Some new publications and materials on Li Zhi
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Li Zhi\(^1\) (1527-1602), one of the most fascinating figures in Ming history, and perhaps in Chinese intellectual history as a whole, was at odds with the neo-confucian bureaucratic class of his time, a class to which he himself belonged. Although he was very popular in his own time, the representatives of late Ming and Qing Confucian orthodoxy succeeded in gradually suppressing his writings: he had become the 'damned philosopher'. With the onset of an anti-Confucian movement at the end of the Imperial era, and later in the course of the May Fourth Movement, he was re-discovered by the famous anti-Confucian Wu Yu\(^2\) and others. During the 1920s his tomb near Tongzhou, east of Peking, was restored (see below), and during the 1930s he was dealt with in several Chinese and Japanese academic publications. In 1938, two detailed studies giving high credit to Li Zhi were published independently by Hsiao Kung-ch’üan in English and by Otto Franke in German. After the foundation of the People’s Republic, Li Zhi received additional attention as a fighter against traditional bureaucratic society; but during the Cultural Revolution his criticism of Confucianism won him the label of “Legalist”. He later became popular again, albeit not for the aims and ideas he had expounded during his life-time. Within the last twenty-five years almost all of his still extant writings have been reprinted, most of them newly edited and annotated by competent scholars. In addition, documentary and epigraphic materials on Li Zhi and his family have been discovered at or near his native town Quanzhou in Fujian, and these have also been published, some appeared only as neibu materials with a restricted circulation. Since Otto Franke and Hsiao Kung-ch’üan’s studies, little has been written in Western languages: a short note by Timoteus Pokora in 1961,\(^3\) a biography in Dictionary of Ming Biography by Hsiao Kung-ch’üan\(^4\), two articles by Chan Hok-lam (see below), and there have been several papers in Japanese.

In 1980, Hok-lam Chan (Chen Xuelin\(^5\)) published Li Chih (1527-1602) in Contemporary Chinese Historiography. New Light on His Life and Works. Translated from Wen-wu and other sources with introduction, notes, and appendices,\(^6\) to make the most important Chinese investigations known to the Western reader. After a short foreword by Frederick W. Mote and a preface and notes on the translation, the author provides in a detailed introduction (pp. 3-38), the important dates of Li Zhi’s\(^7\) life and works, an outline of later judgements on Li and the transmission of his works, and a description of the modern research on Li, in particular during the period from 1974 to 1976, when in the context of the “Criticism of Lin Biao, criticism of Confucius” campaign, instigated by the notorious ‘Gang of Four’, “Li Chih, for all his iconoclastic, eccentric behaviour, his vehement criticisms of Confucian orthodoxy and the dynastic establishment, again surfaces as a favorite historical personage in Mainland publications” (p. 10). It is true, that the majority of these publications have no academic value at all; there are, nonetheless, several scholarly articles and compendia of source materials useful for a better understanding of Li Zhi, his life, his thought and his times. The most important among these are materials on Li’s family history, materials from the tomb of his wife with several inscriptions, a specimen of his handwriting, and a Ming edition of the Shigang pingyao\(^8\), a work—as later shown—wrongly attributed to Li Zhi. In closing the author offers a critical survey of the contents of the publications dealing with these discoveries.
The bulk of the book consists of translations of a number of these new publications. Part I, "New Light on Li Chih’s Family and his Life" includes translations of two papers. The first one, written by Chen Sidong[9] from the Maritime Communications Historical Museum, Quanzhou[4], (entitled “Li Shi-di jiashi, guju, ji qi gi mubei – jieshao xin faxian-di youguan Li Zhi-di wenwu[9], published in Wenwu[6] 1975: 1, pp. 34–43), is probably the most informative of all the Chinese publications on Li Zhi from this period (pp. 41–77). Based primarily on two recently discovered genealogies (jiapu), of Li Zhi’s family, the author first discusses the reasons as to why the original surname Lin[9] of Li Zhi’s ancestors had been changed into Li, the marriage relationships of the family (some ancestors of Li Zhi had married foreign and/or Muslim wives) and the professional activities and the social status of Li Zhi’s lineage. Clear evidence indicates that Li Zhi’s ancestors had been overseas merchants since the late Yuan period and that their commercial activities extended as far as the Persian Gulf and the Liuqui (Ryūkyū) Island. A different interpretation of the genealogy, however has been recently suggested by Chen Zigiang (see below) who assigns Li Zhi to another branch of the family not engaged in overseas trade. Using the same materials and an early land-deeds the author reconstructs the history of Li Zhi’s home at Quanzhou, a place that can still be visited today. Finally, the grave and the tombstone of Li Zhi’s wife, discovered in 1975 in Jinjiang country, are described. A more detailed treatment of the last topic appears in the article by the Cultural Relics Management Committee of Chinchiang Region[107], “Li Zhouwu qí Huangshi Muzang beiko – mubei, mubiao, xianpai[11], Wenwu 1976: 6, pp. 93–94. (pp. 78–84).

