

A STUDY OF SONG THINKER ZHANG JIUCHENG

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ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this thesis is to undertake a preliminary assessment of the Song thinker Zhang Jiucheng.

Zhang was an important and controversial figure in Song thought. He was one of the few early Song thinkers who systematically commented on all the major Confucian Classics; he was also an advocate for the teaching of "Mind is Principle" and was deeply involved in the Neo-Confucian movement reconciliating Chan Buddhist philosophy with the Confucian tradition.

The task for this thesis is to take a full-scale discussion of Zhang. I will study on the major aspects of Zhang including his biography, his teachers, and the characteristics of his philosophy respectively, and will make a clarification of some of the previous confusions and misrepresentations.

This thesis does not aim at drawing a final conclusion on Zhang, nor does it intend to solve all the disagreements about his teaching among scholars. By giving a preliminary introduction to and discussion of Zhang, this thesis functions only as a starting point for further study of Zhang's teaching and his role in the development of the Song Neo-Confucianism.

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INTRODUCTION

To many of Western scholars, the Song thinker Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (1092-1159), also known as Layman Hengpu 橫浦, is still an unfamiliar figure. Some may know his name, but regard him nonetheless as a minor philosopher of little note. However, a careful study of Chinese and Japanese sources shows that Zhang was actually a very controversial and important figure. From his time to the present day there have been so many contradictory views on Zhang that it is difficult to decide which view is right. People like Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) and Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次 attacked him as a Chan Buddhist;¹ the editors of Hengpu ji 橫浦集 (Anthology of Hengpu) praised him as a "brilliant Confucianist";² and scholars like Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755) and Araki Kengo 荒木見悟 pointed out that though Zhang showed Buddhist

¹. See Zhu Xi's Zaxue bian. Huian xiansheng Zhu Wengong wenji 晦庵先生朱文公文集 (Collected writings of Zhu Xi), (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1972), pp.5265-5266. Also see Morohashi Tetsuji's Jugaku no mokuteki to soju no katsudo 儒学の目的と宋儒の活動 (The aims of Confucianism and the activities of Song Neo-Confucianists), (Tokyo: Taishukan, 1960), pp.618-619.

². See the Tiyao 提要 (Abstracts) of Hengpu ji. Siku quanshu 四庫全書 edition, (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1973), p.2.

"flavour", he made a great contribution to Confucian learning.³ These varied perceptions of Zhang raise several questions. What kind of person was Zhang? Why did he stimulate so many controversies? Could a man be both a Confucianist and a Buddhist? This thesis, which undertakes a critical assessment of Zhang's teaching, will try to discuss these questions.

I will first show that Zhang was an important thinker among Song Confucianists. This importance is clear in the following three areas. First, the history of Chinese Confucianism after Confucius and Mencius was actually a history of commentaries and interpretations on the Confucian Classics such as Yizhuan 易傳 (Commentary on Book of Changes), Lunyu 論語 (Analects), Mengzi 孟子 (Book of Mencius), Daxue 大學 (The Great Learning), and Zhongyong 中庸 (Doctrine of Mean). Zhang's Zhongyong shuo 中庸說 (Commentary on the Doctrine of Mean) provoked a heated discussion which lasted for almost eight hundred years, and his Mengzi zhuan 孟子傳 (Biography of Mencius) was also considered of epoch-making significance in the studies of Confucian

³. Quan Zuwang, Song Yuan xuean 宋元學案 (Anthology and critical accounts of Song and Yuan Neo-Confucianists). (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1963), p.423, p.428. Also see Araki Kengo's Chokyusei ni tsuite 張九成について (A study on Zhang Jiucheng). Chugoku shisoshi no shoso 中国思想史の諸相 (Some aspects of the history of Chinese Philosophy), (Fukuoka: chugoku shoten, 1989), pp.44-58.

Classics.⁴ Second, the influence of Zhang's "philosophy of mind" (xinxue 心學) on Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139-1192) and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472-1529) is also worth mentioning. Kusumoto Masatsugu 楠木正繼 regarded Zhang as the forerunner of the teachings of Lu Xiangshan.⁵ Araki Kengo's article shows that Zhang was reevaluated in the Ming Dynasty and his teachings were exalted by the disciples of Wang Yangming.⁶ Third, all Song Neo-Confucianists were inevitably influenced by Buddhism, especially by the Buddhist schools of Chan 禪 and Huayan 華嚴. Zhang's exceptional relationship with Chan Buddhism, however, was deeper and more complicated than that of other scholars of his day. He was praised by the famous Chan Master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) as the only lay disciple who entered the realm of ultimate enlightenment.⁷ The

⁴. Kondo Masanori 近藤正則, Chokyusei no Moshiden ni tsuite 張九成の孟子伝について (A study on Zhang Jiucheng's Mengzi zhuan). Nihon chugoku gakkaiho 日本中国学会報 (Bulletin of the Sinological Society of Japan), No.40, (Tokyo: Nihon chugoku gakkai, 1988), p.120.

⁵. Kusumoto Masatsugu, Somei jidai jugaku shiso no kenkyu 宋明時代儒学の研究 (A study of Song and Ming Neo-Confucianism), (Tokyo: Kochi gakuen shuppansha, 1962), pp.331-338.

⁶. Araki Kengo, Chokyusei ni tsuite, pp. 56-58.

⁷. Dahui Zonggao, Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (The recorded sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue). Taisho shinshu daizokyo 大正新脩大藏經 (Newly revised Tripitaka of the Taisho Era), V.47, (Tokyo: Daizo shuppan kabushiki gaisha, 1924-1932), p.932b, 13-20.

contact between Zhang and Dahui, as Araki Kengo pointed out, was an important phase in the development of Song Philosophy.⁸

According to the textual research of modern scholars, Zhang wrote many works. These include Shangshu xiangshuo 尚書詳說 (A thorough commentary on the Book of History), Xiaojing jie 孝經解 (Exposition on the Classic of Filial Piety), Daxue shuo 大學說 (Commentary on the Great Learning), Lunyu jie 論語解 (Exposition on Analects), Mengzi zhuan, and Zhongyong shuo; most of these are lost. The extant texts are Mengzi zhuan, Zhongyong shuo, lunyu jueju 論語絕句 (Four-line poems on Analects), Hengpu rixin 橫浦新 (Changes day after day of Hengpu), Hengpu xinchuan 橫浦心傳 (The transmission of mind of Hengpu), and Zhang's own anthology Hengpu ji.⁹

I cannot discuss all Zhang's extant texts in detail because of the limits of time and space. As a matter of fact, I only intend to conduct a very preliminary study about Zhang and his teaching. The study includes: 1) an introduction of Zhang's life, his teachers, and the characteristics of his teaching; 2) clarification of some of the confusions caused by previous studies; 3) a list of topics for further study on Zhang and his teaching.

⁸. Araki Kengo, Chokyuisei ni tsuite, p.56.

⁹. Kondo Masanori, Chokyusei no Moshiden ni tsuite, p.109.

This thesis consists of five chapters. In chapter 1, I deal chiefly with Zhang's biography. The biographical study stresses Zhang's varied life as a government official and a Confucian teacher who attained enlightenment in the eyes of the Buddhist community.

Chapter 2 will give a brief study of Zhang's teacher Yang Shi. I will first introduce Yang's biography which includes his association with the two Cheng brothers, You Zuo 游酢, and Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐, and his political position in the argument concerning the Jin invaders. Then I will discuss Zhang's major works and the characteristics of his thought. Because of the lack of historical evidence, I cannot provide much of the detailed information about the direct academic contact between Yang and Zhang. The aim of chapter 2 is to offer a background for the study of the source of Zhang's teaching.

In chapter 3, I undertake a study on Zhang's relationship with Chan Master Dahui based on the accounts recorded in Dahui nianpu. I will reveal every detail of Zhang's contact with Dahui in a chronological order and will translate literally all the gathas and poems they wrote to each other. A tentative interpretation of these gathas and poems will also be presented in this chapter.

Chapter 4 will concentrate on the study of Zhang's teaching itself. It will begin with a short discussion of Zhang's major works which includes both bibliographical

studies and a summary of the opinions on them held by previous scholars. The major purpose of this chapter, however, is to discuss the subject of Zhang's "Philosophy of Mind". The discussion will cover the following topics: 1) the development of the argument about "School of Mind" (xinxue 心學) and "School of Principle" (lixue 理學) among modern scholars; 2) the political and social context of Zhang's teaching on mind; 3) Zhang's Mengzi zhuan and its source Mengzi; 4) the characteristics of Zhang's teaching on mind; 5) Zhang's discussion of the relationship between "mind" and "principle".

In the last chapter, I undertake a thorough study of Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism. I will first present previous discussions about Zhang's relationship with Buddhism. This will show how divergent these discussions are in this regard. Instead of arguing who is right who is wrong, I will rather concentrate on how Zhang thought about Buddhism in his own works. For the purpose of clarity, I will approach this study in two steps. First, I will show how Zhang criticized Buddhism in both his early and late works. We will find that Zhang's criticism of Buddhism had a certain level of consistency throughout his whole life. Secondly, I will examine the heated topic of Zhang's reception of Buddhism. My analysis will demonstrate that Zhang's assimilation of Buddhism was mainly from Chinese Chan tradition.

I. BIOGRAPHY OF ZHANG JIUCHENG

To many Confucian scholars, the Song thinker Zhang Jiucheng appeared to be a self-contradictory figure. A common evaluation of Zhang among those scholars is "one should pay respect to his personality, but must be cautious as to his teaching."¹ This statement implies that morally they regarded him as a Confucianist but academically they discredited him because of his deep relationship with Buddhism. Is this assumption valid? We can not answer this until we study carefully both Zhang's life and his teachings. The main purpose of this chapter is to introduce several basic facts about Zhang's political career, his academic association, and his personality.

The biographical references on Zhang are very limited. As far as I know there are three major documents available that deal with Zhang's biography. The first is Zhang's official biography in Song Shi 宋史 (The history of Song Dynasty) which was completed by the end of Yuan 元. Since Song Shi was directly based on the master copy of the "nation's history" (guoshi 國史) compiled by the official historian of

¹. Song Yuan xuean, p.428.

the Song, it may be said that the historical facts it noted are generally reliable.

The second source of Zhang's biography is Jiānyān yilai jiniān yaolu 建炎以來繫年要錄. The main records since Jianyan). The compiler was Li Xinchuan 李心傳. According to Song Shi, Li "had a talent for history and was very familiar with those past facts" and thus was appointed as one of the official historians to compile the records of the royal court.² In another place, Song Shi also noted that Li was recommended as a candidate to take the civil service exam in the year 1195, only forty years after Zhang's death.³ Given these factors, there seem to be ample grounds for accepting Li's yaolu as reliable.

Some of Zhang's other activities, especially his contact with Chan Buddhism, were also recorded in Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu 大慧普覺禪師語錄. The chronological records of Chan Master Dahui Pujue). This nianpu was originally compiled by a disciple of Dahui named Zu Yong 祖永 sometime before 1183, and revised by Zong Yan 宗演 in 1205 in accordance with information given in a work by another of Dahui's Dharma-heirs, Xiaoying Zhongwen 曉瑩仲溫. Since its compiler and reviser were seeking to establish the subject's claim to greatness, they may have omitted unfavourable facts and

². Cf. Song Shi, Tuo Tuo 脫脫 ed., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), v. 438, p. 12985.

³. Ibid.

episodes known to them. Therefore, the reader is urged to bear in mind the nature of the accounts from the nianpu which I cite for Zhang's biography. Nonetheless, on the whole, the nianpu is in close agreement with the other biographical accounts of Zhang noted in the Song Shi and yaolu.

According to the Song Shi, Zhang Jiucheng was born in 1092 in Qiantang 錢塘 County of Zhejiang 浙江. When he grew up he left his hometown and went to the capital of Song, where he studied Confucianism under a prominent scholar Yang Shi 楊時 (1053-1135).⁴ Yang began as a disciple of Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and became a student of Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) after Cheng Hao's death. Little else is known about Zhang's life prior to his becoming a young official.

In 1132, as a rising young official and scholar, Zhang passed the Presented Scholar (jinshi 進士)⁵ examination ranking first among all candidates.⁶ Before the exam, Emperor Gaozong 高宗 issued an imperial edict to the examining officials to say that those who dared speak bluntly should be ranked high.⁷ In the exam when Zhang was asked by the Emperor how to

⁴. Song Shi 宋史, v. 374, p. 11577.

⁵. All translations of the official titles in this thesis were drawn from Charles O. Hucker's A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

⁶. Ibid.

⁷. Ibid., p. 11578.

deal with the difficult political and social problems caused by the invasion of the Jin, Zhang replied as follows:

When misfortune arises, it is the time for a sage to appear. Your Majesty, do not worry, panic or dishearten yourself, just be bold and resolute...The past emperors who resurrected the nation all regarded fortitude as the highest virtue. If Your Majesty could get rid of slander and restrict desire, keep away from sycophants and guard against those treacherous court officials, then you obtain the root of resurrection....⁸

Zhang's answer deeply impressed the Emperor and therefore he was chosen as the Principle Graduate (zhuangyuan 狀元).⁹ In a letter sent to Zhang, Yang Shi highly praised Zhang's answer as "having great resolute force."¹⁰

Shortly after his success in the imperial examination, Zhang was appointed as Assistant Supervisor (qianpan 簽判) of Zhendong 浙東 Military Region. During his tenure there were no officers who dared to bully him. Once when someone violated the salt ban, Judicial Commissioner (tixing 提刑) Zhang Zongchen 張宗臣 planned to arrest tens of people for punishment. Zhang Jiucheng argued with him that he should not do so. When Zongchen told Jiucheng that he already received a letter from the Vice Grand Councillor (zuoxiang 左相) who agreed to this arrest, Zhang said, "His Majesty issued edicts again and again to give relief from punishment, how can you

⁸. Ibid., p. 11577.

⁹. Ibid., p. 11578.

¹⁰. Ibid.

not understand the intention of His Majesty but just do what the premier said?" Knowing this agitated Zhang Zongchen, Zhang resigned from his position and went back to his hometown. There, more and more students studied under him, most of whom were famous figures of the time.¹¹

In 1135 with the recommendation from Grand Councillor (zaixiang 宰相) Zhao Ding 趙鼎, Zhang was summoned to the capital to serve as Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (taichang boshi 太常博士). Zhao was one of the zealous adherents of Cheng Yi's teaching. He promoted many young officials who claimed they were disciples of Cheng Yi, as well as Zhang Jiucheng. When Zhang arrived at the capital his assignment was changed to Editorial Director (zhuzuo lang 著作郎). He said, "The law of our Song is nothing but humanity. The discovery of humanity rests upon light punishment." He advocated the Emperor's policy of light punishment, and criticized the fact that the regulatory officials (liguan 理官) were not prudent in applying punishment. He even suggested that the Emperor should issue an imperial edict to establish a system of assessing the regulatory officials by examining the number of people they saved from punishment. This suggestion was adopted. Later, Zhang was appointed as Judicial Commissioner of Zhedong, but he refused the offer. Instead, he went back to his

¹¹. Ibid.

hometown to maintain his ancestral hall.¹² In the same year, Zhang's teacher Yang Shi, who served as Auxiliary Academician (zhixue shi 直學士) of the Dragon Diagram Hall (longtu ge 龍圖閣), died and was given the name of Wenjing 文靖 by the Emperor.¹³

Soon after his recall to the capital, Zhang rose again to hold important positions in the central government. In 1138 he was promoted to Vice Minister of Imperial Clansmen (zongzheng shaoqing 宗正少卿), Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites (libu silang 禮部侍郎), and Vice Director of the Ministry of Punishment (xingbu silang 刑部侍郎). He was also appointed by the Emperor as Lecturer-in-waiting (sijiang 侍講). At this time, the Emperor was taught by Expositor-in-waiting (sidu 侍讀) Zeng Kai 曾開 who expounded the Sanchao baoxun 三朝寶訓 (The precious advises of three dynasties), Lecturer-in-waiting Wu Biaochen 吳表臣 who lectured the on Mengzi, Lu Benzong 呂本中 who lectured on the Zuoshi zhuan 左氏傳 (Zuo's commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), and Expositor-in-waiting of Hall for the Veneration of Governance (congzhengdian shuoshu 崇正殿說書) Yin Chun 尹焞 who lectured on Shangshu 尚書 (The book of history).¹⁴ As the Lecturer-in-waiting, Zhang's duty was to

¹². Ibid.

