

THE CONCEPT OF MIND IN NEO-CONFUCIANISM

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Discussion of mind in Chinese philosophy can be traced back to the late Chou Dynasty (1111-249 B.C.). Among the works of ancient confucianism the *Book of Changes* and the *Book of Mencius* are the major sources from which later Confucian scholars drew their inspiration. The concept of mind, with its many ramifications, was developed during the Neo-Confucian movement of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) and reached its culmination during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). The reason why Neo-Confucianists turned their full attention to mind during the Sung and Ming periods was due largely to a stimulus from the comprehensive metaphysical systems which had been developed by that time by the rival schools of Buddhism and Taoism. Although the extent and degree to which elements of Buddhism and Taoism penetrated orthodox Confucianism remains a perennial moot point, it is undeniable that much thought came to be focussed on the problem of mind by the time of the Sung Dynasty.

Generally, there were two schools of thought which characterized the learning of the Sung and the Ming. The first was the school of Principle (li), also known as the Ch'eng-Chu school. Chou Tun-yi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011-1077), Ch'eng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and his brother Ch'eng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107), together with the leader of this group, Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200), are the most important protagonists of this school. The second was the school of Mind (hsin), also known as the Lu-Wang school, whose most representative thinkers were its pioneer Lu Chiu-yuan 陸九淵 (1130-1103), better known as Lu Hsiang-shan 陸象山, and two great Ming philosophers, Ch'en Hsien-chang 陳獻章 (1428-1500), better known as Ch'en Pai-sha 陳白沙, and Wang Shou-jen 王守仁 (1472-1520), better known as Wang Yang-ming 王陽明. Scholars of both these schools were the architects of Neo-Confucianism and will be our main concern in this present discussion.

Writings on the Neo-Confucian doctrine of mind are found only sporadically in essays, letters, records of conversations and even in poetry. There is no single work entirely devoted to mind, nor is there any systematic discourse on it. Before the rise of the Lu-Wang School, the Neo-Confucianists concentrated

more on building cosmological, ontological and metaphysical systems in competition with their rival schools of Buddhism and Taoism. Concept, therefore, such as the T'ai Chi 太極 (the Great Ultimate), Li 理 (principle), Ch'i 氣 (material force), Jen 仁 (humanity) and Hsing 性 (human nature) were seen initially as more important than the concept of mind. Moreover, since the method of Chinese philosophy is generally synthetic, whereas that of Western philosophy is generally analytic, even the definition of mind was considered unnecessary and the analysis of it, therefore, was not detailed except in the case of Chu Hsi. The definitions of mind, offered by most of the thinkers I have referred to, read more like descriptions than analyses.

These thinkers, however, devoted a great deal of effort to clarifying the relationships between *the mind, the universe and man*. Although their views of these relationships are diverse, their motivations and their goals are always the same to reinforce their belief in the perfectibility of man. Confucius said, "It is man who can make the Way great; it is not the Way which can make man great"¹ In echoing this saying, which sums up succinctly the heart of Confucian thought, and expanding upon it, the Sung and Ming thinkers shed new light on the controversial problem of mind.

Incidentally, the Chinese character for mind 心 (hsin), according to etymology, is a pictograph 忄, representing the heart. Originally, the Chinese seem to have located mental activities in the heart rather than in the brain.

According to most Neo-Confucianists, the mind in itself is intangible. In Ch'eng Hao's words, "It is empty and silent and without evidence."² Nearly all Neo-Confucianists quoted the *Book of Changes* in describing it, "It is tranquil and unmoving; when stimulated it starts to act and penetrate."³ Neo-Confucianists belief in the existence of mind is the result of observing it functioning, and their knowledge of it comes through its activities. For example, feelings, emotion, reflection and consciousness are believed to be activities of the mind, and mind can only be manifest in its functions. But there is no barrier between what is manifest and what is implicit, because both the substance and its function have but one source.⁴ Seen from the stand point of substance, the mind is silent and unmoving, but seen in terms of its function it penetrates and comprehends all. Chu Hsi defined it in a more concrete way: "The mind is that by means of which man rules his body. It is one and not a duality; it is subjective and not objective; it controls the external world instead of being controlled by it."⁵ In other words, Chu Hsi conceived the mind as the master of our physical form.

