A Serial Translation of a Collection of Toegye Yi Hwang’s Words and Deeds

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Abstract

This article is an English translation of the Yanhanglu of Master Toegye. To date, Toegye's words and acts have never been translated into English. This translation will help foreign Toegye researchers read this material and gain a real understanding of Toegye's ideas and practices, words and actions. With this, we can see how Confucianism of Joseon was practiced in reality, and can also look inside the Confucian landscape of Joseon Dynasty.

Key Words: Yulei 語錄, Toegye 退溪, Yi Hwang 李滉, the Yanhanglu of Master Toegye 退溪先生言行錄, Yi Su-yeon 李守淵, Dosanseowon edition 陶山書院本

1. The Tradition of a Collection of Words and Deeds

There are always great figures in every region and age. And the disciples who had learned from them, along with scholars in the following periods, wanted to record the words and deeds of their great teachers to set the standard for guiding the lives of future generations.
We can find many examples of Yanhanglu 言行錄 (A collection of words and deeds) in history. For instance, there are the Gospels of Jesus’ words and deeds and the Agama 阿含經, which contains the words and deeds of Buddha. In Confucian tradition, we have the Yanhanglu of Kongzi 孔子 and Mengzi 孟子. In light of this tradition, the Yanhanglu of Master Toegye 退溪 could be a valuable resource for catching a glimpse of the truth of life and thought of Yi Hwang (李滉, 1501-1570), if not all.1)

In academic tradition, a book which contains the sayings, as heard, is called Yulu 語錄 (quotations). And the classification of those sayings by category is classified as Yulei 語錄. A representative example of Yanhanglu in Confucianism is the Lunyu 論語. There are also other Yanhanglu such as the Yanhanglu of Master Hengqu 橫渠先生語錄, which records the words and deeds of Zhang Zai (張載, 1020-1077)2) and the Zhuziyulei 朱子語類 which describes the teachings of Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200).3) These Yanhanglu from the Song Dynasty are often considered as the true traditional succession of the Lunyu.

In fact, however, these books seem to have been more directly influenced by the Yulu of Buddhist monks, who were popular during the Tang and Song periods, rather than by the Lunyu. Zen Buddhism, which regards Bodhidharma 達磨大師 as the first Chinese patriarch of Zen Buddhism, placed more importance on the Yulu of Buddhist monks than Buddhist scriptures, which recorded the words and deeds of Buddha himself. Neo-Confucianism in the Song Dynasty was a reaction to the previous period of Sui-Tang 隋唐 where Buddhism was flourishing. It also had the purpose of reviving the spirit of China against foreign religions such as Buddhism. Therefore, with a strategy of “using foreigners to subdue foreigners”(以夷制夷), Confucian Scholars in the Song Dynasty benchmarked the Yulu of Buddhist monks and made their own Confucian tradition of Yulu.

1) Yi Hwang(李滉, 1501-1570) was a Confucian scholar in the Joseon Dynasty of Korea. Toegye 退溪 is his pen name.
2) The pen name 號 of Zhang Zai (張載, 1020-1077) is Hengqu 橫渠.
3) The pen name of Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) is Huian 晦庵.
Zhu Xi learned from history that Buddhist monks valued the *Yulu* and belittled the Buddhist scriptures. He feared that such a phenomenon would be repeated in Confucianism of his day. In this sense, Huang Gan (黃幹, 1152-1221), one of Zhu Xi’s major disciples, told Li Daochuan (李道傳, 1170-1271) who was the first to compile the *Yulu* of Zhu Xi that he would not change the writings of Zhu Xi for the *Yulu*, which contains nothing other than the records of conversations between Zhu Xi and other people. In other words, Huang Gan expressed opposition to the compilation of Zhu Xi’s words and deeds because he was afraid that people would only read the *Yulu* instead of Zhu Xi’s own writings.

Therefore, we can assume that the *Yulu* in periods where Confucianism was flourishing was not considered as the direct inheritance of the tradition of the *Lunyu*, nor as the credible documents which are useful for investigating the ideas and deeds of great men. Unlike the *Lunyu*, the *Yulu* of that time were clearly limited.

