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Consolidation of the Cheng School: Yang Shi and Yin Tun in the Early-Twelfth Century

ABSTRACT:

The brothers Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) have been regarded by modern scholars and historians as the pioneers of the Song-era Daoxue 道學 movement. But their students have received by comparison much less attention and have been categorized as “minor” scholars by historians. Through an in-depth analysis of the writings of the Cheng brothers’ students, I argue that it was Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135) and Yin Tun 尹焞 (1071-1142) who profoundly consolidated the intellectual tradition founded by the brothers in the early-twelfth century. By emphasizing the roles played by Yang and Yin, I supplement the traditional portrait of a “Cheng School” (*Chengmen* 程門) as later presented in *Song Yuan xue’an* 宋元學案 (*Case Studies of Song and Yuan Learning*) through an objective evaluation of the early history of Daoxue 道學. From another perspective, those conventionally perceived “minor” scholars could be deemed as major contributors to the consolidation and even construction of a new intellectual tradition.

KEYWORDS:

Cheng Yi, *Song Yuan xue’an*, *Daoxue*, *Yang Shi*, *Yin Tun*

INTRODUCTION

There are several influential frameworks that make up the conceptualization of Song (960-1279) intellectual history. The first framework traces the entire Song intellectual movement to three pioneering masters of Daoxue 道學 (the Learning of the Way), namely Hu Yuan 胡瑗 (993-1059), Sun Fu 孫復 (992-1057), and Shi Jie 石介 (1005-1045). The second framework emphasizes the five Daoxue masters of the Northern Song, namely Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). The third and probably the most

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THIS ARTICLE is part of a research project “Re-thinking the *Song Yuan xue’an*: The Formation of the Cheng School as a Disciplinary Matrix and Its Development in the Early Twelfth Century,” funded by the Research Grants Council of Hong Kong (General Research Funding, 2020-2022, Project No. 14608519). I had the honor to present an early draft at the international conference on “Culture and Power in China’s History,” Arizona State University. The conference was partially supported by the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation. I would like to express my gratitude to Professors Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, Charles Hartman, Hirata Shigeki 平田茂樹, and He Jun 何俊 for their critical comments on various earlier drafts.

influential framework highlights the lineage that goes from Cheng Yi to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), these latter two being generally regarded as the representatives of the Daoxue movement.¹ In most traditional and modern writings of Song-period Daoxue history, these conceptual frameworks are commonly referred to as “schools 學派.”

In a broad sense, the concept “school” connotes the existence of a particular community in which scholars share similar scholarly interests and even common ground in the manner of learning.² Recent studies in Daoxue history have demonstrated that the idea of “Daoxue schools” was retrospectively constructed by later scholars and scholar-officials, mostly during and after Zhu Xi’s active period in the twelfth century.³ The scholarly transmission of the Cheng brothers underwent the same sort of later construction in such twelfth-century Daoxue histories as Zhu Xi’s *Yiluo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄 and Li Xinchuan’s 李心傳 (1166–1243) *Daoming lu* 道命錄. Moreover, having become the most comprehensive historiographic portrait of the Song Daoxue movement in traditional intellectual history, *Song Yuan xue’an* 宋元學案 followed a certain framework of the twelfth-century Daoxue sources. The framework highlights the “school of the Cheng brothers,” or the Cheng School (*Chengmen* 程門), and emphasizes the lineal transmission of the Cheng brothers’ scholarship from Yang Shi 楊時 (1053–1135) to Luo Congyan 羅從彥 (1072–1135) and then to Li Tong 李侗 (1093–1163), and finally to Zhu Xi. This transmission is, in the traditional Daoxue narrative, often called the “Daonan 道南” lineage, given that all participants in the transmission came from counties in Fujian 福建 province, in South China.⁴

¹ These frameworks were synthesized in traditional writings about Chinese intellectual history and still dominate modern writings on that topic. For criticism of the frameworks, see Hoyt Tillman, “A New Direction in Confucian Scholarship: Approaches to Examining the Difference between Neo-Confucianism and Tao-hsueh,” *Philosophy East and West* 42.3 (July, 1992), pp. 455–74; Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, “Zhi sixiang yu zhengzhishi beijing zhi zhong: zaidu Yu Yingshi xiansheng de Zhu Xi de lishi shijie” 置思想於政治史背景之中, 再讀余英時先生的朱熹的歷史世界, in Hoyt Tillman, ed., *Wenhua yu lishi de zhuisuo: Yu Yingshi jiaoshou bazhi shuoqing lunwenji* 文化與歷史的追索, 余英時教授八秩壽慶論文集 (Taipei: Lianjing chub-an, 2009), pp. 394–96; Cheung Hiu Yu 張曉宇, “Xuetong siqi xia de Bei Song guli yundong: Chen Lie shiji de yige sixiangshi kaocha” 學統四起下的北宋古禮運動, 陳烈事跡的一個思想史考察, *New History* 新史學 30.2 (2019.6), pp. 111–13.

² My understanding of “school” is indebted to Thomas Kuhn’s conception of a professional community as “disciplinary matrix”; see the 1969 postscript to his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: U. Chicago P., 1970), pp. 182–87.

³ Among many studies on this topic, see Charles Hartman’s important, critical reexamination of Southern Song historiography under Daoxue influence. See also, Hartman’s *The Making of Song Dynasty History: Sources and Narratives, 960–1279 CE* (NYC: Cambridge U. P., 2021), pp. 143–72.

⁴ For a comprehensive study of the philosophy of the Cheng brothers from a compara-

Undoubtedly, the aforementioned Daoxue narrative offers a general context through which we can observe the scholarly transmission of the Cheng brothers. However, if we intend to unfold the details of that transmission, it is necessary to reexamine the nature of the Cheng School at its formative stage. In this article, I conceptualize what we are calling the “Cheng School” through three aspects. The first refers to the particular scholarship of the Cheng brothers. In this sense, the Cheng brothers clearly knew that they were forming a Cheng School when Cheng Yi told his students that there were three kinds of scholars and that he aimed high at the scholarship of “real Confucianism 儒者之學.”⁵

The second aspect is more associated with the labeling of the Cheng brothers and their followers collectively as a partisan entity (*dang* 黨). Opponents of the Cheng brothers had usually designated the members of their “Cheng School” as the core of the anti-reformist camp that went against Wang Anshi’s 王安石 (1021–1086) New Policies of the 1070s. Since the 1090s, this partisan conception of the Cheng School took firm shape under the reigns of Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1085–1100) and Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126), two pro-reform emperors,⁶ and reached its culmination when Cheng Yi’s name – as well as some of his followers in the court – was officially imprinted on the notorious “Stele of Yuan-you Partisans” (“Yuanyou dangji bei” 元祐黨籍碑) in 1103.⁷

The third aspect of the Cheng School refers to the self-awareness among some of the Cheng brothers’ students in perceiving their roles

tive perspective, see A. C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers: The Metaphysics of the Brothers Ch’eng* (La Salle: Open Court, 1999); also, Huang Yong 黃勇, *Why Be Moral? Learning from the Neo-Confucian Cheng Brothers* (Albany: SUNY P., 2014).

⁵ Zhu Xi 朱熹, comp., *Henan Chengshi yishu* 河南程氏遺書, in Wang Xiaoyu 王孝魚, comp., *Ercheng ji* 二程集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), *j.* 6, p. 95; *j.* 18, p. 187. Peter Bol has a succinct analysis of what “real Confucianism” meant to Cheng Yi in these conversations. See Bol, “Cheng Yi as a Literatus,” in Willard J. Peterson, Andrew Plaks, Ying-shih Yü, eds., *The Power of Culture: Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Hong Kong: Chinese U. of Hong Kong P., 1994), pp. 178–79.

⁶ This understanding of the Cheng School constituted what Ari Levine describes as the “factional rhetoric” that characterized Zhezong and Huizong’s courts. See Levine, *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 2008), pp. 99–160. Also see Levine’s two chapters in the *Cambridge History of China* for a thorough portrayal of the political atmosphere; Levine, “Che-tsung’s Reign (1085–1100) and the Age of Faction,” and “The Reigns of Hui-tsung and Ch’in-tsung (1126–1127) and the Fall of the Northern Sung,” in Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 5, Part I: The Sung Dynasty and its Precursors, 907–1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2009), pp. 484–578.

⁷ See the several memorials against Cheng Yi that was collected in Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Daoming lu* 道命錄 (Xuxiu 續修 SKQS edn.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), vol. 517, *j.* 2, pp. 2a–4b.

in transmitting their teachers' learning. This latter conception serves as the main focus of the present article. Based on early-twelfth-century sources that are more closely related to the period of the Cheng brothers, this article explores how the two principal disciples (*menren* 門人) of the Cheng brothers, namely, Yang Shi and Yin Tun 尹焯 (1071–1142), consolidated the intellectual tradition founded by the brothers and laid the foundation for a Daoxue community throughout the Southern Song period (1127–1279). The word “consolidation” here does not necessarily denote a general acceptance of the new tradition by state power and the majority of educated elites. Instead, it refers to the individual efforts made by Yang Shi and Yin Tun in promoting the teaching and learning of Cheng Yi.

Yang Shi and Yin Tun consolidated the Cheng School through three ways. First, by criticizing the Cheng brothers' major intellectual opponent, Wang Anshi and his “new learning” (*xinxue* 新學), Yang introduced a communal identity of the School. Second, by emphasizing Cheng Yi's direct guidance and the compilation of Cheng's writings, Yang Shi and Yin Tun established a set of teaching exemplars for the further promotion of the Cheng School. Third, by seeking the court's recognition of Cheng Yi's scholarship in the 1130s, Yin Tun attempted to secure the place of Cheng learning in the central court. From personal intellectual stances to teaching exemplars, and lastly to the central court, these three ways consolidated a “Cheng School” into levels that followed an ascending order of influence. The three ways of consolidation can form a research scope through which to observe the key characteristics of the early Cheng School.

Certainly, there might have been other ways through which the Cheng School was consolidated by other students. However, given the available sources, I choose to focus on Yang Shi and Yin Tun.⁸ Although some studies have devoted attention to Yang and Yin, especially Yang, few of them have revealed the significance and actual roles played by them in promoting their teachers' learning. Most studies only focus on how Yang and Yin inherited the learning of the Cheng brothers, lack-

⁸ In some parts, the discussion will be extended to other students of Cheng Yi, such as Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1044–1091), Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (d. 1121), You Zuo 游酢 (1053–1123), and Wang Pin 王蘋 (1082–1153). Li Jingfeng's 李敬峰 *Er Cheng menren* 二程門人 (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 2020) offers a comprehensive list of the Cheng brothers' students, with basic biographical information. It serves as a database of materials from conventional Daoxue sources that pairs them with a name-list of the Cheng brothers' students. However, the shortcomings of Li's book are its lack of analysis and reflection of the sources used. Instead of Li's biographical approach, I focus on Yang Shi and Yin Tun since my article here takes a thematic approach.

ing a detailed analysis of how they promoted that learning.⁹ In this article, I argue that Yang Shi and Yin Tun actually constituted the core of the Cheng School at its formative stage. During the dynastic transition from late Northern Song to early Southern Song, Yang and Yin used their own particular approaches to preserve, transmit, modify, and advocate their teachers' scholarship. Despite the limited influence of their efforts in some circumstances, they were indeed pivotal to the early development of Daoxue and thus should be recognized as key figures in Chinese intellectual history.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHENG SCHOOL
THROUGH CRITIQUES AGAINST WANG ANSHI

When Cheng Hao died in 1085, Cheng Yi shouldered the burden of promoting and developing the burgeoning intellectual tradition that he and his elder brother founded. From 1086/3 to 1087/8,¹⁰ Cheng Yi had a golden opportunity to promote the learning of the Cheng brothers on a national level when he was invited to the court to serve as a lecturer 說書 in the Hall for the Veneration of Governance (Chongzhengdian 崇政殿).¹¹ Under a subsection of the Hanlin Academy, this lecturer post could influence and even shape the thinking of young emperors by tutoring them on classical texts. In the first half of 1086, despite his relatively low official rank, Cheng Yi was given this advantageous position to expound his thought to the young emperor Song Zhezong.¹² However, Cheng Yi failed to seize the opportunity to promote his scholarship, since he was embroiled in a complicated political struggle at that time and was expelled from the central court in less than two years.¹³

⁹ For example, Tsuchida Kenjiro 土田健次郎 argues that Yang Shi was basically an "inheritor 祖述者" of Cheng Yi's scholarship. See his *Daoxue zhi xingcheng* 道學之形成, Zhu Gang 朱剛 trans. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), pp. 444-55.

¹⁰ Dates are presented in Chinese calendar years in the form of year/month/day. Thus, 1086/3 stands for the third lunar month of the first year of emperor Zhezong's Yuanyou 元祐 reign era. I have, however, converted Sung reign-era year-counts into the relevant Western (Gregorian) calendar years.