He writes,

“Mind is the intelligence of man and it embraces all principles so that it is able to respond to what comes from without.”⁶ and “The physical form of a man and the operation of his consciousness result from the functioning of his mind, therefore, it is his mind that governs his body.”⁷

In Chu Hsi's view, although the mind is subtle and unfathomable, its intelligence shines forth brilliantly, and it has the power to act as the highest authority in a human being. To Chu Hsi, the activities of the mind include consciousness, reflection, emotion, purpose, volition and disposition. Emotion is the eruption of the mind; purpose is the direction of the mind; volition is the decisions of the mind; and disposition is the capacity of the mind.⁸

Chu Hsi's definition of mind is not simply idle speculation or the result of intellectual curiosity. Most Neo-Confucianists are pragmatists and the aims of their philosophy are to provide the basis for an explanation of as well as a solution for, moral, social and political problems. One of the most urgent problems of their own times was the problem of evil and inequality which we observe so clearly among men whether past or present. Thus an explanation of human nature, which Mencius had declared to be basically good, became imperative. In seeking such an explanation, Ch'eng Yi adopted Chang Tsai's concept of Ch'i or material force, which is the stuff of all things, and added his and his brother's, Ch'eng Hao, concept of Li or principle, which is the eternal and unchanging law, to form a new theory in support of Mencius' doctrine. He taught that the actualization of human nature required principle as its substance and material force as its actuality. Ch'eng Yi believed that the principle of man's nature is indeed eternally good and of equal excellence in all man, because principle in its quality is essentially the same as the T'ai Chi or the Great Ultimate, a concept which Chou Tun-yi borrowed from the *Book of Changes*. The Great Ultimate, according to Chou, is an entity of absolute perfection amounting to something like Plato's concept of the Idea or Aristotle's concept of God. It is principle in its totality. The relationship between the Great Ultimate in the universe and the principle in each individual is not one of the whole to a part, according to Chu Hsi, but one similar to moonlight shining on objects. Each object has its own moonlight but this moonlight is moonlight as a whole.⁹ When Shao Yung declared, “The mind is the Great Ultimate,”¹⁰ and “Man is the centre of the universe and the mind is the centre of man”¹¹ he was whole-heartedly supporting Mencius' doctrine of nature.

Although the principle existing in man's nature is pure and essentially good, Ch'eng Yi asserted, it is the Ch'i, the material endowment of man that determines man's physical nature and his capacity to act. Therefore, it is the Ch'i which constitutes the full manifestation of his physical nature. When the Ch'i in man's nature is turbid, his nature is beclouded. His mind may be obscured because of the turbid quality of the Ch'i. This beclouding is what Ch'eng Yi call evil, or blindness. This mind is conceived here to be a paradise, temporarily lost.¹² Hence there arises deficiency such as selfish desire, the chief evil in the eyes of most Neo-Confucianists. But this does not cause them to adopt any fatalistic attitude towards life. Instead, they firmly believed it possible and necessary for every individual to overcome this deficiency by way of moral cultivation. Chou Tun-yi advocated tranquillity and composure of mind as a doorway to sagehood, because the mind in its original state is tranquil. Ch'eng Yi substitutes Chou's method of moral cultivation with the more positive attitude of Ching 敬, reverence or seriousness, because tranquillity too much resembles Taoist and Buddhist quietism and suggests a negative view of life, diametrically opposed to Confucian practice. To Ch'eng Yi, the purpose of moral cultivation was to make a conscious effort to understand the principle of one's own nature. Chu Hsi elaborated on Ch'eng's proposals by adopting the concept of the "investigation of things" from the *Great Learning* together with Ch'eng's concept of reverence or seriousness and urged every man to exert himself for the sake of understanding principle. He claimed that man's nature, beclouded by selfish desire, is in the same situation as a lost mind. Therefore, the way to sagehood is none other than "to seek the lost mind." He says:

"The development of mind means to investigate things and to study their principles intensively so as to arrive at a broad penetration of all things and thus be able fully to realize the principle embodied in the mind."¹³

"Therefore, one who has developed his mind can know his nature and know Heaven, because the substance of the mind is unclouded and is equipped to search into principle in its primal state."¹⁴

