All in One — The Culmination of the Thought of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529)

by Julia Ching
(Canberra)

Hsin (the mind-and-heart) is Tao (the Way), and Tao is T’ien (Heaven).

心即道，道即天；知心則知道知天。

If one knows his own heart, he would also know the Way and Heaven. The years 1522—7 were spent by Wang Yang-ming in virtual retirement in his native place. During these years Yang-ming taught his disciples and all who came to listen to him. From 1523 on, so many people came to Yüyao to hear him that the local Buddhist temples could hardly provide enough room for the lodgers. The Chronological Biography says, “Frequently, over three hundred people would sit around and listen to him. The Master came and discoursed on the meaning of the Unity of All Things according to the Great Learning. He spoke of how every man should seek in his own nature and extend to the utmost his liang-chih (Knowledge of the good), in order to reach the state of supreme goodness”. Whenever any of these disciples took their leave, Yang-ming would sigh and say, “Although you gentlemen are going away, you will not go outside Heaven-and-Earth. So long as you share my basic outlook of life, I can be so happy as to forget my own self”.

As a disciple, Huang Mien-chih, explained:

... While the Master had many friends and followers even before the Nanking days [1514—16], there were never as many as in Yüeh [Yüyao]. This is partly because the more lectures he gave, the more people believed him. Essentially, however, it was because the Master’s daily progress in learning gave him a mysterious power of attraction and influence...
It is the aim, in this paper, to examine the results of this period of the culmination of Wang Yang-ming’s teachings. It is my assertion, that this culmination lies in a form of "mysticism", taking this word to refer to the total vision of life and reality which he developed, as well as to the transcendent ideals of sagehood which he outlined. In this connection, it may be claimed that Yang-ming himself attained an enduring state of mind, both sublime and human, which made him regard himself as being related to all reality in a dynamic unity of heart and spirit. However, since it is his thought more than his personal life which interests us — although the two can hardly be separated — we shall present Yang-ming’s enunciation of his total vision, and then proceed to an examination of his teaching of hsìn, this time not only as a principle of moral activity but also as the dynamic principle of vital consciousness which unites man to the universe and makes of him its psychic centre, its heart, its hsìn.

All in One

"All in One" refers to Yang-ming’s basic teaching of Wan-wu yi-t’i[^1], the "Unity of All Things", which permeates his entire philosophy. He likes to cite Analects 15 : 2, where Confucius declares: "There is one [unifying thread] which runs through all my teachings". He also alludes to the T’ien-t’ai[^2] and Hua-yen[^3] insight, which had been absorbed into Ch’an Buddhism, of "yi chi yi-ch’ieh, yi-ch’ieh chi yi"[^4]. But it is in his famous essay of 1527, the "Ta-hsüeh wen", (Inquiry into the Great Learning) that he gives full expression to these ideas of the harmony and mutual interpenetration of reality.

In this respect, in the letter addressed to Ku Lin[^5], the long passage on "Pulling the Roots and Stopping the Source" (po-pen sai-yüan[^6])[^7], probably written in 1524 or earlier, is noteworthy. Out of these texts emerges a unified picture, rich with meaning, of Yang-ming’s understanding of sagehood as culminating in an experience of oneness with Heaven and Earth and all things, an experience which permeates the sage’s thinking and being and

[^1]: see letter to Ku Lin, WWKC 2:97; CHAN, Instructions, 111-2.
[^2]: see his letter to Hsüeh K’an[^8] (1518), WWKC 4:188. These Buddhist ideas can be found especially in the Avataṃsaka sutra (Hua-yen ching), ch. 1, see particularly the poem in Taishö Shinshū Daiizukyö[^9] [abbrev. as TSD], No. 279, IX, 4, 9; 453-8.
[^3]: The expression, "Pulling out the Roots and Stopping the Source" (po-pen sai-yüan) is found in the Annals of Tso, 9th year of Duke Chao, see J. Legge, The Chinese Classics (Oxford, 1893), v. 5, 624-5. There was no question of philosophical significance there. For Ou-YANG Hsiu’s (1007-1070) "Essay on Fundamentals" (Pen-
acting, which becomes identified with his *hsin* or *liang-chih* and its *pen-t'i*\(^{[13]}\), overflowing into a concrete awareness of his social and political responsibilities.

"An Inquiry into the Great Learning" begins with an explanation of its title. Whereas Chu Hsi had interpreted the "Great Learning" as "education for an adult\(^{10}\), Yang-ming gives it greater importance, explaining the words as "the learning of a great man", of a person who regards Heaven-and-Earth and the myriad things as one body, the world as one family and the country as one person. But this state of mind is less the result of deliberate efforts of the will, than the natural and spontaneous outcome of his "humane" heart, full of *jen*, and unobscured by selfishness\(^{11}\). To prove this, Yang-ming gives as example the spontaneous, pre-reflective reactions of the "small man", the one mediocre in virtue and learning:

When he sees a child about to fall into a well, he cannot help having a feeling of alarm and commiseration. This shows that his humanity (*jen*) forms one body with the child. It may be objected that the child belongs to the same species [as he]. Yet when he observes the pitiful cries and frightened appearance of birds and beasts [about to be slaughtered], he cannot help feeling an "inability to bear" their suffering. This shows that his humanity forms one body with birds and beasts. It may be objected that birds and beasts are sentient beings too. But when he sees plants broken and destroyed, he cannot help having a feeling of pity. This shows that his humanity forms one body with plants. It may be said that plants are living things too. Yet even when he sees tiles and stones shattered and crushed he cannot help having a feeling of regret. This shows that his humanity forms one body with tiles and stones. This means that even the heart of the small man must have [in potentiality, this humanity which unites him to all things]\(^{12}\).

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\(^{10}\) See his preface to the *Ta-hsüeh chang-chü*\(^{[14]}\), in *Ssu-shu-chi-chu* [Collected Commentaries on the Four Books, abbrev. as *SSCC*], SPPY ed., la–b.

\(^{11}\) He does so by explaining the *Great Learning*, ch. 1, in terms of the *Book of Mencius*, 2A: 6, and of the the teaching of the Tien-t'ali patriarch Ch’AN-jAN\(^{[15]}\) (d. 779 AD) of the universal presence of the Buddha-nature, even in plants and stones, a teaching which had entered the philosophy of the Sung thinkers, especially in the Ch’ENG-Chu interpretation of the universal presence of *hsing* (nature). See Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, transl. by Derk Bodde (Princeton, 1952–3), v. 2, 385–6.