¹³. Jiannan yilai jinian yaolu 建炎以來繫年要錄 (The major annual records since Jianyan), abbr., Yaolu, (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937), juan 84.

¹⁴. Yaolu, juan 121.

tutor the Chunqiu 春秋 (The spring and autumn annals), but he also discussed the Mengzi with the Emperor. The following story shows Zhang's understanding of Mengzi and the Emperor's appreciation of him.

...One day, after Zhang finished his lecture [on Chunqiu], the Emperor began to talk about the "Kingly Way" and said, "To exchange [a sheep] for an ox¹⁵ is a tiny thing, but Mencius claimed that this was enough for attaining the Kingly Way. I doubt this." Zhang replied, "Your Majesty does not have to doubt. If you doubt it, then you keep your mind away from the Way. If one does not have the heart to [kill] an ox, his mind of humanity will be clearly manifested. This is the beginning of the Kingly Way. If you expand this mind further, you will embrace Chinese, savages, plants, animals, and everything in the world under your benevolent government. Isn't this the Kingly Way?" The other day the Emperor told his close minister, "I learned a lot from Zhang."¹⁶

Zhang upheld justice when he served as Vice Director of the Ministry of Punishment. Once the Court of Judicial Review (fasi 法司) submitted to him a case of capital punishment for approval. After Zhang read the file he found that the court's verdict did not stand to reason. He checked the case again and proved that it was a trumped-up one. When the royal court informed him that they wanted to reward him for this rehabilitation, Zhang refused and said, "It is my

¹⁵. This story appeared in Mengzi, Book 1, Part 1. It was told that one day King Xuan of Qi 齊 was sitting aloft in the hall, when a man lead an ox to consecrate a bell with its blood. The king could not bear the ox's frightened appearance, and ordered it exchanged for a sheep. This conduct was praised by Mencius as an artifice of benevolence (renshu 仁術) which was essential for the ruler to attain the Kingly Way.

¹⁶. Ibid.

responsibility to make sure every case is clear; how can I accept the reward?"¹⁷

During 1138 and 1139, the Jin expressed their desire to negotiate peace with the Song after losing one battle after another. By determining that the situation was to the Song's advantage, Zhang suggested to the Grand Councillor Zhao Ding ten requirements as conditions for negotiating peace. Before he could try what Zhang suggested, Zhao Ding was removed from his post and Qin Gui became the new Grand Councillor. Qin initiated a peace treaty with the Jin and asked Zhang for cooperation. Zhang refused and insisted that the Song should not rashly conclude a peace treaty to obtain temporary ease and comfort. Zhang also warned Emperor Gaozong to be careful in dealing with the peace negotiation with the Jin for fear of the deception on the enemy's side.¹⁸

In 1140 Zhang talked about the disasters and calamities of the Western Han (xihan 西漢) in the Classics Colloquium (jingting 經筵). Grand Councillor Qin Gui 秦檜 hated what Zhang said and demoted Zhang to Shaozhou 邵州.¹⁹ The real reason for the demotion, however, was a political one. Early in this year Zhang and six others had informed the Emperor of their opposition to concluding a treaty of peace with the Jin, thus causing conflict with Qin Gui, who was the

¹⁷. Ibid.

¹⁸. Song Shi, v.374, p.11579.

¹⁹. Ibid.

major initiator of this peace treaty.²⁰ Qin Gui actually removed almost all those whom he regarded as his opponents. At the same time Zhang's colleague Zeng Kai, who informed the Emperor of his opposition to concluding peace in 1139,²¹ was also forced by Qin Gui to resign his post and was offered another job at a distance from the capital.²²

When Zhang arrived at Shaozhou he found the storehouses were almost empty. His subordinates asked him to give them the order to hurry those who had not paid their taxes for wine, rent, land and silk. Zhang said, "I have already failed to bring benefits for the people, how can I make things more difficult for them?" That year, against official policy, Zhang changed the date for reporting annual income. But soon after that, Zhang was accused of this unauthorized action by Vice Censor-in-chief (zhongcheng 中丞) He Zhu 何铸 and was dismissed from this post.²³

Later in 1140 Zhang moved to the suburb of Lin'an 临安, where he began his contact with Chan Master

²⁰. Sodaishi nempyo (Nan So) 宋代史年表(南宋)(A chronological Table of the Song Dynasty, Southern Song), Japan Committee for the Song Project ed., (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1974), p.65.

²¹. Ibid., p.59.

²². Song Shi, v.382, p.11579.

²³. Ibid.

Dahui Zonggao.²⁴ At that time Dahui was very famous for his teaching and was called another Linji 臨濟.²⁵ Dahui had so many disciples that he started planning to build a new temple called "Pavilion of One Thousand Monks." Zhang and Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 climbed the mountain to ask Dahui for the Buddhist teaching. It was told that Zhang discussed the learning of "investigating things" (gewu 格物) with Dahui, and with Dahui's inspiration Zhang attained enlightenment.²⁶

In 1143 Zhang was banished to the Nan'an 南安 Military Region in Jiangxi 江西 on charges of forming a clique with Zhao Ding.²⁷ Dahui was exiled to Hengzhou 衡州 because of his contact with Zhang.²⁸ In Zhang's biography in Song Shi we also find another reason for this banishment:

[At that time] a monk of Jingshan 徑山 named Zonggao talked very well about the principle of Chan. A crowd studied with him. Jiucheng at that time was often among them. [Qin] Gui was afraid of [Zhang's] opinion. He ordered the Remonstrance Official (sijian 司言東) Zhan Dafang 詹大方 to say that [Zhang Jiucheng] and Zonggao spoke against the court's policies. [Zhang] was banished to the

²⁴ Yaolu, v.140. Also see Dahui Pujue chanshi nianpu 大慧普覺禪師年譜 (A chronicle of Dahui), Zu Yong 祖咏 ed., Shukusatsu zokyo, Teng 8, p.10b.

²⁵ Dahui nianpu, p. 9b.

²⁶ Ibid., p.10a.

²⁷ Yaolu, juan 149.

²⁸ Dahui nianpu, p.10b.

Nan'an²⁹ Military Region, where he stayed fourteen years.

During his life in Nan'an, Zhang discussed the Confucian Classics and was respected by scholars.³⁰ His two important commentaries, Mengzi zhuan and Zhongyong shuo, were probably written in this period. At the same time Zhang still kept up a regular correspondence with Dahui.³¹ They met each other again in 1156 when both of them were finished their terms of exile.³²

In 1155 when Qin Gui finally died, Zhang was assigned as the governor of Wenzhou 温州. The Ministry of Revenue (hubu 戶部) sent officials to supervise and pressure the peasants for more grain for the army. Seeing that peasants were suffering from this heavy duty, Zhang sent the ministry a letter in which he bitterly described the disadvantages of this policy. His letter was kept by the ministry without any response. Disheartened, Zhang went back to his hometown again to tend to his ancestral hall.³³ Several months after his return, Zhang died of a disease.³⁴

²⁹. Song Shi, v.374, p.11579.

³⁰. Yaolu, juan 171.

³¹. See Dahui nianpu, p.11b and p.12a.

³². Dahui nianpu, p.13a.

³³. Song Shi, v.374, p.11579.

³⁴. Ibid.

After Zhang's death, in the early year of Baoqing (1225), Zhang was given the titles of Grand Preceptor (taishi 太師) and Duke of Veneration for Nation (congguo gong 崇國公). He was also honoured with the name of Wen Zhong 文忠 by the Emperor Li Zong 理宗.³⁵

The life of Zhang was a life full of both accomplishments and tragedies. Zhang was honest, upright, and patriotic. Throughout his whole life, he exerted his every effort to advocate the policy of humanity and always stood up firmly fighting for the interests of the nation. From the traditional Confucian point of view, Zhang was by any sense an ideal statesman. Ironically, what Zhang received for what he did was dismissal, resignation, and a fourteen year exile. If the story of Zhang tells anything, it is nothing but a vivid example of the dark side of the politics of the imperial China.

³⁵. Ibid.

II. ZHANG JIUCHENG'S TEACHER YANG SHI

In last chapter we explored Zhang's life. Zhang's teacher, Yang Shi, was also mentioned there. Who was Yang Shi? What did he teach? What were the possible influences of his teaching upon Zhang? In this chapter, I will attempt to answer these questions by giving a general introduction of the life and teaching of Yang.

The Life of Yang Shi

Yang Shi (zi: Zhongli 中立), known also by the name of Guishan 龜山, was born in 1053 in Nanjian zhou 南劍州 in Fujian 福建. He passed the Jinshi 進士 exam in 1076 when he was 24 years old.¹ At that time, the Cheng brothers were teaching the study of Confucius and Mencius in Henan 河南, and were very popular among Confucian scholars. Knowing this situation, Yang decided to study with the Cheng brothers. In 1081 he met Cheng Hao 程顥 at Yingchang 潁昌 in Henan and became one of his disciples.² According to the notion of Jianshan nianpu 鵝山年譜 (The chronicle of Jianshan [You Zuo 游酢]), You Zuo (1053-

¹. Songshi, v. 428, p. 12738.

². Ibid.

1123) and another Confucian scholar Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050-1103) were also Cheng Hao's disciples at the same time.³

It is said that among all his disciples, Cheng Hao liked Yang the most, and he often praised Yang for his quick understanding of the teachings.⁴ A year later, Yang decided to leave for his hometown Fujian. Cheng Hao saw him off and said, "My Way has gone to the South!"⁵ After Cheng Hao's death, his younger brother Cheng Yi became the new leader of Northern Song Confucian scholars. In 1092 Yang became Cheng Yi's disciple when he was already 40 years old.⁶

From the year of 1092 to 1102, Yang held several posts as District Magistrate (zhixian 知縣). During his tenure of office, he adopted the policy which brought great benefits to the people.⁷ Outside his office, Yang was a famous scholar. It is said that some students came to study with him even from a distance of one thousand Li 里.⁸

In 1102 Yang was appointed as the Confucian Instructor of the Prefecture (jiaoshou 教授) of Jingzhou, and became familiar with another Confucian scholar Hu Anguo 胡安國 (1074-1138), who was at that time Officer of the National University

³. You Jianshan ji 游廬山集, P. 36.

⁴. Song Yuan xuean, p. 283.

⁵. Ibid.

⁶. Song Shi, p. 12738.

⁷. Ibid.

⁸. Ibid.

(guoxue guan 國學館) and later became the leader of the so-called Hunan 湖南 School. Yang and Hu became very close friends and they sent each other letters to discuss issues like "investigating things" (gewu 格物), "extending knowledge to the utmost" (zhizhi 致知), the "aroused" (yifa 已發) and the "not aroused" (weifa 未發).⁹ At that time, all these were regarded the most important and most frequently discussed issues between the Cheng brothers and their disciples.

After Cheng Yi died in 1107, Yang began to collect the surviving words of the Cheng brothers.¹⁰ Yang's collections were later re-edited by Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133-1180), a member of the Hunan School, and were included as juan 40 and 41 in the Er Cheng quanshu 二程全書 (The complete works of the two Chengs).

In 1112 when Yang was sixty years old, he received a disciple named Luo Congyan 羅從彦 (1072-1135). Luo later taught Li Tong 李侗 who became the teacher of Zhu Xi.¹¹ Also in this year, he wrote the Zhongyong yixu 中庸義序 (Preface of the meaning of the Doctrine of Mean).¹²

After serving as merely a local official for nearly thirty years, Yang began a new career in the central

⁹ 龜山先生全集 Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji 楊 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1974), juan 20, pp.855-893.

¹⁰. Ibid., juan 19, pp. 826-827.

¹¹. Ibid., juan 12, p. 618.

¹². Ibid., juan 25, pp.1031-1032.

government in 1123. He was appointed as Gentleman for Court Audiences (chaoching lang 朝請郎). Later, he was also given several other positions including Assistant in the Palace Library (mishu lang 秘書郎), Editorial Director (zhuzuo lang 著作郎), and Lecturer of Erying Hall (erying dian shuoshu 應天殿說書).¹³

In 1124 when the Jin was invading the south, the whole nation was in a crisis. In a memorial presented to Emperor Huizong 徽宗, Yang pointed out that the most urgent thing for the court to do to defend the nation was to gain popular support from the people (shou renxin 收人心). He further suggested that in order to gain support from people the court must abolish policies such as collecting rare flowers and rocks (huashi gang 花石綱) from local governments, extorting large sums of money from people, and forcing people to serve corvee for the government.¹⁴

In 1126 the Jin invaders were surrounding the capital. At this time, Emperor Huizong had already given up his throne, and his son Qinzong had become the new emperor. Qinzong, so scarred by the Jin, tried to make a peace treaty with Jin by ceding three towns of strategic importance to the Jin. Again, Yang presented a memorial to the emperor to oppose this treaty.¹⁵ Yang's advice was accepted by the emperor. He was

¹³. Song Shi, p. 12739.

¹⁴. Song Shi, p. 12740.

¹⁵. Ibid.

then appointed as the Junior Grand Master of Remonstrance (you jianyi dafu 右諫議大夫) and the lecturer-in-waiting for the court.¹⁶ Shortly after, Yang was assigned concurrently as the Chancellor of the National University (guozu jijiu 國子祭酒). In this year, in a memorial presented to Qinzong, Yang suggested removing Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) from the list of those receiving sacrifice in the Temple of Confucius.¹⁷ Wang was a noted reformer during the reign of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (1068-1086). He carried out his policy of "New Law" (xinfa 新法) for the improvement of public finance. Despite the fact that this "New Law" was very controversial among government officials when it was first adopted by the court, it gradually established its authority with the support of Shenzong, and eventually became the standard teaching at the "National University". Yang, however, influenced by the attack from the Cheng brothers that this "New Law" was actually an exploitation upon the people by the government, criticized Wang's policy as "heretical teaching" which "aroused the extravagant heart" (chixin 侈心) of the emperors.¹⁸ Yang's memorial was accepted by Qinzong and Wang's portrait was removed from the Temple of Confucius. But since at that time many students in the National University were studying Wang's teaching for the preparation of passing

¹⁶. Ibid.

¹⁷. Ibid., p. 12742.

¹⁸. Ibid.

the civil service exam, Yang's attack on Wang immediately evoked a public outcry among Confucian scholars. Finally, Yang was dismissed from his position as the Chancellor of National University by Qinzong and the public uproar calmed down again.¹⁹

When Emperor Gaozong ascended the throne in 1127, he appointed Yang as Vice Minister of the Ministry of Works (gongbu silang 工部侍郎) and lecturer-in-waiting.²⁰ In 1128 Yang retired on account of old age and returned to his native place, while at the same time he continued to serve as Auxiliary Academician (zhixue shi 直學士) of the Dragon Diagram Hall (longtu ge 龍圖閣). Yang died in 1135 and was bestowed the name of Wenjing 文靖 by the Emperor.²¹

The Teaching of Yang Shi

The characteristics of Yang's teaching can be seen from two different but interrelated angles. (1) what is the relationship between Yang's teaching and his teacher's; (2) what is Yang's position in the philosophical movement developed by the disciples of the Cheng brothers. However, it is beyond the scale of this thesis to give such a massive, overall comparative study. In the following pages, I will

¹⁹. Ibid.

²⁰. Ibid.

²¹. Ibid.

rather concentrate on offering a brief introduction to Yang's teaching, and I will try, of course, to mention its relationship with the teachings of the Cheng brothers and Yang's colleagues.

The core of Yang's philosophy is his emphasis on the theory of "one material force" (yiqi 一氣). He says, "The whole world is only one material force. Heaven and Earth are its substance. Material force is the overflowing of the substance. Men was born by receiving the Equilibrium (zhong 中) of Heaven and Earth. [In a word], everything belongs to one material force."²² Elsewhere, Yang also says that "there is only one material force between Heaven and Earth. Everything was formed within a single breath [of the material force]."²³

Here, when Yang spoke of all things in the world being formed from a single material force, he does not mean that there is no distinction between things. As a matter of fact, Yang often talks about "principle is one and its manifestations are many" (liyi fenshu 理一分殊),²⁴ an idea which had been developed since Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤's (1017-1073) Taiji tushuo 太極圖說 (Discourse on the diagram of the Great Ultimate). In the Confucian tradition, Heaven is

²². Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 8, p. 405.