"When one has worked at this for a long time, a day will dawn when suddenly everything will become clear and the mind and its operations will be completely enlightened."¹⁵

The relationship of the mind to human nature and even to emotion is so close that whenever one talks about the mind one must include emotion and nature, only then is the meaning of the word "mind" made complete. The rel-

ationship between these three things is said by Chu Hsi to be like the relationship between the various forms that water can take. He said, mind is like water, nature is like still water, and emotion is like running water."¹⁶ In Chu Hsi's view the mind exists within nature. Outside nature there is nowhere that the mind can exist. Since human nature is produced from the fusion of principle and material force, the mind with beclouded nature caused by the grosser elements of material force is called human mind. Chu Hsi further supported Ch'eng Yi's division of mind into two categories: the human mind and the universal mind. The human mind is contaminated by human desire and the universal mind is pure and always follows the Way. However, whatever the function of the universal mind is, it is not beyond the scope of an individual mind. Therefore, it is a natural corollary for Chu Hsi to maintain that all human endeavour should be oriented towards the purification of the human mind and the constant imitation of the universal mind. This is the ultimate goal for moral cultivation.

So far we have briefly outlined the main arguments relating to the concept of mind within the Ch'eng-Chu school. A significant and drastic change regarding the concept of mind, however, took place when Chu Hsi was still alive. It was ushered in by his opponent Lu Hsiang-shan, the pioneer of the school of Mind. Although in the Ch'eng-Chu school, the problem of mind was discussed quite extensively, the role of the mind in their philosophy still "played second fiddle" to their other concerns, except, perhaps in the case of Ch'eng Hao. From the time of Lu Hsiang-shan the importance of mind in Chinese thought as a whole was gradually exalted to its zenith and reached its culmination in Wang Yang-ming's philosophy. This idealistic tendency dominated the entire intellectual scene throughout the Ming period and Chu Hsi's version of orthodoxy was overshadowed for a considerable length of time.

Lu Hsiang-shan, whose philosophy is characterized by the nature of simplicity and directness, reminiscent of Buddhist Ch'an or Zen, argued almost every point that was raised by Chu Hsi. Lu is so radical that he declared, "The universe is my mind, and my mind is the universe"¹⁷ In his opinion the way of Chu Hsi is one of divided mind which drifts aimlessly devoted to isolated details that have little to do with life. Instead, he advocated that the first step on the road to sagehood is to establish the nobler part of one's own being and to come to grips with what is fundamental. He was apparently emphasizing the importance of mind.

While Chu's approach is that of "following the path of study and inquiry,"

Lu's way is that of "honouring the moral nature." For Chu Hsi, mind, as we have mentioned, is the function of human nature, the actualization of principle and material force. For Lu, however, mind is principle. For Chu, investigation means investigating the principle in things. For Lu, investigation means investigating the mind, for to him all principles are inherent and complete in the mind. He also rejects the distinction between the human mind and universal mind, made by Chu Hsi. To Lu, such a distinction could only obscure the essential unity which underlies the universe and man. "Feelings, human nature, the mind, capacity" he says, "these are all the same thing; they just happens to be expressed in different words".¹⁸ Therefore, Lu Hsiang-shan swept aside all the subtleties elaborated by Chu Hsi, declaring that mind is identical with principle, with nature, and most significantly, with the universe. Lu is so radical and bold that he daringly states, "If in study we know the fundamentals, then all the Six Classics are my footnotes".¹⁹

Lu Hsiang-shan thinks that man's mind is self-sufficient, all-embracing, and originally good. Therefore, man possesses an innate knowledge of the good and an innate ability to do good. The only work left for man is to be both simple and easy to be awakened to the principle inherent in mind. He says.

