chü, 1878), p.81b.

charisma, this diary began to circulate outside the Ch'eng-Chu circle. For instance, Fang Tsung-ch'eng (1818-1888), a pupil of Fang Tung-shu for 12 years,²³ read Wo-jen's diary in Shantung between 1859-61 when he was invited by Wu T'ing-tung, then a financial commissioner of Shantung, to be a family tutor teaching Wu's grandsons. Impressed by Wo-jen's diary, Fang said, with respect and admiration, that Wo-jen's learning was so substantial and subtle that his scholarship was similar to the great Ch'eng-Chu scholars Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464) and Hu Chü-jen (1434-1484) in the Ming.²⁴ The other example to support this postulate of diary circulation is the case of Weng T'ung-ho (1830-1904). In early 1867 Weng, who became the tutor of the T'ung-chih emperor after Wo-jen in late 1865,²⁵ was also impressed by Wo-jen's diary because of the author's sincere character and strict moral self-discipline. Weng said that Wo-jen's Confucian learning, exemplified in the diary, was very different from those other Confucian doctrines which were characterized by "impractical words" and the lack of substantiality.²⁶

The third period of Wo-jen's intellectual development, starting from the beginning of the 1860s and ending with his death in 1871, includes the peak of Wo-jen's political career and displays the triumph

²³ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.237-8.

²⁴ See Fang Tsung-ch'eng, Po-t'ang shih-yu yen-hsing chi (A Note of Words and Actions of Mentors and Friends of Fang Tsung-ch'eng's), (Taipei: Wen-hai reprinted), ch.2, p.98.

²⁵ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.860.

²⁶ Weng T'ung-ho, Weng T'ung-ho jih-chi (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1970), vol.1, p.359. See also Chang Hao, "The Anti-Foreignist Role of Wo-Jen (1804-1871), Paper on China, p.7.

of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism within and without the court. Regarded by his contemporaries as "orthodox learning", the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism which Wo-jen and his comrades advocated became popular among young intellectuals in the 1860s. This encouraging phenomenon marked, indeed, the coming of a great age of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. Seen from this perspective, this restoration of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine during the T'ung-chih reign (1862-1874) was closely associated with Wo-jen's "character-building" program which was best typified in his diary.

B. The "Character-Building" Program

As we have discussed above, Wo-jen himself experienced a salient intellectual change in his life after meeting T'ang Chien in the year of 1840. In terms of his vision of both the future of the country and the study of Neo-Confucian moral doctrine, T'ang Chien's impact on Wo-jen in the period of early 1840s was almost immediate and direct. Influenced by T'ang, Wo-jen began to write a diary of self-criticism in the year of 1840. Wo-jen's diary was not a day-to-day record of events of a personal nature. Rather, it was a record of Wo-jen's reflections on Ch'eng-Chu learning and the ascetic practices of self-discipline. Similar to T'ang Chien's Hsing-shen jih-k'o (A Daily Lesson of Self-Reflection) in style, this diary was characterized by the moral-spiritual refinement of self-indictment (tzu-sung) and self-reproach (tzu-tse). Wo-jen's diary was somehow discontinued between 1843-1846, but was resumed in 1846, the year T'ang retired from his office in the capital and went down to the south. This diary of self-criticism was discontinued again in 1851

during his stay at Yarkand.²⁷ The available portion of Wo-jen's diary left in printing is, however, between the year of 1846-1851.²⁸

This diary was written by Wo-jen in the conviction that man could cultivate himself by self-effort and that a good man was a fundamental asset of the state and society. As a result, this diary was, in a sense, a record of a "character-building" program for personality improvement. It was critically commented on by Wu T'ing-tung, Ho Kwei-cheng,²⁹ Tou Hsü, and other arduous Ch'eng-Chu proponents.³⁰ We thus have reason to believe that this diary was circulating among Wo-jen's intellectual associates as an exemplary work embodying the "character-building" program for personality improvement in this Ch'eng-Chu circle. We will discuss the two aspects that characterized this program: moral awareness and moral praxis.

1. Moral Awareness

By moral awareness, we mean a kind of moral consciousness which is generated by one's moral mind-heart and, therefore, highlights the transcendence of the moral mind-heart in oneself. For Wo-jen, and other Neo-Confucianists as well, this moral awareness was best presented in

²⁷ See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), ch.4, p.205.

²⁸ This diary was left and printed in Wo-jen's, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), pp.205-606.

²⁹ As a great fighter against the Taiping rebels, Ho died young and left no major works embodying his Ch'eng-Chu philosophy.

³⁰ These comments made by Wu, Ho, Tou and others were published along with the body of diary in Wo-jen's Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen).

what can be called "sense of darkness".

"Sense of darkness" is, by definition, a sense of apprehension or caution against the inherent dark side within human nature and the dark force deep rooted in society.³¹ It was parallel to Confucian optimism which believed that man with his Heaven-conferred nature could achieve sagehood. The Confucian, and particularly the Neo-Confucian, world view took a dualistic stance toward life: on the one hand, men can achieve sagehood with their Heaven-conferred resource; but on the other hand, men were also challenged by the potential of downfall in the material world. This dualistic view toward life played a significant role in the Confucian and Neo-Confucian moral philosophy.

"Sense of darkness" was quite salient in the thought of Confucius and Mencius. In the Analects, Confucius had noticed the danger of this dark factor. To him, the downfall of the Way in his time was not merely caused by discords in the socio-political order. In a deeper sense, it was also due to the polluted nature within oneself. Mindful of this, he suggested methods such as self-indictment (tzu-sung) and self-reproach (tzu-tse) to protect one from the pollution of material force in his nature.³²

³¹ Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yu-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), p.56.

³² In regard to self-discipline, Confucius said: "When we see men of worth, we should think of equaling them; when we see men of a contrary character, we should turn inward and examine ourselves (nei-tzu-hsing)." He also said: "It is all over. I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults, and inwardly accuse himself (nei-tzu-sung)." The Analects, James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), pp.167, 184.

Following Confucius, Mencius also took a dualistic stance toward human life. On the one hand, he asserted that the nature of man is good: "The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards."³³ But on the other hand, he also noticed the tendency of downfall in human nature. Aware of this, Mencius warned, out of the sense of darkness, that "whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small."³⁴ Mencius proposed a pair of concepts to articulate his view: "great body" (ta-t'i) and "small body" (hsiao-t'i). The former was also called "noble body" (kwei-t'i) while the latter was "ignoble body" (chien-t'i).³⁵ In the Mencian system, "great body" or "noble body" displayed the part given by Heaven, and was therefore holy. "Small body" or "ignoble body" implied the aspect of "lower animal" in human nature, and was therefore humble and subject to downfall.³⁶ But for Mencius, and Confucius as well, this dark force in human nature was conquerable, as long as one was aware of the omnipresence of this negative factor within oneself and consciously employed some substantial self-control, like "desires restraining", to purify the material force in the human self. In this sense, the learning of Neo-Confucianism was regarded as a learning of "returning to the nature" (fu-hsing), namely, to purify the

³³ The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), pp.851-2.

³⁴ Ibid., p.744.

³⁵ Ibid., pp.881-885.

³⁶ For a detailed discussion on the "sense of darkness", see Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yü-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), p.56-76.

material force in oneself in order to return to the Heaven-conferred nature. In Mencius' words: "The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind."³⁷

Following Confucius and Mencius, Wo-jen also highlighted this sense of darkness in his moral philosophy. He said: "One's mind-heart was not necessary to be evil but was subject to becoming evil. Therefore one's mind-heart was dangerous (by nature)."³⁸ But more than inheriting this Confucian and Neo-Confucian intellectual heritage, Wo-jen took this sense of darkness to a new level in the 19th century. He said, for instance, "Men think that they shall feel no dread (wei) and fear (chü) about Heaven because it is so far away from man...(But) high god (shang-ti) overlooks you like he is watching on you every moment from above. How can (one) not be awestruck toward him."³⁹ This kind view of his can be found elsewhere in his diary. He said:

It was said that one can hardly be detected if one stays in a hidden and secret place. (One will therefore) become extravagantly reckless. From the viewpoint of man, there might be distinction between brightness and shadow. But from the viewpoint of Heaven, (every thing) is inspected by the high god. How can one go without apprehension!⁴⁰

This dark force was, according to Wo-jen, so overwhelming that one

³⁷ The Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.879.

³⁸ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.549.

³⁹ Ibid., p.525.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.566.

should be cautious against it every moment.⁴¹ For him, practicing self-discipline to oppose the dark force, which presented itself in forms like desire, was a life-long task, and therefore a formidable and yet challenging process. A slip in this life-long process of self-cultivation would immediately jeopardize the whole sacred task. It is rightly against this tough situation that Wo-jen proposed the idea of "apprehension". He warned that "one has to maintain a mood of apprehension during the process of self-cultivation, and one can never suspend this apprehension at any time."⁴² To him, the sacred task of achieving the Way for a Confucian gentleman began with this apprehension.

Wo-jen was not only aware of the power of dark force, but, more importantly, the difficulty in distinguishing it in the world one lives in. For him, the line between the two heterogenous worlds, the good and the bad, was too subtle to discern easily. He said, to become good or to become bad depended exclusively on the direction one might choose.⁴³ This caution against the indefinite line between good and evil marked the basic tone of Wo-jen's sense of darkness. From this recognition of the obscure line between the two heterogenous worlds, Wo-jen elucidated his doctrine of principle versus lust.

Lust or desire was the symbol of evil in the Neo-Confucian

⁴¹ He said, for instance, "We should carefully consider this everyday: did I have improper thoughts and improper speech today? If I did, then I should correct them. And if I didn't, then I should tell myself to make further strenuous efforts. (By doing so), we will not idle away our life in today." See *ibid.*, p.240.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.563.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.531.

tradition. Neo-Confucianists often proposed this problem in a dichotomy of Heavenly principle (t'ien-li) versus human lusts (jen-yü), a dualistic view which regarded the former as brightness and goodness and the latter as darkness and evil. In the Neo-Confucian tradition since the 11th century, both orthodox and non-orthodox Neo-Confucianists could not reach a consensus on this problem. Although there were views which saw no discrepancy between principle and lust,⁴⁴ it was generally accepted by both the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools that an unbridgeable gap existed between li (principle) and yü (desire), and to embrace the Heavenly principle one had to get rid of his depraved desires.⁴⁵

Following the traditional view, Wo-jen saw these two elements, principle and lust, as heterogeneous and thus diverse. He believed that in terms of nature li was "public" (kung) while yü was "private" (ssu).⁴⁶ From this kind of cognition, he concluded that "what is alive is Heavenly principle and what is dead is human lusts."⁴⁷ He also compared the relationship of these two heterogeneous elements to a zero-sum situation: If there was one piece more of principle, there would be one piece less of desire.⁴⁸ But Wo-jen did not totally endorse this

⁴⁴ For instance, Wang Fu-chih did not see the discrepancy between principle and lust.

⁴⁵ For a general discussion of this problem, see Wei Cheng-t'ung, ed. Chung-kuo che-hsüeh tz'u-tien (A Dictionary of Chinese Philosophy), (Taipei: Ta-lin ch'u-pan-she, 1988), pp.98-104.

⁴⁶ The word ssu was also translated as "self-centeredness". See Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p.108.

⁴⁷ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.549.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.232.

zero-sum situation. He believed that only when there was a complete absence of desire within one's mind-heart could the Heavenly principle be fully illustrated.⁴⁹ Hence, he contended that if there was a will moving toward Heavenly principle and another moving toward human desires, one would not become a real moral man because of this mixture of goodness and evil.⁵⁰

Desire, or yü, was also regarded by Wo-jen as the source of evil in society. But this evil exhibited itself in various forms. Greed for profit (li), for instance, stemmed out of this overwhelming desire. To Wo-jen, profit as the adversary of righteousness (i) was supposedly a poison to the solidarity of the family and the seed of social instability. "The worst thing in family was profit. If there existed an idea of profit in family, then brotherhood could turn into a feud."⁵¹ Hence, he held, the first learning for a young man was to break down the obsession for profit in his mind-heart. Because the profit complex was closely connected to the appeal of possession and occupancy, Wo-jen believed that it was the cradle of the evil mind and the bedrock of social corruption. Accordingly, he held that one needed to uphold the idea of righteousness rather than the idea of profit. By doing so, he contended that one could correct one's mind-heart from wrong and keep the state and society from falling.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.573.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.217.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.258.

⁵² Ibid., p.324.

2. Moral Praxis

Harmful as desire was to both an individual and a society, one thus needed to avoid desires. But to avoid desires one needed to utilize valid methods: the idea of praxis, or, in Neo-Confucian terms, kung-fu. Like T'ang Chien, Wo-jen believed that the theory of Neo-Confucianism was well elucidated and left little to be further developed. He thus contended that the scholars of his day should put more stress on the practice of Neo-Confucian doctrine.⁵³

Wo-jen's moral praxis against jen-yü was involved with two aspects: the attitude to deal with desire and the valid methods to prevent them. As for the former, Wo-jen made his intention very clear and understandable. In this regard, Wo-jen asked one to regard the dark force, typified in the form of desire, as a "great enemy" (ta-ti).⁵⁴ Accordingly, a student of Neo-Confucianism should fight against this "great enemy" by all means. Wo-jen compared this fight to guarding a pass. He said, one needed to watch over the dark force as if one was guarding the door of a frontier pass--allowing no one to cross over. He added that one needed to wrestle with the dark force as if one had abruptly encountered a great enemy--allowing no one to get away alive. Wo-jen asserted that one must make such a firm decision and take such an effort to struggle with the evil force in order to protect oneself.⁵⁵ It is clear that Wo-jen took an uncompromising stance against this dark force in oneself.

⁵³ Ibid., p.538.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.425.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.425.

In terms of "how" to avoid the dark force typified by jen-yü, Wo-jen, like other orthodox Neo-Confucianists, attempted various approaches. In this regard, he suggested two steps: to first distinguish goodness from evil, and then practice self-discipline. For the former, he demanded that one first distinguish between the two incompatible elements: t'ien-li and jen-yü. Understanding that the dividing distinction between these two elements was ambiguous, Wo-jen developed a valid criterion to determine this dividing line: the "first idea" (ch'u-nien) of one's thought. He created a pair of difficult terms to articulate the relationship between principle and desire: desire of the first idea (ch'u-nien-yü) and principle of the second idea (chuan-nien-li). Wo-jen seemed to believe that desire naturally arose from the mind of every man. If it was not overcome, it would become prevailing and eventually dominate one's mind-heart and behavior and thus make one corrupt. The only way one could save himself from sinking into incurable corruption was to pursue the Heavenly principle by way of practicing the doctrine of reverence. This meant that the Heavenly principle would not automatically fall upon one without arduous struggles to overcome the dark force around oneself. In other words, it is impossible for one to search for the Heavenly principle in the ocean of desires. Only when one had struggled to overcome his fraud-causing desires, namely, ch'u-nien-yü, could the Heavenly principle possibly be attained and thus achieve what Wo-jen called chuan-nien-li.⁵⁶

After distinguishing Heavenly principle from human lusts, Wo-jen then came to envisage the problem of self-discipline. In this regard,

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.219-220.

he, like T'ang Chien, took the conventional path of lessening desires. He said, "The important task of hsiu-shen lay on restraining one's wrath and repressing one's desires (ch'eng-fen chih-yü), and moving to good and correcting one's mistakes (ch'ien-shan kai-kuo)."⁵⁷ That is, practicing ascetic restraint of desires and faults was taken by Wo-jen as the major approach to avoid the evil force. Accepting this principle, Wo-jen went one step further than T'ang by developing a more subtle method to restrain desires: precaution. Wo-jen's method of precaution was also involved two steps. The first phase was to nip out one's desires in the mind-heart while they were still in the bud. This is a negative approach. The second phase was to conserve the seed of Heavenly principle within one's mind-heart until it had a chance to flourish. This is a positive approach. These two approaches were indispensable for avoiding desires. They were so crucial that Wo-jen believed that "without them one would make no achievement (on the practice of self-cultivation) even though he had tried real hard."⁵⁸ Both approaches here involved the mind-heart, and to make these two steps operational one needed to start from nourishing one's mind-heart.

Since the mind-heart was so critical in the practice of self-discipline, whether one can successfully overcome desire became how well one could control one's mind-heart. The mind-heart was regarded by Wo-jen as the "transaction point of Heaven and men" (t'ien-jen chiao-kwan ch'u) and thus the most subtle "big trigger" (ta-chi) in the

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.423.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.213-4.

universe.⁵⁹ Critical as the mind-heart was, one had to be not only cautious in distinguishing the directions he chose, (whether toward the good or the opposite), but also endeavor to purify one's mind-heart. If one could do so, then one's regular mind-heart (jen-hsin) could be gradually transformed into a "mind-heart of the Way" (tao-hsin).⁶⁰

The main reason that one's mind-heart could not easily become a mind-heart of the Way was the lure of material force, which Wo-jen called the "root of ailment" (ping-ken). He suggested that one employ all his effort to eliminate this root of ailment rather than let it grow and run wild.⁶¹ But to do so, one will find two powerful enemies within the body: being weak in one's will (jou-nuo) and doing things in a muddling manner (han-hu). If one was weak in will, he would not put all his effort into practicing virtue. If one did things in a muddling manner, he would not put all his effort into investigating principle to the utmost. Wo-jen believed that the root of ailment in oneself lay in the insufficiency of "force of mind-heart" (hsin-ch'i). Hence one should make the cultivation of force of mind-heart a top priority in practicing hsiu-shen.⁶²

One of the most practicable approaches for one to cultivate the force of mind-heart was the practice of quiescence (ching). "Concerning time, one should not idle one's life by letting it easily flow away. For

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.533.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.549.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.550.

⁶² Ibid., p.214.

the methodology of using time, one should go pursue quiescence."⁶³ Wo-jen believed that if one could reach the state of quiescence with his mind-heart, he would see the Heavenly principle near him.⁶⁴ As he saw it, quiescence was a highway toward reverence. But he also warned people of the dangers in practicing quiescence. He held that if one cultivated his character with quiescence, one's nature would become settled (hsing-ting). But if one just made fun with quiescence, one's nature would become wild (hsing-huang). Wo-jen wondered whether the quiescence that led one to a settled or wild nature was determined by one's mood of reverence (ching) or recklessness (ssu).⁶⁵ If one could fully concentrate on his reverent mind (ching-hsin), he would be free from the predicament of the extremes of motion (tung) and rest (ching).⁶⁶

3. The Metaphysical Foundations of Wo-Jen's "Character-Building" Program

Although Wo-jen's "character-building" program was marked by two aspects, moral awareness and moral praxis, it was actually involved with only one major problem: hsiu-shen (self-cultivation). The key issue in the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation centered around the problem of "recovery of the nature" (fu-hsing). That is, the major concern of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation was how to clear up and purify the material force in the human self so as to make one's true self shine

⁶³ Ibid., p.299.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp.325-6.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.407.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.357.

forth and thereby also to restore the spiritual unity with Heaven.⁶⁷ To reach this ultimate goal of becoming unified with Heaven, Wo-jen, as a typical orthodox Neo-Confucianist, took an approach of what can be called "inward transcendence".

This concept of "inward transcendence" can be understood from two dimensions. First, hsiu-shen as the core concept in the Neo-Confucian system stressed that man could, and should, spiritually promote himself by transforming his regular mind-heart (jen-hsin) into the "mind-heart of the Way" (tao-hsin)--in order to achieve sagehood in oneself. To do so, involved the second step: methods. In this regard, Neo-Confucian methodology was characterized by taking an "inward" approach in which hsiu-shen did not depend on the forces outside oneself but on the inherent moral mind-heart. That is, the more one could dig deep into one's Heaven-conferred inner moral resources embodied in one's moral mind-heart, the more one could successfully transcend himself and thus became unified with the transcendent Heaven.⁶⁸

In the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition, this "inward approach" was best presented in the ascetic practices of "restraining wrath and repressing desires, and moving toward good and correcting one's

⁶⁷ Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism", Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), pp.38-39.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of Neo-Confucian transcendence, see Tu Weiming, Ju-hsüeh ti-san-ch'i fa-chan ti ch'ien-ching wen-t'i (The problems of the future development of the "Third Stage" Confucianism), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), pp.188-189. For a comparison of Western and Confucian transcendence, see Yü Ying-shih, "Ju-chia chün-tze ti li-hsiang" (The ideal of Confucian "Superior Man"), collected in Yü Ying-shih, Chung-kuo shih-hsiang chuan-t'ung ti hsien-tai ch'uan-shih (A Modern Interpretation of Chinese Intellectual Tradition), (Taipei: Linking, 1989), pp.11-12.

mistakes". This kind of ascetic practices was, according to Neo-Confucian interpretation, rooted in a metaphysical origin: the transcendent Heaven. To connect oneself to the transcendent Heaven, the author of the Doctrine of the Mean created the idea of ch'eng (sincerity or authenticity) as the source of meaning for both worlds.⁶⁹ This idea of ch'eng pointed to a human reality which was not only the basis of self-knowledge but also the basis of man's identification with Heaven.⁷⁰ This idea, which greatly shaped Wo-jen's moral philosophy, was validly interpreted in Chou Tun-i's highly acclaimed T'ung-shu (Penetrating the Book of Changes). It was through Chou's interpretation that Wo-jen regarded ch'eng, far from being just a psychological or ethical idea, as an ontological concept.⁷¹

Wo-jen's stress on Chou Tun-i's philosophy of ch'eng was seen in his diary and in his other later works as well.⁷² In the diary, he

⁶⁹ The word ch'eng, seen in the Doctrine of the Mean, has connotations that go beyond that of its English counterpart, sincerity. For a discussion of this problem, see Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp.71-73. For a general discussion of the idea of ch'eng (sincerity) in the Doctrine of the Mean, see Wu I, Chung-yung ch'eng tzu ti yen-chiu (A study of the character of ch'eng in the Doctrine of the Mean), (Taipei: Hua-kang publishing department, 1984), p.27-77.

⁷⁰ Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p.72.

⁷¹ For a brief discussion of Chou Tun-i's interpretation on the idea of ch'eng, see Tu Wei-ming, Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), pp.151-3.

⁷² Although Wo-jen's idea of ch'eng originated in the Doctrine of the Mean, he seemed to appreciate this concept through the interpretation of Chou Tun-i. In this regard, he hardly mentioned the title of the Doctrine of the Mean in his diary. But he did mention Chou's T'ung-shu several times in the diary. See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-

followed the Doctrine of the Mean by arguing that the idea of ch'eng was the Way of Heaven (t'ien-tao) and those who entertained this idea were figures who realized the Way of men (jen-tao). He added, those who were not sincere (pu-ch'eng) would become separated from the Heaven.⁷³ For Wo-jen, the idea of ch'eng was so fundamental that it alone could be applied to bridge the gap between the self and things (i.e. all living things).⁷⁴ It is, in his words, "the path toward Heaven" (ta-t'ien chih lu).⁷⁵ From this perspective, Wo-jen came to regard the idea of ch'eng as the source of meaning. He contended that "the principle of Heaven and Earth and the mind-heart of sages were nothing but the idea of ch'eng."⁷⁶ He therefore concluded that the spirit of Confucian learning lay mainly in the pursuit of the very idea of ch'eng.⁷⁷

Like other orthodox Neo-Confucianists who underscored the

kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), ch.4, p.260; ch.6, p.438, 471.

⁷³ See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), ch.6, p.471. This interpretation slightly differed from the Doctrine of the Mean. The latter states: "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the Way of men." The Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Culture Book Co. 1979), p.88.

⁷⁴ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), ch.4, pp.266-7. He also said: "As I masticated the implication of the word ch'eng (sincerity) over and over again, I then felt that there was no discrimination between the Heaven and man." See Ibid. ch.6, p.505.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.438; p.471.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.519. This idea is definitely a response to Chou Tung-i's "Sagehood is nothing but ch'eng (sincerity)." See Tu Wei-ming, Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation (Albany: State University of New York Press), p.151.

⁷⁷ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), ch.6, p.519.

ontological implication and the praxis of the idea of ch'eng, Wo-jen also took a similar stance by regarding Ch'eng as not only a metaphysical concept but also as a substantial method to approach Neo-Confucian tenet.⁷⁸ He believed that one needed to practice the idea of ch'eng in both one's speech and behavior.⁷⁹ In this regard, he followed T'ang Chien's approach of "restraining one's wrath and repressing one's desires, and moving toward good and correcting one's mistakes" and identified this kind of approach with the practice of ch'eng.⁸⁰ He claimed that if one could practice the idea of ch'eng to the utmost, then one could be linked to Heaven and would thus reach a "soundless and odorless" situation (wu-sheng wu-ch'ou).⁸¹

The praxis of the idea of ch'eng was understood by Wo-jen in the context of the idea of caution or apprehension. The latter idea, which is a kind of "sense of darkness", plays such an essential role in Wo-

⁷⁸ Substantial approach is the opposite of the approach of emptiness (hsü). Orthodox Neo-Confucianists believed that their learning provided substantial methods and systematic programs to attain the ultimate goal of the unification of men and Heaven. Following this tradition of "substantial learning" (shih-hsüeh), Wo-jen was against the approach of emptiness because it might cause frauds (pi).

⁷⁹ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.225.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.225. This idea of "restraining one's wrath and repressing one's desires, and moving toward good and correcting one's mistakes" was of course not originated in T'ang Chien. It was first articulated in the "Sun Hexagram" of the Book of Changes and was developed by the orthodox Neo-Confucian philosophers in the Sung and Ming.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.416. It needs to be pointed out that this "soundless and odorless" situation was no mystical experience. What Wo-jen meant here is that if one could practice the idea of ch'eng to the utmost, one would become purified in himself and therefore returned to the Heaven-conferred true nature. In other words, one could thus become "unified with the Heaven", the ultimate ideal of Neo-Confucian hsiu-shen.

jen's system that it was juxtaposed with the former idea to characterize his methods of hsiu-shen. He said: "The idea of ch'eng and the idea of caution cannot be let away from us even for a moment. They need to be practiced by one all one's life long."⁸² Because of his emphasis on the idea of caution or apprehension in his moral praxis, Wo-jen was thus connected to the idea of ching (reverence), the central concept of moral praxis in the thoughts of the Ch'engs. With regard to this connection of the ideas of ch'eng and ching, he stated that "If one could practice the idea of ching to the utmost, one will become ch'eng. And if one could practice the idea of ch'eng to the utmost, one will then become Heaven (i.e. one will become unified with Heaven)."⁸³

Like the idea of ch'eng, the idea of ching or reverence was also regarded by Wo-jen as a principal approach of moral praxis in his "character-building" program for personality improvement. It was understood by Wo-jen from two dimensions: physical aspects such as behavior and manner, and non-physical aspects like mind and heart in an individual. For the first dimension, he believed that if one could frequently practice this idea of ching, one could escape from material force. Wo-jen regarded the idea of ching as the medicine for the five major harmful diseases of men: to be false and heterodox (ch'ing-hsieh), to be disorderly and rude (fang-tzung), to be idle and indolent (t'ou-tuo), to be haughty and lofty (chü-man), and lastly, to be irreverent

⁸² Ibid., p.330. Here Wo-jen chose the word chin-chi to refer to the concept of caution.