\(^{12}\) *WWKC* 2: 99–102. The Confucian character of Yang-ming’s interpretation is safeguarded by the emphasis on *jen*, with its ethical
The great man cultivates his moral qualities to such a point as "to enable a happy order to prevail throughout Heaven-and-Earth and all things to flourish." He has been compared, time and again, to a bright mirror. He has been compared to Heaven itself. He is one whose nature has been completely transformed, who is completely identified with goodness. He practises virtue by instinct. He is always joyous and peaceful, in harmony with the universe, and participating in its creative processes

According to Yang-ming, this "humane" heart which unites man to all things is rooted in our Heaven-endowed nature, and is naturally intelligent and clear. For this reason it is called ming-te (illustrious virtue). It is present in all men, "great" and "small" alike, so long as the mind-and-heart is unmoved by selfish desires. When aroused by these, however, and when compelled by greed for gain and fear of harm or the impulse of anger, man is capable of destroying things, of killing members of his own species, even of slaughtering his own brothers — evil actions which cause his "humanity" to disappear. The universal task of self-cultivation, for both the small and the great man, lies therefore in removing selfish desires, and in making manifest "illustrious virtue", so that the "original condition of the unity of Heaven and Earth and the myriad things may be restored".
A difficulty, however, arises in this view of jen, the Confucian moral virtue, which becomes the means by which unity between the self and all things is established. Would not such an interpretation obliterate the basic difference between Confucian and Mohist ethics, between the virtue of "humanity" or jen as a "graded love" and the Mohist virtue of equal and universal love (chien-ai)? Early in Yang-ming's career as a teacher of philosophy, a disciple had raised this question in relation to Ch'eng Hao's statement that the man of jen was one with Heaven-and-Earth and the myriad things. In giving his answer, Yang-ming admitted the difficulty of distinguishing between such jen and the Mohist "love". Emphasising the life-giving quality of the virtue of jen, he gave the example of a tree or plant, beginning as a sprout, growing strong and developing a trunk with branches and leaves. He recommended that distinctions be observed in our practice of love, the love of parents and kin resembling giving water to the "roots", while the love of others being compared to the extension of life from the roots to the branches:

The love between father and son and between elder and younger brothers is the starting point of the life-giving power of man's hsin. From there it is [extended] to [the practice of] humanity toward all people and to love of [all] things. Mo-tzu's universal love makes no distinction [in human relations], [causing the person] to regard his own father, son, elder or younger brother as he would any man in the street. And so, this [love] has no starting-point. How can it be called humanity? Filial piety and brotherly respect are the roots of humanity. This means that the principle of humanity grows from within.

not mean adding something from the outside to this original condition (pen-t'i). As in speaking of extending liang-chih, he was careful to point out that while the "capacity" for knowing the good is at once inborn and possible of development, its pen-t'i can neither be augmented nor diminished, thus establishing the independent and transcendent character of this pen-t'i, which is one with the pen-t'i of all things. See his letter to Lu Ch'eng[20], WWKC 2: 107b; CHAN, Instructions, 137. WANG Tchang-tche, La Philosophie Morale de Wang Yang-ming (Shanghai-Paris, 1936), 135-36.

16 WWKC 1: 76b; CHAN, Instructions, 56-7. Already, before Yang-ming, the teachings of HAN Yü, CHOU Tun-yì and CH'ENG Hao had virtually transformed the meaning of jen into universal love. Yang-ming merely completes this transformation.

17 WWKC 1: 76b; CHAN, Instructions, 57. FUNG, History of Chinese Philosophy, op. cit., v. 2, 612-614. Yang-ming sought to preserve a certain distinction in the practice of jen which is based on human nature itself rather than on seemingly predetermined "grades". Universal love is an ideal to be achieved, rather than an excuse for "levelling" human affection and responsibility.
The Confucian virtue, humanity, is the natural development of spontaneous feelings of commiseration, coming from within man’s mind-and-heart, and overflowing to embrace all others, from his nearest kin on. The Mohist notion of love, on the other hand, disregards the spontaneous quality of this love itself as well as the natural distinctions inherent in social relations and in the order of things. The danger is that, by promoting an "equal love of all", the very nature of love be denied. For if love springs spontaneously from man’s nature, it must also recognize the order of nature itself, with its inherent distinctions, based on natural kinship and obligations.

In this regard, a letter Yang-ming wrote to Huang Hsing-tseng in 1524 is also significant. Huang had spoken approvingly of Han Yü’s definition, that "universal love is called jen (humanity)", calling to mind also Chou Tun-yi’s statement, the “Love is jen”. To him, it seemed that both of these sayings agreed well with the meaning given to the word by Mencius. He was however puzzled by the fact that other Sung thinkers had criticised Han Yü, preferring rather to relegate love to the realm of emotions (ch’ing), while using jen to signify a virtue pertaining to nature (hsing). Yang-ming was in agreement with Huang, and recalled how Confucius himself had said that the meaning of jen lay in “loving others”. He then gave an exposition of a “correct” kind of love and an “incorrect” kind of love:

But while the pen-t’i of love can be called jen, there is a kind of love that is correct, and a kind that is not correct. Only the correct kind of love is the pen-t’i of love, and can be called jen. If one knows only universal love, without distinguishing between the correct and incorrect kinds of love, there will be a difference.

18 WWKC 5: 205a.
23 WWKC 5: 205a-b.
However, what does Yang-ming mean by the "correct" and "incorrect" kinds of love? For the answer to this question, we must once again go back to the "Inquiry into the Great Learning", and examine his teaching concerning the order of "relative importance" among things, that is, whether all things are equally important, or whether some are more important than others, and should be recognized as such. The specific question posed to him is, if the great man forms one body with all things, then why should the text of the Great Learning refer to things as possessing a "relative importance"? Again, Yang-ming answered by giving the example of a living organism, this time of the human body. The body is of course a unity. However, the nature of things being what they are, we use our hands and feet to protect the head, without intending to show less regard for the hands and feet, but rather for the sake of the whole body. So too, we love both plants and animals and yet feed animals with plants. We love both animals and men, and yet allow the animals to be slaughtered in order to feed our parents, to provide for religious sacrifices, and to entertain our guests at table. The same can be said of our love for our parents and for the man in the street. If we have only a little bit of food, with which to save either our parents or the man in the street from hunger, we will prefer to save our parents instead of the man in the street. And so, to love all things, to be one with all things through the practice of the life-giving virtue of humanity (jen) does not necessarily preclude distinctions being made in the concrete application of our love and humanity. In fact, the humane feeling we may have for all people is itself somehow derived from the affection we bear for our parents. It is again the question of roots and branches, because it is a question of the communication of life within the living organism. We must accept both our own limitations and the natural order of things. "What the Great Learning describes as [an order of] natural importance refers to the natural order derived from our knowledge of the good (liang-chih). Not to transgress this [natural order] is called righteousness (yi). To act according to this order is called propriety (li). To know this order is called wisdom (chih). To follow this order from beginning to end is called fidelity (hsin[25])."

