LI CH'UN-FU AND HIS DISCUSSIONS OF THE
"COLLECTED PLAINTS ON TAO"

By

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This thesis is an analysis of Li Ch'un-fu's chief extant work, the *Ming-tao-chi shuo* (Discussions of the "Collected Plaints on Tao") Two foci have arisen from this book. The first is the defence of Buddhism from Neo-Confucian criticisms. The second is a theory of harmonization of the Three Teachings. Li's involvement with the first earned him the more widely known reputation of being a defender of Buddhism while his contribution to harmonization has often been neglected. Our study has shown that Li's life-work had been harmonization and that the defence of Buddhism should be regarded as an intermediate step towards the identity of the Three Teachings.

The chief accusation of Neo-Confucianists is that Buddhism neglects involvement with worldly affairs, customs and human relationships. Li's reply is that from the point of view of Mahāyāna, one should not and could not make a distinction between religious practice and worldly affairs, between the Absolute and the phenomenal, between *Nirvāṇa* and *samsāra*. Hence, the Buddhist does not neglect worldly affairs. Then, Li turns around and say that this Buddhist truth is exactly what Confucianism and Taoism teach originally. In order to substantiate his claim, he draws parallels of the main philosophical and cultivational concepts from each tradition. The guiding principles of interpretation of these parallels have often been taken from Buddhism. Among these principles, the most important has been the identity of the Absolute Truth and the
worldly truth. Thus, the Mahāyāna teaching of Truth provides the structure on which Li maps out Chinese concepts and from this mapping an identity of the Three Teachings comes into view. Compared to previous theories of harmonization, Li's is the most elaborate and provides a most outstanding example of how an harmonizer attempts to find an intellectual unity among the divergent traditions he has inherited.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## PART I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORY OF HARMONIZATION OF THE THREE RELIGIONS</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>THE CURRENT STATE OF SCHOLARSHIP ON LI AND SOURCES FOR THIS STUDY</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>THE BIOGRAPHY OF LI CH'UN-FU</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE BOOK</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>ANTI-BUDDHIST CRITICISMS AND LI'S REPLIES</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VII. LI'S VIEW OF CHINESE TRADITIONS AND THE PARALLELS OF THE THREE RELIGIONS  148

Li's View of Chinese Traditions
Parallels Among the Three Teachings
Li's Two Essays on the Mind
Evaluation of Li's Harmonization

VIII. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER QUESTIONS  173

PART III

TRANSLATION OF THE MING-TAO-CHI SHUO  180

BIBLIOGRAPHY  527
ABBREVIATIONS

CT  Chuang Tzu 莊子

HMC  Hung-ming-chi 弘明集

HTC  Hsu Tsang Ching 續藏經 Shanghai: Han-fen-lou reprint, 1923. 150 vols.

ICT  Hui-tung Chao 易經大傳

KHMC  Kuang Hung-ming-chi 慶弘明集

KSC  Kao Seng Chuan 高僧傳

M  Miscellaneous essays in the Ming-tao-chi shuo

SPTK  Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊初編縮本

SPPY  Ssu-pu pei-yao 四部備要

T  Taishō Shinshū dai-zōkyō 大正新修大藏經 Tokyo, 1914-22. 85 vols.

PART I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

While the harmonization of the Three Religions in China (Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism) is generally acknowledged to have been common, detailed analyses of the theories supporting it are difficult to find. ¹ The reason is perhaps not so much the negligence of scholars as the nature of materials themselves. Often, in the pre-Sung attempts at harmonization, the reasons given are superficial or the theories deal with only certain aspects of similarity; sometimes they appear to be just passing remarks. The paucity of serious thought leads one to question whether it is worth the effort to pay attention to them. In

¹ The term "harmonization" (調合 t'iao-ho) is generally used to mean three kinds of attitudes towards religions. One of these is that religions are complementary. They have the same goal but their practices are different. Though different, the latter are appropriate for different circumstances and are complementary to one another. The second attitude is one adopted by an harmonizer who regards the Three Religions as one for the reason that a few selected elements from them are similar. The third attitude is one in which the actor takes an interpretive stand such that the teachings of the Three Religions appear identical. Any of the harmonizers may promote a combination of these attitudes, sometimes with a predominance of one. Li's thinking tended towards the third attitude. What unites the three attitudes so that they may be designated by the same term "harmonization" is perhaps a vague notion that an harmonizer is one who chooses to emphasize the oneness and downplays the differences of religions. It will be noted that harmonization is always a conscious attempt at oneness and hence it has a more specific meaning than syncretism or eclecticism.
short, analyses are few because early harmonizations lack significant theories.

The above observation is also generally true for subsequent periods. However, it is not true to say that there was a complete lack of theories of harmonization. There were times when harmonization was seriously thought about and relatively detailed theories, however rare, did appear. During the Sung Dynasty, there were a number of factors favourable to serious attempts at harmonization. Although the first revival of Confucianism as advocated by Han Yu (韩愈 768-824) was connected with the rejection of Buddhism on account of its being foreign, subsequent Neo-Confucian conceptions of Tao, the Sage and methods of cultivation were closer to those of the Buddhists than to those of Confucius or Mencius. Neo-Confucianism brought about a seriousness in the pursuit of Tao, which, in addition to leading to virtues in the ethical area, also brought an interiority, the possession of which required a kind of enlightenment. Interests in metaphysics were not unconnected with this interiority, for speculations about the Great Ultimate and Principle (理 1) were exercises in which one attempted to conceive of a union of man with the unfathomable universe. As this interiority becomes important, the tradition through which one arrives at it diminishes in importance. In other words, to rather overstate the

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2 This was pointed out long ago by Fung Yu-lan when he wrote about Li Ao (李翱 d. 844). See his History of Chinese Philosophy, Vol. II, trans. by D. Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953; hereafter referred to as Fung, History), pp. 422-424.
case, one may say that it does not matter how one has become a sage as long as he has become one. Of course, all Neo-Confucianists drew their lines of orthodoxy somewhere and somehow; but the prevalent mood of all the religions was the acquisition of this interiority.

Second, the Sinicization of Buddhism also contributed to the climate for harmonization. The Sui and T'ang Dynasties saw not only the final acceptance of Buddhism but also the rise of Chinese schools in the T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen and Ch'an. Many, if not most, of the Chinese masters were conversant with Confucian and Taoist writings and it was inevitable that they brought their Chinese learning into making this foreign religion understandable. An advanced state of this process can be seen in the Fifth Patriarch of Hua-yen, Tsung-mi (宗密 780-841), whose writing is full of comparisons of the Three Religions. The Sinicization of Buddhism also determined the topics of interest within Buddhism. One of the most highly regarded and most widely read sūtras in the Sung Dynasty was the Yüan-chüeh-ching (圓覺經 Sutra of Complete Enlightenment, T842). This would bring chagrin to a Buddhist purist, for the Yüan-chüeh-ching was probably a Chinese work falsely attributed to a foreign origin. But Chinese Buddhists themselves were not the least perturbed. Tsung-mi wrote extensive commentaries on it. That it was considered legitimate for Chinese to contri-


4 The same can be said about the Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, another popular work. See Galen Sargent, "Tchou Hi Contre le Bouddhisme," Mélanges Publiés par L'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Tome Premier, 1957, p. 104, note 4.
bute their theories to Buddhism was seen in Li Ch'ün-fu's saying that the Hua-yen teaching of dharmadhatu was a Chinese teaching. 5

Third, one of the prominent characteristics of Buddhism in the Sung Dynasty was the relaxing of barriers between the different Buddhist schools. The special interest of the age was the union of Ch'ān with other teachings. This merging tendency within Buddhism no doubt contributed to syncretism beyond Buddhism.

Fourth, the syncretic tendency had become a norm in the New Taoism which arose towards the end of the Northern Sung period. New Taoism was, among other things, a rebellion against the excessive "superstitious" beliefs of former Taoism. According to Takao Giken, "it adopted Ch'ān practices. 6 No doubt, the renewal was a response to the challenge of the age, namely, the quest for interiority.

Thus, it seems that the climate was ripe for a more serious attempt at harmonization. In contrast to the fragmentary efforts of previous times, the new theory would have to be more systematic, more complete. Some indications of this tendency can be seen in Tsung-mi and Li Kang (1083-1140), but the mature attempt really belongs to Li Ch'ün-fu. Li spent the major part of his life trying to spread his theory of harmonization through commentaries on well-known texts.

5 See Ming-tao-chi shuo, section 204.

and through arguments with Northern Sung Neo-Confucianists. Most of his writings are lost but we have his major work, the Ming-tao-chi shuo, which contains his debates with the Neo-Confucianists.

The reason for the writing of the Ming-tao-chi shuo was Li's desire to argue with Neo-Confucianists over the quest for Tao. The latter's views were contained in a book called the Ming-tao-chi (鳴道集) which was in circulation in Li's time but is now lost. Li has cited from it 216 passages with which he is in disagreement and has expressed his views on each of them.

Up to the present time, Li Ch'un-fu has been better known as a defender of Buddhism, and this for three reasons. First, Li was presented as such by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (耶律楚材 1189-1243), the one who propagated Li's major works after his death. Second, the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-ts'ai (佛祖歷代通載 A Complete Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs Through the Ages), by its biased selection of quotations from the Ming-tao-chi shuo, again casts Li in the role of a defender of.

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7 The existence of this book is indicated by the epilogue, section 217. See also the preface by Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai. A table of contents of this book is reported to exist in P'an Tsu-yin's P'ang-hsi-chai ts'ang shu chi (潘祖薰 諏喜齋藏書記). C.f. Tokiwa Dainō, "Kin no Ri Heisan sen Moidō shūsetsu ni tsuite" in Hattori sensei koki shukuga kinen rombunshū (Tokyo: Fuzambo, 1936), p. 691.
Buddhism. For some time, this material from the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai was the only easily accessible record of Li's writings and this contributed to giving a false impression. Third, the fact that Li was praised by Buddhists but ignored or belittled by Confucianists contributed to the impression that he was a partisan of the Buddhists. However, a close reading of the Ming-tao-chi shuo and a study of his life has uncovered major facets of his thoughts which, while not destroying his role as a defender of Buddhism, present him as an outstanding figure in the harmonization of Chinese religions. While Li in the capacity of a harmonizer has been alluded to by Japanese scholars, his theory of harmonization has not been analysed nor has his position as a harmonizer been properly evaluated and appreciated. It is hoped that through an analysis of the Ming-tao-chi shuo and other relevant materials we may come to a better knowledge of the nature of the book, the man and his thought.

The Ming-tao-chi shuo appears in all the bibliographies of the dynastic histories beginning from the Chin Shih (History of the Chin Dynasty). It is included in the Ssu-k'u Ch'uan-shu.  

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8 Of the 19 sections quoted by Nien-chang (念常 1282-1342?), author of the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai, T2036, eighteen are directly about Buddhism.

9 For example, the praise of Li found in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai, T2036, 699c, lines 13-19. The belittling of Li can be found in Sung-yüan hsüeh-an, ch. 100 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1973), p. 1874.
書）。However, the text is not readily accessible. For the present study, three versions from the library of Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tōkyō Kenkyūjo (東方文化學院東京研究所) are used. All versions include nine miscellaneous essays and two essays on the mind. For this study, they are treated as integral parts of the Ming-tao-chi shuo.

10 Ch'ien Mu thought it was lost. See his Sung-Ming li-hsüeh kai-shu 錢穆 宋明理學概述 (中華文化出版事業社 1962), p. 177.
CHAPTER II

THE CONTEXT OF THE HISTORY OF HARMONIZATION
OF THE THREE RELIGIONS

The Study of Harmonizing Tendencies

Scholars who are tempted to paint civilizations in broad strokes have nearly all remarked on the tolerant, reconciling and harmonizing attitudes of the Chinese towards the multiplicity of religions and philosophies. While it seems that this characterization is supported by many examples and may in fact be useful for the understanding of certain aspects of the Chinese attitude insofar as a national character can become an object of study, the actual historical facts are complex. In any good account of the history of the relationship among the Three Religions, chapters on rivalries, debates, denunciations and suppressions go hand-in-hand with chapters on their mutual borrowing, amalgamation and harmonization. If one can cite examples


2For example, Tokiwa Daijō, Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō 常盤大定 仏教に於ける佛教と儒教道教 (Tokyo, 1930: hereafter referred to as Tokiwa, Shina. Kubota Ryōn, Shina Jūdōbutsu sankyō shiron 久保田薫遠 支那儒道佛三教史論 (1931).
of tolerance and tendencies to equate the religions, one can equally cite contradictory examples. In fact, accommodating tendencies were conspicuously absent in ancient China. That is why there existed the multiplicity of ten schools and nine streams (十家九流), or the teachings of a hundred schools (百家之學) in the Period of the Warring States. Mencius was a prime example of one not even willing to admit the slightest credit to Yang-chu (楊朱) and Mo-ti (墨翟). From the way the Tao-te-ching and the Chuang-tzu ridiculed Confucianism, we may conclude that Taoism was no less intolerant than the others.

It must be admitted that things seem to have changed with the unification of the various states into an Empire. The early Han Dynasty saw the amalgamation of Confucian institutions with the "superstitious" beliefs of the schools of Yin-yang (陰陽) and of the Five Agents. The introduction of Buddhism was rendered more acceptable with the use of Taoist terms, the method of ko-i (格義, matching meaning), and the drawing of attention to similar religious practices. The literary aesthètes during the Eastern Chin era were only too happy to find the parallel between the 'Non-Being' (無 wu) of Lao Tzu and the 'śūnya' of the prajñā-pāramitā sūtras. As time went on, further harmonizing tendencies were seen in the founders of the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools of Buddhism when they set out to classify teachings according to audience and time. When we come to the Ming Dynasty, we

Tokyo, 1931; hereafter referred to as Kubota, Shiron. Kubota Ryōon, Shina Judōbutsu kōshōshi 支那儒道佛交涉史
Tokyo, 1943; hereafter referred to as Kubota, kōshōshi.
find not only verbal amalgamation of the theories but the actual worship and practice of the Three Religions as one.

Nevertheless, hostility among the religions has not been lacking. Towards the end of the Han Dynasty, one finds the beginning of the controversy over a forged ching (經 classic) purporting to describe Lao Tzu's conversion of the barbarians. The great debates on the existence of the soul, on karma, on whether the monk should bow to his parents and to the Emperor, on the foreign origin of Buddhism and its unsuitability for the Chinese, all took place during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. During the period of the T'ang, debates between the religions took place in court. Han Yu, acknowledged to be the pioneer of Neo-Confucianism, took an uncompromising attitude towards Buddhism and this was later taken up by the Sung Confucianists. Indeed, to call a Confucianist a Buddhist (or a follower of Ch'an), a 'compliment' which Chu Hsi (朱熹 1130-1200) and Lu Hsiang-shan (陸象山 1139-1193) mutually conferred on each other, was an abuse. Lest one be too complacent about the lack of religious animosity, one should consult De Groot's enumeration of religious persecutions in his book Sectarianism and Religious Persecutions in China.³

It seems that the contradicting facts invite us to exercise caution when issuing general statements about the Chinese character. It seems that in order to arrive at a greater precision, it is no longer sufficient to be satisfied with the fact that harmonization (or hostili-

³J. J. M. de Groot, Sectarianism and Religious Persecutions in China (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller, 1903).
ty) has taken place. We have to ask about its nature. Are the attempts at harmonization performed seriously, with the full range of philosophical questions in sight, or are they facile and one-sided statements calculated to bring advantageous but non-religious results? We want to ask how the theory was constructed. What elements have the harmonizers singled out for comparison or amalgamation? These are issues we propose to investigate in the following brief survey, which will give the context in which the theory of Li Ch'\'un-fu may be seen in its full glory.

The Nature of Early Theories of Harmonization

Though the tendency to harmonize the Three Religions began at an early time—for example, in the first contacts between Taoism and Buddhism, in the moral equivalence proposed by K'ang Seng-hui (康僧會, fl. 247)—the first proposal of serious theoretical interest was perhaps that of Sun Ch'\'o (孫绰, 300-380).\(^4\) He was a Confucian scholar living in the time of the Eastern Chin. He imbibed Buddhist ideas and tried to harmonize Buddhism and Confucianism. In his Tao-hsien-lun (道賢論), now lost, he compared seven friends of the Bamboo Grove with seven Buddhist monks.\(^5\) His more theoretical writings are found in


\(^5\) Kao Seng Chuan, T2059, 326c.
the *Yü-tao-lun* (喻道論). In it, he deals with two similarities between Confucianism and Buddhism. First, he deals with the problem of non-injury to living beings. It is Sun's belief that sages do not want to kill. Buddhism poses no problem since it explicitly prohibits killing; but Confucianism apparently allows killing. Sun explains the anomaly on the premise that permission to kill is only a compromise to suit man's degenerate condition of the time so that good may be preserved, just as a boil or ulcer should be eradicated in order to save life. It must be admitted that such an argument is not found in the Confucian Classics. Hunting and eating meat were taken for granted by Confucius and Mencius and they did not show any qualms of conscience about them. Nor did they show any sign that they permitted killing as a compromise to suit man's degenerate condition of the time. If they did, they themselves would have abstained from hunting and eating meat. Furthermore, would they have allowed the use of animals at sacrifices? In what way was the permission to kill at sacrifices a compromise to suit man's degenerate condition of the time? Were the people at the time of Confucius and Mencius so blood-thirsty that they insisted on using animals at sacrifices? Or was it rather that the question about killing animals and eating meat never occurred to these Sages? In short, the killing of animals has never been an issue in Confucianism. On the other hand, the rule against killing living beings, including animals for food, has always been an important issue for Buddhism. By picking up this topic for discussion, it is clear that Sun's conviction

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6 HMC, T2102, 16b-17c.
is Buddhist and that his argument is to convince non-Buddhists that Buddhism teaches the same thing as Chinese Sages. We shall see that this argument is repeated by Shen Yo (沈約 d. 514).

Second, Sun identifies Confucius with the Buddha. They are merely different names for two aspects of the same reality. Buddha means the awakened. It means the same thing as Mencius' saying that the sage is the first awakened one. The two teachings have the same aim. They appear different because they respond to different situations. Confucianism attempts to cure the manifested condition whereas Buddhism clarifies the origin. Together they constitute the beginning and the end of the same thing. The identification of Confucius with the Buddha can be seen as a further development of the earlier identification of the latter with Lao Tzu. The point that the two religions are complementary as the 'inner' and 'outer' becomes widely adopted by later harmonizers.

The next significant harmonizer was Shen Yo. His theory is found in the Chün-sheng-lun (均聖論). He argues for the correspondence of the rules of conduct of traditional Chinese thought with that of Buddhism. The rule specifically selected for comparison is again that of non-injury to living things. He said that the use of fire in cooking meat as taught by Sui-jen-shih (遂人氏, a mythical sage) was the beginning of Buddhism, for the process of cook-

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7 Mencius, Book V, part I, ch. 7, verse 5; also Book V, part II, ch. 1, verse 2.
8 KHMC, T2103, 121b-122a.
ing was an added burden to the eating of meat. The next step of advancement was brought about by Shen-nung-shih (神農氏, a mythical sage) who taught the people to eat grain rather than meat. And when the Duke of Chou and Confucius came along, they issued many regulations to protect the lives of animals. The prohibitions against wine, lust, lying and stealing are also said to be found in the Confucian Books. Thus Buddhism and Confucianism are said to have the same teachings. Another point of interest is Shen Yo's characterization of the Buddha as the 'inner sage' and Confucius as the 'outer sage.'

As we have already argued, the whole business of non-injury is more a concern of the Buddhists than a concern of the Confucianists. Shen's interpretation of the works of Sui-jen-shih, Shen-nung-shih, the Duke of Chou and Confucius was not found in tradition. Hence Shen's theory betrays the fact that his basic conviction was Buddhist. His whole concern was to show that non-injury was not so bizarre as it seemed. He did not show in what Chinese writing the drinking of wine was prohibited. Shen's intention was to show that Buddhism was acceptable since it corresponded with Chinese teachings.

The same themes are repeated by Yen Chih-t'ui (顏之推 c. 531-591) in his Chia-hsün kuei-hsin p'ien (家訓歸心篇). The main bulk of the essay is a defence of Buddhism against five current objections. Although one passage clearly states that Buddhism is

superior to both the Confucian and the Taoist traditions, the passage immediately following it says the 'inner' and 'outer' religions are of one body. Their differences are only a matter of degree. Like his predecessors, Yen equates the rules of moral conduct of the two religions. His novelty is perhaps the one-to-one correspondence of the five *silas* with the five norms of conduct in Confucianism. However inappropriate the matching may seem (for example, with what in the Chinese tradition does one match the prohibition against alcoholic drinks?), this attempt has been repeated numerous times in later accounts. Apparently, Yen is also troubled by the Chinese permission of killing in such activities as hunting, wars, meat-eating, and punishments. For an answer, he repeated Shen Yo's argument in substance.

When we come to the Sui Dynasty (581-618), the climate seems to have become favourable for harmonization. Among the noted examples are perhaps Li Shih-ch'ien (李士諌 525-590) and Wang T'ung (王通 584-617). The only thing we know about Li's theory is one sentence recorded in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai. He was asked how he would rank the Three Religions. Li answered, "Buddhism is like the sun; Taoism, the moon; Confucianism, the five stars." Nien Chang, author of

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10 明非儒墨周孔老莊之所及也。內外兩教本為一體。


12 Kubota, kōshōshi, p. 162.

13 T2036, 559b.

14 Ibid.
the t'ung-tsai, comments on this passage: "Shih-ch'ien compares the Three Religions to the sun, the moon and the stars. The first impression is that there are degrees of excellence, but their virtues are in reality the same with regard to illuminating the world and sustaining life. If any of the three is missing, stability cannot be maintained."¹⁵ This is known as the 'tripod' theory according to which all three Religions are equally necessary for man's well-being. One must say that Li did not offer any argument for his case. The imagery of sun, moon and the stars is utilized by Li Ch'un-fu in M9.

Although Wang T'ung has often been cited as having taught a theory of harmonization, relevant sources for this matter are extremely sparse and it is doubtful whether in his over-all position he had much respect for Buddhism and Taoism. In the Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo (文中子中說) he was asked by a disciple what he thought of the Buddha. He answered, "He was a sage." When asked about the Buddha's teaching, he said, "It is a teaching of the West. It is inappropriate when applied to China."¹⁶ Again, when asked about his opinion of the Three Religions, he said, "The trouble is there are too many religions." His disciple said, "How about abolishing them?" Wang said, "It is beyond your power to do so."¹⁷ On being asked about the way of the immortals, he said, "Why do you seek for immortality and neglect to practise benevolence, righteousness, filial piety and brotherly respect? Alas, the

¹⁵T2036, 559c.
¹⁶Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo, SPTK, p. 16.
¹⁷Ibid., p. 19.
insatiability of man!" 18 Wang's reputation for being an harmonizer rests solely on one incident when he, on reading the Hung-fan tang-i (洪範篇議), said, "The Three Religions can henceforth become one." 19 Again, we have no way of knowing Wang's argument.

During the T'ang Dynasty, a theory that Confucianism and Buddhism are complementary was proposed by Po Chü-i (白居易 772-846) during a court debate in 827. 20 The elements selected for comparison were the six interpretations (六義) of the Book of Poetry, the four subjects (四科) in the Analects of Confucius and the ten foremost disciples of Confucius. Po says that these three form a parallel with the twelve divisions (十二部) of the Buddhist sūtras, the six pāramitās and Buddha's ten foremost disciples respectively. He further says, "As for Confucianism and Buddhism, although they differ in the matter of name and number, their essence and goal are the same. It is just as what is said (in the I Ching): They come from the same source but differ in name. They go by different paths but end up in the same place." 21 Po showed an advance from Li Shih-ch'ien and Wang T'ung in that he at least tried to show why the two religions are compatible. However, such a general comparison does not reflect anything but a very superficial effort at understanding the relationship between the religions.

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18 Ibid., p. 25.
19 Ibid., p. 20.
20 See Po-shih ch'ang-ch'ing chi (白氏長慶集), SPTK, p. 327.
21 Ibid.
Although Tsung-mi, an eminent monk in both the Ch'an and Hua-yen traditions, did not profess to be an harmonizer, he indulged himself in trying to explain Buddhist philosophy by means of native Chinese learning, in which he had considerable competence. Thus, he drew attention to parallels between certain aspects of the two traditions. Specifically, he thought the metaphysics in Buddhist sūtras such as Yüan-chüeh-ch'ing, the Nirvāṇa sūtra, the Avatamsaka sūtra was similar to that of the I Ching. First of all, he explains that ch'ien (乾) is another name for heaven (天 t'ien). It designates t'ien's function (用 yung) whereas t'ien itself designates substance (體 t'i).

Ch'ien, as active, is similar to the enlightenment-substance (覺體 chüeh-t'i) in Buddhism. Secondly, the virtue (德 te) of ch'ien is boundless and encompasses the four virtues of yüan, heng, li, chen (元亨利貞) sublimity, potentiality of success, power to further, perseverance). Again, this parallels the Buddha's virtue, which is similarly boundless and encompasses the four paramīs of knowledge: chang, le, wo, ching (常樂我淨 eternity, bliss, personality, purity). Thirdly, the four virtues of ch'ien have their beginning from one ch'i (氣 pneuma). Similarly, the four virtues of the Buddha emerge from

22 His theory is found in the Yüan-chüeh-ch'ing lüeh su ch'ao 因覺經略疏鈔 HTC, Vol. 15, p. 90ff.

23 Translation of terms often presents insurmountable problems. Some writers prefer to distill one philosophical usage and translate it accordingly, and suggest it to be the meaning for Chinese philosophy. I am not satisfied by this practice for the following reasons. First, there is no one single usage even for Chinese philosophers. For example, the word ch'i (氣) means one thing (or several things) for Mencius, another thing for Chuang Tzu, and still another thing for Chang Tsai. Second, by limiting the translation to one
the one mind. Hence the principle of origination of the universe is the same in both accounts. Fourthly, since the four virtues have their beginning in the ch'i, the Tao is obtained by means of cultivating the ch'i. Similarly, since the Buddhist four virtues are based on the mind, enlightenment comes from the cultivation of the mind. Hence both the Buddhist and the I Ching accounts have similar structures. Tsung-mi's method was a great advance over past methods at harmonization for he showed a willingness to get into the inner structures of the philosophies. It will be seen that Li Ch' Un-fu uses a somewhat similar method. To what extent Li was being influenced by Tsung-mi directly or indirectly is hard to determine and may never be known because of lack of historical evidence.

Despite the fact that the Northern Sung was noted for a revival of Confucianism, the climate was also very much for the harmonization

gized meaning, the rich connotations are lost. For example, in Chang Tsa'i's passage in section 10, if the term ch'i is translated as 'material force,' the connection with Chuang Tzu's passage, which Chang quotes, would have been lost. Chuang Tzu says, "The 'wandering air' which living creatures blow one against another with their breath." 'Air' is exactly what Li meant in section 108 when he said, "Now, Master Ch' eng laboured at this theory, saying that everything was produced by the ch'i of Heaven and Earth. (This theory) is identical with the saying of Brahmns in the West." Brahmns have a theory of the 'air,' but not one of 'material force.' Again, in section 4, Li said, "... (the sun and the moon) are hidden away by floating clouds or eclipsed by the yin-ch'i." A translation of 'yin material force' would have been absurd.

I would suggest, following the example of Burton Watson's policy of translation in The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 24-25, that, as far as possible, one translates by a term closest to the root meaning of the Chinese term, and learn the specialized or derived meanings along with the term. The Greek term 'pneuma' means air, wind, breath, vapour, which is closest to the root meaning of the Chinese term "ch'i." However, to avoid unnecessary disputes, I have left the term untranslated.
of the Three Religions. Together with breaking the barriers between
the different schools of Buddhism in which monks simultaneously belonged
to two different schools, for example, both Ch'an and Pure Land as
practised by Yen Shou (延壽 904-974), or Ch'an and Hua-yen as practised
by Hsing-hsiu (行秀 1166-1246) or T'ien-t'ai and Pure Land as
practised by Tsun-shih (遵式 960-1032), Chih-li (知禮 960-1028)
and Chih-yüan (智圆 972-1032), nearly all the eminent monks proposed
certain forms of harmonization in which the merits of the other reli-
gions were recognized. This broadening and tolerant attitude was taken
up by the Taoists as well, most notably by the New Taoism or Ch'üan-
chen-chiao (全真教) which had just been formed. Although Neo-
Confucianists of the Ch'eng-Chu (程朱) school inherited Han Yu's
hostile attitude towards Buddhism and Taoism, many Confucian scholars
did not share their views, and some produced theories of harmonization
as well. We may note in passing that, with regard to being tolerant
towards other religions, Li Ch'un-fu was not an exception to his age.
What was exceptional was the argument of his theory and the scale of
its construction. To appreciate his talent, we shall continue to see
what Northern Sung harmonizers have proposed.

From the monks' side, a representative figure was Ch'i-sung
(契嵩 1006-1072). As a monk, he naturally defended Buddhism.
However, that did not deter him from making harmonizing remarks. In
the Fu-chiao-pien (輔教編 T2115), he matches the five silas and
ten good deeds (五戒十善) with the Confucian five constant vir-
tues. "They are of different names but one substance."\textsuperscript{24} He says, "The teachings of the sages are different but they are the same in doing good."\textsuperscript{25} In another location, the above contrast is made in terms of mind (心 hsìn) and outward manifestations (亦 chi). Ch’i-sung says, "In ancient times, there were sages called the Buddha, Confucius and the Hundred Schools. Their minds were one but their outward manifestations were different. They were one because they all wished men to become good. They were different because they parted ways and established different teachings. ... Now the world cannot see the death of Confucianism, or the death of the Hundred Schools, or the death of Buddhism. The destruction of one teaching is the destruction of one way to the good. The destruction of a way to the good is to increase the evil of the world."\textsuperscript{26} The significance of Ch’i-sung is the introduction of the terminology of mind and outward manifestations into the discussion of harmonization.

One piece of writing which has become a favourite of Buddhists was the Hu-fa-lun (護法論 T2114) by Chang Shang-ying (張商英 1052–1132). It was written chiefly for the defence of Buddhism after Chang had converted to that religion. However, being a scholar, he would not deny the merits of Chinese traditions. Nevertheless, he subordinated them to Buddhism. He said, "Although the teachings of the books of the Three Religions, which benefit the world and profit its people, can be compared to a tripod’s legs, the lack of any of which

\textsuperscript{24} T2115, 649b.  
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{26} T2115, 660a.
is not admissible, yet, seeing that according to Confucius' way one merely becomes a gentleman, according to Lao Tzu's way one merely becomes an unattached good man, I will not follow these ways if my aim is to destroy all burdens and to arrive at the original purity." One will notice that the 'tripod' theory is referred to. Another image Chang uses is that of medicine. The Three Religions are like three medicine for three kinds of diseases. Confucianism is for the cure of skin diseases; Taoism, for blood diseases; Buddhism, for diseases of the marrow. Thus, it would seem that Chang walks a tight-rope. On the one hand, he wants to assert the superiority of Buddhism, on the other, he wants to retain the merits of Chinese traditions. To resolve their differences, he resorts to, as exemplified by the analogy of medicines, a theory of differentiation of functions. On the whole, Chang more or less repeats ideas which have already been expressed and he does not deal with specific theoretical issues.

The most serious construction of a theory of harmonization before that of Li Ch'ung-fu was perhaps that of Li Kang (李綱 1083-1140). In his letter of reply to Wu Min (吳敏 1089-1132) in Chu-shih-chuan, he attempted to equate Hua-yen teaching with the teaching of kua (卦) in the I Ching. First of all, he thinks the I Ching's concept of hsia (象) is similar to the concept of shih (事) in Hua-yen. Both designate the phenomena found in the world. The multiplicity of phenomena is explained by the interaction of the various

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27 T2114, 643c.  
28 T2114, 643a.  
29 居士傳 吳敏復書 in HTC, Vol. 149, pp. 450a-452a.
kuas (乾坤諸卦) in the I Ching, while it is explained by the theory of dharmadātu in Hua-yen (華嚴法界). The teaching that "the eight kuas contain totally the conditions of the myriad things" is the same as "the simultaneous containment within the dharmadātu."³⁰ Second, the theory of the sixty-four kuas of the I Ching is based on the same principle as that of the six paramitās of the Mahāyāna teaching. Third, the two teachings have the same theory of the mind. Li Kang showed an interest at matching up details of two teachings. Many of the quotations he used were also used by Li Ch'ün-fu. However, Li Kang's matching was limited to the kuas of the I Ching, whereas Li Ch'ün-fu extended the matching to various aspects of the Three Religions.

Taoists of the Sung period were all openly syncretic and they professed the similarity or compatibility of the Three Religions. Even before the New Taoist schools were formed, the harmonizing position was affirmed by, among others, Chang Po-tuan (張伯端 984-1082) who, in the preface to his own Wu-ch'en-p'ien (悟真篇), written in 1075, said: "Although the teachings are divided into three, their ways (tao) converge into one."³¹ The northern branch of the New Taoism, founded by Wang Che (王錫 1112-1170), was syncretic from its very start.³²

³⁰ 八卦總攝萬物之情，法界之互相攝入
³² On the New Taoism, see Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, Nan-Sung ch'ü Ho-pei hsin Tao-chiao k'ao 南宋初河北新道教考, Fu-jen ta-hsüeh ts'ung-shu 華仁大學叢書 no. 8 (1941).
Wang headed all the societies he founded with the title of san-chiao (三教), and he initiated his followers with the Confucian Classic of Filial Piety (孝經), the Taoist Tao-te-ching and the Classic of Constant Purity (常清淨經 Ch'ang-ch'ìn-ch'òng ch'ing TT341), and the Heart Sūtra. Many other renowned Taoists were contemporaries of Li Ch'ün-fu. However, for geographic and other reasons, they probably did not come to Li's attention. Nevertheless, a brief mention of their attempts at harmonization provides a more faithful picture of the climate. The convergence of the religions came into vogue to such an extent that in 1226 Hsia Tsung-yü (夏宗禹) made a diagram to illustrate how they converge. In the same year, Hsiao Kuan-fu (蕭觀復) proposed a remarkable theory of the mind. He said, "The Three Religions are all a creation of the mind. Confucians call it 'preserving of the mind'; the Taoists, 'cultivating the mind'; the Buddhists, 'enlightening the mind'... They aim at nothing else but that man should quieten this (mind) so as to return to its (original) goodness." Hsiao did not elaborate this into a full-blown theory as Li Ch'ün-fu did, but it is clear that the use of the concept of mind as the crucial element in harmonization was not limited to the latter.

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33 Kubota, koshoshi, p. 268.

34 San-chiao kuei-yi t'u-shuo 三教歸一圖說 in the last chapter of Huang-ti Yin-fu ching chiang-yi 黃帝陰符經講義 TT54, v. 3, p. 2459b-2460b.

Now we are in a position to comment on the nature of these theories of harmonization. In the first place, we observe the scantiness of material on the subject. Many of these opinions are presented in a short paragraph. Some are limited to just one sentence. Hence, in many cases, the materials tell little more than the fact that their authors think favourably of all the Three Religions. As to the questions of how and why these religions are similar, the sources provide few answers. In the few instances where some of these answers are given, the shortness of the treatment naturally limits the scope. For example, a few harmonizers deal with the specific issue of the identity of the āśīlas with the five constant virtues and then they jump to the conclusion that Buddhism and Confucianism are the same.

Second, with respect to the types of arguments used, they can be reduced to four: First, the argument of identity of ethics as found in Sun Ch'ō, Shen Yo, Yen Chih-t'ui and Ch'i-sung. Second, arguments which can generally be grouped under the 'tripod' theory, which stresses the equal necessity of all Three Religions, or the 'complementary' theory in which the religions are seen as having the same goal but different and complementary practices. Included in this group are the sun-moon-stars analogy of Li Shih-ch'ien, the three medicines of Chang Shang-yin, the 'mind-outward manifestations' division of Ch'i-sung, the 'essence versus name and number' of Po Chü-i, the 'head-tail' complementariness of Sun Ch'o and the 'inner-outer' sages of Shen Yo. Third, there is the argument of general structural similarity of the religions such as that found in Po Chü-i when he compared the writings, the subjects of studies and important personalities. Fourth, there is
the argument of similarity of specific doctrines as found in the matching of the teachings of the I Ching with that of Hua-yen proposed by Tsung-mi and Li Kang.

Compared to these previous attempts at harmonization, Li Ch'un-fu's achievement is truly magnificent and unprecedented. The mere size of his writings in this regard far outstrips everybody else's. Not only is his theory implicitly contained in the Ming-tao-chi shuo, it is present in all the essays and inscriptions we know of. Even his lost major works are about the identity of the Three Religions. From Yeh-lü Ch'ü-tsa'ai's prefaces to the now lost Leng-yen wai-chiēh (楞嚴外解) and the Chin-kang-ching piēh chiēh (金剛經別解), we know that these books were not ordinary commentaries on the Buddhist sutras at all, but attempts to show the parallels between the Buddhist writings and Chinese writings.  

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36 In the Leng-yen wai chiēh hsu, Yeh-lü says, "My deceased friend the Upāsaka P'ing-shan cited those passages which corresponded with this sutra from the books of I Ching, the Analects, Mencius, Lao Tzu and Lieh Tzu and combined them into this book called the external commentary." Ch'ían-chu-shih wen chi, SPTK, p. 128a. In the Chin-kang-ching piēh chiēh hsu, Yeh-lü says, "The Upāsaka P'ing-shan took the books of Confucianism and Taoism and mixed them with the theories of Masters Yün and Tsang, cited various theories and interspersed them with quotations from the sutras and combined them into a book called additional commentary." Ibid., p. 131b.
Li's scope of comparison is equally impressive. His theory contains all the previous kinds of arguments, the ethical, the 'tripod' argument, the general similarity and argument based on specific doctrines. With respect to the last type, his comparison is not limited to just the I Ching and the Hua-yen or the Yuán-chʻûeh but extended to many Confucian books, the major Taoist writings and the Mahāyāna teachings. But Li presents a most distinctive point which makes him more than anybody before him a serious believer of the oneness of the Three Religions, and that is the emergence of a consciousness of the Tao common to all Three Religions, and the cultivation necessary to arrive at this Tao. He sometimes calls this the teaching of the mind. Although this teaching is Buddhist in essence, Li thinks that it was also taught by Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. The correct understanding of these sages has been lost until scholars began to study Buddhist books. Then, they began to see how the Chinese writings should be interpreted. However, these scholars' understanding has been partial and they have tried to keep it a secret. In contrast, Li claims to have a full understanding of the Tao and he openly proclaims it. In short, he has a specific philosophy and thinks that it was equally taught by Confucius, Lao Tzu and the Buddha.

Since Li has adopted many Buddhist ideas, he has sometimes been regarded as a Buddhist apologist. Such a picture is presented by Yeh-lü Chʻu-tsʻai. But Li's biography and writings do not convey him

37 Yeh-lü says of the Leng-yen wai chieh that "it really is a bait to tempt Confucianists who do not believe in Buddhist books."
as so thorough-going a Buddhist as Yeh-lü made him out to be. Yeh-lü himself was probably a much more devout Buddhist than Li and was extremely respectful of the Ch'an Master Wan-sung (1166-1246). The latter had all the reason to paint such an eminent scholar as Li as a devout Buddhist, and Wan-sung probably influenced Yeh-lü in this direction. There are reasons to believe differently from Yeh-lü.

First of all, Li's conversion at the age of twenty-nine was instigated not by a Buddhist book, but by a piece of writing by a pioneer of Neo-Confucianism. Granted that Li Ao, the author of the piece, did consult a Ch'an Master, the resulting piece of writing was not about Buddhism but about the Neo-Confucian problem of the recovery of nature. There is no guarantee that Li Ch'un-fu's conversion was not towards a serious pursuit of Tao such as that undertaken by all Neo-Confucianists. Second, all the records say that Li was a heavy drinker. This shows that Li disregarded the Buddhist sila against drinking expected to be kept even by devout lay followers. Third, unlike his friend Yeh-lü, there is no record that Li undertook any specifically Buddhist practice such as meditation. Fourth, Li has praise for the

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38 Yeh-lü himself has his own biography in Ch'an histories. C.f. Wu-teng Hui-yüan Hsu lüeh, chüan one 五燈會元續略卷一 HTC, V. 138, p. 431a ff; also in Chi-teng-lü 繼燈錄卷一 HTC, V. 147, p. 361b ff.

39 The reader is reminded that Yeh-lü never knew Li very well personally. All of Yeh-lü's good opinion of Li were gotten from Wan-sung. See below in the biography of Li.
Neo-Confucianists and he urges his readers to read their books. In section 217, Li is conscious of himself as a Confucianist and in the company of Confucianists. His insistence earned a certain acceptance for he was included in the *Sung-yüan hsüeh-an* (宗元學案, Anthology and Critical Accounts of the Neo-Confucianists of the Sung and Yuan Dynasties).\(^{41}\) Fifth, in his brief self-portrait, he expresses desire to become a follower of Vimalakīrti and Chuang Tzu.\(^{42}\) Thus, he sees himself as a harmonizer. Another thing to notice is that only about half of all the sections in the *Ming-tao-chi shuo* deal with Buddhism. The rest deal with views about Confucianism and Taoism. This indicates that Li was concerned not only with anti-Buddhist views, but above all he was concerned with the correct view of Tao. Thus, it would seem that Li was not a partisan of Buddhism but a serious proponent of harmonization.

\(^{40}\) See the epilogue to *Ming-tao-chi shuo*, section 217.

\(^{41}\) *Chüan* 100 (Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1973), pp. 1872ff. In contrast, Yeh-lü does not have a place in this book.

\(^{42}\) "Li Hap-lin tzu-ts'an" in *Kuei-ch'ien chih* (Chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu, 1779), 1/6a.
CHAPTER III

THE CURRENT STATE OF SCHOLARSHIP ON
LI AND SOURCES FOR THIS STUDY

The state of modern knowledge about Li Ch'un-fu and the Ming-tao-chi shuo is best seen through a history of studies among Japanese scholars. The earliest of these was perhaps Takao Giken, who, in his article "Kindai ni okeru Dobutsu nikyō no tokuchō 金代に於ける
道佛二教の特徴 (The Special Characteristics of Taoism and
Buddhism in the Chin Dynasty)," gave a brief account of Li P'ing-shan
the man and his theory of harmonization.¹ That Takao's interest was
only incidental can be seen from the brevity of his treatment. The
first scholar to pay serious attention to Li seems to have been Tokiwa
Daijō, who, in his book Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō 支那に
於ける佛教と儒教道教 (Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism in
China), published in 1930, devoted an entire chapter to the study of
Li P'ing-shan, basing himself on such documents as the Fo-tsu li-tai
t'ung-tsai, the Chin Shih, a few extant essays and two inscriptions. 
Tokiwa lamented the loss of Li's masterpiece, the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
His treatment was chiefly the exposition of the contents of nineteen
sections of the Ming-tao as recorded in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai.
Subsequently, Tokiwa wrote two more articles: "Kin no Rī Heisan sen

¹Takao Giken, op. cit.
Meidō shūsetsu ni tsuite (金の李屏山撰 鳴道集説について） and "Jubutsu ryokeyo kōshōshi ueni okeru Kin no Ri Heisan (儒佛兩教交渉史上における金の李屏山)."

Next came Kubota Ryōō, who published his book Shina Judōbutsu sankyō shiron (支那儒道佛三教史論 Discussions on the History of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in China) in 1931. He also devoted one chapter to Li. Kubota had access to a version of the Ming-tao-chi shuo published in Japan in the twenty-eighth year of Meiji (1895). This version lacked thirty-six of the 217 sections mentioned in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai. Kubota did not do much more than repeat some of the contents of the Ming-tao. In his second book on the Three Religions, in many ways just a shortened version of his shiron, the Shina Judōbutsu kōshōshi (支那儒道佛交渉史, 1943, The History of the Interactions Among Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism in China), Kubota did not add anything substantial.

In an article originally published in 1935 but later included in his book Ryō Kin no Bukkyō (遼金の佛教 Buddhism Under the Liao and Chin Dynasties, 1953), Nogami Shunjō (野上俊静) wrote an historical investigation of Li, an examination of his extant and lost works, and gave an account of the existence of another version of the

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2 In Hattori sensei koki shukuga kinen ronymushiru (服部先生古稀記念論文集, pp. 673-97. Tokyo: Fuzambo 富山房 (1936), and Tohōgakuho 東方學報 V. 6 (1935) respectively.

3 Hereafter referred to as the Meiji version.
Ming-tao-chi shuo published in Japan in the year 1683. This has the same missing sections as the Meiji version and is probably the version upon which the latter is based. In 1935, a third version, a photo-copy of a hand-written version found in the Peiping Library in China, was made available in Japan. Though a few lines were missing in the copying, this is a version with 216 sections intact.

In 1978 Atsuyoshi Keika published an article called "Ko Heisan no ten ni tsuite" in which he attempted to crack the discrepancies of the dates surrounding Li's life. In 1980, he also wrote a short note on the Ming-tao-chi shuo.

The only modern Chinese publication which touches on Li is the article, "San-chiao lun yu Sung Chin hsueh-shu" (三教論與宋金學書).
the use of the terms tao-hsüeh (道學) and hsin-hsüeh (心學) in the bigger Neo-Confucian context. Jao's article is limited by his lack of access to the Ming-tao-chi shuo.9

The first scholar to publish a study of Li in a Western language was Yun-hua Jan. He wrote a biography: "Li P'ing-shan" and a study: "Li P'ing-shan and His Refutations of Neo-Confucian Criticism of Buddhism," chiefly from sources found in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai.10

The Extant Writings of Li Ch'un-fu

Ming-tao-chi shuo (鳴道集說) in three versions:

1. Published in the 28th year of Meiji (1895), Kyoto.

8 In Tung-hsi Wen-hua 東西文化 XI (May 1968), 24-32.
9 For example, Jao is not aware of the fact that another book called Ming-tao-chi (鳴道集) was in circulation before Li took issue with it and wrote his work.
11 Additional bibliographical information will be found in the bibliography.
2. Published in the third year of Teiwa (1683), Tokyo.

屏山李先生鳴道集五卷
天和三年田中庄兵衛刊本

3. Photo-copy of hand-written version kept in the Peiping Library (China). Date unknown. Photo-copy was made in 1935.

屏山李先生鳴道集五卷
昭和十年用北平圖書館藏鈔本景照

Twenty-nine poems in Chung-chou-chi

詩二十九首 中州集

"Chung-hsiu mien-pi-an pei" in Chin-wen tsui

重修面壁庵碑 金文最 四十一

"Hsin-hsiu hsüeh-t'ing hsi-she pei" in Chin-wen tsui

新修雪庭西舍碑

"Ch'i-hsia-hsien chien-hsüeh-miao pei" in Chin-wen ya

棲霞縣建學廟碑 金文雅 卷八

"Hsi p'in chi chuan hsü" found in Chung-chou-chi, SPTK, 2/42b.

西岳集傳序

"Li-nien mi-t'o tao-ch'ang ch'an fa hsü," in HTC, Vol. 138, p. 76.

禮念彌陀道場懺法序

"Li Han-lin tzu-tsan" in Kuei-ch'ien chih

李翰林自贊 餘語志

Nine miscellaneous essays, included in the Ming-tao-chi shuo, beginning with the words:

Wu-erh-shih pu-hsi fo-lao 吾兒時不喜佛老

Wu tzu tu-shu chih Meng-tzu wei sheng-jen yeh

吾自讀書知孟子為聖人也

Wu kuan Ju-che chieh t'an jen-i 吾觀儒者皆談仁義

Wang T'ung yi Fo wei sheng-jen yi 王通以佛為聖人矣
Han Yu tso Yuan-tao 韩愈作原道
Ssu-ma Kuang Tzu-chih t'ung-chien tsai 司马光資治通鑑載
Ssu-ma Kuang ta Han ping-kuo shu 司马光答韩秉國書
Su Shih tso Suu-ma Kuang mu-chih 蘇軾作司馬光墓誌
Ch'eng Hao lun-hsueh yu Chou Tun-i 程頤論學於周敦頤

"Hsin shuo" I and II 心說上 下, included in the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
"Fu-chiao p'ien hsu" 輔教編序

Lost Works

Leng-yen wai chieh 條嚴外解, mentioned in Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai's

Leng-yen wai chieh hsü.

Chin-kang-ching pieh chieh 金刚經別解 C.f. Yeh-lü, P'ing-shan

chü-shih Chin-kang-ching pieh chieh hsü.

Shih-chia-wen fo-tsan 祐迦文佛贊 C.f. Leng-yen wai chieh hsü.
P'an-jo (chieh) 般若(解), c.f. Yeh-lü, Ming-tao-chi shuo hsü.

Ta-mo tsu-shih meng-yü 達摩祖師夢語 C.f. Ibid.

Lao Tzu chi-chieh 老子集解 C.f. Kuei-ch'ien-chih

Chuang Tzu chi-chieh 莊子集解 C.f. Ibid.

Chung-yung chi-chieh 中庸集解 C.f. Ibid.

Ai-pai-fu 矮柏賦 C.f. Ibid.

P'ing-shan chü-shih chuan 屏山居士傳 C.f. Ibid.


P'ing-shan ku-jen wai chuan 屏山故人外傳
Sources for Biography

Chung-chou-chi, chüan 4 and in passing.
Kuei-ch'ien-chih, chüan 1 and in passing.
Chin Shih, chüan 126.
Hung-ch'ien-lu, chüan 245.
Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an, chüan 100.
Chü-shih chuan, chüan 35.
Chin-shih chi-shih, chüan 7.
Po-fa chin-t'ang p'ien, chüan 15.
I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi, in passing.

Early Secondary Sources

In addition to those sources quoted in the biographical section above, the following prefaces and postscripts are relevant:

By Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, op. cit.:

"Leng-yen wai chieh hsü" 楝嚴外解序

"P'ing-shan chü-shih chin-kang-ching pieh chieh hsü" 屏山居士金剛經別解序

"Shu chin-kang-ching pieh chieh hou" 書金剛經別解後

"P'ing-shan chu-shih Ming-tao-chi shuo hsü" 屏山居士鳴道集說序

Huang Chin 黃溍 (1357), "Ming-tao-chi shuo hsü" 鳴道集說序

Wang Wan 汪琬 "Ming-tao-chi shuo hsü" 鳴道集說序

Ch'üan Tsu-wang 金祖望 (1705-55):

"Po Li P'ing-shan Ming-tao-chi shuo" 跋李屏山鳴道集說

"Hsüeh-t'ing Hsi-she-chi po" 雪庭西舍記跋
Ssu-k'ū chūan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要 (1782) contains a note on the Ming-tao-chi shuo.

Editorial Work on the Text

As mentioned earlier, three versions of the Ming-tao-chi shuo are available. Since they differ in the number of sections and since they contain slightly different readings, editorial work is necessary. The Peking version, containing all 217 sections, is the complete version and is regarded as the basic text. Its sections are numbered consecutively and this numbering is followed throughout this study. The sectionings in the Meiji and the Yen versions are identical, making it probable that the Yen was the version on which the Meiji was based. Compared to the Peking version, the missing sections in the Meiji and the Yen are found only in two locations. They are sections 60 to 63 and 120 to 150 inclusive. The latter missing part, thirty-one sections altogether, occurs at the beginning of chūan four (四) of the Peking version, making it probable that these few pages were missing in the original source from which the Yen version was based. Thus, we can no longer agree with Kubota's opinion that editorial selection was the reason why the thirty-six sections were missing in the Japanese versions. ¹²

With regard to the differences in reading, finding the correct text is aided by several means. Most of the Neo-Confucian quotations are found in the existing works of the respective authors. Thus,

¹²Kubota, Kōshōshi, p. 279.
comparisons can be made and the correct reading easily determined. Li's writing is full of quotations from standard Chinese Classics and the Buddhist scripture, and so the correct reading is again easily determined. Some differences are due to obvious copy-error. Where no external help is available, the sense of the text determines the preferred reading.

The Japanese versions also mistakenly join miscellaneous essays 6 and 7. From their contents and the paragraphing in the Peking version, they should be separated and so the total number of essays should be brought from eight to nine.
CHAPTER IV
THE BIOGRAPHY OF LI CH’UN-EU

Of all the biographical accounts, the only independent ones are those in Chung-chou-chi and Kuei-ch’ien-chih, and there are reasons to believe that they are reliable.¹ All others, including the Chin Shih, either copied one another or from the Kuei-ch’ien-chih and the Chung-chou-chi. The Kuei-ch’ien-chih says that Li died at the age of forty-seven in the last year of Cheng-ta (正大1231). Thus, by calculating backwards, we know that he was born in 1185. However, consideration of the events mentioned in Li’s biography forces us to doubt that he died at forty-seven. For reasons to be discussed in the section "Notes on dates" below, we now favour the view that Li died at fifty-seven. It follows then that he was born in 1175. He was a native of Hsiang-yin (襄陰) of the Hung-chou prefecture (弘州) in present...

¹Yüan Hao-wen (元好問), the compiler of the Chung-chou-chi, lived during 1190-1257 and he entered the Chin civil service in 1221. He was thus a colleague of Li. Liu Ch’i (劉祁 1203-1250), the author of Kuei-ch’ien-chih, was the son of Liu Ts’ung-i (劉從益 1181-1224), who was a close friend of Li. Liu Ch’i was a talented man and was praised by Li. See 湖源劉氏世德碑並序 ("Hun-yüan Liu-shih shih-te pei ping hsü"), quoted in Yao Ts’ung-wu (姚從吾), "Yüan Hao-wen Kuei-szu shang Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai shu ti li-shih yi-yi yü shu-chung wu-shih-ssu jen hsing shih k’ao." 元好問墓表乙未耶律楚材書的歷史意義與當中五十四人行略考. In Wen-shih-che hsüeh pao 文史哲學報, 19 (June 1970), 242.
Hopei). His *tzu* was Chih-ch' un (之純) and his *hao* was P' ing-shan (屏山). He came from a family which had become scholarly for at least two generations. His grandfather, called An-shang (安上), attained first place in the *chin-shih* (進士) examination at the Western Capital. His father, Ts'ai (采), obtained the *chin-shih* degree in 1185 and died in office in I-tu-fu (益都府).

Li was exceptionally bright as a child. He learned poetry at first. Then he was attracted to the *Tso-shih* Ch'un-ch'iu (左氏春秋). Next, he devoted his attention to the Classics. The *Chin Shih* says that Li was awarded the degree of *chin-shih* of the Classics in the second year of Ch' eng-an (承安 1197). According to our corrected chronology, Li was twenty-three (twenty-two in Western reckoning) at the time. Li's early success at the examinations, together with a vigorous prose style which he developed by modelling after the writings of Chuang Tzu, Lieh Tzu, the Chan-kuo-ts'e (戰國策 Plots of the Warring States) and the *Tso-chuan* (左傳), attracted young followers. He loved to discuss military affairs and was full of ambition for doing great deeds for the country. His proficiency in all the subjects he touched on contributed to a great self-conceit, which is shown in one of his early essays called Ai-pai-fu (矮柏賦 "The Dwarf Caesar"). In it, he dreamt of success as great as that of Chu-ko Liang (諸葛亮 181-234) or of Wang Ching-lüeh (王景暈 325-375).

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2 His autobiography is called P' ing-shan chü-shih chuan.

3 Kuei-ch'ien-chih (Chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu, 1779), 9/11a, 1/4b.
One would not be doing justice to Li if one portrayed only his ambitions. Li was a complex man. Apparently, in his late twenties, he was attracted to spiritual questions and began to read writings on Principle (理 lǐ) and human nature. These topics belonged largely within the confines of Neo-Confucianism and current Buddhism. In the biography of Shih Su (史禎) in the Chung-chou-chi, it is said that "Shun-yüan (i.e. Shih Su) always esteemed the learning of Principle and human nature. P'ing-shan was led to the study of Buddhism by Shun-yüan." The Ch'an Master Wan-sung (藥山 745-828) and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recounted an event which amounted to a religious conversion for Li in the year 1203. While studying the Fu-hsing shu (復性書 "On the Recovery of Human Nature") by Li Ao, Li was made aware that Li Ao wrote the essay after his visit to the Ch'an Master Yüeh-shan (藥山 i.e. Wei-yen 惟㡀 745-828). Li Ao was twenty-nine years old at the time (twenty-eight in Western reckoning). He was deeply moved and immediately went to become a lay disciple of Wan-sung. As a result, Li also wrote and produced prolific writings on the philosophy of the mind. That was in the years to come. Meanwhile, in the period of 1204-1205, we have on record, as a fruit of his conversion, Li's composition "Praise to the Buddha Šākyamuni." (釋迦文佛讚)

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4 Chung-chou-chi, SPTK, 5/81b.
5 Wan-sung's account is found in the preface to the Ch' an-ji an chu-shih wen-chi 湛然居士文集. Yeh-lü's account is in his preface to the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
6 Ibid.
7 Yeh-lü, op. cit., p. 128b.
Li's political ambition was also meeting a good turn. In 1206, the Chin emperor Chang-tsung (章宗) was contemplating an offensive against the Sung in the South when Li, in the capacity of a military judge of Chi-chou, offered two memorials in which he discussed military plans. The Emperor marvelled at his talent and posted him in the army. The eventual success turned out to be as predicted by Li and this earned him membership in the Academy (翰林 Han-lin). But fortune stopped smiling a few years later when he again offered a memorial. It was on the occasion of the impending invasion of the Mongols from the North. In 1210, Li, being a minor official, offered a treatise of ten thousand words in which he discussed the urgency of the political situation, citing the fall of Northern Sung as an example. The intermediary judged the treatise as impractical and failed to transmit it to the Emperor. Li must have made a few enemies within the bureaucracy, perhaps aided by his conceit and arrogance to some of his peers. He was released from his post. Nothing much is known about Li in the period immediately after this except that in 1213 he was asked to write a preface to the Li-nien mi-t'o tao-ch'ang ch'an fa (禮念彌陀道場懺法), a work giving the details of Pure Land ceremonies.  

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8Chung-chou-chi, 21/223b 之純以荊州軍事判官上書論天下事 ；Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 1/5a. 泰和南犯兩上疏策其勝負

In the summer of 1214, owing to increasing pressure from the Mongols, the Chin capital was moved to the southern city of Pien (开封 K'ai-feng), and Li moved along with the government. He was able to become a member of the Han-lin again. At that time, the official who wielded power was Chu-hu Kao-ch'i (虎高琪). He tempted Li to join his party by promoting him to the post of tu-shih of tso-szu (左司都事).\(^{10}\) Li was shrewd enough to see the instability in Chu-hu and he declined the offer on the pretext of looking after his mother. This incident was probably what was referred to when the Kuei-ch'ien-chih says that in his middle years Li had no ambition to seek advancement in officialdom, for on being offered a post he resigned even before he assumed it. During this period he frequented Ch'an monks and got himself drunk for months.\(^{11}\) He discarded the rules of propriety and made friends with anybody who offered him a drink. Yet, this dissipation did not stop him from writing. Even in his drunkenness his speeches were well-reasoned, his arguments came in torrents so that all his listeners became convinced. His unpretentiousness earned him the love of many young people and scholars alike.

\(^{10}\) The Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 1/5a, gives 左司都事, but the I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi (SPTK, 21/223b), probably referring to the same event, gave 右司都事. Li was frequently referred to as Li Yu-szu 李右司 in contemporary sources.

\(^{11}\) This and the other facts mentioned to the end of the paragraph are found in Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 1/5b.
In 1219, Chu-hu Kao-ch'i fell out of favour and met with retribution. Li entered the Han-lin for the third time. The following year, 1220, he was invited to dedicate a monument to the re-building of the Wall-gazing Retreat. This has come down to us as the Chung-hsiu mien-pi-an pei (重修面壁庵碑). 12 Two years later he was again asked to dedicate another monument to a Buddhist building. 13

The next we hear about Li was also the last year of his life. In the last year of Cheng-ta (正大 1231), Li was accused of violation against the new regulation for the choice of examination candidates. He was demoted to become the assistant magistrate of Fang-chou (坊州). Before he could leave for his new duty, the decision was changed and he was to become the staff-supervisor of Chin-chao (京兆府). He died at Pien in the same year. He left a son called T'ung (仝) tzu Chih-ch'uan (稚川). At the time of the writing of the Chung-chou-chi, he was living in Chen-yang (鎮陽).

There remain a few anecdotes which serve to bring out the character of the man. Judging from the space given to him in contemporary records, one cannot fail to sense that Li was one of the most popular, prestigious and brilliant men of his time. Yüan Hao-wen said

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12 Found in Chin-wen tsui (金文最卷四十一). This gives us archaeological evidence of a firm date.

13 The dedication has come down to us as Hsin-hsiu hsüeh-t'ing hsi-she pei 新修雪庭西舍碑. Ibid. The date is given in 全祖望 雪庭西舍記跋 嫻埼亭集卷三十八SPTK, pp. 405-406.
that he was one of the two or three outstanding talents of his period.\textsuperscript{14} Li was particularly sought out to become a teacher or friend of aspiring young men and he was delighted to express lavish praise whenever possible.\textsuperscript{15} His popularity is particularly seen in an anecdote recorded by Liu Ch'i in the \textit{Kuei-ch'ien-chih}. "When P'ing-shan died, eulogies and commemorative poems by prestigious personalities numbered several tens. ... When my father died, the eulogies and poems numbered only a few. Later, when Ch'ao Ping-wen died, only ... (three of us) composed eulogies and poems."\textsuperscript{16}

Li was, in an indirect way, responsible for communicating our knowledge about the Chin Dynasty. His \textit{Additional Biographies of Former Friends} (屏山故人外傳) was frequently quoted by Liu Ch'i and Yüan Hao-wen, two of our chief sources for the Dynasty. Liu Ch'i also asked Li about early Chin events during their acquaintance.\textsuperscript{17}

Li's farsightedness was perhaps one of the sources of his own political frustrations and one of the factors which alienated him from

\textsuperscript{14}The \textit{Chung-chou-chi} said, "If we size up contemporary scholars, Chih-ch'un (i.e. Li) and Lei Yü-shih Hsi-yen (i.e. Lei Yüan) must be among the most outstanding talents in central China." 近今論天下之士至之純與雷御史希顔則以中州豪傑數之

\textsuperscript{15}In the tomb inscription to Chao Ping-wen, Yüan said, "Wang Yenchou Tsung-chih (i.e. Wang Jo-hsü), Li Yu-szu Chih-ch'un (i.e. Li) and Lei Yü-shih Hsi-yen must be said to be outstanding talents." 王延州從之事右司之純與御史希顔不可不謂之豪傑之士

\textsuperscript{16}In \textit{I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi}, 17/172b.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 10/15b.  
Ibid., 10/3b.
his contemporaries. A particularly poignant anecdote is given by Yüan Hao-wen in the tomb inscription of Lei Yüan. I shall paraphrase the story. "During the period of Tai-ho (1201-1208, though the story probably referred to the time after the successful expedition against Sung in 1206), there was little happening at court, and the officials took to feasting and drinking as a routine affair. Sitting among his friends, Li remained firmly seated and in deep thought, occasionally emitting sighs as if troubles were imminent. When asked what was the worry, Li said, 'There is a tribe in the central plains waiting to sweep down on us and we are not the least prepared. In my view, we Chinese (華人 hua-jen) are going to be cut up like fish or meat.' The others laughed and cautioned him not to spread rumours around. Not long after this, the army in the north stirred. . . . Li knew that the end was irrevocable. He lost all desire for officialdom and gave himself up to drink, and he joked that this life was not enough for enjoying all pleasures."¹⁸ To what extent Li's experience of the ephemeral quality of life was responsible for his liking for Buddhism is open to speculation, but it would be most unlikely if the two were unconnected.

