The Development of the Democratic Ideas in the Late Ming Dynasty

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Abstract

Research over the past decades has raised questions regarding whether democratic ideas were present during the late Ming Dynasty (around the 17th century). Much of this research has overly emphasized the presence of these new ideas, thereby ignoring the way for that thinkers expressed these ideas, the influence of former ideas, and the history of such ideas. Therefore, this work proposes to adopt an approach focusing on the history of concept and the history of experience to explore these questions and analyze the late Ming democratic ideas. In this work, it firstly discusses what the democratic idea is and how to research this idea in the ancient Chinese language context. Then, this work studies the ideological change in the middle of the Ming Dynasty as the "Saddle Period" for the new ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Last, it researches the history of a series of concepts which are related to democracy, tracing them from early history to the late Ming Dynasty. Through this research, this work re-assurts the existence of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, while and analyzing the essence and contents of these ideas.

Key Words: Democratic Ideas, Late Ming Dynasty, Experience, the Concept of Monarch.

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1 Brief Introduction

Confucianism had been being criticized by modern democratic thinkers and activists since the early 20th century because of its theoretical support for despotism and the monarch's absolute authority in ancient China. However, to what extent is this the only interpretation of Confucianism and its legacy? Through a review of the literature, this research establishes that other interpretations are possible. Confucianism had also been used as a tool for supporting democratic ideas in China. At the end of the 19th century, Confucianism was interpreted by the reformist thinkers in the Hundred Days' Reform[1] (or Wuxu Reform), like Liang Qichao (梁启超, 1873-1929), Zhang Taiyan (章太炎, 1869-1936), as a theoretical tool to attack the despotism of the Qing dynasty (清朝, 1644-1912), and support the propaganda of western democratic politics in China. In other words, for some thinkers, Confucianism could also be used for theoretically supporting democracy.

So, what kind of Confucian theories or ideas did the reformists use to support democracy? After researching the academic works by the reformists, it is clear that most of the reformist thinkers used the ideas of the Confucian thinkers who lived in the late Ming Dynasty (明朝, 1368-1644), like Huang Zongxi (黄宗羲, 1610-1695), Gu Yanwu (顾炎武, 1613-1682), Tang Zhen (唐甄, 1630-1704), and they have clear common features among their democratic statements and expression of democratic ideas. Focusing on the academic works written by thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty, like *Waiting for the Dawn: a Plan for the Prince* (《明夷待访录》), *Daily Records* (《日知录》), and *Qian Shu* (《潜书》), it is not difficult to see that their ideas are different from traditional Confucian ideas. The traditional Confucian concepts used by these thinkers contain different understandings of the same concept; some are almost antiauthoritarian and democratic. Therefore, combined with the interpretation by the

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[1] The Hundred Days' Reform (or Wuxu Reform) was undertaken by the Guangxu Emperor (光绪帝 ruling from 1875 to 1908) and his reform-minded supporters (the reformists) in 1898.They believed the only way to change Chinese politics was to study the Japanese constitutional monarchy model. Therefore, they proposed many policies to reform the cultural, political, and educational areas. But, it finally failed and was suppressed by Empress Dowager Cixi (慈禧太后, she was the *de facto* supreme ruler of China in the late Qing Dynasty from 1861 until her death in 1908.) and her conservative supporters. This reform movement only last 103 days, so it is called by later historians the Hundred Days' Reform.

reformists of these ideas, this research put forward that there were some potential democratic ideas which can be revealed in their works.

Given these considerations, this dissertation formulates a theoretical hypothesis that democratic ideas existed in the late Ming Dynasty; based on the hypothesis, researches these democratic ideas to challenge the statement by the democratic thinkers and activists about Confucianism. In this dissertation, these major questions will be discussed: Are these ideas really democratic? If they are, what kind of characteristics of traditional Confucianism incubated the democratic ideas? And what are these democratic ideas? Through these questions, this dissertation hopes to fully analyze and present the democratic ideas held by Confucian scholars in the late Ming Dynasty and find the reason for the incubation of the democratic ideas in Confucianism.

In detail, this dissertation will be unfolded in five chapters. The first chapter will introduce this dissertation generally. It will, at first, propose the aim of this dissertation through the discussion of various points about democratic ideas in ancient China. Then, it will directly review the current research of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty and identify the gaps within the current research. Next, it will put forward a new approach to address these shortcomings and discuss the new approach in detail. In the second chapter, it will analyze the essence of what constitutes democratic ideas. There was no democracy or democratic theory recorded in ancient Chinese history; therefore, there were no traditional Chinese materials to study the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Meanwhile, considering that democratic theories were largely proposed in the western world, this dissertation finally plans to explore democratic ideas from western history as a reference to study the Chinese democratic ideas. The third chapter will pay attention to the changes in the ideological situation leading up to the end of the Ming Dynasty. The appearance of new ideas was due both to historical circumstances as well as developing out of former thinkers' ideas. So, this dissertation will research both of these factors, especially the influence of the former ideas. The fourth chapter will discuss the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. According to the plan in the second chapter, the western democratic idea will be deconstructed into different parts. In this chapter, it will use these parts to discuss the thinkers' academic works in the late Ming Dynasty and find their potential democratic ideas. In the fifth chapter, this dissertation will conclude with the findings of the previous chapters regarding these democratic ideas, respond to the criticism by the modern democratic thinkers and activists, and propose future directions for the research on this topic.

1.2 Research Situation

Having clarified the aim and the structure of this dissertation, this part plans to discuss the research situation of the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Through review of relevant literatureit is clear that both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars had been embarking on researching the democratic ideas proposed by the thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty since the Hundred Days's Reform at the end of 19th century. In this field, including contemporary scholarship, there are two major influential groups of scholars who have set out specific approaches and views on democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty; they are Chinese Marxist historians, and the new thinkers after the 1980s. This part will discuss their academic works regarding the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, especially their characteristics and shortcomings; then it will put forward the new method in researching these democratic ideas in this dissertation.

1.2.1 Brief Introduction of the Research Situation

The discussion of the Confucian democratic ideas arose during the Hundred Days' Reform. The democratic reform of politics was not widely accepted by ordinary people; reformists could not mobilize people to fight against the conservative elements. Therefore, some reformist thinkers began to search for theoretical support from within Confucian traditions. In fact, there were two sources for them to choose from, one is the ideas put forward by Confucian scholars before the Qin Dynasty (秦朝, 221 B.C-207 B.C); another is the ideas proposed by the thinkers who lived in the late Ming Dynasty, like Huang Zongxi, Gu Yanwu, Wang Fuzhi, and Tang Zhen. Regarding the first source, these ideas were too familiar to many Chinese; it was difficult for the reformists to break the dominant tropes of these ideas in people's minds by offering a new interpretation. So, they focused instead on the ideas proposed by the late Ming thinkers. These sources included Huang Zongxi's *Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince,* Gu Yanwu's *Daily Records,* Tang Zhen's *Qian Shu*, and some books written by Wang Fuzhi. This choice laid the foundation for later generations of scholars to research the democratic ideas in Confucianism.

1.2.2 The Marxist Historians' Research

Before Marxist historians began to explore the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, there was a group of Confucian scholars began to discuss these ideas; they were the New Confucian

scholars[2]. New Confucian scholars believed that the Chinese tradition could also be used to modernize China; so, in their understanding there were some democratic ideas already formed in Chinese culture. De Bary, who was one of the New Confucian scholars, proposed that there were democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. He translated Huang Zongxi's book, *Waiting for the Dawn: a Plan for the Prince*, into English, and discussed some of these ideas in the translation. He believed that Huang Zongxi's understandings of the political system were in fact a little democratic and liberal, and his ideas even exceeded the Neo-Confucianism of the Song (宋朝, 960-1279) and the Ming Dynasty (明朝, 1368-1644). But, for the New Confucian scholars, the democratic idea in the late Ming Dynasty was not their emphasis and so there are not that many works by them regarding this area. In the 1920s, some Marxist historians studied and inherited new Confucian scholar's ideas. They kicked off a modern historical area to research democratic characteristics of the ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

The most influential research by a Marxist historian on the democratic ideas is Hou Wailu's work, *The General History of Chinese Thought (Vol.5)* (《中国思想通史(Vol.5)》). Hou Wailu's (侯外庐, 1903-1987) approach in researching these democratic ideas was based on his understanding of Marxist historical materialism. He researched the history of ideas from social facts. So, his approach was to research ideas and to explore what happened in society when the ideas appeared.

Hou believed that there were the seeds of capitalism in society in the late Ming Dynasty, he wrote in his book that "the period from the middle of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th century, i.e., the period from Jiajing emperor (ruling from 1521 to 1567, 嘉靖皇帝) to Wanli emperor (ruling from 1572 to 1620, 万历皇帝), was a distinct period in Chinese history in that the sprout of capitalism emerged (从 16 世纪中叶至 17 世纪初叶，也就是从明嘉靖到万历年间，是中国历史上资本主义萌芽最显著的阶段。)."[3] During this period, the

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[2] New Confucian scholars are those proposing support for New Confucianism. New Confucianism (Xin Ruiia, 新儒家) is an intellectual movement of Confucianism, developing since the Republic of China in the early 20th century. It is also active in some western countries. In the post-Mao era, New Confucianism has continued to develop in mainland China.

[3] Hou, W. (1956). The General History of Chinese Thought (Vo.5): The Chinese Early Enlightenment History. Renmin Press, p.4.

侯外庐.(1956).中国思想通史(Vol.5): 中国早期启蒙思想史.人民出版社, p.4.

(If not otherwise stated, all translations of Chinese texts and sources are mine.)

commercialization of agriculture and manufacture developed really fast[4], and the traditional relationship between peasants and landlords in society was loosened. Some people then started to specialize in business. This trend therefore gave birth to a new civil class in Chinese society. They represented the interests of the commercialization of agriculture, manufacture and some business.

However, to maintain their ruling position, the landlord class began to suppress the new civil class. Hou wrote that "during the period of Tianqi Emperor (ruling from 1621 to 1627, 天启皇帝)...the feudal rulers suppressed public speech and the association by the new class. Many academies were ruined and sold to the government (到了天启年间...封建统治者镇压自由讲学、自由结社。一切书院尽行拆毁，变阶入官。)."[5] To protect their interests, some thinkers began to reflect on what happened in society; and they, therefore, put forward new ideas which attacked the monarch's absolute authority.

Hou Wailu thought that these ideas had three new characteristics, "firstly, these ideas showed that these thinkers, like He Xinyin (何心隐, 1517-1579), Li Zhi (李贽, 1527-1602), and Wang Fuzhi, Huang Zongxi, Gu Yanwu, hated the imperial system and all things clinging to it; secondly, these thinkers advocated education, autonomy, and liberty; thirdly, as seen from these ideas, these thinkers particularly cared for the interests of the ruled (第一，中国的启蒙者如何心隐、李贽以至王夫之、黄宗羲、顾炎武和颜元等人，都以各种表现方式，强烈地仇视农奴制度及依附于它的一切产物；第二，中国的启蒙者拥护教育、自治和自由；第三，他们同情人民的利益，特别是农民的利益，尽管他们大多数并不同情农民暴动。)."[6] From these characteristics, Hou compared these thinkers to the thinkers in the western Enlightenment, and he called them 'early Enlightenment thinkers' in China.

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[4] In Hou Wailu's book, *The General History of Chinese Thought (Volume 5)*, he used one chapter to describe what happened in society during this time, including the commercialization of agriculture and manufacture, the formation of the social division system of labor, and the development of commercial capital. He believed that these events greatly changed society and subsequently influenced people's ideas.

[5] Hou, W. (1956). The General History of Chinese Thought (Vol.5): The Chinese Early Enlightenment History. Renmin Press, p.21.

侯外庐.(1956).中国思想通史(Vol.5): 中国早期启蒙思想史.人民出版社, p.21.

[6] Ibidem, p.24-26.

Hou's research focuses on three major thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty, Wang Fuzhi, Huang Zongxi, and Gu Yanwu. He firstly researched Wang Fuzhi, whom he thought was different from the others. Hou believed that the period that Wang lived in gave him a new model of thought, which is similar to modern humanism, from which to reflect on the society. Hou wrote that "Wang Fuzhi's books, *E'meng* (《噩梦》), *Huangshu* (《黄书》) and *Saoshouwen* (《搔首问》), are full of the spirit against feudalism and despotism. Wang thought the extra-economic exploitation within feudalism and despotism was the opposite of a reason for living. (夫之的《噩梦》、《黄书》和《搔首问》等著作，就含有丰富的反抗封建制度的精神，他认为封建制度的超经济剥削，完全是立于"民之有生理"的反面。)."[7]

Then, Hou discussed Huang Zongxi's political ideas, contextualizing this in research on Huang's life experience. Hou believed that this period, including eunuch excesses, peasant unrest, dynasty transition, and the shadow-reign of the Manchu government, gave Huang a chance to reflect upon Chinese politics. Hou wrote that "after the comprehensive collapse of the Ming Dynasty, Huang drew ideas from the thinkers of Danglin movement[8] (东林党) and Fu Associations[9] (复社), and then proposed his anti-despotic ideas in *Waiting for the Dawn*: *A plan for the prince* (待明朝既亡，黄宗羲总结东林、复社的思想，树立了反封建的政治思想，以《明夷待访录》一部伟著为代表作。)."[10] Hou proposed that Huang believed that the monarch system was the primary reason why people live in extreme misery, and the way to change the situation was to deprive the prince's right and restrict monarch's absolute authority. Hou believed that Huang's restriction of the monarch's right is democratic.

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[7] Ibidem, p.34.

[8] Donglin Movement (东林运动) was an ideological and philosophical movement in the late Ming Dynasty. The people who participated in the movement were called Donglin Party (东林党). The movement aimed to restore the Donglin Academy (东林书院), which was thought of as a centre of dissent for public affairs in the late Ming Dynasty. Many members of the movement were officials, and most of them were deeply involved in factional politics.

[9] Fu Academy (Fu She, 复社) was a political academy in the late Ming Dynasty. This academy aimed to restore ancient study. Most early academy members were from Donglin Party, so people sometimes call Fu Academy the Little Donglin Party. After the collapse of the Ming Dynasty, the academy continued to fight against the Manchu government.

[10] Ibidem, p.127.

In discussing Gu Yanwu's ideas, Hou also, at first, analyzed the social context. Hou thought that Gu's anti-despotic ideas resided in his opposition to the county system and reform of the system, because "Gu's reason to oppose the county system is that this opposition refers to emperor…Gu's aim was explicitly to reform on the county system, but implicitly to change the despotic system (顾炎武所以这样主张的理由，并不在于名词上的"封建"或"郡县"，而在于他敢说"所谓天子"…他的意思是说"其专在上"的封建的君主制度应变革的。)."[11]

Hou's research on these three major thinkers are strictly focused on historical materialism. For him, if there was no change in society or no change in productive relationship, then there was no new idea in the late Ming Dynasty. Since Hou, there is a group of thinkers and historians using this method of historical materialism to research Chinese traditional ideas and philosophy. They believe that ideas were formed and influenced by social circumstances; and for them, the first step to research the history of ideas and philosophy is to research these social facts. They formed a new school called the school of Hou Wailu. They continue to explore ideas similar to modern western ideas within traditional Chinese culture, especially since the late Ming Dynasty. Their achievements include Xiao Safu's (萧萐父, 1924-2008) research on modern philosophy drawing from Wang Fuzhi's ideas, and Zhang Qizhi's research on the history of Confucianism and the work of Gu Yanwu.

In the 1980s, western philosophy and political sciences were revived in China, and the Marxist historian's interpretations of the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty were attacked by some thinkers who had received western philosophical training. Facing this criticism, some Marxists began to respond and gave new explanations of the late Ming Dynasty thinkers' ideas. Xu Sumin (许苏民, 1952 to present), a student of Xiao Safu, is one of the most well-known scholars who has actively responded to the new thinkers' questions.

Some new thinkers believed that the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty clearly belong within the scope of Confucianism. However, Xu proposed that there was also a notable difference between traditional Confucianism and the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. "The essence of the traditional ideas is a moral alienation to repress and distort human nature through moral obligations and preachings (传统思想的实质是以纲常名教的绝对权威来压抑、扭曲人性

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[11] Ibidem, p.218-219.

而使人成为非人的伦理异化。).”[12] However, these new ideas, instead, "are based on notions of humanity which is against the repression and distortion of humanity by moral obligations and preachings (它立足于普遍的人性，反对以纲常名教的绝对权威来压抑、扭曲人性而使人成为非人的伦理异化。).”[13]. So, for Xu, the new ideas are not the so-called 'people-oriented idea'[14] of Confucianism. Instead, it is an idea that emphasizes human rights, liberty, and human development. Xu thought the misunderstanding of the new thinkers since the 1980s was because they thought that the thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty were themselves eccentric. However, this 'eccentricity' is characteristic of their ideas, not their personalities.

Like many scholars from the School of Hou Wailu, Xu also emphasized the importance of historical materialism to research the history of ideas. In Xu's paper on Hou Wailu, he proposed that "economic development brings changes to social custom and people's values, and it then influences ideas of thinkers (经济的发展带来了社会风尚和人们的价值观念的变化，这种变化必然反映到思想家的思想上),"[15] and the appearance of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty indeed developed out of the social-economic change.

On the other hand, Xu also highlighted the influence of society on thinkers' ideas. In one interview, Xu discussed the appearance of the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty with other scholars. He said that "the progress of Chinese society natively formed the new ideas during the Ming Dynasty's transition to the Qing Dynasty (明清之际的新思想乃是中国社会内发原生的早期启蒙哲学。).”[16] For Xu, Li Zhi (李贽, 1527-1602) was the first thinker who

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[12] Xu, S. (2010). Sunset Glow, or First Rays of the Morning Sun — Responses to Three questions about the Early Enlightenment Theory. Jianghai Academic Journal. (3), p.14.

许苏民. (2010). 晚霞, 还是晨曦?——对 "早期启蒙说"三种质疑的回应. 江海学刊, (3), p.14.

[13] Ibidem, p.14.

[14] People-oriented idea (Min Ben Si Xiang, 民本思想) is an important idea in Confucianism, which believes that people are more important than the monarch in politics. Mencius was one representative of this idea.

[15] Xiao, S and Xu, S. (2003). "Early Enlightenment Theory" and China's Modernization. Jianghai Academic Journal. (1), p. 137.

萧萐父 and 许苏民. (2003). "早期启蒙说"与中国现代化. 江海学刊, (1), p.137.

[16] Feng, L and Peng, C. (2017). Questions concerning "Early Enlightenment Theory" — Discussed with Prof. Xu. Jianghai Academic Journal, (1), p.17.

冯琳 and 彭传华. (2017). 关于早期启蒙说的相关问题——许苏民教授访谈录. 江海学刊, (1), p.17.

put forward different ideas compared to the former Confucian thinkers, and his ideas more or less influenced later generations of scholars. "From Li Zhi to Wang Fuzhi, then to Dai Zhen (戴震，1724-1777), their ideas consistently and gradually discarded Confucianism's ethic alienation (从李贽到王夫之，再到戴震，其理论归趋无不通向扬弃伦理异化的新人学的建立。)." [17] In other words, Xu believed that both the social change and former ideas influenced the thinkers' ideas.

In his academic research, Xu proposed that there were three meaningful topics within the new ideas, specifically the disenchantment of Confucianism, the cultivation of the new citizen, and the political reformation. The first two topics were for liberating people from the restriction of the despotic system. The third one was "a theoretical discussion and a project design for political reform with democratic characteristics (具有初步民主性的政治改革的理论探讨和方案设计)." [18] Xu further explained his consideration of these ideas, "the most important question for the thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty was what kind of political system can help people to build independent personalities and maintain the freedom of thought, and what kind of system was good for forming a good morality and social environment (究竟什么样的制度才有利于造就具有独立之人格、自由之思想的志士仁人，并有利于形成良好的社会道德氛围呢？)" [19]. So, Xu believed that "thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty denied the legitimacy of the monarch's law…they denied the rule by one man…and designed democratic plans like check and balance, and discussing government affairs in schools (斥全部专制主义的法制为"非法之法"而根本否定其合法性…根本否定传统特权人治…民主政治方案设计：主张分权制衡，学校议政。)." [20]

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[17] Ibidem, p.20.

[18] Xu, S. (2007). Disenchantment, Cultivating People and the Reformation of Political System — Three Topics in the early Enlightenment of China. Tianjin Social Sciences. (2), p.127.

许苏民. (2007). 祛魅·立人·改制——中国早期启蒙思潮的三大思想主题. 天津社会科学, (2), p.127.

[19] Ibidem, p.133.

[20] Xu, S. (2005). The Breakthrough of Political Philosophy in the transition from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty. Jianghan Tribune. (5), p.42.

许苏民. (2005). 明清之际政治哲学突破--以顾炎武, 黄宗羲, 王夫之为例. 江汉论坛, (10), p.42.

From Hou Wailu to Xu Sumin, the Marxist historians' approach in researching the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty is based on historical materialism. They have a sequence in discussing the history of ideas. At first, they need to analyze the social situation and find the relationship between social reality and ideas. Then, they discuss the ideas based on their understanding of the social situation. This method undoubtedly endows new thinking in discussing the history of the idea; it connects abstract ideas with social reality to the greatest extent. But, this method neglected the lineage of ideas. Early Marxist historians did not fully believe in earlier thinkers' influences on new ideas; the only influential factor for them is social reality; their approach, in fact, breaks up the historical relation of the ideas. Therefore, this dissertation will not adopt this approach as the main method to research the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, and it will choose instead a method that highlights the importance of the lineage of ideas.

1.2.3 The New Thinkers' Understandings

Since the 1980s, a group of thinkers began to criticize some statements of the school of Hou Wailu about the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. During this period, "several bibliographies of Chinese publications on western culture, politics, and economy appeared…while the influence of the philosophy of Marx and Engels declined, according to these findings, that of non-Marxist German philosophy is on the increase."[21] Influenced by these publications, some scholars "aimed at a gradual reform of Marxism without risking a break with the Chinese Communist Party."[22] Therefore, they chose to revise the Marxist's works on Chinese society and history. The Marxists' interpretation of the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty was the focus of their criticism; they planned to rethink and reevaluate these ideas.

For example, Tan Zheng'ai questioned the ideas of democratic characteristics in the late Ming Dynasty. He thought "some statements of Huang Zongxi, Tang Zeng and Wang Fuzhi were of an activist orientation, and these statements, to a certain degree, can be compared to the criticism on the despotic system, and criticisms of such systems by western and Russian enlightenment thinkers…but if we deeply research the contents of the statements by these Chinese thinkers, it is not difficult to see that they are only similar to the form of western

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[21] Meissner, W. (1999). New intellectual currents in the People's Republic of China. In China in Transition (pp. 3-24). Palgrave Macmillan, London, p.7.

[22] Ibidem, p.11.

democratic ideas (黄宗羲、唐增、王夫之的这一些言论具有相当激进的倾向，在一定程度上也确实是可以与西欧及俄国的启蒙者对封建专制制度及其一切残余的抨击想媲美的…然而我们如果深究其内容，就不难发现，这种相似或媲美，只是形式上的或表面上的。)."[23] Tu Wenxue, through a comparison between Huang's ideas and Montesquieu's theory, thought that "Huang's ideas were still limited within the scope of Confucianism…and his reform policies were based on feudal ethics. (黄宗羲的思想囿于封建儒学色彩…黄宗羲的一系列改革主张带有非常浓烈的封建伦理政治色彩。)"[24] For Tu, Montesquieu's theory gave a new image to the new bourgeoisie class, but Huang's ideas were still for the landlord class. Zhao Ziping, by comparing Huang's ideas with Rousseau's social contract theory, put forward that Huang's ideas are more superficial than Rousseau's political design. "Comparatively, Huang Zongxi's concept of 'Gongtianixia' (the world is the estate for the public, 公天下) was obscure and illusory…but Rousseau's social ideas were clear and realistic, it is vividly portrayed and it hopes to turn into reality from theory as soon as possible. (比较而言，黄宗羲"公天下"的社会理想是朦胧的、虚幻的，他自己也说不清楚它的具体内容；而卢梭的社会理想则是清楚、现实的，它呼之欲出，急于由理念变成实体。)"[25] Zhao thought that the thinkers' ideas in the late Ming Dynasty were the result of the development of a despotic society, and there were some new characteristics held within in it.

With the development of western philosophy and political science in China, more and more scholars began to criticize the notion of democratic characteristics of the ideas in the late Ming Dynasty; their criticism was deeper. Yun Chunxi directly wrote that "the point, made by modern thinkers, that Huang's ideas were democratic was a misunderstanding (近代思想家的

[23] Tan, Z. (1994). The Doubt on the Early Enlightenment in the late Ming Dynasty and the early Qing Dynasty. Chuanshan Journal. (1), p.25.

覃正爱. (1994). 明末清"启蒙思想论质疑. 船山学刊. (1), p.25.

[24] Tu, W. (1985). The Comparison of Similarities and Differences between Montesquieu's Theory and Huang Zongxi's Ideas. Jianghan Tribune, (2), p.66-68.

涂文学. (1985). 黄宗羲和孟德斯鸠思想异同片论. 江汉论坛. (2), p.66-68.

[25] Zhao, Z. (1982). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the New Prince and On Social Contract. Zhejiang Journal. (3), p.54.

赵子平. (1982). 《明夷待访录》与《社会契约论》. 浙江学刊. (3), p.54.

观点不过是对黄宗羲的误读。)."[26] He proposed the thinkers who lived in the late Ming Dynasty were still strong supporters of the Confucian people-oriented idea. Ding Xinyu agreed with Yun's statements, and he directly defined the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty as a people-oriented idea which still belongs to the scope of Confucianism. This judgment was fully developed in Li Shi's research. By analyzing the difference between western democratic theory and Huang Zongxi's ideas, she questioned the democratic characteristics of the ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. She thought that in these ideas "people still held the position that they needed to be taken care of and educated by rulers (民所处的地位是一种被拖着往前走的、被照顾的、被教养的地位。)."[27] Furthermore, she proposed that "although in Huang's ideas, the law was used to improve people's interests, it was still created and passed by the emperor or rulers, there was no chance for people to participate in making law (在黄宗羲的民本思想中，"天下之法"虽然是站在"民"的角度，为增进老百姓的利益而制定的法，但它仍然是君主制定的法，人民并没有参与到法律的制定和执行中来)"[28], because "the school (which was used for political participation in Huang's ideas) was only for the educated to discuss politics and ordinary people had no chance to join them. (黄宗羲所构想的"学校"就缺乏普通老百姓作为其民意基础，而仅仅是受教育、有知识的人们参政议政的机构。)."[29]

However, this criticism was soon responded to by Marxist historians and another group of new thinkers. Xu Sumin's statements fully reflected Marxist response to the challenge, while Gu Jianing's ideas present another understanding of the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty from the thinkers who received western philosophical training after the 1980s.

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[26] Yun, C. (2009). The Acme of Thought that the People Are Foundation of Country or the Seed of Democracy—The Orientation of Huang Zongxi's Political Thought. Journal of University of Science and Technology Beijing (Social Sciences Edition). (3), p.42.

允春喜. (2009). "民本之极限" 还是 "民主之萌芽"——黄宗羲政治思想定位. 北京科技大学学报 (社会科学版), 25(3), p.42.

[27] Li, S. (2016). On the Difference between Huang Zongxi's People-oriented Theory and Western Theory of Democracy. Qilu Journal, (3), p.15.

李石. (2016). 论黄宗羲的"民本思想"与西方民主理论的区别. 齐鲁学刊, (3), p.15.

[28] Ibidem, p.16.

[29] Ibidem, p.17.

Gu Jianing analyzed both the Marxist historian's and new thinkers' ideas. He believed that "the essence of Hou Wailu's early Enlightenment theory is to use a modern deductive method to comprehend the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. In detail, Hou made a theoretical assumption that the civil class asks for equality and liberty, his starting point was the theory of human nature, and he analyzed the idea by referring to representative democracy (侯外庐范式的实质在于以一套合于"近代推论的思维方法"来理解黄宗羲的政治思想。具体言之，即以还原论意义上的"市民阶级平权要求"为理论预设，以自然人性论为起点，以近代代议政治为参照。).")[30] Gu treated the early Enlightenment theory as a way for Chinese scholars to find modernity within Chinese tradition. Then, Gu analyzed the criticism of the new thinkers since the 1980s. He thought that the confirmation of the people-oriented idea and the denial of the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty by the new thinkers "was no breakthrough in researching the methods of the school of Hou Wailu (但在方法上 其实并未突破前者的框架。).")[31] Gu proposed that "the new thinkers used the same theoretical model as the school of Hou Wailu, but their different results were because of their strict comparative standard and the change of the value standpoint since the 1980s (新思想家与之共享了相同的理论模式，只是由于比较尺度的严格化以及价值立场的转变而得出了截然不同的结论。).")[32]

Given this basis, Gu put forward his own way to research the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. On the one hand, he discussed these ideas based on the understanding of Confucianism itself instead of a direct analysis of the changes of society. On the other hand, Gu believed that it is significant to firstly understand the value of western democratic idea and then discuss the late Ming dynasty's idea. Given this method, Gu firstly extracted three crucial values of western democratic ideas, i.g., equality, consent, and political participation. "From these three perspectives of democratic value, it is possible from Huang Zongxi's semantic context, historical context and theoretical logic, to find the democratic characteristics in the new ideas in the late Ming Dynasty (根据上述架构，可以从平等、同意、政治参与三个维

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[30] Gu J. (2018). Reflections on the Relationship between Confucianism and Democracy — Focus on the Issue of the Democratic Elements in Huang Zongxi's Political Thought. Journal of the History of Political Thought. (4), p.19.

顾家宁. (2018). 儒学与民主关系的再思考——以黄宗羲政治思想之"民主性"问题为中心. 政治思想史, (4), p.19.

[31] Ibidem, p.20.

[32] Ibidem, p.20.

度，在黄宗羲自身的文本语境、历史脉络和理论系统中来分析考察其民主性。).”[33] Gu concluded that "if the despotic idea and the democratic idea are two poles in the political spectrum, so Huang's idea was close to the later, the democratic idea, although along traditional Confucian lines. (如果将专制与民主作为政治理论光谱的两极，那么，黄宗羲无疑沿着儒家传统的脉络而更加趋近于后者。).”[34]

Gu's approach to research the democratic ideas gained a level of popularity; some researchers began to use his way to reflect upon the essence of the democratic ideas firstly, and then find the democratic ideas in the semantic context, the historical context, and the theoretical logic of the thinkers' works. This approach has lead me to consider the ideas themselves and the way for the thinkers to express these ideas; in other words, the concept used by the thinkers is important. On the other hand, there are still some shortcomings in this group of new thinkers' research. They also neglected the lineage of ideas, but, unlike the Marxist historian's concentration on social reality, their neglect was because they only focused on the new ideas, so that they neglected the influence of the former thinkers 'ideas. This point has lead me to focus also upon the former concepts used by thinkers to express their ideas, which are also important to discuss to fully understand the democratic ideas hidden in the concepts proposed by the thinkers living in the late Ming Dynasty. In other words, the method used in this paper needs to focus on the changes of concepts.

1.2.4 Conclusion

Through the review of research and literature, the previous section has concluded with the advantages and the disadvantages of the research results of two major groups, the Marxist historians and the new thinkers, on the topic of the presence of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Given this basis, this section will further discuss and conclude these advantages and disadvantages and put forward the method this paper will take to further research the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

Marxist historians' research on the topic of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty is based on the theory of historical materialism. In this theory, history is the result of material conditions

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[33] Ibidem, p.25.

[34] Ibidem, p.34-35.

instead of individuals' consciousness. In discussing the history of ideas, Marxist historians believed that the ideas were decided by social conditions. In Hou Wailu's academic work, *The General History of Chinese Thought (Volume 5)*, his approach to research democratic ideas is to analyze, at first, the social conditions the thinkers lived in, and then discuss the ideas and the relationship between the social conditions and ideas. This approach successfully connects the social reality with the thinker's spiritual world; it can help the reader understand the formative reasons for an idea from a social perspective. However, overemphasizing the importance of the social condition in forming an idea will lead the researcher to neglect the influence of preceding ideas. In other words, in historical materialism, every idea exists in isolation; Marxist historians believed that the history of an idea is only an accessory of the history of society.

Undoubtedly, the social reality is a necessary condition for researching the history of idea; but, the influence of former ideas is also important in discussing ideas. Therefore, this dissertation will not only focus on the democratic ideas themselves but also the influence of the ideas before the late Ming Dynasty. At the same time, as Marxist historians proposed, social reality is also important in researching ideas; therefore, social change also needs to be considered within the research of the history of ideas. Given these bases, this dissertation plans to research both the democratic ideas and the former ideas' influences, combined with the discussion of the change of the social reality. However, this approach is relatively new; there are limited references to research these ideas. So, it is important to discuss the achievements made by the new thinkers.

Since the 1980s, a group of new thinkers began to research the topic of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Although they are divided on this topic, their method to research these ideas is the same. They paid attention to the ideas themselves instead of only the connection between ideas and social reality. In debate whether there were democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, some thinkers proposed to research these ideas directly from the semantic context, the historical context, and the theoretical logic of the thinkers' works through the discussion of the essence of western democratic ideas. There are some important points in this statement. On the one hand, the concept is a good reference for researching the ideas. As proposed by the new thinkers, they believed that the ideas were hidden in the semantic context; in other words, the ideas can be presented through the discussion of the context. "Any everyday history in its daily

course is dependent on the language in action, on talking and speaking"[35] and "no social activity, no political action, and no economic activity are possible without speech and reply, without discussion of plans, without public debate or secret utterance, without command."[36] So, the concept is a tool for individuals to express their semantics; it can be used as a reference to find the history of idea. On the other hand, like the Marxist historian, some new thinkers also forget the linage of ideas; they directly research the democratic ideas without the consideration of former ideas. Therefore, it is also important to use the concept as a reference in research the former ideas. In other words, the history of the concept is the way to discuss the history of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

Finally, given the consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the research results achieved by the two groups, this dissertation plans to use the method of tracing the history of a concept to research the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. This method can fully meet the demands put forwards by the review of research and literature. As mentioned before, the influence of the former ideas also needs to be considered in research the democratic ideas. Therefore, this dissertation also adopts the history of experience as a tool to remedy this deficiency. These two methods will be discussed in detail in the next part.

1.3 Research Method

According to the advantages and disadvantages of the review of researches and literature, this dissertation plans to use the history of concepts and the history of experience to research these democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty. Although the reasons for choosing these two methods have already been presented, these reasons are based on the results of the review of other research and literature instead of examining the methods themselves. Therefore, this part will introduce the methods of examining the history of concepts and the history of experiences to further demonstrate their applicability in researching democratic ideas, and to clarify the research steps of these two methods in the meantime.

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[35] Koselleck, R. and Presner, T. S. (2002). The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts. Stanford University Press, p.24.

[36] Koselleck, R. (1989). Social History and Conceptual History. International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, 2(3), p.312.

1.3.1 The Method of the History of Concepts

The traditional method to research thinkers' ideas is to research their ideas directly. However, this way has some disadvantages, and it can cause some misunderstanding of the ideas in history. On the one hand, the theoretical hypothesis for this method is that the only change for ideas is their expression, instead of the meaning of the ideas. This belief neglects the influence of time and cultures on ideas; and in fact, the so-called eternal idea does not exist in reality. On the other hand, the basis for researching ideas is from the researcher's understanding; the starting point is to discuss how the researcher conceptualizes these ideas. This way undoubtedly clearly expresses the researcher's ideas, but it neglects the original meaning of the idea in history. Because of the change of time, areas, cultures, the people's understanding of an idea is very different. So, the result of the method actually neglects the original thinkers' considerations and mistakenly uses researchers' understanding to describe the idea that needed to be researched.

This research method was criticized increasingly after the Second World War. In the 1960s historians in the UK, France, and Germany put forward a new method to face this challenge in succession. In the UK, historians believed that it is important to understand thinkers' ideas based on the character and rhetoric he/she originally used in describing his/her ideas. This way was called the Cambridge School of the history of ideas. In France, historians put forward the method of discourse analysis (analyse du discours) and the social history of concepts (socio-histoire des concepts) to research thinkers' ideas. They emphasized introducing linguistic forms and the social background of discourse in order to research ideas because these two things can help researchers more adequately think about the ideas from their proposer's perspective. In Germany, some historians proposed the history of concepts (die Begriffsgeschichte) to understand thinker's ideas. In this way, researchers transfer their focus from the idea to both this idea and the concept, or conceptualization, of it. Historians believed that the idea is not always eternal; it will change according to different periods, areas, and cultures. Different thinkers have different understandings of one thing based on their living background; thinkers may hold different views on one concept. Compared to the former two methods, Germany's history of concepts better responds to the disadvantages of the traditional methods used in researching the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

The method of the history of concepts includes two essential parts: the first is the 'Saddle Period', and the second focuses on the concept. The Saddle Period is the theoretical basis for

the change of the meanings of the concept, and it focused on the influence of the former's ideas on the new ideas. Focusing on the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, it will be discussed using the method of the history of experience. After discussing the Saddle Period, the focus of the history of concepts then transfers to the concept and its meaning.

"The investigation of concepts and their linguistic transformation is so very much a minimal condition for cognizing a history as its definition of having to do with human society."[37] It means that the changes of a society will leave linguistic marks on major political and social concepts. But, "not every historical treatment of concepts deserves the name of conceptual history."[38] As Koselleck analyzed, the major concepts (or basic concepts) and general concepts played different roles in intellectual history. Therefore, he emphasized that major concepts are the research objects of the history of concepts. "As distinguished from concepts in general, a basic concept, as used in the GG (Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe), is an inescapable, irreplaceable part of the political and social vocabulary...Basic concepts combine manifold experiences and expectations in such a way that they become indispensable to any formulation of the most urgent issues of a given time. Thus basic concepts are highly complex; they are always both controversial and contested. It is this which makes them historically significant and sets them off from purely technical or professional terms…Such concepts therefore must be interpreted in order to sort out their multiple meanings, internal contradictions, and varying applications in different social strata."[39]

Concepts are the media for people to cognize the world; through the concepts, people can describe the experience they have felt and show their expectation (future experience). "Concepts might likewise have been formed to set free new realities."[40] The history of concepts, therefore, has two important points. The first focuses on how people use concepts to express ideas from social linguistic backgrounds in history; the second point emphasizes the

[37] Ibidem, p.308.

[38] Palonen, K. (1997). An Application of Conceptual History to Itself: From Method to Theory in Reinhart Koselleck's Begriffsgeschifte. Redescriptions: Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory, 1(1), p.41.

[39] Koselleck, R. (1996). A Response to Comments on the Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe, in: The Meaning of Historical Terms and Concepts. New Studies on Begriffsgeschichte, Hartmut L. and Melvin R., ed. Washington: German Historical Institute, 1996, S. p.64-65.

[40] Koselleck, R., and Presner, T. S. (2002). The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts. Stanford University Press, p.36.

changes of people's concepts' semantic meanings to express their ideas. From the perspective of the history of concepts, the decisive factors of culture and concepts people experienced or expected are based on the origination of concepts and the change of these concepts. The concept is complex, it includes the experiences and expectations, ideas, and their means of expression. As discussed by Koselleck, "a new concept may be coined to articulate experiences or expectations that never existed before."[41] A concept is only a symbol, and it contains different ideas according to different social backgrounds.

In more in-depth analyses, the concept which needs to be researched from the perspective of the history of concepts is not only one concept; it is a concept belonging to a cluster of concepts. One concept is useful and meaningful to study the idea it contained when researchers analyze it by treating it as a part of a cluster of concepts or interplays with other relative concepts. It means that people cannot understand one concept's meanings without researching other relative concepts or other concepts in one cluster. So, it is important to analyze a concept with the cluster of relative concepts. Moreover, when researching the change of one concept, it needs firstly to study the origination of this concept, and then analyze the development of this concept in its interplaying with other relative concepts. Furthermore, Koselleck also highlighted need to focus on the objective concept and the parallel concept when discussing one concept. For him, both these two concepts belong to the relative concepts of the concept that need to be researched; studying these two concepts will help researchers fully understand the meaning of the target concept from different angles.

In summary, by discussing the logic and important points of the history of concepts, this method is fairly exact. Firstly, researchers need to discuss the concept itself and its cluster or its relative concepts in order to discuss the ideas hidden within these concepts. As discussed before, the functions of the concept only become clear when it is placed in the cluster of concepts or interplays with relative concepts. Secondly, before discussing the concept's change, it is important to analyze the origination of the concept. Only by clarifying the original meaning of one concept and making it a standard can the researcher further discuss the change of the meaning of the concept. So, the essential step before studying the change of a concept is to understand the initial meaning of it. Thirdly, discussing the change of concepts. Because concepts in different periods and different backgrounds have different meanings, the current

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[41] Ibidem, p.30.

idea can be found by comparing the different meanings of the concept. All in all, when studying one concept and the ideas in the concept, researchers need to explore the relationship among different relative concepts in different periods and compare them in order to reveal the idea hidden in these concepts.

1.3.2 The "Saddle Period" and the History of Experience

In Koselleck's research, the "Saddle Period" is a theoretical hypothesis within the history of concepts, which was used to discuss why concepts changed drastically from the Middle Ages to the Modern era in Germany. "The theoretical anticipation of the so-called Saddle Period between around 1750 and around 1850 is that in this period the denaturalization of the old experience of time took place (Der theoretische Vorgriff der sogenannten Sattelzeit zwischen rd. 1750 und rd.1850 ist nun der, daß sich in diesem Zeitraum eine Denaturalisierung der alten Zeiterfahrung abgespielt hate)."[42] Similarly, to research the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty using the method of the history of concept, it is also important to set up a theoretical hypothesis. Moreover, the "Saddle Period" is a stage during a specific time, and to describe it, the researcher needs to consider realities in society during that specific time. "It is only through experience that we can get in touch with reality"[43], and experience is the basis for searching for truth and reality, so to discuss the Saddle Period of the democratic idea, it comes to the history of experience.

To understand the history of experience, the first thing is to understand the experience. Different thinkers have different conceptualizations of experience; at least, it denotes three major meanings. First, experience means that the moment humans contact reality; second, "experience designates a sequence of such moments, and accordingly we see it as an extended process"[44]; finally, "experience can refer to the result of such a process, acquiring the meaning of familiarity."[45] These three meanings are from different perspectives in order to explain the definition of experience, but the first meaning is a foundation for the second and third ones. Without the moment that a human gets in touch with reality, the process of the second meanings

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[42] Koselleck, R. (1967). Richtlinien für das Lexikon politisch-sozialer Begriffe der Neuzeit. Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte, (11), 84-85.

[43] Leidhold, W. (2021). The History of Experience. p.8.

[44] Ibidem, p.21.

[45] Ibidem, p.21.

and the result of such a process will not continue; that is to say, the moment is a start of the experience. As Leidhold explained, "in the first usage…the temporal aspect, or the duration of contact, as well as the subjective intensity of the impression are set aside".[46] Hegel believed that the meaning of experience is a principle of experience, "modern philosophy derives its materials from our own observations and perceptions of the external and internal world, from nature as well as from the mind and heart of man when both stand in direct and immediate contact with the observer."[47] Leonardo da Vinci also has a similar understanding of experience, but he called the experience as the mother of wisdom. Leidhold concluded this understanding, he thought that "experience is meant to be a principle and the origin of human knowledge."[48]

Treating experience as a principle, so the next step is to ask what kind of contents or parts construct this principle? It is not aiming to find the varying contents of the principle, but the structure of it. Leidhold identified that there are three parts that make the experience: "one part that makes the experience, another that is experienced, and a third element that establishes a relationship between the two."[49] It means that in the principle of experience, one part actively gets in touch with another part. That is to say, the principle is composed of two parts with the relationship between them. He, based on this analysis, called the relationship between the two elements as participation; and he, therefore, defined experience as a kind of experience. "Participation denotes a relationship or connection between parts or things of any kind. While all things may participate in each other, not all things we participate in becoming an experience for us."[50] Given the initial judgment of the structure experience, Leidhold introduced consciousness into this structure. "When we become aware of the fact that we participate in something, participation turns into conscious participation. While consciousness played its role all the time, it remained beyond my attention until then. Evidently, one of the basic functions of consciousness is to focus our attention or awareness. When we become conscious of something we participate in, then our participation is turned into an experience."[51] So,

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[46] Ibidem, p.22.

[47] Hegel, G. (1874). The Logic of Hegel, transl. from the Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences, with Prolegomena, by W. Wallace, Oxford, Introduction, p.9.

[48] Leidhold, W. (2021). The History of Experience. p.22.

[49] Ibidem, p.26.

[50] Ibidem, p.26.

[51] Ibidem, p.27.

experience is a kind of participation that is qualified by the involvement of consciousness; that is to say, experience is conscious participation.

"Experience, defined as conscious participation, is a hybrid that affiliates two disparate sides: consciousness and participation. Participation is a universal phenomenon that we all get in touch with anywhere, yet each of us knows only one's own personal consciousness: it is a purely personal matter."[52] As a subjective matter, consciousness influences participation which is treated as an objective thing; therefore, participation finally presents various types of subjective influence. Due to the study of neurological history, consciousness was also influenced by the development of human brains. From the historical perspective, conscious participation, i.g., experience, is also affected by human brains. Given the point, Leidhold introduced into the types of experience the development of human brains; it includes nine types: "sensation, reproductive and creative imagination, participation and self-reflection, noëtic and spiritual experience, as well as the dimensions of consciousness and of the unconscious."[53]

Consciousness change is influenced by consciousness. As the study of neurological history has proved, it depends on the neurological basis and on cultural input; that is to say, it needs deliberate practice. Leidhold analyzed this deliberate practice and proposed that there are four phases in practice; it includes the phase of incubation, the phase of articulation and the phase of method and the phase of institution. "When public representation receives positive feedback, the new approach may attract more and more people, and the audience will grow into a movement. When the movement's methodic and symbolic tools become permanent features of a society, they have transformed into institutions. The process leading to institutional stability is called institutionalization. Thus institution building is a fourth phase in the history of a new experiential dimension." [54] Given the four phases, he further studied the nine types of experience, and he believed each experience represents a new experiential dimension in history since the Upper Palaeolithic. This point is combined with neurological history to explore how the human brain developed with the deliberate practice. From the experiential dimension perspective, humans' ways of getting in touch with reality also changed. Cultural input and

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[52] Ibidem, p.29.

[53] Ibidem, p.32.

[54] Ibidem, p.36.

deliberate practice increasingly changed humans' understanding of reality, so their way to reality also changed. It also shows that "the varieties of experience derive from the varieties of participation–yet these varieties are mere potentials, which become active only if we move them into the focus of conscious awareness."[55]

In summary, given this analysis, some points needed to be mentioned in using the method of the history of experience. At first, the four phases of experiential turns are the key to judge which experiential dimension is present. From the phase of incubation, the phase of articulation to the phase of method, and finally to the phase of institution, a new experiential dimension will come, and the old one will increasingly disappear. Moreover, the four phases will bring new and different characteristics compared to the old one. And it is through the analysis of new characteristics that the dimension of the history of experience can be decided. Then, according to Leidhold's analysis, each experiential dimension has its topic. For example, in the Noëtic turn, self-reflection became a major thing for a human to understand the world. This leads to varied new ideas increasingly being produced, one of the most famous ideas in this experiential dimension was Solon's political plan from ancient Greece. Through self-reflection, Solon connected the fate of the city with citizens, and then he proposed a series of reform policies to reform ancient Athens. Finally, as Leidhold proposed, "the chains of experience do not evolve the same way at all times and all places, and therefore they may not only be composed in a unique way, but the trajectory of change can vary, too."[56] Because of different cultural backgrounds, there will be cultural input, so using the four phases to analyze experience needs to consider the historical development of culture.

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[55] Ibidem, p.40.

[56] Ibidem, p.39.

2 The Democratic Idea in History

Democracy has been a long-existing concept since ancient Greece; however, it contains different ideas with the development of history in different cultures. Therefore, modern Chinese understandings of the concept of democracy are a little different from its original meanings, if taken to mean 'democracy' in ancient Greece. Through the former research, this present study has found that the theoretical basis of some Chinese scholars' research on democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty does not conform with what democratic ideas meant in their original context. That is, their research results as regards the ideas have a far distance are distanced from the western understanding of these same ideas. So, this dissertation begins to research the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty by discussing what 'democratic' ideas originally mean.

But, in itself, democracy has a long history, and it cannot be simply and directly be clarified at once. Since the first democracy arose in ancient Greece around 500 B.C., it has been continually conceptualized positively or negatively by different thinkers from different cultural backgrounds. In this way, the democratic idea becomes much more complicated to comprehend, especially since the appearance of modern liberal theory and social contract theory, developing in or after the European Enlightenment. Ancient Greek democracy, therefore, is very different from the modern representative democracy both from the perspective of idea and practical system. "In comparison to classical Athenian democracy, modern democracy is less and more at the same time"[57], and "it has little or nothing to do with power or the people proposed by ancient democracy, let alone the power of (all) the people."[58] Given the difference between ancient and modern democracy, the scope of researching democratic ideas cannot be only limited in one period. However, reviewing the development of democratic ideas from ancient times to the modern era is a large project; it cannot be easily solved in one chapter. Therefore, it requires an approach to research the various democratic ideas in western history.

"A new concept may be coined to articulate experiences or expectations that never existed before. However, it can never be too new not to have existed virtually as a seed in the pre-given

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[57] Buchstein, H. and Jörke, D. (2007). Redescribing Democracy. Redescriptions: Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory, 11(1), p.183.

[58] Cartledge, P. (2009). Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice. Cambridge University Press, p.62.

language and not to have received meaning from its inherited linguistic context. "[59] This means, although democratic ideas or the concept of democracy may appear before the existence of democratic institutions or democratic system, it cannot appear without some practice relevant to democracy. "The Greeks had no Greeks to emulate, they were therefore unaware of the possibility of democratic government before they created it themselves."[60] "Even if there is no direct evolutionary connection, democracy and democratic idea still originated in Greece."[61] So, discussing democratic ideas should follow how the first democracy in Greece appeared and developed. However, as mentioned before, ancient Greek democracy is different from modern representative democracy. If this research only focuses on the ancient democratic ideas, the conceptual contents of what democratic ideas are will be narrowed. It will also influence the research exploring the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. So, it will compare ancient democratic idea with the modern counterpart. Through their similarities and differences, this research will draw conclusions on what constitutes democratic ideas, and treat this as a theoretical basis to analyse the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

However, there is also a further question relating to researching democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty: there is no clear concept of democracy in ancient China. The modern translation of democracy is "民主" (Minzhu), which means, as regards ancient China, 'the master of people'. This meaning is different from the everyday use of the contemporary Chinese term 'Minzhu' currently, let alone liberty, freedom, and other relative concepts. So, if this research directly uses the democratic idea simply by reviewing the development of democracy in ancient Greece, there will be some linguistic problems; for example, 'liberty' could be treated as an arbitrary attitude in the Chinese context. So, it is also important in this chapter to study how to practically apply the democratic ideas in discussing the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

All in all, this second chapter will pay attention to the essence of democratic ideas, and explore ways to research democratic ideas in the Chinese cultural background. In detail, the first part

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[59] Koselleck, R., and Presner, T. S. (2002). The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts. Stanford University Press, p.30-31.

[60] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.29.

[61] Raaflaub, K. A., Ober, J., and Wallace, R. (2008). Origins of democracy in ancient Greece. University of California Press, p.13.

of this chapter will focus on misunderstandings of the concept of democracy. For Chinese thinkers, democracy is an imported good from the western world; so, their understanding of this concept may be different from the original meanings because of the specific political, social, and cultural contexts. It is important to identify these misunderstandings in order to understand what we might consider the real democratic ideas better. The second part will focus on the establishment of democracy in ancient Greece. Next, the third part will compare these ideas with the modern understanding of democracy. Through the comparison, this dissertation will propose the different parts of the democratic concept. Finally, the last part will propose how to use these to explore democratic ideas in Chinese history. As discussed before, there was no democracy in ancient China; it means that there were also no directly similar democratic terms or concepts. So, finding the fitting Chinese terms and concepts in order to research the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty is also an important step.

2.1 The Development of Democracy and the Democratic Idea

"The citizens of fifth-century B.C. Athens lived democracy, for the first time in the history of the world, and they thought about it."[62] It was at Athens that democratic ideas were first recorded in human history. However, in ancient Greece, there was a debate on whether it was Solon or Cleisthenes who established democracy for the Greeks. "According to conservative fourth-century B.C Athenians, democracy was their ancestral constitution, and its founder was undoubtedly Solon; according to Herodotus, and the Athenian source or sources he followed, the founder of the democracy and the tribes for the Athenians was equally indubitably Cleisthenes."[63] But, practically, democracy was not formed by one person or at one time, the formation and development of democracy is a gradual process, which was credited to three famous political reforms in ancient Greek history, i.g., Solon's reform, Cleisthenes' political practice, and also the deprival of the political power of the Areopagus by Ephialtes. Through these three reforms, from the rule by one to rule by all, the democratic idea was taking shape and gradually influence ancient Greek life. So, this part will focus on how the democratic system formed step by step in ancient Greece to understand what the ancient Greek democratic idea is; meanwhile, it will also discuss the ideas hidden within these reforms.

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[62] Farrar, C. (1989). The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens. CUP Archive, p.1.

[63] Cartledge, P. (2009). Ancient Greek political thought in practice. Cambridge University Press, p.46-47.

2.1.1 Greece's Economic and Political Problems

Having experiences of the military junta, "which is what the Greeks would have called a *dunastiea* or non-responsible collective tyranny"[64], "since the late ninth and eighth century, the Greeks somehow entered quite suddenly upon a period of movement."[65]

Located in the Aegean region, "an important feature of the life of the Greeks was that from early times they had been a seafaring people and that many of them owned ships"[66]. This geographic situation gave Greek a great access to trade and wealth, as well as experiences of Middle Eastern civilizations without invasion by this civilization. Greeks were active in overseas business, and they, therefore, set up many colonies to ensure their safety in this business. "This involved so many cities and so many individuals, families, and groups (not all of them belonging to the nobility) that the accruing wealth, power, and prestige were widely distributed, thus could not be monopolized by monarchs or exploited by a handful of magnates to extend their personal influence."[67] It was in this situation that both power and resources were diffused within different families throughout the polypolitical Greek world. However, it also provides the basis for the emergence of the initial democracy, i.g., isonomy, among the Greeks. "For this could take place only in a situation in which the existing political authorities had long been powerless to deal with the crisis to which Greece was now more and more exposed."[68]

In the continuous diffusion of power among people, "power and wealth began to be concentrated in a relatively small circle of increasingly powerful families (though in Greece as a whole this was still a fairly large circle)."[69] "Everything can be observed or inferred about the beginning of this intensive phase in the evolution of Greek civilization leads to the conclusion that it was marked by the weakness of all central political authority, especially monarchical authority."[70] The competition towards power and wealth among different families

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[64] Ibidem, p.46.

[65] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.33.

[66] Ibidem, p.33

[67] Ibidem, p.33

[68] Ehrenberg, V. (2013). The Greek State (Vol. 23). Routledge, p.20.

[69] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.36.

[70] Ibidem, p.37.

became aggressive; the competition resulted in some families becoming dominant, and some families fell behind. In this competition, many ordinary people, especially the lower class of citizens, lost their farms and had to sell themselves as "hektemoroi", subjects to successful families. Traditional relations in the ancient Greek society between nobles and peasants were thus influenced and even undermined. "Deep divisions arose, leading to unrest, insurgency, and civil war."[71] At this moment, especially in Greek colonies, the society was gradually breaking up traditional relationships. The ancient Greek government was too weak to deal with the problem, and some monarchies failed to leave their mark on the situation.