¹¹ Li Tao 李燾 (1114-1183), *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986; hereafter, *XCB*), j. 371, pp. 9029-33.

¹² During his service as lecturer in the 1080s, Cheng Yi was granted an 8a rank of court gentleman for comprehensive duty (*tongzhi lang* 通直郎). See Gong Yanming 龔延明, "Yuanfeng qianhou liang Song wenguan jilu guanjie duizhao biao" 元豐前後兩宋文官寄祿官階對照表, in idem, *Songdai guan zhi cidian* 宋代官制辭典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), p. 759.

¹³ For a succinct description of the political atmosphere in the 1080s, see Levine, "Chesung's Reign (1085-1100)," pp. 509-21, esp. 509-16, for Cheng Yi's role in the Yuanyou political struggle.

Despite Cheng Yi's brief service at the imperial court, his personality and scholarship had gained admiration from influential anti-reformist scholar-officials, including Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041–1098), Zhu Guangting 朱光庭 (1037–1094), Wang Yansou 王巖叟, and Jia Yi 賈易. In line with his adamant political stance against Wang Anshi's New Policies, Cheng severely criticized Wang's scholarship. As Cheng claimed, the chief problem of his time was the proliferation of Wang Anshi's scholarship.¹⁴ In fact, as recent studies persuasively argue, a large proportion of Cheng Yi's scholarship was a counter-reaction to Wang's.¹⁵ The question is: Did Cheng Yi's students inherit this criticism about Wang Anshi and use it to promote Cheng's learning? To answer this question, we need to discuss how Cheng's students generally assessed Wang's scholarship.

After Cheng Yi was expelled from the central court, he shifted focus to the field of education. His critiques against Wang Anshi's methods of scholarship left a deep imprint on his later students, most of whom came from the regions of Shanxi 陝西, Henan 河南, and Fujian.¹⁶ Represented by the celebrated Lü family of the Lantian county 藍田, some Shanxi scholars who previously championed Zhang Zai's scholarship started to follow Cheng Yi's scholarship in the late 1080s.¹⁷ Lü Dalin as the representative scholar among Cheng's Shanxi students shared the critiques against Wang Anshi's scholarship. However, the early death of Lü Dalin in 1091 disrupted the development of Cheng Yi's scholarship in Shanxi.

The Henan scholars formed the largest group of Cheng Yi's students. Many of his later students were Luoyang 洛陽 natives, including Yin Tun, Zhang Yi 張繹, Li Chudun 李處遯, Chang Dayin 暢大隱, Chang Zhongbo 暢中伯, Meng Hou 孟厚, Fan Yu 范域, Shao Pu 邵溥,

¹⁴ Zhu, *Henan Chengshi yishu*, j. 2A, p. 38. For a detailed analysis of Cheng Yi's criticism of Wang Anshi's scholarship, see Xia Changpu 夏長樸, "Jiepu zhixue dadi zhili: Er Cheng lun Wang Anshi xinxue" 介甫之學, 大抵支離, 二程論王安石新學, *Journal of Oriental Studies* 東方文化 42 (2009.11), pp. 123–48; He Jun 何俊, *Nan Song ruxue jiangou* 南宋儒學建構 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2013), pp. 14–25.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Hoyt Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1982), pp. 42–44; Yu Yingshi 余英時, *Zhu Xi de lishi shijie: Songdai shidafu zhengzhi wenhua de yanjiu* 朱熹的歷史世界, 宋代士大夫政治文化的研究 (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi: Sanlian shudian, 2004), pp. 82–84.

¹⁶ Cheng Yi's close student Wang Pin mentioned that the number of Cheng's students rapidly increased after the 1080s; "Ti Zhang Sishu shu hou" 題張思叔書後, in Wang Pin, *Song zhuzuo Wang xiansheng wenji* 宋著作王先生文集, in Shu Dagang 舒大剛, ed., *Song ji zhenben congkan* 宋集珍本叢刊 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2004), vol. 36, j. 3, p. 4b.

¹⁷ "Yongxing lu" 雍行錄, in Zhu Xi, comp., *Henan Chengshi wenji* 河南程氏文集, in Wang, *Ercheng ji*, j. 8, p. 587; idem, "Da Lüjinbo jiansan" 答呂進伯簡三, in Zhu, *Henan Chengshi wenji*, j. 9, p. 605.

and Guo Zhongxiao 郭忠孝. As Luoyang had served as the rendezvous of anti-reformist scholars since the late-eleventh century, there might have been a social network there that opposed Wang Anshi that was centered on Cheng Yi and his Luoyang students. Nevertheless, solid evidence for such a network is absent, because most of these Luoyang scholars left no writings.¹⁸ Hence, it is difficult to portray their scholarship in detail, not to mention their intellectual stances regarding Wang Anshi.¹⁹

Among Cheng Yi's Henan students, there was one who was outstandingly intelligent and capable enough to inherit this anti-Wang criticism. Born in Caizhou 蔡州, Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 started to study with the Cheng brothers in the late 1070s and gradually became Cheng Yi's principal disciple during the 1080s and 1090s.²⁰ However, Xie's eclectic intellectual background rendered him a less reliable transmitter of Cheng Yi's learning especially as concerned criticism of Wang Anshi. In fact, Xie admired Wang's interpretations of the *Analects* and expressed his admiration in the preface to his own commentary on the same classic.²¹

In comparison with the Shanxi and Henan students of Cheng Yi, the Fujian students showed relatively more interest in Wang Anshi's scholarship. Among them the Jianyang 建陽 scholar Yang Shi played the crucial role. Since his early period of study with the Cheng brothers, Yang was aware of the limited influence of the brothers' scholarship.²² In the 1080s, Yang wrote to You Zuo and lamented, "what we have learned is contrary to the conventional world 蓋吾儕所學，既與世背馳."²³ The "conventional world" clearly refers to the intellectual

¹⁸ Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuanlu* 伊洛淵源錄 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1964), vol. 316, j. 14, p. 1a. Zhu Xi's short descriptions about these Luoyang scholars offer limited information, as does Li Jingfeng's *Er Cheng meiren*. For an upcoming study I examine the intercommunication among these Luoyang scholars.

¹⁹ Meng Hou actually studied Wang Anshi's scholarship before turning to Cheng Yi's. See Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695) and Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755), *Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986) j. 30, p. 1077.

²⁰ The earliest record of Xie Liangzuo's communication with the Cheng brothers dates to 1078, when Cheng Hao was appointed magistrate of Fugou 扶溝 county, Henan; see Zhu, *Henan Chengshi yishu*, j. 4, p. 69.

²¹ Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐, "Lunyujie xu" 論語解序, in Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, ed., *Quan Song wen* 全宋文 (Shanghai, Hefei: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), vol. 120, j. 2593, p. 250.

²² Yang was attracted to Cheng Hao's scholarship not later than 1081. See Yang Shi, "Jian Mingdao xiansheng" 見明道先生, "Ji Mingdao xiansheng" 寄明道先生 (two letters), in Lin Haiquan 林海權, ed., *Yang Shi ji* 楊時集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018; hereafter, *YSJ*), pp. 442–49.

²³ Yang Shi, "Yu You Dingfu" 與游定夫, in *YSJ*, p. 511.

landscape that was profoundly shaped by Wang Anshi and his learning, contrary to “what Yang and You have learned” from the Cheng brothers. Other than lamentation, Yang Shi criticized Wang Anshi on the behalf of the Cheng brothers’ students. Although previous studies have devoted some attention to Yang Shi’s criticism of Wang Anshi, they primarily focus on the scholarly parts, particularly Yang’s critique of Wang’s studies of the writing system titled *Zishuo* 字說, as well as Wang’s political diary, *Rilu* 日錄.²⁴ None of these studies has noted Yang’s latent intent in promoting the Cheng brothers’ learning that lay beneath his criticism of Wang Anshi.

Fortunately, in two of Yang Shi’s private letters, we are able to identify Yang Shi’s intent. Yang wrote both letters to his friend, a local literatus named Wu Yi 吳儀 (d. 1107). Wu Yi, better known by his courtesy name Wu Guohua 吳國華, was born in Jianpu 劍浦 (modern-day Fujian), the central town of the prefecture of Southern Jian 南劍州. Geographically, Jianpu was located west of Yang Shi’s hometown, Jiangle 將樂. Not only did these two men come from the same prefecture, but their paths in life also overlapped. According to Yang’s epitaph for Wu Yi, they had known each other since their youth.²⁵

Yang’s first letter to Wu Guohua was possibly written in late 1086, since it mentions that “the court initiated a reform in the civil service examinations and abandoned Wang’s learning 朝廷議更科舉，遂廢王氏之學.”²⁶ The Yuanyou 元祐 (1086–1094) reform of the civil service examinations started in 1086, when Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) petitioned the court to establish a regular degree in Classical studies – the Degree of the Comprehension of Classics and Appropriate Behavior 經明行修.²⁷ Yang’s letter also complained that contemporary scholars

²⁴ See Qi Xia 漆俠, *Songxue de fazhan yu yanbian* 宋學的發展與演變 (Shijiangzhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2002), pp. 521–24; Tsuchida, *Daoxue zhi xingcheng*, pp. 430–44; Xia, “Jiepu zhixue dadi zhili,” pp. 140–43; Ge, “Zhi sixiang yu zhengzhishi beijing zhi zhong,” p. 374. Only a small portion of Yang Shi’s critical comments on Wang Anshi are preserved in Yang’s collected works; Yang, “Wangshi Zishuo bian” 王氏字說辨, in *YSJ*, pp. 143–60. Yang’s most important critique of Wang Anshi’s scholarship, i.e., *Sanjing yibian* 三經義辨 (*Critique on Wang Anshi’s New Commentaries on the Three Classics*), has been lost; see Peng Guoxiang 彭國翔, “Yang Shi Sanjing yibian kaolun” 楊時三經義辨考論, in idem, *Jinshi ruxue de bianzheng yu gouchen* 近世儒學的辨正與鉤沉 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2013), pp. 30–51.

²⁵ Yang, “Wu Guohua muzhiming” 吳國華墓誌銘, in *YSJ*, pp. 782–83.

²⁶ Yang, “Yu Wu Guohua biezhi” 與吳國華別紙, in *YSJ*, p. 467.

²⁷ *XCB*, j. 371, p. 8974–8980. Concerning the Degree of the Comprehension of Classics and Appropriate Behavior, see Liang Gengyao 梁庚堯, *Songdai keju shehui* 宋代科舉社會 (Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2015), pp. 28–29. For a general description of the Yuanyou reform of the civil examinations, see Cheung Hiu Yu, “Cong Huangyin shijian zailun Yuanyou chuqi zhengju yu dangzheng” 從黃隱事件再論元祐初期政局與黨爭, *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 66 (2018), pp. 12–13.

knew little about the real threat of Wang's learning.²⁸ After criticizing Wang Anshi, Yang Shi raised his concern that the abandonment of Wang's learning in the Yuanyou era was so sudden that scholars – who were accustomed to Wang's learning and had no idea of what new course to take – would “crawl on their knees to return (to Wang Anshi) 將有匍匐而歸者矣。”²⁹

The key question in Yang Shi's first letter is explicit: who should scholars follow in the post-Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085) period, when Wang Anshi retreated from the central government? After all, Wang Anshi's learning was still prevalent in the 1080s. Wang's *Sanjing xinyi* 三經新義 (*New Commentaries on the Three Classics*) had been included in the curriculum of the civil service examinations since 1075. At the end of his first letter, Yang Shi inquired if Wu Yi could inform him of some alternative method for enlightening young scholars.³⁰ In Yang Shi's opinion, this was a question with a default answer – only the Cheng brothers' learning could save the intellectual world contaminated by Wang Anshi. Notably, before Yang Shi wrote the first letter to Wu Yi, he had already recognized himself as the Cheng brothers' “disciple” (*menren*). When Cheng Hao died in 1085, Yang personally made a spirit tablet for him and wrote a funeral oration, in which he mentioned: “I have sent the obituary notice of Cheng Hao to my schoolmates 而以書訃諸嘗同學者。”³¹ This wording used created an impression that Yang Shi was at the heart of the community surrounding the Cheng brothers.

Wu Yi's reply to Yang Shi is not extant, but we can still reconstruct Wu's view based on Yang's second letter, which was written during the period from late 1086 to early 1087. Based on the rhetoric of Yang Shi's second letter, it seems that he was disappointed with Wu's reply. At the beginning of Yang's second letter, he said that he dared not claim to be a “partisan” (*dang*) of the Cheng brothers' circle because he “only passed by the door of (the thought of) the Cheng brothers, but never entered it 且某於程氏之門，所謂過其藩未入其域者也。”³² This expression can be interpreted as Yang Shi's expression of modesty. However, as mentioned, in the late 1080s Yang was definitely not someone who “had never entered the door of the Cheng brothers.”