[24] WWKC 3: 143b, CHAN, Instructions, 222; YAMADA Jun, op. cit., 193-4. The questioner was probably Huang Hsing-tseng, who recorded this section. The reference is to the Great Learning, ch. 1; Legge, Classics, v. 1, 359.

Fidelity, therefore, sums up righteousness, propriety and wisdom.

Ch'in-min: loving the people

Proceeding with the text of the Great Learning, Yang-ming explains the expression of “loving the people” (ch'in-min). Making the distinction between t'i (substance, reality) and yung (activity), he says that “making manifest illustrious virtue” — the perfection of self — refers to the work of “establishing the reality (t'i) of the unity of Heaven and Earth and the myriad things”, whereas “loving the people” is the “activity” which flows from this same unity. In other words, making manifest our illustrious virtue lies in loving the people, and loving the people is the way to manifest illustrious virtue: these being two aspects of the same work. And then, in the concrete, practical language so characteristic of him, Yang-ming gives examples of how the practice of filial piety and of other social virtues, when extended to embrace not merely one’s own parents and kin but the parents and kin of all men, brings about this unity of man with all things.

Only when I love my father, the fathers of others, and the fathers of all men, can my humanity really form one body with my father, the fathers of others, and the fathers of all men... Then the illustrious virtue of filial piety will be made manifest...

Even the world of spirits, of beasts and of plants and of inanimate beings are to be included in this all embracing jen:

Everything from ruler, minister, husband, wife and friends to mountains, rivers, heavenly and earthly spirits, birds, beasts and plants, all should be truly loved in order that the unity may be reached [through] my humanity (jen). Then will my illustrious virtue be completely made manifest.

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25a Together, these five virtues are usually known as the five "constant virtues" which are based on human nature. The notion of hsin (fidelity) recalls the Hebrew 'emet while jen suggests hesed. But the Hebrew virtues describe the Divine-human relationship more than that between human beings themselves.

26 WWKC 26: 736b; CHAN, Instructions, 273. Yang-ming had earlier explained similar ideas on "manifesting illustrious virtue" and "loving the people" in an essay, "Ch'in-min t'ang chi" ([27] 1525), WWKC 7: 247—248. See also below, n. 29.
manifest; then will I really form one body with Heaven and earth and the myriad things.

Just as, in personal life, the quest of sagehood lies in the "recovery" of one's original nature, so too, in social and political life, the same quest lies in recapturing a Golden Past, a moral "Utopia". Yang-ming's sage is not a contemplative lost in the wonder and admiration of his own unity with the world, but a man with social and political responsibilities striving to make this reality a social and political fact. For him, the world of nature and of human society are fundamentally one, and unity with other men extends itself to unity with birds and beasts and the whole cosmos.

In a letter he wrote to Ku Lin some time before 1524, Yang-ming explained the chief ideas of his "utopian theory". Beginning with the doctrine of the unity between the self and all things, he says:

The mind-and-heart of the sage considers Heaven-and-Earth and the myriad things as one body and regards all men under Heaven, whether inside or outside [his family], near or far, all with blood and breath, as his brothers and children and kin. He wants to give peace and security, education and nourishment to all, in order to fulfil his desire of [really] forming one body with all things.

In this ideal society, everything contributes to helping the people live a moral life, and attaining the highest goals of sagehood. There is no fear of envy or discontent. Division of labour is done to assure better service of the common good, but no social distinctions are made between the various ways

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27 WWKC 26: 737a; CHAN, Instructions, 273. Thus, the love Yang-ming recommended operates in the manner of a ripple in a pond, which expands itself continually, until it effects a unity between man and his family, the society at large, his physical environment, all his fellow creatures, and even with invisible spiritual beings.

28 WWKC 2: 99b; CHAN, Instructions, 118. The oneness between self and others can be understood either as a state of consciousness attained through genuine sympathy with all, or as a gross form of egoism, by which the ruler may, for example, identify the interests of the state with his own interests. It is interesting that in Sung and Ming China, under a strongly centralised and authoritarian dynastic government, the political ideal was always for the ruler to forget and transcend himself in the service of his people, while in actual practice, it was frequently the contrary notion of an inflated egoism which prevailed.
of serving all. Rather, each man shares in the effort and merit of all. Those with special abilities contribute their specialised knowledge, whether it be in agriculture, education, music, or the rites. In a passage strikingly reminiscent of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Corinthians [1 Cor. 12: 14—21] Yang-ming described the coherent and harmonious functioning of the ideal society in terms of a living organism:

The eyes see, the ears hear, the hands hold, the feet walk—all fulfilling the functions of the body. The eyes are not ashamed of their not being able to hear. When the ears hear something, the eyes will direct their attention towards it. The feet are not ashamed that they are not able to grasp. When the hands feel something, the feet will move forward... 目視，耳聰，手持，足行，以濟一

身之用。目不羞其無聰。而耳之所涉，自必警焉。足不羞其無執。而手之所探，足必前焉......

But, the moral greatness of the Golden Age is the only aspect of the past that Yang-ming desires to recapture. Unlike Chang Tsai [29], the Ch’eng brothers and Hu Hung [30] (1100—55), he never speaks about the restoration of Chou feudalism or of the well-field system. Yang-ming desires to strike at the root and the source: to heal the moral sickness of society. If it seems to be too idealistic in his hopes of moral restoration, he is at least realistic in his belief that ancient institutions could no longer be restored.