Part II, “New Light on Li Chih’s Scholarship and His Works”, contains the translations of four papers: (1) Wang Qingzheng, “Ba Shanghai bowuguan socang Li Zhi shouji”[12], Wenwu 1974: 10, pp. 65–67 (pp. 87–99), deals with a holograph specimen of Li Zhi’s calligraphy, a hitherto unpublished letter he wrote to his friend Mei Guozhen[12] in 1957 from Jilo Monastery in the Western Hills (Xishan)[14], near Peking, which is preserved in the Shanghai Museum. Only very few specimens of Li Zhi’s handwriting are known to be still extant.

(2) Jao Tsung-i (Rao Zongyi), “Ji ‘Li-shi jizhuan’ – Li Zhi ‘Cangshu’ weikan gao-di faxian”[13], Xinya shuyuan xueshu niankan 18: Hongkong 1977, pp. 7–15 (pp. 100–112). This paper deals with a heretofore unknown manuscript of the Cangshu which formerly belonged to the family collection of Sheng Xuanhuai (1844–1916) which was discovered recently by the author in Hongkong, and acquired by the Chinese Library of the University of Hongkong. The manuscript is an earlier draft of the Cangshu and is sometimes at variance with the printed editions, as the author shows in a number of examples.9

(3) Fujian Quanzhou-shi wenli guanli weiyuanhui, and Xiamen daxue lishixi, “Jieshao Li Zhi-di yibu zhongyao zhuzo – Ming keben ‘Shigang pingyao’”[16] Wenwu 1974: 9, pp. 20–23 (pp. 113–124). The Shigang pingyao is an historical work in the annalistic pattern with marginal comments by the author covering the period from the legendary emperor Yao to the end of the Yuan Dynasty. It is attributed by the authors of the article to Li Zhi and presented as an important document that exhibits Li’s anti-confucian and pro-legalist attitude. And a new printed edition of the book in three volumes with Li Zhi named as author was issued by Zhonghua shuju, Peking, in the same year. The claim for Li Zhi’s authorship is spurious, as is evident in the following paper by (4) Cui Wenyin, “Tan ‘Shigang pingyao’-di zhenwei wenti”[17], Wenwu 1977: 8,
The author proves conclusively by internal as well as external evidence that in many cases the Shigang pingyao does not express Li Zhi's views as they appear in his other works, and that it could not have been written or annotated by him. According to Cui's investigation, the Shigang pingyao is based on the Shigang yaoling by Yao Shunmu (1543-1627), first printed in 1610, eight years after Li Zhi's death. This work was plagiarized by a certain Wu Congxian, in order to compile and to edit the Shigang pingyao, which he wrongly attributed to Li Zhi. This article illustrates very well the difficult situation scholars faced when "politics were in command". In spite of the exact and convincing textual evidence produced by the author, which proved the spuriousness of the Shigang pingyao, the article could only be published after the downfall of the 'Gang of Four'. The author still felt compelled to justify his article politically by stating that it "will reveal the utilitarianism of the 'Gang of Four'" (p. 126), thereby safeguarding himself against any political criticism from those involved with the new edition of the Shigang Pingyao.