Yang Shi's denial of his relations with the circle of Cheng brothers could also be interpreted as a natural response to Wu Yi's reply letter,

²⁸ Yang, “Yu Wu Guohua biezhì,” in *YSJ*, p. 467.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Yang, “Ai mingdao xiansheng” 哀明道先生, in *YSJ*, p. 732.

³² Yang, “Da Wu Guohua” 答吳國華, in *YSJ*, p. 468.

in which Wu probably suspected that the underlying motive of Yang Shi's first letter was for promoting the learning of the Cheng brothers. After his denial, Yang Shi argued: "The shortcomings of Wang Anshi's learning are so obvious that everyone can see and hear them, so surely there is no need to wait to attack it. What fault would the attackers of Wang's learning have? 夫王氏之學, 其失在人耳目, 誠不待攻, 而攻之者亦何罪耶?"³³ Yang Shi's rhetorical question clearly reflects Wu's suspicion of Yang's motive in writing the first letter.

In the later part of his second letter to Wu Yi, Yang Shi admitted that he had intentionally condemned Wang Anshi's learning in his first letter. Yang argued that the "sagely teaching" (*shengxue* 聖學) of Confucius had been lost since the time of Mencius. He then lamented that the rise of "heterodox learning 異端" in the contemporary world was even more dangerous than the two heresies of Yang Zhu 楊朱 and Mo Di 墨翟, which Mencius condemned. Certainly, "heterodox learning" here refers to Wang Anshi's learning. "Fortunately," as Yang Shi claimed, "there is still 'someone' who achieved the Way of the Sages 幸而有得聖人之道者."³⁴ Nevertheless, if the "students 徒" of that "someone" did not dare to make a clear distinction between true and false learning, lest they be labeled a partisan of that person, "then what else could people of the world rely upon to understand the Way 則世之人亦何賴乎知道者哉?"³⁵ The "someone" in Yang Shi's letter could only be Cheng Hao, and the "disciples" clearly included Yang himself. In the final analysis, Yang revealed his true intent in writing the letter: he wanted to promote the "sagely teaching" of his master by clearly distinguishing between Wang Anshi's "heterodox learning" and Cheng Hao's "sagely teaching."

Yang Shi's shift of tone in the second letter is fascinating. At the beginning, he explained that he did not dare to attach himself to the Cheng brothers as a "partisan." I would read this as Yang Shi's attempt to deny the existence of a political clique centered on Cheng Yi. The clique, as historians have shown, indeed existed.³⁶ Given the tension between different political factions in the Yuanyou era, it is understandable that Yang Shi regarded the term "partisan" as taboo. Nonetheless, his affirmation of the Cheng brothers' learning and his attachment to

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 469; italics mine.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Levine, *Divided by a Common Language*, pp. 99-125; Qi, *Songxue de fazhan yu yanbian*, pp. 488-507; Cheung, "Cong Huangyin shijian," pp. 14-19. Luo Jiexiang 羅家祥, *Bei Song dangzheng yanjiu* 北宋黨爭研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993), pp. 179-208.

that learning was another issue. In his second letter to Wu Yi, Yang Shi stated that scholars should promote and defend the “sagely teaching” revealed by the Cheng brothers. In Yang’s opinion, defending Cheng brothers’ learning was an intellectual responsibility of the “comrades who shared the Way” (*tongdao* 同道) that transcended the boundary of factional interests.³⁷ Hence, Yang wrote the second letter to Wu to see whether they were truly “comrades” and shared the same Way that was enlightened by the Cheng brothers.

Nevertheless, Wu Yi disappointed Yang Shi. Besides Wu’s suspicion of Yang’s motive in criticizing the intellectual enemy of the Cheng brothers, Wu disagreed with Yang’s assertion that Wang Anshi was ignorant of the Way, but only admitted that Wang was incapable of fully practicing the Way 盡道.³⁸ Most importantly, Wu doubted if Wang’s learning had really been removed from the civil service examinations, since no relevant edict had been promulgated.³⁹ Wu’s doubt is critical, because it reveals the fact that Wang’s learning was not removed from the examination curriculum during the Yuanyou period. Moreover, in both central and local government schools, supervisors and teachers could still freely select the teaching materials among various commentaries and annotations on the Classics to instruct their students.⁴⁰ The core texts of Wang Anshi’s *Sanjing xinyi* were still used as a significant reference by examination candidates.⁴¹ To answer Wu’s inquiry, Yang declared that since Wang Anshi’s *Zishuo* had been banned in official schools, the “abandonment of Wang’s learning had come into effect, despite the lack of clear instructions from the court 則名雖未廢而實廢之矣。”⁴² Perhaps Yang noted how weak his statement was, and so concluded his letter by saying, “a gentleman had better not focus on this issue of abandonment 廢不廢, 君子何容心哉。”⁴³

In Wu Yi’s case, Yang Shi’s persuasion was ineffectual.⁴⁴ Although later Daoxue scholars categorized Wu Yi as a follower of Yang Shi and

³⁷ Yang, “Da Wu Guohua,” in *YSJ*, p. 469.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 471.

⁴⁰ *XCB*, j. 371, p. 8976.

⁴¹ Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848) et al., *Songhuiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), Xuanju 選舉, j. 3, p. 50.

⁴² Yang, “Da Wu Guohua,” in *YSJ*, p. 471.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ In a 1517 edition of Yang Shi’s collected works, there is an additional letter from Yang Shi to Wu Yi. In that short letter, Yang Shi expressed his gratitude for Wu’s positive attitude toward his “last letter” (*qianshu* 前書), i.e., the second letter. However, at the end of the letter, Yang acknowledged that he and Wu understood the Way differently. Yang, “Da Wu Guohua qi’er” 答吳國華其二, in *YSJ*, p. 472.

hence the Cheng brothers,⁴⁵ Yang himself acknowledged that Wu's scholarship was different from that of the Cheng brothers because it focused mainly on geomancy and ritual court music.⁴⁶ In the 1080s, a radical stance against Wang Anshi's learning might have seemed too radical to local scholars since they had immersed themselves in Wang's learning for over a decade.

Moreover, Yang's condemnation of Wang Anshi and his learning reflects not only a desire to replace Wang's learning with the Cheng brothers' scholarship, but also his endeavor to challenge Wang's tremendous influence in the 1080s.⁴⁷ An anecdote of the same period mentions how Yang Shi could deduce Wang Anshi's distortion of the Confucian Way part by part, when he read several pieces of New Learning writings with Cheng Hao. Cheng Yi also acknowledged that "Yang Shi was super smart 楊某煞聰明" in his criticism of the New Learning.⁴⁸

Wang Anshi's shadow haunted Yang Shi till his late years, during which he revealed himself as an adamant, fierce critic of Wang's learning. In 1126, when he criticized the chief councilor Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047–1126) for corruption and villainy, Yang attributed Cai's misconduct to his continuation of Wang Anshi's intentions.⁴⁹ According to Yang Shi, it was Wang Anshi who introduced the corrupt policies that were further developed by Cai Jing.⁵⁰ Along with his criticism on Wang Anshi, Yang Shi, as the lecturer in the Classical Colloquium (*jingyan* 經筵) for emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1125–1127), promoted Cheng Yi's

⁴⁵ See, for example, the Qing scholar Li Qingfu's 李清馥 work, *Minzhong lixue yuanyuan kao* 閩中理學淵源考 (Wenyuange 文淵閣 SKQS edn.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), vol. 460, j. 10, pp. 34a–35b.

⁴⁶ Yang, "Wu Guohua muzhiming," in *YSJ*, p. 783.

⁴⁷ In his critique of Wang Anshi's personal diary, Yang Shi acknowledged that Wang was, in effect, "the leader of mainstream Confucians in the empire 為天下儒宗"; Yang, "Shenzong rilu bian" 神宗日錄辯, in *YSJ*, p. 130. Certainly, the context of this phrase is critical, since Yang asserted that Wang Anshi failed to wield his influence and power as a master-official (*shichen* 師臣) to lead Confucians and also emperor Shenzong.

⁴⁸ Zhu Xi and Li Youwu 李幼武, eds., *Song mingchen yanxinglu waiji* 宋名臣言行錄外集 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1967), j. 8, p. 5b.

⁴⁹ Yang, "Shang Qinzong huangdi qiqi" 上欽宗皇帝其七, in *YSJ*, pp. 29–30; also see Xia Changpu, "Jiepu zhixue dadi zhili," p. 141. For a detailed analysis of Cai's career and his biographical data in Song sources, see Charles Hartman, "A Textual History of Cai Jing's Biography in the *Songshi*," in Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asian Center, 2006), pp. 517–64.

⁵⁰ For an analysis of Yang's criticism of Wang Anshi in 1126, see Chu Ming-kin, *The Politics of Higher Education: The Imperial University in Northern Song China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P., 2020), pp. 198–99; Jaeyoon Song, *Traces of Grand Peace: Classics and State Activism in Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 2015), pp. 320–22.

understanding of statecraft by elucidating the very idea of “Daoxue” as Learning of the Way, based on his interpretation of some passages in the *Analects*. Basically, Yang argued that only worthy ministers and benevolent gentlemen who have been influenced by the “Learning of the Way” could obtain the “sharpened tools 利器” to practice that learning.⁵¹ His interpretation provides an obvious assumption: reformist politicians and thinkers like Wang Anshi lacked the “sharpened tools” to practice “the Learning of the Way”; and only those who truly understood that Way could accomplish it.

Despite Yang Shi’s endeavor, the Cheng brothers’ Daoxue was much less noticeable in the late Northern Song than Wang Anshi’s New Learning. Yang’s criticism toward Wang and his promotion of Cheng Yi during Qingzong’s reign were still ineffectual, because his aggressive attitude had enraged scholar-officials who still respected Wang. Apart from raising severe criticism on the predominant learning of Wang Anshi, the Cheng brothers’ disciples needed to make other efforts to transmit and spread their masters’ learning. Central to these efforts was the compilation of the texts and “collected sayings” (*yulu* 語錄) of the Cheng brothers. However, this task would soon prove to be even more difficult for the disciples than the condemnation of Wang Anshi’s learning.

DIRECT GUIDANCE OF CHENG YI AND THE TRANSMISSION OF HIS TEXTS

Cheng Yi left more texts and collected sayings than Cheng Hao did; nevertheless, Cheng Yi himself did not trust textual records. Yin Tun, an important disciple, recalled how Cheng cast doubt on the contemporary records of his teachings:

When I (Yin Tun) was twenty years old, I had a chance to follow Master Cheng and to be taught by him. Twenty years have passed since then. I remember that I once got the *Miscellaneous Record* edited by Zhu Gongshan. I presented it to Master Cheng and asked him, “Should I read it?” Master Cheng told me to leave the *Record* for half a month. One day I mentioned the work again and asked Master Cheng, “How is the *Miscellaneous Record* I left to you earlier?” The Master responded: “I am still alive. What is the need to

⁵¹ Yang, “Jingyan jiangyi” 經筵講義, in *YSJ*, p. 101. For the original *Analects* text that deals with the relationship between “the sharpening of tools” and statecraft, see Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 1979), pp. 150–51.

read this? If you do not understand my mind, but only memorize the text of the *Record*, would that not be a problem?

焯年二十，始登師門，被教誘，諄諄垂二十年。昔得朱公揆所編雜說，呈先生：“此書可觀否？”先生留半月。一日請曰：“前所留雜說如何？”先生曰：“某在，何必觀此？若不得某心，只是記得他意，豈不有差？”⁵²

The *Miscellaneous Record* referred to was Zhu Gongshan's 朱公揆 (1037–1094) record of Cheng Yi's teachings. Zhu was initially Cheng Hao's student and followed Cheng Yi after Cheng Hao's death. According to Yin Tun's record, it was Liu Tangxun 劉唐詢 who showed him the *Miscellaneous Record*, and he received it with great pleasure.⁵³ However, Cheng Yi preferred teaching through his direct instruction, rather than following other peoples' records of his sayings and deeds, even if these records were compiled by his close students.

Cheng Yi's anxiety about textual records had a compelling reason. As Peter Shillingsburg argues, textual authority is granted by the parties who share the power to confer the production of texts.⁵⁴ It is difficult for the author to monopolize the explanation of his text after it has been produced. Having witnessed the increasing reliance on printing at the end of the eleventh century, Cheng Yi was concerned about the possible distortion of his teachings through the textual records compiled by his students. Moreover, even if the textual records were correct, Cheng Yi still doubted that scholars who read these texts could really understand his mind. In this light, Cheng's criticism of Zhu Gongshan's *Miscellaneous Record* reveals anxiety over of the power of interpretations. Indeed, Cheng Yi considered the spread of textual records about his teachings as a distraction from his direct guidance. In a conversation with Yin Tun, Cheng lamented that most contemporary textual records about his Daoxue teachings were problematic, since only a few scholars had studied under his direct guidance 親灸.⁵⁵

⁵² “Shi shuo” 師說, in Yin Tun 尹焯, *Hejing Yinxiangsheng wenji* 和靖尹先生文集 (hereafter, *Hejing*) as given in Shu, *Song ji zhenben congkan*, vol. 32, j. 8, pp. 3b–4a. Yin Tun's collected works in *Song ji zhenben congkan* were based on a more reliable Ming edition (1530). For basic information about the editions of Yin Tun's collected works, see Zhu Shangshu 祝尚書, *Song ren bieji xulu* 宋人別集敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp. 681–84.