### 2. About Yanhanglu of Master Toegye

The *Yanhanglu* of Master Toegye is the most representative example of *Yanhanglu* inheriting the tradition of the *Lunyu* in Korea. After Toegye’s death in 1571, some of his disciples started to record the words and deeds of their master as they saw and heard. It is quite presumable that they believed these records to be timeless as the *Lunyu* or the *Mengzi*. Major *Yanhanglu* compiled by disciples are as follows:

*Toegyeseonsaengsilgi* 退溪先生實記 by Gim Seong-il 金誠一
*Dosaneonhaengrok* 陶山言行錄 by Gim Seong-il
*Eonhaengtongsul* 言行通述 by Jeong Yu-il 鄭惟一
*Jiheonillok* 芝軒日錄 by Jeong Sa-seong 鄭士誠
*Eonhaengsurok* 言行手錄 by U Seong-jeon 禹性傳

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4) A large part of the Chapter 2 is a modified and supplemented version of Haeje 解題 from the *Toegyeseonsaengeonhaengrok* 退溪先生言行錄 published by the Yeongnam Toegyehak Institute in 1994.
However, disciples of Toegye did not try to compile those Yanhanglu into one book. Since publishing a collection of their teacher's writings was a top priority for his pupils at that time, they had little time for collecting different Yanhanglu. After a time, four attempts had been made to publish the compilation of what Toegye said and did.

The first attempt was made by Im Yeong (林泳, 1649-1696). Although he named this book the Toegyeerok 退溪語錄 which means “Words of Toegye”, it actually contains Toegye’s deeds as well as words.

The second attempt was the Toegyeseonsaengeonhaengtongrok 退溪先生言行通錄 compiled by Gwon Du-gyeong (權斗經, 1654-1725). Compared to Im Yeong’s edition which is only one volume 卷, Gwon Du-gyeong’s edition amounts to eight volumes.

The third attempt was the Toegyeseonsaengeonhaengrok 退溪先生言行錄 compiled by Yi Su-yeon (李守淵, 1693-1748), a sixth-generation descendant of Toegye Yi Hwang. When Gwon Du-gyeong’s edition, also known as the Hwasan 花山 edition, was first published in the summer of 1732, scholars from many places including Andong 安東 questioned its authenticity. As a result, various opinions were gathered through letters or meetings, and many trials had been made to find better ways to correct the errors and change the structure and quantity of that edition. Finally, a new edition known as the Dosanseowon 陶山書院 edition was published at Dosanseowon in 1733.

The result of the fourth attempt was the Ijasueo 李子粹語. This version originated from the Dodongrok 道東錄 edited by Yi Ik (李瀷, 1681-1763). In his early 30s, Yi Ik picked up many great words from the writings of Toegye and his disciples, compiling them into the Dodongrok. About 40 years later, An Jeong-bok (安鼎福,
A S e r i a l  T r a n s l a t i o n  o f  a  C o l l e c t i o n  o f  T o e g y e  Y i  H w a n g ‘ s  W o r d s and Deeds

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1712-1791) and Yun Dong-gyu, Yi Ik’s two main pupils, re-edited the Dodongrok following the table of the Geunsarok 近思錄 with changing some contents. In 1953, they named the book “Ijasueo” and published it.

3. The content and order of the series of the English translation

This series is translated from the Dosanseowon edition picked up among the four editions above. This edition consists of six volumes:

The first five volumes are divided into 32 books including Learning and Questioning and On Reading. The sixth volume is the appendix including Facts about Yi Hwang written by Gim Seong-il6) and Recording words and deeds Yi Hwang written by Jeong Yu-il, etc. Gwon Du-gyeong divided the books and chapters as such and made up the composition of this whole collection. The detailed composition of this book are as follows.

Volume 1

BOOK 1. Learning and Questioning[學問]: 18 Chapters
BOOK 2. On Reading[讀書]: 22 Chapters
BOOK 3. The Investigation of Things[論格致]: 10 Chapters
BOOK 4. Preserving One’s Mind[存省]: 11 Chapters
BOOK 5. Staying Reverent[論持敬]: 9 Chapters
BOOK 6. Achieving Virtues[成德]: 10 Chapters
BOOK 7. Teaching People[敎人]: 37 Chapters

5) A large part of the Chapter 3 is a modified and supplemented version of Haeje (解題) from the Toegyeseonsaengyoonhaengrok (退溪先生言行錄) published by the Yeongnam Toegyehak Institute in 1994.

