



Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) (1130–1200)

# Neo-Confucianism

## Zhu Xi

Zhu Xi (Chu Hsi) brought the development of Neo-Confucianism to a culminating synthesis. He brought together Zhou Dunyi's conception of the Great Ultimate (*Taiji/T'ai-chi* 太極) together with the concept of principle (*li* 理) emphasized by the Cheng brothers. A great scholar, he edited and compiled the Four Books (the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*), establishing the basis for the state examination system that last until 1905. He is credited with restoring Confucianism to its original focus on moral cultivation. The selections here are from *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* compiled and translated by the 20<sup>th</sup> century Neo-Confucian philosopher Wing-Tsit Chan. The comments included within the selections are from Professor Chan.

### Selections from *The Complete Works of Chu Hsi*

#### 1. Moral Cultivation

##### a. How to Study

1. *Question*: Does what is called the fundamental task consist only in preserving the mind, nourishing the nature, and cultivating and controlling them?

*Answer*: Both the effort of preserving and nourishing and that of the investigation of principle (*li* 理) to the utmost must be thorough. However, the effort of investigating principle to the utmost is already found within that of preserving and nourishing, and the effort of preserving and nourishing is already found within that of the investigation of principle to the utmost. To investigate principle to the utmost is the same as investigating to the utmost what is preserved, and to preserve and nourish is the same as nourishing what has been investigated. (1:18b-19a)

2. Now there is nothing for the student to do except to examine all principles with his mind. Principle is what is possessed by the mind. Always preserve this mind to examine all principles. These are the only things to do. (1 :19a)

3. Although literature cannot be abolished, nevertheless the cultivation of the essential and the examination of the difference between the Principle of Nature (*tianli/t'ien li* 天理, Principle of Heaven) and human selfish desires are things that must not be interrupted for a single moment in the course of our daily activities and movement and rest. If one understands this point clearly, he will naturally not get to the point where he will drift into the popular ways of success and profit and expedient schemes. I myself did not really see the point until recently. Although my past defect of emphasizing fragmentary and isolated details showed different symptoms from these ways of life, yet the faults of forgetting the self, chasing after material things, leaving the internal empty, and greedily desiring the external remain the same. Master Ch'eng said, "One must not allow the myriad things in the world to disturb him. When the self is established, one will naturally understand the myriad things in the world."<sup>1</sup> When one does not even know where to anchor his body and mind, he talks about the kingly way and the despotic way, and discusses and studies the task of putting the world in order as if it were a trick. Is that not mistaken? (1 :30a-b)

4. I have heard the sayings of Master Ch'eng I, "Self-cultivation requires seriousness (*jing/ching* 精). The pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge."<sup>2</sup> These two sayings are really the essentials for the student to advance in establishing himself in life. And the two efforts have never failed to develop each other. However, when Master Ch'eng taught people to hold fast to seriousness, he meant nothing more than the primary importance of being orderly in clothing and appearance, and by the extension of knowledge he meant no more than to find out, in reading books and history and in dealing with things, where their principles are. The teachings are nothing like the absurd, wild, and unreasonable theories of recent times. (1 :37b-38a)

---

<sup>1</sup> *I-shu*, 6:2a.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 18:5b.

*b. Preserving the Mind (xin/hsin 心) and Nourishing the Nature*

5. If one can in his daily life and at leisurely moments decidedly collect his mind right here, that is the equilibrium before the feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are aroused, and is the undifferentiated Principle of Nature. As things and affairs approach, the mind can clearly see which is right and which is wrong accordingly. What is right is the Principle of Nature, and what is wrong is in violation of the Principle of Nature. If one can always collect the mind like this, it would be as if he holds the scale and balance to measure things. (2:2a)

6. The mind embraces all principles and all principles are complete in this single entity, the mind. If one is not able to preserve the mind, he will be unable to investigate principle to the utmost. If he is unable to investigate principle to the utmost, he will be unable to exert his mind to the utmost. (2:4b)