⁵³ There is another passage in the extant version of Yin Tun's collected works that describes the same story. It was also under the category of Yin's personal memoirs of Cheng Yi teachings. “Shi shuo,” in *Hejing*, j. 7, pp. 4b–5a.

⁵⁴ Peter Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice*; cited from Susan Cherniack, “Book Culture and textual transmission in Sung China,” *HJAS* 54 (1994), pp. 26–27.

⁵⁵ “Ti Yichuan xiansheng yulu” 題伊川先生語錄, in *Hejing*, j. 4, pp. 5b–6a.

Among these students, Cheng stated that only Li Yu could correctly record his teacher's sayings without making serious mistakes.⁵⁶

Cheng Yi's doubts about the interpretive power of such teaching records left a deep impression on Yin Tun.⁵⁷ Yin reiterated Cheng Yi's criticism twice in his prefaces to collected sayings of Cheng.⁵⁸ When in 1137 Yin Tun's disciple Wang Shimin 王時敏 asked Yin about the credibility of the prevalent records of Cheng Yi's sayings, Yin showed him these prefaces and warned him about the danger of reliance on them. Furthermore, Yin emphasized that students of Cheng Yi might produce different records of Cheng's sayings given their respective levels of understanding their master's learning and ways of expression.⁵⁹

According to Lü Qizhong 呂稽中, Yin Tun's disciple, Yin was generally dissatisfied with most records of Cheng Yi's teachings in his time.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Yin Tun sometimes consulted his friends about them. He wrote to Xie Tianshen 謝天申, a Wenzhou 溫州 scholar who had studied with Cheng Yi, to ask if Xie had collected any of Cheng Yi's writings or records of Cheng's conversations with other scholars.⁶¹ In another letter, Yin thanked Xie for sending him a collection of Cheng Yi's miscellaneous sayings.⁶² One particular detail in the letter demonstrates Yin Tun's meticulous attention to all textual records about Cheng Yi. Zhang Yi 張繹, another Cheng Yi disciple, had written a funeral oration on Cheng Yi, and Xie copied that oration and sent it to Yin Tun. In his thank-you letter to Xie, Yin emphasized that he, Yin, was also present at the funeral service, together with Zhang Yi and two other scholars.⁶³ Furthermore, Yin indicated that it would be a good idea to list the funeral attendees in the oration by Zhang, for the sake of accuracy; but possibly, for Yin it would serve to announce his own prominence as a core member of Cheng Yi's circle.

Like Cheng Yi, Yin Tun emphasized the personal and direct guidance from teachers more than their written statements. Yet, direct

⁵⁶ See Zhu Xi's quote of Cheng Yi's words in Zhu's annotated content for the Cheng brothers' collected sayings, "Mulu" 目錄, in Wang, *Ercheng ji*, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Aware of his master's disapproval of the *Miscellaneous Record*, Yin Tun did not dare to ask about that work again. "Shi shuo," in *Hejing*, j. 7, pp. 4b-5a.

⁵⁸ "Shishuo xu" 師說序, in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 4b; "Ti Yichuan xiansheng yulu," in *Hejing*, j. 4, pp. 5b-6a.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5b. Yin also pointed out that "some prevailing historical writings" (*shiping* 史評) bearing Cheng Yi's name were not composed by Cheng.

⁶⁰ Lü Qizhong 呂稽中, "Lü Deyuan zhuan muzhiming" 呂德元撰墓誌銘, in *Hejing*, j. 10, p. 6a.

⁶¹ "Da Xie Yongxiu shu" 答謝用休書, in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 12b.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 12a.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

guidance cannot always result in the reliable transmission of a teachers' scholarship. Cheng Yi sometimes mentioned how some of the students who had followed him for a long time still were muddled about the teachings. His criticism of Hou Shisheng 侯師聖, who was the son of the Cheng brothers' cousin, demonstrates how even the reliability of direct guidance given to the teacher's own relative could be placed in doubt. Thus Cheng Yi said about Hou the following: "Hou Shisheng's opinions can only be listened from next door (because his opinions are meaningless and do not deserve attention) 侯師聖議論, 只好隔壁聽."⁶⁴ Although Hou's opinions were developed directly under Cheng, they were unreliable from Cheng's perspective.

Even while considering the limits of textual records, Yin still compiled his own collection of Cheng Yi's sayings under the title *Shishuo* 師說, possibly because he recognized how the booming print culture would profoundly influence the transmission of Cheng Yi's scholarship.⁶⁵ In 1127, with help from his students, Yin Tun fled to Sichuan 四川 to escape the Jurchen massacre in Luoyang, his residence at that time.⁶⁶ When he arrived in Sichuan, Yin found several different printed editions of Cheng Yi's sayings. Dissatisfied with these editions, Yin compiled his own *Shishuo*. Seemingly, Yin believed his *Shishuo* was free from the loss of authenticity in the process of textual production, because he had received direct guidance from Cheng Yi and was capable to collect the authentic sayings of his teacher.

The Transmission of Cheng Yi's Yijing Commentary

Apart from the collected sayings of Cheng Yi, Yin Tun was also concerned about Cheng's scholarly writing, especially Cheng's commentary on the *Book of Changes* – a work titled *Yichuan Yizhuan* 伊川易傳 (literally, *Yi River Commentary on the Book of Changes*; hereafter, *Yizhuan*). Yin Tun himself claimed that the *Yizhuan* was Cheng Yi's only extant monograph, and that by means of it later scholars might understand fully his learning. Previous studies have considered the *Yizhuan* commentary as Cheng Yi's representative work and have recognized its core ideas, especially its primary occupation with the metaphysics of *li* 理

⁶⁴ Zhu Xi, ed., *Henan Chengshi waishu* 河南程氏外書, in Wang, *Ercheng ji*, j. 11, p. 417.

⁶⁵ For the ascendancy of Song printing culture and its influence on the spread of literati's collected works, see Cherniack, "Book culture and textual transmission in Sung China," pp. 29–47; Joseph P. McDermott, "Book Collecting in Jiangxi during the Song Dynasty," in Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerd, eds., *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 63–101.

⁶⁶ See the biography of Yin Tun at the beginning of the 1530 edition of his collected works, in *Hejing*, j. 1, pp. 5b–8b.

and moral cultivation as the key to Cheng Yi's philosophy.⁶⁷ Despite the crucial role of *Yizhuan* in the consolidation of Cheng Yi's scholarship, its textual transmission has received scant attention.⁶⁸

For such a textual history, it is crucial to know that it was not Cheng Yi, but his disciples, who finalized, printed, and published *Yizhuan* as a complete text. In a letter to Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084–1145), Yin Tun recalled how he and other students studied the *Book of Changes* under Cheng Yi's guidance. According to Yin's memory, Cheng Yi began by explaining previous interpretations of the *Book of Changes* to his students. When the students raised questions about the interpretations, Cheng Yi showed them his drafted commentaries on each of the hexagram images (*xiang* 象) that were part of the primary, ancient textual layer of the *Book of Changes*. Notably, Cheng kept the draft commentaries in a storage box 巾箱, and when Cheng approached the end of his life, he passed them to Zhang Yi "piece by piece in separate envelopes 連封." According to Cheng's own words, he hoped that Zhang could polish the wordings and compile them into a complete volume in the future.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, Zhang died within one year of his master's death.

Later, however, Zhu Xi told a different story about the textual transmission of Cheng Yi's *Yizhuan*. In his chronological biography (*nianpu* 年譜) of Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi mentioned that Cheng had finalized his *Yizhuan* and, before his death, passed it to Zhang Yi and Yin Tun.⁷⁰ Since Zhu Xi's chronological biography had been conventionally considered as the authoritative record on Cheng Yi, few historians have questioned Zhu's narrative about the *Yizhuan's* textual transmission.

Nevertheless, Zhu Xi made a mistake about this. If the *Yizhuan* text had been finalized by Cheng Yi himself and passed on to Yin Tun, why would Yin only mention Zhang Yi in his letter to Lü Benzhong? Furthermore, Yin Tun told Lü Benzhong that he "did not know whether or not the circulating edition of *Yizhuan* was a complete edition 全書與不全書亦未可知."⁷¹ If Yin had received a complete edition of *Yizhuan*

⁶⁷ For some examples, see Kidder Smith Jr. et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 2016), pp. 136–68, and Hon Tze-ki, *The Yijing and Chinese Politics: Classical Commentary and Literati Activism in the Northern Song Period, 960–1127* (Albany: SUNY P., 2005), pp. 110–40, as well as the introduction in the recent English translation, Michael Harrington et al., trans., *The Yi River Commentary on the Book of Changes* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2019), pp. 1–15.

⁶⁸ A general overview of the *Yizhuan's* textual history can be found in Jiang Haijun's 姜海軍, "Chengshi Yizhuan de chengshu ji liuchuan kao" 程氏易傳的成書及流傳考, *Zhouyi yanjiu* 周易研究 (2007.5), pp. 64–68.

⁶⁹ "Shi shuo," in *Hejing*, j. 7, pp. 5b–6a.

⁷⁰ Zhu, "Yichuan xiansheng nianpu" 伊川先生年譜, in Wang, *Ercheng ji*, p. 345.

⁷¹ "Shi shuo," j. 7, p. 6a.

from Cheng, how could he not even know the completeness of the circulating edition? In addition, Lü Benzhong heard from his grandfather Lü Xizhe 呂希哲 (1039–1116) that Cheng Yi had only randomly annotated the hexagram “Image” texts, which accorded with Yin Tun’s memory.⁷² Lastly and most importantly, in a letter written during his last years, Cheng Yi stated that he had not transmitted *Yizhuan* to anybody because the book had not yet been completed.⁷³ All direct and indirect evidence points to the same conclusion: the exemplary text of Cheng Yi’s learning, namely, *Yizhuan*, was not finalized by Cheng himself. Moreover, none of the “complete versions” of *Yizhuan* had been examined by Cheng Yi, because they were all produced after his death. (See the figure to follow, the left-side filiation.)

As the *Yizhuan* in its earliest, manuscript, form was incomplete, Cheng’s disciples and followers attempted to compile and edit their own versions. After Zhang Yi’s early death, his son gave (sold?) Zhang’s polished version of Cheng Yi’s *Yizhuan* to Gao Kang 高閔 (1097–1153), a Zhejiang 浙江 scholar who admired Cheng Yi’s scholarship and studied with Yang Shi. Based on Zhang’s polished version of *Yizhuan*, Gao compiled and printed a complete version of Cheng’s *Yizhuan* in the early twelfth century. This version was named the “*Cixi* edition” 慈谿本 (the word *Cixi* referring to Gao Kang’s hometown, Mingzhou).⁷⁴ It soon became a circulating edition (*tongxing ben* 通行本) in the 1120s.

In addition to Gao Kang’s *Cixi* edition, Yin Tun himself also partook in the compilation project. In a letter to Wang Pin that dates from the 1130s, Yin thanked him for sending a circulating edition of *Yizhuan*.⁷⁵ Yin suspected that the edition that Wang Pin sent him was a later composition based on Gao’s *Cixi* edition. He then collated the texts in this edition with those in the *Cixi* edition, and marked down all the differences in an attachment to his reply-letter to Wang Pin.⁷⁶

⁷² “Shi shuo,” *j.* 7, p. 5b.

⁷³ “Da Zhang Hongzhong shu” 答張閔中書, in Zhu, *Henan Chengshi wenji*, *j.* 9, p. 615.

⁷⁴ “Shi shuo,” in *Hejing*, *j.* 7, p. 6a. Gao Kang belonged to an influential elite family in the Mingzhou 明州 area. Concerning the history of the Gao family and especially Gao Kang’s role in the transmission of Cheng Yi’s learning, see Huang Kuanchung 黃寬重, “Luoxue yixu: Gao shi jiazhu de xueshu yu zhengzhi queze” 洛學遺緒, 高氏家族的學術與政治扶擇, in idem, *Songdai de jiazhu yu shehui* 宋代的家族與社會 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 2006), pp. 175–200.

⁷⁵ Yin Tun finished his own compilation of the *Yizhuan* in 1132/7/25. His correspondence with Wang Pin in discussing *Yizhuan* editions should be prior to that date; Huang Shiyi 黃士毅, *Hejing xiansheng nianpu* 和靖先生年譜, *Songren nianpu congkan* 宋人年譜叢刊 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2003), vol. 6, p. 3585.