2.1.2 Solon's Reform and New Rising Ideas

At this moment, the Greeks needed to find a man to solve this bad situation. Solon emerged, and he was "a key figure among the Seven Sages, and according to ancient lore, the author of the maxim 'know thyself'"[72], and made the first step in this development towards democracy. Self-reflection is a core concept for Solon to conceive of how to solve current issues. He firstly analyzed the current situation and developed some suggestions. This turned against "traditional mythical-religious explanations of catastrophic events, arguing instead that humans themselves are the authors of their fate, and that therefore they must take counter-measures by themselves, both regarding their mental attitude as well as their course of actions."[73] By his theoretic works, Solon connected the destiny of a city with citizens' endeavors. He treated the social problems in Greece as created not only by the vacuum of monarchies but also by the citizens. In his statements that the only cure for the problems needed to be found in citizens, "it was the citizens who were to blame for the ills of the age, but the just order could be restored, since the gods were fundamentally well disposed to the city."[74] And it is in this step that "the fate of their hometown did not depend entirely on interventions of protecting deities, but derives from their habits and actions."[75]

So, Solon adopted two measures to help citizens to save their cities. "On the one hand, he aimed to deprive the self-styled 'best' (*aristoi*), the ruling hereditary aristocracy of Athens known

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[71] Ibidem, p.36.

[72] Leidhold, W. (2021). The History of Experience. p.139

[73] Ibidem, p.139.

[74] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.45-46.

[75] Leidhold, W. (2021). The History of Experience. p.140.

collectively as Eupatridai or 'descendants of good fathers', of their monopoly of political power and to throw open the major offices of government to the wealthiest Athenian citizens. On the other hand, he aimed to give a voice – including the formal registering of decisive votes – on some major public issues to ordinary, poor citizens. The latter move certainly marked a major advance in status and privilege for the majority of Athenians, "but – as shall be made clear – it did not amount to anything like granting majority citizen rule."[76] Solon, in these political reforms, empowered the political right to more citizens, especially the lowest class. Solon had confidence in his citizens coming from self-reflection, "the truth will out, and a little time will show my fellow-citizens, sure enough, whether I will be mad or no."[77]

Some ideas, gradually arising with Solon's political reform, influenced the ancient Greek world and the following reforms. At first, Solon opened the door for citizens to participate in politics and manage public affairs independently. He "established the principle that the Athenian citizen body as a whole would guide the Athenian state."[78] It gave ancient Greeks a belief that they also had, like nobilities had before, a right to participate in politics. In the *dunastiea* of Greece, noble families dominated the decisive power on important public affairs; average citizens were excluded from politics and they only followed these noble families. However, during the Solon's reform, "in many places the middle and lower classes protested against existing laws, which were based on oral tradition and administered exclusively by the nobles"[79], and the citizens from the middle and lower classes tried to influence the fate of their cities. The right to participate in politics and manage some public affairs shows that every citizen had the liberty to join politics, which was dominated by noble families, although there were still limitations on this right

But, the idea of political participation is not exclusive to nobilities, and ordinary citizens[80] also were able to enjoy this right. Then, since the Solon's political reform, the idea of equality appeared and gradually influenced Greeks' ideas. Solon deprived nobilities of their exclusive

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[76] Cartledge, P. (2009). Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice. Cambridge University Press. p.48.

[77] Edmond, J.M., ed. (1932). Elegy and Iambus (Vol.1). London: Harvard University Press, p.228.

[78] Pomeroy, S. B., Burstein, S. M., Donlan, W., Roberts, J. T., Tandy, D. W., & Tsouvala, G. (2020). A Brief History of Ancient Greece: Politics, Society, and Culture. Oxford University Press. p.116.

[79] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.40

[80] Only adult Greek men could be citizens in ancient Greece; women, children, and foreigners, slaves were not citizens or only half citizens.

political power and gave citizens right to participate in politics. Thus, the noble was seen in a different light, the fundamental distinction between the noble and the average person in politics began to lose its legitimation. Since the Solon's reform, the idea of equality gradually formed and influenced citizens' lives. And it also deepened Solon's teaching that the city's fate was in its citizens' hands. The noble can influence the city's development, and every citizen has equal influence on the city in politics. This idea can be treated as a precursor of the idea of political equality in ancient Greece, and it then laid a foundation for Cleisthenes and Ephialtes to reform the noble council. Solon's endeavor towards political reform, and these two ideas embedded in his reform formed the basis of the democracy.

2.1.3 Cleisthenes' Political Reform and New Political Idea

Cleisthenes' political reform made "the origin of democracy in the world *tout court*, not only at Athens."[81] As the Greek historian Herodotus, in his *Histories,* wrote that "Cleisthenes introduced the tribes and the democracy for the Athens."[82]

Since Solon's reform in Greece, Greeks had enjoyed the rights to participate in politics and decide public affairs. These civil rights, therefore, were widespread in society. Greek Citizens, during this period, gradually accustomed themselves to these new political customs. However, after Solon's departure, the politics was dominated by some noble families again, ordinary citizens were kept out from it. To compete for the ruling rights, there were two main parties formed by Greek nobilities, i.e., the Pedieis led by Lycurgus and the Paralioi led by Megacles. In the competition between the two parties, Peisistratos wielded power and became Greece's tyrant. Solon's reform was kept during his authority. But after Peisistratos'' death, his son, Hippias of Athens, began a brutal reign. It triggered the ancient Greek citizens' defence of their interests; and Cleisthenes, by this opportunity, launched a coup and gained the ruling right of Athens.

Cleisthenes' reform started by focusing on citizens. Before the reformation, the *Phylai* was under control by a few noble families, public affairs were managed tightly by a few groups, "noble families controlled the groups, and the other members were in many ways dependent

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[81] Cartledge, P. (2009). Ancient Greek political thought in practice. Cambridge University Press, p.55.

[82] Herodotus, A. D. (1920), Godley, trans. Cambridge. Harvard University Press, 6.131.1.

on them."[83] Ordinary people's right to participate in public affairs was only a shell. Given the situation, although his aim was not only for citizens, Cleisthenes started his reformation. "He reconstituted the *Phylai*, transferring to the new *Phylai* the most important political functions of the old, and assigning some additional functions to them."[84] He aimed to re-institutionalize the new political idea. *Deme*, in his reformation, was the basis for all following steps, "the new order was based on the demes, small local settlements each consisting, as a rule, of a village or a small town."[85] The core of each *Phyle* was citizenship; Cleisthenes made it by representing interests; each *Phyle* should only represent its members' interest. "The members of each *Phyle* were to have nothing in common but their shared citizenship, which was to be the basis of their solidarity; on this basis, they were presumably meant to compete and try to excel one another."[86] Through the reconstruction of the *Phylai*, Cleisthenes broke up the old *Phylai* relationships and allocated rights among *Phylai* based on the *Demes*. The *Phylai*, indeed, "had given the citizens new power and influence within the framework of the existing order, enabling them to operate as a kind of official opposition and to defend themselves against the Areopagus, the council of elders of the city and the administrators, restricting the power of the nobility, and obliging the nobles to pay more heed to the wishes of the people. It had changed the rules of the game, but still left the nobility as the superior ruling class."[87] Cleisthenes had broken up the traditional relationship among citizens, especially the relationship between the nobles and the average person. And since then, citizens began to participate in politics more usually, and from this influence the ruler's decision in effect. And by this participation, citizens came together, and they became more and more familiar to each other, and from this a sense of brotherhood was taking shape. In so far as the reformation, the notion of citizenship was gradually consolidated firstly by the participation and then by the brotherhood among citizens, a "new solidarity arose that led to a weakening of particularist interests and a strengthening of the civic element."[88]

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[83] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.58.

[84] Ibidem, p.59.

[85] Ibidem, p.59.

[86] Ibidem, p.60.

[87] Ibidem, p.83-84.

[88] Ibidem, p.63.

Compared to Solon's political reform, Cleisthenes' policies further improved citizens' political liberty and the sense of equality. On the one hand, through *Deme*, Cleisthenes aggregated citizens' power to fight against nobilities' power in politics. In this political system, citizens can more directly participate in politics and put forward their ideas about public issues. Even some public officials were directly elected by citizens instead of being chosen by blood relationship or divinity. This situation advanced a sense of political liberty in Greeks' minds. Moreover, Cleisthenes developed the Ostracism, enabling people to vote to expel someone who endangered the Athenian political system, which consolidated this idea and protects this system. In this system, on the other hand, the sense of equality also was improved. The new political system, the *Deme*, at first changed the situation that some traditional tribes or noble families controlled the society. The nobilities' political position was not as high as they used to enjoy, while the middle and the lower classes' political position was improved by the *Boule*, which was constituted by different *Demes*. So, the middle and lower classes did not need to defer to the nobles in politics like they did before. The sense of equality was residing in Cleisthenes' policies. Although Cleisthenes' reform kept some rights for nobilities, there was great development both in ideology and practice, and Greeks lived under this new politics and the new ideas, expanding upon Solon's reform.

2.1.4 The deprival of the political power of the Areopagus by Ephialtes

The next political changes which directly contributied to the Greek democratic system was Ephialtes' political measures and movements. It was in Ephialtes' reform that the Athenian democratic system was 'spruced up'. During this time, the fuller concept of democracy finally came to ancient Greece, and such ideas gradually spread among its peoples.

The old council of the noble families, the Areopagus, was not abolished in Solon's political reform and Cleisthenes' policies. This council existed for a long time. Its authority was from a Greek mythological background[89]. In Solon's reform, he "appointed the Council of the Areopagus to the duty of guarding the laws, just as it had existed even before as overseer of the constitution, and it was this Council that kept watching over the greatest number and the most important of the affairs of state"[90]. In the early 6th century, the Areopagus had rights to

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[89] In the Areopagus, the gods condescended both to render and to demand satisfaction for homicide and to sit in judgment upon contending litigants.

[90] Aristotle, A. (1984). The Athenian Constitution. London: Penguin, p.12.

select officials, especially the nine Archons. As Aristotle wrote "Solon seemed to avoid destroying the previously existing institutions, particularly the Council and the selection of archons."[91] "In Cleisthenes' day, the chief aim was to counterbalance the power of the Areopagus and the aristocratic officials, and to assert the rights of the people against them."[92] Cleisthenes expanded the membership number of *Boule* from 400 to 500 men, making this council able to compete with the Areopagus. But, "in internal affairs, the Areopagus still had exercised a significant influence…It was thus a substantial force in Athenian politics"[93]. Since Cleisthenes' reform, the Areopagus's rights were gradually limited by the citizen's council, and under Ephialtes it lost its final rights.

Ephialtes changed the political situation in Athens. "In 462/461 B.C., a group of politicians led by Ephialtes persuaded the Assembly to forbid the Areopagus to involve itself in politics, leaving it with only a few juridical functions in cases of homicide."[94] "Ephialtes began his attack on the Areopagus by first removing many Areopagites from office by bringing legal proceedings against them for their acts of administration...these attacks on individuals would be an attack on the Areopagus' authority."[95] The Areopagus did not play a significant role in politics as it did before. The Assembly for citizens, i.g., the *Boule*, lost a vital competitor, and citizens extended their freedom in politics. From that point, ancient Greek citizens, including of the lowest class, "seem to have asserted themselves to a greater extent in the Assembly, the way now open for a new kind of politics, based solely on the Assembly and the Council of 500"[96], "the political roof to the nobles provided by Areopagus suddenly caved in, and the decisive step into a wilder world had been taken."[97] "This body of the Areopagus had been deprived of its character as a purely aristocratic council"[98], the nobles thus lost the leading position in politics, and politics currently was placed at the disposal of ordinary citizens."It was

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[91] Aristotle, A. (2016). Politics. Princeton University Press, p.4.

[92] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.71.

[93] Ibidem, p.83.

[94] Ibidem, p.83.

[95] Jones, L. A. (1987). The Role of Ephialtes in the Rise of Athenian Democracy. Classical Antiquity, 6(1), p.63-64.

[96] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.83.

[97] Ibidem, p.83.

[98] Martin, J. (1974). Von Kleisthenes zu Ephialtes. Zur Entstehung der athenischen Demokratie. Chiron, (4), p.27.

perhaps at this time, or at least not long afterward, that constitutional concepts such as 'democracy' first arose."[99]

Ephialtes deprived the Areopagus' political rights, and he further spread the concept of political participation and equality. On the one hand, the deprival of political rights of the Areopagus further removed this impediment for people's political participation. Although Solon and Cleisthenes reformed the old political system and gave rights to citizens to manage public affairs, the Areopagus of the nobilities still influenced the Athenian politics. So, accompanied by this deprivation, citizen's political participation was ensured by political design and political system; public affairs were in citizens' hands, and they could even revise the law through the process of the Assembly. Undoubtedly, the political liberty for the Athenian Greeks was consolidated. The deprival of the Areopagus' political rights, on the other hand, gradually diminished the difference between political decisions and rights between the higher class and the middle and the lower classes. The political influence of citizens, since then, did not recognise difference internally; the only way for them to participate in politics was to join the Assembly and discuss issues according to the regulation. The nobilities did not keep their privileges, and they had to follow the regulation like other citizens did if they wanted to join politics. So, the idea of equality, especially in the area of politics, became a regular thing for Greeks. All in all, the Ephialtes' movement made the idea originally arising from Solon and Cleisthenes' reforms widely accepted by citizens.

2.2 Discussion on Democratic Ideas
2.2.1 Ancient Greek Democratic Ideas
From Solon's political reform to Cleisthenes' reform, and finally, to Ephialtes' political movement, the democratic system was established step by step. The concept of democracy and democratic experience, through this, arose in ancient Greece. The establishment of democracy entailed new political ideas to arise with it. They strongly influenced the ancient Greek society and Greeks' daily lives. The new idea was brought by the new political system; therefore, these ideas can be treated as an essential part of democracy and labeled as democratic idea. So, to understand the ancient Greek democratic ideas, it is important to find what new ideas were accompanied by this democracy. Through the discussion of the historical process of this establishment, three new ideas arose.

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[99] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.84

2.2.1.1 The Idea of Political Participation

The first idea is about political participation. This idea has two points, the first is that politics should be accessible for all eligible citizens, and the second is that citizens could directly manage public affairs through political participation.

Before Solon's political reform in the *dunastiea's* days, the right to manage public affairs was concentrated with some noble families; the middle and lower classes did not have chances to participate in politics. Politics was a toy only for the nobilities. However, this political situation changed with Solon's reform. Solon empowered people's rights to manage their interests through the re-classification of people. Citizens at first gained the right to join politics and also were given a chance to manage their affairs. However, because of the social position, fortune, and honor, the noble families still strongly influenced politics during Solon's times. A hundred years later, Cleisthenes started his reform. He directly highlighted the influence of people and constituted the *Phylai* based on the *demes* instead of geographic conditions; thus, his classification made common interest a connection among different citizens. The citizens had to take more consideration on how to protect their same interests. Cleisthenes' endeavor consolidated the rights of political participation. But during this time, the political rights of the Areopagus were kept, the nobilities still controlled some parts of politics. This situation changed after the deprival of political rights of the Areopagus by Ephialtes and the enforcement of rights of the Assembly in politics. The final obstruction for the citizen to participate in politics was thus diminished. Since then, political participation became a belief in citizens' own minds and their ability to manage public affairs.

This change in the political system opens a door for ordinary citizens to participate in politics, and this experience brought the ancient Greeks a new idea. Influenced by this idea, politics was not an unfamiliar thing for Greek citizens; instead, it became a part of their daily life. And it also enlightened citizens that public affairs were their responsibility.

The idea of political participation is a major result brought by these three reforms; hence it is the main idea under the concept of democracy. Political participation, undoubtedly, is a key term to decide whether an idea is democratic or not.

2.2.1.2 The Idea of Selecting Officials and Revising Laws

The second idea within the establishment of democracy is about selecting officials and revising laws. This idea contains two concepts, one is the question of who should be an official, and another is the question of who can revise law. This power used to belong specific special groups, and ordinary citizens had nothing to do with such decision making. With the establishment of democracy, the job of public officials is open to the public, and citizens can vote to choose who can be an official. The revising of law in this idea is similar to choosing officials. The Assembly, which was constituted by citizens, dominated the right to announce or abolish a law.

Previously, the rights to manage public affairs were concentrated with some noble families, and it brought them some interests. They wanted to continually keep their interests and monopolize the rights to participate in politics, delimiting this to blood relationships, and claiming the honor to select officials. So, before Solon's reform, many officials were from noble families. Moreover, the rights to revise law were also dominated by the nobility. This situation started to change in Cleisthenes' reform, he used geographic relationship, instead of blood relationship, as a foundation to restructure different *phylai*. In this restructuring, the members of noble families were scattered to different *phylai*. Their influence was weakening, and they cannot be easily assembled together to put pressure on the political system. Because of the weakening of this political influence, citizens began to choose their own representatives to be officials. "Approximately 1100 citizens held office each year…citizens were mostly chosen by lot, with a much smaller (and more prestigious) group of about 100 elected."[100] Cleisthenes' reform kept the Areopagus' political rights; the nobilities still had rights to maintain the law, which protected their interests. However, these rights were deprived by Ephialtes. Through the coup d'état, Ephialtes deprived the political rights of the Areopagus and empowered the Assembly to perform the responsibilities and obligations that the Areopagus did before. So, since then, citizens had the right to discuss the law and revise its irrationality through the political procedure.

This idea was a further development of political participation. It enhanced the importance of citizens in the Greek political system. They were not sidelined by noble families; instead, they became an influential part in politics. Officials and laws were no longer family property for

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[100] Rhodes, P. J., ed. (2004). Athenian democracy. Oxford University Press, p.29.

noble families, they were public issues. Influence by this idea, the notion of the public became a major term in democratic politics.

2.2.1.3 The Idea of Equality

The third idea arising with the establishment of democracy is equality. The first and the second idea incubated the third. This idea emphasized that every citizen had a same influence on politics, and the privilege of noble families was ineffective in politics.

The rights to manage public affairs was for a long time dominated by noble families, so they had a different political position compared to the middle and the lower classes. Therefore, blood relationships were treated as a standard to differentiate people in society. This situation created social inequality among different social classes. Since Solon reformed the Greek political system, the idea of equality was incubated. Solon's classification of citizens was based on properties instead of birth or family. This measure firstly broke up the relationship between the noble and the average person, and it made the ordinary citizens believe that they were not significantly different from their noble counterparts. In Cleisthenes' reformation, *demos* were structured based on geographic conditions, noble families were split up into different *demos*, and they lost the influence they enjoyed before. Citizens, at this time, increasingly did not have different rights in politics and society compared to the nobility. They, therefore, did not regard the right enjoyed by the nobles as a kind of congenital right given by god, and felt they too can influence politics like the nobles did before, thus "it gave citizens political equality, as all had an equal chance of obtaining government office."[101] Ephialtes' deprival of the political rights of the Areopagus further enhanced the idea in peoples' minds. The nobility lost their last privileges, and there was no distinct difference between the nobility and the average person in the political area.

2.2.1.4 The Political Terms for the New Idea

As set out in the previous sections, there were three ideas embedded in the democratic concept in ancient Greece; these are the idea of political participation, the idea of the public's right to select officials and revise laws, and the idea of equality. The first and the second ideas concerns the rights to manage public affairs and make a public decision; it can be summarized in a

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[101] Samons, L. J. (2004). What's Wrong with Democracy?: From Athenian Practice to American Worship. University of California Press, p.45.

modern political language as political liberty. But this political liberty remained in a narrow sense; it cannot be understood as the sense of political liberty familiar to modern politics and society. The third idea is similar to the sense of equality in modern political language, but it is also different from the sense of equality citizens feel in modern life. Simply speaking, these two terms, the narrow sense of political liberty and equality, can be used to describe major parts of the concept of ancient Greek democracy, and the ideas embedded in this concept. As Meier wrote in his book, "it also determined the basic concepts of democracy, namely liberty and equality, both of which were understood in a wholly political sense."[102]

2.2.2 Brief Comparison between Ancient and Modern Democratic Idea

However, democratic ideas have developed over a long time; the democratic concepts' initial meanings have also changed along with time. So, there are some differences between ancient and modern democratic ideas. Although the idea of democracy from nothing to something in ancient Greece is a good source to guide this research on the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty, it is also necessary to compare the ancient democratic ideas with its modern counterpart. Through the comparison, this chapter will explore how to research democratic ideas in different cultural backgrounds.

The idea of political liberty in ancient Greek democracy means that Greek citizens have the right to participate in politics and make public decisions on some issues through public discussion. However, there were some strict limits on this right. "The liberty of the ancients consisted in carrying out collectively but directly many parts of the over-all functions of government…all private actions were strictly monitored, no room was allowed for individual independence of opinions."[103] "In all the matters that seem to us the most important, the authority of the collective interposed itself and obstructed the will of individuals."[104] So, only citizens have the rights of political liberty and they can only exercise of this right when they come together and manage public issues. "The ancients had no notion of individual rights…the individual was in a way lost in the nation, the citizen lost in the city."[105] So, the right of political

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[102] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.187.

[103] Constant, B. (1988). The Liberty of the Ancients Compared with that of the Moderns. Political Writings, p.326.

[104] Ibidem, p.326.

[105] Ibidem, p.327.

liberty in ancient Greece is only for collectives, and individuals can enforce this right only in strict conditions. Modern political liberty is thus very different compared to the ancient one. This liberty is a basis for the modern democratic system. Without the idea of liberty, the modern democratic system would have remained stagnant. "Modem liberty focus on popular sovereignty per se."[106] Ideas of modern political liberty originated in social contract theories, as formulated by Hobbes, John Locke, and Rousseau, which is mainly focused on protecting individual interests from invasion. This is a great difference compared to the ancient one, which only focused on the collective without individual concerns. So, the notion of individual rights is a key term to differentiate the idea of ancient Greek political liberty, and the ideas of modern political liberty. The political liberty the ancient Greeks enjoyed is making public decisions for the collective, while the political liberty the modern people enjoyed is to protect themselves from external invasion. Individualism undoubtedly took on a significant role in modern politics.

The idea of equality also influenced both ancient Greek and modern politics, but the meaning of ancient equality differs itself from modern counterparts. In ancient Greek politics, only citizens enjoyed equality in politics. Before Solon's political reform, politics was dominated by the noble families, and there was undoubtedly an unbalance in politics between the higher class and the middle and lower classes, so the notion of equality had limited place to incubate. However, through Solon's reform, political participation was given to the lower classes. Although the noble families had a strong influence on politics, there was a place for the notion of equality to incubate. After the Cleisthenes' and Ephialtes' political reforms, especially the change of the *deme* and the Areopagus's deprival, there was little superficial difference in access to political participation between the noble families and average citizens. "When the first democracies were founded, there could be no possibility of establishing equality and liberty within the existing order; equality had to be created at the same time as law and order."[107] However, like the ancient Greek political liberty, this equality was also limited within the scope of politics. The goal of these political reforms in ancient Greece is "not social equality, but purely political or 'civic' equality, conferred by membership in the *polis*."[108] However, the modern idea of equality is much broader. "Equality teaches further that all men

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[106] Palmer, T. G. (2008). Democracy and the Contest for Liberty. Nw. UL Rev., (102), p.443.

[107] Meier, C. (1990). The Greek Discover of Politics. Harvard University Press, p.80.

[108] Ibidem, p.79.

are created equally that entitled to liberty"[109], the idea of equality is not only limited in politics but gradually spreads to other areas. It is treated as a man's natural right, which ensures individuals' interests. Like the modern idea of political liberty, modern idea of equality also concerns the individuals' rights. So, the notion of individual right is also a key term to differentiate ancient and modern idea of equality.

Through this comparison, this research finds that individual rights play an important part in differentiating the two democratic ideas. In ancient times, collective authority overrides individual rights; citizens were empowered to use their liberty and equality when making public decisions on some issues. In the modern area, the popular authority in modern democratic countries became much more important in politics, so individual rights have a central influence on establishing or re-establishing other political ideas. The notion of popular authority also influences how people think about democratic ideas, although the democratic concept's primary idea is still political liberty and equality. In modern democratic ideas, political liberty and equality are not only for collective interests; individual rights are also an inescapable aspect for them to protect. So, the democratic idea can be summarized as including the notion of political liberty and equality, which includes the ideas of political participation, and the rights to select officials and revise laws, and the idea of equality, and individual rights, which differentiates the boundary between the ancient and the modern democratic ideas. Briefly speaking, discussing this democratic idea, whether ancient or modern, political liberty and equality are two significant terms; and individual rights also need to be considered in discussing these two political terms.

2.3 The Approach to Researching Democratic Ideas in Chinese History

Democracy undoubtedly originated in western history and culture; therefore the ideas embedded in the concept have western cultural characteristics. Currently, there is no apparent proof to indicate that China has a similar theoretical system of democracy in ancient times. However, this does not mean there is no possibility to discuss democratic ideas in Chinese history. As recorded, some ancient Chinese thinkers proposed a similar idea about ordinary citizens' participation and public decisions. So, it is possible to research this topic in Chinese history from the perspective of ideology.

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[109] Diamond, M. (1976). The American idea of equality: The view from the founding. The Review of Politics, 38(3), p.315.

However, there is another problem obstructing this research. It is that the ancient Chinese term, Minzhu (民主), is different from the modern meaning of this term. It is impossible to directly use the modern political terms, i.g. political liberty and equality, to find democratic ideas in the ancient Chinese context. So, it is necessary to re-interpret democratic idea terms based on the Chinese context in order to try to accurately explore democratic ideas in the Chinese context in the late Ming Dynasty.

As set out before, the democratic idea includes three major ideas, the idea of political participation, the idea of selecting officials and revising laws, and the idea of equality. So, to understand these in the ancient Chinese context, and use them to find democratic ideas within the masterpieces of the late Ming Dynasty, it is important to understanding the contents of these terms and find the ancient Chinese terms which contain the similar contents.

2.3.1 Research on Political Liberty in the Ancient Chinese Discourse System

The political liberty of democracy includes the idea of political participation and the idea of selecting officials and revising laws; but it was not until the early late 19th century that Chinese began to be familiar with this term. It was translated into Chinese as Zhengzhi Ziyou (政治自由) or Ziyou (自由). But, "Ziyou in ancient Chinese means that people live freely without limitations (古汉语自由多含自由自在、自恣自专之义。)"[110]，these meanings are different compared to the meaning of political liberty set out previously in this research. If this research were to directly use Zhengzhi Ziyou or Ziyou to discuss the concept democracy in the Chinese context of the late Ming Dynasty, it will find different ideas like the Taoist idea of liberation of the human body or an arbitrary attitude. So, this research needs to further discuss the meanings of the ideas of the concept of political liberty.

As discussed before, the term political liberty is used to conclude two ideas in the process of the establishment of ancient Greek democracy. Solon's idea of political participation was to help ancient Greek citizens join politics and make public decisions. The noble families in ancient Greece, therefore, lost their domination of public authority. Given this situation, there

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[110] Fang, W. (2018). The Significance of concepts: Historical-conceptual investigation of modern Chinese thought. Beijing: Peking University Press, p.281.

方维规. (2018). 概念的历史分量：近代中国思想的概念研究. 北京大学出版社, p.281.

are two key points. On the one hand, eligible citizens enjoyed the right to participate in politics; politics is not dominated by a few people who held a special social position. On the other hand, public authority was shared by citizens instead of special groups, citizens included in the process had the rights to deal with public issues.

Given these points, based on Chinese history and culture, some concepts in the ancient Chinese discourse system need to be explored. The first one is the concept of the monarch (Jun, Wang or Junzhu, Junwang, 君, 王 or 君主, 君王). In ancient China, the monarch dominated the absolute authority in the political system, and he had the right to make final decision on public issues. His family also enjoyed the rights to strongly influence different areas of Chinese society and politics. This situation is similar to that of the noble families before Solon's political reforms in ancient Greece, although the Chinese political system is very different from the Greek one. Through Solon's reform, the noble families gradually lost their influences on politics, and finally, in the Ephialtes' deprival of the Areopagus' rights, they held the same right as average citizens. And this process etablished democracy in ancient Greece. Therefore, to research the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty, it is important to discuss how the meanings of the concept of the monarch changed in masterpieces from the early times to the late Ming Dynasty.

The second key term is the concept of the minister (Chen 臣). Minister (or Chen) in ancient China held the administrative right to deal with some public issues. Although ordinary Chinese people could acquire the job of minister through imperial competitive examination (Keju Kaoshi, 科举考试), the power of appointment was dominated by the monarch. So, ministers, in fact, worked for the monarch and his family. If there was a democratic idea in the late Ming Dynasty, the meaning of the concept of the minister (or Chen) will also be important. So, it will be necessary to discuss democratic ideas through the analysis of the concept of the minister (or Chen) and the relationship between monarch and minister.

The third concept is the concept of law. The law is translated into Chinese as 法 or 法律 (Fa or Falü), both of them concern public order and regulation of society. But the aim of the law is different. The ancient Greek law was for the collective, citizens can revise it through political participation. While ancient Chinese law was established by the monarch to maintain his absolute authority, and ordinary people did not have the right to revise it. But before Solon's

reform, the revision of ancient Greek law was dominated by the nobility; only after the deprivation of the Areopagus' rights by Ephialtes could average citizens participate in politics and revise the laws through the Assembly. So, the law is also a useful concept for exploring democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

2.3.2 Research the Idea of Equality in the Ancient Chinese Discourse System

Equality has been translated into Chinese as Pingdeng (平等). In ancient China, Pingdeng was not a commonly-used term for Chinese people; it was usually used by Buddhist thinkers usually to discuss the indiscrimination in humanity. "From the perspective of Buddhist dharma…everything is equal in humanity (以佛法论…万物平等。)."[111] So, it is also not proper to directly use this concept to find democratic ideas in the ancient Chinese context.

Unlike the political liberty discussed before, the idea of equality already existed in ancient Chinese society. But the term of Pingdeng did not express the modern meaning of equality. For example, the idea of "inequality, rather than want, is the cause of trouble (Bu Huangua er Huanbujun, 不患寡而患不均)" from *The Analects of Confucius* shows that ancient intellectuals thought about the equality and inequality. Confucius used Jun (均) to represent equality instead of Pingdeng. So, to research the idea of equality, this research will use terms which represent this idea of equality, like Yi (义, justice), Jun (均, equal) and Gong (公, public and equal), as a reference.

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[111] Ji, J. (2003). Notes of the Yuewei Hermitage, Zhang, L and Kang, F, ed. Guangdong: Zhuhai Press, p.75.

纪昀. (2003). 阅微草堂笔记, 张玲 and 康风琴, ed. 广东: 珠海出版社, p.75.

3. The New Experience of Intellectuals Since the Ming Dynasty

Scholars studying traditional Confucianism as well as Chinese Marxist scholars are alike in perceiving that there was a significant change in scholars' ideas at the end of the Ming Dynasty. The former tends to interpret these new ideas a new people-oriented idea, an evolution of the traditional people-oriented idea in Confucianism. The latter treated the late Ming Dynasty as the early Enlightenment of China, and therefore position the ideas proposed during this time as the early Enlightenment ideas. However, as set out through the first chapters, we know that the critical points of the new idea are in nature close to western democratic ideas. In detail, compared to traditional Chinese ideas before the late Ming Dynasty, thinkers particularly emphasized the people and their position in this new idea, including people's natural desires and people's political and economic interests. Given the profound changes in the history of these ideas, this dissertation maintains that this evidences a change in the thinking logic and the thinking perspective of Confucian scholars at the end of the Ming Dynasty.

The thinkers who lived the late Ming Dynasty did not hypocritically use morals as a slogan to control people's behaviors or defend the monarch's absolute rights. On the contrary, they paid more attention to people's daily lives, cared for people's private desires, and criticized the monarch's rights. Marxist scholars have explained this ideological change as reflecting the social-economic development which began in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. They believed that the increasingly important position of people in the scholars' ideas at the end of the Ming Dynasty, in fact, reflected the importance of human resources in the capitalist production relations developing since the middle of the Ming Dynasty. "The Chinese scholars' ideas from the end of the 16th century to the 17th century, were the characteristics of the Chinese social-economic development and the reflection of Chinese social conditions; the ideas are superficially not similar to the bourgeois-enlightenment thinkers' ideas from western Europe to Russia; but, in the similar historical background, the forming reason of the Enlightenment movement was same in China and in western countries (16 世纪末以至 17 世纪的中国思想家的观点，是中国社会经济发展的特点和中国社会条件的反映，它不完全等同于西欧以至俄国的"资产者-启蒙者"的观点，然而，在相类似的历史发展情况之下，启蒙运动的思潮具有一般相似的规律。)."[112]

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[112] Hou, W. (1956). The General History of Chinese Thought (Vol.5): The Chinese Early Enlightenment History. Renmin Press, p.23

侯外庐. (1956). 中国思想通史(Vol.5): 中国早期启蒙思想史. 人民出版社, p.23.

This explanation has strong explanatory influence and provides a basis for the Chinese historical view. But, as discussed before, the formation of new ideas does not only rest on material conditions. The development of ideas has an evolutionary chain. As Yu Yingshi (余 英时), a new Confucian scholar, analyzed, "the former idea will not disappear suddenly later; it can be found in the incubation of the new idea in the later time. (因为不仅前一时代的思想 不可能在后一时代突然消失无踪，而且后一时代的思潮也必然可以从前一时代中找到 它的萌芽。)."[113] Therefore, I propose that the development of ideas before the late Ming Dynasty lays a foundation for the new ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

The ideological trend before the late Ming Dynasty was dominated by Neo-Confucianism (Lixue, 理学)[114]. However, since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the most influential school of neo-Confucianism in society was the school of Xin (or the school of mind[115], 心学, Xinxue)

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[113] Yu, Y. (1992). The Road of Internal Transcendence: the summary Yu Yingshi's new Confucianism. China Radio-broadcast and Television Press, p.434.

余英时. (1992). 内在超越之路: 余英时新儒学论著辑要. 中国广播电视出版社, p.434.

[114] Neo-Confucianism (宋明理学 or 理学) was translated by missionaries who came to China at the end of the Ming Dynasty. They used the standard way of differentiating Christianity and Neo-Christianity to tell the ancient Confucianism and the new Confucianism in the Song Dynasty. The Chinese name of Neo-Confucianism is Chengzhu Lixue (程朱理学).

Cheng means the Cheng brother, i.g., Cheng Hao (程颢, from 1032 to 1085) and Cheng Yi (程颐, from 1033 to 1107), in the Northern Song (北宋, or Earlier Song Dynasty, from 960 to 1127); while, Zhu means Zhu Xi (朱熹, from 1130 to 1200) in the Southern Song Dynasty (南宋, or Later Song Dynasty, from 1127 to 1279). These three are major founders of Neo-Confucianism. People used their family name to refer to Confucianism in the Song Dynasty and Ming Dynasty. Lixue means that the major works of the new Confucianism were to seek Li (or principle or moral principle, Li is thought by the Neo-Confucian thinkers as a source of everything on the earth). Generally, Li in people's minds refers to morality, and Neo-Confucian scholars believed that if people successfully find Li and they will become the sage who has perfect morality.

Sometimes, Chinese people also call the Neo-Confucianism Daoxue (The School of Dao) because the Confucian thinkers in the Song Dynasty sought to use Confucian orthodoxy (which is translated into Chinese as Dao Tong) to revive Confucianism in society.

[115] The School of Xin (心学, Xinxue). The School of Xin (Xin means mind) was one of the schools in Neo-Confucianism. The thinkers from the school of Xin believed that Li is located in people's minds instead of somewhere outside the human mind, i.g., in Xin, so they believe the way to seek morality is to ask their own mind instead of observing things.

instead of the school of Li (or the school of principle[116], 理学, Lixue) which was officially recognized by the government of the Song Dynasty (宋朝, from 962 to 1279). The members of Neo-Confucianism made morality a metaphysical principle, and they called it Li (理, principle). For them, Li was a source of the universe and the order of the world. To successfully master the order of the world, Neo-Confucian scholars proposed specific ideas to help people find Li. One of these important ideas during this time was Zhu Xi's principle that "Keep the Li of Heaven and abolish the Selfishness of humans (存天理，灭人欲)". This idea mainly reflected Neo-Confucianists' attitudes in the Song Dynasty; for them, the private desire is an impediment for people to find Li, so it is crucial to control people's private desires. However, this proposal was criticized from the middle of the Ming Dynasty, Neo-Confucian scholars began to concern themselves with people's desires. It seems that the development of ideas before the late Ming Dynasty was a watershed between the idea of the end of the Ming Dynasty and the ideas of the Song Dynasty. This theoretical analysis of the development of ideas in the Ming Dynasty is similar to the Saddle Period theory put forward by German historian Reinhart Koselleck.

The Saddle Period theory is a theoretic premise to discuss why concepts changed drastically from the Middle Ages to the Modern era. After the Saddle Period, some new German concepts appeared, and some old concepts empowered new ideas. This situation is similar to the change of concepts of the late Ming Dynasty. Based on former research, it is essential to research the Saddle Period of the late Ming Dynasty before discussing the details of how the concepts changed and the ideas hidden in these concepts. Given this basis, this dissertation treats the middle of the Ming Dynasty as the theoretical Saddle Period of the ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

To discuss the Saddle Period, different thinkers give different explanations. Nevertheless, in this dissertation it is argued that changes in experience guide the changes of ideas. As Leidhold Wolfgang discussed in his book the *History of Experience,* experience is defined as "a kind of participation, which is qualified by the involvement of consciousness."[117] This participation

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[116] The school of Li (理学, Lixue). Lixue was also one of the most influential schools in Neo-Confucianism. The school of Li proposed that Li exists outside the human mind, and they thought it is important to seek Li by learning moral knowledge alone and then use what they learned in practice.

[117] Leidhold, W. (2021). The History of Experience. p.27.

gives humans a conscious consideration of the things they touched before; based on this, they explain why and what they felt in participation. It is also like Eric Voegelin discussed that "ideas turns out to be a secondary conceptual development"[118], "since all ideas refer to and are in fact derived from experience, experience comes prior to ideas and concepts."[119] This chapter will focus on the experiential change during the Saddle Period for the late Ming Dynasty, and will apply the method of history of experience to explain this Saddle Period, and to lay a foundation for discussing the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty in the next chapter.

3.1 Explaining the "Saddle Period"

According to Leidhold's research, the history of experience includes nine dimensions; every dimension has its unique characteristics. And these characteristics influence humans' ways of getting in touch with reality. Therefore, humans have different ways to contact reality in different experiential dimensions, and thus their ideas are also different. The ideas of the late Ming Dynasty were different from traditional Chinese ideas, it therefore means that there may have been a change of the way of getting in touch with reality before the late Ming Dynasty.

This research, firstly, tries to find one experiential dimension from Leidhold's classification to describe the period before the late Ming Dynasty, and then use the characteristics of the dimension to describe how experience of intellectuals changed step by step. However, it finds no compatible experiential dimension to describe this period. The period before the late Ming Dynasty was one of the most complicated periods in Chinese intellectual history. On the one hand, Wang Yangming (王阳明) established the theoretical system of the school of Xin, thinkers began to find Li through reflection. On the other hand, through the endeavors of Wang Yangming's disciples, like Wang Ji (王畿, 1498-1583), Wang Gen (王艮, 1483-1541) and Li Zhi (李贽), thinkers were willing to seek Tianli or Li from ordinary people's daily lives. The new experience during this period was characterized both reflection and consciousness; it is hard to use one dimension to describe all characteristics of the Saddle Period. So, the key to research the Saddle Period's experience for the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty will move to the four phases used to judge the experiential dimension and its major characteristics.

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[118] Voegelin, E. (2006). Autobiographical Reflections (Vol. 34). University of Missouri Press, p.104

[119] Ibidem, p.106

The four phases of the history of experience are mainly used to describe how one experiential dimension changes into another. In the analysis of the four phases, the new way to get in touch with reality and its influences will unfold step by step. It seems that through this method that the Saddle Period for the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty will be presented as straightforward as possible. Therefore, given this basis, this chapter will first discuss the applicability of this method in researching Chinese history.

The phase of incubation is the basis for the other three phases. "It is typical for this phase that the new experience is noticed, but both the appropriate terms and some deeper understanding are missing."[120] As discussed before, this research believes that the middle of the Ming Dynasty is the Saddle Period for the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty; therefore it is important to discuss the historical situation before this time. The school of Li was the most popular school before the middle of the Ming Dynasty, especially in the Song Dynasty; it recieved official confirmation from Song Lizong (宋理宗, ruling from 1224 to 1264). With the establishment of the Yuan Dynasty (元朝, 1271-1368), the status of Zhu Xi's ideas were foregrounded to keep society stable. But at this time, some thinkers from the school of Li, like Xu Heng (许衡, 1209-1281), and Wu Chun (吴澄, 1249-1433), started to highlight the importance of Xin (mind) in seeking Li. When Zhu Yuanzhang established the Ming Dynasty in 1368, more and more scholars became concerned with the impact of Xin in Neo-Confucianism, like Wu Yubi (吴与弼, 1391-1469), Chen, Xianzhang (陈献章, 1428-1500). Particularly Chen Baisha's ideas directly influenced Wang Yangming's considerations of the relationship between Li and Xin. Wang finally established the whole theoretical system of the school of Xin, and at the same time, enriched the theory of the school of Xin. Since this, there was a new experience. So, the first phase is suitable to analyze the Saddle Period.

The second phase of the history of experience is the phase of articulation. It means that "if the new experience keeps occurring again and again, but an adequate understanding does not yet exist, the situation creates a tension that in turn triggers an impulse to look for an answer. If the search is successful, the new experience will be identified and the process enters the next stage."[121] After the death of Wang Yangming, his disciples Wang Ji and Wang Gen continued

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[120] Ibidem, p.34.

[121] Ibidem, p.34.

to research the theory of the school of Xin. Especially Wang Gen's theories directly related to the middle and lower classes. His theory made Wang Yangming's proposal famous and popular in society. Wang Gen's disciples, like Yan Jun (颜钧, 1504-1596), Luo Rufang (罗汝芳, 1515-1588) and Li Zhi (李贽), developed his ideas and used them to discuss human nature. As recorded by Liu Zongzhou (刘宗周, 1578-1645), this trend made this new experience accepted by more and more people. So, the second phase is also fitting in researching this topic.

However, the phase of method and the phase of institution do not entirely fit in the analysis of this period. Though, the phase of method is not unsuitable to research the Saddle Period; traditional Chinese ideas are based on moral philosophy, thinkers put forward theoretical proposals and practice principles at the same time. It means that "methods are required to teach people how to acquire and practice the new dimension"[122] will also be discussed in introducing thinkers' ideas. Therefore, when this chapter analyzes the thinkers' ideas in the first and second phases, the method will, therefore, be explained also to describe the nature of their ideas.

The final phase of the history of experience is the phase of institution, which means that the method for teaching people how to acquire and practice the new dimension becomes permanent features of a society. This phase is also not fitting to describe the result of the ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. With the collapse of the Ming Dynasty and the establishment of the Qing Dynasty, the Manchu government of the Qing Dynasty took ruthless means to control China's major ethnicity, the Han Chinese. Literary iinquisition was one of the major policies to control the Han Chinese people's minds and suppress their sense of rebellion. So, since the Qing Dynasty, the Han Chinese people lost their freedom to propose creative ideas and think about reality. They had to transfer their concentration to different areas, like textology[123]. Therefore, the new experience and its method disappeared in China. The phase of institution failed, and there is no need to discuss this phase of the Saddle Period.

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[122] Ibidem, p.34.

[123] Textology, or Kaozheng, is a school and approach to study, present in China from 1600 to 1850. Its direct translation to English is 'a search for evidence'. The approach corresponds to the methods of modern textual criticism, and was sometimes associated with an empirical approach to scientific topics as well. (from Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaozheng).

In summary, this chapter will use the four phases to research the experiential turn in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. The first part will focus on the ideological situation in the Song Dynasty as a basis for the next phases. Neo-Confucianism formed in the Northern Song Dynasty and was officially confirmed in the Southern Song Dynasty. It strongly influenced people's values, and behaviors. This is the basis for the experiential turn, and it can help this research to find how the new experience incubated. Then, it will discuss the phase of incubation. In this part, it will largely discuss how Wang Yangming's ideas formed step by step, and what new characteristics Wang Yangming developed to change people's ways of getting in touch with reality. Next, the phase of articulation will focus on Wang Yangming's disciples' ideas. These ideas directly influenced thinkers' logic and thinking model in the late Ming Dynasty. When discussing the first two phases, the phase of method will also be analyzed as part of seeking the new experience. Through the phase of incubation, articulation, and method, the new way to get in touch with reality will be presented. And it will provide an understanding to comprehend why the concepts held by thinkers who lived in the late Ming Dynasty contains democratic ideas.

3.2 The Revival of Confucianism in the Song Dynasty

Neo-Confucianism arose in the Northern Song Dynasty; it was a new interpretation of traditional Confucianism by Song intellectuals in order to meet the needs of politics, ideology, and social stability at that time. With the official confirmation by Song Lizong in the Southern Song Dynasty, Neo-Confucianism became an officially recognised orthodoxy. Compared to the former Confucian orthodoxy, which had proposed the doctrine of "Interactions between Heaven and Mankind" (天人感应) since the Han Wu Emperor, the theoretical system of Neo-Confucianism is totally different. Therefore, since the Song Dynasty, Chinese people began to use a new way to guide their values and behaviors to get in touch with reality. To understand the theoretical system of Neo-Confucianism and the experience brought by this ideology, this chapter will at first review the history of how Neo-Confucianism came to the Song Dynasty.

3.2.1 Some Problems in the Song Dynasty

With the collapse of the Tang Dynasty (唐朝, 618-907), China experienced more than three hundred years of rule by warlords. This long-term social disruption made politics, society, and ideology stagnant; the ritual of Confucianism, which was identified with the legitimate Dynasty system, was also deserted. This situation lasted until the foundation of the Song Dynasty, which

had been "proclaimed in 960 at Kaifeng in the north China plain by a general, Zhao Kuangyin (赵匡胤, ruling from 960 to 976)"[124], who had usurped the royal power from the ruler of the Later Zhou Dynasty[125] (后周, 951-960). By the endeavor of Zhao, the Song Dynasty almost subdued other dynasties and controlled nearly the whole Chinese mainland. "Once domestic challenges to a unified empire had been suppressed, the first Emperor Taizu (宋太祖), and his brother and successor, Emperor Taizong (宋太宗, ruling from 976 to 997), turned their attention to state-building, defining the border, controlling independent military provisioning, and re-establishing a national legal system."[126] With the efforts of several generations, "by 1050 the institutional success of Song was clear."[127] But at this time, there were a series of problems that perplexed the rulers and the intellectuals of the Song Dynasty.

Firstly, the legitimacy of the Song Dynasty was problematic. The biggest problem for Song Dynasty's foundation is that Song Taizu used illegal and immoral way to get power. Therefore, the legitimacy of the Song Dynasty was at first intolerant of Confucianism. Wang Fuzhi, a Confucian thinker in the late Ming Dynasty, once criticized that "the Zhao family started in the army; two generations of the Zhao family worked as a local deputy general. The fate of the Zhao family was unstable, and it was not famous in turbulent days. So, how could the Zhao family fit in taking care of people and getting respect from people (赵氏起家什伍，两世为裨将，与乱世相浮沉，姓字且不闻于人间，况能以惠泽下流系邱民之企慕乎。)."[128] He also said that "Song Taizu recieved a special mandate of Heaven and finally unified the Chinese mainland; since then, society was becoming stable and continued hundreds of years. Taizu, thus, was called a ruler who created a flourishing age. Why? It was because of fear. (夫宋祖受非常之命，而终以一统天下，底于大定，垂及百年，世称盛治者，何也？唯其惧也。)."[129] Wang Fuzhi believed that the mandate of Heaven for Song Taizu was different from

[124] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p.8

[125] The Later Zhou Dynasty was the one power that controlled most of northern China during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period.

[126] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p.8

[127] Ibidem, p.8.

[128] Wang, F. (2008). Song Lun (on Song Dynasty) (Vol.1). Zhonghua Book Company, p.2.
王夫之. (2008). 宋论 (Vol.1). 中华书局, p.2.

[129] Ibidem, p.2.

other Dynasties' founders because he used different ways to get power; so, the Song Dynasty's legitimacy was not legal in Confucianism. By facing the challenge, the early rulers in the Song Dynasty re-established the rituals of Confucianism. They used the Confucian theory of Heaven's mandate to justify the Song Dynastic system. However, this way was not as effective as it used to be. So, the Song Dynasty's early rulers and intellectuals called for a new theory to justify this Dynasty.

Secondly, there was more than one Dynasty in existence in China when the Song Dynasty formed. Although Song Taizu and Song Taizong unified the Chinese mainland, there were other new Dynasties established by tribal people in the borders of the Song Dynasty. This situation was called a case of "China among equals", which means that "Song foreign relations did not realize in practice the rhetoric of one ruler to who all under heaven paid tribute"[130]. In the north, the Khitans nation (回鹘族) fashioned a state, learning from the Tang Dynasty. The Liao Dynasty (辽朝, 916-1125) of the Khitans was proclaimed in 916, and it occupied the northeastern region. In the northwest, the Tanguts nation (党项族) had been learning from the Liao Dynasty and the Song Dynasty, it established the Xia Dynasty in 1038 (known as Xi Xia or Western Xia, 西夏, 1038-1227). While, in the southwest, there existed an independent kingdom called Dali (大理, 937-1094, and then 1096 -1253) during this time. This international situation made the traditional theory of early Confucianism that "barbarian peoples coming to pay tribute to the civilized empire"[131] difficult to apply. The ideology for the Song Dynasty was how to make sense out of this international reality of multiple Dynasties without a single, even nominal, ruler overall. "Emperor more than others experienced it as an affront to their dignity, for imperial rhetoric treated the ruler as the universal monarch."[132]

The third problem concerns the economy and its influences on society. Since the Tang Dynasty, southern China's economic development gradually caught up with northern China. After the collapse of the Tang Dynasty, China had entered troubling times. "There were five successive dynasties in the north, and independent kingdoms in the south that effectively divided the region into five simultaneously viable polities…the south had grown from one area in the

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[130] Rossabi, M., ed. (1983). China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries. University of California Press, p.304.

[131] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p.11.

[132] Ibidem, p.12.

southeast to five self-sustaining regions."[133] The south had multiple centres to grow economy and populations, while most of the north China population lived on a single plain. The situation gave the south more potential to develop the economy. In the Song Dynasty, the north and the south had different priorities. "For the north, defense of the frontier was the main concern…for the south, economic development was more important than the defense of the northern frontier."[134] All of the situations led to the result that the south was richer than the north. Economic development in the south had many impacts on the economy and society. However, the most important influence for Confucianism was that the administrative apparatus failed to grow in step with the population. Practically, it means that the Song government was not prepared to control the local society. Concerning the problem, some scholars called for effective administration to solve the problem; thus, a new need for theory to promote government administrative ability was on stage.

By facing the three challenges, intellectuals started to look back to history to find a way to solve them. Before the Song Dynasty, there were two strong Dynasties in the Chinese history. One is the Han empire; another is the Tang Dynasty. The former was too distant from the Song Dynasty, so the intellectuals paid their attention to the Tang Dynasty to find useful policies. In 1057, Ouyang Xiu (欧阳修, 1007-1072), Song Qi (宋祈, 998-1061) and Fan Zhen (范缜, 1009-1089) finished rewriting the official history of the Tang Dynasty, which known as the *New Tang History* (《新唐书》, *Xin Tang Shu*). More and more details were brought forwards to support the Tang model. However, it was in studying the Tang model, the scholars of the Song Dynasty found ways to solve their problems, and it was this new idea that directly led to the appearance of Neo-Confucianism.

3.2.2 The Failure of the Tang Model and the Appearance of Neo-Confucianism

The challenges from reality forced the Song intellectuals to search for answers from the history of the Tang Dynasty. However, because of the social change, international situation, and economic development, the Tang Model did not fully address these problems in the Song Dynasty. With the failure of theoretical research, thinkers began to return to and reinterpret

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[133] Ibidem, p.15-16.

[134] Ibidem, p.18.

Confucianism; they, therefore, established a new theory to support their points, which can be treated as the initial idea of Neo-Confucianism.

"The difference between Tang and Song lay in how they understood antiquity and their connection to it."[135] For Confucianism, antiquity[136] was the source for legitimating the Dynasty. And in the Tang model, antiquity was used by the Tang court to accomplish two things. "First, it justified the reimposition of a centralized unified empire; in their view, that Tang was a restoration of an ancient order that was in fundamental agreement with the workings of the universe. Second, it explained that the new empire needed to restore formal continuity with the civilization created by the former Kings; in the Tang view, antiquity was the starting point of a continuously and cumulatively evolving totalistic political, social, economic, cultural, and moral order."[137] The Tang Dynasty treated this understanding of antiquity as the grounds for the empire. However, the Tang Dynasty was established by fighting against the tyrannical rule of the Yang Emperor of the Sui Dynasty (隋炀帝, ruling from 604 to 618), and the Tang Dynasty continually sustained the tributary system[138]. However, the situation changed in the Song Dynasty. As analyzed before, the way to establish the Song Dynasty was illegal and immoral; and the international relationship between the Song Dynasty and other states was different compared to the Tang Dynasty. So, the Tang model could not be used by the Song court to justify its legitimacy; they even doubted that the Tang Dynasty actually followed real antiquity.

In the late Tang Dynasty, Han Yu (韩愈, 768-824) had already criticized the Tang Dynasty for not establishing the real continuity with the Confucian antiquity. Han's statements did not recieve support at his time; but in the Song Dynasty, his points became many intellectuals'

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[135] Ibidem, p.58.

[136] 'Antiquity' is a term usually used by Confucian scholars, which includes ancient orders in the Three Dynasties (the Xia Dynasty from 2070 to1600 BCE, the Shang Dynasty from 1600 to 1046 BCE, and the Zhou Dynasty from 1046–256 BCE), former Kings and sage-kings who brought humanity out of the realm of nature by creating civilization, and Jing (经) which means the texts that represented the works and world of these former kings.

[137] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p 60.

[138] The tributary system of China was a network of loose international relations focused on China which facilitated trade and foreign relations by acknowledging China's predominant role in East Asia. The other nations had to send a tributary envoy to China on schedule, who would kowtow to the Chinese emperor and acknowledge his superiority and precedence.

credo. "In the early Tang, the aim was to synthesize the history of classical exegesis so as to arrive at a definitive understanding of what the words of the Classics said…but in the eleventh century, the goal became to grasp the conception that the sages had in mind, for these conceptions had made possible the sociopolitical achievements the Classics described."[139] For Song intellectuals, the Tang model only grasped the superficial layer of antiquity; and the most important points from antiquity are the inner idea of the sages instead of only their words. "As they saw it, the vital connection between the layers of antiquity was the mediating role of cognition, of the 'mind', which was capable of grasping the patterns, principles, commonalties, and systems that underlay what was manifest in heaven-and-earth, in the deeds of the Former Kings, and in the words of the texts."[140] Since then, more and more Song scholars came to research the inner idea of the Former Kings; that is to say, they started to use a new way to think about antiquity to solve the questions of reality at their time.

Wang Anshi, a famous politician and thinker in the Northern Song Dynasty, was one of the first generation to consider these questions. He believed that "the sages comprehended the way with their minds and thus everything they did over many generations formed a perfectly coherent whole. Later generations failed because they imitated the forms the past instead of comprehending the way with their minds, which would have enabled them to change institutions to meet the needs of the times."[141] In Wang Anshi's statements, the most important thing was how and what the sages considered the situation and what they did through this consideration. For him, this mental consideration was the necessary principle to solve problems. Wang Anshi's cousin, Zeng Gong (曾巩, 1019-1083), also held similar views. He asserted that "the sages had cultivated their minds so that they could gain knowledge of the principles of heaven-and-earth and apply them to ordering world."[142] Su Shi (苏轼, 1037-1101), a famous littérateur and politician in the Northern Song Dynasty, also supported this statement. He further detailed it in his commentaries on the *Change* (《周易》) and the *Documents* (《书经》), writing that "the sages succeeded in creating civilization by being

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[139] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p 62.

[140] Ibidem, p.66.