There is a story in connection with Li's changing attitude towards Buddhism and his final steadfastness in it. The story is recounted by Yeh-lü.¹⁹ After Li composed the "Praise to the Buddha Śākyamuni," he sought a preface from Wan-sung. One of the latter's friends remarked that the Master should be cautious, since the story

¹⁸ I-shan hsiien-sheng wen-chi, 21/223b.
¹⁹ Yeh-lü, op. cit., p. 128b-129a.
about Li was that when he was young he venerated the Buddha, but when he reached twenty years old he denounced Buddhism. Now that he had come back to praising the Buddha, how could one know that he would not again reject the Buddha in future? The Master replied that Li had attained deep understanding. Not only would he not revert to rejection of the Buddha but he would also lead others to the faith.

**Chronological Chart**

A.D.

1175  (Chin: Shih-tsung, 15th year of Ta-ting) Born  *(See "Notes of Dates" below)*

1185  (25th year of Ta-ting) Li's father, Ts'ai, obtained the chin-shih degree.  

1189  Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243) born.

1197  (Chang-tsung, 2nd year of Ch'eng-an) Awarded the degree of chin-shih.

1203  (Chang-tsung, 3rd year of Tai-ho) Religious conversion on reading Li Ao's Fu-hsing shu. Became a lay disciple of Ch'an Master Wan-sung.

1204-05  (Chang-tsung, the middle period of Tai-ho) Li composed the "Shih-chia wen fo tsan."

1206  (Chang-tsung, 6th year of Tai-ho) In the capacity of military judge, he offered two memorials which so impressed the authorities that he was posted in the army which undertook an expedition against Sung. The latter was defeated.

1208  Peace treaty between Sung and Chin. Li awarded membership in the Han-lin.

1210  (Wei-shao, 2nd year of Ta-an) On the eve of Mongol invasion, Li offered a memorial but it was not transmitted to the throne. He lost his official post.

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(Wei-shao, 2nd year of Ch'ung-ch'ing)
On the 15th day of the second month, Li wrote the "Li-nien mi-t'o tao-ch'ang ch'an fa hsiu."

(Hsüan-tsung, 2nd year of Chen-yu)
In summer, Chin capital was moved to Pien.
Li followed the move.
Entered the Han-lin a second time.

Peking fallen to the Yüan forces.
Yeh-lü became a lay disciple of Wan-sung.

Summoned to become the Tso-szu tu-shih (左司都事) but
disagreement with Chu-hu Kao-ch'i led to Li's resignation.

(Third year of Hsing-ting). Chu-hu died.
Li entered the Han-lin a third time.

(Fourth year of Hsing-ting)
Wrote the inscription "Chung-hsiu mien-pi-an pei."

(Sixth year of Hsing-ting)
Wrote the inscription "Hsin-hsiu hseuh t'ing hsi-she pei."

(Ai-tsung: 8th year of Cheng-ta)
Accused of irregularity of choice of candidates and hence
demotion.
Died at Pien at 57.

Collapse of the Chin Dynasty.
Yeh-lü wrote prefaces to the Hsing-tao-chi shuo and the Leng-yen
wai chieh.

Yeh-lü wrote the preface and postscript to Chin-kang ching pieh
chieh.

Notes on Dates

The dates of Li Ch'un-fu

In giving the dates of Li Ch'un-fu, scholars have followed the
Chin-Shih which says, in effect, that Li died at the age of forty-seven
in the last year of Cheng-ta (1231). By calculating backward, we know
that Li should have been born in 1185. In the course of their study of
Li, scholars have discovered the abnormally young age at which Li
obtained his chin-shih degree. The Chin Shih says that that event took place in 1197, that is, when Li was twelve years old. To have obtained the chin-shih at such a tender age is most improbable and most scholars have doubted the accuracy of the Chin Shih in this regard. They have proposed various solutions, most of which have tried to move the chin-shih date to a later time. However, these attempts lacked the slightest shred of evidence.

In a recent article, Atsuyoshi Keika proposed to extend Li's lifespan to fifty-seven instead of the forty-seven given in the Chin Shih, suggesting that his dates were 1175 to 1231. Not all of Keika's arguments are convincing, but he has uncovered certain indisputable facts which have made his proposition reasonable. While acknowledging my debt to Keika, the following is my account of why his proposed dates are reasonable.

Keika's greatest achievement is to settle beyond doubt that Li Ch' un-fu did obtain his degree in 1197. In an account on Fung Pi (馮璧 1154-1232), the Kuei-ch'ien-chih says that he, Wang Jo-hsü (王若虛 1174-1243), and Li obtained the degree in the same year. According to both the Chin Shih and the Chung-chou-chi, both Wang and Fung obtained their degrees in 1197. The implication of this new evidence is that if Li is judged too young to receive the degree in 1197, the

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21 Keika, "Li Heisan . . .".
22 Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 5/12b.
23 Chin Shih, ch. 126, 110; Chung-chou-chi, 6/95a, 96a.
only choice is to make him older than what is implied in the Chin Shih.

Before we consider another fact which favours the newly proposed dates, we want to settle the fact that Li died in 1231. The account in the Chin Shih is an almost verbatim version of that of Kuei-ch'ien-chih. Knowing that the latter was a frequently used source for the compilation of the former, we can safely conclude that this particular information originated from the Kuei-ch'ien-chih. There is no particular reason to doubt that Li did die in 1231. His death was a contemporary event to the adult life of Liu Ch'i, the author of Kuei-ch'ien-chih and a very close friend of Li. Ch'un-fu's death was eulogised by Lei Yuan (雷渾 1184 or 1186-1231) and memorialized by Chao Ping-wen (趙乘文 1159-1232). According to I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi, Lei died on the twenty-third day of the eighth month in 1231 and Chao died in the fifth month in 1232. Hence, Li could not have died later than 1231. Could he have died earlier? Aside from the explicit statement that Li infringed on the new regulations controlling the selection of candidates in the last year of Cheng-ta (1231), the Kuei-ch'ien-chih also implies that Li was alive during the Cheng-ta years (1224-1231) in another passage. Thus, it would seem that Li did die in 1231. The implication of this is that if we are uncomfortable with the unheard-of youth at which Li obtained his degree implied by the Chin Shih, the only alternative is to push his date of birth to

24 Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 10/15a.
25 I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi, 21/225a, 17/174b respectively.
26 Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 10/1a and b.
an earlier time.

Are there any direct indications that Li was older than twelve when he acquired his degree? His biography in the Kuei-ch'ien-chih says that he obtained the chin-shih degree after "crowning" (薔冠擢高第). Normally the "crowning" ceremony takes place at the twentieth year. Sometimes, it takes place earlier. However, it seems that this latter practice is not implied in the writings of the period. The term "small crowning" (弱冠) invariably refers to an age between twenty and thirty.27 Thus, it would seem that Li was over twenty when he obtained his chin-shih.

Li's biography indicates that as a young man he was opposed to Buddhism. His own account in Mi records that he wrote an essay about it. In the Leng-yen wai-chieh hsü, a certain Liu Jun-fu (劉潤甫) says, "When he (Li) reached twenty he rejected Buddhism, but now (1204-1205) he reverts to his original position (as a child) of praising the Buddha."28 The Ch'an Master Wan-sung and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai recounted

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27 For example, the accounts of Chao Ping-wen and Wang Jo-hsü in the I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi, 17/173a, 19/196b respectively. For the former, it is said that he obtained the chin-shih at the period of "small crowning" in the 25th year of Ta-ting. Chao was twenty-six at the time. For the latter, he is said to have obtained the chin-shih at the "small crowning" in the second year of Cheng-an. Wang was twenty-three at the time. Kuei-ch'ien-chih uses the term "small crowning" (弱冠) in the same sense. For example, the account of Chi Yü-hsi (賈禹錫) in 6/8a.

28 Yeh-lü, op. cit., p. 128b.
Li's conversion at twenty-nine. The Chung-chou-chi says that after thirty years of age, Li perused all the Buddhist books. Thus, it would seem that Li's interest in Buddhism began at about twenty-nine. Now, in the middle period of Tai-ho, that is, around 1204-1205, Li wrote a 'praise' to the Buddha ("Shih-chia-wen fo tsan"). Such a piece of writing was improbable before Li had reached the age of twenty-nine. However, according to the old scheme, that is, if Li were born in 1185, he would have been barely twenty in the middle period of Tai-ho, an highly improbable time for him to have written the 'praise.' If Li were born in 1175, his conversion would have taken place in 1203 and his writing of the "Shih-chia-wen fo tsan" would have been reasonable. He would have then passed his chin-shih examination at twenty-three, a proposition which fits in with "obtaining the chin-shih degree after 'crowning' " (踢冠擢高第).

There are some other minor considerations which make the new scheme of dates probable. On the fifteenth day of the second month, 1213, Li wrote a preface to a work on Pure Land Buddhist ceremonies called "Li-nien mi-t'o tao-ch'ang ch'an fa hsü (禮念彌陀道場儀法序)." According to the old scheme of dates, Li would have been twenty-nine and at the point of conversion. It is only reasonable to

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29 See Li's biography above.
31 See Leng-yen wai chieh hsü in Yeh-liu, op. cit., 13/128b.
32 HTC, Vol 138, p. 76. The date given is 春慶二年中.
suppose that only a mature, confirmed Buddhist be asked to write a preface to a work of this nature. Judging from the date of composition (15th day of the second month), Li was at most an immature and unconfirmed Buddhist according to the old scheme, and most probably, he was not even a Buddhist then. This is another discrepancy if one follows the old scheme.

According to Li's biography in Kuei-ch'ien-chih, Li was very fond of helping the younger generation. Among these were Lei Yüan (1184 or 1186-1231), Liu Tsung-i (1181-1224) and Sung Chiuchia (1184-1233). It will be noticed that all these three were older or at least as old as Li Ch'un-fu if we assume the old scheme to be correct. And yet the Kuei-ch'ien-chih says they all addressed Li as 'older brother' (皆以兄呼). One may argue that this might have been the respect they paid to Li because he obtained the chin-shih earlier than they themselves. This may be true. However, the Kuei-ch'ien-chih does imply a chronological difference when it says that they took a liking to one another despite their difference in years. (志年齒相懐).

Lastly, on two occasions, Liu Ch'i discussed with his father Liu Tsung-i events happening in the waning years (晚年) of Li Ch'un-fu. Since Liu Tsung-i died in 1224, those occasions must have been

33 Dates for these are found in Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 1/8b, 9/3b, I-shan hsien-sheng ven-chi, 21/225a; Chung-chou-chi, 6/101a.

34 Kuei-ch'ien-chih, 10/1a, 10/14b.
before that date. If Li were born in 1185, he would have been only thirty-nine in 1224, which could hardly be called waning years. However, if Li were born ten years earlier, the term 'waning years' would have been appropriate.

Date of composition of the Ming-tao-chi shuo

The most convincing evidence that the Ming-tao-chi shuo was composed in the last years of Li's life comes from a passage in section 202:

I-ch'uan's teaching has already infiltrated the North from the East of the River. . . . Even I have been toying with it for almost thirty years. I have always desired to note down its accurate points and mistakes but yet I did not have an opportunity to do so. Now, I am in charge of this autumn examination, in which the Classics will be examined for several tens of days. I am taking advantage of spare moments to commit my thoughts to a small note-book. 35

If Li first came in contact with I-ch'uan's teaching at twenty (Further considerations below will push this to an even later date), the above would place Li's writing of the Ming-tao-chi shuo at the age of fifty. It is quite probable that Li first read I-ch'uan's writing in his late twenties. First of all, there is no mention of his interest in the learning of Principle and human nature (理性) of which I-ch'uan's writing was characterized in Li's early years. 36 Furthermore, he would

35伊川之學今自江東浸淫而北矣……予亦出入於其中幾三十年常欲著其得失而未暇也今以承乏於科館者經學數十餘日又間漫筆於小藁……

36See N9 for the identification of Neo-Confucian learning with the learning of Principle and human nature.
have been busy preparing for his examinations. Second, the learning of the Principle and human nature seems to be closely associated with Buddhist learning. In the biography of Shih Su (史肅) in the Chung-chou-chi, it is said that "Shun-yuan (i.e. Shih Su) has always esteemed the learning of Principle and human nature. P'ing-shan was led to the study of Buddhism by Shun-yuan." Thus it would seem that Li's interest in I-chuan was closely connected with his interest in Buddhism, which began in his late twenties. If this is correct, and if we take Li's word that he had been toying with I-chuan's teaching for almost thirty years seriously, then he must have written the Ming-tao-chi shuo in the last years of his life.

Secondly, we hear about Li being involved in irregularity in the examination of candidates in the last year of his life. The implication is that he acted as an examiner during this period or perhaps during his last few years. It was probably during one of these examinations that he wrote his masterpiece. Thirdly, the Ming-tao-chi shuo was uppermost in Li's mind when he was dying. If it was important to Li and if it were an early composition, there was no reason to keep it secret, for the essence of Li's thought had already been made public in his inscriptions on those Buddhist monuments.

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37 Chung-chou-chi, 5/81b. One may also recall that in the account of Li's conversion, the reading of the Neo-Confucian "On the Recovery of Human Nature" led to his seeking out a Buddhist master for guidance.

38 See Yeh-lü's preface to the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
The above evidence goes against Kubota's and Keika's theories on the date of composition. Kubota's and Keika's theory that the Ming-tao-chi shuo was composed in 1204 was based on a date recorded in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-ts'ai. However, this latter book is either utterly confused about dates or else it never intended that all the items listed under a certain year be taken as composed in that year. Hence, the Fo-tsu cannot be relied on to provide any information on the date of composition of the Ming-tao-chi shuo.

39 Keika, "Ri Heisan . . ."; Kubota, Shiron, p. 562; Kōshōshi, p. 276; Tokiwa, Shina, p. 400.

40 That the Fo-tsu is utterly confused about dates is exemplified by the very entry that we are interested in. Under the heading of chia-tzu (甲子 1204), the text reads 嘉泰四年 (i.e. 1204), 全國學士元遜山裕之撰 崇微觀記 (T2036, 695a, line 25). Now 元遜 山裕之 is a friend of Yuan Hao-wen (1190-1257). He would have been fourteen years old when he was asked to commemorate this Taoist temple if the Fo-tsu’s date were correct. This is obviously wrong. Besides, Yuan Hao-wen himself gave the date of composition within the text and it was 1233. (巵癸已九月落成 謝子記其事 T2036, 695b, lines 2-3). It is not clear whether Nien Chang (念常), the author of the Fo-tzu, had the intention of indicating the date of composition of the Ming-tao-chi shuo by putting it under chia-tzu, the fourth year of Chia-t'ai (甲子 1204 or 1204). If he did, he is not to be relied on since he was so hopelessly confused about dates. On the other hand, he might not have this intention at all. An item was included not so much because it was composed at that date but because it fitted the topical interest. An example of this is found in the fact that on page 670a, line 24, the date chia-tzu (甲子 1084) certainly does not apply to Li P'ing-shan at the bottom of the page, line 3. Li was put there because of topical interest, not because he lived and composed that essay in 1084.

Either way, the Fo-tzu cannot be relied on for providing any information on the date of composition of the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
Tokiwa thinks that the Fo-\textit{tsu} meant 1204 to be the date of composition but he distrusted it. In its place he offers the period 1217-1223. Unfortunately, Tokiwa supplies no evidence for his opinion. Even if we take the extreme limit of 1223 as the date of composition, Li would have been only eighteen years old when he first came to read about Ch'eng I, an unlikely proposition as we have previously explained.
PART II

CHAPTER V

PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE BOOK

Division of the Book

The Ming-tao-chi shuo is a collection of 216 quotations taken from the Ming-tao-chi, an anthology of the sayings of the Northern

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1 A voluminous book of seventy-two chuans, containing the representative writings of the Northern Sung Neo-Confucians. A table of contents of this book (reproduced below) is found in P'an Tsu-yin's P'ang-hsi-chai ts'ang shu chi (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967), pp. 91-92.

Lien-hsi: T'ung-shu, one chuan
Su-shu: T'ung-shu, one chuan
Heng-chü: Cheng-meng, eight chuans
Ch'ung-hsüeh li-k'u, five chuans
Yü-lu, three chuans
Erh Ch'eng: Yü-lu, twenty-seven chuans
Shang-ts'ai: Yü-lu, three chuans
Liu hsien-sheng: T'an-lu, one chuan
Tao-hu lu, one chuan
Chiang Min-piao: Hsin-hsing-shuo, one chuan
Kuei-shan: Yü-lu, four chuans
An-cheng wang-chuan chi, ten chuans
Ch'ung-an ch'ing chuan lun, two chuans
Heng-p'u: Jih-hsin, two chuans

Thus, with the exception of Lü Tsu-ch'ien, Chang Shih and Chu Hsi, it contains all the authors represented in the Ming-tao-chi shuo.
Sung Neo-Confucianists, and Li's replies to each of them. The text is
so arranged that a quotation of a philosopher is presented first and
Li's argument immediately after it. The quotations are mostly on va-
rious aspects of Tao and its pursuit. For the purpose of our analysis,
the quotations can conveniently be divided into three categories:

1. The anti-Buddhist criticisms.

2. Quotations which are in opposition to Li's basic philosophy.
They are those which Li considers wrong interpretations of Confucianism
and Taoism.

3. Writings of a general nature the opinions of which Li dis-
agrees with.

The anti-Buddhist quotations, which make up about half the total
number, will be listed in connection with the chief themes of anti-
Buddhist criticisms. Here are the lists for the other two categories:

Writings in opposition to Li's basic philosophy: Sections:
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 31, 45, 50, 57, 59, 62, 63, 65,
66, 68, 78, 89, 104, 110, 112, 116, 120, 121, 122, 141, 174, 187, 194,
205, 209 and 211.

Writings of a general nature with which Li disagrees: Sections:
7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 34, 36, 38, 39, 46, 47, 54, 56,
58, 60, 61, 64, 67, 81, 82, 84, 88, 97, 98, 100, 108, 109, 111, 113,
114, 115, 118, 119, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135,
136, 138, 139, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 154, 162, 163,
168, 176, 177, 184, 191, 193, 196, 197, 200, 210, 215 and 216.
Some of these sections, especially those touching on harmonization, will be analysed later in this study. Our main attention for the moment will be on the anti-Buddhist criticisms for they provide a key to understand Li’s theory of harmonization and his philosophy in general.

Who were the Neo-Confucianists in the Ming-tao-chi shuo

The quotations are roughly arranged in chronological order.

Who are the Neo-Confucianists? A complete list of those people quoted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chou Tun-i 周敦頤</td>
<td>1027-1073</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光</td>
<td>1019-1086</td>
<td>3-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Tsai 張載</td>
<td>1020-1077</td>
<td>9-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'eng Hao 程颢</td>
<td>1032-1085</td>
<td>40-78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'eng I 程頤</td>
<td>1033-1107</td>
<td>75-150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsieh Liang-tso 謝良佐</td>
<td>1050-1103</td>
<td>151-179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu An-shih 劉安世</td>
<td>1068-1125</td>
<td>180-186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang Kung-wang 江公望</td>
<td>unclear</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yang Shih 楊時</td>
<td>1053-1135</td>
<td>188-197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-cheng wang-chuan chi 安正志叢集 (author unknown)</td>
<td>198-202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Chiu-ch'eng 張九成</td>
<td>1092-1159</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lü Tsu-ch'ien 呂祖謙</td>
<td>1137-1181</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Shih 張栻</td>
<td>1133-1180</td>
<td>205-208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chu Hsi 朱熹</td>
<td>1130-1200</td>
<td>209-216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that the bulk of quotations is taken from Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng brothers, their disciples Hsieh Liang-tso and Yang Shih, Chang Shih, Chu Hsi and Liu An-shih. This is roughly the list of people from which the Chin-ssu-lu (近思錄) also quotes. Hence the tradition of Neo-Confucianists referred to in the Ming-tao-chi shuo is the same as that which is held orthodox by Chu Hsi. The person that is conspicuously absent in both the Ming-tao-chi shuo and the Chin-ssu-lu is Shao Yung (邵雍 1011-1077). The Ch'eng brothers have both made derogatory remarks about him. These facts confirm the observation that in the early stage of the development of Neo-Confucianism, scholars were ambiguous about the orthodoxy of Shao Yung. One minor difference between the Ming-tao-chi shuo and the Chin-ssu-lu with regard to the orthodoxy of the tradition is their different attitudes towards Ssu-ma Kuang. The Ming-tao-chi shuo includes quotations by him whereas the Chin-ssu-lu includes none. Indeed, the latter did not have too good an opinion of him.

Nature of the Book

The Ming-tao-chi shuo has sometimes been regarded as a book written specifically for the defence of Buddhism. For proof of this,

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2Translated by Wing-tsit Chan; Reflections on Things at Hand (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1967).

3See sections 60 and 133.

4Chan, Reflections, pp. 131 and 254.

5Such an opinion can be inferred from Ch'uan Tsu-wang, "Hsi-t'ing Hsi-shi-chi po," in Chih-ch'i-t'ing chi (SPTK), pp. 405b-406a; and Wang Wan, "Ming-tao-chi shuo hsü," in Yao-feng wen-ch'ao (SPTK), p. 227.
a proponent of this view can point to the large number of replies to
anti-Buddhist criticisms. On the other hand, it is unmistakable that
Li presents a theory of harmonization. The question is this: What
should be the relationship between these two views? Are they contra-
dictory? If so, which one is the correct view? If not, how can we
resolve the apparent contradiction?

First of all, we want to clarify the notion 'defence of Bud-
dhism.' It may mean the defence of Buddhism as the only true teaching.
This notion is incompatible with harmonization and can never be said of
Li. It may mean the defence of Buddhism as not being a wrong teaching.
If this notion is meant, then the duty to defend Buddhism lies not only
with Buddhists but also with the harmonizers, and it would not be con-
tradictory to call Li both a defender of Buddhism and an harmonizer.

Secondly, there still remains the question whether the Ming-tao-
chi shuo is primarily a defence of Buddhism and secondarily a supporter
of a view of harmonization or vice versa. My view is that despite the
large number of sections dealing with Buddhist polemics, the book is
primarily written to disseminate a theory of harmonization.

6 Huang Chin (黄濬) wrote in his preface to the Ming-tao-
chi shuo in 1357: "(Li Ch'un-fu) read all the books available to him.
... After his thirtieth birthday, he perused Buddhist books. Then
he read the Neo-Confucian writings. Once the time was right he united
the Three Teachings into one. From the sayings of earlier scholars, he
copied down those parts which disagreed with his own thinking and
wrote a book on them, calling it the Ming-tao-chi shuo." Huang Chin's
preface found in the Meiji version. Thus, Li's theory of harmonization
was recognized from an early date.
First of all, half of all the sections does not deal with Buddhism. There are a number of sections in which Li defends Taoism.  

This would be odd if the book were primarily a defence of Buddhism. Secondly, Li's explicit purpose of his book is to propose a view of harmonization. This is seen in his preface, epilogue and section 202. Li says in his preface:

I know that the ancient sagehood will not die out and that the great Tao will be unified. Fearing that they may diverge again on the point of unification, I have noted down those opinions (of the philosophers) which do not match that of the Sages, calling them the Discussions of the "Collected Plaints on Tao."

In the epilogue Li says:

We are all Confucianists and hence do not have selfish motives of Taoist priests and Buddhist monks. Therefore I have poured out my heart and have painfully presented mutual identifications in order that the teachings of the Three Sages may stop being like a thread on the point of breaking. (The point of view which sees that) they are mutually contradictory cuts into my heart and marrow.

Referring to the composition of the Ming-tao-chi shuo, Li says in section 202:

My intention is to knock down the walls separating the schools of learning, to lead stagnant waters in valleys to the sea of the school of sagehood. . . . so that the Taoist and the Confucianist enter together into the gate of liberation.

Thirdly, despite the fact that only three Neo-Confucian quotations touch on the problem of harmonization, the syncretic view is either directly discussed or assumed in a substantial number of Li's

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7 Sections which deal with Taoism alone are 7, 17, 34, 36, 44, 50, 51, 54, 109, 118, 157, 191, 215 and 216. This list does not include those in which both Taoism and Buddhism are criticized together.

8 Sections 14, 159 and 181.
replies. Very often, a reply to anti-Buddhist criticism is turned into an occasion for asserting the view of harmonization. This shows that harmonization is an important issue which cannot be contained within the confines of the topic discussed in a particular quotation. One may raise the question: Why are there so many sections devoted to Buddhist polemics if the main aim of the book is harmonization? We answer that anti-Buddhist criticisms are seen as the greatest threat to harmonization.

Fourthly, in writings in which Li has a free hand, harmonization is a prominent theme. This view is supported by an examination of the miscellaneous essays and the *Hsin shuo* I and II.

M1 deals with the problem of how Buddhist teachings enable Li to understand Chinese traditions. He draws many parallels of the Three Teachings and concludes by saying, "How can one decide what belongs to Confucianism, what belongs to Buddhism and what belongs to Taoism?" In other words, he is saying that they are indistinguishable from one another.

M2 is a discussion of man's nature. Li also tries to show how the Buddhist doctrine contains Chinese discussions.

M3 is a discussion of the relationship between Benevolence-Righteousness and *Tao-Te*. Again, he brings in parallels from all three traditions.

M4 is a defence of Buddhism from the critical remarks made by Wang T'ung and Su Che.

M5 is a defence of Buddhism and Taoism from Han Yü's criticism that they tend towards quietism. Li asserts that all three traditions teach the same doctrine with respect to quietism and that it is Han himself who misunderstands Confucianism.

M6 is a scathing attack on Han Yü for his anti-Buddhist-Taoist attitude. No theoretical issues are involved here.

M7 is a criticism of Ssu-ma Kuang's concept of the Mean, which, Li asserts, falls short of the Confucian teaching. Again, Li says that Confucianism and Buddhism are complementary.

M8 is a reply to Ssu-ma Kuang's anti-Buddhist criticism. Again, Li draws many parallels of the Three Teachings. He says, "The interpenetration of the Taos of the Sages is like the lock and the key. Their correspondence is like a seal and its imprint. Though they may be several thousand miles apart, they appear as if they have been dwelling in the same room. Though they may span ten thousand generations, they appear to have been sharing the same mat."

M9 is a reply to Ch'eng Hao's rejection of Buddhism and Taoism. Citing a number of books Li says that according to the Three Traditions, there is no such thing as an heterodox teaching. He concludes by saying, "The Three Sages arose together in the time of Chou just like the rise of the sun, the moon and the stars in the East, or like the
confluence of the Rivers Chiang, Ho, Huai and Han at the whirlpool of Wei-lü. ... Their minds are the same, their outward manifestations are different; their Tao's are one, their teachings are three."

It seems that harmonization is the predominant thought running through these essays and that criticisms of Buddhism and Taoism provide the occasion for the essays.

Hsin shuo I and II are essays composed entirely of quotations from Chinese Classics. They show a structure which is exactly the same as Li's understanding of the Buddhist teaching of the mind. This is the epitome of Li's view of harmonization.

We may conclude that the Ming-tao-chi shuo is written for the purpose of spreading a view of harmonization. Since anti-Buddhist and anti-Taoist views are the greatest threats, they are dealt with extensively.

The above consideration is enough for the determination of the nature of the work, but to determine the structure of Li's theory requires a rather roundabout path for the simple reason that a straightforward account of the theory of harmonization does not exist. The inner structure of Li's theory is revealed especially in his answers to anti-Buddhist criticisms. This fact is significant for it determines the approach we are following in our analysis. We shall have to analyse the anti-Buddhist criticisms first. From this analysis we shall get an idea of Li's philosophical principles. Then, we shall see how he applies these principles to the interpretation of Chinese traditions. Then we
shall have the full picture of Li's theory of harmonization.
CHAPTER VI

ANTI-BUDDHIST CRITICISMS

AND LI'S REPLIES

Besides being of interest in its own right, an analysis of anti-Buddhist polemics is, as we shall see, important for the unravelling of Li's theory of harmonization. In this chapter, we shall attempt to analyse the anti-Buddhist criticisms and Li's answers, with the aim of presenting with clarity the arguments of both sides, of investigating the essential characteristics of the anti-Buddhist criticisms and of bringing out into the open the structure of Li's replies.

Are the Criticisms Representative of the Anti-Buddhist Views of Neo-Confucianists

The Ming-tao-chi shuo does not contain all the anti-Buddhist criticisms made by Neo-Confucianists quoted, and the representativeness of the quotations varies from one individual to another. In the following chart, each individual is examined and the representativeness of the quotations determined as far as possible.

Chou Tun-i: Sections 1-2. There are no anti-Buddhist criticisms. In fact, he did not directly criticize Buddhism anywhere in his writings.

Ssu-ma Kuang: Sections 3-8. There are no anti-Buddhist criticisms. The quotations are not representative of his opinions for he expressed low opinions about Buddhism elsewhere, e.g., in the letter to Han Ping-
Chang Tsai: Sections 9-39. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 14, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35 and 37. These are mostly taken from Cheng-meng (正蒙) and they make up all the major criticisms.

Ch'eng Hao: Sections 40-78. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 40, 41, 42, 43, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76 and 77. They are all taken from the I-shu (遺書) and make up most of the criticisms.

Ch'eng I: Sections 79-150. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 79, 80, 83, 85, 86; 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 117, 1281 129, 134, 137, 140 and 144. These are all taken from the I-shu and include most of the important criticisms.

Hsieh Liang-tso: Sections 151-179. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 151, 152, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 166, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175 and 178. These are all taken from the Shang-tsai yu-lu (上蔡語錄) and contain most of the important criticisms.

Liu An-shih: Sections 180-186. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 180, 182, 186. Liu is much less critical of the Buddhists and the quotations are quite representative of his views.

答韓秉國書 in Wen-kuo wen-cheng Ssu-ma Kung chi溫國文正司馬公集 卷六十 SPTK, pp. 469-470.
Chiang Kung-wang: Section 187. It is not directly anti-Buddhist. He left no other extant writing.

Yang Shih: Sections 188-197. Anti-Buddhist quotations are: 188, 190, 196. He is not altogether against Buddhism. He has very few criticisms and almost all are here.

(An-cheng Wang-chuan): Sections 198-202. Anti-Buddhist quotations: 198 and 202. The author is unknown, the work is lost and not mentioned anywhere else.

Chang Chiu-cheng: Section 203. Chang says very little about Buddhism elsewhere. 2

Lü Tsu-ch'ien: Section 204. Lü says very little about Buddhism elsewhere. 3

Chang Shih: Sections 205-208. Anti-Buddhist quotations are 206, 207 and 208. They are all taken from the Chang Nan-hsien chi (張南軒集) and are representative of his views.

Chu Hsi: Sections 205-216. Anti-Buddhist quotations are 212, 213 and 214. These are taken from three letters. They are not at all represent-

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2 Another criticism of Buddhism is found in Heng-pu chi, Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu (Commercial Press), chüan 18, p. 6a.

tative of Chu Hsi's opinions.  

Taken as a whole, the anti-Buddhist criticisms are highly representative of the views of Chang Tsai and the school of the Ch'eng brothers.

The Chief Themes of the Anti-Buddhist Criticisms

The anti-Buddhist arguments can be summarized into ten themes, the loss of which, consisting of hostile attitudes, is not really a theme but a category. These themes are produced by grouping identical or similar arguments together. It is found that these always associate themselves with one or more of the important philosophical concepts. These are emptiness, hsin (心 'mind), ch'i (気 pneuma), li (理 principle), hsing (性 'nature), cultivation and terms associated with it, profit, customs, the moral order, worldly affairs and transmigration. Thus, the arguments can conveniently be classified according to these concepts. It is discovered that the arguments in each of these classifications are the same or nearly the same. Hence, one may formulate the criticism in each classification into a theme. There is a certain amount of overlap in the themes, but as they stand they serve our analysis well. Each of the quotations may of course make reference to more than one theme. Where this is the case, the quotation is assigned to all of the themes to which it makes reference. The themes are as follows:

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4 Chu Hsi's opinion of Buddhism is scattered in his works. For a modern study of this topic see Sargent, op. cit.
1. Buddhism teaches that the world is illusory or that it is merely a creation of the mind: Sections 14, 22, 26, 28, 37, 40, 43, 206, 207.

2. Buddhists are ignorant of ch'i (気 pneuma): Sections 14, 30, 75.

3. Buddhists are ignorant of Principle (理 li): Sections 43, 77, 102, 155 and 175.

4. Buddhists are ignorant of human nature (性 hsing): Sections 37, 52, 140, 153 and 214.

5. Buddhists do not have the correct way of cultivation of sagehood. Sections 22, 27, 28, 37, 42, 70, 71, 73, 87, 90, 101, 134, 144, 159, 160, 165, 172, 175, 186, 188 and 213.


8. Buddhist teaching of samsāra is wrong in itself or in instilling fear in the ignorant people. Sections 26, 27, 41, 72, 80, 91 and 182.

9. Buddhism is a foreign religion and therefore its ways are not suitable to the Chinese. Section 202.

These themes can further be reduced to three main divisions:

a. Arguments which arise from the philosophical teachings of Neo-Confucianists. These consist of themes 1, 2, 3 and 4.

b. Arguments which arise from the cultivational teachings of the Neo-Confucianists. These consist of theme 5.

c. Arguments which have been used in earlier periods of history. These consist of themes 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Analysis of the Themes and Answers

Theme 1. Buddhism Teaches That the World Is Illusory or That It Is Merely a Creation of the Mind

In the Ming-tao-chi shuo, this type of criticism is made by Chang Tsai and Ch'eng Hao. Some representative quotations of this view are as follows: In section 14 Chang says:

If one says that all phenomena are objects perceived in the Great Vacuity, then, . . . one falls into the doctrine of the Buddha who teaches that mountains, rivers and the total stretch of land are all subjective illusions. . . . He asserts that the transformation of the universe is illusory and jumps to wrong conclusions. . . . He falls into the trap of illusionism or is determined (in the view) that Being comes from Non-Being.

Again he says in section 22:

Buddhists do not understand the will of Heaven, and think that the mind gives rise to the appearance and extinction of heaven and earth. They in fact teach the causation of the big by the small or the fundamental by the insignificant. Those things which they could not explain they call illusory. . . . On the contrary, they think that such small things as the six sense-organs (are the cause of the universe)\(^5\), and they falsely assume that heaven, earth, the sun and the moon (are illusory).\(^5\)

\(^5\) Phrases in brackets are omitted in Li's quotation but are seen in Chang's work. See text for reference.
It is clear from these passages that Chang accuses the Buddhists of teaching that the world is illusory and that this is a consequence of the teaching that the Universe is merely a projection of the mind. The basic reason why the "illusory teaching" is considered wrong is that it contradicts Chang's philosophy of ch'i (氣). This topic will be dealt with in our next theme. Chang's knowledge of this Buddhist "illusory teaching" was probably obtained from the Sūraṅgama sūtra (首楞嚴經).  

Ch'eng Hao also criticizes the Buddhists for teaching that the world is illusory but he explains this Buddhist doctrine on a different basis. He says in section 43:

According to the Ch'an view, living things like grass, trees, birds and beasts are born and begin to breathe in spring and summer. They corrupt and die in autumn and winter. Hence, they are illusory... (I say:) ... There is a principle to the process of being born, dying, maturing and decaying. What is illusory about this? Thus Ch'eng thinks that the "illusory teaching" is based on the observation of the impermanent nature of living things. In contrast to the Buddhist view, Ch'eng argues that this conclusion need not follow from this observation. The process of growth and decay conforms to the principles of things and there is nothing illusory about it.

6 In this sūtra, the Buddha explains the appearance of mountains, rivers and the stretch of land from the Tathāgata-store. T945, 119c, line 15ff. The phraseology suggests that Chang knew about this passage. The sūtra says: 因了發相從妄見生山河大地諸有為相次第流 (T945, 120b, lines 15-16). Chang says: 陷於浮圖以山河大地為見病之說 Li thinks the same way. See Li's reply in section 10.
It seems that criticism of the Buddhist teaching of the illusory nature of the Universe came into prominence with the Neo-Confucianists. A survey of the literature reveals that although this theme was not entirely lacking in previous ages, it never achieved the importance attained by questions on samsāra, karma, the existence of the soul or on whether the monk should bow to the ruler. What explains the emergence of this criticism with the Neo-Confucianists? Perhaps it came about because of their clear formulation of the question of the reality of the world, which was in turn a result of their cosmological speculations. The Confucianists never doubted the reality of the phenomenal world. However, this belief did not receive full articulation until the rise of Neo-Confucianism.

Cosmological systems provide a theoretical background for a clear statement of the reality of the world. For Chang Tsai, the ch'i, the underlying substance of the universe, is real. For the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi, li (principle) is real. Once the view that the world is real was clearly formulated it was possible to compare it with the Buddhist view and develop criticisms of that view.

What are Li Ch'un-fu's replies to these criticisms? First of all, he accepts that human life is illusory. He says in section 28, "The Buddhists understand what reality is, that is why they take human life as an illusion."

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7 One rare example of the question of reality of the world is found in the debate between Ho Ch'eng-t'ien (何承天) and the Buddhists. Shih chün-shan nan (釋均善難) in HMC, T2102, 19b, lines 7-15.
Secondly, he holds that the teaching on the illusory nature of the world is only part of the Buddhist teaching. On the higher level of truth as taught by the Mahāyāna, distinctions, descriptions and assertions are not permitted, and the assertion that the world is illusory would be considered an inordinate attachment to a particular view. Li writes in section 14:

Again Master Chang says, "The Buddha teaches that mountains, rivers and the land are all subjective illusions." This is equivalent to the Buddhist saying, "There is manifestation and extinction of the Bhūtatatāta. This refers to the fact that according to the Worldly Truth, there is illusory existence. There is neither manifestation nor extinction of the Bhūtatatāta. This refers to the fact that according to the Real Truth, there is original emptiness."

Master Chang does not know this. When he says, "The substance of the nature of things is the Void; function is based on the Way of Heaven," this is equivalent to the Buddhist saying, "The Bhūtatatāta has both substance and function. It is both empty and yet not empty. This is the Supreme Truth of the Middle Way." Did Master Chang know this? Of course he did not since he said that the Buddha made use of limited human knowledge, and jumped to wrong conclusions, and since he wrongly accused Buddha for teaching illusory transformation of the Universe. But the seeker of Tao knows the Truths I am talking about. Those who are trapped by Illusionism or those who regard the teaching of production of Being from Non-Being as supreme doctrines are those who aspire to Tao but have not actually seen it.

One will notice that the Buddhist truth Li refers to is the triple truth as established by the T'ien-t'ai school, the Worldly Truth, the Real Truth and the Supreme Truth of the Middle Way. The teaching of the illusory nature of the world corresponds to the Worldly Truth where

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8 The terms of the three truths and the description of the Bhūtatatāta correspond with the T'ien-t'ai's account of the triple truth. See Nakamura's Bukkyō gō daijiten (Great Dictionary of Buddhist Terms), p. 481b. According to Ting's Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien (佛學大辭典), 真俗中三諦 is identical with 假中三諦, which is, according to Ting again, established by T'ien-t'ai. Pp. 1757b, 1276c.
distinctions are permitted according to common convention. But according to the Supreme Truth, "the Bhūtātathatā has both substance and function. It is both empty and not empty." In other words, on this level of truth, one may neither assert that the world is illusory nor assert that it is real. Chang's notion of the Buddhist "illusory teaching" corresponds only with the Worldly Truth and thus is far from the complete Buddhist teaching. That is why Li says that "Those who are trapped by illusionism or those who regard the teaching of production of Being from Non-Being as supreme doctrines are those who aspire to Tao but have not actually seen it."

Third, Li accepts the doctrine of the production of the Universe by the mind. In order to persuade his readers to accept this Buddhist doctrine, he presents three kinds of arguments which are typified in his reply in section 22:

Confucius knows that "In the system of Changes there is the Great Ultimate, which produced the Two Forms." Lao Tzu knows that "There was something formless yet complete, that existed before heaven and earth." Chuang Tzu knows that "Tao gave birth to Heaven and earth." Lieh Tzu knows about the "beginning of chaos." They all refer to the "small object within the entire Universe." How could Master Chang know about these teachings? What object is referred to by Confucius' 'Great Ultimate,' Lao Tzu's '(Something) formless yet complete,' Chuang Tzu's 'Tao' and Lieh Tzu's 'Chaos'? Since these four philosophers lived in the same Universe, they must be referring to the same entity.

Scholars were at a loss for one thousand and five hundred years. Then, Buddhist scriptures came to the East. The Śrāṇgama Sūtra says, "The Void is born within the Great Awakening, just as a bubble emerges from the Ocean. Worldly realms, countless as dust particles, are all produced from the Void." (The Absolutes are none other than this Mind, is it not? How can we believe this? May I ask if Master Chang has ever dreamt? "Within this five-foot body, vividly a whole stretch of land appears. In the duration of a snap of fingers, a complete Universe, Heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, mountains, rivers, villages, people in their clothes and hats greeting one another, come into being." All these arise from
your single thought. This is what the Buddhist books refer to as the projection of the sixth discriminating sense-centre consciousness. The realization of its power is as great as this. (Again, the universe so projected) and the actual Universe do not obstruct each other. This is identical with Shao K'ang-chieh's saying, "There is naturally a universe within each individual." Still more so, what can we say when we come to "the fundamental ninth amalabhūtatathatā"? Can it not give birth to this Universe? This bhūtatathatā "is so large that it more than encompasses the entire Universe, it can be so small that it enters into a dust particle which has no crevice." Is there still any distinction between the small and the great, birth and annihilation? Lao Tzu said to Yin Wen-tzu, "You and I are merely illusions." Confucius said to Ch'ü Ch'üeh-tzu, "Ch'iu (Confucius) and you are both dreaming." "And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this (is all a great dream)." "After ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed in a dream." Is Master Chang the man (who understands all this)?

The first argument is that since the theories of the production of the Universe are applied to the same Universe, and since these theories belong to Sages who can never be wrong, these theories are equivalent to one another. Therefore the production of the Universe from the 'Great Ultimate,' the 'Formless-yet-complete,' the Tao and the 'Chaos' is exactly the same teaching as the production of the Universe from the Mind. Therefore the teaching that the Universe is produced from the mind is a truth universally accepted by all the Sages.

The second argument is one of persuasion from the analogy of dreams. If the sixth consciousness can produce in a dream such vivid images of mountains, rivers, villages and people, could the pure (amala) consciousness not produce this world of ours?

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The third argument is the reversal of the second argument. In the second argument, the production of this world of ours is likened to a dream. Dreams are like the real world. In the third argument, the real world is like a dream. If the real world takes on a dream-like quality, then the teaching on the production of the Universe from the mind will take on an added cogency. In trying to prove that this world of ours is dream-like, Li quotes passages in which Lao Tzu and Confucius were made to remark that existence is dream-like. In conclusion, Li's argument on this question is essentially to persuade his readers to accept the Buddhist teaching on the production of the world by the mind.

Li's answers show the use of two devices. The first is the Mahāyāna conception of truth. According to the Worldly Truth, illusory existence of the world is admitted. But according to the Supreme Truth of the Middle Way, the Bhūtātathatā (and hence the world, for it is the Bhūtātathatā's manifestation) is both empty and not empty. The world is both real and illusory. In other words, according to the Supreme Truth one may not make assertions on the reality of the world, for to make assertions is to be biased towards views. An understanding of the Supreme Truth is necessary for the complete possession of Tao. Hence, Li feels that qualifications should be made to the Neo-Confucianists' assertion of what the Buddhists really teach. The second device is to identify Chinese concepts with Buddhist concepts. In our discussion, we have seen the identification of the Buddhist concept of mind with Chinese concepts of the Absolute. Later on, we shall see that such identifications and the twofold structure of truth form the basis for
Li's theory of the harmonization of the Three Religions.

In this theme, the Neo-Confucianists accuse the Buddhists of teaching that the world is illusory, and say that they do this because they teach that the Universe is merely a creation of the mind. The basic teaching of the Neo-Confucianists with regard to the world is that it is real because Principle (li) and ch'i are real. Furthermore, the reality of the world is a necessary teaching for morality and cultivation to be meaningful. Li's reply to this criticism is first to assert that the illusory nature of the world is really true, second, to draw attention to the fact that according to the Mahayana teaching of higher truth, the maintenance of a view is not admissible, and hence to call the world illusory is only part of the Buddhist teaching, and third, to affirm that the creation of the Universe by the mind is also a Chinese teaching.

Theme 2. Buddhists Are Ignorant of Ch'i (Pneuma)

This objection is specific to Chang Tsai, who makes ch'i the central concept of his philosophy. On the basis of this concept, he attacks the Buddhists for teaching that the world is illusory and for the teaching of samsara (transmigration).

a. Ch'i as the basis for criticizing the Buddhist illusory teaching

The basis of Chang Tsai's teaching on ch'i is seen in sections 10 and 11. In section 10 Chang says:

Vast and unseeable is the ch'i as the Great Void. (Yet) it rises and falls and spreads about, never stopping for a moment. Is not
this what the Changes speaks of as 'emanation'? Or what Chuang Tzu describes as the 'wandering air' which living creatures blow one against another with their breath? Herein lie the pivots of vacuity and solidity, movement and quiescence, and the beginnings of the yin and yang, and of hardness and softness. The pure elements of the yang rise upward, while the turbid elements of the yin sink downward. Their interaction, condensation and dispersion result in wind, rain, snow and frost. Whether it be the myriad categories (of things) in their changing configurations, or mountains and streams in their fixed forms, the dregs of wine, or the ashes of fire, there is nothing that does not (conform to) these principles.

Chang says in section 11:

The Great Void cannot but consist of ch'i; this ch'i cannot but condense to form all things; and these things cannot but become dispersed so as to form (once more) the Great Void. Their perpetuation of these movements in a cycle is inevitable thus.

It seems then that everything in the Universe, every phenomenon, is the result of the condensation and dispersion of the ch'i. Ch'i is a substance which permeates everything, including the Great Void, as Chang says in section 11. Indeed, as he says in another passage, the Great Void is identical with ch'i. "The condensation and dispersion of the ch'i in the Great Void is just like the solidification and melting of ice in water. If one realizes that the Great Vacuity is identical with ch'i then he knows that there is no such thing as Non-Being."10 The conclusion of the above investigation is that ch'i fills the entire Universe and is the underlying substance of all beings.

It seems that it is on the basis of ch'i as the underlying substance of everything that Chang criticizes the Buddhist teaching that everything is an illusion. Chang says in section 14:

If one says that the Vacuity can produce the ch'i, then (he would hold the view that) the Vacuity is infinite whereas ch'i is limited,
and that substance and function have absolutely no relationship to each other; and he would enter into the naturalism of Lao Tzu who claimed that Being is produced from Non-Being, and one would fail to understand the constant principle of the undifferentiated unity of Being and Non-Being. If one says that all phenomena are objects perceived in the Great Vacuity, then (he would hold the view that) objects and the Vacuity are not mutually supportive, that the physical forms and the natures of things are separately self-contained; and he would fall into the doctrine of the Buddha who taught that mountains, rivers and the total stretch of land are all subjective illusions.

All phenomena are not objects perceived in the Great Vacuity because, as said in sections 10 and 11, all objects come from ch'i and the Great Vacuity is identical with ch'i. The Buddhists are wrong because objects are not merely something seen in the Vacuity. Objects are formed from ch'i. Objects and the Vacuity (i.e. ch'i) are mutually "supportive." The final analysis of the Buddhist mistake is that he is ignorant of the philosophy of ch'i.

What are Li Ch'un-fu's replies to Chang Tsai's criticisms? Li takes up several points against Chang's theory of ch'i. With respect to the general concept of ch'i, one of Li's points can be found in his replies in sections 10 and 11. Li says in section 10:

Master Chang laboured at this theory by means of appropriating a few Buddhist and Taoist concepts. . . . He "will perceive all living beings of the twelve types of birth in the ten directions and though he does not know the true cause of their existence, to him they are all in the same state of life. This functioning of mind (samskāra) is like a twinkling mirage that disturbs the clear (horizon) and is the chief cause of the illusion of the sense-organ and data."11 Master Chang mistook this passage to be the highest truth. He also copied the theory which the Buddha gave to Pūrṇamaitrāyānputra of the birth of the Great Earth, mountains and rivers,

and also Chuang Chou's theory that (Tao) was in the piss, shit, tiles and shards.

Again in section 11:

Master Chang overheard the Śūraṅgama saying that "Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with each other." But he has not seen "The Wondrous Nature of the Bhūtatatātā (Absolute) in the Tathāgata-store." He guessed blindly and established an erroneous "teaching of perfect permanence," and has truly fallen into the (realm of) the demon of thirty-three upside-down views. "This man looks into the profound bright mind and finds that it pervades everywhere and so he calmly regards it as his spiritual ego. Then he considered that since his ego, which pervades everywhere, is bright and unchanging and since all living beings are born and die by themselves in his mind, his mind must be permanent." Master Chang mistook this saying to be the Tao of the Book of Changes and thereby greatly distorted the Sage.

Li accuses Chang of appropriating only one part of Buddhist teaching in his construction of the theory of ch'i, and that since Chang only imperfectly understands the Buddhist doctrine, he falls into erroneous views which Li identifies by means of quotations from the Śūraṅgama sūtra. Li also thinks that Chang copied the teaching of the arising of the mountains, rivers, and the land in the Tathāgata-store, a teaching about which Buddha told Pūrṇamaitrāṇīputra in the Śūraṅgama sūtra.

It is rather doubtful if Chang would agree to Li's assignment of the theory of ch'i to one or two categories in the Buddhist scheme of things. In fact, it is hard to see the resemblance between Chang's theory of the ch'i and either of the erroneous views quoted from the Śūraṅgama sūtra. It seems that the only point of resemblance between Chang's passage and the Buddhist quotation in section 10 is that both passages contain the term yeh-ma (風馬, wandering air, mirage). In

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¹²Ibid., T945, 152a.
section 11, the point of resemblance is the concept of 'permanent ego'
(a false view in Buddhism) and Chang's passage, "Condensed, (the ch'i)
forms my body; dispersed, it still forms my body. With him who under-
stand that death does not mean destruction . . . ."

Li raises other objections to Chang's theory of condensation
and dispersion of ch'i. Li writes in section 31:

This is neither Confucius' teaching nor the Buddha's. Master Chang
laboured at this theory, relying on his own private guesses and
judgments. It must have been painstaking. Nevertheless, I want to
ask Master Chang a few questions. That which is clear and unified
and that which is infinite and inexhaustible--are they referring to
one thing or two things? Why do they disperse and why do they uni-
fy? Since there are former and latter bodies in the metamorphosis
of the fire-fly into a sparrow, how do you know there are no such
former and latter bodies in the phrase "the escape of the soul
brings about transformation"? Since all are produced from the ch'i
of the Great Void and the spirits of yin and yang, why is it there
are irregularities and differences, the contrast of pleasure and
pain, the brilliant and the stupid?

First of all, Li tries to dissociate Chang's theory from the teachings
of Confucius and the Buddha. Without these authorities, Chang's theory
would fall under private opinion and hence would carry little weight.
Second, Li raises several questions on the supposition that the theory
of ch'i is correct. If everything is ch'i, then are there one thing
or many things (in the Universe)? For what reasons are there condensa-
tions and dispersions? If a fire-fly does undergo metamorphosis and
turn into a sparrow, how does one know that other beings do not undergo
the same change? In other words, how does one know samsāra is not a
correct teaching? If everyone comes from the same ch'i, why is it there
are the rich, the poor, the brilliant and the stupid? In other words,
how does one know that the teaching of karma is not correct? Li's im-
plicit criticism is that Chang's theory leaves too many questions
unanswered for it to be taken seriously. Li does raise some valid questions. With respect to the inequality in men, Chang Tsai explains the different endowment in men by means of his concept of 'nature pertaining to ch'i (氣質之性).' Nevertheless, the question can still be raised as to why there are different degrees of 'purity' in ch'i itself. Hence, Chang Tsai has really not succeeded in answering why there is inequality among men in terms of the theory of ch'i.

b. Ch'i as the basis for criticizing the Buddhist teaching of samsāra and the existence of ghosts and spirits

Chang's theory of ch'i is also made the basis for the criticism of the Buddhist teaching of samsāra. Chang seems to think that an object (a soul or spirit) is implied as that which transmigrates from one body to another body in the Buddhist teaching. Chang says in section 26:

In trying to understand ghosts, Buddhists say that beings with consciousness die and are born in cycles. They are therefore tired of suffering and seek to escape from it. Can they be said to understand ghosts? ... They take the phrase "The escape of the hun (soul) brings about change" (I Ching) to indicate samsāra. This is thoughtless!

Thus, Chang seems to think that in the mind of the Buddhist, a ghost or 'hun' (魂) is necessary for transmigration. The 'hun' constitutes the continuity which is transmitted from one body to another.

On the other hand, according to his theory of ch'i, the terms 'ghost' (kuai 魂) and 'soul' (hun) do not indicate concrete objects but simply the process of the dispersion of ch'i. Chang says in section 18:
When a creature is first born, the ch'i day by day enters (into it) and increases there. But after the life of that creature has passed maturity, the ch'i day by day reverts (from that creature) and becomes dispersed. Its entering is called spirit-(like), because it is then expanding; its reversion is called ghost-(like), because it then returns (to its source).

Again in section 31:

When disperser, the ch'i of yin and yang becomes thousands of different things and we do not understand their oneness. When the (different things) are intermingled, we do not see their divergence. An object comes into being through the assembling of a physical form. When the object deteriorates it returns to its source. To return to its source is what is meant by the phrase (from the I Ching) "The escape of the soul brings about transformation." "Transformation" is the artful way of referring to the facts of condensation, dispersion, coming into existence and going out of existence. It does not mean the metamorphosis such as that of a fire-fly into a sparrow, that is, the reference to the element of continuity between a former body and a later body.

Again in section 15:

Ghosts and spirits are the innate abilities of the two ch'is (of yin and yang).

Thus ghosts and spirits are not concrete objects. They are just names for the condensation and dispersion of ch'i. Recalling that in section 26, Chang thinks that the phrase "The escape of the soul brings about change" indicates samsāra to the Buddhist, the occurrence of that phrase in section 31 implies that samsāra is criticized there. The basis of that criticism is Chang's philosophy of ch'i.

In answer to the question of ghosts and spirits in relation to ch'i, Li denies that there can be any relationship. In section 15, Li says:

The Sage says, "If heaven itself does not resist him, how much less do men, gods, and spirits!"13 Heaven is Heaven by itself. Man is

13 I Ching, Ch'ien, wen-yen (乾文言), p. 4. Unless speci-
man by himself. Ghosts and spirits are ghosts and spirits by themselves; they are not the two ch'i's. The winters and summers, the contraction and expansion of ch'i, what have they got to do with ghosts and spirits? I-ch'üan also said, "Ghosts and spirits are the vestiges of creation and transformation." Some philosophers East of the River even think that ghosts and spirits are in fact just the wind and the rain. What gross negligence! There is a source for such an opinion. Its origin comes from Han scholars' mistaken interpretations of a phrase from the Doctrine of the Mean: "They (ghosts and spirits) enter into all things (t'i wu), and there is nothing without them." They interpreted t'i (body or embody) as sheng (to give birth). They explained the phrase as "All things are born from the ch'i of ghosts and spirits." That is why things have come to such a pass. My interpretation is: Although ghosts and spirits are invisible and inaudible," yet they use objects as bodies and attach themselves to them, and they do not leave these objects. That is why "They, like overflowing water, seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left (of the worshippers)." Why must this be explained by the two ch'i's?

Li quotes a passage from the I Ching in which, according to Li's understanding, the individual existence of men, ghosts and spirits is implied. In other words, ghosts and spirits are not mere names of a process but independent beings. Thus the authoritative teaching of the I Ching is opposed to Chang's theory. He attributes the Neo-Confucian mistake to a wrong interpretation of a passage from the Doctrine of the Mean by Han scholars. To Li, the ghosts and spirits are real beings although they are invisible. They have nothing to do with processes of the ch'i. Again Li says in section 18:

This theory originates from Han scholars who took the agents wood and fire to be the spirits of creation, and the agents of metal and water to be the ghosts of destruction. They took the term 'spirit' to mean expanding, the term 'ghost' to mean reverting. These are erroneous views. Now I am going to verify (my view) with words of Confucius himself. "(Union of) seed and ch'i produces all things."
This refers to human beings. "The escape of the soul brings about change." This refers to ghosts and spirits. Human beings and material objects are really ghosts and spirits endowed with physical forms. Ghosts and spirits are really human beings and material objects without physical forms. Why can then "know the characteristics of ghosts and spirits" because they are not different categories of beings from human beings and material objects. That is why their calamities and blessings also follow our likes and dislikes. How can there be the forced distinction between the spirit which governs birth and the ghost which governs death?

In this passage, Li reaffirms his previous argument against Han interpretations. According to the latter, the terms 'spirit' and 'ghost' mean the process of 'expanding' and 'reverting.' Whereas for Li, ghosts, spirits, human beings and material objects all belong to the same order of being. The only difference between them is that ghosts and spirits are invisible and inaudible whereas human beings and material objects have tangible forms. Li backs up his argument with a quotation from the I Ching which implies the existence of both men on the one hand, and ghosts and spirits on the other. The essence of Li's argument against Chang's theory about ghosts and spirits is that the I Ching teaches the distinct existence of these beings and that their reality is not reducible to the process of condensation and dispersion of ch'i.

In this theme, Chang Tsai criticized the Buddhists for being ignorant of ch'i, which Chang considered to be the fundamental substance of the Universe, and the consequences of this ignorance were the view that the world was illusory, the belief in the existence of ghosts and spirits, and the doctrine of samsara. Li's tactic in answering Chang was first to dissociate Chang's theory of ch'i from the teaching of the Sages. Then he raised difficulties about Chang's theory on the suppo-
sition that it was correct. Li labelled Chang's attempt a partial borrowing of certain Buddhist teachings. Against the interpretation of Chang and Han scholars, Li asserted that tradition did teach about samsāra and the existence of ghosts and spirits.

Theme 3. Buddhists Are Ignorant of Principle (理)

In this section we shall discuss principle (理) under two topics:

a. 'Principle' is the special discovery of Neo-Confucianists.

b. Dispute over 'obstruction by Principle'. The Neo-Confucianists also talked extensively about the 'investigation of Principle,' but we shall discuss this topic in theme 5.

a. 'Principle' is the special discovery of Neo-Confucianists

The Neo-Confucianists prided themselves on their discovery of the concept of 'Principle' and their speculations on it. Hsieh Liang-tso said in section 155:

Each of the philosophers of the hundred schools generates his own point of view which deceives the students. The school of sagehood possesses the Heavenly Principle. That is why it dares to take Heaven as its own base. On the contrary, Buddhists would not dare to make such a big claim. Ming-tao once said, "Although some elements in my teaching are inherited from others, the term 'Heavenly Principle' is what I myself have created."

This passage indicates that for Hsieh, the distinguishing mark between his school, that is, that of the Ch'eng brothers, and Buddhism is that his school possesses the 'Heavenly Principle' whereas the latter does

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15 Li is spoken of sometimes as one, sometimes as many, and sometimes as both one and many by Neo-Confucianists. The term 'principle' is capitalized whenever it can mean the one universal Principle.
not have it.

It must be said that one of the great discoveries of Neo-Confucianism is Principle, the unity behind the multiplicity of phenomena. Awareness of the problem of unity and multiplicity emerged with the speculations about the Great Ultimate among the Sung scholars. Chou Tun-i says, "The many are (ultimately) one and the one is actually differentiated in the many." 16 Though Chou spoke about Principle, he never elaborated on it. The Ch'eng brothers popularized the term so much that Neo-Confucianism was identified with the study of Principle and human nature. Chan Wing-tsit writes, "The concept of principle is found in ancient Chinese philosophy, in Neo-Taoism and in Buddhism, but the Ch'eng brothers were the first ones to build their philosophy primarily on it." 17 It is only natural that Neo-Confucians regarded this concept as something special to their school. On the other hand, this theme is not prominent in the Ming-tao-chi shuo. The reader's attention can be drawn to the fact that Chu Hsi made numerous criticisms along this theme. 18 Since his work is poorly represented in our present text, arguments with the Buddhists on the present theme are not well represented.


17 Chan, Source Book, p. 519.

18 For Chu Hsi's arguments against the Buddhists on this theme, see the text translated by Sargent, especially sections 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26. Sargent, op. cit.
Li's answer to the criticism that Buddhists do not have the 'Heavenly Principle' is obscure. He says in section 155:

(The realms of) all sentient beings and all the Buddhas are swallowed in a mouthful. What can be called the 'Heavenly Principle'? The 'Heavenly Principle' is perfect and without limit. It is a pity that all that Ming-tao created was merely the two-word term 'Heavenly Principle.' Alas!

"(The realms of) all sentient beings and all the Buddhas are swallowed in a mouthful. What can be called the 'Heavenly Principle'?" Does this mean that for the enlightened person, the entire Universe is within his reach and this includes the 'Heavenly Principle'? Is Li saying that Ming-tao merely knows the term 'Heavenly Principle,' but not its full meaning? If the answers to these questions are affirmative, then Li is suggesting that Buddhism also includes the teaching of the 'Heavenly Principle.'

b. Dispute over 'obstruction by Principle'

Another point of contention is over the Buddhist teaching of 'obstruction by Principle' (理障之說). This term appears in Yüan-chüeh-ching (圓覺經) and there it means that Principle can be an impediment to the right view. 19 Hsieh Liang-tso says in section 175:

The reason why Buddhism is not as good as Confucianism is that the former does not have the section on "(employing) righteousness to square the external (life)." "(To employ) righteousness to square the external" is the investigation of Principle to the utmost, while the Buddhists regard Principle as an obstacle.

19 Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 916b.
Again, Ch'eng I says in section 102:

The Buddhists have a theory of the obstruction by Principle. There is only one Principle in the Universe. If this Principle is understood, how can there be an obstruction? If one takes Principle as an obstruction, then Principle is divided into two.

The Neo-Confucian objection is that Principle is that which is to be known. Once one knows Principle one has arrived at true knowledge. If Principle can be an obstruction then there must be two principles, one acting as the obstruction and the other acting as that which is to be known. However, there is only one Principle in the Universe, hence Principle cannot be an obstruction.

Li's answer to Ch'eng I's accusation that, according to the Buddhist view, Principle would be divided into two is a little puzzling.

Li says in section 102:

This is Mr. Ch'eng's obstruction. To take Principle as the self is truly the origin of birth and death (samsāra). It is just like the cataract patient who does not see his own cataract.

It seems that Li does not answer Ch'eng's objection. On the contrary, Li accuses Ch'eng for identifying Principle with the self. It is not clear where Li got this idea. Li's answer in section 175 is more understandable:

The Buddha regards "the eighty-four thousand worldly klesas to be identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of liberation." Surely they contain the "(employment of) righteousness to square the external," and surely he does not take Principle as an obstacle, is it not so? For one who has truly seen (the Tao), "all phenomena interfuse without impediment to each other"; all are according to Principle.