²³. Ibid., juan 24, p. 998.

²⁴. Ibid., juan 20, p. 875.

strongly believed to be the origin of all moral principles, and the inseparableness of Heaven, Earth and man has been constantly emphasized by almost all Confucian scholars. Obviously, what Yang was trying to say is not something completely new from this tradition. As Tsuchida Kenjiro 土田健次郎 points out in his article, though the usage of the term "one material force" was not clearly stated in the works of the Cheng brothers, it was frequently discussed in Zhang Zai 張載's work.²⁵ Whether this concept was developed from Cheng Hao's "Heaven and Man are one union" (tianren heyi 天人合一) remains a topic for further study.

By claiming that everything is formed from one material force, Yang further suggested there was a structured totality of subject and object, ie., man's inner world and the outside world. In criticizing Wang Anshi's definition on "Sincerity" (chen 誠) that "Sincerity is a state in which man's mind is freed from the attachment of outside objects",²⁶ Yang said, "Sincerity is the Way of Heaven. It is not something that a man who freed his mind from the attachment of outside objects can know thoroughly....Wang boasted that he was freed from attachment, and thought that this was the ultimate truth. This is because he didn't know the Way of

²⁵. Tsuchida, Yoshi no tachiba, Chugoku shisoshi no shoso, p. 78. Also see Zhang Zai ji 張子集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), pp. 7-16.

²⁶. See Wang Wengong wenji 王文公文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1974), juan 25.

Heaven."²⁷ According to Yang, "Sincerity" is a state where one examines himself until all things are complete in him".²⁸ Here, the difference between Wang and Yang lies in that Wang sees the objective order of things as external and opposite to the mind, while Yang sees they are organically interrelated as if belonging to a structured totality. To Yang, mind and things have shared such an underlying ontological unity that they are fundamentally inseparable.

So far we explored Yang's theory of the metaphysical structure. Now I will look at Yang's philosophy of knowledge (epistemology). As we showed in the previous pages, though Yang generally admitted that "Principle is one and its manifestation are many", he put more emphasis on the "one" rather than the "many". Yang's theory of epistemology also shows a similar tendency. Based on the belief that subject and object are in an organic totality, he seemed to be more concerned about the activity of the mind which can perfectly manifest and therefore realize the objective principles of things. He said,

There are tens of thousands of things [in the world] for us to investigate. Of course we can not investigate all of them. But if we examine ourself and reach the state of sincerity, then all things in the world will be complete in us.²⁹

²⁷. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 6, p. 316.

²⁸. Ibid., juan 3, p. 799.

²⁹. Ibid., juan 18, p. 799.

In another place, in commenting on Mencius' "knowing the mind thoroughly and understanding the nature,"³⁰ Yang said, "First, one must obtain the correctness of his mind, then he can know the goodness of his nature".³¹ We can see the obvious linkage between Yang's teaching and that of Mencius. As to how Yang was linked to the two Cheng brothers, Araki Kengo believes that though Yang studied more than ten years with Cheng Yi, he didn't show as much emphasis on investigating principles of things as his teacher Cheng Yi did. Instead, although he only studied with Cheng Hao for one year, Yang showed more similarity to Cheng Hao's teaching that "one should understand only his mind. He should not seek [principles] from the outside."³²

In order to guide his students to understand their mind, Yang further developed a method called "silent recognizing" (moshi 默識). He said,

The origin of the ultimate Way can not be described clearly by pen and tongue. One must experience it by his body and check with his mind. If one can silently recognize it with calm, leisure, and concentration, and forget about how to

³⁰. Mencius, D. C. Lau trans., (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), Book 7, part A, p. 182.

³¹. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 12, p. 589.

³². Henan Chengshi yishu 河南程氏遺書 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935), juan 2, p. 5. Also see Araki, Yokizan shoron 楊龜山小論 (A short essay on Yang Guishan), Chugoku shisoshi no shoso, p. 12.

express it by words and writings³³, then he is close to the [ultimate Way].

Here, Yang believed that a person's task is to envision how one may reach the substance of mind so that one may have full knowledge of the Way and the full ability to respond correctly to anything in the world. To do so, he urges people to experience the substance of mind in meditating on the mind. Although Yang didn't mention the term "meditation", his statement nevertheless appears to suggest that meditation is a formal procedure to reach tranquillity of mind and to come to settle one's nature or mind. The important thing about meditation here is not that one must sit in quietness, but that by sitting in quietness one will make efforts to clarify one's mind and thus clear one's selfish desire and prejudicial thought.

This kind of idea was also illustrated by Yang in his commentary on the Zhongyong:

Zhongyong says, "While there is no arousal of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of Equilibrium (zhong 中). When those feelings have been aroused, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony (he 和)." Thus the learners should try to apply their minds to understand the moment when there is no arousal of pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy. By doing this, the meaning of Equilibrium will manifest itself naturally. If one can hold this [mind of Equilibrium] and not lose it, then one's selfish human desires will disappear, and

³³. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 17, p. 780.

one's feelings will act in their due degree.³⁴

Here when Yang spoke of "Equilibrium", he insisted that one should understand the state when his feelings have not been aroused. Li Yenping 李延平, who studied under Yang's disciple Luo Yuzhang 羅豫章 and who later became Zhu Xi's teacher, explained this method of cultivation as "sitting quietly to purify the mind, experiencing and realizing the Heavenly Principle."³⁵

To talk about the characteristics of the teaching of Song Neo-Confucianists, their relationship with Buddhism is always an inevitable topic. Yang, without exception, also showed Buddhist influence in his teaching. The earliest mention of this matter was by Cheng Yi. Once when Cheng Yi talked about his disciples, he said, "You Zuo 游酢 and Yang Shi studied Buddhism at the beginning. Later when they found that [the Buddhist teaching] could not satisfied them, they came to my place. I hope this time they will not change their [mind] again."³⁶

Here, Cheng Yi did not indicated which Buddhist teacher Yang and You studied with. According to the studies of Araki Kengo, it is possible to assume that Yang, in his early

³⁴. Song Yuan xuean, p. 286.

³⁵. Ibid., p. 415.

³⁶. Er Cheng quanshu = 程全書, Okada Takehiko 岡田武彦 ed., (Taibei: Zhongwen chuban she, 1972.), juan 41, p. 1395.

years, might have studied under the guidance of a Chan Master named Donglin Changzong

(1025-1091).³⁷ In Chanlin sengbao zhuan 禪林僧寶傳 (Biographies of the precious monks in Chan monasteries) written by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071-1128), we find that Changzong was also born in Jianzhou 劍州, the same place where Yang was born.³⁸ Araki assumed that because of this special relationship between the two, it is very possible that Yang had the chance to visit Changzong and study with him.³⁹ Another piece of evidence, which I think is very sound, is that in his recorded sayings and other works, Yang frequently mentioned Changzong's name and cited his teaching.⁴⁰

Compared with other contemporary New-Confucianists, Yang's attitude towards Buddhism showed a more affirmative flavour. Though in the sociomoral sense he criticized Buddhism for "abandoning the human relationship" and "opposing the Heavenly Principle,"⁴¹ he admitted that Buddhism and Confucianism "almost share the same thing in the ultimate

³⁷. Araki, Yokizan shoron, p. 5.

³⁸. Chanlin sengbao zhuan, (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1973), juan 24.

³⁹. Araki, Yokizan shoron, p. 5.

⁴⁰. Cf. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 13 and also his Yulu 語錄, juan 4, p. 670.

⁴¹. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 18, pp. 789-790.

sense."⁴² Throughout his works, we find that he had a strong tendency of trying to reconcile these two different traditions. In her unpublished doctoral thesis, Miriam L. Levering offers a detailed study on this issue.⁴³ One example is that Yang regarded the Buddhist Vijnanavadin teachings about the ten levels of consciousness as a profound explanation of the relation between phenomenal good and evil and the "originally good Nature" of Mencius that Cheng Yi had affirmed. He is quoted as saying in his Recorded Sayings that the Amala consciousness whose name when translated into Chinese meant "spotless and pure" was identical to Mencius' "good Nature," while the Alaya or "storehouse" consciousness contains the seeds of good and evil.⁴⁴

Yang further compared the "four maladies" (sibing 四病) of the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment 圓覺經 to the mistake in cultivating the mind that Mencius had pointed out in his famous parable of the man of Song 宋 who tried to help his plants grow. The malady called "works" (zuo 作) in the sutra, Yang said, was the same as the mistake of "pulling on the plants to help them to grow" in Mencius' parable. The malady of "stopping of all mental effort" (zhi 止) in the sutra was the same as not weeding, and the maladies of "laissez-faire"

⁴². Ibid., juan 16, p. 754.

⁴³. Cf. Levering, Chan Enlightenment for Laymen: Dahui and the New Religious Culture of the Song, (Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), p. 128.

⁴⁴. Song Yuan xuean, juan 25, p. 464.

(ren 任) and "annihilation of all desire" in the sutra were the same as "not having the task in mind and sticking with it" (wushi 戒), an attitude the opposite to that expressed by Mencius in Chinese as "having the task at hand constantly on one's mind" (yushi 有事).⁴⁵

In other places, Yang is also quoted as saying that the two famous lines by Layman Pang Yun 龐蘊 (one of the most outstanding disciples of the Chan Master Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一):

My supernatural power and marvellous activity:
Drawing water and carrying firewood⁴⁶

expressed the Way of the movements of sage kings Yao 堯 and Shun 舜⁴⁷ and extolled this as "the ultimate truth, and is the words of an enlightened man."⁴⁸ He is quoted further as saying that the Confucian affirmation that form is Heaven's nature is the same as the Buddhist idea that "form is emptiness" (se jishi kong 色即是空).⁴⁹ He also quoted the Vimalakirti-nirdeśa 維摩經 as saying that the True Mind is the place of

⁴⁵. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 13, pp. 659-660.

⁴⁶. Cf. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, The Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang, (New York and Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc., 1971), p. 46.

⁴⁷. Song Yuan Xuean, juan 25, p. 464

⁴⁸. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 13, p. 679.

⁴⁹. Ibid., p. 664.

enlightenment,⁵⁰ and he commented that on this point the truth taught by Buddhists and Confucians was one.⁵¹

What can we conclude from the above examples? Living in a time when the influences of Chan and Huayan 華嚴 were pervasive throughout Neo-Confucian movement, it is hard to imagine that Confucian scholars could have possibly escaped from these influences. What is intriguing is that, as I showed above, Yang did not just receive these influences passively and unconsciously as some of the Neo-Confucianists did. He rather, as Araki Kengo correctly points out, pierced the nature of the development of contemporary thought.⁵² This nature, as Yang's teaching itself demonstrated, is nothing but the reconstruction and the reconciliation between Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism at the philosophical level.

⁵⁰. Cf. Robert A. F. Thurman, trans., The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), ch. 5, p. 44.

⁵¹. Song Yuan xuean, juan 25, pp. 464-65.

⁵². Araki, Yokizan shoron, p. 20.

III. ZHANG JIUCHENG AND DAHUI ZONGGAO

In chapter one I mentioned that Zhang and Dahui were both exiled under the charge of attacking court's policy. As a matter of fact, their relationship went far beyond this. Unfortunately, though some scholars point out that Zhang's contact with Dahui was one of the most important aspects of Song thought, so far there is little study done on this matter. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to sort out all the accounts recorded in Dahui nianpu, translate all the gathas and poems they wrote to each other, and then present my own tentative interpretation of them. Because of the nature of Dahui nianpu, the readers should be reminded that the accounts which are introduced in the following pages may not be the complete picture of the association between the two and that those accounts only represent a part of Zhang's view on Buddhism.

Zhang was forty years old when he first met Dahui in 1140.¹ It is recorded that in this interview, when Zhang asked Dahui about the meaning of "investigating things" (gewu 格物), Dahui replied, "You only know about investigating things, but

¹. Dahui nianpu, p. 10a.

you don't know about 'things investigating' (wuge 物格)."² This might be interpreted as saying that Zhang was hindered by his attachment to the subject-object distinction implied in "investigating things" which was regarded as the most efficient way for personal cultivation among Song Confucianists. Turning it around to "things investigating" is a way of suggesting the one-sidedness of the distinction, and too, perhaps, that one need not pass through the stage of finding principles outside one's Nature in order to realize it in one's Nature. By answering Dahui's critique, Zhang replied, "I know about investigating things, you know about things investigating. If one wants to know a string of one thousand cash (yiguan 一貫), he must know the two five hundred [cash]."³ Here, we can see that by accepting the Buddhist way of "things investigating", i.e., seeing one's nature and becoming Buddha, Zhang seemed to conclude that this does not contradict with the Confucian way of investigating the truth. To Zhang, they were just like two faces of the same coin. As a man who witnessed the creative interaction among Buddhism and Confucianism of the time, Zhang's answer here appeared to be more likely to accept the belief that only when one skilfully mastered both traditions could one attain the real "Way".

². Ibid.

³. Ibid.

After the first interview with Dahui, Zhang began to visit Dahui more frequently, and it was recorded that there was one visit with Dahui that brought Zhang to enlightenment. The dialogue was a discussion on the famous "Four Outlooks" (siliao jian 四料拣) which were originally taught by Linji 臨濟(?-867).⁴ During this talk, it was recorded that Zhang first asked Dahui to explain why he was still working on the "Four Outlooks" when he had already attained enlightenment. Dahui replied by saying that if one didn't work on the "Four Outlooks" after his enlightenment, he could only enter the realm of Buddha (fojing 佛境) but could not enter the realm of the Devil (mojing 魔境). Zhang further mentioned Chan Master Kefu 克符, who attained enlightenment by studying the "Four Outlooks" under the guidance of Linji,⁵ and asked Dahui what he thought about this. Dahui told Zhang that his case was different from that of Kefu's. Puzzled by Dahui's answer, Zhang persisted in asking what Dahui meant. This time Dahui replied, "Broke through the Caizhou 蔡州 city, and

⁴. Ibid. According to Linji, there were four ways which can be used to lead his disciples to enlightenment. They are: 1). that there is no subject without object (duoren bu duoqing 奪人不奪境); 2). that the entire world is merely a reflection of one's own consciousness (duoqing bu duoren 奪境不奪人); 3). that there is a state in which the duality of subject and object is transcended (renjing ju buduo 人境俱不奪); 4). that ultimately there is no subject and object (renjing juduo 人境俱奪). Also Cf. Zengaku daijiten 禪學大辭典 (Tokyo: Taishukan shoten, 1978), p. 601c.

⁵. This story is recorded in Chuan denglu 傳燈錄, Shi Daoyuan 釋道元 ed., (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), juan 12.

killed Wu Yuanji 吳元濟." By hearing these words, Zhang instantly attained great freedom (dazizai 大自在).⁶

The man named Wu Yuanji that Dahui mentioned here was the Prefect (cishi 刺史) of Caizhou of the Tang Dynasty. He connived his subordinate to rebel against the court, and committed numerous outrages in the area his troops occupied. He was later caught by the royal army and was executed in the capital Changan 長安.⁷ Why Dahui used this story here in this dialogue and how Zhang attained freedom by just hearing this story need further study. My explanation for this question is this: Since Wu was caught by a surprise attack, Dahui's motive of using this story may possibly be that he wanted to teach Zhang to break through his doubt and attain the enlightenment by an original, extraordinary style, rather than just follow the beaten track, i.e., those old words or sayings preached by the past masters.

Zhang seemed to be very pleased with Dahui's teaching. In a talk recorded in the Dahui nianpu, Zhang said to a friend,

Every time I heard Jingshan's Old Man 徑山老人 (Dahui) talking about the "cause and relation" (yinyuan 因緣), I saw the whole thing in a clear light, just as if I entered tens of thousands of doors without even putting one step on

⁶. Dahui nianpu, p. 10a.

⁷. For the story see Xin Tangshu 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 214, p. 6008.

them. Sometimes when we sat on the cart and had our meal, [I felt like] we were climbing on the top of a high mountain; sometimes when we walked slowly, [I felt like] we were entering the middle of deep water. If one has not yet been out of the Stream of Reason (changqing 常情), he can never understand the stage where we were standing.⁸

Needless to say, we must look at this account with the awareness of its flattery elements. However, though we may not believe wholeheartedly in what Dahui nianpu said--"It was in Dahui's place where Zhang could accomplished the Great Thing (dashi 大事) for the rest of his life,"⁹ we are certain that such a close contact with Dahui must have greatly influenced Zhang, if not decisively.