⁸³ Ibid., p.438.

(ch'ing-i).⁸⁴ These five diseases within men were five symbolic material force within ourselves. Although they were all seen as physical diseases (shen-ping), these diseases, according to Wo-jen, were primarily caused from the sickness of the mind-heart (hsin-ping). Accordingly, the relief of these physical diseases would have to start with the treatment of the mind-heart.⁸⁵ To get rid of these diseases practically and permanently, one had to put the doctrine of ching into practice.⁸⁶

The non-physical aspects of ching, like mind and heart in an individual, i.e. the second dimension, were regarded by Wo-jen as more fundamental than the first dimension. Since he saw the physical diseases mainly being rooted in the illness of the mind-heart, Wo-jen believed that the practice of ching would result in the strengthening of one's mind-heart. Guided by this view, he regarded the idea of ching as the "gathering of virtues". Because one's mind-heart was laden with virtues, there would be no room for evil, i.e. material force, to sneak in.⁸⁷ He nicely developed this view later in this essay Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship).

In the second article in An Outline of Scholarship, Wo-jen stated that the idea of ching or reverence is practiced for the purpose of "having the mind set on" (ts'un-hsin).⁸⁸ He pointed out, in this work,

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.300-1.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.394.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp.300-1.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.492.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp.178-86.

that once the mind-heart was set on, one would become serious and concentrated, and would then be qualified to approach the Heavenly Principle. To Wo-jen, one's mind-heart could only concentrate on one task at a time. Once one's mind-heart was "dwelled in" by the idea of ching, the depraved thoughts would find no room to stay in one's mind-heart and thus run away.⁸⁹ In this sense, the idea of ching in one's mind-heart bore a cogent function to minimize material force in the world one lives in. He said: "Reverence (acts) as a blaze and thus looks untouchable. (With reverence in oneself), the material force (which comes to tempt a person) will be broken into pieces. (Powerful as it is), how can one be tangled (by the material force)."⁹⁰ Since the idea of ching was so functionally forceful, it was embraced by Wo-jen, and other orthodox Neo-Confucianists as well, as a major instrument to tranquilize the mind-heart. He believed that when the doctrine of ching was practiced to the utmost, one would enter into a state of extreme emptiness (chih-hsü) and a situation of absolute quiescence (chi-ching).⁹¹ As a result, the Way and principle would become nearer to a person.⁹² That is, the idea of ching would produce an effect of being idea-free and thought-free in oneself, namely, "having no depraved thought" (ssu-wu-hsieh).⁹³ It will thus make one become desire-free

⁸⁹ Ibid., pp.181-2.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp.184-5.

⁹¹ The practice of ching (reverence) might lead one to become quiescent (ching). But Wo-jen warned that one should not take quiescence as reverence. See Ibid., p.335.

⁹² Ibid., p.245.

⁹³ Ibid., pp.180-1.

and purified, and return to the true Heaven-conferred nature.

4. The Implications of Wo-jen's "Character-Building" Program

So far we have discussed the characteristics of Wo-jen's "character-building" program for personality improvement as seen primarily from his diary. As a record of self-examination and self-criticism, this diary of Wo-jen displayed the methods of self-discipline in Confucian learning. Because of its value as an exemplary work embodying the methods for personality improvement in the Neo-Confucian tradition, this diary first circulated among his Ch'eng-Chu comrades like Tseng Kuo-fan, Ho Kwei-cheng, Tou Hsü, Wu T'ing-tung, and other arduous Ch'eng-Chu proponents beginning in the 1840s, and then circulated outside the Ch'eng-Chu circle during the 1860s. This diary might have been interpreted differently by different readers, however, its wide circulation bespoke the weight and influence of this work within the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the T'ung-chih period. More importantly, it indicated the trait of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy during this period in the mid-19th century: the emphasis of the idea of moral praxis.

The idea of moral praxis was, indeed, a big theme in the Neo-Confucian tradition. It was particularly emphasized by the orthodox Neo-Confucianists in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. For instance, Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464), the great Ch'eng-Chu scholar in the Ming, wrote in his Tu-shu lu (Notes of study): "The crux of (Confucian) study lies not

in making plenty of opinions but in how well one practices it."⁹⁴ By practice, Hsüeh meant to "return to the nature" or fu-hsing. In his words, "The methods (of Confucianism) taught by the ancient sage-kings were nothing but to return to the nature."⁹⁵ To "return to the nature", one had, according to Hsüeh, to "restrain his desires" (eh-jen-yü).⁹⁶ That is, the guarding of thought was regarded by Hsüeh as the most vital task to be practiced in the moral philosophy of self-cultivation.⁹⁷ It was against this background of guarding thought that he said that "The most crucial thing in (Confucian) learning is to restrain and break off the improper thoughts just when they arise."⁹⁸

Following Hsüeh, Lu Lung-ch'i (1630-1693) developed the idea of praxis in the early Ch'ing. In a letter Lu wrote:

My humble opinion is that from Mencius to Master Chu (the learning of Confucianism) has been well understood and articulated by the Confucian masters. (As a result of it), the scholars of later generations should not seek other approaches to understand Confucianism. Rather, they should merely comprehend what had been spelled out by the Confucian masters and practice what had already

⁹⁴ Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.5, p.9b.

⁹⁵ See Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (An Intellectual History of the Ming), (Taipei: Taiwan K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1973), p.15.

⁹⁶ Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.5, p.10a.

⁹⁷ Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (An Intellectual History of the Ming), (Taipei: Taiwan K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1973), p. 16.

⁹⁸ Hsüeh Hsüan, Tu-shu lu (Notes of study), Cheng-i-t'ang ch'üan-shu, 10th case, collected in Yen I-ping ed. P'ai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng, (Taipei: I-wen in-shu kuan), ch.5, p.8b. For a discussion of Hsüeh's moral philosophy, see Chapter 2 on T'ang Chien.

been expounded.⁹⁹

Like Hsüeh, Lu emphasized the need for moral practice in the Neo-Confucian system. Lu was, we recall, honored as a fixture of the official cult in 1724, thirty one years after his death, along with other 19 scholars of various dynasties. Being celebrated in the Temple of Confucius, he was the first Confucian scholar in the Ch'ing to enjoy such recognition.¹⁰⁰ Thanks to Lu's symbolic role in the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition of the Ch'ing, his idea of moral praxis became presumably influential in the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the mid-19th century. In this regard, we can best refer to the viewpoints of T'ang Chien--an intellectual heir of Hsüeh Hsüan and Lu Lung-ch'i.¹⁰¹

In his seminal work Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), T'ang Chien highly regarded Lu as the first of four "transmitters of the Way". In the chapter on the intellectual biography of Lu Lung-ch'i, T'ang highlighted Lu's idea of moral praxis by expounding the latter's theory of t'ai-chi (Supreme Ultimate).

The discussion of the idea of t'ai-chi should not be stressed so much for the illustration of the Supreme Ultimate of the universe as for that of the human body. (This is because that) if we can comprehend the Supreme Ultimate of the human body, we will then understand that of the universe....Those scholars who entertain

⁹⁹ San-yu-t'ang wen-chi (Literary Collections of Three Fishes Hall), ch.6, p.18.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, p.547. Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1989), p.164.

¹⁰¹ T'ang Chien's moral theory was influenced by Hsüeh Hsüan and his Tu-shu lu (Notes of Study). See Ho Hsi-ling's preface for T'ang Ch'üeh-shen-kung chi (A collection of T'ang Chien), Ssu-pu pei-yao, (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), p.1a.

the idea of t'ai-chi should self-cultivate and self-examine themselves from time to time. (This is for the purpose of) not letting a bit of thought in oneself develop to go beyond the boundary of Principle (li), a bit of matter that goes against the idea of Principle, or a word and a move one made exceed the ruler of Principle. If one can do so, then the idea of t'ai-chi is already here with one.¹⁰²

That is, to self-cultivate and self-examine is to achieve Principle, or put it the other way, the completion of moral praxis in oneself is the completion of Principle.

T'ang's view of the emphasis of the idea of moral praxis can also be seen in his words with Tseng Kuo-fan. In mid-1841, T'ang told Tseng that there were only three approaches to scholarship: i-li (moral philosophy of self-cultivation), k'ao-ho (textual criticism), and wen-chang (literary works). T'ang said that among the three, i-li was the most vital approach because the learning of kao-ho usually sought after vulgarity and missed the essence, and the learning of wen-chang could not be refined without mastering the learning of i-li.¹⁰³

Taking the three cases of Hsüeh, Lu, and T'ang together, we have reason to suggest that the idea of moral praxis, which was emphasized by Wo-jen in his "character-building" program, was closely associated with the orthodox Neo-Confucian tradition, especially the Neo-Confucian tradition of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. However, we need to specify the difference between the idea of moral praxis emphasized by Lu Lung-

¹⁰² T'ang Chien, Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty), (Shanghai: Shang-wu in-shu-kuan, 1947), pp.1-2.

¹⁰³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan jih-chi (A Diary of Tseng Kuo-fan), in Tseng Kuo-fan chun-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan) (Ch'angsha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu she, 1987), Diary vol.1, p.92. See also Chu Tung-an, Tseng Kuo-fan chuan (A biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Ssu-ch'uan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1980), pp.18-19.

ch'i, and others, in the Ch'eng-Chu circle of the early Ch'ing and the one highlighted by T'ang Chien, Wo-jen, and others, in the Ch'eng-Chu camp of the mid-19th century.

As we have discussed in the previous chapters, the idea of moral praxis was proposed by the orthodox Neo-Confucian scholars in the early Ch'ing to primarily oppose Yang-ming scholars who over-emphasized the problems of pen-t'i (original substance or ultimate substance) and ignored the problem of kung-fu (method or moral effort). It is, to be sure, from this perspective that Lu Lung-ch'i arose to accuse Wang Yang-ming's theory of liang-chih (innate knowledge) as a theory of Ch'an Buddhism in the guise of Confucianism.¹⁰⁴

While the idea of moral praxis was proposed by Lu Lung-ch'i and other Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists in the early Ch'ing to oppose Wang Yang-ming learning, it was highlighted by T'ang Chien and Wo-jen to resist against the "intellectualism" of k'ao-cheng learning. The "intellectualism" of k'ao-cheng learning emphasized, as we have pointed out in the previous chapters, the nature of Confucian knowledge (i.e. the characteristics and constitution of Confucian canons) and its development. As a result, the "intellectualism" of k'ao-cheng learning offered little room for Confucian moral philosophy and its praxis. In this sense, Wo-jen's restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in the mid-19th century was an effort to restore the value and significance of moral praxis. It is from this moral-praxis-centered perspective that we come to see the unfolding of Wo-jen's moral philosophy of self-

¹⁰⁴ San-yu-t'ang wen-chi (Literary Collections of Three Fishes Hall), ch.2, p.2.

cultivation.

C. The Unfolding of Moral Philosophy of Self-Cultivation

Through his tough practices of personality improvement typified in his "character building" program, Wo-jen with his moral charisma was receiving attention from the imperial court and his Ch'eng-Chu doctrine was beginning to be appreciated by the imperial house in the mid-1850s. In late 1855, Wo-jen was appointed the sub-expositor of Hanlin Academy. The same year, he was made to teach his Ch'eng-Chu tenet to princes in the palace school.¹⁰⁵

The Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism which Wo-jen advocated was further enhanced by the political situation in the early 1860s. In the new T'ung-chih reign (1862-74), the two empress dowagers took over political power from the regent, who had been in charge of state affairs after the death of the Hsien-feng emperor in 1861, in a coup d'etat. Supported by Prince Kung, the two empress dowagers adopted a policy of "ruling from behind the screen" to implement their political authority. Since their authority depended on the Confucian principle of "filial

¹⁰⁵ In an interview with the Hsien-feng emperor in 1857, Wu T'ing-tung was asked by the emperor if he knew Wo-jen. Wu replied by saying that he had known Wo-jen for a long period of time. Wu said that Wo-jen was a true Ch'eng-Chu scholar and emphasized the self-examination and self-criticism of behavior and mind-heart. In the same year, when the emperor asked his ministers if there were real experts on Neo-Confucianism in the court, the emperor was provided with the names of three figures: Wo-jen, Wu T'ing-tung, and Tseng Kuo-fan. See Wu T'ing-tung, Cho hsiu chi (A Collection of Self-Cultivation), ch.1, p.4b, and p.6a.

obedience',¹⁰⁶ the empress dowagers found it particularly appropriate, in 1861-2, for them to emulate the high moral tone of the early Hsien-feng years.¹⁰⁷ Thanks to the new political circumstance in the early T'ung-chih period, Wo-jen, armed with the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine which helped to legitimate the empress dowagers' rule, saw several prominent promotions in his career in the 1860s. In 1862 he became president of the Board of Works and, at the same time, Grand Secretary. In the same year, he was also assigned to the esteemed

¹⁰⁶ Kwang-ching Liu, "The Ch'ing Restoration", in The Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I, Vol.10, ed. by John King Fairbank, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p.423. Wo-jen's final memorial could be the best footnote in this regard. Wo-jen wrote in 1871 that during these difficult times for the country he hoped that the empress dowagers would do their best to govern the state. Meanwhile, he also suggested that the emperor should sincerely practice filial piety and serve the two empress dowagers--because filial piety was, he said, the foundation of governing the state and pacifying the world. See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp.170-1.

¹⁰⁷ The policy of honoring Neo-Confucianism in the late Ch'ing began from the Hsien-feng Emperor's personal interest in the Ch'eng-Chu scholar T'ang Chien in the first two or three years of the Hsien-feng reign, namely, in the early 1850s. This policy became crystallized during the time, 1861-2, when the two empress dowagers emulated the high moral tone of the early Hsien-feng years. This happened primarily because of the political struggle for power between the two groups after the death of the Hsien-feng Emperor on August 22, 1861: the two Empress Dowagers and Prince Kung on the one hand, and the most powerful of the groups opposing them, led by Tsai-yüan, Tuan-hua, and Su-shun, on the other. The supporters of Prince Kung and the two Empress Dowagers took quick action and won the struggle against their enemies. During this time, Wo-jen's Neo-Confucian doctrine which promoted morality in one's personality, was found to be useful by the two Empress Dowagers for justifying the new political order. See Kwang-ching Liu, "The Ch'ing Restoration", in The Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I, Vol.10, ed. by John King Fairbank, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.416-21, p.423. See also Mary Clabaugh Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), pp.16-17. See also Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.666-9.

chancellorship of the Hanlin Academy and, concurrently, the tutor of the T'ung-chih Emperor. Now as the teacher of the emperor and the very person in charge of the highest academic institute in the empire, Wo-jen could not only disseminate orthodox Neo-Confucian teachings to his Ch'eng-Chu comrades within the circle but he could also spread the gospel of Ch'eng-Chu tenet to the ruler and the elites of the empire. It is against this background that one sees the unfolding of Wo-jen's moral philosophy of self-cultivation. In this regard, two works best represent his views during this period: Han-lin-yüan t'iao-kuei (the Regulations of Hanlin Academy) and Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship).

1. The "Regulations of Hanlin Academy"

Wo-jen became the chancellor of Hanlin Academy in 1862. It seems that this "Regulations of Hanlin Academy" was drafted by him during this year when he had just assumed the job. The Hanlin Academy in the Ch'ing period was a loosely organized group of litterateurs who drafted and edited work in the preparation of the more ceremonious imperial pronouncements, and compiled imperially sponsored historical and other works.¹⁰⁸ Its staff was largely composed of the cream of the young scholars who had successfully passed through the ordinary channel of the education system. However, the role of this institute was primarily as palace counselor to the Emperor. It was not supposed to be a professional academic institute of research. The majority of the Hanlin members stayed the academy before they were formally appointed to other

¹⁰⁸ Charles O. Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1985), p.223.

offices in the government. Although these members might have been exposed to conventional Confucian learning, they definitely lacked administrative experience. It is interesting to find that Wo-jen as Hanlin Chancellor did not design his program to meet the practical need of administrative affairs. Instead, he followed Neo-Confucian tradition by emphasizing the role of moral philosophy of self-cultivation.

Wo-jen's "Regulations of Hanlin Academy" consisted of a brief preface and six rules.¹⁰⁹ These six rules involved the substantial requirements for Hanlin membership. Among them, the last three rules, which called for the diary-writing, emphasized the idea of praxis, and specified the guarding of thoughts and behavior, are most significant.¹¹⁰ These six rules might be substantial, but they were

¹⁰⁹ The first rule required the presence of Hanlin members, organized in groups of 10, on the first day of each month--in order to be interviewed by the Hanlin Chancellor. The second rule emphasized the priority and order of study subjects. This implied that a substantial and yet organized learning program was necessary for each member in the institute. The third called for discussions, among the Hanlin members, of subjects they had studied. The contents of the discussions could be about trivial problems, ranging from Confucian canons or history works, or about grand theories of Confucian philosophy, like "nature" and "principle" (hsing-li), or even about current affairs (shih-wu). The subjects for discussion were supposedly open and designed according to the interests of individual members. The fourth demanded that all members keep a diary in which they daily examined and criticized their own attitudes and actions in accordance with Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian moral principles. The fifth urged the members to practice what they had learned, but that they should avoid establishing any clique. The last specified the guarding of thoughts and behavior, and demanded that the Hanlin members "move to good and correct mistakes" (ch'ien-shan kai-kuo). See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she reprinted, 1968), vol.2, p.659-62.

¹¹⁰ This policy was, however, not implemented without obstacle. For instance, the requirement to keeping a diary of self-examination was challenged. It was said that six Hanlin members co-signed a letter appealing the rule requiring them to submit a diary to their supervisor. See Weng T'ung-ho, Weng T'ung-ho jih-chi (Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, 1970), vol.1, p.191.

inadequate to understand Wo-jen's full intention in drafting them. Aware of this defect, he elucidated his actual concern in the brief preface before the body of rules.

In the beginning of the preface, Wo-jen first defined the function of the Hanlin academy not as a place to drill scholar-officials in mastering literary skills or perfecting the art of calligraphy, but as a "place to store men of ability" (ch'u-ts'ai chih ti). To clarify the meaning of "men of ability", he used a pair of Neo-Confucian concepts: t'i (substance or essence) and yung (function or utility). He said: "The men of ability are those who can study the learning of (becoming a) 'Great Man' (ta-jen), and who can illustrate t'i and yet carry out yung, and who are thus good enough to relieve the suffering and the distressed on the one hand and to benefit the state on the other."¹¹¹ Wo-jen's idea of "men of ability" was supposed to contain two elements: moral concern, which was supposedly the substance of a "man of ability", and talents, which were compatible with "instrumental rationality". But the latter element needs, according to him, to be governed by the former element.

After making his goal clear, Wo-jen then stated the primary interest of his programs. He claimed that learning or scholarship in general was nothing but an echo to the Confucian Way (tao). "To speak of learning, (one should) take the (restoration of) the Way as (his)

¹¹¹ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she reprinted, 1968), vol.2, p.659. See also Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, p.21.

vocation."¹¹² That is, the learning of "men of ability" in the Hanlin Academy would not be the learning of administration but the learning of the Way. But what does he mean by tao or the Way, and what are the real contents of this "learning"? He added briefly that what the Way concerns is merely that which concerns the ordinary human relationships (lun-ch'ang jih-yung). What the "learning" refers to is that which regards the teaching of illustrating goodness (ming-shan) of making one's mind-heart sincere (ch'eng-shen), and of becoming a sage-worthy.¹¹³ According to Wo-jen, the important thing for a man of ability to learn was not technical administrative knowledge but the moral knowledge which dealt with the operation of ordinary human relationships. That is, the learning that the men of ability needed was the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. Having revealed his purpose, Wo-jen then proposed the procedures for completing this goal. He said that to attain this goal, one should follow the orderly processes specified in the Great Learning: cultivating one's personality, regulating family relations, ordering the affair of the state, and bringing peace to the world.¹¹⁴ That is, the ideal personality of a "man of ability" was no different from the ideal personality of a Confucianist.

2. "An Outline of Scholarship"

¹¹² Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she reprinted, 1968), vol.2, p.659.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. See also Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, p.21.

Equally significant as "Regulations of Hanlin Academy" was Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship) which was also written by Wo-jen about the same time. Although Wo-jen wrote it as a kind of guideline for Neo-Confucian scholarship, this work "An Outline of Scholarship" was, by nature, a remodelled version of his "character-building" program for personality improvement displayed in his diary. Systematically presenting his approach toward Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, this work is primarily an edited piece with notes prepared for students. According to Wo-jen, this work was based on the "Articles for Learning of the White Deer Grotto Academy, continued" (Hsü pai-lu-tung kuei) written by Hu Chü-jen (1434-1484), an outstanding Neo-Confucian of the Ming period.¹¹⁵

In this brief account, Wo-jen disclosed six key steps toward orthodox Neo-Confucian scholarship. They were: 1) resolving to study (li-chih wei-hsüeh), 2) dwelling in reverence and having the mind set on (chü-ching ts'un-hsin), 3) investigating principle to the utmost and extending knowledge (ch'iung-li chih-chih), 4) searching scrupulously and acting cautiously (ch'a-chi shen-tung), 5) practicing self-discipline with earnestness (k'e-chi li-hsing), and lastly, 6) putting oneself in the place of another (t'uei-chi chi-jen).¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), Chung-hua wen-shih ts'ung-shu vol. 52th, (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprint, 1968), ch.3, p.1a. For the discussion of Chu Hsi's "Articles of Learning of the White Deer Grotto Academy" and its influence, see Wing-tsit Chan, Chu Hsi: Life and Thought (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1987), pp.174-177.

¹¹⁶ Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship), in Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), Chung-hua wen-shih ts'ung-shu vol. 52th, (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprint, 1968), ch.3, pp.173-203.

One should not regard the approach li-chih wei-hsüeh or "resolving to study" as merely decision-making for studying. This approach was actually composed of two concepts: first, goal setting, and second, the decision to study the learning of the sage and worthy. The question of "goal setting", as discussed in the previous chapter, was no simple act of decision making. It was but a task of goal setting which would decide the direction of a student turning into a sage (hsi-sheng) and becoming as perfect as Heaven (hsi-t'ien), or otherwise.¹¹⁷ With regard to "goal setting", Wo-jen quoted Chu Hsi: "Master Chu said that Confucius had made up his mind to become a sage when he was only 15 years old."¹¹⁸ That is, Wo-jen expected every student to take Confucius as a model and set his goal to become a sage in his youth. The reason for doing so was because it was only when the goal was set and the mind was

¹¹⁷ This idea of li-chih or goal setting was first proposed, in the Neo-Confucian tradition, by Ch'eng I to mean, in a given context, making up the mind (of a ruler or of an individual) to study the learning of the sage and worthy. Ch'eng I said: "In handling affairs today there are three things that must be given first priority, namely, making up the mind, delegating responsibility, and searching for virtuous men to take the responsibility." Here Ch'eng I suggested that the emperor of the Sung to take these three things as "base" and to regard their proper application in actual affairs as "function". And by li-chih, Ch'eng I meant: Making up the mind means to be perfectly sincere and single-minded, to consider practicing the Way as one's own responsibility, to regard the teaching of the sages as definitely reliable, to look upon the government measures of the ancient kings as definitely practicable, not to follow rigidly the advice of those nearby nor be influenced or fooled by popular opinion, but to be determined to bring about a world order like that of the Three Dynasties. See Chu Hsi, Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), tr. by Wing-tsit Chan, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.204.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.173.

made up that the direction of learning could become materialized.¹¹⁹

Wo-jen's idea of li-chih wei-hsüeh was inspired by the Analects in which Confucius claimed that "At 15, I had my mind bent on learning."¹²⁰ But this idea of learning, according to Wo-jen, was not a process to accumulate practical knowledge. Rather, it was a process of studying the learning of becoming a moral man--in his words, to study the learning of acting as a man (hsüeh i hsüeh wei-jen).¹²¹ By moral man Wo-jen meant a sage-worthy, and the best models were Yao and Shun. "Resolving to study", in effect, meant to resolve to study the learning of how to become a sage-worthy.¹²²

After the resolution for study was made, one then needed to practice the idea of ching (reverence). It was regarded by Wo-jen as the formal step for entering the learning of Confucianism. He quoted the Ch'engs to support him: "Nothing is better than the approach of ching (reverence) for entering the Way".¹²³ The purpose of practicing the idea of ching, or in his words, "dwelling in reverence" (chü-ching), was to "have one's mind set on" (ts'un-hsin) which was identified by him as

¹¹⁹ It is interesting to find that Wang Yang-ming also emphasized this concept. He said: "Once one's chih was established, his learning was half completed". See Hsieh Wu-liang, Yang-ming hsüeh-p'ai (The Yang-ming School), (Taipei: Kwang-wen shu chü, 1980), p.117.

¹²⁰ The Analects, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.135.

¹²¹ Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship), in Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), Chung-hua wen-shih ts'ung-shu vol. 52th, (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprint, 1968), ch.3, p.173.

¹²² Ibid., p.176.

¹²³ Ibid., p.179.

the cultivation and nourishment of the mind-heart in oneself.¹²⁴ According to him, one's mind-heart was "hsü-ling" (intelligent awareness in its pure, naturally given, cosmically indivisible form, empty of any consciously specific concepts or sensations)¹²⁵ and was therefore stored with the Heavenly principle which included Confucian virtues such as jen (benevolence), i (righteousness), li (propriety), and chih (intelligence). With reverence dwelling in the mind, one's character would become cultivated and his resolution would become fixed. With these two factors together, i.e. cultivated character and clear resolution, Wo-jen held that one was then qualified to investigate principle (ch'iung-li). Only with these two factors together, he contended, would investigating the principle to the utmost result in the principle illustrated (ch'iung-li li pi ming), and would turning one's thought in upon oneself result in one becoming sincere (fan-shen shen pi ch'eng). This approach of chü-ching ts'un-hsin or "dwelling in reverence and having the mind set on" was, Wo-jen asserted, the "great foundation of scholarship" (hsüeh-wen chih ta-pen-yüan).¹²⁶ This approach was regarded by Wo-jen as the most critical thing to a student for entering the door of scholarship.