⁷⁶ “Hejing Yinxiangsheng shu yi” 和靜尹先生書一, in Wang, *Song zhuzuo Wang xiansheng wenji*, *j.* 4, p. 2a–b. For this letter, I used a Qing ms. of the collected works of Wang Pin that was collected in *Song ji zhenben congkan*. It is a copy of the 1490 Ming edn., thus more reliable than the same letter given in the 1530 edn. of Yin Tun’s collected works. For Yin’s let-

Yin Tun expected that Wang Pin would help him in compiling a reliable *Yizhuan* edition because Wang Pin possessed more resources with regard to the manuscripts. Indeed, Wang Pin did send Yin Tun a postscript to *Yizhuan* that was written by Xie Liangzuo.⁷⁷

Owing to his respect for Cheng Yi and his doubt about the textual transmission, Yin Tun was extremely cautious in his compilation of *Yizhuan*.⁷⁸ Yin's cautiousness demonstrates for us not only that he venerated Cheng's scholarship but also the authenticity of that very scholarship. To him, the direct guidance from Cheng Yi was irreplaceable. Nevertheless, a reliable edition of Cheng's lifetime work, the *Yizhuan*, would help consolidate Cheng's teachings and offer an opportunity for other scholars to acquaint themselves with Cheng's core ideas.

Regarding the compilation project of the *Yizhuan*, other disciples were much more aggressive than Yin Tun. When Yang Shi acquired a manuscript of *Yizhuan* from Xie Liangzuo in the early 1110s, he soon decided to compile a finalized edition. Several years later, by 1114, Yang had finished what he called the "proofreading" (*jiaozheng* 校正) of *Yizhuan*.⁷⁹ (The figure, below, indicates this on the right-side.) In his preface, Yang admitted that his edition might contain some errors because he did not have an opportunity to discuss the text with Cheng Yi in person.⁸⁰ However, Yang still considered his compiled *Yizhuan* to be an important source through which scholars could "comprehend the true meaning 得其意" of his teacher's learning.⁸¹

Under the influence of Yang Shi's words, scholars conventionally saw Yang Shi's compiled version as the authentic and orthodox transmission of Cheng Yi's *Yizhuan*.⁸² The question is: to what extent did Yang Shi's *Yizhuan* really reflect the "true meaning" of Cheng Yi? The answer lies in Yang Shi's private letter to You Zuo, right after Yang acquired the *Yizhuan* manuscript from Xie Liangzuo in 1112.⁸³ Yang declared: "Cheng Yi intended to let his disciples complete the *Yizhuan*

ter in his own collected works, with slightly different wordings, see "Da Wang Xingbo" 答王信伯, in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 9a-b.

⁷⁷ "Hejing Yin xiansheng shu yi," in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 2a.

⁷⁸ An anecdote about Yin Tun tells that Yin refused to answer his junior schoolmates' questions when Cheng Yi was alive, because he was worried that his answers might distract his schoolmates from understanding Cheng Yi's teachings. "Shi shuo," in *Hejing*, j. 8, p. 8a-b.

⁷⁹ "Yang Guishan xiansheng nianpu" 楊龜山先生年譜, in *YJS*, p. 1161.

⁸⁰ Yang, "Jiaozheng Yichuan Yizhuan houxu" 校正伊川易傳後序, in *YJS*, pp. 675-76.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 676.

⁸² For example, see Yang Weisheng 楊渭生, *Nan Song lixue yidai zongshi Yang Shi yanjiu* 南宋理學一代宗師楊時研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2018), pp. 43-44.

⁸³ This manuscript was an incomplete edn., according to its postscript by Xie Liangzuo.

(for him); therefore, he put the preface in this way 先生亦嘗有意令門人成之，故其序述如此。⁸⁴ Thus, Yang Shi indicated that he and Xie were actually fulfilling their master's wish by compiling his *Yizhuan*.

However, what Yang failed to mention is that his compiled *Yizhuan* was different from Cheng's storage-box original in terms of specific philosophical points. For example, Yang found it difficult to understand a particular phrase in Cheng Yi's drafted preface to *Yizhuan* in which Cheng stated, "[One] goes with the times to make changes; thereby one is following the Way 隨時變易以從道."⁸⁵ Yang himself understood "change" (*yi* 易) and "Way" (*dao* 道) as the same thing. He interpreted Cheng's phrase as a rhetorical expression that pointed to the dynamic nature of "change."⁸⁶ But he was not certain about his own interpretation and therefore asked You Zuo in the letter.

You Zuo's reply, which was collected by You's disciples in a monograph called *Yishuo* 易說, further explicated "change" as the implementation of the Way 易者，道之用也。⁸⁷ In You Zuo's opinion, by being the implementation of the Way, "change" naturally conveyed a meaning of "follow with, or conform 從."⁸⁸ More interestingly, You quoted a famous saying from the *Laozi* 老子: "Dao follows the laws of Nature 道法自然," to explain why Cheng Yi wrote this specific statement in his preface.⁸⁹ Considering Cheng Yi's hostility toward the classic Daoist text, *Laozi*, seeing it as a heterodox teaching, this explanation actually has nothing to do with Cheng Yi's original interpretation of the idea of "change."⁹⁰ It only reflects You Zuo's own conception of the relationship between "change" and "the Way."

Given that You Zuo and Yang Shi interpreted Cheng Yi's preface in their own personal ways, it is hard to believe that they would faithfully preserve the incomplete and fragmentary state of the original *Yizhuan* version. Yang Shi acknowledged that he had spent over one

See Huang Shiyi, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao* 朱子語類彙校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2017), j. 101, p. 2551.

⁸⁴ Yang, "Yu You Dingfu qiwu" 與游定夫其五, in *YSSJ*, p. 513. The preface mentioned here refers to Cheng Yi's drafted one.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ *Yishuo*, in You Zuo, *Youzhishan ji* 游廡山集 (Wenyuange SKQS edn.), j. 2, p. 38a.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 38b.

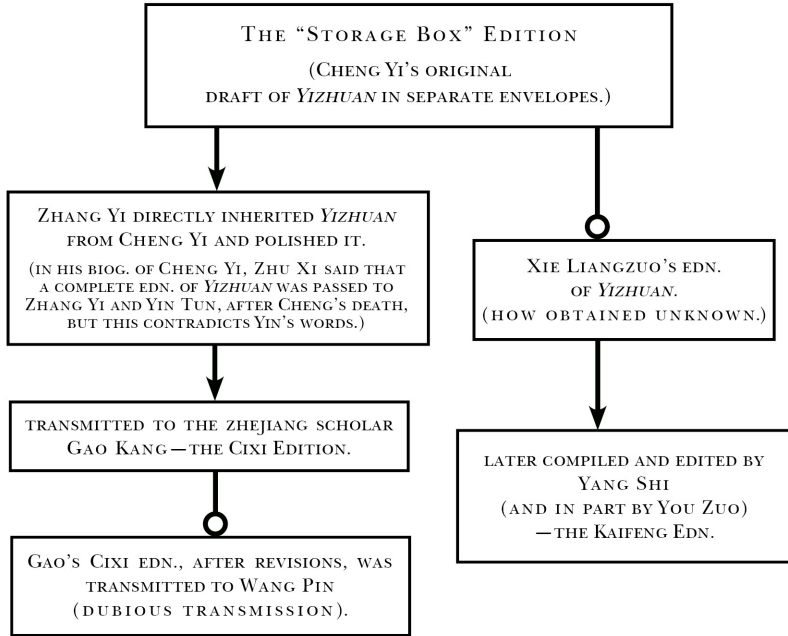
⁹⁰ Zhu Xi had criticized You Zuo for his inaccurate record of Cheng Yi's sayings. Zhu considered that You Zuo was contaminated by Wang Anshi's learning and hence put Wang's words into Cheng Yi's mouth. See Zhu and Li, *Song mingchen yanxinglu waiji*, j. 7, p. 1944. Also see Huang, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, j. 97, pp. 2467–68.

year to “proofread” it and delete repetitive sections, because the manuscript he received from Xie Liangzuo was full of “errors” and “almost incomprehensible 幾不可讀.”⁹¹ Thus, the finalized version by Yang Shi must have been more “comprehensive” than the original manuscript of Cheng Yi’s *Yizhuan* stored in separate envelopes. In the formative stage of an intellectual tradition, a complete and readable text can be effective in attracting a wider audience for a master’s teachings. In this light, Yang Shi’s *Yizhuan* compilation consolidated not only the text itself but also gave it a central role in Cheng Yi’s scholarship. With Yang Shi’s complete version, as well as Gao Kang’s *Cixi* edition, later Daoxue scholars like Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074–1138) and Zhu Xi were able to add new blocks to the edifice that made up Cheng’s teachings on the *Book of Changes*. However, Yang’s *Yizhuan* edition might also have left later scholars with a skewed perception of Cheng Yi’s interpretations of the *Changes*, since they will have assumed that Yang’s revised and compiled text reflected Cheng Yi’s original ideas. In fact, Yang’s “complete” *Yizhuan* text might have been responsible for Zhu Xi’s perception that it was the most important text of Cheng’s teaching because of the complete and well-organized form that it bore in Zhu’s own time.

Although we have no access to the 1114 *Yizhuan* manuscript finalized by Yang Shi, we now know that it must have been different from Cheng Yi’s original in both form and content. It should also be different from Yin Tun’s *Yizhuan*, which emphasized more the text’s well-documented provenance that could be linked back to Cheng Yi than its readability and completeness. So far, I have not found any evidence that would serve to document a direct communication between Yang Shi and Yin Tun about the compilation of Cheng’s *Yizhuan*. But it is clear that Yang and Yin adopted different ways to deal with the textual relics of their master Cheng Yi.

⁹¹ Yang, “Jiaozheng Yichuan Yizhuan hou xu,” in *YSSJ*, p. 675.

Figure. The Early Textual Filiation of Cheng Yi's Yizhuan



The only solidly provenanced filiation is on the left side of the above figure, even with the contestable opinion of Zhu Xi. And on the right there is a dubious transmission of *Yizhuan* from the “storage-box” version to the Kaifeng edition, which was successively edited by Xie Liangzuo, You Zuo, and Yang Shi. But whether this Kaifeng edition came about from direct or indirect transmissions from the “storage box” or from Xie cannot be known. It is also possible that the Kaifeng edition came from some other sources entirely.

The Transmission of Cheng Yi's Collected Sayings

The difference between Yang Shi and Yin Tun is more obvious in the case of the compilation of Cheng Yi's collected sayings. Their compilation of Cheng Yi's collected sayings became known chiefly as *Shishuo* 師說, *Chengshi yulu* 程氏語錄, and *Chengshi cuiyan* 程氏粹言. These collected sayings, which were mostly compiled in manuscript form, set the stage for Zhu Xi's late-twelfth-century publication projects of the Cheng brothers' writings.⁹²

⁹² The modern Zhonghua shuju edn. of the Cheng brothers' writings contains the complete

In the early 1110s Yang Shi initiated his compilation project that concerned Cheng Yi's collected sayings. Thus, he invited You Zuo to participate in a related compilation project and enthusiastically collected sources from scholars who admired Cheng Yi's teachings. In a letter to You, Yang encouraged him to search for more written records of Cheng Yi's sayings and he worked with him to compile a book based on these.⁹³ Yang argued that You bore a responsibility to help him, because "they were the only remaining disciples of Cheng Yi 先生之門, 所存惟吾二人耳."⁹⁴ After You Zuo died in 1123, Yang Shi continued to collect various of these written records.⁹⁵ Two of Cheng Yi's admirers, Zhu Guangting 朱光庭 and Hu Anguo, had sent Yang a myriad of relevant texts. In his 1133 letter to Hu, Yang mentioned that he had already compiled a volume of Cheng Yi's sayings that he expressed among his disciples and "used categories that put together appropriate sayings 以類相從." However, that collection was lost in the chaos of a Jurchen invasion that occurred in the spring of 1127.⁹⁶ In a succeeding letter to Hu, Yang said that he was recompiling a new volume of Cheng Yi's collected sayings with the help of his student Song Zhicai 宋之材 (1090–1166).⁹⁷ The new volume would also be compiled in categories. Of Yang Shi's project, what is extant is *Henan Chengshi cuiyan* 河南程氏粹言 (*Concise Sayings of Mister Cheng of Henan*) in ten *juan*. Gao Kang pointed out that this volume resulted from Yang Shi's wish to increase the utility of Cheng Yi's collected sayings through the categorization.⁹⁸

In contrast, Yin Tun disagreed with the categorization method that Yang had adopted, but without reference to Yang directly. Yin told one

version of *Chengshi cuiyan*, compiled by Yang Shi and later edited by Zhang Shi 張軾 (1133–1180); see Wang, *Ercheng ji*, pp. 1167–1272. Yang Shi's and Yin Tun's records of Cheng Yi's collected sayings are mostly preserved in their own collected works. Zhu Xi's compiled version of Cheng Yi's collected sayings may also contain some of Yang Shi's records, especially in *juan* 19 of Zhu's *Henan Chengshi yishu* and *juan* 7 of his *Henan Chengshi waishu*.

