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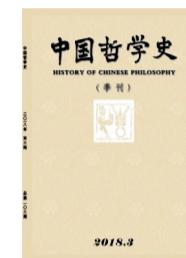
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Investigation on Paleography of Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录): According to newly discovered Wen Lu (文录) three volumes edition and Wen Lu (文录) Huang Wan edition

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Abstract

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Footnote

In the field of Yangming studies, obviously, the philological study of Wang Yangming (1472–1529) had a fundamental significance. However, in the process of studying Wen Lu (文录), scholars now failed to notice the philological and academic value of Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录) collected by Renmin University of China (3 volumes) and Huang Wan edition kept in National Library of China (28 volumes). As we all known, Wen Lu, published by Zou Shouyi in Guangde (Guangde edition) in the sixth year of Jiajing (1527) before Yangming's death, was very important but missing for a long time. However, we find that the Wen Lu (edition of Renmin University of China) is not only consistent with Qian Dehong's (1496–1574) description of the Guangde edition, but also completely different from any other existing editions. It can be said that it was the earliest existing edition of Wen Lu, which was published between 1529 and 1530.

After Guangde edition, Huang Wan edition and Qian Dehong Gusu edition had attracted much attention. However, the Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu prefaced and printed by Huang Wan in the 12th year of Jiajing (1533), which had been discovered, was either a remnant edition or a revision, or was inconsistent with collectors' jingyan (经眼), so it is difficult to judge whether the "Huang Wan edition" existed now. We find that the Wen Lu with 28 volumes (classical edition No. 13534) edited by Huang Wan kept in National Library of China, which had not yet been mentioned by the academic circles, is actually the whole original Huang Wan edition. In fact, because it is extremely rare, it can only be found in the National Library of China and the Jiangxi Provincial Library, causing its limited popularity.

Based on the criterion of Qian Dehong's understanding of Yangming, a large number of irrelevant words were deleted by Qian Dehong, resulting in incomplete text in the two important versions, which is Wen Lu Gusu edition (1536) (24 volumes) published by Qian Dehong and Wen Renquan and Quan Shu (全书) Longqing edition (1572) (38 volumes) published by Xie Tingjie. The discovery of these early editions in recent years is of great value for us to master Yangming's documents and thoughts in the round.

In this work, Wu Zhen made a great contribution to detailed textual research on five volumes of Yangming Wen Lu (阳明文录) (1533) edited by Huang Wan collected by Kyoto University, and the discovery of lost articles. ^① Later, Japanese scholar Nagatomi Aoji and Chinese scholar Qian Ming had made important achievements in the field of Yangming paleography studies. Recently, they had made relevant studies on Wen Lu with four volumes collected by Kyushu University and Xin Kan Wen Lu Xu Bian (新刊文录续编) with three volumes published in the fourteenth year of Jiajing (1535) kept in Shanghai Library. ^② However, up to now, the academic circles still ignore the existence value of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China and Huang Wan edition. Therefore, it is necessary to make the research. In the author's opinion, these two

newly discovered texts reveal the relationship between the various early publications of Wen Lu, helping us to further clarify the process of compiling and publishing early Yangming documents, and having fundamental significance for promoting the study of Yangming paleography and even his ideology.

1 The discovery of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China and its literature value

The Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu collected by the Library of Renmin University of China consists of three volumes. The frame is 20.4 x 13.2 cm with a black line around it. There is a black line in the type page with a single black fish tail mark, and under the mark, the number of volumes is engraved. There are nine lines on each half page, 17 words on each line. With three volumes in total, at the beginning of each volume, the words “阳明先生文录总目” (General Contents of Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu) can be found. The second line is indented with the words “卷第一(二、三)” (Volume 1, (2, 3)), and the contents of each volume are recorded. At the head of each volume, the top line reads “阳明先生文录卷第一(二、三)” (Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Volume 1, (2, 3)), so does the bottom line, while the second line records the title of each article without editors' names. In addition, there is no preface or postscript in the book. At the end of the book, it contains the article Ji Yangming Xianshi Wen (祭阳明先师文), recording “re-proofread by students Chen Wenzhe and Ye Wu.”

It should be pointed out that there are three lost letters, Yu Wang Jin Shu (与王晋叔), in Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China, which has different formats with others. The missing letters are on page 14 of Volume 1. There are nine lines in half a page, each line more than 20 characters, and two black lines, not one, around, sharing significantly different font style with the words on other pages. In the general contents of Volume 1, in principle, only one article per line is permitted, but Yu Wang Chun Fu (与王纯甫), the former one of Yu Wang Jin Shu had been moved to the previous line, that is, standing under Yu Cai Xi Yan (与蔡希颜). In addition, the style of “Wang Chun Fu” is different from the others in the general contents. Apparently, the reason to record two articles in one line here is to supplement the next article, Yu Wang Jin Shu by remaining the format. In fact, the aforementioned Ji Yangming Xianshi Wen, with two black lines around, also cannot be found in the supplementary sacrificial inscriptions written by the present people, which also seems to be supplemented later.

Under the titles of each volume, there are square seals with characters cut in relief, engraving “Huanshan,” “Bingchi Dishan” and “Collected by Liu Runqin in Suning” and square seals with characters cut in intaglio, engraving “Seal of Chen Xuxian,”^① which are seals for collection, providing extremely important clues for us to unravel the puzzle of the publishing time. Among them, “Huanshan” might be the imprint of Yang Yiqing (1454–1530), a friend of Wang Yangming and the former Senior Grand Secretary.^② As Yang Yiqing passed away in 1530, the book may have been published before that year. Yang Yiqing, who styled himself as “Yingning” “Sui'an” and “Shicong,” was a friend of Wang Hua and his son Wang Yangming. He once wrote an epitaph for Wang Hua.^③ In the fourth year of Jiajing (1525), Yang Yiqing received Yangming's book as a present, but declined the request for writing preface and postscript.