In 1141 the "Pavilion of the One Thousand Monks" (qianseng ge 千僧閣) on Jingshan was finally completed. In April, Zhang climbed the mountain again to meet Dahui. Being pleased with Zhang's accomplishment in his Chan practice, Dahui wrote a gatha, in which Dahui compared Zhang's Chan to the "Bow of the Divine Arm" (shenbi gong 神臂弓).¹⁰ The next day, Zhang invited Dahui to deliver a sermon in Taizhou 台州. When Dahui was asked about Chan, he showed the audience another gatha:

When the Bow of the Divine Arm is shot,
a thousand passes will be open all of a sudden;
when the sword that can blow the hairs is waved,

⁸. Dahui nianpu, p. 10a.

⁹. Ibid.

¹⁰. Ibid., p. 10b.

all the doubt of the ten thousand inexorable dooms will be broken.¹¹

The "Bow of the Divine Arm" was a weapon invented in Song. In 1135, Han Shizhong 韓世忠, a general of Song who advocated for fighting the Jin invaders, improved this bow and gave it another name of the "Bow of Defeating the Enemy". Later, he led his troops to defeat the Jin many times by using this kind of bow.¹²

According to Dahui nianpu, the purpose of Dahui's using this term in these two gathas was to praise Zhang's success in Chan practice.¹³ We do not know whether Dahui had the motive to show his support for Zhang and Han in fighting back the Jin. However, it is apparent that Qin Gui, the leader of those who advocated making a peace treaty with the Jin, interpreted Dahui's repeated usage of this simile as a attack on his policy by innuendo. Shortly after this, both Dahui and Zhang were charged with criticizing the court's policy.¹⁴ In 1143 Dahui was banished to Hengzhou 衡州 in Hunan 湖南, while Zhang was dismissed from his office and was ordered by the Emperor to stay home in mourning for his dead father.¹⁵

¹¹. Ibid.

¹². Cf. Hong Mai 洪邁, Rongzhai suibi 容齋三筆 (Essays of the Quite Study), (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1934), juan 16.

¹³. Dahui nianpu, p. 10b.

¹⁴. Ibid.

¹⁵. Ibid.

In a letter to a friend, Zhang described this period of his life as follows:

My father died suddenly, and I felt so distressed that I wanted to die, but I couldn't. On the fourteenth of the fourth month, it will be 100 days since he died [an important memorial day]. The Old Man of Jingshan sees things with the eye of the Way, and is able to transcend life and death. Studying under him are 1700 monks who tirelessly and single-mindedly pursue the Way. I thought that if I spent some time with them, I would be a little better able to bear the pain of my father's death.¹⁶

There can be no doubt that, by closely associating with Dahui, Zhang was searching for enlightenment and spiritual solace. Here, we do not know exactly what Dahui preached to Zhang and how he comforted Zhang to get away from the spiritual and emotional crisis. If we read Dahui's following letter, however, it will not be difficult to imagine what Dahui might have taught Zhang in this case. In a letter to a man who just lost his fifth son, Dahui wrote:

If you want to think [about the loss of your son], then only think. If you want to cry, only cry. Cry on, think on, until the piled up karmic habit energies of kindness and love in the Storehouse Consciousness (cangshi 藏識) are used up; then naturally like ice turning back into water, you will return to your own place which is originally from the beginning, without afflictions, without thinking, without grief or joy.¹⁷

¹⁶. Ibid.

¹⁷. Araki, Daie sho 大慧書 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1969), p. 122.

He then went on:

Father shares the same Heavenly Nature with his son. When the son dies, the father will certainly miss his son and feel vexed; when the father dies, the son will also miss his father and feel vexed. If one tries to stop [these feelings] by force, tries not to cry when he wants to cry, and tries not to think when he wants to think, then this is nothing but to go against the Principle of Heaven and to eliminate human nature.¹⁸

In 1148 Dahui wrote a poem to Zhang. The poem says:

When the ice on the pond of the Heavenly garden begins to melt,
the poplar and willow trees in the human world are already full of the beauty of spring;
burning the incense, an old man sit on the Dharma Hall all day,
for a long time, he had been recalling the Vaisali's long-tongued man.¹⁹

"Vaisali" here means the city, a place where lay man Vimalakirti lived. According to the Vimalakirti-nirdesa sutra,²⁰ once Vimalakirti discussed the teaching of "non-duality" (buer famen 不二法門) with several bodhisattvas. First, the bodhisattvas explained the teaching of non-duality by words, then they asked Vimalakirti to explain this teaching. However, Vimalakirti did not say anything. He just kept silent.²¹ This is what the Buddhists called the "silence of Vimalakirti", or "a silence like thunder". The reason that

¹⁸. Ibid.

¹⁹. Dahui nianpu, p. 11b.

²⁰. Taisho Daizokyo 大正大藏經, v.14.

²¹. Cf. Zengaku daijiten 禅学大辞典, p. 1242a.

Vimalakirti did not say a word about the non-duality teaching was because he thought that this teaching transcended language and the usual workings of the mind. Here, the nickname "long-tongued man" which Dahui used to indicate Zhang might be interpreted as an humorous expression. At this time, Dahui was in Henzhou, while Zhang was in Nan'an Military Region. They had seen each other for almost five years since they were both exiled in 1143. The nuance of this poem showed a vivid picture of the extraordinary intimate relationship between the two.

Since Dahui was exiled to Henzhou in 1143, he had been compiling his famous "public case" (gongan 公案) collection, called the Zhengfa yanzang 正法眼藏 Treasury of the True Dharma Eye). In 1147 this book was finally completed. In 1149 Dahui wrote Zhang a letter to respond Zhang's comments on this work. The comments Zhang made were not recorded, but at least we can see part of it from Dahui's quotation in the following letter:

You regard what you understood as the ultimate standard, thus as soon as you see those teachings which applied the reasoning (daoli 道理), smeared with mud and water, and suited for a certain group of people, you instantly try to sweep them away without remaining even tiny traces. When you read my Zhengfa yanzang, you said, "there are many masters in the Linji lineage who possessed sharp mental function, why did you not collect them?" Besides, Master Huizhong 慧忠 taught the Chan of meaning and reasoning (yili 義理), and misled many young people. You should delete this [from your book]." You see the Way

correctly, but it seems that you do not like the "grandmother Chan (laopo chan 老婆禪)²² that Master Huizong²³ taught. What you like is to hit the rock for fire and flash the lightening. [This shows that] you can not tolerate any other truths. This is really a pity."²⁴

Here, it seemed that Zhang opposed those teachings which "smeared with mud and water", i.e., a Chan master applied various methods to teach people. And according to Dahui's point of view, Zhang did so because he probably thought that this kind of "Grandmother Chan" was contradictory to another Chan teaching which emphasizes more on "direct pointing to one's mind and seeing the Buddha nature" (zhizhi renxin 直指人心, jianxing chengfo 見性成佛). Obviously, Dahui shared a different idea with Zhang. As shown in this letter, Dahui believed that "the faculties (gen 根) of every sentient being are different from each other. Thus from the Buddha to all his followers, each master founded his own doctrine and preached it according to the mental and spiritual capacities of his listeners." Thus the purpose of his Zhengfa yanzang,

²². Grandmother Chan: those who teach the students to practice Chan with great care and kindness. Cf. Zengaku daijiten, p. 1314b.

²³. Huizhong (?-775) was one of the five major disciples of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638-713). He is believed to be the first one who taught that "non-sentient beings can teach the Law of Buddha" (wuqing shuofa 無情說法). Cf. Zengaku daijiten, p. 100b.

²⁴. Daie sho, p. 191.

Dahui further explained, was to "collect all the correct ideas which can lead people to attain enlightenment without caring whether they belong to the Yunmen 雲門 School, Linji 臨濟 School, Caodong 曹洞 School, Weiyang 禪仰 School or Fayan 法眼 School."²⁵

In 1156 Dahui was at last released from exile, and in the first month of the year he left Meizhou 梅州 for the north.²⁶ At that time, Zhang was in Yongjia 永嘉, Fujian. There, Zhang held a party for Dahui and wrote Dahui a poem in which he praised Dahui's unusual way of Chan teaching:

I was originally a man from the mountain,
and was pushed into this world.
But like a bird in a cage,
I have not forgotten to fly.
So today I came here, and saw the Yangzi
River flowing in front of me.
How clear it is!
the eternal mind--
But when I pulled it into my arms,
it did not even fill my sleeves.

There came several friends of mine,
they all spoke elegantly.
Among them, there was a peculiar monk,
his mental function was as sharp as a chopping
sword.
I happened to meet this circumstance,
it became a strange tale in my life.²⁷

Several days later, when Dahui decided to leave for Changsha 長沙 in Hunan, Zhang again wrote him a poem for

²⁵. Daie sho, p.191.

²⁶. Dahui nianpu, p. 13a.

²⁷. Hengpu ji 橫浦集, Siku quanshu 四庫全書 Edition, (Taibei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1973), juan 1, p. 54a.

farewell. The poem voiced Zhang's feelings towards their steadfast friendship:

We left each other for seventeen years,
during this period, all things happened.
Today we met each other suddenly,
face to face, we became two old ugly men.
Life is like a dream, how can we
investigate all the rights and wrongs?

My old brother was too tired
to even open his mouth.
You will go to Hunan,
and I will go to Yongjia.
Today we have to leave each other again,
rushing about south and north.
We have already sworn our oath,
You'd better not stay in Changsha
for a long time.²⁸

In the end of this year, Dahui received an imperial invitation to become the 19th abbot of a temple on Ayuwang 阿育王 Mountain in Zhejiang 浙江, one of the official "Five Mountains".²⁹ Because the temple was on a high land, it was difficult for the monks to get water. In 1157 they finally dug two springs. When finished, Zhang climbed the mountain and wrote an inscription for the two springs. The last two lines of the inscription read, "I do not know what to do, only Miaoqi

(Dahui) can make the decision."³⁰

When Zhang died in 1159, Dahui paid a condolence call on Zhang in Haichang 海昌, and held the memorial ceremony for Zhang

²⁸. Dahui nianpu, p. 13a.

²⁹. Ibid., p. 13b.

³⁰. Ibid.

by presenting a funeral oration.³¹ At the funeral, a man named Cheng Yongzhi 程永之 submitted to Dahui a eulogy written by Zhang before and asked Dahui to write a gatha on the back of this eulogy. Zhang's eulogy said,

Thought is the underling of thieves,
 awakening is the head of the thief.
 If we beat and kill the head,
 where can the underling go?
 On the midst of the grand road,
 I stand there alone,
 From south of Yue 越 to the north of Yan 燕,
 from east of Liao 遼 to the west of Long 龍,
 I can go anywhere in a single moment,
 without anxiety and doubt.
 The divine sword is on the mountain,
 its blade is shining cold;
 the ghosts of the mountain and demons of the
 rock and wood,
 none of them can offend this [sword].
 This is called the real awakening,
 it can pulverize everything,
 like the rolling wheels of the Qin .

On the back of this eulogy, Dahui wrote a gatha:

People talk about thought and awakening,
 they turned the face into the back.
 There is no thought, there is no awakening,
 where can you find them?
 Who aroused his thought?
 Who attained the awakening?
 Open the window and the door,
 you will see the boundless sky.
 Go ahead, do not look around,
 when can the Qin's wheels start to
 pulverize?³²

So far we explored all the accounts noted in Dahui nianpu, concerning Zhang's contact with Dahui. In Zhang's Henpu wenji, we

³¹. Ibid., p. 14b.

³². Ibid.

also find a letter sent to a monk named Jing Juzhan 淨居諶.³³ Unfortunately, we do not know who this monk was, or the relationship between the two. But since in this letter Zhang stated that "It has been a long time since we left each other last time. I really miss you very much,"³⁴ we can at least assume that Zhang had been in association with this monk for a fairly long period of time.

According to the Dahui nianpu, there were forty famous official-scholars who had a relationship with Dahui. Among them, twenty two people were those who often visited Dahui and admired Dahui's sermons, eighteen people were those who sincerely studied Chan under the guidance of Dahui and finally attained enlightenment.³⁵ But none of them had ever been praised by Dahui as highly as Zhang had been. In Dahui's eye, Zhang was the most profoundly enlightened layman he had ever taught. In a letter sent to Wang Yingchen 王應長 in 1156, Dahui said,

If you could make your last determination, then Confucianism is Buddhism, and Buddhism is Confucianism; monk is layman, and layman is monk; ordinary people is sage, and sage is ordinary people; I am you, and you are I. Heaven is Earth, and Earth is Heaven; wave is water, and water is wave. Butter, junket, and the fine cream will be mixed to become one taste, flagon, plate, hairpin and bracelet will be melted in

³³. Hengpu ji, juan 18, p. 18a.

³⁴. Ibid.

³⁵. Dahui nianpu, p. 15b.

one metal. This depends on oneself, not on others. If one reaches this realm, he can command everything. He will be the king of the Dharma, and will be completely free from the Dharma. Gain and loss, right and wrong, will not cause any hinderance for him. He does not do this by force: this is the natural way of the Buddha's teaching. However, nobody else is capable of believing in this realm except Old Man Wugou 無垢老人 (Zhang Jiucheng). Even if someone else could believe in this realm, they still can not attain it by themselves.³⁶

Despite of the flattery elements in this statement, it nonetheless showed Zhang's accomplishment of Chan practice in the eyes of the great Chan master. Needless to say, there are still many points around the relationship between the two needed to be sorted out. But one thing seems to be clear, that is that both Zhang and Dahui believed that there was a common ground between Chan Buddhism and Confucianism and that both of them regarded the complete mastery of these two teachings as their ultimate goal to pursue in their whole life.

³⁶. Daie sho, pp. 145-146.

IV. ZHANG JIUCHENG AND HIS PHILOSOPHY OF MIND

In chapter 2 we discussed the life and teaching of Zhang's teacher Yang Shi. In chapter 3 we also explored Zhang's contact with Chan Master Dahui Zonggao. These studies offered us a general idea of the possible sources of Zhang's teaching. First, as we saw in chapter 2, Yang Shi was regarded as the key figure who disseminated the teaching of the two Cheng brothers to the south, where scholars like Zhang, Luo Congyan 羅從考, Li Tong 李侗 and Zhu Xi were born. With the fact that Yang was Zhang's only Confucian mentor, it is reasonable to assume that Zhang could have received the teaching of those Northern Song thinkers through the influences from Yang. Second, Yang demonstrated a strong tendency of reconciling Buddhism with Confucianism throughout his works. Bearing this in mind, it will not be difficult for us to understand why Zhang showed his interests of Buddhism when he met Dahui for the first time in his life. It is an oversimplistic view to assume that Zhang had always criticized Buddhism single-mindedly until he suddenly realized that Buddhism and Confucianism shared some similarities one day when he talked with a Buddhist monk. Third, though the accounts noted in Dahui nianpu might have been biased in

nature, they nevertheless gave us a very detailed picture of the close relationship between Zhang and Dahui in both emotional and spiritual level, and helped us to comprehend the changes of Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism and his assimilation of several aspects of Buddhist philosophy.

Now it is the time for us to look at Zhang's own philosophy. Unfortunately, this task is by no means an easy one. On one hand, we are facing a number of divergent views and critiques concerning the characteristics of Zhang's philosophy in previous studies. On the other hand, further confusion is caused by the heterogeneous nature of Zhang's philosophy itself. In view of this situation, I will proceed with my study of Zhang's teaching as follows. First, I will provide a short introduction to Zhang's major works and the previous studies on these works; Second, I will look at Zhang's philosophy, especially his discussion on "mind", in the light of the political, social, and philosophical context of the time he lived; Third, I will give a comprehensive and detailed study of Zhang's ambivalent attitude towards Buddhism--his critique and assimilation. And I will also discuss what this had to do with the influence from both his Confucian teacher Yang Shi and his Buddhist master Dahui. The first and second steps will be conducted in chapter 4, and the third step will be carried out exclusively in chapter 5.