⁹³ Yang, "Yu You Dingfu qiliu" 與游定夫其六, in *YSJ*, p. 514.

⁹⁴ Ibid. It seems that Yang Shi overlooked Yin Tun in the letter.

⁹⁵ Yang, "Ji You Dingfu" 祭遊定夫, in *YSJ*, p. 742; also see Tsuchida, *Daoxue zhi xingcheng*, pp. 452–53.

⁹⁶ Yang, "Da Hu Kanghou qi shier" 答胡康侯其十二, in *YSJ*, p. 555.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 557.

⁹⁸ Gao Kang's statement is quoted from Zhang Shi, "Henan Chengshi suiyan xu" 河南程氏粹言序, in Wang, *Ercheng ji*, p. 1167. In 1513 the Ming scholar Yang Lian 楊廉 wrote a preface to *Henan Chengshi suiyan* in which he explained its importance compared to Cheng Yi's other writings, especially *Yizhuan*. Unfortunately, the Zhonghua edn. of *Ercheng ji* does not include Yang Lian's preface. I found it in a 16th-c. Korean ms. of *Henan Chengshi suiyan* collected by the Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫 and transcribed by me; see Yang Lian, "Ercheng suiyan congkan xu" 二程粹言重刊序 (Korean ms.), pp. 3a–4a. A detailed analysis of the pref. would exceed the scope of this article.

of his students how he came to this. Yin had been irritated by a local Zhejiang scholar who asked him to revise a categorized version of Cheng Yi's sayings that was compiled by the scholar himself. The latter's request might reflect how Yang Shi's editing method of categorization was influencing Zhejiang literary study-methods, as we have also seen in Gao Kang's praise of *Henan Chengshi cuiyan* mentioned above. Yin Tun then suggested that the scholar abandon such a plan. Yin even identified the scholar's need for this sort of scholarly product as his "preparing for the civil service examinations."⁹⁹ Essentially, Yin Tun considered that any categorization of Cheng Yi's collected sayings was a reckless way to promote Cheng Yi's scholarship. Yin's calling out the context of the Zhejiang scholar's upcoming examinations further reveals to us an overall suspicion of categorization. Yin saw it as mere utilitarian pursuit of better grades. If Yang Shi had heard Yin Tun's criticism of the Zhejiang scholar, he would no doubt have been annoyed at such hostility toward a mere literary technique of editing.

In summary, Yin Tun and Yang Shi represented two different ways of transmitting Cheng Yi's sayings. It must be noted that these sayings referred to the relatively informal conversations between Cheng Yi and his students on almost every issue, including remarks on the learning of the Way, the problem of Buddhism, the study of classics, historiography, or even the teacher's judgments on students. Yin Tun, as well as some other disciples of Cheng Yi, emphasized Cheng Yi's direct guidance and rejected the categorization of his sayings. They formed what might be termed the "fundamentalist" group pursuing Chengian learning. By "fundamentalist," I refer to their shared preference for having absorbed Cheng Yi's personal instruction as opposed to only the written records, which preference accorded with Cheng's own pedagogical idea. As a matter of fact, these fundamentalists also collected Cheng Yi's sayings and compiled them in textual form. However, they claimed that they were compelled to do so because of the spread of unreliable texts concerning Cheng's teachings. To sum up, they hardly considered their compilation project as the deciding factor for the transmission of Cheng Yi's teaching, but as an alternative to the inadequate number of students who had been under Cheng's direct guidance. Gao Kang once argued that the transmission of Cheng Yi's speeches 議論 should be attributed to scholars like Liu Anjie 劉安節 (1068–1116), who orally transmitted Cheng's teachings to his students.¹⁰⁰ Wang Pin, despite his communi-

⁹⁹ Yin, "Shi shuo," in *Hejing*, j. 7, pp. 6b–7a.

¹⁰⁰ "Yiluo bian" 伊洛辨, quoted from Liu Anjie, *Liu Anjie ji* 劉安節集, in Hu Zhusheng

cation with Xie Liangzuo and Yang Shi, was not fond of this compilation project of Cheng Yi's writings. Wang was not even interested in his own publications. When a late-thirteenth-century scholar attempted to compile Wang's own collected works, the scholar remarked: "Most members of the Cheng School did not write much 程門諸賢多不著書."¹⁰¹ His observation is correct in the case of the "fundamentalists." Wang Pin, Liu Anjie, and Yin Tun all left very few writings.

By contrast, scholars like Yang Shi represented the "revisionist" group within the Cheng School, since they devoted much attention to the compilation of Cheng Yi's writings and argued that they were capable of "revising and proofreading" them. Particularly, Yang had made tremendous efforts in editing *Yizhuan* and categorizing Cheng's sayings. Yang's emphasis on texts might have been inspired by Wang Anshi, because he witnessed how Wang's new commentaries on the classics served as the most powerful conveyor of Wang's learning. Possibly, Yang aspired to compile certain core readings for promoting Cheng Yi's scholarship, as a reflection of Wang Anshi's *Sanjing xinyi*. In practice, the revisionists, like Yang Shi, disobeyed Cheng Yi's teachings in the sense that they tended to revise Cheng's writings based on their own interpretations. You Zuo and Hu Anguo, who assisted Yang Shi in his compilation projects, shared with him the same revisionist tendency. In the longer term, their endeavor contributed more to the transmission of Cheng Yi's learning than the fundamentalists did, because they left more texts for later scholars to use in studying Cheng's scholarship.

Zhu Xi's reflections upon Cheng Yi's doubts about textual records ultimately summarize the contributions of the Cheng Yi revisionists. When Zhu's student asked his opinion about Cheng Yi's conversation with Yin Tun, which was quoted in the beginning of this section, Zhu replied: "If Cheng Yi were still alive, we would not need to read texts about him. But since he is dead, how can we ignore them? 伊川在, 便不必看; 伊川不在了, 如何不看?"¹⁰² Indeed, Zhu Xi himself was the greatest Daoxue revisionist who summarized the textual traditions in relation to the Cheng brothers. From Yang Shi to Hu Anguo and to Zhu Xi's father Zhu Song 朱松 (1097-1143), the texts under Cheng Yi's name accumulated and circulated among the educated elite.¹⁰³ As Zou Cichen

胡珠生, ed., *Wenzhou wenxian congshu* 温州文獻叢書 (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2006), p. 86.

¹⁰¹ Zi Wanqing 資萬頃, "Zi Zhongyuan xiansheng ba" 資中袁先生跋, in Wang, *Song zhuzuo Wang xiansheng wenji*, j. 3, p. 5b.

¹⁰² Huang, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, j. 97, p. 2467.

¹⁰³ Tsuyuhiko Ichiki 市來津由彦 emphasized the circulation of the texts of Cheng Yi in

鄒次陳 (d. 1324) observed, the circulating texts of the Cheng brothers in the late-thirteenth century were recorded by their disciples and finally collected by the Zhu family.¹⁰⁴ Without Yang Shi, You Zuo, and Hu Anguo, it would have been impossible for Zhu Xi to compile a conventional collection of the Cheng brothers' writings that eventually became the orthodox texts of the so-called Cheng School.

COURT RECOGNITION OF CHENG YI'S LEARNING

Compiling a set of orthodox texts could facilitate an intellectual community's exertion of influence on other scholars. Nevertheless, recognition and endorsement from the central court of the regime was probably even more effective for the spread of scholarship in imperial China. Court endorsement had, for example, fundamentally contributed to the ascent of Wang Anshi's private learning in late Northern Song. After the temporary return of the conservatives in the mid-1080s, Wang's learning soon regained its dominance in both the examinations and general intelligentsia during Huizong's reign, whereas Cheng Yi's learning was still restricted to a small community.

From the 1090s to the early 1120s, Cheng Yi and his students suffered political suppression under the reigns of Zhezong and Huizong, especially after the official prohibition of Cheng Yi's scholarship in 1103.¹⁰⁵ The situation changed in 1124, when Yang Shi entered the central government in the capacity of assistant in the Palace Library (*mishu lang* 秘書郎).¹⁰⁶ According to an 1124 conversation between Yang Shi's close friend Liu Anshi 劉安世 and Yang's disciple Hu Cheng 胡程, it was Cai You 蔡攸, Cai Jing's 蔡京 eldest son, who recommended to the court that Yang Shi be placed into the assistant's position in the Palace Library.¹⁰⁷

Fujian, where both Yang Shi's and Zhu Xi's hometowns are located; see Tsuyuhiko, *Shu Ki monjin shūdan keisei no kenkyū* 朱熹門人集團形成の研究 (Tokyo: Sobunsha, 2002), chaps. 1 and 2. As the pivotal figure of the second-generation disciples of Cheng Yi, Hu Anguo definitely played a key role in the transmission of the Cheng brothers' writings. For a comprehensive discussion of this, see Hans van Ess, *Von Ch'eng I zu Chu Hsi: Die Lehre vom Rechten Weg in der Überlieferung der Familie Hu* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), and his article "The Compilation of the Works of the Ch'eng Brothers and Its Significance for the Learning of the Right Way of the Southern Sung Period," *TP* 90 (2004), pp. 264-98.

¹⁰⁴ "Zhuzi bianlun Huben cuowu shu shuhou" 朱子辨論胡本錯誤書書後, in Zhu, *Henan Chengshi wenji*, "Fulu" 附錄, p. 686.

¹⁰⁵ Li, *Daoming lu*, j. 2, p. 5b.

¹⁰⁶ "Guishan xiansheng nianpu," in *YSJ*, p. 1161.

¹⁰⁷ Hu Cheng, *Liu xiansheng daohulu* 劉先生道護錄, in anonymous ed., *Zhuru mingdaoji* 諸儒鳴道集, in *Zhonghua zaizao shanben gongcheng bianzuan chuban weiyuanhui* 中華再造善本工程編纂出版委員會, ed., *Zhonghua zaizao shanben: Tang Song bian* 中華再造善本, 唐宋

Yang Shi was soon convinced by the Cai family to accept the assistantship. Thereafter he was promoted to lecturer in the imperial Classical Colloquium in 1125/3. Yang Shi's contemporaries often found it difficult to explain Yang's participation in the central government, which was largely controlled by Cai Jing and his clique who catered to emperor Huizong's personal interest. In fact, some politicians in the 1120s had some doubts about Yang Shi, given his promotion under Cai Jing.¹⁰⁸ These politicians probably thought that Yang Shi should distance himself from Cai Jing, given the latter's identity as "treacherous." Later Daoxue scholars, especially Hu Anguo and Zhu Xi, were more sympathetic toward Yang Shi's acceptance of Cai Jing's invitation. They emphasized how Yang Shi stepped forth and attempted to save the deteriorating state in the 1120s.¹⁰⁹ Zhu Xi, as well as Hu Anguo, well recognized Yang Shi's political goal to serve in the central government, notwithstanding Cai Jing's manipulation of government policies.

As mentioned, Yang Shi's lecture notes for Qinzong's Classical Colloquium intentionally promoted Cheng Yi's understanding of statecraft as a reflection of the "learning of the Way." Yang's lectures for the Classical Colloquium had very limited impact upon either Qinzong or his state policies. The deteriorating situation of the Song empire left little time for Yang Shi to elucidate carefully his interpretation of the "learning of the Way." In 1126, Yang left the capital Kaifeng and resided temporarily at Piling 毗陵 (in modern Jiangsu 江蘇).¹¹⁰ His last years overlapped with the collapse of Northern Song and the wartime chaos. In his late years, Yang Shi and some of his followers, including Hu Anguo, Chen Yuan 陳淵 (1067–1145), and Wang Juzheng 王居正, established some connections with the notorious Qin Gui 秦檜 (1091–1155), later the chief councilor under emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162).¹¹¹

Owing to his relationship with Yang Shi and Hu Anguo, Qin Gui initially supported Cheng Yi's learning. However, his attitude changed along with the elevation of the political struggle between Zhao Ding 趙

編 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2004), vol. 192, j. 52, p. 3b.

¹⁰⁸ Huang, *Zhuji yulei huijiao*, j. 101, p. 2557.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Wang Quji 黃去疾, "Guishan xiansheng wenjing yanggong nianpu" 龜山先生文靖楊公年譜, in Wu Hongze 吳洪澤 et al., *Songren nianpu congkan* 宋人年譜叢刊 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2003), vol. 5, pp. 3407–8.