"My friend's mind, the mind of the sages thousands of years ago, and the mind of sages thousands of years hence are all the same. The substance of the mind is infinite. If one can completely develop one's mind, one will become identified with Heaven. To acquire learning is to appreciate this fact."²⁰

Elsewhere he writes,

"Gather your spirit. Be your own master. All things are already complete in oneself. What is that is lacking? When I should be ashamed, liberal, generous, affectionate, tender, or strong and firm, I am naturally so"²¹ and "The moral principle inherent in the human mind is endowed by Heaven and cannot be wiped out. Those who are be clouded by material desired which pervert principles and violate righteousness, have become so because they do not think, that is all. If they can truly return to their true selves and think, their sense of right and wrong and their ability to choose right and wrong will have the qualities of quiet alertness, clear-cut intelligence, and firm conviction."²²

We will not be too far wrong if we call Lu Hsiang-shan's philosophy a form of subjective idealism. If his philosophy lacks systematic presentation and logical

arguments, it is because it is the product of actual living and is meant not for academic debate but rather for the guidance of everyday life. His doctrine is in many aspects, tinged with strong colours borrowed from his enemies, Buddhism and Taoism. This may be the reason why, when Chou Tung-yi, Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng Brothers and Chu Hsi were enshrined in the Confucian temple by imperial decree in 1313, Lu Hsiang-shan was not included.

However, the influence of Lu Hsiang-shan's impressive innovation was to be felt throughout the Ming Dynasty. During the early period of the Ming, there was still uncertainty and hesitation among scholars about the acceptance of Lu's thought, because it was the government's policy to restore Chu Hsi's version of Confucianism as the standard doctrine for all walks of life within the state. As a result of this canonization of Chu Hsi's philosophy, his learning later became formalistic and scholastic and was kept within the narrow confines of tiresome textual studies, parrot-like imitation, flowery composition and the recitation of so-called orthodox writings. All Originality was discouraged. This situation circumscribed the scholars' sphere of study to a narrow field, and it became difficult for scholars to display their talents. Intellectual adventure became impossible and spiritual freedom was lost. As a logical consequence, intellectuals increasingly found themselves breaking the bonds of orthodoxy and transgressing Chu Hsi's teachings. Even the four leading thinkers, Ts'ao Tuan 曹端 (1376-1434), Hsüeh Hsüan 薛瑄 (1392-1464), Hu Chü-jen 胡居仁 (1434-1484) and Wu Yü-pi 吳與弼 (1391-1469) who represented the Ch'eng-Chu school in the early Ming period, set a new trend to find an outlet for their inspiration. For example, philosophical terms such as the Great Ultimate, the material force, the Yin and Yang (passive and active cosmic forces) and so on, with which the Sung Neo-Confucianists were so preoccupied, were rarely mentioned. A trend steadily grew which emphasized practice, and those who theorized and did not practise were greatly despised. Wu Yü-pi and Hu Chü-jen would never abandon their way of life, characterized by simplicity and poverty, to pursue position or wealth at the cost of compromising their principles. Instead, they devoted themselves earnestly to a search for the true Way within daily life. For example Wu Yü-pi worked on his own farm, grew his own food and possibly even made his own wine. His learning was described by Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) as one obtained through the "Shedding of sweat and tears every day until midnight"³ It is obvious that Wu was engaged seriously in a search for mind deep within his own being. Searching for mind probably became the most fundamental task for

many thinkers after the rise of Lu Hsiang-shan's philosophy. On the other hand, because the tension between orthodox Confucianism and Taoism and Buddhism in Ming times was not as great as it was in the Sung period, the Taoist idea of tranquillity and naturalness and the Buddhist practice of sitting in meditation were widely adopted by Confucian scholars as techniques in their search for mind. In fact, Ch'en Pai-sha, Wu Yü-pi's disciple and a towering figure who has been hailed as the one who opened a new chapter in Ming thought, happily announced that he had genuinely discovered the substance of the mind, though it had been achieved through painful experience. It took him ten years quiet-sitting in a specially built pavillion in order to attain such composure of mind that he was convinced that he had discovered its shoots. And this substance of his mind caused him to be marvellously united with the universe. He depicted this experience in the following manner:

"Since I returned to Pai-sha from Master Wu, I have stayed behind closed doors, for the express purpose of finding a proper way for my devotion. I have had neither teachers nor friends for guidance or consultation, but have relied entirely on books every day striving to such an extent that I forgot food and sleep. In this manner I have passed many years, but my reward is still nil. What I mean by this is that I have not aquired anything: that is to say this mind [of mine] and this principle [of the universe] have not dovetailed into a harmonious unity. Therefore, I have decided to discard all the complexities [of Chu Hsi's method] and pursue instead the way of economy within myself — only practicing quiet-sitting. Before long, the inner substance of my mind manifested itself inscrutably as though there were some substantial object in my mind, and I began to feel that the practice of everything in daily life comformed to my wishes. It was as if a horse had been bridled. Moreover, in the investigation and realization of things and their principles and in the examination of the teachings of the sages, I found that there was a clue to them, just as a stream has a source. Utimately my doubts were banished, I gained considerable self-confidence, saying, 'Herein lies the way of sagehood!'"⁴