Among all of Zhang's extant works, Mengzi zhuan 孟子傳 is regarded as the most complete. According to the textual analysis of Kondo Masanori 近藤正則, Mengzi zhuan's original name should be Mengzi jie 孟子解 (Exposition of the

Book of Mencius) which was recorded in the Southern Song scholar Chen Zhensun 陳振孫's Zhizhai shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題 (The exposition of the book titles of the Upright Study). We may take Chen as a reliable author because Chen lived relatively close to Zhang's time, and therefore was more likely to have had the chance to see the original edition of the text which was in 14 fascicles.¹ The extant text has 29 volumes, and according to Kondo, this was probably a version re-edited at a later time. Some words and sentences are missing, and the chapter of "Exhausting the Mind" (jinxin 盡心) was completely lost. The text itself, however, is quiet readable.

I could not find many comments on Mengzi zhuan among classical scholars. However, in the Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 (The summary of the comprehensive table of contents in the complete works of the Four Libraries), we have the following:

At that time, Feng Xiu 馮休 wrote Shanmeng 刪孟 (Deletion of Mencius), Li Gou 李溝 wrote Changyu 常語 (Common sayings), Sima Guang 司馬光 wrote Yimeng (Doubts on Mencius), Zhao Shuo 晁說之 wrote Dimeng 訛孟 (Defamation of Mencius), Zheng Houshu 鄭厚叔 wrote Yipu

zhezhang 藝圃折衷 (Compromise of the Garden of Arts). All these works were intended to denounce Mencius....only [Zhang] illustrated the accomplishment which Mencius made in his teaching of "honouring the Kingly Way (wangdao 王道) and despising the Way of Might (badao 霸道)." [By doing this, Zhang] made a great

¹. Cf. Kondo's Chokyusei no moshiden ni tsuite, p. 110.

contribution in bringing order out of chaos.²

It seemed that the Mengzi zhuan didn't receive much attention until recently when several Japanese scholars began to make serious study of it. Among them, Araki Kengo, Kondo Masanori, and Ichiki Tsuyuhiko 市来津雄彦 are the most influential ones. In their studies, these scholars shared a common point of view on Mengzi zhuan, in which they believe that in this work Zhang further developed the thesis of "Mind is Principle" (xin ji li 心即理) of Song Neo-Confucianism on the basis of Mencius's teaching of "mind of humanity" (renxin 仁心). They also agree that the main purpose of Mengzi zhuan was to emphasize the importance of the function of "mind" in the process of personal cultivation and the realization of sociomoral duties as the elite class.³

Nevertheless, it is worth noting the different angles they offered in each of their articles. In Araki's article, he points out that the teaching of "mind" in Mengzi zhuan is somewhat related to the Buddhist philosophy of mind and claims that this is probably why there is a resonance between Zhang and Dahui on the intellectual level.⁴ Ichiki, on the other hand, focuses more on the relationship between Zhang's Mengzi

². Cf. Tiyao, Wang Yunwu 王雲五 ed. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1939), juan 35, pp. 101-102.

³. Cf. Araki's Chokyusei ni tsuite, Kondo's Chokyusei no moshiden ni tsuite, and Ichiki's Shushi no zatsugaku ben to so no shuhen 朱子の桑学本とその周知, Sodai no shakai to shukyo

, Sodaishi kenkyukai 宋代史研究 ed., (Tokyo: Kyudo shoin, 1985), pp. 3-49.

⁴. Araki, Chokyusei ni tsuite, p. 53.

zhuan and the teaching of his teachers. Ichiki points out that first, Zhang's statement--"the feeling of the mind is humanity"--was from Cheng Hao and Xie Liangzuo;⁵ second, in Cheng Yi's teaching, "principle" was regarded as the guide for the subject while in Mengzi zhuan the function of guiding the subject was transferred from "principle" to "mind".⁶ In his exclusive article on Mengzi zhuan, Kondo not only did bibliographical study as we introduced above, he also made a detailed analysis on the inner structure of Mengzi zhuan. According to Kondo, the major propositions such as the "the feeling of mind is humanity" and "mind is principle" in Mengzi zhuan were directly derived from the recorded sayings of the two Cheng brothers. In contrast with Araki's point of view, Kondo points out that because the Mengzi zhuan was written before Zhang met Dahui,⁷ there is no evidence to prove that this work has the tendency of "interpreting Confucian principle with Chan teaching" which he claims was shown in Zhang's later works.⁸

The most controversial work by Zhang is, no doubt, the book of Zhongyong shuo. According to the postscript of Zhongyong shuo, there were six fascicles when this text was first published in the Southern Song and was preserved in a

⁵. Cf. Ichiki, Shushi no zatsugaku ben no shuhen, p. 21.

⁶. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁷. Cf. Kondo, Chokyusei no moshiden ni tsuite, p. 114.

⁸. Ibid., p. 120.

Buddhist temple named Pumen 普門.⁹ The extant text we see now was found in Tofukuji 東福寺 Temple in Kyoto. Unfortunately, the last three fascicles are lost.

All the previous arguments on Zhongyong shuo were focused on its relationship with Buddhism. One of Zhang's contemporaries Zhu Xi did a thorough study on Zhongyong shuo in an tract called Zaxue bian 雜學辨 (A critique on the heterogeneous learnings). In it Zhu concluded that this work was actually "Confucianism in public but Buddhism in private."¹⁰ The Song scholar Zhou Mi 周密, the Ming scholar Huang Dongfa 黃東發, and modern scholars like Morohashi Tetsuji also held the similar views.¹¹ Another scholar Ichiki, however, seems to disagree with those charges. In his article, Ichiki gave a full analysis on the logic of Zhu Xi's critique of Zhang's Zhongyong shuo and explained that the reason Zhu thought this was a Buddhist text was because Zhu saw that Zhang's emphasis on the enlightenment of the subject brought potential damage to the human nature.¹² In opposition to Zhu's conclusion, Ichiki points out that the philosophy Zhang

⁹. Zhongyong shuo, Siku congkan 四庫全書 Edition, (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1981), postscript, p. 1b.

¹⁰. Zhuwengong wenji 朱文公文集, pp. 5265-5266.

¹¹. See Zhou Mi's Qidong yieyu 齊東野語 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935), juan 17; Huang Dongfa's Huangshi richao 黃氏日抄, juan 42, p. 3; Morohashi's Jugaku no mokuteki to soju no katsudo, p. 619.

¹². Ichiki, Shushi no zatsugakuben no sono shuhen, p. 31.

developed in Zhongyong shuo is a teaching based on Confucian stand point.¹³

There are two collections of the recorded sayings of Zhang: the Xinchuan and the Rixin. Both books were edited by Zhang's nephew named Yu Shu . According to the editor, Xinchuan was published in 1174, fifteen years after Zhang's death.¹⁴ The exact date of Rixin, on the other hand, is not clear. Since these two books were edited and published after Zhang's death, their reliability became a problem discussed by later scholars. For example, the Ming scholar Tao Shiguan 陶石簣 noted that Xinchuan was not worth reading because he believed that all Zhang's good points were distorted by Yu Shu whom Tao called a "muddle-headed man".¹⁵ Another scholar Feng Ben 馮賁 also pointed out that Yu Shu deleted almost all Zhang's saying which Yu regarded as mysterious and abstruse.¹⁶ However, both of them did not provide any evidence to prove that Yu Shu actually deleted or changed what Zhang said. In his preface, Yu described how he edited this book. He claimed that he did not doubt any word Zhang said to him because he believed that what Zhang said was exactly what Zhang meant at that moment and explained that this was why he named this book as "transmission of mind".¹⁷

¹³. Cf. Ichiki's Letter to the author, dated March 12, 1991.

¹⁴. See Xinchuan, preface, p. 2.

¹⁵. Tao, Xieyan ji 畧欠庵集, Juan 3.

¹⁶. Ibid.

¹⁷. Xinchuan, p. 1a.

Like most Chinese traditional recorded sayings, the words noted in Xinchuan and Rixin are scattered and unorganized. So far, no scholar has really paid any attention to them. In most cases, scholars just mentioned them in a few words. The earliest critique available was found in Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, which described both Xinchuan and Rixin as books that "interpret Confucian principles with Chan allegorical words" (yi chanji gu ruli 以禪機古儒理).¹⁸ The modern scholar such as Kondo also quoted this statement in his article and seemed to agree with it but did not give any further explanation.¹⁹

Another major work by Zhang is the 29 volume Hengpu ji. This text was first published in Ming.²⁰ Besides lots of courtesy letters and essays, there are several important treatises such as Shaoyi lun 少儀論 (Treatise on the Minor Appearances) and Siduan lun 四端論 (Treatise on the Four Beginnings). According to the textual studies of Kondo, these treatises were Zhang's early works,²¹ and are regarded by Kondo as a severe attack on Buddhism similar to what Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 did in his Benlun 本論 (Treatise on the origin).²²

¹⁸. Tiyao, Juan 35.

¹⁹. See Kondo, Chokyusei no moshiden ni tsuite, p. 111.

²⁰. See Hengpu ji, postscript, p. 10.

²¹. Kondo, Chokyusei no moshiden ni tsuite, p. 120.

²². Ibid.

So far I provided a short bibliographical overview on Zhang's extant works and a brief introduction to some major points made by previous scholars. The readers may find that there are a lot of disagreements among those scholars who studied on Zhang. This might be due to two major reasons. First, there are different agenda as well as different criteria among both classical and modern scholars; second, Zhang's teaching itself was a constantly changing process, a huge complex with many aspects--and sometimes even with self-contradictory aspects. In the following discussion, I neither intend to invoke a written polemic with each of the previous scholars nor do I want to give a definitive conclusion about the characteristics of Zhang's teaching. I fully acknowledge that any rash conclusions concerning such a complicated thinker like Zhang will only bring further confusion. The only thing I want to do and can do in this very limited thesis is to try to give as objective a presentation as possible on the major aspects of Zhang's teaching and to raise some questions for further studies.

Among the previous studies of Zhang, there has been a main stream which described the characteristic of Zhang's teaching as a kind of "philosophy of mind" (xinxue 心學) and thus regarded him as the harbinger of the teaching of the Lu-Wang 陸王 school. Scholars who held this view are Quan Zuwang,²³ Okada Takehiko,²⁴ Migimoto Masatsugu 楠本正繼,²⁵

²³. Song Yuan xuean, p. 423, 428.

²⁴. See Okada, Somei tetsugaku gaisetsu 宋明哲学概説, (Tokyo: Bungonsha, 1977), P.256.

and Ichiki Tsuyuhiko.²⁶ It is true that Zhang talked about "mind" throughout his works especially in Mengzi zhuan and Xinchuan. And it is also true that he emphasized the function of mind in the process of personal cultivation and the fulfilment of one's social and political duties. But, the problem we are facing here is that whether we can just simply identify Zhang-Lu-Wang as the school of "Mind is Principle" (xin ji li 心即理). Or shall we put Zhang in a position as opponent to the school of "Nature is Principle" (xing ji li 性即理) as some scholars deal with the argument between Lu Xiangshan and Zhu Xi? Furthermore, when we say that Zhang's philosophy is the teaching of mind, do we mean that Zhang only talks about "mind" without discussing the role of "principle"? Clearly, some clarification and discussion must be made before we can start to answer these questions.

The study on the concept of "mind" and "principle" has been a controversial issue among modern scholars for a long time. Scholars like Feng Yulan 馮友蘭 believed that there were two distinguished schools in Song Neo-Confucianism. He wrote,

....contemporary with Zhu Xi, the greatest figure in the Rationalistic (lixue 理學) school of Neo-Confucianism, there lived another thinker who is important as the real founder of the rival idealistic (xinxue 心學) school. This is Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (1139-93), better known under his literary name as Lu Xiangshan....If we wish to sum up the difference between the two schools in

²⁵. See Kusumoto, Chugoku tetsugaku kenkyu, (Tokyo: Kokushikan daigaku fuzoku toshokan, 1975), p. 85.

²⁶. See Ichiki, Shushi no zatsugaku ben no sono shuhen, p. 45.

a word, we may say that Zhu's school emphasizes the "Learning of Principle" (lixue 理學) ... whereas that of Lu emphasizes the "Learning of the Mind" (xinxue 心學).²⁷

Similar opinion also can be found in the works of Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 and Cai Renhou 蔡仁厚. According to them, Zhu Xi received the teaching of Cheng Yi and thus founded the school of "Principle", while Lu Xiangshan received the teaching of Mencius and thus formed the school of "Mind".²⁸ They went even further to claim that the former school is a deviation from classical Confucianism while only the latter should be regarded as the orthodox school of the Confucian teaching.²⁹

These views, however, have been challenged by some other scholars. One critique was raised by Qian Mu in his Zhuzi xin xuean 朱子新學案. After presenting his overview of Zhu's "learning", Qian devotes a major portion of his five-volume work to Zhu's view of the "mind", and comments on the so-called "Cheng-Zhu/Lu-Wang dichotomy as "something for which I find no warrant."³⁰ Qian points out that in Song Neo-

²⁷. Feng, The History of Chinese Philosophy, Derk Bodde, trans., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952-1953), v. 2, p. 572, 586.

²⁸. See Mou, Xinti yu xingti 心體與性體 (The substance of mind and the substance of nature), (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1969). Also see Cai, Song Ming lixue--Beisong pian 宋明理學. 北宋篇 (Neo-Confucianism in Song and Ming--Northern Song section), (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1977), p. 16.

²⁹. Ibid.

³⁰. Qian, Zhuzi xin xuean, (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1971), v. 2, p. 106.

Confucianism "the study of the Nature and Principle" (xingli xue 性理學) is truly the study of the mind."³¹ In his masterpiece work The Message of the Mind in Neo-Confucianism, de Bary also criticized the modern identification of the Learning of the Mind (xinxue 心學) with the so-called "Lu-Wang School," reserving it to that branch of Neo-Confucianism alone, while the Learning of Principle (lixue 理學), originally almost coextensive with the Learning of the Mind, became designated as a separate Cheng-Zhu reservation.³² He called this tendency to view principle (li 理) as opposed to mind (xin 心), and thus arrive at a dichotomy of the school of "mind" versus the school of "principle" as a concomitant of over-simplification, and thus cause further confusion.³³ According to de Bary, if any conclusion can be drawn from the development of Song Neo-Confucianism, it is that:

The learning of the mind-and-heart was also understood to be a learning of principle. There could be no opposition between these two learnings for the Neo-Confucians because this mind was fundamentally imbued with the rational, moral principles implanted in it by Heaven.³⁴

Though it is still not clear whether I can settle this disagreement completely at this stage, the argument that Qian and de Bary made above seems more convincing. Historically

³¹. Ibid., v. 1, p. 49.

³². Cf. de Bary, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 24.

³³. Ibid., p. 25.

³⁴. Ibid., p. 51.

speaking, there never existed two institutionalized rival schools in the Song Neo-Confucian movement like Feng and Mou pointed out, and the fact is that the Song thinkers like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi not only elaborated the theory of "investigating things" (gewu 格物) and "exhausting their principles" (qiongli 窮理), but also had numerous discussions on the cultivation of mind in their teachings.³⁵ For most of Song Neo-Confucianists, as de Bary puts it, it would make no sense to study either mind or principle without embracing and making the most of both.³⁶

When we say that most of the Song thinkers talked about both mind and principle, we do not mean that they all thought in the same way. As professor Qian Mu correctly points out, "the difference between the two lies in [their different views of] the learning of the mind."³⁷ Bearing this in mind, when we approach the teachings of Song thinkers, we must be cautious not to offer any rash generalizations. This is especially true when we deal with the study of Zhang.

First of all, we cannot ignore the political and social impact on Zhang's teaching. As we discussed in chapter 1, the time in which Zhang lived was teeming with conflicts and turbulence. Just five years before Zhang passed the Jinshi exam, two Northern Song emperors--Huizong 徽宗 and

³⁵. See Cheng Yi' Er Cheng quanshu and Zhu Xi's Zhuziyulei 朱子語類, Li Qingde 黎靖德 ed., (Kyoto: Chubun shuppansha, 1984).

³⁶. See de Bary, p. 23.

³⁷. Qian, Zhuzi xin xuean, v.1, p. 319.