Yang-ming regards the governing of a family, of a country, and even of the world as nothing else than the extension of love and affection between the self and others. For him, the final goal is the recovery of the unity which should rightfully exist between the two, so that there is essentially no difference between “loving” one’s self and “loving” the people:

If I extend affection for my father to other people’s fathers, there will be affection between all the fathers and sons of the world. If I extend love for my elder brother to other people’s elder brothers, then there will be affection between all the elder and younger brothers of the world. The same can be said about the ruler and subject, husband and wife, friend and friend, and even about birds and animals and grass and trees. There can be affection for all these. And it will always promote the complete development of hsin, in making manifest its illustrious virtue. This is what is known as making manifest illustrious virtue in the

29 WWKC 2: 100b; CHAN, Instructions, 121. See LIANG Ch’i-ch’ao, Wang Yang-ming chih hsing ho-yi chih chiao [28], in Yin-ping shih wen-chi [29], 43: 59—61. LIANG points out Yang-ming’s ideal as being diametrically opposed to the pursuit of personal profit. It was thus a development of Lu Chiu-yüan’s [30] polarisation of yi (righteousness) and li (profit). See also Yamada Jun, op. cit., 191—193; KusuMoTo, Masatsugu, Sö-Min jidai jugaku shisö no kenkyü [31] (2nd ed., Chiba-ken, 1963), 431, for discussion of po-pen sai-yüan.

world, giving order to the family, good government to the country and peace to the world.

Certainly, this is a vision which goes beyond that of a political and social "utopia". It bears within itself a tremendous moral and mystical idealism and dynamism, an enormous confidence in the basic goodness of human beings and of their capacity for self-transcendence, and a consciousness of the inner unity of man and the whole of nature. But is this vision possible of realisation in political life? Is it not, perhaps, the expression of a naive idealist unacquainted with the realities of human existence and of human nature?

As a philosopher or wise man, Yang-ming's proposed remedy for society's ills, the method he suggests as a means of restoring the purity of heart necessary for the recovery of the Golden Past, is moral education. For him, loving the people necessarily means educating the people in the right way, in the philosophy of hsin, in the ways of extending liang-chih. As an experienced administrator, however, he does not forget the mere concrete needs of life. He gives his reason for preferring the phrase, "loving the people" (ch'in-min) to that of "renovating the people" (hsin-min), saying that the former reading allows room both for "educating the people" and for "feeding the people". This does not merely mean giving food to the people in times of famine. It means, essentially, making the people wealthy and self-sufficient. In a certain memorial to the throne, he says:

Wealth is what the people want. When wealth is given to the people, they will live together [in peace]. The people make up the foundation of the state. When the foundation is secure, the state will be in peace.

That the ruler and the people make up one body is a perennial truth.

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30 "Ch'in-min-t'ang chi", WWKC 7: 247b.
31 WWKC 13: 388b. This memorial, written in 1521 after the suppression of Ch'en-hao, requested a thorough investigation into the wealth which the rebel prince had appropriated, frequently unjustly, in order to make suitable compensation to the victims.
However, it was not easy for Yang-ming to convince his disciples that his substitution of "loving the people" for "renovating the people", and his identification of the former work with the great task of "manifesting virtue", was correct. They remembered Chu Hsi's explanation of "manifesting illustrious virtue" as the "root" — the fundamental task — and of "renovating the people" as the "branch" — a work of less importance. Yang-ming's teaching seemed rather to obscure the difference between the "roots" and the "branches", thus confusing the methodical pursuit of self-cultivation.

In his answer, Yang-ming voices approval of making a distinction between "roots" and "branches", but warns against understanding them as two different things. After all, both "roots" and "branches" belong to the trees. In the same way, "manifesting illustrious virtue" and "loving the people" are basically two aspects of one same task. So too, are the efforts of "investigating things", "extending knowledge", "making the intention sincere", "rectifying hsin", "cultivating self", "ordering the family", "governing the state" and even "giving peace to the world". All are aspects of the same task, for all are aspects of the basic work of "extending liang-chih". And this work of "extension" lies in "investigating things". "To investigate", however, means "to rectify", while "things" means "affairs" or "acts". Thus, "when we come into contact with the 'thing' to which our intention is directed, if we really do good and avoid evil to the utmost, as our innate faculty knows and [directs us to do], then everything will be investigated . . . . and our knowledge of the good . . . . will be extended to the utmost."

今焉於其良知所知之善者，即其意之所在之物，而實為之。無有乎不盡。於其良知所知之惡者，即其意之所在之物，而實去之。無有乎不盡。然後物無不格，而吾良知之所知者，無有虧缺。

Jen (humanity) and Lo (joy)

The "Inquiry into the Great Learning" concludes on a note of joy (Lo). Yang-ming has described the task of the great man — the extension of liang-chih. He has said that this task involves many dimensions, many steps to be taken one after the other. Both as a whole and also in each of the

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32 WWKC 26: 738 a–b; CHAN, Instructions, 276. Although the name of Chu Hsi was not explicitly mentioned, there is no doubt that reference to him is being made, since the explanations in question are given in Chu's commentary on the Great Learning. See SSCC, Ta-hsüeh chang-chu, 1 a–b.

33 "Loving the people" is close to "manifesting illustrious virtue", since "illustrious virtue", even according to Chu, is "that which man receives from Heaven. It is vacuous spiritually intelligent and unobscured, possessing all principles and [capable of] responding to all events", in other words, it is equivalent to man's originally good nature. See SSCC, Ta-hsüeh chang-chü 1a. And Yang-ming, of course, identifies this nature with hsin and with humanity (jen) itself. WWKC 1: 85 a; CHAN, Instructions, 80.

34 WWKC 26: 738 b — 739 a; CHAN, Instructions, 277–8.
steps, what is involved is "doing good and avoiding evil", developing to
the utmost the capacity of our liang-chih. "And then the heart will be
naturally joyous, happy and without regret. And then there will be no
decision in the functioning of our intentions, and sincerity may be said to
have been attained 35."

Joy is an important tenet of the philosophy developed by the hsing-li [34]
thinkers of Sung and Ming times. Chou Tun-yi used to ask his disciples,
the Ch'eng brothers, to describe the joy of Confucius and Yen Hui [36]. In
answering a question as to whether this joy of the sages is the same as that
joy which is given as one of the seven emotions, Yang-ming answers that
the joy of the sage is characteristic of hsin-in-itself. Without being one of the
seven emotions, it is not totally outside the realm of these emotions. True joy
can be possessed by ordinary people as well as by sages, except that ordinary
people are not aware of this. They allow themselves to become overwhelmed
with sorrow and grief and confusion. And yet, even in the midst of all this,
as soon as the light shines through, and the person examines himself and
becomes sincere, joy is immediately within his reach. To look for joy outside
of oneself is thus like "looking for a donkey while riding on it [37]."