The identification of klesas and ways of liberation seems to imply the identity of the conditioned with the Absolute. This implies the validity of two levels of truth. From the higher point of view, no worldly
way can become an obstacle to the way of liberation. Surely, Principle cannot be an obstacle. Is Li denying the Buddhist teaching of the 'obstruction by Principle'? The answer is no. The term 'obstruction by Principle' in the Yüan-chüeh-ching implies a false understanding of Principle. The sūtra says, "Not having neglected the 'obstruction by Principle,' one can only understand and enter into the stages of the śrāvaka and the pratyekabuddha. He is not yet able to appear in the realm of the bodhisattva." Just as sūnyatā can be wrongly understood and becomes an object of attachment, so can Principle be wrongly understood and become an object of attachment. In fact, Principle is identical with sūnyatā. The bodhisattva, in contradistinction to the śrāvaka and the pratyekabuddha, is one who rightly comprehends the doctrine of sūnyata, and this theme is reiterated again and again in the prajñā-pāramitā sūtras. The point is: When correctly understood, Principle is not an obstacle. It is an obstacle only when it is misunderstood. Hence Li is not denying the Buddhist teaching of 'obstruction by Principle.'

The phrase from Hua-yen: "All phenomena interfuse without impediment to each other" is a further proof of this. If no phenomenon can be an obstacle, surely Principle cannot be an obstacle. Ultimately, the Hua-yen doctrine depends on the validity of the two levels of truth.

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To recapitulate, the Neo-Confucianists criticized Buddhism for not having the concept of 'Heavenly Principle' and for its teaching of 'obstruction by Principle.' Li's replies consist in simply denying the first accusation and in using Mahāyāna concept of truth to deny that Principle is an obstacle.

Theme 4. Buddhists Are Ignorant of Human Nature

Though discussions of human nature have not been lacking since the times of Mencius and Hsun Tzu, they came into vogue again with the rise of Neo-Confucianism. It is natural that speculations about man himself should occupy an important place in any construction of a new philosophy, but because of their predominant interest in sagely cultivation, the Neo-Confucianists paid special attention to this problem. They generally accepted Mencius' pronouncements on human nature, especially the teaching that human nature is good.

With Mencius as the authority, the Neo-Confucianists found fault with the Buddhist doctrine that all living beings possess the Buddha-nature. In section 37 Chang Tsai says:

The in-born nature of all things referred to by the Buddhists is just like the nature in Kao Tzu's saying, "Life is what is to be understood by nature."

Again Ch'eng Hao says in section 52:

Kao Tzu's saying that "Life is what is to be understood by nature" and (the implication that) man's nature is identical with that of an ox is exactly the same as the Buddhist saying, "Everything that moves and is spirited possesses the Buddha-nature."
If all living beings possess the same nature, then there is nothing to distinguish between man and the beasts, and the Confucianists found this unacceptable, this position having already been condemned by Mencius in his debate with Kao Tzu.\textsuperscript{23} Kao Tzu asserted that "Life is what is to be understood as nature." In answer, Mencius asked the rhetorical question, "Is the nature of a dog like the nature of an ox, and the nature of an ox like the nature of a man?"\textsuperscript{24} Of course, man and beasts have different natures. And yet Buddhists say that all living beings have the same nature. This is the basis of Chang Tsai's and Ch'eng Hao's arguments.

Li Ch'un-fu's answers to the comparison of the Buddhist doctrine of nature with Kao Tzu's are not always clear. In section 37 he says:

Knowing that death and birth form one nature, then one knows that there are no such things as birth and death. Not knowing Non-birth, how can he understand Non-death? . . . (Still more so), how could he have known that dreaming and being awake are identical with birth and death? This is what the Buddhists mean by "that of one nature." How can that be identified with Kao Tzu's saying, "The nature of man is just like the nature of an ox"?

This is not clear. Li's answer to the same objection in section 52 is more illuminating:

Kao Tzu only considers the aspect of similarity of the natures of all things. On the other hand, Buddhists regard the natures as both the same and yet different, both different and yet the same, either the same or different, and neither the same nor different. Let me use a simpler example. It is like the relationship between foam and water. The foam in water: They are both the same and different. The water in foam: They are both different and the same. Water is produced in the foam: They are either the same or different. The foam is annihilated in water: They are neither the same nor dif-

\textsuperscript{23}Mencius, Book VI, part I, chapter 3, p. 852.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid.
different. How can the one-sided saying of Kao Tzu be taken to be the same as the Buddhist perfect doctrine? (Ming-tao's view) is to mix up eyes of fish with real pearls.

Li's answer to this charge consists of a distinction between the Buddhist understanding of 'one nature' and Kao Tzu's concept. Li contends that Kao Tzu's concept focuses on the aspect of similarity of the natures of the myriad things whereas the Buddhist concept is transcendental, all-inclusive, devoid of characteristics, something belonging to the absolute realm of the higher truth. The interpretation of the Buddhist position is obtained from the phrase: "Buddhists regard the natures as both the same and yet different, both different and yet the same, either the same or different, and neither the same nor different."

This is further supported by Li's identifying this teaching with the Buddhist perfect teaching (圆融之论). Yüan-jung (圆融) refers to, among other things, the teaching that kleśa is identical with bodhi, samsāra is identical with nirvāṇa. Li's clarification therefore consists of a presentation of the Mahāyāna view of the Absolute.

In this section, the Neo-Confucianists criticize the Buddhist teaching that all sentient beings possess the Buddha-nature. They think it is the same as the erroneous position of Kao Tzu, who does not distinguish the nature of man from the nature of beasts. In reply, Li says that the Buddhist concept of nature on the level of higher truth is an absolute and hence is not the same as that of Kao Tzu.

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25 Ting, Dictionary, p. 2337b.
Theme 5. Buddhists Do Not Have the Correct Way of Cultivation for the Sagehood

The sheer number of criticisms connected with this theme indicate the Neo-Confucianists' emphasis on cultivation. Criticisms are made on five topics. They are first, the investigation of Principle to the utmost (窮理), second, the lack of the external aspect of cultivation for the Buddhists, third, concepts of the Mean (中) and the Middle Path (中道), fourth, the concept of ching (敬) seriousness as opposed to the Buddhist ching (靜) tranquillity and finally, the concept of 'preserving the mind and nourishing nature (存心養性).

a. **Buddhists do not investigate Principle to the utmost**

One of the main principles in the Neo-Confucian theory of cultivation is a phrase taken from the I Ching. It is "to investigate Principle (li) to the utmost and fully develop one's nature until destiny is fulfilled."\(^{26}\) It is hardly possible to overstress the importance of this phrase for it contains the three cardinal concepts of Neo-Confucianism: Principle, human nature and destiny.\(^{27}\) Principle means the underlying unity behind all objects and phenomena. To 'investigate Principle' means to find out the truth of Principle. The method of this investigation differs according to the different Neo-Confucian schools. In the Ch'eng-Chu (程朱) school, 'investigation of Principle' is approached through the 'investigation of things' (格物),

\(^{26}\) I Ching, Shuo-kua chuan (說卦傳). Translated by Chan, Source Book, p. 269.

\(^{27}\) See Chan, Source Book, p. 460.
a concept found in the Great Learning. When the 'basic learning' (下教) or ground-work of investigation of the principles in objects has been done sufficiently, one will, by induction, be able to understand Principle, the unity behind all phenomena. 28

In our text, criticisms connected with this theme are made by Chang Ts'ai, Hsieh Liang-tso and Ch'eng I. It seems that Chang connects the lack of investigation of Principle with the Buddhist teaching of the illusory nature of the world. Chang writes in section 22:

They take the human world to be a dream or an illusion. They cannot trace the source of the human world. Can we say that they investigate Principle to the utmost? Can we say that not knowing how to investigate Principle to the utmost, they develop their nature to its limit and know everything?

Again he says in section 37:

Everything has its principle. If one does not investigate this principle to the utmost, then he wastes his life just as if he passes his entire life in dreams. The Buddhists do not investigate Principle and treat everything as illusions.

In Chang's view, since Buddhists regard the world as illusory, they cannot trace its source. The Neo-Confucian view is that everything has its principle and the source of the world is Principle. Knowledge of Principle is obtained through the investigation of principle in various things. Now, if the world is illusory, it cannot contain real principles and hence the investigation of principle in things is impossible and hence knowledge of Principle cannot be obtained. In other words, one cannot trace the source of the world. Buddhists fail to 'investigate Principle' because they do not investigate principles of the world.

28 See Hsieh Liang-tso's passage in section 172.
The above interpretation is supported by a passage of Hsieh Liang-tso in section 172:

We Confucianists "work at the basics" and "reach up to the sublime." When the investigation of principle reaches its ultimate, we naturally shall see Tao. . . . Buddhists do not pursue after Principle. That is why they distrust themselves, and come to believe only after the witness of another.

Ch'eng I says in section 159:

(Buddhists) do not investigate the Heavenly Principle to the utmost. They only take up daily affairs such as raising the spoon and brandishing chopsticks and regard them as all there is to the affairs (of the pursuit of Tao).

The Buddhists emphasize ordinary activities and make no special effort to examine the principles underlying these activities. This is what Ch'eng I finds wanting in the Buddhist way.

The common element running through these criticisms is that the Buddhists do not investigate Principle.

It appears that Li Ch'un-fu accepts the importance of investigation of Principle but then he disagrees on the meaning of 'Principle' and the content of the activity called 'investigation.' Towards the end of section 22, Li says:

This Principle is surely difficult to investigate to the utmost. Master Chang wishes to act according to nature and assumes himself to be in Tao. He is going to follow it and promote it. He is really speaking in dreams.

Previous to this quotation in the same reply, Li talks about the doctrine of the production of the Universe by the mind. Hence, what Li refers to as 'Principle' is really the mind in the Buddhist doctrine.

\[29\] See translation of text for references.
What Li wishes to say is that the Buddhist successfully investigate Principle because he has the true understanding of Reality whereas Chang fails to investigate Principle because he does not know what Principle is. Li's approach to this criticism in section 37 is the same as above.

He says:

Has Master Chang really been able to investigate Principle of the Changes to the utmost and has "penetrated the Tao of day and night, and so understood it?" The teaching about birth and death is hard to penetrate. The only recourse we have is to "seek it whether we are awake or asleep."

Here, it is implied that Li agrees that investigation of Principle is important. However he does not think Chang has been successful in his investigation since the latter does not know the truth.

In answer to Ch'eng I's criticism that the Ch'an Buddhists do not investigate Principle but only carry out daily chores, Li says that daily chores are precisely Confucius' teaching of the Mean. Li writes in section 159:

Master Ch'eng could not understand him (Buddha), (that the latter's teaching was) identical with the teaching of our Master (Confucius); that eating, drinking and daily chores are the wonder of the Mean and that sweeping the floor and ordinary greetings are the transmissions of the superior man.

Here, Li does not reply directly to the question whether Ch'an 'investigates Principle' or not. But he identifies the Ch'an practice with Confucius' teaching. If the 'investigation of Principle' is integral to the Confucian teaching, Li would not dare to omit it. Then, the dispute between Neo-Confucianists and Li comes down to the interpretation of the content of 'investigation.'
Hsieh Liang-tso also thinks that Buddhists do not investigate Principle, but for a different reason than Chang Tsai. In section 175 Hsieh says:

The reason why Buddhism is not as good as Confucianism is that the former does not have the section on "(employing) righteousness to square the external (life)." "(To employ) Righteousness to square the external" is the investigation of Principle to the utmost, while the Buddhists regard Principle as an obstacle.

The quoted phrase is taken from a famous passage on cultivation in the I Ching: "The superior man (applies) seriousness to straighten the internal life and righteousness to square the external life." The cultivation then is conceived of as having two aspects: the internal and the external. The internal is the cultivation of the self, control over one's mind, emotions and feelings. The external is the righteous behaviour in human relationships and affairs of the world. As we can see from the quotation, Hsieh identifies this external aspect with 'investigation of Principle to the utmost.' To Neo-Confucianists, the Buddhist rejection of giving any importance to affairs of the world is tantamount to giving up the external part of cultivation, or, according to Hsieh, the 'investigation of Principle.'

To counter Hsieh's objection that Buddhists do not have the external aspect of cultivation, Li simply denies it to be true. He says in section 175:

The Buddha regards "the eighty-four thousand worldly klesas to be identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of libe-

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30 君子敬以自內義以方外 I Ching, k'ūn, wen-yen (坤, 文理), p. 6.
ration." Surely they contain the "(employment of) righteousness to square the external," and surely he does not take Principle as an obstacle, is it not so?

Thus, Li asserts that Buddhists do have the external aspects of cultivation, but that aspect is evident only from an higher viewpoint in which the unconditioned is identified with the conditioned.

To summarize what we have said, the Neo-Confucianists criticize Buddhists for lacking the 'investigation of Principle to the utmost.' And this is so partly because their view of the illusory nature of the world makes 'investigation' impossible, partly because they emphasize the everyday character of their activities, and partly because they lack the external aspect of cultivation or attention to worldly affairs. Li agrees with the necessity of 'investigation of Principle' but he pours different content into that activity. He presents the view that the Buddhist truth is the only one worthy of investigation, that it is identical with Confucius' teaching of the Mean and that ordinary affairs are not neglected because from the higher point of view they are not denied.

b. **Buddhists neglect the external aspects of cultivation**

A large number of criticisms are based on the supposition that Buddhism neglects the external aspect of cultivation. The sections that fit in with this type of criticism are 27, 42, 70, 71, 72, 87, 90, 134, 160, 165, 174, 175, and 178. A sample of these will be quoted to illustrate what is meant. The clearest expression of the criticism is in section 87:
In the Buddhist teaching, there is the employment of "seriousness so as to straighten the internal," but they lack "righteousness to square the external." For this reason, the dull and stubborn enter into 'aridity'; the negligent and penetrating end up as unrestrained. That is why Buddhism is narrow.

The internal and external aspects of cultivation as expressed by the phrase from I Ching have already been discussed in the previous heading. Here we shall see how this twofold aspect is expressed by other concepts. Ch'eng Hao says in section 42:

The Ch'an people say, "These are (merely) outward manifestations. Why don't we discuss his mind?" I will answer, "The mind and outward manifestations are one. It is just as unreasonable (to divide them) as when a man is walking he points to his heart (hsin) and says, 'I don't want to walk, (it is the legs which are doing the walking.)'"

The heart is the seat of the mind and will. The legs are not independent but receive order from the mind. Thus, the heart and the legs form a unity. In the analogy the 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' is compared to the heart and legs. Just as the heart and legs form a unity, the 'mind and 'outward manifestations' are one. Here the Ch'an Buddhists were represented as paying attention only to the mind and ignoring the outward manifestations. The 'mind' is internal and the 'outward manifestations' are external.

Ch'eng Hao says in section 70: "The teaching of Ch'an knows about cessation and nothing about function." Cessation is of the mind and refers to the internal aspect of cultivation whereas function refers to external activities. Again Ch'eng Hao says in section 71:

The Buddhist teaching on Tao can be compared with looking at the sky through a tube. It aims only at what's up there but sees

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31 Section 175.
nothing of the surrounding.

"What's up there" refers to the internal vision of Tao and the "surrounding" refers to external affairs of the world. Essentially the same criticism is expressed by Ch'eng in section 72: "They (Buddhists) busy themselves in 'reaching to the higher (things)' alone and have nothing to do with 'basic learning.'"

Hsieh Liang-tso's objection in section 160 probably belongs to this category:

The Buddha said, "Acting straight-forward is correct. Once you think about it you deviate (from the correct path)." This indicates the state of affairs before "suddenly seeing the infant (on the point of falling into a well)." "Suddenly seeing that infant" is what we Confucianists call the mind, but he calls it the previous impure condition of delusive thought. His aim was too high. . . . The mind that is (manifested) "on seeing the infant (on the point of falling into a well)" is nature's Heavenly Principle. How could that be abolished?

To Hsieh, the Buddhist phrase "Acting straight-forward is correct. Once you think about it you deviate (from the correct path)" indicates the state previous to any response to external circumstances. This may be called the internal state. On the other hand, the mind manifested "on seeing the infant (on the point of falling into a well)" is a response to external circumstances. This mind is approved by Confucianists but abolished by Buddhists for they regard it as the previous impure condition of delusive thought. Hence, the Buddhists are represented as neglecting external life.

The above criticisms can be simply represented by the following chart:
Internal
Seriousness to straighten the internal
Cessation
Reaching the summit of knowledge
Mind
Straight up

External
Righteousness to square the external
Function
Learning the basics
Outward manifestations
Surrounding

Suddenly seeing an infant (on the point of falling into a well)

The Buddhists are criticized for lacking those concepts of cultivation on the right column and all these concepts imply involvement with worldly affairs.

Li Ch'un-fu's approach to these objections is basically to show that his opponents are in error about Buddhist teachings. The true understanding of these teachings would dispel their objections. With respect to the charge that Buddhists lack the external aspect of cultivation, Li asserts that Buddhists also possess it. This is basically the answer he gives in sections 42, 70, 71, 72, 90, 160, 165, 174 and 175. We shall examine a sample of these.

In answer to the charge that Ch'an Buddhists only pay attention to the 'mind' and neglect 'outward manifestations,' Li denies that this is the Ch'an teaching and he presents the Buddhist view of the relationship between these two terms. He says in section 42:
The 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' of the Ch' an people are the same as the 'within' and 'beyond' of Chuang Chou. It is (again) similar to the (I Ching's) saying, "The Sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil." . . . The 'mind' of the Sage is like the moon in the sky. His 'outward manifestations' are like moons in water. They are both identical and yet not identical. They are either similar or different.

There are two points to notice in this answer. First, the correct Buddhist view with regard to the relationship between 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' is that it should be seen from the point of view of the Mahayana higher truth. The proof of this is in the phrase: "They are both identical and yet not identical. They are either similar or different." This is a formula which indicates that one should not maintain a point of view, that neither the 'mind' nor the 'outward manifestations' should be rejected. Hence, the device Li uses to solve the Neo-Confucian objection is the Mahayana higher truth.

Second, Li draws parallels of the Three Teachings in order to show that the Buddhist teaching is the same as Taoism and Confucianism. If the Chinese traditions are correct, then the Buddhist teaching must also be correct. The parallels can be schematized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buddhism (Ch' an)</th>
<th>(a) Mind</th>
<th>(b) Outward manifestations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taoism (Chuang Tzu)</td>
<td>(a) Wandering beyond the world</td>
<td>(b) Wandering within the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism (I Ching)</td>
<td>(a) The Sages, having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness)</td>
<td>(b) But their sympathies were with the people in regard to both their good fortune and evil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Buddhists do not neglect the 'outward manifestations' because their understanding of 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' corresponds with Chinese traditional teaching. Hence, from the point of view of the Buddhist apologist, the identity of the Three Teachings is a device to answer criticisms.

In answer to the charge that Buddhists only know about cessation but not function, Li answers in section 70:

The stopping in ken is of course different from the Buddhist cessation. The cessation referred to by Buddhists is exactly the same as that 'stillness' which was taught by Yen Yüan by Confucius in the phrase "The empty chamber gives rise to brightness. Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness." ... Can there be no 'function'?

In other words, Li explains that 'stillness' in Buddhism is active and capable of accomplishing various functions just as the 'stillness' in Confucius' phrase is capable of performing functions. In quoting the words of Confucius Li no doubt wants to show that his opinion corresponds with the view of the Sage. Where does Li get the idea that in Buddhism cessation is capable of performing functions? In view of Li's answer in section 42, could we say that he got it from the higher truth in Mahāyāna?

In section 90, Ch'eng I compares the Avatamsaka sūtra to the ken kua (艮卦), meaning that the Buddhist teaching includes nothing other than stillness. Li replies:

Master Ch'eng regards the resting-point of stopping (ken) to be at the place where it is proper to rest, and assumes that the resting-point of the Buddhists is the state of "dead ash and a withered forest." For this reason, he hastily uttered this contemptuous saying. How could he have known the essence of the perfect teaching of Hua-yen? "If one single dharma is affirmed, Vairocana will
fall into the mundane world; if the ten thousand dharmas are negated, Samantabhadra will lose his realm."... If it were not for the arrival of this book (from the West), the seeker of the Tao would have fallen into the pit of non-action, the speaker of metaphysical truths would have fallen into the realm of falsehood.

In other words, Li is saying that Buddhist cultivation is not limited to the internal aspect. Stillness in Buddhism is not like the state of "dead ash and a withered forest." In the perfect teaching of Hua-yen, stillness is not an impediment to activities. External functions are also included in the perfect teaching. What is the meaning of the sentence: "If one single dharma is affirmed, Vairocana will fall into the mundane world; if the ten thousand dharmas are negated, Samantabhadra will lose his realm"? The affirmation of the existence of a single dharma constitutes an attachment to a view, and this is, according to Mahāyāna, an error. Hence, if the Buddha Vairocana were to commit such a mistake, he would lose his Buddhahood and would become one of the deluded beings on earth. Similarly, the denial of the existence of all dharmas again constitutes a view. If the bodhisattva Samantabhadra should commit such an error, he would lose his realm of bodhisattvas.

In other words, according to the Mahāyāna teaching, one should not make assertions on the question of the internal and external aspects of cultivation. The internal is identical with the external. Nirvāṇa is identical with samsāra. Hence, to accuse the Buddhists for lacking the external aspect of cultivation is wrong.

To sum up, Li is saying that the Buddhists do not lack the external aspect of cultivation. Either 'stillness' is not entirely still but accomplishes various functions or the Buddhist truth transcends all
labels so that terms like 'external' or 'internal' lose their meaning.

c. Buddhists do not follow the Mean

Another criticism of Buddhist cultivation is that they do not follow the middle path. Liu An-shih says in section 186:

If the middle path is followed, then there is not a single moment at which one is not upright. The Tao of Buddhists and Taoists inevitably leads people astray.

Again Chu Hsi says in section 213:

"The Mean is the Great Fundamental in the world." (What) the scholar nourishes and cultivates according to this (Great Fundamental) are indeed simply obvious daily affairs. To consider that he has attained the truth, it is not necessary for him to investigate exhaustingly until he is suddenly stimulated. If this is not so, then one is submerged in the Buddhists' teaching.

What the Neo-Confucianists understand as the middle path is that set out in the Doctrine of the Mean: "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium (or Mean). When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony." What the Neo-Confucianists understand by this is that one should make appropriate responses in one's daily affairs. According to Chu Hsi, attaining the truth is not a matter of a sudden enlightenment unrelated to daily activities. It is right within daily activities themselves when they are responded to appropriately, that is, according to the Mean. None of the quotations attempt to show why Bud-

d. **Seriousness versus tranquillity**

In their emphasis on activity over tranquillity, the Neo-Confucianists were not unaware of the difficulty of interpreting the phrase from the *Doctrine of the Mean* just quoted. "While there are no stirrings ... the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium (or Mean)." One is in this state of the Mean before the stirring of feelings, that is, when one is tranquil. Does this not connote that tranquillity (that is, before the state of stirring) is a desirable state? Ch'eng I says in section 116:

Someone asked, "Should we describe the state before the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy by the word 'tranquil' or 'in motion'?" (I answer: I suppose) we can say 'tranquil.' But there
must be an object in this tranquillity before we get the (right answer). This is the difficulty. It is better to pay attention to 'seriousness' first.

Ch'eng I gave a qualified yes, but his prejudice against tranquillity prompted him to advise students to by-pass it and to concentrate on the practice of 'seriousness.' However, the concept of ch'ing (敬) must have at least a superficial resemblance with tranquillity, for Ch'eng I was asked whether ch'ing and tranquillity were the same. Section 101 says:

Someone asked, "Is 'seriousness' not the same as tranquillity?" I replied, "Just mention tranquillity and you have fallen into the Buddhist teaching.

What really distinguishes 'seriousness' from 'tranquillity'? Hsieh Liang-tso says in section 174: "'Seriousness' is a teaching in which one is always alert, whereas in 'fasting of the mind' all affairs are laid aside. Their principles are different." 'Fasting of the mind' really mean tranquillity here. Hence, the objection against tranquillity is the laying aside of worldly affairs.

Li does not take kindly to the Neo-Confucian term 'seriousness,' a term used to replace tranquillity in Buddhism. Li says in section 101:

"Man is born tranquil. It is the nature given by Heaven and Earth." (Li Chi) Is this a teaching of the Buddhists? To use 'seriousness' is to be stimulated already.

First of all, Li asserts that tranquillity is a perfectly Confucian term since it is found in a sentence in Li Chi (The Book of Rites).

Secondly, the term ch'ing (seriousness) connotes the result of being stimulated, that is, it can no longer represent the state of the Mean
before the stirring of the emotions.

Again in section 116, Li says:

We call it 'tranquil,' and yet it is completely like a torrent whose waves reach up to the sky. If there is this object, then it is hard to seek for the Mean. And yet he uses the practice of 'seriousness,' which amounts to obstructing the current and stirring up the waves.

In effect, Li is saying that to apply 'seriousness' to the state of the Mean before the stirring of emotions is to disturb it.

Hsieh Liang-tso distinguishes 'seriousness' from 'fasting of the mind' in section 174. Li answers:

For one who has seen Tao, 'seriousness' is identical with 'insight,' 'wisdom,' 'illumination' and the 'supreme' Bodhi; 'fasting (of the mind)' is identical with 'cessation,' 'concentration,' 'silence' and the 'maha-parinirvana.' There is absolutely no distinction. (On the other hand), for one who has not seen Tao, 'seriousness' is identical with 'avidya'; and 'fasting' with 'avyakrta.'

What does Li mean? For one who has already attained the truth, whatever label one may use to describe the cultivation method is used to advantage. Hence, whether it is called 'seriousness' or 'fasting of the mind' is of no importance. The important thing is whether one grasps the truth. This corresponds with the perfect teaching of either Hua-yen or T'ien-t'ai. The perfect teaching is all-inclusive. It contains both 'seriousness' and 'fasting of the mind.' On the other hand, for one who does not know the perfect teaching, the terms 'seriousness' and 'fasting of the mind' are bound to be misunderstood and they lead to ignorance and avyakrta (state of unrecordable either as good or bad).

In other words, Li answers this criticism by presenting the attitude of one who accepts the Mahayana higher truth.
e. On 'preserving the mind and nourishing nature'

Lastly, disputes have also risen around the concept of 'preserving the mind and nourishing nature.' Ch'eng Hao says in section 73: "What (the Buddhists) say about 'perceive the mind and see their own natures' is correct, but they do not have 'preserving the mind and nourishing nature.'" Mencius says, "To preserve one's mind, and nourish one's nature, is the way to serve Heaven." Hence, the phrase has great authority behind it. "Perceive the mind and see their own nature" is a stock phrase of the Platform Sutra. It indicates the act of arriving at the goal rather than the process of attaining it. What Ch'eng Hao is accusing the Buddhists of is not clear. Perhaps he means the same thing as Chang Shih's saying in section 207:

(With regard to) the so-called 'preserving the mind' in Buddhism and the 'preserving the mind' of we Confucians, although the word 'preserving' is the same, yet there is a distinction between the universal and the selfish. Our teaching controls the mind and preserves it, . . . For this reason, when a thing ought to be thought about, it is always being thought about; when a thing must be done, it is always done. The 'preserving the mind' of the Buddhists is limited to mean doing nothing. When something must be thought about, it is not thought about. Its chief teaching is to rely on doing nothing. . . . It is self-interested and selfish and it does not know Heaven and Earth.

"Its chief teaching is to rely on doing nothing." Thus, it seems that the Buddhists' 'preserving' is wrong because it is essentially uninterested in being involved with the world.

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33 Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 1. 存其心，養其性所
以事天

34 識心見性自成佛道 T2007, 340c, lines 2-3.
To the objection that Buddhism does not have 'preserving the mind and nourishing the nature,' Li replies in section 73:

The Buddhist scriptures mention that after practising the holy path for countless eons, the great bodhisattvas such as Manjusri said, "Seeing the Buddha-nature is like seeing the moon through a thin veil." Could it be seen without practice? As for the enlightenment of the Ch'an Buddhist, it requires the preserving and letting-go of cessation and the constant nurturing of the holy womb.

In other words, Li simply denies the accusation of the lack of 'preserving the mind' by quoting examples of the long duration of cultivation in Buddhism. "The constant nurturing of the holy womb" is mentioned to counter the accusation that Buddhists do not have "nourishing the nature." Li does not answer the charge that Buddhists' 'preserving' is wrong because it is essentially uninterested in being involved with the world.

To recapitulate, we discovered that Neo-Confucianists were very much concerned about cultivation. Criticisms were made on five topics: the investigation of Principle, the lack of the external aspect of cultivation, concepts of the Mean or the Middle path, of 'seriousness,' of 'preserving the mind and nourishing nature.' We have discovered that running through all these topics was the basic criticism that the Buddhists were uninvolved with affairs of this world but concentrated their attention on an other-worldly goal. Li's answer consists of asserting that Buddhist stillness or tranquillity is not like 'dead ash or a dried up forest' but accomplishes all sorts of functions and that in the view of the perfect Buddhist truth, one is involved both in other-worldly and this-worldly goals.
Theme 6. Buddhism Makes One Self-Centred and Profit-Oriented

This objection is again based on the alleged tendency of Buddhists to disengage themselves from human and worldly affairs and concentrate only on selfish goals. Although occurring in a large number of sections the criticism is simple. Ch'eng Hao says in section 41:

Buddhism only frightens people with birth and death. The odd thing about it is that not a single person has become enlightened by it for a thousand years. This was because people were frightened by it. The Sagés and Worthies regard birth and death as something natural and hence they think that there is nothing to be afraid of. For this reason, they did not discuss birth and death. The Buddha was frightened by birth and death. Hence, he talked incessantly about them. Basically, the teaching was built on the desire of profit. For this reason, the believer also believed it with the desire of profit.

Again he says in section 72:

In fearing birth and death, Buddhists are basically profit-oriented. How can theirs be the unselfish Tao. They busy themselves in "reaching to the higher (things)" alone and have nothing to do with "basic learning."

The term 'birth and death' refers to the cycle of birth and death, or in other words, *samsāra*. Ch'eng seems to think that the Buddhist religious quest is basically for each individual to escape from *samsāra*. Hence, Ch'eng accuses the Buddhists of instilling fear of birth and death into people so that they will believe in the religion, and that this tactic is based on the desire for profit. Profit is used in the sense that the practice of Buddhism will elevate one's state of being in the next life or enable one to escape *samsāra* altogether. Consideration of profit in the cultivation of a superior man, whether for good or for evil, is frowned upon in Confucianism. Confucius says, "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of
the mean man is conversant with profit. Mencius further develops the contrast between benevolence-righteousness and profit in his speech with King Hui of Liang.

Ch'eng Hao says in section 48:

With regard to its outward manifestations, (it teaches that) one must go-forth-from-home, and that one must leave the tanglements of the world. A seeker aims at nothing but to be like the Buddha. The Buddha was only a good-for-nothing barbarian. Basically, he was a 'dried-up forest,' intent on the self alone.

Again Hsieh Liang-tso says in section 161:

Buddhists are generally selfish. The learning of Buddhism wishes (men) to depart from birth and death. His vow to liberate all sentient beings is also made for the sake of the self. . . . Confucianists are able to forget the concern of the self . . .

Here the Buddhists are accused of being self-centred. And the reason for the accusation is the alleged tendency to ignore affairs of the world and the exclusive concentration on the escape from samsāra.

Contrary to Mencius, Li does not deny that profit-orientation can be a good thing. He says in section 41:

The seeker of Tao profits both the self and others. How could there be any harm? As for the opinion that the Sage does not have the slightest desire of profit, has He not the desire of profiting things? For this reason, all things profit him.

On the other hand, Li denies that the Buddhist is self-centred. He attributes the wrong conception to two causes. The first is that his opponents know only Hinayāna doctrines (of personal Nirvāṇa) but are ignorant of the bodhisattva's acts of deliverance of all sentient

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35 Analects, Book IV, ch. 16, p. 166.
36 Mencius, Book I, part I, ch. 1.
beings. He says in section 48:

Mr. Ch'eng overheard the Hinayana teaching but could not be totally convinced by it. He selected some of its teachings and then attempted to refute them. How could he have known the secret meaning of the Vimalakirti and the Avatamsaka? He mistook the arhat for the Buddha. Not knowing the arguments behind it, he hastily heaped words of abuse. How could he have known the secret deeds of Manjusri and Samantabhadra? The great beings of the perfect teaching understand that sentient beings are originally empty and yet they liberate them.

The second cause is that his opponents think that the Buddhist is exclusively concerned with the escape from samsara. Li answers in section 77:

The Buddha "will have no more seizing on a self, seizing on a being, seizing on a soul and seizing on a person." Who is intent on his selfish desires?

Hence, Li denies that Buddhists are selfish. Indeed, according to Mahayana truth, the Buddhist has to be totally detached. Li says in section 161: "For the Buddhist, there is no mind, no birth and death, no sentient being to liberate and no arising of the mind of Bodhi." From the higher view of Buddhist truth, one has to be completely detached, hence the Buddhist cannot be accused of being selfish or self-centred.

In this theme, the Buddhists are accused of being self-centred and profit-oriented. The basis of the accusation is the alleged emphasis on the escape from samsara and the negligence of the affairs of this world. Li's answer is to say that the Neo-Confucian objection is based on Hinayana doctrine whereas the Mahayana teaches the deliverance of all sentient beings and the non-attachment of the self or other objects or concepts from the higher viewpoint of truth.
Theme 7. Buddhism Rejects Necessary Customs and Worldly Affairs

With this and subsequent two themes we meet arguments which have long been made in previous ages. The Neo-Confucian criticism that Buddhism rejects necessary customs and worldly affairs is generalized from discussions on three topics. They are, first, food, sex and senses in general; second, going-forth-from-home and from-the-world, and the neglect of worldly affairs; third, the rejection of Chinese social-moral order.

a. Food, sex and senses

With respect to food and sex, Chang Tsai says in section 25:

Eating, drinking and sex belong to man's nature. Why should they be forbidden? Taoism and Buddhism taught the denial of these for a long time. Have they really penetrated to the truth?

Hsieh Liang-tso says in section 164:

All that have blood and breath possess sexual characteristics (or nature, hsing) of male and female. For what reason have the Buddhists refrained from them?

The Neo-Confucian attitude towards food and sex is that they are natural activities necessary for the good of society and the individual. As such, they should not be forbidden. On the other hand, Buddhists perform periodic fasts and the monks and nuns maintain celibacy. These are thought unnatural and harmful, and hence they were criticized by the Neo-Confucianists.

Associated with the above topic is the question about senses in general. Ch'eng Hao says in section 53:

If one can place this self publicly among everything in the universe and see them together, then how can one see any hindrance (of the
body). What harm is there even if I have ten thousand bodies? From this, it is clear that the Buddhist suppression of the senses is done out of self-interest.

The Neo-Confucianists regard human beings as part of nature and hence do not think that bodily functions and the world is necessarily evil. Hence, they do not feel the necessity of avoidance of sensual contact and sensual pleasure. Buddhists think that the senses at best distract one from the path and at worst bind one to deluded views, and they preach the suppression of the senses. This is the basis of accusing the Buddhists of suppression of the senses in section 53.

With regard to food and sex, Li thinks that control over them is appropriate to man's dignity and the indulgence in them reduces a man to the level of a beast. Li says in section 25:

Food and sex are bodily passions. How can they belong to man's nature? If one must mix them up, how is man different from the birds and beasts?

Again he says in section 164:

Food, drink and sex (belong to) the blood and ch'i (pneuma) (of men). What have they got to do with nature (hsing)? For this reason, when hungry, one desires food; when full, one ignores it. When robust, one loves (sex); when old, one tires of it. 'Human nature' is unchanging; how can it have all these changes? When blood and ch'i of a man have reached a robust stage, he should be able to refrain from them. If not, he is not far from the birds and beasts.

Li reads Hsieh's passage as saying that sexual characteristics belong to human nature. Hence, the issue of this debate is whether sex belongs to nature (hsing) or not. Li's point is that food and sex belong to the bodily passions and not to human nature (生hsing), which is considered by Li to be an unchangingAbsolute. Passions are what bind men to delusions. Suppression of the passions frees man from the domination
of inconstancy and should therefore be encouraged. Li also gives a few historical examples (not included in the above quotation) of Chinese sages who tried to curb the desires for food and sex.

b. **On going-forth-from-home and neglect of worldly affairs**

The Buddhist monastic life requires the departure from family life and the avoidance of worldly affairs. The terms for these are 'going-forth-from-home' (出家) and 'going-forth-from-the-world' (出世). These institutions are unforeseen in the Confucian conception of the hierarchical structure of society and they provide a threat to the unified vision of the Confucian society. Hence they were criticized by the Neo-Confucianists. Ch'eng Hao says in section 48:

Buddhism more or less annihilates human relationships. The world cannot permit such a teaching. Again, it talks about the necessity of going-forth-from-the-world. Where to? With regard to its outward manifestations (it teaches that) one must go-forth-from-home, and that one must leave the entanglements of the world.

Again Ch'eng I says in section 83:

The Ch'an teaching of 'going-forth-from-the-world' is like closing the eyes and saying that the nose (does not exist because it) cannot be seen.

Again he says in section 106:

The Buddha had a teaching of going-forth-from-home and from-the-world. Fundamentally, one should never go-forth-from-home. It is better to call it a case of desertion from the duty of a filial son towards his father. How can one ever go-forth-from-the-world?

'Going-forth-from-home and from-the-world' are associated with the destruction of necessary customs and the moral order.

Lastly, Buddhists are accused of rejection of worldly affairs with the consequence of bring chaos to society. Liu An-shih says in
section 182:
Again, people still less-gifted are trapped in the teaching of karma. They refrain from human affairs, leading to mistakes and confusions in the government and teaching, and the loss of human life.

Again Chang Chiu-ch'eng says in section 203:
(Buddhism) regards the accomplishments of Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen and Wu as dust and dirt; the ethical relationships of father-son, ruler-minister, husband-wife, and the elder-younger as a disease. . . . It teaches one to be alone and without companions, to be lifeless like a withered tree, and to be without life-sustaining moisture.

Ch'eng I says in section 105:
Buddhists want to do away with affairs and never ask whether an affair should exist or not exist. If it should exist, why should one do-away with it; if it should not exist, what is there to do away with? Furthermore, they strive to be tranquil and to keep far away (from people). Avoiding worldly activities, they (hide themselves) in the forest.

These accusations were not newly made by the Neo-Confucianists, but were already in existence in previous ages. Controversy over Buddhist rejection of worldly concerns is reflected in as early a work as the Mou-tzu li huo lun (牟子理惑論). One example there is that the monk is accused of deserting wife and property and of not producing an heir to the family. 37 The issue of following social customs appeared in Huan Ch'ien's (桓兼) answer to Huan Hsüan (恒玄) when the latter solicited opinions on whether the monk should bow to the ruler. 38 The I-hsia lun (夷夏論) of Ku Huan (顧歡 390-453) and the San-p'o lun (三破論) of Chang Jung (張融) also men-


38 See Kubota, kōshōshi, p. 82.
tioned abandoning the family and property.\(^{39}\)

Li hotly denies that Buddhism neglects other customs and worldly affairs. He contends that Buddhism has never really given up customs governing human relationships. In section 48 he says:

Mr. Ch'eng overheard the \(\text{Hinay\text{\-}\text{\-}\text{\-}\text{n}}\) teaching but could not be totally convinced by it. He selected some of its teachings and then attempted to refute them. How could he have known the secret meaning of the \(\text{Vimalakirti}\) and the \(\text{Avatamsaka}\)? He mistook the \(\text{arhat}\) for the Buddha. Not knowing the arguments behind it, he hastily heaped words of abuse. How could he have known the secret deeds of \(\text{Ma\text{\-}\text{jus\-\text{\-}\text{\-}\text{\-}ri}}\) and \(\text{Samantabhadra}\)? The Great Beings of the perfect teaching understand that sentient beings are originally empty and yet they liberate them. They know that the realm is originally pure and yet they decorate it. They do not regard the worldly ways as obstacles to the 'ways of going-forth-from-the-world', the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world as bringing destruction to the worldly ways. They regard the worldly ways as identical with the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world, the ways of going-forth-from-the-world as identical with worldly ways. They regard "the eighty-four thousand worldly kles\(\text{s}\) as identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of liberation."

In this answer Li distinguishes the \(\text{Hinay\text{\-}\text{n}}\) teaching from the \(\text{Mah\text{-}\text{y\text{-}\text{n}}\text{a}}\). While the \(\text{Hinay\text{n}}\) Buddhist could be accused of rejecting necessary customs and worldly affairs, the \(\text{Mah\text{-}\text{y\text{-}\text{n}}\text{a}}\) Buddhist could not be so accused because of the \(\text{bodhisattva'}s\) vow to liberate all sentient beings, an ideal which may entail an immersion in worldly ways, and because he does not make a distinction between the worldly way and the unworldly way. Li's answer may also mean that \(\text{Mah\text{-}\text{y\text{-}\text{n}}\text{a}}\) Buddhism is not limited to monks and nuns. Lay followers, like \(\text{Vimalakirti}\), observe worldly customs and involve themselves with conventional work. Yet, they are true followers of the Buddha. That is why the worldly ways are identi-

\(^{39}\) See Kenneth Ch'en, "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda During the Nan-ch'ao," \(\text{Harvard Journal of Asian Studies, 15}\) (1952), 166-192.
cal with the way of going-forth-from-the-world.

The distinction between the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna is again brought out in section 182. Li says:

He who regards being silent and alone like a withered tree to be the Buddhist teaching, or who regards the teaching of the retribution of karma as leading to the abolition of human affairs or even causing confusion in the world is a Confucianist who has not read its (Buddhist) books and is thus deceived. Nowadays, the Confucianists have uncovered all its secrets. The opinion of the depraved in the Vimalakirti sūtra is used to negate the biased attachment to the void. The commandment of donating the body in the prajñā sūtras is used to challenge the fool who attaches to characteristics.

In this passage Li says that certain Confucianists like Liu An-shih are ignorant of Mahāyāna teachings and they regard Hinayāna teaching of asceticism, denial of worldly affairs and belief in karma to be the chief teachings of Buddhism. Li points out that other enlightened Confucianists have already known the Mahāyāna teaching. One of the doctrines is: "The opinion of the depraved in the Vimalakirti sūtra is used to negate the biased attachment to the void." It refers to the following passage in the sūtra:

Mañjuśrī: Householder, why is your house empty and why have you no retinue?

Vim.: Mañjuśrī, all the Buddha-fields themselves are also empty.

Mañjuśrī: Of what are they empty?

Vim.: They are empty of emptiness.

Mañjuśrī: What is empty of emptiness?

Vim.: Imaginings are empty of emptiness.

Mañjuśrī: Can emptiness be imagined?

Vim.: Imagination itself is also empty, and emptiness does not imagine emptiness.

Mañj.: Householder, where is this emptiness found?

Vim.: Mañjuśri, emptiness is found in the sixty-two kinds of false views.

Lamotte's comment to Vimalakirti's last reply is: 41

Supreme paradox which establishes, without any possible argument, the position, or rather, the absence of a metaphysical position in Vimalakirti. After having destroyed, through the view of emptiness, the belief in permanence (śaśvatagrha) and the belief in annihilation (ucchedadarśana), Vimalakirti relegates emptiness itself among the sixty-two kinds of false views. He refuses to hypostasise emptiness, to make of it a dharmaḥatu, a dharmatā, a tathatā. This is pure Madhyamaka.

Hence, the higher truth in Mahāyāna is referred to by Li.

Another doctrine in section 182 is: "The commandment of donating the body in the prajñā sūtras is used to challenge the fool who attaches to characteristics." 'Donating the body in almsgiving' is mentioned twice in the Diamond sūtra. 42 But in both instances the concept is not used "to challenge the fool who attaches to characteristics." However, the general idea that in all almsgivings, one should not be attached to characteristics is clearly taught in the Diamond sūtra: "The bodhisattva should give alms in such a manner: He should not be attached to characteristics." 43 The most celebrated recommendation of non-attachment is that the bodhisattva should cause all living beings to enter into parinirvāna and yet none of these living beings would have

41 Ibid., p. 119.
42 T235, 750a, line 24 and 750c, lines 7-10.
43 T235, 749a, line 14.
obtained parinirvāna.\textsuperscript{44} This is so because the bodhisattva does not have notions of a self, a being, living soul and a person. Among other things, this passage is an exposition of the concept of emptiness (śūnyatā). Since śūnyatā is the object of transcendental wisdom, the Mahāyāna higher truth is again referred to.

The point of the above discussion is to find out the basis of Li's reply to the critique that Buddhism neglects worldly affairs. Li denies the accusation and the reason he gives is that from the point of view of the Mahāyāna higher truth, the worldly ways are not distinguished from the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world. The above exercise is to pinpoint exactly what Mahāyāna truth Li talks about. And it is found that the logic of Li's reply relies on the twofold truth.

c. Buddhism rejects Chinese social-moral order

Criticism that Buddhists reject Chinese social-moral order has been the most insistent argument that Confucianists have used against Buddhism. There is nothing surprising in this for social-moral relationships constitute the essence of Confucianism, and by the denial of the relevance of these relationships the Buddhists hit on the most vital point of Confucianism. The favourite form of argument in the quotations is to say that Buddhism destroys the three cardinal relationships and the five constant virtues (三纲五常).\textsuperscript{45} Liu An-shih

\textsuperscript{44} T235, 749a.

\textsuperscript{45} The san-kang-wu-ch'ang refers to the moral relationships which should exist between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, husband and wife; and the five virtues of jen (benevolence), li (righteousness), li (propriety), chih (wisdom) and hsin (fidelity).
says in section 180:

Confucius took the Three Principal Relationships and Five Constant Virtues as Tao. For this reason, talks about the form and void are only beginnings (of Tao) . . . If there were no Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues, then calamities and confusions would prevail, and no people would remain alive.

Again Liu says in section 182:

Less talented people say that to be alone like a withered tree is the Buddhist teaching, and they would not pay attention to the Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues.

Chang Chiu-ch'eng says in section 203: "It (Buddhism) will completely annihilate (廵) the Five Constant Virtues and abolish (.dispose) the Three Principal Relationships." Other terms used to indicate the Buddhist destruction of human relationships are chüeh lun lei (絕倫類 The breaking off of relationship of the human kind, section 48), hui jen lun (毁人倫 The destruction of human relationship, section 87), and chüeh jen lun (絕人倫 The breaking off of human relationship, section 91).

Chang Shih says in section 208:

If it (heterodox doctrine) really had the knowledge of the mind, would it abandon the ethical relationships of ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife, which were the principles of humanity and were that which preserved the original mind.

Ch'eng I says in section 106:

The Buddha had a teaching of going-forth-from-home and from-the-world. Fundamentally, one should never go-forth-from-home. It is better to call it a case of desertion from the duty of a filial son towards his father.

These are also sections which imply the accusation that Buddhism rejects Chinese social-moral order.
Li follows two lines of argument in answering this criticism. The first is simply to deny that Buddhists are uninterested in morality and human relationships. He says in section 180:

The Buddha first established the vehicles of re-birth into the heavenly and human realms by preaching the five śīlas and the ten good deeds; then he practised the path of the bodhisattva by means of the six pāramitās and the ten thousand practices. The Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues are all contained there.

The second line is to argue that from the viewpoint of higher truth in Mahāyāna, the way of going-forth-from-the-world is identical with the ways of the world and hence it is implied that Buddhism does not abolish the social-moral order. Such is Li's argument in section 48. The same argument is repeated in section 203.

In connection with theme, therefore, the Neo-Confucianists criticized the Buddhists for the latter's rejection of necessary customs and worldly affairs. Food and sex were seen as natural and hence not to be forbidden. The monastic institution of leaving the home and the world went against the Chinese social hierarchy and was seen as bringing destruction to ethical values. The destruction of the Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues hit the heart of Confucianism. Li's answer was somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, he thought that desires for food and sex did not belong to man's nature for they fluctuated according to mood and age whereas nature was unchanging. Suppression of desires therefore befitted man's dignity. On the other hand, he denied that Buddhism ignored worldly customs and ethical relationship. To show this, Li distinguished between Hinayāna Buddhism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. The doctrines which enable Li to reject
the Neo-Confucian accusation are: the bodhisattva ideal of immersion in worldly affairs in order to save all sentient beings and the identity of the ways-of-the-world with the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world.

Theme 8. Buddhist Teaching of Samsāra is Wrong in Itself or in Instilling Fear in the Ignorant People

With the exception of two sections, the Neo-Confucian arguments did not give any reason why the teaching on Samsāra (transmigration) was wrong. They simply assumed it to be so. We shall deal with the exceptions first. In section 80, Ch'eng I says:

The soul (shen) and nature (hsing) have never been dissociated, how can they be united again (in a future incarnation) after the death of a person? If it is like the Ch'an Buddhists who teach that a separate entity goes in a round of incarnation by means of substitution, then it is unreasonable.

Apparently, to Ch'eng I's thinking, although the soul and nature are not identical, they are not separable. Hence it is not admissible to talk about the transmigration of the soul alone. Here Ch'eng is offering a philosophical reason for not accepting Samsāra. Chang Tsai says in section 26:

In trying to understand ghosts, the Buddhists say that beings with consciousness die and are born in cycles. They are therefore tired of suffering and seek to escape from it. Can they be said to understand ghosts? . . . They take the phrase "the escape of the hun (soul) brings about change" to indicate Samsāra. This is thoughtless!

At face value, Chang is simply saying that the Buddhists have wrong explanations without indicating the reason for the mistake. The underlying reason is Chang's philosophy that changes of birth and death are simply the condensation and dispersion of ch'i (pneuma).
The accusations made in other sections against samsāra simply state that it is wrong without giving a reason. The emphasis is not so much the incorrectness of the teaching, which is assumed to be a foregone conclusion, but the harmful effect it has on the populace. Chang Tsai says in section 27:

The Buddhists say that, necessarily, birth, death and transmigration cannot be avoided unless one attains Tao. . . . Since their teaching spread like fire throughout China, even men of superior talent . . . were in the dark and were deceived, saying that sainthood could be achieved without cultivation and the Great Tao could be understood without having to learn about them.

Ch'eng Hao says in section 41:

Buddhism only frightens people with birth and death. The odd thing about it is that not a single person has become enlightened by it. This was because they were frightened by it. The Sages and Worthies regard birth and death as something natural and hence they think that there is nothing to be afraid of.

Again Ch'eng says in section 72: "In fearing birth and death, Buddhists are really profit-oriented. How can that be reasonable." Ch'eng I says in section 91:

As for its (the Buddhist) teaching on Principle and the in-born nature, it is again only limited to the fear of death and the love of life. It is motivated by the idea of profit.

The term 'birth and death' is a translation for samsāra. In the above quoted passages, the debate is not on the truth of the doctrine of sam-

sāra, which is assumed to be false, but the bad effect the teaching has on its believers. In this, a shift has been made from debates during the Wei, Chin, South and North Dynasties (220-581), which centred themselves on the truth of samsāra. Debates on the Buddhist teaching of samsāra and its related problem, the immortality of the soul, began at a very early age and have produced not a few lively metaphors.
The question of the sides taken by the disputants was not always clear because of the seemingly inconsistent nature of Confucian and Buddhist teachings. Thus, while the Confucianists perform sacrifice to their ancestors which implies some kind of existence for them, many of the Confucianists from the time of Han Dynasty have denied the existence of the spirit after the death of a person. On the other hand, Chinese Buddhists did not see how it was possible to have transmigration without the existence of a soul. They generally opted for the existence of the soul rather than the anātman doctrine. Occasionally the disputants changed sides, but generally speaking, the Confucianists defend the position that there is no samsāra and no soul while Buddhists defend the opposite.\textsuperscript{46} We have seen that these positions continued on down to the time of the Sung.

In reply to this objection Li asserts that the doctrine of samsāra is implied in the writings of the Chinese Sages. He says in section 26:

This teaching comes from (a phrase in the I Ching), "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death." Chuang Tzu clarified it further. He said, "Life is a companion of death, and death is the beginning of life." It is impossible to find whether life is the beginning or death is the beginning. Lien Tzu also said, "He who

\textsuperscript{46} The disputants in these arguments are too many to enumerate. Some of the more illustrious ones were Hui-yūn (慧遠 344-416) who wrote the Shen-pu-mieh lun (神不滅論) and the San-pao lun (三報論), Ho Ch'eng-t'ien (何承天 370-447) with his Ta-hsing lun (達性論), Tsung Ping (宗炳 375-447) who wrote the Ming-fo lun (明佛論), and Fan Chen (范縉 dates uncertain) who wrote the Shen-mieh lun (神滅論).
dies here, how do you know he will not be born in the other place?" "All creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again." If this is not samsāra, what is it?

Again Li says in section 41:

"Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end," the Sage "comes to know the lessons of life and death." Does He not discuss life (or birth) and death?

In answer to the charge that Buddhism frightens people with samsāra, Li answers that that is not the case. He says in section 72:

"Not being afraid of birth and death, not being attached to Nirvāṇa." This is Vimalakīrti's entrance to non-dual dharma.

The authoritative Vimalakīrti's teaching is that one should not be frightened by birth and death. The non-dual teaching is that one should not take up a position or assert any view. One is not afraid of birth and death because he has not taken up any view with regard to Nirvāṇa. Hence, the Buddhist teaching does not frighten people with birth and death.

With respect to Ch'eng I's criticism in section 80, Li says:

The soul is identical with nature. They are neither separate nor unified. The nature is identical with the soul. "It is neither born nor annihilated." "Going in a round of incarnation by means of substitution" has never been taught by Buddhist books.

Li regards nature or soul as the Absolute which is beyond change or description. Hence it is impossible to talk about human nature's being born or annihilated. This passage is intelligible only in terms of the Mahāyāna higher truth from the viewpoint of which the talk about samsāra is not admissible. "Going in a round of incarnation by means of substitution" (偷胎奪陰) probably refers to the impersonation of a person by a ghost in Chinese belief, which is radically different
from the Buddhist teaching on samsāra.

We have seen that the Neo-Confucianists criticized the teaching of samsāra not so much because it was wrong as because it would bring a bad effect on the populace. This shift of interest from the debates in earlier centuries is perhaps indicative of the different concerns of the two historical periods. The earlier period focused its attention on the truth of the teaching while the latter concerned itself with the practical aspect of cultivation. The chief point of Li's argument is that the teaching of samsāra was accepted by ancient sages, thus implying that the Neo-Confucianists depart from the true teaching.

Theme 9. Buddhism Is a Foreign Religion and Therefore Its Ways Are Not Suitable to the Chinese

This criticism is limited to just one section. The An-cheng wang-chuan quoted in section 202 contains this passage:

To take the accomplishment of the other (Buddhism) and apply it to China is just like driving tall chariots through (the marshy ground) of Yüeh, or introducing Chinese crowns and hats to the Western barbarians—something definitely must not be done.

This again has been an ancient theme. The most noted and most vehement attacks were perhaps that of Ku Huan's I-hsia lun, Fu I's memorial and Han Yu's advice to the emperor that he should not welcome a Buddhist relic. Generally, the argument is based on the alleged unsuitability of foreign customs for the Chinese people and the imagined breakdown

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47 For Ku Huan, see Kenneth Ch'en, "Anti-Buddhist Propaganda . . . .", op. cit., pp. 169-171; for Fu I, see Arthur F. Wright, "Fu I and the Rejection of Buddhism," Journal of the History of Ideas, XII (1951), 33-47; for Han Yu, see Carsun Chang, op. cit., pp. 84-85.
of the economic, social, political and moral orders if they are allowed to be introduced. However, underlying these rather ungounded reasons lie the fear and distaste of foreign things because they are foreign. It is rather a surprise that only section 202 mentions this argument and that the objection is only very mild. It has nothing derogatory to say about foreign things, saying only that Buddhism is not suitable because of difference of standards. Why is this argument so little used so soon after the time of Han Yü? Whatever the chief reason, the Neo-Confucian interest in sagely cultivation rather than in a struggle for political power must have played a part in the shift in criticism.

Li does not answer this criticism directly. He says:

When the discussion comes to this point, the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism are really of one school. Because
"The ways of good men (different seem).  
This in a public office toils;  
That in his home the time beguiles.  
One man his lips with silence seals;  
Another all his mind reveals,"
their (Confucianism and Buddhism) functions appeared different. Then a divergence of opinions emerged, some regarding them to be the same, some regarding them to be different.

The verse quoted means that the apparent differences of the ways are merely different aspects of the same Way. They appear different because each of us sees only a phase of it. Li's position elsewhere is that Buddhism helped Chinese scholars to recover the Chinese teaching of the Tao. It is clear then that Li rejects the objection that Buddhism as a foreign religion does not suit the Chinese.

48 For example, Li's preface.
Theme 10. Hostile Attitudes towards Buddhism

We include under this heading those derogatory remarks about Buddhism in which doctrinal issues are not discussed. Direct analysis of these arguments is impossible. The only profitable exercise is to detect circumstantial facts about these arguments and to give an explanation of these facts.

The first thing to notice is the large number of criticisms, about a quarter of all anti-Buddhist criticisms, belonging to this category. Derogatory remarks are usually most abundant among competing rivals who demand allegiance from their followers. Furthermore, the closer their resemblance, the greater their jealousy of one another. Does the large number of hostile remarks not indicate that Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism did tend to develop such a relationship to one another? Sources indicate that very often the Neo-Confucianists devoted part of their lives to Buddhist studies and that some of them did have inclinations towards Buddhism.\(^49\) They were also constantly comparing the two ways of cultivation.\(^50\) Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism do have sufficiently similar goals for their followers to be jealous of one another.\(^51\) Ch'eng Hao said, "The words of the Buddha and Lao Tzu are somewhat reasonable. . . . This is why they are very much more harmful."\(^52\) Chang Shih similarly said, "The harm caused by heretical

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\(^49\) See Tokiwa's account of the Buddhist contacts of the Neo-Confucianists, Shina, in passing.

\(^50\) Sections 91, 95, 159, 190.

\(^51\) C. f. sections 29, 94, 159, 190, 203.

\(^52\) Chan, Reflections, p. 290.
teachings nowadays is even more severe than that of Shen and Han. For their teachings appear to be sublime and attractive. Hence bright and gifted people gladly follow them. However, because they look similar to (the true teaching) but in reality are different, they chase after shadows and are blind to the truth." 53 These quotations fully betray the psychology of rivalry between two similar programmes towards sageshood. If this is not enough, let us hear the official Neo-Confucian advice given to neophytes about the attitude they should take towards Buddhism. Ch'eng Hao said, "A student should forthwith get as far away from Buddhist doctrines as from licentious songs and beautiful women. Otherwise they will soon infiltrate him." 54 Ch'eng I said, "If one does not want to become a Buddhist, one must belittle the Buddha. Then one naturally will not become a Buddhist." 55 Can there be further doubts about the nature of the rivalries between the Buddhists and Neo-Confucianists?

Since these sections do not involve theoretical issues, it is not necessary to analyse Li's replies. One may note that Li always regards these hostile remarks misdirected.

53 Section 208.
54 Section 49, translated by Chan, Reflections, p. 283.
55 Section 129.
Some Specific Characteristics of the Anti-Buddhist Criticisms

In our analysis of the anti-Buddhist criticisms in the Ming-tao-chi shuo, we discovered that the Neo-Confucianists presented both arguments which were put forward for the first time in Chinese history and arguments which had already been made in previous times. The new arguments were made on the basis of what preoccupied the minds of the objectors. In this case, they were the new philosophy based on the concepts of ch'i and Principle, and the methods of cultivation of sagehood. Since these concepts and concerns were never prominent in previous ages, objections against Buddhism were never made in terms of them. Now with the rise to prominence of these concepts and concerns, they became the basis for the Neo-Confucian objection against Buddhism. There is thus an association of the context in which the Neo-Confucianists lived, thought, and worked and the anti-Buddhist criticisms they made.

We have also noticed that some of the ancient arguments were repeated, some of them were ignored; further, the points of argument of some of them were shifted in the repetition. Economic and political reasons, which loomed large in Hsun Chi's Lun-fu-chiao piao and Fu I's memorial for the extirpation of Buddhism, were not found in the Neo-Confucian criticisms. The teaching of samsāra was criticized not so much because it was wrong in itself, as was done in ancient debates, as because it would lead to wrong cultivation. Debates on the immortality of the soul have shifted with the Neo-Confucian acceptance of the theory of ch'i. But whatever the changes, the immortality of the soul has never become an important point of dispute for the Neo-Confucianists.
The point that Buddhism is a foreign religion has also dwindled in importance. Lastly, the hostile remarks indicate the conscious and unconscious self-perception of the Neo-Confucians vis-a-vis the Buddhists: They are rivals with similar programmes for the attainment of sagehood. I venture to suggest that this shift in emphasis is connected with the context in which the Neo-Confucians found themselves and that the new context was one of 'cultivation.'

The biographies of Neo-Confucians were grouped by the Sung Shih (史记, History of the Sung Dynasty) under tao-hsüeh-chuan (道学传). Hence, Neo-Confucians were traditionally known as learners of Tao.56 The substance of what this term means is perhaps best seen in Han Yu's essay Yuan-tao (原道, "An Inquiry on the Way").57 There, Han Yu rejected the way of the Buddhists and Taoists. The way that he championed was that handed down in succession from one ancient sage to the next in line, this succession terminating with Mencius. Han Yu made it his concern to revive this tradition. The aim of a tao-hsüeh-chia (道学家) was therefore to become a sage and the way to it was by the practice of what was indicated by the Confucian Classics.

56. Throughout this study, the narrow sense of the term "Neo-Confucianism" has been used. Those who 'ming-tao' (sang about the Tao) fitted exactly this category.

However, despite Han Yü's manifest rejection of Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism as a whole was structurally influenced by Buddhism. The sage was conceived as one who was in a mystical union with the universe and the practice of morality was a means to arrive at that state.\footnote{58} In the words of Fung Yu-lan, "Their (Neo-Confucianists) aim was to induce men to follow a Confucian type of training which would make them 'Confucian Buddhas.'\footnote{59}

Buddhism was also responsible for the interest shown in metaphysics and cosmology. The early Neo-Confucianists were eager to find a unifying principle of the universe. They called this the $\text{li}$ ($\text{理}$), a concept probably molded by Chih Tun ($\text{支遁}$, 314-366).\footnote{60} This concept was wedded to certain incipient schemes in the I Ching so that cosmological theories were formed. They pursued this subject not out of pure speculation but out of a desire to find a foundation wherein to ground their theory of cultivation. Against this context of Neo-Confucian concerns, their anti-Buddhist criticisms become appropriate, necessary and even inevitable.

As the main concern of the Neo-Confucianists is a programme for arriving at sagehood, so their greatest rivals are other programmes for arriving at similar goals. The Neo-Confucianists aim their attack not so much at abstract theoretical systems as practical ways of life.

\footnote{58} Fung, History, II, 419. 
\footnote{59} Ibid. 
Their greatest complaint was that one would never become a sage following the rivals' programmes. This is well born out in our analysis.

The criticism that Buddhism rejects the Chinese moral order has a long history. Aside from the fact that Confucianists have looked at this criticism with the utmost gravity and found it worth repeating, the history of this argument is worthy of investigation for it illustrates the problem of the significance of context. This criticism occurred in the Yü-tao lun (喻道論) of Sun Ch'ø. He said:

Filial piety is the primary virtue in Confucianism. Filial piety is the supreme virtue and the foundation of all other activities... On the other hand, according to the way of the monks, one must be separated from his parents; one must desert relatives and seek the company of strangers. One must shave his beard and hair and deform his naturally given appearance. One must get rid of his wife and abstain from meat... This is the very opposite of the customary teaching.61

Buddhism is criticized for being unfilial, and since filial piety is the foundation of morality, Buddhism is considered to be against morality itself. The context is that of deciding whether Buddhism is the right religion or not. The same criticism occurred in section three of chapter thirteen of the Chin-ssu-lu, but there is a slight change of emphasis. Ch'eng Hao says:

Right in the relation of father and son, affection is the way, and right in the relation between ruler and minister, seriousness is the way. From these relations to those of being husband and wife, elder and younger, and friends, there is no activity that is not the Way... In the learning of the Buddhists there is seriousness to straighten the internal life but no righteousness to square the external life. Therefore those who are rigid become like dry wood and those who are relaxed end up in recklessness. This is why Buddhism is narrow. Our Way is different. It is to follow our

61 In HMC, T2102, 17a, lines 16-26.
nature, that is all. 62

Ch'eng is comparing the ways of Confucianism and Buddhism in the context of a discussion of the method of cultivation. The indication of this is in the quotation of the I Ching. The arguments in the Yü-tao lun and the Chin-ssu-lu may look similar but their emphasis and significance are slightly different. The former seeks to find out the correct religion, the latter seeks to find out the right method of cultivation.