7. Someone asked: How about guarding against depravity and concentrating on one thing? Answer: Concentrating on one thing is similar to “holding the will firm,” and guarding against depravity is similar to “never doing violence to the vital force (*qi/chi* 氣).”<sup>3</sup> To guard against depravity merely means to prevent depraved forces from entering [the mind], whereas in concentrating on one thing one protects it from the inside. Neither should be unbalanced in any way. This is the way the internal and the external mutually cultivate each other. (2: 8b)

*c. Holding Fast to Seriousness (jing/ching 精)*

8. The task of seriousness is the first principle of the Confucian School, From the beginning to the end, it must not be interrupted for a single moment. (2:21b)

9. Seriousness merely means the mind being its own master. (2:22a)

10. If one succeeds in preserving seriousness, his mind will be tranquil and the Principle of Nature will be perfectly clear to him. At no point is the slightest effort exerted, and at no point is the slightest effort not exerted. (2:22a)

11. To be serious does not mean to sit still like a blockhead, with the ear hearing nothing, the eye seeing nothing, and the mind thinking of nothing, and only then it can be called seriousness. It is merely to be apprehensive and careful and dare not give free rein to oneself. In this way both body and mind will be collected and concentrated as if one is apprehensive of something. If one can always be like this, his dispositions will naturally be changed. Only when one has succeeded in preserving his mind can he engage in study. (2:22a)

12. It is not necessary to talk much about the doctrine of holding fast to seriousness. One has only to brood over thoroughly these sayings [of Ch’eng I], “Be orderly and dignified,”<sup>4</sup> “Be grave and austere,”<sup>5</sup> “Be correct in movement and appearance and be orderly in thoughts and deliberations,”<sup>6</sup> and “Be correct in your dress and dignified in your gaze,”<sup>7</sup> and make real effort. Then what [Ch’eng] called straightening the internal life and concentrating on one thing will naturally need no manipulation, one’s body and mind will be serious, and the internal and external will be unified. (2:22a-b)

---

<sup>3</sup> Mencius, 2A:2.

<sup>4</sup> *I-shu*, 15:5a.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 15:21a; originally from the *Book of Rites*, “Meaning of Sacrifices.” Cf. translation by Legge, *Li Ki*, vol. 2, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> *I-shu*, 15:5a; the first half originally from *Analects*, 8:4.

<sup>7</sup> *I-shu*, 18:3a.

## 7. The Mind

75. The principle of the mind (*xinli/hsin li* 心理) is the Great Ultimate (*Taiji/T'ai-chi* 太極). The activity and tranquillity of the mind are the *yin* and *yang*. (44: 1b)

76. Mind alone has no opposite. (44:1b)

77. *Question*: Is consciousness what it is because of the intelligence of the mind or is it because of the activity of material force (*qi/chi* 氣)?

*Answer*: Not material force alone. [Before material force existed], there was already the principle of consciousness. But principle at this stage does not give rise to consciousness. Only when it comes into union with material force is consciousness possible. Take, for example, the flame of this candle. It is because it has received this rich fat that there is so much light.

*Question*: Is that which emanates from the mind material force?

*Answer*: No, that is simply consciousness (44:2a)

78. *Question*: Mind is consciousness and the nature is principle. How do the mind and principle pervade each other and become one?

*Answer*: They need not move to pervade each other. From the very start they pervade each other.

*Question*: How do they pervade each other from the very start?

*Answer*: Without the mind, principle would have nothing in which to inhere. (44:2a)

79. *Question*: Mind as an entity embraces all principles. The good that emanates of course proceeds from the mind. But the evil that emanates is all due to selfish material desires endowed by material force. Does it also proceed from the mind?

*Answer*: It is certainly not the original substance of the mind, but it also emanates from the mind.

*Further question*: Is this what is called the human mind?"

*Answer*: Yes.

Thereupon Ch'ien Tzu-sheng asked: Does the human mind include both good and evil?

*Answer*: Both are included. (44:2b-3a)

80. Master Chang Tsai said that "in the unity of the nature and consciousness, there is the mind." I am afraid this idea is not free from error, as though there was a consciousness outside our nature. (44:5a)

81. *Question*: The mind is essentially an active thing. It is not clear to me whether before (feelings) are aroused the mind is completely quiet and tranquil or whether its tranquillity contains within it a tendency toward activity.