[141] Ibidem, p.66.

[142] Ibidem, p.67.

undogmatic creative thinkers, not by being imitation."[143] Since then, thinkers gradually transferred their attention from researching the sages' ways to how to learn the sages' ways of coping with reality.

It was at this time the first generation of Neo-Confucian scholars gradually stepped onto the historical stage. Zhang Zai (张载, 1020-1077), treated as one of the first Neo-Confucian scholars, thought that "the learning of sages involved cleaning up one's Qi[144] (气, or material energy) so that one could become aware of the heavenly nature and thus be in tune with the process of creation…a pure mind was in a state of disinterestedness and thus could sense what was in accord with the principles of integrated and harmonious life process."[145] Zhang Zai called this pure mind a state in morality, and the way to arrive this state need to study moral knowledge. He thought that the sages were in pure mind; and "through their engagement with the world, they continued the process of creation without interfering in it, because they could see patterns of development and change, they could guide the populace."[146] Cheng Yi (程颐, 1033-1107), a major philosopher and thinker in Neo-Confucianism, further developed Zhang Zai's ideas. At first, he thought that the patterns of development the sage grasped is Li (理, or principle). For him, "all things, being products of heaven-and-earth, embody Li, and all things are inherently coherent…the sages, being born with minds of the purest Qi, fully and completely perceived the Li of things and were in accord with Tianli (天理, heavenly principle)[147] when they respond events."[148] For Cheng Yi, if someone wants to solve social problems and create order like the sages did before, he needs to study moral knowledge to find Li; then, he can regulate human affairs by grasping Li. Since then, the focus of thinkers and

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[143] Ibidem, p.68.

[144] Qi is a major concept in Chinese philosophy. Ancient Chinese believed that Qi is a vital force forming part of any living entity.

[145] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p 68.

[146] Ibidem, p.68.

[147] Tianli (天理, or heavenly principle) is the central and highest category of Neo-Confucianism. It is treated as a transcendental and eternal existence. I think Tianli is a term to describe putting Li in a position of metaphysics. In other words, Tianli is used to describe the metaphysical characteristics of Li. Moreover, the different ways to understand Li or Tianli made Neo-Confucianism into different schools. The school of Li believed that Li or Tianli could be studied by observing objects; so, for the school of Li, Li exists in objective things. While the school of Xin thought that Li existed in the human mind, so the way to understand Li is to follow their minds directly.

[148] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p 69.

scholars transferred to find Li or Tianli. Moreover, from Zhu Xi of the Southern Dynasty, the theoretical system of Neo-Confucianism finally formed.

3.2.3 Zhu Xi's Theoretical System of Neo-Confucianism

Li finally became the object for the Song Dynasty to find legitimacy for its government. The centralized power and the aim of ensuring its authority of the early imperial model of empire before mostly went from "the emperor at the top down to the populace below through a hierarchical bureaucratic organization that exercised control from the capital at the center out to the provinces through a field administration of prefectures and counties."[149] Meanwhile, in the Song Dynasty, both centralized power and the aim of ensuring its authority, from the perspective of Neo-Confucianism, shifted away from rulers to those who grasped the true Li (or Tianli). The way to find and grasp Li, for Neo-Confucian scholars, is to learn; however, this learning goal is not for general knowledge but for moral knowledge. As mentioned before, only by arriving at the pure mind can people grasp Li. This was the way the sages had done before. Although the government confirmed this ideology after the collapse of the Northern Song Dynasty, the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism became more and more popular in society and imperceptibly changed people's values and behavior.

Zhu Xi epitomized the ideas of the school of Li. He established a complete theoretical system for the school of Li and further developed the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism. Zhu Xi's endeavor was to place Li on a supreme and transcendental position, and people's values and behavior were decided by Li. As discussed by former Neo-Confucian scholars, Li (or Tianli) is a principle inside everything; for them, grasping Li means gaining legitimacy to rule everything. For political and ideological needs, Li became an abstract metaphysics over social reality. Zhu Xi also treated Li is the source of everything. He held that "In terms of everything under the earth, there is only one thing that is Li (合天地万物而言，只是一个理。)."[150], and he also believed that "there has been already a Li before the birth of the Heaven and Earth (the world). If there is Li, there will be a world; whereas if there is no Li, there will not be a world (未有天地之先，毕竟只有此理。有此理，便有此天地；若无此理由，便亦无此天

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[149] Ibidem, p.119.

[150] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.1), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.1), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.2.

地。)."[151] For Zhu, Li has existed since the time before the existence of the world; and Li is independent and lasts forever without depending on other things. Zhu Xi's analysis of Li was directly borrowed from Zhou Dunyi's theory of Taiji (太极), which presents that Taiji gives birth to everything under Heaven. Zhu Xi used Li to replace Taiji.

In Zhu Xi's analyses, Li's position was achieved by Ren[152] (仁, or benevolence, or humaneness), which was a concept proposed by Confucius. Ren is a key concept for Confucianism, it represents humanity. Zhu Xi believed that the nature of Ren is the source of life, and the mind of the universe. "Living thing are at the heart of the Heaven and Earth (which is the meaning of the world), and people take the heart of the Heaven and Earth as their heart…so, the nature of Ren is from the heart of living things under the Heaven (天地以生物 为心者也，而人物之生，各得夫天地之心以为心者也…盖仁之为道，乃天地生物之心 即物而在。)."[153] Zhu Xi thought that the heart of the world is living things, and the heart of humankind is Ren, and the heart of humankind is from the heart of the world, so the Ren is from living things. He said that "the man who has Ren is the heart of the Heaven and Earth, and what humans get and feels from the world is based on the heart of the Heaven and Earth (仁者天地生物之心，而人之所得以为心者也。)."[154] For Confucian scholars, Ren is a transcendental metaphysics; so, in Zhu Xi's rhetoric, Li therefore became a transcendental metaphysics. Given these statements, every value and behavior in Zhu Xi's ideas needs to be centred on Li. After putting Li in the transcendental metaphysic position, Zhu Xi then discussed

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[151] Ibidem. p.1.

[152] Ren （仁）is a Confucian virtue which means that the good quality of a virtuous human when being altruistic. Confucius said that Ren is "one should see nothing improper, hear nothing improper, say nothing improper, do nothing improper" (Analects 12:1) and "one wish to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wish to be enlarged himself, seeks also to enlarge others" (Analects 6:30).

[153] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.67), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Anhui: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.3279-3280.
朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.67), 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 安徽: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.3279-3280.

[154] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.77), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Anhui: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.3709.
朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.77), 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 安徽: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.3709.

the way to feel and understand Li. In his analysis, before he researched the methodology, he at first told the difference between Daoxin (道心, the mind of the Dao or the mind of Li) and Renxin (人心, the mind of the human) to lay a foundation for his method.

Daoxin and Renxin are two crucial concepts for Zhu Xi in discussing the theory of mind. "The purity of the human mind is only one thing. But some hold different points, believing that there are two minds, one is the Renxin, another is the Daoxin. The former is birthed from private desires, and the latter was born from the justice of life (心之虚灵知觉，一而已矣，而以为有人心、道心之异者，则以其或生于形气之私, 或原于性命之正)."[155]

For Zhu, the Renxin is full of private desires, and sometimes it is good, and sometimes it is evil, while the Daoxin is close to the status of pure mind, which is full of moral principles and represents supreme good morality. Therefore, Zhu Xi believed that the Daoxin reflects Li, i.g., the Daoxin is parallel to the concept of Xing (性)[156], which means the principle of the human mind. He believed that Daoxin and Renxin both exist inside the human, but humans need to make their Renxin follow his Daoxin (or his Xing). Because, for Zhu, Daoxin represents the principles of supreme good morality, which means that only by following the Daoxin can people get close to Li or Tianli. At the same time, the Renxin is not always good, and sometimes it can be dominated by evil. So, Zhu proposed that, to get the way of Li, people need to control their Renxin to close to Xing by following Daoxin. In other words, Zhu Xi ideas are important to use the principles of Li to control people's private desires, which will strongly influence the Renxin. As Zhu said "it is necessary to make the Daoxin the subject of the human body, and make the Renxin subject to the Daoxin (必使道心常为一身之主，而人心听命焉。)."[157]

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[155] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.6), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Anhui: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.29.

朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.6), 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 安徽: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.29.

[156] Xing, 性, is a basic concept of Confucianism, which means the principle of human's mind. And it is usually used with another Confucian concept, Qing (情), which means the appearances of the Xing.

[157] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.6), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Anhui: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.29.

Given these statements, Zhu Xi took some views from Xuncius' thought, that people can use the cognitive function to control their minds. He then put forward his method to make the Renxin follow the Daoxin; this is Gewu Zhizhi[158] (格物致知, or the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge).

The aim of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge is to control people's Renxin and subject it to the Daoxin. In other words, through this method of Gewu Zhizhi, people will understand what Li is.

Gewu (格物) means the investigation of things, and things here means everything under Heaven; as he wrote that "what people can see by his eyes between Heaven and Earth is a thing (凡天地之间，眼前所接之事，皆是物。)."[159] So, in detail, things here included both physical objects and abstract social relationships. Zhu Xi immediately emphasized that the abstract social relationships are the most important to investigate for understanding Li. He said that "the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, father and his sons, husband and his wife, and the relationship among brothers and friends, which people must have, are those necessary for scholars to try their best to investigate (君臣、父子、兄弟、夫妇、朋友，皆人所不能无者，但学者须要常格得尽。)."[160] The thing here is an object to Li because "Li is insubstantial, so it is hard to understand it, but the thing has entity, so it is easy to see (理无形而难知，物有迹而易睹。)."[161] Because of the difficulty of understanding Li, Zhu Xi

朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.6), edited by 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 安徽: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.29.

[158] Gewu Zhizhi (格物致知) is a basic method in Confucianism. It is firstly recorded in *The Great Learning* of *The Four Books*, which means to investigate things to gain knowledge.

[159] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.57), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1348.
黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.57), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.1348.

[160] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.15), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.284.
黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.15), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.284.

[161] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.13), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Hefei: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.256.
朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.13), 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 合肥: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.256.

emphasized it is important to try hardest to investigate it. He said that "Ge of Gewu means to investigate things completely. Scholars should completely investigate things to get the Li of them. It does not mean that he gets Li if he only gets some parts of the Li. So, the way to fully investigate Li can be called Gewu (格物者，格，尽也。须易穷尽事物之理，若是穷得三两分，便未是格物，须是穷尽到得十分，方是格物。)"[162] In all, Zhu Xi's way of Gewu means to investigate Li fully; and, therefore, the end of this way is to find all aspects concerning Li from things. Zhizhi (致知) means to gain knowledge. For Zhu Xi, knowledge has two parts. One is general knowledge about things; another is morality, which got from the principle of things. However, he emphasized moral knowledge because it can help people control their Renxin to arrive at the Daoxin. As Zhu Xi said that "Zhizhi is for me, and Gewu focuses on things (致知是自我而言，格物是就物而言。)."[163]

In discussing Gewu Zhizhi, Zhu Xi also proposed the sequence of acquiring moral knowledge and practicing morality. Because Zhu Xi believed that only by fully understanding Li could people practice morality correctly, and then society would be in order. Therefore, he thought that people should first investigate things, extend moral knowledge, and then practice morality. His end is to regulate people's behavior in order to make the whole society ordered. "Zhu Xi required that "acquiring moral knowledge" should come before "practicing morality", he opposed the blindness and spontaneity of moral behaviors (朱熹要求"知"先于"行"，反对伦理行为的盲目性、自发性。)."[164] For him, "how can people practice morality if they do not understand Li (义理不明如何践履。)"[165] and "people have to take care of their parents by filial piety, respect their brothers by love, and make friends by trust, if they can tell clearly

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[162] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.15), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.283.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.15), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.283.

[163] Ibidem, p.292.

[164] Li, Z. (1982). Some Discussions on Neo-Confucianism. Social Sciences in China, (1), p.40

李泽厚. (1982). 宋明理学片论. 中国社会科学, (1), p.40.

[165] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.9), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.152.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.9), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.152.

what is Li (若讲得道理明时，自是事亲不得不孝，事兄不得不悌，交朋友不得不信。)."[166]

In the Song Dynasty, the theory of early Confucianism did not fit in solving social problems, so new Confucian scholars came onto the historical stage. They established the legitimacy of the Dynastic system by confirming that the good ruler is in fact the people who understands and grasps Li, like the Sages did in ancient times. However, Li is a transcendental and metaphysic thing. So, Zhu Xi, based on his analysis of Li and morality, re-interpreted the way of Gewu Zhizhi; and, therefore, he established a complete theoretical system of Neo-Confucianism. Before the official confirmation for Zhu Xi's theory, more and more scholars used his way to find Li and the practice Li in government and society. After it became an orthodox ideology, Chinese people strictly followed Zhu Xi's way of practicing morality. In other words, it is due to Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian theory that Chinese people held a new way to get in touch with reality, and undoubtedly a new experience appeared during this time.

3.2.4 A New Experience in the Northern Song Dynasty

Neo-Confucian scholars had established a new ideological system in the Song Dynasty. They put Li in a transcendental and metaphysic position. Understanding and grasping Li, for them, is a basis to practice morality in society, so their aim of learning is to know what Li is and how Li operates. They believed that the ancient sages could create good order in society because their pure mind helps them understand and grasp Li. The pure mind means that a person makes his Renxin follow his Daoxin; in other words, he knows moral knowledge. To understand and grasp Li is then to perform morally like the ancient sages did. Therefore, through Neo-Confucian scholars' rhetoric, morality became equal to Li as being in a transcendental and metaphysic position; but, morality is only reflected in humans' mind and behavior. Although Neo-Confucian scholars held different views in interpreting Li, learning, morality, and the human mind, their theoretical system was still based on the relationship between the metaphysic Li and the way to understand it.

The theoretical system of Neo-Confucianism strongly influenced how the Chinese get in touch with reality. Since the appearance of Neo-Confucianism, there was an experiential turn in

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[166] Ibidem, p.152.

Chinese society. To focus on this experiential turn, two points need to be mentioned. One is the theory of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge; another one is Li itself.

The former focuses on the way to understand Li. Because of the theory of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge, Li is treated as a basis for people to be in society. "Learning justified literati participation in public life as critics of those in power locally and nationally and as local activists, whether they had official rank or not."[167] For most Neo-Confucian scholars, the essential things are to investigate things and learn moral knowledge to understand Li. Zhu Xi's books and commentaries became the content of the imperial examination after the official confirmation of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism theory as the orthodox ideology. So, Li and morality became an inescapable topic for scholars and students. This trend persisted for a long time even in the Ming Dynasty. In the early Ming Dynasty, as recorded by the *Ming History* (《明史》), "all Confucian scholars in the early Ming Dynasty are from the School of Zhu Xi; their study was inherited from Zhu Xi and they also strictly followed the rule of the school of Zhu Xi…they kept former scholars' theories (i.g., Zhu Xi's theory) and did not dare to change it (原夫明初诸儒，皆朱子门人之支流余裔，师承有目，矩镬秩然…守先儒之正传，无敢改错。)."[168] The latter emphasized Li. Li, for Neo-Confucian scholars, is a supreme and metaphysical principle of everything. And in Neo-Confucian scholars' rhetoric, only by understanding and grasping Li can ruler create good order in society, and through this the Dynastic system of this ruler will gain legitimacy. Given this precept, both rulers and people had to follow Li strictly. As mentioned before, only a moralized person would have a chance to understand Li like the ancient sages. So, morality strongly influenced people's daily life.

These two points prove that Li was a subject in the Song Dynasty. Both a ruler and his people should strictly follow Li to ensure the legitimacy of the Dynastic system; in other words, people should observe the requirements of morality to follow Li. Neo-Confucian scholars believed Li is the source of the universe. This means that Neo-Confucianism brought a new ideology into

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[167] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill, p 178.

[168] Zhang T. (1974). The Ming History. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.7222.

张廷玉. (1974). 明史. 北京: 中华书局, p.7222

Chinese society in the Song Dynasty. So, this new idea changed the old order in society and thus brought people a new experience. This experience is similar to the second part, i.g., sense of order, in Leidhold's chain of history of experience. In his analysis, the society established a new order centred on the cosmology at this time.

The new order was established according to Li, things that opposed Li therefore were suppressed at this time. As mentioned before, to understand and grasp Li, a person needs to make his Renxin follow his Daoxin. The Renxin represents private desires, and the Daoxin is close to the ancient sages' pure mind. In other words, to understand and grasp Li is to control people's private desires. This point was concluded by Zhu Xi as the concept of 'Keep Tianli and Destroy Human Desires' ("存天理，灭人欲", or "Cun Tianli, Mie Renyu"). In the new order, people's private desires were controlled under a certain scope, and even limited; people should strictly observe morality to control their desires. Compared to the former Dynasties, the people in the Song Dynasty were more conservative and a little bit stoic, and they tended to control their private desires in daily life. Because of this experience, the later scholars began to reflect on the private desires and proposed some ideas concerning people themselves. So, in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, a new experience came to Chinese society and brought a new ideological trend to scholars and people, and from this opened the door to the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

3.3 The Challenge to Zhu Xi's theory and a New Experience

The Southern Song Dynasty collapsed in 1279, and the Yuan Dynasty was established by the Mongols. During the Mongol government rule, Neo-Confucian scholars were still active. Some scholars inherited the idea of Lu Jiuyuan (陆九渊, 1139-1193) and began to emphasize the importance of Xin in Neo-Confucianism. This theory was called the theory of the mind. The Yuan Dynasty suddenly collapsed with the establishment of the Ming Dynasty in 1368. In the early Ming Dynasty, ensuring the stability of the Dynastic system's ideology and legitimacy, the Neo-Confucianism of Zhu Xi still dominated orthodox ideology. Other ideas were forbidden from discussion in public life. However, the new ideas inherited from Lu Jiuyuan and scholars in the Yuan Dynasty were kept by some scholars in the early Ming Dynasty. It was not until Wang Yangming in the middle of the Ming Dynasty that this theory's theoretical system was finally formed and started a new ideological trend and a new experience in society.

After the official confirmation of Neo-Confucianism in the Southern Dynasty, the theory of the school of Zhu Xi became the ideological orthodoxy. It changed society and brought a new experience to Chinese people. Zhu Xi's theory was prevalent in society since that time, and dominated the students' lessons. In the early Ming Dynasty, it became the mainstream academic trend. However, because of this official confirmation, the theory of the school of Zhu Xi was more and more inactive, ossified, and even conservative. As recorded by Huang Zongxi," the intellectual ideas of the Ming Dynasty were directly studied from the former theory; the scholars at this time did not consider and reflect ideas from their situation so that they did not explore deeper meanings. At that time the scholars cited Zhu Xi's words or sentences anywhere in their works (有明学术，盖从前习熟先儒之成说，未尝反身理会，推见至隐。所谓此亦一述朱耳，彼亦一述朱耳。)."[169] Therefore, some theories that aimed to challenge Zhu Xi's absolute position arose from the early Ming Dynasty. One of the most important schools in the early Ming Dynasty in this intellectual stream was the school of Xin. This school developed a new experience that helps people pay more attention to self-reflection and their own life, and this opened a door to the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

3.3.1 A Theoretical Basis for Reform on Neo-Confucianism by Wang Yangming

Traditional researchers believed that there were three major disadvantages to Zhu Xi's theory. The first is that Zhu Xi absolutized Li as an absolute substance. "There are Li and Qi between Heaven and Earth (in the world). Li is a metaphysics that lays a foundation of life-beings (天地之间，有理有气。理也者，形而上之道也，生物之本也。)."[170] Therefore, Li was treated by scholars as the principle of everything under Heaven. Following Li means that people should suppress their private desires and use the absolute mind (the Daoxin) to control their individual spirit (the Renxin). This understanding is aimed to the destruction of human nature. The second one is in the theory of the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge. Zhu Xi's theory of the investigation of things is based on the traditional Confucian

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[169] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.10), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.178.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.10), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.178.

[170] Zhu, X. (2002). Zhuzi Quanshu (The Complete Works of Master Zhu) (Vol.58), Zhu, J., Yan, Z., and Liu., Y, ed. Shanghai and Anhui: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe and Anhui Educational Pressing House, p.2755.

朱熹. (2002). 朱子全书 (Vol.58), 朱杰人, 严佐之, and 刘永翔, ed. 上海 and 安徽: 上海古籍出版社 and 安徽教育出版社, p.2755.

doctrine[171] in the *Great Learning.* However, there are too many emphases and priorities on investigations in Zhu Xi's theoretical works. It then became a dogmatism that makes moral study separate from moral practice. The third disadvantage concerns the fact that Zhu Xi's theory is highly theoretical. "It is necessary to learn and study strictly; every detail needs to be analyzed (学问须严密理会，株分毫析。)."[172] Undoubtedly, Zhu Xi is one of the most outstanding scholars in Chinese history, and he was rigorous in his studies, encyclopaedic in his learnings. His theories attracted many scholars and students; however, his study is too profound and difficult to understand for many average scholars. These three disadvantages were inherent in Zhu Xi's theories, but they were not obvious because of Zhu Xi's own rhetoric and interpretation. It was only after Zhu Xi's death that these three disadvantages surfaced. The theoretical challenges to the theory of the school of Zhu Xi were based on these three disadvantages, and they lead to some scholars attempting to repair Neo-Confucianism.

3.3.1.1 Lu Jiuyuan and His Ideas about Xin

The theory of the school of Xin was the opposite of some of Zhu Xi's ideas. This school focuses on Xin (心, the mind) and the thinkers from this school believed that Xin was the source of the universe. In other words, the scholars of this school held the point that Li (or Tianli) is not a metaphysics over the human world, but exists in the Renxin. To research their main ideas and discuss the foundation of Wang Yangming's reform on Neo-Confucianism, it is important to go back to the birth and development of the school of Xin. So, at first, this part will briefly discuss the first famous scholar of this school who was treated by Chinese scholars as the founder of the school of Xin. He was Lu Jiuyuan, a contemporary of Zhu Xi.

Lu Jiuyuan's greatest achievement is that he proposed a novel idea during Zhu Xi's time, and it is this achievement that made a basis for the school of Xin. When he read a book about the universe, he had an epiphany that "the things of the universe are the things for myself, and the

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[171] This doctrine concerns how to be a Ru (literati). People who want to promote great virtue to the world, firstly need to govern their states; in order to govern their states, they need to first manage their family; in order to manage their family, they need to first improve themselves; in order to improve oneself, they need to regulate their mind; in order to regulate their mind, one needs to maintain sincere intention; in order to maintain sincere intention, one needs to exhaust one's knowledge; in order to exhaust one's knowledge, one needs to study the essence of the physical world.

[172] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.8), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.144.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.8), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.144.

things for myself are the things of the universe (宇宙內事乃己分內事，己分內事乃宇宙內事。)."[173] He analyzed this idea, and added that "the universe is my Xin, my mind is also the universe. If there is a sage in the eastern sea area, his Xin is the same as others, and Li is the same. If there is a sage in the western sea area, his Xin and Li are the same. If there is a sage in the south and north sea, his Xin and Li are also the same. A sage was born before and after hundreds of generations; their Xin and Li will not be different from others (宇宙便是吾心，吾心即是宇宙。东海有圣人出焉，此心同也，此理同也。西海有圣人出焉，此心同也，此理同也。南海北海有圣人出焉，此心同也，此理同也。千百世之上至千百世之下，有圣人出焉，此心此理，也莫不同也。)."[174] So, Lu proposed an important idea that Xin is Li, and he believed that "everyone has a Xin, and every Xin is Li, so Xin is Li. (人皆有是心，心皆具是理，心即理也。)."[175]

In Lu Jiuyuan's ideas, every person's Xin is the same; people had the same Xin from ancient times until now. "Lu Jiuyuan believed that everything under Heaven could be reflected in the Xin, and the Li of Xin can be full of the universe (陆九渊认为，天下万物都可以在心上一起显现，而心中之理也可以充满宇宙。)."[176] As mentioned before, the human has two Xin. In Zhu Xi's theory, Daoxin is a reflection of Li in the human mind, and Renxin represents the private desires of humans which will cover or hide the Daoxin. However, in Lu Jiuyuan's ideas, Xin directly represents Li, and there is no need to distinguish the Daoxin and the Renxin. This idea is the basis of the school of Xin. No matter what new inventions the later scholars from this school created and put forward, the basic consensus for them is that Xin is Li.

However, Lu Jiuyuan also believed that Xin could be covered by private desires and complacency. Like Zhu Xi, Lu also put forward his method to improve moral knowledge and

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[173] Lu, J. (2008). Lu Jiuyuan Ji (The Collected Works of Lu Jiuyuan) (Vol.22), edited by Zhong, Z. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.482.

陆九渊. (2008). 陆九渊集 (Vol.22), edited by 钟哲. 北京: 中华书局, p.482.

[174] Ibidem, p.482-483.

[175] Ibidem, p.149.

[176] Wen, H. (2010). Discussion on the Breakthrough of the Neo-Confucianism from the perspective of epistemology. Journal of Sun Yat-Sen University (social science edition), 50(2), p.153.

温海明. (2010). 从认识论角度看宋明理学的哲学突破. 中山大学学报(社会科学版), 50(2), p.153.

perform morally in public life. At first, he reflected that the method ancient people used to achieve moral aims was to keep Xin, cultivate Xin, and relieve Xin. Deeply speaking, he thought that these ways are meant to keep people's initial conscience and to make this conscience dominate people's consciousness in daily life. So, Lu suggested that Confucian scholars and students should reflect upon themselves during all aspects of daily life, and change unmoral behavior and thought to achieve the moral end. He believed that the method of Zhu Xi to extend moral knowledge and then perform morally is too complicated; the way to this aim needs to be easy. In the debate between the school of Li and the school of Xin in 1175 at E'hu mountain (鹅湖山), Lu said to Zhu Xi that "the easy way lasts forever and will finally achieve more results, the complicated way will break up academic research into different parts and make it fragmented (易简工夫终久大，支离事业竟沉浮。)."[177]

Lu Jiuyuan's ideas laid a theoretical foundation for the school of Xin. The following scholars' ideas from within this school were still based on his idea. In the Song Dynasty, Lu's ideas and the school of Xin were not popular among society. Although at the end of the Southern Song Dynasty, some scholars from the school of Zhu Xi, like Chen Chun (陈淳, 1129-1223), Zhen Dexiu (真德秀, 1178-1235), and Wei Liaoweng (魏了翁, 1178-1237), tried to use Lu's ideas to repair the disadvantages of Zhu Xi's theory, it was until Wang Yangming's reform on Neo-Confucianism that his theoretical invitation was increasingly accepted by the public and initiated a new experiential turn in Chinese society.

3.3.1.2 Chen Xianzhang's Ideas and His academic Influence

To discuss Wang Yangming's theory, it is important to discuss some ideas from scholars before him. Chen Xianzhang is the most influential thinker from the school of Xin; he formed a connecting link between the preceding and the following forms of Neo-Confucianism. In the Yuan Dynasty, the thinkers from the school of Zhu Xi were still active. Some scholars from this school started to accept the theory of the school of Xin, especially its method to achieve the moral end. Wu Cheng publicly proposed to use Lu Jiuyuan's method to cover the shortages of Zhu Xi's theory. He believed that the nature of Xin is the source of Li and there is no way to find Li outside Xin. Although he did not think that Xin is Li, he proposed to study Li from

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[177] Lu, J. (1926). Xiangshan Ji (The Collection of Lu Jiuyuan) (Vol.25), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.301.

陆九渊. (2008). 象山集 (Vol.25) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华书局, p.301.

Xin. Wu thought that "the nature belongs to Dao (or Li), and the way to it is based on the Mind (or Xin) (其体则道，其用则神。)."[178] Wu thought the direction of the investigation of knowledge is within Xin instead of outside Xin. This way is similar to Lu Jiuyuan's method which focuses on one Xin.

In the early Ming Dynasty, some scholars from the school of Zhu Xi not only believed that the method of the school of Xin is useful to their ideas but also thought that they needed to use the points proposed by the thinkers from the school of Xin, i.g., Xin is Li, to repair the problems of Zhu Xi's theories. Wu Yubi was the founder of the school of Xin in the Ming Dynasty. His major achievement is that he brought the theory of the school of Xin to the school of Li, and gave a chance to the next generation of scholars to learn about the studies of the school of Xin. He used the rhetoric of Heaven to establish a connection between Xin and Li. "The reason why a human is human is because there is Li inside him. Humans can observe the five cardinal relationships[179], which is the idea of the way of Heaven, if they do not lose the Li of Xin (人之所以为人，以其有此理也。必不失乎此心之理而各尽乎五伦之道。)."[180] He then proposed that the method to understand Li is for humans to reflect upon themselves; in other words, he thought that the investigation of knowledge is to do self-reflection. Wu Yubi's idea was a sign that more and more scholars began to pay attention to the school of Xin and develop the theories of this school. Chen Xianzhang, a disciple of Wu Yubi, opened a new era of the school of Xin in Chinese intellectual history, who was thought as a real founder of the school of Xin in the Ming Dynasty.

Chen's primary work is to solve the problem in Zhu Xi's philosophy concerning the relationship between Xin and Li. As mentioned before, only the Daoxin reflected the Li. But why does the Daoxin reflect Li? There is no clear answer in Zhu Xi's theory. So, Lu Jiuyuan

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[178] Wu, C. (1987). The Collected Works of Wu Wenzheng (Wu Cheng) (Vol.4), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Bank Company, p.3a.

吴澄. (1987). 吴文正集(Vol.4). 钦定四库全书. 北京: 中华书局, p.3a.

[179] The five cardinal relationships (五伦) are basic five relationships in Confucianism which include the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, father and sons, husband and wife, and the relationship among brothers and friends.

[180] Wu, Y. (2003). The Collected Works of Wu Kangzhai (Wu Yubi) (Vol.8), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Bank Company, p.528

吴与弼. (2003). 吴康斋先生集 (Vol.8) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华书局, p.528.

proposed the points that Xin is Li and there is only one Xin in the human body. How to use the proposal from the school of Xin to solve the problem in Zhu Xi's theory became the major focus of Chen Xianzhang's attention.

He started to solve this problem from the perspective of the method. He used the method of sitting calmly and reflecting, which was not usually supported by former Confucian scholars, as a means to solve it. Through this method, he found the nature of Xin. He wrote that "what I have not gotten (from Zhu Xi's theory) is that the connection between Xin and Li. So, I had to give up the complicated method and tried to sit calmly to find an answer. For a long time, I saw the nature of my Xin (my mind), which was presented, and there was something looming. The social engagements in daily life were controlled by myself…my understanding of the Li of things, and sages' doctrines had sources in my mind, which is similar to that the water has it source (所谓未得，谓吾此心与此理未有凑泊吻合处也。于是舍彼之繁，求吾之约，惟在静坐。久之，然后见吾此心之体，隐然呈露，常若有物。日用间种种应酬，随吾所欲…体认物理，稽诸圣训，各有头绪来历，如水之有源委也。)."[181]

The method of siting calmly and reflecting for Chen is a way to make people's Xin close to the pure mind, and this pure mind reflects everything people have seen, have felt, have got in touch with. "The contents of the Six Classics[182] are in the nothingness (it means in the pure mind), and everything in this world is reflected and sensed by this mind (六经尽在虚无里，万里都归感应中。)."[183] Chen treated Xin as a source of everything in the world. He wrote that "the

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[181] Chen, X. And Zhan, R. (1771). Baishazi Quanji (The Completed Works of Chen Baisha) (Vol.3). Biyu Lou, p.48-49

陈白沙, and 湛若水. (1771). 白沙全集 (Vol.3). 碧玉楼, p.48-49.

[182] The Six Classics: The Six Classics (六经) include six major Confucian theoretical works, like *Yijing* (*Book of Changes*, 《易经》), *Shangshu* (*Book of Documents*, 《尚书》), *Shijing* (*Classic of Poetry*, 《诗经》), *Liji* (*Book of Rites*, 《礼记》*), Yuejing* (*Classic of Music*, 《乐经》), *Chunqiu* (*Spring and Autumn Annals*, 《春秋》). In the Southern Song Dynasty, Confucian scholar Chao Gongwu (晁公武) added other six books, and called them Twelve Classics. Zhu Xi, later, added *Mencius* in them, and finally, these books were called Thirteen Classics. Confucian scholars believed that the contents of these books recorded the knowledge of the world, and one who masters these books can understand Li or Tianli.

[183] Chen, X. (1987). Chen Xianzhang Ji (The Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Vol.1), Sun, T., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Companying House, p.55.

陈献章. (1987). 陈献章集 (Vol.1), 孙通海, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.55.

principle of everything is in Junzi's Xin (or gentleman's Xin); although there are many things, the existence of them is decided by me (君子一心，万理完具。事物虽多，莫非在我。)."[184] This statement is similar to the idea of Lu Jiuyuan that the universe is my Xin and my Xin is the universe (吾心即宇宙，宇宙即吾心). Former scholars' deductions are based on Li. However, in Chen's rhetoric, the basis is Xin; as he said "the Heaven and Earth (the world) is built by me, and the perceptible phenomena of this world are from me, and the universe is in me (天地我立，万化我出，而宇宙在我矣。)."[185] Chen's idea of Xin, that Xin is the source of everything, became the consensus in the school of Xin; later scholars, like Wang Yangming, Wang Gen, and even Li Zhi, complied with it although the concept of Xin had changed.

After the death of Chen Xianzhang, his disciple Zhan Ruoshui (湛若水, 1466-1560) continued his theory. His most significant contribution is that he directly developed Chen Xianzhang's theory that "although there are many things, the existence of them is decided by me (事物虽多，莫非在我。)."[186] Zhan believed that "because Dao, Xin and things were put into one, so everything regardless of time is decided by Xin (盖道、心、事合一者，随时随事何莫心也。)"[187] and "all kinds of things are decided by my Xin (万事万物，莫非心也。)."[188] Compared to Chen, Zhan straightforwardly took Xin as the source of everything. Zhan established more than forty academies and accepted many students as his disciples. He also

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[184] Chen, X. (1987). Chen Xianzhang Ji (The Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Vol.6), Sun, T., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Companying House, p.644.

陈献章. (1987). 陈献章集 (Vol.6), 孙通海, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.644.

[185] Chen, X. (1987). Chen Xianzhang Ji (The Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Vol.1), Sun, T., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Companying House, p.70.

陈献章. (1987). 陈献章集 (Vol.1), 孙通海, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.70.

[186] Chen, X. (1987). Chen Xianzhang Ji (The Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Vol.6), Sun, T., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Companying House, p.644.

陈献章. (1987). 陈献章集 (Vol.6), 孙通海, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.644.

[187] Chen, X. (1987). Chen Xianzhang Ji (The Works of Chen Xianzhang) (Vol.2), Sun, T., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Companying House, p.217.

陈献章. (1987). 陈献章集 (Vol.2), 孙通海, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.217.

[188] Zhan, R. (1997). Zhan Ganquan Wenji (The Collection of Zhan Ganquan) (Vol.20), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Jinan: QiLu Press, p.57.

湛若水. (1997). 湛甘泉文集 (Vol.20) in 四库全书. 济南: 齐鲁书社, p.57.

recieved a high official position in the Dynastic system; so, since then, the theory of the school of Xin became more and more popular during his time.

3.3.2 Wang Yangming's Reform on Neo-Confucianism and His Theory

Wang Yangming (or Wang Shouren, 王守仁)[189], undoubtedly, is one of the most influential thinkers in Chinese intellectual history. He, by himself, reformed the Neo-Confucianism, which was dominated by the theory of the school of Zhu Xi for a long time; and it was by his endeavors that the theoretical system of the school of Xin was finally finished. At his time, although the theory of the school of Zhu Xi was still the orthodox ideology of the Ming Dynasty, the school of Xin became more and more popular, and many scholars devoted themselves to the study of Xin. With the popularization of Wang Yangming's theories in society, a new experience was increasingly looming. The basis of experience since Zhu Xi had focused on the sense of order (sense of Li), but this started to transfer to an experience similar to what Leidhold discussed in the experiential turn, self-reflection.

Wang Yangming's most outstanding achievement is that he finished the theoretical system of the school of Xin. He not only developed the ideas of Chen Xianzhang that Xin is the source of the universe, but also established an epistemology to understand Xin. His most famous theories include Xin and the world, innate knowing (Liangzhi, 良知), and unity of knowledge and action (Zhixing Heyi 知行合一). The former two are largely for discussing ontology, the last focuses on the corresponding epistemology. So, this part will at first discuss his concern with Xin and his development of the concept of Xin, then focuses on the epistemology of Wang Yangming's theory.

3.3.2.1 Wang's Concept of Xin

Influenced by Lu Jiuyuan and Chen Xianzhang's theory, the first thing for Wang Yangming to discuss is also Xin. But, his perspective is different from others; Wang used to study Zhu Xi's theory when he was young, his logic in discussing Xin is similar to Zhu Xi. It was this experience that made Wang Yangming's theory completer and more practical. Wang Yangming, like Zhu Xi, believed that Xin is a subjective spirit that reflects the Li of everything.

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[189] Wang Shouren is Master Wang's original name, and Yangming is his art name. But the later scholar mostly called him Wang Yangming. So, this thesis will also use Wang Yangming to refer to him.

"Xin is Heaven (represents Li), the universe was reflected in Xin (心即是天，言心则天地万物皆举之矣。)."[190]

However, Zhu Xi said that Li was reflected by Xin and added that Li is a metaphysic over the human world. It means that Xin and Li are two things in Zhu Xi's theory. Wang Yangming said that "Xin is the source of Heaven (人心是天，渊。)."[191] In his mind, the statement that Xin is Heaven does not to mean that Xin and Heaven (as two things) are the same, but these two things are actually one thing. He criticized Zhu's theory that Li is over Heaven; he thought that "there is no Li outside Xin and there is also nothing outside Xin (心外无理，心外无物)."[192] and "Xin, is the master of everything in the world (心者，天地万物之主也。)."[193] Actually, Wang's analysis of Xin is similar to what Lu Jiuyuan and Chen Xianzhang thought about Xin, that Xin is the source of the universe. The difference between Daoxin and Renxin is also not present in Wang's theory; for him, Xin is Xin, and the principle of things is from Xin. He concluded that "although things are in the space between Heaven and Earth, and they also can breed other things, all of them are actually from my Xin (虽至于位天地、育万物，

[190] Wang, S. (2015). The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.6), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.181.

王守仁. (2015). 王阳明全集 (Vol.6), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.181.

[191] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.84.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.84.

[192] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.1), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.13.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.1), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.13.

[193] Wang, S. (2015). The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.6), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.181.

王守仁. (2015). 王阳明全集 (Vol.6), edited by 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.181.

未有出于吾心之外也。)"[194], "so the universe is with me (my Xin) (盖天地万物，本吾一体。)."[195]

In the old age of Wang Yangming, he further developed the concept of Xin and wove moral idealism into this concept. The former thinkers thought that Xin is an objective thing. Zhu Xi believed that Xin is a reflection of Li in the human body; Li is objective, and, therefore, Xin for Zhu is also objective. Other scholars from the school of Xin before Wang Yangming had a comparatively vague concept of Xin. Sometimes they conceptualised Xin as an objective thing only for reflecting Li, and sometimes it is a subjective thing which can decide the universe. It was not until Wang Yangming that the concept of Xin became subjective, and it was increasingly deprived of divinity.

3.3.2.2 Wang's Theory of Liangzhi

Wang Yangming did not use Xin to describe the noumenon of the world in his later years; instead, he started to use Liangzhi or Liangxin (良知 or 良心) to describe this ontology. The concept of Liangzhi originated from Mencius' four transcendental kindnesses[196], but Wang's use of the four kindnesses was to develop them as the source of the universe.

Liangzhi, as Wang described, is "the noumenon of Xin (心之本体。),"[197] "so, Liangzhi is a Tianli; its noumenon is a sincerity which is naturally discovered (盖良知只是一个天理。自

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[194] Wang, S. (2015). The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.7), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.202.

王守仁. (2015). 王阳明全集 (Vol.7), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福., ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.202.

[195] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.69.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.69.

[196] Four Transcendental Kindnesses: The concept of four transcendental kindnesses is an important part of Mencius' theory of the original goodness of human nature. For Mencius, these four kindnesses are transcendental, and they are sources of Ren (benevolence or humanity, 仁), Yi (righteousness, 义), Li (propriety, 礼), and Zhi (wisdom, 智).

[197] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.1), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.15.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.1), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.15.

然明觉发见处，只是一个真诚恻怛，便是他本体。)."[198] The concept of Liangzhi is close to what was called the pure mind by former scholars, but there are two points to make Liangzhi different from the pure mind. On the one hand, Liangzhi and Xin are the same things. They are different from the difference between the Daoxin (which represents the pure mind) and the Renxin. On the other hand, Wang's concept of Liangzhi is full of moral idealism. The Liang (morally good, 良) of Liangzhi is contrary to Buliang (not morally good, 不良). It becomes a moral judgment standard to distinguish that which is fit in the ethics of Confucianism and that which is not. He then took an example to further explain Liangzhi, "using the sincerity of Liangzhi to support parents is filial piety; using the sincerity of Liangzhi to treat brothers is the love and respect; using the sincerity of Liangzhi to serve a monarch is loyalty (故致此良知之真诚恻怛以事亲便是孝，致此良知之真诚恻怛以从兄便是弟，致此良知之真诚恻怛以事君使是忠，只是一个良知，一个真诚恻怛。)."[199] Filial piety, love, respect, loyalty are the basic morality in Confucianism; therefore, the noumenon of the Xin in Wang Yangming's theory is not the objective Li, but a moral ontology or an intuitive moral judgment.

The appearance of Liangzhi made the source of the universe subjective. It offered a further denial of Zhu Xi's theory that Li is over Heaven. The Li of Zhu Xi's theory can guide people's values and behavior; Liangzhi, for Wang, can also help people make a correct and moral judgment. Moreover, this point makes a theoretical assumption that everyone has Liangzhi. As Wang later wrote, "everyone has the Xin to distinguish what is right and what is wrong, which is called Liangzhi (是非之心人皆有之，即所谓良知也),"[200] and "the Liangzhi of ordinary people is same as the Liangzhi of ancient sage kings, and there is no difference of Liangzhi from the ancient time to the modern era (良知之在人心，无间于圣愚，天下古今之所同

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[198] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.74.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.74.

[199] Ibidem, p.74.

[200] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.26), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.801.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.26), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.801.

也。）.”[201] Given this point, Wang further put forward his epistemology, and it was from Wang Yangming's theory of Liangzhi that the basis for people to get in touch reality is Xin, or more deeply the noumenon of Xin, instead of Li.

While Wang added that "Liangzhi is a Xin which can distinguish moral right from wrong, and the right and wrong is only the likes and dislikes. Only by understanding the likes and dislikes can people distinguish what is right and what is wrong; only by understanding the right and wrong can people master the changing rule of everything under Heaven (良知只是个是非之心，是非只是个好恶。只好恶，就尽了是非。只是非，就尽了万事万物。）.”[202] This statement has two points. One is that Liangxin is a moral judgment; another is that only by understanding the difference between likes and dislikes, and between the right and the wrong can people follow their Liangzhi. So, Liangzhi sometimes may be covered, and then people cannot make correct moral judgments. "In the situation that private desires cover Liangzhi, Liangzhi is not clear; therefore, the Li and morality of Liangzhi are also covered (良知在受到私欲蒙蔽的情况下，良知便不能处在灵昭明觉的状态，因而天理人道也就被遮掩了起来。）.”[203] Therefore, to recognize Liangzhi and correctly get in touch with reality, Wang put forward one of the most famous points called Four Sentences (四句教, Siju Jiao). "There is neither good nor evil in the mind-in-itself (Xin-in-itself). There are both good and evil in the activation of intentions. Knowing good and evil is the (faculty) of Liangzhi. Doing good and removing evil is the rectification (investigation) of things[204] (无善无恶心之体，有善有恶意

[201] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.69.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.69.

[202] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.97.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.97.

[203] Tian, W. (2003). About WANG Yang-ming's Ethics Philosophy Based on Moral Insight. Journal of Tsinghua University (Philosophy and Social Sciences), (1), p.7.

田薇. (2003). 论王阳明以 "良知" 为本的道德哲学. 清华大学学报 (哲学社会科学版), (1), p.7.

[204] Wei-ming, T. (1974). An Inquiry into Wang Yang-ming's Four-Sentence Teaching. The Eastern Buddhist, 7(2), p.33.

之动，知善知恶是良知，为善去恶是格物。).”[205] Given this point, Wang, then, put forward his epistemologies. One is the unity of knowledge and action; another is the extension of Liangzhi.

3.3.2.3 The Unity of Action and Knowledge

In the early days of Wang Yangming, he studied with a teacher who was a member of the school of Zhu Xi; therefore, he used Zhu Xi's method to investigate things and extend knowledge. One of his famous deeds recorded in history is his investigation of bamboo. Wang took seven days to continually focus on investigating bamboo; but finally, he failed because of the spirit's exhaustion after this long time. It was from this point that Wang did not fully believe in Zhu's method; and after his establishment of the theoretical system of the school of Xin, he proposed that "I finally knew that there is nothing to investigate; the endeavor of investigation of things needs be only done in human's Xin (方知天下之物本无可格者；其格物之功，只在身心上做。).”[206] Zhu's epistemology to understand the noumenon of the universe is by an outward exploration of Li; it is based on his understanding that Li is over the human world. However, in Wang Yangming's theory, Xin is the source of the universe; so, his epistemology to understand the noumenon of the universe is to reflect and find the answer in humans' Xin. Action and knowledge are both related to humans' Xin, so there is no need to separate them. As he said, "because exploring Li from the 'Xin' outside the human body (it means the place over the Human world), so action and knowledge are two things; by exploring Li in my Xin, it is called the unity of action and knowledge which is a method of sages (外心以求理，此知行所以二也；求理于吾心，此圣门知行合一之教。).”[207]

Wang's unity of action and knowledge is based on the idea that Xin is the source of the universe. So, his understanding of action and knowledge is different from Zhu Xi's

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[205] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.102.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.102.

[206] Ibidem, p.105.

[207] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.37.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.37.

understanding. The action in his theory is a moral consciousness, "action is a behavior when the consciousness of Xin happens (一念发动处便是行。)."[208] He took examples to explain it, "seeing a great colour belongs to knowledge, liking this colour is action; when I see this colour, I have already liked it; it is not that I particularly set a heart to like it after seeing it. Smelling a stinking odour belongs to knowledge, while hating this odour is action; When I smell this odour, I have already hated it; it is not that I set a heart to hate it after smelling it (见好色属知，好好色属行；只见那好色时，已自好了，不是见了后，又立个心去好。闻恶臭属知，恶恶臭属行。只闻那恶臭时，已自恶了，不是闻了后，别立个心去恶。)."[209]

Given the point that action is moral consciousness, he then proposed that there is no sequence of action and knowledge, and action and knowledge connect together closely. "Knowledge is the consciousness of action; action is the operation of knowledge. Knowledge is the reason for the action; action is the result of knowledge. If someone has reached understanding when he discusses action, this action has already included knowledge; when he discusses knowledge, this action has already included action (知是行的主意，行是知的工夫；知是行之故，行是知之成。若会得时，只说一个知，已自有行在；只说一个行，已自有知在 。)."[210] Wang emphasized that "knowledge is the start of the action, and action is the end of knowledge (知是行之始，行是知之成)."[211]

For Wang there is no gap between action and knowledge in theory, and the action and knowledge, ultimately, can be syncretized as one. This is called the unity of knowledge and action. However, in fact, not all people can syncretize action and knowledge as one thing. He put forward a question that "everyone knows it is necessary to serve parents with filial piety,

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[208] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.84.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.84.

[209] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.1), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.3.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.1), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.3.

[210] Ibidem, p.4.

[211] Ibidem, p.4.

treat brothers with respect and love; but, actually, they do not try their best to do this (今人尽知得父当孝，兄当弟者，却不能孝，不能弟。).”[212] Wang thought this situation is caused by private desires; and the way to understand the source of the universe and get in touch with reality is to unify knowledge and action. Wang said "the man who has knowledge but does not put it into action means that he does not have real knowledge. Sages teach people knowledge and action, which is to get the source of the universe (知而不行，只是未知。圣贤教人知行，正是要复那本体。).”[213]

After Wang proposed the concept of Liangzhi in his later years, he thought the aim of the unification of knowledge and action is the extension of Liangzhi (Zhi Liangzhi, 致良知). The proposal of the extension of Liangzhi combined ontology and epistemology; Liangzhi is about the source of the universe, and the extension of Liangzhi is about epistemology. "The extension of Liangzhi is to set up one belief that Liangzhi is the noumenon of the universe, to firmly understand the nature of Xin (所谓致良知，就是树立良知本体论信念，牢牢地把握住心之体。).”[214] Wang said that "the Liangzhi of my Xin is the so-called Tianli. From the extension of Liangzhi of my Xin to everything in the world, the principle of these things can be found (吾心之良知，即所谓天理也。致吾心良知之天理于事事物物，则事事物物皆得其理矣。).”[215] This point is to respond to the separation of knowledge and action caused by Li. Undoubtedly, based on the extension of Liangzhi, Wang also supported Zhu Xi's theory of 'Keep Tianli and Destroy Human Desires', but his "Tianli" is in humans' Xin.

The school of Zhu Xi and the school of Xin both belong to Neo-Confucianism. They share a similar theoretical system. The differences between them are about the ontology, i.g., what is the source of the universe, and the matching epistemology. The school of Xin focuses on the

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[212] Ibidem, p.3.

[213] Ibidem, p.3.

[214] Song, Z. (2010). The Last Preacher of Neo-Confucianism: Research of Wang Yangming's Philosophy Theory. Journal of Renmin University of China, (4), p.76.

宋志明. (2010). 正统理学的终结者: 阳明心学发微. 中国人民大学学报, (4), p.76.

[215] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.39.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.39.

source of the universe is the Xin of the human body instead of Li, which is over the human world. This change reinforced the function of Xin in getting in touch with reality and meant people did not believe that all orders are from Li. Therefore, a new experience was incubated at this time, and the way of people of getting in touch with reality was changing increasingly.

3.3.3 The Incubation of New Experience by Wang Yangming's Theory

Since Zhan Ruoshui and Wang Yangming, the theory of the school of Xin was becoming more and more widely accepted in society, and it even had begun to shake the official position of Zhu Xi's theory. After Wang's reform of Neo-Confucianism, the new experience was increasingly incubated in society. In the incubation of this new experience, it is not difficult to find that people tended to use their Xin to reflect upon what happened in society and act by following their Xin.

It is important to discuss what kind of things were brought to society by Wang Yangming. At first, the theory of the school of Xin promotes the subjectivity of the human. Influenced by Zhu Xi's theory, Li became the final aim for people to explore. Everything in society, in the rhetoric by Neo-Confucian scholars, follows Li. However, Wang Yangming criticized Zhu's theory about the differentiation between Xin and Li. In his theory, the source of the universe is Xin instead of something outside the human body. The orientation for requiring an answer of the world is therefore inside the humans' Xin; humans' Xin is the centre of the world of meaning. Wang's concept of Liangzhi was based on this idea, its end is to require that human behavior should follow his moral consciousness. Marxist scholars believed that Wang's concentration on Xin in getting in touch with reality reflects the seeds of capitalism and the appearance of a new productive relationship this time. "In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the characteristics of capitalistic commodity economy had already formed in the self-sufficient natural economy, Wang Yangming's thought had to be influenced by this social reality (明代中叶，资本主义商品经济因素已经在封建社会内部发生，这种社会现实也不能不对王阳明的思想发生影响。)."[216] The Marxist explanation is one way to explain the reason for Wang's theory, but it proves that this theory indeed influenced society.

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[216] Shen, S and Wang, F. (1989). Discussion on the school of Wang Yangming and its Active Influence. Southeast Culture, (6), p.172.

沈善洪, 王凤贤. (1989). 论阳明心学及其积极影响. 东南文化, (6), p.172.

Secondly, by promoting the subjectivity of the human, the idea of equality was rising at this time. Although Zhu Xi also proposed that everyone can be a sage by the investigation of things and extension of knowledge, he thought that the process of the investigation is not easy. So, Zhu Xi's proposal about equality was not accepted by society. However, Wang Yangming's idea of equality was increasingly accepted by people. His logic to be a sage is similar to Zhu Xi's, but the great difference between them is that Wang thought that the way to be a sage is by following the Xin. In detail, Wang believed that everyone has a same possibility to be a sage; Liangzhi is the basis for supporting this point, and the extension of Liangzhi is the way to realize it. Compared to Li, Liangzhi or Xin is not so abstract, and it is easy for ordinary people to accept. So, since Wang Yangming, the concept of equality was raised. Wang Gen, one of the most famous disciples of Wang Yangming, continued to develop this idea, and even disenchanted Neo-Confucianism and made it more accepted by ordinary people.

Thirdly, the theory of the school of Xin initiated the idea of anti-authoritarianism. As mentioned before, Zhu Xi's theory recieved official confirmation in the ruling period of Song Lizong, and then its position was enhanced in the early Ming Dynasty. So, Zhu Xi's theory became divine, unshakable in people's minds. However, Wang Yangming's theory was incubated in criticizing Zhu Xi's epistemology, his theory undoubtedly attacked Zhu's problems and had shaken its official position in people's minds. As he said that "Dao is a public Dao for the world; knowledge is public knowledge for the world. It cannot be dominated and privatized by Zhu Xi, and it also cannot be dominated and privatized by Confucius (夫道，天下之公道也；学，天下之公学也。非朱子可得而私也，非孔子可得而私也。)."[217] "The term "public" in this sentence means that every person enjoys the same rights and chances to be a sage; everyone has the same position (这里的 "公"，是指人人都有同等权利，都有一分平等地位。)."[218] Wang Yangming believed that Liangzhi includes the sense of right and wrong. So, people's values and behavior should not be based on Li. Wang even criticized

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[217] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.68.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.68.

[218] Wang, G. (2002). Wang Yangming's theory of Liangzhi and the spirit of freedom. Confucius Studies, (5), p.65.

王国良. (2002). 王阳明良知学说与自由解放精神. 孔子研究, (5), p.65.

Confucius' position; he said that "the importance of studying and requiring is based on Xin. If something is found by Xin to be false, although Confucius said it is right, this thing cannot be directly thought right, let alone should this person be below Confucius! If something found by Xin is right, although a mediocre person said it is false, this thing cannot be directly thought false, let alone if this statement was from Confucius (学贵得之心。求之于心而非也，虽其言之出于孔子，不敢以为是也，而况其未及孔子者乎！求之于心而是也，虽其言之出于庸常，不敢以为非也，而况其出于孔子者乎。)."[219]

Wang's emphasis on Xin reformed Neo-Confucianism and brought a new experience to society. At his time, some scholars started to get in touch with reality by following their Xin or Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi. Self-reflection, which is used by Leidhold to refer to the third experiential turn in human history, had thus become the topic at this time. And in this topic, combined with social reality, humans' subjectivity, the idea of equality, and the idea of anti-authoritarianism were increasingly incubated. This new trend opened a new era for Neo-Confucianism. After the death of Wang Yangming, his disciples continually put forward their own theories. Neo-Confucianism was further disenchanted and became increasingly the basis of people's daily lives.

3.4 The Ideas focused on People's Daily Lives

After the death of Wang Yangming, like many other schools in intellectual history, his school of Xin was also divided into different schools. As recorded by Huang Zongxi, "Liangzhi is the aim of the school of Wang Yangming, the students of the school were not dare to violate it. However, they may interpret it by their understanding…this is usual opinion in the discussion on the study (良知宗说，同门虽不敢有违，然未免各以性之所近议揆和…此皆论学通异之见。)."[220] In his book *Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars)*, he differentiated these schools and thought there were eight schools according to their proposals and location. In

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[219] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.66.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.66.

[220] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.12), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.240.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.12), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, 2008. P.240.

detail, they included the school of Zhezhong (浙中学派), the school of Jiangyou (江右学派), the school of Nanzhong (南中学派), the school of Chuzhong (楚中学派), the school of Beifang (北方学派), the school of Yuemin (粤闽学派) and the school of Taizhou (泰州学派).