The context also determines the topic of interest. Since cultivation and cosmology were the chief concerns of Neo-Confucianists, one would expect them to pay less attention to such areas as the economic, social, political and national. Although criticisms in these areas played an important part in earlier debates, they were conspicuously absent in the Chin-ssu-lu, and among Neo-Confucianists in general. On the other hand, new criticisms arose because of their preoccupation with cultivation and cosmology.

Against this finding, we should treat with caution the assertion sometimes made that arguments in Chinese apologetical literature often tend to be stereotyped and are repeated ad nauseum. 63 Although this observation is true for some of the arguments it would be wrong to conclude that therefore these writings are not worth investigating or that later repetitions must of necessity bring no new knowledge. Indeed, despite first impressions, Confucianists throughout history do not always make exactly the same arguments. The variation of these can often

be shown to be a function of the context of their concerns. Arguments may have arisen from different situations and consequently have different significance. In effect, two arguments may have similar words but be in reality distinct.

Can we find a root-cause of disagreement between the two parties? The Neo-Confucianists specifically picked out Buddhist cultivation for criticism. The root cause of disagreement in this respect from the point of view of Neo-Confucianists is the Buddhist teaching that the world is illusory. Neo-Confucian cultivation has two aspects: the internal, which aims at self-perfection, and the external, which deals with human relationships and affairs of the world. To the Confucianist, since Buddhism teaches the illusoriness of the world, it lacks the external aspect of cultivation and preserves only the self-centred perfection.

Structure of Li's Replies

In our thematic analysis of the Neo-Confucianists' criticisms of Buddhism we have gone through most of Li's arguments. Can we find any significant pattern in his answers? Can we find certain key structures or devices which enable Li to answer his opponents' objections? We shall first make some general observations on the characteristics of Li's answers and then discuss the favourite devices Li uses to answer criticisms.

At the outset, we must make the observation that Li, in common with Neo-Confucianists of the period, almost never carried on a sustained argument. The point is made by means of hints and suggestions.
Quotation of a frequently used phrase to represent a lengthy doctrine is deemed a good style. Secondly, it seems that Li does not show much effort to try to understand his opponents' positions and arguments. Every concept and traditional teaching is to be interpreted only according to Li's understanding. For example, Li will not allow the term hsin (性 human nature) to mean anything else than what it means in Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, the Buddha-nature, an Absolute beyond good and evil. The same applies to terms like li (理 Principle), Tao (道 way) and hsin ('心 mind). Li is not the least bothered by the possibility that he may be using terms equivocally. Thirdly, as a consequence of the above, one may conclude that as far as his argument is concerned, Li was not really interested in dialogue or in making his own position intelligible to his opponents. The style of his arguments achieves not so much in bringing the sceptic to conviction as to boost his own satisfaction of the knowledge that he possessed the truth.

Two general approaches are discerned in Li's answer to anti-Buddhist criticisms. First, he denies the adequacy of the Neo-Confucianists' knowledge of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He feels that had his opponents known about this teaching, their objections would not have arisen in the first place. Second, Li contends that Neo-Confucianists themselves do not always have a correct interpretation of Confucianism and Taoism. The correct interpretation of these two teachings is reached only when they are understood to be consonant with Buddhism.

With respect to the first approach, Li's major task is to show that the correct Buddhist teaching does not devalue the world or the
external aspects of cultivation. There are two Mahāyāna teachings to which Li mainly refers. The first is the bodhisattva's ideal to liberate all sentient beings before entering into Nirvāṇa. In carrying out this ideal, the bodhisattva uses whatever method is appropriate to the situation. Thus, the bodhisattva is ready to immerse himself in worldly ways and customs of human society. This enables Li to reply that the Buddhist is not solely interested in being alone in the forest or in being totally uninvolved with human enterprises. This argument is found in sections 48, 73, 182, among others.

The second is the twofold truth established in all the Mahāyāna schools. This recognizes that there are two levels of truth. The higher Truth is totally transcendent, indescribable, unrelated to the world. On the other hand, as long as Buddhists have to live in this world, they go along with what is taken as true according to conventional wisdom. The genius of the Madhyamika school, whose interpretation on emptiness is commonly accepted, is to identify the Unconditioned with the conditioned. On the level of higher Truth, the conventional truth is identical with the higher Truth. Thus, from the point of view of the

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64 For an account of the twofold truth in Mahāyāna Buddhism, see writings on the Madhyamika, for example, T. R. V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1960) or Frederick Streng, Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning (N.Y.: Abingdon, 1967).

65 Nothing of Samsāra is different from Nirvana; nothing of Nirvāna is different from Samsāra. The limit of Nirvāna is the limit of Samsāra; there is not even the slightest something separating the two." (Mūla) Madhyamakakārikā 25, 19-20, as quoted in Edward Conze, Buddhist Thought in India (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1962), p. 228.
higher Truth, what is prescribed as the Buddhist way of liberation is no different from worldly ways, what are seen as obstacles to the holy path are in reality not obstacles. To accuse the Mahāyāna Buddhists of avoiding human affairs and morality is therefore wrong for they have never simply denigrated worldly ways.

The twofold truth is a device used most extensively by Li. It appears in his replies to almost all the themes. However, an explicit mention of different levels of truth is rarely made by Li. Our only example comes from Li's reply in section 14 where the triple truth as established by the T'ien-t'ai school is utilized. In other places, the twofold truth used as a device is implied in the passages Li cites from Buddhist sources. For example, in section 48, there is the following quotation:

They regard "the eighty-four thousand worldly kleśas as identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of liberation."

This quotation is unintelligible except in terms of the twofold truth. In section 28, Li says:

The unconditioned (asamskṛta) is not regarded as implying the negation of the realm of the conditioned (samskṛta). The way-of-going-forth-from-the-world does not imply the destruction of the ways-of-the-world.

Li adds in section 48:

They regard the worldly-ways as identical with the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world, the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world as identical with the worldly-ways.

Here we have the identification of the Absolute with the phenomenal. This again presupposes the validity of the twofold truth. As we have seen, this kind of presupposition is liberally used in Li's answers.
We may therefore conclude that the twofold truth is the main device Li used to solve the most important Neo-Confucian argument, that is, that the Buddhists neglected human affairs and morality.

Li's second approach to answering anti-Buddhist criticisms is to show that Neo-Confucians are ignorant of their own native traditions, which are in fact in harmony with the Buddhist teaching. The choice of examples from Chinese traditions depend on the specific issue of the argument and these examples cannot be summarized under one or two categories. Some examples are straightforward citations of simple facts without further interpretations by means of Buddhist principles. For example, on the question of food and sex, Li writes in section 164:

There are people in the world who refrain from grain and keep fasts. . . . Regarding woman to be hard to keep, the first three generations descended from Confucius divorced their wives. Mencius was disgusted with the lack of propriety of his wife and wished to send her away.

The narration of Chinese examples is straightforward and no interpretation by means of Buddhist teachings is needed. Those citations from Chuang Tzu which show human existence to be dream-like have also not undergone any specific interpretation. These are found in section 22:

Lao Tzu said to Yin Wen-tzu, "You and I are merely illusions." Confucius said to Ch'ü Ch'üeh-tzu, "Ch'iu (Confucius) and you are both dreaming." "And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this (is all a great dream.)" "After ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed in a dream."

Examples of ancient Sages who are cited as having gone-forth-from-the-world are subjected to some degree of interpretation. Li says in section 105:
The Yellow Emperor's "not churning up his essence" is identical with "Master Kuang Ch'eng's living on top of Mountain T'ung-k'ung. . . . " Are they not talking about the seeking of Tao?

Again, Li says in section 106:

"Its swiftness is such that, in the time it takes to lift and lower the head, it has twice swept over the four seas and beyond." "He inhales the wind and drinks the dew, and he does not eat the five grains."

These are examples of activities out-of-this-world, and Li equates them with the Buddhist going-forth-from-the-world (出世). Can this be done without a little stretching of the imagination? A certain 'Buddhist' interpretation is also evident in asserting that certain passages from the Chinese Classics are indicative of the teaching of samsāra. Li says in section 26:

This teaching comes from (a phrase in the I Ching, "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death." Chuang Tzu clarified it further. He said, "Life is a companion of death, and death is the beginning of life." It is impossible to find whether life is the beginning or death is the beginning. Lieh Tzu also said, "He who dies here, how do you know he will not be born in the other place?" "All creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again." If this is not samsāra, what is it?

The more radical re-interpretations of Chinese traditions are found in the following example. It is the equation of the Buddhist conception of the mind with the Absolutes in Chinese traditions. Li says in section 22:

Confucius knows that "In the system of Changes there is the Great Ultimate, which produced the Two Forms." Lao Tzu knows that "There was something Formless yet complete, that existed before heaven and earth." Chuang Tzu knows that "Tao gave birth to heaven and earth." Lieh Tzu knows about the beginning of chaos." They all refer to the "small object within the entire Universe." How could Master Chang know about this? What object is referred to by Confucius' 'Great Ultimate', Lao Tzu's '(Something) formless yet complete,' Chuang Tzu's 'Tao' and Lieh Tzu's 'Chaos'? Since these four philo-
sophers lived in the same Universe, they must be referring to the same entity. Scholars were at a loss for one thousand and five hundred years. Then, Buddhist scriptures came to the East. The Śūraṅgama Sūtra says, "The Void is produced within the Great Awakening, just as a bubble emerges from the ocean. Worldly realms, countless as dust particles, are all produced from the Void." (The Absolutes are) none other than this Mind, is it not so?

Li is saying that the coming of the Śūraṅgama Sūtra has brought light on the equation of the Absolutes with the Mind. Without this help from Buddhism, scholars have been at a loss to understand the meaning of the Chinese Absolutes. We shall see that Li re-interprets Chinese traditions by means of Buddhist teachings to a very great extent in sections where he is not directly involved with anti-Buddhist polemics. Here we have seen what he meant when he asserted that his opponents did not understand native Chinese traditions. We have also seen the different levels at which Li has subjected Chinese concepts and teachings to a re-interpretation so as to bring them into line with Buddhist ideas.
CHAPTER VII

LI'S VIEW OF CHINESE TRADITIONS AND THE PARALLELS OF THE THREE RELIGIONS

The focus of this chapter is on Li's theory of harmonization. Li's view in this respect is manifested in the peculiar view he has of the history of Chinese traditions of the pursuit of Tao, in the re-interpretation of Chinese concepts so that they form parallels with Buddhist counterparts and in his two essays on the Chinese teaching on the mind. We shall therefore proceed to examine each topic in turn and then venture to give an evaluation of the acceptability of Li's theory.

Li's View of Chinese Traditions

In Li's replies to Neo-Confucians he accuses them of misunderstanding the sages' teachings. Like Han Yu and some other Neo-Confucians he complains that the pursuit of Tao ceased after the time of Mencius. It is quite probable that although Li and Neo-Confucians make the same complaint, they base it on different premises, different conceptions of Tao, different understandings of Chinese traditions and different evaluations of the latter's history. Li's view of the Chinese tradition of Tao is scattered in passing in the Ming-tao-chi shuo, but a summary is found in his preface. The tradition of Tao began with the mythical Sages who were already divided into two camps. But their clear division was firmly established only with Lao Tzu and Confucius. Nevertheless, the two camps are complemen-
Li says in his preface: The minds of Fu Hsi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti are seen in the great Book of Changes; that of Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen and Wu are seen in the Book of Poetry and the Book of History. . . . Then, there appeared Lao Tzu, who wandered beyond the bounds of the material universe. . . . There appeared Confucius, who wandered within the bounds of the material universe. . . . Nevertheless, (Lao Tzu and Confucius) praised each other and recommended each other. . . .

Then, Li narrates how this perfect condition deteriorated and finally how the true teaching was lost. He says:

Chuang Chou . . . followed the flow of the stream. . . . Meng Ko . . . went against the flow. . . . They (complemented each other) like two halves of a tally. . . . It is a pity that with the passing away of these four Sages, Lieh Yü-k'ou was eclectic and lost the truth; Hsün Ching-tzu mixed things up and was not pure; Yang Hsiung and Wang T'ung usurped the title of sagehood. . . . The Tao of the Sages was like a thread and has not been transmitted for one thousand and five hundred years.

The recovery of this lost teaching depends on the secret study of Buddhism by recent Chinese scholars. Li himself does not merely stand on the side but actively participates in the process of recovery. He says:

When the books of the Buddha arrived from the West . . . their sublime sayings and wonderful teachings were (found to be) completely complementary with the minds of our ancient Sages. . . . The Confucian philosophers secretly appropriated his teaching (and used it) to verify (the truth of) our books. . . . Fearing, that they may diverge again on the point of unification, I have noted down those opinions (of the philosophers) which do not match that of the Sages, calling them the Discussions of the "Collected Plaints on Tao."

Who are considered Chinese sages in Li's writings? Like Han Yü, Li mentions the sage kings Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen and Wu. But unlike Han Yü, Li adds to the top of the list of kings the still more ancient figures of Fu Hsi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti and he claims that

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1See also sections 152, 182 and Ml.
their minds are seen in the Book of Changes.² Lao Tzu is considered the equal of Confucius and complementary to him. Chuang Tzu and Mencius are regarded as sages too in his preface. There has never been any doubt about the status of Chuang Tzu. In addition to many passages in which the sagehood of Chuang Tzu is implied, Li actually defends him in section 7.³ Mencius is explicitly mentioned as a sage in sections 201 and M2. However, he is considered second best in one instance. In section 104 where human nature is being discussed, Li thinks Mencius has fallen to second place for his teaching that human nature is good. The place of Lieh Tzu is ambiguous. In many sections, he is said to have the same teaching as the other sages.⁴ In section 6, his work is said to contain the Book of Huang Ti (黄帝书). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why he is considered a sage.² Obviously, Li was not altogether pleased with everything in the book Lieh Tzu. In M1, Li says that Lieh Tzu's disciples inserted Yang Chu's teachings into the former's book.⁵ Perhaps without these inserted parts, Lieh Tzu could have been considered a sage. However, the preface condemns him for distorting the truth. Hsün Tzu has never been approved by Li. In section 35, Li considers the ancient philosophers Kung-sun Lung, Hui Shih and Teng Hsi

²See Li's preface. These figures appear in I Ching, Ta Chuan, II, 2, p. 64.

³See sections 2, 22, 26, 90, 201 and M1 for the implied sagehood of Chuang Tzu. In his self-portrait, Li considers himself a disciple of Chuang Tzu. See Kuei-ch'ien-chih, op. cit., ch. 1, p. 6a.

⁴Sections 6, 22, 26, 75, 78 and M1.

⁵Yang Chu embraced hedonism and figured as one of Mencius' opponents.
heretics. In Li's estimation, none of the later scholars achieved sages-

Thus, it would seem that Li considers the ancient sages of both Taoism and Confucianism on equal terms. Indeed, in his preface he would like us to think that the sages of the two traditions complemented each other. The Taoist figures of Fu Hsi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti are balanced by the Confucian kings of Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang and so on; Lao Tzu is paired with Confucius; Chuang Tzu with Mencius; and Lieh Tzu with Hsün Tzu. The intention to harmonize these two Chinese traditions is thus evident.

Another approach to understanding Li's view of Chinese traditions is to find out how he regards the ancient writings. The most revered books are: (1) all the books traditionally associated with Confucius, both those of which he was regarded as the author and those which he edited (those quoted are the Ch'un-chiu, the Analects, the Book of the Mean, the Records of Rites, the Great Learning and the Book of Changes) and (2) Lao Tzu, Mencius, Chuang Tzu and Lieh Tzu. Li shows an uncritical acceptance of the traditional attribution of books to authors. Neo-Confucianists in Northern Sung were already doubting the authenticity of certain Confucian books. For example, Ch'eng I thought that the chapter "Ju-hsing" (儒行) in the Record of Rites could not be attributed to Confucius. More serious was Ou-yang Hsiu's charge that the "Appended Remarks" to the Book of Changes were forgeries.

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6 Section 125. 7 Sections 184 and 125.
To the latter charge, Li weakly replies in section 184 that since Confucius edited it, it could be considered his work. In other places, Li simply asserts that Ch'eng I and Ou-yang Hsiu were wrong.

It is evident from the above examination of Li's view of the history of Tao and Chinese traditions in general that he held a theory of harmonization for the Three Teachings. Li exalted the Taoist tradition to the equal of the Confucian such as no pure Confucianist would have done. He drew a parallel of Taoist sages and Confucian sages. Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu were counterparts of Confucius, Mencius and Hsün Tzu. He held that the lost teaching of Tao was re-discovered with the help of Buddhist writings. What was good of contemporary Neo-Confucianism was secretly borrowed from Buddhism. With regard to literature, Li held in as high a regard Taoist books such as Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu and Lieh Tzu as the standard Confucian books. He could not tolerate that any part of the Book of Changes be regarded as forgeries for this was his most highly regarded book, which he constantly quoted for support of his theory of harmonization.

Parallels Among the Three Teachings

In our discussions of the anti-Buddhist polemics we mentioned that among the approaches used, Li applies Buddhist principles to the interpretation of Chinese concepts. This latter method is used to a much more thorough degree in sections not directly related to anti-

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8 Li considered the "Appended Remarks" the very words of Confucius. See section 18 in which a quotation from this book is so attributed.

9 Sections 125, 184 and M2.
Buddhist polemics. The way in which Li uses this method is chiefly to draw parallels among concepts found in the different traditions and to assert that these concepts are identical in meaning. Then, Li turns around and say that the Three Religions teach the same things. In effect, the parallels are meant to be evidence for saying that the Three Religions are identical. Hence, in order to reach a clearer understanding of Li's theory of harmonization, an examination of the parallels is in order. We shall discuss, as suggested by what is available, the parallels in five headings.

A. Structure of the Absolute

Li writes in section 12:

What Lao Tzu means by "Constant Non-Being" is the same as what the Buddha means by the "Absolute Void." It is not an emptiness which denies the laws of karma. What Lao Tzu means by "Constant Being" is identical with what the Buddha means by "Wonderful Existence." It is not a being which obstructs form. Non-Being does not mean the complete absence of being. Being does not mean the complete affirmation of being. "Void is identical with Form, and Form is identical with Void."

Li says in section 23:

"What is above form is called Tao; what is within form is called tool." Is this not the same as Lao Tzu's saying, "Constant Non-Being, Constant Being," and Buddha's "Absolute Void and Wonderful Existence"?

Again, he says in section 212:

(This-worldly phenomena of) heaven and earth, the myriad things, human beings, the sun and the moon all belong to the realm of the 'within form.' As for the 'above form,' who talked about it? ... How can there be 'another object' when one reads Buddha's saying "The Form is identical with Void," and Lao Tzu's saying "They are together called the Mysterious."

These parallels are put in schematic form as follows:
Item 1 (section 12)

Taoism
(Lao Tzu)

Constant Non-Being
常無

Buddhism

Absolute Void
真空

Constant Being
常有

Wonderful Existence
妙有

Item 2 (section 23)

Taoism
(Lao Tzu)

(a) Constant Non-Being
常無

(b) Constant Being
常有

Buddhism

(a) Absolute Void
真空

(b) Wonderful Existence
妙有

Confucianism
(I Ching)

(a) The 'above form'
形而上

(b) The 'within form'
形而下

Item 3 (section 212)

Confucianism
(I Ching)

The 'above form' and the 'within form'
形而上下

Taoism
(Lao Tzu)

They are together called the mysterious
同謂之玄

Buddhism

Form is the Void
色即是空

In these parallels Li wants to deal with the structure of Tao, the ultimate of the Absolute. These show a dual structure which is expressed as Non-Being and Being, Void and Existence, the 'above form' and the 'within form'. How are we to understand the relationship between these two terms in each of the sets? Li wants them to be interpreted according to the Buddhist identity of the Absolute with the phenomenal made possible by the establishment of the twofold truth.

In section 12 (item 1), we find these passages: "It (Absolute Void) is not an emptiness which denies the law of karma." "It (Wonderful Existence) is not a being which obstructs form. Non-Being does not mean
the complete absence of being. Being does not mean the complete affir-
mation of being." Then, Li adds a formula from the Heart Sutra: "The
Void is identical with form and form is identical with Void." In
other words, we are to understand that the two parts of the structure
are not impediments to each other. Li's intention is even more clearly
seen in section 212 (item 3) when he emphasizes the oneness of the two
parts of the twofold structure. In other words, the Chinese concepts
should be interpreted according to the Buddhist twofold truth.

B. Production of the universe

Li says in section 13:

That which is referred to in Confucius' saying, "In the I Ching,
there is the Great Ultimate which produces the Two Forms"; in Lao
Tzu's saying "There was something formless yet complete, that
existed before heaven and earth"; in Buddha's saying, "The Void is
produced in the Great Awakening, like a bubble that emerges from
the sea"; in "The Tao, which produces heaven and earth," is the
"mother of the ch'i (pneuma)"; and that which is its own root and
origin is this very mind itself.

Again he says in section 22:

Confucius knows that "In the system of Changes there is the Great
Ultimate which produced the Two Forms." Lao Tzu knows that "There
was something formless yet complete, what existed before heaven and
earth." Lieh Tzu knows about the "beginning of chaos." They all
refer to the "small object within the entire universe." How could
Master Chang know about this? What object is referred to by Con-
fucius' 'Great Ultimate,' Lao Tzu's 'something) formless yet com-
plete,' Chuang Tzu's 'Tao' and Lieh Tzu's 'Chaos'? Since these
four philosophers lived in the same universe, they must be refer-
ing to the same entity. Scholars were at a loss for one thousand
and five hundred years. The Buddhist scriptures came to the East.
The Sūraṅgama Sūtra says, "The Void is born within the Great Aw-
akening, just as a bubble emerges from the ocean. Worldly realms,
countless as dust particles, are all produced from the Void." (The
Absolutes are) none other than this Mind, is it not so?
Again in section 108:

Confucius said, "Heaven and earth come together, and all things take shape and find form." Chuang Tzu said, "Heaven and Earth were produced together with me. The myriad things and myself were united into one." The Buddha said, "The Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with each other." Then, before the Two Forms were differentiated, there existed "an object formless yet complete," which, from itself, gave birth to Heaven and Earth. How can Heaven and Earth produce myself? The transformation of the Mind gives rise to the Void; the transformation of the Void gives rise to Heaven and Earth; the self and the myriad things are produced together.

The parallels in these passages can be put into a schematic form as follows:

Item 4 (section 13)

Taoism (Lao Tzu) There was something formless yet complete, that existed before heaven and earth.

有物混成，先天地生

(Chuang Tzu) Tao produces heaven and earth.

道生天地

Confucianism (I Ching) In the I Ching there is the Great Ultimate which produces the two forms.

易有太極，是生兩儀

Buddhism The Void is produced in the Great Awakening, like a bubble that emerges from the sea.

空生大覺中如海一沤發

Item 5 (section 22)

Confucianism (I Ching) The Great Ultimate 太極

Taoism (Lao Tzu) Formless-yet-complete 混成

(Lieh Tzu) Chaos 濁渙

(Chuang Tzu) Tao 道

Buddhism Void (Reality) 空（真）

All these five are identified with the Mind.
Item 6 (section 108)

Confucianism (I Ching)  "Heaven and earth come together, and all things take shape and find form."

Taoism (Chuang Tzu)  Heaven and earth were born at the same time as I was, and the ten thousand things are one with me.

Buddhism  Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with each other.

Items 4, 5 and 6 talk about Tao, or the Ultimate or the Absolute in their capacity to produce the universe. In some Mahāyāna Buddhist theory, the universe is a manifestation of the mind. If this is the case and if the Chinese teachings are identical with the Buddhist, then the Chinese Ultimates, namely, the Tao of Chuang Tzu, the Great Ultimate of the I Ching (and hence of Confucius), the "Formless-yet-complete" of Lao Tzu, the "Chaos" of Lieh Tzu, since they are each the ultimate source of the universe, are identical with Mind. This is exactly what Li says in section 22 (item 5). The conceptions of the production of the universe therefore provide Li with an occasion to interpret Chinese concepts by means of Buddhist teachings; then these conceptions are regarded as evidence for saying that the Three Teachings say the same things.

Li's identification of the Mind with the Chinese Absolute also provide a key to the understanding of his two essays on the mind, which are sometimes known as Chung-kuo hsin hsüeh (中國心學 The teaching of the mind in China). Li thinks that the most sublime concept in Buddhism is that of the mind. In section 14, the appearance of
the cosmos is regarded as the manifestation of the Bhūtatathatā. Hence, by implication, the mind is identified with the Bhūtatathatā. If Confucianism and Taoism teach the same truth as Buddhism, which, in Li's opinion, is correct, then there must be a teaching on the mind in China too. This is precisely what Li attempts to show in his two essays on the mind. It will be noticed that Li, who ordinarily quotes Buddhist writings liberally, refrains from quoting anything from those sources in these essays. The intention is to show that the Chinese teaching of the mind is an exact copy of the Buddhists'. With the foregoing identification of the mind with the Chinese Absolutes, it will be clear why in the second essay on the mind Li starts off with the quotations on the "Formless-yet-complete" and the "Great Ultimate."

C. The structure of reality and the Hua-yen dharmadhātu

Li says in section 62:

The "above-form" is identical with Lao Tzu's "Constant Non-Being" and the Buddhist "realm of the noumenon." The "within-form" is identical with Lao Tzu's "Constant Being" and the Buddhist "realm of the phenomenon." "'Transform them and fit them together'; 'stimulate them and set them in motion'" is identical with Lao Tzu's "They are together called the mysterious," and the Buddhist "realm

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10 Li identifies Tao with the mind. In section 68, he says, for the sage there is no Tao aside from the mind and there is no mind aside from the Tao." (聖人之心, 外無道道外無心) Again, what Han Yu called the transmission of Tao from Confucius through his disciples to Mencius Li called the transmission of the teaching of the mind. Li says in section 3, "In the I Ching there is the teaching which says, "Investigate Principle to the utmost and to fully develop one's nature until destiny is fulfilled." This is Confucius' teaching of the Mind... It was transmitted to Mencius through Yen Tzu (Yen Hui), Tseng Tzu and Tzu Su. Mencius said, 'He who has exhausted all his mind knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven.'"
in which noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other." "Raise them up and set them forth before all people on earth," is identical with Lao Tzu's "The gate of all wonderful (things)" and the Buddhist "realm in which all phenomena interfuse without impediment to one another."

Again in section 117:

Lao Tzu's saying, "'Constant Non-Being,' 'Constant Being;' 'They are together called the mysterious, the gate of all wonderful (things)'"; Confucius' saying, "The 'Tao' and the 'tool'; 'change' and 'continuity'; 'the field of action'" are identical with the contemplations of the dharmadhātu.

Again in M1:

The Ch'an Master Tu Shun established the Four Dharmadhātu. They are called the noumenon, the phenomenon, the non-differentiation of phenomenon and noumenon, and the non-impediment of phenomenon and phenomenon. Is this not the same as Po-yang's saying, "Constant Non-Being; Constant Being; they are together called the mysterious; the mystery of mysteries, the gate of all wonderful (things)," and Chung-ni's words, "The 'Tao' and 'objects,' 'change,' 'continuity' and 'field of action'"?

Representing these passages schematically, we get the following:

Item 7 (section 62)

**Confucianism**

(1. *Ching*)

(a) The 'above-form' 形而上

(b) The 'within-form' 形而下

(c) Transform them and fit them together; stimulate them and set them in motion.

化而裁之 推而行之

(d) Raise them up and set them forth before all people on earth.

舉而措之天下之民

**Taoism**

(Lao Tzu)

(a) Constant Non-Being 常無

(b) Constant Being 常有

(c) They are together called the mysterious.

同謂之玄

(d) The gate of all wonderful things.

象妙之門
Buddhism (Hua-yen) (a) Realm of the noumenon 法界
(b) Realm of the phenomenon 事法界
(c) Realm in which noumenon and phenomenon inter fuse without impediment to each other. 理事無礙法界
(d) Realm in which all phenomena inter fuse without impediment to one another. 事事無礙法界

Items 8 and 9 (sections 117 and M1) The structure is the same as above.

In these sections, Li sets out the exact equivalence of the four dharmadhātu of Hua-yen with writings in the I Ching and Lao Tzu. The quotation from I Ching can be seen as a condensed summary of the Way. It talks about the structure of reality when it divides the universe into the 'above-form' and the 'within-form,' and the operation of the Way among the people with the two phrases "Transform them and fit them together; stimulate them and set them in motion," "Raise them up and set them forth before all people on earth." Thus the entire Confucian programme is identified with the four dharmadhātu of Buddhism and the phrases taken from the first chapter of Lao Tzu. The implication is that the Three Teachings are identical in all respects. It must be said that while there are elements of resemblance in the structural parts of a and b, the similarities in c and d are at most tenuous. Elsewhere, Li has misgivings with saying that the Three Teachings are exactly identical. In M9, he says that their ultimates (Taoi) are one but their teachings (教 chiao) are three. But here, Li tries to equate them as much as possible.
D. Cultivation

Li says in section 42:

The 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' of the Ch' an people are the same as the 'within' and 'beyond' of Chuang Chou. It is (again) similar to the (I Ching's) saying, "The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil." ... Take a simpler analogy: The 'mind' of the Sage is like the moon in the sky. His 'outward manifestations' are like the moons in water. They are both identical and not identical. They are either similar or different.

Again in section 70:

The cessation referred to by Buddhists is exactly the same as that 'stillness' which was taught to Yen Yuan by Confucius in the phrase "The empty chamber gives rise to brightness. Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness."

Again in section 111:

Mencius' saying, "Do not take the side, nor hold on to the middle" is identical with the Hua-yen's saying, "Neither this shore, nor the other shore, nor mid-stream."

Li says in section 207:

When it is "without thought and without action," it means Tao. When acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events in the universe" means righteousness. This corresponds to Chuang Tzu's saying, "He dwells like a corpse and sees with dragon vision; remains silent like a deep pool and sounds like thunder"; and Lao Tzu's saying, "Which of you can assume such murkiness, to become in the end still and clear? Which of you can make yourself inert, to become in the end full of life and stir?" and Buddha's saying, "The first appearance of clear water represents the initial suppression of intruding impurities. The pure water obtained after the removal of mud represents the permanent cutting off of fundamental ignorance. All the changes and manifestations (of the En-lighterment) are not related to impurities but are in accord with the pure, wonderful virtue of Nirvāṇa."

These sections can be put into the following schemes:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 10 (section 42)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism (Ch''an)</td>
<td>(a) mind 心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) outward manifestations 迹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoism (Chuang Tzu)</td>
<td>(a) wandering beyond the world 遊方之外</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) wandering within the world 遊方之內</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism (I Ching)</td>
<td>(a) The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). 聖人以此洗心退藏于密</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil. 而吉凶與民同情</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 11 (section 70)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>Cessation 止</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism (from Chuang Tzu)</td>
<td>The empty chamber is where brightness is born. Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness. 虛室生白吉祥止止</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 12 (section 111)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism (Mencius)</td>
<td>One should not take one extreme, nor hold on to the middle. 不取一偏亦不執中</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>(He) he dwells neither on this shore, nor on the other shore, nor in mid-stream. 不此岸不彼岸不中流</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item 13 (section 207)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confucianism (I Ching)</td>
<td>There is no thought and no action. (That is Tao) When acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events in the universe. (That is righteousness) 無思也無為也則道是也感而遂通天下之故則義是已</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taoism (Chuang Tzu) He dwells like a corpse and sees with dragon vision; remains silent like a deep pool and sounds like thunder.

(Lao Tzu) Which of you can assume such murkiness, to become in the end still and clear? Which of you can make yourself inert, to become in the end full of life and stir?

Buddhism (Sūraṇgama sutra) The first appearance of clear water represents the initial suppression of intruding impurities. The pure water obtained after the removal of mud represents the permanent cutting off of fundamental ignorance. All the changes and manifestations (of the Enlightenment) are not related to impurities but are in accord with the pure, wonderful virtue of Nirvana.

These sections concern parallels of cultivational methods.

Again, Buddhism provides the key to understanding. In section 42, the relation between the mind and outward manifestations is said to be that of both identity and difference, a formula used to indicate that the noumenon and phenomenon are not impediments to each other. Section 70 points out that cessation in Buddhism does not impede function and that this is the cessation taught also by Confucius. A Buddhist formula is again used to determine the meaning of a passage from Mencius in section 111. The most striking observation about these parallels on cultivation is the presence of the dual aspects of tranquillity and activity, the internal and external, in all three traditions. Furthermore, these two aspects are not impediments to each other. The Sage dwells unfeeling like a corpse and yet sees with the clear vision of a dragon. He may remain profoundly silent and yet roars like thunder.
E. Miscellaneous

Li writes in section 26:

This teaching comes from (a phrase in the I Ching), "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death." Chuang Tzu clarified it further. He said, "Life is a companion of death, and death is the beginning of life." It is impossible to find whether life is the beginning or death is the beginning. Lieh Tzu also said, "He who dies here, how do you know he will not be born in the other place?" "All creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again. If this is not samsāra, what is it?

This section can be schematized as follows:

Item 14 (section 26) On samsāra

Confucianism (I Ching)  Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death.

原始反終知生死之說

Taoism (Chuang Tzu)  The living is the companion of death, the dead is the beginning of life.

生者死之徒 死者生之始

(Lieh Tzu)  The one who dies here, how do you know if he will not be born there?

死于此者安知不生彼

It is obvious that the purpose of these parallels is to show that samsāra is also a Chinese teaching.

Li writes in section 180:

The Buddha first established the vehicles of re-birth into the heavenly and human realms by preaching the five silas and the ten good deeds; then he practised the path of the bodhisattva by means of the six paramitās and the ten thousand practices. The Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues are all contained there.

This paragraph can be schematized as follows:
Item 15 (section 180)  Moral rules

Confucianism  The Three Principal Relationships and Five Constant Virtues.

Buddhism  The five śīlas and the ten good deeds, the six pāramītas and ten thousand practices.

By these parallels, Li means to show that Buddhism also possesses moral rules.

In section 104, Li equates the Confucian concept of human nature with the Buddhist transcendent Absolute. Li writes:

This (teaching) is referred to by the Śūraṅgama sūtra when it says, "The beginningless Bodhi and Nirvāṇa are the originally clear and pure substance whose consciousness is penetrating and originally illuminating...." Again, this object is the same as "The beginningless clinging-mind, which is the cause of the fundamental root of birth and death, and regards itself as the self-nature." It is neither one nor two. It is neither the same nor different. It is neither identical nor separate.

This parallel can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

Item 16 (section 104)  On human nature

Confucianism  Human nature 性

Buddhism  The beginningless Bodhi and Nirvāṇa are the originally clear and pure substance.

Sūtrānga sūtra  The beginningless clinging mind, which is the cause of the fundamental root of birth and death, and regards itself as the self-nature.

Here the Chinese concept of human nature is said to be identical with both the "Bodhi and Nirvāṇa" and the clinging mind. This is possible only because human nature is conceived of as beyond description. Li thinks that for Confucius, human nature is beyond good and evil. That
is why Li said Mencius was wrong when he said that human nature was good. To Li, what was referred to by Mencius was only on the level of 'practice' (行 hsi) in Confucius' scheme. If Confucius' concept of human nature is beyond good and evil, then it is the same as the Buddhist Absolute which is likewise beyond good and evil, or identified with both the "Bodhi and Nirvāṇa" and the clinging mind.

Li says in section 204:

"(The Sage) takes part in ten thousand ages and achieves simplicity in oneness." These are words of Chuang Chou . . . As for the 'contemplations of the dharmadhātu,' . . . one is ten thousand, ten thousand is one.

Representing this passage schematically:

Item 17 (section 204) Hua-yen totality and Chuang Tzu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taoism (Chuang Tzu)</th>
<th>He takes part in ten thousand years and achieves simplicity in oneness.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td>One is identical with ten thousand; and ten thousand is identical with one.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intention of this parallel needs no comment.

Li says in section 152:

Do they also know that K'ang-ts'ang-tzu saw with his ears and heard with his eyes? "Aniruddha is blind but sees, Upāṇāṇa is deaf but hears . . . Mahākāśyapa . . . succeeded long ago in rooting out the organ of intellect thereby realizing perfect knowledge which did not derive from the thinking process."

This parallel can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

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11 See section 104.
Item 18 (section 152) Supersensory powers

Taoism

K'ang T's'ang-tzu sees with his ears and hears with his eyes.

Buddhism

Aniruddha who is blind but sees, Upānanda who is deaf but hears. . . . Mahākāśyapa . . . succeeded long ago in rooting out the organ of intellect thereby realizing perfect knowledge which did not derive from the thinking process.

Lastly, Li says in section 17:

What Chuang Tzu refers to as the Heavenly Man, the Perfect Man and the Spirit Man are in fact other names for the Sage. . . . Finally, when the Buddhist books arrived, (we learned about) the teachings of the three bodies of the Buddha, the dharmakāya, sambhogakāya and nirmānakāya. . . . The Ch'an people also teach the Five Positions.

This parallel is shown schematically as follows:

Item 19 (section 17) Three bodies

Taoism

(Chuang Tzu) The heavenly man, the accomplished man, the godly man.

Buddhism
dharmakāya, sambhogakāya, nirmānakāya

The Five Positions (of the Tsao-tung sect)

On the whole, Li's purpose in drawing up the parallels is to show as much as possible that the Three Teachings are the same. They are the same most importantly with respect to Tao or Ultimate or Absolute, which has a dual aspect, the correct understanding of which is brought about through Buddhist teachings. Secondly, parallels are drawn on matters concerning cultivation. And lastly, parallels are
shown to exist among many other tenets of the Three Teachings.

Li's Two Essays on the Mind

As mentioned before, Li's two essays on the mind give a re-interpretation of Chinese teachings by means of Buddhist principles. The effect of this attempt is to show that China also has a teaching on the mind, which parallels the Buddhist teaching. Although Li does not mention the Buddhist half of the parallel, he must have the Buddhist teaching in mind, for his essays would not be intelligible otherwise. These essays can therefore be considered as comprehensive parallels of the Chinese traditions and the Buddhist teaching. A brief analysis should serve to bring out Li's intentions.

The essays are entirely made up of quotations from Chinese writings. Many of these quotations do not follow one another in a logical line of thought but are put there to suggest concepts the interconnection of which is left to the reader. The first essay begins by suggesting that the mind is the Absolute, the origin from which the universe is produced. The idea that the mind can produce the universe is not found in Chinese traditions, so this is a new interpretation brought in from Buddhism by Li. Next, Li says that the transformation of the myriad things is governed by the law of transmigration. The insistence on transmigration is again a Buddhist emphasis. Out of this transformation emerges man. If this man retains the truth, he becomes a sage whose characteristic is transcendence over the limitations to which ordinary beings are subjected. The Tao that this sage possesses is also beyond our comprehension. Furthermore, this Tao cannot be expressed.
The sage appears ignorant and yet he is clear like a dust-free mirror, clean as unadulterated water.

The second essay begins with the identification of the mind with Lao Tzu's 'Formlessly Fashioned' and the Great Ultimate from the I Ching. This Being is unlike other beings. It produces and yet is not itself produced; it transforms and yet is not itself transformed. It cannot be seen or heard and yet it is that by which things are seen and heard. Then Li quotes a passage from the first chapter of Lao Tzu which contains the terms 'Constant Non-Being' and 'Constant Being.' In sections 62 and 117, this passage is equated with the four dharmadhātu in Hua-yen teaching. It is a concise statement of the various stages at which Tao or Mind or Absolute shows itself. Then comes a passage from I Ching which Li equates with the previous passage. Then, he narrates the degradation of Tao so that now distinctions between good and evil are made. The characteristics of a man who possesses the Tao then come into discussion. Many of these quotations show a dual aspect of tranquillity and motion, substance and function, non-action and action, non-assertion of the will and yet the accomplishment of the deed. Finally, Li says, "The non-speech also speaks. It talks about everything and yet it says nothing. The non-knowledge also knows. It knows everything and yet it knows nothing." What Li means to show is transcendence of Tao over conceptual knowledge, a line of thought compatible with the Mahāyāna Buddhist truth.

The message of these two essays is clear: China also has a teaching of the mind and it is identical with that of the Buddhists.
The authentic meaning of the Chinese sages has been lost and it is only Li who, with the help of the Buddhist teaching, is able to restore it. Thus the true Tao is not the property of any one religion. It belongs to all three. This is Li's theory of the 'harmonization' of the Three Teachings. He did not go out to harmonize them. He simply found them identical.

**Evaluation of Li's Harmonization**

As evidence that the Three Religions teach the same things, Li presents the parallels. An evaluation of Li's theory of harmonization therefore depends on the acceptability of these parallels. In order to form an opinion on whether Li has succeeded in drawing the parallels among the Three Teachings, we have to make an observation on the Chinese sources he refers to. We notice that the Confucian sources are largely limited to the *I Ching*, and especially to that part called the "Appended Remarks,"¹² References to Lao Tzu are limited to a few concepts. Now, these two books are not systematic, discursive treatises but each is rather like an assortment of unrelated pithy remarks the exact meanings of which are in considerable obscurity. Confronted with a reading of Buddhist meaning into these Chinese terms, the critic, if he happens to disagree with Li, is unable to say why Li is wrong with respect to the Classics. The critic cannot appeal to tradition either, for Li maintains that scholars since the time of Mencius have misunderstood the Tao. The 'advantage' of this obscurity of the *I Ching* and

¹²The "Appended Remarks" is traditionally attributed to Confucius but was probably composed in Han Dynasty. See Fung, *History*, I, 381-382.
Lao Tzu is that Li can in good conscience maintain himself to be a good Buddhist, Confucianist and Taoist at the same time.

On the other hand, the disadvantage of the obscurity of the Chinese Classics is that the parallels cannot force conviction. It is very well to say that the 'Constant Non-Being', 'Constant Being', and 'The above-form' and the 'Within-form' could have all the intricate meaning associated with the terms 'Absolute Void' and 'Wonderful Existence,' but is this interpretation probable? How do we know that 'Transform them and fit them together; stimulate them and set them in motion' means the 'Realm in which noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other'? Some of the parallels are drawn up on the basis of the flimsiest resemblance, for example, the comparison of the three bodies of the Buddha with Chuang Tzu's "heavenly man, the accomplished man and the godly man" in item 19. These two sets of 'bodies' arise from totally different contexts, serve totally different needs and contain incomparable meanings. Again, take the comparison in item 6. Aside from a vague resemblance in that they all somehow talk about the production of the universe, there does not seem to be anything in common among the quotations. Many of the other parallels suffer from this kind of weakness.

The strongest argument against Li's case is perhaps a lack of an explicit doctrine of emptiness (śūnyatā) in the Chinese tradition. Without this doctrine of emptiness, the Buddhist concept of truth cannot be established. If the doctrine of śūnyatā is missing in Chinese traditions, then Li's interpretations of the Chinese parallels are
improbable. If the śūnyatā doctrine is denied in Chinese traditions, then Li's parallels are impossible. Li's interpretations fall into the 'improbable' category.

In conclusion, with respect to Li's parallels, while they could not be proven to be in error, they do not force conviction either. For one who is already convinced of the Buddhist truth, Li's interpretations are possible and one can in good conscience be an harmonizer. This is Li's success. For one who is not a Buddhist, Li's parallels are improbable. But, considering the difficulties of building any theory of harmonization, Li certainly has invested a great deal of thought and ingenuity.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

In our research, we have focused our attention on Li Ch'ün-fu the man, his book, the Ming-tao-chi shuo, and his theory of harmonization of the Three Religions. With regard to our perception of the man, we proposed that, while Li could still be called a defender of Buddhism, he should be known as an harmonizer. We have discussed how the Buddhists tried to harness Li to support their cause and the subtle bias they made in their presentation of him. A thorough investigation showed that Li made the propagation of his theory of harmonization his life-work. Almost all his writings as far as we can tell are on harmonization. Thus, the appearance of the theory of harmonization in the Ming-tao-chi shuo is not unique. Harmonization is also made the chief concern in such works as the Leng-yen wai chieh and the Chin-kang-ching pieh chieh. Nearly all his essays and inscriptions are on harmonization. His personal life-style was not particularly Buddhist either.

In contrast to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai who actually practised meditation and had his biography enshrined in Ch'an sources, Li left no record of involvement with any Buddhist practices. Li considered himself a Confucianist and he was accepted as such by the Sung-yüan hsüeh-an. It seems that his Buddhism is limited to an intellectual acceptance of the Mahāyāna teaching. On the whole then, it would be more accurate to look at Li as an harmonizer than as a defender of Buddhism.
His biography shows him to be a far-sighted man often at odds with the policy of the court. The frustrations he suffered as a result probably had a connection with his liking for Buddhism but further speculations in this direction could not be supported by the records. Despite his difficulties with the court, he was one of the most respected scholars of his day and was keenly sought after as a teacher. His rather close association with Liu Ch'i, the author of Kuei-ch'ien-chih, probably made him responsible for the transmission of our knowledge about the Chin Dynasty.

We have also subjected the Ming-tao-chi shuo to a thorough analysis. It is a collection of quotations from the works of Northern Sung Neo-Confucianists with which Li disagreed and his answers to these. We discovered that only about half of the quotations were directly concerned with Buddhism, the others being concerned with Chinese traditions. From an analysis of these we have been able to piece together Li's theory of harmonization. In an attempt to find out what was unique about Li's theory, we have gone through a survey of previous harmonizers and found that his theory was the most comprehensive, dealing with many major questions such as Tao, human nature, method of cultivation and ethics. Li's attempt is also noted for its willingness to enter into the inner structure of Tao, the question of the mind and the inner and outer aspects of cultivation. All these add together to make Li's theory more profound than any previous theory. Judging from the fact that harmonization was Li's life-long pursuit, which could not be said of any previous harmonizer, he was probably the most sincere believer in the identity of the Three Religions up to his day.
In our analysis, we find that there is a large section on Buddhist polemics. The question may arise whether our thesis is correct. Is it not the case that Li's text is written primarily as a defence of Buddhism and only secondarily a presentation of a theory of harmonization? Our answer is that Li's manifest purpose is the presentation of a theory of harmonization. Then, why is it that there are so many sections on Buddhism? Our answer is: Li feels that the greatest mistake of the Neo-Confucianists is their hostile attitude towards Buddhism. This rejection of Buddhism prevents them from truly understanding the Tao of Chinese Sages. In other words, the greatest threat to Li's harmonization is the Neo-Confucianists' misunderstanding of Buddhist doctrines.

There are two reasons why we have devoted a large section on Buddhist polemics. The first is that the nature of Neo-Confucian anti-Buddhist criticisms is a topic of interest in its own right. The second reason is that in order to determine the inner structure of Li's theory of harmonization, a detail analysis of his replies to anti-Buddhist criticism is necessary. Li's answers to Buddhist polemics reveal the principles with which he builds his theory of harmonization. One of the ways he answers anti-Buddhist criticisms is to assert the identity of teaching between the Buddha and Chinese sages. This is made possible by an interpretation of Chinese concepts by means of Buddhist principles. Another device Li uses to answer objections was the Mahāyāna twofold truth. The twofold truth absolves the Buddhists for being accused of other-worldly and non-involvement with human affairs.
The same twofold truth is then used to interpret important Chinese con-
cepts so that an harmonized view becomes possible. In short, analysis
of the Buddhist polemics yields two results. Besides revealing the
specific characteristics of the anti-Buddhist criticisms, it also mani-
fests the principles of harmonization.

The principal approaches Li uses in answering anti-Buddhist
criticisms are two. First, he argues that the Neo-Confucianists were
ignorant about the Mahāyāna teaching. If this were known, his oppo-
nents' objections would not have arisen in the first place. The prin-
cipal doctrine Li uses is the twofold truth as implied in the many quo-
tations he uses in exposing the Mahāyāna teaching. From the point of
view of the higher truth, the Absolute and the phenomenal are unob-
structed and therefore worldly affairs are not devalued. Hence, the
principal objection of his opponents is rendered innocuous. The second
approach is to show that the Neo-Confucianists were incorrect in their
understanding of Chinese traditions. These latter show characteristics
which make them identical with Buddhist teachings. The most prominent
examples of these characteristics are the twofold structure of the
Absolute, the inner-outer and the tranquil-dynamic aspects of cultiva-
tion and the teaching of the mind.

Since Li is aware that his interpretation of the Chinese tradi-
tion is not the one commonly held by the Neo-Confucianists, he proposes
a theory of the history of Chinese traditions. The Tao as discovered
by the ancient sages was lost with the death of Mencius. Through the
introduction of Buddhist books, scholars began to rediscover the authen-
tic Chinese teaching. However, these scholars were afraid to declare their secret convictions in the open. Li considers himself as revealing unabashedly what has already been simmering for some time. As evidence that Buddhist teachings are the same as that of Chinese traditions, Li draws many parallels between concepts and teachings of the Three Religions. These range from Tao through mind, cultivation, production of the universe, the four dharmadhātu of Hua-yen to others. The interpretation of these concepts and teachings is slanted toward the Buddhist.

The vagueness of the Chinese Classics permitted Li to interpret them as he did without being proven wrong by the critic. To one who has already accepted the Mahāyāna doctrine, Li's interpretation is possible and he can in good conscience be a Confucianist, Taoist and Buddhist at the same time.

Two questions worthy of further research arise from this study. The first is Li's influence on later-day harmonizers or thinkers. Li's attempt was purely an intellectual exercise. Unlike some of the later harmonizers, for example, Lin Chao-en, Li was never a cult leader.¹ He thought of himself as a Confucian scholar and never dreamt of assembling a group of disciples in the pursuit of active dissemination of his ideas. His influence, if any, would be limited to the scholars. Jao Tsung-i writes that the term hsin-hsüeh (心學 teaching on the mind)

arose in the Chin Dynasty.² Seeing that Li was so involved in this concept, could it be the case that Li was partly responsible for later-day usage of the term?

The second question is: How should we account for Li's tendency towards harmonization? Did he get this tendency from Buddhism or from Chinese traditions? It happens that Hua-yen philosophy, and indeed Mahāyāna Buddhism, has the capacity for syncretism. In the history of the development of Buddhism, can we not see that Mahāyāna philosophy had the effect of overcoming the inherent contradictions in the formulation of doctrines? Madhyamika thought makes for itself the task of negating all positive assertions. Then, there was the development of twofold truth, paramārthasatya and samyrtisātya, which allowed the incorporation of diverse religious beliefs and practices.³ Lastly, there was the device of skill-in-means, which made it possible to classify the various doctrines and scriptures.⁴ This latter process was carried to its complete maturity in the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools in China.

The formulation of the identity of the void, temporariness and the mean (即空即假即中) of the T'ien-t'ai, the creation of the Four Views of the dharmadātu (四法界觀) and the mutual identity

²Jao, op. cit., p. 29.

³See Murti, op. cit., p. 254: "The doctrine of two truths enables the Madhyamika not only to accommodate all views as in some measure and manner leading to the ultimate, but also to synthesize and evaluate the scriptural texts and their doctrines."

⁴See the section "P'an-chiao before Chih-i" in Leon Hurvitz, Chih-i (Bruxelles: L'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1962), pp. 214-229.
and penetration of six characteristics (六相圓融) in Hua-yen can be seen as further developments of the expansive tendency of Mahayana. Finally, we reach the paradoxical development in Ch'an in which the only important thing is enlightenment, and as long as one arrives at that goal, it is irrelevant by what beliefs and practices one has come through. Can Li's attempt at harmonization be seen as a continuation of this inherent tendency within Mahayana to include teachings outside of Buddhism itself?
PART III

TRANSLATION OF THE MING-TAO-CHI SHUO
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Before the birth of Heaven and Earth, the Sage was in Tao; after the birth of Heaven and Earth, Tao was in the Sage. Hence, ever since human beings came into existence, there has not been a case in which a man has become a sage without having obtained Tao. The minds of Fu Hsi, Shen Nung and Huang Ti\(^1\) are seen in the great Book of Changes; that of Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen and Wu\(^2\) are seen in the Book of Poetry and the Book of History. All these were great Sages who have obtained Tao.

(During a later period), the Sages no longer became kings, and Tao and the art of government were on the verge of breaking down. Then, there appeared Lao Tzu, who wandered beyond the bounds of the material universe. Fearing that people of later generations would become dull and so could not find the entrance (to Tao), he talked ardently about the (condition) before the birth of Heaven and Earth and bathed them with Tao and Te\(^3\). There appeared Confucius, who wandered within the bounds of the material universe. Fearing that people of later generations would become confused and so could not find the destination, he

\(^1\)Ancient mythical sages. They occur in ICT, II, 2, p. 64. Unless specified, all subsequent references to the I Ching are from Wu-ch'ing tu-pen (Hong Kong: Chi Ming shu chü, 1970). This same edition is used for Shih Ching, Shu Ching, Li Chi, Ch'un-ch'iu and Tso-ch'uan.

\(^2\)Ancient rulers considered sagely by Confucianists.

\(^3\)It has been translated as 'power'or 'virtue.'
discussed earnestly (the condition) after the birth of Heaven and Earth and conferred upon them benevolence and righteousness. For this reason, their teachings unavoidably contained a few contradictory views. Nevertheless, (Lao Tzu and Confucius) praised each other and recommended each other, and they (complemented each other) like the head and tail, or east and west (portions of the same entity). The aims of the Dark Sage and the Uncrown King\textsuperscript{4} could all be attained.

Fearing that (their teachings) would not merge and consequently become divergent, Chuang Chou, one of the disciples of their schools, followed the flow of the stream and (talked about beings ranging) from the Heavenly Man to the Sage; Meng Ko\textsuperscript{5}, (another disciple), went against the flow of the stream (and talked about beings ranging) from the Good Man to the Spirit Man. They (complemented each other) like two halves of a tally. (With their teachings), the theory of Inner-Sagehood and Outer-Kingship was completed. It is a pity that with the passing away of these four Sages, Lieh Yü-k'ou was eclectic and lost the truth; Hsün Ching-tzu mixed things up and was not pure; Yang Hsiung\textsuperscript{6} and Wang T'ung usurped the title of sagehood; Han Yü and Mr. Ou-yang\textsuperscript{8}


\textsuperscript{5}Mencius.

\textsuperscript{6}See section 2, note 5.

\textsuperscript{7}See section 42, note 5.

\textsuperscript{8}Ou-yang Hsiu, see section 125, note 3.
were unrestrained and aimed at an ornamental style. The Tao of the Sages was like a thread and has not been transmitted for one thousand and five hundred years.

When the books of the Buddha arrived from the West, since they were put into words several thousand miles away from China, they sounded like foreign babble. After they have been repeatedly translated and commented on, their sublime sayings and wonderful teachings were (found to be) completely complementary with the minds of our ancient Sages. (This fact was not known) simply because (the Buddha's) disciples were unable to discover his meaning. Is this not the case that for all eternity, beyond the four seas, the outward manifestations\(^9\) of the Sage ultimately can never be destroyed?

The Confucian philosophers secretly appropriated his teaching (and used it) to verify (the truth of) our books. (Within the period) beginning from Li Ao\(^{10}\) down to recent time, Wang Chieh-fu\(^{11}\) and son, promoted it (this practice) in the front, Su Tzu-chan\(^{12}\) and brother supported it at the back. All the following, the Great Book of Changes, the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, the Analects, Mencius, Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu were commented on by them. The learnings of Lien-hsi\(^{13}\),

\(^9\) (迹) chi.

\(^{10}\) See section 110, note 3.

\(^{11}\) Wang An-shih, see section 27, note 3.

\(^{12}\) Su Shih, see section 27, note 4.

\(^{13}\) Chou Tun-i, see section 1, note 1.
Su-shui\textsuperscript{14}, Heng-ch'ü\textsuperscript{15} and I-ch'uan\textsuperscript{16} followed immediately and flourished. Shang-ts'ai\textsuperscript{17}, Yüan-ch'eng\textsuperscript{18}, Kuei-shan\textsuperscript{19} and Heng-p'u\textsuperscript{20} followed suit and supported them. The books of Tung-lai\textsuperscript{21}, Nan-hsüan\textsuperscript{22} and Hui-an\textsuperscript{23} spread out far and wide. Consequently, their teachings became widespread. How fortunate I am to be able to see the discussions of these philosophers! I know that the ancient sagehood will not die out and that the great Tao\textsuperscript{24} will be unified. Fearing that they may diverge again on the point of unification, I have noted down those opinions (of the philosophers) which do not match that of the Sages, calling them the Discussions of the "Collected Plaints on Tao."

\textsuperscript{14}Su-ma Kuang, see section 3, note 1.
\textsuperscript{15}Chang Tsai, see section 9, note 1.
\textsuperscript{16}Ch'eng I, see section 79, note 1.
\textsuperscript{17}Hsieh Liang-tsao, see section 151, note 1.
\textsuperscript{18}Liu An-shih, see section 180, note 1.
\textsuperscript{19}Yang Shih, see section 188, note 1.
\textsuperscript{20}Chang Chiu-ch'eng, see section 203, note 1.
\textsuperscript{21}Hsi Tsu-ch'ien, see section 204, note 1.
\textsuperscript{22}Chang Shih, see section 205, note 1.
\textsuperscript{23}Chu Hsi, see section 209, note 1.
\textsuperscript{24}Tao
Lien-hsi\(^1\) said\(^2\): Tao is that which moves and yet is upright; Te is that which functions and yet is in harmony. All the views which do away with Benevolence or Righteousness or Propriety or Wisdom or Fidelity are false.

P'ing-shan replies: This is a theory handed down by Han Yu\(^3\). Tao is without either motion or rest. When there is no motion, can we say that Tao is absent? Te is without either function or non-function. When there is no function, can we say that Te is absent? (When) Confucius says, "The benevolent man discovers it and calls it benevolent,"\(^4\) then it is not benevolent. (When he says,) "The wise man discovers it and calls it wise,"\(^4\) then it is not wise. Could the view of the Sage be false-view?

\(^1\)Chou Tun-i, tzu Mao-shu, hao Lien-hsi (1027-1073). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 427, p. 5579a-b. (All page numbers refer to the edition listed in the bibliography.)

\(^2\)Quotation is found in Chou-tzu ch'ian-shu, ch. 8, p. 137.

\(^3\)"Yuan-tao (原道):") "That which I call the Way and the Virtue (Tao-te) is that which is combined with benevolence and righteousness." Chu-wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, ch. 11, SPTK, p. 95b.

\(^4\)ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
Lien-hsi said: The Tao of the Sage is nothing else but being Benevolent, Righteous, (staying in the) Mean, and Upright.

P'ing-shan replies: "Let the will be set on Tao; let every attainment in what is good (Te) be firmly grasped; and let Benevolence be accorded with." "There ensues a harmonious (和 ho) conformity to Tao and Te, with a discrimination (理 li) of what is righteous." These are words of Confucius. Is there no similarity with the words of Lao Tzu? Well said are the words of Chuang Tzu: "Harmony (和 ho) and Principle (理 li) emerged from the inborn Nature. Principle is Tao; Harmony is Te. Te is identical with Benevolence, while Tao is identical with Righteousness." Is it not the case then that the one who "attacked Benevolence and Righteousness" was Yang Tzu himself; and the one who separated Benevolence and Righteousness from Tao and Te was Han Tzu himself? To think that he himself has attained the Great Mean and the Utmost Rectitude! I am afraid he was nothing but an ignorant rustic!

1 Chou-tzu ch'üan-shu, ch. 8, p. 138.
2 The key to P'ing-shan's answer is miscellaneous essay no. 3.
4 I Ching, shuo-kua ch'uan (説卦傳), i, p. 70. C.f. Legge, I Ching, p. 422.
5 CT, ch. 16, p. 41, line 2. Passage is altered. C.f. Watson, op. cit., p. 171.
6 Yang Tzu was Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18). C.f. Han Shu, ch. 87a, p. 576ff. Han Tzu was Han Yu. This sentence is meant to be paradoxical for these two scholars professed the opposite of what Li accused them of doing. Yang's quotation is from Yang-tzu fa-yen, ch. 4, SPTK, p. 11.
Yü-sou said: "Investigate Principle to the utmost and fully develop one's nature until destiny is fulfilled." In their discussion about destiny, mediocre people compete in presenting abstruse views so as to deceive people. They make people stand on their toes and yet they cannot reach it (destiny); they make them (think so hard that they become) confused and blinded and yet they do not understand it. Then, the people desist and give up (the quest). (In fact,) the truth is not at all far! 'Principle' is a matter of discriminating between yes and no; the (inborn) 'Nature' is a question of being talented or not talented; and 'Destiny' is a question of whether or not one meets (good fortune).

P'ing-shan replies: In the I Ching, there is a teaching which says, "Investigate Principle to the utmost and fully develop one's nature until destiny is fulfilled." This is Confucius' teaching of the Mind. It was transmitted to Mencius through Yen Tzu, Ts'eng Tzu and Tzu Ssu. Mencius said, "He who has exhausted all his mind knows his nature.

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2 Quotation found in Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 538b. Quotation slightly abbreviated.

3 I Ching, shuo-kua ch'uan, i, p. 70. C.f. Chan, Source Book, p. 269.

4 A phrase from the Analects, Book XI, ch. 7, p. 262.

5 Yen Hui, a disciple of Confucius. Ts'eng Tzu, another disciple. Tzu Ssu, Confucius' grandson.
Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven.\textsuperscript{6} Knowing that what Heaven has given to the self is that "all things are already complete,"\textsuperscript{7} then one can fulfill his worldly task. Whether one dies young or at an old age, (the way) is the same. How can these be abstruse words or high-flown theories in the world? It is a pity that posterity failed to obtain the transmission (of this teaching). They stand on their toes and yet cannot reach it; (think so hard that they become) confused and blinded and yet cannot exhaustively understand it; they desist and give up (the quest) so that they cannot attain it. Their convoluted and superficial opinion can succeed in deceiving themselves alone. Can there be discriminations between yes and no in 'Principle'; talented or not talented in (inborn) 'Nature'; meeting or not meeting (good fortune) in 'Destiny'? Alas!

\textsuperscript{6} Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 1, p. 932.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., ch. 4, p. 935.
Yū-sou said:\footnote{Quotation found in Wen-kuo Wén-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 540a. Abbreviated.} Someone said that the mind of the Sage is like extinct ash.\footnote{CT, ch. 23, p. 63, line 41.} This is not right. The mind of the Sage is like smoldering fire. When the fire is smoldering, it is dim. When it is inflamed, it is bright. When an object is introduced to it (smoldering fire), it burns. When it is fanned, it flashes up. It lies deep and does not vanish. It endures a long time without being extinguished. \textit{(The mind of the Sage) must be a smoldering fire, how can it be like extinct ash!}

P'ing-shan replies: How wild are these words! The mind of the Sage has never experienced birth and dying, how can it be like the now-dim-now-bright condition of smoldering fire? That which lies deep and does not vanish finally must vanish. That which endures a long time without being extinguished must finally be extinguished. The mind of the Sage is like the sun and the moon. It is obstructed by worldly thought just as (the sun and the moon) are hidden away by floating clouds or eclipsed by the \textit{yin-ch'i} (\textit{yin-pneuma}). Worldly thought extinguishes the flicker so that it is like extinct ash at one moment; but then it is like the beginning of light in the sky.\footnote{Li's metaphors are mixed at this point.} It originally has no increase or diminution, how can it be extinguished? This is why Confucius says, "(The great man is he who) is in harmony, in his brightness, with the sun and
Chuang Tzu also says, "... greater than the suns." Mundane people are ignorant about this.