The last part of Chan's book is made up of appendices: (1) "The Extant Writings of Li Chih" (pp. 155–182) gives a detailed bibliography of all works written, compiled or commented at by Li Zhi, listing the known editions and the libraries where copies are extant. Almost all his writings were banned and proscribed during the 18th century, but most of them escaped destruction. Because Li enjoyed great popularity in the 17th century, many spurious writings like the Shigang pingyao appeared under his name: in particular comments and marginalia on dramas, novels, and other works were attributed to Li Zhi. "We should not, however, dismiss all these works as sheer fabrications, since Li Chih has already indicated in several of his essays preserved in Fen-shu and Hsi Fen-shu that he had written commentary and marginalia on some such works of popular literature. In these cases, it is quite likely that the existing works may have included portions of Li Chih's genuine writings, but they have been significantly revised and amended by later editors and publishers. It is difficult, however, to verify all these commentaries and marginalia on popular literature without a comprehensive and meticulous investigation of the internal and external evidence. This is still a great challenge to a serious study of this important and controversial late Ming thinker." (pp. 158–159). Chan's list is probably quite complete, and the present writer can make almost no additions from his own notes. The only item is No. I:12 (p. 167), "Li-shih i-shu, 13. ch. A collection of Li Chih's miscellaneous writings derived from his earlier works. Undated Ming block-print ed.". The present writer dipped into the probably unique copy of this work, mentioned by Chan, at Naikaku bunko, Tokyo, in 1962, and made the following note: Miscellaneous notes mainly on sayings and actions by famous personalities from the late Zhou to the Ming periods, classified under thirty-four headings. The undated preface by the author quotes Cangshu. "Printed and published at Suzhou Changmen." Moreover, the Qianqingtang shumu by Huang Yuji (1629–1691), probably the most complete catalogue of Ming works, lists some additional titles attributed to Li Zhi, and not mentioned by Chan, namely Shige wannian in juan 10, 12a (reprint p. 735), section shibu, zhuangji, and Guwang-bian, juan 7, together with Chutan-ji, mentioned by Chan under I:1, in juan 12, 24b (reprint p. 934), section zibu, xiaoshuo. These works seem to be no longer extant, and therefore their authenticity cannot be verified.

The second appendix is a "Bibliography of Modern Publications on Li Chih (1901–1979)" (pp. 183–207), the first version of which had been published in Ming-
Studies 6: 1979, pp. 17–27, and 7: 1979, pp. 11–18. After the publication of his book, the author had an opportunity to visit China and to locate additional publications on Li Zhi not covered in the Bibliography at leading libraries. He has published his findings in a supplementary note, “Li Chih (1527–1602): Additional Research Note”, Chinese Studies in History, Spring 1980, pp. 81–84. The Bibliography and the “Note” are limited to monographs and articles dealing expressly with Li Zhi. The list of titles seems to be almost exhaustive, and the present writer can contribute only a very few, not very important supplements.

P. 187: The first part (qianlun) of the anonymous paper of 1907 has been published under the name of Deng Shì in Guocui xuebao[26] 3:8, 1907.


P. 190: 1940 Feng Chün-p’ei is better known under his ming Feng Zhi[27].


Moreover, Professor Hok-lam Chan himself was so kind to provide a few further additions:


All the materials published by Chan are of great importance and will greatly facilitate further research in Li Zhi’s life and thought.

Among the recent discoveries concerning Li Zhi, Chan mentions on pp. 64/65 two seals donated after liberation by a certain Su Dashan, one of which is now exhibited at Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan in the temple Kaiyuan. This seal, which is quite interesting, is kept in a show-case; therefore I could take a photo of only one side. The text on the other side was kindly made available by Mr. Chen Dasheng[41] of Quanzhou, from a local publication. The text on the front-side reads: “Master Zhouwu’s writings are for the Ming period together with [those by] the two gentlemen Zunyan and Jingshan the legs of a tripod in our country. This sealing-stone has been unearthed during the Tongzhi-years (1862–1874) by fellow-countrymen in his old home and transmitted to me. I have, therefore, written [a poem of] twenty-eight words in order to remember his luminous way of acting.”[42] Zunyan is a hao of Wang Shenzhong[43], 1509–1559, and Jingshan a hao of Ho Qiaoyuan[44], 1558–1632, both famous writers from Jinjiang county. The poem of twentyeight words is engraved on the backside of the stone and reads: “The Master’s brush is the Master’s tongue. The
Master's writings are the Master's blood. [Just as] in more than three hundred years the earth did not gnaw [this sealstone], the man could be killed, but [his] fame was not extinguished. Written in the second moon [of the lunar calendar] of [the year] jisi (1929) by the local pupil Su Dashan."