*Answer*: It is not that tranquillity contains within it a tendency toward activity. Master Chou Tun-i said that "when tranquil, it is in the state of non-being. When active, it is in the state of being."<sup>8</sup> Tranquillity is not non-being as such. Because it has not assumed physical form, we call it non-being. It is not because of activity that there is being. Because (activity makes) it visible, we call it being. Heng-ch'ü's (Chang Tsai's) theory that "the mind commands man's nature and feelings" is excellent. The nature is tranquil while feelings are active, and the mind involves both tranquillity and activity. Whether these refer to its substance or its function depends on one's point of view. While it is in the state of tranquillity, the principle of activity is already present. Ch'eng I said that in the state of equilibrium (before the feelings are aroused), "Although the ear hears nothing and the eye sees nothing, nevertheless the principles of hearing and seeing must be already there before hearing and seeing are possible." When activity takes place, it is the same tranquillity that becomes active. (44:6b-7a)

82. In the passage, "By enlarging one's mind, one can enter into all things in the world,"<sup>9</sup> the expression "enter into" is like saying that humanity enters into all events and is all-pervasive. It means that the operation of the principle of the mind penetrates all as blood circulates and reaches the entire body. If there is a single thing not yet entered, the reaching is not yet complete and there are still things not yet embraced. This shows that the mind still excludes something. For selfishness separates and obstructs, and consequently one and others stand in opposition. This being the case, even those dearest to us may be excluded. "Therefore the mind that leaves something outside is not capable of uniting itself with the mind of Heaven."<sup>10</sup> (44: 12b)

<sup>8</sup> *T'ung-shu*, ch.2.

<sup>9</sup> Chang Tsai, *Cheng-meng*, ch. 7, *Chang Tzu chüan-shu*, 2:21a.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*

10. Principle (*li* 理) and Material Force (*qi*/*chi* 氣)

100. In the universe there has never been any material force without principle or principle without material force. (49: la)

101. *Question*: Which exists first, principle or material force?

*Answer*: Principle has never been separated from material force. However, principle “exists before physical form [and is therefore without it]” whereas material force “exists after physical form [and is therefore with it].”<sup>11</sup> Hence when spoken of as being before or after physical form, is there not the difference of priority and posteriority? Principle has no physical form, but material force is coarse and contains impurities. (49: la-b)

102. Fundamentally principle and material force cannot be spoken of as prior or posterior. But if we must trace their origin, we are obliged to say that principle is prior. However, principle is not a separate entity. It exists right in material force. Without material force, principle would have nothing to adhere to. As material force, there are the Agents (or Elements) of Metal, Wood, Water, and Fire. As principle, there are humanity (*ren*/*jen* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), and wisdom (*zhi*/*chih* 智). (49: ib)

103. *Question*: About the relation between principle and material force.

*Answer*: I-ch’uan (Ch’eng I) expressed it very well when he said that principle is one but its manifestations are many. When heaven, earth, and the myriad things are spoken of together, there is only one principle. As applied to man, however, there is in each individual a particular principle. (49: ib)

104. *Question*: What are the evidences that principle is in material force?

*Answer*: For example, there is order in the complicated interfusion of the *yin* and the *yang* and of the Five Agents. Principle is there. If material force does not consolidate and integrate, principle would have nothing to attach itself to. (49:2b)

105. *Question*: May we say that before heaven and earth existed there was first of all principle?

*Answer*: Before heaven and earth existed, there was after all only principle. As there is this principle, therefore there are heaven and earth. If there were no principle, there would also be no heaven and earth, no man, no things, and in fact, no containing or sustaining (of things by heaven and earth) to speak of. As there is principle, there is therefore material force to operate everywhere and nourish and develop all things.

*Question*: Is it principle that nourishes and develops all things?

*Answer*: As there is this principle, therefore there is this material force operating, nourishing, and developing. Principle itself has neither physical form nor body. (49:3a-b)

106. K’o-chi asked: When the creative process disposes of things, is it the end once a thing is gone, or is there a principle by which a thing that is gone may return?