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5 CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 24. The complete passage is: "And how much greater is virtue than these suns." (而況徳之進乎日者乎?) The reference is obscure.
Yu-sou said: If someone asks me, "Is there anything worth acquiring from the Buddha and Lao Tzu?" I would say yes. If he further asks, "What?" I would answer, "From the Buddha, one acquires (the concept of) emptiness (śūnyatā); and from Lao Tzu, that of non-action (wu-wei) and spontaneity (tzu-jan). Aside from these, there is nothing worth acquiring. From 'emptiness,' one acquires its absence of the mind of profit and desire; from 'non-action' and 'spontaneity,' one acquires their "assignment of suitable offices."²

P'ing-shan replies: The 'emptiness' referred to by the Buddha is not empty (in the ordinary sense); the 'non-action' referred to by Lao Tzu leaves nothing undone. The reasoning behind them is self-evident. It is not open to the question of whether anything is worthy or not worthy of acquiring. That is why Chuang Tzu says, "One can neither add to nor detract from his Truth."³ The Prajñā-pāramitā (sūtra) says, "Nothing can be added or taken away."⁴ Therefore, one who gives rise to discriminating opinions according to likes and dislikes can never be a student of Buddhism and Taoism. (The attempt) to "acquire its absence of the mind of profit and desire" is based on the mind of profit and de-

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¹Quoted from Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 540b. Abbreviated.
²(因任). C.f. CT, ch. 13, p. 34, line 33. Translation by Watson, op. cit., p. 147.
³CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 18.
⁴Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya sūtra, T251, 848c.
sire; (the attempt) to "acquire its 'assignment of suitable offices'"
is already a deliberation and not based on spontaneity.
Yü-sou said<sup>1</sup>: The student of Huang Lao<sup>2</sup> takes 'non-action' to mean making "the mind like dead ash and the external form a withered tree."<sup>3</sup> I do not think this is correct, and so I have composed the following Praises to Non-action:

Control the mind with rectitude,
Preserve the body with tranquillity;
There is righteousness in advance and retreat,
And there is destiny in acquisition and loss.
Guarding Tao is my duty,
Accomplishment depends on Heaven.
Oh! What more should I do,
Nothing moves but spontaneously.

P'ing-shan replies: Yen Tzu "drove out perception and intellect, smashed up his limbs and body,"<sup>4</sup> and yet this was but the entrance to Tao. He was not yet in Tao. Lieh Tzu knew about the Book of the Yellow Emperor.<sup>5</sup> Yet he said, "To be like a pile of dust or a heap of clods is perverse, even though it is Doing Nothing (wu-wei)."<sup>6</sup> Chuang

<sup>1</sup>Quoted from Wen-kuo. Wen-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 540b.

<sup>2</sup>Huang Ti and Lao Tzu.

<sup>3</sup>CT, ch. 2, p. 3, line 2.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., ch. 6, p. 19, line 92. Word order is changed.

<sup>5</sup>Chapter 2 of Lieh Tzu is named after the Yellow Emperor.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., ch. 4, p. 91. C.f. A. C. Graham, The Book of Lieh Tzu
Tzu, a student of Lao Tzu, said, "To spin like a feather, to go round and round like a grindstone . . . are rules for the dead and not ideals for the living." As for the Sage who has obtained Tao, he "commands corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the silence of deep pools and the voice of thunder. His spirit will move in the train of Heaven." How can his mind be like dead ash or withered trees? Although the "Praises to Non-action" is good, the last line should be changed to "Ultimately, nothing is spontaneous." If a scholar should like to advance one step forward, this would be the entrance.


Yü-sou said: Chuang Tzu excels in literary skill but his teaching of Tao is wanting. The superior man should abhor such just as one should not dwell in a colourfully painted rotten house, or step on a piece of coloured cloth spread over a waterless well, or taste wolfsbane which has been dipped in a syrup. It is what Yao was afraid of, what Shun found difficulties with, and what Confucius detested. It is like the blue fly which can change white into black and vice versa.

P'ing-shan replies: Who says Mr. Chuang Chou aims at the (perfection) of literary skill? His one shout booms like unexpected thunder which frightens hibernating insects; his one breath blows like a strong wind which shakes the withered tree. He treated the two documents (of Yao and Shun in the Book of History) as leavings so as to manifest the spirit of Yao and Shun. The Four Masters did not depart from the north of the Fen River. He treated the Six Classics as chaff and dregs so as to clean-up the sayings of Confucius. The One Man emerged from the State of Lu. It is more or less like Bodhidharma's using the seal of

1Quoted from Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 541a. Abbreviated.

2Image taken from the Book of Poetry; one poem in the Hsiao-ya (小雅) is entitled the "Blue fly". The latter symbolizes a calumnious person.

3The passage from "He treated the two documents . . ." on is a couplet the meaning of which is obscure. References made to CT are ch. 1, p. 2, lines 33-35; ch. 13, p. 36, line 70.
the Tathagata upside-down. The supreme music is too ancient, it annoys the ear which is accustomed to songs of the sheng. The good medicine is too bitter, it stings the tongue which is adapted to meat. Confucian scholars have not discussed (this Tao) for one thousand and five hundred years. Comparing (Chuang Chou) to the blue fly, is this not a great calumny?

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4 Bodhidharma was regarded as the first patriarch of the Ch'an school in China.

5 Sheng (笙) is a musical instrument.

P'ing-shan replies: Can one who vilified (the ruler of) the State of Ch'in and lauded (the ruler of) the State of Hsin be compared to Yi and Chou? When (Yü-sou) discarded Chuang Chou, he already belonged to the gang of Yang Tzu. Why is it necessary for him to distinguish himself from the latter?

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1Quoted from Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma-kung chi, ch. 74, SPTK, p. 541a.

2Yang Tzu is Yang Hsiung, see section 2, note 6. Wang Mang was a Han rebel who succeeded in establishing an empire for fifteen years (9-24 A.D.). He named his empire Hsin. In order to save his neck, Yang Hsiung vilified Ch'in and lauded Hsin in front of his rebel emperor. Yi was Yi Yin of the Shang Dynasty; and Chou was the Duke of Chou. Both were reputed to be excellent ministers.

3Huang is Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor; Yü is Yü Shun.
Heng-ch'ü¹ said²: The Great Harmony is known as Tao. In it is contained the quality (or nature) of sinking and floating, rising, descending and the interacting of motion and rest. Its coming is almost imperceptible and simple. Its full maturity is broad and solid. Ch'ien is that which gives rise to knowledge from its changes; Kun is that which is modelled after the simple.³ When it is dispersed and can be delineated, it becomes the ch'i (pneuma). When it is clear and penetrating and desists from being delineated, it becomes the spirit. What does not have these emanations of 'wandering air' cannot be called the Great Harmony. Those who speak about Tao can only after knowing this be said to know Tao, and those who study the Changes can only after seeing this be said to see the Changes. If it is not such, although a man may have the talents of the Duke of Chou, his wisdom is yet not renowned.

P'ing-shan replies: I have also studied the Book of Changes. "The Great Harmony is preserved in union." It means that "everything obtains its correct nature as destined."⁴ "That which contracts and stretches,

¹Chang Tsai, tzu Tzu-hou, hao Heng-ch'ü (1020-1077). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 427, p. 5580c-d.
³ICT, I, 1, p. 56.
goes away and comes back"$^{5}$ means the mutual churning of yin and yang.

That which changes and is simple$^{6}$ means the virtue of ch’ien and kun.

That which is 'above-form' and that which is 'within-form' refer to Tao and tool respectively.$^{7}$ The passage "There is an intermingling of the genial influences of heaven and earth, . . ."$^{8}$ refers to the transformation of the myriad things. These passages (or concepts) were used by the Sage to mean specific things. Master Chang haphazardly plagiarized his terms and concepts and used them to discuss the dawn of the Universe. He claimed that he had understood the Way of the Book of Changes and compared himself to the Duke of Chou! How frivolous!

$^{5}$Refers to a term in Chang Tzu's passage but which has been omitted when Li quoted it.

$^{6}$See note 3.

$^{7}$ICT, I, 12, p. 63.

$^{8}$ICT, II, 5, p. 67.
Heng-ch'ü said: Vast and unseeable is the ch'i (pneuma) as the Great Void. (Yet) it rises and falls and spreads about, never stopping for a moment. Is not this what the Changes speaks of as 'emanation'? Or what Chuang Tzu describes as the 'wandering air' which living creatures blow one against another with their breath? Herein lie the pivots of vacuity and solidity, movement and quiescence, and the beginnings of the yin and yang, and of hardness and softness. The pure elements of the yang rise upward, while the turbid elements of the yin sink downward. Their interaction, condensation, and dispersion result in wind, rain, snow, and frost. Whether it be the myriad categories (of things) in their changing configurations, or mountains and streams in their fixed forms, the dregs of wine, or the ashes of fire, there is nothing that does not (conform to) these principles.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chang laboured at this theory by means of appropriating a few Buddhist and Taoist concepts. He is truly a demon of the thirty-second kind of the fifty kinds of demons mentioned in the Sūrangama sūtra. His fourth aggregate has not been (seen by him-

1Cheng Neng, ch. 2, p. 2. Bodde's translation is followed here with the exception of the term 'Ether', which is replaced by 'ch'i' so as to bring a consistency to the translation of key terms. Fung, History, II, p. 481.

2I Ching, Great Appendix, II, 5, p. 67.

3Ch'ing Tzu, ch. 1, p. 1, line 4.

4Term 'fifty kinds of demon' is seen in the préface to this sutra, T945, 106a.
self as) completely (empty). He "will perceive all living beings of
the twelve types of birth in the ten directions and though he does not
know the true cause of their existence, to him they are all in the same
state of life. This functioning of mind (sanskāra) is like a twinkling
mirage that disturbs the clear (horizon) and is the chief cause of the
illusion of the sense organ and data." Master Chang mistook this pas-
sage to be the highest truth. He also copied the theory which the Bud-
dha gave to Pūrṇamaitrāyānīputra of the birth of the Great Earth, moun-
tains and rivers, and also Chuang Chou's theory that (Tao was in) the
piss, shit, tiles and shards. But he did not fully understand all
these. We can give it a laugh.

5Fourth aggregate, one of the five skandhas, sanskāra, see
following note.

6Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 151c, translated by Charles Luk, op.
cit., p. 218. The passage is a description of how the fourth aggregate
affects the mind and causes illusions. It is quoted obviously in re-
ference to Chang's theory of production of the Universe. Of course, in
the condition described in the passage, the practitioner has not arrived
at the final truth.

7Ibid., T945, 119c, line 16ff.

8Chuang Tzu, ch. 22, p. 59, line 45.
Heng-ch'ü said: "Concerning ch'is (pneuma's) forming into things, when it is dispersed, it becomes formless. By chance, it enters into my body. It coagulates into an image and yet what is constant in me is never lost." Again he said: "The Great Void cannot but consist of ch'i; this ch'i cannot but condense to form all things; and these things cannot but become dispersed so as to form (once more) the Great Void. The perpetuation of these movements in a cycle is inevitable thus. Hence, the Sage is one who completely understands the course that lies within (this cycle), who embodies it in himself without thereby giving it any encumbrance, and who to the highest degree preserves its spirituality." Again he said: "Condensed, (the ch'i) forms my body; dispersed, it still forms my body. With him who understands that death does not mean destruction, it is possible to talk about nature."² "For one who knows that the Void is ch'i, he can reason out the origin of Being and Non-Being, the Hidden and Manifest, the Condensation and Dispersion, the Coming and the Going. He is one who truly understands the Book of Changes."

Ping-shan replies: Master Chang overheard the Sūraṅgama saying that "Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with

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²The two preceding passages are translated by D. Bodde, in Fung, History, II, 497.
each other." But he has not seen "The Wondrous Nature of the Bhūtata-
thatā (Absolute) in the Tathāgata-store." He guessed blindly and es-
established an erroneous "teaching of perfect permanence," and has truly
fallen into the (realm of) the demon of thirty-three upside-down views.
"This man looks into the profound bright mind and finds that it pervades
everywhere and so he calmly regards it as his spiritual ego. Then he
considers that since his ego, which pervades everywhere, is bright and
unchanging and since all living beings are born and die by themselves
in his mind, his mind must be permanent." Master Chang mistook this
saying to be the Tao of the Book of Changes and thereby greatly distor-
ted the Sage. The Sage says, "The spirit is bound to no one place, nor
the Book of Changes to any form." How can there be an ego? Alas!
What a pity!

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3 Śūraṅgama sutra, T945, 118b-c. Translated by Luk, The Śūraṅga-
ma Sūtra, p. 78.

4 Term found in Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, occurring between the
pages 114a-117b.

5 The second heterodox view in the Śūraṅgama, T945, 151c-152a.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., T945, 152a. C.f. translation by Luk, op. cit., p. 220.

Heng-ch'ü said: "The Great Void is clear. Being clear, it does not meet any obstacle. Having no obstacle, it is spiritual. Reverting from clarity, it becomes turbid. Being turbid, it meets obstacles. And obstacles lead to (the precipitation of a ) physical form." Again he said: "The condensation and dispersion of ch'i in the Great Void is just like the freezing and melting of ice in water. If one realizes that the Great Void is identical with ch'i, then he knows that there is no such thing as Non-Being. That is why the Sage only clarifies the cause of 'the dim and the bright' and remains reticent about 'Being and Non-Being.' Those philosophers who make a distinction between Being and Non-Being are superficial and erroneous. Their way is not the way which exhaustively investigate Principle."

P'ing-shan replies: What Lao Tzu means by "Constant Non-Being" is the same as what the Buddha means by the 'Absolute Void.' It is not an emptiness which denies the laws of karma. What Lao Tzu means by 'Constant Being' is identical with what the Buddha means by 'Wonderful Existence.' It is not a being which obstructs form. Non-Being does not mean the complete affirmation of being. Being does not mean the com-

1Cheng Meng, ch. 2, p. 3. The second passage is significantly altered.

2'The dim and the bright': Taken from ICT, I, 4, p. 57. Being, Non-Being, Constant Being, Constant Non-Being are terms found in chapter one of Lao Tzu.

3'Absolute Void' and 'Wonderful Existence' are terms used to designate the absolute state.
plete affirmation of being. "Void is identical with Form; and Form is identical with Void."¹ Mäster Chang decides for himself (what is the correct teaching of) the Great Void and the condensation and dispersion of ch'í. He further distinguishes clarity and turbidity of physical forms and the spirit. And he compares himself with the Sage, thinking that he is exhausting the investigation of Principle. If he is as superficial and erroneous as this, how can he understand our Master's (i. e. Confucius') saying, "What is above form is called Tao; what is within form is called tool"²?

¹Prājñā-pāramitā hrdaya sūtra, T251, 840c.
²ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
Heng-ch'ü said: From the Great Void is derived the term 'Heaven'. From the evolutions of the ch'í is derived the term 'Tao'. From the combination of the Void with the ch'í is derived the term 'nature (hsing)'. From the combination of the nature with the intellective and perceptive faculties is derived the term 'mind (hsin)'.

P'ing-shan replies: That which is referred to in Confucius' saying, "In the I Ching, there is the Great Ultimate which produces the Two Forms"; in Lao Tzu's saying, "There was something formlessly fashioned which existed before Heaven and Earth"; in Buddha's saying, "The Void is produced in the Great Awakening, like a bubble that emerges from the sea"; in "The Tao, which produces heaven and earth", is the 'mother of the ch'í'; and that which is its own root and origin is this very mind itself. Since Master Chang's words are such, his teaching must be different from that of the Three Sages.

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2. I Ching, Great Appendix, I, 11, p. 62.
3. Lao Tzu, ch. 25.
4. Sūrāṅgama sūtra, T945, 130a, lines 21-22.
5. Chuang Tzu, ch. 6, p. 16, line 30.
6. Term 'mother of ch'í is from Chuang Tzu, ch. 6, p. 16, line 32.
Heng-ch'ü said\textsuperscript{1}: If one says that the Vacuity can produce the ch'i, then (he would hold that view that) the Vacuity is infinite whereas ch'i is limited, and that substance and function have absolutely no relationship to each other; and he would enter into the naturalism of Lao Tzu who claimed that Being is produced from Non-Being\textsuperscript{2}, and one would fail to understand the constant principle of the undifferentiated unity of Being and Non-Being. If one says that all phenomena are objects perceived in the Great Vacuity, then (he would hold the view that) objects and the Vacuity are not mutually supportive, that the physical forms and the natures of things are separately self-contained; and he would fall into the doctrine of the Buddha who taught that mountains, rivers and the total stretch of land are all subjective illusions.\textsuperscript{3} He knows superficially that the substance of the nature of things is the Vacuity, the Void, but is ignorant of the fact that function is based on the Way of Heaven. On the contrary, he tries to explain the universe with limited human knowledge. He asserts that the transformation of the universe is illusory and jumps to wrong conclusions. Consequently, he confuses the teachings of Confucius with that of the Buddha, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu and treats them as one. He falls into the trap of illusionism or is determined (in the view) that Being comes from Non-Being, and he treats these doctrines as the supreme insight and hence he misses

\textsuperscript{1}Cheng Meng, ch. 2, p. 2. Abbreviated.

\textsuperscript{2}Lao Tzu, ch. 40.

\textsuperscript{3}Sūrāngama sūtra, T945, 120a.
the gateway to virtue. In most cases, people like him are obstructed by one-sided doctrines and fall into extremes.

P'ing-shan replies: Lao Tzu's theory of Being coming from Non-Being as referred to by Master Chang is exactly the same as another saying of Lao Tzu: "(With) Constant Being, one contemplates the outcomes; (with) Constant Non-Being, one contemplates the secret essences." Master Chang does not know this. "The constant principle of undifferentiated unity" referred to by Master Chang is identical with another Lao Tzu's saying, "Establish it on Constant Non-Being and Being." Does Master Chang know this? Again Master Chang says, "The Buddha teaches that mountains, rivers and the total stretch of land are all subjective illusions."

This is equivalent to the Buddhist saying, "There is manifestation and extinction of the Bhūtatathā. This refers to the fact that according to the Worldly Truth, there is illusory existence. There is neither manifestation nor extinction of the Bhūtatathā. This refers to the fact that according to the Real Truth, there is original emptiness." Master Chang does not know this. When he says, "The substance of the nature of things is the Void; function is based on the Way of Heaven," this is equivalent to the Buddhist saying, "The Bhūtatathā has both substance and function. It is both empty and yet not empty. This is the Supreme Truth of the Middle Way." Did Master Chang know this? Of course he did not since he said that the Buddha made use of limited

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4 Lao Tzu, ch. 1. 5 CT, ch. 33, p. 92, line 55.
6 The 'Three Truths' is a teaching established by the T'ien-t'ай school. See Nakamura's Great Dictionary of Buddhist Terms, p. 481b.
human knowledge, and jumped to wrong conclusions, and since he wrongly accused the Buddha for teaching illusory transformation of the universe. But the seeker of Tao knows the Truths I am talking about. Those who are trapped by illusionism or those who regard the (teaching of) production of Being from Non-Being as supreme doctrines are those who aspire to Tao but have not actually seen it. There may be those who are ignorant about the path to virtue or are obstructed by one-sided doctrines and have fallen into extremes. But this is not the fault of the Three Sages. The so-called mixing the ways of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu into one way is approved by all the Buddhas of the ten directions, and is followed by all the Sages from time immemorial. Can Master Chang alone branch out from it? Even if our Master were to come back to life again, He would not alter my words.
Heng-ch'ü said: "Ghosts and spirits are the innate abilities of the two ch'is (of yin and yang)." Again he said: "The Way of Heaven is infinite but does not go beyond the succession of summer and winter. The activities of things are infinite but do not go beyond expansion and contraction. The reality of ghosts and spirits does not go beyond these two fundamental elements (of yin and yang)."

P'ing-shan replies: The Sage says, "If heaven itself does not resist him, how much less do men, gods and spirits!" ² Heaven is Heaven by itself. Man is man by himself. Ghosts and spirits are ghosts and spirits by themselves; they are not the two ch'is. The winters and summers, the contraction and expansion of ch'i, what have they got to do with ghosts and spirits? I-ch'uan also said, "Ghosts and spirits are the vestiges of creation and transformation."³ Some philosophers East of the River⁴ even think that ghosts and spirits are in fact just the wind and the rain. What gross negligence!⁵ There is a source for such an opinion. Its origin comes from Han scholars' mistaken interpretat-

¹Cheng Meng, ch. 2, p. 4. The second quotation is translated by Chan, Source Book, p. 505.


³ I-ch'uan I chuan (伊川易傳 ), 1, in Erh Ch'eng ch'üan-shu, SPPY, p. 7.

⁴Lower portion of the River Ch'ang-chiang (長江), where the school of Ch'eng-Chu flourishes.

⁵All the texts give 踐, which is the same as 疏, which again is the same as 疏.
tions of a phrase from the *Doctrine of the Mean*: "They (ghosts and spirits) enter into all things (體物 *t'ī wu*), and there is nothing without them." They interpreted *t'ī* (體 body or to embody) as *sheng* (生 to give birth). They explained the phrase as "All things are born from the *ch'i* of ghosts and spirits." That is why things have come to such a pass. My interpretation is: Although ghosts and spirits are invisible and inaudible," yet they use objects as bodies and attach themselves to them, and they do not leave these objects. That is why "They, like overflowing water, seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left (of the worshippers)." Why must this be explained by the two *ch'īs*?

6 *Chung Yung*, ch. 16, verse 2. Legge's translation, p. 64.


8 *Chung Yung*, ch. 16, verse 2, see note 6.

Heng-ch’ü said: "That which moves in the sky are the seven luminaries. On account of the (movement of the) ch’i of the Earth produced by the (contrast of) day and night, the fixed stars are carried along and circle to the left. That is why the fixed stars and the Milky Way go from north to south." "(The reason why) Confucius did not talk about astronomy was that his disciples like Yen Yüan had already known about it." "This is a rough explanation of the ancients' theory that the sky circles to the left."

P'ing-shan replies: Confucius has never talked about such a theory. The great Book of Changes mentions only "Ch'ien moves but Kun is still." The Book of History confines its words to the phrase "Use the gem-adorned turning sphere and the gem transverse tube to observe the seven luminaries." Master Chang dared to discuss high-flown theories. He was cocksure of his own opinions and made blind guesses. As for his saying that the heaven is at rest while the earth moves, and that the seven luminaries alone move, you have to ask the ancient astronomers. I too do not know about this.

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1Cheng Meng, ch. 2, p. 6, and Ching-hsüeh li k'u (經學理), ch. 6, p. 7.
2The sun, moon and the five planets.
3ICT, I, 1, p. 56.
Heng-ch'ü said: "When the Sage is beyond our knowledge, He is what is called a Spirit Man." Chuang Tzu must be mistaken when he says that there is a 'Spirit Man.'

P'ing-shan replies: What Chuang Tzu refers to as the Heavenly Man, the Perfect Man and the Spirit Man are in fact other names for the Sage. Roughly, the one who possesses "the virtue of an emperor or the Son of Heaven" is called a Sage. The one who teaches "the Tao of the Uncrown King and the Dark Sage" is a Spirit Man. What is referred to in (Chuang Tzu's saying) "The Spirit Man does not bother to ask what methods the Sage uses to reform the World" is identical with Confucius' saying "It gives their stimulus to all things, without having (the same anxieties) that possess the Sage." How can they refer to two persons?

Scholars take Chuang Tzu's allegories for real. (One should treat the scholars as one treats a stupid child), that is, one should never tell him a story from a dream. (Otherwise he will believe it to be real.)

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1Ceng Meng, in Chang-tzu ch'üan-shu, ch. 2, p. 15.
3Chuang Tzu, ch. 33, p. 90, line 3.
4Ibid., ch. 13, p. 35, line 3.
5Ibid., line 9.
6Ibid., ch. 26, p. 75, line 44. C.f. Watson, op. cit., p. 301.
7I Ching, Great Appendix, I, 5, p. 58. Legge's translation;
Finally, when the Buddhist books arrived, (we learned about) the teachings of the three bodies of the Buddha, the dharmakāya, sambhogakāya and nirmānakāya. Then, the teaching was further clarified. The Ch' an Buddhists also teach the Five Positions. When they talk about "the intermingling of substance and function and the complementarity of the Universal and the Particular," those scholars who are only accustomed to the commentaries of the Classics and who have never heard about such things can only laugh at them and take them to be in error.

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Heng-ch'iü said: When a creature is first born, the ch'i day by day enters (into it) and increases there. But after the life of that creature has passed maturity, the ch'i day by day reverts (from that creature) and becomes dispersed. Its entering is called spirit-like, because it is then returns (to its source).

P'ing-shan replies: This theory originates from Han scholars who took the agents wood and fire to be the spirits of creation, and the agents of metal and water to be the ghosts of destruction. They took the term 'spirit' to mean expanding, the term 'ghost' to mean reverting. These are erroneous views. Now I am going to verify (my view) with words of Confucius himself. "(Union of) seed and ch'i produces all things."

This refers to human beings. "The escape of the soul brings about change." This refers to ghosts and spirits. Human beings and material objects are really ghosts and spirits endowed with physical forms. Ghosts and spirits are really human and material objects without physical forms. We can then "know the characteristics of ghosts and spirits" because they are not different (categories of beings) from human beings.


2Commentary by Cheng Hsüan in Li Chi chu-su, ch. 52, p. 7b.

3Shuo-wen chieh-tzu, ch. 14b, ch. 9a. Li Chi, "Ts'ai-i (義)", ch. 24. See also Lieh Tzu, "T'ien-jui (天瑞)", p. 12.

and material objects. That is why their calamities and blessings also follow our likes and dislikes. How can there be the forced distinction between the spirit which governs birth and the ghost which governs death?
Heng-ch'ü said: Ch'i comes with man when is born. It stays in him while he is alive. When he dies, the part of ch'i which disperses is called hun ( hun ). (The part) that is condensed into (some) physical quality and which does not disperse at death is called p'o ( p'o ).

P'ing-shan replies: This differs from what I have heard. While discussing about Po-yü, Tzu-ch' an of Cheng said, "The first thing evolved at a man's birth is called p'o. The male (yang) part is called hun. When a large amount of life-essence of matter is used (in the transformation), then the hun-p'o becomes strong. That is why although Po-yü was dead, he could still exert his power and killed Szu-tai. For the hun-p'o is the spiritual essence of motion and tranquillity. This is the thing which cannot depart from the living once its physical form is completed, which cannot disperse when the man dies through the disintegration of the body, and which wanders in order to transform, per-chance, into a ghost or a spirit. How can there be two things?

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1Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 2, p. 16.
2Tso-chuan, 7th year of Chao Kung, Fu-lu Tso (附錄左), pp. 429-430.
3Ibid.
Heng-ch'ü said: When water in the sea condenses, it becomes ice; when water floats, it is (in the form of) foam. But with regard to the endowment of ice and the nature of foam, the sea cannot predict what they are. The analogous use of this reasoning is sufficient for one to arrive at the ultimate of (what can be known about) life and death.

P'ing-shan replies: 'Nature' is just like water in the sea; 'emotion' is just like the floating foam. There is production and annihilation with respect to the foam, but there is neither production nor annihilation with respect to water. There is birth and death with regard to 'emotions,' but there is neither birth nor death with regard to 'nature.' Although "good and evil vary according to emotions," yet (one may by means of them) "goes back to the beginnings of things and pursues them to the end." One learns that (nature) has never been born and never experienced death. Then one arrives at the final truth about life and death. Although foam is identical with water, and water with foam, yet can emotions not be identical with nature and nature with emotions? As for that which is subjected both to production and annihilation and to neither production nor annihilation, can there not be one which, in the course of its death and birth, is subjected neither to birth nor to death and yet undergoes birth and death? Is water a good allegory for it? I do not know what object he was referring to when he talked about 'endowment' aside from 'nature'?

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1Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 2, p. 16.
2ICT, II, 12, p. 69.
3ICT, I, 4, p. 57.
Heng-ch'ü said: When awake, we can learn about new things with our ears and eyes. When dreaming, we can re-live our past by the projection of the affected mind. The doctor says that it specifically tells about the changes of ch'i within the five internal organs. There is something worth appropriating here.

P'ing-shan replies: This talks about ordinary dreams. It is quite adequate. But if we talk about extraordinary dreams, like Fu Shuo's dream of Wu-ting or Shu-niu's dream of Mu-shu, Heng-ch'ü's explanation is woefully defective. One must follow the explanation given by Tung-lai. It is found in the Tso-shih po-i.

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2 Shih Chi, "Yin pen-chi" (殷本紀), ch. 3, p. 103.
3 Tso-chuan, 4th year of Chao Kung, p. 423.
4 Same as Lu Tsu-ch'ien, see below section 204, note 1.
5 Also called Tung-lai po-i; extant.
Heng-ch'ü said: "Buddhists do not understand the will of Heaven, and think that the mind gives rise to the appearance and extinction of heaven and earth. They in fact teach the causation of the big by the small or the fundamental by the insignificant. Those things which they could not explain they call illusory. They are just like summer insects which doubt the existence of ice. On the contrary, they think that such small things as the six sense-organs (are the causes of the Universe), and they falsely assume that heaven, earth, the sun and the moon (are illusory). They confine the function (of Heaven) to such a small thing as the individual person, and submerge their purpose within the vastness of empty space. That is why, whether they talk about the big or the small, they go astray or retreat backwards and miss the Mean. With respect to the big, they take a speck of dust or a mustard seed to be identical in size with the Six Directions. By this, they mean there is a limit to the Universe. With respect to the small, they take the human world to be a dream or an illusion. They cannot trace the source of the human world. Can we say that they investigate Principle

\[\text{Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 2, pp. 22, 26. Abbreviated.}\]

\[\text{CT, ch. 17, p. 42, line 5.}\]

\[\text{Buddhist account of the six sense-organs: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and the mind.}\]

\[\text{Phrases in brackets are omitted in Li's quotation, but are found in the Cheng Meng.}\]

\[\text{North, east, south, west, above and below. They mean the Universe.}\]
to the utmost? Can we say that not knowing how to investigate Principle to the utmost, they develop their nature to its limit and know everything?" "Confucianists investigate Principle to the utmost, that is why they fulfill the saying in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, 'To act in accordance with nature can be said to be in Tao.' Buddhists do not know how to investigate Principle to the utmost. That is why one should not follow its teaching."

P'ing-shan replies: Confucius knows that "In the system of *Changes* there is the Great Ultimate, which produced the Two Forms." Lao Tzu knows that "There was something formless yet complete, that existed before heaven and earth." Chuang Tzu knows that "Tao gave birth to Heaven and Earth." Lieh Tzu knows about the "beginning of chaos." They all refer to the "small object within the entire Universe." How could Master Chang know about these teachings? What object is referred to by Confucius' 'Great Ultimate,' Lao Tzu's '(Something) formless yet complete,' Chuang Tzu's 'Tao' and Lieh Tzu's 'Chaos'? Since these four philosophers lived in the same Universe, they must be referring to the same entity.

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6 *Chung Yung*, ch. 1, verse 1.
7 *ICT*, I, 11, p. 62.
8 *Lao Tzu*, ch. 25.
9 *CT*, ch. 6, p. 16, line 30.
Scholars were at a loss for one thousand and five hundred years. Then, Buddhist scriptures came to the East. The Sūtraṃgaṃa sūtra says, "The Void is born within the Great Awakening, just as a bubble emerges from the Ocean. Worldly realms, countless as dust particles, are all produced from the Void."¹² (The Absolutes are) none other than this Mind, it it not so? How can we believe this? May I ask if Master Chang has ever dreamt? "Within this five-foot body, vividly a whole stretch of land appears. In the duration of a snap of finger, a complete universe, Heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, mountains, rivers, villages, people in their clothes and hats greeting one another, come into being." All these arise from your single thought. This is what the Buddhist books refer to as the projection of the sixth discriminating sense-centre consciousness.¹³ The realization of its power is as great as this. (Again, the universe so projected) and the actual Universe do not obstruct each other. This is identical with Shao K'ang-ch'ieh's saying, "There is naturally a universe within each individual."¹⁴ Still so, what can we say when we come to "the fundamental ninth amala bhūtatathātā?"¹⁵ Can it not give birth to this Universe? This Bhūtatathātā "is so large that it more than encompasses the entire Universe, it can be so small that it enters into a dust particle which has no crevice."¹⁶

¹² T945, 130a.


¹⁵ Same as the amala consciousness. See note 13.

¹⁶ Current Buddhist saying, probably originated from T'ai-tzu
Is there still any distinction between the small and the great, birth and annihilation? Lao Tzu said to Yin Wen-tzu, "You and I are merely illusions."\textsuperscript{17} Confucius said to Ch'ü Ch'üeh-tzu, "Ch'iui (Confucius) and you are both dreaming."\textsuperscript{18} "And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this (is all a great dream)."\textsuperscript{19} "After ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed in a dream."\textsuperscript{20} Is Master Chang the man (who understands all this)? This teaching is surely difficult to crack. Master Chang wishes to act according to nature and assumes himself to be in Tao. He is going to follow it and promote it. He is really speaking in dreams. Who is really the summer insect? Alas!

\textsuperscript{17} Jun-yen pen-ch'i ching, T185, 478c, line 22.

\textsuperscript{17} Lien Tzu, "Chou-ma-wang," (周穆王), p. 62.

\textsuperscript{18} CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 83. Quotation is actually said by Chang Wu-tzu.

\textsuperscript{19} CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 82. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 7, line 84. Passage is altered. Cf. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 48.
Heng-chʻü said: The great I Ching does not talk about Being and Non-Being. To talk about these is due to the ignorance of the philosophers.

P'ing-shan replies: "What is above form is called Tao; what is within form is called tool." Is this not the same as Lao Tzu's saying, "Constant Non-Being, Constant Being," and Buddha's "Absolute Void and Wonderful Existence"? Master Chang himself is ignorant.

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3. Lao Tzu, ch. 1.
Heng-ch'ü said: One object with two bodies--this is what the Great Ultimate is.

Ping-shan replies: "The Great Ultimate produces Two Forms." (This is the true teaching.) What Master Chang's saying amounts to is that before the foetus is formed, there are already (fully matured) men and women.

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1Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 3, p. 12.
2ICT, I, 11, p. 62.
Heng-chü said: Eating, drinking and sex belong to man's nature. Why should they be forbidden? Taoism and Buddhism have taught the denial of these for a long time. Have really penetrated to the truth? Being and Non-Being can never be the same. (Within Taoism and Buddhism) one's nature cannot be fully developed.

P'ing-shan replies: Food, drink and sex are bodily passions. How can they belong to man's nature? If one must mix them up, how is man different from the birds and beasts? This is exactly what is meant by Confucius' saying, "A knave's teaching of the Mean is that he has no caution," and by the Buddhist term "the unobstructed Ch'ang (zen).

Chuang Tzu has already mentioned the fact that there were those who "refrained from eating the five grains and who were gentle and shy like young girls." Master Chang must have never seen these. To take nearer examples; even nowadays many of those who are close to Tao refrain from grains and keep fasts. Have they all lost their nature? That which will cripple one's nature and bring calamity to all posterity must be this teaching (of Master Chang).

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2Chung Yung, ch. 2, verse 2, p. 48.

3CT, ch. 1, p. 2, line 29.
Heng-ch'ü said: In trying to understand ghosts, Buddhists say that beings with consciousness die and are born in cycles. They are therefore tired of suffering and seek to escape from it. Can they be said to understand ghosts? They consider human life as a delusion. Can they be said to understand man? Heaven and man form a unity, yet they accept one (the ultimate nature of Heaven) and reject the other (human affairs). Can they be said to understand Heaven? They take the phrase "the escape of the hun (soul) brings about change" to indicate samsāra. This is thoughtless!

P'ing-shan replies: This teaching comes from (a phrase in the I Ching), "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death." Chuang Tzu clarified it further. He said, "Life is a companion of death, and death is the beginning of life." It is impossible to find whether life is the beginning or death is the beginning. Lieh Tzu also said, "He who dies here, how do you know he will not be born in the other place?" "All creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again."

If this is not samsāra, what is it? Lao Tzu said, "Life is a mere ga-

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1 Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 3, p. 22.
2 I C T, I, 4, p. 57.
3 Ibid.
4 CT, ch. 22, p. 57, line 10.
6 CT, ch. 18, p. 47, line 45. C.f. Watson, op. cit., p. 196.
thering together of breath."7 Chuang Tzu also said, "(The long-lived person spends his life) worrying instead of dying. What a bitter lot!"8

The True Man of ancient time "has the form of a man but not the feelings of a man."9 "He will soon choose the day and ascend far off."10 "He rides on those white clouds all the way up to the village of God."11 When he is in an happy mood, "he finds company with the Creator. When he is disgusted, he goes beyond the Six Directions."12 In cases like the Chu-hsia of Lao Tzu, the Ch'i-yüan of Chuang Tzu, the Cheng-p'u of Lieh Tzu and the State of Lu of Confucius, one can affirm (that they illustrate the case where) one "gives body to his inborn-nature and embrace his spirit so as to wander through the everyday world."13 When we descend further down, (we quickly come down to the level where one hastily desires to destroy the distinction between reality and illusion; (one talks about) the union of Heaven and man, the abolition of what to acquire and what to discard, and the equality of life and death. Ha! How ridiculous!

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7 CT, ch. 22, p. 59, line 37. 8 CT, ch. 18, p. 46, line 6.
11 CT, ch. 12, p. 30, line 32. 12 CT, ch. 7, p. 20, line 9.
13 This sentence gives a list of place-names where the corresponding sages were supposed to have lived. References for Chu-hsia is in Shih Chi, ch. 63, commentary, v. 7, p. 2140. (Chu-hsia means historian, an occupation Lao Tzu was supposed to have taken up); Ch'i-yüan, same as above, p. 2143; Cheng-p'u, Lieh Tzu, "Chung-ni", p. 83. The quotation is from Chuang Tzu, ch. 12, p. 31, line 68. C.f. Watson, op. cit., p. 136.
Heng-ch'ü said: Buddhists say that, necessarily, birth, death and transmigration cannot be avoided unless one attains Tao. This is called Enlightenment. Since their teaching spread like fire throughout China, even men of superior talent, who, since birth, have been immersed through their ears and eyes in customary (Buddhist) affairs, and when they were grown, have followed those (Buddhist) teachings admired by mediocre scholars, were in the dark and were deceived, saying that sagehood could be achieved without cultivation and the Great Tao could be understood without having to learn about them. Hence, before learning about the mind of the Sage, they have already said that there was no need to inquire about their 'outward manifestations' (idk ch'i); before seeing the purpose of the superior man, they have already admitted that there was no need to study their art. This was why morality has not been followed, the ways of things were not understood, good government has been neglected, virtues have been confused and divergent opinions jarred the ears. Those in the superior positions did not have propriety to prevent hypocrisy; those below did not have learning so as to examine defects. "One-sided, extravagant, depraved and evasive opinions" abundantly rose together. For 1,500 years, all these emerged from Buddhism. Unless one is independent, fearless, refined, single-minded, self-confident and endowed with superior talent, how can he stand up—

2From Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 17, pp. 532-533.
right in the midst of all these, take up their challenges and engage in debates on who is right and who is wrong?

P'ing-shan replies: Ever since the deaths of Confucius and Mencius, Confucian scholars have not talked about the great Tao for 1,500 years. Is that the fault of Buddhists? When we come to recent times, one begins to interpret Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu by means of Buddhist ideas, and this practice has spread to such books as the Analects, Mencius, The Book of Poetry, The Book of History and The Book of Changes. Is this not the case that the Tao as understood by superior men is approached through these (Buddhist books)? Master Chang turned around and bit the hand that fed him. How unkind could that be? To say (that Buddhism teaches) that one may arrive at sagehood without having to practise or that one may understand the great Tao without having to study for it is only said by you. We also know what is the source for the "one-sided, extravagant, depraved and evasive opinions." Who are the men of surpassing talent? Are they not the Wang father and son and the Su brothers? Conceited as you are, how can you withstand the challenge and engage in debates on who is right and who is wrong? You are indeed the man to suffer transmigration because of your attachment to life and death!

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3 Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and son. C.f. Sung Shih, ch. 327, pp. 5356b-5357c.

4 Su Shih (1036-1101) and Su Che (1039-1112). Sung Shih, ch. 338, pp. 5382c-5386b. Both Wang and Su brothers were sympathetic to the Buddhists.
Heng-ch'ü said¹: In the Buddhist view of Reality, human life is taken for an illusion, activity is regarded as a tumor, the world a polluted place. Therefore, they hold these things with disgust and decide not to have anything to do with them. They renounce (the world) and retain nothing (from it). They are sincere but hate understanding. (On the other hand), the scholar extends his sincerity by means of understanding, and expands his understanding by means of sincerity.² Hence, he may attain sagehood through learning. Heaven has never initiated (any measure) contrary to man, just as what the I Ching has said, "not in conflict, not to be carried away, not to commit excesses."³ What (Buddhists) say about reality is only words. They have never really understood it.

P'ing-shan replies: Buddhists understand reality. That is why they take human life as an illusion. Although "Absolute Reality itself does not tolerate a speck of dust, within the realm of ten thousand acts not one act is forsaken."⁴ The unconditioned (asamskrta) is not regarded as implying the negation of the realm of the conditioned (samskrta). The way-of-going-forth-from-the-world does not imply the destruction of

¹Cheng Meng, in Chang-tzu, ch. 3, p. 23.
²Chung Yung, ch. 21, pp. 90-91.
³ICT, I, 4, p. 57.
the ways-of-the-world. ⁵ How can there ever be disgust and renunciation (in Buddhism)? (Buddhists teach that): Concentration and wisdom are (both) perfectly accomplished. Cessation and insight mutually merge. "From the Cause is caused fruits as numerous as that contained by an ocean." ⁶ "It is so large that it more than encompasses the entire universe." ⁷ "From the fruits, one penetrates to its source, the Cause." ⁶ "It enters into a dust particle which has no crevice." ⁷ Is there no similarity with the Tao of our (Chinese) Sages? I am afraid that it is Master Chang who has overheard about Tao in the I Ching but has not really understood it. How could he have known Reality?

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⁵ The basis of this teaching is in the Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 1105; c.f. also 285b.


⁷ See section 22, note 16. The quotations from notes 6 and 7 are mixed.
Heng-ch’ü said⁴: Although the Buddhist teaching appears correct, it is essentially different from our Confucianist teaching. There can only be one Tao. If one is correct, the other must be wrong, and vice versa. They can never be treated on the same level. The (Buddhist) teaching is elusive and unrestrained. Treat an elevated topic and it will become excessive, promulgate it and it will become biased. In every chapter are found many teachings such as these.

P’ing-shan replies: Tao fundamentally cannot be said to be one, how can it be two? Tao basically affirms nothing, how can it deny anything? In his teaching the Tathagata did not fall into the error of reliance on words, and so for the first forty-nine years he did not have a single word (on record). Vimalakirti did not depart from words and spoke about the non-dual teaching of liberation and he ended by keeping silence.¹ Master Chang wishes to vilify the Great Void with words but what becomes eminently patent is his ignorance of his own limitations. Not having read the second chapter of the Nan-hua², Master Chang, I suppose, must have never dreamt of the true meaning of Confucius’ phrase, "I desire not to say a word."³

¹See section 28, note 1.
²Vimalakirti Sūtra, T475, 551c.
³The second chapter of Chuang Tzu, which is entitled "On making things equal."
⁴Analects, Book 17, ch. 19, p. 388.
Heng-ch'ü said\(^1\): Generally speaking, he who knows about night and day, yin and yang will also know about (human) nature, destiny; the Sage, ghosts and spirits. Buddhists are burdened by (attempts to understand) yin and yang, night and day, and they discuss about ghosts and spirits. Their teaching is erroneous.

P'ing-shan replies: The coming and going of day and night, the increase and decrease of yin and yang are the true principles of life and death. Having "investigated Principle to the utmost and having developed their nature until destiny was reached,"\(^2\) the Sages penetrated the Tao of night and day and knew that there had not been coming and going. They have not seen "the spirit which could not be fathomed in terms of yin and yang."\(^3\) Initially, there is neither increase or decrease. "(The Sages) having, by their possession of these (three virtues) cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness)."\(^4\) Even ghosts and spirits do not understand this truth.

With regard to the situation of the ghosts and spirits, the Sages did know about it. The Buddhist teaching is really the same as the Confucian. On the contrary, Master Chang's teaching that one could be released from the burden of yin and yang, day and night by letting the

\(^1\) See section 28, note 1.

\(^2\) I Ching, Shuo-kua chuan, 1, p. 70.

\(^3\) ICT, I, 5, p. 58. C.f. Wilhelm, op. cit., p. 301.

coming and going, the increase and decrease to follow their spontaneous courses was exactly the one which would lead men into samsāra. He falsely took this to be the Tao of the I Ching, how could he have understood the Sages' teaching that "the one which produced birth was called Changes," and the one which produced birth had never experienced being born? To the seeker of Tao, a single thought is identical with ten thousand years. Basically, there is neither beginning nor end, how can there be a burden of yin, yang and night and day?

ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
Heng-ch'u said:\ The Great Void is the body of ch'i. Having characteristics of yin and yang, the ch'i is subjected to infinite changes of expansion and contraction and mutual influences. For this reason, the response of the spirit is inexhaustible. Since its dispersion takes infinite forms, the response of the spirit also take infinite forms. Although inexhaustible, its reality is tranquil; although infinite, its reality is one. When dispersed, the ch'i of yin and yang becomes thousands of different things and we do not understand their oneness. When the (different things) are intermingled, we do not see their divergence.

An object comes into being through the assembling of a physical form. When the object deteriorates it returns to its source. To return to its source is what is meant by the phrase (from the I Ching), "the escape of the soul brings about transformation." Transformation is the artful way of referring to the facts of condensation, dispersion, coming into existence and going out of existence. It does not mean the metamorphosis such as that of a fire-fly into a sparrow, that is, the reference to the element of continuity between a former body and a later body.

P'ing-shan replies: This is neither Confucius' teaching nor the Buddha's. Master Chang laboured at this theory, relying on his own private guesses and judgments. It must have been painstaking. Nevertheless, I want to

\[CHENG\ MENG, in\ Chang-tzu, ch. 3, p. 23.\]
\[ICT, I, 4, p. 57.\]
ask Master Chang a few questions. That which is clear and unified and that which is infinite and inexhaustible—are they referring to one thing or two things? Why do they disperse and why do they unify?

Since there are former and later bodies in the metamorphosis of the fire-fly into a sparrow, how do you know there are no such former and later bodies in the phrase "the escape of the soul brings about transformation"? Since all are produced from the ch'i of the Great Void and the spirits of yin and yang, why is it there are irregularities and differences, the contrasts of pleasure and pain, the brilliant and the stupid? If Master Chang was correct, then there would not be anything worth doing aside from eating, drinking and having sex; whether a man lives a long life or a short life, whether he is rich or poor are all just as they are (with no need of further explanations); the teaching on the correctness of names (i.e. Confucianism) need not be treasured, and the learning of Tao need not be transmitted; Chieh, Chou, and Tao Chih would be regarded as perfect men, whereas Yao, Shun and Confucius would be regarded as those who added on bondage to themselves. This is the false reason tyrants used to justify their extermination of human life. And yet Master Chang talked about it and spread it around. I cannot bear to see that some foolish persons in the future may regard a gentleman as 'a ghost or huo', or as blood and flesh. Alas! If one but read the Sūraṅgama sūtra, then this theory will collapse just like melting ice or falling tiles.

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3 Chieh, Chou were tyrants of Hsia and Shang Dynasties respectively. Tao Chih was reputed as the most ferocious robber.

4 A phrase taken from Shih Ching, "Shiao-ya", "Ho-jen-ssu" (何人斬), p. 98. Huo is a symbol for a slanderer.
Heng-ch'ü said: The so-called 'death' we discuss nowadays, even servants and cooks know it is 'empty.' What Buddhists refer to as unimaginable is also commonly understood by the ordinary people. The scholars learned about them and wrote about them extensively. Occasionally, in explaining them, they introduced concepts from the Book of Changes and the Doctrine of the Mean. They also borrowed beautiful language from other books to embellish them. For this reason, some of their books were skillfully written. But in fact, there is nothing worth taking. As for Chuang Tzu, his teaching is also the same. He was really frightened by death. He also hasn't got the truth of the matter.

P'ing-shan replies: The so-called 'death' we discuss nowadays, servants and cooks know it is 'empty.' All, kings, dukes, generals, ministers, crafty strongmen and heroes are afraid of death. The strong one resorts to assassination of his lord and usurpation of the throne. The weak one seeks for escape with his life and avoidance of punishment. And so are nourished the scum and the depraved in society. The debased officials suck the boil and lick the pile (of their lords) and so lead to their defamation and loss of integrity. All these happen because people form an attachment to their lives. Since the arrival of Buddhist books, we learned that this 'skin-bag' was not worth treasuring. "The error of

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1 Ching-hsüeh li-k'ü, in Chang-tzu, ch. 4, p. 1.
2 C.f. CT, ch. 32, p. 89, line 25.
3 'Skin-bag': Buddhist reference to the human body.
just one thought leads to punishments for countless ages." Their assistance to the teaching of names cannot be considered trivial. Master Chang assumed that the unimaginable realm of the Tathagata was known by the common folks and that scholars had written about it in skillful language. Why did he not list from the sutras those passages which he considered were taken from such and such a book or (indicate that) such and such a teaching came from such and such an event? Five thousand chapters (of Buddhist scripture) are now widespread in the country. Even a cursory examination will tell that Master Chang is successful only in deceiving the blind. He is like the simpleton who says, "The well of my neighbour has stolen water from my well." Again, he laughed at Chuang Chou's fear of death. What words are these? If Chou was really afraid of death, he would have, following the Three Sages, gone out of his way to write a book for this man 'without caution.'

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4 This means Confucius' teaching. C.f. Analects, Book 13, ch. 3, verse 5, p. 298.

5 Chung Yung, ch. 2, p. 48.
Heng-ch'ü said: With regard to the study of the Buddhist teaching, when it is attained, one becomes a sage, but its practices are that of ordinary people. (The practitioner) thinks hearing about it is all there is to it. The so-called patriarchs are examples of this.

P'ing-shan replies: The Tathāgata, using his *upāyajñāna* (wisdom of using skill-in-means), for the sake of slothful sentient beings, preached the instant attainment of the Buddhahood by the daughter of the Nāga Sāgara in the *Lotus Sūtra*; for the sake of arrogant sentient beings, preached the endless duration required for Vairocana to become a Buddha in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. In actual fact, all must, in the duration of three *asaṅkhya* (countless years) pass through the ten grades of faith, ten stages of wisdom, ten stages of transference (*parināmanā*) the four stages of earnest endeavour (*prayoga*), the ten stages of bodhisattva development, and the fifty-first stage of enlightenment, before they pass into the Wonderful Enlightenment. (The process of bodhisattva development), faith, understanding, practice and attainment, should not be falsely explained. The follower of the Ch'an school is a different matter. (For him) "there is neither Buddha nor demon, neither ordinary

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1. Ching-hsūeh li-k'ü, in Chang-tzu, ch. 6, p. 2.
3. Ibid., T262, 35b, line 12ff.
5. These are stages of development of the bodhisattva in the *Mahāyāna*. 
person nor sage, neither attainment nor non-attainment, neither understanding nor not understanding." He "shouts at the Buddha and scolds the patriarch," 6 "grows horns and becomes covered with a fur." 7 That is why Lao Tan 8 became a horse and an ox. How could he be willing to be like Ch'ü Ch'üeh-tzu who looked for the cock once he saw the egg? 9 To be sure, if (the practitioner) is like one who, tending an ox, turns his head round here and round there, the ox, being tethered by the nose, will also go in circles. Or if he is like the hen, which, while incubating her eggs, lets them get cold periodically, he will never get results. But could these be the reasons for worldly people's criticism (of Buddhism)? Of course, there are cases of those fools who regard themselves as sages. For example, one of the cases is in: "The Mean of the knave is that he is without caution." 10

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6Pi-yen-lu, T2003, 143b.

7The first fall of the three falls of the Tsao-shan school. To be with horns and fur is to become a beast. C.f. Jen-t'ien yen-mu, T2006, 317c.

8Lao Tzu.

9CT, ch. 2, p. 6, lines 73, 76.

10Chung Yung, ch. 2, p. 48.
Heng-ch’ü said: While passing through Chou, Confucius asked about propriety from one called Lao Tan. The latter might not have been whom we know nowadays as Lao Tzu. For, from what we know, Lao Tzu paid very little attention to propriety. Lao Tzu was probably not the same man, just as there was another tradition about Tso Ch’iu-ming.

P’ing-shan replies: Lao Tzu understood the essence of propriety. For this reason, he could overlook the unessentials. Can those who pay attention only to the external motions of propriety understand the meaning of propriety? Master Chang intended to do damage to the learning of the Tao and hence he laboured at giving a false picture of Lao Tzu. And his attempt even included Mr. Tso. Can we deduce from this that the Duke of Chou about whom Confucius is said to have dreamt may not have been other than Hei Chien; and that the King Wen referred to in the phrase "after the death of King Wen" could have been Ch’u Tzu Hsiung-shen. The words of the Sung scholars can be wild to such an extent! Alas!

1. Ching-hsüeh li-k’u, in Chang-tzu, ch. 6, p. 4.
2. Shih Chi, ch. 63, p. 2140.
3. Ibid.
4. Author of Tso-shih Ch’un-ch’iu. During the T’ang Dynasty, a controversy was circulated over the existence of another person by the same name and that he was the real author.
6. This man, who appears in the Tso-chuan (autumn of the 5th year of Huan Kung), was also called the Duke of Chou, p. 72.
Heng-ch'ü said: One who uses evasive words has no particular inclination towards any view except that he thinks he is correct. Basically, he has no tenet. When somebody affirms Being, he affirms Non-Being, and he falls into Absolute nothingness. When someone affirms Non-Being, he affirms Being, and he falls into the lowest teaching. Basically, he has never entered the Way of the Mean. This is what Buddhists and Taoists are like.

P'ing-shan replies: There are cases of evasive teaching as referred to by Master Chang. These are in China the theories of "hard and white" of Kung-sun Lung, "identity and difference" of Hui Shih, "either way" of Teng Hsi, and in the West, Makkhali-gosāla and so on, who taught the theories of the banishment of rebellion and deathlessness. "Constant Non-Being and Constant Being" are the trustworthy words of Lao Tzu.

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1 Yü-lu ch'ao (語錄抄), in Chang-tzu, ch. 12, p. 2.
2 Shih Chi, ch. 74, p. 2349.
3 CT, ch. 33, p. 93, line 72.
4 See Tso-chuan (9th year of Ting), also Lieh Tzu, "Li-ming," (力命), p. 126.
5 Heretical teacher. Cf. Mahāparinirvāna sūtra, T374, 474c, line 19.
6 Lao Tzu, ch. 1.
"The supreme Truth of the Middle Path"^7 are the Buddha's words of truth. One should not affirm Being or affirm Non-Being. "Depart from the four terms, deny a hundred negations."^8 The supreme words are without words. "Words must be broken off, the activities of the mind must cease."^9 How can there be the intention "to obstruct, to depart, to entrap and to exhaust"^10 and so giving rise to "one-sided, extravagant, deprived and evasive opinions"^10? And so our Sage "manifests the Tao"^11 and does not fall into Non-Being; "show virtuous acts in their spiritual relation"^11 without becoming involved with Being; regards "the objects with physical forms" as identical with "the Tao without physical form"^12; remains "silent or speaking."^13 Master Chang would not have known the Truth beyond words.

^7C.f. Chung Lun, T1564, 33b, lines 11-12.

^8Frequently quoted Buddhist saying. C.f. San-lun Hsüan-i, T1852, 6a. The four terms refer to the differentiation of all things into the existing, non-existing, both and neither.


^12ICT, I, 12, p. 63.

^13ICT, I, 8, p. 59.
Heng-ch'ü said: Lao Tzu said, "Heaven and Earth are unkind." He was correct. But when he said, "The Sage is unkind," he was wrong. Heaven and Earth "give their stimulus to all things, without having the same anxieties that possess the Sage." As for the Sage, he is kind.

P'ing-shan replies: The phrase "they give their stimulus to all things, without having the same anxieties that possess the Sage" indicates the spirit of the Sage; whereas the phrase "their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil" indicates His outward manifestations. The spirit of the Sage is similar to Heaven and Earth. "It is the virtue of Heaven and Earth to bestow life." How could He have had the intention to bestow life to all things? For this reason, although the joy of the Sage is balmy like spring, "his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he doesn't think himself benevolent." "It is said to be benevolent only because it is seen through benevolent eyes." Master Chang forced a distinction (between Heaven and Earth on one hand, and the Sage on the other.) I am afraid that not only did he not understand Lao Tzu, he did not understand the words of Confucius either.

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1I-shuo, in Chang-tzu, ch. 11, p. 6.  
2Lao Tzu, ch. 5.  
4ICT, I, 11. Ibid., p. 372.  
5ICT, II, 1, p. 64.  
6ICT, ch. 6; 19, line 88. Watson, op. cit., p. 90.  
7ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
Heng-ch'ü said: "Everything has its principle. If one does not investigate Principle to the utmost, then he wastes his life just as if he passes his entire life in dreams. Buddhists do not investigate Principle and treat everything as illusions. Although Chuang Tzu was able to understand Principle, yet in the very end he also took it to be a dream. He did not understand 'the investigation of Principle to the utmost' of the Book of Changes." Again he said: "The in-born nature of all things referred to by Buddhists is just like the nature in Kao Tzu's saying, 'Life is what is to be understood by nature.'" 2

P'ing-shan replies: Has Master Chang really been able to investigate Principle of the Changes to the utmost and has "penetrated the Tao of day and night and so understood it"? The teaching about birth and death is hard to penetrate. The only recourse we have is "to seek it whether we are awake or asleep." 4 Once we get it one morning or one evening, can it be attributed to life itself? What sort of an object is the realm seen in a dream? The self in a dream, is he the real me? There are plenty of dreamers who speak in their dreams. Are they not still in dreams? Now, while Master Chang has not been awakened, he laughed at the dreams of the Buddha and Chuang Tzu. These are also

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1 *Yu-lu ch'ao*, in *Chang-tzu*, ch. 12, pp. 3 and 4.
4 A phrase from the *Shih Ching*, "Chou-nan," "kuan Tzu." (周南

words spoken in a dream. The whole world is in a dream. Knowing that
dreaming and being awake actually form one body, then one knows that
there are no such things as dreaming and being awake. Knowing that
death and birth form one nature, then one knows that there are no such
things as birth and death. Not knowing Non-birth, how can he understand
Non-death? For this reason, (Confucius says), "If I hear Tao in the
morning, I can gladly die in the evening."\(^5\) Master Chang has not heard
about this (teaching) and so did not believe that life and death are
but a dream. (Still more so), how could he have known that dreaming
and being awake are identical with life and death? This is what the
Buddhists mean by "that of one nature."\(^6\) How can that be identified
with Kao Tzu's saying, "The nature of man is just like the nature of an
ox"?\(^7\)

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\(^5\) Analects, Book IV, ch. 8, p. 163.

\(^6\) Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 275a, line 19.

\(^7\) Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 3, p. 853.
Heng-ch'ü said: Worldly learning has not understood (Tao) for one thousand and five hundred years. The Prime Minister's teaching is recorded in a book. We just have to apply it to ourselves, and the Tao of the Sage will be realized soon, is it not so?

P'ing-shan replies: I suspected that Heng-ch'ü and his fellows originally belonged to the Wang school. On account of the events during the Yüan-feng era, Wang lost the confidence of all the officials in the country. That is why they (Heng-ch'ü and his fellows) turned their backs on (Wang) and accommodated themselves with Ssu-ma Chün-shih. When Chün-shih's teaching became known, all the scholars flocked to him and it became widespread. In actual fact, they talked about the Tao of Benevolence and Righteousness while secretly adopting the craft of the Tsung-heng school. Now, Master Chang's book has already shown this. What else can I say?

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1 Yü-lu ch'ao, in Chang-tzu, ch. 12, p. 4.
2 Ssu-ma Kuang, see section 3, note 1.
4 Ibid.
5 Ssu-ma Kuang. He was the leader in opposition to Wang. Since Ssu-ma came to power in the years of Yüan-yü, his party was hence known by that name.
6 The Tsung-heng school refers to political strategists during the Period of the Warring States.
Heng-ch'ü said: These days when I am cogitating about that which is in accordance with Tao and Principle, they turn out to be what I have predicted, them to be. This is useful.

P'ing-shan replies: "Guesses frequently turn out to be accurate" is laughed at by Confucius. "Produced in one's mind" is jeered at by Mencius. The reason why Master Chang did not succeed in learning the teachings of Confucius and Mencius was just because he had this incurable disease.

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1 Yu-lu ch'ao, in Chang-tzu, ch. 12, p. 6.

2 Analects, Book XI, ch. 18, p. 268.

3 Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 17, p. 533.
Ming-tao said: If one talks about delusion and illusion, it is because he has a bad in-born nature. I shall advise him to look for a good in-born nature to replace this bad one. If one looks for the in-born nature aside from Tao or Tao aside from the in-born nature, then this is not correct. For, what each one possesses is originally perfect. If there is no damage in what I naturally possess, there is no need for repair. This is reasonable. If there is damage, then I repair it. This is also reasonable. The Ch'an people are always making unnecessary fuss. As for the teaching of "The mountains, rivers and the expanse of the land" (that they are a creation of the mind), how could that be your concern? Confucius says, "I desire not to speak." As for Yen Tzu, he "understood it in silence." As for the other (disciples), they were in doubt. Again, Confucius said, "When has Heaven ever spoken?" I hope this is clear now. If one can see through the above, then, I believe, he knows what Ch'an is all about.

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1Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085), brother of Ch'eng I. Both were founders of Neo-Confucianism. Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 427, p. 5579b-d.

2I Shu (遺書), ch. 1, p. 1, in Erh Ch'eng ch'üan-shu. Slightly abbreviated.

3Sūraṅgama Sūtra, T945, 110c.

4Analects, Book XVII, ch. 19, p. 388.

5Yen Hui, Confucius' disciple.


7Analects, Book XVII, ch. 19, p. 388.
P'ing-shan replies: Master Ch'eng's teaching is almost identical with Tao. Its ideas are completely from the Sūtraṇgama and the Yüan-chüeh (sūtras), and from the sayings of Tsao-hsi and Chiang-hsi. Yet in the end, he laughed at the Ch'an people for being unnecessarily fussy. He was seriously afraid that there was too much concern about higher things. Even with the talent of Yen Tzu, he still had to be instructed fact to face by the Sage, to begin with "controlling himself" and to end with "having nothing in the basket," and then he achieved a secondary kind of resemblance. When he (Confucius) talked about in-born nature, Tzu Kung "could not get anything of what he heard." For the "wonder of sitting in forgetfulness" did "not admit the presence of any sound." Pluck out the mind and abolish the intellect, this is what Tzu Hsia could not do. For this reason, Jan Ch'iu asked about "the existence of Heaven and Earth before the coming into being of Heaven and Earth." "Yesterday, it was clear. Today, it seems obscure. In the case of the


10 Analects, Book XII, ch. 1, p. 277.

11 Ibid., Book XI, ch. 18, p. 268.

12 Ibid., Book V, ch. 12, p. 177.

13 CT, ch. 6, p. 19, line 92.

14 CT, Ch. 22, p. 60, line 70.
former, your spirit took the lead in receiving my words; in the latter,
you are searching for it with something other than the spirit."\textsuperscript{15} This
is the reason why Tzu Lu "has ascended to the hall but has not entered
the inner chamber."\textsuperscript{16}

Now Master Ch'eng lived one thousand and five hundred years af-
ter the Sage. Attempting to resurrect a forgotten teaching, he should
be admired for what he said. What sort of a person am I that I should
dare to lay down judgment on him? I only have the intention to contri-
bute a little. For "there is still dirt on the mirror."\textsuperscript{17} The ore has
not yet become metal. "Wrangling Debate looked for it and the Dark
Pearl was lost."\textsuperscript{18} "Shu and Hu chiselled holes in Hun-tun and he died."\textsuperscript{19}
If there is but only "a drizzle, there is already a dripping leak."\textsuperscript{20}
Doubtful feeling is about to end, the supreme understanding is about to
come into being. He was one who still found Ch'an teaching unaccepta-
ble. The business about "mountains and rivers" was still an obstacle.
He has not yet come to the stage of "forgetfulness of the self." With
haste, he wished to enter into the stage of speechlessness. Consequently,
he drifted into heterodox teaching and it developed into an erro-
neous teaching. How sad!