This short inscription may indicate that the memory of Li Zhi has been kept alive at his native county through the centuries of literary persecution prior to the general resurgence of his reputation after the 1920s.

In Chan's bibliography of modern publications no title is mentioned dealing in particular with Li Zhi's tomb located near Peking, northwest of Tongxian. It has been visited by the present writer together with Dr. Rudolf Loewenthal on July 16, 1943. It had been restored in 1926 and was in a fairly good condition. Subsequently I got rubbings of the tombstone inscriptions which soon will be published in a new journal or Ming historical materials at the University of Hong Kong. A recent effort to visit the tomb again failed, since it is located in the area out of bounds for foreigners.

Almost a year prior to Chan Hok-lam's book, the first part of Jean Francois Billerter's comprehensive monograph Li Zhi, philosophe maudit (1527-1602) had appeared at Geneva (Switzerland). The Swiss author's attention was first drawn to Li Zhi by his academic teachers at Peking, between 1963 and 1966. He continued his studies on Li Zhi at Kyoto University where he had the opportunity to exchange ideas with Professor Shimada Kenji; he has thus worked more than a decade on Li Zhi and his times. The first part of his pertinent researches, presents an elaborate picture of Li Zhi, his times, and his thought to 1590. The book begins with an introduction (pp. 9-16) on the sources, the present state of research, the purpose and the approach of the book. The first part deals with the origin and the development of Li Zhi's thought up to the publication of the Book to Burn (Fen-shu), in 1590 (La genèse et le développement de la pensée de Li Zhi jusqu'à la publication du Livre à brûler, 1590).

In the first chapter on the origins of Li Zhi (pp. 19-48), the author analyzes Li's family background and the influence this background had on his personality, drawing largely on the same materials presented in the first part of Chan's book. Billeter goes one step further in his investigation, looking for the reasons why Li Zhi turned away from the commercial profession to become a member of the bureaucratic class, a class for which he felt neither sympathy nor respect. The official policy that forbid of all overseas communications, haijin, adopted in the middle of the 16th century, deprived Li's family of its livelihood. Thus Li Zhi, a highly gifted youngster, was urged to sit for the official examinations in order to get an official position from which to earn his living and, perhaps, to protect his family from official harassment against merchants. He became a member of the bureaucratic class, but because he came from the more open minded overseas merchant class, he never felt any close allegiance. On the contrary, he had an insurmountable aversion against orthodox Confucian scholars. Thus, a contradiction between Li Zhi and the class he had just joined was almost unavoidable.

The author inserts a particular discourse (pp. 31-39) on the société mandarinale, the Mandarin society, explaining (p. 34) his preference for this terms instead of the more popular gentry or other designations. It is difficult to coin a generally acceptable Western expression for this unique Chinese social class. 'Degree-holders' would be the most adequate term, but would be difficult to popularize. 'Gentry' may give wrong allusions to certain Western institutions. 'Mandarinate' be appropriate as a divination for the so-called 'Upper Gentry', the office-holders - the main concern of the author -
but hardly for the great majority of the 'Lower Gentry' who held no official positions. Thus, in Billeter's definition of this class, he refers mainly to the most influential officialdom, leaving aside the large number of the non-office-holding rural gentry, who formed the major part of this class, and who played an extremely important role in traditional Chinese society.19

The second chapter (pp. 51–65) deals with the first half of Li Zhi's life, 1527–1566. Information on this period is scarce, the main source being an autobiographic text, which the author has translated in full with adequate notes. It shows, in particular, the ill fortune of his family life (four sons and two daughters died, only one daughter survived, and the frustrations he met in his official life.