*Answer*: It is the end once a thing is gone. How can there be material force that has disintegrated and yet integrates once more? (49:3b-4a)

107. *Question*: “The Lord on High has conferred even on the inferior people a moral sense.”<sup>12</sup> “When Heaven is about to confer a great responsibility on any man. . .”<sup>13</sup> “Heaven, to protect the common people, made for them rulers.”<sup>14</sup> “Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their natural capacity.”<sup>15</sup> “On the good-doer, the Lord on High sends down all blessings, and on the evildoer, He sends down all miseries.” “When Heaven is about to send calamities to the world, it will always first produce abnormal people as a measure of their magnitude.” In passages like these, does it mean that Heaven has no personal consciousness and the passages are merely deductions from principle?

*Answer*: These passages have the same meaning. It is simply that principle operates this way. (49:4a)

<sup>11</sup> *Book of Changes*, “Appended Remarks,” pt. 1, ch. 12. Cf. Legge, *Yi King*, p. 377. About this translation, see Appendix, comment on “*Hsing-erh-shang*.”

<sup>12</sup> *History*, “Announcement of T’ang.” Cf. Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 185.

<sup>13</sup> *Mencius*, 6B: 15.

<sup>14</sup> *History*, “Great Oath.” Cf. Legge, p.286.

<sup>15</sup> *The Mean*, ch. 17.

108. Principle attaches to material force and thus operates. (49: 4b)

109. Throughout the universe there are both principle and material force. Principle refers to the Way, which exists before physical form [and is without it] and is the root from which all things are produced. Material force refers to material objects, which exists after physical form [and is with it]; it is the instrument by which things are produced. Therefore in the production of man and things, they must be endowed with principle before they have their nature, and they must be endowed with material force before they have physical form. (49:5b)

110. What are called principle and material force are certainly two different entities. But considered from the standpoint of things, the two entities are merged one with the other and cannot be separated with each in a different place. However, this does not destroy the fact that the two entities are each an entity in itself. When considered from the standpoint of principle, before things existed, their principles of being had already existed. Only their principles existed, however, but not yet the things themselves. Whenever one studies these aspects, one should clearly recognize and distinguish them, and consider both principle and material force from the beginning to the end, and then one will be free from error. (49:5b-6a)

111. There is principle before there can be material force. But it is only when there is material force that principle finds a place to settle. This is the process by which all things are produced, whether large as heaven and earth or small as ants, Why should we worry that in the creative process of Heaven and Earth, endowment may be wanting? Fundamentally, principle cannot be interpreted in the senses of existence or nonexistence. Before Heaven and Earth came into being, it already was as it is. (49:6a)

112. Considering the fact that all things come from one source, we see that their principle is the same but their material force different. Looking at their various substances, we see that their material force is similar but their principle utterly different. The difference in material force is due to the inequality of its purity or impurity, whereas the difference in principle is due to its completeness or partiality. If you will please examine thoroughly, there should be no further doubt. (49 :7a)

113. The nature of man and things is nothing but principle and cannot be spoken of in terms of integration and disintegration. That which integrates to produce life and disintegrates to produce death is only material force. What we called the spirit, the heavenly and earthly aspects of the soul (*hun-p'o*), and consciousness are all effects of material force. Therefore when material force is integrated, there are these effects. When it is disintegrated, there are no more. As to principle, fundamentally it does not exist or cease to exist because of such integration or disintegration. As there is a certain principle, there is the material force corresponding to it, and as this material force integrates in a particular instance, its principle is also endowed in that instance. (49:8a)

### 11. *The Great Ultimate (Taiji/T'ai-chi 太極)*

114. The Great Ultimate is nothing other than principle. (49:8b)

*Comment.* This is the central idea in Chu Hsi's philosophy. He considered Chou Tun-i's doctrine of the Great Ultimate as based on principle instead of material force, as was the case before Chou's time. The concept was implied in Chou but firmly established in Chu Hsi.

115. *Question:* The Great Ultimate is not a thing existing in a chaotic state before the formation of heaven and earth, but a general name for the principles of heaven and earth and the myriad things. Is that correct?

*Answer:* The Great Ultimate is merely the principle of heaven and earth and the myriad things. With respect to heaven and earth, there is the Great Ultimate in them. With respect to the myriad things, there is the Great Ultimate in each and every one of them. Before heaven and earth existed, there was assuredly this principle. It is the principle that "through movement generates the *yang*." It is also this principle that "through tranquillity generates the *yin*."<sup>16</sup> (49: 8b-9a)

116. *Question:* [You said,] "Principle is a single, concrete entity, and the myriad things partake it as their substance. Hence each of the myriad things possesses in it a Great Ultimate." According to this theory, does the Great Ultimate not split up into parts?