Since no preface or postscript is included, we cannot learn the process of its publication. However, the attached Ji Yangming Xian Shi Wen at the end provides us with some clues:

In March of the eighth year of Jiajing, our teacher Yangming passed away. When the news came, Wang Shilong and others set up a temporary memorial tablet for him, crying in the hall of Chongzheng Academy, and then went to his memorial ceremony . . . We grew up in the southwest of China. In fact, we were deeply educated by teacher Yangming and tried to pay him back . . . (re-proofread by students Chen Wenzhe and Ye Wu)^④

It was written in the eighth year of Jiajing (1529). Without author's name, there were “Re-proofread by students Chen Wenzhe and Ye Wu” at the end. From the sentence “we grew up in the southwest of China,” we can infer that it was finished by Wang Shilong. According to Records of Yuanling County (沅陵县志):

Wang Shilong was very a smart boy in his young ages. He had a strong memory and even could write articles if he had a writing brush. When he was 17 years old, he was recommended as a Juren (a successful candidate in imperial examination), and became a Jinshi (a successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations) through imperial examination during Jiajing period. Then he was commissioned a clerk in Bureau of Punishments. Because of his detailed and fair trial opinions and integrity, he got the promotion as the Vice Commissioner in Guizhou. After retirement, he built the Miaohua Academy in Dayou and called on students to teach here. Zhan Ganquan wrote an article named Dongting Ran Long Ji (洞庭髯龙集) to record the building. Later, it was changed into a village ancestral temple.^⑤

It could be seen from this text that Wang Shilong, a native of Yuanling, Chenzhou, Hunan, was born in the third year of Hongzhi (1490). He was elected as a Juren at the age of 17, and became a Jinshi in the fifth year of Jiajing (1526). Then he was successively a clerk in Bureau of Punishments and an Assistant Surveillance Commissioner in Shanxi, and then he was appointed as the Vice Commissioner in Guizhou in the 17th year of Jiajing (1538).^⑥ Later, he returned to Dayou (now Huaihua, Hunan Province) and built the Miaohua Academy. It was recorded in Dayou Dong Shu Yuan Ji (大酉洞书院记) written by Ouyang De (1496–1554) that “My friend, Assistant Censor-in-chief, Wang Jinshu, was born in Chenzhou. When he was not an official, he built an academy on this mountain and studied with scholars around the country.”^⑦ In this article finished in 1533, Ouyang De called Wang Shilong “Wang Jinshu.” It was worth noting that the three lost letters of Wang Yangming, Yu Wang Jinshu, collected in Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China, were to Wang Shilong. In the sixth year of Zhengde (1511), when Wang Yangming went to Luling from Longchang, Guizhou to take office through Chenzhou, he had made lectures at Longxing Temple in Huxi and wrote Yu Chen Zhong Zhu Sheng (与辰中诸生). Therefore, Wang Shilong was very likely to study with Wang Yangming at that time.^⑧

According to the format mentioned above and four lost articles, three named Yu Wang Jin Shu and one Ji Yangming Xianshi Wen, it is quite possible that the edition of Renmin University of China was repaired and re-engraved on the basis of an old edition of Wen Lu kept by Wang Shilong. And in this process, the four lost articles were added. But it is hard to determine the exact time and place of publication due to the lack of direct evidence. We can only infer from Yang Yiqing's seal that this one was published before the ninth year of Jiajing (1530) before Yang Yiqing died.

As for the location of the publication, we might get some information according to the words of “re-proofread by students Chen Wenzhe and Ye Wu” at the end of the volume. According to the textual research of Nagatomi Aoji, at the end of each volume of Xin Kan Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Xu Bian (新刊阳明先生文录续编), collected in Shanghai Library, there were inscriptions of “Corrected by Zhao Changling, registrar of Regional Military Commission in Guizhou / student Chen Wenzhe, Sub-prefectural Magistrate in Yaozhou / student Ye Wu, District Magistrate in Zhen'an County.” At the end of the book, there is a postscript written by Wang Xing, entitled Shu Wen Lu Xu Bian Hou (书文录续编后), in the fourteenth year of Jiajing (1535), in which the names of Chen Wenzhe and Ye Wu also appear. In Shu Wen Lu Xu Bian Hou, Wang Xing wrote that “The Education Intendant Circuit of Provincial Surveillance Commission in Guizhou was asked to cut blocks of Yangming Wang Xiansheng Wen Lu. They are treasures that no one else has ever seen before. When I came here, they were brought directly to me by my colleagues.” This showed that Yangming Wang

Xiansheng Wen Lu had existed in Guizhou before Xu Bian (续编). After Wang Xing came to office, he ordered Provincial Surveillance Commission to publish it again, saying "What is not recorded in Wen Lu has been lost. Fortunately, I once studied with teacher Wang Yangming and knew all the contents. I will name the book Wen Lu Xu Bian (文录续编)." ③ From this we could learn that based on Wen Lu, Wang Xing collected those articles not included in and compiled Wen Lu Xu Bian for printing.

Whether the Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China is the one referred by Wang Xing? There is no repetition between Wen Lu and Xu Bian, and no poem is recorded in Wen Lu. But in Volume 2 and Volume 3 of Xu Bian, they are all poems. Moreover, Wen Lu was corrected by Chen Wenxue and Ye Wu, who were Wang Yangming's students in Guizhou. When Wang Xing arrived in Guizhou, he edited the Xu Bian together with them. Thus, there is a possibility that the Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu cited by Wang Xing is the same one collected by Renmin University of China.

In fact, it was the 17th year of Jiajing (1538) when Wang Shilong got the promotion as the Vice Commissioner in Guizhou. From this point of view, we can infer that Wang Shilong might not bring his supplement to Guizhou until his arrival. Then he handed it to Chen Wenxue and Ye Wu to publish it. According to Wang Xing, the Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu, which he based on, was published by Education Intendant Circuit in Guizhou as an official inscription, while in the edition of Renmin University of China, obviously, it was a private one contained supplementary editions related to Wang Shilong himself. Therefore, it seems that they are two different books.

To sum up, Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China was reversed by Wang Shilong by adding a number of lost articles into the original one. The clue we can learn from Yang Yiqing's seal is that Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China should be published in 1530 or before. Moreover, in Wen Lu Guizhou edition and the edition of Renmin University of China, Chen Wenxue and Ye Wu could be found as the publishers, revealing deep roots between these two editions (or even the same edition). Therefore, probably, the edition of Renmin University of China was the predecessor of Wang Xing's Xu Bian, namely, Wen Lu Guizhou edition.