¹¹¹ Gao Jichun 高紀春, "Qingui yu luoxue" 秦檜與洛學, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (2002.1), pp. 98–100. For the construction of Qin Gui's notorious image, see Charles Hartman, "The Making of a Villain: Ch'in Kuei and Tao-hsüeh," *HJAS* 58.1 (1998), pp. 59–146.

鼎 (1085–1147) and himself in the 1130s.¹¹² When Zhao Ding was appointed chief councilor in 1134/12, he was regarded as the protector of Cheng Yi's followers in the central government. Zhao's contemporaries referred to him as "the revered spirit 尊魂" of Cheng Yi, given his eagerness to promote Cheng Yi's students and admirers.¹¹³ During the short span from late in 1134 to early in 1137, Cheng Yi's disciples and followers enjoyed a period of high status in the central government. It was these several years that saw the kind of court recognition for the Cheng School that Cheng Yi and Yang Shi had strived for since the late 1070s.

While Cheng Yi's followers were enjoying the favorable political atmosphere in the 1130s, Qin Gui turned away from the Cheng School and started to champion Wang Anshi's teachings in order to undermine his political opponent Zhao Ding's influence in the central government. Historians have explored the ebb and flow of the Cheng versus Wang struggle among scholars and court leaders in the Shaoxing reign-era (1131–1162) and its political implications.¹¹⁴ Thus, what we see is that in the early 1130s the court, after entertaining opinions from various political groups, temporarily accepted Cheng Yi's teachings as the guide for lecturing the young emperor in the Colloquium. Indeed, the intense struggle among Gaozong's ministers, for example, Zhao Ding, Qin Gui, and Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164), influenced the court's finally recognizing Cheng Yi's teachings. However, previous studies have not noted the fascinating way in which some of Cheng Yi's students in the 1130s managed to gain attention from the court of Gaozong: they did so without much true political power. They endeavored to influence the emperor through the Colloquium lectures. Yin Tun exemplifies that endeavor.

After the death of his teacher Cheng Yi in 1107, Yin Tun had retreated to a life of recluse at his hometown Luoyang for two decades. In 1127, he suffered a serious trauma from the Jurchen's invasion. Most of Yin Tun's family members were killed in the chaos after the fall of

¹¹² Gao, "Qingui yu luoxue," pp. 100–5.

¹¹³ Xiong Ke 熊克, *Zhongxing xiaoli* 中興小歷, quoted from Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166–1243), *Jiyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), j. 88, p. 1707. The other two "spirits" were the "returned spirit" Yang Shi and the "angry spirit" Wang Juzheng.

¹¹⁴ Tsuchida, *Daoxue zhi xingcheng*, pp. 426–30; Gao Jichun, "Zhaoding jituan de waijie yu luoxue zhijin" 趙鼎集團的瓦解與洛學之禁, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (1997.3), pp. 108–17; Kondo Kazunari 近藤一成, "The Evaluation of Wang An-shih in the Early Southern Sung" 南宋初期の王安石評價について, *TSK* 38 (1979.3), pp. 344–59; Zhu Shangshu 祝尙書, "Songdai keju yu lixue: jianlun lixue dui kechang shiwen de yingxiang" 宋代科舉與理學, 兼論理學對科場時文的影響, *Shehui kexue yanjiu* 社會科學研究 3 (2005.7), pp. 177–84.

Luoyang. Thereafter, in 1135, Yin finally found a haven at Fuzhou 涪州, in Sichuan, where Cheng Yi had been exiled several decades ago. At that time, Yin Tun was sixty-five years old. Spiritually and physically, he had been tortured by anxiety, grief, occasional deafness, and impaired mobility.¹¹⁵

Regardless of Yin Tun's poor health, the central government had noticed Yin as a celebrated scholar and loyal disciple of Cheng Yi. In 1135/6/15, the expositor-in-waiting (*shijiang* 侍講) for the Classical Colloquium, Fan Chong 范冲 (1067–1141), recommended Yin Tun as his substitute, to teach the two young, adopted sons of Gaozong – Zhao Yuan 趙瑗 (to become emperor Xiaozong 孝宗, r. 1163–1189) and Zhao Qu 趙璩 (1130–1188).¹¹⁶ Fan was an admirer of Cheng Yi scholarship. Moreover, his colleague Zhu Zhen 朱震, also an expositor-in-waiting, was a close disciple of Xie Liangzuo.¹¹⁷ The fact that Zhu and Fan were made expositors-in-waiting signaled a clear inclination toward Cheng Yi scholarship in the central government in 1135. This was inside that time, 1134–1137, when the Cheng School experienced its highest regard at court. Zhu Shengfei 朱勝非 (1082–1144), as the chief councilor before Zhao Ding, noted that some candidates in the civil examinations held in Lin'an in 1135 could even achieve better results when they quoted Cheng Yi.¹¹⁸

Nonetheless, Fan and Zhu were Cheng Yi admirers more than they were latter-day Cheng Yi students. This might explain why Fan Chong recommended Yin Tun, the actual close disciple of Cheng Yi, for the expositor-in-waiting position. Owing to his unfavorable physical condition, Yin Tun initially refused Fan's recommendation and the ensuing appointment from the court.¹¹⁹ But, Gaozong personally insisted on Yin Tun's appointment. In the middle of 1036, when he learned that Gaozong had issued an imperial edict to forbid his further refusal of appointment, Yin set out his journey to Lin'an.¹²⁰ After a long and intermittent river journey, he arrived there in 1137/9.

¹¹⁵ I summarize Yin Tun's wartime experience and trauma based on two sources: his epitaph composed by Lü, "Lü Deyuan zhuan muzhiming," in *Hejing*, j. 10, p. 3a–b; and his chronicle composed by Wang Shimin 王時敏, "Nianpu" 年譜, in *Hejing*, j. 1, pp. 5b–7a.

¹¹⁶ Li, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 90, p. 1740.

¹¹⁷ Lü Benzong, *Shiyou zazhi* 師友雜誌, in Zhu Yian 朱易安 et al., *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記 (Zhenzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), ser. 3, vol. 6, p. 20.

¹¹⁸ Zhu Shengfei, *Xiushui xianjiulu* 秀水閒居錄, quoted from Li, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 88, p. 1709.

¹¹⁹ See Yin Tun's memorials to the court in 1035/10/2, 1035/10/29, 1036/1/12. "Fuzhou beizhao" 涪州被召, in *Hejing*, j. 2, pp. 5b–8a.

¹²⁰ Li, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 101, p. 1910. Also see Yin Tun's memorial in 1036/12/26, "Fuzhou beizhao," in *Hejing*, j. 2, pp. 8b–9b.

On 1137/10/12, Yin Tun had his first formal audience with Gaozong. It proved to be a meaningful event for both Yin Tun and Gaozong. From Yin Tun's perspective, the first audience with the emperor was definitely a powerful experience. As he described in a memorial he submitted two days after the audience, he was "extremely honored 榮幸極矣" to have conversed with Gaozong at a close distance.¹²¹ On Gaozong's side, he considered the audience as an opportunity to demonstrate his curiosity about Cheng Yi's scholarship. Indeed, Gaozong was satisfied with Yin Tun's explanation of one particular passage in the *Analects*; hence he instantly asked Yin to write down other explanations of that classic's texts.¹²² Apparently, this first meeting between Gaozong and Yin Tun proceeded harmoniously, because in the following month Gaozong promoted Yin to vice-director of the Palace Library (*mishu shaojian* 秘書少監), a titular position that had hardly ever been given to lecturers in the Colloquium.¹²³

Yin Tun devoted himself to the imperial lectures at the Colloquium. In another memorial he submitted one month after the first audience, Yin said that he would "strive in the Colloquium work and devote meager service [to the emperor] with his crude proposals 勉於經筵，粗圖報効."¹²⁴ During the period from 1137/10 to 1138/3, Yin Tun offered a series of Colloquium lectures on the *Analects* and the *Mencius*. He treated these lectures as grave tasks: not only did he bathe and change clothes before the lecture day, but he also kneeled during his lecture as a symbolic and genuine attempt to influence the mind of Gaozong.¹²⁵

As Yin recalled, at one point he had a direct conversation with Gaozong about *Mencius*. The conversation was as follows:

¹²¹ "Cimian chu mishulang zhazi" 辭免除秘書郎劄子 (*dier zha* 第二劄), in *Hejing*, j. 2, p. 17a.

¹²² According to Wang Shimin's chronicle of Yin Tun, the passage is seen in the final part of the "Duke Ling of Wei" 衛靈公 chapter. Unfortunately, the chronicle failed to state exactly which passage it was; Wang, "Nianpu," in *Hejing*, j. 1, p. 11a.

¹²³ "Cimian chu mishushaojian" 辭免除秘書少監, in *Hejing*, j. 2, pp. 17b–18a. Titular positions in the Song bureaucracy were honorary positions based on official grade; they were different from the functional positions in the commission system, whose holders took charge of actual duties. For the dual, titular–functional, ranking system in Song officialdom, see Charles Hartman, "Sung Government and Politics," in Twitchett and Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 5, Part II: Sung China, 907–1279*, pp. 49–80.

¹²⁴ "Cimian chu mishulang zhazi" (*disan zha* 第三劄), in *Hejing*, j. 2, p. 17b.

¹²⁵ Wang, "Nianpu," in *Hejing*, j. 1, p. 12a; Li, *Jiannan yilai xinnian yaolu*, j. 116, p. 2160. After he retired from the Colloquium position in 1138/12, Yin compiled his lecture notes into a manuscript named *Lunyu jie* 論語解 and passed it to his disciple Qi Kuan 祁寬; "Ti Lunyujie hou" 題論語解後, in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 3a.

[Gaozong, residing post-abdication in] Deshou Palace asked me (Yin Tun): “Since King Zhou (the last kind of the Shang dynasty) was a sovereign after all, why did Mencius call him a mere fellow?” 德壽問某: “紂亦是君, 孟子何故謂之一夫?”

I: “This was not said by Mencius.” 某曰: “此非孟子之言。”

Gaozong: “Then who did say it?” 上曰: “誰言?”

I: “King Wu of (the much later) Zhou [dynasty] coined this phrase to mobilize his army in a pledge rally. In King Wu’s words: ‘Just that one man, Zhou, became great, but only by creating terror.’” 曰: “此武王誓師之辭也。獨夫紂洪惟作威。”

Gaozong further asked me: “Did Mencius say if the sovereign regards his ministers as grass and small clods, then the ministers could regard him as a robber and an enemy?” 上又曰: “君視臣如土芥, 則臣亦便可視君如寇仇?”

I: “Again, this was not said by Mencius.” 某曰: “此亦非孟子之言。”

Gaozong: “Then who did say it?” 上曰: “誰言?”

I: “People of the Three Dynasties (up through the Zhou dynasty, 1045–256 BC) said it [in a general way]: “He who soothes us is sovereign; he who oppresses us is the enemy.” 某曰: “三代之民言也。撫我則后, 虐我則讐。”¹²⁶

In his answers, Yin Tun cleverly quoted two passages from the “Great Declaration” 泰誓 chapter of the *Book of Documents* to evade Gaozong’s questions about Mencius’ criticism of despotic sovereigns. In the original context of that chapter, King Wu of Zhou (r. 1046–1043 BC) told his army that the ancient King Zhou, the last, and ill-regarded, ruler of Shang, was a “*dufu* 獨夫” (literally, solitary fellow; in Confucian contexts the word usually refers to a despotic king), because he had oppressed his own people by exercising great tyranny. Hence, Yin was able to argue that the term “*dufu*” was first used by King Wu. Yin Tun’s implication was that Mencius just reiterated King Wu’s words, which had already been recorded in the “Great Declaration.” He had to read his opinion through the classic *Documents*, because it would have been inappropriate that Mencius unilaterally designate King Zhou a “*dufu*.”

Yin Tun’s recollection of the conversation reveals also that Gaozong was greatly pleased with his answers. The emperor even shared his reaction to Yin Tun with Zhao Ding. Despite Gaozong’s applause, Yin Tun’s argument actually contradicted the teaching of his most ad-

¹²⁶ “Shi shuo,” in *Hejing*, j. 6, p. 6b.

mired teacher Cheng Yi. Cheng had stated that a king would be deemed despotic if he lost the favor of his people. Cheng went further to argue that Mencius had been right to encourage his contemporary feudal lords to make themselves true sovereigns, because the “Western and Eastern Zhou kings (in Mencius’ time), despite the fact that they were not hated (i.e., did not exercise tyranny), they were cut off from the world; and so they were solitary fellows 二周之君，雖無大惡見絕於天下，然獨夫也。”¹²⁷ The implication was that they had installed around them thick, protective rituals and offices. In view of the above, Cheng Yi expressed himself more candidly than his disciple Yin Tun did later on.