At long last, he found the mind. He gave expression to this substantial entity he discovered in his mind in two words *tuan-ni* 端倪 which conveys the idea of the beginning of space and time. He says, "the substance of the mind is most supreme and brilliant. It is infinite and dynamic to the utmost. It is most near at hand and most divine."⁵ The vigour and liveliness of it are descr-

ibed as being like "the flying of a hawk" or "the jumping of a fish"²⁶ He concludes, "This mind is what matters most. It has neither within nor without; neither beginning nor end. There is nowhere that it does not reach; there is not a single moment when it does not operate. When I comprehend this, Heaven and earth are thus established by me, and the myriad transformations emanate from my person; indeed, the universe is within me!"²⁷ In his opinion, the mind is the pivot of creation and the active master of the whole universe. "Grasping the handle of this," he says, "what else do I need? Past and present, the four directions, above and below, are all at once strung together and are put in order."²⁸

For Chen Pai-sha, the mind is like a mirror and moral cultivation is none other than wiping away the dust from the mirror-like mind, thus eliminating selfish desires from the mind. Both this simile and the simple method he adopted are reminiscent of Buddhism. And when in his philosophy he exalted the importance of naturalness and spontaneity in the mind, the strong influence that Taoism has had upon him is conspicuous and irrefutable, Chen is somehow anti-Confucian in that he advocates that one should shake off the yoke of daily life to seek a spiritual emancipation through intuitive enlightenment. On the other hand, he has also normalised the relationships among the three traditionally rival systems of thought.

But most importantly Chen's philosophy of mind has provided a more solid foundation for Lu Hsiang-shan's subjective assumptions, thus contributing greatly to the development of the idealistic branch of Neo-Confucianism which was to flower less than a decade later in the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming. Although Wang Yang-ming never mentioned Ch'en Pai-sha, his philosophy is in line with their contributions to the development of Confucian idealism. This is the reason why this branch of Neo-Confucianism is called the Lu-Wang School. However in terms of his insight into the controversy between Confucianism and Buddhism, his breadth of scholarship, and his popularity, Wang far excelled his predecessors. Wang's philosophy is a vigorous philosophy born of serious searching and bitter experience. It calls for actual practice and concrete demonstration of values. The intellectual and political situation of that time demanded just such a system.²⁹

Like Lu Hsiang-shan, Wang Yang-ming opposed every point upheld by Chu Hsi. For Chu Hsi although principle exists both in the mind and in the external world, it is man's task to investigate things in order to realize the principle.

The principle and the mind are separate. For Wang Yang-ming, mind is principle. We find this argument repeated throughout his conversations and correspondence.

Hsü Ai, one of his disciple, asked, "If we seek ultimate goodness only in the mind, I am afraid that it is not possible to study exhaustively the principles and events of the world."

Wang answered, "Mind is principles. Outside the mind where in the world are events and principles?"³⁰

In a letter to Ku Yung-chi, Wang also said,

"The principles of things (or principles and things) are not outside of my mind, If I sought these principles and things outside of my mind, there would be neither things nor principles (or there would be no principles of things.) If one were to seek for the mind and yet pay no attention to the principles of things, what would the mind be? The substance of mind is nature, and nature is principles ... To seek for principles in my mind is to accord with the teaching of our sage concerning the unification of knowledge and action. Why do you still entertain doubt?"³¹

With regard to Wang's concept of mind, he said, "[The mind] is empty and spiritual, and unclouded; it embodies all principles, and from it issue forth all events. Outside of the mind, there is no principle, and outside the mind there are no events".³² "Look at a dead man," Wang Yang-ming once told his disciples, "When his essential spirituality is dispersed, where are his heaven and earth and the ten thousand things?"³³ To Wang Yang-ming, the mind is all-embracing and all inclusive. There is nothing that cannot be said to be in the mind. Beyond the mind, nothing exists. In fact, he says, "man is the mind of the universe".³⁴ When the question was put to him, "What is that which man calls mind or why is man called the mind", his answer was, "It is just that, spirituality and intelligence."³⁵