Here came another question. What is the relationship between the Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China and the so-called "Guangde edition" in the legend (which was still unknown)? To find out it, we need to further penetrate into the interior of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China to explore its structures and contents.

2 An investigation of the origin of the early publications of Wang Yangming Wen Lu

In the history of the publication of Wang Yangming Wen Lu, Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu printed by Zou Shouyi in the sixth year of Jiajing (1527) should be the earliest block-printed version. However, it is lost so that we are confused. But can the rediscovery of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China bring us the truth? This requires our comprehensive studies of the various early editions, so as to confirm the characteristics of edition of Renmin University of China in the structure and contents which are different from those of other editions, and then to determine its historical position.

Relying on existing research, before Qian Dehong presided over the publication of Wen Lu Gusu edition (1536), ① the early editions of Wang Yangming's articles (excluding Chuan Xi Lu (传习录)) are as follows:

Title	Publication year	Collected place now
Ju Yi Ji (居夷集) (3 volumes)	Prefaced and printed by Qiu Yanghao in the third year of Jiajing (1524)	National Library of China, Shanghai Library
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (4 volumes)	Printed by Zou Shouyi in the sixth year of Jiajing (1527)	Unclear
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (3 volumes)	In the eighth to ninth year of Jiajing (1529–1530)	Renmin University of China Libraries
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (4 volumes), Shi Lu (詩錄) (4 volumes)	Information of Wen Lu was unclear, prefaced by Xue Kan in the ninth year of Jiajing (1530) (Shi Lu)	Faculty of Humanities, Kyushu University
Xin Kan Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Xu Bian (3 volumes)	Postscript written by Wang Xing in the fourteenth year of Jiajing (1535)	Shanghai Library
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Wai Ji Bie Lu (阳明先生文录外集别录) (28 volumes)	Prefaced by Huang Wan in the twelfth year of Jiajing (1533) (Huang Wan edition) ^②	National Library of China (Classical edition No. 13534)

In the above editions, the style and content of Ju Yi Ji and Wen Lu with 28 volumes printed by Huang Wan collected in National Library of China are totally different from those of the early ones. Therefore, we do not compare this version here. As for the relevant issues of Huang Wan edition, we will discuss them later. What we pay great attention to is the four early editions of Wen Lu, which are closely related in structure and content: edition of Renmin University of China, edition of Kyushu University, Wen Lu Xu Bian and Guangde edition.

Firstly, let us look at the first one, edition of Renmin University of China. According to the contents, the compilation of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China is irrespective of style. The time recorded in the catalogue shows that the articles were arranged according to time because the records "finished in ** year" can be found, but the fact is not so. There are different degrees of cutting in line in the latter half of the edition of Renmin University of China. For example, in Volume 1, we can find the words "Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Volume 1" recorded in the fourth line in page 49, which seems to indicate that the Volume 1 is over. But in the middle of the next page, there is still page 49 and on the top of the first line, "Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Volume 1" is written, which seems that another volume was added in. As a matter of fact, similar situations are also found in Volume 2 and Volume 3, but all of them have been recorded in the "Contents" of each volume. Thus, the actual arrangement of this edition is as follows:

	Time range	The part added
Volume 1	The sixth year of Zhengde—the tenth year of Zhengde (1511–1515)	The 17th year of Hongzhi—the tenth year of Zhengde (1504–1515)
Volume 2	The 12th year of Zhengde—the second year of Jiajing (1517–1523)	The 13th year of Zhengde—the 14th year of Zhengde (1518–1520)
Volume 3	The fourth year of Jiajing—the sixth year of Jiajing (1525–1527.2) ^③	The first year of Jiajing—the fifth year of Jiajing (1522–1526)

From this table, we can find that if the added parts of the three volumes are combined (right table) together, their arrangement is completely in accordance with the time sequence, so does the main body. That is to say, the added parts of the three volumes of the edition of Renmin University of China are likely to be one volume independently. Moreover, there is no letter in it, which is all in the form of sacrificial rites and shu (疏). However, we fail to find more clues proving that this part is an independent volume in edition of Renmin University of China.

But we might reveal the mystery through the Wen Lu collected by Faculty of Humanities of Kyushu University, which was first discovered by Nagatomi Aoji. ④ It is necessary to introduce the basic information of edition of Kyushu University first. There are four volumes. In the contents, "finished in ** year" is written, indicating that the edition is arranged according to the time, but actually there is also disorder. Importantly, the characteristic of the "finished in ** year" is only found in the edition of Kyushu University and edition of

Renmin University of China in the early books. And as for the similarities, except for the list above, the differences between the general contents and the titles of articles are almost the same. For example, an article is Yu Cai Xi Yan Shu (与蔡希颜书) in contents but Yu Cai Xi Yan (与蔡希颜) in the book.^⑤ In addition, words "old edition" can be found in part of articles' titles in edition of Kyushu University, which basically coincides with that of in edition of Renmin University of China. From the above characteristics, closely related to each other, these two editions can be dated back to the same system. However, there are also important differences between them. For example, in terms of style, the edition of Kyushu University has the classifications of "main body" and "appendix" unavailable in the edition of Renmin University of China, which deserves our attention.

Because of the same root and differences between edition of Kyushu University and edition of Renmin University of China, it is necessary for us to compare their structure and content to further determine the position of the edition of Renmin University of China in the early Wen Lu. Sharing the same ranking of Volume 1 with that of in edition of Renmin University of China, "main body (正录)" was recorded under the first article's title of Volume 1 in edition of Kyushu University. There are different degrees of disorder in Volume 2 to Volume 4 but it is relatively neat in Volume 3. Under the first article's title, Shandong Xiang Shi Lu Xu Hongzhi Jiazi (山东乡试录序弘治甲子), the word "appendix (附录)" is written. However, the arrangement of the contents of this volume coincides with that of the independent volume which is made up of those added volumes in edition of Renmin University of China, showing that the added part after each volume of edition of Renmin University of China might be the "appendix" and the volumes 1–3 are the "main body." But somehow, the editor of the edition of Renmin University of China made the "appendix" break into the "main body" and removed the classifications at the same time.