Once reverence became dwelled in the mind-heart, it meant one's

¹²⁴ Wo-jen contended that to dwell in reverence was to cultivate and nourish (han-yang) one's "foundation" (pen-yüan), namely, one's mind-heart. See Ibid., p.178.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the Neo-Confucian concept of hsü-ling, see Thomas A. Metzger, Escape from Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1977), p.142, p.255 note 64.

¹²⁶ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.178.

mind-heart was set on, and that one was therefore ready to "investigate principle and extend knowledge" (ch'iung-li chih-chih). Although one's mind-heart was filled with thousands of principles through one's effort, like cultivation and nourishment, these principles needed to be verified by the principles of the sage and worthy--to make sure the principles one held in one's mind-heart were identical with theirs. To do so, one needed to study the learning of the sage and worthy, to take the lessons of tutors and associates, to examine the development of things and matters, and to check the situation of one's physical behavior and mind-heart.¹²⁷ In short, one had to follow the teachings of the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean: The former said that wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they must first extend their knowledge to the utmost and such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. The latter claimed that to practice earnestly one must study extensively, inquire accurately, reflect carefully, and discriminate clearly.¹²⁸

Although principle was investigated, one would still encounter the alternative of good or evil when one's nien (idea-thought) and lŭ (consideration) were made. To Wo-jen, nien was extremely critical because a single idea in one's thought could make one turn to as high as the Heavenly principle or to as low as human lust (jen-yü); namely, it could decide if one became a sage-worthy or the opposite. Knowing this potential danger of polarity, one thus needed to search scrupulously and act cautiously in implementing the already investigated principle. Wo-

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.186.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.186.

jen believed that this is the backbone of scholarship.¹²⁹

After the mind-heart had been carefully checked, one's nien (idea-thought) and consideration should be put into action. In order to make sure that all actions are correct, Wo-jen believed that one needed to practice self-discipline with earnestness. If one believed that these actions were part of Heavenly principle, then one needed to practice them as if one could never work hard enough. If one believed that these actions were part of human desires, then one needed to avoid them as much as possible. Wo-jen asserted that as far as action was concern, one must go along with the requirement of li (propriety) in his seeing, hearing, talking, and moving.¹³⁰

Yet, completing one's morality (ch'eng-chi) was not enough. To become a true moral man, one also needed to attain two other tasks: first, to complete the morality of other men and things (ch'eng-wu) and to illustrate illustrious virtue (ming-teh), and secondly, to renovate the people (hsin-ming).¹³¹ This approach implied that the completion of the moral ideal could not merely stop at the completing of the morality of oneself (ch'eng-chi) but one also had to complete other men and things (ch'eng-wu). In other words, a moral man should also assume

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.195.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.198.

¹³¹ This is primarily an echo to the teachings of the Doctrine of the Mean and the Great Learning. The former claimed that "The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also." The latter said: "What the Great Learning teaches, is--to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence." See The Doctrine of the Mean, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.97. And The Great Learning, p.2.

the responsibility of "renovating the people" in addition to personal moral perfection. "Renovating the people" was closely associated with the concept of ching-shih. In this sense, hsiu-shen and ching-shih were two interlocking concepts in the context of the idea of the possession of sincerity.

Agreeing with Mencius, Wo-jen held that one should extend his morality, which was gained through the practice of self-cultivation, to others.¹³² That is to say, if one did not become prominent in his career he should at least complete the morality of himself to behave as a moral person. But if he happened to have become successful he should also complete the morality of others.¹³³ Wo-jen's idea of extending one's morality to others can be, he claimed, best presented in Chang Tsai's well-known dictum:

Make up your mind for the sake of Heaven and Earth. Establish the Way for the sake of living men. Continue the learning that has been interrupted for the sake of past sages. And inaugurate great peace for the sake of the next ten thousand generations.¹³⁴

3. The Significance of the Unfolding of Wo-Jen's Moral Philosophy of Self-Cultivation

The above-mentioned two works of Wo-jen, the "Regulations of Hanlin Academy" and "An Outline of Scholarship", were both produced in

¹³² Mencius said: "If poor, one should attend to his own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, he should make the whole world virtuous as well." See the Works of Mencius, in James Legge, tr. The Four Books, (Taipei: Culture Book Co., 1979, reprinted), p.940.

¹³³ See Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), ch.3, p.201.

¹³⁴ Chu Hsi, Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), tr. by Wing-tsit Chan, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.83.

the early 1860s. It is noteworthy that it was during this period that Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism was endorsed by the two empress dowagers--the real rulers of the empire. It also needs to be pointed out that it was during this period that Wo-jen was, together with his two other intellectual comrades Wu T'ing-tung and Li T'ang-chieh, known in his own times as one of the "Three Great Worthies" (san ta hsien) for his image as a moral vanguard and for his informed scholarship. Seen from this historical perspective, the given two works, which were closely associated with the image of Wo-jen as a "Great Worthy" as portrayed by his contemporaries, were key to the significance of Wo-jen's Neo-Confucian thought during this period.

Written for the future "men of ability" (jen-ts'ai), these two accounts greatly stressed the idea of moral consciousness. For instance, he specified the guarding of thoughts and behavior and highlighted the idea of moral praxis for Hanlin officials in the Han-lin-yüan t'iao-kuei (the Regulations of Hanlin Academy). In similar approach, he highlighted the moral goal of elite education in the Wei-hsüeh ta-chih (An Outline of Scholarship). In this regard, his idea of "resolving to study" (li-chih wei-hsüeh), the very first step to be taken in the program of Wei-hsüeh ta-chih, was formulated by Wo-jen to mean the orientation for action. For Wo-jen, only after the moral goal was set and the direction was chosen, was one then allowed to accept the key to the door of Confucian learning. In this regard, it can be best seen in his own words: "Why (don't you) wish to become sages and worthies and heroes? Why (do you) only wish to become rotten like grasses and trees do? (One should) always refresh this idea of chih (to become sages and worthies

and heroes)."¹³⁵ That is, "to resolve to study" meant to set the goal of becoming as perfect as the sages and worthies through Confucian learning which would provide one with the methods of moral praxis.

For Wo-jen, the idea of moral praxis, which was first emphasized by him in his "character-building" program for personality improvement, is not only applicable to a true Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianist like him but also to all future "men of ability" in the Hanlin Academy and elsewhere. Even though "men of ability" needed, in Wo-jen's eyes, to carry a kind of "instrumental rationality", in his own words, yung (function or utility), to meet practical needs in the real world, he believed that the idea of yung needed to be governed by the idea of moral consciousness, or in his word, t'i (substance or essence).

In Wo-jen's Confucian system, morality was the first concern while knowledge was the second. That is, for Wo-jen, the idea of Confucian learning was not so much a process to accumulate practical knowledge as a process of studying the learning of becoming a moral man.¹³⁶ Unlike Chu Hsi who believed that "knowledge must precede (moral) practice,"¹³⁷ Wo-jen regarded morality and its practice to be more critical than knowledge and thus it needed to be cautiously explored. In this regard, Wo-jen seems to interpret the Neo-Confucian approach of "chü-ching ch'iung-li" (dwelling in reverence and investigating

¹³⁵ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), Chung-hua wen-shih ts'ung-shu vol. 52th, (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprint, 1968), p.238.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.173.

¹³⁷ Ying-shih Yü, "Morality and Knowledge in Chu Hsi's Philosophical System", in Wing-tsit Chan, ed. Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p.232.

principle to the utmost) in a non-conventional perspective. In Wo-jen's Neo-Confucian system, the idea of ch'iung-li or "investigating principle to the utmost" was not so much a matter of the pursuit of knowledge, as was interpreted by Chu Hsi, as the investigation of morality. In his own words, "the idea of ch'iung-li can be exclusively investigated in oneself" because this idea is, he argued, embodied only in moralistic concepts such as jen (benevolence), i (righteousness), li (propriety), and chih (intelligence).¹³⁸ That is, the idea of ch'iung-li was not located by Wo-jen in the category of "sense knowledge" (wen-chien chih chih) but in the realm of "moral knowledge" (teh-hsing chih chih).¹³⁹ In short, his approach of ch'iung-li, which was greatly influenced by the idea of moral consciousness, was inward-oriented instead of outward-oriented.

D. Morality and Statecraft

As a spokesman of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in his times, the 1860s, Wo-jen was morally and intellectually influential with the elites in the Hanlin Academy and intellectuals in the capital. In this regard, the nature of his influence, which was closely associated with his image as a "Great Worthy", was best displayed in the above-discussed two accounts. However, the influence of his Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism went

¹³⁸ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chū, reprinted, 1968), p.192.

¹³⁹ For a discussion of "sense knowledge" (wen-chien chih chih) and "moral knowledge" (teh-hsing chih chih) in Chu Hsi's system, see Ying-shih Yü, "Morality and Knowledge in Chu Hsi's Philosophical System", in Wing-tsit Chan, ed. Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp.241-8.

far beyond this. We should not forget that during this time Wo-jen was also impressing the absolute rulers of the empire, the two empress dowagers in the imperial court, with his Ch'eng-Chu doctrine. In this regard, we need to refer to his two other accounts: Ch'i-hsin chin-chien (Golden Mirror for Instruction of the Heart)¹⁴⁰ and Wo-hsin chin-chien (Golden Mirror for Irrigation of the Heart).¹⁴¹ Both titles were conferred by the imperial house because of their usefulness in reference to the emperor's statecraft.

The "Golden Mirror for Instruction of the Heart" was a work chronologically edited with proverbs and quotations based on the given heroic deeds of outstanding rulers from Yao of the Golden Ages to the Jen-tsung Emperor (1023-63) of the Sung. In contrast to the "Golden Mirror for Instruction of the Heart" which was based on stories of ancient rulers, the "Golden Mirror for Irrigation of the Heart" was grounded in the memorials of eminent ministers in the past and present. By nature, it was an edited article of proverbs originally written by able and well-known ministers in history. As a continuation of the Golden Mirror for Instruction of the Heart, it included an appendix which contained some valuable essays concerning statecraft.

Wo-jen's motive for presenting these two accounts in 1862 was primarily educational. During the early 1860s when the T'ung-chih

¹⁴⁰ The original title as Wo-jen put it was Ku ti-wang shih-chi (The Heroic Deeds of Ancient Emperors and Kings). Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.151.

¹⁴¹ The original title of this work was Ku-chin ch'en-kung chou-i (The Selected Memorials of Eminent Ministers in the Past and Present). See *ibid.*

emperor first ascended his throne, the two empress dowagers were planning to let the child emperor, who was then less than 10 years old, study the voluminous Tzu-chih t'ung-chien (Complete Mirror for Aiding Government), the first general history of China since Shih Chi (Historical Memoirs) of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (B.C.145-B.C.86). Worried that this historical work might be too much for the child emperor, Wo-jen felt that it was appropriate to suggest his relatively simplified two accounts to the two empress dowagers for the education of the T'ung-chih Emperor.¹⁴²

In a deeper sense, Wo-jen's motive for presenting these two accounts in 1862 was to let his edited historical lessons help his lord to "promote virtues and the method of governance".¹⁴³ That is, his imperial educational program as seen in the given two accounts, was supposed to materialize his Confucian ideal of "outer-kingship" through his what can be called the "learning of the emperors" (ti-hsüeh).¹⁴⁴ The following sections are thus devoted to the discussion of Wo-jen's imperial educational program of the "learning of the emperors".

1. The Virtues of a King

¹⁴² Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp.155-9.

¹⁴³ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.151.

¹⁴⁴ Fumoto Yasutaka, "Shindai Juka Shichojo ni Okeru Wa Bun-tan-ko no chii" (The Status of Wo-jen seen from the Confucian Intellectual History of the Ch'ing), Toyo Gakuho, 32:1 (Oct. 1948), p.97-98. For a discussion of the "learning of the emperors", see Wm. Theodore de Bary, Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp.27-31, pp.91-98.

According to Wo-jen, the virtues of an ideal ruler should contain at least the following elements: jen (benevolence), chien (thriftiness), ch'ien (humbleness), ch'eng (sincerity), ching (reverence), the guarding of thoughts and behavior, being diligent in the administration of government, and the will to study. To Wo-jen, and other orthodox Neo-Confucianists as well, the principle of governance was not determined by power but by morality. Out of this moral view, Wo-jen believed that the greatest rulers in history such as Yao, Shun, Yü, King T'ang, and others, achieved their unusual careers mainly because of their benevolent deeds.¹⁴⁵ To highlight the idea of jen or benevolence, Wo-jen quoted a dialogue between Sung T'ai-chu (i.e. Chao K'wang-in, 960-976) and a scholar in retirement. The founder of the Sung dynasty asked the retired scholar about the method of governing the state and one's regimen. The scholar replied that the best method of governing the state is nothing but to love the people, and the method of regimen relies on lessening one's desires. To impress his imperial readers, Wo-jen stressed in his comment that "lessening desires" meant to nourish "the Heaven-conferred virtue of the mind" (hsin chih teh) while "loving the people" implied extending "the principle of love" (ai chih li).¹⁴⁶

While being benevolent toward people, a ruler should, however, be frugal in both his personal spending and the state's expenditure. In

¹⁴⁵ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp.13-20.

¹⁴⁶ This idea of "the principle of love, and the Heaven-conferred virtue of the mind" (ai chih li, hsin chih te) was first spelled out by Chu Hsi. See Sato Hitoshi, "Chu Hsi's 'Treatise on Jen'", in Wing-tsit Chan, ed. Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp.212-227.

this regard, Wo-jen proposed two different kinds of historical lessons to his lord. On the one hand, he well praised frugal leaders like Han Wen-ti (r. B.C.179-B.C.157) and Sung T'ai-chu who declined unnecessary expenses in the imperial house and government.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, Wo-jen denounced Shui Yang-ti (r. 605-17) for his extravagance, which brought disaster for the short-lived Shui dynasty, and criticized T'ang Hsüan-chung (r. 712-56) about his excesses, which made the T'ang dynasty move toward poverty from prosperity.¹⁴⁸ It was based on this idea of frugality that in the year of 1869 he presented a memorial to the imperial house calling for thrift in the T'ung-chih Emperor's marriage ceremony.¹⁴⁹ He stressed that avoiding lavishness had been a policy of the state since the founding of the dynasty. To highlight the trait of this policy, he explained that "to be sparing in the use of the people's money means the nourishment of the lifeblood of a state."¹⁵⁰

In addition to jen (benevolence) and chien (thriftiness), an ideal leader also needed, according to Wo-jen, to be humble in both his mind and behavior. To be humble means that a leader should be, like the emperor Yao and Han Wen-ti, open-minded to different opinions so that

¹⁴⁷ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp.24-5, pp.42-3.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.31-32, pp.34-5.

¹⁴⁹ Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.46, vol.12, pp.3639-40. See also Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), pp.159-63.

¹⁵⁰ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.162.

his ministers would offer all their wisdom.¹⁵¹ In this regard, Wo-jen advised his lord to learn to accept remonstrances from his ministers--because the nature of a true remonstrance tends to be very unpleasant. To give examples, he honored the emperor Yao for establishing a "drum of remonstrance" which made it possible for his subjects to freely express their opinions about the ruler's governance.¹⁵² In addition to the heroic deed of Yao, Wo-jen also greatly praised T'ang T'ai-chung (r. 627-49) for embracing all bitter remonstrances from his critical censors. Wo-jen thus suggested to the ruler of the Ch'ing dynasty that a prince of a state should only care about the right or wrong remonstrances per se, rather than the motive behind them--such as the motive for fame.¹⁵³

2. Morality and the Principle of Governance

Related to the concept of ch'ien (humbleness) were ideas like ch'eng (sincerity) and ching (reverence). For Wo-jen, a leader who could practice the virtue of humbleness in accepting bitter remonstrances from his ministers, must be first develop a personality of sincerity and reverence. He believed that a leader with this personality of sincerity and reverence would become "concentrated and thoughtful" in his governance.¹⁵⁴

Wo-jen gave a dichotomy to the idea of reverence versus the idea

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.13, pp.23-4.

¹⁵² Ibid., pp.13-4.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.72.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.40.

of idleness (tai)--a polarized symbol of order and disorder--to emphasize the risk of power and its corruption. He quoted Shih Shang-fu, a great minister of King Wu of Chou, to support this dichotomy: "The auspicious thing for a king was his reverent attitude. However, a king would perish if he chose the attitude of idleness."¹⁵⁵ In this regard, Wo-jen also quoted Chen Teh-hsiu (1178-1235) of Sung to support him: "If a ruler chose reverence, then all goodness would be established. And if he chose idleness, then all goodness would perish."¹⁵⁶ Here, the reverence and idleness of a ruler were juxtaposed dichotomously in order to display the gap between the two. The idea of reverence was regarded by Wo-jen as the Way of Yao, Shun, and Confucius, namely, the Way of sages.¹⁵⁷ That is, the idea of reverence was meant by Wo-jen to be the secret of a powerful state.

It was out of this kind of concept, regarding moralistic virtues as the secret of a powerful state, that Wo-jen came to defend the idea of ch'eng or sincerity. He said that practicing the idea of sincerity could help a prince avoid disasters.¹⁵⁸ To make his idea clearer, he explained that practicing sincerity to the utmost will move not only the people but also the gods. He added that if a king could truly practice the idea of ch'eng, then the gap between the gods and human being could be bridged. If so, how could not a king establish an excellent career of

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.51.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.51-2.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.20-21.

his own, Wo-jen said.¹⁵⁹

However, one's will tends to become degenerated and so do the minds of sincerity and reverence. For Wo-jen, the nature of mind-heart was similar for both a prince and a common person: it was subject to temptation by dark force and thus to becoming corrupt. But he also pointed out that unlike the mind-heart of a common person, the mind-heart of a prince was the target of many sinister ministers.¹⁶⁰ Since whether or not a state can become orderly depended solely on the mind-heart of a prince, Wo-jen suggested that a prince should take necessary methods to avoid the corruption of his mind-heart.¹⁶¹

To avoid the corruption of mind-heart in oneself means the guarding of thoughts and behavior. In this regard, Wo-jen proposed to his lord the method of lessening desires and faults which, he claimed, would result in the ordering of the state. He agreed with Sung T'ai-chu that a ruler should maintain as few desires as possible in his mind-heart which, Wo-jen asserted, affected the rise and fall of the state and was therefore a focus of attention of all his ministers. If a ruler made his likings unknown to anyone, then there would be little opportunity for mean ministers to get near him.¹⁶² Wo-jen argued that once a prince learned how to lessen his desires, he would begin to appreciate the value of frugality and thus become a benevolent

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.97-8.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.27-8, pp.100-2.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.120.

¹⁶² Ibid., p.40, 27-8.

king.¹⁶³ That is, Wo-jen regarded the ascetic practice of "lessening desires" as a way of nourishing a prince's virtue in the mind-heart.¹⁶⁴

Mindful of the danger of desires to a prince, Wo-jen then presented his substantial prescription for annihilating desires: to block the source of desires. He suggested that a prince oppose an unprincipled idea with a moral idea. That is, once an idea of desire arose from the mind-heart, a prince should immediately think of moral philosophy of self-cultivation (i-li) to overcome it.¹⁶⁵ To do so, a prince should always keep a heart of reverence. Otherwise once desires moved and motions were aroused, a prince would not be able to dominate them even though he was aware of their actions.¹⁶⁶

3. A Moralistic View of Administration

Although a prince was supposed to develop virtues like benevolence, thriftiness, humbleness, sincerity, reverence, and the guarding of thoughts and behavior, he still needed to get his job done: the administration of government. In this regard, Wo-jen specified the idea of yung-jen or "the management of people." For Wo-jen, it is impossible for a prince alone to govern the whole state, even though he was born to own the all above-mentioned virtues. Accordingly, a prince

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.41.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p.41.

¹⁶⁵ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.58.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p.58.

needed to know the "management of people", namely, the management of ministers. "Those who can make use of people are always at ease. Those who simply busy themselves with everything are always exhausted."¹⁶⁷

Concerning the management of people, Wo-jen again looked through his moralistic lens and stressed the differentiation between chün-tze (superiors) and hsiao-jen (inferiors). That is, a ruler should not differentiate between talented and non-talented ministers but between morally good and bad officials.¹⁶⁸ Wo-jen once expressed this view in his diary with a very impressive passage: "Managing the state relies on getting rid of mean ministers while practicing self-cultivation relies on getting rid of desires."¹⁶⁹ This view was based on the Neo-Confucian moral preoccupation that whether a prince can put his state in order or not depends not on able but moral ministers. In Wo-jen's words, there was no orderly state by using morally unqualified ministers, and no disorderly state by using loyal and worthy administrators.¹⁷⁰

Given this dichotomous differentiation, Wo-jen advised the emperor to distinguish between the characteristics of superiors and inferiors among his ministers. He characterized the superiors as likely to be clumsy in speech, generous, farsighted, non-aggressive yet unbending, and predisposed to argue with and admonish the emperor. In contrast, the inferiors were to be known by their cleverness, use of flattery,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.23.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.145-50. See also Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.46, vol.12, pp.3631-2.

¹⁶⁹ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), ch.6, p.423.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.39.

aggressiveness, and calculation of personal interest.¹⁷¹

According to Wo-jen, the criterion to differentiate good ministers from bad ones lay in the ruler's mind. For this, he referred to Chu Hsi to support his viewpoint: That all things could become unpredictably changing in this world, were because of the function of one's mind-heart. If a ruler's mind-heart was upright (cheng), then all things under the Heaven would stem up from uprightness. And if a ruler's mind-heart was not upright, then the world would go the opposite.¹⁷² What Chu Hsi meant here is that the rectification of the mind-heart was the foundation of all things under Heaven. Like Chu Hsi, Wo-jen believed that the mind-heart was the "master of everything". Whether the "management of people" and the operation of administration (yung-jen hsing-cheng) in a state could work validly or not depended on a ruler's mind-heart. In short, whether a state would become orderly or disorderly would rely on the mind-heart of the ruler.¹⁷³

However, to make such a differentiation between superiors and inferiors, a prince should study hard. Wo-jen believed that learning was important to a prince, because even though the ancient sage-kings were naturally gifted they still needed to study in order to complete their

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp.147-8. Ch'ing-shih lieh-chuan (Biographies of the Ch'ing History), ch.46, vol.12. p.3632. See also Arthur W. Hummel, ed. Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period: 1644-1911, p.861.

¹⁷² Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), Chung-hua wen-shih ts'ung-shu vol. 52th, (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprint, 1968), p.92.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.92.

virtues.¹⁷⁴ According to Wo-jen, the pursuit of knowledge means ch'iung-li or "investigating principle to the utmost". To support his view, Wo-jen quoted Chu Hsi's passages which claimed that for the investigation of principle one first needed to study.¹⁷⁵ That is, to understand the principle of the rise and decline of previous dynasties, a ruler must turn to the books of History and Confucian Classics for reference.¹⁷⁶ Wo-jen gave examples of those leaders who were fond of studying: Sung T'ai-chung (r.976-97) and Sung Jen-chung (1023-63). He believed that it is through knowledge that a prince could realize the pattern of prosperity and failure of an epoch in history.

E. Conclusion

Wo-jen's Neo-Confucian thought which emphasized the ascetic practices of self-discipline and self-mastery was primarily based on Chu Hsi's "chü-ching ch'iung-li" (Dwelling in reverence and investigating principle to the utmost)--a theory introduced to him by T'ang Chien. Wo-jen interpreted this theory as an approach of "inward transcendence" through which one could transcend himself and thus became unified with the transcendent Heaven. One achieved this by digging deep into one's Heaven-conferred inner moral resources embodied in one's moral mind-heart.

The focus of Wo-jen's Neo-Confucian system was different from his

¹⁷⁴ Wo-jen, Wo Wen-tuan-kung i-shu (Surviving Works of Wo-jen), (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, reprinted, 1968), p.43.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.78-79.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p.43.

intellectual mentor T'ang Chien, whose Confucian thoughts were primarily marked by an emphasis on the ideas of Confucian tao and tao-t'ung and the restoration of these two ideas. In contrast to T'ang, Wo-jen's orthodox Neo-Confucian system was best characterized by a sense of moral consciousness. It is out of this moral consciousness that he spelled out his ideas of moral awareness and moral praxis in his "character-building" program, established his image as a "Great Worthy" in the early 1860s, and developed his imperial educational program of the "learning of the emperors".

Unlike T'ang Chien who lived in a time when the idea of tao was still dim during the late k'ao-cheng period of the early 19th century, Wo-jen with his Ch'eng-Chu doctrine and his image as moral vanguard was favorably accepted within and without the court by the 1860s. Not only could he enjoy political power through the orthodox Neo-Confucianism he studied, but his Ch'eng-Chu doctrine could also replace k'ao-cheng learning to establish a new intellectual hegemony and thus enjoy the orthodoxy of scholarship. As a crux of his Neo-Confucian thought, the sense of moral consciousness made Wo-jen the leader of the Ch'eng-Chu circle after the death of T'ang Chien in 1861. Typified in his "character-building" program of personality improvement, this sense of moral consciousness of Wo-jen's greatly influenced the personality of Tseng Kuo-fan, who will be the hero of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

TSENG KUO-FAN: FROM INNER SAGEHOOD TO OUTER KINGSHIP

"In terms of the principle of acting as a man (tsuo-jen chih tao), what the sages and worthies had repeatedly claimed were nothing but the ideas of ching (reverence) and shu (reciprocity)."--Tseng Kuo-fan

Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872) was, at the age of 30, first introduced to his fellow Hunanese, T'ang Chien, in late 1840.¹ During this period, Tseng maintained a study habit of extensively reading in Ku-wen (Ancient Literature)² and histories, which were regarded as necessary tools for climbing the traditional examination ladder.³ Not until the summer of 1841, on an occasional visit to T'ang Chien, was Tseng attracted by T'ang Chien's Ch'eng-Chu philosophical system. The 1841 visit had a definite impact on Tseng. Like Wo-jen and others, he was brought to reason by T'ang Chien that the decline of the empire in the first half of the 19th century was due to the parallel demise of Confucianism as a

¹ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), pp.48-49.