Among them, the school of Zhezhong, the school of Jiangyou, and the school of Taizhou had the strongest influence in society. Ji Wenfu (嵇文甫, 1895-1963), a modern philosopher, proposed that these three schools represent Wang Yangming's theory's different developmental directions. The school of Jiangyou scrupulously abides by Wang Yangming's theory. There was no significant change in their theory; therefore, modern thinkers interpret these school members as conservatives. The school of Zhezhong is close to the school of Taizhou, but the idea of this school is more moderate. Comparatively, the school of Taizhou was aggressive, and the members of the school were called 'Crazy Zen'. They further developed Wang's theory and made it more and more popular in society. As Ji discussed in his book, "the aggressive school usually put forward a theory which is positioned higher than those of his teacher Wang….they developed Wang's theory…and made Wang's theory advanced with the new times (左派诸子时时越过师说…他们使王学发展了…王学也因为他们更和新时代接近了。)."[221] So this part will focus on the major scholars of the school of Taizhou, and discuss their ideas and the new experience brought by them.

3.4.1 Wang Gen's Ideas and a New Start of Neo-Confucianism

Wang Gen's ideas were strongly influenced by his life experience. He was born in a family focusing on the salt industry, which was thought of as one of the lowest in ancient Chinese society. But in his spare time after working, he usually studied *The Classic of Filial Piety* (《孝经》), *The Analects of Confucius* (《论语》) and *The Great Learning* (《大学》). At the age of 38, Wang Gen visited Wang Yangming. He was fascinated by Wang Yangming's theory of Liangzhi; he gave up his family business without hesitation and worshiped Wang Yangming as his master.

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[221] Ji, W. (2017). *The Study of History of Thought in the Late Ming Dynasty*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.16.

嵇文甫. (2017). 晚明思想史论. 北京：中华书局, p.16.

3.4.1.1 Wang Gen's Development of Wang Yangming's Theory

The greatest achievements of Wang Gen are that he continued developing Wang Yangming's theory of Liangzhi and disenchanted the divinity of Neo-Confucianism. To understand his ideas, it is necessary to discuss a basic question of Neo-Confucianism, which is what is Dao; or to put it simply, what is the source of the universe? In ancient times, Dao was a specific concept only for Taoism. Laozi (老子, or Lao Tzu) treated it as an extremely mysterious and abstruse spiritual source for the world. Confucian scholars borrowed this concept from Taoism. In Zhu Xi's theory, he treated Dao (sometimes understood as Li, or one can say that Li and Dao are two terms describe one concept) as the source of the universe. Even Wang Yangming proposed that there is no Li outside humans' Xin; he continued to use the Dao to describe Xin as the source of the universe. It means that "for thousands of years, Dao was sanctified by the literati and covered with a veil of mystery. It is, undoubtedly, a patent for the literati, which is only discussed by them after politics. Dao, therefore, is thought of as a transcendental thing beyond material life (几千年来，道被神圣化了，被蒙上了一层神秘莫测的面纱，成为士大夫手中的专利和政治清谈的奢侈品，成为超脱于物质生活之外的主观先验之物。)."[222]

However, Wang Gen did not believe in the transcendent meaning of Dao. His logic to prove this point was based on Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi. Wang Gen agreed with his master's statement that Liangzhi is the source of the universe, and he further said that "Xin formed the universe, and it exists from ancient times to the modern era (此心纲纪宇宙，流行古今)"[223] and "Dao (here meaning Liangzhi) is everywhere in the world, everything at any time has it, and it has been the same since the ancient times to the modern era (此道在天地间遍满流行，无物不有，无时不然，愿无古今之异。)."[224] He confirmed Wang Yangming's idea that everyone has Liangzhi, but he said the source is not transcendental but based on people's daily lives. This statement can also be deduced from Wang Yangming's point, as he

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[222] Hu. W. (1998). The Human Nature View of Wang Gen's Theory that "Dao is from People's Daily Life". Journal of Nanjing University of Science and Technology, (1), p.1.

胡维定. (1998). 王艮"百姓日用之道"中的人性自然观. 南京理工大学学报: 社会科学版, (1), p.1.

[223] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.2), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.48.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.2), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.48.

[224] Ibidem, p.49.

wrote that "Dao (Liangzhi) is only one, a moral person calls it benevolence, a wise person calls it wisdom…although ordinary people do not know it in their daily life, it is still Dao, is there any other thing? (道一而已，仁者见之谓之仁，知者见之谓之知…百姓日用而不知，皆是道也，宁有二乎？)."[225] In Wang Yangming's theory, Dao can be found in people's daily lives, although they do not recognize it. Wang Gen used this statement as the starting point of his idea. He deduced it with Wang Yangming's other point that "what is different to ordinary people is heterodoxy (in the theory of the school of Xin) (与愚夫愚妇异，是谓异端。)."[226] Therefore, Wang Gen made his judgment that "the Dao held by ancient sages is not different from (the Dao) of the ordinary people's daily life; if there is something different, it is heterodoxy (圣人之道，无异于百姓日用，凡有异者，皆是异端。)."[227] In Wang Gen's theory, the people's daily life is Dao and Liangzhi; what is the opposite of people's daily lives is not Dao and Liangzhi. Wang Gen continued to say that "the logic of ordinary people's daily life is the same logic of being a sage (百姓日用条理处，即是圣人之条理处。)."[228]

Wang Gen's idea advanced Wang Yangming's theory that "all people are sages in the street (满街人都是圣人。)."[229] In Wang Gen's idea, everyone is sage. His Dao and Liangzhi, in fact, are different from Wang Yangming's considerations. In this deduction, Wang Gen gave a new meaning to the old concept. In Wang Yangming's theory, the extension of Liangzhi is to clear one's mind to arrive at the pure mind which is not covered by private desires. His

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[225] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.1), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.16.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.1), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.16.

[226] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.93.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.93.

[227] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.1), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.10.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.1), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.10.

[228] Ibidem, p.10.

[229] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.102.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.102.

understanding of Liangzhi is a moral idealism; it is to make a morality which is that observed by ancient sages' transcendentalism. As mentioned before, this is similar to Zhu Xi's Li, but the difference is that Wang's Liangzhi is located in humans' Xin. However, Wang Gen further secularized Liangzhi and located it in people's daily lives. Wang Gen's morality was not from ancient sages but from daily life. He believed that the morality for ancient sages and ordinary people are both from their lives, so people do not need to use ancient sage's morality as the model. This change of Liangzhi undoubtedly disenchanted its divinity and made Neo-Confucianism close to ordinary people's daily life.

As one important change in the phase of articulation of experience, it brought a new trend for people to get in touch with reality. Wang Gen's Dao is based on people's daily lives, and private desire is the usual phenomenon in people's lives. Private desire is also a source for Wang Gen's Dao. Since Zhu Xi, Li (or Tianli) became the thing all people should observe. Neo-Confucian scholars believed that the reason why ordinary people cannot be a sage is because of their private desires. So, they regarded people's private desire as a scourge. However, in Wang Gen's rhetoric, people's private desire is a part of Dao, which exists in people's daily lives. Zhu Xi's concept of 'Keep Tianli and Destroy Human Desires' then lost its theoretical basis in Wang's Theory. Like Wang Gen's disciple, Yan Jun said, controlling private desire is not to show benevolence. Given this point, human nature was not so strictly limited by outside "regulations". Wang's concept of Liangzhi shook the position that people's desires should be strictly controlled. This point also laid a theoretical basis for human freedom, which is thought of as a forerunner of "liberalism" in Chinese society. This trend liberated people from the old ideology, and scholars became more active in discussing and seeking freedom at that time.

3.4.1.2 Wang Gen's Method to Understand Dao

Wang Gen's other achievement is his method to understand Dao, which is called Huainan Gewu (淮南格物, or directly translated as 'the Huainan version of investigating things'). Huainan is the place where Wang Gen lived, and the title of Huainan Gewu is to differentiate itself from the Gewu of Neo-Confucian scholars. Traditionally, Neo-Confucian scholars' investigation of things is the way to understand and master Li; it emphasized controlling private desires and seeking Li (or Tianli). As mentioned before, the private desire is legal in Wang Gen's ideas, so his investigation of things was aimed at telling people what is primary and what is secondary in daily life.

Wang Gen said that "the investigation of things is to arrive at the supreme good…the things which are investigated by scholars and students can be differentiated as the primary thing or the secondary thing…if the (investigation) behavior does not have effects, people should ask themselves; this is what people should do in the investigation of things. (格物，却正是止至善……格物之物，即物有本末之物……行有不得者，皆反求诸己，反己是格物的工夫。)."[230] Instead of the discussion of the method used in Confucianism, he focused more on the meaning of the method used by Confucian scholars. He then further expressed his idea that "people's life and people's country can be seen as the same thing; but these two still are different, there was a difference between what is primary and what is secondary in them. Ge (investigation) means to weigh and consider what primary is and what secondary is. Through the weighing, people will then know that governing the world is impossible if the primary thing and the second thing are put in disorder. So, Gewu (investigation of things) is to know what the primary is. Understanding what the primary thing means the extension of knowledge is. So, it is to say that the primary thing for the emperor and even for the ordinary people is to persevere life[231] (身与国家一物也，唯一物而有本末之谓。格，絜度也。絜度于本末之间，而知本乱末治者否矣，此格物也。物格，知本也。知本，知之至也。故曰自天子以至于庶人，壹是皆以修身为本也。修身，立本也。)."[232]

Wang Gen's Gewu is a method to help people understand that the body or life is the primary thing, and the country or politics is the secondary thing. Only by cultivating their life can people to participate in politics to govern their country. In discussing this method, "Wang's discussion not only emphasized the value of an individual's life but also highlighted the responsibility for people to participate in politics if they can cultivate their life successfully (王艮的论说既是

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[230] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.1), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.3.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.1), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.3.

[231] Xiushen (修身) in traditional Confucianism means to cultivate one's moral characters. But, in Wang Gen's theory, Shen is used to emphasize the human life. So, in discussing Wang Gen's investigation of things, Xiushen means to 'preserve one's life'.

[232] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.1), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.34.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.1), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.34.

强调了作为自我的存在价值，同时又强调了自我的社会责任)"[233] This method is also based on his understanding of Liangzhi and private desires. As mentioned before, private desire is legal in Wang's ideas, so the carrier of private desire, the human body is the most important thing for humans. Meanwhile, with the proposal of the method, the private desire was confirmed again by Wang Gen.

Wang Gen's discussion of Huainan Gewu also brought new experiences in society. On the one hand, it enhanced the idea of equality that arose in Wang Yangming's theory. Huainan Gewu emphasized to people the importance of their body and life, emphasizing the individual's position in politics. This meaning also influenced the literature of the late Ming Dynasty. Some thinkers even discussed the social position of women and proposed the concept of freedom of marriage in their works. On the other hand, by emphasizing the individual's position, this method also gave scholars a chance to consider the relationship between individuals and the Dynastic system, since the human body and life became the primary thing, and the country is the secondary thing. Therefore, the country's position is not as important as it used to be in the old rhetorics of early Confucianism. This point laid a theoretical foundation for the thinkers to think about the problem of the Dynastic system and criticize the monarch's absolute authority.

3.4.2 The Development of Wang Gen's Idea by His Disciples

After the death of Wang Gen, his disciples continued to develop his ideas. Yan Jun, Luo Rufang, and He Xinyin devoted themselves to insisting Wang Gen's idea that Dao is from people's daily life, and they also developed Wang's ideas and used it to influence society.

3.4.2.1 Yan Jun's Idea of Fangxin

Yan Jun (or Yan Shannong, 颜山农), is Wang Gen's disciple Xu Yue's disciple (徐樾,?-1552), but he also used to accept education from Wang Gen directly. Yan's academic achievement is that he continued to develop Wang Gen's concept of Xin and Liangzhi, and laid a theoretical foundation for his disciple Luo Rufang and Li Zhi. Yan wrote many books, but because of the war in the late Ming Dynasty, only a few of them survived.

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[233] Cai, G. (2009). Discussion on the People-oriented Thought from Wang Gen of the school of Taizhou. Hubei Social Sciences, (12), p.116.

蔡桂如. (2009). 泰州学派王艮民本思想述论. 湖北社会科学, (12), p.116.

Wang Gen proposed that Dao is within ordinary people's daily lives; thus, people do not need to intentionally limit their private desires to arrive at the pure mind. Yan Jun continued this belief. He argued that Wang Gen's way to find Dao is to seek Dao in a natural situation. Therefore, he proposed a concept, Fangxin (direct translation to English is be at ease or feel relieved), to express his ideas. He, therefore, emphasized that acquiring benevolence is not by controlling private desires.

Fangxin was not entirely invented by Yan; it was firstly recorded in the *Mencius*. But Mencius's concept of Fangxin opposes it to someone who has lost himself and gone the wrong way to learn. However, Yan used it to tell people to clear their wrong ideas and go back to the right track of Confucianism. Yan borrowed it and described the 'wrong way' as strictly controlling one's private desires. He thought that "Fangxin is to open one's mind and takes its course (放心，就是指敞开心灵、任其自然。)."[234] Xin, for Yan, is an active and optimistic concept, there is no conflict between the Daoxin and the Renxin.

Though the concept of Fangxin, Yan began to discuss the private desirse. He did not deny the existence of private desires from the perspective of morality; but he affirmed the justice of private desires for ordinary people. He proposed, given the concept of Fangxin, that Xin is natural, and there is no need to impose limitations on it forcefully. However, Yan still proposed controlling private desires slightly, but the purpose of controlling it is to correct one's attitude.

Yan's way of being a moralized person is also deduced from his concept of Fangxin. He thought "learning is to nourish people's Xin, education is to nourish people (立学以养心，立教以养人。)."[235] Therefore, he proposed the concept of Yangxin (养心) as a method, which means to nourish people's hearts. The aim of Yangxin is "to correct one's attitude…and lay aside interests and reputation to make Xin come back to a natural situation (在于正心…将一

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[234] Wu, X. (2005). The Brief Introduction of Yan Shannong's thought. Zhejiang Social Sciences, (1), p.136.

吴震. (2005). 泰州后学颜山农思想绪论. 浙江社会科学, (1), p.136.

[235] Yan, J. (1996). Yan Jun Ji (The Collected Works of Yan Jun) (Vol.1), Huang, X., ed. Beijing: China Social Science Press, p.1.

颜钧. (1996). 颜钧集 (Vol.1), 黄宣民, ed. 北京: 中国社会科学出版社, p.1.

切名利之心放心，以回复天真自然的状态。).”[236] As recorded by Huang Zongxi, Yan's way is "to not do things against ones' will, and let nature take its course (平时只是率性而行，纯任自然，便谓之道。).”[237]

3.4.2.2 Luo Rufang's Chizi Zhi Xin

Luo Rufang was a disciple of Yan Jun; he was considered one of the pioneers of the new thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty. His most influential academic achievements are the concept of Chizi Zhi Xin (赤子之心, the pure mind of a newborn baby), and the way to arrive at this status of Xin.

Luo Rufang accepted both Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi and Wang Gen's interpretation of Liangzhi. He thought that Liangzhi exists in the world without any deliberate exploration by humans, so the nature of Liangzhi is the so-called Chizi Zhi Xin. "Heaven gave birth to me as only a newborn baby. The mind of the newborn baby is close to Tianli; it is not difficult to find that this mind cannot be intentionally imitated and studied through careful observation (天初生我，只是个赤子。赤子之心浑然天理，细看其知不必虑，能不必学。).”[238] He then continued to describe it with some examples, "when a baby is born, the first cry is to show he wants and loves mother's arms. The origin of this love is benevolence, who uses this love to consider others can be said that he is a moralized person who has benevolence (赤子出胎，最初啼叫一声，想其叫时，只是爱恋母亲怀抱，却指着这个爱根而名为仁，推充这个爱根以来做人，和而言之曰'仁者人也'。).”[239] The concept of Chizi Zhi Xin was also borrowed from Mencius, that "the great man is he who does not lose his Chizi Zhi

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[236] Zhang, K. (1997). The Research on Yan Shannong's Neo-Confucianism. Journal of Taizhou Teacher College, (2), p.31.

张克伟. (1997). 颜山农理学思想研究. 台州学院学报, (2), p.31.

[237] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.34), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.764.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.34), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.764.

[238] Ibidem, p.764.

[239] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.58), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1386.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.58), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.1386.

Xin (大人者，不失其赤子之心者也。).”[240] Mencius' intention is to say that the great man who keeps the initial mind is like a newborn baby. Luo Rufang accepted Mencius' ideas and developed it with the concept of Liangzhi.

His understanding of Chizi Zhi Xin has three meanings. Firstly, Chizi Zhi Xin for Luo is the nature of Liangzhi. He accepted Wang Yangming's Liangzhi and believed the status of Liangzhi is the so-called pure mind of sages. He thought the mind of a newborn baby is much closer to the pure mind. Secondly, Luo proposed that the way to be a sage is based on Chizi Zhi Xin. He thought there is no absolute difference between sages and ordinary people when they first come to the world. The only difference between them is that sage knows "the great man is he who does not lose his Chizi Zhi Xin (大人者，不失其赤子之心者也。).”[241] So, sages keep this Xin and they "over time naturally, leisurely, moderately, become sages without deliberation and constraint (久久便自然成个不思不勉而从容中道的圣人也。).”[242] Thirdly, Luo treated Chizi Zhi Xin is the source of the universe, which is the noumenon of transcendental morality. As he analyzed, a newborn baby's cries actually show his/her love to mother's arms; it reflects that morality exists in peoples' mind since their birth.

Based on the concept of Chizi Zhi Xin, Luo discussed his method to arrive at this status. His method is that there is no specific effort to force someone to arrive at this status. Luo thought the way to arrive at the status is to keep one's mind peacefully and quiet, and in this inner situation, man can naturally and unconsciously be moralized. He indicated that "learning should be easy-going, and it is not good to do it forcedly. This way is similar to a simple diet in daily life. It does not take too much time and too much effort. When time is enough, this diet is done. It just like learning, when time is enough, there will be enlightenment for people (学问须要平易近情，不可着手太重。如粗茶淡饭，随时遣日，心即不劳，事亦了当，久

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[240] Zhao, Q., ed. (2017). The Mencius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 4B:40.

赵清文, ed. (2017). 孟子. 北京: 华夏出版社, 4B:40.

[241] Zhao, Q., ed. (2017). The Mencius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 4B:40.

赵清文, ed. (2017). 孟子. 北京: 华夏出版社, 4B:40.

[242] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.58), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1386.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.58), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.1386.

久成熟，不觉自然有个悟处。)."[243] He then used the example that a page brings a guest some tea to explain this, if"they drink tea later, how is it leisurely and how is it moderately (已而各饮，何等不思不勉，何等从容中道。)."[244]

Leisurely and moderately learning is how Luo wanted to teach others; he believed that current scholars took much effort to learn and understand the source of the universe that polluted Chizi Zhi Xin. Therefore, they cannot arrive at the so-called pure mind. Luo emphasized that people can find Dao through daily works. This idea originated from Wang Gen's idea that Dao is from people's daily lives. As recorded in Wang's book, the "teacher (here means Wang Gen) said that Dao is from people's daily lives. Luo initially did not believe it, so teacher Wang points to a page. By observation, Luo found that there is not any intention in his behavior; all his behaviors are natural (先生言百姓日用是道。初闻要不信。先生指僮仆之往来，视听持行，泛应动作处，不假安排，俱是顺帝之则。)."[245] So, Luo proposed that the effort to arrive at the pure mind exists presently; no matter what work you did, or whether a page to bring tea to someone, or a guest prepare to drink tea, people will find Dao when they leisurely and moderately do the works without deliberation.

3.4.2.3 He Xinyin's Ideas in Challenging Tradition

He Xinyin was also Yan Jun's disciple; but compared to Yan Jun and Luo Rufang, He Xinyin seemed to only accomplish a little in theoretical works. In his remaining works, he continued Wang Yangming and Wang Gen's theory and the theoretical system of the school of Xin. But, in discussing the noumenon of the world, he used Tai Ji (太极) to tell the theory of Xin. "Humanity is the heart (Xin) of the world. Benevolence is the Xin of humans. Xin is Taiji. What is produced by Taiji are two platforms of Yin and Yang. What is produced by Yin (阴) and Yang (阳) are four corners of the earth…What is produced by four corners of the earth is

[243] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.34), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.764.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.34), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.764.

[244] Luo Rufang. (1967). Xutan Zhiquan. Taipei: Kwangwen Shuju. p.182.

罗汝芳. (1967). 盱坛直诠. 台北: 广文书局. p.182.

[245] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.3), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.71-72.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.3), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.71-72.

Bagua[246] (夫人，天地心也。而仁，则人心也。心则太极也。太极之所生者，两仪也…两仪之所生，四象也…四象之所生者八卦也。)."[247] He Xinyin used the traditional Taoist theory of Taiji to deduce that the source of the universe is Xin. Taiji produces Yin and Yang, and Yin and Yang produce four corners of the earth, until everything in the world is produced. So, by He's rhetoric, Xin is the noumenon of the world. In this method to understand the source of the universe, He emphasized the importance of subjective cognition of Xin. This way is different from his classmate Luo Rufang. He believed that everything could be changed through one's endeavor. He highlighted that people need to focus on social reality. So, he established a social organization titled Juhe Tang (聚和堂, the Hall of Juhe) to launch his social reform. Although this reform failed in the end because of the local government's suppression, it represents the importance of He's method in practice.

Another thing discussed by He Xinyin is about private desires; he held a similar view to his master Yan Jun, but his idea is aggressive. He Xinyin publicly opposed asceticism; he believed that the private desire belongs to humans' instincts; so it is false to suppress one's private desires. People can reduce their private desires but they cannot directly limit or completely control them. He used the example of Confucius to prove his idea; as Confucius said that "I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right. (从心不逾矩)"[248], he believed that Confucius even has private desires.

He Xinyin believed that all people have private desires; in discussing private desires, he also expounded on the idea of equality. He also used the examples of ancient sages' to express his idea. "Gongliu desired wealth and goods, but he desired the same with ordinary people, Taiwang desired beautiful things, but he desired the same with ordinary people (昔公刘欲货，

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[246] Bagua is eight symbols used in the cosmology of Taoism to represent the fundamental principles of reality, seen as a range of eight interrelated concepts.

[247] He, X. (1960). He Xinyin Ji (The Collected Works of He Xinyin) (Vol.1), Rong, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.17.

何心隐. (1960). 何心隐集 (Vol.1), 容肇祖, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.17.

[248] Feng, G., ed. (2017). The Analects of Confucius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 2:4

冯国超, ed. (2017). 论语. 北京: 华夏出版社, 2:4

然欲与百姓同欲；太王欲色，亦与百姓同欲。).”[249] He offered other concepts to propose the concept of equality, his understanding of the patriarchal-feudal relationship (宗法关系). In ancient China, there were five relationships of the patriarchal-feudal relationship advocated by Confucianism; they were the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, father and sons, husband and wife, and brothers and friends' relationship. The most important relationship among them is the relationship between the monarch and his subjects. But in He's thought, only the relationship among friends was acceptable because friends' positions are comparatively equal. This idea also provided a theoretical basis for later thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty to reflect on the relationship between monarch and his people, between the monarch and his ministers.

3.4.3 Li Zhi's Idea and Influence

The most influential thinker to the academic circle of the late Ming Dynasty undoubtedly was Li Zhi. He further developed the theory of the school of Xin, and he then used the ideas of Neo-Confucianism to criticize and attack the official position of Neo-Confucianism. His ideas are treated by modern Marxist thinkers as a key to modern humanism and they take him as a pioneer of democratic and liberal ideas in Chinese intellectual history. From the western perspective, Italian Christian missionary Matteo Ricci compared Li Zhi to the martyr of philosophy, and recorded Li Zhi's behavior and some of his sayings in his book *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas* (*On the Christian Mission among the Chinese*). Matteo Ricci told his western audience that Li Zhi was an unusual example among Chinese, because he put forward some ideas which were different to traditional Chinese ones. The major theoretical works of Li Zhi includes *Cang Shu* (《藏书》, *A Book to Keep*) and *Fen Shu* (《焚书》, *A Book to Burn*).

Before discussing the idea of Li Zhi, there is an important question which needs to be solved. In Huang Zongxi's book *Mingru Xue'an* (*Record of the Ming Scholars*), he did not classify Li Zhi as a Confucian scholar. Because of Huang Zongxi's strong influence on Chinese intellectual history, some Chinese scholars positioned Li Zhi as a heretic of Confucianism; therefore, when they discussed the major academic trend at this time, they did not contribute Li Zhi's idea to it. However, I think that Li Zhi is also an important scholar in discussing the

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[249] He, X. (1960). He Xinyin Ji (The Collected Works of He Xinyin) (Vol.3), Rong, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.72.

何心隐. (1960). 何心隐集 (Vol.3), 容肇祖, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.72.

Ming Dynasty's major academic trends. Although he criticized and attacked the core of Neo-Confucianism, his ideas were still in the theoretical form of the school of Xin. And it is not difficult to see the influence of Wang Yangming, Wang Gen, and Luo Rufang in Li Zhi's ideas. So, undoubtedly, Li Zhi's ideas were the result of the development of Neo-Confucianism, especially the theory of the school of Xin. This thesis will also classify Li Zhi as a special member of the school of Neo-Confucianism, and discuss his ideas based on the theory of the school of Xin.

3.4.3.1 Li Zhi's Idea of Tongxin

The basis of Li Zhi's theoretical form is the idea of Tongxin (a childlike heart). About Tongxin, Li Zhi at first defines it thus: "The childlike heart is the genuine heart-mind…The childlike heart-mind is free of all falsehood and entirely genuine, and it is the original mind at the very beginning of the first idea (夫童心者，真心也…夫童心者，绝假纯真，最初一念之本心也。)."[250] This definition is similar to Luo Rufang's Chizi Zhi Xin, but the basis of these two Xins is obviously different. Chizi Zhi Xin's basis is Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi. Luo thought that Chizi Zhi Xin is the pure mind held by ancient sages, and they had this because excessive private desires did not contaminate their Liangzhi. Through enhancing morality, ordinary people could recover to the status of Chizi Zhi Xin. While the basis of Tongxin is different from Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi. Li Zhi thought the process towards moralization is the process of Tongxin becoming increasingly contaminated. It means that Tongxin is a status where the human heart is not influenced by the man-made rule of social ideology, including morality.

Li Zhi immediately explained, the "child is the beginning of people's lives; Tongxin is the original appearance of people's hearts. How can a person lose his original heart? So, why does Tongxin prematurely disappear? When people become enlightened, they learned perceptual knowledge from their eyes and ears; when they grow up, they learn conceptual knowledge from outside. Through learning, they lose their Tongxin. As time passes, with the growing of reason and knowledge, people can become cognizant and their perceptions are also expanding. So, they know a good reputation is good, and they seek it by all manner of means; they know bad

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[250] Li, Z. (1990). Tongxin Shuo in Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.3), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.97.

李贽. (1961). 童心说 in 焚书·焚书续 (Vol.3), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.97.

reputation is bas, and they cover it with deliberations. In this way, Tongxin disappears. Perceptual knowledge and conceptual knowledge are achieved by learning morality (童子者，人之初也；童心者，心之初也。夫心之初，曷可失也？然童心胡然而遽失也。盖方其始也，有闻见从耳目而入，而以为主于其内，而童心失。其长也，有道理从闻见而入，而以为主于其内，而童心失。其久也，道理闻见，日以益多，则所知所觉，日以益广，于是焉又知美名之可好也，而务欲以扬之，而童心失。知不美之名之可丑也，而务欲以掩之，而童心失。夫道理闻见，皆自多读书识义理而来也。).”[251] Li treated Tongxin as the opposite of morality, learning the Six Classics will remove students' Tongxin.

What is the nature of Tongxin? Li Zhi used the private desire to explain it, "the private desire is the human heart. Humans must have private desires and then their Xin will increasing appear; if there are no private desires in the human mind, and they will not have Xin (夫私者，人之心也。人必有私而后其心乃见；若无私则无心矣。).”[252] It is clear that Li Zhi thought the nature of Tongxin is the private desire. This point was studied from the idea of the school of Taizhou. But, there were still some differences. For the thinkers from the school of Taizhou, they still believed that the private desire is a part of Liangzhi (or Tianli), and their guide was still Liangzhi (or Tianli). But, in Li Zhi's idea, the private desire becomes a will which guides people's behavior and value. In detail, "the private desire held by Li Zhi is largely relating to individual special interests: the Sixin (selfishness) is a form which represents how people think about their individual interests in their mind (李赞所说的私，则主要与个体的特殊利益与需要相关：所谓私心，无非是个体的特殊利益与需要在主体意识中的表现形式。).”[253] Li Zhi believed that the private desire is humans' genuine feeling, "drawing on advantages and avoiding disadvantages are same in everyone's mind, and they are natural and instinctive (趋利避害，人人同心，是为天成。).”[254]

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[251] Ibidem, p.98.

[252] Li, Z. (1974). Cang Shu (Vol.32). Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, p.544.

李贽. (1974). 藏书 (Vol.32).台北: 台湾学生书局, p.544.

[253] Yang, G. (1988). Li Zhi — the Evolution from the theory of Wang Yangming to anti-Confucianism. Jianghuai Tribune, (2), p.60.

杨国荣. (1988). 李贽——王学向异端的演变. 江淮论坛, (2), p.60.

[254] Li, Z. (1990). Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.1), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.40.

李贽. (1961). 焚书 · 焚书续 (Vol.1), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.40.

3.4.3.2 Li Zhi's Other Ideas

Based on the idea of Tongxin, Li Zhi proposed some ideas considering individualism, equality, and even politics. At first, he thought that everyone has his/her own value. He wrote that "Everyone has his/her value when they born. This does not mean that only by waiting for a person who is similar to Confucius can man have value. If only by waiting for a man who is similar to Confucius can prove that a human has value, does it mean that a man was not man in the time before the birth of Confucius (夫天生一人，自有一人之用，不待取给孔子而后足也。若必待取给孔子，则千古以前无孔子，终不得人乎。)."[255] Tongxin in Li Zhi's theory represents the private desire, and the desire is relative to individual special interests, and Li Zhi described these interests as one's value. This means that Li Zhi believed that individual value lies in one's own interest.

Secondly, based on this theory of Tongxin, Li Zhi also challenged traditional ethics. Li treated the nature of Xin as the private desire instead of Li or Liangzhi. Therefore, he did not believe that Confucian Classics and their ethics could help people find the world's noumenon; instead, they will lose themselves and contaminate their Tongxin through learning perceptive and conceptual knowledge. As Li Zhi wrote, "I had bad impressions of these books and articles (which tell the way of ancient sages), which are full of comments and sentences from the Six Classics, *The Analects of Confucius* and *The Mencius* (故吾因是而有感于童心者之自文也，更说什么六经，更说什么《语》、《孟》乎。)."[256]

Thirdly, Li Zhi also promoted some aggressive and positive political and social ideas. As a modern Marxist historian Xu Sumin concluded, "Li Zhi was opposed to cultural autocracy, and proposed the freedom of speech…and he also supported the equal relationship between monarch and his subjects…he put forward that the power can not be excessively centralized in one person, and it is important to endow the right of autonomy to local governments (反对思想文化专制主义，主张言论自由…主张臣、民之间的人身平等…反对权力过分集中，

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[255] Ibidem, 16.

[256] Li, Z. (1990). Tongxin Shuo in Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.3), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.98.

李贽. (1961). 童心说 in 焚书·焚书续 (Vol.3), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.98.

主张扩大地上上权力。)."[257] Furthermore, these proposals were then concluded, synthesized, and theorized by the scholars of the late Ming Dynasty, and they developed a new name, i.g., the so-called democratic idea in ancient China.

The reasonability of the private desire that arose in Wang Gen's theory finally became a form of justice in Li Zhi's ideas. He even used the private desire as Tongxin to replace the position of Liangzhi in the theoretical form of the school of Xin. In his understanding, the morality of Neo-Confucianism was not the supreme aim that students should seek. The thing that people need to pursue is to recover their Tongxin from its contaminated situation. Because of these aggressive ideas, Li Zhi was arrested by the Ming government. In prison, he committed suicide by cutting his throat, but he had strongly influenced the ideological trend developing in the late Ming Dynasty. It is not difficult to find that in his time, many dramas and plays came out to discuss people's real desires and even people's love, which had been limited and strictly controlled because of Zhu Xi's theory.

3.4.4 The Articulation of Experience since Wang Gen

From Wang Gen to Yan Jun, Luo Rufang and He Xinyin, and finally to Li Zhi, the thinkers from the school of Taizhou further developed Wang Yangming's theory and made it popular in society; although their ideas were much more aggressive, these ideas deeply influenced people's values and behavior. The new experience that arose in Wang Yangming's reform of Neo-Confucianism was further articulated and incubated new ideas in people's minds.

As mentioned before, through Wang's reform, human subjectivity was promoted, and the idea of equality arose, and anti-authoritanism also developed. The first thing, the subjectivity of the human, had developed since Wang Gen; and by this subjectivity, these scholars highlighted the importance of the individual. Since Wang Yangming, Xin became the source of the universe, and morality can be cultivated by self-reflection. Wang Gen continued to develop Wang Yangming's concept of Liangzhi. He believed that Liangzhi is from people's daily lives; thus, ordinary people were highlighted in Wang's ideas. Wang, therefore, proposed an idea, Preserve life. He emphasized the importance of individual life in politics. In his ideas, the value of an

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[257] Xu, S. (2006). On the Historical Status of Li Zhi's Thought and Historical Destiny of Li Zhi. Fujian Tribune (The Humanities & Social Sciences Monthly), (4), p.65.

许苏民. (2006). 论李贽思想的历史地位和历史命运. 福建论坛: 人文社会科学版, (4), p.65.

individual's life is equal to the monarch's life. Wang Gen's disciples still insisted on his belief. Yan Jun proposed the concept Fangxin, and Luo Rufang put forward the concept Chizi Zhi Xin; both of these were based on the importance of Xin. They believed that people could arrive at the pure mind held by ancient sages through the method concerning Xin. In Li Zhi's ideas, the subjectivity of the human was confirmed again. Based on his idea of Tongxin, he proposed that "Everyone has his/her value when they born (夫天生一人，自有一人之用。)."[258] So, it is not difficult to find that the thinkers from the school of Taizhou promoted the subjectivity of individuals and highlighted the importance of individuals.

Secondly, these thinkers insisted on the idea of equality and challenged the traditional ethics. Wang Yangming used Liangzhi to express his understanding of equality. He believed Liangzhi is in everyone's body, someone's Liangzhi is clean, so they understand the source of the universe and also morality. Private desires contaminate someone's Liangzhi, so they cannot find a way to be moralized. So, Liangzhi is the same for everyone. He thought that "the Liangzhi of ordinary people is same as the Liangzhi of ancient sages, and there is no difference of Liangzhi from the ancient time to the modern era (良知之在人心，无间于圣愚，天下古今之所同也)."[259] Therefore, the difference between ancient sages and ordinary people is that the ancient sage understood and mastered Liangzhi earlier. Furthermore, Wang Gen considered sages' responsibility is to enlighten others, especially ordinary people, to cleanse their Liangzhi. And from this, his idea of society was that "everyone is a gentleman, every family is honoured because of their good morality (人人君子，比屋可封)."[260] Luo Rufang also had a similar idea of equality to Wang. His understanding of equality was based on his concept Chizi Zhi Xin. He believed that this Xin was with people when they were born, and it is contaminated as they grow up. Nevertheless, Chizi Zhi Xin is the same for everyone, even sages and ordinary people.

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[258] Li, Z. (1990). Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.1), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.40.

李贽. (1961). 焚书·焚书续 (Vol.1), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦., ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.40.

[259] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.69.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.69.

[260] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.1), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.30.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.1), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.30.

In Li Zhi's ideas, the theoretical basis of the idea of equality had changed. His basis is Tongxin; as discussed before, his Xin is not deduced from Liangzhi but derives from private desires. Li Zhi did not think that ancient sages were a model for ordinary people because their Tongxin was also contaminated by the perceptive and conceptual knowledge; instead they actually are the same as other people and did not have higher morality compared to others. As he wrote, "Emperor Yao and emperor Shun are the same as strangers on the street, and ancient sage is the same as ordinary people (尧舜与途人一，圣人与凡人一)."[261] All in all, during this period, the thinkers from the school of Taizhou proposed the idea of equality was based on morality; although Li Zhi did not treat morality as the noumenon of the world, he still proposed his understanding of equality by discussing morality.

Thirdly, these thinkers proposed the idea of anti-authoritarianism. The ruling class had used Zhu Xi's theory to promote morality to defend the Dynastic system. But, since Wang Yangming, the thinkers from the school of Xin changed the way to understand Li; they treated Li as inside the human mind. Therefore, the so-called Li (or Tianli) was not always objective and independent. Wang Gen and his disciples attributed more subjectivity to ordinary people. The position of traditional morality was not always stable. Since Wang Gen, some scholars began to challenge the traditional morality of Confucianism; the most influential thinkers within this trend are He Xinyin and Li Zhi. He Xinyin proposed that the most important relationship in the traditional patriarchal-feudal relationship is the relationship among friends. This idea directly challenged the moral belief that the most important relationship is the relationship between the monarch and his subjects. He even proposed using the Shuaijiao system (率教制, the educational system) to replace the traditional monarch system. He thought that the relationship between teacher and student is better than the relationship between the monarch and his subjects. In detail, He considered that whoever could clean and understand Liangzhi could be the teacher of others, and then he is capable of being the monarch to all-under-Heaven. Another aggressive idea to challenge the authority at this time was in Li Zhi's consideration of ethics. Unlike other scholars of the school of Taizhou, Li used private desires to substitute the initial Xin. This basis means that Li Zhi directly set aside the traditional ethics of Confucianism, and proposed his own understanding of ethics. He thought ethics is based on

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[261] Li, Z. (2010). Li Zhi Quanji Zhu (The Interpretation of the Collection of Li Zhi) (Vol.14). Zhang, J., ed. Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China), p.240

李贽. (2010). 李贽全集注 (Vol.14), 张建业, ed. 北京: 社会科学文献出版社, p.240.

individuals, instead of the proposal of Confucius. As he wrote, "everyone has his/her value when they born. It is not only by waiting for a person who is similar to Confucius does man have value. (夫天生一人，自有一人之用，不待取给孔子而后足也。)"[262] Therefore, he did not use Confucius's standard of right and wrong to judge which is right or wrong. Gu Yanwu stated that "since the ancient times, it was only Li Zhi that dared to betray ancient sages' ideas (自古以来，小人之无忌惮而敢于叛圣人者，莫甚于李贽。)."[263]

During this period, the new experience arose since Wang Yangming's reform became more widely enhanced and articulated. These thinkers' ideas influenced people's values and behavior. People understood that Li is not always absolute, and they needed to use their Xin to reflect upon what happened in society. This is similar to the phase of self-reflection in Leidhold's nine experiential turns. These thinkers also proposed the reasonability of private desires, which had been suppressed by Zhu Xi's theory. For example, love, which is the representation of the private desire between a man and a woman, even became popular in society. For example, Tang Xianzu (汤显祖, 1550-1616) wrote a play called *The Peony Pavilion* (《牡丹亭》) which tells a love story between Du Li'niang (杜丽娘) and Liu Mengmei (柳梦梅), in which they overcome difficulties, transcending time and space, life and death. This play was one of the most popular plays in society in the Ming Dynasty. Seen from this play, people's experience was different from the former Dynasties. Furthermore, three of Four Great Classic Novels (四大名著) were finished in this time; among them, *Journey to the West (*《西游记》) and *Water Margin* (《水浒传》) are full of ideas of anti-authoritanism. Furthermore, during this period, a book titled Jinping Mei (《金瓶梅》, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*) even discussed sexual liberation, which had been treated as a great scourge in Confucianism. So, through Wang Gen and his disciple's endeavors, the new experience was increasingly articulated and laid a theoretical foundation for the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

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[262] Li, Z. (1990). Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.1), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.40.
李贽. (1961). 焚书 · 焚书续 (Vol.1), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.40.

[263] Gu, Y. (2006). Ri Zhi Lu (Vol.18), Huang, R., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. p.420.
顾炎武. (2006). 日知录 (Vol.18), 黄汝成, ed. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.420.

3.5 Events after the Phase of Articulation

Theoretically speaking, as Leidhold wrote, after the phase of incubation and the phase of articulation, the phase of method and the phase of institution come. The former two phases provide new experiences to humans, and then humans proposes some methods to familiarize these new experiences, and finally institutionalize them. But the Chinese case of the experiential turn in the Ming Dynasty is special, thinkers provided new ideas with the new epistemology at the same time, so the phase of method is hidden in the first two phases. Meanwhile, if we consider the result of the development of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, the phase of institution failed. So, the last part of this chapter will briefly discuss what happened after the phase of articulation.

"The trend of the liberation of ideology in the Ming Dynasty began with Chen Baisha's theory of Xin, and it thrived when Wang Yangming reformed the Neo-Confucianism, and it reached the climax because of Crazy Zen (or the members from the school of Taizhou) (明代思想解放的潮流，从白沙发端，及阳明而大盛，到狂禅派而发展到了极端。)."[264] However, this thriving development of the theory of the school of Xin inevitably aroused fierce opposition. As recorded by Ji Wenfu, "the theory of the school of Wang Yangming received criticism from different perspectives, some only criticized the ideas of Crazy Zen or the thinkers of the school of Taizhou, some even attacked Wang Yangming's theory; the most influential force in opposing the school of Wang Yangming was the school of Donglin (王学引起了各方面的反对，有的专攻击狂禅派或者王学左派，有的竟直接牵涉到阳明，这里面最有力量能形成一个广大潮流的，要推东林派。)."[265] So, this part will briefly introduce some ideas of the school of Donglin (东林学派). To introduce the idea of this school, the first thing is to date back to the point where the school of Wang Yangming separated.

The school of Taizhou represents the radicals of the school of Wang Yangming. In contrast, the school of Jiangyou scrupulously abided by Wang Yangming's theory and were classified by thinkers as the conservatives. As recorded by Huang Zongxi, "only the school of Jiangyou

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[264] Ji, W. (2017). *The Study of History of Thought in the Late Ming Dynasty*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.79.

嵇文甫. (2017). 晚明思想史论. 北京：中华书局, p.79.

[265] Ibidem, p.79.

directly kept and inherited the theory of the school of Yaojiang…(the members from the school of Jiangyou) proposed the idea which was to express what Wang Yangming did not explain…when Wang Dong (王栋, 1509-1581) proposed some wrong ideas and used his masters' ideas to prevent others' criticism, only the members from the school of Jiangyou could challenge and criticize him; and the original meaning of the theory of Wang Yangming, therefore, was kept and inherited (by the school of Wang Yangming), (姚江之学，惟江右为得其传…皆能推原阳明未尽之意…是时越中流弊错出，挟师说以杜学者之口，而江右独能破之，阳明之道赖以不坠。盖阳明一生精神，俱在江右)."[266] Modern historian Ji Wenfu thought that "the conservatives of the school of Wang Yangming, in fact, became the pioneer of different revisionists of the school of Wang (王学向右发展，事实上成为了后来各种王学修正派的前驱。)"[267]. The representative of the conservatives includes Nie Bao (聂豹, 1487-1563) and Luo Hongxian (罗洪先, 1504-1564).

Nie Bao insisted on keeping Wang Yangming's theory, and he proposed the concept of Jing (静, peace or quiet) is the main characteristic of Liangzhi. His idea mostly focused on the noumenon of Liangzhi instead of the function or the influence of Liangzhi. Like he wrote that "the noumenon is always peaceful, and people may feel it at any time (夫无时不寂，无时不感者，心之体也。)."[268] Luo Hongxian also proposed the idea of Jing, but for him Jing meant to learn knowledge. He then used this idea to criticize the idea of Wang Ji's (or Wang Longxi), a member of the school of Zhezhong who put forward some ideas close to the school of Taizhou. "In Long Xi's idea… he theoretically put forward a method (to learn moral knowledge), but the method is not available in reality (龙溪之学…然其讲工夫，又却是无

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[266] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.16), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.331.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.16), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.331.

[267] I Ji, W. (2017). The Study of History of Thought in the Late Ming Dynasty. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. p.16.

嵇文甫. (2017). 晚明思想史论. 北京：中华书局. p.16.

[268] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.18), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.406.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.18), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.406.

工夫可用。）."[269] Luo criticized Wang Ji's and Wang Gen's ideas, and contended that their ideas are unpractical and their methods are far away from the real method of the school of Xin.

Before the late Ming Dynasty, the school of Donglin (东林学派) increasingly arose, their ideas were partly derived from Zhu Xi's theory and partly from the school for Jiangyou. The aim of the school was to weed out the disadvantages of the school of Wang Yangming, and the bad influence from Wang Gen's and his disciples' ideas. In 1604, Gu Xiancheng (顾宪成, 1550-1612) and Gao Panlong (高攀龙, 1562-1626) established the Donglin Academy (东林学院) in Wuxi of Jiangsu Province; through teaching, learning, and debating, the academy became larger and larger and finally became a school. Because of the decline of Zhu Xi's theory and the obvious problems of the theory of the school of Wang Yangming, the members from the school of Donglin believed that it was the time to re-propose Zhu Xi's theory to revise Wang Yangming's theory. In addition, some thinkers from this school believed that the ideological problems in society were caused by the school of Taizhou's interpretations of Wang Yangming's theory. So, they proposed to use the same method the school of Jiangyou had done before, which keeps the original meaning of Wang's theory, to solve contemporary problems.

Wang Yangming had proposed the Four Sentences, but this was criticized by Liu Zongzhou (刘宗周, 1576-1645), he thought that "although Wang Yangming mentioned both no evil and no good to expound the nature of Liangzhi, but the real meaning is that there is no good in Liangzhi (无善无恶，语虽双提，而意实寄于无善。）."[270] So, it was felt the result of the Four Sentences would be that thinkers will deny the morality in society, and the social order will degrade. Gao Panlong also proposed similar ideas, he proposed "using morality as the standard instead of Liangzhi (以善为宗，不以知为宗。）."[271] This means that Gao wanted to

[269] Luo, H. (2007). Luo Hongxian Ji (The Collected Works of Luo Hongxian) (Vol.6), Xu, R., ed. Nanjing: Fenghuang Press, p.186.

罗洪先. (2007). 罗洪先集 (Vol.6), 徐儒宗, ed. 南京: 凤凰出版社, p.186.

[270] Liu, Z. (2007). Liu Zongzhou Quanji (The Complete Works of Liu Zongzhou) (Vol.2), Wu, G., ed. Zhejiang Guji Chubanshe, p.643.

刘宗周. (2007). 刘宗周全集 (Vol. 2), 吴光, ed. 浙江古籍出版社, p.643.

[271] Gao, P. (1996). Gaozi Yishu (The Remaining Works of Gaozi), Wang, Y., ed. Zhengzhou: Henan Educational Press, p.499.

高攀龙. (1996). 高子遗书, 王扬宗, ed. 郑州: 河南教育出版社, p.499.

re-ensure Zhu Xi's method of Gewu Zhizhi in learning moral knowledge and to understand the source of the universe. On the other hand, some thinkers from the school of Donglin opposed the method to understand Liangzhi by the school of Taizhou. They believed the thinkers of the school of Taizhou only discussed ontology, and they neglected to discuss the specific epistemology. As recorded by Huang Zongxi, some thinkers from the school of Donglin criticized Luo Rufang that "(he) did not provide a way to discuss ontology without epistemology; if there is a noumenon, there should be a method to understand it, and vice versa (不知本体工夫分不开的，有本体自有工夫，无工夫即无本体。)."[272] So, they re-proposed the method of Zhu Xi to remedy this defect of the school of Taizhou.

The theoretical system of the school of Donglin is complicated. They proposed some ideas to remedy the defects of the theory of Wang Yangming and the idea of the school of Taizhou, as well as putting forward some ideas to challenge the political system. For example, some thinkers from the school of Donglin proposed to discuss politics publicly and to take care of people's livelihood and rights. So, these ideas from the school of Donglin also laid a theoretical foundation for the thinkers who lived in the late Ming Dynasty. The most important thing is that, because of the ideas of the school of Donglin, the flourishing development of the idea of the school of Taizhou became slow.

The experiential turn stopped in the Ming Dynasty because of the collapse of the Ming Dynasty and the establishment of the Qing Dynasty. In 1644, the rebel leader Li Zicheng (李自成, 1606-1645) defeated the army of the Ming Dynasty and dominated the capital city, Beijing; with the suicide of Emperor Chongzhen (崇祯皇帝, ruling from 1627 to 1644), the Ming Dynasty collapsed. But, shortly afterward, Li Zicheng was defeated by the Manchu-led Eight-Banner armies[273], and then the Manchus established the Qing Dynasty and began to rule China for almost 260 years.

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[272] Huang, Z. (2008). Mingru Xue'an (Record of the Ming Scholars) (Vol.60), Shen, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1474.

黄宗羲. (2008). 明儒学案 (Vol.60), 沈芝盈, ed. 北京:中华书局, p.1474.

[273] Eight-Banner system (八旗制度) was an administrative and military division under the Qing Dynasty into which all Manchu households were placed. In war, the Eight Banners functioned as armies. However, it was also part of the organizational framework of Manchu society.

In the early Qing Dynasty, some thinkers inherited courage from former thinkers. They continued to fight against the Qing Dynasty and the Manchu's rule, like Huang Zongxi, Wang Fuzhi, and Gu Yanwu, but they finally failed. By recognizing reality, they refused to accept amnesty and surrender to the Qing Dynasty and retreated into forests and mountains. During this period, they continued to study and reflect on why the Ming Dynasty finally collapsed. It was at this time that they proposed democratic ideas. On the one hand, these democratic ideas were based on their own experience; on the other hand, these ideas were based on the incubation and articulation of the new experience in the Ming Dynasty. However, because of the policies of keeping the people in ignorance and the policy of cultural autocracy of the Qing Dynasty, their ideas and books were publicly forbidden until the end of the Qing Dynasty. Although the school of Donglin slowed the process of the new experiential turn, it was the Qing Dynasty rule that finally stopped the coming phase of institution of experience.

4 The Democratic Ideas in Concepts in the Late Ming Dynasty

There was no historical record showing a democratic system or democratic theory in ancient China. However, in the late Ming Dynasty, a group of thinkers began to oppose the monarchy system and proposed individualism and equality. According to former research, many of their ideas had democratic characteristics. Therefore, I believe that there were some democratic ideas shared by different thinkers, although there was no democracy or democratic theory in ancient China.

The late Ming Dynasty is treated by modern thinkers as one of the periods characterized by significant changes in Chinese intellectual history. From the perspective of natural time, the late Ming Dynasty (晚明 or 明末, Wanming or Mingmo) dates from "the first year of the ruling period by Emperor Wanli of the Ming Dynasty (1573) to the last year of Emperor Chongzhen (1644) (上起万历元年下讫崇祯十七年)."[274] But, from the perspective of historical time, the late Ming Dynasty reflects ideas of change and reform: "In the late Ming Dynasty…the social structure and ideological system of the whole monarchy system was falling into decay (在明末…整个封建专制主义的社会结构和思想体系正在腐烂下去。)."[275] During this period, the traditional Confucian people-oriented idea expanded its theoretical limits, and Confucian thinkers proposed new ideas which are close to western democratic thought.

Since the reform of Neo-Confucianism by Wang Yangming, the experiential turn was gradually appearing in society. In this experiential turn, thinkers spoke highly of Xin (mind, 心) and emphasized Xin as the source of the universe. They proposed that the way for people to enlighten themselves is by making their Xin as clear as possible, instead of investigating things and extending their knowledge from outside sources. The subjectivity of the human was advocated; ordinary people were given certain freedoms to reflect on the world and break limitations imposed by traditional morality. Thinkers began to highlight the private desire in people's daily life and even used this desire to help people escape the bondage of traditional

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[274] Fan, S. (2003). The History of the Late Ming Dynasty: from 1573 to 1644. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, p.6.

樊树志. (2003). 晚明史: 1573-1644 年. 上海: 复旦大学出版社, p.6.

[275] Shang, C. (2014). Walking into the Late Ming Dynasty. Beijing: The Commercial Press, p.472.

商传. (2014). 走进晚明. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.472.

morality and the monarch's absolute authority. In summary, this experiential turn not only brought a new way for people to get in touch with reality, it also further changed the way people thought about politics, society, and themselves. Through this, traditional Chinese political and social ideas were greatly influenced.

Given this change, some thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty believed that the political system was the cause for social crises, and proposed a new law for all people under all-under-Heaven[276] (天下, Tianxia). They even argued that the sovereignty of all-under-Heaven belongs to the people instead of a monarch. These ideas are widely divergent from traditional Confucianism, even the people-oriented idea. In detail, their logic is close to western democratic ideas; but, their theoretical basis is still derived from Confucianism. The ideas are even expressed by traditional Chinese concepts. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, and plans to use the method of the history of concepts to explore the traditional Chinese concepts to find the democratic ideas.

4.1 The Approach to Researching Concepts in the Late Ming Dynasty

The first chapter of this dissertation discussed the logic and method of the history of concepts. Since this method originated in Germany, it undoubtedly fits the best with researching German concepts. To research Chinese concepts and the ideas hidden within these concepts, this chapter needs to discuss how to use the logic and the method of the history of concepts in a Chinese cultural background first.

About this problem, in detail, on the one hand, the concept is the carrier to express people's ideas. While German belongs to the Indo-European language system, Chinese belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language system. There is an unbridgeable gap between the two language systems. But the history of concepts has been used to research the change of the meanings of German concepts before and after the Saddle Period, so German is the best language to research

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[276] All-under-Heaven (天下, Tianxia) is a Chinese concept for an ancient Chinese cultural concept that denoted either the entire geographical world or the metaphysical realm of mortals and later became associated with political sovereignty. In ancient China, Tianxia denoted the lands, space, and area divinely appointed to the Emperor by universal and well-defined principles of order. The center of this land was directly apportioned to the Imperial court, forming the center of a world view that centered on the Imperial court and went concentrically outward to major and minor officials and then the common citizens, tributary states, and finally ending with fringe "barbarians". (From Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tianxia)

the history of concepts originally. It is undoubtedly feasible if I only choose to research the German concepts. On the other hand, the problem is also about how to express a concept in two language systems. In the Indo-European language system, one term usually represents one concept. For example, the concept of democracy of English, or the concept "Demokratie" of Germany, represents the political system where citizens hold the final political decision right. In the Sino-Tibetan language system, one concept may consist of more than two or three characters, and every character has its own meanings in most cases. Furthermore, ancient Chinese is quite different from modern Chinese; one character may have more than three or four meanings. So, researching the ancient Chinese concepts through the method of the history of concepts is quite complicated.

To solve this problem, researchers need to consider the method of the history of concepts from the perspective of Chinese language and culture. Firstly, because of the difference between the Sino-Tibetan language system and the Indo-European language system, and between the modern and ancient Chinese language, the way to understand Chinese concepts needs to focus on the grammar, content, and meanings of the ancient Chinese concept before analyzing the origins and changes of these concepts. Secondly, concerning the characteristics of the ancient Chinese language, this dissertation needs to find relative terms to describe this concept as much as possible. The logic in finding terms is similar to the cluster of concepts, but the difference is that this way is aimed at describing one concept. Thirdly, the method of the history of concepts was formed based on German history and cultures. So, it is important to think about Chinese history while using the method of the history of concepts to research Chinese concepts. The Chinese civilization lasted more than 4000 years, and some basic Chinese concepts were formed in ancient times. So, the origins of some Chinese concepts used in the late Ming Dynasty needs to date back to the time before Confucianism became the orthodox ideology in the Han Dynasty.