6) Gim Seong-il (金誠一, 1538~1593). His courtesy name字 is Sasun 士純, and his pen name is Hakbong鶴峰.
Volume 2

BOOK 1. Examining and Analyzing Studies[講辨]: 33 Chapters
BOOK 2. Disposition and Character[資品]: 5 Chapters
BOOK 3. Decorum[起居語點之節]: 17 Chapters
BOOK 4. Conduct[律身]: 11 Chapters
BOOK 5. Frugal Family Living[居家]: 21 Chapters
BOOK 6. Worshiping One’s Ancestors[奉先]: 12 Chapters
BOOK 7. Family Motto[家訓]: 18 Chapters
BOOK 8. Life in town[處鄉]: 15 Chapters
BOOK 9. Accepting or Denying Things in a Proper Way[辭受]: 17 Chapters

Volume 3

BOOK 1. Personal Relationships[交際]: 12 Chapters
BOOK 2. Proper Food and Clothing[飲食衣服之節]: 7 Chapters
BOOK 3. Enjoying Waters and Mountains[樂山水]: 14 Chapters
BOOK 4. Entering and Resigning Public Office[出處]: 31 Chapters
BOOK 5. Serving the King[事君]: 11 Chapters
BOOK 6. Advising the King[告君陳誡]: 6 Chapters
BOOK 7. Public Life[居官]: 16 Chapters

Volume 4

BOOK 1. Discussing Li and Qi[論理氣]: 9 Chapters
BOOK 2. Discussing Norms and Rituals: the Four Ceremonial Occasions of Coming of age, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites[論禮]: 64 Chapters
BOOK 3. Discussing Current Issues[論時事]: 14 Chapters
Volume 5

BOOK 1. Evaluating People  [論人物]: 31 Chapters
BOOK 2. Reviewing Faults in the Civil Service Exam [論科擧之弊]: 9 Chapters
BOOK 3. Revering the Study of Truth  [崇正學]: 14 Chapters
BOOK 4. Further Records [雜記]: 19 Chapters
BOOK 5. Appealing to the King in the Royal Command Lectures Given to the King [箋臣啓辭]: 6 Chapters
BOOK 6. Records on Death [考終記]: 19 Chapters

Volume 6

1. Facts about Yi Hwang [實記] by Gim Seong-il 金誠一
2. Recording the Words and Deeds of Yi Hwang [言行通述] by Jeong Yu-il 鄭惟一
3. Memoirs of Yi Hwang [遺事] by Yi I 李珥
4. A Brief Record of Yi Hwang’s Life [行略] by Bak Sun 朴淳
5. A Discussion on Posthumous Promotion [崇終獻議]
6. A Imperial decree [敎旨文]
7. A eulogy [祭文] by Yi Jeong 李楨, etc.

We are planning to run a serial series of A Collection of Yi Hwang’s Words and Deeds which has never been translated before because we are hoping that this work will bring the life and thoughts of Yi Hwang to the world.

For translating the book, we are indebted to the existing Korean translation of A Collection of Yi Hwang’s Words and Deeds, which is posted on the web site of the Institution for the Translation of Korean Classics 韓國古典翻譯院. However, we are responsible for any errors in our own translation.
[1.1] The Master learned the *Lunyu* from his uncle Songjae 松齋7) at the age of 12. One day he asked his uncle the meaning of *li* 理 in the *Lunyu* by saying, “Does *li* refer to the right way to deal with things?” Songjae answered with joy by saying, “You already grasped the meaning of it!”

recorded by (hereafter “-”) Yi An-do 李安道8)

先生十二歲時，受論語於叔父松齋先生[名堣字明仲]，一日將論語中[李德弘錄作子張篇]理字，問曰“凡事之是者，是理乎?” 松齋喜曰“汝已解文義矣.”

[1.2] The Master said, “My uncle Songjae was very strict in encouraging my learning so he did not show his feelings on his face or about what he said. One day, I recited the *Lunyu* together with its commentaries to the end in front of my uncle. Although I finished it without making a single slip, he did not pay me a compliment. I owe my diligent study habits to his teaching and encouragement.”

-Gim Seong-il 金誠一

先生曰“叔父松齋公，勸學甚嚴，不假辭色．嘗背誦論語兼集註，自初章至終篇，不差一字，而亦無奬許之言．余之不怠於學，皆叔父教督之力也．”

[1.3] One day, when he was young, the Master visited a town near Yeongok 燕谷. In this town, there was a little clean pond. Looking upon the pond, he wrote a poem which reads:

*Beautiful grasses wet with dews grow along a pond’s edge*

7) Yi U(李堣, 1469-1517). His courtesy name is Myeongjung明仲 and Songjae松齋 is his pen name.