The third chapter, entitled: Peking: The discovery of philosophy, 1566–1570 (pp. 67–98) describes Li Zhi's first contact with the philosophy of Wang Yangming, which greatly influenced his thinking. In a digression on the "Mandarin thought" (pensée mandarinale) of the Song and Ming periods, the author elaborates on Song and Ming Neo-Confucianism as the ideology of the ruling class (pp. 74–92), making good use of the writings of Miyazaki Ichiyada and Shimada Kenji.20 Here and on other occasions, the author uses the method to interrupt his narrative of Li Zhi's life, and to insert a longer general digression on matters that need to be dealt with for a proper understanding of Li Zhi's life and thought. While this method introduces each topic at the place most relevant to the understanding of Li Zhi's life and thought, the reader may easily lose the thread of the narrative. It might have been more convenient for the reader if all the general background information had appeared in an introductory chapter on society and thought during Li Zhi's lifetime.

The short fourth chapter on Nanjing and the Taizhou school, 1570–1577 (pp. 101–107) deals with Li Zhi's sojourn as an official in Nanjing and with his relations with eminent contemporary scholars, in particular with such scholars of the Taizhou school, as Wang Bi (son of Wang Gen), Wang Ji et al. The subject of the fifth chapter is Li Zhi's last official position as a prefect of Yaoan in Yunnan, 1577–1581 (pp. 109–121). In 1581, Li Zhi retired voluntarily from official life; he felt that he could no longer stand life in the bureaucracy. He first went to Hung'an in Hubei, where he had been invited by Geng Dingxiang, 1524–1596.21 He was on very good terms with Dingxiang's younger brother Dingli, who died in 1584. However, Li Zhi did not get on well with Geng Dingxiang, whom he considered a hypocrite, and thus the sixth chapter is entitled: Huang'an: The beginning of the polemics against Geng Dingxiang, 1581–1585 (pp. 123–134). This subject is further developed in the seventh chapter on the He Xinyin affair (pp. 137–157). He Xinyin, 1517–1579,22 was a non-conformist like Li Zhi in many ways. They had never met; but Li felt a deep sympathy towards He, who was also persecuted and eventually put to death by the authorities. Li Zhi suspected that since Geng Dingxiang had refrained from using his influence to save He's life, Geng was an indirect accessory to He's death. The author here adds a note on He Xinyin's thought (pp. 155–157) criticizing De Bary and Dimberg for not appreciating the breadth of He's thought. After He's death Li Zhi wrote an Apology of He Xinyin which Billeter translates and explains in the chapter eight (pp. 159–172). The main subject of the ninth chapter is his response to a letter of 1587, which Vice-Minister Geng (Dingxiang) had written to defend himself against Li's earlier reproaches (pp. 175–198). Large sections of Li Zhi's response are translated and explained. At the end of this chapter (pp. 197–198) the author adds a note on the information contained in the tomb inscriptions of Li Zhi's wife, who had died in 1588.
The tenth chapter deals with Li Zhi’s sojourn at Longhu, near Machang, Hubei, from 1585 to 1590 and with his attitude towards Buddhism (pp. 201–233). After leaving Geng Dingxiang, Li Zhi eventually sought refuge in a Buddhist monastery and shaved his head, not so much to express his acceptance of Buddhist faith as to make evident his break with the bureaucratic class. In order to document Li Zhi’s attitude, the author translates several letters and statements by Li Zhi. In the eleventh chapter the author deals with Li Zhi as a writer (écrivain) (pp. 235–265), presenting some pertinent translations of Li’s own writings. In a tentative conclusion (pp. 267–273), he sums up the contents of this volume. Several appendices are provided: a chronological table of Li Zhi’s life and of important contemporary events (pp. 275–283); a note on Li Zhi’s different names (p. 284); a bibliography (pp. 285–295); and an index with Chinese characters (pp. 297–311). The bibliography makes no claim to completeness and lists only those titles relevant for the present book. Thus, several books and articles containing material that deals with Li Zhi, which do not appear in Chan’s bibliography, are included.