In the second chapter, this dissertation discussed the democratic ideas in western history. The first is political liberty, including political participation, electing officials, and revising laws; the second is equality. Moreover, although this chapter did not treat the individual right as an idea directly concerning the democratic idea, it also emphasized the importance of this right in discussing democratic ideas. Given these points, this chapter put forward some concepts to discuss the thought of political liberty and the thought of equality based on the background of Chinese history and culture. It proposed to use the concepts of the monarch, the concept of the

minister, and the concept of law to research the concepts of political liberty and equality. These are three major concepts in researching the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty; however, not only basic or major concepts need to be researched, but also some relational concepts need to be analyzed. So, to fully understand the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty, I will also find other important and relative concepts to analyze the three major concepts. But the starting point for finding and researching the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty is to research the concept of the monarch, the concept of the minister, and the concept of law.

4.2 The History of the Concept of Junzhu

The first concept which needs to be researched is Junzhu (Monarch, 君主). Junzhu is the most crucial part of the ancient Chinese political system, and is closely correlated with politics. From the modern perspective, Junzhu represented supreme rights and takes the highest position in the political system. Since the first record of Junzhu in Chinese history, it has been interrelated with the political system; so, undoubtedly, it has left a mark on political ideas.

However, as discussed in the second chapter, anti-monarchist ideas cannot be directly treated as democratic ideas. It has a significant difference from the democratic idea because fighting against the monarchy system may initiate a more despotic political system. As discussed by modern historian Zhang Fentian (张分田) from the School of Despotism, "whether in the political system or the political thought, monarchist ideas, and democratic ideas do not belong to one continuous and developmental sequence (无论在制度上，还是在思想上，"民主"与"专制"都没有单独构成一个连续的发展序列。)."[277] But, Zhang thought anti-monarchist ideas could incubate democratic ideas. In researching the first democracy that arose in ancient Greece, the relationship between democratic and anti-monarchist ideas is an open topic. Compared to other ancient civilizations, there was no obvious centralization of authority in the Greek civilization, and this situation was a chance for the social spread of authority and established a democratic system. Simultaneously, considering the liberal democracy which arose in modern history, the starting point in some thinkers' works was criticizing despotism and monarchial systems. For example, in John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, he

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[277] Li, Z. (2019). The School of Despotism in Researching the Chinese intellectual history. Journal of Literature, History & Philosophy. (4), p.15.

李振宏. (2019). 中国政治思想史研究中的王权主义学派. 文史哲, (4), p.15.

criticizes Robert Filmer's Patriarchal, which is supports monarchy without mercy. So, using the research of the concept of Junzhu as a first step to discuss the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty does not conflict with the research goal of this chapter; but it needs to mention that there are also other ideas hidden in the history of the concept of Junzhu which may be the proof for the presence of democratic ideas in the late Ming Dynasty.

The concept of Junzhu has existed in Chinese history for more than 4000 years. As recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (《史记》) written by Sima Qian (司马迁, from 145 B.C. to 85 B.C.), Tang (汤), the highest commander of the Kingdom of Shang (商王国), said to his subjects that "the moral of the Xia Dynasty (夏朝, from 2070 B.C to 1600 B.C.) degraded to such a situation, I (Tang) currently must go on a punitive expedition…Tang commended his armies and wrote the crime text of the Xia Dynasty. And he said that 'I am good at military accomplishments, so my title is the King of Wu' (夏德若兹，今朕必往…以告令师，作汤誓。于是汤曰："吾甚武"，号曰武王。)."[278] So, the king (王, Wang) was the term usually used to refer to the highest ruler in the Shang Dynasty. In contrast, in the Zhou Dynasty (周朝, from 1100 B.C.. to 256 B.C.), the term for ordinary people mostly used to refer to the highest ruler is Zhou Tianzi (周天子, the son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty). After the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty unified the mainland of China, he dropped the title 'king' and created a new term, 'emperor' (皇帝, Huangdi), to refer to his highest position in the political system. This term, emperor, was then continually used by the following dynasties; and it was not officially dropped until 1911 when the Qing Dynasty finally collapsed. All in all, whether king, the son of Heaven or emperor, these terms were used to describe the concept of Junzhu. So, regardless of how the terms changed with the development of history, the aim for them is always to describe the concept of Junzhu.

Having clarified the general meaning of the concept of Junzhu and some terms used to describe this concept, this part will discuss what periods in history needs to be researched. The first period for this concept of Junzhu is the time before the Qin Dynasty. This part will generally discuss the initial meanings of the concepts of Junzhu. The second period is around the Qin

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[278] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.154.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.154.

Dynasty, especially the time when the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty (or Qin Shi Huang. 秦始皇) unified the mainland of China. He invented the new term, Huangdi. And, this term influenced ordinary people's understanding of the concept of Junzhu. The third period is about the ruling period of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty; he adopted Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics (董仲舒, 192 B.C.-104 B.C.) and endowed this with supreme divinity. The fourth period started in the Song Dynasty when Neo-Confucianism appeared. Neo-Confucian scholars proposed a new method to understand the universe, and influenced by this method, people's values and behavior began to change. Therefore, at this time, the traditional understanding of the concept of Junzhu changed, and some anti-monarchist ideas became associated with the concept of Junzhu. The fifth period was from the middle of the Ming Dynasty to the end of Ming Dynasty. Wang Yangming's reform of Neo-Confucianism brought a new experience to society, and this experience increasingly disenchanted the divinity of the concept of Junzhu. The anti-monarchist ideas gradually enhanced in people's minds. The last period is the late Ming Dynasty, when the accumulation of new experiences initiated new ideas in society. Thinkers did not believe that the monarch has absolute authority in politics. Instead, they proposed ideas to fight against the monarch's highest position in the political system.

4.2.1 The Origins and Early Development of the Concept of Junzhu

4.2.1.1 The Initial Meanings of the Concept of Junzhu

The first time in Chinese history the term Junzhu was used cannot be verified. But, this concept had already influenced public life even before China entered the period of empire. As researched by Tong Shuye (童书业, from 1908 to 1968), "the son of Heaven was also called king, it seems that the term was transferred from the military leader of the union of tribes (天子亦称为王，似本从部落联盟之军事首长转化而来。)."[279] Therefore, to find the initial meaning of this concept, this part needs to research this concept by briefly researching the change of the political system.

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[279] Tong, S. (1980). *The Research of Zuo Zhuan: The Recension.* Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.163.

童书业. (1980). 春秋左传研究: 校订本. 北京: 中华书局, p.163.

During the period of primitive tribes, abdication is the major system for transferring political rights. "People suggested Shun (舜) as a new emperor to inherit Emperor Yao (尧帝)[280]…Yao said to Shun: by dealing with political affairs with you and inspecting your statements and actions, you are qualified. After three years of examination, you can be the new emperor (师锡帝曰：有鳏在下。曰虞舜…帝曰：格汝舜！询事考言，乃言底可绩。三载；汝陟帝位。)."[281] In this system, a new ruler must be firstly be recommended by people, and then pass an examination set by the former emperor. The way to choose a new ruler in ancient China is similar to choosing political officials under the rule of Cleisthenes in ancient Greece. So, the monarch for ancient Chinese was that the highest ruler who was selected by the former monarch and the people together, and based on his morality; in this concept, Junzhu is only a social position.

However, this meaning changed when Emperor Yu's (禹) son, Qi (启), broke up the abdication system and established the hereditary system. In this political system, the whole country's rights were shared by both the king of the Xia Dynasty and different tribes' leaders. The king took the military right and some political rights in deciding public affairs, while other tribes' leaders shared the right of sacrifice and the legal right. For example, "The right of sacrifice was held by the elders of tribes or taken by some specialized clergies (祭祀权原来操在氏族长老之手，或由专设的神职人员执掌。)."[282] But, the king attempted to claim more rights to consolidate his position in the political system. After Shaokang (少康, from 1972 B.C. to 1912 B.C) took the rights of the whole country back after the murder of his father, he adopted some policies to centralize rights.

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[280] Yao, Shun, and Yu (尧, 舜, and 禹) were three legendary kings in ancient China. They were treated as the person who had the greatest mortality during their period; so, in Confucian scholars 'minds, they were sage kings, and they are good examples from which people should learn morality. In Neo-Confucian scholars' minds, Yao, Shun, and Yu were three sages who understood the source of Li and had a clear mind.

[281] Daoji Jushi, ed. (2017). The Book of Documents. Beijing: China Textile & Apparel Press, p.10.

道纪居士, ed. (2017). 尚书. 北京: 中国纺织出版社, p.10.

[282] Zhao, X and Zhao, Y. (1991). From Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors to the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty and the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty — The Forming Process of the Despotic System of Ancient China. Collected Papers of History Studies, (4), p.22.

赵锡元 and 赵玉宝. (1991). 从三皇五帝到秦皇汉武——中国古代专制君主形成的过程. 史学集刊, (4), p.22.

The Shang Dynasty had a similar situation to the Xia Dynasty as regards the political system. Rights were still shared by the king and different tribes. As recorded in the *Yi Zhou Shu*, "Tang defeated Jie and took Bo as the capital (of the Shang Dynasty), and then held a convention with more than three thousand warlords (汤放桀而复亳，三千诸侯大会)."[283].

The Zhou Dynasty[284] inherited the political system from the Xia and the Shang Dynasty; but, there was a change in the political system. On the one hand, the ruling class of the Zhou Dynasty developed the idea of the son of Heaven. The King of the Zhou Dynasty was interpreted as the son of Heaven, who has the destiny to guide all people under Heaven. On the other hand, in the early Zhou Dynasty, the King Cheng of the Zhou Dynasty (周成王, ?-1024 B.C.) and the Duke Wen of the Zhou Dynasty (周公, ? -?) established the system of rites and music. In this system, "the rights of the king were guaranteed, and he recieved the supreme esteem from all-under-Heaven (周王的权力便得到了制度的保障和纵容, 从而赢得四海之内的无上崇拜。)."[285]

The concept of Junzhu initially did not contain despotic ideas; the highest ruler was chosen by the people. For many people, the monarch was only a social position enjoying some rights to lead people and command armies. However, when China entered the Xia Dynasty, the monarch began to centralize his rights. In the Shang and the early Zhou Dynasty, this trend intensified. On the one hand, through the idea of the Son of Heaven, people began to think that the king enjoyed the destiny of Heaven to guide all-under-Heaven, and the monarch's authority started to become absolute. On the other hand, through the system of rites and music, the rights of the monarch were guaranteed, and he even obtained the highest esteem from all-under-Heaven.

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[283] Kong, C. (2000). Yi Zhou Shu (Vol.9), Zhang, W., ed. Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Press, p.319.

孔晁. (2000). 逸周书 (Vol.9), 张闻玉, ed. 贵阳: 贵州人民出版社, p.319.

[284] The Zhou Dynasty consisted of the Western Zhou (西周, 1000 B.C.-771 B.C.) and the Eastern Zhou (东周, 771 B.C.-256 B.C).

[285] Zhao, X and Zhao, Y. (1991). From Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors to the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty and the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty — The Forming Process of the Despotic System of Ancient China. Collected Papers of History Studies, (4), p.27.

赵锡元 and 赵玉宝. (1991). 从三皇五帝到秦皇汉武——中国古代专制君主形成的过程. 史学集刊, (4), p.27.

Therefore, before the Qin Dynasty, there were some despotic ideas endowed by the ruling class in the concept of Junzhu.

4.2.1.2 The Development of Despotism before the Qin Dynasty

The Western Zhou Dynasty fell to the Quanrong[286] (or Dog Rong, 犬戎) in 770 B.C., and the King Ping of the Zhou Dynasty (周平王, ruling from 771 B.C to 720 B.C.) moved from Gaojing[287] (镐京) to Luoyang (洛阳) and established the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. The Eastern Zhou Dynasty lasted more than 500 years; a historian in later generations divided it into two periods. One is the Spring and Autumn period[288] (771 B.C.-476 B.C); another is the Warring States period[289] (476 B.C.-221 B.C). During this period, the concept of Junzhu changed drastically.

In the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the influence of the son of Heaven was weakening day by day. Although the system of enfeoffment was kept, different states currently did not entirely follow the king's commands. "The son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty supported by all people under Heaven existed in name only, his authority, in fact, was lost, the position of the king of Zhou Dynasty dropped to a king of a small state; while some kingdoms became stronger and stronger, their positions were improved unprecedentedly (作为天下共主的周天子徒有虚名，在实际上已经不复存在了，周王地位下降到只是偏守一隅的小国君；相反，某些诸侯国的权力加强，地位得到空前的提高。)."[290]

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[286] Quanrong, or Dog Rong, was an ethnic group in the northwestern part of China during and after the Western Zhou Dynasty.

[287] Gaojing (镐京) is the capital city of the Western Zhou Dynasty; it is located close to the Northern Xi'an City of the Shanxi Province in the People's Republic of China.

[288] The Spring and Autumn period (春秋时期) got this name because of one Confucian Classic, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (or the *Chunqiu*). This book is the official chronicle of the state Lu (or the Kingdom Lu, 鲁国) from 722 B.C. to 481 B.C. Because the beginning and ending years of historical facts in *the Spring and Autumn Annals* are roughly equivalent to the period of historical development from 771 B.C to 476 B.C, historians use the term Spring and Autumn to refer to this period.

[289] The Warring States period (战国时期) got this name because, from 476 B.C. to 221 B.C, states were often at war. During this period, more than 230 wars were recorded in history books.

[290] Zhao, X and Zhao, Y. (1991). From Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors to the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty and the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty — The Forming Process of the Despotic System of Ancient China. Collected Papers of History Studies, (4), p.22.

赵锡元 and 赵玉宝. (1991). 从三皇五帝到秦皇汉武——中国古代专制君主形成的过程. 史学集刊, (4), p.22.

In this situation, some local kings even wanted to seize the title, the son of Heaven, from the king of the Zhou Dynasty to master politics in the world. They started long wars to fight for the right to politics. As recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, "during the ruling period of King Ping of the Zhou Dynasty, the royal family weakened; stronger kingdoms merged weakener kingdoms. Qi, Chu, Qin, and Jin, therefore, got stronger and stronger, the political affairs under Heaven were decided by the kings from different kingdoms instead of the king of the Zhou Dynasty (平王之时，周室衰微，诸侯强并弱，齐、楚、秦、晋始大，政由方伯。)."[291]

The wars further changed the political situation during this period. The strong states became forceful, and in contrast, the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty became much weaker. The system of rites and music collapsed gradually. Confucius used to record this situation, that "the rites, the music, and the punitive expedition were currently from the kings of different states or kingdoms (礼乐征伐自诸侯出。)."[292] On the one hand, the king of the Zhou Dynasty did not enjoy the same rights as his ancestors, and his image became negative in people's minds. On the other hand, the stronger states achieve victories and got more powers in the years of wars.

To continually achieve victories, some states began to change their political system. Before the reform, the main system in local states was mainly from the Zhou Dynasty. But, it cannot support the state to continually achieve victories in wars; so the kings of these states began to concentrate their rights. So, the aim of the political reforms was the concentration of rights. The famous reforms during this period include the political reform by Li Kui (李悝, 455 B.C.-395 B.C.) in the State Wei (魏国) and the political reform by Wu Qi (吴起, 440 B.C.-381 B.C.) in the State Chu (楚国). However, the most influential political reform is the reform by Shang Yang (商鞅, 390 B.C.-338 B.C.) in the Sate Qin (秦国). In addition, Shang Yang was a

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[291] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.285.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.285.

[292] Feng, G., ed. (2017). The Analects of Confucius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 16:2

冯国超, ed. (2017). 论语. 北京: 华夏出版社, 16:2

representative thinker from the Legalist school, so his political reform was based on legalist ideas about politics.

Supported by the Duke Xiao of Qin (秦孝公, ruling from 362 B.C. to 338 B.C.), Shang Yang launched two political reforms respectively in 356 B.C and in 346 B.C. These two reforms involve every area of society, including abolishing the system of enfeoffment, standardising weights and measures, recognizing the private ownership of land, and so on. Shang believed that "rights were dominated by the monarch himself; if monarch lost the monopoly of rights, the state would be in disorder (权者，君之所独制也，人主失守则危。)."[293] The idea of centralizing rights was present in all of Shang's reform policies. In the political reforms, Shang directly abolished the system of enfeoffment and established the system of prefectures and counties. In the new system, rights were dominated by the monarch, and the leader of the local authority was only assigned by him. As recorded by Sima Qian, "the Qin government gathers small counties into a prefecture, and set one magistrate and some assistants; thirty-one prefectures were, therefore, set up (而集小乡邑聚为县，置令、丞，凡三十一县。)."[294] In addition, Shang Yang also suggested the king of the State Qin reform the aristocratic inheritance system. He believed that "if the people from the aristocratic family do not have military exploits, he can not be titled as an aristocrat (宗室非有军功论，不得为属籍。)."[295] These two policies gathered the shared rights, which used to be in the local authority or the aristocracy's hands, and treated the monarch as the only source for these rights.

In the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the trend of despotism continually developed in the concept of Junzhu, although the focus of the concept changed from the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty to the local states. In detail, to fight for the right to master all-under-Heaven, the kings of different states had to concentrate their rights to start wars, recruit talents, and collect resources. To meet the king's demands, some politicians started to reform the political system; and it was

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[293] Shang Y. (2012). Shangjun Shu (The Book of Lord Shang) (Vol.14), Xu, Y., ed. Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p.190.

商鞅. (2012). 商君书 (Vol.14), 徐莹, ed. 开封: 河南大学出版社, p.190.

[294] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.4659.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.4659.

[295] Ibidem, p.4654-4655.

at this time that the absolute monarchy system appeared in China. In Shang Yang's reforms, this trend was intensified. To ensure the absolute authority of the monarch, Shang proposed a series of policies to centralize rights. He published the law to launch collective punishment in order to ensure the highest esteem to the monarch in people's minds. People began to think that the monarch is the source of rights. So, despotism and authoritarianism were increasingly incubated in the concept of Junzhu.

4.2.2 The Despotism in the Concept of Junzhu in the Qin Dynasty

Although Shang Yang, in the end, was executed because of his draconian laws, his legal ideas and his new political system were kept in the Qin Dynasty. But there was still something new after the unification of China by Qin Shi Huang. The first thing is that after the unification, Qin Shi Huang took many measures to enhance his absolute rights, and despotism became the major part of the concept of Junzhu. The second thing is the new term to title the concept of Junzhu, i.g., Huangdi. Through this term, the despotism in the concept of Junzhu was forcefully enhanced, and it even left some mysterious marks on people's minds. So, this part will largely discuss the way the concept of Junzhu was influenced by the unification of China in the Qin Dynasty and the new term invented by the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty.

In 221 B.C., Qin Shi Huang conquered the last State Qi (齐国) and established the Qin Dynasty. The Qin Dynasty is the first imperial dynasty (i.e., ruling an empire) in Chinese history; its politics, organization of society, and economic system were therefore different from the former dynasties. The Qin Dynasty directly inherited the system from Shang Yang's reforms. It did not enfeoff lands for meritorious statesmen and aristocracy to establish states; instead, it established the system of prefectures and counties. The emperor himself dispatched every official. At the same time, the Qin Shi Huang took varied measures to enhance this system: in politics, this included establishing the system of the Three Councillors of State and the Nine Ministers (三公九卿制度); to control ideology, burning books and burying alive Confucian scholars; and unifying the currency in the field of economics. Through these policies, all rights in the new system originated from the emperor. Since the Qin Dynasty, the source of rights was based on the position of the monarch.

Through these policies, Qin Shi Huang became the source of all rights in politics, from the central government to the local authority. The rights were centralized in the monarch's hands;

he held the absolute authority to decide the political tendency since this time. Since then, the monarch was conceptualized by people as an absolute authority. As recorded by Sima Qian, for many people, "Qin Shi Huang was obstinate and considered he was always right. He was from the family of the state and then conquered all-under-Heaven; everything for him goes well. Therefore, he could do just as he pleased and believed there was no one equal to him since the ancient times (始皇为人，天性刚戾自用，起诸侯，并天下，意得欲从，以为自古莫及己。)."[296] In this statement, the words used by Sima definitely described a despotic monarch instead of the image of the sage kings.

The despotism was enhanced during the ruling period of Qin Shi Huang. Because of his unprecedented achievements in Chinese history, Qin Shi Huang was not satisfied with the term, king, to title himself. He believed that his major achievements, particularly the unification of China, was better than Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors in ancient China (Sanhuang Wudi, 三皇五帝)[297]. As recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, Qin Shi Huang's officials, Wang Wan (王绾, ?-?), Feng Jie (冯劫, ?-208 B.C.) and Li Si (李斯, 284 B.C.-208 B.C.) reported to him in the court that "the conquered lands of the Five Emperors in ancient China were all thousands of miles; the marginal areas of the conquered lands were even dominated by different kings (tribal leaders) or the leaders of barbarians. These leaders sometimes paid a formal visit to the Five Emperors, but sometimes they did not come; the Emperors cannot directly control this situation. Currently, my king started just wars, defeated different kingdoms in the four directions, and brought peace to all people. In domestic affairs, my king established the system of prefectures and counties and unified the laws and decrees. All of these achievements are unprecedented since the ancient times, and the Five Emperors never did these things (昔者五帝地方千里，其外侯服夷服，诸侯或朝或否，天子不能制。今陛下兴义

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[296] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.566.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.566.

[297] Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors (Sanhuang Wudi, 三皇五帝) were mythological rulers or deities in ancient China (in northern China). As recorded in The Encyclopedia of Religion by Mircea Eliade, Charles J Adams, the Three Sovereigns were said to be god-kings, demigods, or god emperors. They used their abilities to teach people life skills and knowledge. The officials in the Qin Dynasty believed that the Three Sovereigns were Tianhuang (Heavenly Sovereign), Dihuang (Earthly Sovereign), and Renhuang (Human Sovereign). But details about them are debated in the academic circles of history. The Five Emperors were described as exemplary sages who had great morality and brought great peace to all people under Heaven. There is still no fixed conclusion currently that who belongs to the Five Emperors.

兵，诛残贼，平定天下，海内为郡县，法令由一统，自上古以来未尝有，五帝所不及。)."[298] Therefore, Qin Shi Huang thought that "the world was now peaceful. If I do not change the title, king, which has been used since ancient time, I cannot show off my achievements and pass it to the next generations (今名号不更，无以称成功，传后世。)."[299]

In ancient China, the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors took an important position in people's minds, and they represented the highest class in the world. To appreciate Qin Shi Huang's greatest achievement, his officials, Wang Wan, Feng Jie, and Li Si, continued to report that "there was the Heavenly Sovereign, Earthly Sovereign and Human Sovereign (or Tai Sovereign) in ancient China; among them, the Human Sovereign is the most honourable. So, we risk death to submit that the king used the title, Human Sovereign (or Tai Sovereign), to refer to himself (古有天皇，有地皇，有泰皇，泰皇最贵。臣等昧死上尊号，王为'泰皇'。)."[300] Qin Shi Huang accepted this suggestion; but he further considered that "it is best to use the character 'Huang (皇)' instead of "Tai (泰); also adopting the ancient usage of the character Di. And the new term is Huangdi (皇帝, emperor) (去'泰'，著'皇'，采上古'帝'位号，号曰'皇帝')"[301] Since then, the new term, Huangdi, as the title of the monarch was officially formed, and it was used until the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911.

The invention of the new term, Huangdi (emperor), further developed the ideas of despotism which had been in the concept of Junzhu. Through this term, Qin Shi Huang positioned his achievements higher than the ancient Sovereigns and Emperors and claimed his absolute authority in politics. So, this term changed people's understanding of the position of monarch. The monarch's rights were treated as the highest right in the world, and the will of the emperor represents absolute authority. Through this understanding, the ideas of despotism that arose in Shang Yang's reforms were further enhanced and deeply rooted in the concept of Junzhu.

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[298] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.512.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.512.

[299] Ibidem, p.512.

[300] Ibidem, p.512.

[301] Ibidem, p.512.

4.2.3 The Divinization of the Concept of Junzhu

During the ruling period of Qin Shi Huang, he had launched a project to establish the monarchs divinity. "Qin Shi Huang strongly tried to add the mystery to the monarch's authority. For example, he used the theory of The Cycle of Five Elements[302] (五德始终说) to ensure that the Qin Dynasty held the element of water. He thought that the Qin Dynasty needs to accept the element because it is endowed by Heaven; he used the element of water to establish the calendar, ensure the colour of the clothes of the royal family, and construct laws. He even prepared the complicated imperial worship ceremonies and official sacrifice, which are fitting to the position of the emperor (秦始皇还极力使皇权蒙上一层神秘的色彩，诸如按五德始终说确定秦是水德，表示应天承运，并据此以定历法，易服色，立制度，还确定了与皇帝地位相适应的复杂的祭祀与封禅大典。)."[303] But, in 210 B.C., on his way to East China, Qin Shi Huang died. His son, Qin Er Shi (秦二世, the ruling period from 210 B.C. to 207 B.C.), was fatuous and he could not finish the unfinished task left by Qin Shi Huang. So, the task was left until the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty.

In the ruling period of Emperor Wu, there were problems in society. The first problem was the legitimacy of the royal family. From the Xia Dynasty to the Qin Dynasty, the royal family were all from the aristocracy. But, the founder of the Han Dynasty, Liu Bang (刘邦, the ruling period from 202 B.C. to 195 B.C.), was born of an ordinary family. Compared to other royal families, the Liu family lacked the legitimacy for people to believe in their absolute authority. The second problem was about the relationship between the central government and the local authority. The Han Dynasty inherited the system of prefectures and counties of the Qin Dynasty; but, to gain support from the aristocracy and meritorious statesmen, Liu Bang also

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[302] The Cycle of Five Elements (五德始终说) was proposed by the thinker from the School of Positive and Negative Forces, Zou Yan (邹衍, 305 B.C.-204 B.C.) during the Warring States period. The cycle of five elements that repeatedly follow each other in fixed succession is a belief that interpreted the rise and fall of dynasties and political changes. The five elements are metal, wood, water, fire and earth; they are also known as the five virtues that appear in cyclical repetition. Zou Yan believed changes in human history were similar to those of the natural world and were controlled by these five physical elements. The birth of each new dynasty represented the rise of a certain "virtue." What drove dynastic transitions and political changes was the recurrence of the five elements as they generated or overcame each other. (Noted from: https://www.chinesethought.cn/EN/shuyu_show.aspx?shuyu_id=4228)

[303] Ning, K and Jiang, F. (1994). The Royal Right and the Conception of Loyalty to Emperor in Chinese History. Historical Research, (2), p.86.

宁可 and 蒋福亚. (1994). 中国历史上的皇权和忠君观念. 历史研究, (2), p.86.

adopted the system of enfeoffment. So, the authority of the monarch was limited. And in Emperor Wu's father's and grandfather's ruling periods, there were some rebellions which challenged the authority of the monarch. One of the most influential rebellions is the Rebellion of the Seven States[304] (七国之乱). Until the ruling period of Emperor Wu, the contradiction between the central and the local became more drastic. In his ruling period, the Confucian scholar, Dong Zhongshu, submitted three discourses on politics to Emperor Wu to solve these problems. His main logic in coping with the problems is to divinize the position of the monarch.

This part will discuss the divinization of the concept of Junzhu by analyzing the policies proposed by Dong Zhongshu to respond to the challenges at his time. After this analysis, this part will discuss how the ideas of Dong Zhongshu influenced people's conceptualization of the position of the monarch.

4.2.3.1 Dong Zhong's Theory of Heaven and the divine right of the Monarch

By facing the great challenges in the ruling period of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu submitted three discourses on politics to Emperor Wu. These discourses were the best way for Emperor Wu to solve the problems at that time. Wang Chong's (王充, 27-97) statements in his book, *Lun Heng*, recorded these discourses; he wrote that "the Confucian scholars…are good at correcting errors. Although the local leaders commit crimes, they are not afraid to expostulate them…Dong Zhongshu's exposition of the main meaning of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* is fitting to the current situation, and there is no contraction between his understanding and social reality (儒生…长于匡救，将相倾侧，谏难不惧…董仲舒表《春秋》之义，稽合于律，无乖异者。)."[305] Therefore, the emperor adopted them and started the process of divinizing the monarch.

Dong Zhongshu's ideas about the divinity of the monarch were embedded in his three discourses on politics. His major aim of these discourses was to provide theoretical support to the divine right of the monarch, and use the divine right to legitimize the absolute authority of the monarch. Actually, the ideas of Heaven and the relationship between Heaven and humans

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[304] The Rebellion of the Seven States took place in 154 B.C. Seven kings of the local states launched this rebellion to resist the emperor's attempt to centralize the government.

[305] Wang C. (1998). Lun Heng, Xia, Y, and Guo, C., ed. Beijing: Lantian Press, p.69.

王充. (1998). 论衡, 夏于全 and 郭超., ed. 北京: 蓝天出版社, p.69.

had already been proposed in the early Zhou Dynasty. As mentioned before, "the God of Heaven shielded the King Wen by his benevolent affections, and blessed and protected him to rule all people under Heaven (不显玟王受天有大令…古天异临子，废保先王。).”[306] The king of the Zhou Dynasty is the son of Heaven, who represents Heaven to use rights in the human world. However, at that time, the thinkers or statesmen did not conceptually theorize it. Only by the endeavor of Dong Zhongshu, were these ideas were finally synthesized as a theory. His theory can be understood in four parts. The first part is about the understanding of Heaven; there was no clear understanding of Heaven before Dong Zhongshu, the concept of Heaven used in the Zhou Dynasty was unclear. The second part is about the relationship between Heaven and humans; the major aim for Dong is to discuss why Heaven has a relationship with humans. The third part is the main part of his theory; it mainly discusses why the monarch is the representative of Heaven, and how the monarch can use rights in dealing with human affairs and how to feel the will of Heaven. The last part is about what kind of methods should be used by the monarch to serve Heaven; this part was not adopted by Emperor Wu, but it laid a theoretical foundation for later generations to criticize the absolute authority of the monarch.

Heaven is the highest level of Dong Zhong's philosophy; he believed that "the nature of Dao is from Heaven (道之大原出于天),”[307] and he even thought that "if there is no change in Heaven, there is also no change in Dao (天不变，道亦不变。).”[308] In depth, Dong proposed that there are three roles of Heaven; the first is the Heaven as deity, the second is the Heaven as nature, and the third is the Heaven as ethics.

Regarding the Heaven as deity, Dong believed that all-under-Heaven is created by Heaven; in detail, he proposed that "Heaven is the source of everything in the world. So, there is no bias for Heaven, all lives are included under Heaven. Heaven creates sun, moon, wind, and rain to reconcile the relationships among everything, and give birth to everything through Yin, Yang, and cold weather, hot weather (天者群物之祖也。故遍覆包函而无所殊，建日月风雨以和

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[306] Da Yu Ding, from: https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/大盂鼎

大盂鼎, from: https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-hans/大盂鼎

[307] Ban, G. (1962). Book of Han (Vol.56), Yan, S., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2518-2519.

班固. (1962). 汉书 (Vol.56), 颜师古, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.2518-2519.

[308] Ibidem, p.2519.

之，经阴阳寒暑以成之。).”[309] He stated that "Heaven is the great king of all deities. If the way to serve Heaven is not considerate, there will no any benefits from sacrifice (天者百神之大君也。事天不备，虽百神犹无益也)"[310] Dong considered Heaven as having human character in this perspective. But Heaven in his ideas can not be directly understood as a God in western religions. Heaven does not have substance, and its aim can be transmitted to the human world only by natural signs. So, the second role is Heaven as nature. Dong wrote that there were ten poles in Heaven, "the ten poles are Heaven, land, Yin (negative force), Yang (positive force), metal, wood, water, fire, earth, and humans (天为一端，地为一端，阴为一端，阳为一端，火为一端，金为一端，木为一端，水为一端，土为一端，人为一端).”[311] In this statement, Heaven plays two roles. The first Heaven in the statement represents the universe, which includes ten poles inside; it is based on the wide sense. Meanwhile the second Heaven is based on the narrow sense, it is the firmament, which is different to earth. But both the Heaven in the wide sense or the Heaven in the narrow sense, are a part of nature. The third role of Heaven is the Heaven as ethics; he endowed the concept of Heaven with ethics. He thought that "the most beautiful thing of benevolence located in Heaven. Heaven is benevolent; it gives birth to everything in the world, and enlightens them about how to grow up…understanding the will of Heaven will find the unending benevolence (仁之美者在于天。天仁也，天覆育万物，既化而生之，有养而成之…凡举归之以奉人，察于天之意，无穷极之仁也。)"[312]; and he proposed that "benevolence, is the heart of Heaven (仁，天心).”[313] All in all, in Dong's understanding, the nature of Heaven is benevolence, and it is the highest ethic in Confucianism.

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[309] Ibidem, p.2515.

[310] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.14), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.348.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.14) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.348.

[311] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.7), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.174.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.7) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.174.

[312] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.11), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.276.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.11) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.276.

[313] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.6), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.134.

In his three discourses on politics, he thought that the three roles of Heaven support each other and construct a theoretical system for others to understand Heaven. As argued by Han Xing, the three roles of Heaven are inherited from the traditional ideas. "The Heaven as deity is inherited by Dong Zhongshu from the concept of Heaven in ancient religion; the Heaven as nature came from the rational ideas from the hundred schools during the Warring States period; the Heaven as ethics is inherited by Dong from the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties, especially from the ideas of Son of Heaven in the Zhou Dynasty, and from Confucianism, and Mencius' ideas (神灵之天，是董仲舒继承上古以来的宗教之天而形成的；自然之天，是董仲舒继承春秋战国以降诸子理性思想；道德之天是董仲舒传承三代，特别是西周以德配天、敬德保民传统和孔孟仁义道德思想而着力构建的。)."[314]

The aim of Dong's theory is to legitimize the authority of the monarch through establishing the relationship between the monarch's authority and the divine right of Heaven. Therefore, after discussing what Heaven is, Dong's focus transferred to why Heaven makes a relationship with the human. Given this topic, Dong proposed his idea that humanity should be aligned with Heaven (人副天数, Ren Fu Tianshu); in other words, Dong believed that the "human is human because human is similar to Heaven (人之所以乃上类天也。)."[315] In detail, Dong discussed the similarity between Heaven and the human. He thought that "the adult human body has 366 small joints which are the same as the number of days of one year; the human has 12 large joints, like the number of months of one year. The human has five internal organs, which is the same as Heaven in that it has five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, earth); and the human also has four limbs, and the number of limbs is equal to the number of seasons of one year. The turn for a human to open and close his/her eyes is the same as the change from day to night. The human character is sometimes tender and sometimes firm, equal to the winter and the summer of one year; the human sometimes cries and sometimes laughs, like the Yin (negative

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董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.6) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.134.

[314] Han, X. (2015). Dong Zhongshu's Three-Dimensional Orientations of the Relationship between Tian (Heaven) and Human and Its Ideological Location. Philosophical Researches, (9), p.47.

韩星. (2015). 董仲舒天人关系的三维向度及其思想定位. 哲学研究, (9), p.47.

[315] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.11), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.213.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.11) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.213.

force) and Yang (positive force) in the universe. Humans have considerations and make plans, which are fitting to the operation of heaven and earth. Humans create ethics to enlighten themselves, which is to make themselves be in compliance with the order of Heaven and earth. (成人之身，故小节三百六十六，副日数也；大节十二分，副月数也；内有五脏，副五行数也；外有四肢，副四时数也；占视占暝，副昼夜也；占刚占柔，副冬夏也；占哀占乐，副阴阳也；心有计虑，副度数也；行有伦理，副天地也。)"[316] Dong believed that the similarities between Heaven and the human laid the foundation for Heaven to communicate the destiny of Heaven to humans; humans thus have the ability to feel the will of Heaven because they are similar to each other.

Therefore, the third part of Dong's theory is to discuss why the monarch is the representative of Heaven, and has the rights in dealing with human affairs, and how the monarch can feel the will of Heaven. To solve the first question, Dong thought that "the one who has understood a task from Heaven, is different from other people…and this person is superior to other people (人受命于天，固超然异于群生……此人之所以贵也。)."[317] In this point, Dong believed that this person is the monarch because his birth and talents are different to others. But this point is not firm, so he started to further defend his point by discussing the term, king (王), which was used to title the monarch since ancient China. He held the view that "the man who created Chinese characters in ancient times, used three crosspieces intersecting one upright to make the character king (王, wang). The three crosspieces of the character king (王, wang) represent Heaven, earth, and humans, while the upright that intersects the three crosspieces connects the Dao of Heaven, earth, and humans. The task to connect the three things can only be undertaken by the monarch, and only he can understand the will of Heaven. (古之造文者，三画而连其中，谓之王。三画者，天地与人也。而连其中者，通其道也。取天地与人之中以为贯而参通之，非王者孰能当是。)"[318] The Chinese character is hieroglyphic; for

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[316] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.13), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.315-316.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.13) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.315-316.

[317] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.1), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.33.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.1) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.33.

[318] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.11), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.275-276.

ancient Chinese, different characters represent different meanings. Therefore, through this character, Dong made sure the monarch's destiny is to enforce the will of Heaven on behalf of Heaven in the human world.

How can the monarch understand the will of Heaven? He proposed two interactions. In detail, the first interaction means that "by doing good things, people can feel good things; while by doing evil things, people can feel evil things (美事召美类，恶事召恶类。)."[319] The position of the monarch and his daily routine makes him feel different things compared to others; therefore, only the monarch can feel the will of Heaven. The second is based on Yin (阴, the negative force) and Yang (阳, the positive force). Dong thought there are the same Yin and Yang of things in the same classification. He used the example of Heaven and humans to prove his point. "Heaven has Yin and Yang; humans also have Yin and Yang. When there is the rise of Yin from Heaven, the people's Yin, in addition, will also rise; while, when there is the rise of Yin in humans' minds, the Heaven's Yin, therefore, will also rise. (天有阴阳，人亦有阴阳。天地之阴气起，而人之阴气应之而起，人之阴气起，而天地之阴气亦宜应之而起。)."[320] As mentioned before, Dong put forward that humanity should be aligned with Heaven; so, there is a natural relationship between Heaven and humans. Furthermore, the monarch has the ability to connect Heaven, earth, and humans. His Yin and Yang are much more similar to Heaven; only the monarch, therefore, can understand the will of Heaven as soon as possible.

4.2.3.2 The Influence of Dong Zhong's Theory on the Concept of Junzhu

Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics completed the unfinished task left by Qin Shi Huang. And he established a comparably completed theory of Heaven to support the monarch's authority. Even in modern China, Dong's theory still has a unique charm in politics and society. For the concept of Junzhu, the most important influence of Dong's theory is that it further enhanced the absolute authority of the position of the monarch.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.11) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.275-276.

[319] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.13), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.317.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.13) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.317.

[320] Ibidem, p.318-319.

Influenced by Dong Zhong's theory, there were two points for people to conceptualize the monarch. On the one hand, the despotism of the monarch was further consolidated in people's minds. The divinity strongly influenced people's minds, and the authority of the monarch was not from the secular world but also from Heaven; so, people's doubts about the authority of the monarch were getting weaker and weaker. Moreover, since this time, the two Chinese characters, despotism, and absolute authority, always accompanied with the concept of Junzhu in ancient China. On the other hand, the monarch was treated as the leader of the spiritual world. The ancient Chinese understanding of Heaven is different from the western image. There is no substance of Heaven in the Han Dynasty. So, for people, the monarch was the only one who represented Heaven. Since this time, the monarch was the leader of both the secular world and the leader of the spiritual world; his role is similar to the Pope in Catholicism. Therefore, the monarch undertakes the national sacrifice and some important religious activities, for example, praying for a good harvest and fortune in the upcoming year. But, this point is also to enhance the despotism in the concept of Junzhu.

4.2.4 The Beginning of the Anti-despotic Ideas in the Concept of Junzhu

Since the Han Dynasty, the connection between despotism and the concept of Junzhu was enforced not only from the secular world but also from the spiritual world; and in people's minds, the monarch represents absolute authority and supreme rights in the political system. For more than thousands of years, this understanding of this concept remained unchanged.

Before the Tang Dynasty, there was a strict difference between the monarch and the ancient sage king; the monarch only treated the ancient sage king as his unrealized dream. Many epitaphs in the Northern and Southern Dynasties (南朝与北朝, 420-589)[321] recorded this phenomenon. For example, there was one epitaph for the king, Yuan Hao (元颢, 494-529), which praised Yuan's accomplishment that "his cultural attainment and morality fit in the current situation, and his political and military achievements are brilliant; all his achievements

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[321] The Northern and Southern Dynasties (魏晋南北朝) is not one Dynasty; it includes many dynasties. This period lasts more than 100 years, and there was much chaos caused by war during this period; so, the Chinese used this term to call these dynasties.

can be compared to the ancient sage kings, Yao and Shun, which are to save people from the abyss of suffering (文德时序，武功伊烁，致君尧舜，拯民沟壑。).”[322]

But, in the Tang Dynasty, this phenomenon changed. The monarch was extolled by ordinary people. The logic for the emperors to enhance their rights was to make the emperor conceptually the same as an ancient sage king. On the one hand, emperors used the Chinese character Shen (神, divine) and Sheng (圣, saint) in their honorific title and their ancestors' posthumous titles. For example, the only empress Wu Zetian (武则天, ruling from 690 to 705) titled herself the Saint and Divine Emperor (圣神皇帝). On the other hand, during the period of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty (唐玄宗, ruling from 713 to 756), officials used the term, Sheng, to directly refer to the emperor. For example, Zhang Jiuling (张九龄, 673-740), Emperor Xuanzong's prime minister, expressed his political aim is to make the emperor the ancient sage kings; as he wrote that "my aim is to make my emperor be the ancient sage kings, i.g., Yao and Shun, and there is no one except me fitting this goal (致君尧舜，何代无人。).”[323] This process, undoubtedly, is to enhance the ideas of absolute authority in the concept of Junzhu; but, there is no great change in the concept until the Song Dynasty.

The Song Dynasty faced significant challenges in politics, economics, and society. Given the situation, Neo-Confucianism arose in response to these challenges. Influenced by Neo-Confucianism, new experiences formed step by step. These experiences influenced people's thinking model and changed their understanding of the highest position in the political system. In the Ming Dynasty, the concept of Junzhu was still changing. Chen Baisha and Wang Yangming developed Neo-Confucianism and made the school of Xin become popular in society. In addition, with the endeavors of the thinkers from the school of Taizhou, the ideas of the school of Xin were more accessible to ordinary people. These changes also brought a new experience to society. This new experience highlighted the subjectivity of people and

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[322] Zhao, C. (1992). The Collection of Epitaph in the Han Dynasty, the Wei Dynasty and the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, p.293.

赵超. (1992). 汉魏南北朝墓志汇编. 天津: 天津古籍出版社, p.293.

[323] Dong, G., ed. (1983). The Whole Collection of Tang Period Literature. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2327

董诰, ed. (1983). 全唐文. 北京: 中华书局, p.2327.

people's capacity to become a saint; therefore, the people's position in the politics was valued. Given the theoretical situation, the anti-despotic ideas of the concept of Junzhu developed.

All in all, this part will mainly focus on the development of intellectuals' understanding of the concept of the monarch from the Song Dynasty to the middle Ming Dynasty, especially the trend of the anti-despotic idea developing since the Song Dynasty.

4.2.4.1 The Contradiction in the Concept of Junzhu in the Song Dynasty

Neo-Confucianism was born in response to the challenges in politics, economics, and society in the Song Dynasty. From the perspective of politics, the Neo-Confucian scholars used Li to justify the legitimacy of the Song Dynasty; this stabilized the position of the royal family of the Song Dynasty and enhanced the position of monarch in the political system. However, on the other hand, Neo-Confucian scholars treated Li as the source of the universe, and everything originated from Li; so, the monarch should also be controlled by Li. The monarch also should use Li to guide his behaviors. Because of these considerations, there was a theoretical contradiction in the concept of Junzhu. On the one hand, the idea of despotism was still kept and even continued to develop during this period; on the other hand, the anti-despotic idea grew silently in the concept of Junzhu.

The Cheng Brothers (Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi) were the representatives of the school of Li in the Song Dynasty. They believed that the despotism of the monarch was legitimized by Li, and Li was the basis of politics. "The relationship between father and his son, between the monarch and his subjects, was the Li which is decided by Heaven, and people cannot avoid it between the heaven and the earth (父子君臣，天定之定理，无所逃于天地之间。)."[324] As described in Cheng Yi's book, *Zhouyi Chengshi Zhuan (The Cheng's Interpretation of the Book of Changes)*, he thought that "the difference between the superior and the inferior, between the honourable and the humble, is the rationality of Li and the nature of Li (上下之分，尊卑之分，理之当也，理之本也)"[325] and "the inferior obeys the superior, Yin carries Yang, these

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[324] Yang, X. (1999). The New Discussion on Neo-Confucianism. Beijing: Renmin Press, p. 77.

杨晓塘. (1999). 程朱理学新论. 北京:人民出版社, p.77.

[325] Cheng, Y. (2011). Zhouyi Chengshi Zhuan (The Cheng's Interpretation of the Book of Changes) (Vol.1), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. p.59.

程颐. (2011). 周易程氏传 (Vol.1), 王孝鱼. ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.59.

are both the correct Li under Heaven (下顺乎上，阴承阳，天下之正理。).”[326] In the Cheng Brothers' understanding, the idea of despotism is rational for the monarch; this situation was justified by Li, and everyone should follow this rule.

Zhu Xi was the most influential Neo-Confucian scholar, he also had a similar view to the Cheng Brothers, as was their logic to support the despotism in the concept of Junzhu. "Everything has Li, and Li is from one source; but the reason for using Li is different, and therefore the way to use Li is not always similar…As for a monarch, he needs to be benevolent; as the subject to the monarch, he needs to respect his monarch; as one's son, he needs to treat his parents with filial piety; as one's father, he needs to be fatherly to his children. Everything has Li, but everything has its way to use Li (万物皆有理，理皆出一源，但所依据之为不同，则其理之用不一…如为君须仁，为臣须敬，为子须孝，为父须慈。物物各具此理，而物物各异其用。).”[327] Zhu believed that Li is the basis for despotism in the concept of Junzhu. But, it is not difficult to find that Zhu Xi also emphasized that the monarch should be benevolent. And this point, actually, is the start of the anti-despotic idea in conceptualizing the position of monarch.

Zhu Xi's anti-despotic ideas were hidden in his understanding of the monarch. On the one hand, he emphasized using the ethical system to limit the absolute rights of the monarch. First, he highlighted the importance of benevolence and righteousness in the monarch's behaviors. In Zhu's ethical system, benevolence and righteousness are the way of being human. So, the monarch also needs to observe this rule. He said that "I know that the first things in the ruling of the ancient saints are benevolence and righteousness instead of utility（窃闻之古圣贤言治，必以仁义为先，而不以功利为急。).”[328] Zhu believed that the monarch should always treat benevolence and righteousness as primary in his ruling. Secondly, he thought that the monarch needs to manage public affairs based on people. For him, people are the basis for

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[326] Ibidem, p.59.

[327] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.18), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.398.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.18), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.398.

[328] Zhu, X. (1940). Zhu Wengong Wenji (The Collected Works of Zhu Xi) (Vol. 75). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.3623.

朱熹. (1940). 朱文公文集 (Vol. 75). 北京:商务印书馆, p.3623.

politics, "the Dynasty is based on people, and the country is built for people; the respect of the monarch is from the dynasty and country (盖国以民为本，社稷亦为为民而立，而君之尊，又系于二者之存亡。)."[329] In this point, Zhu Xi's rhetoric highlights that only by respecting people can the monarch gain esteem. Thirdly, he also emphasized using ethics in politics. Zhu thought that "the monarch is the parents of the people (君者，民之父母也),"[330] the monarch needs to take care of all people with the benevolent affections instead of arbitrary dictation. "The term, politics, means to correct something, so politics is to correct someone's mistakes. The term, ethics, means to acquire something, so ethics is to acquire one's loyalty, which will never be lost…use ethics in politics, the monarch will acquire all people's support without any policies (政之为言正也，所以正人之不正也。德之为言得也，得于心而不失也[331]…为政以德，则无为而天下归。)."[332] So, in Zhu Xi's understanding, the monarch needs to follow ethics instead of enjoying absolute rights without responsibility.

Given the ethical system to limit the monarch, Zhu Xi began to criticize the divinity of the monarch. Through Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, the divinity of the monarch was established. But, Zhu Xi believed that there is no difference between the monarch and ordinary people. His way to prove his point is by Qi; he thought the monarch's Qi and the ordinary people's Qi are always the same, which are both influenced and decided by Li. He then took the example of Qin Shi Huang and Emperor Gaozu of the Han Dynasty (汉高祖, ruling from 202 B.C to 195 B.C.) to continue to prove his argument, he thought "if the son of Heaven is naturally born as a saint, how about Qin Shi Huang and Emperor Gao? Qin Shi Huang was born in the royal family of the State Qin during the Warring States period; he was superior to many people; while, Emperor Gaozu was born in the village and fought against the

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[329] Zhu, X. (1983). Mengzi Jizhu (Variorum on the Mencius) (Vol.14), in Sishu Zhangju Jizhu (Variorum on the Four Books). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.367.

朱熹. (1983). 孟子集注 (Vol.14) in 四书章句集注. 北京: 中华书局, p.367.

[330] Zhu, X. (1983). Mengzi Jizhu (Variorum on the Mencius) (Vol.1), in Sishu Zhangju Jizhu (Variorum on the Four Books). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.201.

朱熹. (1983). 孟子集注 (Vol.1) in 四书章句集注. 北京: 中华书局, p.201.

[331] The pronunciation of politics and correcting in Chinese is "Zheng" (政); the pronunciation of ethics and acquirement in Chinese is "De" (德).

[332] Zhu, X. (1983). Lunyu Jizhu (Variorum on the Analects of Confucius) (Vol.1), in Sishu Zhangju Jizhu (Variorum on the Four Books). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.53.

朱熹. (1983). 论语集注 (Vol.1) in 四书章句集注. 北京: 中华书局, p.53.

despotic rule of the Qin Dynasty. Does it mean that Qi is turn upside down? (且如天子，必是天生圣哲为之。后世如秦始皇在上，乃大无道人；如汉高祖，乃崛起田间，此岂不是气运颠倒。).”[333] Therefore, Zhu thought the divinity of the monarch is nonsense.

4.2.4.2 The Anti-Despotic Idea in the Concept of Junzhu in the "Saddle Period"

As discussed in the third chapter, since Wang Yangming's reform of Neo-Confucianism in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, there was a new experience in society; it influenced people's understanding of the world and their behaviors. Human subjectivity was promoted by intellectuals, and the concept of equality arose in society, and anti-authoritarian ideas were incubated in thinkers' minds. This dissertation has defined this period as the "Saddle Period" for the late Ming Dynasty, which provided the theoretical basis for the late Ming thinkers. Like the thinkers of the Song Dynasty, the thinkers of the "Saddle Period" also put forward ideas concerning the monarch in the political system.

The thinkers living the "Saddle Period" inherited the anti-despotic ideas from the Neo-Confucian scholars of the Song Dynasty. However, it is not difficult to find that the logic to propose anti-despotism by the thinkers in the Ming Dynasty is different from the way of the Song thinkers. The thinkers of the Song Dynasty proposed the anti-despotic ideas by emphasizing ethics in limiting the monarch's rights, and they believed that ethics is the way to oppose despotism in politics. But, the anti-despotic idea in the concept of Junzhu proposed by the thinkers living in the Saddle Period started in criticizing ethics, some Confucian scholars even began to reflect why there was a despotic idea in the concept of Junzhu. Therefore, this part will focus on the anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu put forward by the thinkers living in the Saddle Period.

The new experience started with Wang Yangming's reform of Neo-Confucianism. So, undoubtedly, Wang Yangming was the first one to discuss, but, unluckily, Wang did not put forward famous ideas about despotism or anti-despotic ideas. The reason is his political career and his focus on Neo-Confucianism. He used to work in the political centre of the Ming Dynasty, and he also led troops to put down the rebellion of the Prince in 1519. So, his attitude

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[333] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.4), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.81.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.4), 王星贤, ed.. 北京: 中华书局, p.81.

to the monarch was different from other Confucian scholars. But his interpretation of Lu Jiuyuan's idea that "the universe is my mind (my Xin), my mind is so the universe (吾心即宇宙，宇宙即吾心。)."[334] initiated the anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu in the Ming Dynasty. Through this idea, Wang believed that the monarch also should follow his Xin in order to get close to the ancient sage kings; and he also said that everyone has the potential to be a sage through clarifying their Xin. So, he proposed that there is no difference between the monarch and the ordinary people.

Wang Yangming's ideas were inherited by Wang Gen. Wang also believed that there is no difference between the monarch and the ordinary people. But, in discussing the monarch, he began to use different logic to start his idea. Wang Gen's anti-despotic ideas started in his discussion of traditional ethics. In ancient China, there were the Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues[335] (三纲五常, San'gang Wuchang), which was put forward by Dong Zhongshu to stabilize the society and to ensure the absolute rights of the monarch; so, the monarch, undoubtedly, took the most important position in the ethic system. However, Wang Gen proposed that the position of the teacher is more important than the position of monarch. He said that "I would like to become an official if the emperor treats me as his teacher; I will only discuss and respect my theory of the way of keeping life. And the emperor will be attracted by the theory, and admire it; he will come to find me to study such a theory (出必为帝者师，言必尊信吾尊身立本之学，足以起人君之敬信，来王者之取法。)."[336] The aim of Wang Gen was to talk about his requirements before becoming an official in government, but this statement objectively challenged the position of monarch in the traditional ethical system.

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[334] Lu, J. (2008). Lu Jiuyuan Ji (The Collected Works of Lu Jiuyuan) (Vol.22), Zhong, Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. p.482.

陆九渊. (2008). 陆九渊集 (Vol.22), 钟哲, ed. 北京: 中华书局. p.482.

[335] The three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues, or San'gang Wuchang, were the most important ethical system in ancient China. They originated from the thought of the Legalists school during the Warring States period (from 475 B.C. to 221 B.C.), and then they were developed by Confucian scholars. During the period of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒, from 192 B.C. to 104 B.C.) further developed them and made them a basic principle for Chinese morality and used them as an ethical system to organize social relationships. In detail, the three cardinal guides include that ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife; the five constant virtues include that benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and sincerity.

[336] Wang, G. (2001). The Complete Works of Wang Xinzhai (Wang Gen) (Vol.1), Chen, Z., ed. Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, p.39-40.

王艮. (2001). 王心斋全集 (Vol.1), 陈祝生, ed. 南京: 江苏教育出版社, p.39-40.

Wang believed that Confucian scholars could master the way of the ancient sage, which can be used to govern the society successfully, so the emperor has to follow these scholars and gain the way for successful governance. The monarch's rights were limited by the Confucian scholars. This idea of Wang Gen was not impressive, but it laid a theoretical foundation for his disciples to develop the anti-despotic idea in the concept of Junzhu.

Wang Gen's disciple, He Xinyin, inherited his ideas. In discussing the concept of Junzhu, He further developed Wang Gen's idea in opposing the absolute authority in the political system of the monarchy. He Xinyin queried the traditional Five Cardinal relationships (五伦), and he thought that only the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship among friends are just. Others, especially the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, are actually irrational. He at first discussed the relationship between the monarch and his subjects, father and sons, husband and wife; and then he said that these three relationships are "made because some people need them to compare, or cheat others, or ask for help (或交于匹，或交于陵，或交于援。)"[337] For him, these relationships are unreasonable. But, He believed that "only the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship among friends in the Five Cardinal Relationships belongs to the relationship of sages (人伦有五…而独置身于师友圣贤之间。)"[338] Given this idea, He Xinyin continued to develop the anti-despotic idea that "the monarch's subjects can also be the monarch. Jun (the monarch) means equality; Jun also means the public[339]. The monarch's subjects are all the monarch in public, and the monarch is equal to others in public (臣民亦君也。君者，均也；君者，群也。臣民莫非君之群也，必君而后可以群而均也。)."[340] Through He's rhetoric, the anti-despotic ideas developed

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[337] He, X. (1960). He Xinyin Ji (The Collected Works of He Xinyin) (Vol.2), Rong, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.72.