8) Yi An-do(李安道, 1541-1584). His courtesy name字 is Bongwon逢原 and his pen name is Mongjae蒙齋.
There was hardly a speck of dust on the water surface
Floating clouds and flying birds have their own ways
I only fear that a swallow might make some ripples

In this poem, he was worried that renyu 人欲 might interfere with the activity of tianli 天理.9)

-Gim Bu-ryun 金富倫10)

先生少時，偶遊燕谷[里名，近溫溪]，谷有小池，水甚清淨. 先生作詩曰“露草夭夭繞水涯，
小塘清活淨無沙，雲飛鳥過元相管，只怕時時燕蹴波.”謂天理流行，而恐人欲間之.
[金富倫〇金誠一，亦記此詩曰“此與朱子觀書有感之詩，同其意.”云云.]

[1.4] The Master said, “When I had the chance to read the first and last volume of the Xinglidaquan 性理大全 at the age of 19, I was filled with joy and opened my eyes to learning without even realizing it. I had read and examined the Xinglidaquan for a long time, and have become more and more aware of its meaning. At the same time, I felt that I found a way to Confucian learning.”

-Yi Deok-hong 李德弘11)

先生自言“十九歲時，初得性理大全首尾二卷，試讀之，不覺心悅而眼開. 玩熟蓋久，
漸見意味，似得其門路矣.”[李德弘]

[1.5] The Master said, “When I was young, I had my mind set on Confucian learning to the point where I was engrossed in studying day and night without even resting or sleeping. As a consequence, I got a chronic disease and have been sick since then. So I tell you, all my students, that you always have to set a time to wake up and go to bed with consideration for your physical condition. You also have

9) [Original note(Hereafter “ON”)] Recording this poem, Gim Seong-il said that it shares the same meaning with the Guanshuyougan 觀書有感 by Zhuzi.
10) Gim Bu-ryun(金富倫, 1531-1598). His courtesy name is Donseo惇敍 and his pen name is Seorwoldang雪月堂.
11) Yi Deok-hong(李德弘, 1541-1596). His courtesy name is Goengjung宏仲 and his pen name號 is Ganjae艮齋.
to examine your body condition regarding time and space, not letting your mind neglect its duty of checking your own health. You need not follow in my footsteps and become sick.”

-Yi Deok-hong 李德弘

先生嘗言“吾少時，有志此學，終日不輟，終夜不寐，遂得痼疾，迄未免病廢之人。學者須量其氣力，當寢而寢，當起而起，隨時隨處，觀省體驗，不使此心放逸而已，何必如此以致生病乎!”[李德弘]

[1.6] The Master said earlier, “I had set my sights on Confucian learning in my youth, but I could not find teachers or colleagues to encourage my learning. I had no clue where or how to start my studying, so that I pointlessly wasted my energy in researching and sometimes stayed up all night without even lying down. As a result, I finally came to have a nervous breakdown and had to quit studying for many years. If I had a chance to meet good teachers or colleagues who could show me the way in the maze, I would never be like me of today who is a tired old man with no academic achievement.”

-Gim Seong-il 金誠一

嘗曰“余自少，雖志於學，而無師友啓發之人。倉倉數十年，未知入頭下功處，枉費心思，探索不置，或終夜靜坐，未嘗就枕，仍得心恙，廢學者累年。若果得師友指示迷途，則豈至枉用心力，老而無得乎?”[金誠一。○此雖是自謙之辭，而其為學超然獨得，不由師友，亦可想也。本註]

[1.7] The Master said to his disciples earlier, “I had set my sights on Confucian learning in my youth, but I had a nervous breakdown halfway into my studies and almost had to quit studying. Recently I reappraised the importance of Confucian learning, and now I am trying to finish it at this old age only to find myself exhausted and weak-willed. How lamentable!”

-Jeong Yu-il 鄭惟一

[12) [ON] Gim Seong-il recorded, “The words of the master are very humble. By these words, however, we can assume that he achieved his studies all by himself, without any help from teachers or companions.”
嘗謂學者曰:‘吾少時, 有志此學, 中因心病, 幾至廢墮。晚復覺悟, 欲了此一大事, 而血氣已衰, 志慮難強, 可歎也。’

[1.8] When Master Yi Hwang went to the national academy Sungkyunkwan 成均館, harmful effects of the Gimyosahwa 己卯士禍[Third literati purge of 1519] still remained there. Students at that time lived in a state of avoiding sage learning and wasting their time with idle jokes. The Master was the only one who tried to behave in a gentle manner and match his words with actions on the basis of Confucian propriety. However, his sincerity was ridiculed by many and the only scholar he could socialize with was Kim In-hu 金麟厚.14