Except the "appendix" in Volume 3, there are many "old editions" in the general contents in Volume 2 and Volume 4 in edition of Kyushu University due to different degrees of time disorder. According to the guidelines of "old edition under **," and "below old edition under ***," we find that the order of the so-called "old edition" in edition of Kyushu University is exactly in line with the order in edition of Renmin University of China without added parts in each volume. Besides, there are some chapters which are not in edition of Renmin University of China with the marks "not in old edition (日本无)." Therefore, it seems that edition of Renmin University of China basically fits "old edition" characteristics of edition of Kyushu University in terms of editing and content. So whether edition of Renmin University of China is the "old edition"?

However, this is not the case, because besides articles marked "not in old edition," there are three more articles in edition of Kyushu University without that sign, which are Yu Shang Qian Shang Qian Zi Xiu Shu (与尚谦尚迁子修书), Yu Xue Zi Xiu Shu (与薛子修书), and Ji Xue Shang Jie Wen (祭薛尚节文). It undoubtedly shows that before the edition of Kyushu University published on the basis of "old edition," these three articles had already existed, from which we can make the conclusion that edition of Renmin University of China is not the "old edition (日本)" of edition of Kyushu University, but generally speaking, it is undoubtedly very close to it.

However, it is surprising that Xu Bian collected in Shanghai Library (Shanghai Library edition) contains all articles collected in Wen Lu edition of Kyushu University but not in edition of Renmin University of China (including those remarked "not in old edition" and three articles without the sign). It is necessary to discuss this briefly in order to further clarify the situation of the edition of Kyushu University and then determine the relationship between Xu Bian, edition of Kyushu University and edition of Renmin University of China. Among these writings, Yu Shang Qian Shang Qian Zi Xiu Shu and Yu Xue Zi Xiu Shu can only be found in edition of Kyushu University and Xu Bian but not in Huang Wan edition and Quan Shu (全书), which shows that there might be some close relationship between Xu Bian and edition of Kyushu University. Moreover, several letters from Chuan Xi Xu Lu (传习续录)^⑥ preface and printed by Nan Daji (1524), which Qian Dehong saw, were found in edition of Kyushu University, with signed "see Chuan Xi Lu (传习录), not in 'old edition' or 'see Chuan Xi Lu (传习录).' These can also be found in Xu Bian. But whether Wang Xing, the publisher of Xu Bian, had got Wen Lu edition of Kyushu University before? It seems impossible to prove that it had not been mentioned in his book Shu Wen Lu Xu Bian Hou. But judging from the above research, especially the two lost articles in edition of Kyushu University and Xu Bian, which are not found in the later editions since 1530, we can see that it is very likely that Xu Bian had referred to edition of Kyushu University, so the edition of Kyushu University should be finished before the 14th year of Jiajing (1535), that is, the completion time of Xu Bian.

Let us continue the discussion of edition of Renmin University of China. Since it basically coincides with the so-called "old edition" of edition of Kyushu University, does it mean that there might be close relationship between Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China and Guangde edition which is lost? What on earth is the so-called "old edition" of edition of Kyushu University? For these questions, we can only find the answers from the description in documents of Wen Lu Guangde edition now. The publishing process is recorded in Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo (刻文录叙说) written by Qian Dehong, that "in April, the sixth year of Jiajing (1527), Zou Shouyi was demoted to Guangde. He requested to compile teacher's essays into a book." But Wang Yangming tried to reject his pleas and pointed out that the wording in his article was somewhat cumbersome. However, at Zou Shouyi's repeated requests, "then he took a third of his recent articles and dated them, and then asked Qian Dehong to organize them in order." This sentence is very important, indicating that Wang Yangming personally selected one third of the manuscripts. He also explained to his students that "please reorder them based on the time and no classification of styles is needed," because the way of teaching has nothing to do with styles. Qian Dehong collected some manuscripts the next day and asked teacher for instructions. He "selected several articles to add them into the appendix and then presented them to Qianzhi, so today's Guangde edition was born." (Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo (刻文录叙说), 2087–2088) That is the so-called "Guangde edition" today. In addition to the quotation, the following sentence can be seen in Yangming Nian Pu (阳明年谱), that "teacher promises to engrave an appendix for Shouyi, which are probably four volumes." (Wang Yangming Quan Ji (王阳明全集), Volume 4, 1315)

Then, we take our attention back to the Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China and edition of Kyushu University. If we take edition of Renmin University of China as the base, removing Wang Shilong's lost works, Yu Wang Jin Shu and Ji Yangming Xian Shi Wen, according to the arrangement of the "appendix" in Volume 3 of edition of Kyushu University, the added three volumes of edition of Renmin University of China basically conforms to the "appendix," and there is no letter but sacrificial writings and other literary styles in this part. In this case, the compilation of volumes 1–3 also fits the compilation principle described by Qian Dehong, which was accepted by Yangming that "please reorder them based on the time and no classification of styles is needed." In other words, if we recombine edition of Renmin University of China according to edition of Kyushu University appropriately, it would almost be identical to Guangde edition described by Qian Dehong. And the four volumes in Nian Pu (年谱) would most likely coincide with the three "main bodies" and one "appendix."

However, since the "appendix" of Guangde edition was edited into three volumes of edition of Renmin University of China, and after Wang Shilong added a memorial and three missing letters to the edition of Renmin University of China, the book was later edited by Chen Wenxue and Ye Wu in Guizhou. Hence, edition of Renmin University of China should be a revision based on Guangde edition rather than an original one. As for edition of Kyushu University, although its so-called "old edition" basically conforms to the edition of Renmin University of China, they are just similar. It is quite possible that the "old edition" is a revision of Guangde edition following its classification of "main body" and "appendix." As a whole, however, compared with the fact that "main body" in edition of Kyushu University was arranged in disorder and some lost articles were added, edition of Renmin University of China is undoubtedly closer to the characteristics of

Zhou Shouyi's Guangde edition, published before 1530, resulting in being the earliest existing Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu. In this sense, judging from various early editions of Wen Lu, the "Huanshan" seal mentioned above on edition of Renmin University of China is highly possible to be another name of Yang Yiqing, thus providing a powerful circumstantial evidence for us to prove that edition of Renmin University of China was published before 1530.