Joy comes from the practice of jen. The man of jen is capable of deepen­ing
his emotions, and of incorporating them on a higher level, while purging
them of a mere emotion. In Yang-ming's terms, he is thus one with Heaven­
and-Earth and all things, being united to all in harmony. Joy is the natural
and spontaneous consequence of this harmony. The only effort required
for the maintenance of this true joy is an attitude of constant vigilance over
self when one is alone, a vigilance which itself spontaneous and without
tension. Yang-ming describes this "vigilance in solitude" (shen-tui) [37] as
the "extension of liang-chih", and liang-chih as nothing other than "joy-in­
itself" [38].

Joy is the expression of the peace of mind-and-heart of a man at ease with
himself and with others, united by virtuous action to Heaven-and-Earth and
all things in a marvellous harmony which allows him to be always natural
and spontaneous, always his true self.

Liang-chih pen-t'i

Yang-ming's teaching on the unity of man with all things represents the
culmination of his practical doctrine on the extension of liang-chih. It also
contains certain metaphysical implications and pre-suppositions, relating

35 WWKC 26: 740 a; CHAN, Instructions, 279.
36 See Chin-ssu-lu chi-chu [38], SPYY ed., 2: 8 a; Eng. tr., W.T. CHAN, Reflections on Things At Hand (N.Y., 1967), 50.
37 WWKC 2: 112 a—b; CHAN, Instructions, 147—8. See Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu [38], TSDK No. 2076, XLIX, 267 for parable regarding "riding on an ox and looking for it".
38 Letter to Huang Mien-chih [39], (1524), WWKC 5: 204 b—205 a. "Joy in-itself" or the pen-t'i of joy.
especially to the nature of \(h\text{\textit{sin-in-itself}} [h\text{\textit{sin chih pen-t'i}}]\) or of \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih-in-itself}} [li\text{\textit{ang-chih pen-t'i}}]\) literally, the "original substance" of \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}}\).

The word \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) refers to the principle of our conscious and moral activities, as well as to the metaphysical self or "being". The word \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}}\) refers primarily to the capacity of \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) to know and do good. Yang-ming's introduction of this term in his philosophy has already served to point out the richness of the notion of \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\). He speaks interchangeably of \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) and \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}},\) of \(h\text{\textit{sin-in-itself}}\) and of \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih-in-itself}}\). It is also obvious from the context that he sometimes refers to \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih-in-itself}}\) when he is using the word \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) or simply \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}},\) with the result that his meaning is not always clear. Nevertheless, from many unequivocal references to \(h\text{\textit{sin-in-itself}}\) an to \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih-in-itself}},\) he obviously wishes to use these terms to speak of \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) and \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}}\) at a deeper level.

Yang-ming speaks of \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih pen-t'i}},\) both as the agent which achieves a certain end and as the end itself. Just as in his practical doctrine, the same word represents both the starting-point and the end achieved. No doubt, to his mind, the end is always present in the beginning. One can become a sage because he already carries within himself the seeds of sagehood, and self-realisation is what brings their full development. The end, the goal, is never something out of oneself. It is a presence which is already possessed, which can be developed to the utmost, to the point at which one can truly say: "All things are present in me. I have no greater joy than to find, when I look deep into myself, that I am true to myself."  

陽物皆備於我矣。反身而誠，樂莫大焉

**Principle of life and consciousness**

Yang-ming speaks of \(h\text{\textit{sin}},\) the mind-and-heart, not merely as the source and centre of man's thoughts and intentions, emotions and decisions, but also as the source and centre of his vital functions and movements, and of all his conscious activities, sensory and supra-sensory. It is that which gives unity to multiplicity, which organises all our multiple experiences into one meaningful experience, to which we ourselves are identified.

For this reason, Yang-ming explains that \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) or \(li\text{\textit{ang-chih}}\) is present in every part of man, being that which unites the whole man. It is present wherever consciousness functions. For "\(h\text{\textit{sin}}\) (the heart) is not just a piece of flesh with blood. It is wherever [we experience] consciousness. For example, the ears and eyes hear and see, and the hands and feet experience pain and irritation. All this consciousness [comes from] \(h\text{\textit{sin}}\)."

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39a Yang-ming is using a language akin to that of Aristotle who defines the soul as the determining principle of the living body, that which gives it life and unity, motion and essential nature. See his *Psychology*, Book II.  
40 WWKC 3: 155a; CHAN, *Instructions*, 252, See also WWKC 1: 85a; CHAN, *Instructions*, 80.
Seeing, hearing, speaking and moving are all [activities of] hsin (principle of consciousness). Hsin’s ability to see has the eyes as its channels. Its ability to hear has the ears as its channels. Its ability to speak has the mouth as its channels. Its ability to move has the four limbs as its instruments. Without your hsin, there would be no eyes, ears, mouth or nose.

Yang-ming identifies the principle of moral activities with that of vital consciousness. He also recommends that the gentleman’s practice of watchfulness over hsin, over the least movements of his mind-and-heart, include as a matter of fact a certain control of the senses and of the physical activities of the body. Recalling Lao-tzu’s teaching that beautiful colours cause the eyes to be blind, beautiful sounds cause the ears to be deaf, beautiful tastes spoil the palate and hunting and racing make a man mad, he draws from it the moral exhortation that one should only see, hear, speak and move when the occasions to do so are in accordance with propriety.

Hsin, of course, is nothing other than liang-chih. Just as hsin is present in the senses, as it also is in the thinking mind, in our intentions and decisions, the same can be said of liang-chih.

Through conscious activity and experience of reality, man’s mind-and-heart and senses penetrate all things, uniting, and even identifying, hsin-in-itself to Heaven-and-Earth and all things:

The eye has no “substance” (t’i) of its own. It regards as [its] “substance”, the colour of all things. The ear has no “substance” of its own. It regards as [its] “substance”, the sounds of all things. The nose has no “substance” of its own. It regards as [its] “substance”, the odours of all things. The mouth has no “substance” of its own. It regards as its “substance”, the taste of all things. The mind-and-heart has no “substance” of its own. It regards as [its] “substance” the right or wrong of the operations and responses of Heaven-and-Earth and all things.