*Answer:* Fundamentally there is only one Great Ultimate, yet each of the myriad things has been endowed with it and each in itself possesses the Great Ultimate in its entirety. This is similar to the fact that there is only one moon

---

<sup>16</sup> Chou Tun-i, *An Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate*.

in the sky but when its light is scattered upon rivers and lakes, it can be seen everywhere. It cannot be said that the moon has been split. (49:10b-11a)

*Comment.* The idea that principle is one but its manifestations are many is derived from Ch'eng but the doctrine was not fully developed until Chu Hsi. Its similarity with the doctrine of one and many in the Hua-yen School of Buddhism has been noted. Chu's analogy of the moon is a specific, though indirect, borrowing of the Hua-yen analogy of the moon and its many reflections. According to Fung Yu-lan, it is similar to the Hua-yen metaphor of "the realm of Indra's net" which contains many jewels each of which reflects not only the image of every other jewel but also all the multiple images reflected in each of those other jewels. However, Fung correctly adds that while according to the Hua-yen School within any given individual concrete object all other concrete objects are actually present, to Chu Hsi, each concrete object has within it the Great Ultimate, that is, the principles of all things but not the physical objects themselves.

117. The Great Ultimate has neither spatial restriction nor physical form or body. There is no spot where it may be placed. When it is considered in the state before activity begins, this state is nothing but tranquillity. Now activity, tranquillity, *yin*, and *yang* all exist only after physical form [and are with it]. However, activity is after all the activity of the Great Ultimate and tranquillity is also its tranquillity, although activity and tranquillity themselves are not the Great Ultimate. This is why Master Chou Tun-i only spoke of that state as Non-ultimate. While the state before activity begins cannot be spoken of as the Great Ultimate, nevertheless the principles of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy are already inherent in it. Pleasure and joy belong to *yang* and anger and sorrow belong to *yin*. In the initial stage the four are not manifested, but their principles are already there. As contrasted with the state after activity begins, it may be called the Great Ultimate. But still it is difficult to say. All this is but a vague description. The truth must be personally realized by each individual himself. (49:11a-b)

118. Someone asked about the Great Ultimate. Reply: The Great Ultimate is simply the principle of the highest good. Each and every person has in him the Great Ultimate and each and every thing has in it the Great Ultimate. What Master Chou calls the Great Ultimate is a name to express all the virtues and the highest good in Heaven and Earth, man, and things. (49: lib)

*Comment.* Commenting on this passage, Fung Yu-lan said, "The Supreme Ultimate is very much like what Plato called the Idea of the Good, or what Aristotle called God."<sup>17</sup> Previously, Bruce had asserted that Chou Tun-i's doctrine of the Supreme Ultimate was expanded and interpreted by the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi along lines suggestive of Plato and Aristotle.<sup>18</sup> Recently, Carsun Chang compared Chu Hsi and Aristotle in the greatest detail so far. He pointed out that Chu Hsi agrees with Aristotle that Ideas do not exist for themselves, that the Idea as the one does not exist apart from the many, that matter exists in the sense of possibility or capacity, that matter and form exist together, that there is an eternal principle, that it is at once form, end, and moving cause, that matter is the ultimate source of the imperfection in things and that it is the principle of individuation and plurality, that an entity (God or Heaven) exists which imparts motion but is itself unmoved, and that it is pure energy, eternal, and good per se. However, he added that although Chu Hsi is an Aristotelian in the field of nature, he is a Platonist in the field of moral values, recognizing that there exists an eternal, unchanging truth.<sup>19</sup>

Needham, however, rejects any comparison with Aristotle. He says: "It is true that form was the factor of individuation, that which gave rise to the unity of any organism and its purposes; so was *Li*. But there the resemblance ceases. The form of the body was the soul; but the great tradition of Chinese philosophy had no place for souls. . . . Again, Aristotelian form actually conferred substantiality on things, but . . . the *ch'i* [material force] was not brought into being by *Li*, and *Li* had only a logical priority. *Ch'i* did not depend upon *Li* in any way. Form was the 'essence' and 'primary substance' of things, but *Li* was not itself substantial or

<sup>17</sup> Fung, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 2, p. 537.