3 On the newly discovered Wen Lu Huang Wan edition

We can learn from the above that Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu, printed and published by Zou Shouyi in the seventh year of Jiajing (1528), is the earliest edition of Yangming Wen Lu system. Since then, additional editions of Guangde edition had shown up in Guizhou and Yuyao. Since the 1530s, two systems have appeared: Huang Wan edition with 28 volumes and Gusu edition with 24 volumes, which dominated the compilation of Yangming Wen Lu later. However, why are there two different editions of Wen Lu? What are the differences between them? On this issue, we still need to read Qian Dehong's Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo again:

(After Wang Yangming's death) students all took out the articles they had seen. In the 11th year of Jiajing (1532), Qian Dehong resided in Wu and began to sort out articles. Then he wrote Gou Yi Wen (购遗文) and sent people to collect articles from Fujian to Guangdong to Cangwu (now Wuzhou, Guangxi) to return to Jinling (referring to Jiangsu) by way of Hubei and Hunan; and with the help of Education-intendant Censor, Wenren Bangzheng, and the book was printed and published. There were Wai Ji (外集) and Bie Lu (别录), which were all edited in accordance with the rules of Appendix. (Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo, 2088)

After the death of Wang Yangming in the winter of the seventh year of Jiajing (1528), his students continued to collect his manuscripts. In the 11th year of Jiajing (1532), Qian Dehong lived in Wu, revising the catalogue of Wang Yangming's workings and making classification for it.^① He also wrote Gou Yi Wen and invited Wenren Quan to print and publish it after sending people to collect articles from Fujian to Guangdong to Cangwu (now Wuzhou, Guangxi) to return to Jinling (referring to Jiangsu) by way of Hubei and Hunan, which was the Qian Dehong Gusu edition. However, according to Qian Dehong's words that "Dehong resided in Wu and began to sort out articles," it seems that he was the dominant compiler of Yangming's writings, and the records that Huang Wan compiled Yangming Wen Lu were removed in Xu Shuo (叙说).

Well, where did Huang Wan edition come from? In fact, the reason for the existence of Huang Wan edition (1533) and Gusu edition (1536) was that there were different opinions in compiling Yangming's articles. According to Qian Dehong, Huang Wan believed that "we need not to select articles";^② instead, they should try to collect all of them so that readers could identify them by themselves; however, Zhou Shouyi held that those articles unrelated to lectures should be deleted. Qian Dehong finally agreed with Zhou Shouyi's selection idea and removed many articles of Yangming Wen Lu. On this issue, Huang Wan once pointed out clearly to Qian Dehong: "The collection must not be deleted, so that scholars will have more choices, just like entering the mountains, or exploring in the ocean. . . Let them choose according to their preferences."^③ It can be seen that Huang Wan adhered to the editorial principle of collecting every articles so that future generations could make chooses freely. It was because of the different opinions in compiling principles between Qian Dehong and Huang Wan that two edition systems appeared: Huang Wan edition edited and prefaced by Huang Wan in the 12th year of Jiajing (1533) and Gusu edition edited and prefaced by Qian Dehong in the fifth year of Jiajing (1536) (both Qian Dehong and Huang Wan wrote preface in the beginning of this edition, respectively.) However, Qian Dehong intentionally avoided mentioning Huang Wan edition in his Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo, so that later generations all knew the Gusu edition, but Huang Wan edition gradually disappeared.

In recent years, the value of Huang Wan edition has begun to attract attention, especially the fact that it includes a large number of lost articles. And the Yangming Wen Lu edition of Kyoto University with five volumes, the one published by Fan Qing, Zhang Liangcai and Lyu Dong and Huang Wan edition saw by Ye Dehui, which have been found in recent years, belong to the system of Huang Wan edition. Although Wu Zhen, Nagatomi Aoji and other scholars had discussed in detail the contents of the above-mentioned publications and their lost articles, because of their different arrangements and volume numbers, which one is the closest to the original "Huang Wan edition"? This is an interesting question. The Wen Lu Huang Wan edition recently discovered by the author in the National Library of China is a complete set of Huang Wan edition. Somehow, no scholar in the academic circles pays attention to the book. However, its discovery provides an important clue for us to solve the mystery of the existing versions of Huang Wan edition.

For the convenience of later research, first of all, we list the existing "Huang Wan edition" as follows:

Title	Publication year	Collected place now
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (5 volumes)	The 12th year of Jiajing (1533), prefaced by Huang Wan (Huang Wan edition)	Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (17 volumes) (with Chuan Xi Lu (3 volumes))	The 12th year of Jiajing (1533), prefaced by Huang Wan, written postscript by Fan Qing in 1547, published by Zhang Liangcai (Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition)	National Library of China, Capital Library, Zhejiang University Library, Harvard University, and University of Tokyo
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (28 volumes)	The 12th year of Jiajing (1533), prefaced by Huang Wan (National Library Huang Wan edition)	National Library of China (classical edition No. 13534)
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (28 volumes)	The 12th year of Jiajing (1533), prefaced by Huang Wan, prefaced by Lyu Dong in 1550, written postscript by Sun Zhao in 1555 (Lyu Dong edition)	Beijing Normal University, Anhui University, Zhejiang University Library, Sun Yat-sun Library of Guangdong Province, and Jilin University
Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (14 volumes left)	The 12th year of Jiajing (1533), prefaced by Huang Wan (checked by Ye Dehui)	Unclear

Among these editions, only National Library Huang Wan edition and Lyu Dong edition are same in the volume number. Through comparison, we find that National Library Huang Wan edition shared the same chapters and contents with Lyu Dong edition which was edited in the 29th year of Jiajing (1550). In Lyu Dong edition, three prefaces can be found, which are written by Huang Wan in 1535, Zou Shouyi in 1536 and Lyu Dong in the 29th year of Jiajing (1550) and one postscript of Sun Zhao finished in the 34th year of Jiajing (1555),^④ but only Huang Wan's preface written in the 12th year of Jiajing (1533) is found in National Library edition. Accordingly, it can be concluded that based on National Library Huang Wan edition, Lyu Dong edition added two prefaces of Huang Wan Gusu edition. Therefore, it is a reprint of National Library edition. A large number of lost articles of Wang Yangming, such as memorials to the throne and official documents in Lyu Dong edition, are also included in National Library Huang Wan edition, confirming the compiling principle of collecting all the articles of Wang Yangming. These lost articles were first compiled by Nagatomi Aoji from Lyu Dong edition,^⑤ and then were added into Wang Yangming Quan Ji (new edition).^⑥ However, from the perspective of textual criticism, because Lyu Dong edition was reprinted based on National Library Huang Wan edition, it is necessary to re-collate these lost texts with National Library Huang Wan edition as the base and Lyu Dong edition as the reference, which shows the academic value of National Library Huang Wan edition.