41 WWKC 1: 84b—85a; CHAN, Instructions, 80.
42 WWKC 1: 84b; CHAN, Instructions, 80. Allusion is here made to Lao-tzu ch. 12 [See CHAN, Source Book, 145].
43 WWKC 1: 85a; CHAN, Instructions, 80.
44 WWKC 3: 144a; CHAN, Instructions, 233. Allusion is to Analects 12: 1; LEGGE, Classics, v. 1, 250.
Colour, for example,—or sound in the case of the ear—is a quality of perception as well as of the sense organ, the eye which sees it. Yang-ming resolves a problematic relationship between this "quality", and the "sensation" through which it is perceived, in terms of potentiality and actuality. Instead of denying the separate existence of the senses apart from the reality which they experience, or of hsìn from the whole of the cosmos, he is asserting that, in the case of sensation, the "source" (t'i) of the activity (yung)\[^{[38]}\] meets the activity itself which flows from and fulfils the very nature of the sense organ, in the actualisation of sight or hearing. Thus, according to him, neither the eye nor the ear can be properly understood outside of the experience of reality which it has. And also, eye, ear, or any or all of the other sense organs, together with hsìn, the central unifier of all our experiences, sensory or otherwise, work together to bring the human person into dynamic contact with the whole of reality, and in so doing, unite him to the whole of the cosmos.

### A Self-transcending State

Yang-ming has referred to hsën or to liang-chih-in-itself in negative terms, as the Taoist "Void" (hsü)\[^{[40]}\] and the Buddhist "Nothingness" (wu), and as the Great Void (T'ai-hsü). He is giving the cosmic connotations already associated with these terms to his hsìn-in-equilibrium. This is hardly astonishing especially since the Doctrine of the Mean, ch. I, has described "the hsìn-in-equilibrium" as the "great root of all under Heaven", and "the hsìn-in-harmony" as the "universal path of all under Heaven"\[^{[45]}\].

Hence, "hsìn-in-itself" represents, for Yang-ming, a psychological as well as metaphysical view of reality. It is a state of mind-and-heart, a disposition of the spirit, which is to be achieved. Yang-ming is saying that so long as one follows spontaneously the naturally good promptings of the mind-and-heart, he will keep his liang-chih-in-itself free from unruly desires. When this is done, nothing in life can hinder the continual operation of liang-chih as it responds to events and affairs, entering into reality, absorbing reality by its activity, until it becomes one with all reality, and even the heart of all reality.

Yang-ming identifies liang-chih-in-itself to the Great Void, which "embraces all things without letting anything become a hindrance to itself"\[^{[46]}\]:

The vacuity of liang-chih is [one with] the vacuity of the Great Void (T'ai-hsü). The nothingness (wu) of liang-chih is the formlessness of the Great Void. Sun, moon, wind, thunder, mountains, rivers, people and things—all that have figure, shape, form and colour—all operate within this formlessness of the Great Void. None of them ever becomes a hindrance to Heaven. The sage merely follows the functioning of his liang-chih. Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things are all contained in its

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\[^{[38]}\] Legge, Classics, v. 1, 384—5.
\[^{[40]}\] Letter to Nan Ta-ch'i [1526], WWKC 6: 217. Kusumoto Masatsugu remarks that Nan was Chang Tsai's fellow countryman. See Sō-Min jidai juguku, 427.
functioning and operating. How can there be anything else transcending liang-chih which can become a hindrance [to it]?

良知之虚，便是天之太虚。良知之无，便是太虚之无形。日月，风雷，山川，民物，凡有面貌，形色，皆在太虚无形中发用流行，未尝作得天的障碍。圣人只是顺其良知之发用，天地万物俱在我良知的发用流行中，何尝又有一物，超乎良知之外，能作得障碍。

For the man who strives after sagehood, wealth, poverty, gain and loss, love and hatred — desires for the one and fear of the other — all are worth as much as the passing storm and the floating smoke, which move and change in the Great Void, while the substance of the Great Void remains always vast and unlimited.

A Higher Reality

The Taoist notion of Void, the Buddhist notion of Nothingness, and the Sung philosophers' Great Void, do more than provide an insight into liang-chih in-itself as a self-transcending state. They indicate that this state is symbolic of a higher order of ontological reality which is contained in liang-chih in-itself.

Yang-ming's writings and recorded dialogues present metaphysical discussions in contexts which are rather different from those in which the metaphysical vocabulary used by him first appeared in the writings of the Sung thinkers. He usually discusses li and chi less in relation to each other than in the relation of each to hsin, the mind and heart, his principal moral, psychological and metaphysical interest. He speaks little of T'ai-chi, the absolute, "ground of being", so prominent in the thought of Chou Tun-yi, Chu Hsi, and even of several early Ming thinkers who showed a much greater interest in the practice of self-perfection than in its metaphysical implications. When discussing Chou's teaching, he seems more concerned with explaining how yin and yang refer to the same chi which contracts and expands, while tung (activity) and ching (tranquility) refer to the same li which is sometimes hidden and sometimes manifest. Thus, his emphasis is that tung-ching and yin-yang refer not to two different stages in the cosmic process, but to one and the same transformation. Given his understanding

47 WWKC 3: 142; CHAN, Instructions, 220.
48 The context of the letter supports the interpretation that Yang-ming was speaking of "scholars of virtue" who despise considerations of wealth, honour, profit and position. Kusumoto Masatsugu says that such an attitude is in accord with Yang-ming's "mad ardour" or eccentricity (kuang). See op. cit., 426-7.
49 See Letter to Lu Ch'eng, WWKC 2: 106 a; CHAN, Instructions, 132.
of li and ch'i, as also of his apparent approval of Chang Tsai's teaching of T'ai-hsü as the fullness of ch'i, one may assume that he understands T'ai-chi to be that which gives a pattern of organisation (li) to T'ai-hsü, and T'ai-hsü as that through which T'ai-chi functions and is made manifest. Together, they may be said to describe the absolute, the ground of being. And since liang-chih in-itself has been identified to the Void (hsü), to Nothingness (wu) and to the Great Void (T'ai-hsü), there can be no doubt that it signifies the absolute, the one behind the many.