² A classical style of prose which stressed simplicity, directness and vigor.

³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), pp.48-49.

faith among scholar-officials. He was convinced by T'ang's belief that the revival of the empire was therefore dependent upon the rejuvenation of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. Less than a week after the visit, Tseng began to study the Complete Works of Master Chu seriously.⁴

Tseng experienced a salient intellectual conversion in the fall of 1842. Tseng shifted from his literature-based study to the learning and practice of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy and became wholeheartedly devoted to the practice of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. He set up a "Learning Curriculum" for his personal study in early 1843 and, like Wo-jen, kept a diary of self-examination in which he reflected upon his behavior and recorded each deviation from the rules which he had set for himself.⁵

A. The Man, the Intellectual Development, and the Career

Born in a poor peasant family in Hsiang-hsiang, Hunan, Tseng Kuo-fan became a student in the prestigious Yüeh-lu Academy in 1833 and was well known for poems and prose.⁶ In 1838 Tseng qualified as a chin-shih and later, in the same year, became a member of the Hanlin Academy. At

⁴ Ibid., p.93.

⁵ Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, pp.22-23.

⁶ According to Li Shu-ch'ang, Tseng Kuo-fan enrolled in the academy in 1834. But Lu Pao-ch'ien's study suggested the date should be 1833. See Li Shu-ch'ang, Tseng Kuo-fan nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Chang-sha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.4. Lu Pao-ch'ien, Liu Jung nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Liu Jung), (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1979), p.4.

the capital, he pursued his studies with great tenacity of purpose and profited by his contacts with noted contemporary scholars.⁷ Among them, there were scholars of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism like T'ang Chien, W Jen, Wu T'ing-tung, and Tou Hsü; scholars of Confucian Classics like Wu Chia-pin (1803-1864) and Shao I-ch'en (1810-1861),⁸ and scholars of poetry and calligraphy like Ho Shao-chi (1799-1873).⁹ However, Tseng regarded T'ang Chien as his intellectual mentor and was particularly affected by T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism during this period between 1841 and 1846.¹⁰ Under T'ang Chien's Influence, Tseng showed, in terms of his approach toward scholarship, a high esteem toward the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian learning of moral philosophy and a disregard toward the learning of Textual Criticism.¹¹

Tseng Kuo-fan's close affiliation with T'ang Chien came to end in 1846 when T'ang Chien retired from his office and returned to the south.

⁷ Arthur W. Hummel, ed. Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period: 1644-1912 (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprint, p. 751.

⁸ Both Wu Chia-pin and Shao I-ch'en were experts on the Book of Rites. For a short intellectual biography of Wu, see Hsü Shih-ch'ang, Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (An Intellectual History of the Ch'ing), ch.178, pp.5-15. For a brief biography of Shao, see Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, p.638.

⁹ For a brief biography of Ho Shao-chi, see Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.287-8. For Tseng Kuo-fan's contacts with scholars, see Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.47.

¹⁰ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.55.

In a way, T'ang's departure from Peking marked the termination of the first stage of Tseng's intellectual activities.¹² T'ang's role as an intellectual advisor to Tseng was soon filled by Liu Ch'uan-ying (1818-1848), a scholar of the Textual Criticism school.

Tseng's brief but close friendship with Liu Ch'uan-ying started from the period of his hospitalization with pneumonia in a Buddhist temple in the suburbs of Peking in 1846.¹³ During this time, he amused himself by studying the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu (Explanations and Analysis of Characters).¹⁴ Because of Liu's influence, Tseng started to develop a balanced view toward the longstanding intellectual discord between the school of Han Learning (Textual Criticism) and the school of Sung Learning (Neo-Confucianism). This change, however, should not be regarded as Tseng's rebuff of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. Rather, he treated the Confucian Way as an "end" while treating wen (literature) as a "means." In his words, "those who want to illustrate the Way of previous kings should seriously take the mastery over wen as his most

¹² Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, pp.28-29.

¹³ It is in this temple that Tseng became acquainted with Liu who was also hospitalized there for some kind of contagious illness.

¹⁴ Unlike his relationship with T'ang Chien, which resembled a tutor-disciple relationship, Tseng's relationship with Liu was that of companionship. It must be pointed out that in this association Liu learned the tenets of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism from Tseng almost as much as Tseng learned the skills of Textual Criticism from Liu. See Chu Tung-an, Tseng Kuo-fan chuan (A Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan) (Ch'eng-tu: Shih-ch'uan Jen-ming Ch'u-pan-she, 1985), pp.22-23.

important job (yao-wu)".¹⁵

Tseng's close affiliation with the K'ao-cheng or Textual Criticism circle did not last long. This was partly because of the sudden death of Liu Ch'uan-ying in 1848, and partly because of the increasing bureaucratic duties which fell upon him in 1847 when he was assigned as Sub-Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat. The period from 1847 to 1853 witnessed Tseng's increasing involvement with civil administration as well as his rapid rise on the bureaucratic ladder.¹⁶ He was given several rapid promotions in the capital. In 1849 he was appointed junior vice-president of the Board of Ceremonies. Three years later, he was sent to conduct the provincial examination of Kiangsi. Soon after the eruption of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), which turned out to be the greatest catastrophe of the empire,¹⁷ Tseng was ordered by the emperor to recruit and train the Hunan militia which was later known as Hsiang-chün or the Hunan Army.

In the battle field against the Taipings, Tseng Kuo-fan had less time to practice Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. But he did not discontinue his study habit of extensive reading. It is during this time that he began to appreciate the merit of the T'ung-ch'eng school.¹⁸

¹⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.13002.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp.42-43.

¹⁷ In this social revolution, the Ch'ing Empire lost as many as 16 provinces and some 300 cities to the Taipings.

¹⁸ This became possible because of his friendship with Liu Ch'uan-ying and his sympathetic attitude toward the K'ao-cheng school. Taken together, they had helped Tseng to develop a new literary vision which provided him with a capacity to appreciate the merit of the T'ung-ch'eng

Although Tseng mentioned that his interest in literature was first stimulated by Yao Nai (1731-1815) during his youth,¹⁹ little is known as to how and when he later developed his close intellectual affiliation with the T'ung-ch'eng school.²⁰ Judging from the poems which Tseng dedicated to Mei Tseng-liang (1786-1856), an important advocate of the T'ung-ch'eng school,²¹ Tseng seemed to have developed a good friendship with Mei in Peking even before Mei's retirement in 1849.²² As a devoted follower of Yao Nai, Mei shared a similar political ideology with the Ch'eng-Chu scholars like T'ang Chien and Wo-jen. This ideology stated that the chief social controls were not institutions and law but social norms. It claimed that the state was established for the education of the people, and "cultivated" people were the pillars of the

school.

¹⁹ See Shen-cheh hua-hsiang chi (A Portrait of Philosophical Sages), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of Poems and Essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.250.

²⁰ This is partly because of the absence of Tseng's diaries between 1846-57.

²¹ Mei was a pupil of Yao Nai. Yao's "four great disciples" (yao-meng shih chieh)--Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851), Liu K'ai (1784-1824), Kuan T'ung (1780-1831), Mei Tseng-liang--did not achieve prominence in the government. Only Mei succeeded in obtaining a chin-shih degree. They were neither influential in literary circles, nor in Classical scholarship during their times. Mei had a longer career in the Board of Finance and, thus, helped spread the influence of Yao's teaching. See Kai-wing Chow, "Power, Discourses, and Education: the Invention of the T'ung-ch'eng School in Ch'ing China", Paper delivered at the annual Conference of Journal of Asian Studies in Chicago, April 1990, p.49.

²² Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, pp.32-34.

state.²³ But what attracted Tseng most was probably Mei's, as well as the whole school of T'ung-ch'eng's, clear and lucid style of literary presentation, namely, to discuss the problems of moral education in the context of the current political situation.²⁴

Tseng's T'ung-Ch'eng heritage was best presented in his two essays: Ou-yang shen wen-chi hsü (A Preface for Mr. Ou-yang's Literary Collection) and Shen-che hua-hsiang chi (A Portrait of Philosophical Sages). In the former piece Tseng specified the contribution of Yao Nai and praised his literary theory of paying equal emphasis to i-li (moral philosophy), k'ao-chü (textual criticism), and t'zu-chang (literary works).²⁵ In the latter essay, Tseng applied Yao's literary theory to examine the historical "philosophical sages."²⁶ What is noteworthy is,

²³ Ibid., p. 31.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of Poems and Essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp.245-47.

²⁶ Based on Yao's three major classifications, Tseng identified thirty two "philosophical sages." Among them, King Wen, the Duke of Chou, Confucius, and Mencius belonged to the noble category of sages. They could not be described in isolation by one single criterion. Along with them, Tso-ch'iu Ming (the author of Tso Chuan), Chuang Tzu, Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-86 B.C.), and Pan Ku (32-92) were individuals with overwhelming talent and could not be judged by Yao's theory. With respect to celebrated figures like Chu-ke Liang (181-234), Lu Chih (754-805), Fan Chung-yen (989-1052), and Ssu-ma Kwang (1019-1086), Tseng argued that their achievements lay in both their virtues and their statesmanship. They could be categorized as i-li, though barely. For the rest of the twenty, Tseng contended that Chou Tun-i (1017-1073), Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085), Chang Tsai (1020-1077), and Chu Hsi (1130-1200) were thinkers with great virtue and thus fit the criterion of i-li. Han Yü (768-824), Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), Tseng Kung (1019-1083), Li Po (701-762), Tu Fu (712-770), Su Shih (1036-1101), and Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) belonged to another group. They were all marvelous experts of language and thus fit the standard of t'zu-chang. Hsü Shen (30-124), the compiler of the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu

in this essay, that Tseng regarded Yao Nai as one of the "philosophical sages." Due to his unusual assertion of Yao Nai's status in the history of literature, Tseng has been portrayed in modern historical literature as a major defender and promoter of the T'ung-ch'eng school.²⁷ Nevertheless, we should not neglect the fact that Tseng also showed his disagreement with T'ung-ch'eng in the matter of their vicious attacks on

(Explanations and Analysis of Characters), Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162), the compiler of the T'ung-chih (The Historical Encyclopedia), Tu Yü (735-812), the compiler of the T'ung-tien (The Encyclopedia of Institutions and Customs), Ma Tuan-lin (1254-1325), the compiler of the Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao (The Historical Encyclopedia), Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), Ch'in Hui-t'ien (1702-1764), the compiler of the Wu-li t'ung-k'ao (A General Criticism of Five Rituals), Yao Nai, and Wang Nien-sun (1744-1832) belonged to one type. Tseng believed that they were scholars of literature and thus fit the genre of k'ao-chü. See Tseng Kuo-fan, Shen-cheh hua-hsiang chi (A Portrait of Philosophical Sages), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of Poems and Essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp. 247-251.

27 Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo Chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol. 2, pp. 569-576. But this portrayal of Tseng needs some modification. First of all, T'ung-ch'eng's doctrine of moral education developed by Mei Tseng-liang, which greatly impressed Tseng, was basically a revised version of Neo-Confucianism. It was by no means original in terms of its contribution to political theory, especially for a figure like Tseng who had already studied Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. Secondly, Yao Nai was not the first to initiate the influential intellectual innovation of T'ung-ch'eng's "Three major classifications" of scholarship. Ch'eng I (1033-1107), for instance, had created the three classifications as early as the Sung. He said: "The learning of the ancients consisted of only one thing, whereas the learning of today consists of three things...The first is literary composition (wen-chang); the second, textual criticism (hsün-ku); and the third, Confucianism (ju-che chih-hsüeh). If one wishes to advance toward the Way, nothing other than Confucianism will do. See Honan Ch'eng-shih i-shu (Surviving works of the Ch'engs of Honan Province), in Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu (The complete works of the Ch'engs), (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1986), shih-pu pei-yao, chüan 18, p.4b. Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), compiled by Chu Hsi and Lu Tsu-ch'ien, and translated by Wing-tsit Chan, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1967), p.63.

the school of Han Learning.²⁸

After the Taiping Rebellion ended Tseng resumed his post as governor-general of Kiangnan and Kiangsi. His new goal then was to restore peace and order and to promote the rehabilitation of learning in South China after a dreadfully destructive war.²⁹ Accordingly, this period saw less intellectual activity on the part of Tseng Kuo-fan. However, this period witnessed Tseng's constant application of Neo-Confucian ideas such as ch'eng (sincerity) and ching (reverence) to his bureaucratic administration.

In 1865 Tseng was again ordered into battle to fight against the Nien bandits in Shantung. Although he was in supreme command of the military in Shantung, Chihli, and Honan, Tseng was not as fortunate this time as he was in the case of putting down the Taiping's rebellion. After more than a year in the north directing an unsuccessful campaign, he became increasingly aware of the criticism directed against him. He finally decided to recommend Li Hung-chang (1823-1901) to take over his post and returned to his former post as governor-general at Nanking.³⁰

In 1867 Tseng was made Grand Secretary. In the next year he was appointed governor-general of Chihli province. Aware of China's military frailty, he pressed for a policy of justice and conciliation toward the

²⁸ For instance, in 1850 when his friend Sun Ting-ch'en (1819-1859), a proponent of T'ung-ch'eng school, criticized the scholars of the Han Learning for being responsible for the emergence of the Taiping Rebellion, Tseng calmly expressed his objection. See Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, pp.33-34.

²⁹ Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), reprinted, pp.751-53.

³⁰ Ibid., p.754.

Western powers. This strategy aroused a lot of ill-will among many officials in Peking who looked upon war as inevitable. The case of whether to pursue peace or war was nearly settled when Tseng was transferred to his old post at Nanking, which was made vacant as a result of the assassination of Ma Hsin-i (1821-1870). He was succeeded by Li Hung-chang in Tientsin. In 1871 Tseng together with Li, sent a joint memorial to the emperor suggesting the dispatch of young students to study abroad. Their plan was put into effect in 1872, but Tseng died a few months before the students actually set sail. He was given, posthumously, the title of Grand Tutor, and was canonized as Wen-cheng kung, the highest honor in the scale of "temple names."³¹

Among all active members of the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the T'ung-Chih period, Tseng Kuo-fan was an extraordinary figure in the praxis of both the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and statesmanship. Tseng's eclectic characteristics in his intellectual development had made him qualified to be a member of many intellectual schools. A closer look into his world of thought reveals the various dimensions of his different periods of intellectual development. However, his faith in Confucianism, or more precisely in Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, was never shaken in the later part of his life. It was the impact of Neo-Confucian values and ideas that intellectually shaped Tseng Kuo-fan to become a celebrated general and an outstanding official in his time. Indeed, Tseng was so dominating in his era that "an appraisal of the man

³¹ Ibid., p.754.

becomes an appraisal of the whole Restoration."³²

B. Tseng Kuo-Fan's Acceptance of Ch'eng-Chu Doctrine and the "Character Building" Program

Tseng Kuo-fan's involvement with Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism can be traced back as early as mid-1840 before he became acquainted with T'ang Chien.³³ However, it was T'ang Chien who first produced a significant Neo-Confucian impact on Tseng Kuo-fan,³⁴ which became actualized in a visit he paid to T'ang Chien in mid-1841. Tseng visited T'ang Chien to mainly consult with him on two questions: the approach of scholarship and the method of self-examination.³⁵ Concerning the former request, Tseng was advised by T'ang to study the Chu-tzu ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Master Chu). He was told by T'ang that there were only three approaches to scholarship: i-li (moral philosophy), k'ao-ho

³² Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The Tung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), p.73.

³³ According to his diary, June 20, in the 20th year of Tao-kwang reign, i.e. 1840, Tseng was advised by his friend Li Yueh-ch'iao that the approach of Neo-Confucianism mainly relied on the practice of ching (reverence). Convinced by the idea that practicing reverence would protect one from "ailments of hundred kinds", Tseng expressed that he wished he could maintain the practice of reverence all life long. Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Diary), vol.1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.45.

³⁴ After recovering from a serious illness, Tseng, in the winter of 1840, became acquainted with his fellow Hunanese T'ang Chien. He was given a volume of T'ang's Chi-fu shui-li shu (A Study of Irrigation in the Capital Area). He was also told by his friend, Huang Shu, that T'ang Chien maintained a habit of daily self-examination-style note-taking. Tseng said that he felt he would also like to imitate that habit. See *Ibid.*, p.49.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.92.

(textual criticism), and wen-chang (literary works). He was also told that the "learning of ching-chi (statecraft)" was already within the learning of "moral philosophy." Knowing that Tseng was enthusiastic about literary works, T'ang told him not to waste his time studying poetry or prose, but to study the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. This was, according to T'ang Chien, because if one could master moral philosophy, one would naturally command the skills of literary style. As far as the method of self-examination was concerned, Tseng was told by T'ang to practice the doctrines of ch'eng (sincerity) and ching (reverence). In this regard, he was encouraged by T'ang to take Wo-jen, who took notes to record every improper speech and act in his behavior, and regarded improper thought in oneself as the greatest enemy in life, as model. T'ang Chien's views and opinions were so refreshing and convincing that Tseng felt "suddenly enlightened".³⁶ Less than a week after the visit, Tseng began to study the Complete Works of Master Chu seriously,³⁷ and, at the same time, continued to maintain his old habit of extensively studying history and ku-wen.³⁸

In the fall of 1842, there was a further noticeable shift in Tseng's intellectual interest. He now moved away from his preoccupation with the study of literature and toward the learning and practice of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. He decided to become a true Ch'eng-Chu

³⁶ Ibid. p.92.

³⁷ Ibid., p.93.

³⁸ Ibid., pp.93-110. Obviously, this is a transitional period in which Tseng began to vigorously learn the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation and statesmanship, while he maintained his old habit of literary studies.

Neo-Confucianist. The reason such a change occurred was partly because of the influence of T'ang Chien's personality and scholarship, and partly because of the careful guidance of Tseng's Neo-Confucian comrades like Wo-jen, Wu T'ing-tung,³⁹ and others.⁴⁰ In order to be wholeheartedly devoted to the practice of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism, Tseng Kuo-fan, with the assistance from Wu T'ing-tung, first moved his family close to T'ang Chien's residence in Peking, enabling him to visit T'ang more regularly.⁴¹ Also, Tseng, with the help from Wo-jen, began to keep a diary of self-examination.

Tseng began keeping a diary as early as 1839--one year after he

³⁹ Wu T'ing-tung (1793-1873) came from a T'ung-ch'eng background which emphasized the literary and ideological approach to the study of the Classics. Wu at an early age converted wholeheartedly to Ch'eng-Chu moral philosophy through the learning of the Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand). He came to the capital in 1939 and soon became an active member of the Ch'eng-Chu circle headed by T'ang Chien. He was intellectually closer to Wo-jen, who was also inspired by the Chin-ssu-lu in his Neo-Confucianism, than anyone else in the Ch'eng-Chu circle we are studying, in terms of Neo-Confucian scholarship and personal temperament. Nevertheless, he was closer to Tseng Kuo-fan in terms of friendship, which was established in the 1840s and lasted to the end of their lives. Wu's moral character which best typified the learning of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation, greatly influenced Tseng. Together with Wo-jen and Li T'ang-chieh (1798-1865), Wu T'ing-tung was known at the time as one of the "Three Great Worthies" (san ta hsien), three men known for their reputation as moral vanguards and for informed scholarship.

⁴⁰ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp.38-41.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.34. See also Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, p.26. He displayed this decision in a letter to his brothers. He said: "(I) am now so eager to move into town to first dispense with all unnecessary matters and then to pursue the learning of self-discipline." See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.34.

became a Chin-shih. At that time this diary was nothing but a brief record of daily major events and the titles of books which he had studied.⁴² With help from Wo-jen, Tseng Kuo-fan began writing a diary of self-examination in late 1842. This act marked Tseng's formal baptism into Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian doctrine.⁴³ Like Wo-jen, Tseng decided to "write down every (improper) single idea and thing" in the diary for the purpose of self-cultivation.⁴⁴ He was told by Wo-jen that the most critical thing in the matter of self-examination lay in the idea of yen-chi (the investigation of the subtle differentiation), because, according to Wo-jen, the subtle differentiation between goodness and evil in one's mind-heart was "transmittable" (t'ung) to the order and disorder in a state.⁴⁵ This implied that the order of a state was built upon the moral mind-heart in oneself. In other words, man could cultivate himself by self-effort and, in this sense, a good man was a fundamental asset of state and society. As a result, Tseng's diary of self-examination functioned, like Wo-jen's, as a "character-building" program for personality improvement.

The peak of Tseng's practice of personality improvement was

⁴² Li Shu-ch'ang, Tseng Kuo-fan nien-p'u (A Chronological Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Chang-sha, Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.6.

⁴³ See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1988), p.113.

⁴⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.40.

⁴⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1988), p.113.

symbolically crystallized in a "Learning Curriculum" he set up in early 1843.⁴⁶ The aims of this curriculum were: 1) to maintain a reverence-based way of life (chu-ching); 2) to practice quiet-sitting daily; 3) to arise early; 4) not to read another book before finishing one; 5) to study histories; 6) to keep a diary; 7) to complete the daily tasks (of learning); 8) to complete the monthly tasks (of learning); 9) to be careful with words; 10) to nourish internal energy (yang-ch'i); 11) to restrain passion (pao-shen); 12) to practice calligraphy; and 13) to stay indoors at night.⁴⁷

In the summer of 1843, (probably before he made a four-month trip to Ssu-ch'uan), Tseng remodeled the old program and set up a new "Learning Curriculum". This is the first indication of a wane in his study and practice of personality improvement. Dropping the idea of ching, this curriculum required two major goals: daily duty and monthly duty. The former duty included: studying (Confucian and non-Confucian works), practicing calligraphy, keeping a diary, practicing quiet-sitting, and writing a memorandum. The latter duty contained writing a family letter on the 3rd date of each month and composing a poem and

⁴⁶ The reason Tseng set up this curriculum was because his Neo-Confucian comrade Feng Shu-t'ang, who began to keep a diary of self-examination at the same time as Tseng, had set up one a week before. See *ibid.*, p.138.

⁴⁷ This curriculum seen in Tseng Kuo-fan's letter to his brother dated on Tao-kwang reign 22/12/20, is slightly different from the one recorded in his diary dated Tao-kwang reign 22/12/7. It is possible that Tseng had modified the latter in his letter. See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1988), pp.137-38; Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol. 1 (1987), pp.46-49. See also Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, Ph.D. Dissertation (Yale University), December 1975, p.22.

writing a ku-wen essay on the 8th date of each month.⁴⁸

Tseng Kuo-fan's intensive practice of self-control in both thought and speech, seen from his diary of self-examination, underwent a further noticeable ebb during a four-month tour he made in the summer of 1843. Although thereafter Tseng still followed the program rules he set up, like studying histories, practicing calligraphy, and keeping the diary, the practice of self-cultivation played a less significant role in the program. Facing increasing social activities after the summer of 1843, Tseng had less time to practice his "character-building" program and, in a strict sense, Tseng's intensive program of personality improvement had come to end.

1. The "Character Building" Program of Self-Discipline

In the Neo-Confucian system, one of the crucial concerns is how to achieve a moral Confucian gentleman, (or a step further, sagehood), by ascetic practices--in other words, how to expel desires out of oneself in order to retain the Heavenly Principle within (ch'ü jen-vü ts'un t'ien-li). To achieve this goal, Tseng Kuo-fan, like T'ang Chien and Wo-jen, focused on the ideas of "lessening angers and restraining desires" in his "character-building" program. "Everyday I am in struggle with two words: anger and desire. I well know their existence but just simply cannot get rid of them."⁴⁹ For Tseng, angers and desires caused faults

⁴⁸ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letters), vol.1 (1987), pp.82-83. Obviously, programs like the ascetic practices of lessening desires and faults were largely dropped.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.149.

in one's behavior and were therefore the obstacles of transforming one into sagehood. Concerning achieving sagehood in oneself, one's faults were, according to Tseng, best seen in improper thought and speech. To avoid improper thought and speech, one needed to closely self-examine one's own conduct.

One's anger usually occurred during the time when one was involved with improper words with people in daily life. With regard to improper words, Tseng referred to them as wild and arrogant speeches (wang-yü) which were stated in conversations between him and his close friends.⁵⁰ For Tseng, those arrogant words stated by him did not fit into his principle of "reverence". He had been aware of this problem of improper speech ever since he practiced his "character building" program. But like improper desires, improper speech was by no means easy for one to quit in a short period of time. Being annoyed by his frequent improper words with friends, Tseng once swore in the diary that he would be "executed by Gods" if he ever said any wild and arrogant words again.⁵¹ Tseng held that that improper speech emerged mainly because of his talking too much. "The daily wrongdoings I committed were nothing but talking too much and expecting compliments from others," he accused himself in his 1842 diary.⁵² To avoid faults out of improper speech, Tseng seemed to believe that one should lessen one's speech, if not become speechless.

While improper speech was more easy to discern by one, improper

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.124.

⁵¹ Ibid., p.127.

⁵² Ibid., p.134.

thoughts were less easy to observe and, therefore, control. Desires as the main source of improper thoughts were, according the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists, most often displayed in the craving for fame and profit. For Tseng, desires were particularly reflected in his preference for the former.

Tseng had been fond of literary activities and had become distinguished in some of those major fields. Although he had decided to devote himself to Neo-Confucian moral philosophy, he was still haunted by those desires of becoming celebrated through his literary activities. "While composing a poem, I was always in a mood to surpass others and to achieve fame." Tseng reproached himself and questioned his motives in his 1842 diary: "Did I ever have a will to probe anything real for my own self?"⁵³ After this self-examination, he then realized that the reason that he was so spiritually and physically exhausted in the past several years was because he was too often occupied by the investigation of "unessential techniques" (hsiao-chi) of writing ku-wen essay and composing poems.⁵⁴ Noting Wo-jen's comment in his diary that searching for literary elegance was against one's moral pursuit of sagehood, Tseng finally came to admit that his preference for composing poems was indeed due to the "mind-heart of fame" (ming-hsin).⁵⁵

Certainly, Tseng Kuo-fan had more desires than the craving for fame. For instance, he was not very happy about his habit of playing

⁵³ Ibid., p.115.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.120.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.122.

chess, and he swore to quit playing it.⁵⁶ But as an enthusiast of the board game, Tseng was unable all his life to successfully stop playing chess.⁵⁷ In addition, he was also annoyed by his habit of smoking opium and recurring sexual impetus (the latter specifically referred to the intimate relationship between him and his wife).⁵⁸ Finding that opium-smoking caused a daze and thus jeopardized his already poor health, Tseng, in the first month he practiced the "character building" program, decided to quit it by destroying his smoking pipes. He swore in the diary that he would be executed by Gods if he ever smoked again.⁵⁹ With this strong will, Tseng became successful in quitting smoking opium since then.