As for Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition, it is a reprint with selection and reordering of Huang Wan edition. This is because Fan Qing failed to get the whole Wen Lu, which was recorded in his postscript in the 26th year of Jiajing (1547). ^④ The Wen Lu with five volumes collected by Kyoto University, which had always been considered as a single block-printed edition, actually originated from Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition, because the contents and arrangement order were identical with its first five volumes, showing that there was a source and cause relationship between Kyoto University edition and Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition. In addition, in order to avoid other problems, the author did not make a detailed textual research on Huang Wan edition which was checked by Ye Dehui in modern time. ^⑤

Concerning Gusu edition, according to the author's research, there are two kinds of Gusu edition collected in the National Library of China with different prefaces and formats and one (classical edition No. 09116) was prefaced by Huang Wan and Zou Shouyi; and the other (classical edition No. 03237) Zou Shouyi and Qian Dehong. As both of them include Zou Shouyi's preface in the book, we call the former Huang Wan Gusu edition (different from "Huang Wan edition") and the latter Qian Dehong Gusu edition. In terms of layout, there are ten lines on a page and 20 words on each line with double black lines in the left and right side and single black line in the upper and lower side, while Qian Dehong Gusu edition has the same lines but 20 words on each line with two black lines around. In addition, the preface written by Huang Wan in Gusu edition is different from that in National Library Huang Wan edition, which had been pointed out by Wu Zhen. ^① In Gusu edition, a paragraph that can be found in Huang Wan edition is added (underlined part):

(Yangming's manuscripts) There are only Wen Lu, Chuan Xi Lu and Ju Yi Ji left. The rest are either lost or wrongly passed. What a pity! So I redesign a book with Ou Chongyi, Qian Hongfu, Huang Zhengzhi and one and two students called Yangming Xiansheng Cun Gao (阳明先生存稿). Qian Dehong took these articles back to Suzhou and classified them into Wen Lu and Bie Lu with Huang Mianzhi; and with the help of Education-intendant Censor, Wenren Bangzheng, the book is printed and published . It is widely circulated, passing on teacher's knowledge to others. ^②

Although only one sentence was added, the meanings were quite different. Huang Wan originally expressed that he and Ouyang De, Qian Dehong and Huang Honggang edited Yangming Xiansheng Cun Gao together, and published it to the public. In the supplement written in the 15th year of Jiajing (1536), Qian Dehong emphasized that he got Huang Wan edition, brought it back to Suzhou and reclassified it with Huang Shengzeng. And the sentence "with the help of Education-intendant Censor, Wenren Bangzheng, the book is printed and published" was from Qian Dehong' Ke Wen Lu Xu Shuo. ^③ We can infer that the sentence should be supplemented by Qian Dehong, trying to emphasize his importance in publishing Yangming's writings. It was because preferring Zou Shouyi's selection principle, Qian Dehong held reservations about Huang Wan's position of recruiting all the essays as much as possible that two versions were produced, Gusu edition with Qian and Zou's prefaces and the other one both with Huang and Zou's prefaces. He even revised the preface of Huang Wan edition finished in the 12th year of Jiajing (1533). It is incredible for making unauthorized modification of others' preface, at least from the point of view of literature compilation. ^④

In summary, we can confirm that in the 1530s, there were two systems of Yangming Wen Lu: Huang Wan edition and Gusu edition. The most obvious difference is the number of volume in Bie Lu. Since then, there have been only ten volumes of Bie Lu in various Gusu editions, but only 14 volumes in National Library Huang Wan edition.

4 Conclusion

Finally, a brief summary is made as follows: (1) Undoubtedly, Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China is the closest one to the character of the Guangde edition which is considered to be lost. It is a revision of the Guangde edition during the eight to nine years of Jiajing (1529–1530) and Xin Kan Wen Lu Xu Bian collected in Shanghai Library is its continuation. (2) The three letters of Yu Wang Jin Shu and the Ji Yangming Xian Shi Wen in edition of Renmin University of China are newly discovered lost works of Wang Yangming, which have not been found in the compilation of the lost articles of Wang Yangming in recent years, reflecting the activities of Yangming Learning in Huxiang (湖湘) area. (3) The Wen Lu National Library Huang Wan edition with 28 volumes (classical edition No. 13534), which has been ignored for a long time, is the complete work of Huang Wan edition, proving that Kyoto University edition, Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition and Lyu Dong edition discovered before are all originated from this one. And Fan Qing and Zhang Liangcai edition is a fragmentary edition and Kyoto University edition is only a part of it. (4) There are two existing editions of Wen Lu Qian Dehong Gusu edition (1536), except the different forms and arrangements of lines; although both of them include Zou Shouyi's preface, the prefaces of Huang Wan and Qian Dehong are added into the book respectively. (5) Before the completion of Quan Shu, there are two main systems of Yangming Wen Lu: Huang Wan edition (28 volumes) and Qian Dehong Gusu edition (24 volumes), which are the roots for all the existing works. ^⑤

The new discovery of Wen Lu edition of Renmin University of China provides us with an important clue to understand its early compilation and circulation, showing that around the 1530s, Yangming Wen Lu was also published and circulated not only in Yuyao but also in the southwestern region, such as Guizhou, and proving that instead of being a local knowledge, Wang Yangming's thought also has the characteristics of cross-regional diffusion. Discovering the whole Huang Wan edition once again proves that there are different opinions in the principles of selection during Qian Dehong and Huang Wan's compilations, resulting in a large number of lost texts in Qian Dehong Gusu edition, and Quan Shu found in Huang Wan edition. At the same time, its discovery also points out the new fact that there are two major systems of Yangming Wen Lu since the 1530s.