The absolute is by necessity that which transcends all other concepts, that which need not be only understood by one particular school of thought. As already mentioned, the discovery of the absolute by the Sung thinkers had been greatly aided by centuries of Buddhist-Taoist metaphysics and religious thinking. Yang-ming himself alludes to this when making use of the negative language of Buddhist-Taoist philosophical vocabulary:

When the Taoists conclude that [hsin] is vacuous, can the sage himself add a bit of reality to that vacuity? When the Buddhist conclude that [hsin] is nothingness, can the sage himself add a bit of being to that nothing?

仙家說到虛,聖人豈能虛上加得一毫實?

佛氏說到無,聖人豈能無上加得一毫有?

Yang-ming's understanding of the absolute character of hsin or liang-chih is especially borne out on one occasion, when he was questioned by his disciple, Wang Chi, on the reality or illusoriness of all that makes up life and existence, as expressed by the Buddhist word, hsiang (laksana). His answer was:

When hsin is present, there is reality.
When hsin is absent, there is illusion.
When hsin is absent, there is reality
When hsin is present, there is illusion.

This seeming riddle can be interpreted in various ways. Taking the words as they are given, especially hsin (mind), wu-hsin (no-mind or absence of the mind), shih (reality) and huan (illusion), and the method of negative logic which is used here to prove certain metaphysical affirmations, one

51 "T'ai-po p'ien", CTCS 2: 2a—3b. Yang-ming's fondness for the use of negative language in describing liang-chih recalls also Chu Hsi's insistence on T'ai-chi being described also as Wu-chi, as well as Ch'an Buddhist descriptions of the Absolute Mind. See, for example, Hsi Yün's (fl. 850 AD) Wan-ling Ju, TSD No. 2012B, XLVIII, 386b, where he spoke of the "Mind-ground" as being like empty space, with neither form nor shape, direction nor location. See also Eng. tr. by John Blofeld, The Zen Teaching of Huang Po, (London: 1958), 93.

52 WWKC 3: 142; CHAN, Instructions, 219.

53 WWKC 3: 157b; CHAN, Instructions, 258.

54 This negative logic can be traced back to Chuang-tzu, "Ch'i-wu lun", [Identity of All Things] and to the Middle Way of Mādhyamika's philosophy, originally...
cannot deny the emphatically Buddhistic implications. This is further confirmed by the response it elicited from Wang Chi, who gave his own spontaneous interpretation:

[When you say], “If hsin is present, there is reality, if hsin is absent, there is illusion”, you are speaking of effort (kung-lu) from the point of view of [its] source and principle (pen-i).

[But when you say], “If hsin is absent, there is reality, if hsin is present, there is illusion, you are speaking of the source and principle [of effort] from the point of view of effort [itself].”

Yang-ming expressed approval of these words, which Ch’ien Te-hung, the editor of this part of the Ch’uan-hsi luACK acknowledged not to have understood on that occasion. If pen-i is ultimate reality, as Wang Chi would have it, and as Yang-ming’s teachings on the pen-i of hsin would tend to support, then he seems to be saying that hsin and wu-hsin, just as reality and illusion, interpenetrate each other, and that the ultimate transcends metaphysical categories of “reality” and “illusion”. On the basis of given language, Yang-ming was using the discrimination of opposing terms to obtain a meaning which answered Wang Chi’s question.

Writing years later, Ch’ien Te-hung would also remark that the answer indicated the fundamental unity, in Yang-ming’s thinking, of pen-i (ultimate reality) and kung-lu (effort), in other words, of his metaphysics and his ethics, of the discovery of the absolute in one as well as in the other.

Role of ch’i

When asked whether inanimate beings also have liang-chih, Yang-ming replied:

Man’s liang-chih [acts also as] the liang-chih of plants and trees, tiles and stones. Without man’s liang-chih, there can be no plants and trees, tiles and stones. This is true not just of plants and trees, tiles and stones. Heaven-and-Earth will not be Heaven-and-Earth without man’s liang-chih. For Heaven-and-Earth and the myriad things form basically one body with man. And this unity is best manifest in the spiritual understanding of man’s hsin.

formulated by Nagarjuna (1st—2nd cent. AD) and brought to China in the 5th cent. by Kumara-jiiva. It became especially important in the Three Treatises (San-jun) school, and was re-formulated by Chi-Isang (5th—7th cent.) as the “Double Truth on Three Levels”. It was further developed in the 8th century by the monk Yung-chia. See CHANG Chung-yüan, The Transmission of the Lamp, (N.Y., 1969), 2—16.

WWKC 3: 157b; CHAN, Instructions, 258.

Ibid. 57


WWKC 3: 157b; CHAN, Instructions, 258.

WWKC 3: 143 a—b; CHAN, Instructions, 221—222.
It is the dynamic power of man's liang-chih which differentiates all things, knowing plants to be plants, and stones to be stones. It is also the dynamic power of man's liang-chih which overcomes the differentiations between various orders of beings, and even between the duality between the self and the non-self, by merging all into a higher form of unity. This is possible, Yang-ming asserts, because wind, rain, dew, thunder, sun and moon, stars, animals and plants, mountains and rivers, earth and stones, are all "one body with man". The same ch'i permeates all. For this reason — and Yang-ming offers this fact almost as a scientific proof for his "mystic" view of reality — grains and animals can nourish man's life, while herbs and minerals can heal human diseases. "Because they share the same ch'i, they can enter into [the bodies of] one another."

In other words, if liang-chih-in-itself is capable of achieving unity out of the multiplicity of things, it is on account of a certain component which permeates all things. And this component is called ch'i.

And so, liang-chih-in-itself, the principle of life and consciousness, is not just a spiritual power or capacity. It too is spirit-in-matter. For it too is permeated with ch'i, the same ch'i which permeates all other things, and which makes possible the passage of duality into non-duality.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to think that Yang-ming merely reduces liang-chih-in-itself to ch'i or material force. The universal presence of ch'i is only given as a proto-scientific explanation of the unity of all things. But the only way man achieves this unity in himself is through liang-chih. And certainly, Yang-ming himself is more interested in the self-transcending state which can be realised by liang-chih, than he is in the ubiquitous ch'i.