Qinzong 欽宗 --were taken as prisoners by the Jin invaders and this was regarded as a national humiliation among Song people. Though most scholars of Song history agree that the demise of the Northern Song and its flight to the south was due to its economic and military failure, some historians argue that the political weakness and incompetence of the dynasty also contributed to its series of defeats.³⁸ When Marshall Yue Fei 岳飛 defeated the Jin attack in 1138, the Southern Song occupied a dominant military superiority over Jin.³⁹ It was very likely to recover most of the Song's lost territory if Yue's troops was allowed to follow up its victory with hot pursuit. However, at that crucial moment, three major Marshals including Yue were suddenly dismissed from their positions, and Yue was even tortured to death by peace treaty advocate Qin Gui without any legitimate charges.⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, the only thing that Emperor Gaozong and the capitulationist clique were concerned with was to retain their sovereignty over a part of the south though the court sometimes declared that they still wanted to recover the lost northern territory. In the eyes of those who advocated war like Yang Shi and Zhang, these attitudes and behaviours were symptomatic of the loss of morale. Under the situation in which there were foreign invaders outside and political cowards inside, it was

³⁸. See, Huang Gongwei 黃公義, Song Ming Qing lixue tixi lunshi 宋明理學體系論史 (Taipei: Yushi shudian, 1971), pp. 185-186.

³⁹. Zhongguo tongshi 中國通史 (The complete history of China), (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1978), v.5, pp. 276-280.

⁴⁰. Ibid., p. 293.

natural for Zhang to urge people to seek their inner strength as the first step towards action to save the nation.

Zhang's position is best expressed in his answer to Emperor Gaozong's question during the Jinshi exam. In it, Zhang clearly pointed out that in order to realize the resurgence of the Song, the emperor and his aides must first hold the "bold and resolute mind"⁴¹ to inspire the people. Zhang's point was later highly praised by his teacher Yang Shi as "unprecedentedly bold and daring."⁴²

Zhang also criticized Gaozong for trying to "appease the Jin in order to retain his own peace."⁴³ To Zhang, the attitude of Gaozong and other capitulationists clearly demonstrated the collapse of self-confidence and the indulgence of selfish desires. It is in this regard that Zhang held high esteem of what Mencius called the "noble spirit" (haoran zhi qi 浩然之氣). Zhang urged that people, especially the elite class, should "nourish this bold and resolute disposition in their daily practice."⁴⁴ In Confucian tradition, scholar-officials (shidaifu 士大夫) regarded the management of state affairs (zhiguo 治國) and the governing of the whole world (ping tianxia 平天下) as their duty. And it is not difficult to imagine how serious an impact the situation of facing a strong invader from the north and a weak

⁴¹. Songshi, juan 374, p. 11577.

⁴². Ibid., p. 11578.

⁴³. Rixin, p. 8a.

⁴⁴. Xinchuan, juan 1, p. 29a.

court in the south would have had on the soul of the elites. As one of their members, but one who was more self-aware about their psychological crisis, Zhang sharply pointed out that the biggest problem of the Song was the "weak-mindedness and obsequiousness (ruanmei 軟媚) of the morale of the scholar-official class."⁴⁵ The message he seemed to send to the leadership was that they should save their own souls before saving the people. He acted bravely to advocated this position by fiercely attacking the capitulationist clique and finally paid the price--fourteen year exile.

So far I have explored how Zhang responded to the political and social crisis of his time by urging the emperor and the elite class to build their inner strength. This can be regarded as one of the important aspects of Zhang's philosophy of mind. Another important aspect which is also closely interrelated to this was his interpretation of Mencius' teaching of the "Kingly Way" (wangdao 王道).

Most of Zhang's important discussion of Mencius' teaching was written in his Mengzi zhuan. Zhang said that his intention behind writing this book was to "elucidate the unfulfilled wish of Mencius."⁴⁶ He was afraid that the "later generation might not understand the teaching of doing good deeds" so he had to "expand it by developing the idea of Mencius."⁴⁷

⁴⁵. Rixin, p. 23a.

⁴⁶. Mengzi zhuan, Sibü congkan 四部叢刊 Edition, (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshu guan, 1981), juan 27, p. 10b.

⁴⁷. Ibid., juan 5, p. 15a.

In his Mengzi zhuan, Zhang focused on the discussion of the relationship between cultivation of mind and the Kingly Way. Coming straight to the point, Zhang claimed that "the foundation of the world relies on the king; the foundation of the king relies on his single mind."⁴⁸ The proper mind for the king, according to Zhang, was that it should "take people as his mind,"⁴⁹ and "should have the same mind as his subjects."⁵⁰ In this ideal state, the king feels exactly what his people feel. If there is a bad year and his people are starving, the king will feel sorrow and will release food from his own storehouse to aid them; if there is a good year and his people are well-fed, the king will then feel happy and will join the jubilation of the whole nation. By doing this, Zhang said, the king would be in harmony with his people and the Kingly Way would thus be realized. Zhang's teaching on the Kingly Way was largely based on his understanding of the term "humanity" or "benevolence" (ren 仁) which is frequently found in Mencius' works. In commenting on Mencius' statement that "the Three Dynasties (sandai 三代) won the Empire through humanity and lost it through cruelty (buren 不仁),"⁵¹ Zhang said,

Here, humanity means what the mind feels. We call the fruit of grass and tree humanity because when it is put into the soil, it will grow. When one does not

⁴⁸. Ibid., juan 6, p. 14b.

⁴⁹. Ibid., p. 24a.

⁵⁰. Ibid., juan 5, 2a.

⁵¹. Mencius, Book 4, part A, p. 119.

have the feeling of sour and itch, we call him cruel. When one makes profit only for himself by hurting other's interests and does not have any sympathy with others, we also call him cruel. This is because his heart is not open [to others']⁵².

To Zhang, humanity not only embodied the feeling of compassion, it also contained the element of unselfishness. It is in this sense that Zhang drew the difference between the "Kingly Way" and the "Way of Might":

The Way of Might puts the stratagem first, while the Kingly Way puts ultimate sincerity (zhicheng 至誠) first. Ultimate sincerity is the intrinsic attribute of the mind; the stratagem is the outcome of deceiving thoughts. One who performs the policy of humanity (renzheng 仁政) with ultimate sincerity, is the one whose mind concerns saving people; one who applies his stratagem under the guise of the policy of humanity, is the one who uses [this policy] as the means of benefiting himself. How could such a man take people as his mind?⁵³

Just as he criticized the emperor for lacking a bold and a resolute mind, Zhang also lamented the fact that there were some contemporary emperors who were still following such harmful teachings. He pointed out that "they are indulged in those teachings and their good minds have been changed. They are the kings without humanity."⁵⁴ Zhang hoped that he could change the world for the better by expanding Mencius' teaching, but the fact that Gaozong adopted the policy of

⁵². Mengzi zhuan, juan 14, 9b.

⁵³. Ibid., juan 6, p. 8a.

⁵⁴. Ibid., juan 15, p. 8a.

nonresistance and tried every way to make a peace treaty with the Jin only seemed to frustrate Zhang.

So far I have discussed Zhang's philosophy of mind in the light of the political and social context of the Southern Song as well as Mencius's teaching. In the following pages, I will further explore several major points that Zhang made in his discussion on the relationship between "mind" and "principle".

We all know that the concept of mind, which for the Chinese encompassed both emotion and intellect, had already been much discussed in classical Confucianism, especially in Mencius' teaching. During the Song, Confucian scholars further shifted this learning to the personal cultivation of the Way of Sages in their personal conduct.

The core of Zhang's teaching on "mind" is "mind is principle, and principle is mind. From the one single thought inside, to the myriad things outside, and to tens of thousands of tiny things, they all converge in here (this mind)."⁵⁵ Through this statement, we see that the structure of Zhang's philosophical thinking was somewhat of a circle. It starts from the internal "single thought", then goes to external "myriad things", and finally returns to the mind again. To Zhang, it seems that there is no place for principle to be studied as if it were an outside object of investigation. All one needs to do is to realize the unity of the mind and

⁵⁵. Mengzi zhuan, juan 19, p. 6b.

principle--the oneness of man with Heaven and Earth and all things.

With the belief that the "principle" was harboured within the mind, Zhang went further to claim that one's mind was open directly to the sage's mind. To him, the difference between a worthy and an unworthy person "only depends on the moment of one single thought"⁵⁶ because there is a far place and near place, but there is no such distance in our mind; there is before and after, but there is no such order in our mind."⁵⁷ What Zhang suggested here was that there would be no longer difference between those past Confucian sages and those ordinary people living in the present time if the ordinary people could realize that their minds possessed humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and all the principles of myriad things in the world. To Zhang, the holy, absolute authority of Confucian Sages such as Yao and Shun no longer existed. The authority only lay in the self-awakening mind.

Zhang's emphasis on mind was also expressed in his radical attitude towards the Confucian Classics--the so called "Six Classics" (liujing 六經). From the time when Confucius was alleged to compile the Six Classics, Confucian scholars never stopped making annotations (zhu 注) to them. Some of them even made further expositions (shu 疏) on the annotations. As a result of those efforts, Confucianists

⁵⁶. Ibid., juan 18, p. 13.

⁵⁷. Ibid., p. 2a.

developed an elaborate area of scholarship called the "Study of the Classics" (jingxue 經學). In contradistinction to Cheng Yi who regarded the reading of Confucian Classics as a major way for individual cultivation,⁵⁸ Zhang suggested rather that one should pay more attention to the mind because "the words of the Six Classics are from the mind of sages," thus if "one investigates one's own mind and attains the sage's mind, then the Six Classics are already in one's mind."⁵⁹ So instead of reading all those classics one by one to understand what the sages taught, Zhang urged that the most efficient way was just to realize one's own mind which directly led to the sage's mind. If one could do so, then one would already understand thoroughly what was written in the classics.

While Zhang places emphasis on the power of the "mind", he never means to ignore the importance of the "principle". Without the moral standards, Zhang stressed, one's selfish desires will be easily aroused when one follows one's arbitrary mind. To Zhang, the "Heavenly Principle is self efficient, nothing can be added to it, nothing can be reduced from it,"⁶⁰ and "the mind can not function without the norm (ze 則). When it acts according to principle, it will bring Harmony (he 和); when it goes against principle, it will fall into Obliquity (xie 邪)."⁶¹ Zhang especially reminded his

⁵⁸. Henan Chengshi yishu 河南程氏遺書 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1935), juan 18, p.209.

⁵⁹. Xinchuan, juan 2, p. 53b.

⁶⁰. Zhongyong shuo, juan 1, p. 17.

⁶¹. Rixin, p. 1a.

students not to be misled by those teachings which only talked about the fantasy of the power of mind. The proper effort for a beginner to learn to correct his mind, Zhang claimed, was to "first understand what is good."⁶² Otherwise, Zhang warned, "one will lead one's mind in the wrong direction."⁶³

Therefore, in order to guide his students to correct practice, Zhang offered a method called "being cautious and prudent" (jieshen kongju 戒慎恐懼). He described this method as follows:

One should constantly observe every manifestation of his mind. Thus when the evil intention arises, one will instantly see where it comes from and why it arises. If one keeps himself in state of being cautious and prudent, then one will never be unscrupulous."⁶⁴

Here what Zhang suggested was that giving the full play of one's creative mind does not mean that one can act wantonly without respecting any norms and principles. On the contrary, a really powerful mind is the one which can constantly introspect itself and correct any potential obliquities before they actually happen.

This kind of ideal state was best illustrated in one passage in Xinchuan. Zhang writes,

Some understand the principle in their minds but may not yet be quite skilful at applying them with their hands; some are very skilful at applying the principle with their hands, but do not quite understand it in their mind. [For me], I

⁶². Xinchuan, juan 2, p. 52a.

⁶³. Ibid.

⁶⁴. Zhongyong shuo, juan 2, p. 2a.

would rather prefer to be the former to the latter. This is because if one once understands the principle in one's mind, one will sooner or later know how to apply [the principle] skilfully with one's hands. [At that time] one's mind and one's hands will be in a unity and will act spontaneously. But if one only applies the principle with one's hand without truly understand it in one's mind, then sometime one will find that one's hands will act against the principle because by seeking only the surface one will eventually end up with something shallow. This is why people always said that Han Gan 韓幹 had a full horse in his mind before he painted the horse. As a beginner [of the learning], one should not worry if one can not yet apply the principle skilfully with one's hands at the beginning. Once one understands the principle perfectly in one's mind, one will gradually know how to apply it in any situation.⁶⁵

Han Gan was a very famous horse painter in Tang Dynasty. Here, by admiring Han's talent of art, Zhang emphasized the importance of the mind's comprehensive mastery of the principle. This does not mean, however, that Zhang totally neglected the importance of the application of the principle. As a matter of fact, he believed that "Goodness (shan 善) is always the same. It all depends on how well people apply it."⁶⁶ What Zhang really meant in the above passage was that one can behave properly with moral principle in both personal life and public affairs only when one truly understands the essence in it--and one will fail to do so if one only knows it superficially.

⁶⁵. Xinchuan, juan 3, p. 2b.

⁶⁶. Mengzi zhuan, juan 19, p. 10a.

In summation, we find that in Zhang's teaching the discussion of mind was organically related to the discussion of the principle in one way or another. What Zhang seemed to suggest most is the mind's initiative role in the process of mastery and applying the principle. To Zhang, the empty talk of an enlightened mind without the basis of principle was tantamount to the self-destruction of the Confucian tradition. But he also argues that if one just blindly follows the long established norms without a profound understanding, one will lose the vitality of the mind and eventually lower the level of intellectual self-satisfaction. What Zhang offered us to solve this dilemma was that instead of seeking the origin of principle in the transcendent "Heaven", one should seek it actively through the full participation of one's own mind. It is in this sense, as Araki puts it, that Zhang raised the banner of "Mind is Principle."⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Cf. Araki, Sodai no jukyo to bukkyo 宋代の仏教と儒教 (Confucianism and Buddhism in Song Dynasty), Rekishhi kyoiku 歴史教育, (Tokyo:Nihon shoyin, July, 1969), V.17, No.3, p. 38.

V. ZHANG JIUCHENG'S TEACHING AND BUDDHISM

In the last chapter, I discussed several aspects of Zhang's teaching on mind. In this chapter, I will concentrate on Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism in his teaching. Like the issue of "mind" and "principle", the relationship between Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism has also been a very controversial issue among modern scholars. This is especially true in Zhang's case. Generally speaking, there are mainly three different kinds of views pertaining to the Buddhist influence in Zhang's teaching.

One of the most popular points of view on this matter was to regard Zhang's philosophy as basically a kind of Buddhist teaching under the guise of Confucianism. Zhang's contemporary Zhu Xi was probably the first one we know who criticized Zhang's teaching as "classics of Chan"¹ and "Confucianism in public but Buddhism in private."² Another Southern Song scholar Zhou Mi 周密 also pointed out that "[Zhang] Jiuchen and [Lu] Xiangshan often contacted with Chan

¹. Zhuji yulei 朱子語類, juan 11, p. 307.

². Zhuji wenji, juan 72, pp. 5265-5266.

and thus all fell into the heretic teaching."³ Based on Zhu Xi's critique, the modern scholar Morohashi accused Zhang's total acceptance of Dahui's teaching and claimed that "the root of Zhang's mind was from Buddhism." Zhang's Zhongyong shuo, Morohashi said, was the "foremost of those works which taught Buddhism under the guise of Confucianism."⁴ The most severe attack on Zhang so far, however, was made by the Qing philosopher Wang Fuzhi 王夫之. In his famous work Du tongjian lun 讀通鑒論, Wang wrote,

Of all ages, there have been three enormous evils. They are [the teaching of] Lao-Zhuang 老莊, Buddhism, and Shen-Han 申韓.... Since Tang and Song, fellows like Li Ao 李翱 and Zhang Jiucheng further defamed the sages' teaching on Heaven and Nature and thus created great confusion. They regarded the love of parents as the origin of greed and illusion. This encouraged immoral people to do unfilial deeds, and let young Confucianists forget what is right and what is wrong. They [Zhang and Li] regarded human relationship (renlun 人倫) and Heavenly Principle (tianli 天理) as something which is neither good nor evil, and acted viciously under the guise of Unimpededness (shishi wuai 事之無碍). And their unscrupulous behaviour is the best example of their intention to empty both the Man and the Law. They regarded the sense of shame as shackles, king and father as just duckweed. By believing this, they thought that they could do anything they wanted to--play games, become foreigners, and have the

³. Qidong yieyu, juan 11, p.