<sup>18</sup> Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>19</sup> Carsun Chang, *Neo-Confucian Thought*, pp. 255-256.

any form of *ch'i*. . . . I believe that *Li* was not in any strict sense metaphysical, as were Platonic ideas and Aristotelian forms, but rather the invisible organizing fields or forces existing at all levels within the natural world. Pure form and pure actuality was God, but in the world of *Li* and *ch'i* there was no Chu-Tsai [Director I whatsoever]."<sup>20</sup>

These comparisons show that in any comparative study similarities are usually accompanied by dissimilarities. The important point to note is that Chu Hsi is neither Platonic nor Aristotelian. The usual Western polarities do not apply in Chinese philosophy.

119. The Great Ultimate is similar to the top of a house or the zenith of the sky, beyond which point there is no more. It is the ultimate of principle. *Yang* is active and *yin* is tranquil. In these it is not the Great Ultimate that acts or remains tranquil. It is simply that there are the principles of activity and tranquillity. Principle is not visible; it becomes visible through *yin* and *yang*. Principle attaches itself to *yin* and *yang* as a man sits astride a horse. As soon as *yin* and *yang* produce the Five Agents, they are confined and fixed by physical nature and are thus differentiated into individual things each with its nature. But the Great Ultimate is in all of them. (49: 14a)

120. The Great Ultimate contains all principles of the Five Agents and *yin* and *yang*. It is not an empty thing. If it were a void, it would approach the Buddhist theory of dharma-nature (which maintains that the nature of dharmas, that is, elements of existence, are void). (49: 14a)

121. Question: Is the Great Ultimate the highest principle of the human mind?

Answer: There is an ultimate in every thing or event. That is the ultimate of principle.

Someone asked: Like humanity on the part of the ruler and respect on the part of ministers. These are ultimates.

Answer: These are ultimates of a particular thing or event. When all principles of heaven and earth and the myriad things are put together, that is the Great Ultimate. The Great Ultimate originally has no such name. It is merely a name to express its character. (49: 14b-15a)

122. There is no other event in the universe except *yin* and *yang* succeeding each other in an unceasing cycle. This is called Change. However, for these activity and tranquillity, there must be the principles which make them possible. This is the Great Ultimate. (49: 1 6a)

#### 14. Buddhism

134. Question: What is the difference between Buddhist non-being and Taoist non-being?

Answer: For the Taoists, there is still being after all. For example, the saying, "Let there [always] be non-being so we may see their subtlety, and let there [always] be being so we may see their outcome,"<sup>21</sup> is an evidence of this. The Buddhists, however, consider heaven and earth as illusory and erroneous and the Four Elements (Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind) as temporary (unreal) aggregates. This means complete non-being. (60:1 2b)

135. The mistake of the Buddhists arises from their dislike [of the world] which is the result of their selfishness, and the mistake of the Taoists arises from their trickery which is the result of their selfishness. The mistake of the Buddhists is to dislike and take lightly human affairs and therefore wish completely to turn everything into a void. The mistake of the Taoists is to take advantage of critical situations and opportunities and to resort to tricks and expediency, thus exploiting all kinds of schemes and crafts in the world. That is why military strategy, the art of calculation, and the technique of debate today are mostly based on Taoist ideas. (60:12b-13a)

136. It is not necessary to examine the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism deeply to understand them. The mere fact that they discard the Three Bonds (between ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife) and the Five Constant Virtues (righteousness on the part of the father, deep love on the part of the mother, friendliness on the part of the elder brother, respect on the part of the younger brother, and filial piety on the part of the son) is already a crime of the greatest magnitude. Nothing more need be said about the rest. (60:13a)

\* \* \*

Chan, Wing-tsit. "The Great Synthesis in Chu Hsi," in *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1963. pp. 588-653.

<sup>20</sup> *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2: *History of Scientific Thought*, p. 475.

<sup>21</sup> *Lao-Tzu*, ch. 1.