Billeter’s presentation of Li Zhi is amply documented by a large number of translations of various length from Li’s writings, mainly from the Fenshu and the Xufenshu. The author generally proceeds in this way; he first presents translations of Li’s own remarks; he follows these with own interpretations. There are few doubtful passages in the translation.

P. 52, line 3/4: “... il apprit à lire et à réciter des poèmes avec son père, Monsieur Baizhai, et apprit les rites.”[46] Even if the Zhonghua shuju edition of the text used does not indicate by waved line – as on other occurrences – that shu, shi, and li are to be understood as books, the translation should read: “Under the guidance of his father, Mr. Baizhai, he read the (Book of) Documents, recited the (Book of) Odes, and studied the text of the (Book of) Rites.” These were the basic texts for a future scholar, as is evident from many contemporary biographies.

P. 53, line 4/5: “Il ne comprenait rien aux commentaires ni aux glosses ...”[47] should be translated: “Reading the [Zo] Tradition (of the Spring and Autumn Annals) and the Commentaries (by Zhu Xi on the Four Books) he did not understand ...”

P. 53, bottom to p. 54 top: “Une chose me consolait: Li Zhicai a été Fonctionnaire à Gongcheng au temps des Song et on y trouve encore la ‘Demeure du bonheur paisible’ (Anlewo) de Shao Yong. Shao Yong, qui habitait Luoyang, a fait milles lieues pour y rejoindre Li Zhicai et se faire son disciple. Il en aurait fait dix mille pour devenir celui de Confucius”[48]. Here a note is added: “Traduction incertaine”. The reviewer would suggest the following, tentative translation: “Yet, Gongcheng is the place, where during the Song Li Zhicai did sojourn as an official, and Shao Yaofu’s “Den of peaceful enjoyment” (anlewo) is there. Yaofu, living at Loyang, did not consider one thousand miles (li) too far, to travel to seek instruction from Zhicai [and so went to Gongcheng]. We, father and son, could [even face a separation of] ten thousand miles, if I could go there in order to seek instruction too. Moreover, I know that Mr. Shao in his firm resolution to pursue his studies attained [his aim] late [in life]. Then he returned to Luoyang and only got married at [the age of] forty.” Yaofu is the zi of Shao Yong, as explained by the author in note 12. The passage bu yuan gian li is a quotation from Mengzi (See Legge, Chinese Classics, vol. II, Hongkong 1861, p. 1).

P. 54, line 14/15 and note 14: Contrary to the author’s remark, Suzuki is quite correct to call Li Zhi a native of Wenling. Wenling[49] is but another name of Quanzhou (see Cihai, 1965 ed., p. 1837 s.v.). Associations of Quanzhou-people abroad sometimes called their Landsmannschaft Wenling-huiguan[50], such as in Jambi, Sumatra (Indonesia), where the large four characters Wenling-huiguan of the long defunct Landsmannschaft can still be seen.

P. 55, line 1/2: “... il n’eutt pas un instant pour s’occuper de ses devoirs familiaux ...”[50]. Correct: “... without ease he practiced the duties of a filial son ...”
P. 59, line 14: “dans le sud de Yunnan”, Diannan\textsuperscript{[53]}. Diannan is equivalent to the whole province of Yunnan (see \textit{Cihai}, 1965 ed., p. 1851 s.v.). Moreover, Yaoan, where Li Zhi was prefect, is located in the north of Yunnan. Cf. below p. 110.\textsuperscript{20}

Besides primary sources Billeter makes full use of earlier research on his subject as well as other relevant work in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages. On certain points he takes issue with other authors, but it is always evident that he has thoroughly studied the works tested and not merely quoted from them. In particular, the full evaluation of Japanese studies should be remarked upon, Shimada Kenji being the author most often cited.