⁴. Jugaku no mokuteki to soju no katsudo, p. 619.

expedients to manifest various forms of bodies according to different circumstances. In sum, there is nowhere in their teaching without the influence of Zhuangzi 莊子 and Buddhism.⁵

Some other scholars, on the other hand, tended to believe that Zhang's teaching was basically a Confucian one though at the same time they admitted that there was a certain level of Buddhist influence in his philosophy. For example, Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao commented that "though Zhang studied under the Confucian scholar Yang Shi, his teaching was mixed with Buddhist influences because of his contact with monk Dahui Zonggao."⁶ In Zhang's biography in Songshi, the editor also stated that "Jiucheng studied the Confucian Classics intensively and made many good commentaries. But since he had early contact with Buddhists, some of his arguments deviated [from Confucian principles]."⁷ Similar ideas were also found in the discussion of classical scholars such as Quan Zuwang,⁸ Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695),⁹ and modern scholars such as Araki and Kondo.

In contrast with the above views, some scholars denied the accusation that there were Buddhist elements in Zhang's

⁵. Wang, Du Tongjian lun, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 17.

⁶. See Tiyao, juan 35.

⁷. Songshi, juan 374, p. 11579.

⁸. Song Yuan xuean, p. 423.

⁹. Ibid., p. 428.

teaching. In his comments on Zhang's works, Qing scholar Ji Jun 紀昀 showed his disagreement with Songshi's criticism. He pointed out that the foundation of Zhang's teaching was "profound" and praised Zhang as an "outstanding Confucianist."¹⁰

Given the fact that scholars' views are so divergent on the nature of the relationship between Zhang's teaching and Buddhism, I feel it necessary to clarify certain points before going further. As we all know, almost all Neo-Confucianists received influence from Buddhism, especially Huayan and Chan, though the level of this influence upon each was not necessarily the same. As a member of the Neo-Confucian movement, and especially as a close disciple of Chan Master Dahui, Zhang of course could not avoid being affected by Buddhism in his teaching, just like many scholars have previously pointed out. Unfortunately, though previous scholars had done serious studies on this complicated issue, some confusions remain. First, we must avoid being misled by the discussion about Zhang's contact with Dahui. In chapter 3, we explored Zhang's association with Dahui according to the accounts recorded in Dahui nianpu. Needless to say, those detailed accounts are very helpful for us to understand some of the characteristics of the Buddhist influence in Zhang's teaching. However, this doesn't mean that it is all right for us to accept the account of the Dahui nianpu as it is and

¹⁰. Hengpu ji, preface, p. 1.

then carry this acceptance to access the nature of Zhang's relationship with Buddhist teaching in his works. Bearing in mind the nature of texts like Dahui nianpu which was compiled by one of Dahui's loyal disciples, we must abandon any naive attitude towards it. We must acknowledge that the best way to understand the Buddhist elements in Zhang's teaching is to study his own works.

Secondly, in order to gain an overview of the relationship between Zhang's teaching and Buddhism, we must avoid any approach which emphasizes one side of the issue without fully presenting the other. So far, scholars have done a lot of research on Zhang's assimilation of Buddhism. Needless to say, this is very useful. However, we must not forget that Zhang's acceptance of some aspects of Buddhist philosophy was also deeply related to his critique of Buddhism. It is important to note that Zhang, like most Neo-Confucianists, actually showed an ambivalent attitude towards Buddhism. Only when we give a full discussion on both aspects can we gain a relatively clear understanding of the nature of Zhang's relationship with Buddhism.

Finally, though some scholars like Araki and Kondo do mention both Zhang's criticism and assimilation of Buddhism in their articles, they tend to show that Zhang attacked Buddhism in his early works such as Siduan lun and Shaoyi lun but then turned to assimilate Buddhism in his later works after he met Dahui. However, if we examine Zhang's work carefully, we will

find that things may not be as simple as this. It is certainly true that Zhang's contact with Dahui played a crucial role in the change in Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism, but we also must notice that this change of attitude is not as clear cut as some of the scholars describe it to be. As we will show later in this chapter, we must not neglect the fact that there is a certain level of consistency in Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism throughout his work--before and after he met Dahui.

1. Zhang's Criticism on Buddhism

Among Song Confucians the opposition to Buddhism as a heterodox and harmful doctrine, which had began by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and others of his generation, continued throughout the Song period. They saw Buddhism not only as a social ill, but also as a tempting heresy into which students of the Confucian Way might be lured.

The core of Zhang's critique of Buddhism in his early works such as Siduan lun and Shaoyi lun was to denounce Buddhists' ignorance of the sociomoral actualization of the original mind/nature. He said,

The Four Beginnings are like the hands and feet of a man. Man can use them to walk, stop, and handle things. But as to the Buddhists, they only have their mind, they don't have hands and feet. This is why they don't understand the Way of walking, stopping, and handling things. Master Mingdao 明道 once reproached Buddhists and said, "The [Buddhists] claim that their teachings can cover

every aspect of the world, but in fact they are the hindrance of moral principles; they claim that they know thoroughly the power of transformation (hua 化), but in fact they can not fulfil even a single thing." This is to say that the Buddhists do not have their hands and feet.¹¹

Here, when Zhang said that the Buddhists have the "mind", he probably meant that Buddhists have the teaching of "pointing directly to the mind, seeing the nature and becoming the Buddha" (zhizhi renxin 直指人心, jianxing chengfo 見性成佛). To Zhang, it is useless for a person to just attain an enlightened mind without actually putting what is understood into everyday sociomoral practice. The Buddhists, Zhang claimed, are somewhat like a physically handicapped man sitting on a chair--he understands everything, but without nimble hands and feet, he can do nothing really useful for others.

Zhang further pointed out that even though the Buddhists claimed that they have an enlightened mind, its nature is quite different from that of Confucians. What the Buddhists ultimately seek, Zhang said, was a kind of mysterious "origin" (ben 本) which has nothing to do with the mind of compassion, shame, propriety, and right and wrong.¹² In other words, to Zhang, Confucians have their mind endowed with "Heavenly Principle" which will naturally manifest itself

¹¹. Hengpu ji, juan 6, p, 110.

¹². Ibid., juan 5, Shaoyi lun, p. 4b.

into the forms of humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom when encountered with daily circumstances.¹³ But to the Buddhists, Zhang said, since there is no such concrete moral principle in their mind, they "do not care about the life and death of a child who is going to fall into the well."¹⁴

Zhang's criticism of Buddhism reached its climax when he said that Buddhism taught people to "believe that the ultimate truth is emptiness (kuoran wuwu 廓然無物)"¹⁵ and to "discard the world as dream and illusion."¹⁶ According to Zhang, the metaphysical difference between Confucianism and Buddhism is that the former maintains the moral-metaphysical reality of the "Heavenly Principle" while the latter reduces everything to "empty annihilation." From Zhang's point of view, the Buddhists simply have no understanding of the moral-metaphysical reality of what can be called the original source of the ever-creative production and reproduction of all beings, human and nonhuman, in the entire universe.

From Sinitic Mahayana's point of view, Zhang's criticism of Buddhist teaching as sheer annihilation only exposes his misunderstanding of the essential distinction between Indian and Sinitic Mahayana in both metaphysical and ethical aspects. The Buddhists from Tiantai 天臺, Huayan, and

¹³. Ibid., Siduan lun, p. 8a.

¹⁴. Ibid.

¹⁵. Hengpu ji, juan 5, Shaoyi lun, p. 2.

¹⁶. Ibid., p. 8a.

of course Chan may contend that they have already accomplished the unfinished metaphysical task of Indian Mahayana by shifting the emphasis from "true emptiness" (zhenkong 真空) to "wonderous being" (miaoyu 妙有), or more strongly, by transforming the former into latter. However, to argue which side is right, is not my purpose in this discussion. What I intended to do here is just to show how Zhang understood Buddhism. Whether Zhang misrepresented Sinitic Mahayana Buddhism, and if so, how, remain a subject for further study.

2. Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism in his later works

So far I have discussed Zhang's criticism in his early works. Now we are going to show how Zhang saw Buddhism in his later works. Some scholars such as Zhu Xi, Morohashi, and Kondo held that Zhang's contact with Dahui caused Zhang's complete change in his attitude towards Buddhism from total rejection to total acceptance. However, if we read Zhang's later works such as Xinchuan and Rixin carefully, we will find that Zhang actually demonstrated a certain level of consistency in his criticism of Buddhism throughout his career, though his criticism of Buddhism became much milder in his later works compared with his early works.

Zhang's critique of Buddhism in his later works, was still focused on Buddhist ignorance of moral principles. In commenting on Han Yu 韓愈's statement that "Way (dao 道) and

Virtue (de 德) are void figures; Humanity (ren 仁) and Righteousness (yi 義) are true norms,"¹⁷ Zhang wrote,

Buddhists and Daoists all talk about the Way and the Virtue, Confucianists also talk about the same thing. However, when Buddhists and Daoists talk about the Way and the Virtue, they tend to diminish Humanity and Righteousness, and regard these as burden. They do not know that both the Way and the Virtue are all from Humanity and Righteousness. This is why [Han Yu] urged to use the term "norms" to advocate Humanity and Righteousness. Because only when people say that they are going to practice Humanity and Righteousness, can these principles be followed and realized. This is the real "Way"....Since Han hated the fact that Buddhists and Daoists do not know Humanity and Righteousness are the Way and the Virtue, he had to make this distinction and demonstrated it for us. This was really a home thrust.¹⁸

Here, by explaining Han Yu's thought, Zhang seemed to warn people not to be misled by the constant and numerous discussions on the "Way" or the "Tao" done by both Buddhists and Daoists. To Zhang, only the actualization of Confucian principles such as humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom in one's everyday practice can be called the real "Way".

In another place, Zhang also discusses one of the most popular concepts: "Nature". According to Zhang, Buddhist discussion of "Nature", especially the teaching of "seeing the

¹⁷. See Han Yu, Han Changli ji 韓昌黎集 (Taipei: Xin wenfeng chubun gongsi, 1977), juan 11, p. 55.

¹⁸. Xinchuan, juan 1, p. 16b.

nature" (jianxing 見性), was "more flourishing and more thorough than that of Confucianists since the death of Mencius."¹⁹ And because of this, Zhang said, people were easily misled and confused. Zhang pointed out that in fact Buddhists' "seeing the nature" is completely different from Confucianists' "knowing the nature" in essence though they look similar in the appearance. According to Zhang, when Mencius said "exhausting the mind (jinxin 盡心) and then knowing the nature", he meant that this "nature" was innately endowed with goodness (shan 善), i.e., all sociomoral principles. But when Buddhists say "seeing the nature", Zhang said, they meant that this "nature" was the Buddha nature (foxing 佛性) which was neither good nor evil but just a state of transcendent tranquillity (jiran budong 寂然不動).²⁰

3. A discussion of Buddhist influence in Zhang's works

In the previous pages I explored Zhang's criticism of Buddhism in both his early and later works. The central thread of this criticism was his relentless denouncement of the Buddhist failure to tackle everyday sociomoral problems. On the other hand, as an active member of the Neo-Confucian movement and especially as a close disciple of Chan Master

¹⁹. Mengzi fati 孟子發題 (The exposition on Mencius), Rixin, p.2.

²⁰. Ibid.

Dahui, Zhang also showed a certain level of fondness for Buddhist philosophy. Unlike most of the Song Confucian thinkers who more or less received Buddhist influence in their teaching while at the same time concealing their connection with Buddhist philosophy, Zhang explicitly admitted not only his association with Dahui but also his partial approval of Buddhism. He once told his nephew Yu Shu who was the editor of Xinchuan and Rixin that he should not just "look at the evil side of Buddhism" because "there is something in Buddhism that can bring benefit to our [Confucian] teaching."²¹ In the following pages, I will examine in what sense Zhang assimilated Buddhist teaching which he thought was beneficial to Confucianism.

Before we look at the Buddhist influence in Zhang's teaching, it is necessary to clarify a misrepresentation in this regard. In his discussion of Zhang's philosophy, Morohashi claimed that Zhang's teaching was basically a "Buddhist one which is under the guise of Confucianism."²² One key piece of evidence he cited to support his conclusion was a section of Dahui's teaching recorded in Xinchuan. It is said that one day Zhang brought his nephew Yu Xian 于憲 to visit Dahui. In their talk, Yu asked Dahui to explain the meaning of

²¹. Xinchuan, juan 2, p. 47a.

²². Morohashi, Jugaku no mokuteki to soju no katsudo, p. 619.

the first three sentences in the Doctrine of the Mean. The following is Dahui's reply:

Nature in the first sentence is equal to the pure Dharmakaya, the same Body of the Law or Truth; the following of the nature which is called the Way is equal to Sambhodakaya, the Body of Enjoyment; and study, or teach, in the third sentence, is equal to the billions of bodies (Nirmanakaya) into which the Buddha transforms himself to teach sentient beings.²³

By citing this statement, Morohashi pointed out that Zhang must have followed Dahui's intention to interpret all Confucian Classics with Buddhist teaching, and concluded that this was the very evidence that Zhu Xi used as the basis to denounce Zhang's Zhongyong shuo as "Confucianism in public but Buddhism in private."²⁴

However, my own reading of the context of the original text in Xinchuan shows that Morohashi's story is not that convincing. What was recorded in Xinchuan was only a short anecdote about Zhang and his nephew. The text did not say that Zhang actually agreed with Dahui's statement. Second, the most confusing part of Morohashi's critique of Zhang was that he claimed that the reason he believed Zhang's works are all Buddhist was because "Zhu Xi already said this in his Zaxue bian."²⁵ Here, I do not intend to trace Zhu's Zaxue bian to

²³. Xinchuan, juan 2, pp. 1b-2a.

²⁴. Morohashi, Jugaku no mokuteki to soju no katsudo, p. 619.

²⁵. Ibid.

argue whether or not Zhu's critique was legitimate in this thesis. What I will do in the following discussion is to look at the actual works by Zhang and find out what they really represent.

Speaking of Buddhist influence on Neo-Confucianism, the first thing comes into people's mind is probably Chan Buddhism. As the scholar Kusumoto Bunyu 久須本文雄 puts it, Chan Buddhism played so important a role in the formation of Neo-Confucianism that it makes no sense to talk about Neo-Confucianism without discussing its connection with Chan.²⁶ This is especially true in Zhang's case. A preliminary study on Zhang's works in the following pages will show that there are three aspects to the Chan Buddhist influences on Zhang.

First of all, Zhang's advocacy of "calming the mind" can be seen as related to meditative Buddhism. The first man who noticed this was Zhu Xi. In his discussion on Buddhism, Zhu pointed out that "Zhang followed Chan's teaching to calm his mind and not let it distract so that he could then automatically realize everything."²⁷ In describing one of his practices in the learning of mind, Zhang said,

If one can keep the mind tranquil, then the mind will become clear; if one can not keep the mind out of various disturbances, then the mind will become

²⁶. See Kusumoto, Sodai jugaku no zen shiso kenkyu 宋代儒学の禅思想研究 (A study of the Chan teaching in Song Neo-confucianism), (Nagoya: Nisshindo shoten, 1980), p. 472.

²⁷. Zhuzi yulei, juan 126, p. 4854.

obscure. When the mind is clear long enough, it will become calm and stable; when the mind is obscure long enough, it will become totally lost.²⁸

In Chan Buddhism, "viewing the mind" (guanxin 觀心 / 心) had been understood as a kind of contemplation. It could mean either observing the phenomenal activity of the human consciousness or, in samadhi, having transcendental insight into the Buddha mind. Obviously, Zhang's statement showed its direct connection to Chan's sitting in meditation because as a strict form of practice, "calming the mind" had no precedent in earlier Confucian moral cultivation. The only difference between the two is that Zhang's method of "calming the mind," as I showed in chapter 4, focused on relentless moral self-scrutiny and value judgement in which strict control was used to bring the human mind completely into line with the mind of the Confucian Way, thereby achieving perfect sincerity and integrity, while the emphasis in Buddhist meditation was the cessation of all discriminating habits and the exclusion of all distracting thoughts in order to achieve an undifferentiated oneness and enlightenment.