The Master went to visit Mr. Hwang15 and had a chance to read the Xinjingfuzhu 心經附註 for the first time. All of the commentaries in that book were quotations from Chengzi 程子·Zhuzi 朱子, and people at that time found it almost impossible to even punctuate sentences to get their meaning. The Master retired to his room for months with that book and meditated on it day and night. As time went by, he gradually came to understand it. When the Master met a sentence which was hard to understand, he put it away for a some time instead of forcefully trying to understand it. After a while, he looked at that sentence again and meditated on the sentence repeatedly with an empty mind. In the end, there were no sentence that he could not understand.

- Yi Deok-hong 李德弘

13) Jeong Yu-il(鄭惟一, 1533-1576). His courtesy name is Jajung子中 and his pen name is Munbong文峯.
14) Kim In-hu(金麟厚, 1510-1560). His courtesy name is Huji厚之 and his pen name is Haseo河西.
15) Detailed Information about him is unknown.
[1.9] The Master said, “Only after reading the Xinjing 心經, did I understand the essence of the ‘philosophy of mind’[心學] and the elaboration of mind management[心法]. For my entire life, I revered this book like God and respected it like a strict father.”

-Yi Deok-hong 李德弘
先生自言“吾得心經而後, 始知心學之淵源, 心法之精微. 故吾平生, 信此書如神明, 敬此書如嚴父.”

[1.10] The Master said, “Since I had set my sights on Confucian learning in my youth, it cannot be said that I achieved nothing. However, I never had the chance to meet good teachers or colleagues and discuss controversial topics together when I was young. As a result, I was not able to have a clear view of the Way[道理]. Furthermore, as I served as a government officer before laying the foundation of my learning, it became harder for me to concentrate on improving my study. Then from years ago, I read the Zhuzidaquan 朱子大全 and had the glimpse of its meaning. Still, I dare not say that I have grasped the deep and profound meaning of the book.”

-Gim Bu-ryun 金富倫
先生曰“余自少, 有志於學, 不可謂無學問之功. 然不得與明師友, 難疑辨惑於道理, 殊無的見. 學未優而遽至登仕, 則又不專於素業矣. 自近年讀朱子大全, 稍有見處, 然安敢測其門牆之深奧乎!”

[1.11] The Master said, “Being old and ignorant, I have had a strong faith in sayings of saints and the wise since I was young. I was unmoved by honor, disgrace and other people’s judgement. Nor did I try to make myself stand out by claiming eccentric views. Scholars who are influenced by honor, disgrace and other people’s judgement cannot stand by themselves. And if they try to make themselves stand out by claiming eccentric views, they will not save themselves. In sum, scholars cannot stick to teachings of saints and the wise without having strong faith in them.”

-Gim Bu-ryun 金富倫
先生曰“余雖老而無聞, 但自少, 置信聖賢之言, 而不拘於毀譽榮辱, 亦未曾立異而為衆所怪.”
若爲學者畏其毁譽榮辱，則無以自立矣，且內無功夫，而遽然立異爲衆所怪，則無以自保矣。要之，學者須是硬確，方能有所據守。”[金富倫]

[1.12] The scholarship of the Master was always based on [the sayings of] Chengzi 程子 and Zhuzi 朱子. He took both jing 敬 and yi 義 into consideration and practiced moral wisdom as well as moral behavior. He never said one thing and meant another. He also equipped himself with both the ends and the means. He recognized the essence of Confucian learning with clarity, and firmly set the foundation of it. If I have to choose ‘one true master’ in the East, my choice will always be my master, Toegye Yi Hwang.
- Jeong Yu-il 鄭惟一

先生學問，一以程朱爲準，敬義夾持，知行並進，表裏如一，本末兼擧，洞見大原，植立大本。若論其至，吾東方一人而已。[鄭惟一]

[1.13] Although his condition grew worse with age, the Master tried even harder to make progress in his studies and felt great responsibility to follow the Way[道]. He always acted with gravity, respected others and cultivated his good nature. He did these things more strictly when he was alone. He woke before the sunrise, washed his face, brushed his hair, and put on his hat. After finishing his morning routine, the Master would read books all day or he calmly sat down with incense burning to visualize in his mind as if he saw the sunrise.
- Gim Seong-il 金誠一

先生年益高病益深，而進學益力，任道益重。其莊敬持養之功，尤嚴於幽獨得肆之地。平居未明而起，必盥櫛冠衣，終日觀書，或焚香靜坐，常提省此心，如日初升。[金誠一]

[1.14] In the winter of 1561, the Master stayed at Wanrakjae 玩樂齋 in Dosanseodang 陶山書堂. Every morning when the rooster crowed, he woke up and solemnly recited a text, which I understood was the Xinjingfuzhu 心經附註.
A disciple asked, “What if I write proverbs or aphorisms on a hanging scroll and always look at it to examine myself?”