Why did Yin Tun, a faithful student of Cheng Yi, choose to answer Gaozong’s questioning of the “mere fellow” phrase differently? In Yin’s separate commentary on the text of *Mencius*, he explained Mencius’ conception of “mere fellow” this way: “What Mencius was referring to had something to do with the contemporary [political] times. (By adopting the ‘mere fellow’ metaphor in referring to King Zhou of Shang), Mencius was admonishing the rulers of his time 孟子爲當時而言，以警戒時君也。”¹²⁸ This reveals that Yin actually shared with Cheng Yi the same understanding of “mere fellow” – an admonishment aimed at contemporary politics. However, Yin had clearly modified this understanding in his lecture talks with Gaozong. Again, why?

In my opinion, Yin Tun’s doing so reflects his concern about Gaozong’s attitude toward the Cheng School’s understanding of the supreme authority of emperors. Yin’s answer to Gaozong, which avoids any direct challenge to the authority of emperorship, has something to do with the change of political atmosphere in the mid-1130s. As mentioned, in 1135, the majority of court officials were generally looking forward to the promotion of the Cheng School, with such proponents as Fan Chong, Zhu Zhen, and Yin Tun. However, the situation rapidly changed in the winter of 1136, when Zhao Ding left the chief councilor position. In 1136/12, a famous scholar-official named Chen Gongfu 陳公輔 (1077–1142) submitted a memorial to the court in which he severely criticized Cheng Yi scholarship and called for a “cleansing 屏絕” of its influence among central government officials.¹²⁹ Basically, Chen considered Cheng Yi’s teaching as useless to Gaozong’s court. More importantly, Chen criticized that teaching as disobedience to Gaozong’s

¹²⁷ Zhu, *Henan Chengshi yishu*, j. 21B, p. 273.

¹²⁸ Yin Tun, *Mengzi jie* 孟子解, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui* 四庫全書存目編纂委員會, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Jinan: Jilu shushe, 1997), vol. 154, p. 78.

¹²⁹ Li, *Jiyan yan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 107, pp. 2019–20.

authority, which Chen's memorial called a "sagely teaching." Chen's memorial impressed Gaozong. One month later, in 1137/1, Gaozong issued an edict to promulgate Chen Gufu's memorial and thereby its criticism of the Cheng School.¹³⁰ It seems that Gaozong had been threatened by the populist ethical-governance proposed in *Mencius* and the Cheng School's emphasis on this idea.

Having witnessed the new political atmosphere in Gaozong's court, Yin Tun explicated Mencius' conception of "mere fellow" in a modest way, lest it trigger Gaozong's suspicion of a possible Cheng School challenge to his authority. In the 1137 preface to his lecture notes on the *Analects*, Yin stated that the "Way" as discussed in the *Analects*, and which had been lost since the time of Confucius, could definitely be revived in Gaozong's court, but only with the assistance of the emperor's "sagely teaching." Having indicated that Cheng Yi had revived the "learning of the Way" for the first time since Confucius, Yin articulated Gaozong's "sagely teaching" as a Way that could "apply [the emperor's sage wisdom] to statecraft 施之於事業."¹³¹

Despite Yin's careful treatment of his Colloquium lectures and lecture notes, his endeavor had a negligible influence on the general political course against Cheng Yi and the Cheng School during the late 1130s. Alongside the possible tension between the Cheng School and Gaozong's authority, Zhao Ding's opponents associated Zhao's support for Cheng's teaching with his political stance against the court's ongoing negotiations of a peace treaty with the Jurchens.¹³² Gaozong, who personally pursued such a treaty, decided to alienate Zhao Ding and also Cheng's teaching in the late 1130s. Eventually, Gaozong's changing attitude toward the Cheng School discouraged Yin Tun from continuing to serve the Colloquium. Since the spring of 1138, Yin incessantly asked for permission to retire. The deaths of Hu Anguo and Zhu Zhen in 1138/1 and 1138/6 further strengthened Yin's resolve to quit the Colloquium position.¹³³

Throughout 1138, Yin submitted a myriad of memorials that proposed his retirement. In these memorials, he mentioned the difficulties

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 2020.

¹³¹ "Jin Lunyu Zhuang" 進論語狀 and "Lunyujie xu" 論語解序, in *Hejing*, j. 4, p. 2a; j. 4, p. 2a-b.

¹³² The same political interpretation of Cheng's scholarship reemerged after the endorsement of the second peace treaty in 1142. See Cho-Ying Li and Charles Hartman, "A Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui: Its Implications for the History of Song 'Daoxue'," *HJAS* 70.2 (2010), pp. 417-18.

¹³³ Li, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 118, pp. 2198-99; j. 120, p. 2246.

caused by illness – both mentally and physically – in serving Gaozong’s Colloquium.¹³⁴ Gaozong initially neglected Yin’s request and insisted on his continuing the appointment. However, Yin Tun pressed the issue, using the traditional Confucian notion of “advance and retreat 進退.”¹³⁵ In one of these memorials, Yin stated that his Colloquium lectures all came from his late master Cheng Yi and that he “dared not to deceive the emperor by discarding his learning 捨其所學, 上欺君父.”¹³⁶ Yin considered that continued service at Gaozong’s court would be a betrayal of Cheng Yi’s teaching, because the court was shifting away from these teachings in terms of its state policies. Finally, in 1139/1, after Yin submitted a hard-hitting memorial to criticize the court’s effort toward the Jurchen peace treaty, Gaozong approved Yin’s departure.¹³⁷

Yin Tun’s personal experience exemplifies the track of most of Cheng Yi’s followers in the early court under Gaozong. His career at Gaozong’s Colloquium carried forward the endeavors of those earlier admirers of Cheng Yi, men such as Zhu Zhen, Fan Chong, and Hu Anguo. Zhu Xi noticed that Yin Tun had been Cheng Yi’s faithful disciple and had stood by his master’s teachings. Thus he especially valued Yin Tun’s consistency as indicative of a spirit of “reverence 敬.”¹³⁸ With that spirit, Yin Tun at least maintained the Cheng Yi outlook at Gaozong’s court under the tense political atmosphere of the 1130s. In this light, the late-Southern Song scholar Xu Ding 徐鼎 was right in arguing that Yin Tun “rejuvenated 興” Cheng Yi’s teaching by answering Gaozong’s call for Colloquium lectures but with a gentle obstinacy regarding the principal issues.¹³⁹ Several decades later, when Zhu Xi and Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235) attempted to promote Daoxue ideas, they developed Yin Tun’s approach by further emphasizing the importance of

¹³⁴ See the series of memorials in the name of “Zaiqi guitianli zhazi” 再乞歸田里劄子, in *Hejing*, j. 3, p. 1a; j. 3, pp. 5a–6a. According to Zhu Xi, Yin Tun’s close disciples, e.g., Lü Qizhong, had probably drafted most of these memorials for Yin; Huang, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, j. 101, p. 2543.

¹³⁵ Li, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 119, p. 2215.

¹³⁶ “Yinhejing yi shi Chengxue zhiyi cijingyan” 尹和靜以師程學之義辭經筵, in Li, *Daoming lu*, j. 3, p. 9b. The two variant characters *jing* 靜 (=靖) and *yi* 义 (=義) came from the Yuan-compiled ms. copies of *Daoming lu*. Notably, none of Yin Tun’s collected works collected this memorial, which was dated to 1137/4 by Li Xinchuan. My guess is that the early compilers of Yin’s collected works, such as Wang Shimin and Lü Qizhong, might have worried about the political consequences brought by the publication of a rhetorically provocative memorial. Since Yin Tun in his memorial insisted on the correctness of Cheng Yi’s teaching, it would have enraged those ministers who opposed it, and therefore Wang Shimin and Lü Qizhong discarded the memorial.

¹³⁷ “Jian yihe zhazi” 諫議和劄子, in *Hejing*, j. 1, pp. 1a–3a.

¹³⁸ Huang, *Zhuzi yulei huijiao*, j. 101, p. 2558.

¹³⁹ Xu Ding, “Keshan Xu xiansheng ba” 柯山徐先生跋, in Wang, *Song zhuzuo wangxian-sheng wenji*, j. 3, p. 8b.

influencing the minds of emperors.¹⁴⁰ Thus, to borrow a phrase from Li Cho-Ying and Charles Hartman, Daoxue learning, which was profoundly influenced by the thought of the Cheng brothers, eventually invented an effective rhetoric “to secure a place for itself inside the existing political structures of the Song state.”¹⁴¹

CONCLUSION

In the 1132 memorial regarding the promotion of Cheng Yi’s scholarship, Hu Anguo criticized some scholars who flaunted themselves as Cheng Yi’s disciples even though they were not.¹⁴² The latter phenomenon could be attributed to the rising reputation of Cheng Yi among scholars in the early 1130s, even though only a few of them could really understand his scholarship. My research reveals how Yang Shi and Yin Tun, as Cheng Yi’s principal disciples, modified Cheng’s teachings, thereby consolidating the Cheng School in the personal, textual, and political realms of the early-twelfth century. Although their consolidation efforts seemed to be ineffectual in the short term, they proved to be effective in the long term because they laid the foundation for the future development of a Daoxue community. Through the demonstration of intellectual stances, the setting of teaching exemplars, and the pursuit of court attention, Yang Shi and Yin Tun opened up ways for their followers and admirers to further transmit and advocate the Cheng School. Without Yang Shi’s compilation of the Cheng brothers’ sayings and Yin Tun’s presence in Gaozong’s Colloquium, it is hard to imagine how the Cheng School could have ascended during the ensuing decades of the twelfth century. In his 1132 memorial, Hu Anguo lamented that Cheng learning was precarious since it was only supported by a “thin thread 不絕如線.”¹⁴³ The “thin thread” in Hu’s understanding refers to the few disciples (*menren* 門人) of Cheng Yi who genuinely promoted the influence of the Cheng School. Yang Shi and Yin Tun were the representatives.

Nevertheless, the efforts of Yang Shi and Yin Tun in promoting the teachings of Cheng Yi were diminished in the conventional narratives of the history of Daoxue during the Song. Although several Southern Song scholars have recorded basic information about the students and

¹⁴⁰ Concerning this aspect, see Theodore de Bary’s *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1981).

¹⁴¹ Li and Hartman, “Newly Discovered Inscription by Qin Gui,” p. 448.

¹⁴² Hu, “Zou Zhuang” 奏狀, in Zhu, *Henan Chengshi yishu*, p. 348.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

disciples of the Cheng brothers,¹⁴⁴ later intellectual history, represented by the Qing work *Song Yuan xue'an*, relegated them as less important scholars compared with their teachers. In the cases of Yang Shi and Yin Tun, and possibly some other students of the Cheng brothers whom I cannot explore in this article, their contribution to the intellectual transmission of the Cheng School deserves more attention. Hoyt Tillman's pioneering study of early Daoxue history has revealed how the cumulative construction of Zhu Xi's prominent status resulted in a simplification of the Southern Song intellectual landscape.¹⁴⁵ Likewise, Charles Hartman's work explores the historical complexity of Southern Song Daoxue, especially the Southern Song scholars' construction of their own Daoxue history.¹⁴⁶ In this article, I sought to adopt the same historicizing approach to examine the roles played by Yang Shi and Yin Tun in transmitting "the learning of the Way" during a particular time in Chinese intellectual history – a vacuum left by the departure of Cheng Yi and before the rise of Zhu Xi. My work here only deals with the first stage of Daoxue transmission from Cheng to Zhu. I hope further research on the other disciples of the Cheng brothers will enhance and enrich our understanding of the Daoxue rubric and its position in society and politics.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Hejing</i>	Yin Tun 尹焯, <i>Hejing Yinxiangsheng wenji</i> 和靖尹先生文集
<i>XCB</i>	Li Tao 李燾, <i>Xu zizhi tongjian changbian</i> 續資治通鑑長編
<i>YSJ</i>	Lin Haiquan 林海權, ed., <i>Yang Shi ji</i> 楊時集

¹⁴⁴ There are at least three Southern Song materials offering different records of the Cheng brothers' disciples. Besides Zhu Xi's collection of Cheng brothers' students in *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, a 1136 memorial by Zhu Zhen 朱震 provides a full list of them; see Zhu, "Zhu Neihan lun Kong Meng zhixue chuanyu er Cheng" 朱內翰論孔孟之學傳於二程, in Li, *Daoming lu*, j. 517, j. 3, pp. 2b–3a. The last list of Cheng Yi's students was composed by an anonymous student of Wang Pin; see Wang, *Song zhuzuo Wang xiansheng wenji*, j. 1, pp. 1a–2a.

¹⁴⁵ Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy* (Honolulu: U. Hawai'i P., 1992), pp. 1–9; see also Hoyt Tillman, *Panguan Zhuzi xue* 旁觀朱子學 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2011).

¹⁴⁶ Charles Hartman, "Li Hsin-ch'uan and the Historical Image of Late Sung Tao-hsüeh," *HJAS* 70.2 (2001), pp. 317–58.