It is intriguing to note that Zhang was not the only thinker who adopted the Chan method. As a matter of fact, the practice of quite sitting and "vigilance in solitude" (shendu 慎獨) was very popular among Neo-Confucianists. For example, both Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi used "reverence" (jing 敬) to point

²⁸. Xinchuan, juan 1, p. 31a.

to the process by which the original unity of the mind is preserved and made manifest in one's activity. Zhu speaks of "abiding in reverence" (jujing 居敬), defining it in terms of single-mindedness and freedom from distraction (zhuyi wushi 主一無適) and comparing it to the Buddhist practice of mindful alertness (xingxing 惺惺).²⁹ Of course, when Neo-Confucianists, including Zhang, adopted the Chan method, they were very careful to guard their students against a "dead" reverence which merely kept the mind calm and tranquil without also attending to moral practice. This point was clearly made in the discussion of Zhang's teaching on mind in chapter 4.

Secondly, Chan's discussion of "do not depend on words" also had a strong influence on Zhang's teaching. From the early stages of its development, Chinese Buddhism moved from an emphasis on the abstract to an emphasis on the particular. As Yanagida Seizan puts it, this eventually resulted in an unlimited acceptance of innumerable individual, particular events as representative of something inexpressible in abstract terms.³⁰ One famous motto of Chinese Chan was "do not depend on words". Though it is not a blanket renunciation of the scriptures, it does imply a methodological distinction between Sinitic Chan and traditional emphasis on written

²⁹. See Chengshi yishu 程氏遺書, juan 15, p. 1a. Also see Zhuji yulei, juan 17, pp. 2-3.

³⁰. See Yanagida, The "Recorded Sayings" Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism, in Early Chan in China and Tibet, Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster ed., (Berkely: Berkely Buddhist Studies Series, 1983), p. 190.

commentaries in Indian Buddhism. For example, Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (d. 867), the founder of the Linji School, heartily disparaged students who "revere the words of some decrepit old man as being the 'profound truth' writing them down in a big notebook, which they then wrap up in numerous covers and not let anyone else see."³¹ This criticism may be viewed as a warning against isolating the words of Chan Master from the context in which they were uttered and the individual students (with their individual problems) to whom they were addressed. It is a criticism against taking those words as generalized, ossified truth.

Zhang seemed also aware of the dichotomy of "other's words" (taren yanyu 他人言語) and "self-realization" (zijia tiren 自家體認) in his teaching. Zhang once said, "What is expressed by words and characters is close to [the Tao]. But only when one experiences [the Tao] and realizes it by himself, can we call him a man who understands things promptly at the spot."³² To Zhang, words such as the sage's classics are not automatically tantamount to the "Tao". Words are at most "close to the Tao." There is still a certain distance between what is said by others and the true Tao. For Zhang, it seems that the only direct and efficient way of approaching this "Tao" is one's personal experience.

³¹. Taisho shinshu daizokyo, v. 47, p. 501c.

³². Zhongyong shuo, juan 3, p. 11a.

Similar ideas were also expressed in Zhang's commentary on Shao Yong 邵雍's poem "My mind is incomparably wide, few people can attain this state; My nature is Heaven and Heaven is I, do not build up your statecraft (jinglun 經倫) on those tiny places." In it, Zhang wrote,

This poem explains the Principle thoroughly. "My mind is incomparably wide" shows that Shao Yong must have suddenly attained enlightenment when he was experiencing the [Tao].... "do not build up your statecraft on those tiny places" does not mean that one should be at a loss. [What Shao] meant was that one must not take other's words as a standard. One should understand everything by one's own experience.

To examine why Zhang had such a discussion on the "words" and "self-experience" is an interesting topic. My reading shows that Zhang's discussion probably had its direct association with the teachings of his two teachers. For example, his early teacher Yang Shi, who tried very hard to reconcile Buddhism and Confucianism, showed a strong dislike for studying of "words" and an emphasis on intuitional self-realization. Yang once said that the "essence of Buddhism is the learning of the transmission of mind and self-realization."³⁴ He criticized those scholars who indulged in studying books because he believed that "one cannot achieve the Tao by the transmission of words. [One can only achieve

³³. Xinchuan, juan 2, p. 52b.

³⁴. Yang Guishan xiansheng quanji, juan 18.

the Tao] by self examination,"³⁵ and that "the origin of the ultimate Tao cannot be thoroughly described by words and pens."³⁶

Nobody could ignore Zhang's Chan teacher Dahui in considering the source of Zhang's teaching. As the great inheritor of the Linji tradition, Dahui not only attacked the so-called "silent illumination" (mozhao 默照) of the Caodong 曹洞 School, he also condemned those Chan masters who believed that reading the scriptures could lead to enlightenment. Dahui was especially famous for criticizing the scholar-official class of indulging themselves into the study of Confucian classics. To Dahui, though their knowledge was extensive, "if you ask them about the affairs of their own hearth, there isn't a single one who knows. This can be called 'to the end of days counting the jewels of others, but oneself having not even a half-penny."³⁷ In a letter to Xu Dunli 徐敦立, Dahui also wrote,

Only when one stands firmly, makes his own decision, believes truly, and does not withdraw his original aspiration, can we call him the lotus in the fire. [Some people] exhaust books extensively among all the Nine Classics (jiu jing 九經) and the Seventeen Histories (shiqi shi 十七史). But since their indulgence is too deep, their intelligence is too excessive, their reasons are too many, and their calmness is too little, they

³⁵. Ibid., juan 25.

³⁶. Song Yuan xuean, juan 25.

³⁷. Daie sho, pp. 128-29.

are involuntarily driven away by the daily affairs.³⁸

Here, Dahui didn't mean to urge people to abandon the reading of other's words. What he opposed is those who tried to master the details of the classics and histories and then identify their own worth with that mastery. To Dahui, the result of confining themselves to rational appropriation is that the virtues that form the subject of their study never become their own-and that is why they lost them as soon as they thought they got them. For Dahui, the real enlightened man should always "open his own treasure and spend his own money like the balls running on the plate without any hindrance."³⁹

This was perhaps the same methodological approach that Zhang took in his teaching, though the ultimate goal that he pursued as the realization of the Confucian Tao may not be the same as that of Dahui. Zhang's motto was "do not eat other's saliva," "everything must flow from our own heart."⁴⁰ His position was best illustrated in the following dialogue with his disciple. It was told that one day one of his disciples asked Zhang why he wore shabby cloths and advised Zhang that an important person like him should take care of appearance. Zhang replied this way,

³⁸. Dahui Pujiue chanshi yulu, juan 23, p. 908.

³⁹. *Ibid.*, p.910.

⁴⁰. Xinchuan, juan 2, p. 14a.

Do you know what I pay attention to everyday? If I pay attention to my appearance from head to feet, I will waste all my time. I won't let myself be ordered about by my appearance, I want to order it about instead....people in this world are so busy about their appearance that they are bothered by it day and night. How can they have time to take care of themselves?⁴¹

The Chan Buddhist teaching of sudden awakening also had a great influence in Zhang's thought. Some of the Neo-confucianists like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi see the attainment of sagehood as an arduous task which requires much effort--a lifetime of cultivation, including possibly the accumulation of encyclopedic knowledge. Zhang, on the other hand, advocated a method which emphasized the cultivation of the mind and enlightenment through a sudden penetration. Though he didn't attack explicitly those who were engaged in stepwise learning of sagehood, he admitted that what he esteemed most was "understanding things promptly at the spot (dangji erming 當機而明)."⁴² In commenting on the meaning of "with the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth"⁴³ in the Doctrine of the Mean, Zhang wrote,

....If one really attains the Way of Equilibrium (zhong 中) and Harmony (he

⁴¹. Ibid., juan 2, p. 3b-4a.

⁴². Zhongyong shuo, juan 3, p. 11a.

⁴³. See James Legge's trans., The Four Books, Reprint of the Shanghai 1923 Edition, (New York: Paragin Book Reprint Corp., 1966), ch. 20, p. 382.

(疾), then he can go fast without hurrying and can arrive [anywhere] without walking. Within the moment of blinking and smiling, the whole world had already changed completely. "With the right men the growth of government is rapid" is the same as "vegetation is rapid in the earth". As soon as the seed is sown into the soil and is moistened with the rain and dew, it will grow vigorously. It will first grow sprout, then trunk, then branch, then leaves, then flowers, and finally fruits: all of a sudden the waste land become luxuriantly moist and green. This is why we can understand "the growth of government" by observing "the growth of vegetation."⁴⁴

There are two main interpretations of these sentences in Zhongyong. Kong Yingda 孔穎達 takes "rapid" (min 敏) as "exert" (mian 勉), "to exert oneself," and interpret:--"A ruler ought to exert himself in the practice of government, as the earth exerts itself to produce and nurture."⁴⁵ Zhu Xi, on the other hand, takes "rapid" as "hasty" (su 速), "to make haste,"--"man's way hastens government."⁴⁶

Comparing these two interpretations, we find that Zhang's interpretation demonstrated his strong fondness for the kind of method of sudden awakening taught by Chan. In his exclusive study on Zhang's Zhongyong shuo, Zhu Xi pointed out that "even the fastest growing plant in the world can not bear fruit as soon

⁴⁴. Zhongyong shuo, juan 3, p. 6a.

⁴⁵. As cited in J.L., The Four Books, p. 382.

⁴⁶. Ibid.

as its seed is sown. This showed that [Zhang's] hunger for quick achievement."⁴⁷ In another place, Zhu further explained the reason why he thought Zhang's above statement was from Chan Buddhist source,

I would say that not to expect the students to make a jump is what accords with the original nature of the Principle of Heaven; this is not the sages' special arrangement....Take the example of a small tree. It has, of course, the nature of tree, but it is also the tree's nature that its growth requires a gradual nourishment. What is called "expecting the Chan novice instantly to attain Buddhahood on the spot" is just like spouting out a mouthful of water on a small tree with a wishful thinking that it will instantly reach the sky. Does this make any sense at all? Even if there were such a magical technique, still it cannot be said to follow the principle. We can again detect selfishness and self-profit in this sort of technique.⁴⁸

Here, we cannot agree with Zhu's critique that Zhang's assimilation of the method of sudden awakening totally disregarded ethical values and that Zhang's pursuit of this sudden experience would arouse people's selfish desires. As we already discussed in chapter 4, though there were radical elements in Zhang's method of learning, with his emphasis on the principle and moral norms, his teaching was not likely to bring any damage to Confucian sociomoral practice as Zhu criticized. However, Zhu was correct when he pointed out the methodological similarity between Zhang's approach and that of

⁴⁷. Zhuzi wenji, juan 72, p. 5282.

⁴⁸. Zhuzi wenji, juan 43, p. 12a.

Chan's. Generally speaking, though we can say that Zhang seeks his sudden experience not just for his own sake, but only as an aid in achieving the higher ideal of sagehood, i.e., man's oneness with Heaven and Earth and all things, it is also fair to say that Zhang's over-emphasis on the sudden awakening was at the expense of gradual cultivation. And this is probably why his aspiration of achieving the higher spiritual stage without being engaged in stepwise learning brought about so much criticism among his contemporaries and later Confucian scholars.

CONCLUSION

The following points may be drawn from my preliminary discussion of Zhang's life, his teachers, and his own teaching.

Like most of the scholar-officials in his day, Zhang started his political career by passing the civil service exam. He achieved many accomplishments in various government positions, advocated the policy of humanity, and stood firmly to urge the Song leaders to fight back foreign invaders. He can be regarded as a honest and upright official (qingguan 清官) from the traditional point of view.

Secondly, the study of the life and thought of Zhang's teacher Yang Shi enabled us to understand one of the major sources of Zhang's teaching. Though there is not much historical evidence about the contact between Zhang and Yang, we still find that there are many similarities in their teachings. It is fair to say that Yang's emphasis on mind in personal cultivation and his fondness of reconciling Confucianism and Buddhism must have had a strong influence on the formation of Zhang's philosophy.

Thirdly, the introduction of Zhang's association with Dahui offers us a vivid picture of their relationship. Dahui

appeared to be not only Zhang's spiritual teacher who guided Zhang to enlightenment, but also his intimate friend who shared a lot in Zhang's daily life as well as his emotional crisis.

Fourthly, the discussion of the characteristics of Zhang's teaching and the clarification of some of the confusions left by previous scholars allow us to gain a better understanding of Zhang's philosophy. In chapter 4, based on both the historical and philosophical study of the so-called "Philosophy of Mind" of Zhang, we found that: first, Zhang's emphasis on mind had a strong political background and practical purpose. That is to say, Zhang attempted to arouse the self-confidence of the leadership as well as the scholar-officials so that they could fulfil their political duties by defending nation against foreign invaders; secondly, the philosophical foundation of Zhang's discussion of mind was based on Mencius' teaching. This is especially true in his major work Mengzi zhuan; thirdly, when Zhang stressed the power of "mind" in both personal cultivation and the fulfilment of one's political duties, he did not neglect the importance of "principle." As a matter of fact, Zhang seemed to be wavering around between these two poles.

Zhang's relationship with Buddhism has always been a topic of debate among scholars. Besides the explanation of Zhang's association with Dahui in Chapter 3, I conducted a more detailed study of Zhang's attitude towards Buddhism. We found

that the key feature of Zhang's relationship with Buddhism was his "love and hate" ambivalency. On one hand, Zhang was very critical of the Buddhist failure to tackle everyday sociomoral problems throughout his works; on the other hand, he also showed considerable fondness for Chan's methodology in his discussion of personal cultivation. His assimilation of Chan philosophy can be described in three areas: 1) his emphasis on personal intuition rather than the study of outside knowledge; 2) his approach of "calming the mind" as the method of the learning of sages; 3) his advocacy of sudden awakening at the expense of stepwise cultivation.

In sum, though the general tendency of Zhang's teaching appeared to be more intuitive rather than rational, the original context of his philosophy demonstrates that his Neo-Confucian view of personal cultivation has a strong ethical and social orientation, and that its characteristics are explained as a direct expression of humaneness constantly attentive to the needs of human life--anticipating the threat of human suffering and actively responding to it.

My study of Zhang is rough and preliminary. There are still many unanswered questions about Zhang and his teaching. For example, among Neo-Confucian scholars, Zhang was the first one who systematically commented Daxue, Zhongyong, Lunyu, and Mengzi; What is new in his interpretation of Confucian classics compared with that of other scholars such as Zhu Xi?

And what is Zhang's role in the history of the "Study of Classics" (jingxue 經學)?

At the same time, many scholars regard Zhang's contact with Dahui as one of the most important aspects of Song thought. But what is the real inner relationship between their teachings? Meriam Levering pointed out that Zhang's willingness to find confirmation of and inspiration for his experiences in both Buddhist and Confucian teaching must have confirmed, perhaps even inspired, Dahui's impression that the sages of the three teachings "speak with one voice." Thus there must have been a great deal of mutual influence between Dahui who was doing much to make Chan popular among Confucian scholar-officials, and his Confucian students such as Zhang who were discovering new ways of interpreting their experience by giving fresh meaning to the language of the Confucian classics.¹ If so, what do these new ways of interpretation mean to both Song Buddhists and Confucianists?

We have mentioned previously that Zhu Xi wrote Zaxue bian to condemn Zhang's Zhongyong shuo as "Confucianism in public but Buddhism in private" and criticized that Zhang's interpretation of the Zhongyong as inconsistent. What is the real motive behind Zhu's allegation? Is it just a pure disagreement over textual interpretation? Or there are some other potential political, social, or even factional factors involved?

¹. See Levering, p. 169.

Zhang was honoured as Grand Preceptor by Emperor Lizong after his death and it is said that His works were very popular among the scholar-official class.² However, since that time Zhang's name was rarely mentioned by later scholars until his teaching was highly praised by the disciples of Wang Yangming in Ming.³ It will be an interesting topic, to study the rise and fall of Zhang's influence in the development of Chinese philosophy.

I believe that the answer to these questions will be significant to not only the study of Zhang Jiucheng but also to the understanding of some of the important features of Song philosophy. To pursue these possibilities, however, is another task and awaits another time--as well as, no doubt, the work of other hands.

². Xinchuan, postscript, p. 2a.

³. Cf. Araki, Chokyusei ni tsuite, pp. 56-58.

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