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., lines 72-73. \textsuperscript{16} Analects, Book XI, ch. 14, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{17} Frequently used Buddhist image. C.f. Ta-ch'eng ch'i hsin lun,
T1666, 581c.
\textsuperscript{18} CT, ch. 12, p. 29, line 18. C.f. Watson, op. cit., p. 129.
\textsuperscript{19} CT, ch. 7, p. 21, lines 34-35.
\textsuperscript{20} Ch'an saying. C.f. Yuan-wu Fo-kuo Ch'an-shih yü-lu, T1997,
769b.
Ming-tao said: Buddhism only frightens people with birth and death. The odd thing about it is that not a single person has become enlightened by it for a thousand years. This was because people were frightened by it. The Sages and Worthies regard birth and death as something natural and hence they think that there is nothing to be afraid of. For this reason, they did not discuss birth and death. The Buddha was frightened by birth and death. Hence, he talked incessantly about them. Basically, the teaching was built on the desire of profit. For this reason, the believer also believed it with the desire of profit. Chuang Tzu's saying, "Don't disturb the process of change (from birth to death)" refers to this. Yang Chu and Mo Ti no longer have disciples. The harm of the Taoist teaching is nevertheless small. But everybody talks about Buddhism. It has spread to the entire world and its damage is boundless.

Of the one thousand and seven hundred persons recorded in the Ch'uan-teng-lu, I dare say not a single one has reached the goal. Even if one has understood the truth about death, he would look for a foot of cloth to wrap around his head and die—he would never die wearing a barbarian dress and have his head shaven.

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P'ing-shan replies: "Going back to the beginnings of things and pursuing them to the end," the Sage "comes to know the lessons of life and death." Does He not discuss life (or birth) and death? Master Ch'eng's avoidance of the discussion of birth and death is similar to the fact that children dare not talk about ghosts at night or the fact that a sick man avoids the mention of death or the idea that his disease is hard to cure. Yang Chu taught the profit of the self to the detriment of others. Mo Ti taught the profit of others to the detriment of the self. (On the other hand), the seeker of Tao profits both the self and others. How could there be any harm? As for the opinion that the Sage does not have the slightest desire of profit, has He not the desire of profiting things? For this reason, all things profit Him. This is the Heavenly Principle.

"The ways of Sages differ; seem).  
This in a public office toils;  
That in his home the time beguiles,  
One man his lips with silence seals;  
Another all his mind reveals."  

(The Sages) "are distributed along different paths and yet they all return to their common source; though there might be a hundred thoughts, their fruits are realized through one action." For this reason, the ways "are followed at the same time and yet they do not contradict one another." Does Master Ch'eng desire that everyone within the universe wears the round hat and the square shoes?

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Ming-tao said: The Ch' an people say, "These are (merely) outward manifestations. Why don't we discuss his mind?" (I will answer,) "The mind and outward manifestations are one. It is just as unreasonable (to divide them) as when a man is walking, he points to his heart (hsin) and says, 'I don't want to walk, (it is the legs which are doing the walking)." Chuang Tzu talked about "wandering within the Universe, wandering beyond the Universe." How can the Universe have a "within" and a "beyond"? If there were, then there would be a separation of the Tao, one "within" and one "beyond." How could that be reasonable?

P'ing-shan replies: The 'mind' and 'outward manifestations' of the Ch' an people are the same as the 'within' and 'beyond' of Chuang Chou. It is (again) similar to the (I Ching's) saying, "The sages having, by their possession of these (three virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of their own consciousness). But their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil." Although for the sage, "his spirit makes no (distinctions with respect to) universes," yet with respect to his mind and outward manifestations, how could there be no distinctions between the 'within' and

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1 I-shu, ch. 1, p. 3.
2 C.f. CT, ch. 6, p. 18, line 66.
4 ICT, I, 4, p. 58.
the 'beyond'? Wen-chung-tzu\(^5\) was a man who possessed a profound knowledge of the *Book of Changes*. For this reason he said, "The distinctions between the mind and outward manifestations were made a long time ago! I delight in (the way) of Heaven and I know my destiny, what is there to worry about? I investigate Principle to the utmost and I develop my in-born nature to the fullest, why should I have any doubts?\(^6\) The whole world is worried, can I alone not be worried? The whole world is in doubt, can I alone not be in doubt?\(^7\),\(^8\) This is the (correct) teaching on the 'mind' and 'outward manifestations.' Nevertheless, let me take a simpler analogy: The 'mind' of the Sage is like the moon in the sky. His 'outward manifestations' are like the moons in water. They are both identical and not identical. They are either similar or different. This is not said by Wen-chung-tzu, and I have brought it out here.

\(^5\)Wang T'ung, an eminent Confucian teacher in the Sui Dynasty. His writing is found in *Wen-chung-tzu chung shuo*.

\(^6\)These two sentences refer to the 'mind.'

\(^7\)These two sentences refer to the 'outward manifestations.'

\(^8\)*Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo*, ch. 5, SFTK, p. 18.
Ming-tao said: According to the Ch'an view, living things like grass, trees, birds and beasts are born and begin to breathe in Spring and Summer. They corrupt and die in Autumn and Winter. Hence, they are illusory. (I say): Why don't you apply this reasoning to other entities as well? There is a principle to the process of being born, dying, maturing and decaying. What is illusory about this?

P'ing-shan replies: Illusion means falsehood. To falsely regard what originally has no process of being born, dying, maturing and decaying as really having the process of being born, dying, maturing and decaying is the reason why (life) is regarded as illusory. If one truly understands that there is no process of being born, dying, maturing and decaying, then (life) is not regarded as illusory, then it is not annihilated. This is Lao Tzu's teaching about the illusion, and the reason why the Tathagata has been called a magician. Thus, the Tathagata can change objects.in play, or He can stop still and let things follow their own courses, and be changed by created objects. In teaching Yen-tzu, Confucius said, "The empty chamber gives birth to brightness. Even ghosts and spirits will come to dwell." This indicates the transformation of all things. Can it be limited to "ways-of-the-world" alone, or to "ways of going-forth-from-the-world" alone? Master Ch'eng did not understand

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1 I-shu, ch. 1, p. 3. Abbreviated.
2 C.f. Sukhāvatīyūha sūtra, T360, 266a.
3 CT, ch. 4, p. 9, lines 32-33.
Buddhist distinction between ways of laymen and the way of monks and nuns. C.f. Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 112b.
Ming-tao said: When Lao Tzu said, "When Tao is lost, then there is virtue" and so on, then he himself did not understand Tao and he had no decent teaching.

P'ing-shan replies: When Confucius said, "The successive movement of a yin and a yang constitutes the Tao and what follows is the good," did this not indicate that Tao has fallen and become virtue? (When he said), "The benevolent man sees it and calls it benevolence," was this not a decent teaching? Need we mention "Let the will be set on Tao; let every attainment in virtue (Te) be firmly grasped and let benevolence (jen) be accorded with." There is a certain order to these things. How precipitous are the words of Master Ch'eng!

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1 I-shu, ch. 1, p. 4.
2 Lao Tzu, ch. 38.
3 ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
4 Ibid.
Ming-tao said: "What is in-born is called nature." Nature is the same as ch'i (pneuma) and ch'i is the same as nature. There are good and evil ch'i-endowments. Yet, the nature originally does not possess these two things. Depending on their ch'i-endowments, some people are good from infancy and some are evil. Good is part of nature, but evil cannot be said not to be part of nature. For, from above the level at which "man is said to be born tranquil," nothing can be said about it. For if you say that it is nature, it is already not nature.

P'ing-shan replies: To talk about nature and to mix it with ch'i is Mr. Ch'eng's incurable disease. When Mencius talked about his "vast, flowing, ch'i," he took "the will to be in command." For the mind can direct one's ch'i. When Mr. Ch'eng insisted that the ch'i-endowments were divided into good and evil from birth, and that they could contaminate one's nature, he departed from Mencius' understanding. Nevertheless, Mencius' teaching that nature is good is slightly different from Confucius' position. When Confucius said, "By nature, men are nearly alike," he referred to the fact that originally there were no distinctions of good and evil. When he said, "By practice (習 hsi),

1 I-shu, ch. 1, p. 7.
2 A phrase of Kao Tzu, but means different things for Ch'eng Hao.
3 Li Chi, "Yao Chi," (堯記), p. 206.
5 Ibid., verse 9, pp. 527-528.
they get to be wide apart,” he meant that good and evil were distinguished. When talking about the extremes, he said, “The extremely wise and the extremely foolish cannot be changed.” This is also the result of contagion (善). As for the fact that some men are born evil, this origin has a long history. Wu-kou alone has the correct explanation. The seeker of the Tao naturally knows this. Please consult the Lun-yü hsiang-shuo.

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7 Ibid., ch. 3, p. 377.
8 The only possible interpretation of this character here is 'contagion,' 'fuming' or vāsana.
9 Li is referring to karma as the explanation.
11 Unclear. There is a book of the same title by Hu Yín (胡寅).
Ming-tao said: "There must be tending to affairs." This indicates that one must use 'seriousness' (敬 ching) as the central practice. "And not to correct the mind." This means no deliberation. "Do not forget." This refers to tending to affairs. "Do not force it to grow." This refers to correcting (the mind). My brother I-ch'uan punctuates it this way: "When there is a necessity of tending to affairs, one must not correct it. The mind must never forget and one must not force it to grow." This is an alternate reading. To illustrate the meaning of this passage, I shall cite a Ch'an saying, "Affairs cannot be abolished, but to have a deliberate mind is to be off the mark."

P'ing-shan replies: Ming-tao's attempt is far inferior to that of I-ch'uan. Nevertheless, (the latter) need not break up the sentence in such a manner. Mencius himself said, "(That which is) produced in the mind harms the practice of affairs." Both sentences: "When there is a necessity of tending to affairs, one must not correct the mind" and "One must not force or force it" refer to the fault of 'correcting the mind.' If this mind is not produced, it will not harm the practice of

1I-shu, ch. 1, p. 8. The quotation is so abbreviated that the point of argument is lost. The original passage in the I-shu is absolutely necessary to know what this section is about. The whole point is a debate on whether a punctuation mark should be put before or after the word 'hsin (心).

2Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 16, p. 531.

3A frequently cited Ch'an saying, seen in Ch'uan-hsin fa yao, T2012, 381b.

4Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 17, p. 533.
affairs. "Correcting the mind" means deliberately planning to give rise to this mind.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): Medical books call the numbness in the hand or foot 'unfeeling' (pu-\(j\)en). This saying is most apt. The benevolent person (jen-che) takes the entire universe to be one body and considers everything to be his own self. If everything is the self, is there anything that he doesn't touch?

P'ing-shan replies: When Mr. Ch'eng began to put forth this teaching, he must have been soaked with the theory of the pit of the peach (t\(ao\)-jen) or the pit of the apricot (hsin-jen).\(^2\) Consequently, he interpreted benevolence (jen) as consciousness. His proneness for far-fetched explanations surpassed that of Mr. Wang.\(^3\) Benevolence is benevolence! Why did he concoct such a theory?

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\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 2.
\(^2\)A pun on the word 'jen.'
\(^3\)Wang An-shih. C.f. section 27, note 3.
Ming-tao said: "Buddhism more or less annihilates human relationships. The world cannot permit such a teaching. Again, it talks about the necessity of going-forth-from-the-world. Where to? With regard to its outward manifestations, (it teaches that) one must go-forth-from-home, and that one must leave the entanglements of the world. A seeker aims at nothing but to be like the Buddha. The Buddha was only a good-for-nothing barbarian. Basically, he was a 'dried up forest,' intent on the self alone. If it was only like this, it meant nothing more than that the world was one man less. But he wanted to spread his teaching everywhere. This is decidedly ridiculous. Now, when he talked about (leaving) worldly bonds, because of certain obvious constant principles of humanity, (the worldly bonds) could not be entirely abolished. That is why though he was unwilling, he had to affirm the moral principles of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence and righteousness. He really wished that even these obvious constant principles of humanity be totally annihilated. Then, (he thought), one would really be in Tao. (But finally, this could not be done.) Just as as long as a man is still breathing, he will have the consciousness of hearing, seeing, tasting and smelling. Delights of sound, sight, eating and drinking, the passions of joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure are natural. If, in order to recover the original truth, all these have to be denied, then this in itself is the loss of the original truth." Again he said, "If everybody becomes a

\[1\] I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 9.

\[2\] Not tending to worldly affairs. C.f. 'Dried-up Ch'an.'
Buddhist, there would not be a single person left in the world."

P'ing-shan replies: Alas! Mr. Ch'eng overheard the Hinayana teaching but could not be totally convinced by it. He selected some of its teachings and then attempted to refute them. How could he have known the secret meaning of the Vimalakirti and the Avatamsaka? He mistook the arhat for the Buddha. Not knowing the arguments behind it, he hastily heaped words of abuse. How could he have known the secret deeds of Mahatthtri and Samantabhadra³? The Great Beings of the perfect teaching understand that sentient beings are originally empty and yet they liberate them. They know that the realm is originally pure and yet they embellish it. They do not regard the worldly-ways as obstacles to the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world, the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world as bringing destruction to the worldly-ways. They regard the worldly-ways as identical with the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world, the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world as identical with the worldly-ways.⁴ They regard "the eighty-four thousand worldly klesas as identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of liberation."⁵ How can they be limited to the thirty-two responses of the Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara)⁶,

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³ Bodhisattvas in Mahayana sutras.
⁴ C.f. section 28, note 5.
⁵ Frequently quoted Buddhist saying.
⁶ Kuan-yin's skill-in-means to save other beings. C.f. Sūtraṃma sutra, T945, 128b.
or the fifty-three interviews of Sudhana. Sentient beings are mindful that there are always Buddhas who have attained right enlightenment. (This is a case of) "it is you who make the distinctions yourself." If one has "no notions of a self, of a being, a living soul or of a person," what is the harm of (having) "bodies of the lay devotee, the elder and the minister." I have heard that among those who maligned the Buddha and destroyed the dharma were the hell-ruling, contradicting, compassionate icchantika demons. Could Mr. Ch'eng be one of those? If not, he must be one of those stupid sentient beings who are obstructed by worldly intellect and debating talents, and who are saturated with the fullest karmic retribution. Alas! There is no repentence for that.

7 In the last section of the Avatamsaka sutra is a description of Sudhana's journey in search of Truth from fifty-three teachers. T279, 331-444.

8 Vimalakirti sutra, T475, 547c, line 29.

9 Diamond sutra, T235, 949b.

10 Three of Kuan-yin's thirty-two responses. C.f. Sūtraṃga sūtra, T945, 128b-129a.

11 Compassionate icchantika. One who has compassion on others but is himself barred from Enlightenment. C.f. Mahāparinirvāna sūtra, T374, 339c, line 25-27.

12 The most severe retribution, caused by five kinds of evil karma.
Ming-tao said: With regard to the Buddhist teaching, the scholar should treat it as lascivious music and enticing women and remove himself from it. Otherwise, he will speedily end up in it. After we have gained confidence, they cannot confuse us.

P'ing-shan replies: Pleasing sound and beauty, food and drink are what man desires. The wise and talented people in the world frequently abstain from them. Why do you say it is only a Buddhist and Taoist doctrine? "Just like drinking water, only the drinker knows whether it is hot or cold." For, like Fan-chih's wearing his stocking over his head, one cannot debate with it.

\[1\] L-shu, ch. 2a, p. 9. Abbreviated.

\[2\] Platform Sutra, T2008, 349b, line 29.

Ming-tao said\(^1\): Man is a living being. Unless he is dead, how can he be treated as "a withered tree or dead ash"\(^2\)? If he is alive he must move and think. (The Sage's teaching is only that) when it is not in accordance with propriety, one should abstain from seeing, hearing, saying and touching.\(^3\) When did he ever teach that one should be like "a withered tree or dead ash"? Again, what is the final outcome after the 'four abstentions'\(^4\)? When did he say that one should be like "a withered tree and dead ash," or be forthright irrespective of all circumstances.

P'ing-shan replies: In his programme of 'the control of the self'\(^5\), Yen Tzu first drove our perception and intellect, smashed up limbs and body and directly created the wonderful sitting in forgetfulness.\(^6\) Then, seeing, hearing, saying and touching were all in accordance with propriety. Then, he has really advanced one step. Nevertheless, Confucius said (that what Yen Tzu achieved) was only secondary, for he had not reached the stage of the 'four abstentions.' Confucius' 'four abstentions' began with the 'abstention of the will.' How could it be limited to "making the mind like dead ash"? And he ended with 'abstention of

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\(^1\) [I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 10. Abbreviated.]
\(^2\) [Terms from CT, ch. 23, p. 63, line 41.]
\(^3\) [Analects, Book XII; ch. 1, verse 2, pp. 278-279.]
\(^4\) [Ibid., Book IX, ch. 4, p. 231.]
\(^5\) [Ibid., Book XII, ch. 1, verse 1, p. 277.]
\(^6\) [CT, ch. 6, p. 19, line 92.]
the self.' How could it be limited to "making the body shaped like a withered tree"? Yen Tzu was sceptical of its final outcome. I am afraid he was not yet ready to discuss sagehood directly.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): Nowadays, when people talk about Tao, they say one must "make the body shaped like a withered tree and the mind like dead ash."\(^2\) (However, on the contrary,) what is prized (in the I Ching) is "to know everything completely and not to leave anything out."\(^3\) When does it say that one should be like 'dead ash'? Mencius said, "Every movement, countenance and turn is in accordance with propriety."\(^4\) When does it ever say that the body should be like a 'withered tree'? Nobody can excel Mencius in the discussion of the art of the mind. He said, "There must be tending to affairs."\(^5\) If now one must be like 'dead ash' and 'withered tree,' where can we find 'tending to affairs'?

P'ing-shan replies: Because "the mind is like dead ash" then one can "know everything completely and leave nothing out." Because "the body is shaped like a withered tree" then one's "every movement, countenance and turn is in accordance with propriety." This was what was used by Confucius to train Yen Yuan.\(^6\) Mencius has also said, "Produced in the mind, it interferes with the practice of affairs."\(^7\) The purpose of this is to teach one not to have a mind on affairs. How could he have wished that one maintains affairs in the mind?

\(^1\)I-shu, 2a/11. \(^2\)CT, 23/63, line 41. \(^3\)ICT, I, 4, p. 57.

\(^4\)Mencius, Book VII, part II, ch. 33, verse 2, p. 1003.

\(^5\)Ibid., Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 16, p. 531.

\(^6\)Phrase used by Yang Hsüng. C.f. Yang Tzu fa-yen, "hsüeh hsing,"

\(^7\)Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 17, p. 533.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): Kao Tzu's saying that "Life is what is to be understood by nature"\(^2\) and (the implication that) man's nature is identical with that of an ox is exactly the same as the Buddhist saying, "Everything that moves and is spirited has the Buddha-nature."\(^3\)

P'ing-shan replies: Kao Tzu only considers the aspect of similarity of the natures of all things. On the other hand, Buddhists regard the natures as both the same and yet different, both different and yet the same, either the same or different, and neither the same nor different. Let me use a simpler example. It is like the relationship between foam and water.\(^4\) The foam in water: They are both the same and different. The water in foam: They are both different and the same. Water is produced in the foam: They are either the same or different. The foam is annihilated in water: They are neither the same nor different. How can the one-sided saying of Kao Tzu be taken to be the same as the Buddhist perfect doctrine? (Ming-tao's view) is to mix up eyes of fish with real pearls.

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\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 12. Abbreviated.

\(^2\)Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 3, p. 852.

\(^3\)Frequently quoted Ch'an saying. C.f. Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 183a. Exact words are found in Wan-l'ing-lu, T2012, 386b.

\(^4\)This corresponds to the view that "noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other" in the Hua-yen school. C.f. Chu Hua-yen fa-ch'ieh kuan men, T1884, 687.
Ming-tao said: If one can place this self publicly among everything in the Universe and see them together, then how can one see any hindrance (of the body). What harm is there even if I have ten thousand bodies: From this, it is clear that the Buddhist suppression of the senses is done out of self-interest. Working out the Truth from one's own body of course will lead to a narrow view of the Truth. If the myriad things are seen as equal, then both big and small are happily together. Buddhists do not understand this and try to find out the Truth from their own bodies. However, since they cannot obtain the Truth from the body, they turn around and hate it and treat it as if it is "a withered tree or dead ash." In fact, it is because they love the body and are reluctant to give it up that they give so many explanations. They are just like the load-carrying bug which continues to load things on its back although it can no longer carry the load. Or they are like the man who holds on to a stone when he is sinking in a river and is not willing to let go.

P'ing-shan replies: Mr. Ch'eng's theory is really pretty. It is one step better than Heng-ch'ü's theory of the soul. It is a pity that he has not read the Diamond Sūtra. Master Chang took consciousness as

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1 Li-shu, ch. 2a, p. 13 and 15. Abbreviated.
2 CT, ch. 23, p. 63, line 41.
3 See section 11, passage by Heng-ch'ü.
4 Chang Tsai.
the self. This falls into (the attachment to) 'the notion of the ego.'

Master Ch'eng knew about the non-attachment to 'the notions of the ego and of a being.' But when he treated man as one of the myriad things, was he not falling into the attachment to 'the notion of a living soul'? Master Ch'eng was still ignorant about 'the notion of a person' which was the root of birth and death. That was why he deeply feared the saying of 'withered tree and dead ash,' and suspected that the Buddhists loved their own bodies, and compared them to the load-carrying bug and the stone-embracing sinking man. Who ever gives rise to a thought about one's own body? He, indeed, is the load-carrying bug.

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5Diamond sūtra, T235, 750b, lines 8-9.
Ming-tao said: The changes in the yin and yang of the universe are like the grinding of the two stones of a mill which go up and down, now full now empty and never cease to turn. When the mill is rotating, because its teeth are uneven, it produces all kinds of changes. (Hence, the fact that) things are unequal is something natural to them. Although Chuang Chou laboured at 'equating all things,' yet things remained unequal.

P'ing-shan replies: I have never heard about the teaching that the Universe is like the two stones of a mill. Is it not simplistic to say that Chuang Tzu attempted to equate things right in front of one's eyes? This is because (Master Ch'eng) has not read the chapter 'On making all things equal.' (Chuang Tzu) understood that "the Universe and the self came into being together." For this reason, there is no difference between the age of P'eng Tsu and that of an infant who dies young. He understood that "the myriad things and the self are one." For this reason, there is no difference of size between the Mount T'ai and the hair of an autumn feather. He practised (Tao) in accordance with 'the dream of the butterfly,' and so forgot the distinction between things and the

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2 Second chapter of Chuang Tzu is called "On making all things equal.

3 CT, ch. 2, p. 5, lines 51-53.

self and equalized life and death. How can the attainment of the gateway to the truth of the Mind\(^5\) be (the same as) Hui Shih's theory of 'hard and white' or Teng Hsi's 'either way'?\(^6\)

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\(^5\) 'Hsin ti fa-men,' a Ch'an phrase. C.f. Ch'uan hsin fa yao, T2012, 381b.

\(^6\) See section 35 notes 2, 3 and 4. The theory of 'hard and white' was created by Kung-sun Lung. However, Chuang Tzu seems to attribute it to Hui Shih, c.f. Chuang Tzu, ch. 5, l. 15, line 60; ch. 2, p. 5, line 45.
Ming-tao said: Buddhists have a theory of 'formation, preservation, corruption and annihilation.' To talk about 'formation and corruption' is all-right, but to talk about 'preservation and annihilation' is not permissible.

P'ing-shan replies: A person's single thought possesses (the four stages of) "birth, stay, change and death." Each day has its "dawn, evening, noon and night." Each month has its "quarters, full-moon, last day and first day." Each year has its "spring, summer, autumn and winter." If this is so, should we abolish any one term from the theory of "formation, preservation, corruption and annihilation"?

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1. I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 17.
2. These terms describe the process of the Universe. The Sanskrit terms are vivarta, vivarta-siddha, samvarta, samvarta-siddha.
3. This describes the four characteristics of things in the world.
Ming-tao said¹: The shape of the Sun is like a wheel or a round biscuit. Since its shape is limited, its amount of light must also be limited. If it is only within thirty thousand ¹² li², there must be locations where its light cannot reach. How can this be reasonable? If the rightful occasion does not come, the Earth does not take the middle position. If the rightful occasion does not come, the Sun will not give forth its essence. (The movement of the Sun in the sky is) like a line of fire-wood to the head of which fire is set. The fire is the same at whatever point it will reach along the line. It is not a case of the movement of an object along the line. If one understands what is said above, then he understands the principle governing the production of things.

P'ing-shan replies: This theory seems to come from the same source as Heng-ch'ü's theory that the earthly ch'i circulates to the left.³ I have never heard of it. Is he saying that the Sun has the principle of production of things while the moon has the principle of destruction?

¹ I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 17. Abbreviated.
² Approximately one third of a mile.
³ Heng-ch'ü's theory is in section 16.
Ming-tao said¹: The *Doctrine of the Mean* says, "(The Tao of the Sage embraces) three hundred rules of ceremony and three thousand rules of demeanor."² It is only then that it says, "Oh, how great!"² It is not like the heterodox teaching which says that one must be like "dead ash and a withered tree."³

P'ing-shan replies: How right were Liu Tzu's⁴ words, "Abandon propriety, (and the result is that) one cannot talk about Confucianism; abandon discipline, one cannot talk about Buddhism."⁵ Nevertheless, only he who can 'control himself',⁶ can make his sight, hearing, speech and touch conform with propriety.⁶ Because the mind (of a Buddhist) is like "dead ash and a withered tree,"³ he can follow "the three thousand rules of demeanor and the eighty thousand rules of practice,"⁷ and receive the complete ordination of the *Mahāyāna* monkhood. The principle is the same in both cases.

¹ *I-shu*, ch. 2a, p. 21.
² *Chung Yung*, ch. 27, p. 102.
³ *CT*, ch. 23, p. 63, line 41.
⁴ Liu Tsung-yüan of the T'ang Dynasty. He became a lay Buddhist in late life.
⁵ Saying found in *Nan-yao ta-ming-szu Lü ho-shang pei* (南嶽大明寺律和尚碑) in *Liu Ho-tung chi*, ch. 7, p. 73.
⁶ *Analects*, Book XII, ch. 1, pp. 277-279.
Ming-tao said: All those who like to talk about ghosts and spirits fail to understand the bright principle. They believe them by hear-say, or if some one claims to have really seen them, it could have been a case of a disease of sight. Even Shao Yao-fu was suspicious (of their existence) for he once said that he heard people, and also noises of men and horses in empty space. I say if there were men and horses, there would have been saddles, but how could these things be obtained? When a being is born, the ch’i comes and gathers in it. When it dies, the ch’i disperses. The voice must come from the mouth, touch must come from the body. When the bodily material is corrupted, how can there be any (sensible contact)?

P’ing-shan replies: (The evidence for) ghosts and spirits is recorded in the Five Classics. (The truth of their existence is) transmitted from time immemorial. Even Confucius ''affirmed their existence but refrained from discussing about them.'

Master Ch’eng plagiarized Juan Hsiu’s theory of the clothing and Fan Chen’s theory of knife and

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1 Li-shu, ch. 2b, pp. 3 and 6. Abbreviated.


3 Analects, Book XI, ch. 11, p. 264.

4 Juan Hsiu: Biography in Chin Shu, ch. 49, p. 1214. Reports of ghosts affirmed that they were dressed in the clothes they used to wear while they were alive. Juan Hsiu asked if there were ghosts of clothes as well.
sharpness, and said that the soul was annihilated and he denied the existence of ghosts. His learning on the investigation of Principle was far inferior to that of K'ang-chieh.²

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5 Fan Chen: Biography in Liang Shu, ch. 48, p. 1828. He compared the soul and body to the sharpness and knife respectively. Sharpness is not a thing in itself but a particular shape of the knife which allows it to perform its functions, so is the soul not a thing but a function of the body. C.f. HMC, T2102, 55b, 59c and 253c. For a brief account, see Fung, History, II, 289-292.
Ming-tao said: "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep. This expresses how this (way) is seen above and below." In this passage Tzu-ssu anxiously expressed what it means to be a man: That one ought to be full of life. The one who does not understand this is "manipulating his mind's vitality (for no purpose)." The passage means the same thing as Mencius' saying "There must be tending to affairs and one must not correct one's mind."

P'ing-shan replies: "The flight of the hawk and the leap of the fish" refer to things the reasons for which we do not understand. For example, the ordinary greetings and rituals we perform are also daily functions and we are not always conscious of them. Master Ch'eng mistook Mencius' phrase "There must be tending to affairs" to refer to making 'seriousness' the principal thing, and the phrase "One must not rectify one's mind" to refer to not doing anything. He took these two extremes to be ways leading to the state of being full of life. He harboured such an idea and thought himself to have the correct interpretation. Truly, he is "manipulating his mind's vitality (for no purpose).

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2. Chung Yung, ch. 12, verse 3, p. 57. Legge's translation. It is a quotation from the Shih Ching.
3. Tradition has it that Tzu-ssu, the grandson of Confucius, wrote down the Sage's thought in the Book of Chung Yung.
4. Probably the same as 烏精魂, a Ch'an term of abuse used to refer to wrong method.
Ming-tao said: Shao Yao-fu is hopeless. He desired greatly to experience the contemplation-of-transformation (of himself). Tzu-ho said, "It is possible to contemplate the transformation of another, but how is it possible to contemplate one's own transformation?" With regard to Yao-fu's talent and learning of Tao and Principle, his knowledge of Confucianism has not been deep.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chang and Master Ch'eng both mistook "the escape of the soul brings about change" to refer to dispersion into nothing. Shao K'ang-ch'ien, who had a deep knowledge of the I Ching, understood that that was wrong. That was why he (desired to experience the contemplation-of-transformation of himself). Is the Huang-chi-ching-shih not a Confucian book?

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1) I-shu, ch. 10, p. 2. Abbreviated. This section is found in the Peking edition only.

2) Shao Yung. C.f. section 58, note 2.

3) Kuan-hua (觀化), meaning unclear.

4) Chang Tsai. C.f. section 9, note 1.

5) I.C.T., I, 4, p. 57.

6) c.f. section 31.

Ming-tao said: Lao Tzu was one who plagiarized and meddled with 'opening and closing.'

P'ing-shan replies: Lao Tzu's words and the words of the Book of Changes and the Doctrine of the Mean are complementary like the two parts of a tally. How could he be a meddler? When it is different from my book, it is called odd; when it is the same as mine, it is plagiarism! The slanderer's words are shifty. Is that not what Master Ch'eng is?

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1 I-shu, ch. 11, p. 3. Abbreviated. Peking edition only.

2 ICT, I, 11: "One opening and one closing is called change." Lao Tzu, ch. 10: "The opening and closing of the heavenly gate, can one play the female?"
Ming-tao said \(^1\): "What is above form is called Tao, what is within form is called tool."\(^2\) Again it is said, "That which lets now the yin, now the yang appear is Tao."\(^3\) Yin and yang are 'within form' and yet are called Tao. This is yet the clearest statement about this teaching. Originally, this alone is Tao. It requires silence in order to understand it.

P'ing-shan replies: \(^4\) How out-of-joint is Master Ch'eng's view! The "above form" is identical with Lao Tzu's "Constant Non-Being"\(^5\) and the Buddhist "realm of the Noumenon."\(^6\) The "within form" is identical with Lao Tzu's "Constant Being"\(^5\) and the Buddhist "realm of the phenomenon."\(^6\)

"'Transform them and fit them together'; 'stimulate them and set them in motion'"\(^7\) is identical with Lao Tzu's "They are together called the mysterious,"\(^5\) and the Buddhist "realm in which Noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other."\(^6\) "Raise them up and set them forth before all people on earth"\(^8\) is identical with Lao Tzu's "The gate of all wonderful (things)"\(^5\) and the Buddhist "realm in which all pheno-

\(^1\) I-shu, ch. 11, p. 1. Peking edition only.
\(^2\) ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
\(^3\) Ibid., 5, p. 58.
\(^4\) In this passage, Li wants to identify the teachings of the I Ching, Lao Tzu and the Hua-yen.
\(^5\) Lao Tzu, ch. 1.
\(^6\) The four dharmadhātu of the Hua-yen school. C.f. Chu Hua-yen Fa-chieh kuan-men, T1884, 684b.
\(^7\) ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
\(^8\) Ibid.
mena interfuse without impediment to one another. In the view of the Sage, all are in Tao. How can it be limited to yin and yang? Master Ch'eng hasn't got it yet.
Ming-tao said: "It gives their stimulus to all things, without having the same anxieties that possess the Sage." However, the Sage is also a man. He cannot not have worries.

P'ing-shan replies: These words are simplistic. That which 'gives stimulus to all things' is the mind of the Sage. How can worries enter into him? "The spirit man of Ku-she molded Yao and Shun with his dust, dirt and husks." The Regional Supervisor beyond the Southern Hills naturally has his own tent. How can Master Ch'eng understand this teaching?

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1 I-shu, ch. 11, p. 2. Peking edition only.  
2 ICT, I, 5, p. 58.  
3 CT, ch. 1, p. 2, lines 28, 33-34.  
Ming-tao said: "The mind of man is restless, prone (to err)." This refers to man's passion. "Its affinity for the (right) way is small." This refers to the Heavenly Principle. "Be discriminating, be undivided." In this way, one can reach the goal. "That you may sincerely hold fast the Mean." This is the way to practise.

"The mind of man is restless, prone (to err)." This refers to the fact that (the Sage) knows and yet does not know. Its affinity for the (right) way is small." (The Sage) does not know and yet knows. One must select the "discriminating" means one must not enter and yet follow. One must guard the "undivided" means one must not leave yet depart. "That you may sincerely hold fast the middle" means there is nothing to rely on. This teaching can only be intuited and is hard to reason out. Master Ch'eng's explanation is wrong:

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1 Li-shu, ch. 11, p. 7.
Ming-tao said: "The Mean is the great root of the world." It is the most glorious upright Principle of the Universe. It would be wrong to depart from it. To be 'serious' and not to lose it is the best policy.

P'ing-shan replies: "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, the mind is in the state of the Mean. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues the state of Harmony. This Mean is the great root of the world, and this Harmony is the universal path." Well said are these words of Su Tzu-yu: "The Mean is just another name of the Buddha-nature; and Harmony is a summary of the deeds of bodhisattvas." The word 'Mean' is most difficult to describe. It means the same as Tsao-hsi's saying, "Not thinking of good or evil, at that moment, what is your Venerable's original face?" Once one goes into deliberation, it has already become a superfluous method. In the fleeting moment of a thought, generations have already gone by. How can we attach to 'seriousness' and not lose it? Scholars, think for yourself.

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1 I-shu, ch. 11, p. 11.
2 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.
3 Su Che, see section 27, note 4.
4 In Su Che's Lao Tzu chieh, ch. 4.
Ming-tao said\textsuperscript{1}: "Investigate Principle to the utmost and develop one's nature until the destiny is reached."\textsuperscript{2} If this is followed, there is nowhere one can have a handle on things.

P'ing-shan replies: First, one "investigates Principle to the utmost." This is 'understanding.'\textsuperscript{3} Then, one "develops one's nature." This is 'practice.'\textsuperscript{3} Lastly, when "destiny is reached," this is 'attainment.'\textsuperscript{3} This is just where a seeker of Tao can have a handle on things. Master Chang\textsuperscript{4} criticized Mr. Ch'eng for being too hasty, and that this could mislead late-comers.

\textsuperscript{1}I-shu, ch. 12, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{2}I Ching, "Shou-kua", 1, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{3}Understanding, practice and attainment are three of the four steps of one list of Buddhist cultivation. See Li's reply in section 33.
\textsuperscript{4}Chang Tsai, see section 9, note 1.
Ming-tao said¹: "The completion and continuous preservation of man's nature" is "the gate to Tao and Righteousness."²

P'ing-shan replies: The inborn nature completed by Heaven should be preserved and not lost. Then, one acquires "the Mean before the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy."³ This is what Tao is. Furthermore, one acquires "the Harmony which comes when the emotions are stirred and they have acted in due degrees."³ This is what righteousness is. When Tao withdraws and becomes tranquil, it is the substance of righteousness. When righteousness goes forth and becomes active, it is the function of Tao. "One opening and one closing,"⁴ that is why it is called a gate. If one says: "The completion and continuous preservation of man's nature" is "the gate to Tao and righteousness," then the explanation is too hasty.

¹I-shu, ch. 12, p. 2.
²ICT, I, 7, p. 59.
³Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.
⁴ICT, I, 11, p. 62.
Ming-tao said: "The sages by means of these (three virtues) cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in secrecy." There has not been anybody who cared about what this 'secrecy' was.

P'ing-shan replies: The Sage cleansed his soul (mind) by means of the Tao of the Book of Changes. When pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy can no longer find an entrance, then his "sympathies are with the people." For the Sage, there is no Tao aside from the mind, and there is no mind aside from Tao. What other object could that be?

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1I-shu, ch. 12, p. 2.
2ICT, I, 11, p. 62.
3Ibid.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): The damage caused by Yang Chu and Mo Ti was more than that of Shen and Han\(^2\). The damage done by the Buddha was even more severe than Yang Chu and Mo Ti.

P'ing-shan replies: Shen and Han did not pursue Tao. Yang Chu and Mo Ti were unlike them because the former two followed Tao even though they did not reach it. Yang Chu understood "retiring and laying up in secrecy,"\(^3\) and yet he did not know about "being sympathetic with the people."\(^3\) For this reason, he followed the policy of "not sacrificing one hair."\(^4\) Mo Tzu understood "being sympathetic with the people," but did not know about "retiring and laying up in secrecy." For this reason, he rubbed himself smooth from 'crown to heel.'\(^5\) The Buddha's teaching was different. (According to it, when one's mind has not entered into the Tao, although he gave his body in alms as many times as there were grains of sand in the River Ganges, yet he has achieved no result.\(^6\) Can this be identified with "rubbing smooth from crown to heel"? When Tao was ob-

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\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 13, p. 1.

\(^2\)Shen Pu-hai (d. 337 B.C.) and Han Fei-tzu (d. 233 B.C.), legalists of the Period of Warring States. Biographies in Shih Chi, ch. 63, pp. 2146-2148.

\(^3\)ICT, I, 11, p. 62.

\(^4\)Mencius, Book VII, part 1, ch. 26, verse 1, p. 956.

\(^5\)Ibid., verse 2, p. 957.

tained, He liberated all the nine kinds of living beings. Can this be identified with "not sacrificing one hair"? This is what is called performing the deeds of bodhisattvas in the Buddha realm. It profits both the self and others. What harm is there in this?

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9Nine kinds of living beings classified according to their mold of birth. C.f. Diamond sūtra, T235, 749a, lines 6–8.
Ming-tao said: "Stopping (Ken) in one's resting-point is stopping in one's proper place." The 'Pa-yüan' were virtuous and thus were elected (to serve the country). The 'Ssu-hsiung,' committed crimes and hence were banished. (The responses to) each of these rested at their proper places. Buddhists (talk about) stopping but can they really stop? The teaching of Ch'an only knows about cessation and nothing about function.

P'ing-shan replies: The stopping in Ken is of course different from the Buddhist cessation. The cessation referred to by Buddhists is exactly the same as that 'stillness' which was taught by Yen Yüan by Confucius in the phrase "The empty chamber gives rise to brightness. Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness." "This is the changing of the ten thousand things, the bond of Yü and Shun, the constant practice of Fu Hsi and Chi Ch'ü." Can there be no 'function'?

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1 I-shu, ch. 13, p. 1.
3 Pa-yüan: Ancient talented officials in the service of Kao-hsin-shih (高辛氏), see Tso-chuan, 18th year of Wen-kung (文公), p. 250.
4 Ssu-hsiung: The four evil ones. Ibid.
5 CT, ch. 4, p. 9, line 32.
6 Ibid., lines 33-34. Translation by Watson, op. cit., p. 58.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): The Buddhist teaching on Tao can be compared with looking at the sky through a tube. It aims only at what's up there but sees nothing of the surrounding.

P'ing-shan replies: This is Master Ch'eng's view of the Buddhists. As for their Tao, it "is so large that it more than encompasses the Great Void, it can be so small that it enters into a dust particle which has no crevice."\(^2\) Is this looking at the sky through a tube? Keng-sang Tzu could see things beyond the world as if they were just in front of his eyes.\(^3\) Could the Tathagata not have this power? The Tathāgata "vertically sees the past, present and future, horizontally reaches to the limits of the ten directions."\(^4\) How can he not see the surrounding?

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\(^1\) I-shu, ch. 13, p. 1.

\(^2\) See section 22, note 16.

\(^3\) Keng-sang Ch'u (庚桑楚). CT, ch. 23, p. 62, line 28.

\(^4\) C.f. Pi-yen-lu, T2003, 222c.
Ming-tao said: In fearing birth and death, Buddhists are basically profit-oriented. How can that be reasonable. They busy themselves in "reaching to the higher (things)" alone and have nothing to do with "basic learning." As for their higher things, they are also wrong. If there is any gap, it could not be Tao.

P'ing-shan replies: "Neither be afraid of birth and death, nor be attached to Nirvāṇa." This is Vimalakīrti's entrance to non-dual dharma. "All that you do are the deeds of the bodhisattvas." This is the prediction of Sadāparībhūta. Lowering the head, one becomes enlightened; lifting up the foot, one enters into the Truth-plot. How can there be any gap?

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1I-shu, ch. 13, p. 1.

2"Reaching to higher (things)" and "basic learning" are terms from the Analects, Book XIV, ch. 37, verse 2, pp. 333-334.

3Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 551a. The words are quite different. The quotation is closer to a passage in Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 915a.

4Lotus sūtra, T262, 50b-c.

5Bodhisattva Sadāparībhūta, previous incarnation of the Buddha, who went about teaching all that they were predestined to buddhahood. Ibid.

6Bodhimandala, place of enlightenment.
Ming-tao said¹: What (Buddhists) say about "perceiving the mind and seeing their own nature"² is correct, but they do not have "preserving the mind and nourishing nature."³

P'ing-shan replies: The Buddhist scriptures mention that after practising the holy path for countless eons, the great bodhisattvas such as Mañjuśrī said, "Seeing the Buddha-nature is like seeing the moon through a thin veil."⁴ Could it be seen without practice? As for the enlightenment of the Ch' an Buddhist, it requires the preserving and letting-go of cessation and the constant nurturing of the holy womb.⁵ The seeker of Tao naturally understands these.

¹I-shu, ch. 13, p. 1.
²A Ch' an phrase seen in the Platform sūtra, T2007, 340c, line 2.
³Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 1, verse 2, p. 933.
⁴Tsung-jung-an 1u, T2004, 252b.
⁵Holy womb: A womb containing seeds which have no leaks, and hence will lead to enlightenment.
Ming-tao said: The purpose of Buddhist teachings of such things as hell is to frighten the dull people into doing good. "Utmost sincerity" fills heaven and earth, and yet it fails to change everybody. How can one expect that the establishment of a false doctrine can change everybody?

P'ing-shan replies: The Book of Changes says, "The ghosts and spirits inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble." Again, Chuang Tzu said, "He who does what is not good in the shadow of darkness will be seized and punished by ghosts." These refer to the teaching of hell. How can one say that it is establishing a false doctrine? The mistake of one thought can be turned into a dream for an entire night. Can the evil of a whole life-time not merit punishment for the dead? Furthermore, consider the evidence of the accusation of Shen Sheng, the declaration of Li Kung, the resurrection of Li B, and the visions of Chia Ch'ung. They are all recorded in the Classics and the Histories. Should one not believe in them?

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5. Notes 5 to 8 refer to communication from the dead. Shen Sheng's story is found in Tso-chuan, 5th year of Hsi Kung (僖公), p. 158.
75

Ming-tao said¹: Not knowing about the yin and the yang, day, night, life, death, the present and the past, how can the Buddhist understand that the 'above-form'² is the same as the Sage.

P'ing-shan replies: Lieh Yu-k'ou understood the non-yin and non-yang³ and yet he has penetrated the (truth of) day and night. "By means of non-life, non-death" Chuang Chou "entered into the non-past and non-present."⁴ Could the Buddha not have understood these? Not only is that which is 'above-form'² the same as the Sage, the 'within-form'⁵ is also no different from the Sage.

"The ways of Sages (different seem).
This in a public office toils,
That in his home the time beguiles"⁶;

"their ways are different but their destiny is the same."⁷

²ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
³Lieh Tzu, "T'ien-jui," p. 6. But the original passage is fei-yin t e yang (非陰則陽).
⁴CT, ch. 6, p. 17, line 41. Word order is changed.
⁵Same as note 2.
⁶ICT, I, 8, p. 59.
⁷ICT, II, 5, p. 65.
Ming-tao said\(^1\): Buddhists talk about a gap between the past and the present. How could they understand that "purity also does not come to an end"?

P'ing-shan replies: "One single thought is identical with ten thousand years, and ten thousand years are identical with one single thought."\(^2\) "From the Cause is caused fruits as numerous as that contained by an ocean."\(^3\) The beginner immediately becomes enlightened. "From the fruit, one penetrates to its source, the Cause."\(^3\) At the completion of practice, one is still called a bodhisattva. Not having read the Buddhist scriptures, how could he know that we have this explanation in our teaching?

\(^{1}\) I-shu, ch. 14, p. 1. Abbreviated.
\(^{3}\) See section 28 note 6.
Ming-tao said: The mind of the Sage is most fair. He allocates the principles of the myriad things to their rightful place. Buddhists are intent on their selfish desires. How could they be the same as the Sages? The Sage proceeds according to Principle. That is why his way is straightforward and easy to follow. The heterodox teaching deliberately makes mountains out of molehills and vice versa. It drains one's vitality and is unnatural. For this reason, it misses the mark by a wide margin.

P'ing-shan replies: The Buddha "will have no more seizing on a self, seizing on a being, seizing on a soul and seizing on a person." Who is intent on his selfish desires? The Buddha not only regards 'effort' as a sickness. 'Cessation' is also a sickness; 'laissez-faire' is also a sickness; 'annihilation' is also a sickness. How can you say it drains vitality and is unnatural? It is not a case of the Buddhist scriptures seeking to conform with the Sages. It is rather the Sages' words naturally conform with that of the Buddha. Master Ch'eng does not understand this. Alas!

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1I-shu, ch. 14, p. 2. Slightly changed.
2Diamond sūtra, T235, 750b, line 7.
3The four sicknesses mentioned in the Yüan-chüeh-ch'ing, T842, 920b.
Ming-tao said: "(The successive movement of) a yin and a yang constitutes the Tao." It is a natural Tao.

P'ing-shan replies: "One yin and one yang" is identical with Lieh Yu-k'ou's saying, "not yin, not yang. It can be yin or yang." When Wang Pi and his fellows said, "There are neither yin nor yang," they were already negligent. What is this object? "The good is that which is seen from the outside; the inborn-nature is that which is completed within. The benevolent man mistakes it to be benevolent; the wise man mistakes it to be wise. The people use it daily but do not understand." Why is it so? It is like the pearl in the Yuan-chüeh (ching), which can manifest five colours (but is itself colourless). The sentient beings are constantly enlightened and yet they have not experienced the enlightenment. Master Ch'eng also mistook (Tao) to be natural. "He who understands the Tao of Confucius is really rare."

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1 I-shu, ch. 12, p. 1.
2 ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
3 Lieh Tzu, "T'ien-jui," p. 6. Words are changed.
5 The character is 踺. See section 15, note 5.
6 ICT, I, 5, p. 58. The quotation is more like a paraphrase according to Li's understanding.
7 Yuan-chüeh-ching, T842, 914c.
8 ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
I-ch'uan\(^1\) said\(^2\): In talking about the inborn nature, the Ch'an Buddhists compare it to placing vessels under the sun.\(^3\) Among these, their sizes and shapes are different. They wish to pour (the void) from one into another. Nevertheless, when have they moved under the sun? Again, their learners are good at evasion. If someone talk about this teaching, they would retort, saying: "I have no (such things as) cultivation and attainment."

P'ing-shan replies: This saying comes from a wrong interpretation of the Sūraṅgama sūtra by Hsü Hsüan, who thinks that the Buddha compares the fifth-aggregate-consciousness with the void in an empty kavalinka pitcher. If someone should carry it to another location, the void which is contained in the pitcher cannot get out or enter.\(^4\) And so (Hsü Hsüan) thought this to be the Ch'an teaching. He did not know that the Buddha used this comparison to illustrate the fact that the aggregate-consciousness was empty and delusive, and that originally there was no coming and going. His "wondrous nature of the Bhūtatathatā

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\(^1\)Ch'eng I (1033-1107), brother of Ch'eng Hao and one of the founders of Neo-Confucianism. Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 427, pp. 5579d-5580b.

\(^2\)I-shu, ch. 3, p. 3, in Erh Ch'eng Ch'iüan-shu.

\(^3\)Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, ll1b, lines 15-28.

\(^4\)Hsu Hsuan (917-992), Sung scholar. Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 441, pp. 5612d-5613b. Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, ll4c, lines 7-12. C.F. Luk, Sūraṅgama Sūtra, p. 58. This is not the same passage referred to by I-ch'uan.
of the Tathāgata-store\textsuperscript{5} is like the sun which is without motion or tranquillity. One practises (Tao) with non-practice. One attains (the enlightenment) with non-attainment. But aggregate-consciousness is identical with the "wondrous nature of the Bhūtatathā of the Tathāgata-store." These are not evasive words.

\textsuperscript{5}Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 114a: "The fifth-aggregate is originally the wondrous nature of the Bhūtatathā of the Tathāgata-store."
I-ch'uan said: The soul (神 shen) and nature (性 hsing) have never been dissociated, how can they be united again (in a future incarnation) after the death of a person? If it is like the Ch'an Buddhists who teach that a separate entity goes in a round of incarnation by means of substitution, then it is unreasonable.

P'ing-shan replies: The soul is identical with nature. They are neither separate nor unified. The nature is identical with the soul. "It is neither born nor annihilated." "Going in a round of incarnation by means of substitution" has never been taught by Buddhist books.

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1 T-shu, ch. 3, p. 4.

2 An entity (物) is a term used by the Platform sūtra, T2008, 359b and c.

3 A phrase from the Platform sūtra, T2008, 348c.
I-ch'uan said: 'Hun' (soul) refers to essence; while 'p'o' (soul) refers to the soul after death. (Li Chi's phrase) "The hun returns to Heaven" means dispersion into nothingness.

P'ing-shan replies: Confucius said, "The escape of the soul brings about change." He did not say dispersion into nothingness.

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1 I-shu, ch. 3, p. 4.
2 See section 19 for another discussion on Hun and p'o.
3 Li Chi, "Chiao-te-sheng (郊 牲 )," p. 150.
4 I.C.T, I, 4, p. 57.
I-ch'uan said: Someone attempted to compare the making of an object from gold to the formation of a physical form from nature. I said, "Gold may be compared to ch'i but not to nature."

P'ing-shan replies: The transformation of nature results in the ch'i, the transformation of ch'i results in the form. How can there be two objects?

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I-shu, ch. 3, p. 4.
I-ch'uan said\(^1\): The Ch'an teaching of 'going-forth-from-the-world' is like closing the eyes and saying that the nose (does not exist because it) cannot be seen. However, the nose is there.

P'ing-shan replies: I-ch'uan did not believe there was a teaching of going-forth-from-the-world. Its existence is like not seeing the eyes when one opens his eyes. Not that there are no eyes.

\(^{1}\)I-shu, ch. 3, p. 4.
I-ch'uan said: "Kill one innocent so as to possess the world. This should never be done." This refers to killing an innocent so as to benefit the self. Wu-hou carried out the mandate of the people and punished the bandits of the country. What harm was there?

P'ing-shan replies: I-ch'uan's unswerving purpose was to regard Wu-hou as having obtained the true teaching of the Sage. When he said these words, it was really too much. Wu-hou compared himself to Kuan and Yao. Could he be a disciple of Confucius and Mencius? The words which will bring calamity to all living beings and will endanger the country of certain kings and princes must be these.

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1 I-shu, ch. 3, p. 6-7. Abbreviated.
2 Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 24, p. 537.
3 Chu-ko Liang (諸葛亮, 181-234), prime minister of Shu in the period of Three Kingdoms.
4 Kuan Chung (管仲) and Yao Yi (樂毅). Kuan was the minister who brought prosperity to the state of Ch'i in the period of Ch'un-ch'iu. Yao was a faithful general of the state of Yen during the Period of Warring States. He once took seventy cities from the state of Ch'i.
I-ch'uan said: Someone said that the Tao of the Buddha was correct; only his 'outward manifestations' were mistaken. Nevertheless, I attack his 'outward manifestations.' I don't know about his Tao. If it differs from that of the former kings, I do not want to hear about it. If it corresponds with that of the former kings, then the Six Classics are sufficient. Why must we learn from the Buddha?

P'ing-shan replies: I-ch'uan's intention is that we should become mutually forgetful among the rivers and lakes. In my opinion, it is not as good as to merge the hundred streams and pour all the water into a huge river. Then, we would not be able to see the shores. Attacking his 'outward manifestations' is but the opinion of Han Tzu. Shan-ku Tao-jen has already refuted his opinion. It is contained in his Nan-k'ang-chün k'ai hsien ch'an-yüan chi.

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1 L-shu, ch. 4, p. 1. Slightly abbreviated.
2 Han Yu. His memorial against welcoming the Buddhist relic can be construed as attacking the 'outward manifestations' of the Buddhists. Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, ch. 39, SPTK, p. 240.
3 Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105). Sung Shih, ch. 444, p. 5619a-b.
4 南康軍開先禪院修造記 in Sung Huang Shan-ku hsien-sheng chi, ch. 17.
I-ch'uan said: Someone said that the Buddhist teaching was a shorter path than that of Confucius. I reply, "If there was really a short-cut in the world, then would Confucius lead the seekers of Tao through a long and arduous path? Hence, to forsake Confucius' way and to take on the short-cut is to confront dangerous obstacles and to infringe on thorns and the bramble bush."

P'ing-shan replies: The Buddhist teaching is not a shorter path than that of Confucius. However, while Confucius said, "To men who are above average, the higher things can be taught," the Buddha said, "All that move and are spirited possess the Buddha-nature." For this reason, when talking about matters of life and death, the latter's words are a rather simple short-cut (to Tao) and are not embellished, so that even mediocre students can understand them. If Confucius' thinking was not sought, the Tao of the Sage would not be honoured. If the Buddha's words were not understood, the Tao of the Sage would not be widely accepted. All moans and laughs are methods of the Ch'an of the Laṅkāvatāra. Eating, drinking and daily chores fulfill the purpose of the Doctrine of the Mean. Where are the dangerous obstacles, thorns and bramble bush?

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1 I-shu, ch. 4, p. 2.  2 Analects, Bk. VI, ch. 19, p. 195.  3 See section 52, note 3.
4 The Laṅkāvatāra school or the northern school. See Hu Shih, "Leng-chia tsung kao" in Hu Shih Ch'an hsüeh an (Taiwan: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 1975), pp. 153-195.
I-ch'uan said: "Tao may not be left for an instant." 

Destroy human relationships, renounce the 'Four Great Ones.' Its departure from Tao is great. In the Buddhist teaching, there is the employment of "seriousness so as to straighten the internal," but they lack "righteousness so as to square the external (life)." For this reason, the dull and stubborn enter into 'aridity'; the negligent and penetrating end up as unrestrained. That is why Buddhism is narrow. Our Tao is different. It is "according to nature." This teaching is taught by the Sage in the Book of Changes.

P'ing-shan replies: "To act according to nature is called Tao; to practise this Tao is called the teaching." Hence although the teachings of the Sages are different, together each practises his own Tao so as to recover his own nature. "The Great True Man of old" who "placidly dwells alone with the spiritual and bright beings" is of course different from the Sage who, having, "by their possession of these (three

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1 I-shu, ch. 4, p. 4. Abbreviated.
2 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 2, p. 44.
3 They are the four elements, earth, water, fire and air. It means the body which is composed of these elements. C.f. Yuan-chueh-ching, T842, 914b.
5 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 1, pp. 43-44.
6 CT, ch. 33, p. 93, line 62.
7 Ibid., p. 92, line 55.
virtues), cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in the secrecy (of his own consciousness). Their sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil. Still more so would Gautama, who treated his body as a dream or illusion, his mind as dust or dirt; who lifted himself up as an example for heavenly beings and men, and who alone showed his wonderfully full, originally enlightened Bhūtatathatā self-nature to the world and all posterity, not be completely the same as what was said by the Chinese Sages. There may be cases of those who sought Tao but have not attained it, and have fallen into the ditch of silent annihilation or have drifted into the realm of sounds and forms. They were but examples of (the differences of) the worthy one, who was more than adequate for the task, and the unworthy one, who fell short, and not because of the nature of the Tao of their teachers. It is easy to say, "Our Tao is nothing else but to act according to nature," but it is easier to walk on the edges of knives than to be able to maintain the Mean. It seems that those who have not understood "the Mean before the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy" are mostly "small men who are without caution." How could they have the Mean?

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8 ICT, I, 11, p. 62.
9 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.
10 Ibid., ch. 2, verse 2, p. 48.
I-ch'uan said\(^1\): "The Mean of the small man is that he is without caution."\(^2\) How can a small man be still concerned with the Mean? The word 'against' is missing here.

P'ing-shan replies: Not so! The superior man not only understands that "acting according to nature is called Tao\(^3\) but he also practises it. Hence, he is always in the Mean. On the contrary, the small man merely attempts to act "according to nature" and thinks himself to be in the Tao of the Mean, and he no longer has any caution. Although it seems that he is in the Mean, yet actually he is against it. The teaching is clear without the addition of the word 'against.' It is just what the seeker of Tao calls the "Ch'an (zen) of no obstruction."\(^4\)

\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 15, p. 14.

\(^2\)Chung Yung, ch. 2, verse 2, p. 48.

\(^3\)Ibid., ch. 1, verse 1, p. 43.

\(^4\)Probably a derogatory term. C.f. section 25.
I-ch'uan said: Lao Tzu said, "Do not do anything \( (\text{無為} \, \text{wu-wei}) \)."  
Again, he said, "Do not not do anything."  
If, when faced with '(the necessity of) doing (\( \text{有為} \, \text{yu-wei} \)') (one assumes the attitude of) 'non-action' in doing it, then it is to do it with deliberate intention. (On the other hand), when the Sage talked about 'non-action,' he meant abstention from action. He said, "When acted on, he penetrates forth-with . . ."  
He did not speak one-sidedly.

P'ing-shan replies: I-ch'uan's saying seems correct but not quite. The Avatamsaka sūtra says, "The bodhisattva, in the phenomenal (\( \text{samskṛta}, \, \text{yu-wei} \, \text{有為} \) realm, manifests the \( \text{asamskṛta} (\text{wu-wei} \, \text{無為}) \) nature, but (this) does not destroy the characteristics of the phenomenal; (likewise) in the \( \text{asamskṛta} \) realm, (he) manifests the characteristics of \( \text{samskṛta} \), but (this) does not distinguish them from the nature of the \( \text{asamskṛta} \)."  
Hence, (the Tao) is neither 'action' nor 'non-action.' A long time ago, a man asked a Ch'an monk, "What are you doing?" The latter said, "Nothing (\( \text{wu-wei} \))." "How do you know it?" He said, "Because I am sitting here at leisure." The man said, "Then you are doing something (\( \text{yu-wei} \))."  
Is this not the mind of the Three Sages? This

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2. Lao Tzu, ch. 37.
affair is like a big bonfire which does not allow itself to be seen directly; or like the sword of the Diamond King\textsuperscript{6} which does not permit the setting of a foot. Master Ch'eng divides (action, non-action) into two parts and is thus far from Tao.

\textsuperscript{6}Sword of the Diamond King: One of the four shouts of the Lin-chi school. C.f. Jen-t'ien yen-mu, T2006, 302c.
I-ch'uan said: It is better to read about the ken-kua (the kua for stopping) than to read the Avatamsaka sutra.

P'ing-shao replies: Master Ch'eng regards the resting-point of stopping (ken) to be at the place where it is proper to rest, and assumes that the resting-point of the Buddhists is the state of "dead ash and a withered tree." For this reason, he hastily uttered this contemptuous saying. How could he have known the essence of the perfect teaching of Hua-yen? "If one single dharma is affirmed, Vairocana will fall into the mundane world; if the ten thousand dharmas are negated, Samantabhadra will lose his realm." Speaking about it vertically, the fifty-seven holy stages (of bodhisattva cultivation) all appear at the snap of a finger, like the instantaneous appearances of the seals (reflections) of the sea. Speaking about it horizontally, the fifty-three dharmas-entrances congregate at the tip of a hair, like the deployment of the net of Indra. Te-yün has already passed over the other peak. Samantabhadra could not find his proper seat. In the Jeta Park, Kasya-

1 I-shu, ch. 6, p. 2.  2 I Ching, "ken," p. 45.
3 CT, ch. 2, p. 3, line 2.
5 This is based on the Chin-shih-tzu chang, T1881, 669ff.
6 Monk Te-yün was the first teacher in Sudhana's journey. T279, 334a.
7 Avatamsaka sutra, T279, 211c.
pa lost his hearing. At the Tower of Maitreya, Sudhana was able to enter. If it were not for the arrival of this book (from the West), the seeker of Tao would have fallen into the pit of non-action, the speaker of metaphysical truths would have fallen into the realm of falsehood. Then, the teaching of "inner Sagehood and outer Kingship" of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, the meaning of "reaching the above and basic learning" of Confucius and Mencius would all topple over.

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8 Ibid., T279, 322c-323a.
9 Ibid., 434c-435a.
10 CT, ch. 33, p. 91, line 14.
11 Analects, Book XIV, ch. 37, verse 2, pp. 333-334.
I-ch'uán said: The Buddhist teaching can never be compared with that of the Sage. In essence they are different. Now we shall examine it through its outward manifestations. Escaping from his father and going forth from home is to renounce human relationships. He dwells alone in the forest. How can people from the villages permit such a thing to happen? Generally speaking, to apply to the people what one considers worthless corresponds not only not to the mind of the Sage, but also not to the mind of the superior man. To lead people with this (teaching) is to break up human relationships. As for its teaching on the Principle and the inborn-nature, it is again only limited to the fear of death and the love of life. It is motivated by the idea of profit.

P'ing-shan replies: For his flight to Chú-wu, T'ai-po was named the most virtuous. Being starved (to death) in Shou-yang (mountain), P'o-yi was called the benevolent man. These are the opinions of Confucius. Master Ch'eng plagiarized Buddhist concepts and used them to interpret the Classics and then he bit the hand that fed him. Even a child would not have believed him when he falsely accused (the Buddhists) for teaching the fear of death and the love of life. Would there be a need for me to say this?