While Tseng was able to control his desire to smoke, he was unable to successfully command his sexual desires. Unlike his other Neo-Confucian comrades who did not mention the problem of sex, Tseng, as a person with an honest character, became very cautious in his sexual appetites after he became devoted to the moral philosophy of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. For instance, in his 1842 diary he once critically commented on himself as "ch'in-sou" (animal, beast) when he was afflicted by a sexual impetus.⁶⁰ For Tseng, sexual desire was, by nature, a "sin" which was a hindrance in one's road toward sagehood.

⁵⁶ He swore in his 1845 diary. See Ibid., p.241.

⁵⁷ That Tseng did not seriously concern playing chess a great fault was partly because a tough Neo-Confucian ascetic like Wo-jen did not reject this kind of game either.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.130.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.121.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.125.

Accordingly, he decided to avoid any further sexual activities and claimed that the accomplishment of one's morality needed to begin in one's boudoir.⁶¹ Nevertheless, he was, after all, unable to defeat this "sin", but kept reproaching himself after intercourse each time.⁶²

Indeed, Tseng Kuo-fan's "character building" program as a plan to guard his thoughts and speech was, in fact, a program of achieving his own sagehood.⁶³ However, to complete the sagehood in himself, this program involved some other subtle methods. Among those methods, the practice of the ideas of quiescence and reverence, which were regarded by Tseng as top priorities in his 1843 "Learning Curriculum", were the most crucial.

2. The Idea of Quiescence

Tseng Kuo-fan's "character-building" program emphasized, as we have seen from above, the ideas of "lessening angers and restraining desires". Both ideas were involved with the concept of tung (action or motion). To avoid angers and desires, Tseng, with technical assistance by Wu T'ing-tung, first practiced quiet-sitting, which was supposed to balance Tseng's socially active character, right after he decided to

⁶¹ Ibid., p.130.

⁶² Ibid., pp.142, 162-3, 199.

⁶³ It is in this sense of achieving sagehood that Wo-jen commented in Tseng's diary that "since we now both know the content of our learning, we should then practice hard to well cultivate ourself. To do so, we should decline all unessential thoughts, activities, and speech--sweeping all of them away in order to be singleminded in oneself....to become a totally new man." See Ibid., p.133.

wholeheartedly devote himself to the "character building" program.⁶⁴

For the Neo-Confucians, quiet-sitting was not a form of meditation leading to enlightenment as seen by Ch'an Buddhists. It was a personal act of calming and emptying the mind of distracted thoughts and emotions. There were no special guidelines in Neo-Confucian quiet-sitting except to quiet the mind and concentrate on quiescence or seriousness.⁶⁵

It is in this sense that quiet-sitting was practiced by Tseng Kuo-fan to mainly accomplish the virtue of ching (quiescence) which was closely involved with the idea of seriousness. This idea of quiescence was, as told by T'ang Chien, crucial in one's moral praxis because, without it, one would poorly self-examine oneself and, therefore, poorly investigate principle.⁶⁶ In this regard, Tseng was also advised by Wo-jen that it was only when one's mind-heart became totally quiet that one could well self-examine and self-discipline.⁶⁷ Tseng agreed with this and believed that his major problem in character was action-oriented rather than quiescence-oriented.⁶⁸ "I have lost my (precious) time for decades because I did not learn to practice quiescence", he self-

⁶⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1 (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1988), p.109.

⁶⁵ Judith A. Berling, The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp.105-6.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.123.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

reproached in the diary in late 1842.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, quiet-sitting was, for Tseng Kuo-fan, no easy task, because when he practiced it he either felt in a daze or even fell asleep.⁷⁰ He therefore felt very frustrated about this practice, although he did not want to give up the idea of quiet-sitting.⁷¹ After those unsuccessful efforts, Tseng began to speculate on his quiet-sitting difficulties and came to the conclusion that the reason he could not concentrate on quiet-sitting was because of his desultoriness in personal character. To prevent this desultoriness in himself, he held that he needed to "quietly nourish" (ching-yang) his character--in order to remove improper elements like impatience and wrath from himself.⁷²

On the other hand, Tseng Kuo-fan also sought other positive approaches to improve his personality. Tseng was brought around to the idea by Wu T'ing-tung that to better practice quiet-sitting one also needed to practice the idea of ching (reverence) at the same time.⁷³ It is from this sense that Tseng came to seriously envisage the idea of reverence and make this idea the top priority to be practiced in his 1843 "Learning Curriculum"--implying that this idea of reverence had now become a major theme or focus in the "Learning Curriculum".

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.126.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.113, 114, 120, 129.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.129.

⁷² Ibid., p.128.

⁷³ Ibid., pp.118-9, 120.

3. The Idea of "Ching" (Reverence)

The idea of ching has rich implications in the Neo-Confucian tradition. It involves the ancient religious attitude of the Confucians--an awe and fear of Heaven, a reverence for human life, the fundamental spirit of ritual order and filial piety. The Sung masters further developed its meaning to comprise the whole created order and the inherent creativity of the Way. For them, this reverential response to life provided the motivation for all human action, and differentiated the Confucian Way from Buddhism and Taoism, which questioned the primacy of human value orientations.⁷⁴ It is in this sense that Tseng Kuo-fan came to approach the idea of ching.

The idea of ching was first introduced to Tseng Kuo-fan, by Wu T'ing-tung in late 1842, as a means to improve Tseng's "desultory" character. Because of this given purpose, Tseng defined the idea of ching, in his 1843 "Learning Curriculum", as "(one) in good order and grave demeanor" (cheng-ch'i yen-shu).⁷⁵ Although, for Tseng Kuo-fan, the idea of ching referred to the substantial attitude of seriousness and respect, this does not mean that this idea lacks a metaphysical implication in Tseng's system. Like Wo-jen, Wu T'ing-tung and other Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian proponents, Tseng also interpreted the idea of ching from a perspective of a "sense of darkness", a sense born from the awe and fear of Heaven. He put it, in the given curriculum, that

⁷⁴ Wm. Theodore de Bary, Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart, (NY, Columbia University Press, 1981), p.14.

⁷⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volumes of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.138.

regarding the idea of ching, "(one should) have a sense of fear (chü) all the time".⁷⁶ This sense of fear understood by Tseng was, in fact, a sense of apprehension or caution against the inherent dark side within human nature and the dark force deep rooted in society. Out of this "sense of darkness", he then claimed that one should always "keep this idea of ching in one's mind-heart"--in order to behave properly when dealing with people.⁷⁷

However, Tseng's practice of the idea of ching was not necessarily in line with the orthodox Neo-Confucian approach; or to be more accurate, with Chu Hsi's approach. In Chu Hsi's system, the idea of ching frequently referred to the concept of investigation of Principle (ch'ung-li).⁷⁸ Within this context, the idea of ching and its practices were basically regarded as a sort of "means" which was applied by the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism to presumably probe a grandiose "end"--the Principle.

But seemingly Tseng Kuo-fan did not approach the idea of ching from this traditional perspective of "dwelling in reverence and

⁷⁶ Ibid. Tseng's "sense of darkness" shown in the idea of ching was greatly influenced by Wo-jen. In order to better practice his "character building" program, Tseng borrowed and read Wo-jen's diary and found the diary was "full of apprehension and caution all the time". See Ibid., p.134.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ In his "Biographical Account of Master Chu," Huang Kan (1152-1221), one of the most close disciples of Chu Hsi, summed up his master's teaching as: "One should investigate principle to the utmost in order to extend one's knowledge and should return to oneself in order to put it into practice in a concrete way. One should dwell in seriousness so as to complete the process from the beginning to the end." Wing-tsit Chan, Chu Hsi: Life and Thought (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1987), p.83.

investigating Principle to the utmost". Rather, the idea of ching tends to be applied by him to the problem of human relationships. In this regard, Tseng suggested to Wu T'ing-tung, when he was first taught this idea of ching by Wu in late 1842, that one should also add the idea of ho (kindness, gentleness, mildness, or harmony) to the idea of ching. He believed that one would not therefore have to consciously force oneself to behave reverently if one could also keep this idea of ho within the idea of ching.⁷⁹

This tendency to interpret the idea of ching from the perspective of human relationships became even more crystallized in Tseng's later diary. He said, in the last month of 1842, that in contacts with people, one should have a mood of reverence when meeting others, and one should have a mood of sincerity when talking to people.⁸⁰ He also stated, in his letter written in the summer of 1843, that "when in contact with teachers and associates, one should always keep a mind-heart of reverence-caution (ching-wei chih hsin).⁸¹ In short, the idea of ching

⁷⁹ But Wo-jen commented, in the diary, that the practice of reverence would automatically bring one to the situation of ho-lo (harmony-happiness). See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volumes of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.114. Wo-jen's view was, to be sure, in line with the orthodox Neo-Confucianism because both Ch'eng Hao and Chu Hsi believed that if one could sincerely practice the idea of reverence, one would naturally enjoy the fruit of ho-lo, or harmony-happiness. For Chu Hsi, the idea of ho was the "smashed" idea of ching while the idea of ching was the "assembled" idea of ho. For a discussion of the relationship between the ideas of ching and ho, see Ch'ien Mu, Chu-tzu-hsüeh t'i-kang (An Outline of the Learning of Chu Hsi), (Taipei: San-ming, 1971), p.103.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.127.

⁸¹ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (volumes of family letters), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1985), p.65

was not just regarded by Tseng as a sort of self-discipline method. It was also emphasized by him as a moral principle in one's social life.

C. The Influence of the "Character Building" Program

Tseng Kuo-fan discontinued his diary writing in the spring of 1845. But he resumed the writing in the spring of 1858. During this period between 1845 and 1858, Tseng had experienced pneumonia (1846), increasing bureaucratic duties (1847-1853), and the establishment of the Hunan Army to oppose the Taipings (1853-54).⁸² A look at the diary written after 1858 will immediately bring one to the reason that this diary, now full of the records of bureaucratic and military activities, was, by nature, very different from the one written between 1842-43 during his Hanlin period. It is from this comparison that one finds that Tseng's intensive program of "character building", which seemed to be virtually marching toward an end in the summer of 1843, was, in fact, finished.⁸³ Although this intensive program of "character building" was, in a strict sense, terminated, it produced remarkable impact on Tseng's post-Hanlin period which determined his view of life as well as

⁸² For a discussion of Tseng Kuo-fan's establishment of Hunan Army, see Chu An-tung, Tseng Kuo-fan chuan (A Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Ssu-ch'uan: Ssu-ch'uan jen-ming ch'u-pan-she, 1985), pp.41-82.

⁸³ Tseng Kuo-fan's "character building" program began operating in the fall of 1842, peaked in early 1843 when a "Learning Curriculum" was set up, and then marched toward the end in a four-month tour he made in the summer of 1843. Indeed, this "character building" program was put into intensive practice by Tseng for less than one year. Nevertheless, this program produced such a significant impact on Tseng's personality in his later life that he was qualified to be labeled with the title of "Neo-Confucianist".

his view of the world.⁸⁴ For instance, the idea of ching, which was regarded by Tseng as the top priority in his "character building" program, still occupied a remarkable role in his Neo-Confucian system, even though he began to interpret Ch'eng-Chu's moral philosophy from a more practical perspective of human relationships than a metaphysical sense.

1. The Idea of Ching

In his post-Hanlin period, Tseng Kuo-fan hardly used the concept of ching alone. Rather, this idea of ching was often connected to the idea of shu (reciprocity). Tseng's juxtaposition of the ideas of ching and shu first emerged in the year of 1858.⁸⁵ In a letter to his son, Tseng as a general on the battlefield wrote:

In terms of the principle of acting as a man (tsuo-jen chih tao), what the sages and worthies had repeatedly claimed were nothing

⁸⁴ Four decades later, this "character building" of Tseng Kuo-fan produced a great impact on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, one of the most influential minds during the turn of the century. In the year of 1900, the reformist group suffered the debacle of the Hankow uprising, to which Liang had devoted so much effort. Liang was therefore under tremendous spiritual stress because he himself bore much of the blame for this unhappy result. To self-criticize and self-discipline, he turned to Tseng Kuo-fan's "character building" program and, like Tseng, began to keep a diary for daily examination and criticism of his own thoughts and behavior. Following Tseng, Liang's "character building" program included five precepts: k'o-chi (self-mastery), ch'eng-i (to be sincere with one's mind-heart), chu-ching (to maintain a reverence-based way of life), hsi-lao (to inure oneself to hard work), and finally yu-heng (to cultivate a habit of endurance). That is, Liang's "character building" program synthesized, and simplified, Tseng's 1843 "Learning Curriculum" and 1871 Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation). See Hao Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907, pp.226-7.

⁸⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volumes of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.535.

but the ideas of reverence (ching) and reciprocity (shu).⁸⁶

Although Tseng did not explain in the letter why these two ideas were related to each other, he repeatedly emphasized the importance of these related ideas in other documents. In early 1859 in a letter to Teng Yin-chieh, a friend and also a tutor for his son, Tseng distinguished the similarity and difference of both ideas in terms of function. Tseng said, in the letter, that the idea of ching was the "principle of daily self-cultivation" (p'ing-jih han-yang chih tao) while the idea of shu was the "principle of expedient disposition" (lin-shih ying-shih chih tao).⁸⁷ Tseng believed that the former idea could prevent one's mind from running wild while the latter could prevent one's mind from being concealed by selfishness (ssu). Based on this view, he urged his family tutor to emphasize this pair of concepts in his son's juvenile education.⁸⁸

By regarding the idea of ching as the "principle of daily self-cultivation", Tseng indeed approached this idea as a specific form of action to which the attitude of seriousness and respect attached. Ching in this sense means, as Wm. Theodore de Bary claims, "collecting the mind and directing it toward one thing"--often this "one thing"

⁸⁶ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (volumes of family letters), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1985), p.407.

⁸⁷ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.13552.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

represented the unity of all things in principle.⁸⁹ As a principle, the idea of ching can not only be applied to the improvement of one's personality in one's interior world, but also to the social dealings with others in one's exterior world. With regard to social dealings, Tseng as a general advised, in an 1862 letter, Li Hong-chang, who later became a great diplomat in the late Ch'ing, to take the idea of ching as one of the major principles to deal with foreigners.⁹⁰ Although Tseng did not specify this very Neo-Confucian idea as a principle of diplomacy, he did believe that a person with ching would behave humbly and cautiously and thus achieve his important mission.⁹¹ It is also from this consideration that Tseng advised, again in 1862, his subordinates in the army to take this idea of ching as one of the major principles to act and to fight.⁹²

Seemingly, the idea of ching as a crux of orthodox Neo-Confucian moral philosophy was still a major concern in Tseng Kuo-fan's Neo-Confucian system during his middle life, even though he was primarily occupied with the battles against the Taipings.⁹³ Now playing a role more as a soldier rather than as a scholar, he did not approach the idea

⁸⁹ Wm. Theodore de Bary, Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart, (NY, Columbia University Press, 1981), p.14.

⁹⁰ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), pp.14614-5.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., p.14666.

⁹³ In a 1859 letter to his friend Ko Tze-shan, Tseng once again stressed that the idea of ching was a major concern of one's study. See Ibid., pp.13687-8.

of ching as a metaphysical concept discussed only by a handful of philosophical elites. Rather, he regarded this idea as a principle of life which greatly determined his views of the world as well as life. Since this idea was so important to Tseng Kuo-fan, a closer examination of this idea of ching in a broader context is necessary. In this regard, we need to start from his juxtaposition of the idea of ching with the idea of shu.

In the moral philosophy of Neo-Confucianism, the idea of ching occupied a dominant place when compared with other important concepts in the orthodox Neo-Confucian system. But by regarding them as the "principle of acting as a man" (tsuo-jen chih tao), Tseng had juxtaposed the concept of ching with the concept of shu giving both equal weight. Tseng's juxtaposition of the more Neo-Confucian tinted idea of ching to the more Classical-Confucian tinted idea of shu implies, more or less, his intention to equalize both concepts; or at least, to upgrade the idea of shu to the status of ching. By doing so, Tseng had deviated from the orthodox line, in terms of interpretation, of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy, and showed a tendency for eclecticism in his interpretation of Confucian moral philosophy.

Since Tseng Kuo-fan had identified the idea of ching with the idea of shu, an examination on the latter idea would help us understand the implications of the former idea. First of all, the idea of shu was understood by Tseng as a kind of altruism to mean the idea of jen (humanity, benevolence). This view was best presented in his letter to Teng Yin-chieh in early 1859. Defined by Tseng as "to be able to judge others by what is nigh in ourselves," he regarded, in the letter, the

idea of shu as a "short cut to approach the idea of jen".⁹⁴ This definition of shu is, to be sure, following Classical Confucian teaching: "(The man of perfect virtue,) wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others."⁹⁵ It is from this traditional perspective that Tseng claimed, in a letter to his brother in 1868, that "what is the idea of shu is the idea of jen."⁹⁶ Here he had simply equalized these two concepts.⁹⁷

Two additional points still need to be made in order to better understand why Tseng connected the idea of ching to the idea of shu. First of all, the idea of shu in Classical Confucianism was usually juxtaposed with the idea of chung (conscientiousness or truthfulness). For instance, Master Tseng (Tseng Tzu) once briefly summarized the thought of Confucius by saying: "The doctrine of our master is to be

⁹⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.13552.

⁹⁵ The Confucian Analects, collected in the Four Books, translated by James Legge, (Taipei: Cultural Book Co. 1979, reprinted), p.199.

⁹⁶ In this letter to his brother in 1868, he advised six virtues for practice. They were: ch'ing (clearness or pureness), chien (frugality), ming (brightness), shen (vigilance), shu (reciprocity), and ching (quiescence). The idea of shu was interpreted by him as the idea of jen. And the idea of ching (reverence) which was frequently quoted by Tseng to his family members, was absent here. See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp.433-5.

⁹⁷ It is against the background of this sort of intellectual development that Tseng, in his last essay Four regulations for daily observation written in 1871, proposed the idea of jen as one of the four most important virtues to be practiced by his family. See Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi, Tza-chu (Volume of miscellaneous writings), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.17351-6.

true to the principles of our nature (chung) and the benevolent exercise of them to others (shu),--this and nothing more."⁹⁸ Judging from Tseng Kuo-fan's preference for connecting the idea of shu to that of ching (reverence), it was quite certain that he did not approach the concept of shu in this Classical Confucian context. But did he approach it within the Neo-Confucian context?

In the Neo-Confucian system, the ideas of chung and shu were also often juxtaposed and were regarded by the Sung masters as the "base of the formation of one's mind-heart" (li-hsin chih pen).⁹⁹ Although they were not equally emphasized in the Neo-Confucian system as they used to be in the Classical Confucian period, this pair of ideas were still understood by the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism as a means to approach "Heavenly Principle." For instance, Ch'eng I once said that:

One is impartial (kung) and just (ping) because he is conscientious (chung) and altruistic (shu). If one advances in virtue, he will naturally be conscientious and altruistic. When these virtues are fully developed, he will be impartial and just.¹⁰⁰

By contrasting these Classical and Neo-Confucian usages with Tseng's in terms of the ideas of chung and shu, it is quite apparent that Tseng's idea of shu did not follow either Classical or Neo-Confucian norms. By regarding shu as an equivalent to the traditional Confucian idea of jen, Tseng had interpreted the idea of shu as a sort of altruism and

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.166.

⁹⁹ Chin-ssu-lu chi-chieh (Reflections on Things at Hand, notes), compiled by Chu Hsi and Lǔ Tsu-ch'ien, (Taipei: Shih-chien shu-chū, 1962, reprinted), note, p.57.

¹⁰⁰ Chin-ssu-lu (Reflections on Things at Hand), compiled by Chu Hsi and Lǔ Tzu-ch'ien, and translated by Wing-tsit Chan, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 61-2.

associated it with the Neo-Confucian idea of ching. Among all eminent members of Ch'eng-Chu School in the T'ung-chih period, Tseng was undoubtedly the first figure to connect the idea of ching to that of shu and channel the later into the concept of jen.

2. The Idea of Ch'eng

As a program of self-cultivation, Tseng Kuo-fan's personality improvement program was designed to mainly transform an ordinary person like him into a moral Neo-Confucian gentleman. With regard to this personality transformation, one cannot neglect the idea of ch'eng which was closely-related to the idea of ching in the orthodox Neo-Confucian moral philosophy, even though Tseng did not specify this concept in his 1843 "Learning Curriculum". However, the idea of ch'eng was, like the idea of ching, also a major component of Tseng's moral philosophy in his "character building" program. This idea of ch'eng played a less dominant role than the idea of ching, but like the idea of ching, the idea of ch'eng also occupied a significant place in Tseng's Neo-Confucian system during his post-Hanlin period.

Like the idea of ching, the idea of ch'eng also has rich associations in the Neo-Confucian mind. It carries meanings such as "genuineness", "truthfulness", and "reality" as well as the commonly used notion of "sincerity".¹⁰¹ In the Neo-Confucian system, the idea of ch'eng was understood by the Sung masters to mean a human reality, or a principle of subjectivity, by which a person becomes "true" and

¹⁰¹ Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p.16.

"sincere" to himself; in so doing, he can also become unified with Heaven.¹⁰²

The value of the idea of ch'eng was appreciated by Tseng Kuo-fan as early as when he became a Hanlin member in the capital. In a letter to his close friend Ho Ch'ang-ling (1785-1848) in 1840, Tseng, during the time when he first seriously studied Neo-Confucianism under the influence of T'ang Chien, Wo-jen, and Wu T'ing-tung, wrote:

That the Heaven and Earth can become ceaseless, that a state can possibly be established, that the virtuous career (teh-yüeh) of a worthy can be expanded and extended, are all due to the concept of ch'eng. So it was said that "Ch'eng is the end and beginning of things; without ch'eng there would be nothing."¹⁰³

This, definitely, follows the dictum of the Doctrine of the Mean which said:

Ch'eng is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself. Ch'eng is the end and beginning of things; without ch'eng there would be nothing.¹⁰⁴

That is to say, Tseng, under the influence of orthodox Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists, had metaphysically regarded the idea of ch'eng as superb as that of Principle (li)--regarding them as a source of meaning.

For Tseng Kuo-fan in his post-Hanlin period, the idea of ch'eng was, like the idea of ching, not so much stressed by him as a philosophical idea but more as an attitude of life or a principle of life. Emphasizing the need for harmonious human relationships, Tseng

¹⁰² Ibid., p.73.

¹⁰³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (volumes of correspondence), vol. 1, (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.12997.

¹⁰⁴ The Doctrine of the Mean, collected in the Four Books, translated by James Legge, (Taipei: Cultural Book Co., 1979), p.96.

highlighted this idea of ch'eng as a principle of social action for a moral Neo-Confucian gentleman, and took it as an interior ethical principle for oneself to deal with the outside changing world. It is from this perspective that Tseng, during the peak of his campaigns against the Taipings in the late 1850's, linked the idea of ch'eng to the idea of hsin (faith or trust), and regarded ch'eng as a critical factor to achieve his career as a great hero. He best expressed this view in his brief essay on "foundation" (chü-yeh).

In this 1859 essay, Tseng Kuo-fan first elucidated the idea of ch'eng as hsin. Tseng claimed that most previous great heroes, such as dynasty founders, had their "foundations" before they achieved a marvelous career. Famous examples can be found, he added, referring to Kwan-chung of Liu Pang (the Former Han), Ho-nai of Liu Hsiu (the Later Han), and Chin-yang of Li Yüan (the T'ang). According to Tseng, all these outstanding political-military leaders used their "foundations" as a base to advance or retreat their troops. By this analogy, he contended that the proponents of the Way should also have their "foundations", which were what he called "having a broad scope in one's view" (kui-muo hong-ta) and being "honest and faithful with one's words" (yen-t'zu ch'eng-hsin).¹⁰⁵ Becoming honest (ch'eng) and faithful (hsin) with one's words implies becoming a moral Neo-Confucian gentleman; in so doing, one can become trusted and respected by others for his moral personality. Accordingly, the idea of ch'eng (sincerity) and the idea of hsin (faith) were connected together by Tseng.

¹⁰⁵ "Chü-yeh" (foundation), in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.362.

For Tseng Kuo-fan, Ch'eng as a principle of life was not only applicable to one's own behavior but also to social intercourse in the community. In this regard, Tseng linked the idea of ch'eng to military and bureaucratic administration. He warned, in a letter to Li Shen-fu in 1860, that (a general) who has served in the army for a long time is subject to becoming arrogant and idle, and therefore suffers defeat. To avoid defeat on the battlefield, a general should, he asserted, use industriousness (ch'in) to cure his idleness and take caution (shen) to correct his arrogance. To practice both ch'in and shen, a military leader needs, he added, to have the idea of ch'eng as a base.¹⁰⁶

Besides being applied to the military aspect, the idea of ch'eng was also taken by Tseng Kuo-fan as a kind of guideline in bureaucratic administration. In a 1861 letter, Tseng told Mao Chi-yün, an outstanding general, that the effective management of bureaucracy (li-chih) relies on "eliminating the 'face' problem and employing sincerity (ch'eng) to expel hypocrisy."¹⁰⁷ That is, the effective operation of a bureaucratic system does not depend on the idea of institutionalization but on a moral heart. This kind of view was again expressed by him in a letter to Ch'en Fang-shen in 1864. He said, in the letter, that the implementation of "public affairs" (kung-shih) which, in Tseng's mind, included bureaucratic administration and military defense, should mainly be based on the idea of industriousness, and, meanwhile, should be aided

¹⁰⁶ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (volumes of correspondence), ch. 11, (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.13944.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., vol.3, ch.16, p.14448.

with idea of ch'eng (sincerity).¹⁰⁸

The idea of ch'eng, in addition to being regarded as hsin or "faith," was also occasionally associated with the concept of chung (loyalty, faithfulness, honesty) by Tseng during his last years in the campaign against the Taipings.¹⁰⁹ In this regard, the idea of ch'eng became a combined concept chung-ch'eng (loyalty-honesty or faith-sincerity). He best expressed this view in an inscription-article prepared for the Hsiang-hsiang Martyrs' Shrine in Hunan in 1864. In this work, Tseng claimed, shortly after the Taiping rebellion was pacified by him, that the reason the world became so disordered was because of the lack of ethical norms in society. To revitalize social morality for post-Taiping China, Tseng proposed the idea of "chung-ch'eng" and suggested it as the "Way of Confucian gentlemen."¹¹⁰ He believed that the soldiers who died fighting the Taipings were all inspired by the idea of chung-ch'eng. He therefore urged that those who had already embraced the virtue of chung-ch'eng should "stand up to reform (society), to practice self-discipline and love others, to get rid of hypocrisy and the honor given to the idea of cho (clumsiness, tactlessness, ineptitude), and to take tough duties which others

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., vol.4, ch.24, p.15197.