何心隐. (1960). 何心隐集 (Vol.2), 容肇祖, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.72.

[338] Li, Z. (1990). Tongxin Shuo in Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.3), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.90.

李贽. (1961). 童心说 in 焚书 · 焚书续 (Vol.3), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.90.

[339] Jun (君) is a Chinese character which can be translated by the English word monarch. Jun (均) and Qun (群) are respectively translated as equality and public. Jun (君) and Jun (均) have the same pronunciation, and the shape of the Chinese character, Qun (群) is close to the shape of Jun (君). Chinese believed that the Chinese characters which have the same shape or same pronunciation might originate from the same meaning or close meaning.

[340] He, X. (1960). He Xinyin Ji (The Collected Works of He Xinyin) (Vol.1), Rong, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.28.

within the concept of Junzhu; and it was at this time, the concept of equality increasingly appeared, which was used to support the anti-despotic ideas.

All in all, the anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu arose in the Song Dynasty and continually developed in the Ming Dynasty, but the theoretical basis changed from advocating the traditional ethics to criticizing the traditional ethics. Through criticizing the traditional ethics, the traditional power for supporting the absolute authority of the monarch in the political system became weaker and weaker. And it laid a theoretical foundation for the anti-despotic idea, and even the democratic ideas, in the late Ming Dynasty.

4.2.5 The Democratic Ideas in the Concept of Junzhu in the Late Ming Dynasty

Since the reform of Neo-Confucianism by Wang Yangming in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the new experience became increasingly popular in society; Chinese people's minds also changed gradually. Influenced by the new experience, their understanding of politics changed; their way of considering the monarch in the political system changed, and the anti-despotism in the concept of Junzhu also developed.

Living the late Ming Dynasty[341], especially after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty and the failure of fighting against the Qing Dynasty by the Southern Ming Dynasty (南明, 1644-1662)[342], thinkers put forward new anti-despotic ideas inherited from the thinker of the School of Xin, like Wang Gen, He Xinyin and Li Zhi. They did not directly criticize the traditional ethics to propose anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu. Their theoretical basis was more profound and deep. As discussed in the first chapter, the anti-despotic ideas put forward by the thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty were from the perspective of the political system, ideological trend, and division of labour in society. So, compared to the former ideas, their considerations were deeper; some modern Chinese thinkers and historians even treated these ideas as close to the western democratic ideas.

何心隐. (1960). 何心隐集 (Vol.1), 容肇祖, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.28.

[341] The late Ming Dynasty, in fact, includes not only the period of the late Ming Dynasty but also the period of the early Qing Dynasty. From the perspective of modern Chinese understanding, this period represents changes and reforms; therefore, this period conceptually includes historical time but also is referring to politics and social history.

[342] The Southern Ming Dynasty (南明) was established by the members of the royal family (Zhu's family) of the Ming Dynasty living in Southern China after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty in 1644.

4.2.5.1 Human or the Son of Heaven? The Understanding of the Monarch's Position

In the Zhou Dynasty, for the aim of governing, the monarch was compared to the son of Heaven; because of the destiny given by Heaven, the monarch was differentiated from ordinary people. In the Han Dynasty, by Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, the theory of the son of Heaven was finally formed and influenced the later generations in conceptualizing the monarch in this way. And this view that the monarch is the son of Heaven was then protected by the traditional ethics and firmly rooted in people's minds. But, since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the thinkers from the school of Xin began to criticize traditional Chinese ethics in fighting against the absolute authority and the supreme rights of the monarch. This ideological change influenced the mind of the thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty; they further discussed the humanity of the monarch and put forward their anti-despotic ideas in conceptualizing the monarch.

They believed that the monarch is only a human instead of the son of Heaven. There is no divinity in the concept of Junzhu, and this concept is relative to human affairs. To support this point, Tang Zhen directly attacked the divine right of the monarch to reveal that the nature of the monarch is human instead of the son of Heaven. He thought that "the honour of the son of Heaven is not the lord of Heaven; he is only an ordinary Human (天子之尊，非天帝大神也，皆人也。)."[343] Tang Zhen analyzed the difference between monarchs and humans; he found that there is no difference between them from the perspective of life habits and hobbies. He took the examples of Emperor Yao (尧帝) and Emperor Shun (舜帝) to support his understanding that "although Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun were respected by the public as the son of Heaven and he had rights to manage all things under Heaven, they, during that time, preferred eating rough-wrought food and wearing raw-material clothes to acquire warmth. These choices are close to the people who lived in the poor place at that time from the perspective of their preference (尧舜…虽贵为天子，制御海内，其甘菲食、暖粗衣，就好辟恶，无异于野处也，无不与民同情也。)."[344] Therefore, Tang Zhen re-ensured that "the

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[343] Tang Zhen, (1955). Qian Shu. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, p.67.

唐甄. (1955). 潜书. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.67.

[344] Ibidem, p.67.

monarch is a human although he is respected by all under Heaven (天子虽尊，亦人也。).”[345] Given this point, Tang further developed his understanding of the nature of the monarch; he borrowed the concept of equality that arose in the middle of the Ming Dynasty in fighting against the despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu, he said that "the life of humans is not unequal, but the current situation is contradictory to the theory (人之生也，无不同也，今若此，不平甚矣。).”[346] In detail, he wrote in his book that "the way of Heaven means that everyone is equal, and everyone has their own proper place in such a situation. Otherwise, if someone gains fortunes, someone else will get less; if someone is happy, and someone else will worry (天地之道故平，平则万物各得其所。及其不平也，此厚则彼薄，此乐则彼忧。).”[347] Tang Zhen introduced the concept of equality to further prove his point that there is no difference between the monarch and ordinary people, and it also further developed the anti-despotic ideas and the idea of equality in the concept of Junzhu.

Huang Zongxi's ideas in negating the divinity of the monarch are aggressive. Huang thought that the monarch is only an ordinary human; he proposed that "at the beginning of human life, each man lived for himself and looked after his own interests[348] (有生之初，人各自私也，人各自利也。).”[349] From the perspective of private desires, Huang ensured that there is no difference between a monarch and ordinary humans. Next, Huang proposed that "high esteem was not reserved for those at court; nor were those in the countryside necessarily held in this esteem[350] (贵不在朝廷也，贱不在草莽也。).”[351] Here, the high esteem of the monarch is not innate; it is from his dominant position. He then discussed the reality of the monarch from

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[345] Ibidem, p.150.

[346] Ibidem, p.97.

[347] Ibidem, p.97.

[348] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.91.

[349] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A New Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[350] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

[351] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press. p.8.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社. p.8.

the perspective of the origin of the monarch. This point will be discussed in the next part, but regarding Huang's ideas about the monarch's position, it is not difficult to conclude that the rights gained by the monarch were not because of his own divinity but by his dominant position.

Gu Yanwu approved of Huang's point; he proposed a similar idea to Tang Zhen and Huang Zongxi. His anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu were based on his understanding of the Chinese term to refer to the monarch. In ancient China, the monarch usually used Jun to refer himself. But, Gu thought this term was not specialized for the monarch. Everyone in the political system can use this term; he took examples of the kings of different states to support his point, and then he said that "(these examples) proved that everyone in the political system could use this term, but this usage was lost in later generations (此则上下之通称，不始于后代矣。)."[352] Gu's way to prove that the monarch is also a human is based on ancient reality; as discussed before, there is no absolute authority of the monarch in the concept of Junzhu in the Xia, Shang, and early Zhou Dynasties, because the rights were shared by different leaders of states or tribes. Gu also proposed that "before the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasties, the ordinary people or the monarch's ministers also used the term Jun to refer to themselves (人臣称君，自三代以前有之。)."[353]

The thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty negated the divinity of the monarch, and they all believed that the monarch is only an ordinary human like other people. The divinity of the son of Heaven was only a fake story used to promote the monarch's own interests. So, through the endeavors of the discussion on the divinity of the monarch, the anti-despotic ideas further developed in the concept of Junzhu.

4.2.5.2 The Origin of the Monarch

The traditional view of the origin of the monarch is mysterious. But, through the discussion on the divinity of the son of Heaven, the mystery of the monarch increasingly disappeared. This point laid a theoretical foundation for discussing the absolute rights of the monarch in the political system, and it further influenced people's understanding of the concept of Junzhu.

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[352] Gu, Y. (2006). Ri Zhi Lu (Vol.24), Huang, R., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. p.533.

顾炎武. (2006). 日知录 (Vol.24), 黄汝成, ed. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.533.

[353] Ibidem, p.533.

Huang Zongxi's view of the origin of the monarch was one of the most influential explanations in Chinese intellectual history. His points were inherited from his discussion on the difference between the monarch and ordinary people. He wrote that "in the beginning of human life, each man lived for himself and looked after his own interests. There was such a thing as the common benefit, yet no one seems to have promoted it; there was common harm, yet no one seems to have eliminated it. Then someone came forth who did not think of benefit in terms of his own benefit but sought to benefit all-under-Heaven, and who did not think of harm in terms of harm to himself, but sought to spare all-under-Heaven from harm. Thus his labours were thousand times harder, since not benefiting oneself is certainly not what most people in the world desire[354] (有生之初，人各自私也，人各自利也，天下有公利而莫或兴之，有公害而莫或除之。有人者出，不以一己之利为利，而使天下受其利，不以一己之害为害，而使天下释其害。此其人之勤劳必千万于天下之人。夫以千万倍之勤劳而己又不享其利，必非天下之人情所欲居也。)"[355] Huang believed that at the beginning of human society, all things were in disorder. But someone came and managed the disorder to promote public interests without considering his own interest. This person, for Huang, is the monarch. He took examples of the ancient kings to support his theory. "Therefore, in those early times, some men worthy of ruling, after considering it, refused to become princes — Xu You and Wu Guang were such. Others undertook it and then quit — Yao and Shun, for instance. Still, others, like Yu, became princes against their own will and later were unable to quit[356] (故古之人君，量而不欲入者，许由、务光是也；入而又去之者，尧、舜是也；初不欲入而不得去者，禹是也。)."[357] For Huang, the origin of the monarch was a role oriented towards the public interests, but it finally became the tool for private desires.

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[354] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

[355] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[356] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

[357] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

Through the discussion on the origin of the monarch, the idea concerning the public interests was added to the concept of Junzhu. The concept of the monarch was usually understood as a tool for protecting his and his family's interests, but it changed by the endeavor of Huang Zongxi. In detail, to protect his private interests, the monarch established his absolute authority and acquired rights through his position; but, if his position was set up for the public interests, his ways to protect his private interests were illegitimate.

4.2.5.3 The Rights of the Monarch? Or the Rights of the People?

The monarch was set up for the public interests; it means that this position was set up for the people instead of the monarch's family or himself. Therefore, public interests are higher than the position of the monarch. Huang Zongxi believed that the will of people must be placed over the position of the monarch, as he said that "what the son of Heaven thought right was not necessarily right; what he thought wrong was not necessarily wrong[358] (天子之所是未必是，天子之所非未必非。)."[359] Huang's idea is to promote the will of people over the will of the monarch, and his way is to weaken the spiritual strength of the absolute authority of the monarch. To achieve this aim, he and his colleagues started to discuss the source of the spiritual strength of the absolute authority.

In discussing the monarch's rights, thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty focused on three points. Firstly, they discussed how the rights of the monarch originated. Secondly, they researched the bad influence of absolute rights. Finally, these thinkers even researched the question of who truly deserves the rights of the monarch. In this logic, the thinkers of the late Ming Dynasty proposed their own conceptualization of the position of the monarch, and the most influential ideas include Tang Zhen's Qie'zei Lun (the Monarch is a thief, 窃贼论), Huang Zongxi's Junhai Lun (the monarch is the disaster for society, 君害论) and Minzhu Junke Lun (the monarch is the tenant of the world and the people the master of the world, 民主君客论), and Gu Yanwu's Si'tianxia Lun (the world is for the monarch, 私天下论) and Gongtianxia Lun

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[358] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

[359] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.13.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

(the world is for the public, 公天下论). Through these views, the anti-despotic ideas went through forceful developments and influenced people's views on the monarch.

Tang Zhen's Qie'zei Lun is the most aggressive during the late Ming Dynasty and the early Qing Dynasty. In discussing the legitimacy of the Qing Dynasty, Tang Zhen proposed his Qie'zei Lun that "all monarchs are thieves since the Qin Dynasty (自秦以来，凡为帝王者皆贼也。)."[360] In this proposal, he thought that the rights and interests dominated by the monarch belong to the people; and in the development of history, the monarch stole and appropriated them for himself.

In detail, Tang said that "if a person kills a person and steals this person's clothes and food, he/she is a thief; if a person kills all people and steals their clothes and food, isn't he/she a thief? …what and how do you call these behaviors, if a person walks through a street and then destroys this street, if a person passes by a town and then destroys this town, and if a person enters a city and then kills all people living in this city? A senior general kills people, it is the monarch who kills people instead of the senior general; a deputy general kills people, it is the monarch who kills people instead of the deputy general; and if a soldier kills people, it is the monarch who kills people instead of the soldier. There are actually many killers and murders, but the leader of them is the monarch. When the warring situation ends, there is no need to fight or to launch a war…Although the dead bodies of the people were not buried and people are still crying, the monarch wears gorgeous clothes and crown, and takes the exclusive carriage to enter the magnificent audience hall to be worshiped by his ministers, and builds many palaces and gardens to highlight the nobility of his wives and enrich his posterities (杀一人而取其匹布斗粟，犹谓之贼，杀天下之人而尽有其布粟之富，乃反不谓之贼乎…若过里而墟其里，过市而窜其市，入城而屠其城，此何为者！大将杀人，非大将杀之，天子实杀之；偏将杀人，非偏将杀之，天子实杀之；卒伍杀人，非卒伍杀之，天子实杀之；官吏杀人，非官吏杀之，天子实杀之。杀人者众手，实天子为之大手。天

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[360] Tang Zhen, 1955. Qian Shu. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, p.196.

唐甄. (1955). 潜书. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.196.

下既定…暴骨未收，哭声未绝，目眦未干，于是乃服衮冕，乘法驾，坐前殿，受朝贺，高宫室，广苑囿，以贵其妻妾，以肥其子孙。)."[361]

Tang Zhen did not directly use the word, right; but, in his statement, the fortune stole by the monarch was a metaphor for the authority. In detail, on the one hand, Tang Zhen believed that there is no difference between the monarch and ordinary people, and everyone enjoyed the same rights to acquire fortunes. It means that "the way of Heaven means that everyone is equal, and everyone will have their own proper place in such a situation (天地之道故平，平则万物各得其所。)."[362] But, this equality did not come true; the fortune is owned by the monarch. On the other hand, Tang Zhen also criticized the legitimacy of the Qing Dynasty. In his statements, he used many examples to prove that monarch is accused of murders and massacres; these examples described by him were the Manchu government stealing the ruling right from Han Chinese. So, the fortune in Tang's works means the right of the people. Given these points, Tang Zhen's understanding is that the right belongs to the people, but finally, it was monopolized by the monarch to meet his own needs. And the monarch, actually, is the thief who steals the rights from the people.

Huang Zongxi's Junhai Lun and Minzhu Junke Lun are both impressive. In discussing the disadvantages of the monarch system, Huang set out his famous proposal that "thus he who does the greatest harm in the world is none other than the prince[363] (然则为天下之大害者，君而已矣。)."[364] Huang directly attacked the monarchy system because it caused many problems in politics and society since the Qin Dynasty. After proposing the Junhai Lun, he continually argued that "In order to get whatever he (prince) wants, he maims and slaughters all-under-Heaven and breaks up their families—all for the aggrandizement of one man's fortune. Without the least feeling of pity, the prince says, 'I'm just establishing an estate for my descendants.' Yet when he has established it, the prince still extracts the very marrow from people's bones and takes away their sons and daughters to serve his own debauchery. It seems

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[361] Ibidem, p.197.

[362] Ibidem, p.96.

[363] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.92.

[364] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.5.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.5.

entirely proper to him. It is, he says, the interest of his estate [365] (是以其未得之也，屠毒天下之肝脑，离散天下之子女，以博我一人之产业，曾不惨然！曰「我固为子孙创业也」。其既得之也，敲剥天下之骨髓，离散天下之子女，以奉我一人之淫乐，视为当然，曰「此我产业之花息也」)"[366] Huang argued that the reason of this phenomenon is that the monarch occupied the rights of all-under-Heaven, as he explained "they (the prince after the three Dynasties) believed that since they held power over benefit and harm, there was nothing wrong in taking for themselves all the benefits and imposing on others all the harm. They made it so that no man dared to live for himself or look to his own interests. Thus the prince's great self-interest took the place of the common good of all-under-Heaven[367] (后之为人君者不然，以为天下利害之权皆出于我，我以天下之利尽归于己，以天下之害尽归于人，亦无不可；使天下之人不敢自私，不敢自利，以我之大私为天下之大公。)"[368] He wrote that "now the prince is the master, and all-under-Heaven are tenants. That no one can find peace and happiness anywhere is all on account of the prince[369] (今也以君为主，天下为客，凡天下之无地而得安宁者，为君也。).""[370]

Given the reason for the Junhai Lun, he set out his second proposal, Minzhu Junke Lun (monarch is the tenant of the world, and people are the master of the world). Huang believed that "in ancient times all-under-Heaven was considered the master[371], and the prince the

[365] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.92.

[366] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press. p.4.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录, 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[367] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.92.

[368] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[369] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.92.

[370] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[371] For the term, Zhu (master,主) could also be translated as "host", but in China, as in the West, the relationship between host and guest most often suggests that the former is obliged to accommodate the latter, in accordance with long-standing traditions of hospitality. Yet Huang obviously means that the guest has no rights, being at the mercy of the host's generosity, and thus "master" conveys better the idea of primacy, superiority, or sovereignty as Huang intends it here, and "tenant" the subordination of

tenant[372] (古者以天下为主，君为客，凡君之所毕世而经营者，为天下也。)"[373] Huang thought that, in ancient times, people dominated the supreme position in the political system and mastered the right to rule the world; and the monarch was the subordinate of the people in the political system. Combing Huang's analysis of the nature of the monarch, the monarch's ruling right was borrowed from the master of the world. Huang believed that the rights for ruling the all-under-Heaven belong to the people, and the monarch only borrowed it from people to better manage the situation.

Huang's colleague, Gu Yanwu continually developed Huang's ideas and put forward his Si'tianxia Lun (the world is the estate for the monarch, 私天下论) to criticize the monarch's monopolization of rights, and Gongtianxia Lun (the world is the estate for the public, 公天下论) to promote democratic ideas.

For Gu Yanwu, Huang Zongxi's analysis of the right of the monarch derived from the perspective of private desires, so he used the same way to put forward his understanding of the rights of the monarch and people. Gu opposed Si'tianxia Lun because it is in contradiction with people's private desires. He thought that the current situation that the monarch monopolized the rights was harmful to people's reasonable private desires. Therefore, Gu proposed his Gongtianxia Lun. He considered "the public interest of the world is to gather all people's private desires (合天下之私以成天下之公。)."[374] Gu considered if all people's private desires are realized, the public interests are then protected. Combining his former ideas on the nature of the monarch, the way to finish this goal is to promote people's rights in the political system. Therefore, he proposed that "the so-called son of Heaven, took a right to rule all-under-Heaven…so why is this right not in the hands of people, and why is this right still be monopolized by the monarch (所谓天子者，执天下之大权者也…奈何以天下之权寄之天

the people to the ruler. (Noted from: De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.192.)

[372] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.92.

[373] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.4.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.4.

[374] Gu, Y. (2006). Ri Zhi Lu (Vol.3), Huang, R., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. p.59.
顾炎武. (2006). 日知录 (Vol.3), 黄汝成, ed. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.59.

下之人，而权乃归之天子？）."[375] Gu means that the right to rule all-under-Heaven originated from the people, and the monarch only borrowed them, and this right should be returned to people.

4.2.6 The Democratic Ideas in the History of the Concept of Junzhu

The concept of Junzhu refers to the highest position in the political system; it can be titled as Wang (王, king), Huangdi (皇帝, emperor), Junzhu (君主, monarch) or Jun (君上, monarch). Over thousands of years, people's understanding of this concept had changed radically; the original meaning of it is even in contradiction with the meaning in the late Ming Dynasty. Therefore, the ideas hidden in the concept of Junzhu also changed a lot. The former research in this part focuses on the history of the concept of Junzhu, and it finds that the idea of despotism did not originally exist in the concept; it had experienced a long process until Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, when the despotic idea finally rooted in the concept of Junzhu. Then, it experienced the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty and the Saddle Period for the late Ming Dynasty; the despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu were challenged by the new experience; and then, the anti-despotic idea appeared in the concept. While, in the late Ming Dynasty, the anti-despotic idea in the concept of Junzhu developed into the so-called democratic idea.

According to the second chapter, political liberty means political participation, the selection of officials, and the revision of law. There is only one point in the concept of Junzhu close to the idea of political participation. It was put forward by Gu Yanwu; he proposed that although the monarch controls the right to rule, this right needs to be shared by people in order to rule better. Gu, on the one hand, emphasized this right originated from the people, and, on the other hand, he put forward that people also deserve the right to join politics. However, unfortunately, like many scholars during this period, he did not explore the deeper meaning of his statements; but it undoubtedly exhibited his idea concerning political participation.

While, in a deeper level, the idea of political liberty discussed in the second chapter reveals an important idea relating to democracy; it is popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty, or the

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[375] Gu, Y. (2006). Ri Zhi Lu (Vol.3), Huang, R., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. p.212.

顾炎武. (2006). 日知录 (Vol.3), 黄汝成, ed. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.212.

sovereignty of the people, is an important principle in democratic politics; it highlighted the authority or the right of politics is created by people instead of the monarch or other small groups. From the perspective of popular sovereignty, it is not difficult to find that there were some ideas in the concept of Junzhu which have democratic characteristics. Huang Zongxi's ideas are close to the proposal of popular sovereignty. Huang, on the one hand, challenged people's superstition that the monarch is born the son of Heaven. It means that identity, the son of Heaven, cannot bring absolute authority to the monarch, therefore the monarch is not the source of authority in politics. On the other hand, Huang discussed the source of rights. In his understanding, people are the source of political rights; and the monarch is only a tenant. In addition, Huang also discussed the process of how the monarch took the political rights from people's hands. From these discussions, it can be argued that Huang's idea is close to the proposal of popular sovereignty; especially, he emphasized the political right originated from people.

Other thinkers also proposed some similar ideas to the proposal of popular sovereignty. Gu proposed that the monarch should return the right of all-under-Heaven to people. The right of all-under-Heaven is close to political rights, but is wider. Gu thought that the owner of the right of all-under-Heaven is the people instead of the monarch. Tang Zhen's ideas are not obviously related to the proposal of popular sovereignty. But he also thought the domination of political rights by the monarch is illegal.

The second idea discussed in the second chapter is the idea of equality. On a superficial level, it only emphasizes equality among people, while, in greater depth, it focuses on equality in the political system and highlights the equal rights for people to participate in politics. This idea is relative to the idea of liberal equality; so, it is not difficult to see the idea of equality in the concept of Junzhu in the late Ming Dynasty. In discussing the nature of the monarch, Huang Zongxi, Tang Zhen, and Gu Yanwu all proposed that the monarch is not the son of Heaven. Before the late Ming Dynasty, the monarch enjoyed privileges and took the absolute rights by this title; the monarch, undoubtedly, took the higher position than other people. However, by the negation of the son of Heaven, the monarch can not use this title to squeeze more political interests from others, and he was treated as a member of the people; therefore, in the ideal conditions, people enjoyed a similar right to the monarch in the political system. This point was reinforced in discussing the origin of the monarch. Huang Zongxi believed that the political right enjoyed by the monarch is not by his natural birth; this right was given because he took

the job of the monarch. It means that the right of the monarch is not a privilege, and the monarch can not use it arbitrarily to steal others' interests.

4.3 The History of the Concept of Chen

Through the research of the history of the concept of Junzhu, the former sections have identified some democratic ideas present at the end of the Ming Dynasty. During the change of the concept of Junzhu, this research as also identified that some related concepts also changed. Among these changing concepts, the most relevant one to democratic ideas is the concept of Chen (or Minister, 臣). In the history of the concept of Chen, people's understandings of the political system also changed from period to period.

Chen, generally speaking, is a term to describe the subordinate position to the monarch in the political system. In the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian*[376] (*A Dictionary of Current Chinese*, 《现代汉语词典》), there are two primary definitions of this term. The first is that Chen is "an official in the monarchist era, and sometimes including ordinary people (君主时代的官吏，有时亦包括百姓)"[377]; the second definition of Chen is "the title used by an official to refer to himself when he talks or submits a written statement to the monarch (官吏对皇帝上书或说话时的自称)."[378] From the perspective of our modern understanding, Chen is a position that existed in the ancient political system. *Kangxi Zidian*[379] (or *Kangxi Dictionary*, 《康熙字典》) collected more than five definitions of Chen in ancient Chinese classics; two of them are significant for us to understand the term. One is from *Shuowen Jiezi* (or *Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters*, 《说文解字》), it records that Chen is "to serve the monarch, and the shape of

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[376] *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (*A Dictionary of Current Chinese*, 《现代汉语词典》) is an important dictionary of Standard Mandarin Chinese published by the Commercial Press.

[377] Institute of Linguistics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. (2011). Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (A Dictionary of Current Chinese). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.165.

中国社会科学院语言研究所. (2011). 现代汉语词典. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.165

[378] Ibidem, p.165

[379] Kangxi Zidian (or Kangxi Dictionary, 《康熙字典》) was the standard Chinese dictionary during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Kangxi Emperor of the Qing Dynasty ordered its compilation in 1710. It used the earlier Zihui system of 214 radicals, today is known as 214 Kangxi radicals, and was published in 1716. The dictionary is named after the Emperor's era name. (referred from the Wikipedia: Kangxi Dictionary. (Noted from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kangxi_Dictionary)

Chen resembles the behavior of surrendering (事君也。象屈服之形)."[380] Another was recorded in the *Book of Changes* (《易经》), Chen was used by people to describe the relationship between the monarch and his officials. In detail, "there was at first the relationship between father and son, and then there formed the relationship between the monarch and his ministers; with the relationship between the monarch and his ministers, there was a relationship of subordination (有父子，然後有君臣，有君臣，然後有上下。)."[381] From the ancient Chinese perspective, Chen was also used to refer to the position of the official in the political system that is subordinated to the monarch; but, ancient understandings of Chen highlight this relationship as one between the superior and the inferior. In summary, the term Chen is to describe the position inferior to the monarch in the political system.

There are four periods that are crucial to discuss the history of the concept of Chen. The first period is the time before the Qin Dynasty. This part will discuss the origin of the concept of Chen and its earlier development in history. The second part focuses on the Qin Dynasty (including the end of the Warring States Period) and the Han Dynasty. On the one hand, it focuses on the change of the political system from the perspective of the secular world. Shang Yang changed the traditional political system in the State Qin, and Qin Shi Huang unified mainland China. These two things initiated great changes in society, and they also developed people's understanding of the concept of Chen. On the other hand, in the Han Dynasty, Dong Zhongshu submitted his three discourses on politics and finished the theory that the emperor is the son of Heaven. His political discourses promoted the development of traditional ethics, and Chen was also officially included in the ethical system. The third period is focused on the Song Dynasty and the middle of the Ming Dynasty. The collapse of the Tang Dynasty resulted in the critiques of the legitimacy of the Song Dynasty, and in order to cope with the problem, Neo-Confucianism appeared. It influenced people's way of getting in touch with reality and changed the meaning of the concept of Chen in people's minds. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, a new experience was increasingly incubated. People also changed their conceptualisation of the position of Chen; thinkers even challenged the traditional relationship between the monarch and his minister. The last period is the late Ming Dynasty. The accumulated new experience

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[380] Zhang, Y. (1930). Kangxi Zidian. Beijing: Commercial Press, p.999.

张玉书. (1930). 康熙字典. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.999.

[381] Ibidem, p.999.

further changed the people's understanding of the political system. During this period, some thinkers proposed their ideas concerning Chen in the political system and challenged the despotic ideas embedded in the concept of Chen.

4.3.1 The Early Meaning of the Concept of Chen

The first incidence of the use of the term of Chen cannot be dated; but, the concept of Chen already existed in people's minds in ancient China. Therefore, the first part will research the concept of Chen to find its initial meaning. On the one hand, this part will pay attention to the concept of Chen in the Xia Dynasty and the Shang Dynasty. It will discuss how and what people understood this concept to mean in society. On the other hand, it will discuss the change of the meaning of the concept in the Western Zhou Dynasty, especially after the king of the Zhou Dynasty used the title the son of Heaven to refer to himself and established the system of rites and music.

4.3.1.1 The Understanding of the Concept of Chen in Early Times

As a vital position in the political system, Chen has a strong relationship with the monarch; some historians believed that this relationship could be conceived of as Zhong (loyalty, 忠). The understanding of loyalty in the concept of Chen is a way to reflect people's conceptualization of this political position. But, unfortunately, according to the research by modern historians Ning Ke and Jiang Fuya, there was no proof to show that there was such a relationship in the earlier time. In detail, "there was not the character, 'loyalty', in inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty and inscriptions on ancient bronze objects; and there was also no such a character in the classics of the Shang Dynasty and the Western Zhou Dynasty, like the *Book of Changes*, the *Classic of Poetry*, and the *Book of Documents* (甲骨文和金文不见"忠"字，商和西周的典籍如《易经》、《诗经》和《书经》等也没有"忠"字。)."[382] The reason is that there was no absolute subordination between the monarch and his ministers.

Modern historians Li Quan and Du Jianmin believed that "although the king of the Shang Dynasty forced many states and tribes to submit his will, this situation was based on the result

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[382] Ning, K and Jiang, F. (1994). The Royal Right and the Conception of Loyalty to Emperor in Chinese History. Historical Research, (2), p.79.

宁可 and 蒋福亚. (1994). 中国历史上的皇权和忠君观念. 历史研究, (2), p.79.

of the punitive expedition and the force of the central government; this relationship is different from the relationship where local authorities follow the will of the central government in the era of the autocratic monarchy after the Qin Dynasty…in the situation, there was no strict relationship between monarch and his ministers (商王迫使众多方国服从其意志，但这是依靠实力和征伐造成的结果，这与君主专制时代那种地方服从中央的秩序是迥然不同的…这种状态下，连君臣关系尚未形成。)"[383] In this situation, people's understanding of the concept of Chen was not based on loyalty. According to the study by Ning and Jiang, the concept of Chen in earlier times was based on the blood relationship because "the patriarchal clan system cooperates the relationship among people by blood relationship and kinship. So, there was no need for ministers to be loyal to his monarch individually (宗法贵族制度在血缘与等级的制度中把人们彼此的关系凝结起来，并不怎么需要个人对上级的忠诚。)."[384]

From this perspective, the relationship between the monarch his ministers is equal. As discussed by Shi Kung (师旷,?-?) of the State Lu (鲁国) in the Spring and Autumn Period, "Heaven gives birth to people and chooses the monarch to lead them, which aims to keep people's humanity. After choosing the monarch, Heaven also chooses different ministers to help the monarch teach and protect him. The aim of choosing the ministers is to prevent the monarch from violating the law. So, this is why the monarch has ministers…it is to help him. In detail, ministers will praise the monarch when he is virtuous, they will correct the monarch when he makes mistakes, and they will help the monarch when he is in misery (天生民而立之君，使司牧之，勿使失性。 有君而为之二，使师保之，勿使过度。是故天子有公…以相辅佐也。善则赏之，过则匡之，患则救之。)."[385] In Shi's understanding, the minister is not subordinate to the monarch. Their positions are equal in the political system, and the minister has the right to limit the monarch. As discussed by Li Quan and Du Jianmin, "during

[383] Li, Q and Du, J. (1995). Discussion on the system of the monarch politics in the Xia Dynasty, the Shang Dynasty, and the Zhou Dynasty. Journal of Historical Science, (3), p.9.

李泉 and 杜建民. (1995). 论夏商周君主制政体的性质. 史学月刊, (3), p.9.

[384] Ning, K and Jiang, F. (1994). The Royal Right and the Conception of Loyalty to Emperor in Chinese History. Historical Research, (2), p.79.

宁可 and 蒋福亚. (1994). 中国历史上的皇权和忠君观念. 历史研究, (2), p.79.

[385] Zuo, Q. (1981). Tradition of Zuo. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p,1016.

左丘明. (1981). 左传. 北京: 中华书局, p.1016.

the period of the Shang and the Zhou Dynasty…there were many examples to show that the monarch was dethroned by his ministers. Moreover, this behavior was not treated as a monstrous crime; it was thought of by the public as a magnanimous act undertaken for the public good. For example. Yi Yin dethroned and exiled the king Tai Jia of the Shang Dynasty (在商周时期…公卿大臣废黜国君不乏其例，且不被视为大逆不道，反而被视为义举，例如商代伊尹流放商王太甲。)."[386] In addition, Li and Du also proposed that the minister who engaged as a priest can also strongly influence the king of the Shang Dynasty. Ministers only undertake the responsibility of their positions in the political system.

Therefore, at this time, people's understanding of the concept of Chen has two points. On the one hand, Chen is only a position in the political system; the minister takes this position is based on blood relations. On the other hand, there was no absolute subordination between the monarch and his minister.

4.3.1.2 The Formation of the Subordination between the Monarch and the Minister

There was no strict subordination between the monarch and his ministers in the earlier times; therefore, rebellions usually took place. After establishing the Zhou Dynasty, the monarch had to consider reinforcing his rights and establishing loyalty in the ministers' minds. The measures put forward by the king were to propose the idea of the son of Heaven on the one hand, and to establish the system of rites and music on the other hand. In the process, the idea of loyalty between the monarch and his ministers developed quietly, and the subordination between them became stronger.

To ensure the legitimacy of the Zhou Dynasty, the king proposed the idea of the son of Heave to develop his authority. In this idea, people treated Heaven as the source of the monarch's rights, and every command from the king is the will of Heaven. The king represents Heaven to rule all-under-Heaven in the human world; he is the son of Heaven. All-under-Heaven, including the minister, took the subordinate position compared to the monarch. On the one hand, the monarch used this idea to institute the subordination into the relationship between

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[386] Li, Q and Du, J. (1995). Discussion on the system of the monarch politics in the Xia Dynasty, the Shang Dynasty, and the Zhou Dynasty. Journal of Historical Science, (3), p.13.

李泉 and 杜建民. (1995). 论夏商周君主制政体的性质. 史学月刊, (3), p.13.

the minister and himself. Also, the monarch hoped to use this idea to make the ministers an appendage to himself.

But, at this time, the idea of the son of Heaven was not enough to enhance the monarch's position absolutely because this idea lacked further conceptual developments and support from other thinkers. Later, to overcome this problem, the King Cheng and the Duke Wen established the system of rites and music to ensure the duty and obligations of the people. This system clarified the strict subordinate relationship between the monarch and his ministers: "there are ten Heavenly terms to record the days, and there are also ten classes among people. And the lower class needs to serve the higher class, and the higher class should look after Heaven. Therefore, there is the monarch and minister, and some senior officials (天有十日，人有十等，下所以事上，上所以共神也。故王臣公，公臣大夫。)."[387] Through this system, the minister was endowed with the duty to obey the monarch's command; the loyalty of the minister to the monarch became an obligation.

Furthermore, this system also enhanced the relationship between the monarch and his minister. The son of Heaven is the suzerain of all-under-Heaven, and he holds the highest rights in religious sacrifice; other people can not break the limits given by the son of Heaven. "The son of Heaven enjoyed the right to offer sacrifice to Heaven, and some ministers held the right to offer sacrifice to Earth. The son of Heaven has the right to use the sacrifice of Fangwang (方望)[388], and he, therefore, understand many things under Heaven; meanwhile, he will not sacrifice in the place of some ministers which does belong to the son of Heaven (天子祭天，诸侯祭土。天子有方望之事，无所不通；诸侯山川有不在其封内者，则不祭也。)."[389] However, this system only existed in name as time goes by. Some ministers did not fully follow the monarch's command, although there was a strict regulation in the system of rites and music.

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[387] Zuo, Q. (1981). Tradition of Zuo. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p,1284

左丘明. (1981). 左传. 北京: 中华书局, p.1284

[388] Fangwang (方望) is a kind of special rite only for the son of Heaven to sacrifice.

[389] Gongyang, S. (2015). Gongyang Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.5), Chen, D., ed. Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, p.259.

公羊寿. (2015). 春秋公羊传 (Vol.5), Chen, D., ed. 成都: 四川大学出版社, p.259.

Therefore, to further ensure the minister's duty and responsibility to the monarch, the king adopted the system of Hui'meng (会盟). This system was used to organize the leaders of the local states or some essential ministers to make public decisions. According to modern research, "during the period of the Western Zhou Dynasty, the son of Heaven and the local states' leaders would adopt the system of Hui'meng to decide all political affairs concerning both places. The Hui'meng was usually used by different leaders; the nature of the system of Hui'meng is the political consultation. The final decision was made by the covenant, instead of the absolute authority (在西周时期，天子与诸侯…凡涉及双边关系的政事，必待会盟方能议定。会盟相当频繁，性质是协商议政，由双边或多边订立盟约，而不是强制推行天子的政令。)."[390] Adopting this system means that the right for the king to control his ministers was not stable. The old political system before the Zhou Dynasty still influenced the relationship between the monarch and his ministers. As discussed before, the relationship between them tended to be equal in the Xia and the Shang Dynasty; and the Zhou Dynasty inherited the major parts of this system. So, this relationship still kept equal characteristics from the old system. But on the other hand, the aim of the system of Hui'meng was to enhance the right to control the minister.

Based on the ideas of the son of Heaven, the system of rites and music, the system of Hui'meng, there were new ideas being incubated in the concept of Chen. Previously, in the earlier times, the concept of Chen entailed the idea of equality. Although the king of the Zhou Dynasty used the idea of the Son of Heaven to establish his authority, people were not fully influenced by this idea to accept the subordination between the monarch and themselves in their minds. On the other hand, these new systems influenced the people's conceptualization of the minister. Through the new systems, the monarch increased his influence on his ministers and the local state leaders; the sense of subordination between them was enforced. So, there was a contradiction in this concept. People did not fully believe there is a comparatively equal relationship between the monarch and the minister; the balance of importance in the political system was tipping decisively toward the monarch.

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[390] Li, Q and Du, J. (1995). Discussion on the system of the monarch politics in the Xia Dynasty, the Shang Dynasty, and the Zhou Dynasty. Journal of Historical Science, (3), p.12.

李泉 and 杜建民. (1995). 论夏商周君主制政体的性质. 史学月刊, (3), p.12.

4.3.2 The Establishment of Absolute Subordination in the Concept of Chen

Since the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the despotic idea of the concept of Junzhu was enhanced within the secular world; especially after Shang Yang's two reforms and Qin Shi Huang's unification of China, the absolute authority of the monarch became profoundly rooted in the people's conceptualization of the position of the monarch in the political system. Furthermore, during the ruling period of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, his minister Dong Zhongshu submitted three discourses on politics and started to enhance the monarch's absolute authority in the spiritual world. Through Dong's endeavor, the despotic idea formally became the main way for people to understand the monarch's position. From the state Qin of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty to the Han Dynasty, the concept of Chen shows the incubation of despotism and indications of absolute authority.

4.3.2.1 The Change of the Conceptualization of Chen in the Secular World

A noteworthy feature during this period was the continual wars. The kings of different states initiated wars for lands, resources, people. The result of the wars was that the stronger powers gained more resources, and the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty became weaker. The traditional system of rites and music became ineffective; it lost supportive power from the royal family. Therefore, some thinkers asked for loyalty from the local states towards the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty. Conversely, some states began to change their political system to meet the new situation. The king of these states centralized the political rights and established absolute authority in the new system. So, this part will discuss both how the thinkers living in this time conceptualized the concept of Chen and the new ideas embedded in it.

The system of rites and music was set up to connect the relationship between the monarch and his ministers. But, at this time, "the son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty supported by all people under Heaven existed in name only, his authority was gradually lost (作为天下共主的周天子徒有虚名，在实际上已经不复存在了。)."[391] To support the Zhou Dynasty and help the royal family recapture their former honor, thinkers proposed enhancing the minister's loyalty

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[391] Zhao, X and Zhao, Y. (1991). From Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors to the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty and the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty — The Forming Process of the Despotic System of Ancient China. Collected Papers of History Studies, (4). p.22.

赵锡元 and 赵玉宝. (1991). 从三皇五帝到秦皇汉武——中国古代专制君主形成的过程. 史学集刊, (4), p.22.

to the monarch. Among these thinkers, Confucius' and Mencius' ideas were the more famous and had the greatest influences on the next generations.

The first thinker to propose loyalty between the monarch and his ministers during this period is Confucius. He aimed to re-establish the influence of the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty. Confucius believed that loyalty is a necessary condition for the son of Heaven to hold his authority. Therefore, he carried out this belief in his teaching, "what Confucius taught included four aspects: documents, virtue, honesty and keeping promises (子以四教：文、行、忠、信。)."[392] He believed that loyalty is an important part of ethics, and he further emphasized that loyalty was central for the relationship between the monarch and the minister; he said that "a monarch gives orders to his ministers according to their proprieties, while the ministers serve their monarch with loyalty (君使臣以礼，臣事君以忠。)."[393] Loyalty was the main characteristic in Confucius' conceptualization of the position of the minister; in his understanding, ministers have the duty to follow their monarch's commands without any excuse. But Confucius did not believe loyalty is the highest principle in the ethical system; loyalty is subordinate to benevolence. He thought the nature of the loyal way for ministers to serve his monarch is that "the so-called great minister is to serve his monarch with the benevolence (所谓大臣者，以道事君。)."[394]

Confucius' conceptualization was the reflection of people's understanding of the concept of Chen since the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. At this time, some thinkers also proposed similar ideas to Confucius. Recording in the *Yi Zhou Shu* (*or Lost Book of Zhou*《逸周书》), there were "two things in the relationship between the monarch and minister; they are the benevolence of the monarch and the loyalty of the minister (君臣之间，观其忠惠。)."[395] Mozi (墨子) proposed similar ideas concerning the benevolence of the monarch, and the

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[392] Feng, G., ed. (2017). The Analects of Confucius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 7:25.

冯国超, ed. (2017). 论语. 北京: 华夏出版社, 7:25.

[393] Ibidem, 3:19.

[394] Ibidem, 11:24.

[395] Kong, C. (2000). Yi Zhou Shu (Vol.7), Zhang, W., ed. Guiyang: Guizhou Renmin Press, p.252.

孔晁. (2000). 逸周书 (Vol.7), 张闻玉, ed. 贵阳: 贵州人民出版社, p.252.

loyalty of the minister in his book; "if the monarch and his ministers love each other, they will benefit each other, and the ministers will be loyal to his monarch (君臣相爱则惠忠。)."[396]

As a successor of Confucius, Mencius inherited his ideas of the concept of Chen. The most significant statement is that "if a monarch regards his ministers as his hand and feet, they regard him as their belly and heart. Suppose he regard them as dogs and horses. In that case, they will regard him as a stranger. If he regards them as clay and grass, they will regard him as an enemy (君之视臣如手足，则臣视君如腹心；君之视臣如犬马，则臣之视君如国人；君之视臣如土芥，则臣之视君如寇仇。)."[397] This statement is the development of Confucius' idea that "the so-called great minister is to serve his monarch with the benevolence (所谓大臣者，以道事君。)"[398]; but, Mencius regarded the relationship between the monarch and the minister as a peer relationship. For him, the loyalty of the minister to the monarch was based on the benevolence of the monarch.

However, Confucianism was not welcome by the kings; the most influential school during the Warring States Period is the Legalist school. Since Shang Yang's successful reforms of the political system in the State Qin, the rights were centralized in the monarch's hands. The ideas of the Legalist school became popular in politics. Han Feizi was one of the most famous legalists at this time. He emphasized the absolute loyalty from the minister to the monarch and believed that the will of the monarch is the highest principle for the minister. Han said that "the way for loyal ministers to serve their monarch is not to usurp the monarch's throne…so as the monarch's loyal ministers, they do not need to only appreciate the great morality of Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and Emperor Yu, the great achievement of Tang of the Shang Dynasty and the King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty, and the pride of strong-willed persons; they need to try their best to defend laws and commands from the monarch, and serve the monarch by undivided

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[396] Wu, L. (2006). The Collation and Annotation of Mozi, Sun, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.159.

吴毓江. (2006). 墨子校注, 孙启致, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.159.

[397] Zhao, Q., ed. (2017). The Mencius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 8:3.

赵清文, ed. (2017). 孟子. 北京: 华夏出版社, 8:3.

[398] Feng, G., ed. (2017). The Analects of Confucius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 11:24.

冯国超, ed. (2017). 论语. 北京: 华夏出版社, 11:24.

attention (忠臣之事君也，非竞取君之国也…故人臣毋称尧舜之贤，毋誉汤武之伐，毋言烈士之高，尽力守法，专心于事主者，为忠臣。)."[399] He even highlighted that "the minister should die if he is not loyal to his monarch (为人臣不忠，当死。)."[400] Han believed that the subordination between the monarch and the minister is absolute in politics, he said that "there are three important things: the minister serves his monarch, the son serve his father, the wife serve her husband. All-under-Heaven will be in order if these three things are in order, while, if these three things are in disorder, all-under-Heaven will be in disorder. This is normal for all-under-Heaven, and it cannot be changed even by sage kings and excellent ministers (臣事君、子事父、妻事夫，三者顺则天下治，三者逆则天下乱。 此天下之常道也。明王贤臣而弗易也。)."[401]

4.3.2.2 The Development of the Despotism in the Concept of Chen in the Qin Dynasty

In 221 B.C., Qin Shi Huang unified mainland China and established the Qin Dynasty. The most obvious characteristic of the Qin dynasty is that the rights in the political system were centralized around the monarch. Qin Shi Huang also adopted some policies to enhance his absolute authority further and stabilize his highest position in the political system.

In the new dynasty, Qin Shi Huang abolished the traditional system of enfeoffment and then established the bureaucratic system. Now, there was no soil for old aristocracies in the new system to establish the states under the son of Heaven; all ministers were assigned by the monarch instead of the blood relationships. Therefore, all powers originated from the monarch's will, and the minister's rights were controlled by the monarch. Under the monarch's pressure, the minister had to follow the monarch's will in the new system. Also, Qin Shi Huang continually adopted the comparatively severe laws exerted in the state Qin. Anyone who wants to violate his will will be punished. By these two measures, the minister's loyalty to the

[399] Han, F. (2015). Han Feizi (Vol.20), Zhang, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.190.

韩非子. (2015). 韩非子 (Vol.20), 张觉, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.190.

[400] Han, F. (2015). Han Feizi (Vol.1), Zhang, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.1.

韩非子. (2015). 韩非子 (Vol.1), 张觉., ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.1.

[401] Han, F. (2015). Han Feizi (Vol.20), Zhang, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.189.

韩非子. (2015). 韩非子 (Vol.20), 张觉, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.189.

monarch was strongly ensured, and his position was put in the subordinate position in the political system absolutely.

In addition, Qin Shi Huang adopted the title, Huangdi (or emperor, 皇帝). As discussed in the section on the History of the Concept of Junzhu, this title adopted by him was to evidence that his achievements had far outstripped Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors. Qin Shi Huang considered himself to be in the highest position in the secular world. So, undoubtedly, the minister is naturally in the subordinate position in the political system compared to the position of monarch. And loyalty became a natural thing located into the concept of Chen without any proof.

In the Qin Dynasty, the concept of Chen was put into a passive position. The idea of equality no longer existed in the relationship between the monarch and the minister in the concept of Chen. For ordinary people, the minister is only a tool for the monarch to rule all-under-Heaven; and the only thing for the minister is to follow the will of the monarch with his loyalty. But, this belief was only effective in the secular world; so, Qin Shi Huang began his policies to divinize the position of monarch and set up his absolute authority from the perspective of the spiritual world. But, because of his sudden death, these policies were not put into reality. So, from the concept of Chen, despotism only was secure in the secular world.

4.3.2.3 The Subordination in the Spiritual World

It was not until the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty that the problem of divinizing the monarch's authority left by Qin Shi Huang was re-launched. Emperor Wu adopted Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics to develop the theory of the Son of Heaven to solve the political and social problems. In this theory, Dong emphasized the divinity of the monarch through a detailed explanation of what Heaven is and how people connect with Heaven. Since then, the monarch took the highest position in the secular world, and the minister, undoubtedly, became the subordinate of the monarch.

In detail, in discussing how the monarch understands the will of Heaven, Dong proposed two ways for the monarch to interact with Heaven. Concerning the concept of Chen, Dong continually discussed the second way, the interaction between Yin and Yang. Dong thought there are the same Yin and Yang of things in the same classification. He used the example of

Heaven and humans to prove his point." Heaven has Yin and Yang; humans also have Yin and Yang. When there is the rise of Yin from Heaven, the people's Yin, in addition, will also rise; while, when there is the rise of Yin in humans' minds, the Heaven's Yin, therefore, will also rise (天有阴阳，人亦有阴阳。天地之阴气起，而人之阴气应之而起，人之阴气起，而天地之阴气亦宜应之而起。)."[402] For Dong, both Yin and Yang exist in everything in the world and regulate the principle of these things. So, Dong used them to understand this relationship. He believed that Yin and Yang existed in the relationship between Heaven and Earth, monarch and his ministers, father and his sons, husband and his wife. To infer these relationships, Dong accepted the understanding about the Yin and Yang from the Yin-Yang School (阴阳家) that Yang is the master of Yin, and Yin is responsible to Yang. Dong said that "the way for the relationships between Heaven and Earth, monarch and his ministers, father and his sons, husband and his wife are all from the way of the relationship between Yin and Yang. The monarch is Yang, and his ministers are Yin. The father belongs to Yang, and his sons belong to Yin. Husband is from Yang, and his wife is from Yin (君臣父子夫妇之义，皆取诸阴阳之道。君为阳，臣为阴；父为阳，子为阴；夫为阳，妻为阴。)."[403]

Combined with the theory of the son of Heaven, Dong thought that the monarch is worshipful and the minister is ignoble. Confucius' and Mencius' understandings of the concept of Chen were abolished by Dong Zhongshu in emphasizing the importance of the position of the monarch. He did not think that the pre-condition for loyalty to the monarch was the benevolence of the monarch. For him, the subordination between the monarch and the minister is absolute. But then, to further enhance this belief, Dong re-used the idea concerning benevolence from Confucius and Mencius to highlight the supreme position of the son of Heaven in the political system. He said that "the beauty of benevolence is in Heaven; Heaven, is actually the benevolence (仁之美者在于天；天，仁也。)." So, Dong believed that the monarch is the incarnation of benevolence. The monarch is naturally in the highest position in the spiritual world, and the minister, undoubtedly, in the subordinate position.

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[402] Dong, Z. (2011). Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals (Vol.13), in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.318-319.

董仲舒. (2011). 春秋繁露 (Vol.13) in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.318-319.

[403] Ibidem, p.305-306.

Dong used the theory of the son of Heaven to promote the position of the monarch in the spiritual world. Then, he adopted the theory of Yin and Yang to ensure the subordinate relationship between the monarch and the minister. Since Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, there were no traditional understandings for people to conceptualize the minister. The concept of Chen for people is only a subordinate position in the political system; the minister was subordinate to the monarch. The subordination between the monarch and the minister is the representation of despotism, and loyalty for the minister became an inescapable thing. Since this time, the concept of Chen in people's minds represents the idea of despotism.

4.3.3 The Change of the Concept of Chen since the Song Dynasty

The emperors in the Tang Dynasty exerted policies to enhance the monarch's position in the political system. In these policies, the monarch was described as an ancient sage king; as recorded in the *Whole Collection of Tang Period Literature* (《全唐文》), the minister Zhang Jiuling suggested his emperor divinize the monarchy, he said that "my aim is to make my emperor be the ancient sage kings, and there was no one can replace me to finish this goal (致君尧舜，何代无人。)."[404] In this logic, the task for the minister was to help the monarch be a sage; for Zhang, the ideal relationship between the monarch and the minister is that the monarch is a sage king and the minister is the monarch's good supporter. This ideal relationship is to further enhance the monarch's absolute authority, but, in this relationship, the monarch is only a supporter of the monarch. In fact, all rights were still centralized in the hands of the monarch.

However, in the Song Dynasty, the earlier Confucianism was re-interpreted by thinkers, and Neo-Confucius thinkers used some ideas concerning the equal relationship between the monarch and the minister to limit the absolute authority of the monarch. With the development of despotism, the anti-despotic ideas were incubated in the concept of Chen. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, Wang Yangming reformed Neo-Confucianism and further developed the ideas of the school of Xin. This reform brought the new experience concerning humans' subjectivity, and through his disciples' endeavors, this experience was increasingly articulated and became popular in society. This experience developed the ideas of anti-despotism in

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[404] Dong, G., ed. (1983). The Whole Collection of Tang Period Literature. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2327

董诰, ed. (1983). 全唐文. 北京: 中华书局, p.2327.

conceptualizing the minister. So, this part will pay attention to how the ideas of anti-despotism were incubated and articulated in the concept of Chen since the Song Dynasty.

4.3.3.1 The Incubation of the Anti-despotism in the Concept of Chen

In Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty, Li was treated as the source of all-under-Heaven; so, everything under Heaven originated from Li. The conceptualization of the monarch and the minister, undoubtedly, was also influenced by Li. Furthermore, Li was expounded by Neo-Confucian scholars as an ethical system in society, so the monarch's and the minister's behaviors and minds were limited by this system. In this ethical system, both the monarch and the minister had their own ethical principle to follow, and there is no place for the monarch to arbitrarily use his rights. So, given this situation, the concept of Chen began to change during this period.

Zhu Xi was one of the most influential Neo-Confucius thinkers in the Song Dynasty; he particularly emphasized the importance of the ethical system. In conceptualizing the position of the monarch and the minister, Zhu used the ethical system to propose his understanding of the political system. He said that "the reason why everything can be successfully done by the monarch and his ministers in ancient times was that they united with each other as one (古之君臣所以事事做得成，缘是亲爱一体。)."[405] But, in analyzing the reality of the Song Dynasty, Zhu thought that "the monarch is extremely worshipful, and he was even treated as the ancient sage and Heaven. While the minister is extremely ignoble; they did not talk to each other in the court and directly leaving after discussing political affairs (人主极尊严，真如神明，人臣极卑屈，望拜庭下，不交一语而退。)."[406] He believed this situation was made by Dong Zhongshu's belief that the monarch is worshipful and the minister is ignoble. This makes a barrier between the monarch and the minister. He said that "the balance of force shifts to the monarch, and there is no love between the monarch and the minister (君臣之势方一向悬绝，

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[405] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.89), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.

黎敬德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.89), 王星贤, ed.. 北京: 中华出版社. p.2284.

[406] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.112), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2727.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.112), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.2727.

无相亲之意。)."[407] He thought this imbalance was caused by the law of the Qin Dynasty, "the laws of the Qin Dynasty, are full of the belief that the monarch is worshipful and the minister is ignoble (秦之法，尽是尊君卑臣之法。)."[408] Zhu considered that the relationship between the monarch and the minister needs to be equal in order to solve some political affairs successfully.

On the other hand, Zhu Xi proposed some ideas to support the subordination between the monarch and the minister. In his understanding, the absolute authority and the highest rights of the monarch was based on the Li, as he said that "once the roles of the monarch, the minister, the father, and the son were ensured, there was no way to change them, and these are the normal knowledge (君臣父子，定位不易，事之长也。)."[409] Zhu means that these relationships are originated from Li; if there is no change in Li, these relationships will not change. In highlighting that these relationships are from Li, Zhu proposed the old ideas from Confucius and Mencius; he said that "everything has its own Li, and Li is from one source, but the function of Li is different because of the different things. For example, the monarch needs to be benevolent, the minister should respect his monarch, the son must use filial piety to serve his father, and the father needs to be fatherly to his children (万物皆有理，理皆出一源，但所依据之为不同，则其理之用不一。如为君须仁，为臣须敬，为子须孝，为父须慈。)."[410] Although Zhu Xi supported the subordination between the monarch and the minister, he proposed that the pre-condition for this relationship is that the monarch needs to be benevolent, which is proposed by Confucius and Mencius.