Billeter has succeeded in presenting a comprehensive and lively picture of the development of Li Zhi’s thought and personality to 1590, a picture that surpasses all previous descriptions. As the subtitle indicates, he understands his study as a “Contribution to a sociology of the Chinese mandarinate at the end of the Ming period”. He wishes to elaborate on the personality of Li Zhi and his thought strictly with respect to the conditions of his time. Billeter expressively rejects the proposition that Li Zhi was a precursor of 20th century ideas. But we can see that the figure of Li Zhi, described by Billeter with such sympathy, also has some significance in our modern times. In the context of human civilization is not Li Zhi an outstanding example of the individual who suffers under the pressure that society exerizes over its members, who tries to struggle against this society to liberate himself from its pressure, and who eventually fails? We can find comparable tragedies in all sorts of societies – Western and Non-Western. It is the universal struggle of an individual in search of authenticity, fighting against the constraints of a conformist and hypocritical society. Such conflict between sincere individuals and oppressive societies has to be distinguished from individualism, and from doctrines espoused by revolutionaries struggling against an established order to replace it with another system often just as oppressive. It is evident that such non-conformist individuals come into contact with one another rather easily. Thus, it is no accident that Li Zhi showed particular sympathy for other exceptional people, \textit{yiren}, who in one way or another did not conform to the general mores of their society, such men as Ho Xinyin (see above) and Hai Jui, 1513–1587.\textsuperscript{21} (p. 193), or the “Three exceptional men”, whose works Li compiled as \textit{San yiren-ji}\textsuperscript{[53]}. Fang Xiaoru, 1319–1374,\textsuperscript{22} Yu Qian, 1398–1457,\textsuperscript{23} and Yang Jisheng, 1516–1555\textsuperscript{24} (mentioned by Chan, p. 175, No. 3). Probably we will learn more about this aspect in Billeter’s forthcoming volume on Li Zhi.

Neither Chan nor Billeter have so far reported any references to another famous opponent of the established Confucian orthodoxy from southern Fujian, namely Lin Zhaoen\textsuperscript{[54]}, 1517–1598.\textsuperscript{25} Lin lived at Putian, scarcely a hundred kilometres north of Quanzhou, and both men were called later “The two heretics from Fujian”\textsuperscript{[55,56].} It is true that each had a different family background: Lin belonged to an established gentry family, and Li was a child of the merchant class; and both advocated different goals. Moreover, Lin was much less radical in his attitude towards the established society. Since both were non-conformists, one may surmise that they shared some common ground in a largely conformist society. For example, both were sympathetic towards Ho Xinyin, who found a place in the pantheon of the Three-in-One Doctrine established by Lin Zhaoen.\textsuperscript{27} Li Zhi’s \textit{Chutan-ji} and \textit{Fenshu} had been published when Lin was still alive, and most of Lin’s works were published prior to Li’s death. It is virtually unthinkable that neither knew of the other; all the more, since Li Zhi had for a
certain time in his life a keen interest in the amalgamation of the Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist teaching. That is evident from some of his writings, listed by Chan (pp. 169-171, nos. III: 1,9,10), which deal expressively with this topic. Judith A. Berling has also remarked Li Zhi’s attitude towards the amalgamation of the Three Teachings and translated two relevant passages. Moreover, she seeks some reason why both were grouped together as ‘the two heretics from Fujian’, and concludes: “There is no evidence that the two men met or corresponded. Given the differences in their social views and personal styles, they would hardly have been compatible. Each would have been profoundly insulted to find himself linked with the other.” It is true that they might hardly have become close friends, but there is no evidence that they would have been mutually incompatible. Perhaps further investigations may produce some information on the actual relation between “the two heretics from Fujian”.

As a whole, Billeter’s picture of Li Zhi is so convincing that there is no reason to take issue with him either on any major questions or on his method of research. I look forward eagerly to the second volume, and hope it will be forthcoming in the near future.*

NOTES

Abbreviations:


1 See BDRC III, 462b–465a.


3 DMB I, 807–817.


5 An earlier version of the “Introduction” has been published under the title “New Sources of Li Chih’s ancestry and his family”, *Papers on Far Eastern History* 17: Canberra 1978, pp. 53–69 (not in No. 15, 1977, as stated erroneously on p. XVIII).