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1 I-shu, ch. 15, p. 5. Abbreviated.
2 Shih Chi, ch. 31, pp. 1445-1446.
I-ch'uan said¹: Buddhists say they are enlightened and yet they require certification. This shows that they really do not understand (enlightenment).

P'ing-shan replies: This (certification) corresponds to what is said in our Classics, "Study it extensively, inquire about it accurately, discriminate it clearly."² If it were not so, I am afraid it would become a case of "The small people of our gang, who, though accomplished and complete so far, do not know how to restrict and shape themselves."³

¹I-shu, ch. 15, p. 6.
²Chung Yung, ch. 20, verse 19, p. 89.
³Analects, Book V, ch. 21, p. 181.
93

I-ch'uan said\(^1\): The reason why students inevitably talk about Ch'an is that (elsewhere) there is nothing they can lay their hands on. That is why they inevitably go into this.

Ping-shan replies: I-ch'uan laid his hands on a few things and then gave up. He corresponds exactly to Lao Tzu's saying, "There is a man at the border,"\(^2\) and Mencius' saying, "His blame is slight."\(^3\)

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\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 15, p. 7.

\(^2\)CT, ch. 13, p. 35, line 60. The following phrase says that that man is a thief.

\(^3\)Mencius, Book IV, part II, ch. 24, verse 1, p. 750. The following phrase is "How can he be held without any blame?"
I-ch'uan said: One cannot say that the Buddhist learning has no understanding. On the contrary, it is rather profound. However, in essence it is based on self-interest. In this world, when there is life there must be death; when there is joy there must be sorrow. (Where there are Buddhists), one must find the means of detection of the adulterous and the extermination of the deceitful. The teaching of Lao Tzu is further mixed with talk of power and deceit, taking, giving, closing and opening. Its main purpose is to deceive the people and to make himself clever. The craft of fooling the people by the Ch'in (ruler) could be traced to this (teaching).

P'ing-shan replies: The Tathāgata investigated the principle of life and death to the utmost so that everything within the universe had its rightful place with respect to its nature and destiny. Lao Tzu obtained the "Tao of opening and closing" so that for the following unlimited generations, all things could fully develop their transformations. (Both these teachings) truly emerge from the teaching of the Great Ultimate of the Changes of Fu Hsi. On the contrary, Mr. Ch'eng appropriated the stubborn views of Ch'ang-li and the opinion of the youthful Tung-po and laboriously directed slanders and smearings at them (Buddhism and Taoism). Alas!

1 Ishu, ch. 15, p. 7. Abbreviated. 2 Lao Tzu, ch. 10.
3 Literally hsien-t'ien (先天). See Tzu Hai, p. 134d.
4 Han Yu. 5 Su Shih, see section 27, note 4.
I-ch'uan said: The words of the Sage were according to original endowment. Hence, they are full of flavour. The Buddhist had merely a glimpse (of the Truth), and already he stirred up a great commotion. Hence, his words were unrestrained and were rather insipid. This is only because he has seen only a fleeting sight. For example, just the little phrase "noiseless and odorless" from the Doctrine of the Mean is worth many ambiguous words of the Buddhists. It was probably because the Buddha and Lao Tzu were not as accustomed to seeing (the Truth) as the Sage did that their words were unrestrained.

P'ing-shan replies: The Avatamsaka sutra says, "From where does the 'pure living come?' This world does not move it; the other world does not change it. Among these (teachings), which teaching is called 'pure living'"? Again it says, "Whether the Buddha leaves the world or if he does not leave the world, he dwells constantly without change." (From these words it is evident that the Buddha) did not stir up any commotion or make unrestrained speeches. I-ch'uan was annoyed by the amount of talk the Buddha devoted to Tao, yet he has not laid his eyes on the Yuan-chüeh-ching. That is why there is always something worrying him. He has never laid down "attainment, enlightenment, understand-

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2 Chung Yung, ch. 33, verse 6, p. 120.
3 Avatamsaka sutra, T279, 88c, lines 12-14.
4 Ibid., 119b, lines 9-10.
ing and consciousness," and has never jumped out of "effort, cessation, laissez-faire and annihilation," and finally fell into the four "notions of a self, a being, a living soul and a person." How could he have known that every word of the Buddhist scripture was full of flavour, and that they should not be skimmed through. One must allow for a case of a dumb man who eats honey, that is, one cannot take (his silence to mean that the honey is not sweet).

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5. The four sickness of Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 920b, line 19c, line 3.

I-ch'uan said: The case of Confucianists entering into heterodox teachings is rather understandable. It is like the case of one who walks along a broad road. (At first), the road is wide open and clear of obstacles. Then, because there is a mountain or a river in front, one cannot pass over it. On seeing a side-path, he gladly follows it. Again, it is like being a stranger in a foreign land. He must seek a safe resting-place as (directed by others). If he has a house of his own, he would not have believed the one who says that another house is safer.

P'ing-shan replies: It is man's natural inclination to seek for another path when confronted with a mountain or a river. Master Ch'eng lifted up his garments and attempted to cross it. But he stopped half-way and turned back. Finally, he took up hostels to be his home. How sad!

\[^{1}\] I-shu, ch. 15, p. 10. Abbreviated.
I-ch'uan said: The teaching of the Sage at first, like the map of the Ho and the book of the Lo, was limited to diagrams. People of a later age, by seeking it in the appended remarks which are beside the diagrams, might not have obtained the Principle. If one reads nothing else but the Ch'un-ch'iu, one may still develop Tao to the fullest.

P'ing-shan replies: "The Changes was originally earlier than the diagrams. After editing, there was no longer any Poetry." These are words of Shao K'ang-ch'ieh. I-ch'uan believes in it, but it is too high-brow. I have heard it said, "Not departing from words, he preached the method of liberation." Worldly words are the supreme teaching. How can there be superfluous words of the Sage?

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1 I-shu, ch. 15, p. 11. Abbreviated.

2 Mythical map and book from which the I Ching was assumed to be derived. C.f. ICT, I, 11, p. 63. See also Legge's introduction to his book I Ching, pp. 14-18.

3 Hsi Tzu. This is a commentary attributed to King Wen of Chou (ca. 1150 B.C.).

4 Shao Yung, see section 58 note 2. Quotation is seen in Kueishan yu lu, ch. 2, p. 12. Confucius was supposed to have edited the Book of Poetry.

5 Vimalakirti Sutra, T475, 540c, line 19.
I-ch'uan said: In the disintegration of any object, its ch'i is completely gone. Hence, there is no reason to believe that it goes back to the origin. "Heaven and Earth is like a huge furnace." Even living beings are all completely melted away, how can the dispersed ch'i still remain? It is like the tide, when it is dry, it disappears into nothing.

P'ing-shan replies: Mr. Ch'eng thinks he himself has completely investigated the principles of all things, and he always makes these statements. I know nothing about the tide. Nevertheless, Chuang Tzu said, "The whole universe is just one ch'i." Its division is completion, its completion is its destruction. The Buddha said, "Both water and the void arise from self-nature and are identical with each other." For this reason, "The hundred streams pour into it without making it full; the water drains away at Wei-lü but the sea is never dry." This is the principle of "one opening and one closing" referred to by the Book of Changes. Master Ch'eng compared man's life and death with Heaven and Earth, but he did not seek Tao. How stupid!

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1. I-shu, ch. 15, p. 15. Abbreviated.
2. CT, ch. 6, p. 17, line 60.
3. CT, ch. 22, p. 58, line 3.
4. Sūraṅgama Sūtra, T945, 118a, line 15. Translated by Luk, The Sūraṅgama Sūtra, p. 75.
5. CT, ch. 17, p. 42, lines 7-8.
I-ch'uan said: Nobody can be busier than a practitioner of Ch'an. He is always in Tao whether he is walking, standing, sitting or lying down. Hence, he is always busy.

P'ing-shan replies: "The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to benevolence." Is he busy also? To regard 'seriousness' as the chief (principle of practice) is busy indeed.

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1 I-shu, ch. 15, p. 20. Abbreviated.

2 The four respect-inspiring forms of demeanour, all considered to be within the practice of cessation and insight. C.f. Chih-kuan fa-yao, T1915, 467c-468b.

3 Analects, Book IV, ch. 5, verse 3, p. 162.
I-ch'üan said: Some one asked, "What is the meaning of the statement that with regard to the dark, there are ghosts and spirits; with regard to the bright, there are rituals and music?" (I answered), "Ghosts and spirits are but a process of transformation. When Heaven and Earth (were separated into) the above and below, thunders resounded in it, the wind and the rain moistened it. This is what (ghosts and spirits) are.

P'ing-shan replies: "With regard to the bright, there are rituals and music; with regard to the dark, there are ghosts and spirits." (With this), the Sage teaches men to have caution. Heaven and Earth, thunder, wind and rain--do they belong to the dark? It is permissible to say that they are controlled by ghosts and spirits, but are they identical with ghosts and spirits?

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\(^{1}\)I-shu, ch, 18, p. 32. Abbreviated.
I-ch'uan said: Someone asked, "Is 'seriousness' not the same as tranquility?" I replied, "Just mention tranquility and you have fallen into the Buddhist teaching."

P'ing-shan replies: "Man is born tranquil. It is the nature given by Heaven and Earth." Is this a teaching of the Buddhists? To use 'seriousness' is to be affected already.

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1 Li-shu, ch. 18, p. 6.
2 Li Chi, "Yao Chi," p. 206.
I-ch'uan said: The Buddhists have a theory of the obstruction by Principle. There is only one Principle in the universe. If this Principle is understood, how can there be an obstruction? If one takes Principle as an obstruction, then Principle is divided into two.

P'ing-shan replies: This is Mr. Ch'eng's obstruction. To take Principle as the self is truly the origin of birth and death. It is just like the cataract patient who does not see his own cataract. Alas!

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1. I-shu, ch. 18, p. 11.
2. Found in the Yuan-chüeh-ching, T842, 916b.
I-ch'uan said: There is nothing further to say if people today do not seek for Tao, but if they do want to become students, they inevitably turn to Ch'an. This is because they have accomplished little in their pursuit of Tao, and, having had a glimpse of the expansive in their blank state of the mind, their minds quickly settled in there.

P'ing-shan replies: If Ch'an is different from our own teaching, these (students) will turn back on their own accord. If Ch'an is the same as ours, they can stay with it. What harm is there?

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1 Li-shu, ch. 18, p. 12.
I-ch'uan said: Mencius was right when he said, "Man's nature is good." Even Hsun and Yang did not understand nature. Nature is entirely good. What is not good belongs to endowment. Nature is identical with the 'Principle.' It is the same whether the person is Yao, Shun or any man in the street. Endowment comes from the ch'i. Now, the ch'i is divided into the pure and the turbid. Those who have received the pure (ch'i) become worthies, while those who have received the turbid become ignorant persons. Yet, the latter can change (through learning). Only those who have given themselves up do not change.

P'ing-shan replies: The opinions of Hsun and Yang are of course not worth appropriating. In mixing nature with ch'i, Mr. Ch'eng's explanation of the former was again different from that of Mencius. Mr. Ch'eng also talked about endowment. He thought that it was received from ch'i and was divided into the pure and the turbid. The words of Mencius were these, "The will is the master of ch'i." That is why he called it "the vast flowing ch'i." Again, he said, "If man does what

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1I-shu, ch. 18, p. 17. Abbreviated.
3Hsun Tzu and Yang Hsiung. For the latter, see section 2 note 5.
4tsai
5Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 9, p. 528.
6Ibid., verse 11, p. 529.
is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to endowment." How can there be a distinction between the pure and the turbid? Nevertheless, Mencius' explanation of nature has already fallen into the second place. It corresponds to what Confucius said about 'contagion.' The origin of this has a long history. For this reason, people are distinguished as dull or intelligent from the time of their birth. How can there be the pure and the turbid ch'i, or the naturally born sage? This (teaching) is referred to by the Śūraṅgama sūtra when it says, "The beginningless Bodhi and Nirvāṇa are the originally clear and pure substance whose consciousness is penetrating and originally illuminating, but this consciousness is able to produce all conditions. This (pure substance) is that which is hidden away by conditions." This pure substance is the inborn-nature we talk about. Again this object is the same as "the beginningless clinging-mind, which is the cause of the fundamental root of birth and death, and regards itself as the self-nature." It is neither one nor two. It is neither the same nor different. It is neither identical nor separate. How could Master Ch'eng understand this teaching?

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7Ibid., Book VI, part I, ch. 6, verse 6, p. 861.  
9Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 108c, lines 5-7.  
10Ibid., lines 4-5. These two quotations illustrate nature, which, through 'contagion,' can ensue in both good and evil.
I-ch'uan said: "Buddhists want to do away with affairs and never ask whether an affair should exist or not exist. If it should exist, why should one do away with it; if it should not exist, what is there to do away with? Furthermore, they strive to be tranquil and to keep far away (from people). Avoiding worldly activities, they (hide themselves) in the forest. The world regards this as a profound teaching. How deluded would that be?"

P'ing-shan replies: The Yellow Emperor's "not churning up his essence" is identical with "Master Kuang Ch'eng's living on top of Mountain T'ung-k'ung," and "T'ao-t'ang's loss of his country and his going to see the Four Masters north of the Fen River." Are they not talking about the seeking of Tao? Master Ch'eng misinterpreted the phrase "there must be tending to affairs and one must not forget about it." Master Ch'eng was deluded.

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1I-shu, ch. 18, p. 10. Abbreviated.
2CT, ch. 11, p. 27, line 36. In the text, the phrase is referred to as an advice given by Kuang Ch'eng Tzu to the Yellow Emperor.
3CT, ch. 11, p. 27, line 29, with some changes.
4CT, ch. 1, p. 2, line 35, with much change.
5Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 16, p. 531.
I-ch'uan said: The Buddha had a teaching of going-forth-from-home and from-the-world. Fundamentally, one should never go-forth from home. It is better to call it a case of desertion from the duty of a filial son towards his father. How can one ever go-forth-from-the-world? It could be done only if one were not covered by the sky and if one were not to step on the ground. Furthermore, they abstain from food and drink.

P'ing-shan replies: Mencius said, "Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place." Chuang Tzu said, "Its swiftness is such that, in the time it takes to lift and lower the head, it has twice swept over the four seas and beyond." "He inhales the wind and drinks the dew, and he does not eat the five grains." Master Ch'eng sought it within the physical forms and bodies, how could he know that there were not (persons like) "the Spirit Man of Ku-she"?

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1I-shu, ch. 18, p. 10. Abbreviated.
2Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 8, verse 4, p. 871.
4CT, ch. 1, p. 2, lines 28-29.
1-ch'uan said: Ming-tao said, "The heterodox teachings of the ancient time took advantage of their obscurity, whereas the heterodox teachings of the present time rely on their (supposed) sublimity.

P'ing-shan replies: When I read these words in the Book of Changes:

"The ways of Sages (different seem).
This in a public office toils;
That in his home the time beguiles.
One man his lips with silence seals;
Another all his mind reveals." 1

"(The Sages) are distributed along different paths and yet they all return to their common source; through one action, the fruits of a hundred thoughts are realized," 2 I understood that we should not be afraid of heterodox teachings. When I read further the words of Chuang Tzu: "The flavours of the haw, the pear, the orange and the citron are quite different and yet all are pleasing to the mouth." 3 "The ear, eye, nose, mouth are not interchangeable, and yet each has its use," 4 I knew that we should delight in the heterodox teachings. When I further read the words of the Vimalakīrti sūtra: "Defame the Buddha, break the law (dharma). Then you can take away the food and eat it." 5 "Heterodox

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1 I-shu, ch. 18, p. 11. Context is 1-ch'uan's disciple asking about the Master's opinion of Ming-tao's saying.
4 CT, ch. 14, p. 38, line 40.
5 CT, ch. 33, p. 91, lines 11-12, somewhat changed.
6 Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 540c, lines 10-12.
believers and the demons are my attendants." I knew that they were not really heterodox teachings. Finally, when I read the Avatamsaka sūtra, I learned that (despite the lewdness of Vasumitra, the cruelty of Anala, the endurance of Jayasūryata, the oddity of Mahādeva, the gloom of Vasanti, and the mischief of Indriyasvara, all of them possessed the clear and pure teaching of liberation; that samsāra and nirvāṇa were of the same dharma-nature; wisdom and foolishness were both prajñā; all the rules of discipline, concentration and wisdom, and lewdness, anger and idiocy were pure living, then (I understood that), within this dharma realm, there could not be such a thing as an heterodox teaching. I am afraid that (what he called) 'obscurity' was not really obscured; and (what he called) 'sublimity' was so called only by himself. Alaś!

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7 Ibid., T475, 544c, line 8.
8 Notes 8 to 13 is a list of teachers that Sudhana has visited. Vasumitra, seen in Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 365.
9 Ibid., p. 355.
10 Ibid., p. 346.
11 Ibid., p. 368.
12 Ibid., p. 369. There are nine teachers of this name. The one who fits the description of 'gloom' is Vasanti.
13 Ibid., p. 350. There are a few boy teachers. The one who fits the description here is Indriyasvara.
I-ch'uan said: In the distant ancient time, men and other objects came into existence together. The pure ch'i became men while the mixed ch'i became objects. Man, therefore, was made from the refined ch'i of the Five Agents. He was produced by the clear, pure essence of Heaven and Earth. . . . For example, after an island emerged from the ocean, grass, trees, birds, beasts and human beings began to appear. (If this was so), how could we know that there were no human beings who were transformed from the ch'i? Again, another example: The fleas in the garment were first transformed from the ch'i and then they are reproduced by means of eggs. This teaching is clear.

P'ing-shan replies: Although Confucius mentioned that: "First, there was Heaven and Earth, then the myriad things appeared. After the myriad things had appeared, men and women came into being," yet he did not say how it was done. Now, Master Ch'eng laboured at this theory, saying that everything was produced by the ch'i of Heaven and Earth. (This theory) was identical with the sayings of Brahmins in the West. His saying that human beings were produced together with grass and trees was also the same as that of the heretical Senikas. Nevertheless, ever since there have been men, there has never been a sudden self-production

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1. I-shu, ch. 18, p. 13.


or an instant self-transformation. Why is it that his saying has to differ from the teaching of the Three Sages? Confucius said, "Heaven and Earth come together, and all things take shape and find form."\(^5\)

Chuang Tzu said, "Heaven and Earth were produced together with me. The myriad things and myself were united into one."\(^6\) The Buddha said, "The Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with each other."\(^7\) Then, before the Two Forms were differentiated, there existed "an object formless-yet-complete,"\(^8\) which, from itself, gave birth to Heaven and Earth. How can Heaven and Earth produce myself? The transformation of the Mind gives rise to the Void; the transformation of the Void gives rise to Heaven and Earth; the self and the myriad things are produced together. (This process) is as follows: The transformation of thought gives rise to the non-thought\(^9\); the transformation of the non-thought gives rise to the realm; the self and the wandering souls are both dreams. Without thought, there would not be any dreams. For he who has 'no mind,' can there be birth and death within the universe? This is that by which the Sage "holds up the universe."\(^10\) The student should think over this.

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6CT, ch. 2, p. 5, line 52.
7Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 118b-c. See section 11, note 3.
8Lao Tzu, ch. 25.
9盲, literally closing the eye or to dream. Translated 'non-thought' here so as to parallel the term 'Void' and to avoid the repetition of the term 'dream' which occurs later.
10CT, ch. 6, p. 16, line 31.
109

I-ch'uan said: In their later lives, scholars pay much attention to Chuang Tzu. It is like one who, being careful about propriety and hence tightly bound (by its rules and regulations), must find a place to relax. This tendency is natural. The Period of Eastern Chin was a good example of this.

P'ing-shan replies: Having understood the wonderful teaching of the Sūrāngama, then one can be taught the silas. Having reached the metaphysical learning of Chuang Chou, then one may talk about propriety. That fellow Juan Chi, who said, "Are rules of propriety made for people like me?" indeed made lunatic assertions. He was indeed "a mean man whose Mean was to have no caution." It is the same as the contemporary "Ch'an of no obstructions." What kind of animal is that?

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1I-shu, ch. 18, p. 47.
2A period during which the Southern capital was at Ch'ien-k'ang (317-420 A.D.) It was a period known for "pure conversation" and "dark learning."
3Juan Chi (A.D. 210-263), one of the worthies of the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove. Biography in Chin Shu, ch. 49.
4Shih-shuo hsin-yü, ch. 23, SPTK, p. 118a. A response Juan made on being accused of being too familiar with his sister-in-law.
6Probably a derogatory term. C.f., section 25 and 88.
110

I-ch'uan said: The production, which is caused by external influence and which arises from the inside, of joy and anger from nature, is just like the production of wave from water. The nature of water is to be completely still. Therefore, the waves, which are caused when water is blocked by sand or rock, or blown about by wind, can never belong to the nature of water, isn't that right? Within human nature, there are only the "four beginnings." How can there be many evil things? Nevertheless, how can there be waves without water? How can there be feelings without nature?

P'ing-shan replies: This is Mr. Ch'eng's teaching, which is different from that of Li Ao. Ao says, "The Sage possesses (human) nature, but he has no feelings." For this reason, Shun employed sixteen ministers not because he liked them. He banished the "four evil ones" not because he was angry with them. This teaching came from Chuang Tzu, who said, "(The Sage) has the form of a man but not the feelings of a man," and "He does not permit likes and dislikes to cause internal injuries to his life." For if the anger is expressed not as (personal) anger,

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1I-shu, ch. 18, p. 17. Abbreviated.
2Term coined by Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 6, verse 6, p. 551.
3Li Ao (died 844), younger contemporary of Han Yu. Author of three essays called "Fu-hsing-shu" ("On Returning to Nature.")
5Story found in Tso-chuan, 18th year of Wen Kung, p. 250.
6CT, ch. 5, p. 14, line 53. 7CT, ch. 5, p. 15, line 57.
anger comes out of a state of non-anger. Hence, the Buddhists have a teaching of "assurance by means of the void, water and mud." The mind of the Sage is hence different from that of ordinary people. (For him), pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy have not been able to enter for a long time. Although (they are called) pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy, yet they do not have the reality of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy. (The Sage) takes the Mean before the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy to be identical with the Harmony after the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy. Therefore, all have acted in their due degree. After pleasure and anger, then there are Benevolence and Righteousness; after sorrow and joy, then there are Propriety and Music. How can we regard pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy to be Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety and Music? (And thus bring about the result) that the seeker of the Tao of the Sage seeks for the sagehood by means of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety and Music. Master Ch'eng has not considered these carefully and hence his theories on the feelings and nature were often open to doubt. Even though he had the analogy of water and wave, it was self-contradictory. As for the theory of Liu Tzu-hui\textsuperscript{10} of Tsung-an\textsuperscript{11}, which regards Li Ao as putting "the Sage into the category of wood or stone, and the Confucianists into the realm of the withered 

\textsuperscript{8}These are the three seals of the school represented by the Jen-t'ien yen-mu, ch. 6, T2006, 329b.

\textsuperscript{9}C.f. Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{10}Liu Tzu-hui (1101-1147). Biography in Shung Shih, ch. 434, p. 5595b.

\textsuperscript{11}A district in the Province of Fu-chian.
trees," it is also thoughtlessly arrived at. Hence, one should carefully study their difference.

Someone may say, "Master Ch'eng also had a theory of comparing the mind of the Sage to the mirror." In this one he was discussing the mind of the Sage. In that one he was discussing the mind of ordinary people." I answer: That doesn't solve the problem. With respect to nature, can the Sage be far from the ordinary man? The only difference is that the Sage can strike the Mean whereas the ordinary man misses it. If we take the example of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy, they truly come out of nature. Even the Sage cannot do without them, isn't it so? Nature is just like water; pleasure and anger are just like dust and dirt. For this reason, the Śurāṅgama says, "The first appearance of clear water represents the initial suppression of intruding impurities (Agantu-kleśa). The pure water obtained after the removal of mud represents the permanent cutting off of fundamental ignorance. All the changes and manifestations (of the Enlightenment) are not related to impurities but are in accord with the pure, wonderful virtue of Nirvāṇa." For this reason, the ordinary man allows it to settle and yet it is still turbid; the Sage stirs it up and yet it is still clear. This is the Buddhists' analogy of the water and waves.

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13. Seen in I-shu, ch. 18, p. 16.
14. Śurāṅgama sūtra, T945, 122b, line 29-c, line 2. Slightly abbreviated.
I-ch'uan said: On seeing that Yang Chu and Mo Ti had gone to two extremes, Tzu Mo held on to the middle, and did not know that there was a time at which one should "rub one's (body from) crown (to heel clean of hair)," and another time at which one should "not pull even one hair." To hold on to the middle inflexibly is not different from holding one of the extremes.

P'ing-shan replies: If one acts according to Master Ch'eng's words, one would desert the Mean and return to the extremes. Mencius' saying, "Do not take the side, nor hold on to the Middle" is identical with the Hua-yen's saying, "Neither this shore, nor the other shore, nor mid-stream." By the way, (the words) 'Tzu-mo' means 'you should not.' It is a term of warning. Not that there was another person of this name along with Yang-Chu and Mo Ti.

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2 See section 41, note 3.
4 Mencius does not have this saying, but see Book VII, part I, ch. 26, verse 3, p. 957.
5 The exact wording is in Vimalakirti Sūtra, T475, 555a. C.f. Avatamsaka Sūtra, T279, 106c, line 13.
6 The two characters that begins verse 3 of Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 26, p. 957. They also begin I-ch'uan's quotation.
I-ch'uan said\(^1\): (Some one asked), "Is it possible to seek for the Mean before the stirring of 'pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy'?\(^2\)." I answered, "But then you are involved in thinking." Ordinary cultivation alone is enough. After a while, one will naturally strike the Mean. What other method is there?

P'ing-shan replies: This is different from what I have heard. The way of knowledge is nothing else but the relaxation of (deliberate control of) the mind. "Learning without thought is labour lost."\(^3\) For this reason, "the superior man has nine things to think about."\(^4\) Thinking is the master of the mind. If it is not blocked by objects, one can become a wise man. A wise man can become a sage. One should follow this in order to become a sage. "The Mean before the stirring of pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy" is the very substance of the Sage's mind. Can he who seeks it without the use of thinking be able to obtain it and see it?

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\(^2\)Term coined by Chung Yung, ch. 1, p. 45.

\(^3\)Analects, Book II, ch. 15, p. 141.

\(^4\)Ibid., Book XVI, ch. 10, p. 370.
I-ch'uan said: When one is in the Mean, though the ear hears nothing and the eye sees nothing, yet one is beginning to reach the principle of seeing and hearing.

P'ing-shan replies: Since the mind sees and hears, (sight and hearing) are not in the ears and eyes. Where is their principle?

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1 I-shu, ch. 18, p. 15.
I-ch'uan said: If one has consciousness, one must have motion. How can we talk about tranquility?

P'ing-shan replies: Man is not wood or stone, how can he not have consciousness? Can there be motion and tranquility in that consciousness?

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1 I-shu, ch. 18, p. 15.
I-ch'uan said: To seek for tranquillity in motion is most difficult.

P'ing-shan replies: The thoughts of motion or rest are identical with the mind of birth and death. If the mind is without these thoughts, then it is neither difficult nor easy.

1 Same as section 113, note 1.
I-ch'uan said:¹ Someone asked, "Should we describe the state before the stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy by the word 'tranquil' or 'in motion'?" (I answer: I suppose) we can say 'tranquil.' But there must be an object in this tranquillity before we get the (right answer). This is the difficulty. It is better to pay attention to 'seriousness' first.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Ch'eng's incurable disease is precisely in the use of a term of description. We call it 'tranquil,' and yet it is exactly like a torrent whose waves reach up to the sky. If there is this object, then it is hard to seek for the Mean. And yet he uses the practice of 'seriousness,' which amounts to obstructing the current and stirring up the waves. Can he be tranquil even for a single moment? Alas!

¹ Same as section 113, note 1.
I-ch'uan said: Hua-yen' s contemplations of the dharmadhātu, illustrated by examples such as mirrors and lamps, purport to contain in them every phenomenon in the universe. This is only because the Buddhist wants to cover everything. Summarizing it in one sentence, I say, "It is the gathering of all principles (li) into one principle."

P'ing-shan replies: Lao Tzu's saying, "'Constant Non-Being,' 'Constant Being.' They are together called the mysterious, the gate of all wonderful (things)"; Confucius' saying, "The 'Tao' and the 'tool'; 'change' and 'continuity'; 'the field of action'" are identical with the contemplations of the dharmadhātu. The words of the Three Sages are such as if they have been spoken by the same mouth. How can there be the intention of 'covering everything'? Master Ch'eng said that (the Hua-yen teaching) could be completely summarized in one sentence. If that were so, the Three Sages would have (spoken) superfluous words. Master Ch'eng only knew about the identity of one principle (li). How could he have known that each phenomenon (shih) contained a nomenon (li) in itself? They are the same and yet different, different

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1 I-shu, ch. 18, p. 10.
2 Established by Tu Shun. C.f. Chu Hua-yen fa-chieng kuan-men, T1884, 684c.
3 Ibid., T1884, 690c and ff.
4 Lao Tzu, ch. 1, but not exact words. Abbreviated sentences are used to represent the full quotation.
5 ICT, I, 12, p. 63. Not exact wording. Abbreviated sentences are used to represent the full quotation.
and yet the same; the similarity among the similar, the difference among the different? On the contrary, he suspected that Buddhists were evasive. Now, it is in the records. Master Ch'eng did not know what he was investigating. He only laughed at those who burned a bunch of incense-sticks or donated a copper. How similar to the words of an old nanny!
118

I-ch'uan said: He who claims that he can lengthen his life is a thief in the world. The prophet is an impersonation of a wild fox.

P'ing-shan replies: P'eng-tsu's craft of "bear-hangings and bird-stretchings" differs from Master Kuang-ch'eng's (advice) of "not churning up your essence." Chi Hsien's "knowledge of man's life, death, longevity and the short-lived" is different from Keng-sang Ch'u's seeing with the ear and hearing with the eye. How can (Master Kuang-ch'eng and Keng-sang Ch'u) be scolded?

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1 C.f. I-shu, ch. 18, p. 10, see note.
2 CT, ch. 15, p. 40, lines 5-6. This craft of longevity is devalued here.
3 CT, ch. 11, p. 27, lines 35-36.
4 CT, ch. 7, p. 20, line 16. Chi Hsien is shown for his short-coming in this passage.
5 Lieh Tzu, "Chung-ni," p. 73.
I-ch'uan said: Someone asked, "If there are anger, fear and worries, the mind cannot be at its rightful place. Must one eliminate all these before the mind can be rectified?" I answer, "No. 'Elimination' only means not permitting them to disturb the mind. Before the student has achieved this state of non-disturbance, he must guard his will.

P'ing-shan replies: Talk about the student still having this object in the mind and not being disturbed—could he really guard his will and not be disturbed? I do not believe it possible.

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1I-shu, ch. 19, p. 1. Li's quotation is too abbreviated to make sense. I have translated the passage from the I-shu.
I-ch'uan said: When the Sage is not asked, he remains (silent) like a block of wood or a stone.

Ping-shan replies: The Sage "dwells like a corpse and yet sees like a dragon, is silent as a deep pool and yet sounds like thunder." Comparing the Sage to a block of wood or a stone! (I-ch'uan) is as good as dead! Alas!

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1 T-shu, ch. 19, p. 13. Section found in Peking edition only.

2 CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.
I-ch'uan said: In human nature there is nothing evil; in endowment, there are good and evil. Human nature is compared to wood which can be bent to any shape desired; whereas endowment is compared to the main beams. Nature comes from Heaven; endowment comes from ch'i.

P'ing-shan replies: "It is not owing to their endowment conferred by Heaven that they are thus different." Does endowment not come from Heaven? "If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their endowments." There is no evil in endowment, is it not so? Talk about wood which can be bent to any shape desired and the main beam! He is talking in dreams!

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2 Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 7, verse 1, p. 864.
3 Ibid., ch. 6, verse 6, p. 861.
122

I-ch'uan said¹: 'Confucius' saying, "(People's) natures are similar"² refers to nature received at birth, whereas Mencius' saying that "(It is good)"³ refers to the origin of nature.

P'ing-shan replies: Not so. Mencius talked about the "affected nature" whereas Confucius talked about the origin of nature.

¹I-shu, ch. 19, p. 4. Section found in Peking edition only.
I-ch'üan said\textsuperscript{1}: As soon as Yang Shih-wo\textsuperscript{2} was born, he was already affected by evil ch'i.

P'ing-shan replies: From where did this evil ch'i come? Master Ch'eng had no answer. How could he be good at (the knowledge of) Tao?

\textsuperscript{1}I-shu, ch. 19, p. 4. Abbreviated. Peking edition only.

\textsuperscript{2}Yang Shih-wo: He lived in the State of Chin in the Ch'un-Ch'iu Period. Story is found in Tso-chuan, 28th year of Chao Kung (公), p. 479.
I-ch'uan said: The one whose "knowledge comes with birth" certainly does not depend on learning. Therefore the Sage does not need to learn.

P'ing-shan replies: Mr. Ch'eng's "words are ramified." Is he not the one who still "entertains doubt in his inmost heart"? What a pity!

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1 I-shu, ch. 19, p. 5. Peking edition only.
2 Analects, Book XVI, ch. 9, p. 369.
3 I-shu says, "Yet the Sage must learn."
4 ICT, II, 12, p. 69.
I-ch'uan said: The Ju-hsing contains great exaggerations. Hence, it is not a work by Confucius. It does damage to the true teaching.

P'ing-shan replies: I have already found fault with Ou-yang Hsiu for his doubt that the Great Appendices (to the Book of Changes) were written by Confucius. Now, how unlucky I am again to hear this opinion. What wrong has Confucius done to these scholars that he has come to such a pass? Alas!

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2 Section 41 of Li Chi.
4 C.f. Ou-yang Hsiu ch'üan chi, "I T'ung-tzu wen (易童子問)," ch. 3, p. 568.
I-ch'uan said: I do not know whether kings T'ang and Wu can be regarded as sages or not. If it is King Wen, then he was clearly a great sage.

Ping-shan replies: I disliked very much Master Ch'eng's remark that Mencius had an aloof angularity, and Yen Hui had not yet arrived at the faultless stage. How unfortunate I am today again to hear this remark. Alas! How strange!

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2 Shang T'ang (商湯) and Chou Wu Wang (周武王), founders of the Shang and Chou Dynasties.
4 Meng-tzu Hsü-shuo (孟子序說).
5 I-shu, ch. 22a, p. 3.
I-ch'uan said: I cannot say that Mencius was a sage. For example, when his book says that both Yi and Hui were ancient sages, there must be a mistake of one or two words. Again, when he said, "Those who give counsel to the great should despise them," he was wrong.

P'ing-shan replies: Is Master Ch'eng correct in fearing the great and insulting the sage? Assume that a man may turn out in the best of lights one day, one must overlook his short-comings. Is Master Ch'eng's view better than that of ancient Sages?

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2. Po Yi (伯夷) and Liu Hsia-hui (柳下惠), called sages by Mencius, Book VII, part II, ch. 15, pp. 986-987.
I-ch'uan said: The Buddhist verification of attainment (of enlightenment by a master) is funny. Why is it that I have to rely on somebody else to tell me the teaching I have already understood?

P'ing-shan replies: To verify oneself to have obtained the transmission of the Sage is particularly laughable. Although I have understood, how can I not believe in other people?

1I-shu, ch. 19, p. 6. Peking edition only.
I-ch'uan said: If you do not want to follow the Buddha, you must belittle him. Then, you naturally will not follow him.

P'ing-shan replies: Even the great should not be despised, how may the Sage be despised? If one looks at the sky while sitting at the bottom of a well, the sky will also be small.

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^1 I-shu, ch. 19, p. 11. Peking edition only.
I-ch'uan said: Wen-chung-tzu was basically an hermit. Mediocre people got his writings, inserted their own opinions and made a book out of it. There is one thing which is only half-good. . . . For example the saying, "The distinction between the mind and outward manifestations has been made for a long time" is gibberish.

P'ing-shan replies: Books to which have been attached extraneous opinions and which talk gibberish are many indeed. How can it be limited to Wen-chung-tzu only? As for the part which answers Wei Cheng's questions, Wen-chung-tzu answered three times. Master Ch'eng truncated it into two sections and eliminated one of them. This is improper. Alas!

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2 Wen-chung-tzu: See section 42, note 5.
3 Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo, ch. 5, SPTK; p. 18.
4 This refers to the book in note 3.
5 In the same place as note 3.
I-ch'uan said\(^1\): The **Additional Classic** to **Wen-chung-tzu** is exceedingly absurd. Hsun Ch'ing-tzu\(^2\) was too argumentative. Yang Tzu\(^3\) failed to understand. What could he say about the Tao? Han T'ui-chih's\(^4\) "Yüan-tao" was extremely good, but he talked gibberish when he said that benevolence and righteousness were fixed names.\(^5\) There were two places in which he argued convincingly. They were almost according to Tao, but finally they were only arguments.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Ch'eng ridiculed the various scholars. Ha! He was so vicious! Can he not see the beam in his own eyes?\(^6\)

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\(^1\) I-shu, ch. 19, p. 11-12. Abbreviated. Peking edition only.

\(^2\) Hsün Tzu (fl. 298-238 B.C.).

\(^3\) Yang Hsiung. See section 2 note 5.

\(^4\) Han Yü.

\(^5\) Found in "Yüan-tao."

\(^6\) Literally **mu-chieh chih lun** (目睫之論). The story makes the point of a man lacking in self knowledge.
I-ch'uan said: What Ching-kung said when he was young was really good, but in his old age, he was incoherent.

P'ing-shan replies: The heights to which Ching-kung attained in the Six Arts of Confucius were incorruptible. The later scholars lost his transmission and each of them set up his own sect.

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2 Wang An-shih. See section 27, note 3.

3 The six accomplishments Confucius required of his disciples. These are rites, music, archery, driving of chariot, learning and mathematics.
133

I-ch'uan said⁠¹: "Those who remain orthodox nowadays are Shao Yao-fu⁠², Chang Tzu-hou⁠³, and Ssu-ma Chün-shih⁠⁴." Again he said: "Chang Tzu-hou is too strict. He doesn't know how to relax. Shao Yao-fu is too unrestrained. He comes close to being irreverent. From the way Ssu-ma Chün-shih recites the word 'Mean,' it would be more fitting for him to count a string of prayer beads.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Ch'eng's opinion is like the laws of Lord Shang⁵. For him, there has never been a perfect man. Alas! How frightening?

¹C.f. I-shu, ch. 2a, p. 6b; ch. 18, p. 11b; Wai-shu (外書) ch. 12, p. 10b; Sui-yen (粹言), ch. 2, p. 9a in Erh Ch'eng ch'üan-shu. Peking edition only.

²Shao Yung, section 58, note 2.

³Chang Tsai, see section 9, note 1.

⁴Ssu-ma Kuang, see section 3, note 1.

⁵The laws created by Shang Yang, the minister of Ch'in in the Warring State Period. Biography see in Shih Chi, ch. 68, pp. 2227-2239.
I-ch'uan said: The Buddhist insists strongly that one should forget about right and wrong. How could right and wrong be forgotten? They themselves are backed up by many reasons, how could they be forgotten? This is because people stay together in the delusive, dark sea, or stubborn remain in a pit. Then, everything becomes rigid and there is no place where one can fit in. If each object is assigned to its own place, then one can be the master of material things.

P'ing-shan replies: As soon as there are rights and wrongs, the mind becomes confused and lost. When there is a thought even for a fleeting moment, one falls into a pit or a moat. One is bound by dharma from which one is unable to release oneself. If one can turn the objects away, then he is like the Tathagata. Only he who has practised Ch'an for a long time can understand this sickness.

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I-ch'uan said: Chuang Tzu attempted to equalize all things. (Now,) as all things are originally equal, what need is there for you to equalize them? If you want to equalize them, how do you go about it? It is you and I who are not equalized; it has nothing to do with the inequality of things.

P'ing-shan replies: Chuang Tzu "embraces the ten thousand things and rolls them into one." This means there is no distinction between things and the self. "He takes part in ten thousand ages and achieves simplicity in oneness." This abolishes the distinction of time. Master Ch'eng hasn't read the "Discussion on Making All Things Equal," how could he know the equality of inequality, and the inequality of equality?

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2 CT, ch. 1, p. 2, line 32.
3 CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 78. Translation by Watson, op. cit., p. 47.
I-ch'uan said: The "Wen-tzu" in the book Su-wen was composed only in the Period of Warring States. It is wrong to call it the San-fen-shu. Only its discussion of the circulation of the ch'i is not altogether bad. However, it is not usable. The conditions of driness and dampness are different according to districts and prefectures. How can there be a fixed prediction?

P'ing-shan replies: Although we cannot have a fixed prediction with respect to districts and prefectures, the physicians have used it for several thousand years within the four seas, and its effective results have been many. Why is it that when the superior man comes to this thing, he does not know that he should show cautious reserve?

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I-ch'uan said: The Buddhist and Taoist theories about ghosts and spirits are laughable. Taoists are especially wild.

P'ing-shan replies: "Great is the power of ghosts and spirits. Like flowing water they are present in the above and to the left and right (of the worshippers)." I only know paying them respect. It is better to take them as real even though they do not actually exist rather than to take them as unreal even though they actually exist. Can this be a laughable matter?

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1I-shu, ch. 22a, p. 9. Peking edition only.
2Chung Yung, ch. 16, pp. 64-65.
I-ch'uan said: Blessing come to the good and calamities come to the debauched. This principle is natural. It is the heavenly Tao. For example, the High Heaven shakes in anger does not literally mean the one above shakes in anger, it means the principle is such.

P'ing-shan replies: I have read and deeply thought about the words of the Confucian Classics. Ha! If Master Ch'eng is not wild, he must be offensive.

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I-shu, ch. 22a, pp. 9-10. Abbreviated. Peking edition only.
139

I-ch'uan said: Nowadays, the fruits of good or evil are matters of luck.

P'ing-shan replies: If reality turns out to be according to Master Ch'eng's words, the Heavenly Principle will also be annihilated. The Six Classics will also be useless, is it not so?

\footnote{I-shu, ch. 22a, p. 10. Peking edition only.}
I-ch'uan said\(^1\) Buddhists also say that nature is good. The only improper thing is to regard endowment as the product of contagion by conditions. \(^2\)

P'ing-shan replies: "The natures of men are originally close to one another, they diverge with practice."\(^3\) These are words of Confucius. "If man does what is not good, the fault cannot be attributed to endowment."\(^4\) These are Mencius' words. They correspond to words of the Buddha but differ from Master Ch'eng's opinion that there is an entity called endowment aside from nature.\(^4\)

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\(^1\)I-shu, ch. 22a, p. 11. Peking edition only.


\(^3\)Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 6, verse 6, p. 861.

\(^4\)This opinion is found in sections 121 and 141.
I-ch'uan said: Endowment is derived from ch'i. When ch'i is pure, the endowment is good; when ch'i is turbid, the endowment is evil. A man born from the most pure ch'i becomes a sage whereas a man born from the most turbid ch'i becomes an idiot.

P'ing-shan replies: No theory is more rebellious to the Sage and has done more harm to the Teaching of Names than this one. Chuang Tzu takes "Tao to be the mother of ch'i." Mencius regards "the will to be the master of ch'i." Therefore, ch'i is the offspring of Tao. Tao has no distinctions of being pure or turbid, can there be purity and turbidity in ch'i? Ch'i is the slave of the will. The will has no distinctions of sagacity and stupidity, can ch'i be divided into the sagely and the foolish? If Master Ch'eng is right, the ancient Sages were all tumors. Unknowingly, the naturalism of the West and the heretical doctrines are now transmitted into China, are they not? Why is it there are so few sages and so many fools? Is it because ch'i within the universe are all turbid? Alas!

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1I-shu, ch. 22a. p. 11. Peking edition only.
2Teaching of Confucius.
3CT, ch. 6, p. 16, line 32.
4Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 9, p. 528.
I-ch'uan said: "I do not wish to speak." Confucius said this because Tzu-kung talked too much; and so the latter was told this.

P'ing-shan replies: This is the Sage's wonder of non-transmission. "Its sound is like thunder." How could he have said this merely for the sake of Tzu-kung?

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1 I-shu, ch. 22b, p. 4. Peking edition only.
2 Analects, Book XVII, ch. 19, verse 1, p. 388.
3 CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.
I-ch'uan said: What we usually assign to fate, namely, the degree one can attain in filial piety or the degree the worthy can attain in wisdom, is owing to the fact that men are gifted differently.

P'ing-shan replies: With respect to the degree of benevolence between father and son, "K'uang-chang was not able to fulfill his filial duty." With respect to the degree of wisdom attained by the worthy, "Yen Tzu could not complete learning his teaching." These show that there is fate. It is not a matter of gift.

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1 I-shu, ch. 24, p. 2. Peking edition only.
2 Mencius, Book IV, part II, ch. 30, verse 1, p. 762.
I-ch'uan said: The views of Buddhists and Taoists are biased towards error. They do not probe the profound depth or investigate the details (of reality). Hence, they have not attained the ultimate knowledge about the spiritual nor have they understood transformation.

P'ing-shan replies: Not having attained the ultimate knowledge of the spiritual nor having understood transformation, how can one probe the profound depth or investigate the details (of reality)?

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1I-shu, ch. 24, p. 3. Peking edition only.
I-ch'uan said: Chuang Tzu was (actually) a rebel against the Sages. Mediocre people usually assert that (his teaching was an attempt to) correct the excesses of the time. As for Po Yi and Liu Hsia-hui, they were not different from the Sages, were they not? Were they of the same category with Chuang Tzu and Lao Tan?

P'ing-shan replies: If Chuang Chou and Lao Tan were still not of the same category (as the Sages), how could Po Yi and Liu Hsia-hui be (of the same category)? (Chuang Tzu and Lao Tzu) were also not those (who attempted to) correct the excesses of the time. This is why they were not different from our Sages. Master Ch'eng must have never read the chapter of "The World."
I-ch'uan said: "The study (攻 kung) of heterodox doctrines is injurious indeed." Although there may be (certain things) worth acquiring, they are not the correct way.

P'ing-shan replies: If I scold my neighbour's father, my neighbour will also scold my father. Chang Chiu-ch'eng said, "The word 'kung (攻)' should be interpreted as 'to exclude.'"
I-oh'uan said: After "forgone conclusions, arbitrary predeterminations, obstinacy and egoism" are gone, there must be tending to affairs. The scholar should exert his mind in this.

P'ing-shan replies: Before "forgone conclusions, arbitrary predeterminations, obstinacy and egoism" are gone, the scholar should exert his mind in this. After they were gone, there was no longer any affair.

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1 I-shu, ch. 25, p. 4. Peking edition only.

2 C.f. Analects, Book IX, ch. 4, p. 231.
I-ch'uan said: Lao Tzu followed a policy of not enlightening the people and was intending to make them foolish. This is also undermining one's own nature.

P'ing-shan replies: "The deep and darkly shrouded is the essence of Tao; the mysterious and hushed in silence is the extreme of Tao." That is why "Li Chu looked for it and the Dark Pearl was lost"; "Shu and Hu chiselled (holes) in Hun-tun and he died." These are what Master Ch'eng does not believe in. That which Master Ch'eng transmits is the Tao of Yen and Tsang. The fact that the former was foolish and the latter was crude was recorded in the Analects. Their ways are but for beginners. Does Master Ch'eng understand this? Surely not! For he takes the first awakened one as a Worthy.

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1I-shu, ch. 25, p. 5. Peking edition only.
2CT, ch. 11, p. 27, lines 35-36.
3CT, ch. 12, p. 29, lines 18-19.
4C.f. CT, ch. 7, p. 21, lines 34-35.
5Yen Hui and Tsang San, disciples of Confucius.
I-ch'uan said: Take spring as the beginning and trace it to its origin, there must be winter. Take winter as the end and trace it backwards, there must be spring. The explanation of birth and death is such as these.

P'ing-shan replies: This falls into the view of regarding birth as the head and death as the tail. Take birth as the head and trace it to its origin, yet one cannot find the tail. Take death as the tail and trace it backwards, and yet one cannot find the head. The explanation of birth and death is such as this.

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1I-shu, ch. 25, p. 7. Peking edition only.
I-ch'uan said: Someone asked me about Wen-chung-tzu. I said, "He is dull." "Hsün Ch'ing-tzu?" I said, "He is rebellious." "Han Tzu?" I said, "He is alien to Tao." None of these is a seeker of the sagehood. Yang Tzu was close to it. Again I-ch'uan said: Yang Tzu was not at peace with himself. That is why his words grew and spread out unbrokenly, are soft, yielding and indecisive. For example, his theory of good and evil is one.

P'ing-shan replies: I have heard Master Ch'eng saying, "Mr. Ou-yang's learning is shallow, Mr. Wang's learning is artificial, Mr. Su's learning is heterogeneous." I doubted whether Master Ch'eng was really mean to such a degree. Now, after I have read his books, I am sure that he liked to quarrel. How could he be a man who pursued Tao? At first, he had no intention (to seek Tao). He talked without ever giving a thought to what he said. He groaned and bit the hand that fed him. If it were the proclamation of the dharma like a lion's roar, could it be like this? If there is still consciousness after death, Master Ch'eng will get a laugh from me.

2Wen-chung-tzu, see section 42, note 5.
3Hsün Tzu, see section 131, note 2. 4Han Yü.
5Yang Hsiung, see section 8, note 2.
6Ou-yang Hsiu, see section 125, note 2.
7Wang An-shih, see section 27, note 3.
8Su Shih, see section 27, note 4.
Shang-ts'ai said: The desire of the Buddhist to escape from samsāra is based on the mind of profit and selfishness. There is a cessation for this mind but there is no limit to the Great Void. If samsāra were correct, one could ask: When did a man begin to live? When will his life terminate? Furthermore, each person or object has its own destiny.

P'ing-shan replies: The samsāra as spoken by the Buddha had attachment as its basis. "Where there is love of the self, there is also love of nirvāṇa. ... They do not know that love is the real cause of samsāra."³ Where do we find the mind of profit? That nature of perfect enlightenment is not (involved in) "effort or cessation, laissez-faire or annihilation"⁵; it has "no beginning or end, ability or place."⁵ How can there be a breaking off? For this reason, "fundamentally all living beings are in Buddhahood (wherein) samsāra and nirvāṇa are like (things seen in) yesterday's dream."⁶ Are there destinies for the people and objects in a dream? Being inside a dream himself, Shang-ts'ai still spoke in his dream. Up to the very end, he did not know the perfect enlightenment and took it to be the Great Void. Alas!

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² Shang-ts'ai yú-lu, ch. 1, pp. 1–2.
³ Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 919c
⁴ Term comes from Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 914c.
⁵ Ibid., T842, 920b, 915a.
⁶ Ibid., 915a.
Shang-ts'ai said: That which oversees the functions such as seeing of the eyes, hearing of the ears is the mind. Ever since the death of Confucius, scholars under heaven have raced to seek (Tao) from an external source. They did not recognize their own treasures. Buddhists had a peek of these and took into their hands affairs such as raising the fist and holding up the fly-whisk. They dared to regard themselves important and despise Chinese scholars and gentlemen. And yet mediocre people would not dare to confront them. On the contrary, they believed in them and became converted to them. If the sagely learning were being transmitted, how could we have come to such a sorry state?

P'ing-shan replies: The philosophers understand that the power of seeing with the eye and hearing with the ear is attributed to the mind. Do they also know that K'ang-ts'ang-tzu saw with his ears and heard with his eyes? "Aniruddha is blind but sees, Upānanda is deaf but hears. . . Mahākāśyapa . . . succeeded long ago in rooting out the organ of intellect thereby realizing perfect knowledge which did not derive from the thinking process." Surely they (the philosophers) would not have known these. Of course, when the Buddha said that both the body and mind were illusory and impure, (what he meant) was exactly

1 Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 2.
2 Lien Tzu, "Chung-ni," p. 73.
3 Sūraṅgaṇa sūtra, T945, 123b-c.
4 Ibid., 123c, lines 4-5.
the same as the fact that Confucius abolished the mind and utilized the physical shape, and directly established the wonders of the 'four negations.' It was also that which Yen Tzu, though his basket was empty, has not arrived at; it was also that which Tzu Kung, though his learning was great, has not understood. Has Shang-ts'ai really obtained his (Confucius') transmission? The Chinese scholars and gentlemen have not discussed this matter for a thousand and five hundred years. Nowadays, the fact that they can understand a little is due to the labours of the Wang father and son and the Su brothers, is it not so? To hate and scold the neighbour who points out our own treasures which we do not know about is not tolerated even by an idiotic child. Alas!

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5 *Analects*, Book IX, ch. 4, p. 231.
6 Ibid., Book XI, ch. 18 and Book IX, ch. 10, p. 235.
7 Ibid., Book XV, ch. 2, p. 342.
8 Wang An-shih, see section 27, note 3.
9 Su Shih, see section 27, note 4.
Shang-ts'ai said: Benevolence is what it is to be a man. To be alive is what it is to be benevolent. Not to feel pain or itch is not to be benevolent. Buddhists understand this and call it 'seeing one's nature.' Consequently, they think they understand everything. Ultimately, their teaching ends up being delusive and fantastic. Hearing this news, our school of sagehood must redouble its efforts.

P'ing-shan replies: Buddhists have said, "Although being unconditioned (asamskṛta) is the true (path), the goal is hard to attain if one attaches oneself to it; although being conditioned (samskṛta) is the false (path), the result will not be accomplished if it is discarded." For this reason "although the three virtuous states (of a bodhisattva) are nearly complete, and the added-progress (pravṛtta) is beginning to become perfect, before the eighth realm is reached, one has really accomplished no merit and has really not yet arrived (at the goal). With respect to the noumenon (li), (it is attained) in an instant. It is accomplished in less than the shortest interval. With respect to phenomena (shih), they are eliminated gradually. It takes an infinite duration of time." Being bound by I-ch'uan's (teaching), Mr. Hsieh dared not laugh (or become flexible) and died from sticking to the literal meaning of words. Did he really know pain or itch?

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1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 2.
Shang-ts'ai said: People are constituted differently by ch'i. It seems that Yen Tzu was constituted weak whereas Mencius was robust. Mencius was like a cliff of ten thousand fathoms. If it were not him, who was able to stretch out his arms and legs like struts? If this thing (arrogance) is not eliminated, although he has the impression of being great, he still has faults which need to be ground away. For this reason, it appears that he has not reached the stage of sagehood. Otherwise he would not have said things like despising the great.

P'ing-shan replies: These are words of I-ch'uan. How can one eat another man's spittle? This corresponds exactly with the saying Mencius found fault with: "What is not attained in words is not to be sought for in the mind; what produces dissatisfaction in the mind, is not to be helped by passion effort." "The sword has already gone far from you, now you are only just marking the boat?" Can that which makes Mencius what he was be seen? To say that it was constituted by ch'i is to be blocked by one-sided words and to be entrenched by depraved words.

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1Shang-ts'ai yu-lu, ch. a, p. 3. Abbreviated.
2Mencius, Book VII, part II, ch. 34, verse 1, p. 1004.
3See section 127.
4This is Kao Tzu's saying with which Mencius found fault. Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 9, pp. 527-8. Legge's translation.
Shang-ts'ai said: Each of the philosophers of the hundred schools generates his own point of view which deceives the students. The school of sagehood possesses the Heavenly Principle. That is why it dares to take Heaven as its own base. (On the contrary,) Buddhists would not dare to make such a big claim. Ming-tao once said, "Although some elements in my teaching are inherited from others, the term 'Heavenly Principle' is what I myself have created."

P'ing-shan replies: There is a Ch'an saying, "The entire universe is an eye of a monk." Furthermore, he should shut it. Where (can you find) the 'points of view'? (The realms of) all sentient beings and all the Buddhas are swallowed in a mouthful. What can be called the 'Heavenly Principle'? The 'Heavenly Principle' is perfect and without limit. It is a pity that all that Ming-tao created was the term 'Heavenly Principle.' Alas!

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1 Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 5. Abbreviated.
2 Ch'eng Hao. See section 40, note 1.
3 Seen in Wai-shu, ch. 12, p. 4 in Erh Ch'eng ch'iian-shu.
Shang-ts'ai said: In their explanation of the term 'benevolence,' mediocre people concentrate on (the concept of) attachment. How can this be benevolence? The strenuous effort alone to practise benevolence comes close to what benevolence really is. What has it got to do with attachment? For this reason, Lü Chin-po understood (the meaning and) said, "Your explanation of the term 'benevolence' is just like the venerable monks' explanation of Ch'an."

P'ing-shan replies: Benevolence of course is not attachment, but is attachment not part of benevolence? "It is you who make the distinction." It is very different from Ch'an.

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3. A pun on the word 仁 is not excluded here.
4. Vimalakirti Sūtra, T475, 547c, line 29.
Shang-ts'ai said: Lao Tzu's view was wrong. For example, he said, "After the loss of Tao, there is virtue, etc." How can there be so many distinctions (between Tao and virtue)?

P'ing-shan replies: With respect to these words, (Tao and virtue) were themselves different before the time of Lao Tzu. It was not he who made the distinction, isn't that right?

1 Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 11. Abbreviated,
2 Lao Tzu, ch. 38.
Shang-ts'ai said: I once asked I-ch'uan how he thought about Chuang Chou and the Buddha. He said, "How can Chou be compared with the Buddha? The Buddha has a sublime teaching. Chuang Chou's topic is wide in scope. That is why it is simple and easy. It is just like a man, who, awaken, could not see any object above or below, and yet talk about everything in the universe. How much does it really matter? His talk was only ordinary conversation. What is there to boast about?"

P'ing-shan replies: Master Ch'eng's teaching is a terrifying nightmare. It shocks people into awakening from sleep. Could he know the taste of ordinary affairs?

1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, pp. 11-12. Abbreviated.
2Ch'eng I, see section 79, note 1.
Shang-ts'ai said: I have once enumerated the similarities between Buddhism and our Confucianism, and asked I-ch'uan about them. I-ch'uan said, "No matter how much they are similar, as long as their abilities are not the same, they are different.

(Shang-ts'ai's disciple asked, "Why are their abilities not the same?" Shang-ts'ai said,) "(Buddhists) do not investigate the Heavenly Principle to the utmost. They only take up daily affairs such as raising the spoon and brandishing chopsticks and regard them as all there is to the affairs (of the pursuit of Tao), and they act without reason or rhyme. These are their drawbacks and self-centredness." (Shang-ts'ai's disciple) asked, "Why is it self-centred?" Shang-ts'ai said, "To play games with (the pursuit of Tao) is to look at it in two ways. One is to place this matter into the deep recesses of the mind, the ability of which is such that he sees the truth of the similarity between Tzu Lu and Jan Tzu. The other is to spend all day in the spring breeze composing poems. He is completely lacking in understanding. Is he not happy? Again, for example, Tzu Lu had the intention to do good.

1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 12. I-ch'uan's answer consists of only 15 characters. The rest were Shang-ts'ai's words which Li took to be that of I-ch'uan. Much abbreviated.

2Similarity between Tzu Lu and Jan Tzu: C.f. Analects, Book V, ch. 7, pp. 173-174. See also Shih Chi, ch. 67, p. 2190.

3Note 3 to 5 refer to a passage in the Analects, Book V, ch. 25, verse 2, p. 183, which Hsieh commented on.
Tzu abolished the distinction between the self and others. 4 Confucius was different, for he did not perform willful action. 5

P'ing-shan replies: What Master Hsieh asked Mr. Ch'eng about was an affair of their school. His view aimed at the sublime and hence fell into the sickness of crude Ch' an 6 and the manipulation of the soul 7 . Although after the death of Sākyamuni, the world being at peace and Bodhidharma 8 not having arrived, there were already in this place original masters. 9 Even in ordinary speeches, they would not like to hear the word 'Buddha.' If there was a wonderful explanation, they felt it an obligation to spit it out. They went through the two lights of Yün-men 10 , they came out of the three falls of Tsao-shan 11 . In "following the waves and chasing the spray" 12 one was already (having) "the small

5 Ibid., verse 4, p. 184.
6 Derogatory term.
7 This means wasting energy to make unnecessary distinctions. C.f. Pi-yen-lu, T2003, 192c.
8 Commonly regarded as the transmitter of Ch' an from India to China and the first Patriarch in China.
9 Ch' an masters. 本色 refers to 本來面目 . Tzu Hai, 666d, 667d.
11 The three falls of Tsao-shan: See Jen-t'ien yen-mu, T2006, 317c.
drizzle." 13 "Wearing the horns and being covered with a fur," 11 on the other hand, one turned into a state of 'leaks.' 14 Who dares, without having the skills originally, to carry out the daily functions of wearing clothes and eating rice, the supernormal powers of carrying wood and transporting water. 15 Even the ghosts and spirits could not see through Master Wang. 16 The heavenly demon could not find the Bodhisattva Chin-kang-chi. 17 The forest is as large as the ocean, could there not be one (who is really accomplished)? Master Ch'eng could not understand him (Buddha), (that the latter's teaching was) identical with Confucius' (teaching): that eating, drinking and daily chores were identical with the wonder of the Mean, and that sweeping the floor and ordinary greetings were identical with the transmission of the superior men. Did Master Ch'eng really know this?

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15 A gatha by P'ang chü-shih. See Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 263b.
17 C.f. Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 434c.
Shang-ts'ai said: The Buddha said, "Acting straight-forward is correct. Once you think about it you deviate (from the correct path)." This indicates the state of affairs before "suddenly seeing the infant (on the point of falling into a well)." "Suddenly seeing the infant" is what we Confucianists call the mind, but he calls it the previous impure condition of delusive thought. His aim was too high. We Confucianists work on this problem by means of an examination of what is not obvious, whereas he, on the contrary, wants to abolish everything. To say that the follower of the Sudden Doctrine of the Mahāyāna is enlightened instantly on hearing about it requires for its possibility at least the talents of Yen and Jan. The mind that is (manifested) "on seeing the infant (on the point of falling into a well)" is nature's Heavenly Principle. How could that be abolished?

P'ing-shan replies: How poor are the words of Master Hsieh! The Avalokiteśvara has Great Compassion for his name; Maitreya takes being the

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4. According to the Hua-yen school, the fourth teaching is the sudden teaching. Again, the Yüan-chüeh-ching is named the "sudden teaching Mahāyāna." T842, 921c.
5. Yen Hui and Jan Keng, disciples of Confucius.
Merciful One as his priority. How could they have regarded "suddenly seeing the infant" as a delusory thought? With regard to (the saying that) "once you think about it you deviate (from the correct path)," I am afraid that Master Hsieh makes such distinctions. The bodhisattvas of Mahāyāna are constantly mindful of liberating the innumerable sentient beings and yet not one sentient being can be seen as having been liberated. This corresponds exactly with the moment of "suddenly seeing the infant." For Confucianists who have really examined what is not obvious and have obtained this mind, (is the guideline) "acting straight-forward is correct" (aiming) too high? Without working at it, there is nothing to be swept away. Will there be a short-cut to enlightenment for those who, though not being of the calibre of Yen and Min, once hear about this teaching?

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7 The Merciful One is a name of Maitreya. Seen in Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra, Tvol. 5, number 220, 50b.
9 Yen Hui and Min Tzu-ch'ien.
Shang-ts'ai said: Buddhists generally are selfish. The learner of Buddhism wishes (men) to depart from birth and death. His vow to liberate all sentient beings is also made for the sake of the self. (We only have to see that) all Buddhists offer incense and venerate the Buddha, is it not so? Confucianists are able to forget the concern of the self and, furthermore, are not meddlesome.