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[407] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.89), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.2284.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.89), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.2284.

[408] Zhu, X. (1940). Zhu Wengong Wenji (The Collected Works of Zhu Xi) (Vol. 14). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.578.

朱熹. (1940). 朱文公文集 (Vol. 14). 北京:商务印书馆, p.578.

[409] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.18), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.398.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.18), 王星贤, ed.. 北京: 中华书局, p.398.

[410] Li, J. (1986). Zhuzi Yulei (A Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu) (Vol.18), Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.398.

黎靖德. (1986). 朱子语类 (Vol.18), 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.398.

Other thinkers during this period also proposed similar ideas like Zhu Xi. They highlighted the equal relationship between the monarch and the minister. But also, they still believe that the subordination between the monarch and the minister was necessary. In conceptualizing the position of minister, they believed both the subordinate and equal relationship between the monarch and the minister are reasonable. So, there was a theoretical contradiction in the concept of Chen for the thinkers in the Song Dynasty. But, the proposal of the equal relationship reflects that there was the incubation of anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Chen.

4.3.3.2 The Development of the Anti-Despotic Ideas in the Saddle Period

Wang Yangming's reform of Neo-Confucianism initiated the articulation of the new experience. The characteristics of the new experience include promoting the subjectivity of the human, the rise of the concept of equality, and the anti-authoritarian ideas. Therefore, in conceptualizing the position of the minister, thinkers gave their new understandings of the political system. In these new understandings, the incubation of anti-despotic ideas developed further, and some thinkers even broke through the limitation of the traditional ethical system and proposed the new ethical system to support their understanding of the ideas inside the concept of Chen.

Wang Gen's idea of anti-despotism was in his understanding of the role of the monarch's teacher. In the traditional political and ethical system, the relationship between the monarch and his subjects is the highest principle; so, the monarch's teacher is also the minister for the monarch. But, Wang Gen held that Confucian scholars are good at governing society, so the emperor has to follow these scholars and gain the way for successful governing. In Wang's ideas, the position of the teacher is higher than the monarch, and the old relationship between the monarch is unreasonable. Based on his understanding, the concept of the teacher became a breakthrough for new thinkers to attack the anti-despotism in the concept of Chen.

He Xinyin inherited Wang's ideas concerning the position of the teacher. He criticized the traditional Five Cardinal relationships (五伦), especially the relationship between the monarch and the minister. In his understanding, only the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship among friends are just. He said that "only the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship among friends in the Five Cardinal Relationships belongs to

the relationship of sages (人伦有五…而独置身于师友圣贤之间。).” [411] He thought the idea of equality is the basis for the new relationship, so he did not believe in the traditional subordination between the monarch and the minister. Given this theoretical basis, he said that "the monarch's subjects can also be the monarch. Jun (君, the monarch) means equality in Chinese; Jun also means the public. The monarch's subjects are all the monarch in public, and the monarch is equal to others in public (臣民亦君也。君者，均也；君者，群也。臣民莫非君之群也，必君而后可以群而均也。).”[412] So, He Xinyin's main idea is that the position of the monarch is equal to the position of the public in the political system.

Li Zhi also proposed some ideas concerning the relationship between the monarch and the minister. Li believed that the subordination is not the nature of the relationship between these two political roles; the real nature of this relationship is based on righteousness (义). For him, righteousness is to take care of people; and the only difference between the monarch and the minister is the title. "She (社) means to set people's minds at rest; Ji (稷) is to take care of people. In order to take care of people, there is a point for setting up the relationship between the monarch and the minister (夫社[413]者，所以安民也，稷者，所以养民也。民得安养而后君臣之则始塞。).”[414] In this understanding, he believed that taking care of people is the starting logic for this relationship. "The morality of the monarch and the morality of the minister, which are recognized by Li Zhi, is to set people's minds at rest and take care of people; if the monarch cannot undertake this responsibility, the minister is able to overturn the rule of this monarch and then undertakes this responsibility (李贽所认可的君德、臣德是安民养民，如果君不能尽到安养民众之责，臣为了实现安民养民的职责，对不能尽本分的君

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[411] Li, Z. (1990). Tongxin Shuo in Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.3), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.90.

李贽. (1961). 童心说 in 焚书 · 焚书续 (Vol.3), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.90.

[412] He, X. (1960). He Xinyin Ji (The Collected Works of He Xinyin) (Vol.2), Rong, Q., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.32.

何心隐. (1960). 何心隐集 (Vol.2), 容肇祖, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.32.

[413] Sheji (in Chinese, 社稷) literally means the god of the land and the god of grain; but, then, it was used to represent the state in politics and in religion.

[414] Li, Z. (1974). Cang Shu (Vol.38). Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, p.665.

李贽. (1974). 藏书 (Vol.38).台北: 台湾学生书局, p.665.

可以抛弃。)"[415] This statement is also a challenge for the traditional ethical system, which treats the relationship between the monarch and the minister as the highest principle. So, Li Zhi's concept of Chen is similar to He Xinyin; he treated this relationship as equal in undertaking the responsibility of taking care of people.

The thinkers living in the middle of the Ming Dynasty criticized the legitimacy of the absolute authority of the monarch and the subordinate relationship between the monarch and the minister. The idea of equality arose in the new experience during this period. By emphasizing the equality in the relationship between the monarch and the minister in the concept of Chen, the anti-despotic ideas continually developed, and it even laid the theoretical foundation for the incubation of the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

4.3.4 The Ideas of the Concept of Chen in the Late Ming Dynasty

The concept of Chen changed drastically in the late Ming Dynasty. The traditional understanding of this concept increasingly disappeared, and new meanings were given to it by the thinkers who lived in this period. The obvious characteristic of the new ideas in the concept of Chen is that the political position of the minister was promoted by analyzing the origin of this position. The absolute authority of the monarch was weakened, and some ideas close to the western democratic ideas gradually appeared.

4.3.4.1 The Origination of the Position of the Minister

After Shang Yang's political reforms, the minister was treated as a tool for the monarch to rule all-under-Heaven; the origins of the minister were in their responsibility to enhance the absolute authority of the monarch. This belief lasted for a long time until the Song Dynasty; it was challenged by Neo-Confucian thinkers through the reinterpretation of Confucianism. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, this belief was re-challenged by the thinkers from the school of Xin according to the new ethical system. In the late Ming Dynasty, inheriting the former ideas and influence by the articulation of the new experience, thinkers proposed the more aggressive ideas to continue to attack the absolute authority of the monarch, and these ideas even challenged the traditional political system.

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[415] Ma, Q. (2013). The Critique on the Legitimacy of the Monarchy in the Early Enlightenment Ideas. Heilongjiang Social Science, (4), p.21.
马庆玲. (2013). 中国早期启蒙思想对君主专制正当性的批判. 黑龙江社会科学, (4), p. 21.

Huang Zongxi researched the position of the minister in history, and he proposed that there are two theories concerning the origin of the position of the minister. The first one is that the position of the minister is set up to support the monarch's absolute authority; this theory was proposed in Shang Yang's reforms. It had been used for a long time by the monarch to support his legitimacy. Huang criticized this theory, and he believed that the real aim for setting up the position of the minister is for other people. As he said that "they (ministers) think that the prince shares the world with one so that it can be governed, and that he entrusts one with its people so that they can be shepherded, thus regarding the world and its people as personal property in the prince's pouch (to be disposed of as he wills)[416] (君分吾以天下而后治之，君授吾以人民而后牧之，视天下人民为人君橐中之私物。)"[417] So, he proposed a second theory. Huang believed that the real origin of the minister aims at taking good care of people. He thought all-under-Heaven is a great scope; one person cannot deal with all affairs, so the minister appeared to help the monarch to rule. "The reason for ministership lies in the fact that the world is too big for one man to govern, so governance must be shared with colleagues[418] (缘夫天下之大，非一人之所能治，而分治之以群工。)."[419] And he believed that the one who chooses to be a minister is taking the responsibility for all-under-Heaven instead of laying this all on one man. "When one goes forth to serve, it is for all-under-Heaven and not for the prince; it is for all the people and not for one family[420] (故我之出而仕也，为天下，非为君也；为万民，非为一姓也。)."[421]

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[416] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.95.

[417] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press. p.6.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.6.

[418] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.94.

[419] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.6.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.6.

[420] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.94.

[421] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.6.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.6.

Based on this understanding, Huang continued to distinguish the difference between the minister and the monarch's slaves. He thought that "the term 'prince (monarch)' and 'minister' derive from their relation to all-under-Heaven. If I take no responsibility for all-under-Heaven, then I am just another man on the street. If I come to serve him without regard for serving all-under-Heaven, then I am merely the prince's menial servant or concubine[422] (君臣之名，从天下而有之者也。吾无天下之责，则吾在君为路人。出而仕于君也，不以天下为事，则君之仆妾也。)."[423] Huang argued that the minister is different from the monarch's slaves; the minister instead has the idea of taking care of people not just of supporting the monarch's authority.

From this perspective, Huang's concept of Chen includes two ideas. The first idea is that all-under-Heaven is the starting logic for the origin of the minister. The second idea is based on the first one; Huang believed that the minister is not the tool for the monarch to support his absolute authority, and it is set up to help the monarch deal with affairs. In these understandings, the despotic idea lost its supportive soil in the concept of Chen.

4.3.4.2 The Real Relationship between the Monarch and the Minister
By discussing the origin of the minister, thinkers continued to criticize the traditional subordination between the monarch and the minister during this period. In their understanding, they used the idea of equality that arose to conceptualize the minister; they thought the position of the monarch is equal to the minister's position in the political system because the aim for these positions is to take care of all-under-Heaven.

Based on the second theory of the origin of the minister, Huang Zongxi continued to discuss and analyze the reasonable relationship between the monarch and the minister. He said that "the prince and his ministers should be log-haulers working together[424] (君与臣，共曳木之

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[422] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.94.

[423] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.7.

[424] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.95.

人也。)"[425]; it means that in dealing with social affairs, the relationship between the monarch and the minister is equal because they are colleagues working together. Furthermore, Huang adopted He Xinyin's idea concerning the relationship between the teacher and the students; he said that "if I have regard for serving people, then I am the prince's mentor and colleague[426] (出而仕于君也…以天下为事，则君之师友也。)."[427]

Tang Zhen also proposed his understanding of the relationship between the monarch and the minister. He criticized the ministers who served the Manchu government of the Qing Dynasty; he thought these people "stuck to the title of the monarch and minister, and indulge in the old morality of loyalty and filial piety (拘于君臣之分，溺于忠孝之伦。)."[428] Tang believed that this relationship is really dangerous and then proposed that a good relationship is that the monarch is equal to his subjects. He proved this view from the perspective of the monarch that "Although he is highly honourable as the son of Heaven, the person can also adopt the way of life like the common people. A few concubines for him are enough to sew and cook; a few servants for him are enough to sweep and clean. He can be a farmer in the home, and be the son of Heaven outside…this way is not harmful to his dignity as the son of Heaven, and it even can help to promote his dignity (贵为天子，亦可以庶人之夫妇处之。缝纫庖厨，数妾足以供之；洒扫粪除，数俾足以供之。入则农夫，出则天子…何损于天子之尊，而吾以为益显天子之尊也。)."[429] Tang believed that there is no difference between the monarch and other people; so, the position of the monarch is equal to the position of the minister and other ordinary people.

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[425] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.7.

[426] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.96.

[427] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.7.

[428] Tang Zhen, (1955). Qian Shu. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, p.127

唐甄. (1955). 潜书. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.127.

[429] Ibidem, p.169.

4.3.5 The Democratic Ideas in the History of the Concept of Chen

From the earlier period to the late Ming Dynasty, the ideas hidden in the concept of Chen were continually changing. In the earlier time, people thought that the position of the minister is equal to the position of the monarch in the political system because they undertook different tasks concerning society; the only difference is that the monarch seized the military power, which made him more honourable. However, with the years of wars during the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the king of the stronger states centralized his powers from the local to the centre, the absolute authority of the monarch gradually formed, and the loyalty of the minister became important in the political system. Since Shang Yang's political reforms, people's understanding of the concept of Chen is based on the subordinate relationship between the monarch and the minister. This belief lasted more than thousands of years until the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty. Neo-Confucian thinkers re-interpreted the earlier Confucianism to attack the legitimacy of the monarch's absolute authority. Since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, Wang Yangming and his disciples even proposed the new ethics to attack the despotism in the concept of Chen. In the late Ming Dynasty, thinkers proposed more aggressive ideas to represent their critiques of despotism. They adopted the idea of equality and the anti-authoritarian ideas and re-proposed the equal relationship in conceptualizing the position of the minister.

The equality between the monarch and the minister in the concept of Chen in the late Ming Dynasty is different from the equality in people's understanding of the position of the minister in the earlier period. In the late Ming Dynasty, the equality conceptualized by the people was formed based on the understanding of the ethical system. The idea of equality dominated the concept of Chen; so, this concept was full of anti-despotism. But, compared to the concept of Junzhu during this period, the democratic characteristics of the concept of Chen are not obvious.

The idea of equality inside the concept of Chen is closest to the western democratic idea. Political equality is a pre-condition for citizens to participate in politics in ancient Greece; therefore, without political equality, political liberty cannot be put into practice. The equality conceptualized by thinkers in the concept of Chen aims to attack the absolute authority of the monarch. Through the endeavor of the thinkers living in the late Ming Dynasty, the monarch's absolute authority was gradually weakened. Although this emphasis was not as aggressive as the ideas of the concept of Junzhu, it still changed people's understanding of the position of

the minister. While discussing the equal relationship between these two political roles, some thinkers enhanced the importance of the position of the people in the political system; they believed that the starting point of politics is all-under-Heaven instead of the monarch. Both Huang Zongxi and Tang Zhen proposed that the position of the monarch and the position of the minister is to take care of people, and people are the final end for politics. Although the people-oriented idea emphasized the importance of people, the ideas embedded in the concept of Chen, combined the anti-authoritarian ideas and the ideas of equality, and these proposed to highlight the importance of people in politics; this is a somewhat close to the idea of the political liberty which highlights the popular authority.

4.4 The History of the Concept of Fa

As explored in the second part of this dissertation, democracy in ancient Greece originated from multiple political reforms around 600 B.C. In these reforms, Ancient Greek politicians destroyed the despotic basis of the old systems gradually and ensured the people's rights both in politics and society. Modern historians treat this as the origin of democracy in human history. Given this basis, the former two parts have concentrated on the anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Junzhu and the concept of Chen, to discuss democratic ideas in the Chinese context.

Returning to Greek history, although the rights to participate in politics was given to citizens, Greek politicians still stuck to their reforms to ensure the democracy. One of the prominent policies they launched was to revise the law to enhance people's rights. In detail, from the perspective of law itself, the legal system's design aims to protect the interests of the great majority of citizens in politics. From the perspective of citizens, the law was a thing that represents the people's will, and they held the right to revise and abolish it through the legal process. Therefore, the law is an essential part of the democratic system both in ancient and modern times. Given this, the next step this dissertation will take to research the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty is based on the discussion of how the thinkers living in this time conceptualized the law.

4.4.1 The Understanding of the term Law in the Chinese Language

The modern meaning of the term law in the Chinese language system is imported from the western world. In Chinese, 'law' is translated into Fa (法 in simple Chinese, and 灋 in traditional Chinese). In the traditional Chinese character, the left part is water, which means

that the law is equal to everyone without prejudice. The right part of it is an ancient monster called Zhi (廌); this monster looks like a cow, but it only has one horn. It can use this single horn to separate the rights and wrongs of a thing; so, Fa also means an approach to measuring equality.

In the *Xinhua Dictionary* (《新华字典》), Fa has more than three meanings; among them, the most important meaning is that "Fa is the generic term of behavioral rules, like law, decree, regulations, and so on, which are made and confirmed by national power (由国家制定或认可并强制遵守的法律、法令、条例等行为规则的总称。)."[430] In the *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (*A Dictionary of Current Chinese*,《现代汉语词典》), Fa also has seven meanings; among them, two meanings that are important to this topic. The first is that Fa is "the generic term of behavioral rules, like law, decree, order, decisions and so on, which represent the will of the ruling class of a country. And Fa is formulated and recognized by national power, and it is also enforced by the coercive force of the country (体现统治阶级的意志，由国家制定或认可，受国家强制力保证执行的行为规则的总称，包括法律、法令、命令、决定等。)."[431] And the second is that Fa is "the standard or norm which can be imitated (标准、规范，可以效仿的。)."[432] Given these meanings, the modern understanding of the Chinese character means that Fa is a package of social standards, which is supported by the national force, for all people living in society; and the aim of Fa is to regulate people in order to meet some political demands or the will of the ruling class.

While there are some differences in the ancient understanding of this Chinese character. *Kangxi Zidian* (or *Kangxi Dictionary*, 《康熙字典》) collected more than five definitions of Fa from the ancient Chinese classics. According to this, Fa in ancient China is not only the compulsory law or decree from the will of the ruling class, but also moral standards or political

[430] Institute of Linguistics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. (2006). Xinhua Zidian (Xinhua Dictionary). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.120.

中国社会科学院语言研究所. (2006). 新华字典. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.120.

[431] Institute of Linguistics of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. (2011). Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (A Dictionary of Current Chinese). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.369-370.

中国社会科学院语言研究所. (2011). 现代汉语词典. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.369-370.

[432] Ibidem, p.370.

requirements. In detail, "the gentleman practices rites so as not to change customs…all of the rites are from their own homeland, the gentleman learn the Fa of these rites and then practice them (君子行礼，不求变俗…皆如其国之故，谨修其法而审行之。)."[433] Fa in ancient China includes some modern meanings. The dictionary used the example from the *Classic of Filial Piety* (《孝经》), "only the Fa from former kings is convincing (非先王之法服不敢服。)."[434] The Fa in this example is close to the modern understanding of Fa; it is a law or decree representing the will of the ruling class. Given these understandings, the ancient meaning of Fa is broader than modern definitions.

In ancient China, the concept of Fa refers to the compulsory law with its contents and moral standards. It means that Fa used in ancient Chinese points to the system which aims to guide people's behaviors to accord with a certain standard. Fa is a formal or informal system that records ordinary people's correct behaviors. However, it is not completely equal to the law in the modern understanding or to the pure ethical or political system. Ancient Chinese thinkers' definitions of Fa also proved this point. Guan Zhong (管仲, from 725 B.C. to 645 B.C.) believed that "Fa is the highest Dao under Heaven; it is useful for sage kings (to govern all-under-Heaven) (故法者天下之至道也，圣君之实用也。)."[435] Huang Zongxi also held a similar view; he believed that "Fa is a series of systems, structures, and even these systems and structures are only an accumulation of broad-brush principles (法是一系列的制度、组织框架，甚至连制度、组织框架仅仅是粗线条的原则罗列。)"[436] So, given the difference between the ancient and the modern understanding of Fa, I have decided to directly use Fa to refer to this system instead of using the term law.

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[433] Zhang, Y. (1930). Kangxi Zidian. Beijing: Commercial Press, p.616.

张玉书. (1930). 康熙字典. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.616.

[434] Ibidem, p.616.

[435] Guan Z. (2017). Guanzi (Vol.15), Jiang, P. And C., Z., ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, p.671.

管仲. 2017. 管子 (Vol.15), 蒋鹏翔 and 陈志俊, ed. 杭州: 浙江大学出版社, p.671.

[436] Zhang, S. (2005). The Jurisprudence Analysis of the Fa for all-under-Heaven of Huang Zongxi. The Comments of Chinese Social History, p.365.

张师伟. (2005). 黄宗羲 "天下之法" 的法理分析. 中国社会历史评论, p.365.

This part will discuss the history of the concept of Fa from earlier times to the late Ming Dynasty; it will begin by focusing on the different changes in people's conceptualization of Fa. The first part focuses on how politicians or thinkers conceptualized Fa before the Qin Dynasty. In earlier times, there was no law in the modern meaning in China; habits and customs influenced politics and people's behaviors. With the formation of the system of rites and music in the Zhou Dynasty, Fa first appeared. But, the modern historians tends to refer to this Fa the 'patriarchal clan system'. Specifically, the first part of this discussion will set out how thinkers conceptualize this system in their minds. Secondly, in the Warring States Period, some politicians launched political reforms to change the system of their states. And in these reforms, the law was set up in politics. Compared to the patriarchal clan system, some new ideas were incubated in people's minds. Therefore, the second part will discuss the new ideas in people's minds in establishing law. The third part pays attention to the Confucianization of the law from Dong Zhongshu to the middle of the Ming Dynasty. The basic frame of law established in the State of Qin was based on the ideas of the Legalist school. However, with the fast collapse of the Qin Dynasty, some thinkers believed that it is important to use Confucian ideas to revise the law. So, since the ruling period of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, there was a trend in politics and society towards the Confucianization of the law. In the Tang Dynasty, the *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty* (Tanglü Shuyi, 唐律疏议) was published; it was treated as the greatest achievement in the Confucianization of Fa. In this book, new ideas developing since Dong Zhongshu's discourses were integrated. In the Song Dynasty, the appearance of Neo-Confucianism and the re-interpretation of early Confucianism was oriented towards supporting the legitimacy of the Song Dynasty; so, there were also some new understandings in the Confucianization of Fa. The Confucianization continued in the Saddle Period, but there were also new ideas that appeared. The last part sets out how the thinkers living in the late Ming Dynasty considered Fa. Through the Confucianization of the law in the Song and the Ming Dynasty, the earlier understanding of Fa gradually disappeared, and these thinkers endowed this concept with some new ideas.

4.4.2 Fa is the Patriarchal Clan System

During the Warring States Period, the behavioral standard for people to observe was based on traditional manners and customs. Some historians believed that the concept of Fa actually originally referred to the patriarchal clan system. Therefore, it is important to research how people thought about the patriarchal clan system to understand the concept of Fa.

The existence of the patriarchal clan system in the Xia Dynasty and the Shang Dynasty is still debated among academic circles. In the Xia Dynasty, there was no archaeological discovery to prove the existence of this system directly. But, some books from later generations supported the interpretation that some policies in the Xia Dynasty laid the foundation for it. For example, the *Book of Documents* (《尚书》) recorded some punishments and rites used in the clan and the army. Some historians believed that these punishments and rites are the precursors for the system of rites and music. Regarding the Shang Dynasty, some archaeological discoveries were used to argue for the existence of the patriarchal clan system. Historians believed that the tradition, which was originated from religious belief, is the embryonic form of the patriarchal clan system. Modern archaeologist Chen Mengjia (陈梦家, 1911-1966) thought the two Characters, Dashi (大示) and Xiaoshi (小示), found in the inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells of the Shang Dynasty evidences the Dishu system[437]. However, this interpretation is criticized; one of the most influential comments is from Wang Guowei (王国维, 1877-1927). He thought that "there was no Dishu system in the Shang Dynasty; therefore, there was no possibility to incubate the patriarchal system (商代无嫡庶之制，故不能有宗。)."[438] Given these statements, I believe that the tradition of the Shang Dynasty has theoretical basis; but the Fa before the Qin Dynasty was formally formed in the Zhou Dynasty when the King Cheng of the Zhou Dynasty established the system of rites and music.

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[437] Dishu System (嫡庶制) was an important legal and moral system in ancient China. According to Wikipedia, a priority system was created to rank the offsprings' entitlement to inheritance in China.

Under this system, a man was allowed one official wife, called a Zhengshi (正室, formal household) or Di wife (嫡妻), and her son was called the Di son (嫡子). A woman would have to go through a formal wedding to become the Di wife; otherwise, she would be considered a concubine of her husband. A man could only have one Di wife unless he had already divorced another.

A secondary spouse was called a Ceshi (侧室, side household) or Shu wife (庶妻). A man might participate in a small ritual, or no ceremony, to take on a shu wife. Several Shu wives were allowed for one man at the same time according to the law. A shu wife''s son was called the Shu son (庶子). Shu sons had to regard the Di wife of their father as their mother and respect her.

(Noted from Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dishu_system)

[438] Wang G. (1959). The System of the Shang Dynasty and the Zhou Dynasty. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1.

王国维. (1959). 殷周制度论. 北京: 中华书局, p.1.

The patriarchal clan system was finally established in society when the King Cheng and the Duke Wen of the Zhou Dynasty formed the system of rites and music. This system "establishes the social order by combining blood relations and social class; it integrates the concept of family which enhances the bloody relation with the concept of the country which emphasized the social class (确立血缘与等级之间的同一秩序，建立社会的秩序，将划定血缘亲疏远近次第的家和确定身份等级上下的国重叠起来。)."[439] Influenced by this system, people began to form the embryonic form of the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues (or San'gang Wuchang, 三纲五常) in their minds. As recorded in the *Book of Rites* (《礼记》), the most influential principle for guiding people's behavior and minds was that "people need to be close to their relatives, honour their ancestors, respect their elders and betters, and treat males and females differently (亲亲也，尊尊也，长长也，男女有别。)."[440] In detail, the first principle that people should remain close to their relatives highlights the blood relationship as central in organizing society. The paternity is the center of the blood relation, and it is the origin of the suzerain's authority. The second principle that people should honour their ancestors emphasizes the influence of the son of Heaven. As analyzed in former parts, the son of Heaven is the incarnation of Heaven; so, this role is full of mysteries and is higher than other roles in society. So, he enjoyed the absolute obedience from ordinary people. The third principle, that people should respect their elders and betters, is a supplement to the first and the second principles. People's elders and betters, in rhetoric, are also the suzerain or the monarch, so these two roles are naturally higher than others in this perspective. The last principle is that treating males and females differently is used to highlight paternity, and it is used to strengthen the right of the husband.

So, "the nature of this system is the politicization of the clan system (宗法制度的本质就是家族制度的政治。),"[441] the ruling class of the Zhou Dynasty wanted to use this system to

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[439] Shao, F. (2004). Confucianism and The System of Rites — The Combination of Ancient Chinese Legal Thought and Rites. China Legal Science, p.156.

邵方. (2004). 儒家思想与礼制——兼议中国古代传统法律思想的礼法结合. 中国法学, p.156.

[440] Yang, T., ed. (2004). The Book of Rites. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.577.

杨天宇, ed. (2004). 礼记. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.577.

[441] Zhang, D and Fang, K. (1994). A Brief Introduction to Chinese Culture. Beijing: Beijing Normal University Publishing House, p.60.

张岱年 and 方克立. (1994). 中国文化概论. 北京: 北京师范大学出版社, p.60.

integrate the authority of the patriarch of families or communities with the rights of politics into the king's absolute authority. As discussed by Xunzi (荀子, from 316 B.C to 237 B.C.), "monarch is the highest position in the country; father is the highest position in the family. If there is only one highest position, all-under-Heaven will be in order; otherwise, all things in society will be in chaos (君者，国之隆也；父者，家之隆也。隆一而治，二而乱。)."[442] In fact, through the system of rites and music, the son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty became the suzerain of all-under-Heaven. He held the right to make a public decision in politics and enjoyed the authority to be worshiped by ordinary people as morally superior.

The patriarchal clan system "contains all requirements that people need to observe. In detail, "from the perspective of the country, this system contains the legislation and the administration, and rights and responsibility of all officials; from the perspective of people's daily life, it includes the standards for necessities of life and meeting and sending off visitors (上至国家的立法行政，各级贵族和官吏的权利义务；下至衣食住行，送往迎来，无所不包。)."[443] As analyzed by Zhang Binglin, "rites is the general term for the legal system (礼者，法度之通名。)"[444]; this means that the system of rites and music plays the role of laws during the Zhou Dynasty. These requirements were to ensure the stability of the social order, and, as mentioned before, it was to ensure the position of the son of Heaven in the Zhou Dynasty. So, this system was also established to protect the absolute authority of the king of the Zhou Dynasty under Heaven.

Given these understandings, there are some ideas that arose in the people's minds when they conceptualized Fa. Firstly, the king enjoyed absolute authority in this system. Through the rhetoric, the king of the Zhou Dynasty is both the suzerain for all-under-Heaven and the son of Heaven; he undoubtedly had a stronger influence on ordinary people both in the political and

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[442] Wang, X. (1988). Variorum on Xunzi (Vol.9), Shen, S. And Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.263.

王先谦. (1988). 荀子注解 (Vol.9), 沈啸寰 and 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.263.

[443] Li G. (2011). From the Aristocratic Legal System to the Monarchic Legal system: The Outline of Traditional Chinese Legal System. Peking University Law Journal, (3), p.365.

李贵连. (2011). 从贵族法治到帝制法治: 传统中国法治论纲. 中外法学, (3), p.365.

[444] Zhang, B. (1915). Jian Lun (Vol.2). Shanghai: Shanghai Youwen She, p.84.

章炳麟. (1915). 检论 (Vol.2). 上海: 上海右文社, p.84.

moral areas. Secondly, for ordinary people, Fa represents the will of the monarch; and the monarch is the origin of authority of Fa. This understanding ensures that the nature of Fa in ancient China was not set by people but by the monarch. But, with the years of wars, the system of rites and music only existed in title; the function of this system to enhance the paternity and the monarchical power decreased gradually, especially after the movement of the capital of the Zhou Dynasty from Gaojing to Luoyang. So, some politicians put forward written laws to represent the patriarchal clan system.

4.4.3 The Legalists' Concept of Fa during the Warring States Period

The years of wars weakened the influence of the royal family, and the function of the system of rites and music in society and politics was limited to the governing scope of the center of the Zhou Dynasty. Therefore, the patriarchal clan system started to go to ruin. But, social order needs to be supported by systems. During the Warring States Period, the Legalist school was supported by the king of different states; their ideas became the ideology in politics and society. So, this part will focus on how thinkers from the Legalist school conceptualize Fa and the ideas embedded in the concept of Fa.

4.4.3.1 A Brief Introduction of the Legalist School

The Legalist School was one of the schools that flourished in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. But, according to modern historical researches, there is no specific group which called itself the Legalist school during this period; the title, Legalist school, was given to it by later generations in order to classify the different ideas held by different schools. Sima Tan (司马谈, from 165 B.C. to 110 B.C.) firstly used the term, Legalist school, to refer to the group of thinkers who believed the law is the essence of politics and administration. In his work, *On the Essentials of Six Schools* (《论六家要旨》), he thought that Guan Zhong, Shang Yang, and Han Feizi are the representatives of the Legalist school.

As analyzed by Sima, the Legalist Fa emphasized that "the classification of different social ranks, like the difference of position between the monarch and his minister (正君臣上下之分。)."[445] These thinkers believed that only the strict system, or the written law, can regulate

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[445] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.7636.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.7636.

social order; other rules, like the patriarchal clan system, which is supported by Confucianism, are invalid in managing social order. Sima pointed out that "the Legalist school did not use the closeness of blood relationships and aristocratic status in politics; all things for them to judge are based on Fa. Therefore, the principle that people need to be close to their relatives and honour their ancestors is not discussed in their ideas (法家不别亲疏，不殊贵贱，一断于法，则亲亲尊尊之恩绝矣。)."[446] Since the rise of the Legalist school, the concept of Fa was treated as a series of systems that regulate social order and people's behavior.

The concept of Fa in the legalists' minds was different from the conceptualization of people living in the Western Zhou Dynasty. Their understandings of this concept were centered on the social ranks and political position instead of the blood relations. Guan Zhong thought that Fa is "a ruler, a carpenter's line marker or square, a Douhu or a Hengshi which is used to measure weight, a tool for measuring a degree of angle (尽寸也，绳墨也，规矩也，衡石也，斗斛也，角量也，谓之法。)."[447] In Guan's understanding, Fa is a tool to check whether the people's behavior is in accordance with the standard. However, for him, this standard is not fully based on tradition and customs; it was designed by the ruling class and represented their wills. Shang Yang, one of the influential thinkers in Chinese intellectual history, also has a similar idea to Guan Zhong. He said that "Fa is the standard for a country (法者，国之权衡也。)."[448] Compared to Guan, Shang made Fa broader. Through the newly-unearthed cultural relics, some archaeologists thought that "the Fa held by Shang Yang is not a law from the narrower view; it is a legal system which is centered on the law (商鞅等法家所主张的 "法" 并非狭义的法律 (law)，而是以法律为主体的广义的法令制度。)."[449] They believed that

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[446] Ibidem, p.7644-7645.

[447] Guan Z. (2017). Guanzi (Vol.2), Jiang, P. And C., Z., ed. Hangzhou: Zhejiang University Press, p.129.

管仲. 2017. 管子 (Vol.2), 蒋鹏翔 and 陈志俊, ed. 杭州: 浙江大学出版社, p.129.

[448] Shang, Y. 2009. The Book of Lord Shang. Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p.191.

商鞅. (2012). 商君书. 开封: 河南大学出版社, p.191.

[449] Yang, Z. (2010). The Concept of the Rite and The Concept of Law from the Newly-unearthed Laws of the Qin Dynasty and the Han Dynasty — the Confucianization of the Ancient Chinese Law. Journal of Chinese Historical Studies, p.102.

杨振红. (2010). 从出土秦汉律看中国古代的 "礼","法" 观念及其法律体现——中国古代法律之儒家化说. 中国史研究, p.102.

this Fa even became the political system and the social system after the political reforms launched by Shang Yang in the State Qin.

As the successor of Shang Yang, Han Feizi also put forward his ideas of this term. His understanding was based on the definitions of Guan Zhong and Shang Yang. He at first discussed the nature of Fa, he thought that "Fa is written down on paper by the political officials, and then it will be proclaimed to all people…Fa is clear and easily understandable (法者，编著之图籍，设之于官府，而布之于百姓者也…故法莫如显。)."[450] Then, he thought that "Fa is a system for rewards and punishments which is officially published by governments and accepted by people; in detail, this system will award people who strictly observe the law and publish people who obey the law (法者，宪令著于官府，赏罚必于民心，赏存乎慎法，而罚加乎奸令者也。)."[451] In his definition, Fa is designed and established by the ruling class in politics; there is no right for people to participate in this process. The object for Fa is to regulate people, so the nature of Fa is a tool for the ruling class to regulate the social order.

All in all, the legalist's definition of Fa is different from the Fa in people's minds in the Western Zhou Dynasty. They did not treat Fa as only focusing on the blood relationships but believed that Fa is centered on the social ranks and political position. Given this understanding, the legalists further developed their understanding of this concept, and new ideas were incubated in the political reform launched by at the end of the Warring States Period. Therefore, the next parts will focus on the idea put forward by these legalists, especially Shang Yang, in conceptualizing Fa in the political reform.

4.4.3.2 The Political Ideas in Shang Yang's Concept of Fa

Shang Yang's legal ideas are important in order to understand how people conceptualize Fa at the end of the Warring States Period. Shang's legal ideas were successfully put into practice and, indeed, influenced the concept of Fa for the later generations. It even helped the State Qin

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[450] Han, F. (2015). Han Feizi (Vol.16), Zhang, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.151.

韩非子. (2015). 韩非子 (Vol.16), 张觉, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.151.

[451] Han, F. (2015). Han Feizi (Vol.17), Zhang, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.159.

韩非子. (2015). 韩非子 (Vol.17), 张觉, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.159.

become the strongest power among other states. Furthermore, unlike Confucianism, Shang Yang's ideas recieved support from the ruling classes at that time; historians believed that Shang Yang's legal ideas represent the major ideological trend at the end of the Warring States Period and the earlier Qin Dynasty. Therefore, this part will focus on Shang Yang's understanding of Fa and find the significant political ideas hidden in the concept of Fa held by him at this time.

Like former legalists, Shang Yang also thought that Fa is not based on tradition or custom. He believed that the increasingly concentrated power in the political and the social system is the origin of Fa. Therefore, he put forward that Fa needs to be established on the social reality by rational analysis. Shang developed this idea and deduced it to the extreme. To ensure everyone strictly observes the requirements of his legal ideas, Shang put forward the doctrine of severe punishment. Because of this doctrine, the traditional understanding of Fa changed completely, and new ideas concerning politics and society arose in people's minds.

Three points mainly reflect Shang Yang's doctrine of severe punishment and his concept of Fa. Firstly, there is no difference in the punishment in Fa for different social classes. Shang Yang used Yixing (壹刑, unified punishment) to describe this point. Yixing means that the punishment is the same for the people no matter what kind of social class they are. He said that "there is no social rank difference in punishment; from the prime minister and the general to the literati and ordinary people, who did not observe the king's command, violated the taboos of the state, or defied his superiors and started a rebellion, will be punished without remission (刑无等级，自卿相、将军以至大夫庶人，有不从王令，犯国禁、乱上制者，罪死不赦。)."[452] Secondly, Shang proposed the principle of severe penalty. He considered that the State Qin is a place far away from the centre of the Zhou Dynasty, so the cultural tradition is not as strong as other states to influence people's daily lives. So, it is important to exert the principle of severe penalty to control social order. He proposed "the punishment to put someone to execution, to cut one's foot, or to tattoo on one's face, is to halt crime instead of harming ordinary people (刺杀，断人之足，黥人之面，非求伤民也，以禁奸止过也。)."[453]

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[452] Shang, Y. 2009. Shangjun Shu (The Book of Lord Shang) (Vol.17), Xu, Y., ed. Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p.205.

商鞅. (2012). 商君书 (Vol.17), 徐莹, ed. 开封: 河南大学出版社, p.205.

[453] Ibidem, p.205.

Thirdly, Shang Yang thought the punishment should be judged according to the process of crime instead of only the result. Shang strictly analyzed the process of the crime; he thought there are four steps in a crime, and every step of this crime should result in a verdict. He proposed that "there are more punishments and fewer rewards in Fa in a governed state…(if the official) enforces the punishment for the crime which has been already committed by people, the treacherousness will still exist; while (if the official) rewards the behavior which belongs to the obligation believed by ordinary people, the crime will not be snuffed out. If the punishment can not snuff out crimes, and if the reward can not be used to prevent crimes, the state will be in disorder. So, the good king will use the punishment in the time when people plan to commit a crime to snuff out crimes. He will also reward those who accuse others of crimes to prevent the minor crime. (治国刑多而赏少…刑加于罪所终，则奸不去；赏施于民所义，则过不止。刑不能去奸而赏不能止过者，必乱。故王者刑用于将过，则大邪不生；赏施于告奸，则细过不失。治民能使大邪不生、细过不失。)."[454]

Shang Yang's three points represent his main idea that all things in politics and society need to be in order if the king wants his state in order. He emphasized that every social class needs to observe this Fa. However, there was a blank in this statement. He did not fully believe that the monarch should be equal with other people as regards being subject to Fa. As discussed by the modern historian and Confucian scholar, Zeng Zhenyu, "the monarch, in reality, held the privilege in politics superior to the authority of Fa (君王在现实政治中实际上具有凌驾于法律之上的特权。)."[455] It means that the Fa and its doctrine put forward by Shang Yang are only for limiting people instead of the monarch.

Through these three points, Shang's concept of Fa becomes clear. Firstly, the highest principle in Shang Yang's conceptualization of Fa is the worship of the monarch. The privilege held by the monarch in politics proves that the monarch's authority is higher than the authority of Fa. Shang wrote in his book that "the society was in disorder when there was no social difference

[454] Shang, Y. 2009. Shangjun Shu (The Book of Lord Shang) (Vol.7), Xu, Y, ed. Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p.164-165.

商鞅. (2012). 商君书 (Vol.7), 徐莹, ed. 开封: 河南大学出版社, p.164-165.

[455] Zeng, Z. and Cui, M. (1997). From Legalist ideas to Confucian ideas: the Analysis of Shang Yang's Social Ideal. Journal of Chinese Historical Studies (1), p.28.

曾振宇 and 崔明德. (1997). 由法返德: 商鞅社会理想之分析. 中国史研究(1), p.28.

in ancient times. Therefore, the sage designed the difference between superiors and inferiors in social status, and set different social ranks to them (古者未有君臣、上下之时，民乱而不治。是以圣人列贵贱，制爵位，立名号，以别君臣上下之义。).”[456] Sima Tan mentioned this point when he discussed the characteristics of the Legalist school, he thought that “as for the ideas that the monarch is superior to his ministers and social ranks are insurmountable, there are no such ideas in other schools except the Legalist school (若尊主卑臣，明分职不得相逾越，虽百家弗能改也。).”[457] On the other hand, Shang Yang believed that “Fa strictly protects the authority and the social status of the highest class in society. It severely punishes the people who offend the higher class, but it penalizes lightly the people who commit the same crime but towards the lower class (法律严格维护社会上层的权威和地位，对卑者冒犯尊者的行为要加重处罚，而对尊者侵害卑者的同样行为却处罚很轻。).”[458] This point is also used to defend the absolute authority and position of the monarch. All in all, Shang Yang’s concept of Fa is focused on the idea that the monarch is in the highest position in politics and in society; this idea is similar to the idea of the absolute authority of the monarch in the concept of Junzhu in Shang Yang’s two political reforms.

4.4.4 The Confucianization of Legalist’s Law

The Qin Dynasty inherited the Fa and the doctrine of severe punishment from Shang Yang. But, with the establishment of the stable social order, this Fa gradually lost its effect on both the public and the private area. Unlike the continuous years of wars, the stable society created a breeding ground for the revival of the patriarchal clan system; people called for a relatively moderate Fa to regulate their daily life. So, the doctrine of severe punishment in Shang Yang’s

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[456] Shang, Y. 2009. Shangjun Shu (The Book of Lord Shang) (Vol.23), Xu, Y., ed. Kaifeng: Henan University Press, p.236.

商鞅. (2012). 商君书 (Vol.23), 徐莹, ed. 开封: 河南大学出版社, p.236.

[457] Sima, Q. 2010. Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.7645.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.7645.

[458] Yang, Z. (2010). The Concept of the Rite and The Concept of Law from the Newly-unearthed Laws of the Qin Dynasty and the Han Dynasty — the Confucianization of the Ancient Chinese Law. Journal of Chinese Historical Studies, p.85.

杨振红. (2010). 从出土秦汉律看中国古代的 “礼”,“法” 观念及其法律体现——中国古代法律之儒家化说. 中国史研究, p.85.

Fa lost people's support gradually; some revolts even arose lead by ordinary people to fight against the strict Fa and to overthrow the rule of the Qin Dynasty.

The Han Dynasty learned the lesson of the collapse of the Qin Dynasty. They put forward a series of policies to change the doctrine of severe punishment. In the early Han Dynasty, Huang–Lao theory[459] (黄老之术) was used by rulers to give people a relatively relaxed environment to live. Using the Huang-Lao theory to change Shang Yang's understanding of Fa kicked off the new start of the concept of Fa. But this theory did not last too long; facing some problems in the legitimacy of the Han Dynasty, Emperor Wu finally chose Confucianism to support his politics. Since Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, Confucianism became the orthodox ideology in the dynasty; Fa, undoubtedly, became Confucianized at this period.

Considering the stable society, Dong Zhongshu integrated the characteristics of ethics into Fa; since then, Fa even became the protector of the ethical system. The Confucianization of Fa reached the climax when the monarch of the Tang Dynasty published the *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty* to the public. In this document, the Confucians' concept of Fa was fully presented, and ideas that first arose in Dong Zhongshu's concept of Fa were emphasised. In the Song Dynasty, the Confucianization of Fa was re-interpreted by the Neo-Confucian scholars. Some characteristics from the ethical system in Fa were highlighted. With the development of this Confucianization, during the Saddle Period in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, some people began to reflect on it and put forward new ideas in understanding Fa.

So, the following part will be unfolded in the following way. Firstly, it will analyze the concept of Fa in Dong Zhongshu's mind. Through his three discourses on politics, he endowed Fa with ethical characteristics and started the Confucianization of Fa; new ideas appeared in this process. Secondly, it will focus on the *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty*. This material is the representation of Confucianized Fa; ideas that had arisen in Dong's concept of Fa were enhanced here. The last part will discuss Confucian intellectuals' understandings of Fa in the Song Dynasty and the middle of the Ming Dynasty. At this time, a new interpretation

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[459] Huang-Lao Theory was the most influential Chinese school of thought in the early 2nd century. From the political perspective, this theory emphasized giving people enough freedom to work and live instead of strict control; and it also asks the ruler to reduce the burden of taxation and cost to support people's life.

of Confucianism started a new understanding of Fa; in the concept of Fa began to change with these new ideas.

4.4.4.1 Dong Zhongshu's Concept of Fa

Dong Zhongshu's endeavors made Confucianism an orthodox ideology in the Han Dynasty. This ideological change strongly influenced people's understandings of major political concepts; as discussed before, the concept of Junzhu and the concept of Chen changed a lot, and the despotic ideas appeared in these concepts. Influenced by Confucianism, the process of Confucianization of Fa started, and the concept of Fa in people's minds, also, changed step by step.

In the early Han Dynasty, thinkers and politicians started to reform Fa according to traditions and customs; their major approach was based on the rites, which derived from the patriarchal clan system. Therefore, before Dong Zhongshu submitted his discourses on politics to Emperor Wu, there were two major principles among intellectuals in understanding Fa. The first principle is the legislation needs to be guided by the rites proposed by Confucianism. The sudden collapse of the Qin Dynasty warned the early monarchs and politicians of the Han Dynasty that the pure Fa does not work well to rule all-under-Heaven. So, they proposed to use the system of rites and music in the Zhou Dynasty to change Fa. Furthermore, these thinkers planned to use Confucian classics to judge the case. In their understandings, Confucius' and Mencius' theories aim at restoring the system of rites and music. And this aim could help the thinkers to moderate the influence of Fa. In detail, this principle is to use the argumentation from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to hear a case. These two principles laid the theoretical basis for the Confucianization of Fa.

So, given these bases, Dong Zhongshu proposed his way to confucianize Fa. In Dong's concept of Fa, three points need to be discussed. The first point is the nature of Fa. On the one hand, Dong thought Fa originated from the will of the son of Heaven. On the other hand, Dong emphasized using the confucianized theory of the Yin-Yang School to establish Fa. In detail, he thought that the ethics, which represents Yang, is the major part of Fa; and the punishment proposed by the Legalist school, which represents Yin, is supplementary for Fa. By this rhetoric, Fa was mystified and was promoted to be the way of Heaven. The second point from Dong is to use the Confucian classics to explain the legal problem and establish the details of Fa. He especially highlighted the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to judge a case and believed that

this book is full of Confucius' ideas. The third point is based on the system of rites and music. In Dong's Fa, some traditions from the patriarchal clan system were written as articles of law. For him, the major characteristic of Fa is that if people's behaviors violate the requirement of the system of rites and music, they will be punished.

In Dong's concept of Fa, some new ideas gradually appeared. Firstly, the principle that "people need to close to their relatives, honour their ancestors, respect their elders and betters, and treat males and females differently (亲亲也，尊尊也，长长也，男女有别。)."[460] was re-used in legislating Fa. Secondly, the monarchical power, the paternity, and the authority of the husband were highlighted in Fa. Thirdly, the blood relation became emphasised in Fa. Through re-using the system of rites and music in Fa, the blood relation also became the centre in the Confucianized Fa. Fourthly, the monarch's authority is the most worshipful in Fa. This point is derived from the first and the second point. In the early Zhou Dynasty, thinkers integrated paternity with the authority of the monarch; by re-using the old system, this point was also revived.

These new ideas from Dong were put into practice, and they brought a change in people's concept of Fa. The position of the monarch was extremely promoted in Fa. As discussed before, the monarch dominates the highest position in the system of rites and music and Shang Yang's Fa. Dong's Fa successfully integrated these two things into one Fa. Therefore, the monarch's absolute authority was ensured in the new Fa. So, people's understanding of the concept of Fa is that Fa is set up to represent the monarch's will and protect his interest. During this period, the despotic ideas were incubated in the concept of Fa.

4.4.4.2 The Concept of Fa in the Tang Dynasty

The Tang Dynasty was treated by both ancient and modern historians as the most prosperous dynasty in history. The political system, economy, and the stability of society all developed during this period; the Confucianized Fa is no exception. The *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty* epitomized the Confucianization of Fa. As analyzed by modern historian Wu Shucheng, "the major achievement of the *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty* is that it not only authorized the traditional system of rites and music by Fa but also explained the

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[460] Yang, T., ed. (2004). The Book of Rites. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.577.

杨天宇, ed. (2004). 礼记. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.577.

legal provision by Confucian classics (《唐律疏议》毕其功于一役，既完成了民间礼制的成文法化，又完成了中国古代法律样式的儒家化。).”[461]

The Document, *the Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty* was compiled by a group of thinkers and politicians represented by Zhangsun Wuji (长孙无忌, 594-659) and Li Ji (李勣, 594-669); it was published in 652 under the ruling of the Emperor Gaozong of the Tang Dynasty (唐高宗, ruling from 650 to 683). This document is a concentrated reflection by Confucian scholars on the ideas about how and what kind of behaviors of ordinary people were required to observe. Some modern thinkers believe that the nature of this Fa is the ethical law. On the one hand, the ethical value is higher than the legal value in this document; on the other hand, there is no distinct limitation between the law and the ethics in this Fa.

The most prominent view in this document is that it proposed Ten Abominations (十恶). They are plotting rebellion (谋反), plotting great sedition (谋大逆), plotting treason (谋叛), parricide (恶逆), depravity (不道), great irreverence (大不敬), lack of filial piety (不孝), discord (不睦), unrighteousness (不义), and incest (内乱). These abominations can be further classified into four types.

The first type included plotting rebellion, plotting great sedition, plotting treason, and great irreverence. The classification of this type of abominations is to defend the absolute authority of the monarch, and it requires people to absolutely obey the will of the monarch. Take plotting rebellion as an example; this document explained that "the monarch is in the highest position in the political system; he represents the will of Heaven and gains the support from Heaven and Earth to be the parents of ordinary people. As the son of the monarch, ordinary people need to observe filial morality. If someone contains an impure mind to serve the monarch and has a rebellious heart, they definitely violate the Dao of Heaven and are contrary to ethics. Their behavior is plotting rebellion (王者居雇极之至尊，奉上天之宝命，同二仪之覆载，作北民之父母，为臣为子，淮忠淮孝，乃敢包藏凶忍，将起逆心，规反天常，悖逆人理，

[461] Wu, S. (2012). Reform, Inheritance, and the Development of Fa: the Cultural Review of the Confucianized Fa. Journal of Shandong University (Philosophy and Social Sciences), (6), p.7.

武树臣. (2012). 变革, 继承与法的演进: 对 "古代法律儒家化" 的法文化考察. 山东大学学报 (哲学社会科学版), (6), p.7.

故曰：谋反。)."[462] It stated that "if the minister wants to usurp the throne and has the rebellious heart, Heaven will be in disorder because of the danger to the position of the monarch (臣下将图逆节，而有无君之心，君位若危，神将安恃。)."[463] This Fa used the Confucian ideas about the son of Heaven in defining the punishment. The absolute authority of the monarch was highlighted by Dong in the legal provision. The second type of abominations are about paternity, i.g., the lack of filial piety; this Fa treated the lack of filial piety as a serious crime. Thinkers believed that filial piety is the origin of political loyalty; therefore, filial piety is important to keep the authority of paternity and protect the absolute authority of the monarch. The third type of abominations is to highlight the right of the husband. This includes parricide, discord, and unrighteousness. "This document believed that the wife is guilty of parricide if she murders her husband, and she is guilty of discord if she beats and denounces her husband (《律疏》认为：妻谋杀夫，可以构成"恶逆"罪，妻殴、告夫，可以构成 "不睦"罪。),"[464] and if wife marries anothers without the permission of her husband, she will be guilty of unrighteousness. These abominations are also based on Confucian ethics. The last type includes depravity and incest. Depravity is to violate the Confucian ethics, and the classification of incest was to oppose the behavior which would destroy the basis of the Confucian ethics, like dwelling in hypocrisy. All of these are provided according to Confucian classics; they undoubtedly support the influence of the Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues in social life.

In discussing the Ten Abominations, there are three important ideas. The first is that the right of the monarch dominates the highest position both in politics and in society. There are four abominations in this Fa to defend the absolute authority of the monarch, and the classification of other abominations can also be seen to support the right of the monarch. As Zhangsun Wuji wrote, any behavior that violates the will of the monarch is to "oppose to the Dao of Heaven

[462] Zhangsun, W. (1983). The Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty (Vol.1), Liu, J., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.6-7.

长孙无忌. (1983). 唐律疏议 (Vol.1), 刘俊文, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.6-7.

[463] Ibidem, p.7.

[464] Yu, R and Wang, Z. (1986). On the Ethic Law of the *Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty*. Modern Law Science, (4), p.31.

俞荣根 and 王祖志. (1986). 试论《唐律疏议》的伦理法思想. 现代法学, (4), p.31.

and the rite of the ethical system (规反天常，悖逆人礼。)."[465] The second idea is ensuring the position of paternity. Since the Han Dynasty, the system of rites and music was re-used to solve problems made by the doctrine of severe punishment; as the centre of this system, the rights of paternity needed to be defended and supported. The third point is about the right of the husband. This right is another representation of the paternity; so, it is also important to defend it. These ideas reflect that extent to which the despotic ideas were further developed, and the monarch wanted to try his best to keep his absolute authority safe.

4.4.4.3 The Development of the Confucianization of Fa since the Song Dynasty

Compared to the discussion of the concept of Junzhu and the concept of Chen, the analysis of the concept of Fa was not discussed as much by the thinkers living in the Song and Ming Dynasties. They continued to support the process of the Confucianization of Fa since Dong Zhongshu. However, as discussed before, because of the appearance of Neo-Confucianism, there was still something new that existed in the Concept of Fa in these intellectuals' minds. Therefore, this part will focus on the change of the ideas hidden in the concept of Fa.

With the development of Neo-Confucianism, Li was treated as the origin of the universe. People's minds and behavior were strictly limited by Li. For some Neo-Confucian thinkers, Li is an important thing for Fa. The Cheng Brothers wrote that "human is the human is because of Tianli. If there is no Tianli, there is no difference between the human and the animal (人之所以为人者，以有天理也。天理之不存，则与禽兽何异矣。)."[466] They emphasized the influence of Li on people's behaviors and minds and believed Tianli is necessary to keep the stability of the society. Zhu Xi also held the similar view, "he treated the ethical system form of the patriarchal clan system as the nature of the Tianli, and promoted the patriarchal clan system to the position equal to Tianli to understand it (朱熹把宗法伦理看作 "天理之自然"，即把宗法提到天理的高度来认识。)."[467] He wrote that "people's ethics can be divided into

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[465] Zhangsun, W. (1983). The Law System and Annotation of the Tang Dynasty (Vol.1), Liu, J., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.7.

长孙无忌. (1983). 唐律疏议 (Vol.1), 刘俊文, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.7.

[466] Cheng, Y and Cheng, H. (2004). The Collection of Cheng Brother. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.1272

程颐 and 程颢. (2004). 二程集. 北京: 中华书局, p.1272

[467] Qiu, H. (1979). Neo-Confucianism and Patriarchal Thought. Historical Research, (11), p.64.

five types, all of which are inherited from the ancient sages. The ethics is signed from Heaven instead of being made by humans (人之大伦，其别有五，自昔圣贤，皆以为天之所叙，而非人之所能为。)."[468]

The Concept of Fa in the Song Dynasty is similar to the former thinkers' understanding that ethics needs to be integrated into Fa to ensure its function. But, at this time, Neo-Confucian scholars promoted the position of Heaven in both politics and ethics. So, this change influenced people's understanding of the origin of Fa. Former thinkers considered that the will of the monarch is the origin of Fa; while, in the Song Dynasty, Heaven became the supreme being, and then it became the origin of Fa. However, this change did not strongly shake the absolute authority of the monarch in Fa because the theory of the Son of Heaven is in place.