Hok lam Chan uses in his book the Giles-Wade system of romanization, but Billeter in his book, dealt with below, uses Pinyin which is adopted by the present writer too. Only in literary quotations from Chan’s book is his original romanization retained.

6 The present writer went there in late October 1979.

7 Chan translates *diqiu* as ‘county’. This can be misleading, since ‘county’ is mostly used as translation for *xian*, the administrative unit below *diqiu*. There is a (larger) Jinjiang diqiu and a (smaller) Jingjiang xian.


There are two temples with the name Jilo-si in the suburb of Peking. The more famous one is located in the plain to the northwest of the town, not far outside Xizhimen. The other one is a small temple in the west of Peking across the Hunho in the hills not far from the more famous *Jietai-si* [50]. The latter one was actually situated in the Western Hills and therefore the place where Li Zhi resided. Cf. Arlington – Lewisohn, *loc. cit.* pp. 243 and 315.

9 There is a misleading missprint at the bottom of p. 104 reading Li Hsiang-ju instead of Lin Hsiang-ju[50]. On other occasions the name is printed correctly.

10 See DMB II, 1565–1567.


12 See *Quanzhou fuzhi*, ed. 1763/1870, 42, 63b–65b; DMB II, 1398–99.

13 See *Quanzhou fuzhi* 44, 15a–22b; DMB I, 507–509.

* The manuscript of this article has been completed in December 1982.
In the elaboration of this topic the author mainly follows Bodo Wiethoff, *Die chinesische Seeverbotspolitik und der private Überseehandel von 1368 bis 1567*, Hamburg 1963.


Cf. however the critical remarks on this digression in the review by Pei-yi Wu in HYAS 41:1, 1981, pp. 304–317.

On p. 110 the author speaks of Ming-time Yaoan as 'préfecture (fu)' and in note 3 of present Yaoan as well as in other cases of 'préfecture (xian)'. Sometimes the qualifying *fu* or *xian* is omitted. This can be misleading. If *fu* is rendered as 'préfecture, xian' should be rendered by another designation, corresponding to the English 'county' or 'district'.

See DMB I, 718–721.


See also the remarks on the translation on pp. 57–58 and pp. 211 by Pei-yi Wu loc. cit. (n. 16) pp. 314–316.

See DMB I, 474–479.

See DMB I, 426–433.

See DMB II, 1608–1612.

See DMB II, 1503–1505.


*Minzhong er yiduan*; see Zhu Yizun (1629–1709), *Mingshi-zong*408 50, 27b.


_loc. cit.* (n. 23) pp. 52–53.

_loc. cit.* (n. 23) p. 223.
[6] 泉州海外交通史博物館
[7] 李贄的家世，故居，及其妻墓碑  介紹新發現的有關李贄的文物
[15] 饒宗頤，記李氏紀傳  李贄藏書未刊稿的發現
[16] 介紹李贄的一部重要著作  明刻本史績評要
[31] 任卓宜，李贄非孔議孟達評•銘傳學報  [32] 陳錦釗，李贄之先世及其生平
[33] 文海  [34] 金昌熾，李卓吾其人其書  [35] 中國時報周刊
[36] 杉山寬行，李卓吾論理  [37] 陳自強，李贄家世雜談  [38] 泉州文史
[39] 廖淵泉，關於李贄民族成份問題  [40] 開元寺  [41] 陳達生
[42] 李贄印：卓吾先生有明一代與遵巖鏡山二公鼎足吾郡，此石同治間鄉人於其故居發土得之•轉徙歸予為題二十八字以志景行
[43] 遵巖：王慎中  [44] 鏡山：何喬遠
[45] 先生之筆先生舌先生之文先生血三百餘年土弗裂人可殺兮名不滅已巳仲春

羅後學蘇大山題
[46] 隨父白齋讀書，歌詩，習禮文  [47] 讀傳註不省
[48] 雖然，共城，宋李之才宦遊地也，有邵堯夫安樂寓在焉，堯夫居洛，不遠
千里就之才問道，吾父子篤亦聞道於此，且聞邵氏苦志參學，晚而有得，
乃歸洛，始婚娶，亦既四十矣•

[58] 朱彝尊，明詩綜