In short, because the Gusu edition led by Qian Dehong has always been considered to have many problems, the edition of Renmin University of China and Huang Wan edition have very important philological value for perfecting the collation of Wang Yangming Quan Ji. Especially, it is necessary to re-collated the lost articles collected in Quan Ji (new edition) based on them. The discoveries of the edition of Renmin University of China and Huang Wan edition show that the collection and collation of Wang Yangming's literature is still an important topic in the study of Wang Yangming's paleography. More importantly, it can help us understand the ideological connotation of Wang Yangming's literature comprehensively and correctly combining literature with his thoughts.

Footnote

[1]. ① Wu, Z. 王阳明逸文论考——就京都大学所藏王阳明著作而谈, in 学人, Volume 1. Nanjing: Jiangsu Art and Literature Press, (1992). [[^Back](#)]

[2]. ② [Japan] Nagatomi Aoji. 关于上海图书馆藏《新刊阳明先生文录续编》, in Bibliographical Studies of Traditional Chinese Texts (版本目录学研究), Volume 1. Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House (2009); Qian, M. Zhejiang Academic Journal (浙江学刊), (6) (2002); Qian, M. 王阳明散逸诗文续补考——兼

论版《阳明文录续编》的史料价值, in Zhang, X. Collection of Essays On Chinese Traditional Culture and Guizhou Regional Culture (中华传统文化与贵州地域文化研究论丛). Chengdu: Ba Shu Shu She, (2008).

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[3]. ① "Seal of Chen Xiuxian" and "Bingchi Dishan" belonged to Cao Xiuxian (1708–1784). Cao Xiuxian, who styled himself as "Hengting (恒听)," "Zhitian (芝田)," and "Bingchi (冰持)," with pseudonym of "Dishan (地山)," was the deputy governor of library of Imperial Collection of Four Divisions (四库全书). In "Collected by Liu Runqin in Suning," Liu Runqin was Liu Chunlin (1708–1944). He was a famous champion (in imperial examinations) in the last period of Qing Dynasty and was a native of Suning, Hebei. [^Back]

[4]. ② The seal of "Huanshan" is only seen one of Yang Yiqing's calligraphy works' lens in the auction market with the sign "Huanshan Yang Yiqing" in the autograph place. After checking the Chronicle of Yang Yiqing (杨一清年谱) (Fang, S. Three Chronicles (年谱三种). Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, (2014)), no clear record that Yang Yiqing was also called "Huanshan" is found; for the sake, the author still doubted his identity. However, by examining the structure and content of edition of Renmin University of China, we can confirm that it was published before 1530. Hence, the seal of "Huanshan" is probably Yang Yiqing's collection seal. See the following for details. [^Back]

[5]. ③ [Ming Dynasty] Yang, Y. 海日先生墓志铭, in (new edition) 王阳明全集, Volume 4). Hangzhou: Zhejiang Ancient Books Publishing House, 1402 (2010). [^Back]

[6]. ④ Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录), Volume 3, Collected in Renmin University of China, 62–63. [^Back]

[7]. ⑤ [Qing Dynasty] Shou, Z. (Tongzhi) Records of Yuanling County ((同治)沅陵县志), Volume 30), reprinted in the 28th year of Guangde in Qing Dynasty after supplement. [^Back]

[8]. ⑥ (Wanli) Records of Guizhou ((万历)贵州通志), Volume 2), printed in the 20th year of Wanli in Ming Dynasty, 16. [^Back]

[9]. ①Chen, Y. (ed. and punc.) Ouyang De Ji (欧阳德集). Nanjing: Phoenix Publishing House, 252 (2007). [^Back]

[10]. ② According to Yu Wang Jin Shu (与王晋叔), Wang Yangming wrote that "there were some minor mistakes in the middle because of Shou Ren's unclear explanation in the temple." (Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录), edition of Renmin University of China, Vol. 1, 14) [^Back]

[11]. ③ Nagatomi Aoji. 关于上海图书馆藏《新刊阳明先生文录续编》, in Bibliographical Studies of Traditional Chinese Texts (版本目录学研究), Volume 1. Beijing: National Library of China Publishing House, 229 (2009) [^Back]

[12]. ① 永富青地:《胡宗憲本『陽明先生文錄』および附錄『傳習錄』について》,早稻田大学东洋哲学会《東洋の思想と宗教》第三十五号, 2018年3月。 [^Back]

[13]. ② In Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录), Wen Lu (文录) (five volumes), Wai Ji (外集) (nine volumes) and Bie Lu (别录) (14 volumes) (classical edition No. 13,534), there are 10 lines on each half page, 20 words on each line with two black line around. There is no black line in the middle of the books. Only preface written by Huang Wan in the 12th year in Jiajing (1533) can be found without content or postscript. [^Back]

[14]. ③ Guangde edition was edited in April, 1527. Qian, D. 刻文录叙说, in new edition) Wang Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (王阳明全集), Vol. 6, 2087–2088. [^Back]

[15]. ④ [Japan] 水野実、永富青地:《九大本『陽明先生文錄』詳考》,《陽明學》1999年第11号, 第161-177页。 [^Back]

[16]. ⑤ Only the titles of Ming Zheng Li Bu Zhu Shi Jie An Fang Gong (明贈禮部主事節庵方公) are different. In edition of Kyushu University, it is Ming Zeng Li Bu Zhu Shi Jie An Fang Gong (明贈吏部主事節庵方公) in contents but Ming Zeng Li Bu Zhu Shi Jie An Fang Gong (明贈禮部主事節庵方公) in the article. In edition of Renmin University of China, both the contents and article were recorded as Ming Zeng Li Bu Zhu Shi Jie An Fang Gong (明贈禮部主事節庵方公). [Japan] 水野実、永富青地:《九大本『陽明先生文錄』詳考》, 第166页。 [^Back]