In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, because of the incubation of the new experience, the absolute authority of the monarch started to be shaken gradually. Wang Yangming proposed to use the ancient ethical system to Confucianize Fa. He believed that the ancient ethics was proposed by the sage kings and represented the real will of Heaven. He thought that "the major contents from the sages are inherited from Emperor Yao to Emperor Shun, and finally to Emperor Yu…it taught people that there is an affection between the father and his sons, a righteousness between the monarch and his ministers, a difference[469] between the husband and his wife, and an order between the elder and the young (其教之大端，则尧 、舜 、禹 之相授受…父子有亲，君臣有义，夫妇有别，长幼有序，朋友有信。)."[470] Wang thought these ethics from ancient sage kings is the correct standard for people's behaviors and minds; the monarch's will is doubted. But, because of his individual experience, Wang's final understanding of the Confucianization of Fa is still from the perspective of the ruling class. As

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邱汉生. (1979). 宋明理学与宗法思想. 历史研究, (11), p.64.

[468] Zhu, X. (1940). Zhu Wengong Wenji (The Collected Works of Zhu Xi) (Vol. 81). Beijing: Commercial Press, p.3857.

朱熹. (1940). 朱文公文集 (Vol. 81). 北京:商务印书馆, p.3857.

[469] Difference means that the husband has work that he needs to take responsibility for, and his wife also has some work to do, which is different from her husband's work.

[470] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.2), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.47.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.2), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.47.

he wrote "the employer (the monarch) takes care of all-under-Heaven with one heart and one mind. He appoints the employee (i.g., the moralized people) without consideration of their social class, and the lowliness nor nobleness in careers; the only thing for him to consider is his ethics (用之者惟知同心一德，以共安天下之民，视才之称否，而不以尊卑为轻重，劳逸为美德。)."[471]

The successors of his ideas developed this understanding of ethics. Among them, He Xinyin's discussion on ethics gave Fa new ideas. For him, the centre of Fa is the ethics; the legal provision needs to be established around ethical principles. But, as discussed before, the ethics for He is different from other former thinkers. He believed that "only the relationship between teachers and students and the relationship among friends in the Five Cardinal Relationships belongs to the relationship of sages (人伦有五…而独置身于师友圣贤之间。)."[472] Therefore, He developed Wang's understanding of the concept of Fa and believed that the origin of Fa is not from the will of the monarch.

During this period, although the despotic idea continually developed, it became weaker within the concept of Fa. The thinkers began to criticize the will of the monarch in legislation and in the Confucianization of Fa. This approach laid the theoretical foundation for the late Ming thinkers to propose a new understanding of the concept of Fa.

4.4.5 The Concept of Fa in the Late Ming Dynasty

Since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, thinkers began to consider that the origin of Fa is not from the will of the monarch but also from the will of all-under-Heaven. Combined with the accumulation of the new experience, late Ming thinkers put forward some aggressive ideas in conceptualizing Fa, which broke the limitations exerted by traditional ethics. This part will focus on these new ideas.

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[471] Ibidem, p.48.

[472] Li, Z. (1990). Tongxin Shuo in Fen Shu · Fen Shu Xi (Vol.3), Cai, S and Xia, J., ed. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.90.

李贽. (1961). 童心说 in 焚书 · 焚书续 (Vol.3), 蔡尚思 and 夏剑钦, ed. 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.90.

4.4.5.1 What is real Fa? and What is the good Fa for all-under-Heaven?

Since Dong Zhongshu's three discourses on politics, the concept of Fa was the Confucianized Fa. So, the first thing for the late Ming thinkers to discuss is what the 'real Fa' is. Huang Zongxi's analysis of what Fa is is prominent among other thinkers' understandings. Firstly, he thought that the Fa is the social law that represents the universal reason and measures other social behaviors. Secondly, he proposed that Fa is the basic political system that was established according to custom and tradition. Then, given this understanding of Fa, Huang discussed what the good Fa for all-under-Heaven is.

Before the discussion on what good Fa is, Huang, at first, proposed new concepts; they are the concept of the governance by law (治法) and the concept of governance by men (治人). Huang proposed that "should it said that 'there is only governance by men, not governance by law[473],' my reply is that only if there is governance by law can there be governance by men. Since un-lawful laws fetter men hand and foot, even a man capable of governing cannot overcome inhibiting restraints and suspicions. When there is something to be done, men do no more than their share, content themselves with the easiest slapdash methods, and can accomplish nothing that goes beyond a circumscribed sphere[474] (即论者谓有治人无治法，吾以谓有治法而后有治人。自非法之法桎梏天下人之手足，即有能治之人，终不胜其牵挽嫌疑之顾盼，有所设施，亦就其分之所得，安于苟简，而不能有度外之功名。)."[475]

The governance by law and governance by men are both from the book *Xuncius.* As discussed by Xuncius, "Fa is starting point of the governance; the gentleman is the origin of Fa…there has been a bad governor with a good law; meanwhile, I never heard that there was a gentleman with a bad law from ancient times to the current time (法者，治之端也；君子者，法之原也…故有良法而乱者有之矣，有君子而乱者，自古及今，未尝闻也。)."[476] In his

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[473] De Bary's law in the interpretation of Huang's book is equal to my understanding of law, i.g., Fa

[474] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.99.

[475] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.9.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.9.

[476] Wang, X. (1988). Variorum on Xunzi (Vol.8), Shen, S. And Wang, X., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.230.

王先谦. (1988). 荀子注解 (Vol.8), 沈啸寰 and 王星贤, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.230.

understanding, only the good law can be used as a standard for the governance. Huang argued that "if the Law of the early kings were still in effect, there would be a spirit among men that went beyond the letter of the law. If men were of the right kind, all of their intentions could be realized, and even if they were not of this kind, they could not slash deep or do widespread damage, thus harming the people instead of (benefiting them). Therefore, I say that only when we have governance by law can we have governance by men[477] (使先王之法而在，莫不有法外之意存乎其间。其人是也，则可以无不行之意；其人非也，亦不至深刻罗网，反害天下。故曰有治法而后有治人。)."[478] It means the Fa of the early kings is the good Fa in Huang's mind.

Huang then discussed his understanding of the Fa of the early kings. He believed that the Fa established by the early kings was based on the will of all-under-Heaven; this Fa can be thought of as the good Fa. He at first made his famous judgment that "until the end of the Three Dynasties[479] there was Law. Since the Three Dynasties there has been no law[480] (三代以上有法，三代以下无法。)."[481] He thought that there is no Fa fitting his standard of good Fa; so, he believed that the good Fa is the Fa until the end of the Three Dynasties. In detail, he wrote that "the Two Emperors and Three Kings[482] knew that all-under-Heaven could not do without sustenance and therefore gave them fields to cultivate. They also knew that all-under-Heaven could not go without clothes and therefore gave them land on which to grow mulberry and hemp. They also knew that all-under-Heaven could not go untaught, so they set up schools,

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[477] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.99.

[478] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.9.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.9.

[479] Three Dynasties means the time when Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, and Emperor Yu, ruled all-under-Heaven respectively.

[480] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.97.

[481] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8.

[482] In Huang Zongxi's books, the Two Emperors are Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun; the Three Kings include the King Yu of the Xia Dynasty, the King Tang of the Shang Dynasty, and the King Wen and the King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty. This classification is different from the classification in this paper, but they both mean that before the Qin Dynasty, all-under-Heaven, sometimes, was ruled by the sage kings.

established the marriage ceremony to guard against promiscuity, and instituted military service to guard against disorders. This constituted Law until the end of the Three Dynasties. It was never laid down solely for the benefit of the ruler himself[483] (二帝、三王知天下之不可无养也，为之授田以耕之；知天下之不可无衣也，为之授地以桑麻之：知天下之不可无教也，为之学校以兴之，为之婚姻之礼以防其淫，为之卒乘之赋以防其乱。此三代以上之法也，固末尝为一己而立也。).”[484] In his analysis that the good Fa reflects the people's will instead of what benefits the ruler.

4.4.5.2 The Process from the Good Fa to the Bad Fa in History

The late Ming thinkers thought that the good Fa finally became the bad Fa as time goes by. In History, since Shang Yang's political reforms, Fa was used to protect the interests of the monarch, and the monarch's will was treated as the origin for Fa. "The major value of the Fa since is to protect the interests of the ruling class which is headed by the monarch, and this Fa manifests itself to defend the monarch's absolute authority (封建法律的主要价值就是维护以君主为首的统治集团的利益，表现为维护君主的专制权力。).”[485]

Huang analyzed the reason why there has been no law since the Three Dynasties. "Later rulers, once they had won the world, feared only that their dynasty's lifespan might not be long and that their descendants would be unable to preserve it. They set up laws in fear for what might happen, to prevent its coming to pass. However, what they called "Law" represented law for the sake of one family and not law for the sake of all-under-Heaven[486] (后之人主，既得天下，唯恐其祚命之不长也，子孙之不能保有也，思患于末然以为之法。然则其所谓法者，一家之法，而非天下之法也。)"[487] He used some examples to prove it, "the Ch'in (the

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[483] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.97.

[484] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8.

[485] Su. F. (2002). On the Legal Ideas of Huang Zongxi. Journal of Guangxi Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition), (4), p.120.

苏凤格. (2002). 黄宗羲法律思想评述. 广西师范大学学报 (哲学社会科学版), (4), p.120.

[486] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.97.

[487] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8.

Qin Dynasty) abolished feudal fiefs and set up commanderies and prefectures with the thought that this system would better sever their own interest. The Han gave domains to members of the royal house, thinking to have them stand as a buffer around their empire. The Sung (the Song Dynasty) abolished the regional commanderies because commanderies were not to their own advantage. Such being their laws and systems, how could they have manifested the slightest trace of consideration for all-under-Heaven? Indeed, could we call these 'Law' at all[488] (是故秦变封建而为郡县，以郡县得私于我也；汉建庶孽，以其可以藩屏于我也；宋解方镇之兵，以方镇之不利于我也。此其法何曾有一毫为天下之心哉！而亦可谓之法乎。)."[489]

4.4.5.3 The Critique of the Bad Fa

Next, Huang and his colleagues began to criticize the bad Fa. He thought the Fa since the Three Dynasties was full of the private desires of one person. He used the term, un-lawful law, to describe this Fa. He wrote that "the laws of later times have 'safeguarded the world as if it were something in the (prince's) treasure-chest.' It is not desired that anything beneficial should be left to those below, but rather that all blessings be gathered up for those on high. If (the prince) employs a man, he is immediately afraid that the man will act in his own interest, and so another man is employed to keep a check on the other's selfishness. If one measure is adopted, there are immediate fears of its being abused or evaded, and so another measure must be adopted to guard against abuses or evasions. All men know where the treasure-chest lies, and so the prince is constantly fretting and fidgeting out of anxiety for its security. Consequently, the laws have to be made tight, and as they become tight they became the very source of disorder. These are what one calls un-lawful law[490] (后世之法，藏天下于筐箧者也；利不欲其遗于下，福必欲其敛于上；用一人焉则疑其自私，而又用一人以制其私；行一事焉则虑其可欺，而

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8.

[488] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

[489] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8.

[490] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

又设一事以防其欺。天下之人共知其筐箧之所在，吾亦鳃鳃然日唯筐箧之是虞，向其法不得不密。法愈密而天下之乱即生于法之中，所谓非法之法也。)."[491]

Huang Zongxi's critique of the bad Fa is based on his understanding of private desire. Since the middle of the Ming Dynasty, some thinkers also argued for the reasonability of private desire. The ordinary people's private desires were also acceptable in Confucianism. So, the way to only protect the monarch's desire and suppress other people's desires became a matter of debate. Huang's colleague, Gu Yanwu, approved of Huang's ideas. He proposed that "Fa is established for all-under-Heaven; while, in fact, the provision of Fa was set up for destroying the public interests (法者，公天下而为之者也。例者，因人而立以坏天下之公者也。)."[492]

4.4.5.4 The Fa established for all-under-Heaven

After analyzing the bad Fa, Huang developed his understanding of what kind of Fa needs to be established for all-under-Heaven. His perspective was also based on the Fa of the early kings, but he detailed his ideas. "The 'Law of the Three Dynasties safeguarded the world for the sake of all-under-Heaven.' The prince did not try to seize all the wealth of the land, high or low, nor was he fearful that the power to punish and reward might fall into others' hands. High esteem was not reserved for those at court; nor were those in the countryside necessarily held in low esteem. Only later was this kind of law criticized for its looseness, but at that time the people were not envious of those in high place, nor did they despise humble status. The looser the law was, the fewer the disturbances that arose. It was what might be called 'law without laws'[493] (三代之法，藏天下于天下者也：山泽之利不必其尽取，刑赏之权不疑其旁落，贵不在朝廷也，贱不在草莽也。在后世方议其法之疏，而天下之人不见上之可欲，不见下之可恶，法愈疏而乱愈不作，所谓无法之法也。)."[494]

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[491] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8-9. 黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8-9.

[492] Gu, Y. (2006). Ri Zhi Lu (Vol.18), Huang, R., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe. p.420. 顾炎武. (2006). 日知录 (Vol.18), 黄汝成, ed. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.420.

[493] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.98.

[494] Huang Z. 2017. Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.8.

This term, law without laws, is what Huang Zongxi approved for the Fa for all-under-Heaven. In his statement, on the one hand, Fa is the incarnation of the will of all-under-Heaven instead of the monarch's will. He believed that the people's will is the highest aim for legislation; only by this can people successfully accept Fa and put it into practice. On the other hand, Huang did not consider that Fa needs to control all things relating to people; as he said that the looser the law was, the fewer the disturbances that arose. In addition, in expounding his understanding of the Fa for all-under-Heaven, he emphasized the idea of equality in Fa. He did not believe that Fa should differentiate people with different punishments; in his understanding, the low esteem and the high esteem should receive punishment equally.

Wang Fuzhi also proposed his understandings to support that Huang's ideas. He, at first, emphasized the importance of the Fa before the end of the Three Dynasties. As Wang Fuzhi discussed, "the way for the ancient king to prevent his state from dangers is to focus on the rites instead of punishment (先王制治未乱保邦未危之道，一唯齐民以礼而不以刑 。)"[495] Wang believed that the difference between the Fa of the ancient kings and the Fa since the end of the Three Dynasties is that "the ancient son of Heaven did not dare to be arbitrary (in Fa) (夫古之天子，未尝任独断也。)."[496] He then thought that the good Fa is that "there seems no the son of Heaven (in Fa) although there was a son of Heaven in reality (有天子而若无。)."[497] Xu Sumin believed Wang's point means that "the authority of Fa is higher than the authority of the monarch. All people should obey the authority of Fa; the monarch is no exception (实际上是说法律的权威大于君主的权威，大家都服从那至高无上的法律，君主也不能例外。)."[498] Then, Wang Fuzhi proposed that the Fa established for all-under-

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黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.8.

[495] Wang Fuzhi. (1991). The Works of Wang Fuzhi (Vol.4). Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.533

王夫之. (1991). 船山全书(Vol.4). 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.533.

[496] Wang, F. (2004). Du Tongjianlun (Comments after reading the Zizhi Tongjian) (Vol.7), Yi, L., ed. Beijing: Unity Press, p.889.

王夫之. (2004). 读通鉴论 (Vol.7), 伊力, ed. 北京: 团结出版社, p. 889.

[497] Ibidem, p.888.

[498] Xu, S. (2006). On the Modern Characteristics of Wang Fuzhi's Legal Thought. Journal of Jishou University (Social Sciences Edition), (6), p.56.

许苏民. (2006). 论王夫之法律思想中的近代性因素. 吉首大学学报(社会科学版), (6), p.56.

Heaven should be "equal to all-under-Heaven, everywhere should use one standard to measure in order that there be equality (大公于天下，而上下、前后、左右皆一矩絜之而得其平。)."[499] He thought that "all-under-Heaven is not the private property for one family (天下非一姓之私也。),"[500] and Fa "should not only meet one person's desires (不以天下私一人。)."[501]

4.4.6 The Democratic Ideas in the Concept of Fa

From the ancient times to the end of the Ming Dynasty, influenced by different events, the understanding of the concept of Fa changed from period to period. At first, Fa was understood by people as the system of rites and music; but with the decline of the influence of the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty, this system headed for destruction. At the end of the Warring States Period, Shang Yang launched two political reforms and established a different Fa to guide the State Qin. But the Qin Dynasty fast collapsed, the ruling class of the Han Dynasty learned this lesson and began to Confucianize Fa by re-using the system of rites and music. In the Song Dynasty, through the re-interpretation of early Confucianism, thinkers proposed new ideas to Confucianize Fa. This trend continued through the Ming Dynasty; but, the accumulation of new experience stimulated the thinkers to proposed different ideas. So, in the late Ming Dynasty, the concept of Fa for thinkers was different from former understandings.

The first democratic idea embedded in the concept of Fa in the late Ming Dynasty is about political liberty. In discussing the anti-despotic idea in the concept of Fa, thinkers exhibited their immature understanding of popular sovereignty. In detail, the first obvious idea in the concept of Fa in the late Ming Dynasty is the anti-despotic ideas. The logic for the thinkers to propose this idea was by emphasizing the people's position in Fa and in legislation. Huang Zongxi, Gu Yanwu, and Wang Fuzhi all emphasized that Fa is established for the people and the origin of Fa is from people's will. Their anti-despotic ideas actually stand for people's

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[499] Wang Fuzhi. (1991). The Works of Wang Fuzhi. Changsha: Yuelu Press, p.533.

王夫之. (1991). 船山全书(Vol.4). 长沙: 岳麓书社, p.533.

[500] Wang, F. 2004. Du Tongjianlun (Comments after reading the Zizhi Tongjian) (Vol.11), Yi, L., ed. Beijing: Unity Press. p.2384.

王夫之. (2004). 读通鉴论 (Vol.11), 伊力, ed. 北京: 团结出版社, p.2384.

[501] Wang Fuzhi. (1956). Huang Shu · E Meng, Wang, B., ed. Beijing: Guji Chubanshe. p.17.

王夫之. (1956). 黄书·噩梦, 王伯祥, ed. 北京: 古籍出版社, p.17.

interests in the political system and the social system. This statement is a little close to the idea of popular sovereignty, which emphasized the importance of people in politics and the priority of people in the political system.

The second idea is about equality. Shang Yang put forward a new Fa to organize politics and society; in this new Fa, the monarch was promoted to the highest position in the political system. The rights of the monarch are higher than ordinary people. This idea was inherited by the thinkers of the later generations. In the process of the Confucianization of Fa, thinkers continued to enhance the monarch's position in the political system; it also exacerbated the inequality between the monarch and ordinary people in politics. However, since the "Saddle Period", this trend changed gradually. In the late Ming Dynasty, some thinkers directly pointed that Fa should be equal to all-under-Heaven, and the monarch is no exception.

4.5 The History of the Concept of School

Through the analysis of the works of the late Ming thinkers, this research has found that they not only used the basic political concepts to discuss the democratic ideas but also endowed some apolitical concepts with political meanings. The concept of 'school' was representative of these concepts. The center of the concept of school is based on the school system; it had already existed in ancient China before the Xia Dynasty and has lasted to the modern era. Whether the modern perspective or the ancient understanding, the school system is to cultivate and choose social talents.

In detail, in ancient China, this system has two parts. One is the official school, which was established and sponsored by the government; another is the private school, which was formed and supported by landlords or celebrities. So, the first important point in researching the concept of school is based on these two parts. However, in researching the late Ming thinkers' works, this dissertation found that the concept of school discussed by them is narrower than the general understanding. Their focus was on one of the forms of the private school system, Shuyuan (书院, or the Academy of Classical Learning), which had been fully developed since the Song Dynasty. So, the second important point in researching the concept of school is to analyze the development of Shuyuan since the Song Dynasty.

The following part will unfold in the following way. At first, it will generally introduce the school system in ancient China. Secondly, it will focus on the history of the Shuyuan since the Song Dynasty. Finally, this part will discuss how and in in what ways the late Ming thinkers conceptualized school and their political ideas inherent in the concept of school were.

4.5.1 The General Introduction on the Ancient Chinese School System

The ancient Chinese school system was constituted by two parts, the official school and the private school. The official school can be classified as the central official and the local official school. The former initially is to reserve and train the aristocracy for politics and then to all people with qualified social talents, and the latter is to provide talent for the central official school. The private school was usually sponsored by local celebrity families, including rich landlords, retired officials, and famous intellectuals. Both two types were necessary parts of the ancient educational system, and they provided necessary talents for the functioning of the ancient political system.

4.5.1.1 The Official School in History

As recorded in *Mencius*, there was the initial form of the official school before the Qin Dynasty. "(The local official School) was called Xiao (校) in the Xia Dynasty, Xu (序) in the Shang Dynasty, and Xiang (庠) in the Zhou Dynasty. (The central official school) in these three dynasties was called Xue (学); the aim of the official school is to enlighten people to understand the human relations in ethics (夏曰校，殷曰序，周曰庠。学则三代共之，皆以明人伦也。)."[502] The *Book of Rites* recorded the detail of the official school system in the Western Zhou Dynasty; "there was a place of education in ancient times. For the family, this place is Shu (塾). In the era of Dang (党), it is called Xiang. In the era of Sui[503] (遂), this place is Xu. And for the whole country, this place called Xue (古之教者，家有塾，党有庠，遂有序，国有学。)."[504] But, during the three dynasties, the official school was only for the aristocracy.

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[502] Zhao, Q., ed. (2017). The Mencius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 5:3.

赵清文, ed. (2017). 孟子. 北京: 华夏出版社, 5:3.

[503] Dang and Xu. Dang, 党, is a basic regional unit in ancient China. It was constituted by 500 families. Dang is also a regional unit, but its administrative level is higher than Dang.

[504] Yang, T., ed. (2004). The Book of Rites. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.613.

杨天宇, ed. (2004). 礼记. 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.613.

"All people from the aristocratic family, who do not have work in politics, need to go to study (凡国之贵游子弟学焉。).”[505]

However, the continual development of the official school was interrupted by the movement of the royal family of the Zhou Dynasty from Gaojing to Luoyang. With the weakness of the royal family and the years of wars, both the central and the local official schools were stagnant. This trend was not altered even after the unification of the mainland of China by Qin Shi Huang. In the Qin Dynasty, the ideological orthodoxy was based on the ideas from the Legalist school; in their rhetoric, the school system is supported by Confucianism, which is opposed to their ideas. So, for them, this system will cause ideological confusion. So, in the Qin Dynasty, the development of the school system was limited, and the way for the government to educate people is by presenting the influence of the law.

This trend continued until the establishment of the Han Dynasty. In the early Han Dynasty, the highest rulers adopted the ideas from the school of Huang–Lao, and they alleviated tax and gave people the freedom to decide what they want to do in production. So, every area in politics, economy, and society recovered gradually, including the educational area. During the ruling period of Emperor Wu, the first recorded central official school, Taixue (太学), was established; the royal family members recieved an education in this school in order to meet the political demands. Besides Taixue, there was also another official school called Didi (邸第), which is used to educate the students from the aristocratic family. In more rural places, the government established Junguo Xue (or county school, 郡国学) to teach local people and send the most talented to the central government. As recorded in the *Book of Han*, “Wenweng…saw that Sichuan is poor and was influenced by the lifestyle of barbarians…he established the official school in Chengdu, and recruited the sons from the county officer's family to be the student (文翁…见蜀地辟陋有蛮夷风…修起学官于成都市中，招下县子弟以为学官弟子。).”[506] By seeing the success of this school, Emperor Wu extended this form nationwide.

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[505] Zhou, G. (2011). The Rites of Zhou, in Siku Quanshu (Complete Library in Four Branches of Literature). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.151.

周公旦. (2011). 周礼 in 四库全书. 北京: 中华出版社, p.151.

[506] Ban, G. 1962. Book of Han (Vol.89), Yan, S., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.3625-3626.

班固. (1962). 汉书 (Vol.89), 颜师古, ed. 北京: 中华书局, p.3625-3626.

In the next dynasties, there was no drastic change in the official school system. In the Jin Dynasty (晋朝, from 266 to 420), the Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty (晋武帝, the ruling period from 240 to 296) established Guozi Xue (国子学) as the complement for Taixue. In the Tang Dynasty, with the development of the imperial examination system, more and more talented individuals from different social groups had the chance to become officials. To further educated these probationary officials, the Tang government developed the central official school system. As recorded by historical books, there were more than six places for such education. The local school system also further developed in the Tang Dynasty. As recorded by the *Old Book of Tang* (《旧唐书》) and the *New Book of Tang* (《新唐书》), every administrative level had an official school, from the capital city to the county.

4.5.1.2 The Private School in History

Before the Western Zhou Dynasty, the school system was dominated by the central government; there was no chance for the local states to develop it. But, because of the weakness and the stagnation of the official school in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the private school recieved a chance to develop. As recorded in *Zuo Zhuan* (《左传》), "the son of Heaven lost his absolute authority, and places for studying were transferred to the local (here means the private school) (天子失官，学在四夷。)."[507] As discussed by Zhang Taiyang, "(Students studied) in the official school before the Laozi and Confucius; while, after Laozi and Confucius, (they all studied) in the private school (老聃仲尼而上，学皆在官，老聃仲尼而下，学皆在家人。)."[508] This situation initiated the development and the prosperity of private schools in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. As recorded by the *Records of the Grand Historian*, Confucius had more than 3000 disciples, and his disciples are from different social statuses and places.

This trend was intensified during the Warring States Period. In order to get stronger, some states recruited more talented individuals from different social groups to work for the king.

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[507] Zuo, Q. (1981). Tradition of Zuo. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p,1389.

左丘明. (1981). 左传. 北京: 中华书局, p.1389.

[508] Zhang, B. (2017). Guogu Lunheng. Beijing: The Commercial Press, p.87.

章炳麟. (2017). 国故论衡. 北京: 商务印书馆, p.87.

But, because of the years of wars, the official school could not undertake the task of cultivating talents, so this task naturally was left to the private schools. The new phenomenon, Hundred Schools of Thought, became a reality during this period.

The unification of mainland China during the Qin Dynasty marked the end of this phenomenon. Legalists believed that the Hundred Schools of Thought would cause a lot of problems in ideology; so, the Qin Dynasty adopted their suggestion and banned private schools. The famous legalist Li Si thought that "the scholar passed on knowledge privately and criticized the law of the dynasty. When they heard the law, they will use their theory to discuss it. They will condemn the law at home and discuss it when they came outside. They praised themselves hypocritically when they face the monarch for their frame. (By their own theory), they thought they are special and fabricated lies to others (私学而相与非法教，人闻令下，则各以其学议之，入则心非，出则巷议，夸主以为名，异取以为高，率群下以造谤。)."[509] He considered that "if this situation was not put in control, the absolute authority would be weak (如此弗禁，则主势降乎上。)."[510] Therefore, to control the ideology of the whole empire, Qin Shi Huang burned books and buried alive Confucian scholars as a public warning to other schools. So, in the Qin Dynasty, there was no development in the private school.

This trend ended in the Han Dynasty. The policies launched in the early Han Dynasty gave the private school a chance to recover and develop; the phenomenon of the Hundred Schools of Thought even came back. As recorded by the *Book of Grand Historian* (《史记》), "all scholars studied classics and rites, and the education of music did not end in the central Lu[511] area (鲁中诸儒尚讲诵习礼乐，弦歌之音不绝。)."[512] During the ruling period of Emperor Wu, Confucianism was promoted by Dong Zhongshu as the orthodox ideology. This policy also promoted the prosperity of the private school.

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[509] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.555.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.555.

[510] Ibidem, p.555.

[511] Lu (鲁) was a place in ancient China and is currently located in the current Shandong province.

[512] Sima, Q. (2010). Records of the Grand Historian, Han Z., ed. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, p.7141.

司马迁. (2010). 史记, 韩兆琦, ed. 北京: 中华书社, p.7141

Since this period, the organisation of the private school was divided into two parts; the first part is called Mengxue (蒙学) and the second part is Jingxue (经学). Mengxue is the stage for the children's enlightenment education. As analyzed by Wang Guowei, "in the Han Dynasty, the primary school was called Shuguan (书馆), and the teaching material was called Shushi (书师). The Shushi collects many essays from the ancient classics, like *Cangji* (《仓颉》), *Fanjiang* (《凡将》), *Jijiu* (《急就》), and *Yuanshang* (《元尚》); the aim for the school is to teach children Chinese characters (汉时教初学之所名曰书馆，其书名曰书师，其书用《仓颉》、《凡将》、《急就》、《元尚》诸篇，旨在使学童识字习字。)."[513] After graduating from Mengxue, students could apply to Jingxue to continue to study. The teaching contents in this school include Six Arts (六艺)[514] of ancient China. This system was continually used by the following dynasties; Mengxue and Jingxue became the basic types in the private school.

The development of the imperial examination system further promoted the private school in the Tang Dynasty. In order to gain the chance to work as an imperial official, many students devoted themselves to learning; this trend led to an increase in demand for private schools. In 733, Emperor Xuanzong launched the policy to "allow people to establish the private school (许百姓任立私学。)."[515] This policy has two meanings; the first is that the legitimacy of the private school was recognized by the court, and the second is that this policy officially encouraged ordinary people to establish the private school. At the end of the Tang Dynasty, there was even a new form of private school, Shuyuan, appeared. However, before the Song Dynasty, Shuyuan was only used to store books.

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[513] Wang, G. (2001). Guan Tang Ji Lin, Peng, L., ed. Shijiazhuang: Hebei Educational Press, p.104.
王国维. (2001). 观堂集林, 彭林, ed. 石家庄: 河北教育出版社, p.104.

[514] The Six Arts (六艺) formed the basis of education in ancient China, it includes rites (礼), music (乐), archery (射), chariotry (骑), calligraphy (书), and mathematics (数).

[515] Wang, P. (1955). The Tang Huiyao (Vol.35). Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.741.
王溥. (1955). 唐会要 (Vol.35). 上海: 上海古籍出版社, p.741.

4.5.1.3 The Conceptualization of the School System

Although the school system is an important part of the government to cultivate and educate people, there were no specific political meanings in people's conceptualization of the school system before the late Ming Dynasty. For them, the school system is a way for education and choosing the officials. Even after the establishment and development of the imperial examination system in the Sui and the Tang Dynasty, there were still no special political ideas in people's minds in conceptualizing this system.

4.5.2 The Development of Shuyuan since the Song Dynasty

Shuyuan is a special type of private school in ancient China; it was formed at the end of the Tang Dynasty, further developed in the Song Dynasty, and finally became a part of the official school system in the Ming Dynasty. Its form and function provided the theoretical basis for the thinkers in the late Ming Dynasty to consider the relationship between the intellectual and the political system.

At the end of the Tang Dynasty, Shuyuan was initially treated by people to store books or documents. While, with the development of the Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty, "Neo-Confucians soon began to see the academy as a place where they could transmit their learning…it allowed them to control membership and to install a curriculum and practice a method of teaching that served their pedagogical aims." [516] Neo-Confucian thinkers distinguished the academy from other schools, it "represented a choice to pursue learning for the sake of oneself."[517]

More than 697 academies were built in the Song Dynasty. There were two ways to establish the Neo-Confucian academy. "Some were funded by wealthy families to prepare lineage members for the examinations; the more ambitious might hire a teacher of some reputation and welcome outsiders. Some were created by the teacher themselves—retired officials or local scholars—and were presumably funded by the students, who might come from distant prefectures, as was the case with Zhu Xi's students."[518] With the spread of academies, intellectuals acquired a place to transmit their knowledge and an opportunity for higher-quality

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[516] Bol, P. K. (2008). Neo-Confucianism in history. Brill. p.229.

[517] Ibidem, p.229.

[518] Ibidem, p.229.

education. People gradually treated Shuyuan as a special place for free discussion and transmitting knowledge.

The courses taught in the academy was different from other schools. For the intellectuals of the academy, "the sense that they were different from others was made clear in the desire, at least on the part of the teachers, to show that Neo-Confucian students were self-disciplined and not-indulgent, were upright and not slack, were austere and not profligate, and were focused on the moment rather than cunningly planning for future advantage."[519] This proposal is the major aim of Zhu Xi's understanding of Neo-Confucianism, "Zhu defined the essential principles of how to pursue learning as a combination of subject, method, and practice."[520] In detail, "the subject should be the Five Relationships…the method was to apprehend coherence through a sequence of study, inquiry, pondering, and making distinctions. And the practice was to go from personal cultivation to handling affairs, to dealing with others."[521] As proved by the case of the White Deer Grotto Academy (白鹿洞书院), "literati could form a community to devote themselves to learning as a process of personal cultivation, that they could be guided by the principles of the endeavor rather than the rules and punishments common to the state school."[522] The academy was a voluntary association for learning, transmitting ideas, and spreading knowledge.

On the other hand, as the master of Neo-Confucianism, Zhu Xi also emphasized the independence of the academy. "Zhu had made it clear that he opposed using government money to strengthen prefectural and county state schools as real centres of learning."[523] And this proposal made the academy different from the local state school. But, Zhu also demanded two things from the Song government. "First, he wanted the court to recognize the legitimacy of what he was doing—by explicitly allowing it and by giving gifts of books and an official signboard, written preferably by the emperor himself. Second, he wanted the court to agree to what he had already done: he had used government officials, funds, land, and corvée labor to

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[519] Ibidem, p.230.

[520] Ibidem, p.230.

[521] Ibidem, p.230-231.

[522] Ibidem, p.231.

[523] Ibidem, p.231.

carry out the building project in addition to contributions of cash and land from the local literati elite."[524]

However, after Zhu Xi's death, Shuyuan increasingly lost its independence and gradually became a part of the official school and even the affiliate of the government. "When in 1264 the court ordered that all academy headmasters be officially commissioned, it gave official sanction to the idea of a dual system…when the academies and Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism received government sponsorship, and when the position of headmaster became a way of entering the regular bureaucracy, the academies became part of the governing apparatus, thus losing the independence that had initially characterized them."[525] But this trend was not intensified in the Song Dynasty; many academies were still established privately.

Wang Yangming's ideas changed the situation of Shuyuan; he thought that "it is easy to defeat the thief in the mountain, but it is hard to destroy the thief in one's mind (破山中贼易，破心中贼难。)."[526] The thief in one's mind for Wang was the rigid doctrine of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism when it became the orthodox ideology. He believed the way for people to clarify their minds first needs to disrupt the influence of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism.

Wang, therefore, proposed the extension of Liangzhi to oppose the method used by Zhu and his disciples to help people understand the real Daoxin. However, because of Zhu Xi's influence, the major contents taught in Shuyuan were still from Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism. So, Wang believed that the government needs to reposition the role of Shuyuan in the educational system and renewed the contents taught to students. However, Wang found that Shuyuan needs lands and financial supports from states to develop itself. He thought if Shuyuan got support from the stronger landholders and local despotic gentries, the initial aim of Shuyuan to cultivate talented individuals from different social groups would be lost. And, Wang's ideas,

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[524] Ibidem, p.231-232.

[525] Ibidem, p.233.

[526] Wang, S. (2015). The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.4), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.144.

王守仁. (2015). 王阳明全集 (Vol.4), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.144.

"all people are sages in the street (满街都是圣人),"[527] supported his understanding about the equality of education. So, he also highlighted that the government needs to further sponsor Shuyuan. Through Wang's endeavor, the examination and evaluation system was set up by the government in Shuyuan; the qualified Shuyuan would get financial support from the government. It was at this time that Shuyuan officially became a part of the government.

Shuyuan in the Song Dynasty was treated by people as a place for freely transmitting intellectual's ideas and knowledge. However, through Zhu Xi's endeavor, these places were dominated by Neo-Confucianism; it became a place for Neo-Confucian students who want to pursue learning as a combination of subject, method, and practice. But, at this time, it is also free for other people to exchange knowledge and ideas. While in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the government began to control Shuyuan and treated it as a governing apparatus. The change of Shuyuan laid the theoretical foundation for the thinkers living in the late Ming Dynasty to reflect the school system, and in reflecting the role of school, they gave the concept of school some political ideas.

4.5.3 The Ideas of the Concept of School in the Late Ming Dynasty

In Huang Zongxi's book, he discussed the concept of school in detail. He not only analyzed the essence and function of his ideal school but also provided the standard for a good school, a good teacher, a good teaching content. Through this discussion, Huang endowed the concept of school with political ideals, and some of these are close to the western democratic idea. Therefore, this part will focus on Huang Zongxi's concept of school and its political ideas.

4.5.3.1 Huang's Understanding of the Concept of School

The first thing for Huang is the essence of the school. He thought that "schools are for the training of scholar-officials[528] (学校，所以养士也。)."[529]; it means that no matter whether

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[527] Wang, S. (2015). Chuan Xi Lu in The Complete Works of Wang Yangming (Wang Shouren) (Vol.3), Wu, G., Qian, M., Dong, P., and Yao, Y., ed. Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, p.102.

王守仁. (2015). 传习录 in 王阳明全集 (Vol.3), 吴光, 钱明, 董平, and 姚延福, ed. 上海:上海古籍出版社, p.102.

[528] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

[529] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

the official school or the private school, the major aim of this system is to provide talents for the operation of the political system. However, he immediately wrote that "the sage-kings of old did not think this their sole purpose. Only if the schools produced all the instrumentalities for governing all-under-Heaven would they fulfill their purpose in being created[530] (然古之圣王，其意不仅此也，必使治天下之具皆出于学校，而后设学校之意始备。)."[531] Huang admitted the political function of the school, but his logic and ideas are different from the consideration of the ruling class, which aims to use the school to control people's ideology. He thought the initial aim of the school is for governing by people, and then someone added the educational function to it.

Huang next analyzed the political function of the school; he said that this political function is "meant to imbue all men, from the highest at court to the humblest in country villages, with the broad and magnanimous spirit of the Classics. What the Son of Heaven thought right was not necessarily right; what he thought wrong was not necessarily wrong, and thus even the Son of Heaven did not dare to decide right and wrong for himself but shared with the schools the determination of right and wrong[532] (盖使朝廷之上，闾阎之细，渐摩濡染，莫不有诗书宽大之气，天子之所是未必是，天子之所非未必非，天子亦遂不敢自为非是，而公其非是于学校。)."[533] He thought that the school is a method to counterbalance the monarch's absolute rights. Huang thought the monarch's decisions needed to be shared in the schools in order to be judged. For him, talented individuals from different social groups should influence political decisions. He concluded that "although training of scholar-officials was one of the functions of schools, they were not established for this alone[534] (是故养士为学校之一事，而

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

[530] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

[531] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

[532] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

[533] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

[534] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

学校不仅为养士而设也。），"[535] influencing the political decision is an important aim for the school.

However, this school only exists in Huang's ideals; the social reality is that the school became the apparatus for governing by the monarch. He reviewed the history of the school system and wrote that "since the Three Dynasties right and wrong in the world have been determined entirely by the court. If the son of Heaven favoured such and such, everyone hastened to think it right. If he frowned upon such and such, everyone condemned it as wrong…moreover, the so-called schools have merely joined in the mad scramble for office through the examination system, and students have allowed themselves to become infatuated with ideas of wealth and noble rank. Finally, because of the seductive influence of the court, there has been a complete change in the qualifications of schoolmen. Furthermore, those scholars with real ability and learning have often come from the countryside, having nothing to do with the schools from start to finish. So, in the end, the schools have failed even in the one function of training learning scholar-officials.[536] (三代以下，天下之是非一出于朝廷。天子荣之，则群趋以为是；天子辱之，则群挞以为非…而其所谓学校者，科举嚣争，富贵熏心，亦遂以朝廷之势利一变其本领，而士之有才能学术者，且往住自拔于草野之间，于学校初无与也，究竟养士一事亦失之矣。）"[537] He considered that the monarch's absolute authority destroys the real function of the school and even influences the way the school might cultivate students.

Huang then discussed the Shuyuan; he proposed the contradiction between the initial aim and the political aim of Shuyuan. He discussed that "what the academies have thought wrong, the court considered right and gave their favour to it. What the academies have thought right, the court thought must be wrong and therefore frowned upon it. When the (alleged) 'false learning' was proscribed and the academies were suppressed, the court was determined to maintain its supremacy by asserting its authority…this all started with the separation of the court and the

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[535] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

[536] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.105.

[537] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.
黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

schools, and ended with the court and schools in open conflict. Not only are the schools unable to train scholar-officials, but they do scholars actual harm. Why, then, should we maintain schools at all, simply to perpetuate the name[538] (有所非也，则朝廷必以为是而荣之；有所是也，则朝廷必以为非而辱之。伪学之禁，书院之毁，必欲以朝廷之权与之争胜…其始也，学校与朝廷无与；其继也，朝廷与学校相反。不特不能养士，且至于害士，犹然循其名而立之何与？)"[539] The initial aim of the academy is for Neo-Confucian scholars to find a place to freely exchange knowledge; but later the government began to incorporate it as the government's affiliate. In this way, the academy gradually lost the initial aim; and the standard to judge right and wrong under Heaven was dominated entirely by the monarch.

4.5.3.2 The Democratic Idea in the Concept of School

From ancient times to the Song Dynasty, the school system was conceptualized by people as an educational apparatus to cultivate people. Since the Song Dynasty, some new understanding was attributed by people to this idea of school; and the new type of the private school, Shuyuan, appeared. Neo-Confucian scholars treated it as a place to freely exchange knowledge. However, since the end of the Song Dynasty, Shuyuan started to be controlled by governments; and in the middle of the Ming Dynasty, it officially became the apparatus for governing. So, in the late Ming Dynasty, scholars began to reflect on the educational system and endowed political ideas in the concept of school.

In ancient China, ordinary people did not have the right to influence politics; all decisions originated from the monarch's will. However, in Huang Zongxi's discussion, "what the Son of Heaven thought right was not necessarily right; what he thought wrong was not necessarily wrong, And thus even the Son of Heaven did not dare to decide right and wrong for himself, but shared with the schools the determination of right and wrong[540] (天子之所是未必是，天子之所非未必非，天子亦遂不敢自为非是，而公其非是于学校。)."[541] He believed that

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[538] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.105.

[539] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

[540] De Bary, W. T. (1993). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. New York: Columbia University Press, p.104.

[541] Huang Z. (2017). Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince. Zhejiang: Fenghuang Press, p.7.

the school could influence politics through the discussion by intellectuals; the will of the Son of Heaven is not the only origin for deciding the process of politics; the intellectuals' suggestion also influence politics.

This idea in Huang Zongxi's concept of school is similar to the idea of political participation and the understanding of selecting officials and revising laws. The idea of political participation is close to Huang's consideration of the influence of the school in politics. A School is a place for ordinary people to study and discuss; through their discussions, intellectuals express their ideas and can then influence politics. This is an immature way for people to participate in politics. The idea of selecting officials and revising laws is also to highlight people's right to influence politics. Combined with the ideas in the concept of Fa and the concept of Junzhu, the idea in the concept of school also can be interpreted as a consideration to emphasize the origin of the politics and the decision of the political affair are not only based on the monarch's will; through the ideal school, i.g., the school which keeps its initial function, the people's will can also influence the development of politics.

黄宗羲. (2017). 明夷待访录. 杭州: 凤凰出版社, p.13.

5 Conclusion

In the first chapter, this dissertation set out the disadvantages of current research; therefore, it put forward the method of the history of experience and the method of the history of concepts to research the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. Then, in the second chapter, it discussed the essence of the democratic idea by analyzing the history of the democratic system in ancient Greece and proposed the approach to research the democratic idea in the ancient Chinese language context. Next, to apply the method of the history of concepts in researching the democratic ideas, it used the method of tracing the history of experience to research the theoretical basis of the history of concepts. Finally, given this theoretical basis, this dissertation analyzed the history of the concepts held by the late Ming thinkers. Therefore, this chapter will conclude the findings about the democratic ideas which are embedded in these concepts and then reflect on the analysis of this dissertation.

5.1 The Conclusion of the Democratic Ideas in the Late Ming Dynasty
5.1.1 The Idea of Political Liberty

Through the discussion of the history of democracy in ancient Greece and the change from the ancient democratic ideas to the modern democratic ideas set out in the second chapter, this dissertation concluded that one of the essence of the democratic idea is political liberty. In the fourth chapter, through the analysis of the concepts of Junzhu, Chen, Fa, and School, it found that the late Ming thinkers had already thought about political liberty.

In these concepts, thinkers proposed ideas coming close to the popular sovereignty of democracy. On the one hand, Huang Zongxi and his colleagues proposed that the people are the real source of the political rights embedded in the concept of Junzhu. They denied that the idea that the theory of being the son of Heaven could bring absolute authority to the monarch. At the same time, for them, people are the source of the political rights and took the right to rule all-under-Heaven, and the monarch is only a tenant compared to them. They believed the source of political rights is from people, and the monarch's absolute authority is temporarily borrowed from people. Furthermore, in the concept of Fa, these thinkers proposed some considerations about political liberty. In discussing the anti-despotic ideas in the concept of Fa, their logic to propose this idea is different from these former concepts. They emphasized that Fa is established for the people and the origin of Fa is from the people's will; they did not believe that Fa is set up to protect the monarch's interests and position in the political system.

This statement is a somewhat close to the idea of popular sovereignty, which emphasized the importance of people and the priority of people in the political system.

Secondly, the idea of political participation was also reflected in these concepts. Some of these thinkers proposed that it is possible for ordinary people to participate in politics and manage public affairs. The traditional consideration is that the monarch monopolized the political right, and ordinary people did not enjoy the right to participate in politics. In the concept of Junzhu, some thinkers proposed that although the monarch controls the right to rule, this right needs to be shared among different people to rule better than one person can. Furthermore, some apolitical concepts were endowed with the idea of political participation. They did not easily believe that the school is only an educational concept for providing social talents for politics; in their consideration, the school also played a role in helping social intellectuals participate in politics. For them, a school is a place for ordinary people to study and to discuss political topics; through their discussions, intellectuals expressed their ideas and influenced politics. In fact, this is an immature way for people to participate in politics and decide political affairs.

5.1.2 The Idea of Political Equality

The other essence of the democratic idea is political equality. Unlike the idea of political liberty, which only exists in some concepts, many concepts in the late Ming Dynasty contained the idea of political equality. The thinkers' logic to propose the political equality is similar; their theoretical basis derived from the major ideas in the Saddle Period.

In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, thinkers further developed the idea of equality and laid a theoretical basis for ideas of political liberty in the late Ming Dynasty. They continued to develop Wang Yangming's consideration about how to clear people's Xin. They proposed the famous point that the Dao held by ancient sages is not different from ordinary people's daily life. Wang Gen's disciples developed this idea, and the theoretical basis of the political equality became more and more strong. Luo Rufang proposed the idea of Chizi Zhi Xin, he believed that Chizi Zhi Xin is to describe the pure status of people's Xin, and everyone has this Xin; but the difference is that the ordinary people's Chizi Zhi Xin is contaminated. So, for them, Xin is the same for everyone, and the way to understand the ontology of the universe is equally available to ordinary people. Also, some thinkers even used their ideas of equality to change traditional ethics. He Xinyin is one who attacked and changed the position of the monarch in traditional ethics. He believed that the reasonable relationship is the relationship between

teacher and students or the relationship among friends; the so-called relationship between the monarch and his subjects should not be the first meaningful relationship in ethics.

Therefore, in the late Ming Dynasty, thinkers proposed the idea of political equality through some of these concepts. Their consideration is that the monarch has an equal position to the ordinary people in the political system. In ancient China, the ruling class used the theory of the son of Heaven to establish the absolute authority of the monarch in people's spiritual world. Through the thinkers of successive dynasties, this belief was deeply rooted in people's minds. However, as discussed in the third chapter, this situation was challenged by the thinkers in the Saddle Period; they wanted to set up a new ethical system to change the unbalanced situation in politics. Given this theoretical basis, the late Ming thinkers directly proposed the idea of political equality to change the unbalance between the monarch and the ordinary people in politics. They even proposed equal political rights. Before the late Ming Dynasty, the monarch enjoyed privileges and took the absolute rights via the title, the son of Heaven. However, with the challenge of the notion of the son of Heaven in the Saddle Period, this title is not always effective to claim political interests from others; therefore, in the ideal conditions, people enjoyed a similar right to the monarch in the political system. This point was reinforced through discussion of the origin of the monarch. They believed that the higher political right enjoyed by the monarch is not by his natural birth, and this right was given because he took the job of the monarch.

5.1.3 The Individual Thinking in Democratic Idea

As discussed in the second chapter, individual right is a crucial term to differentiate ancient and modern democratic ideas. In ancient times, collective authority overrides individual rights in democracy; citizens were empowered to use their liberty and equality when making public decisions only. While, in modern democratic idea, political liberty and equality are not only for collective interests, individual rights are also integral Therefore, the democratic idea can be concluded to include political liberty and equality with ideas concerning individual rights.

Many considerations in the concepts of Junzhu, Chen, Fa, and School were based on individual rights. In the Saddle Period, through the rhetoric of the thinkers from the school of Taizhou, the private desire became reasonable in ethics. Wang Gen proposed the famous theory that Dao is in the people's daily lives and affirmed the rationality of private desires; he believed that people do not need to intentionally limit their private desires to arrive at the pure mind. He

Xinyin, also discussed private desires. He publicly opposed asceticism; he believed that private desires belong to humans' instincts; so it is wrong to suppress one's private desires. For Li Zhi, private desires even became the starting logic of his ideas. Li Zhi considered that the private desire is the human heart, and humans must have private desires. Li even said that if there are no private desires in the human mind, and they will not have real Xin.

The discussion of the legitimacy of private desires by the thinkers in the Saddle Period laid the theoretical basis for the idea of individual rights in the late Ming Dynasty. This change helped the late Ming thinkers reflect on the political situation and propose new political ideas. So, it is not difficult to find there was the trace of the idea of individual rights in their considerations of some concepts. For example, in the concept of Junzhu, Huang proposed that it is legitimate for ordinary people to seek their interests in politics; and therefore, it is important for them to enjoy the right to participate in politics.

5.2 Criticism and Reflection

5.2.1 A People-oriented Idea? A Democratic Idea? Or A New People-Oriented Idea?

The essence of the new political ideas in the late Ming Dynasty is still a matter of debate in the academic field of history and politics. Modern thinkers believed that these new ideas still belong to the traditional Confucian people-oriented idea. But, some modern thinkers proposed that these new ideas were beyond the scope of traditional Confucian people-oriented ideas; they thought that these ideas are democratic ideas born in the Chinese traditional culture. However, there are still some historians who did not totally agree with these two considerations. They adopted a compromise and thought that these new ideas are an evolution of people-oriented ideas, i.g., the new people-oriented ideas. This dissertation adopted the second point and believed that these new ideas are close to the western democratic ideas. Given this debate, this part will first discuss the people-oriented idea and the new people-oriented idea; and then reflect on the way to research the democratic idea of the late Ming Dynasty to respond to the challenges.

The people-oriented idea is the basic political idea in Confucianism. It is from the rhetoric of Confucian scholars to conceptualize the ideal type of the highest leader to rule all-under-Heaven. These thinkers believed that the monarch needs to take care of all people in order to keep politics and society stable. In their minds, people are more important than the prince in politics; like Mencius said, "the people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits

of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest."[542] (*Mencius* 7B:14). So, the theoretical premise is that monarch naturally enjoys the right to monopolize the right to rule, but this monarch is a gentleman instead of a tyrant. The new people-oriented idea still keeps this theoretical premise. The supporters emphasized that, although Huang Zongxi and his colleagues challenged the absolute authority, there was no distinct change in their conceptualization of the political system. They thought all new ideas in the late Ming Dynasty still needed supports from the monarch. They maintained the essence of Confucianism, i.g., the rule of the monarch is still kept in the new ideas in the late Ming Dynasty, and the change of these ideas are focused on the influence of the monarch's authority.

The judgment that these new political ideas in the late Ming Dynasty are the democratic idea arose at the end of the 19th century. This idea was used by reformists to support the democratic reform of the Manchu government. Through the interpretation of these reformists, these new political ideas were treated by people as the Chinese democratic ideas. However, this judgment soon received criticism from Confucian scholars; they treated this interpretation as only a political trick put forwards by the reformists to gain ordinary Chinese people's trust in democracy; these ideas still belong to the people-oriented idea in Confucianism. Since the 1920s, Marxist historians refuted the Confucian scholars' points and used historical materialism to support the argument that that these ideas belong to the scope of democratic ideas. This judgment dominated the Chinese historical community for a long time until the 1980s. With the revival of western philosophy and political science in China, some new thinkers began to reflect on the Marxist historians' judgment on these new political ideas, and they used the concept, the new people-oriented idea, to refer to the new ideas of the late Ming Dynasty. In recent years, this statement also received criticisms. Some thinkers proposed that the new ideas of the late Ming Dynasty, in fact, does belong to the democratic ideas.

I have argued that the democratic idea is the most accurate description for these new ideas. In fact, these thinkers' proposals, such as the people's absolute authority, the possibility for ordinary people to participate in politics, the way for them to join politics, and the political equality, are challenges to the traditional Chinese political system. In the Qing Dynasty, these ideas were suppressed by the ruling class in order to keep their own interests. Therefore, these

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[542] Zhao, Q., ed. (2017). The Mencius. Beijing: Huaxia Press, 7B:14.

赵清文, ed. (2017). 孟子. 北京: 华夏出版社, 7B:14.

ideas were far beyond the scope of traditional Confucianism. It is not appropriate to use the people-oriented idea to refer to it.

On the other hand, it is also inappropriate to use the title, the new people-oriented idea, to call these new ideas. The thinkers who used this title to refer to the new ideas in the Ming Dynasty, in fact, admit the existence of the changes in the ideological trend in the late Ming Dynasty. But, they established a premise that it is impossible to incubate the democratic idea in Confucianism. In their understanding, Confucianism is a protective umbrella for the absolute authority of the monarch; so, it is impossible to cultivate the democratic ideas in Confucianism. However, their premise was challenged both by the social reality and theoretical works. In social reality, some Asian countries, which are strongly influenced by Confucianism, established a democratic system. From the perspective of theoretical works, since the 1920s, the New Confucian scholars tried their best to interpret the traditional Confucianism to support the democratic system; and they found some traditions can be used to support modern democracy. So, this premise does not stand up to close scrutiny.

5.2.2 The Democratic Idea of the Pre-Qin Dynasty or of the Late Ming Dynasty?

The second point that needs to be reflected upon is the essence of the democratic idea. My point is that these new political ideas were put forward by the late Ming thinkers; it means that these ideas were these thinkers' inventions. However, in the modern Chinese historical community, this point is still debated. Some historians proposed that their ideas actually were brought from the thinkers who lived before the Qin Dynasty; their representative is Mencius.

The main proof for the thinkers who believed that the new political ideas in the late Ming Dynasty were from Mencius, is that Huang Zongxi's ideas were revised according to Mencius's ideas. For example, Huang's consideration that the authority of politics is from the will of people instead of the will of the son of Heaven can be found in *Mencius*. Through the interpretation of Mencius' works by the New Confucian thinkers, some of Mencius' ideas are democratic indeed. For this perspective, the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty are not original.

In my consideration, the thinkers living in the late Ming Dynasty borrowed Mencius's points to express their understandings. They develop their understandings through Mencius's points instead of directly using Mencius's points. Compared to Mencius's points, their ideas are much

deeper. For example, Mencius proposed that Heaven is the source of the monarch's rights and people are the incarnation of Heaven; so, some historian believed that in Mencius's understanding, the people are the source of political rights. Meanwhile in Huang's and his colleagues' ideas, they directly argue that the people's will is the source of political rights. So, the new ideas of the late Ming Dynasty are different from Mencius's political ideas. Further, Mencius's academic works were the necessary lessons for Confucian scholars; so, it is not difficult to find that there was Mencius's influence in the democratic ideas of the late Ming Dynasty.

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Affidavit

Hiermit versichere ich an Eides Statt, dass ich die vorgelegte Dissertation selbstständig und ohne die Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Die aus anderen Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Aussagen, Daten und Konzepte sind unter Angabe der Quelle gekennzeichnet. Bei der Auswahl und Auswertung folgenden Materials haben mir die nachstehend aufgeführten Personen in der jeweils beschriebenen Weise entgeltlich/unentgeltlich (zutreffendes bitte unterstreichen) geholfen:

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