Elsewhere he repeated, "Man is the mind of the universe, The universe and the myriad things are originally at one with me."³⁶ We can trace the source of this saying back to Mencius who claimed, "All things are complete in me"³⁷ However, for Wang Yang-ming, it is not only that beyond mind there is nothing, but also that without things there is no mind. He said, "Separated from my intelligence, [which is the essence of the mind], there would be no Heaven and earth, ghosts and spirits, or the myriad things. But my intelligence, when

separated from Heaven and earth, ghosts and spirits and the the myriad things, would also be nothing.”³⁸

Wang Yang-ming further constructs his philosophical system entirely based on his concept of mind. Because mind is principle, it follows that innate knowledge inheres in man. He said. “The essence of mind is intelligence and it has the natural ability to know.”³⁹ For this reason, man has been conceived as the most intelligent and spiritual of all being.

Wang Yang-ming’s way of moral cultivation consists in “returning to the simple and going back to the pure”. Hsü Ai explained, “This mind is like a mirror. The sage’s mind is like a clear mirror, whereas that of ordinary person is like a dull mirror. The theory of the investigation of things in recent times (i.e. Chu Hsi’s school) says that it works like a mirror reflecting things and effort is to be directed towards the [passive] role of reflecting. But people do not realize that the mirror is still dull. How can it reflect? The investigation of things in our Teacher’s theory is like polishing the mirror to make it clear. The effort is to be directed toward the active role of polishing. When the mirror is clear, it does not cease to reflect. [It reflects automatically.]”⁴⁰ From Hsü’s explanation, it is obvious that, to Wang, Chu Hsi’s investigation of things simply means the investigation of the mind or the rectification of it to seek the lost mind which is beclouded by evil or blindness. The whole process of learning constitutes a cleansing of this blindness with utter sincerity and the restoration of the original mind. Only then will the intelligence of the mind shine forth in its original brilliance. When the mind has returned to its original purity, one will naturally and intuitively attain its innate knowledge. Wang described innate knowledge as “the substance of the mind”, “the principle of Nature” and “the spirit of creation”. This innate knowledge is the “root of man which is intelligent and which grows nature. It grows naturally and grows without ceasing”.⁴¹ It “produces heaven and earth, spiritual beings, and the Lord”.⁴² Since it permeates and penetrates all existence, even trees and grass possess it. Since innate knowledge is so important, he advocates sincerity of the will as the foundation for the extension of innate knowledge.

Wang’s philosophy advances to a further stage when he advocates the unity of knowledge and action and claims that only when there is action is knowledge complete. This is the climax of the whole process of learning.

It may be pertinent here to examine what Wang means by principle and knowledge since these two concepts lie at the bottom of his doctrine. According

to Wang, principle is endowed by Heaven, it is identical with the mind, and man is therefore, endowed with innate knowledge. In his opinion, principle is meant to be moral principle, the standard of right and wrong. The example he gives is that of a child who is about to fall into a well, any normal human being seeing this will be alarmed at the danger involved and will rush to the rescue. Principle is not the principle of things, but moral principles in their entirety. On the other hand, what he means by knowledge is not knowledge about verifiable physical facts, but knowledge of moral nature. To him, knowledge about natural facts is not important at all. He says that flowers in a valley bloom in all their glory only when there is a mind to observe them. In fact, knowledge about natural facts will encumber the tranquillity of the mind and thus considered to be evil. Therefore, knowledge is not the result of scientific research or logical inference; it is an intuitive understanding resulting from vigorous moral devotion. For all Neo-Confucianists the object of knowledge is value and not physical fact, and their method is intuitive and not necessarily logical. Without this understanding one may think that Wang Yang-ming has confused reality with value. In his philosophy "things or events" are also to be conceived of as moral precepts and human relations, and mind is to be understood as moral order. Only then do such sayings as "the universe is my mind" and "everything is complete within me" reveal their significance. But most important of all, Wang's philosophy is aimed at providing a solution for moral, social and political problems. In order to understand and put this dynamic philosophy into practice, dedication and strength of will is required.