[17]. ① The Nan edition Qian Dehong read was not the original one. The three letters were Da Ren Lun Xue Shu (答人论学书) and Da Lu Yuan Jing Shu (答陆原静书), in which Da Xu Cheng Zhi Shu (答徐成之书) only marked "not in old edition" without the sign of "see Chuan Xi Lu." According to Qian Dehong, the two letter of Da Xu Cheng Zhi Shu were deleted from the Nan edition and transferred to Volume 21 of Quan Shu. Accordingly, Chuan Xi Lu in edition of Kyushu University was the work deleted by Qian Dehong. However, the problem is that there are two articles in Nan edition that Qian Dehong saw and still two in Xu Bian edited by Wang Xing but one is a whole in edition of Kyushu University. We can learn that rather than being Qian Dehong's deletion work, Chuan Xi Lu in edition of Kyushu University might be a reprint of Nan edition. For information of Nan edition, please see Wu Z. (传习录)精读. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 30 (2011). [^Back]

[18]. ① "Seven-year Renchen" refers to the time seven years after Wang Yangming's death, seemingly wrong, and as a matter of fact, "Renchen" refers to four years after Yangming's death in the 11th year of Jiajing (1532). Note: Qian Dehong worked in Suzhou in the 11th year of Jiajing. See Zhan, R. 贈掌教錢君之姑苏序, in Zhong, C. (punc.) 泉翁大全集, Volume 22. Taipei: "Scripta Sinica" database (2004). [^Back]

[19]. ② Qian, D. 刻文录叙说, in new edition) Wang Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (王阳明全集), Vol. 6, 2092. [^Back]

[20]. ③ Huang, W. 与钱洪甫书, in Zhang, H. (ed. and punc.) Huang Wan Ji (黄绾集), Volume 21. Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 379 (2014). [[^Back](#)]

[21]. ① Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录), with Lyu Dong's preface and Sun Zhao's postscript, collected in Waseda University Library. [[^Back](#)]

[22]. ② Nagatomi Aoji. 《王阳明全集》补遗, in Nagatomi Aoji. A Study of Paleography in Wang Shouren's Works (王守仁著作の文献学的研究). Tokyo: Ji Gu Shu Yuan (汲古书院), 562–720 (2007). [[^Back](#)]

[23]. ③ Wang Yangming Quan Ji (王阳明全集) (new edition), Vol. 6. [[^Back](#)]

[24]. ④ "Only the second or third edition of the Wen Lu (Collected Works) is available." However, printing mistakes failed to be avoided, also without recording in Bie Lu (Catalogue of Han Dynasty's Books). With proofreading and review, 23 documents were added, composing Wen Lu to the end of which Instructions for Practical Living (also known as Yu Lu (Quotations)) was attached. It is composed of 20 volumes totally. We can understand the master by virtue of this book." Fan, Q. & Zhang, L. (eds.) Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录) (17 volumes), Chuan Xi Lu (传习录) (three volumes), collected in National Library of China, classical edition No. 02690. [[^Back](#)]

[25]. ⑤ See Ye, D. 邰园读书志. Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 454 (2010).

According to A List of the First Provincial Precious Ancient Books in Guangdong Province (<http://183.63.187.42/abcenter/News/Detail.aspx?dbid=10&sysid=16>), there is Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录) with the postscript written by Ye Dehui in Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences, which was printed by Wenren Quan in the 14th year of Jiajing in Ming Dynasty (1533) with 12 volumes (including a whole Wen Lu (文录) and Wai Ji (外集)). However, after preliminary verification, the format and content of this edition are consistent with National Library Huang Wan edition, but only Bie Lu (别录) (14 volumes) was missing. Therefore, it is not the Gusu edition printed by Wenren Quan. However, Ye Dehui wrote at the beginning that "Those 14 volumes of Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (阳明先生文录) were added seven years later after its publication." It seems that this one was regarded as Gusu edition, which was published in 1535. Then, he went on to say, "There was a preface written by Huang Wan in Jiajing kuisi (癸巳), a Right Attendant Gentleman of Ministry of Rites in Chicheng," without mentioning any other preface or postscript information. Kuisi referred to the 12th year of Jiajing (1533). Therefore, instead of "were added seven years later after its publication," this one was printed by Huang Wan in the 12th year of Jiajing. So the sentence "were added seven years later after its publication" is wrong, so does the information on website as "the Gusu edition printed by Wenren Quan." Researcher Xing Yihai of Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences had sent me some photos of this book. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to him! [[^Back](#)]

[26]. ① Wu, Z. 王阳明逸文论考——就京都大学所藏王阳明著作而谈, in 学人, Volume 1. Nanjing: Jiangsu Art and Literature Press, (1992). [[^Back](#)]

[27]. ② Different records can be found in Huang Yi's Collected Works of Shilong (石龙集). Compared with the preface of his Gusu edition (1536), it is lack of "trying to contact with Wenren Bangzheng the director of education." See Huang Wan Ji (黄绾集), 227. [[^Back](#)]

[28]. ③ Qian, D. 刻文录叙说, in new edition) Wang Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu (王阳明全集), Vol. 6, 2088. [[^Back](#)]

[29]. ④ In fact, when Qian Dehong compiled Wen Lu (文录) and Chuan Xi Lu (传习录), he often deleted other people's writings on the basis of his own opinions. Chen Lai pointed out sharply that as many as 82 Wang Yangming words in Yangming Xiansheng Yi Yan Lu (阳明先生遗言录) edited by Zeng Caihan and Ji Shan Cheng Yu (稽山承语) edited by Zhu Dezhi, which was obviously due to his subjective bias. His performance was improper for Neo-Confucianism tradition and forbidden. Even in the compilation of Zhu Zi Yu Lei (朱子语类), he also abridged willfully and arbitrarily. See Chen, L. 王阳明语录佚文与王阳明晚年思想, in A Study of the History of Modern Chinese Thought (中国近世思想史研究) (updated edition). Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, 709 (2010). [[^Back](#)]

[30]. ⑤ In addition, there is Yangming Xiansheng Wen Lu Xu Bian (阳明先生文录续编) with eight volumes collected in Capital Normal University, published by Xu Bijin in the 45th year of Jiajing (1566). But the author had not seen it yet. [[^Back](#)]