¹⁰⁹ Chang Chi-kuang, Tseng Kuo-fan shih-hsiang chien-lun (A Brief Discussion on the Thought of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Hunan: Hunan Jen-ming ch'u-pan-she, 1988), p.115.

¹¹⁰ "Hsiang-hsiang chao-chung-tzu chi" (A Motto for Martyrs' Shrine of Hsiang-hsiang), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi, Shih-wen (Volume of Poetry and Essays), (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.304.

dodge."¹¹¹

3. Neo-Confucian Moral Philosophy as the Final Commitment

In the above, we have seen, through a number of major ideas in the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy, how Tseng Kuo-fan was affected by his "character building" program during his immediate post-Hanlin period in his mid-life. However, for a more persuasive document showing the impact of Neo-Confucian moral philosophy on Tseng Kuo-fan in his later life, we need to refer to Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), a letter-essay completed by Tseng in 1871.¹¹² As an admonition prepared for his sons and nephews several months before his death, this essay is the foremost document for exploring Tseng's world of Neo-Confucian faith in his last years.

In this piece, Tseng specified the four most valuable virtues in life: shen-tu (vigilant solitariness or self-watchfulness when alone), ching (reverence), jen (humanity, benevolence), and lastly, ch'in-lao (diligence)--all of which were essential notions in the Confucian tradition.¹¹³ Instead of interpreting the rich theoretical

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), tza-chu (Volume of miscellaneous writings), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.17351-6. This piece was originally stored in his diary dated at 1871.

¹¹³ The central ideas of this essay first emerged in his diary in 1870. It said that the major methods (kung-fu) of the ancients consisted of four virtues: vigilance in solitude (shen-tu), reverence (ching), benevolence (jen), and sincerity (ch'eng). See Tseng Wen-cheng kung shou-hsieh tze-chi (The Hand-written Diary of Tseng Kuo-fan), (Taipei: Hsüeh-shen shu-chü, 1965), vol. 6, p.3192. The last point, the idea of sincerity, was replaced by the idea of diligence (ch'in-lao) in this

implications of these four values, Tseng approached them from a practical functional perspective. They were presented by Tseng in this way: First, a person would feel at ease if he practiced the idea of vigilant solitariness (shen-tu tse hsin-an). Second, a person would become healthy if he dwelled in reverence (chu-ching tse shen-ch'iang). Third, a person would feel pleased if he pursued the idea of jen (ch'iu-jen tse jen-yüeh). And Fourth, a person would be appreciated by the Gods if he worked hard (hsi-lao tse shen-chin).¹¹⁴

Indeed, Tseng had, as we have seen from above, repeatedly discussed and interpreted the three ideas of ching, jen, and ch'in in his many letters in the 1850's and 60's. However, this does not mean that Tseng suddenly "discovered" the value of shen-tu for the first time in his last years. In fact, the idea of shen-tu was closely related to the idea of ch'eng in Neo-Confucian moral philosophy. In a sense, the idea of shen-tu was regarded by Tseng as an alternate for the idea of ch'eng in his Neo-Confucian system.

The idea of shen-tu ("vigilant solitariness" or "self-watchfulness when alone") was a vital concept in the Neo-Confucian literatures such as The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean, even though this idea was not fully discussed in the Classical Confucian literatures like

1871 essay.

¹¹⁴ Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), tza-chu (Volume of miscellaneous writings), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.17351-6.

The Analects and The Works of Mencius.¹¹⁵ In the above-mentioned two Neo-Confucian canons, the idea of shen-tu was expounded on from the concept of ch'eng, although both authors did not necessarily approach the idea of shen-tu in the same way.¹¹⁶ Out of the idea of ch'eng (sincerity or truthfulness), shen-tu, as a moral consciousness, was associated with the notion of "true self" in the Neo-Confucian discourses.

In the Neo-Confucian context, the term tu, which may mean "being alone", is concerned with the idea of self in terms of its singularity, uniqueness and innermost core. In this sense, tu or "solitariness" means, as Tu Wei-ming put it, "a personal aloneness and the loneliness that cannot be affected or perturbed by changing surrounding conditions".¹¹⁷ Accordingly, shen-tu or "self-watchfulness when alone" did not suggest a kind of unremitting vigilance--which would produce an untrue impression of a person who is overly concerned about his inner feelings, who would ignore the external situation. In fact, the practice of shen-tu as a means of self-cultivation requires one to be sensitive to the outside world--through the subtle awareness of his inner feelings. In other words, a Confucian gentleman does not practice shen-tu for the intrinsic value of being alone. He sees little

¹¹⁵ Mou Tsung-san, Chung-kuo cheh-hsüeh shih-chiu chiang (Chinese Philosophy in 19 Lectures), (Taipei: Hsüeh-shen shu-chü, 1983), pp.80-81.

¹¹⁶ Wu I, Chung-yung ch'eng tze ti yen-chiu (A study of the Word Ch'eng in the Doctrine of the Mean), (Taipei: Hua-kang, 1974), pp.33-34.

¹¹⁷ Tu Wei-ming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp.108-109.

significance in solitariness unless it is entirely integrated into the structure of social relations.¹¹⁸

Aware of the true nature of shen-tu between the self and the world, Tseng Kuo-fan had discerned a close relationship between the idea of ch'eng and the idea of shen-tu as early as his Hanlin period. In an essay known as Chün-tze shen-tu lun (On the vigilant solitariness of a superior man) written during that period, Tseng first attempted to connect the idea of shen-tu to that of ch'eng (sincerity):

(I) used to claim that the idea of tu (solitude) was a notion commonly shared by both the superior man (chün-tze) and the mean man (hsiao-jen). It is from this very idea that the idea of recklessness (wang) was brought forth by the mean man. And the accumulation of recklessness led to disorderly acts (ssu)....It is also from this idea of tu (solitude) that the idea of sincerity (ch'eng) was brought forth by the superior man. And the accumulation of sincerity led to caution (shen)....¹¹⁹

According to Tseng Kuo-fan, the idea of tu (solitariness), which was the foundation of shen (caution), was also the base of the idea of ch'eng. In other words, shen-tu could become a meaningful notion only when it was probed in the context of the idea of ch'eng.

Since the idea of shen-tu was regarded by Tseng Kuo-fan as a principal means to advance one's morality, it was, according to Tseng, irrelevant to the exploration of knowledge. In this regard, Tseng was against the outward approach of "ke-wu" method (namely, to extend to the utmost of one's knowledge, and to investigate things) as an exclusive access toward Confucian tenet. He believed that the outward approach of

¹¹⁸ Ibid., pp.26-27.

¹¹⁹ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essay), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.181.

ke-wu which was applied by traditional Confucianists to the discrimination between good and evil, only made the meaning of shen-tu "dim."¹²⁰ However, he was also against the inward solitude-centered approach taken by the subjective Confucianists of the Wang Yang-ming school. For Tseng, the Yang-ming school made the meaning of shen-tu even "dimmer" because this school was overloaded with the idea of "pure consciousness" (tu-chüeh)--a "pure knowing" beyond good and evil that has no connection with objects.¹²¹ He believed that the Yang-ming school made little endeavor in the illumination of the true Confucian Way.¹²² To avoid this predicament of over-emphasizing either the outward approach of ke-wu or inward approach of "pure consciousness", Tseng proposed the idea of sincerity, or ch'eng, and regarded it as "the method to achieve one's morality."¹²³

Tseng's connecting of the idea of shen-tu to the idea of ch'eng or sincerity in his mid-life was reaffirmed by him in his Neo-Confucian system in his last years. Placing the idea of shen-tu at the top of the essay, Tseng believed, in "On the Vigilant Solitariness of a Superior Man", that this idea was a cogent means to cure one's mind-heart. According to him, the most difficult part in practicing self-cultivation was to "nourish one's mind-heart" (yang-hsin) because one's mind-heart

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Tang Chun-i, "Liu Tsung-chou's Doctrine of Moral Mind and Practice and his Critique of Wang Yang-ming," in Wm. Theodore de Bary, The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, (NY: Columbia University Press, 1975), p.316.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

could discern both good and evil. If one did not force oneself to dispel evil or the material force out and preserve goodness within, then he was putting himself in a self-cheating (tze-ch'i) situation. He argued that a self-cheating person might not be identified easily by others, but the self-cheating person himself knew it very well in his conscience. Tseng believed that one would feel less guilty if one could practice the idea of shen-tu.¹²⁴

From the idea of shen-tu, Tseng came to the idea of reverence (ching), the second concept he emphasized in his essay "On the Vigilant Solitariness of a Superior Man". According to him, what Classical and Neo-Confucianism had tried to address was nothing but this very idea. Without metaphysically defining this idea, Tseng asserted that if one could faithfully practice this idea of ching he would feel "absolutely peaceful and simple from within and, thus, become into good order with grave demeanor (cheng-ch'i yen-shu) without." Also if one could "behave to every one as if he was receiving a great guest (when he went abroad)" or "employ the people as if he was assisting at a great sacrifice," it would mean, Tseng claimed, that one had already achieved "the manner of reverence".¹²⁵

The third concept Tseng discussed was the idea of jen (humanity, benevolence). From his Neo-Confucian world-view, he contended that the formation of one's "nature" (hsing) was decided by the "principle of

¹²⁴ Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), tza-chu (Volume of miscellaneous writings), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.17351.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp.17352-3.

Heaven and Earth" (t'ien-ti chih li) and the formation of one's physical body (hsing) was decided by the "ether of Heaven and Earth" (t'ien-ti chih ch'i). Because individuals have little difference among themselves in terms of physical origins, one needs, he held, to love others as well as he loves himself. Tseng quoted Confucius' saying to support him: "Wishing to be established himself, he seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others." In short, what Tseng attempted to defend was the notion that if one could probe and practice the implications of jen all his life, then he would always be welcomed by others.¹²⁶ That is, jen carries a tender aspect of human feeling, namely love, and, at the same time, brings an altruistic concern for others.¹²⁷ Taken together, these ideas of jen in Tseng's mind mark a mature manifestation of humanity.

The last virtue accentuated in Tseng's last Neo-Confucian essay was the idea of diligence. Tseng believed that one was more subject to indolence (i) than labor (lao)--no matter whether he was noble or humble, intelligent or stupid, old or young. He said that one should not be criticized for surviving by his own effort, because this sort of self-help behavior was endorsed by both demons and gods. In Tseng's eyes, great sages like Yü of Hsia, the Duke of Chou, and Mo Tzu were great models of diligence. Distinguishing a substantial consequence of this virtue, he asserted that diligence could bring one a long life, make one a talented person, and relieve one from pains and disasters. In

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp.17353-4.

¹²⁷ Tu Wei-ming, Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), P.84.

contrast, indolence would make one die young, and make one a useless person, unneeded by society. Thus he claimed that if one could work diligently he would be admired by both demons and gods.¹²⁸

At the end of this admonition-letter, Tseng advised his readers to take his words seriously and use them to check their behavior at the end of each month. Tseng seemed to know he would die soon and purposely left these words not only to the young clansmen in his family but also to the students of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism of his times. From the message of this piece, one could, without much difficulty, feel the sincerity of Tseng's final Neo-Confucian commitment, and therefore locate Tseng's position in the intellectual history of the late Ch'ing. Tseng's Neo-Confucian faith, as we discussed here, fits well into the conclusion of his intellectual biographer who asserted that Tseng's learning was "based on Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism."¹²⁹

D. The Idea of Ching-Shih

In the above, we have seen the formation of Tseng's moral philosophy of self-cultivation, its development, and its influence on his later life. With regard to the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, we should not forget that in the Confucian system, moral cultivation of character did not serve the end of self-cultivation alone. It was also the primary qualification of statesmanship. That is, moral cultivation of character as an ideal was presumably applicable to any man but in

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp.17354-6.

¹²⁹ Hsiang-hsiang hsüeh-an (An intellectual history of Tseng Kuo-fan), collected in Hsü Shih-chang, ed. Ch'ing-ju hsüeh-an (Intellectual history of Ch'ing scholars), chüan 177, p.1.

reality was meant only for the elite--the minority who were morally capable of governing.¹³⁰ It is in this sense that Tseng's Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation sees little significance in the world of the self unless it is entirely integrated into the structure of socio-political relations. It is from this perspective that we come to appreciate the implications of Tseng's military actions and political activities--a career of so-called "outer-kingship"--in the late Ch'ing. In the following sections, we will discuss the main characteristics of Tseng's idea of statesmanship, rather than provide substantial historical facts Tseng actually experienced.

1. The Changing Views toward the Concept of Ching-Shih

Ching-shih (statesmanship) as an abbreviation of ching-shih chi-min means managing the world and saving the people. In Confucian China, this idea was closely related to the idea of hsiu-shen or self-cultivation because the ruling elite was believed to have a kind of moral charisma which would eventually radiate out to touch people and thereby to bring about a moral custom in society.¹³¹ This idea contains, according to Professor Hao Chang, at least two unstated denotations in Confucian system. First, the Confucian idea of ching-shih was a value-commitment to this-worldly activism and participation, in contrast to the emphasis of other-worldliness in Buddhist traditions. Second, the idea of ching-shih concerned the establishment of an ideal

¹³⁰ Hao Chang, "On the Ching-shih ideal in Neo-Confucianism" Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i (Nov. 1974), pp.43-44.

¹³¹ Ibid.

order in this world and the definition of an ideal order.¹³² Regarding the establishment and definition of an ideal order, this idea of ching-shih could be further distinguished into two concepts: moral statesmanship and practical statesmanship. The former, which dealt with the moral doctrine of public administration, was generally known as the "principle of governing" (chih-tao) or the "essence of governing" (chih-t'i). The latter, which was concerned with the instrumental roles or functions of public administration, was traditionally referred to as the Confucian notion of the "method of governing" (chih-fa).¹³³

Concerning the problem of ching-shih or statesmanship, Tseng Kuo-fan underwent three different stages in the development of his viewpoint from his Hanlin period to his last years. These three different views not only present Tseng's own changing opinions on the problem of statesmanship, but also bespeak the general intellectual trend toward this problem in the late Ch'ing--a time when the elites were becoming more sensitive to the crisis of their state.

In the initial stage, Tseng was first informed of the theory of ching-shih by T'ang Chien as early as 1841. Tseng was told that there were only three approaches toward scholarship: i-li (moral philosophy), k'ao-ho (textual criticism), and wen-chang (literary works). The "learning of statesmanship" (ching-chi) was, according to T'ang Chien,

¹³² Ibid., pp.36-37.

¹³³ Ibid., pp.46. See also Chang Hao, Sung-Ming i-lai ju-chia ching-shih ssu-hsiang shih-shih (A Preliminary Interpretation of Confucian Ching-shih Idea Since the Sung and Ming), Seminar on Modern Chinese Ching-shih Idea, (Taipei: Institute of Modern China, Academia Sinica, 1984), pp.19.

within the learning of "moral philosophy."¹³⁴

With regard to this classification of Confucian learning, Tseng Kuo-fan who was under the influence of T'ang Chien, taught, in his 1843 letter, his brothers using these three fresh concepts he learned in the capital.¹³⁵ Asserting that these three approaches had been taken by students of Confucianism ever since the Former Han, Tseng believed that "moral philosophy" needed to be put in the first place among the three approaches. In contrast to the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, "literary works" was, he held, nothing but a subdiscipline, or a tool, merely elaborating the nature of "moral philosophy." As for "textual criticism," he confidently expressed his disregard toward this subject to his brothers. Concerning the question of ching-shih, he commented briefly that only when the moral philosophy of self-cultivation became illuminated would the issue of ching-chi become crystallized.¹³⁶ Apparently, Tseng did not contribute many fresh ideas on the question of the relationship between statesmanship and the moral philosophy of self-cultivation during this period. In this initial stage, he primarily followed T'ang Chien's notion and complied with these traditional classifications.

But change was soon in the wind after the departure of T'ang Chien from the capital to the south. Immediately after the mid-1850's, Tseng

¹³⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.92.

¹³⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volume of family letters), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1985), p.55.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

had changed his attitude toward the relationship between the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and chih-shih. This change was best reflected in Tseng's letters to his son, Chi-tze, which were written in the second half of the 1850's, namely, the beginning of Tseng's post-Hanlin period. It is interesting to note that, in the correspondences between the father and the son, Tseng no longer quoted to his son the concept of the "moral philosophy of self-cultivation" which used to be highly regarded by him, or even the idea of ching-shih. Instead, he stressed, in the correspondences to the son, the importance of "textual criticism" and "literary works" which used to be thought by him (in his letters to his brothers) less significant when compared with the moral philosophy of self-cultivation.¹³⁷ It is possible that Tseng did this for the sake of Chi-tze's coming imperial examination.¹³⁸ But judging from the obvious absence of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, the foremost concept of Neo-Confucianism, in his correspondences to Chi-tze during this period, one has reason to postulate that Tseng's viewpoint had entered into a new stage in terms of the idea of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and its relationship with ching-shih.

Tseng Kuo-fan's changing view regarding the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and ching-shih is also reflected in the diary. In his 1860 diary, Tseng distinguished two kinds of Confucian learning: ching-i

¹³⁷ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volume of family letters), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), pp.331-2, 532-3, 537, 540-1.

¹³⁸ Chi-tze was scheduled to take an examine of 1858. See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Chia-shu (Volumes of family letter), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.407, 417.

(the meaning of classics) and chih-shih (administrative affairs). For the former, he specified four subjects: textual criticism (hsiao-hsüeh), Neo-Confucianism (li-hsüeh), literary works (tz'u-chang), and ritual-constitution (tien-li). For the latter, he also identified four items: bureaucratic administration (li-chih), military administration (chün-wu), economics (shih-huo), and geography (ti-li).¹³⁹ From this classification, one could tell that Tseng had strived to single out the idea of ching-shih as an independent value--in a vague concept of chih-shih or administrative affairs--and juxtaposed it with the "meaning of the classics" or ching-i. That is, he no longer followed the traditional approach by regarding ching-shih as a category within the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. Becoming more intellectually independent from T'ang Chien who believed that the idea of ching-shih should be restricted within "moral philosophy" or i-li, Tseng now had interpreted the idea of ching-shih as administration; by so doing, he had highlighted the status of ching-shih within the Neo-Confucian system by juxtaposing it with moral philosophy of self-cultivation.

Tseng's intention to promote the role of the idea of ching-shih in his Neo-Confucian system became even clearer in the later part of his post-Hanlin period and, finally, crystallized in his last years. In an essay prepared for students in the capital in 1869, he formally proposed the viewpoint of ching-shih as an independent value, although he put the value of ching-shih, in terms of the intellectual significance, in fourth place after the three given categories of Confucian learning.

¹³⁹ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volumes of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.479.

Known as Ch'üan-hsüeh-p'ien: shih chih-li shih-tze (Exhortation to study: For the students in the capital), this essay was completed by Tseng Kuo-fan three years before his death. As Tseng's last representative view on the relationship between the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and ching-shih, this account suggested four approaches toward Confucian learning: "moral philosophy", "textual criticism", "literary works", and "statesmanship" (ching-chi).¹⁴⁰ In order to better present his idea, Tseng gave definitions of the four given approaches. With regard to "moral philosophy" or i-li, Tseng claimed that it was the subject of ethics (teh-hsing) in the Classical Confucian system and was known as sung-hsüeh or Sung Learning in his time. As for "textual criticism" or kao-chü, it was, according to Tseng, the subject of literature (wen-hsüeh) and was also known as han-hsüeh or Han Learning in Tseng's age. Regarding "literary works" or t'zu-chang, it was, he argued, the subject of language (yü-yen) which included fu verse, poetry, and ku-wen essays. As far as the ching-shih is concerned, it was, he asserted, the subject of political affairs or cheng-shih which was involved with ceremonies and political literatures of previous dynasties, and historical records of contemporary times.¹⁴¹ Aware of

¹⁴⁰ Ch'üan-hsüeh-p'ien shih chih-li shih-tze (Exhortation to study: For the students of capital), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.442.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p.442. Joseph R. Levenson translated Tseng Kuo-fan's idea of "cheng-shih" as "governing". (See his Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, p.56). True, cheng-shih which means "political affairs" was often referred to as administration or governing in the Confucian system. But in his essay, Tseng specified this term as "ceremonies (tien-li) and political literatures (cheng-shu) of previous dynasties, and historical records (chang-ku) of contemporary times".

the difficulty in mastering these four subjects because of one's limited span of life, Tseng suggested that the learning of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation be taken as one's priority. This is, to quote Tseng, because the moral philosophy of self-cultivation was "closely associated with one's physical body and mind-heart" and, therefore, "should not be passed over in one's life."¹⁴²

The significance of this essay can be seen from at least two perspectives. First, Tseng formally proposed the idea of ching-shih as an independent value and placed this idea right behind the well-known three categories of Confucian learning. By making the idea of ching-shih the fourth important subject in Confucian learning, Tseng, however, seemed to interpret its implications in a narrower scope as "political affairs". Overlooking its characteristic as a value-commitment to this-worldly activism and participation, Tseng regarded the idea of ching-shih as a concept of institutions or political literatures in this essay. Tseng's definition of the idea of ching-shih might be more tangible to the students of Confucianism, but it has, indeed, discounted the symbolic, religious-like significance of "managing the world and saving the people".¹⁴³

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Nevertheless, this view seemed to be favorably echoed by the intellectuals of late Ch'ing. For instance, K'ang Yu-wei, the intellectual leader of the transitional period in modern China, accepted Tseng's definition of ching-shih as well as his new four categories of Confucian learning. K'ang not only took one step further by moving the position of ching-shih from fourth to second, but also used this reorganized new four categories of Confucian learning as a syllabus for the school he set up at Canton in 1891. See K'ang Yu-wei, "Ch'ang-hsing hsüeh-chi" (A Ch'ang-hsing Syllabus), K'ang Yu-wei ch'üan-chi (The Complete Works of K'ang Yu-wei), (Shanghai: Shanghai Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), pp.555-7.

Secondly, Tseng Kuo-fan well elucidated the relationship between the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and ching-shih. Tseng claimed that the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and ching-shih were virtually not two separate ingredients in the beginning. The disparity between them lay, he argued, not so much in their nature as in the procedure of practice. In this regard, the moral philosophy of self-cultivation was compared by Tseng to the concept of t'i (substance or essence) while the idea of ching-shih to that of yung (function or utility). Symbolizing what one is and what one does,¹⁴⁴ this t'i-yung formula was not a normatively differentiated end-and-means, because both i-li and ching-shih were now regarded by Tseng as independent values.

We should not forget the roles of "textual criticism" and "literary works" when we discuss the problem of classification of Confucian learning. In this regard, Tseng Kuo-fan also had a revised view. Unlike the Hanlin period when he disregarded the two categories of Confucian learning in correspondences to his brothers, and unlike the immediate post-Hanlin period when he exclusively stressed the values of the two approaches toward Confucian learning in letters to his son, Tseng now seemed to take a "neutral" stance by regarding them as necessary and effective means to achieve the grand Confucian Way. It was, we are told, possible that during the period of study, one might be guided to take up either "textual criticism" or "literary works", according to one's nature and aptitude. But these two approaches were, Tseng believed, by no means false or insignificant as claimed by many

¹⁴⁴ Joseph R. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, p.56.

orthodox Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists. These two approaches were, he asserted, practical and necessary "means" to achieve one's sagehood.¹⁴⁵

Tseng Kuo-fan's endorsement of the approaches of "textual criticism" and "literary works" as necessary avenues toward sagehood in his final view, was not, indeed, in line with the orthodox interpretation of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism which, as best presented in T'ang Chien's view, regarded these two approaches as obstacles to sagehood. Nevertheless, Tseng's endorsement of the two given approaches does not necessarily mean that he was abandoning the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu tradition by minimizing the role of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. He still accepted the notion that the idea of ching-shih could not be sought outside the context of the moral philosophy of self-cultivation, namely, a career of "outer kingship" can only be built on the base of one's moral "inner sagehood", even though the former was juxtaposed by Tseng with the latter as an independent value.

The most remarkable view shown in the above-mentioned essay in the author's final days is Tseng's understanding of ching-shih, which was interpreted by him as substantial beings like ceremonies and the institutions of previous dynasties. It is true that because of his interpretation ching-shih as a concept of institutions, Tseng had to adjust his views toward "textual criticism" and "literary works". But regarding the problem of ching-shih, a more critical issue remains: that

¹⁴⁵ Ch'üan-hsüeh-p'ien shih chih-li shih-tze (Exhortation to study: For the students of the capital), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.443.

is, why, when, and how Tseng formulated this idea of ching-shih as a concept of institutions. For this, we have to refer to Tseng's interpretation of li which typified the concept of institutions in Tseng's system.

2. Li as Ching-Shih

At the beginning of his post-Hanlin period, while Tseng Kuo-fan was trying to postulate the theory of an independent ching-shih, he also formulated the doctrine of li (ritual, ceremony, propriety) as an alternate to the idea of ching-shih. For Tseng, li was not only a code of moral-ritual propriety aiming to regulate the behavior of upper-class people. More importantly, it was also a notion of institutions and ritual ceremonies of previous dynasties. Tseng's concept of li was, in its second sense, identical with his view of ching-shih which, as we discussed in the above, referred to ceremonies and political literatures of previous dynasties and historical records of contemporary times. As a corollary, it is not surprising to see that Tseng would later formulate a doctrine that what is li is ching-shih.