Since the 15th century his philosophy has been regarded by many as a formula for Chinese life. Even today, many contemporary scholars and politicians such as Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao (1873-1929), Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), T'an Szu-tung (1865-1898) and Hsiung Shih-li (1885-○○) have been greatly influenced by his thought. Although the Ch'eng-chu and Lu-Wang schools differ in their interpretations and in the emphasis they put on the relationships between the mind, man and the universe, they still deal with the same problems and they offer the same solution, only their approach is different. They are all dedicated to a serious search of the mind in order to answer the question of the ultimate purpose of life. They found that the answer lies in the union of heaven and man, and that the mind is the only possible means to bridge the gap between the two. For this reason they urge everyone to use his mind and think, and appreciate the fact that once man's union with the universe is accomplished, he

becomes a sage. Every individual without exception has this potentiality. Therefore, by pointing out the greatness of man and his perfectibility they have triumphed in overcoming his deficiencies and have made him one with the universe.

NOTES

1. *Lun yü* 論語 (*Analects*), 15/28.
2. 沖漠無朕 *Lien-lo-knan-min shu* 濂洛關閩書 (Works of Chou Tun-yi, the Ch'eng brothers Chang Tsai and Chu Hsi), Cheng-yi t'ang edition, 8/2a.
3. 寂然不動，感而遂通 *Chou-yi yiu-te*, Harvard Yenching Institute, 1935, 43/Hsi A/9.
4. 體用一源，顯微無間 Chu Hsi, *Lien-lo-kuan-min shu*, 14/7a. Wang Yang-ming, *Yang-ming ch'üan chi* 陽明全集, SPPY, 1/45.
5. *Chu-tzu ta ch'üan* 朱子大全, SPPY, 67/18b-19a.
6. *Ssu shu chi-chu*, "Meng tzu", 2/1
7. *Chu-tzu ta-ch'üan*, 58/11
8. Cf. Carsun Chang, *The Development of Neo-Confucian Thought*, New York, 1957. Vol. I, pp 274-5.
9. Cf. Wing tzit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, Princeton, 1969. p. 590.
10. *Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an* 宋元學案, SPPY, Pai-yüan hsüeh-an 百源學案, 9/10a.
11. *ibid*, 10/63a.
12. Vicent Y. Shih, "The Mind and The Moral Order". *Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*. Bruges, 1955. Vol. X, p. 355.
13. *Ssu-shu chi-chu*, "Meng-tzu", 2/1
14. *idem*.
15. *ibid*, "Ta-hsüeh". 1/6
16. *Chu-tzu yü-lei* 朱子語類. 5/14
17. Lu Chiu-yüan, *Hsiang-shan ch'üan-chi* 象山全集, SPPY. 22/173.
18. Cf. Wing-tzit Chan, *op. cit.*, pp 572-3.
19. Lu Chiu-yüan, *op. cit.*, 34/16
20. *ibid*. 35/18.
21. *idem*.
22. *ibid*. 35/11.
23. *Ming-ju hsüeh-an* 明儒學案 SPPY, shih shuo, 2a
24. Ch'en Hsien-chang, *Pai-sha-tzu ch'üan chi* 白沙子全集, 2/20-21
25. *ibid*. 6/2.
26. *ibid*. 1/14, 22, 29; 3/12, 23.
27. *ibid*. 4/12.
28. *idem*.

29. Cf. Wing-tzit Chan, *Instructions for Practical Living by Wang Yang-ming*, Columbia University, 1963. Introduction.
30. Wang Shou-jen, *op. cit.*, 1/37.
31. *ibid.* 2/53.
32. *ibid.* 1/42.
33. *ibid.* 3/85.
34. *ibid.* 2/67.
35. *ibid.* 3/85.
36. *ibid.* 2/67.
37. *Meng-tzu yin-te*, Harvard Yenching Institute, 51/7A/4.
38. Wang Shou-jen, *op. cit.* 3/85.
39. *ibid.* 1/39.
40. Wing-tzit Chan, *Instructions for Practical Living by Wang Yang-ming*, p. 45.
41. *ibid.* p. 210.
42. *ibid.* p. 216.