The Master answered, “People in the past had moral inscriptions on everything including their basins, dishware, table, and cane. However, all the good inscriptions will be of no use unless you firmly make up your mind to examine and correct yourself with sincerity. If you really want to engage in Confucian learning, try to follow Zhang Zai’s teachings. He said that you should do the right things during the day and learn new lessons during the night. He also taught us that you should talk by the rule of Confucian teachings, behave with propriety, and preserve and cultivate your nature in any moment. If you live by the words of Zhang Zai, you can manage your mind all the time without proverbs or aphorisms on a hanging scroll.”

A disciple asked, “Zhuzi always taught his disciples to focus on clear and easy things. Do ‘clear and easy things’ refer to the daily chores such as serving the parents and respecting the elders?”

The Master answered, “That is correct. When Confucius said to Fanchi that he should remain reverent in his private life; be respectful in handling affairs; do his best in his relationship with others (Lunyu 13:19), the guru was certainly talking about clear and easy things.”

問“朱子常令學者, 於平易明白處用功夫. 所謂平易明白處, 乃事親從兄, 日用常行之事乎?”
先生曰“然. 孔子告樊遲曰‘居處恭, 執事敬, 與人忠.’ 皆是平易明白處也.” [金誠一]

[1.17] The Master said, “If you need to know the door to the Way [道], you might as well find one in the Zhuzidaquan 朱子大全. You can save your energy if you start from that book.”

- Gim Bu-ryun 金富倫

先生曰“學者欲知入道之門, 即於朱子大全中求之, 則易得用力之地矣.” [金富倫]

[1.18] The Master treasured the Xinjing 心經 in such a way that he added a review to that book and borrowed the case of Xu Heng 許衡 as a metaphor to explain his love towards it. Therefore, it is fair to say that the Master is the only one who understands the true meaning of the Xinjing since Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, [the author of this book]. It is also not very far from the truth that the master is to Zhen Dexiu as Yang Xiong 揚雄 is to Sima Xiangru 司馬相如. 

先生最愛心經, 係後論於篁墩之書, 而引魯齋神明父母之喻. 西山之後, 唯先生為深知此書之味, 而自西山言之, 亦未為不遇後世之雲矣. [鄭逑. ○鄭逑又答徐思遠書曰] 心經質疑, 初非出於先生之自為, 一時門生私自記錄, 傳播行世, 未必瑩然無一毫未盡者, 今遂移錄書頭, 而泛然上進, 則恐非李先生之本意也.”

17) Xu Heng(許衡, 1209-1281) was a Confucian scholar of the Yuan Dynasty in China. Lu zhai鲁齋 is his pen name. He was known to worship the Xiaoxue小學 like the holy spirit or his parents.

18) Zhen Dexiu(真德秀, 1178-1235) was a Chinese politician and philosopher during the Southern Song dynasty. Xishan西山 is his pen name. He collected arguments and teachings about mind from various scholars into a book called the Xinjing心經.

19) Yang Xiong (揚雄, 53 BCE–18 CE) was a Chinese poet, philosopher, and politician of the Han dynasty. In his youth, Yang Xiong admired his elder compatriot Sima Xiangru (司馬相如, c. 179–117 BC) and tried to imitate the writing style of Sima Xiangru.

20) [ON] In his answer to a letter from Seo Sa-won 徐思遠, Jeong Gu 鄭逑 said, “The Simgyeongjirui 心經質疑 - a book review to the Xinjing- was not written by the Master himself: one of his disciples personally wrote down the words of the master and spread them to the world. So it is possible that the book might have some flaws. What I am afraid now is that transcribing it to the front of this article might be against the original intention of the Master.”

21) Seo Sa-won (徐思遠, 1550-1615) was a Confucian scholar in the Joseon Dynasty of Korea. Rakjae 樂齋 was his pen name. He learned from Jeong Gu (鄭逑, 1543-1620).