When discussing the li-ching-shih problem, we should not lose sight of the fact that Tseng Kuo-fan's interpretation of li as ching-shih was part of his other intellectual endeavors. Tseng developed this idea of li to mainly resolve his twin problems: the theoretical predicament between Han Learning and Sung Learning, both of which he greatly enjoyed, and the dilemma of the praxis of hsiu-shen (inner sagehood) and ching-shih (outer kingship). Although Tseng was unable to completely achieve his ambitions, particularly the latter goal of

resolving the dilemma of the praxis of hsiu-shen and ching-shih with his learning of li or li-hsüeh, by the time he passed away, his proposition of the idea of li as, to quote Joseph R. Levenson, a "philosophy of wholeness" marked one of the most significant intellectual efforts in his Neo-Confucian system as well as that of the Ch'eng-Chu circle in the late Ch'ing.¹⁴⁶

2.a. The Emergence of the Concept of Li

It has been pointed out by modern scholars that from the mid-18th century on there was an intellectual tendency among the Textual Criticism scholars to replace the metaphysical idea of li (principle) with the more tangible idea of li (rites, ceremonies, rules of moral propriety).¹⁴⁷ For scholars of Textual Criticism, the term li (principle) and related concepts such as tao (way), hsin (mind-heart), and hsing-ming (the heaven-conferred nature and that which heaven has decreed), which were notions the Sung Learning scholars cherished, were too intangible and deviated from the primary Confucian concern for realistic life in this world.¹⁴⁸ Even though the inner core of li

¹⁴⁶ Joseph R. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, p.56.

¹⁴⁷ It needs to be pointed out that for the orthodox Neo-Confucianists li (rites, ceremonies, the rules of moral propriety) was reduced to an aspect of li (principle).

¹⁴⁸ For instance, Ling T'ing-k'an (1757-1809) once commented that the Analects, which best recorded the words and thought of Confucius, did not even have a single word on li (principle) but constantly discussed the idea of li (rites, ceremonies, rules of moral propriety). See Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo Chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (A Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol. 2, p.494.

(rites, ceremonies, rules of moral propriety) can be "inward-oriented" like ching or reverence, this idea of li was purposely interpreted by the Textual Criticism scholars to bear an "outward-oriented" character.¹⁴⁹ Not all scholars during the high time of the k'ao-cheng movement welcomed this intellectual tendency of replacing the transcendental li (principle) with li (rites, ceremonies, rules of moral propriety). For instance, this idea of replacement was disapproved of by Fang Tung-shu (1772-1851), a renowned T'ung-ch'eng scholar.¹⁵⁰ But we cannot deny the fact of the close relationship between the learning of li and the learning of k'ao-cheng: most of the li experts in the 18th century were either from a k'ao-cheng background or closely connected to k'ao-cheng learning.

The significance of li (rites, ceremonies, rules of moral propriety) had been stressed and shown to Tseng Kuo-fan by his mentor T'ang Chien. However, Tseng's idea of li was primarily stimulated by Ch'in Hui-t'ien (1702-64), a distinguished scholar of Han Learning who devoted much of his life to the compilation of an encyclopedic work known as Wu-li t'ung-k'ao (A General Inquiry of the Five Rites).¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Chang Hao, "Ch'ao-yüeh i-shih yü yü-an i-shih" (The Sense of Transcendence and the Sense of Darkness), collected in Yu-an i-shih yü min-ch ch'uan-t'ung (The Sense of Darkness and the Tradition of Democracy), (Taipei: Linking Press, 1989), p.54-55.

¹⁵⁰ Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo Chin-san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu-shih (A Chinese Intellectual History of the Past Three Hundred Years), (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1987), vol. 2, p.519.

¹⁵¹ Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, (A Dissertation of Yale University), December 1975, p.39.

Ch'in's work was brought to Tseng's attention in early 1850's.¹⁵² However, Tseng's own doctrine of li or li-hsüeh did not crystallize until the late 1850's when he was conducting a military campaign against the Taipings.

It was in a discussion with general Ho Ching-hai on the art of soldiership in 1859 that Tseng Kuo-fan first came up with the idea of li. However, this idea of li was proposed by Tseng along with the idea of jen, and both of them were applied to the art of soldiership. Tseng contended that: "With respect to the practice of en (grace, mercy, favor, charity), one sees nothing more applicable than the idea of jen (humanity, benevolence). Regarding the practice of wei (awe, severity), one sees nothing more applicable than li."¹⁵³ According to him, the idea of jen was supposed to express love for others while the idea of li was to show respect for people.

Admittedly, li and jen were two vital ideas of Confucius which worked together as a theme penetrating his whole work of Analects. The intricate yet interlocked relationship of these two terms can best be shown in a brief but significant passage in which Confucius explained the idea of jen to his best disciple: jen consists in self-mastery and returning to li.¹⁵⁴ This implies that the practice of rites, ceremonies, or rules of moral propriety easily degenerates into

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 1, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.391.

¹⁵⁴ Analects 12:1.

formalism without the idea of jen or humanity.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, as is pointed out by scholars, the imposition of rules of decorum by the elites on the unsuspecting masses easily degenerates into authoritarianism.¹⁵⁶ As important as jen is to li in the Confucian system, it is then little wonder that these two ideas would be juxtaposed by Tseng.

However, Tseng's twin concepts of jen and li were, we are told, inspired by Mencius:

That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart:--namely, benevolence (jen) and propriety (li). The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others.¹⁵⁷

But unlike Mencius, who tried to generalize these twin concepts, Tseng related them to a more conditioned object. Tseng used jen to mean that a general needed to "treat soldiers as his sons and brothers" and to "anticipate them to be successful in their careers"--all in a hope to win their support. However, a general should not miss the idea of li, in the hope of winning their respect, because functionally this idea of li could help him "dress properly" and "demean himself" like a trustworthy commander.¹⁵⁸ Apparently, Tseng here solely regarded the idea of li as a prescriptive ethic which was oriented merely toward insuring outer behavioral compliance. He has not driven this idea of li into the so-

¹⁵⁵ Tu Wei-ming, Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), p.69.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p.12.

¹⁵⁷ The Work of Mencius, collected in the Four Books, tr. by James Legge, (Taipei: Cultural Book Co., 1979), p.756.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

called "learning of li" or li-hsüeh which was meant by him to cover both the "inner" and "outer" dimensions of the Confucian system.

Tseng's idea of li as a "philosophy of wholeness" seemed to emerge later this year, namely, 1859. In a brief essay on li, written in that year, Tseng claimed that li was not just a prescriptive ethic aimed at regulating the behavior of people. It was also a collective notion of institutions, ritual ceremonies, and political literatures of the previous dynasties.

We are hardly told how the superior men of antiquity used their mental capacities to the full and nourished their natures. But we do know that li was the basic principle with which they cultivated themselves, regulated their families, governed their states, and pacified the world. Thus, from the viewpoint of an individual's inner world, there is nothing that can be called morality without li. From the viewpoint of an individual's relations with the outer world, there is nothing that can be called political affairs (cheng-shih) without li.¹⁵⁹

In other words, li, as a grand theory, was meant by Tseng to link the worlds of "inner" and "outer", sageliness and kingliness, virtue and statesmanship, and therefore symbolize their union.¹⁶⁰ It is in this sense, that the idea of li was identical with the idea of ching-shih in Tseng's Confucian system.

2.b. Li as an Integrator of Inner Sagehood and Outer Kingship

Li as a "philosophy of wholeness" was applied by Tseng Kuo-fan to

¹⁵⁹ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp.358-9. See also Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, (A Dissertation of Yale University), December 1975, p.38.

¹⁶⁰ Joseph R. Levenson, Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, p.67.

link the worlds of "inner" and "outer", traditionally a symbolic contrast between "spirit" and "matter". With regard to the realm of "inner", the idea of li was understood by Tseng as a rule of moral propriety aiming at regulating the behavior of people. This is, to be sure, in keeping with Hsün Tzu who regarded li as the backbone of his Confucian system and viewed it as a major component in constituting his theory of self-cultivation. Hsün Tzu said, in the chapter on self-cultivation or hsiu-shen: "Of all the methods of controlling the body and nourishing the mind, there is none more direct than li (proper conduct)."¹⁶¹ This assertion was based on the view that li was the norm of action for Confucian gentlemen in daily life.

Whenever a person deals with flesh and blood, purposes and plans, when it is according to li, then his government will be successful. If he does not act according to li, he is either wrong and confused, or careless and negligent. Food and drink, clothing, dwelling places, and movements, if in accordance with li, will accord to the situation; if not in accordance with li, they will meet with ruin and calamity. A person's appearance, his bearing, his advancing and retiring when he hastens or walks slowly, if according to li, is beautiful; if not according to li, then he will be haughty, intractable, depraved, banal, and rude. Hence a man who has no sense what is li (proper) is without a means of livelihood; a matter which is not li (proper) will not be brought to accomplishment; a government without li will not be peaceful.¹⁶²

The above citation is, of course, not Hsün Tzu's learning of li in miniature. But it bespeaks, by and large, the fact of how li was regarded by the Classical Confucian master as the core of self-cultivation. In a way, Tseng in his building up the doctrine of li, seemed to be inspired by Hsün Tzu instead of by the Neo-Confucian

¹⁶¹ The Works of Hsün Tze, translated by Homer H. Dubs, (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1928), p.47.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.44-45.

masters like Chu Hsi.

As a prescriptive ethic, li was, as we have discussed in the previous section, juxtaposed by Tseng with the idea of jen. Although both ideas were juxtaposed and regarded by Tseng as inner virtues within oneself in contrast to the outer material world, the idea of li was interpreted by Tseng to mean not so much an art of ascetic self-mastery as the substantial rules of decorum in the human community. That is, the idea of li was approached by Tseng to carry an "outward-oriented" character. To make his intention clearer, he later developed a theory to differentiate his inward-bent jen and outward-bent li.

Once upon a time, Confucius was fond of searching for the idea of jen and was devoted to preaching the practice of li. (Later), Mencius also juxtaposed the ideas of jen and li. That sage-kings were able to regulate themselves and others, able to settle all disputes in the world, depended on two things: Internally, there was nothing better than the idea of jen and externally, there was nothing more urgent than the idea of li.¹⁶³

This differentiation between "internal" jen and "external" li was made by Tseng for two purposes: First, to extend the idea of li from the realm of "inner" to "outer" and, secondly, to become consistent with his "li as ching-shih" doctrine. In other words, the idea of li was now twofold: to regulate the behavior of self and to govern others. He said, in 1863, that: "one would become free of faults and regrets if one could use li to control himself (tzu-chih) and govern others (tzu-jen)."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Wang Ch'uan-shan i-shu hsü (The preface for the Surviving works of Wang Fu-chih), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essay), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), pp.277-8.

¹⁶⁴ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Jih-chi (Volume of diary), vol. 2, (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1987), p.921.

Thus, Tseng's concept of li was a vital instrument linking one's ethics to action between the two worlds: the inner world of individual morality and the outer world of socio-political systems.¹⁶⁵ Only through the function of li do these two polarized worlds become convertible. In this regard, li was a concept with dual functions: advancing one's morality in the world of "inner sagehood" on the one hand, and achieving one's goal of salvation in the world of "outer kingship" on the other. In his words, li was "the Way of ancient kings" and thus contained the methods of self-cultivation and statesmanship.¹⁶⁶

Inasmuch as the idea of li was twofold, it was stressed more by Tseng for its function in the world of ching-shih, i.e. in the "outer world" of socio-political order. This view of Tseng's began to emerge, as we have mentioned above, in the year 1859. A typical view presented by Tseng in this year is in his preface to the work of his friend Sun T'ing-ch'en (1819-1859): "For the scholars of antiquity, there was no such an art of statecraft but an art of learning li."¹⁶⁷ By the "art of learning li", Tseng meant not so much an art of learning prescriptive ethic as the art of learning ancient institution. In this regard, the paradigm of li was, according to Tseng, the Book of Rites in which the idealized institutions of the Chou Dynasty were preserved. As a corollary, those who had formulated and refined the content of the Book

¹⁶⁵ Andrew Cheng-Kuang Hsieh, Tseng Kuo-fan, A Nineteenth-Century Confucian General, (A Ph.D. Dissertation of Yale University), December 1975, p.38.

¹⁶⁶ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.250.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.256.

of Rites were highly appraised by Tseng: Tu Yu (735-812) and his T'ung-tien (Encyclopedia of Institutions and Customs), Chiang Yung (1681-1762) and his Li-shu kang-mu (An Outline of the Book of Rites), and Ch'in Hui-t'ien and his Wu-li t'ung-k'ao (A General Inquiry of the Five Rites). These works covered crucial subjects such as the imperial bureaucratic system, the military, geography, astronomy, and others. They thus preserved, in Tseng's words, the "spirit of statesmanship of the ancient kings."¹⁶⁸ That is to say, li as a concept which contained the Way of the ancient sage-kings embraced all major socio-political aspects of the Chinese imperial tradition.

The above-mentioned development of Tseng Kuo-fan's doctrine of li became possible because of two historical backgrounds. The first is the emergence of the study of li promoted by Textual Criticism scholars typified by Ch'in Hui-t'ien and Chiang Yung in 18th century. Because of their research, the study of li became an important subject in the field of Textual Criticism. The second, and a more direct source, which stimulated Tseng's interest in the idea of li was his connection to the circle of Textual Criticism typified by Liu Ch'uan-ying in Tseng's late Hanlin period. It is Liu who convinced Tseng that li was a concern of both Han Learning and Sung Learning which will be the focus of discussion in next section.

2.c. Li as an Integrator of Han Learning and Sung Learning

Liu Ch'uan-ying became a close friend of Tseng Kuo-fan in 1846--the year T'ang Chien, Tseng's Neo-Confucian mentor, retired from his

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

office in Peking and returned to the south. In terms of the learning of Textual Criticism, Liu was first influenced by Hu Wei (1633-1714) and Yen Jou-chü (1636-1704), two eminent k'ao-cheng scholars in the mid-Ch'ing. From the learning of Hu and Yen, Liu later explored other approaches of Textual Criticism and became an expert on languages of antiquity, historical geography, ancient mathematics, the Book of Rites, and other topics.¹⁶⁹

Tseng Kuo-fan's close but brief friendship with Liu Ch'uan-ying started from the period of his hospitalization with pneumonia in a Buddhist temple in the suburbs of Peking in 1846.¹⁷⁰ During this period, Tseng was amusing himself by studying the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu (Explanations and Analysis of Characters), a basic, yet important, work in the learning of Textual Criticism, with assistance from Liu. As a mentor of textual criticism to Tseng, Liu personally showed Tseng the practices of ancient rites.¹⁷¹ For Liu, li as a concept was primarily a cluster of idealized institutions of the "Golden Age". It could not become understandable to students of Confucianism of later generations without the task of annotation. In this regard, Tseng was convinced by Liu's viewpoint that: "the implications of li would not become

¹⁶⁹ Tseng Kuo-fan, "kuo-tzu-chien hsüeh-cheng han-yang liu-ch'ün mu-chih-ming" (The Epitaph of Liu Ch'uan-ying of Han Yang), "han-yang liu-ch'ün chia-chuan" (A Biography of Liu Ch'uan-ying of Han Yang). in Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essay), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.210-213.

¹⁷⁰ Liu Ch'uan-ying died in 1848.

¹⁷¹ For Liu's practices of li, see Tseng's Han-yang Liu-ch'ün chia-chuan (A biography of Liu Ch'uan-ying), collected in Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan chüan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essays) (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.211-3.

illuminated themselves without the learning of textual criticism."¹⁷²

Because of Liu Ch'uan-ying's influence, Tseng who came from a Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian background, started to develop a balanced view between Han Learning (Textual Criticism) and Sung Learning (Neo-Confucianism). In a letter to his friend Liu Jung (1816-1873), Tseng showed how he was freed from the previous bias against the K'ao-cheng school. He said:

Concerning the intellectual tangle between Han Learning and Sung Learning, (we should) not support one camp while looking upon the other with bias. (I am) especially against the Confucian attitude of promoting the status of the Way while demoting that of wen (literature).¹⁷³

He then told Liu Jung that he "would like to adopt the strength of both (camps) so that (he) could profoundly and extensively comprehend the Way, and (on the other hand) could lucidly write (about it)."¹⁷⁴

Tseng Kuo-fan's plan of using li to integrate Han Learning and Sung Learning began to crystallize a decade after the death of Liu Ch'uan-ying. The crystallization of this idea of Tseng's becomes possible only after his study of Chiang Yung's Li-shu kang-mu (An Outline of the Book of Rites), and, particularly, Ch'in Hui-t'ien's Wu-li t'ung-k'ao (A General Inquiry of the Five Rites). Through the study of these two important works by Chiang and Ch'in, Tseng discovered li to

¹⁷² Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Kuo-fan ch'uan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shih-wen (Volume of poetry and essay), (Hunan: Yüeh-lu shu-she, 1986), p.256.

¹⁷³ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'uan-chi (The Complete Works of Tseng Kuo-fan), shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), pp.13000-6. See also Chu Tung-an, Tseng Kuo-fan chuan (A Biography of Tseng Kuo-fan) (Ch'eng-tu: Shih-ch'uan Jen-ming Ch'u-pan-she, 1985), p.23.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, pp.13000-6.

be a mutual subject of learning both Han Learning and Sung Learning. As a corollary, he proposed his concept of li to end the great polemics between the two camps.

Tseng's discovery of li as a means to synthesize the two antagonistic intellectual schools is based on the following assumption: Li as a cluster of institutions of antiquity preserved in incomplete literatures has been a primary intellectual interest of k'ao-cheng scholars ever since 18th century. It is an important subject in the field of Han Learning. On the other hand, it was also a subject of Sung Learning where the main purpose of the learning of li was to explore the Way of ancient kings, namely, investigating its process from self-cultivation to family regulation, and finally toward world pacification. Accordingly, li was a mutual concern of both Sung learning and Han Learning. In this regard, he best showed his viewpoint in his 1860 letter:

My humble opinion is that only he who has extensively studied all learning (po), could keep himself (under the restraint of the rules of propriety) (yüeh); only he who has investigated things (ke-wu) could rectify his heart (cheng-hsin). Furthermore, one must undertake the task of textual criticism on the classics of li, carefully investigating their three thousand and three hundred subjects, cautiously scrutinizing the subtlety of each item. Thus one could truly comprehend the origin and development (of scholarship).¹⁷⁵

That is, for Tseng, the idea of li was twofold: It was the task of Textual Criticism scholars who examined and studied the literatures of institutes of antiquity. It was also the task of Neo-Confucianism proponents who were concerned about the method of self-mastery typified

¹⁷⁵ Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan chi (The Complete Work of Tseng Kuo-fan), Shu-tza (Volumes of correspondence), (Taipei: Wei-hai, reprinted), p.14099-14101.

by the concept of li. It is from this sense, that Tseng concluded that Li-shu kang-mu (Outline of the Book of Li) of Chiang Yung and Wu-li t'ung-k'ao (A General Inquiry of the Five Rites) of Ch'in Hui-t'ien were two vital works that would be "able to channel to both Han Learning and Sung Learning, cut their mutual knot, and thus end all disputes."¹⁷⁶

In a sense, Tseng's interest in the learning of li was quite different from that of Chiang Yung and Ch'in Hui-t'ien, even though Tseng claimed himself an admirer of the two great scholars. Unlike these two Textual Criticism scholars, Tseng's concern with this subject was not so much from a vision of "intellectualism" as it was from a vision of "eclecticism". With this vision of "eclecticism" in mind, Tseng formulated the doctrine of li as a philosophy of "wholeness", and, vice versa, this "philosophy of wholeness" reinforced the strength of his "eclecticism" in his doctrine of li.

E. Conclusion

Indeed, Tseng Kuo-fan's concept of li was totalistic. All systems like the imperial institutes, the governmental and administrative structure, or even social organizations, were a "part" and must be linked to a "whole" i.e. a "totality." His idea of totality comprised social, political and economic institutions together with all forms of virtue, knowledge and ideology. Li as both an end and a means was proposed by Tseng to resolve his twin intellectual predicaments. First was the longstanding disputes between the two camps of Han Learning and Sung Learning. The second predicament was related to the two polarized

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

worlds of "inner sagehood" (i.e. moral order) and "outer kingship" (i.e. socio-political order) in the Confucian system. By making li a concept of "wholeness", the "inner" and "outer", sageliness and kingliness, virtue and statesmanship, and "spiritual" and "material" were all unified in a great harmony. As a corollary, li as a view of totality in Tseng's intellectual system was marked by a kind of eclecticism which was applied to presumably absorb all antagonistic elements or doctrines in Tseng's Confucian China.

Even though Tseng Kuo-fan occupied an irreplaceable status in the intellectual movement of "eclecticism" in the late Ch'ing, we should not lose sight on the fact that he was an ardent advocate of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism by the time he passed away. As we have seen, in his 1871 letter-essay Jih-ko shih-t'iao (Four regulations for daily observation), Tseng in his final days still believed in the primary Neo-Confucian notions such as shen-tu (vigilant solitariness or self-watchfulness when alone), ching (reverence), jen (humanity, benevolence), and lastly, ch'in-lao (diligence). In this sense, Tseng's contribution to the intellectual movement of "eclecticism" cannot be evaluated without considering his Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucian heritage.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have examined three minds who constituted the core of the Ch'eng-Chu school and, side by side, realized the restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism in late imperial China. In my analysis of the world view of these three minds, I specified two foci: moral praxis and social praxis; or to put them in Confucian terms, the ideas of hsiu-shen (self-cultivation) and ching-shih (statesmanship). Both foci were characterized by a strong sense of moral consciousness. Armed with this moral consciousness, the major members of the Ch'eng-Chu school in the mid-19th century successfully restored Ch'eng-Chu doctrine as a leading intellectual Confucian school in the post-k'ao-cheng period. In addition, they successfully convinced the court to reassert Ch'eng-Chu doctrine as the political basis of the Confucian state during the T'ung-chih Restoration.

The world views of these three differed, however, from person to person. In the case of T'ang Chien, the defense of tao (Way) and tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way) dominated his the world view. For Wo-jen, it was the idea of moral praxis. For Tseng Kuo-fan, it became the idea of social praxis.

For T'ang Chien, the pioneer of this school in the late Ch'ing, the inward-bent idea of hsiu-shen and the outward-bent idea of ching-

shih were interlocked to function as a meaningful system which he called tao. Echoing the first restoration movement of Ch'eng-Chu doctrine in the second half of 17th century, T'ang's idea of tao and tao-t'ung were employed to exclude Wang Yang-ming learning from the garden of Confucian orthodoxy. But more importantly, these two ideas were also applied by T'ang to oppose k'ao-cheng learning which, in his view, misinterpreted the meaning of the Confucian tao.

Intellectually active between 1840-46, T'ang Chien saw the country's socio-political crises, which were best seen in the new foreign challenges after the Opium War and the subsequent social unrest in the coastal provinces, as closely associated with the intellectual crisis of his times: the deterioration of Confucian spirit. For T'ang, the deterioration of Confucian spirit was directly caused by the "textualization" of Confucian studies. In his eyes, the "textualization" of Confucian studies, propelled by k'ao-cheng scholars since the mid-18th century, had dismissed the nucleus of Confucianism: socio-moral concern. To save the country from these twin crises, T'ang Chien and his younger comrades in the capital established a consensus that a revival of the empire would have to rely on the revival of the Neo-Confucian philosophical creed. To put their beliefs into action, T'ang, as the leader of the group in Peking, pondered how to best present the spirit of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism to intellectuals in his time. Accordingly, he strove, between 1843-46, to elucidate his ideas in his seminal work: Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih (Brief Accounts of Scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty).

In this Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih, T'ang Chien, who was intellectually

inspired by the major Ch'eng-Chu scholars in the second half of 17th century, strove to redefine the Confucian tradition in the Ch'ing with a theme of the idea of tao (Way). Related to the idea of tao, the notion of tao-t'ung (the transmission of the Way) became an exclusive criterion to measure the orthodoxy of Ch'ing Confucian scholars. In this work, tao as a "source of meaning" was interpreted by T'ang as a transcendental concept embodying the Neo-Confucian ideas of hsiu-shen and ching-shih. That is, to explore the "source of meaning" in Confucianism, a true orthodox Neo-Confucianist needed to practice these twin ideas of self-cultivation and statesmanship.

While T'ang Chien's world view highlighted the idea of tao and its transmission, Wo-jen stressed the necessity of moral praxis. Convinced by T'ang Chien that man can cultivate himself by self-effort and that a good man is a fundamental asset of the state and society, Wo-jen decided to build up a good and moral personality in order to save the country. To do so, Wo-jen set up a "character-building" program of personality improvement by keeping a diary of self-criticism to record his practices of self-discipline.

The "character-building" program seen in Wo-jen's diary was characterized by the ascetic praxis of guarding one's thought. For him, the improper thought was the source of evil, and, in this sense, to avoid the improper thought meant avoiding evil. Nevertheless, for him, the line between the two heterogenous worlds, the good and the bad, was too subtle to discern easily. Because of the ambiguity of the line between the good and bad worlds, Wo-jen stressed the idea of principle versus lust. These two elements, principle and lust, were seen by Wo-jen

as heterogeneous and thus diverse. Wo-jen believed that desire was harmful to both an individual and a society, and thus needed to be avoided.

Although Wo-jen's "character-building" program was marked by an emphasis on moral praxis, it was actually involved with one major problem: hsiu-shen (self-cultivation). The key issue in the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation centered around the problem of "recovery of the nature" (fu-sing). That is, the major concern of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation is how to clear up and purify the material force in the human self so as to make one's true self shine forth and, thereby, also restore the spiritual unity with Heaven. To reach this ultimate goal of becoming unified with Heaven, Wo-jen as a typical orthodox Neo-Confucianist took an approach of what can be called "inward transcendence". That is, in terms of self-cultivation, one did not depend on the forces outside oneself but on the inherent moral mind-heart. The more one could dig deep into one's Heaven-conferred inner moral resources embodied in one's moral mind-heart, the more one could successfully transcend himself and thus became unified with the transcendent Heaven.

Because of its value as an exemplary work embodying the methods for personality improvement in the Neo-Confucian tradition, this diary of Wo-jen first circulated among his Ch'eng-Chu comrades beginning in the 1840s, and then circulated outside the Ch'eng-Chu circle during the 1860s. Among the arduous proponents in the Ch'eng-Chu circle, Tseng Kuo-fan was one of the most enthusiastic followers of Wo-jen in terms of his "character-building" program.