A puzzled disciple once questioned Yang-ming concerning his teaching about Heaven-and-Earth and all things having no meaning apart from man's liang-chih. He reasoned that since Heaven-and-Earth, the spiritual beings and the myriad things had all existed since time immemorial, how could one presume that they would disappear, when the end came for the man whose liang-chih had attained this unity with all things? Yang-ming's answer shows that his teaching on unity and multiplicity, and the role of ch'i in this unity, concerns less the objective existence of the universe than the state of consciousness by which man's heart attains a certain oneness with all things:

60 WWKC 3: 143b; CHAN, Instructions, 222.
Consider the dead man. His spirit has drifted away and dispersed. Where are his Heaven and Earth and myriad things 61?

另一个人是在他睡着的时候。杨明认为，在他睡着的时候，\textit{liang-chih} 总是清醒的，或者更确切地说，总是有意识的，即使在人睡着的时候。

As night falls, Heaven-and-Earth becomes an undifferentiated continuum. All forms and colours disappear. With man too, the ears hear nothing, the eyes see nothing ... It is the time when \textit{liang-chih} is collected and concentrated. As Heaven-and-Earth open up again, all the myriad things reveal themselves. With man also, the ears and eyes now hear and see ... It is the time when \textit{liang-chih} begins its wonderful functioning 62.

For Yang-ming, it is incomplete to speak of the nature of man and of things without also speaking of \textit{ch'i}, just as it is incomplete to speak of \textit{ch'i} without also speaking of nature (\textit{hsing}) and even mind-and-heart (\textit{hsin}). He has said: "\textit{Ch'i} is indistinguishable from \textit{hsing}, and \textit{hsing} is indistinguishable from \textit{ch'i} 63." And he has also spoken of \textit{hsin chih pen-t'i} as the True Self, master of the physical body:

The \textit{pen-t'i} of \textit{hsin} is nothing other than \textit{T'ien-li} ("principle of Heaven"). It is originally never out of accord with \textit{li} (propriety). This is your True Self. This True Self is the master of [your] physical body. Without the True Self, there is no physical body. With it, one lives, without it, one dies 64.

Thus, for the good of the physical body itself, one should take good care of the True Self, keeping always intact its \textit{pen-t'i}, and practising caution 65.
and apprehension\footnote{Martin Heidegger speaks at length of fear and apprehension as a mode of a state-of-mind, which characterises Dasein. He refers especially to the fear which is aroused by the threats which confront Dasein. If extended to apply to the apprehension of losing one's personal authenticity, this fearfulness may be said to approach Yang-ming's understanding of vigilance in solitude and of caution and apprehension. Se Being and Time, (London, 1962), 179–181.} even when one is not seen or heard. And then, as a man shreds off the super-structures which his "false self" — his ego — has erected as barricades behind which he has formerly attempted to hide himself and to limit his activity, as he clears away the selfish desires which hinder his inner vision, he will naturally discover this innermost core of his own being, this liang-chih, always shining even when it is temporarily obscured from view. He will then become transformed, completely true to himself, completely true to the universe in which he lives and acts, and following its natural courses of operation which will lead him to the realisation of perfect goodness, which is the ultimate revelation of the absolute in himself.

Heart of the Universe

Once, when Yang-ming was taking a walk in the mountainous region of Nan-chen, one of his friends pointed to the blossoming trees, and asked: "If there is nothing in the world that is not outside of hsin, how is it that these trees hidden in the mountains can produce flowers which bloom and die without my hsin being in anyway involved?"

Yang-ming replied: "Before you see the flower, the flower and your hsin are both dormant. When you see this flower, its colour suddenly becomes clear. This shows that the flower is not outside of your hsin." \footnote{WWKC 1: 85a; CHAN, Instructions, 81.}

你未看此花時，此花與汝心同歸於寂。你來看此花時，則此花顏色一時明白起來，便知此花不在你的心外。

For him, reality is always dynamic, related to man's hsin. By themselves, flowers in the wilderness can hardly be called "things" (wu). It is only when they have become known to man's hsin, and, by being known, have become somehow activated by man, that they take on this status. Thus, Yang-ming presents man's hsin and liang-chih as the cause of the fundamental unity of all things: that which knows all things, and has the power to direct all things to their proper ends.

In this context, one can also understand better Yang-ming's words concerning the "creative" power of hsin and liang-chih. In extravagant language, he has described it as the spirit which creates all things, Heaven-and-Earth,
ghosts and gods. "It is that to which there is no equal." Thus, the recovery of liang-chih in its original purity will put man at the heart of all things, at the heart of creation.

Yang-ming speaks of man as "the heart (hsin) of Heaven and Earth." For him, it is man, with his spiritual understanding and dynamic power for self-transcendence, who alone is capable of knowing and of reflecting all things, of giving ultimate meaning to all things as well as to his own existence. He can therefore be said to occupy the position of "heart", as the psychic centre of the universe. For while men may be separated from one another and from all things on account of their physical forms or bodies, which limit them to specific positions in time and place, the heart of man transcends such limitation. It fills up Heaven-and-Earth and all things by means of its dynamic spirituality. In it, the unity of Heaven-and-Earth and all things is most clearly seen.

My spiritual understanding is the master of Heaven-and-Earth and all things. If Heaven is deprived of my spiritual understanding, who is going to look into its height? If Earth is deprived of my spiritual understanding, who is going to look into its depth? If spiritual beings are deprived of my spiritual understanding, who is going to distinguish their good and evil fortune, or the calamities and blessings they will bring? Separated from my spiritual understanding, there will be no Heaven, Earth, spiritual beings or myriad things, and separated from these, there will not be my spiritual understanding.

我的靈明，便是天地鬼神的主宰。天沒有我的靈明，誰去仰他高？地沒有我的靈明，誰去俯他深？鬼神沒有我的靈明，誰去辯他吉凶災神？天地鬼神萬物，離卻我的靈明，便沒有天地鬼神萬物了。我的靈明，離卻天地鬼神萬物，亦沒有我的靈明。

67 ECCS, Yi-shu [51], op. cit., 2A: 3b. This quotation has been interpreted out of its context as meaning "[Liang-chih] can have [or, put up with] nothing contradictory to it [or, no "antitheses"] and even given as evidence of Yang-ming's disapproval of "class struggles" and of the Marxist dialectical method. See Hou Wai-lu [52], Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih, (Peking, 1957), v. 4, pt. 2, 890–91.

68 Letter to Nieh Pao [53], WWKC 2: 120 a; CHAN, Instructions, 166. See KUSUMOTO Masatsugu, Sō-Min jidai jugaku, 419–424.

69 WWKC 3: 157 a–b; CHAN, Instructions, 257.