Like Wo-jen, Tseng Kuo-fan was also intellectually enlightened by T'ang Chien in the capital during the early 1840s. Convinced by T'ang's Ch'eng-Chu doctrine, Tseng set up a "Learning Curriculum" for his personal study of the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation in early 1843. In addition to the "Learning Curriculum", Tseng was urged by his mentor T'ang Chien and other intellectual comrades to follow the method created by his senior intellectual comrade Wo-jen--in order to validly practice the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation. Inspired by Wo-jen, Tseng also kept a diary of self-examination in which he reflected upon his behavior and recorded each deviation from the rules which he had set for himself. In a sense, Tseng's "character-building" program of personality improvement was constituted by both his "Learning Curriculum" and his diary of self-criticism and self-mastery.

Like Wo-jen, Tseng Kuo-fan's "character-building" program emphasized the idea of moral praxis which was best seen in his practice of quiescence and, more significantly, reverence (ching). The idea of quiescence was crucial in one's moral praxis because it was only when one's mind-heart became totally quiet that one could well examine oneself and discipline oneself. Tseng's idea of quiescence was crystallized in his practice of quiet-sitting, which he practiced to supposedly calm and empty the mind of distracted thoughts and emotions.

Closely related to the idea of quiescence was the idea of ching (reverence). The idea of ching, or reverence, has rich implications in the Neo-Confucian tradition. It involves the ancient religious attitude of the Confucians--an awe and fear of Heaven, a reverence for human life, the fundamental spirit of ritual order and filial piety. The Sung

masters further developed its meaning to comprise the whole created order and the inherent creativity of the Way. For them, this reverential response to life provided the motivation for all human action, and differentiated the Confucian Way from Buddhism and Taoism, which questioned the primacy of human value orientations.

However, the idea of reverence was applied by Tseng to mean the substantial attitude of seriousness and respect in life. Often, ching as the substantial attitude of seriousness and respect was linked by Tseng to social life or human relationships in a community. In this sense, the idea of ching was regarded by Tseng as an kind of a moral principle in one's social life.

This tendency to interpret the idea of ching from the perspective of human relationships became even more salient in his post-Hanlin period. It is from this human relations perspective that one sees Tseng's application of principal Neo-Confucian ideas like ching (reverence), and others, to his civil administration during the late 1840s when he was involved with growing bureaucratic duties. It is also from this perspective that one sees Tseng's application of major ideas in the Neo-Confucian moral philosophy to military administration during his campaigns against the Taipings (1850-1864) in which Tseng played a crucial role as a commander-in-chief.

For Tseng, the moral praxis displayed in the Neo-Confucian idea of ching and other concepts, was the foundation of social praxis. In his eyes, moral cultivation of character did not serve the end of self-cultivation alone. It was also the primary qualification of statesmanship. That is, moral cultivation of character as an ideal was

presumably applicable to any man but in reality it was meant only for the elite--the minority who were morally capable of governing. It is in this sense, that Tseng's Neo-Confucian moral philosophy of self-cultivation saw little significance in the world of the self unless it was entirely integrated into the structure of socio-political relations. In short, for Tseng and other Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists, morality was the foundation of polity.

Because of his emphasis on applying the moral philosophy of self-cultivation to the social-political world, Tseng in his later life developed a tendency to elevate the role of the idea of ching-shih in the Neo-Confucian system by juxtaposing it with the moral philosophy of self-cultivation. Unlike his mentor T'ang Chien, who felt that the idea of ching-shih should be restricted within "moral philosophy", or in T'ang's words, i-li, Tseng believed that the moral philosophy of self-cultivation and ching-shih were not two separate ingredients in the beginning. In this regard, the moral philosophy of self-cultivation was compared by Tseng to the concept of t'i (substance or essence) while the idea of ching-shih was compared to that of yung (function or utility). Symbolizing what one is and what one does, this t'i-yung formula was not a normatively differentiated end-and-means, because both i-li and ching-shih were now regarded by Tseng as independent values.

Tseng's elevation of the idea of ching-shih was best seen in his proposition of a new classification of Confucian learning, an idea which became crystallized in his final years. Unlike the traditional classification of Confucian learning which specified the three major categories as "moral philosophy", "textual criticism", and "literary

works", Tseng added ching-shih, a new category, as a fourth category to the existing three. Because of Tseng's intellectual and, particularly, political influence within and without the court, this new classification of Confucian learning and, especially, the juxtaposition of the ideas of hsiu-shen and ching-shih, came to be accepted by Confucianists of different schools in late imperial China. For instance, K'ang Yu-wei, a scholar of the New Text school and the intellectual leader of the transitional period in modern China, accepted Tseng's definition of ching-shih as well as his new four categories of Confucian learning. K'ang not only took one step further by moving the position of ching-shih from fourth to second, but he also used this reorganized new four categories of Confucian learning as a syllabus for the school he set up at Canton in 1891.

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GLOSSARY

ai chih li 愛之理

Anhwei 安徽

ch'a-chi shen-tung 察幾慎動

Chang Chiu-cheng (1092-1159) 張九成

Chang Erh-ch' i (1612-1678) 張爾岐

Chang Hsia 張夏

Chang Hsüeh-ch' eng (1738-1801) 章學誠

Chang Lieh (1622-1685) 張烈

Chang Lü-hsiang (1611-1674) 張履祥

Chang Po-hsing (1652-1725) 張伯行

Chang Tsai (1020-77) 張載

Ch' ang-chou 常州

Chekiang 浙江

ch'e t' ien-ken fa 扯田腴法

che-yu 擇友

Chen Teh-hsiu (1178-1235) 真德秀

Ch' en Chien (1497-1567) 陳建

cheng 正

Cheng Hsün (127-200) 鄭玄

cheng hsüeh 正學

cheng-ch' i yen-shu 整齊嚴肅

cheng-hsin 正心

Cheng-i t' ang ch' üan-shu 正誼堂全書

cheng-shih 政事

cheng-t' ung 正統

ch' eng 誠

Ch' eng Hao (1032-85) 程顥

Ch' eng I (1033-1108) 程頤

Ch' eng-Chu 程朱

Ch' eng-fen cheng 懲忿箴

ch' eng-fen chih-yü 懲忿室慾

ch' eng-i 誠意

ch' eng-chi 成己
 Ch' eng-men wei-chih 程門微旨
 ch' eng-shen 誠身
 ch' eng-teh 成德
 ch' eng-uu 成物
 chi-ching 極靜
 Chi-fu shui-li shu 畿府水利書
 chi-i 技藝
 Ch' i 氣
 ch' i-chia 齊家
 Ch' i-hsin chin-chien 啟心金鑑
 Ch' i-shan (d. 1854) 琦善
 Ch' i-ying (d. 1858) 耆英
 Chia I (201-169 B.C.) 賈誼
 chia-fa 冢法
 Chiang Fan (1761-1831) 江藩
 Chiang Sheng (1721-1799) 江聲
 Chiang Yung (1681-1762) 江永
 Chiangsu 江蘇
 Chiao Hsün (1763-1820) 焦循
 chien 儉
 chien-ch' a yü-shih 監察御史
 chien-t' i 賤體
 chien-t' ao 檢討
 Ch' ien 乾
 ch' ien 謙
 ch' ien-shan kai-kuo 遷善改過
 chih 知
 chih 智
 chih-chih 致知
 chih-fa 治法
 chih-hsin k' e-chi 治心克己
 chih-hsing ho-i 知行合一
 chih-kuo 治國
 chih-hsü 至虛
 chih-shen 治身
 chih-tao 治道
 chih-t' i 治體
 Chih-t' ien ssu-fa 治田四法
 chih t' sun hsi-ming, hsing chun chung-yung
 志存西銘, 行準中庸

chih-t'ung 治統
 Chih-yü shuo 室慾說
 Chihli 直隸
 Chin O (d. 1819) 金鶚
 Chin-ning 金陵
 chin-shih 進士
 Chin-yang 晉陽
 chin-wen 今文
 Ch' in 秦
 ch' in 勤
 Ch' in Hui-t' ien (1702-64) 秦蕙田
 ch' in-hsüeh 勤學
 ch' in-lao 勤勞
 ch' in-sou 禽獸
 ching 敬
 ching 靜
 ching-chi 經濟
 ching-hsüeh 經學
 ching-hsüeh chi li-hsüeh 經學即理學
 Ching-hsüeh shih-ch' eng-chi 經學師承記
 Ching-shih 經世
 ching-shih 敬師
 ching-shih chi-ming 經世濟民
 ching-wei chih hsin 敬畏之心
 ching-yang 靜養
 Ch' ing 清
 ch' ing 情
 ch' ing-hsieh 傾邪
 ch' ing-i 輕易
 Ch' ing-ju hsüeh-an 清儒學案
 ch' iu-jen tse jen-yüeh 求仁則人悅
 ch' iu-ts' u ehr i-ching 求粗而遺精
 ch' iung-li chih-chih 窮理致知
 ch' iung-li li pi ming 窮理理必明
 ch' iung-pi-tou 窮弊蠹
 Chou Ch' eng Chang Chu cheng-mai 周程張朱正脈
 Chou Ju-ten 周汝登
 Chou Tun-i (1017-73) 周敦頤
 chu-ching 主敬
 chu-ching tse shen-ch' iang 主敬則身強
 chü 懼

- Chu Hsi (1130-1200) 朱熹
 Chu Shih (1665-1736) 朱軾
 chu-t'ang-chi 蔡塘磯
 Chu-tzu ch'uan-chi 朱子全集
 Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu 朱子全書
 Chu-tze hsüeh-an 朱子學案
 Chu-tzu nien-p'u 朱子年譜
 Chu-tzu nien-p'u k'ao-i 朱子年譜考異
 chü-ching ch' iung-li 居敬窮理
 chü-ching ts'un-hsin 居敬存心
 chü-man 倨慢
 ch'u-nien 初念
 ch'u-nien-yü 初念欲
 ch'u-ts'ai chih ti 儲材之地
 ch'uan-hsin 傳心
 Ch'uan-hsi lu 傳習錄
 ch'ü jen-yü ts'un t' ien-li 去人欲存天理
 chü-yeh 居業
 ch'ü-yu 取友
 Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705-1755) 全祖望
 Ch'üan-hsüeh-p' ien: shih chih-li shih-tze 勸學篇：示直隸士子
 Ch'un-ch'iu cheng-tz'u 春秋正辭
 ch'un-ch'iu chü-li 春秋舉例
 ch'un-ch'iu yao-chih 春秋要旨
 chün-wu 軍物
 chuan-nien-li 轉念理
 ch'uan-min k'ai-t'ang chih-t' ien shih 勸民開塘治田示
 ch'uan-tao 傳道
 ch'üan-mo 權謀
 Chuang Ts'un-yü (1719-88) 莊存與
 chün-tze 君子
 Chün-tze shen-tu lun 君子慎獨論
 chung 忠
 chung-yung 中庸
 chung-ch'eng 忠誠

 eh-jen-yü 遏人欲

 fan-ch'iu chu-chi 反求諸己
 fan-shen shen pi ch'eng 反身身必誠
 Fang Pao (1668-1749) 方苞

Fang Tsung-ch' eng (1818-1888) 方宗誠

Fang Tung-shu 方東樹

fang-tzung 放縱

fu 賦

fu-cheng 戶政

Fu Hsi 伏羲

fu-hsing 復性

Fu Sheng (268 B.C-?) 伏生

fu-t' ung 附統

Han 漢

Han Yü (768-824) 韓愈

Han Wen-ti (r. B.C.179-B.C.157) 漢文帝

han-hsüeh 漢學

han-hu 含胡

Hanlin 翰林

Han-hsüeh shang-tui 漢學商兌

Han-hsüeh shih-ch' eng chi 漢學師承記

Han-lin-yüan t' iao-kuei 翰林院條規

ho 和

Ho Ch' ang-ling (1785-1848) 賀長齡

Ho Kuei-cheng (1817-1855) 何桂珍

Ho Shao-chi (1799-1873) 何紹基

Honan 河南

Hopei 河北

hsi-lao tse shen-chin 習勞則神欽

Hsi-ming 西銘

hsi-sheng 希聖

hsi-t' ien 希天

Hsiang-chun 湘軍 fn

hsiang-ti-yi 相地宜

hsiao-chi 小技

hsiao-hsüeh 小學

hsiao-jen 小人

hsiao-t' i 小體

Hsieh Liang-tso (1058-1103) 謝良佐

Hsien-feng 咸豐

Hsien-tao-lu 閑道錄

hsin 心

hsin 信

hsin-ch' i 心氣

hsin-chi-li 心及理
 hsin chih teh 心之德
 hsin-ming 新民
 hsin-ping 心病
 hsing 行
 hsing 性
 hsing-erh-hsia 行而下
 hsing-erh-shang 行而上
 hsing-cheng 刑政
 hsing-huang 性荒
 Hsing-li cheng-tsung 性理正宗
 Hsing-li ching-i 性理精義
 hsing-ming 性命
 Hsing-shen jih-k'o 省身日課
 hsing-ting 性定
 hsiu-shen 修身
 Hsiung T'zu-li (1635-1789) 熊賜履
 Hsü Heng (1209-1281) 許衡
 Hsü Shen (30-124) 許慎
 Hsü pai-lu-tung kuei 續白鹿洞規
 Hsü Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌
 hsü-ling 虛靈
 Hsüeh-hai 學海
 Hsüeh-hai-t'ang 學海堂
 hsüeh i hsüeh wei-jen 學以學為人
 Hsüeh-an hsiao-shih 學案小識
 hsüeh-wen chih ta-pen-yüan 學問之大本原
 Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464) 薛瑄
 Hsüeh-pu t'ung-pien 學部通辯
 hsüeh-shu 學術
 Hsüeh-shu-pien 學術辨
 Hsüeh-t'ung 學統
 Hu Chü-jen (1434-1484) 胡居仁
 Hu Wei (1633-1714) 胡渭
 Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695) 黃宗羲
 Huang-ch'ing ching-chieh 皇清經解
 Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien 皇朝經世文編
 Hui Tung (1697-1758) 惠棟
 Hunan 湖南

i 佚

i 義
 I-hsüeh hsiang-shu lun 易學象數論
 i-li 義理
 i-tao 翼道
 I-tsung (1831-1889) 奕詠
 i-t'ung 翼統
 i-t'ung 興統

Jan Ken (544B.C.-?) 冉耕
 jen 仁
 Jen Ta-chuang (1738-1789) 任大椿
 jen-hsin 人心
 jen-tao 人道
 jen-ts'ai 人材
 jen-ts'ai wei-hsien 人材為先
 jen-yü 人欲
 Jih-ko shih-t'iao 日課四條
 jou-nuo 柔懦
 Juan Yüan (1764-1849) 阮元

kai-kou fa 開溝法
 kai-t'ang ssu-fa 開塘四法
 k'an-luan ting-chih 戡論定治
 K'ang-hsi 康熙
 K'ang Yü-wei (1858-1927) 康有為
 k'ao-cheng 考証
 K'ao-cheng wan-nien ting-lun 考証晚年定論
 kao-chü 考據
 kao-ho 考核
 Kao Pan-lung (1562-1626) 高攀龍
 Kao Tzu 告子
 k'e-chi li-hsing 克己力行
 ken-t'ien fa 耕田法
 Kiangsi 江西
 Kiangsu 江蘇
 ko-wu 格物
 Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) 顧炎武
 ku-wen 古文
 Ku-wen shang-shu yüan-t'zu 古文尚書冤詞
 kua-kuo 寡過
 kua-yü 寡欲

kuan-k'wei ehr li-ts'e 管窺而蠡測
 Kueichow 貴州
 kui-muo hong-ta 規模宏大
 Kuo Sung-t'ao (1818-1891) 郭嵩燾
 Kun 坤
 kung 公
 K'ung An-kuo 孔安國
 kung-cheng 工政
 kung-fu 功夫
 kung-li chih-chien 功利之見
 kung-shih 公事
 Kung-yang 公羊
 k'ung-men ch'uan-shou hsin-fa 孔門傳授心法
 Kwan-chung 關中
 Kwanghsi 廣西
 kwei-t' i 貴體

lao 勞
 li 禮
 li 利
 li 理
 Li Chih (1527-1602) 李贄
 Li Fu (1675-1758) 李紱
 Li Kuang-ti (1642-1718) 李光地
 Li T'ang-chieh (1798-1865) 李堂階
 Li Yüan 李淵
 Li Yung (1627-1705) 李顥
 li-chiao 立教
 li-cheng 吏政
 li-cheng 禮政
 li-chih 立志
 li-chih 吏治
 li-chih wei-hsüeh 立志為學
 li-hsin chih pen 立心之本
 li-hsüeh 理學
 li-i 禮義
 Li-shu kang-mu 禮書綱目
 li-ti-cheng-fo 立地成佛
 liang 兩
 Liang Ch' i-ch'ao (1873-1929) 梁啟超
 liang-chih 良知

- lien-t'ang-ti 練塘底
 Ling T'ing-k'an (1757-1809) 凌廷堪
 lin-shih ying-shih chih tao 臨時應事之道
 ling-yü 靈雨
 Liu Ch'uan-ying (1818-1848) 劉傳瑩
 Liu Feng-lu (1776-1829) 劉逢祿
 Liu Hsiu 劉秀
 Liu Jung (1816-1873) 劉蓉
 Liu Pang 劉邦
 Liu Tsung-chou (1578-1645) 劉宗周
 liu-pu 六部
 Liu Tzu ts'ui-yen 劉子粹言
 Lo Ch' in-sun (1465-1547) 羅欽順
 Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-1192) 陸象山
 Lü Hsien-chi (?-1853) 呂賢基
 Lu Lung-ch' i (1638-1692) 陸隴其
 Lu Shih-i (1611-72) 陸士儀
 Lu-tzu hsüeh-p' u 陸子學譜
 Lu-Wang 陸王
 Lü Liu-liang (1629-1683) 呂留良
 luan-tao-che 亂道者
 lun-ch'ang jih-yung 倫長日用
 Lun-yü t'ung-shih 論語通釋

 Ma Hsin-i (1821-1878) 馬新貽
 Mao Ch' i-ling (1623-1716) 毛奇齡
 Mei Tseng-liang (1786-1856) 梅曾亮
 Mei Wen-ting (1633-1721) 梅文鼎
 mei-li shu-pei 美利數倍
 men-fu chih-chien 門戶之見
 Meng-tzu tzu-i shu-cheng 孟子字義疏證
 Min Shun (536-487 B.C.) 閔損
 Ming 明
 ming-hsin 名心
 ming-hsing 明性
 ming-pien 明辨
 ming-shan 明善
 ming-teh 明德
 Mo Ti 墨翟
 mu-fu 幕府
 Mu-tsung 穆宗

nien 念
nien-p'u 年譜

Ou-yang shen wen-chi hsü 歐陽生文集序

P' an P' ing-ke (1610-1677) 潘平格
pao-shen 保身
Pei-wang lu 備忘錄
pen-t' i 本體
pin-cheng 兵政
ping 平
ping-ken 病根
p' ing-jih han-yang chih tao 平日涵養之道
P' ing-lo 平樂
p' ing-t' ien-hsia 平天下
po 博
po-hsüeh 博學
pu-cheng-shih 布政使
pu-ch' eng 不誠

san ta hsien 三大賢
Shan-hua 善化
Shang-shu 尚書
Shang-shu ku-wen shu-cheng 尚書古文疏証
shang-ti 上帝
Shanshi 山西
Shantung 山東
shen 慎
shen-tu 慎獨
shen-tu tse hsin-an 慎獨則心安
Shen-che hua-hsiang chi 聖哲畫像記
shen-ch' ü-she 慎取捨
shen-ping 身病
shen-ssu 慎思
shen-ts' ai-fang 慎採訪
shen-uen 審問
Sheng-hsüeh chih-t' ung-lu 聖學知統錄
Shensi 陝西
Shao I-ch' en (1810-1861) 邵懿辰
shih 勢

- Shih Chi 史記
 Shih-ching 詩經
 shih-huo 食貨
 shih-liu tzu hsin-ch'uan 十六字心傳
 Shih Shang-fu 師尚父
 shih-tze 士子
 shih-yen jan-hou tao-tsun 師嚴然後道尊
 shu 恕
 Shu-ching 書經
 Shui 隋
 Shui Yang-ti (r. 605-17) 隋煬帝
 Shun-t'ien 順天
 Shuo-wen chieh-tzu 說文解字
 Soochow 蘇州
 sou-tao 守道
 ssu 私
 ssu 肆
 Ssu-pien lu 思辨錄
 Ssu-ma Ch'ien (B.C.145-B.C.86) 司馬遷
 Ssu-shu kai-ts'o 四書改錯
 ssu-wu-hsieh 思無邪
 Sun Ch' i-feng (1585-1675) 孫奇逢
 Sun Ch'eng-tze 孫承澤
 sung-hsüeh 宋學
 Sung T'ai-chu 宋太祖

 ta chang-fu 大丈夫
 ta pai-shui fa 打白水法
 ta-chi 大機
 ta-jen 大人
 ta-ti 大敵
 ta-t' i 大體
 ta-t' ien chih lu 達天之路
 tai 怠
 Tai Chen (1724-1777) 戴震
 T'ai-ch'ang ssu-ch'ing 太常寺卿
 t'ai-chi 太極
 T'ai-chi t'u-shuo 太極圖說
 T'ai-chou 泰州
 Taiping 太平
 T'ang 唐

- T'ang Chien (1778-1861) 唐鑑
 T'ang Chung-mien 唐仲勉
 T'ang Hsüan-chung (r. 712-56) 唐玄宗
 T'ang Pin (1627-1687) 湯斌
 T'ang T'ai-chung (r. 627-49) 唐太宗
 tao 道
 tao-t'ung 道統
 T'ao Chu (1779-1839) 陶澍
 Tao-hsiang shu-yuan hsüeh-kuei 道鄉書院學規
 Tao-kwang 道光
 tao-uen-hsüeh 道問學
 teh 德
 teh-hsing chih chih 德行之知
 teh-yüeh 德業
 ti-hsüeh 帝學
 ti-li 地理
 tien-chang chih-tu 典章制度
 tien-li 天理
 t'ien-jen chiao-kuan ch'u 天人交關處
 t'ien-li 典禮
 t'ien-tao 天道
 t'ien-ti chih ch' i 天地之氣
 t'ien-ti chih li 天地之理
 Tientsin 天津
 Tou Hsü (1807-1867) 饒亨
 Tou Ke-ch' in (1653-1708) 饒克勤
 t'ou-tuo 偷惰
 Tseng Kuo-fan (1811-1872) 曾國藩
 Tseng Ho Ou-keng t'ai-shih t' i-hsüeh shan-hsi hsü
 贈賀藕耕太史提學山西序
 tsun-te-hsing 尊德性
 ts'un-hsin 存心
 t'sun-t' ien-li 存天理
 tsuo-jen chih tao 作人之道
 Tsuo-lun huai-yen yin-ti 作論淮鹽引地
 tsuo-shih-ch' i 作士氣
 tu 獨
 Tu Yu (735-812) 杜佑
 tu-chüeh 獨覺
 Tu-i fan-shen lu 讀禮反身錄
 Tu-li hsiao-shih-chi 讀禮小事記

tu-hsing 篤行
 Tu-shu lu 讀書錄
 T'u-shu yen-ch'uan pien 圖書原舛編
 Tuan Yü-ts'ai (1735-1815) 段玉裁
 t'uei-chi chi-jen 推己及人
 tung 動
 Tung Chung-shu (179?-184? B.C.) 董仲舒
 Tung-lin 東林
 Tung-ming 東銘
 T'ung-tien 通典
 t'ung 統
 T'ung-shu 通書
 tuan-shih-hsi 端士習
 T'ung-ch'eng 桐城
 T'ung-chih 同治
 t'ung-chi 統紀
 t'za-t'ung 雜統
 tzu-ch' i 自欺
 tzu-ch' ien kung-fu 自謙功夫
 tzu-hsiu kung-fu 自修功夫
 tzu-chih 自治
 Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑
 tzu-jen 治人
 Tze-ssu 子思
 t'zei 賊
 tzu-sung 自訟
 tzu-tse 自責
 tz'u-chang 詞章

Wang Chung (1745-1794) 王充
 Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692) 王夫之
 Wang Mang (45 B.C.-23 A.D.) 王莽
 Wang Mao-hong (1668-1741) 王懋竑
 Wang Nien-sun 王念孫
 Wang Pi (226-249) 王弼
 Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528) 王陽明
 Wang Yin-chih (1766-1834) 王引之
 Wang-hsüeh chih-i 王學質疑
 wang-yü 妄語
 Weng T'ung-ho (1838-1904) 翁同龢
 wei 畏

wei 位

Wei Hsiang-shu (1617-1687) 魏象樞

Wei-hsüeh ta-chih 為學大指

Wei I-chieh (1616-1686) 魏裔介

Wei Yüan (1794-1857) 魏源

wei-hsüeh pu-tsai tuo-yen 為學不在多言

wei-tao chih-shih 衛道之士

wei-yen ta-i 微言大義

wen-chang 文章

Wen-cheng kung 文正公

wen-chien chih chih 聞見之知

Wen-shih t'ung-i 文史通義

Wo-jen (1804-1871) 倭仁

Wo-hsin chin-chien 沃心金鑑

Wu 吳

Wu Chia-pin (1803-1864) 吳嘉賓

Wu-li t'ung-k'ao 五禮通考

Wu T'ing-tung (1793-1873) 吳廷棟

Wu-Ch' i-ko-li 烏齊格里

wu-fen 無忿

wu-sheng wu-ch'ou 無聲無臭

wu-yü 無欲

Wu-yüan 五原

yang-ch' i 養氣

Yang Chu 楊朱

yang-hsin 養心

Yang Shih (1053-1135) 楊時

Yao 堯

Yao Nai (1731-1815) 姚鼐

Yao Wen-t' ien (1758-1827) 姚文田

yao-wu 要物

Yen Jo-chü (1636-1704) 閻若璩

Yen (Tzu) 顏子

Yen Yüan (1635-1704) 顏元

yen-chi 研幾

yen-t' zu ch' eng-hsin 言詞誠信

Yin Ch'un (1061-1132) 尹焞

ying-shui-yuan 迎水源

yü 慾

Yü 禹

Yü Ch'eng-lung (1638-1700) 于成龍

yü-ts'ai 毓材

Yu Tso (1053-1132) 游酢

Yü Hsiao-k'e (1729-1777) 余蕭客

Yü Ying-shih 余英時

yü-yen 語言

Yüan 元

Yüan-shan 原善

yüeh 約

Yüeh-lu 岳麓

ying 用

ying-ching 用敬

ying-jen 用人

ying-jen hsing-cheng 用人行政