P'ing-shan replies: For the Buddhist, there is no mind, no birth and death, no sentient being to liberate and no arising of the mind of Bodhi. Offering incense and venerating the Buddha can be done anywhere. On the contrary, in laying down this mind to rest, Master Hsieh becomes meddlesome.

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¹ Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 13. Slightly abbreviated.
Shang-ts'ai said: When a man dies, his ch'i is exhausted. I once asked Ming-tao whether there were ghosts and spirits? Ming-tao said, "If I say there isn't, how would you believe me. If I say there is, go and try finding one!" Heng-ch'ü said, "This is a wonderful function within the universe." In this is a wonderful principle. (Ghosts and spirits) are in between existence and non-existence. One must be genuinely straight-forward (with the facts). This is not a confusion. The truth is: If I want them to exist, they exist; if I don't want them to exist, they don't exist. Ghosts and spirits fill up the empty void and are everywhere. For him (Heng-ch'ü), they are the wonderful functions of the universe; for us, the spirits of ancestors are our own spirits.

P'ing-shan replies: Ming-tao's theory comes from the saying, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve the ghosts." Heng-ch'ü's theory originates from the saying, "The union of seed and ch'i produces all things; the escape of the soul brings about change. Through this we come to know the conditions of ghosts and spirits." Shang-ts'ai's theory originates from the saying, "Great is the virtue of the ghosts and spirits, overflowing like water they seem to be over-

1 Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 15. Abbreviated.
2 Found in Wai-shu, ch. 12, p. 5, Eth Ch'eng Ch'üan-shu.
3 Analects, Book XI, ch. 11, p. 264.
4 ICT, I, 4, p. 57.
head and on the right and left (of the worshippers)." Each of the three philosophers got hold of a side of the Sage. They ultimately fell into the position of sometimes affirming, sometimes denying, sometimes assuming, sometimes negating the existence (of ghosts and spirits). They unavoidably became confused. In my view of the words of the Sage, all of them have their basis. The essence of which is: There is birth and death. They are either different or the same. There is neither birth nor death. They are neither the same nor different. A man is a ghost with physical form; a ghost is a man without physical form. When the mind affirms them then they exist; when the mind negates them then they do not exist. If the Sage were alive, he would not alter my words.

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5 C.f. Chung Yung, ch. 16, verse 1-3, pp. 64-65.
Shang-ts'ai said¹: (Someone asked about the problem) Lü Yü-shu² had of being disturbed by worrying thoughts. Master Ch'eng³ replied that if one made 'seriousness' the chief (occupation) of the mind, then one naturally would not be disturbed.

P'ing-shan replies: I wish to alter one word of I-ch'uan's reply. If one makes 'mirror' the chief (occupation) of the mind, then one naturally will not be disturbed.

¹Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 18. Abbreviated.
³Ch'eng I.
Shang-ts'ai said: All that have blood and breath possess sexual characteristics (性 hsing) of male and females. For what reason have Buddhists refrained from them?

P'ing-shan replies: Food, drink and sex (belong to) the blood and breath (of men). What have they got to do with nature (性 hsing)? For this reason, when hungry, one desires food; when full, one ignores it. When robust, one loves (sex); when old, one tires of it. 'Nature' is unchanging; how can it have all these changes? When blood and breath of a man have reached a robust stage, he should be able to refrain from them. If not, he is not far from the birds and beasts. There are people in the world who refrain from grain and keep fasts. Have they, for this reason, lost their 'nature'? Regarding woman to be hard to keep, the first three generations descended from Confucius divorced their wives. Mencius was disgusted with the lack of propriety of his wife and wished to send her away. Gautama dismissed all his consorts and created the analogies of 'skin-bags' and 'hidden knives.' Even in the secular world, there are cases of adultery with women in high places. These lead to an unbroken succession of losses of the

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1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 18.
2C.f. section 25, note 3.
3This legend is found in "hou hsü (後序)" in K'ung-tzu Chia-yü (Shanghai: Hsin wen-hua shu she), p. 107.
4This legend is found in Han shih wai chuan, ch. 9, pp. 382-3.
5C.f. section 32, note 3.
states, the breaking up of families and the loss of lives. Will the benevolent man and the superior man bear to say this?
Shang-ts'ai said\footnote{Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 19.}: Buddhists compare (human) nature to the sun and thought to the cloud. Just as the clearing of the cloud allows the sun to be seen, so the doing-away of thought allows the nature to be seen. What Buddhists do away with is precisely what we Confucianists pay attention to. Buddhists do not investigate Principle to the utmost; they take the doing-away of thought as their principal (practice).

P'ing-shan replies: Buddhists make this analogy to illustrate the hiding of the True Mind by delusive thoughts. The emanation of the True Mind becomes the right thought and is called the appearance of the Buddha in the world. Who should be willing to do away with it? For this reason, the Vimalakirti sūtra regards "greedy attachment to be the mother, and ignorance (avidyā) to be the father."\footnote{The Vimalakirti sūtra does not have this passage, but it is found in Hui-chao Ch'ān-shih yü-lu, T1985, 502b.} If one does away with ignorance and greedy attachment, it is called the killing of the father and mother of enlightenment.\footnote{Śrāngama sūtra, T945, 124c, lines 3-4. Abbreviated.} The Śrāngama sūtra also says, "That which allows you to attain liberation speedily is precisely your six sense-organs, and not any other object."\footnote{Śrāngama sūtra, T945, 124c, lines 3-4. Abbreviated.} This is precisely what "we Confucianists should be paying attention to, "but I am afraid they have not seen the True Mind. The one who does not investigate Principle to the utmost does not understand this.
166

Shang-ts'ai said¹: We Confucianists regard having a good name and profit to be stumbling blocks, whereas Buddhists regard delight in sensuous things to be stumbling blocks.²

P'ing-shan replies: Buddhists regard birth and death (or samsāra) to be stumbling blocks. Name, profit and delights in sensuous things are but skin-dirt!

¹Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 19.
Shang-ts'ai said: Buddhists compare (human) nature to Heaven. Hence, they have the saying, "All that move and are spirited have the same nature as myself." Ming-tao said, "It appears that there is no difference between we Confucianists and the Buddhists. But in actual fact the two are different."

P'ing-shan replies: The consciousnesses of all that belong to the category of (beings) possessing blood and breath are not far apart. The ancient sagely people knew about this. The Taos of we Confucianists and Buddhists are fundamentally the same. Only their teachings are different. Because they are different, they are the same. Master Ch'eng also regarded nature as Heaven. Could there be distinctions in Heaven?

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2. See section 52, note 3.
Shang-ts'ai said\(^1\): Teng-t'\(u\) Tzu\(^2\) was not fond of beauty but he performed acts of lust. (From this we may conclude that) fondness of beauty comes from the mind whereas lustful acts come from the ch'i.

P'ing-shan replies: Since there is a case of one who was not fond of beauty and yet performed lustful acts, it is clear that (sex) comes from ch'i and blood, and not from the mind.

\(^{1}\) Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 14.

\(^{2}\) This fictional figure was a creation of Sung Yü (宋玉) in his Teng-t'\(u\) Tzu hao se fu (登徒子好色赋).
Shang-ts'ai said: I-ch'uan once asked me how I was doing at the time. I replied, "What is there to worry about under Heaven?" I-ch'uan said, "Your answer is reasonable, but you seem to have said this too early. When one sees such and such an event, ordinarily, one may not have other thoughts, but in the end there is something one cannot break through." If I were not saved by this sentence of his, I would have ended up a Ch'an Buddhist. Even twenty years after hearing his reply, I still dare not say, "What is there to worry about?"

P'ing-shan replies: "After Lieh Tzu studied under Hu Ch'iu Tzu for three years, his mind dared not think of benefit and harm, his mouth dared not speak of right and wrong. Only then did he get a glance from the master. After six years, his mind again thought of benefit and harm, his mouth again spoke of right and wrong. Only then did he get a smile (from the master). After nine years, he thought without restraint and yet there was not an idea of benefit or harm; he talked without restraint and yet there was not an idea of right or wrong. Then, he sat on the same mat (with the master). Then, when he arrived at the state when the mouth was like the ear, the ear like the eye, and the eye like the nose, he attained the secret of riding on the wind." These are the steps of entering into Tao. Why did he take 'no-other-thought,' which he experienced as a youth, to be (the essence of) Ch'an?

\[1\text{Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. a, p. 21.}\]
\[2\text{Lieh Tzu, "Huang-ti p'ien (黄帝篇)," pp. 28-29.}\]
Shang-ts'ai said: With respect to Buddhism and Confucianism, there is a necessity to identify and appropriate their essential and subtle points. There are points of similarity and difference. Once there is a personal bias, then one's (philosophy) becomes fragmentary.

P'ing-shan replies: The essential and subtle points (of the two teachings) are neither the same nor different. Where they are seen to diverge there is the personal bias.

\[1\text{Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. b, p. 2.}\]
Shang-ts'ai said:\footnote{Same as section 170, note 1.} Buddhists have a saying, "One should not be afraid of the arising of thought. The only thing to fear is to become enlightened too late." How can one avoid the arising of thought? (But) it is necessary to recognize the moment of the arising of thought.

P'ing-shan replies: Once this thought has arisen, it has already been annihilated. If he says that there is a necessity to recognize (the moment), can this be done at all? The scholar should try to think this out.
Shang-ts'ai said\(^1\): We Confucianists "work at the basics" and "reach up to the sublime."\(^2\) When the investigation of Principle reaches its ultimate, we naturally shall see Tao. We identify the self with Heaven. Buddhists do not pursue after Principle. That is why they distrust themselves, and come to believe only after the witness of another. We do not say that Buddhists have nothing correct. However, since we Confucianists work from the inside, we inevitably shall see (Tao); whereas the Buddhists only see it from the outside and would not come in and work from the inside.

P'ing-shan replies: Confucius wandered within the Universe and went up against the stream. Lao Tzu wandered beyond the Universe and went down with the stream. For Gautama, on the contrary, there are no distinctions of up or down, within or without, coming or going. Nor has he got a particular point of view. "He is so large that he more than encompasses adequately the entire Great Void; he can be so small that he enters into dust particles which have no crevice."\(^3\) Heaven and men are both identical and yet different. Since (the Sages') sayings are (apparently) full of contradictions, it is necessary for his disciples to corroborate and to smooth out (the correct teaching). The true and the false differ by a hair's breadth. If Tao is truly attained, (the

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\(^1\) Shang-ts'ai yü-lyu, ch. b, pp. 4-5. Abbreviated.

\(^2\) Terms in quotation marks are found in Analects, Book XIV, ch. 27, verse 2. pp. 333-334.

\(^3\) C.f. section 22, note 16.
situation) is like two mirrors, and (attaining the truth) does not depend on self-confidence. I am afraid that those who discuss about the sublime have fallen into self-deception and will mislead the scholars.

173

Shang-ts'ai said: The Buddhist discussion of (human) nature is like the Confucian discussion of the mind; the Buddhist discussion of the mind is like the Confucian discussion of the will. Following the Principle of Heaven is what nature is. It does not allow the admixture of personal bias. Once there is a personal will one cannot be united with Heaven.

P'ing-shan replies: The nature is compared to water, the mind to the sea, the will to the foam. This is what Heavenly Principle naturally is. Is it not all evident? Originally, there was no similarity or difference. The emergence and annihilation of the foam, what are they to the sea? The wonderful points of both Confucianism and Buddhism are free from personal biases.

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1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. b, p. 7.
Shang-ts'ai said¹: 'Seriousness (ching)' is a teaching in which one is always alert, whereas in 'fasting of the mind,' all affairs are laid aside. Their principles are different.

P'ing-shan replies: For one who has seen Tao, 'seriousness' is identical with 'insight,' 'wisdom,' 'illumination' and the 'supreme Bodhi'; 'fasting (of the mind)' is identical with 'cessation,' 'concentration,' 'silence' and the 'mahāparinirvāna'. There is absolutely no distinction. (On the other hand), for one who has not seen Tao, 'seriousness' is identical with 'avidyā,' and 'fasting' with 'avyākṛta.' It corresponds to what Mencius said about "assisting the shoot to grow"² and 'forgetting.'² The two are of course different.

¹Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. b, p. 8.
²Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 16, p. 531.
Shang-ts'ai said: The reason why Buddhism is not as good as Confucianism is that the former does not have the section on "(employing) righteousness to square the external (life)". "(To employ) righteousness to square the external" is the investigation of Principle to the utmost, while Buddhists regard Principle as an obstacle. However, one cannot say that Buddhism has not discovered some good points. Nevertheless, in spite of these discoveries, they do not want to conform to Principle. You, my friends, need not try to discover the good points. You only have to investigate seriously Principle to its utmost.

P'ing-shan replies: The Buddha regards "the eighty-four thousand worldly klesas to be identical with the eighty-four thousand pure, cool (ways) of liberation." Surely they contain the "(employment of) righteousness to square the external," and surely he does not take Principle to be an obstacle, is it not so? For one who has truly seen (Tao), "all phenomena interfuse without impediment to one another"; all are according to Principle. What is there to conform? For one who has not seen (the truth), 'seriousness' can be used to guard the mind, but how can it be used to investigate Principle to the utmost? The scholar who wishes to see the truth needs not seek it elsewhere. If one is not biased by any viewpoint, then there is nothing one does not see.

1 Shang-ts'ai, ch. b, p. 1. 2 I Ching, k'un, wen-yen, p. 6.
3 See section 102, note 2. 4 See section 48, note 5.
Shang-ts'ai said¹: The ancient people said numerous and various things. They all boiled down to the word 'right (correct)'.

P'ing-shan replies: The ancient people said numerous and various things. The only term that was missing was 'right.'

¹Not found in the Shang-ts'ai yü-lu.
Shang-ts'ai said: Shao Yao-fu asked, "From where does thunder arise this year?" I-ch'uan replied: "It arises from where it arises." Shao was taken aback.

P'ing-shan replies: This is exactly the tangle of one in deceitful Ch'an. Yao-fu's knowledge of the number of the Book of Changes should not be regarded lightly.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{1} & \text{Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. c, p. 2.} \\
\text{2} & \text{Shao Yung, see section 58, note 2.} \\
\text{3} & \text{A derogatory Ch'an term. C.f. Wu-t'eng Hui-yüan, HTC, vol. 138, p. 405b.}
\end{align*}\]
Shang-ts'ai said: Confucianism differs from Ch'an precisely in the matter of "basic learning."

P'ing-shan replies: The identity of Ch'an with Confucianism is precisely in the matter of 'penetrating the sublime.' Can this fact be ignored?

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1Shang-ts'ai yü-lu, ch. c, p. 4.

2Literally hsia hsüeh (下學 low learning) and shang ta (上 reaching the above). Analects, Book 14, ch. 37, verse 2, pp. 333-334.
Shang-ts'ai said: Old Tsung once asked, "What knowledge is gained in the phrase 'silently gaining knowledge'? What is being obtained in the phrase "there is no situation in which (the superior man) does not obtain for himself"?

P'ing-shan replies: Shang-ts'ai always remembered this question of Old Tsung and yet did not provide any answer. It seems that he wished the scholars to seek for an answer by themselves. I take this opportunity to make his intention clear.

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1 Shang-ts'ai yù-lu, ch. c, p. 5.
2 Ch'ang Tsung (1025-1091). A Ch'an Master who frequented with the early Neo-Confucianists.
4 Chung Yung, ch. 14, verse 2, p. 61.
Yüan-ch'eng said: The words of Confucius and the Buddha are complementary. Confucius said, "One must have no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism." The Buddha said, "One must have no notions of a self, a being, a living soul, and a person." It appears as if these words came from the same person in successive (occasions). However, Confucius took the Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues as Tao. For this reason, talks about the form and the void are only the beginnings (of Tao). They lead (only) to self-satisfaction. The mind of Confucius is a Buddha-mind. If there were no Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues, then calamities and confusions would prevail, and no people would remain alive. Surely, this is not the mind of the Buddha. Hence, the minds of the Confucianist, the Buddhist and the Taoist are one. Only their paraphernalia are different. For example, if a county were thrown into a great confusion because the officials in the prefectures and districts abandoned their duties, could one still go about the Buddhist path of venerating the Buddha, reciting sūtras and sitting in meditation?

1 Liu An-shih, tzu Ch'i-chih (1048-1125). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 345, p. 5398b-c.
2 Yüan-ch'eng yü-lu, ch. a, p. 4.
3 Analects, Bk IX, ch. 4, p. 231.
4 Diamond sūtra, T235, 750b, line 7.
5 They refer to the three relationships between the ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife; and the five virtues of jen, li, chih, and hsin.
P'ing-shan replies: Yüan-ch'eng's statement is perfectly good, yet it is a pity he has not seen the essence of the Perfect Teaching of Hua- yen. The Buddha first established the vehicles of re-birth into the heavenly and human realms by preaching the five śīlas and the ten good deeds⁶; then he practised the path of the bodhisattva by means of the six pāramitās and the ten thousand practices.⁷ The Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues are all contained there. For this reason, during Sudhana's fifty-three 'interviews,'⁸ there were innumerable monks. By means of the thirty-two responses⁹, Avalokiteśvara impersonates characters such as the minister, the layman and the elder.¹⁰ How could they permit the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world to destroy the ways-of-the-world?¹¹ Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty built temples and permitted the ordinations of monks, kept the Buddhist commandments and donated his own person to the Buddhist community, and yet was laughed at by Bodhidharma.¹² Harivarman said to Emperor Wen of the (Liu-) Sung Dynasty, "The king's practice of Buddhism differs from that of the ordinary person. His abstinence and keeping of the rules consist

⁶These vehicles do not lead to liberation, and are usually intended for laymen.

⁷These are practices usually intended for the monks.

⁸Sudhana's journey in seeking for interviews is described in the final portion of the Avatamsaka sūtra.

⁹C.f. Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 128b.

¹⁰Ibid., 128b-129a.

¹¹See section 28, note 5.

¹²Story found in the Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 219a.
of abolishing punishments so that his subjects will live long, reducing taxes so that the state becomes prosperous. Is this not great? To save the life of a bird or to refrain from eating for half a day is but the abstinence and keeping the rules for an ordinary person."\textsuperscript{13} This is the panacea\textsuperscript{14} for the Confucianists who want to learn about Buddhism.

\textsuperscript{13}Story found in KSC, T2059, 341a.

\textsuperscript{14}Literally, the medicine which will prevent chapping of the hand. C.f. CT, ch. 1, p. 2, line 38.
Yüan-ch'eng said: The past and present great Confucianists' proposal of the abolition of Buddhism is reasonable. Furthermore, if the tail is heavy, then the head is light. Nowadays, the disciples of Confucianism and Buddhism each separately up-hold their religions. They are just like the legs of a tripod. Now, could any one leg be lost? If so, the tripod would inevitably tumble. With regard to the Buddhist way, that which can be talked about is the saṃskṛta dharma (teaching in relation to the phenomenal). If there is success, there must be failure; if a thing goes to the extreme, then it will rebound. If Buddhism becomes too flourishing, it will not only be a detriment to Confucianism, it will become a calamity to Buddhism itself. Mediocre Confucianists do not understand this reasoning. On seeing that some predecessors sought to destroy Buddhism, they also follow them in speaking ill of it and they say that there is nothing worth appropriating from Buddhism. This is wrong. Many scholars also make fun of meditation (ch'ān). This matter is the supreme teaching of Buddhism. How could one make fun of it for the sake of a laugh? This practice should also be forbidden.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Liu has accurately diagnosed the sickness of stubborn scholars. Nevertheless, as the saying goes, the father takes revenge, the son will get the punishment. (The present state of affairs) is also the fault of former Confucianists. There is no distinction of head and tail in the Tao of the Sages. My opinion is that

\[1\text{Yüan-ch'eng yü-lu, ch. a, pp. 4-5.}\]
to be worried about the tail getting too heavy and the head too light is not as good as (to advocate) the mutual assistance of head and tail. The Three Sages emerged together at the time of Chou, certainly like the legs of a tripod. Since bias leads to its tumbling, can we do away with one of them? At the time of Master Han⁴, Buddhism greatly flourished and yet the fact did not initially do any damage to our Confucianism. Nowadays, the transmission of Shao-lin⁵ is nearly broken, the continuation of the Tao of Chu-szu⁶ is also thin like a thread. We can expect the imminent worries of having cold teeth following the destruction of the lips.⁵ Alas!

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²Han Yu.

³Name of a Ch'an temple reputed to be the place where Bodhi-dharma faced the wall for nine years. It means Ch'an Buddhism here.

⁴Two rivers in the ancient State of Lu. They refer to Confucius' teaching.

⁵An image used to convey the sense of mutual dependence.
Yüan-ch'eng said\(^1\): The teaching designated by the term 'ch'ān' is also found in the Six Classics. Buddhists altered its name. After Bodhidharma\(^2\) came from the West, this teaching became very popular. Nowadays, Buddhism has finally come to a sorry state. It only recognizes the characteristic of form. If Bodhidharma had not come, Buddhism would have long been annihilated. Again, many talented people like its teaching. Hence, it is widespread. After I moved south, although ordinarily I have benefited from our Confucianism and (the teaching of) The Old Master\(^3\), yet I cannot deny that I have not benefited from this matter (Buddhism). Can there be anything more important than birth and death. Once one realizes this truth, then one minimizes (the importance of the contrast between) riches and poverty, blessings and calamities. The Old Master understands this extremely well, yet he does not talk about it. For this matter is inevitably bound up with profit and loss. If one always talks about it, then people would take it that the reason why he ordinarily only talks about Buddhism is that the Five Classics cannot enlighten one on the teaching on birth and death. For this reason, Confucianists should not talk about it, for he is on Confucian grounds. Again, less talented people say that to be silent and alone like a withered tree is the Buddhist teaching, and they would not pay

\(^1\) Yüan-ch'eng yü-lu, ch. a, pp. 8-9.

\(^2\) See section 159, note 8.

\(^3\) A man advanced both in learning and years. Probably Liu's teacher. C.f. Tzu Hai, p. 1078c.
attention to the Three Principal Relationships and the Five Constant Virtues. Again, people still less gifted are trapped in the teaching of karma. They refrain from human affairs, leading to mistakes and confusions in the government and teaching, and the loss of human life. Its (Buddhism) disastrous consequences cannot be adequately described. For this reason, I have never spoken about this during all my life, something I have learned from the restraint of The Old Master.

P'ing-shan replies: With regard to Yüan-ch'eng's opinion, the worries of the Buddhist are completely (gone). For the Confucianist, it seems that his worries are not yet completely gone. The wonderful, subtle and hidden teachings of Buddhist books are not entirely known to Buddhists. They have all been discovered by Confucianists. Nowadays, they are already well-known to everybody. As for those which are kept secret and untransmitted, and which correspond to our own writings, people will say that these were not originally found in the Five Classics. If our Sage indeed did not know about these things, it is a very serious matter. I wish to expose all these secrets so that all of posterity will know that there is ch'ān in the Six Classics, and that our Sage was already a Buddha. Will what this does to the grounds of Confucius not be great? He who regards being silent and alone like a withered tree to be the Buddhist teaching, or who regards the teaching of the retribution of karma as leading to the abolition of human affairs or even causing confusion in the world, is a Confucianist who has not read its (Buddhist) books and is thus deceived. Nowadays, the Confucianists have uncovered all its secrets. The opinion of the depraved in the Vimalakīrti Sūtra
is used to negate the biased attachment to the void. The commandment of donating the body in the prajñā sūtras is used to challenge the fool who attaches to characteristics. From above, there will not be the calamity of Hsiao Yen. From below, there will not be the delusion of Wang Chin. Even if one talks to his heart's content, or writes his arguments in books, they are permitted. The scholar should think carefully about this.

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4 C.f. Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 545a.

5 Diamond sūtra, T235, 749b.

6 Liang Wu Ti of the Southern Dynasties. He was a very pious Buddhist who donated himself to the temple for ransom several times, yet finally he was starved to death. See Liang Shu, ch. 1-3, pp. 1764-1774.

7 Another pious Buddhist of the T'ang Dynasty. He also met with violent punishment. See Chiu T'ang Shu, ch. 118, p. 3413; also T'ang Shu, ch. 245, pp. 3994-3995.
Yüan-ch'eng said¹: What the reader of the sūtras should seek for is their meaning. If one sticks only with the literal meaning of the text, then he is liable to slander (the Buddha). For example, the Lotus sūtra says, "Remember the power of Avalokiteśvara, and the (executioner's) knife will snap into pieces."² This refers to the (victim's) nature. (The proof of this interpretation is) found in the Sūraṅgama sūtra. . . . For this reason, the patriarch "stuck his head out to receive the shining edge (of the sword). The sword swished through as if it was cutting the spring breeze."³ The effect of this example is that it will keep us from maligning the Buddha.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Liu is surely argumentative. Although there is phenomenon within the noumenon, the (inborn-) nature is identical with the characteristics, yet (this teaching) is hard to fathom. The Buddha's saying is incomprehensible. To reduce it to comprehensible propositions may not be a good policy.

¹Yüan-ch'eng yû-lyu, ch. b, pp. 6-7, much abbreviated.
²A gatha in the Lotus sūtra, T262, 57c, line 28.
³A Ch'an legend of the death of Seng Chao. The quotation was supposed to be part of the gatha Chao said at his execution. The point is Chao was killed bodily and he did not expect the power of Avalokiteśvara to save him. This means that the interpretation of the Lotus sūtra gatha should not be literal. That which could not be injured by the execution was not the body, but the 'nature' of the victim.
Yüan-ch'eng said¹: The Great Appendix (of the Book of Changes) also contain words not by Confucius. The portion which corresponds to the words of Mu-chiang of the Tso-chuan, which is an explanation of "sublimity, potentiality of success, power to further, perseverance (yüan, heng, li, chen),"² is one example.

P'ing-shan replies: This is the poison left behind by Master Ou-yang.³ The scholar should spit it out, or otherwise it will kill. Although Mu-chiang had this saying, since Confucius edited it, it was also his words.

¹Yüan-ch'eng yü-lu, ch. c, p. 10. Abbreviated.
²Tso-chuan, the 9th year of Hsiang Kung (p. 348), contains a passage almost identical with one passage in the wen-yen of the ch'ien kua (p. 2). Yüan, heng, li, chen are the opening words of the ch'ien kua (p. 1.)
³Ou-yang Hsiu, see section 125, note 3.
Yüan-ch'eng said: Wen Kung wrote an essay in which he belittled the Buddhists, saying, "Their good points cannot excel that contained in our literature; their exaggerations cannot win my belief." I asked, "What are the good points?" He replied, "No self. Whether it is a thousand sūtras of ten thousand treatises, the only thing discussed is the self." I asked again, "What are the exaggerations?" He said, "Their discussion of heaven and hell is not believable." I said, "Nowadays, although the law of the king is made so severe that it imposes capital punishment, yet it cannot deter the rise of criminals. By chance, we find a man who has an evil mind and who does not care the least about his own life, what can he not think of doing? The Buddha established these so as to assist man to change from evil to good. Furthermore, Tsou Yen said, 'Beyond the universe, there exist eight or nine places like the Shen-chou or Ch'ih-hsien.' Chuang Tzu said, 'The Sage refrains from discussing matters beyond the six directions.' How do we know that all that our eyes and ears cannot reach do not exist?" Kung said, "I only wished to assist the (Confucian) teaching."

P'ing-shan replies: Yüan-ch'eng and Ssu-ma Chün-shih were like father and son. That is why they did not hide what was going on in their

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1 Ssu-ma Kuang, see section 3, note 1.
3 Shih Chi, ch. 74, p. 2344.
4 CT, ch. 2, p. 5, line 56.
minds. This passage is of course good, yet Yuan-ch'eng's doubt has not been altogether resolved, and Chün-shih's feelings were too artificial. The Six Classics of our Sage contain all these teachings. The ignorant people do not know this fact. If one must assist the (Confucian) teaching, can this (Buddhist) teaching be regarded as an exaggeration?
186

Yüan-ch'eng said: If the middle path is followed, then there is not a single moment at which one is not upright. The Tao of Buddhists and Taoists inevitably leads people astray.

P'ing-shan replies: Once there is a deliberate intention to stay in the middle and upright, then one goes astray. Only the seekers of Tao understand this.
Chiang Min-piao\(^1\) said in his "Hsing-shuo": "The 'nature' is unchanging over time whereas 'hsi' ( vtk\(\text{\text{}}\) v\(\text{\text{}}\)\text{\text{}}\) vāsanā, fumigation) 'continues on from the past to the present. Because 'hsi' continues on from the past to the present, the cause of bribery and death of Yang-she Fu\(^2\) was not a matter happening in a day, was it not so? It must have an history. For this reason, divine foreknowledge was not a private accomplishment of Huang Ti. Without a knowledge of past 'hsi,' one may not be able to find the ultimate cause." Again he said, "The 'nature' is like a pearl in mud. Although it itself has not changed, its reflected white colour is changed by stain. It has no fixed colour of its own."

P'ing-shan replies: The discussion on the nature by Master Chiang is almost perfect. The other scholars do not come close to him. Nevertheless, a few words need to be changed. For example, that which does not change when the pearl is in the mud is the nature. The reflected white colour which changes by staining is of course called 'hsi.' The reflected white colour then loses its white colour. 'Hsi' can be lost, the nature cannot be lost, is it not so?

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\(^1\) Chiang Kung-wang, tzu Min-piao (date unclear). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 346, p. 5401d.

\(^2\) A man of the period of Ch'un-ch'iu in the State of Chin. His story is found in Tso-chuan, 13th year of Chao Kung, pp. 444-445.
Kuei-shan said: The Six Classics do not mention 'having no mind,'
Buddhists talk about it. Buddhists have the teaching which says, "Be harmonious and act according to Tao and Te," yet they lack "the application of Principle to righteousness."  

P'ing-shan replies: The Buddhist knows the saying, "Don't say that 'having no mind' is the original Tao. It's clear that there is yet another barrier." To say that "they lack 'the application of Principle to righteousness'" is to have the disease of 'board-carrying-ch' an.'  
Surely, this is not the fault of Buddhists, is it not?

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2 Kuei-shan hsien-sheng yü-lu, ch. 1, p. 2.


4 A gatha of Ch'an Master of T'ung-an, found in Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 455b.

5 A man who carries a board can only see one direction. It is an image used to convey a man of a one-sided view. C.f. Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 291b.
Kuei-shan said: What the Sage considered as ordinary affairs were exaggerated by Chuang Chou. It is similar to the Ch' an people's "shouting at the Buddha and scolding the patriarchs." For example, the chapter 'Free and Easy Wandering' corresponds to Tzu Ssu's saying, "(The superior man) can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself"; the chapter 'The Secret of Caring for Life' corresponds to Mencius' saying, "Doing what gives him no trouble." (Chuang Chou) twisted the analogies and broadened the metaphors. This is nothing but an expansion of the (sage's) teaching.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Yang's observation is sublime. He understands that Ch' an's assistance to the Buddha is similar to Chuang Chou's assistance to the Sage. By twisting the analogies and broadening the metaphors, (Chuang Tzu) expanded the Confucian teaching. Why is it that the Confucianists, on the contrary, hate him?

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1 Kuei-shan yü-lu, ch. 1, p. 2.
2 See section 33, note 6.
3 Chung Yung, ch. 14, verse 2. Legge's translation, p. 61.
Kuei-shan said\(^1\): In their profound points, the difference between Confucianism and Buddhism is minute. Seeing that the Tao of Confucianists is clear and open, I know that Buddhism is inferior to it. Nowadays, when scholars say that the Tao of Confucianists is inferior to (that of Buddhists), it is because they do not know the greatness of our Tao. On the one hand, Buddhists do not read Confucian books; on the other hand, the Confucianists belittle themselves. Then, how can Tao be truly understood?

P'ing-shan replies: The assigning of superiority and inferiority to Confucianism and Buddhism is not only owing to the fault of Buddhists of not reading Confucian books, but also owing to the disease of Confucianists of not reading Buddhist scripture. When I first read the Sūraṅgama sūtra, I thought that Confucianism was inferior to Buddhism. Then, I read the Āgama sūtras, and I thought that Buddhism was inferior to Confucianism. Finally, I read the Avatamsaka sūtra. I understood that there was no distinction between Buddhism and Confucianism. There was no more difference between great and small. I could become both Buddhist and Confucianist, both big and small, and I was at ease with regard to both existence and annihilation.

\(^1\)Kuei-shan yü-lü, ch. 1, p. 4.
Kuei-shan said: The reason Lao Tzu said, "Propriety is the result of want of fidelity and trustworthiness" was his anticipation of the corruption of those who attended to propriety in the later ages. The propriety of the former kings was based on the heart. Although Lao Tzu reduced its importance, his intention was to lead people "back to original purity and simplicity" so as to correct the bias of the moment. Yet how on earth could this be right?

P'ing-shan replies: Our Confucius asked Lao Tzu about propriety, how could the latter not have understood it? He said this so as to make the scholar realize that the origin of propriety was obtained from "(such daily actions as) lowering and raising the head, and talking and laughing," and so as to make them attain speedily the wonder of forgetfulness of speech. (When this is understood), even the realm of Wu-huai-shih is not hard to reach. That mad-man of Western Chin, who said, "Are rules of propriety made for my type?" did atrocious things in the name of Lao Tan. Alas!

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1 Kuei-shan yü-lu, ch. 2, p. 6.  2 Lao Tzu, ch. 38.
3 Ibid., chs. 57 and 58.
4 The meeting is given in Shih Chi, ch. 63, p. 2140.
5 These terms are used by CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 18; ch. 24, p. 65, line 13.
6 Mythical ancient emperor under whom the people attained a condition such as desired by Lao Tzu.
7 Juan Chi, see section 109, notes 3 and 4.
Kuei-shan said:¹ Wei Sheng-kao begged vinegar from his neighbour so as to give it to a man (who begged it from him).² Confucius did not regard this to be upright. The Vimalakīrti Sūtra says, "The upright mind is the place of enlightenment."³ At this point, Buddhism and Confucianism really do not have different principles.

P'ing-shan replies: Why should it be limited to Confucianism and Buddhism? Within the universe, from time immemorial, the entrance to sageship is through this.

²Analects, Book V, ch. 23, p. 182.
³Vimalakīrti Sūtra, T475, 542c, line 15.
Kuei-shan said\(^1\): The way "to know how what is minute becomes manifest-
ed"\(^2\) is "not to wait till one sees things, to be cautious, nor till one hears things, to be apprehensive"\(^3\) alone. When a monk came out from the hall in silence, someone said, "The supreme Tao is speechless, yet its sound is like thunder." Chuang Tzu also said, "(The Sage) dwells like a corpse but sees with a dragon vision. He remains silent like a deep pool and yet his voice is like thunder."\(^4\) These are well-said.

P'ing-shan replies: 'To be cautious' and 'to be apprehensive' are still outside the entrance to sagehood. These (sayings) are of the kind which says, "I do not wish to speak."\(^5\)

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\(^1\)Kuei-shan yü-lu, ch. 3, p. 23.  
\(^2\)Chung Yung, ch. 33, verse 1, Legge's translation, p. 117.  
\(^3\)Ibid., ch. 1, verse 2, p. 44.  
\(^4\)CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.  
\(^5\)Analects, Book XVII, ch. 19, verse 1, p. 388.
Kuei-shan said: The Yüan-chüeh-ching says, "Effort, cessation, laissez-faire and annihilation are four diseases." 'Effort' refers to 'assisting it to grow'; 'cessation' refers to 'not to weed'; 'laissez-faire' and 'annihilation' refer to not doing anything.

P'ing-shan replies: Not so. Both 'effort' and 'cessation' refer to 'assisting it to grow'; both 'laissez-faire' and 'annihilation' refer to 'not to weed.' "When there is attending to affairs, do not rectify the mind" refers to no 'effort', no 'cessation,' no 'laissez-faire,' and no 'annihilation.'

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1 Kuei-shan yü-lu, ch. 4, pp. 16-17.
2 C.f. Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 920b, lines 19--c, line 3.
3 Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 2, verse 16, p. 531.
Kuei-shan said\(^1\): Old Tsung\(^2\) said, "The Chinese for \textit{amala-vijñāṇa}\(^3\) is the white, pure and without blemish." This corresponds to the nature as good taught by Mencius. "The Chinese for \textit{alaya-vijñāṇa}\(^4\) is seeds of good and evil." This indicates the state in which good and evil are already born.

P'ing-shan replies: The white, pure and unblemished consciousness is without good and evil. The good spoken of by Mencius corresponds to \textit{alaya-vijñāṇa}.

\(^{1}\)Kuei-shan \textit{yü-lu}, ch. 4, p. 22. Slightly abbreviated.

\(^{2}\)Ch'ang Tsung, see section 179, note 2.

\(^{3}\)Sometimes regarded as the 9th consciousness, sometimes the purified 8th consciousness. Sometimes also known as the \textit{Bhūtatathatā} consciousness.

\(^{4}\)Also known as store-consciousness or the 8th consciousness.
Kuei-shan said: The "Tzu-shuo" of Ching Kung says that the saying "The Bodhi and the Void arise from the self-nature and are identical with each other" teaches departure from the human. If Heaven disassociates itself from men, it is erroneous emptiness.

P'ing-shan replies: Ching Kung said that the True Void means to disassociate oneself from falsehood and turn to the truth. Kuei-shan said that the True Void means the identity of falsehood with truth. My position is still another. In the True Void, there are neither (characteristics of) identity nor of distinction, neither (characteristics of) illusion nor of reality, neither (characteristics of) emptiness nor of not emptiness.

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1 Kuei-shan yü-lu, ch. 4, p. 22.
2 "Tzu-shuo" was Wang An-shih's composition in twenty chapters, now rarely seen. C.f. Chung-wen ta tzu tien, vol. 9, p. 3760a. For Wang, see section 27, note 3.
3 A phrase from the Śūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 118b, line 19.
Kuei-shan said: Mencius' saying that "both the refined and the coarse are complete (in the self)" is easy to understand and it contains wonderful meanings. Again, the saying of P'ang Chu-shih: The supernatural powers and wonderful functions of carrying wood and transporting water is a testimony of his own attainment and he has truly reached Principle. Or again, take the examples of Hsü, Ta, Yao and Shun, they performed (their deeds only in the ordinary manner) of being active, restive, fast or slow.

P'ing-shan replies: Kuei-shan, a student of I-ch'uan, reached the highest limit when he talked about Tao. (However), it seems that a few words are missing in this passage. It should be changed to: "The Tao of Hsü, Ta, Yao and Shun was only unconsciously performed (in the ordinary manner of being) active, restive, fast or slow."

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2 Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 4, verse 1, p. 935. Quotation is not exact.
3 P'ang Yin, once a disciple of Ma Tsu. C.f. Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 263b and c.
5 Hsü Yu, Ta Yü, Yao Ti, Shun Ti, all sagely emperors or figures.
An-cheng Wang-chuan\(^1\) said: One who studies Buddhism does so for the sake of the self. The study of sagehood not only can lead to self-enlightenment, it assists the ruler and benefits the people, and leads to an era of peace. The greatness of its merit, compared to that which benefits the self alone, can never be spoken of in the same breath.

P'ing-shan replies: Great is this book. I-ch'uan's teaching cannot be compared with it. It's essence is similar to the Fang-shan Ho-lun\(^2\). Briefly, it takes the Great Image\(^3\) as substance (or body), the Great Ultimate as mind. It takes residing at the Grand Apex (Huang Chi)\(^4\) as the presiding position. It negates later learnings, regarding them as a great dream. It does not sink into the vacillation of calamity and blessing. It goes beyond physical shapes and numbers (of the pa-kua). With regard to knowledge of the past, it understands the false accomplishments of kings Huan and Wen\(^5\) and enlightens the kingly way. With regard to knowledge of later periods, it recognizes the aims of Yang and

\(^{1}\)No information is available for this book.

\(^{2}\)Same as Hua-yen Ho-lun by Li T'ung-hsüan of the T'ang Dynasty. Fang-shan is where Li was buried. See HTC, vol. 5; p. 328a.

\(^{3}\)Name of the third commentary to the text of the I Ching, attributed to the Duke of Chou.

\(^{4}\)Term found in Shu Ching, "Hung Fan (洪範)", p. 75.

\(^{5}\)Ch'i Huan Kung (齋桓公) and Chin Wen Kung (晉文公). They were successful kings in certain respects but not considered desirable models by Confucianists. C.f. Mencius, Book I, part I, ch. 7, verses 1-2.
Mo\textsuperscript{6} and it honours the Sage. It uncovers the secret of the Yellow
Stone\textsuperscript{7} so as to save lives. It transmits the deeds of Ho Fen\textsuperscript{8} so that
the relationships among masters and friends are highly regarded. It
borrows from the books of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu so as to embellish the
Book of Changes of Confucius. When we trace its sources, (we discover
that it originates from Gautama, is it not so? It understands the es-
sence of the three contemplations of Hua-yen\textsuperscript{9} quite adequately. It over-
hears the words of the Five Positions of Tsao T'ung.\textsuperscript{10} It is estab-
lished as a school of its own, standing unique forever. Is it not the
'chief of bandits',\textsuperscript{11} One who takes by force other's treasures is al-
ready called a robber. What should be the adequate term for one who
takes more than treasures? Why is it so hateful of its own master?

\textsuperscript{6} Yang Chu and Mo Ti.

\textsuperscript{7} Story of an old man who handed his military secrets to Chang
Liang, a chief collaborator of the first Han Emperor in establishing
his kingdom. The old man predicted that after Chang's success, the
latter would see a yellow stone at such and such a location, and this
yellow stone was transformed by the old man. Story is found in Han Shu,
ch. 40, p. 458.

\textsuperscript{8} Two rivers between which Wang T'ung established his school,
which produced a number of distinguished scholars known as belonging to
the school of Ho Fen.

\textsuperscript{9} Also called the three contemplations of the dharmadhātu, estab-
lished by Tu Shun. For details, see Chu Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan-men,
T1884, 684c.

\textsuperscript{10} Established by T'ung-shan Liang-chieh. For details, see
Heinrich Dumoulin, A History of Zen Buddhism, trans. by Paul Peachey

\textsuperscript{11} A term used as a title for chapter 10 of Chuang Tzu.
Again it (An-cheng wang-chuan) says: The Hsiang commentary (to the I Ching) says: "Obtaining the great fruit, (its subject leading on the others like) a string of fishes, and (obtaining for them) the favour that lights on the inmates of the palace. There will be advantage in every way."¹ (This teaching indicates that) not only does it not find fault with the ears and eyes, it also does not bring exhaustion to our lives. Those people of later time who wish to enter into Tao very often are willing to become monks², and so they imitate the doings of dull and mediocre people.

P'ing-shan replies: I have heard that the sage was able to attain his destiny; those of the next rung were able to keep their obligations; those still below were unable to keep their obligations. Unlike the sages, we are not without desires. Not being able to reduce our desires, dare we say that abundance of desires is harmless to Tao?

¹I Ching, hexagram 23, pe, p. 23. The quotation is paraphrase on this hexagram. C.f. Translation by Legge, I Ching, p. 106.

²Literally, shaving of the head.
Again it (An-cheng wang-chuan) says: The seekers of Tao laugh at the school which keeps the rules of propriety for being superfluous. Those who do not seek Tao regard the seekers as seeking for the void and nothingness. These are not scholars who have attained their goals. For each of them, acting according to his own selfish view, attaches his understanding to what he has appropriated and pursues no further. He does not seek to understand an entire system.

P'ing-shan replies: Chang Chiu-ch'eng of Heng-p'u composed the Shao-yi lun in order to make the criticism that the dry and withered teaching of the Buddhists was not as good as the elegant and lively teaching of the school of sagehood. It is the same as this teaching. Of course, he did not know that Vairocana caused flowers (to come into being) by means of ten thousand deeds so that with them (flowers) he could honour the fruit of enlightenment. Yüeh-shan said, "It makes no difference whether one picks the cold and dim one or the bright and clear one. The dried wood will shoot into flowers; the cold ash will burst into flames." The beginner in Buddhism already knows about this. What more need I say?

\[1\text{See section 203, note 1.}\]

\[2\text{Found in Heng-p'u chi, ch. 5.}\]

\[3\text{Ch'an master Wei-yen (745-828) of T'ang Dynasty. C.f. Chuan-teng-lu, T2076, 311bff.}\]
An-cheng Wang-Chuan said: Those who have attained (the Tao) manifested themselves and their teachings were made into schools by people in the world. In China, there was Confucius and Mencius. Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu were also so regarded. Again, coming from the Western Regions, there was the Buddha. Each of the innumerable countries within the universe has its own enlightened person taken as its master. There are also the obscure and unmanifested ones whose number we do not know. For example, writing about Mao Shih-pa weng, Han T'ui-chih (marvelled at) his accurate predictive powers. Yet he does not belong to any of the Three Teachings.

P'ing-shan replies: This is a very curious theory which has not been touched by the ancients. If it is not correct, we face the curious fact that there has not been a single sage since the time of Confucius, Mencius, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, that is, for the past one thousand and five hundred years. Nevertheless, one must have good judgment when seeking for a master. People like Mao Shih-pa weng are of course numerous. Confucius refrained from talking about "extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder and spiritual beings." The Sage did not

1The writing referred to is "Sung Mao-hsien-weng shih-pa hsiung hsü." (送毛仙翁十八兄序) Except the title, the hsü is deleted in Chu Hsi's edition of Han Yu's work. See Chu wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, "wai-chi," ch. 4, STPK, p. 259a.

"live obscurely and practise wonders."\(^3\) People like Chi Hsien\(^4\) are not worth being regarded highly.

\[^3\]Chung Yung, ch. 11, verse 1, p. 54.

\[^4\]Ancient shaman. C.f. CT, ch. 7, p. 20, lines 15-16.
An-cheng Wang-chuan said: It is not certain that there is in the Dark
Regions no master who is in charge of the retributions of our merits and
faults. The Sage devoted his energy to the search of the complex and
hence he passed over the discussion of these things. The Sages trans-
cend the physical forms and numbers\(^1\) and yet use them, and they "wander
with the creator."\(^2\) The Worthies cannot transcend these and therefore
cannot escape their influence. Hence they are subject to the rewards
and retributions of their own deeds. This can be a great warning to us.

Again it said: The aims of Confucianism and Buddhism are simi-
lar, yet their paraphernalia are wide apart. Hence, their effects and
functions are completely different. Although this (Confucianism)
teaches that the motion of the lord of motion forged the universe, yet
it does not provoke surprise, and the Three-spirited-ones\(^3\) benefit from
its good influence. To take the accomplishment of the other (Buddhism)
and apply it to China is just like driving tall chariots through (the
marshy ground) of Yüeh, or introducing Chinese crowns and hats to the
Western barbarians—something not to be done. Confucianists should
take up the Huang-chi ching-shih\(^4\), which (teaches) the return to one
without outward manifestations and the transcendance over numbers and

\(^1\) The forms and numbers pertaining to the system of the eight
trigrams.

\(^2\) A phrase from CT, ch. 33, p. 93, line 67.

\(^3\) The same as Heaven, Earth and mankind.

\(^4\) A composition of Shao Yung.
forms. If they did this, they would not have acquiesced in such a useless learning, was it not so?

P'ing-shan replies: When the discussion comes to this point, the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism are really of one school. Because

"The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils;
That in his home the time beguiles;
One man his lips with silence seals;
Another all his mind reveals,"

their (Confucianism and Buddhism) functions appeared different. Then a divergence of opinions emerged, some regarding them to be the same, some regarding them to be different. Why is this so? With respect to contemporary figures: Liu Tzu-hui is known for his penetration; Chang Chiu-ch'eng for his profundity; Lü Po-kung for his penetration and inclusiveness; Chang Ching-fu for his upright purity; Chu Yüan-hui for his sublimity. These are all contemporary renowned figures. They see the mind as empty and clear, as penetrating into all directions and as undergoing infinite changes. Their epistemological view is limited to the theory of causation of life and death by dreams; their cultivation is limited to regarding riches and fame as dust and dirt. They are all seekers of the sagehood but have not yet attained it. In their

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6 See section 110, note 10.
7 See section 203, note 1.
8 See section 204, note 1.
9 See section 205, note 1.
10 See section 209, note 1.
discussions of Buddhism and Taoism, in reality, they concede to (these teachings) but in words, they refuse to admit them. Ostensibly, they suppress them, yet they help them secretly. There is a subtle reason for this. They (take up the task to) preach the lost teaching of the ancient past, they try to sweep away the dust and vestiges from contemporary learning, and attempt to propagate their teaching in the world. They feel they have no choice but to do all these. There was the case of one man called Hu Yen \(^{11}\) who harangued (Buddhism) unceasingly. Ha! It was too much. Was it not a case of wearing the garment of the patriarch inside out, and using the Tathagata's seal upside-down \(^{12}\)? My words are in the Po Ch'ung-cheng-p'ien. \(^{13}\) I am afraid that young scholars do not understand the mind of the old scholars and rely on their words as evidence (for their stance of disparaging Buddhism.) Then, it would be little wonder if the Tao of the Three Sages did not change into an heresy.

I-ch'uan's teaching has already infiltrated the North from the East of the River. \(^{14}\) Talented scholars from the gentry are convinced by it. Even I have been toying with it for almost thirty years. I have

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\(^{11}\) Tzu Ming-chung, hao Chih-t'ang (1098-1156). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 435, p. 560b-c.

\(^{12}\) This means: Outwardly rejecting Buddhism but in reality supporting it.

\(^{13}\) One of Hu Yen's composition was called Ch'ung cheng p'ien (extant), which was a diatribe against Buddhism. Li probably wrote the Po Ch'ung-cheng-p'ien to refute it. Li's book is not found in any other reference.

\(^{14}\) The district surrounding the lower portion of the River Chang Chiang.
always desired to note down its accurate points and mistakes but yet I did not have an opportunity to do so. Now, I am in charge of this autumn examination, in which the Classics will be examined for several tens of days. I am taking advantage of spare moments to commit my thoughts to a small note-book. My intention is to knock down the walls separating the schools of learning, to lead stagnant waters in valleys to the sea of the school of sagehood, to collect the secrets found in the minds of the philosophers and to expose the secret essence beyond the words found in this book\textsuperscript{15}, so that the Taoist and the Confucianist enter together into the gate of liberation, that writings and essays are regarded as plays of supernormal powers. Primarily, I do this to clear my own mind. If it is transmitted to others, there will be those who immediately become angry, but then feel at a loss and begin to doubt; remaining still they begin to think; and finally they will they will understand and will surely laugh silently, saying, "This poor old fool!"

\textsuperscript{15} This refers to the Ming-tao-chi, a compilation of sayings of earlyNeo-Confucianists. See page 58 note 1.
Heng-p'u said: Rituals should be the more highly regarded the simpler they are. This corresponds to the moment of "being silent and unmoving," or the moment "before the stirring of feelings of pleasure, anger, sorrow and joy," or what the Changes indicates by "using seriousness to straighten the internal," or what Mencius meant by exhausting one's mind. It appears that Buddhism comes close to this, yet it stops there and does not advance further. This is because it takes boundless pleasure in the fact of suddenly shaking off the affairs of human desires and entering into the greatness of the Heavenly Principle, and as a result, it regards the vast nothingness as the ultimate. For this reason, it regards the accomplishments of Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen and Wu as dust and dirt; the ethical relationships of father-son, ruler-minister, husband-wife, and the elder-younger as a disease; heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, spring, summer, autumn and winter as an illusory dream. It separates Heaven from man, truncates the origin from the end, distinguishes the within from the without. It teaches one to be alone.

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1 Chang Chiu-ch'eng, tzu Tzu-shao, hao Heng-p'u chü-shih (1092-1159). He has been a disciple of Yang Shih. Biography in Suhng Shih, ch. 374, p. 5461b-c.

2 From the Shao-yi-lun (少儀論) and the Ssu-tuan lun (四端論) in the Heng-p'u chi. Abbreviated.

3 A phrase from ICT, I, 10, p. 61.

4 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.


6 Regarded as ancient sagely rulers by Confucianism.
and without companions, to be lifeless like a withered tree, and to be without life-sustaining moisture. It is like the autumn or winter when all the trees have shed their leaves and are no longer in their luxuriant and shady condition. It will completely annihilate the Five Constant Virtues and abolish the Three Principal Relationships. It has the separate substance of aloofness but no great function of blossoming forth. That is why it offends the Sage.

Again it says: "Man's possession of the four beginnings is just like his possession of the four limbs." In the case of Buddhism, there are no limbs. Merely having the belly and the heart, how can it know about the principle of function, doing and resting?

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chang's words may succeed in deceiving Confucianists. But how could they deceive any one who had a little knowledge of Buddhist books? Vimalakirti scorned the disciples, comparing them to the scorched shoot or rotten seeds. The Avatamsaka Sūtra says, "The two vehicles of the fixed-natured (śrāvaka and pratyeka-buddha) will fall into the large and deep pit of asamskṛta." These were said precisely because it was afraid that people might regard that the ways of going-forth-from-the-world would destroy the ways-of-the-world. How would Master Chang know that ways-of-the-world were iden-

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7 Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 6, verse 6, p. 551.
8 C.f. Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 542c, 547a.
9 Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 272b.
10 See section 28, note 5.
tical with the ways-of-going-forth-from-the-world? Yüeh-shan\textsuperscript{11} said, "The withered tree has got (Tao). The flourishing tree has also got (Tao)."\textsuperscript{12} The Ch'an Buddhists call it, "The withered tree shoots forth blossoms, the cold ash bursts out in flames." They want to have eyes all over the body, how can they be merely trunks without limbs? Sākyamuni has not offended the Sage, but he has offended mediocre Confucianists, was it not so?

\textsuperscript{11}See section 200, note 3.

\textsuperscript{12}C.f. Wu-teng hui-yüan, ch. 5. HTC, vol. 138, p. 82b.
Tung-lai¹ said²: One is of course identical with ten thousand. There
is no need to wait for the phrase "one dust particle is identical with
the ten thousand realms"³ before one knows that one is identical with
ten thousand. Ten thousand is of course identical with one. There is
no need to wait for the phrase "ten thousand realms are identical with a
dust particle"³ before one knows that ten thousand is identical with
one. "A thousand years are identical with one thought and one thought
is identical with a thousand years."⁴ I have the feeling that all of
Indian teaching is close to being superfluous. (Buddhists say), "Itself
not produced and yet it manifests production; itself not annihilated and
yet it manifests annihilation." "Itself not produced, it produces; it-
self not annihilated, it annihilates." This is a matter of course.
But why do they add the term 'to manifest'?

P'ing-shan replies: "(The Sage) takes part in ten thousand ages and
achieves simplicity in oneness."⁵ These are words of Chuang Chou. "That
which is produced by Production will die, and that which produces has

¹ Lü Tsu-ch'ien, tzu po-kung, also called tung-lai hsien-sheng
² Found in "Ta Fang chiao-shou shu." (答方教授書) in
³ Common Buddhist usage, same as 一塵法界
⁴ Same as 一念萬年
⁵ CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 78. C.f. Watson's translation, p. 47.
never been produced." These are words of Lieh Yü-k'ou. Are these only said by Indian books. As for the 'Contemplations of the dharmadhātu,' it is also a Chinese book. In the 'Realm of Noumenon,' ten thousand is identical with one. In the 'Realm of phenomenon,' one is identical with ten thousand. In the 'Realm in which Noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other,' one is ten thousand, ten thousand is one. In the 'Realm in which phenomena interfuse without impediment to one another,' one is one in itself, ten thousand is ten thousand in itself; and among the ones themselves is the one among the ten thousand ten thousands; the one among the ten thousands is the ten thousand among the ones. For example, water is one; the foam bubbles are ten thousand. The foam bubbles in water are ten thousand from the one. The water in the foam bubbles are one in the ten thousand. The water is identical with the foam bubbles; one is one in itself. The ten thousand foam bubbles are identical with water. The ten thousand is ten thousand itself. And yet one water is identical with foam bubbles. When the discussion comes to this, is it not (true that) the ten thousand are in ones, and the one is in the ten thousand; the one in the ten thousands is the ten thousand in the ones? Are these indeed superfluous words? Master Lu: "In regard to what you do not know show a cautious reserve!"
Nan-hsüan¹ said: The "Yao Chi" said, "Man is born tranquil; this is the nature given by Heaven. He moves under the influence of things. This indicates the desire of human nature."² Nature cannot but move. (At this point), one may not yet see anything evil. If there is no control over likes and dislikes, then it becomes evil. For example, water, when deep and clear, is in its original state. Water cannot but flow. (Therefore), the act of flowing is also its nature. As for its being muddy because its rapid flow stirs up mud and sand, how can this be its nature?

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chang's words are indeed argumentative. If one knows "Man is born tranquil; this is the nature given by Heaven,"² then (the fact that) "he moves under the influence of things"² cannot (belong to) his nature given by Heaven but to human desires. When he said that "(nature) cannot but move" . . . up to "it becomes evil," then (met that) since water flows according to its nature, how can it not become turbid? This is not to know from where the mud and sand have come, or what exactly are mud and sand. Alas!

²From Li Chi, "Yao Chi," p. 206.
Nan-hsüan said: The entire body of destiny ordained by Heaven prevails without intermission. It connects the present with the past, and penetrates into the myriad things. The multitude deceives itself about it. Yet has this principle ever been broken? Even though the Sages followed it exhaustively, they have not add anything to it. In the case of the Buddhist view that everything arose from the mind, he was ignorant about the original substance of the Great Ultimate in its entirety. On the contrary, he was subject to self-interest and selfish considerations. This is also (acting according to) a man's (ordinary) mind, not a mind which understands Tao.

P'ing-shan replies: That which is called "the entire body of destiny ordained by Heaven" by Master Chang is called the Mind by the Buddhist. Chang's words come entirely from Buddhism and Taoism. There is not the slightest difference between them. Nevertheless, to doubt the truth that all things are created by the Mind and so to attribute them to the Great Ultimate instead is not to have understood what the Great Ultimate is in itself. It is like a father who, on going out, forgets his own house and who does not recognize his son when he sees him. How is he different from Liu Yi-t'ung? For, to make a guess on the basis of one's feelings is not to know the mind of Tao even though he may talk about it. On the contrary, Chang says that the Buddha has the selfishness of an ordinary mind. This is in error.

1Found in "Ta Hu Chi-li (答胡季立) in Chang Nan-hsüan chi, ch. a, pp. 18-19.
Nan-hsüan said: (With regard to) the so-called 'preserving the mind' in Buddhism and the 'preserving the mind' of we Confucianists, although the term 'preserving' is the same in both cases, there is a distinction between the universal and the selfish. Our teaching controls the mind and preserves it. Gathering its outgoing tendencies, the Universal Principle is preserved. For this reason, when a thing ought to be thought about, it is always being thought about; when a thing must be done, it is always done. The 'preserving the mind' of the Buddhists is limited to mean doing nothing. When something must be thought about, it is not being thought about. Its chief teaching is to rely solely on doing nothing. They mistakenly take daily activities which are clearly visible to be functions. All that is immediately seen is taken as illusory. It is self-interested and selfish and it does not know Heaven and earth.

P'ing-shan replies: With regard to the word 'to preserve,' not only do Buddhists and Confucianists differ on its meaning, it also means different things among Confucianists themselves. (When it is used in the context of) "control it and it is preserved" it means to recover the original goodness of the mind. As for the phrase "the nature having been completed, and being continually preserved" and to preserve that which would be preserved, they mean "They are the gates of Tao and righteousness." When it is "without thought and without action," it means Tao.

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1 ICT, I, 7, p. 59.
2 ICT, I, 10, p. 61.
"When acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events in the universe" means righteousness. This corresponds to Chuang Tzu's saying, "He dwells like a corpse and sees with dragon vision; remains silent like a deep pool and sounds like thunder"; and Lao Tzu's saying, "Which of you can assume such murkiness, to become in the end still and clear? Which of you can make yourself inert, to become in the end full of life and stir?" and Buddha's saying, "The first appearance of clear water represents the initial suppression of intruding impurities (agantu-klesa). The pure water obtained after the removal of mud represents the permanent cutting off of fundamental ignorance. All the changes and manifestations (of the Enlightenment) are not related to impurities but are in accord with the pure, wonderful virtue of Nirvana." In the Avatamsaka sutra, the bodhisattvas of the eighth stage obtain the patience of the law of no-birth. They do not give rise to the Bodhi mind, the Nirvana mind, the Buddha mind, and the bodhisattva mind. Still more so would they not give rise to the worldly mind. The Buddhas touched his pate and said, "Man from a good family, you have appropriately obtained this one teaching. This is the dharma-nature of the dhammas. Whether the Buddha appears in the world or if he does not appear in the world, (this teaching) dwells constantly without any change. The Buddhas are called the Tathagatas not because they have obtained this dharma. All those in the two vehicles can also obtain this teaching of non-

\[\text{Ibid.} \quad 4\text{CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.}\]
\[\text{Sūraṅgama sutra, T945, 122b-c.}\]
differentiation. The Buddhas have infinite dharma-entrances. The sons of the Buddha should learn about this.\(^7\) For this reason, "the scorched shoot and the rotten seeds"\(^8\) are scorned by Pure Name; "accumulating dust and gathering clods"\(^10\) is laughed at by Ch'ung-hsü\(^11\). The Ch'an people also say, "Stagnant water does not hold dragons."\(^12\) Their intention is to block off later re-awakening (to life). Master Chang does not know this. The Ch'an masters regard those who manipulate the soul as human impersonations of wild foxes.\(^13\) How would what was clearly visible before the eyes be taken as daily functions? If one limits Buddhism to merely 'taking up the drum-stick and raising the fly-wisk,'\(^14\) it is the same as to take the muttering generation as seekers of Confucius' Tao! Alas!

\(^7\) Avatamsaka sūtra. T279, 199a, 199b.

\(^8\) See section 203, note 8.

\(^9\) The translation of the name 'Vimalakīrti.'

\(^10\) Lieh Tzu, "Chung-ni," p. 91.

\(^11\) Lieh Tzu.

\(^12\) C.f. Pi-yen-lu, T2003, 161b.

\(^13\) In Chinese popular belief, an animal, by means of cultivation, can acquire the art of impersonation, and hence can do harm by deception. Ch'an followers regard alien teachings as wild-fox-ch'an. C.f. Pi-yen-lu, T2003, 271a.

\(^14\) A Ch'an phrase. C.f. Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 346a.
Nan-hsüan said: Those who are deluded by heterodox teachings may not be unworthy scholars. The harm caused by heterodox teachings nowadays is even more severe than that of Shen and Han. For their teachings appear to be sublime and attractive. Hence, bright and gifted people gladly follow them. However, because they look similar to (the true teaching) but in reality are different, they chase after shadows and are blind to the truth. They rely on the vacuous and abandon reality, and they eradicate the fundamental. They claim that their teaching points directly at the mind and yet it does not even have the initial knowledge of the mind. If it really had the knowledge of the mind, could it bear to abandon the ethical relationships of ruler and minister, father and son, and husband and wife, which were the principles of humanity and were that which preserved the original mind. The greatest calamity in the world is having that which is similar (to the truth) but (in reality) differs from it. The scholar who has the determination to learn should not pay even the slightest attention to these (heterodox teachings) and then he can really find the right way.

P'ing-shan replies: Even a child would not believe Master Chang's comparison of the Buddha and Lao Tzu with Shen and Han. That which brings

1"Ta Ch'en Chai-chih shu (答陳摘之書) in Chang Nan-hsüan chi, ch. 2, p. 1.
2Shen pu-hai and Han fei-tzu, see section 69, note 2.
4See section 73, note 2.
calamity to the world because it appears close (to the truth) but is in fact different is not limited to Buddhism and Taoism, is it not so? (The error of) regarding the way-of-the-world as real and the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world as illusory is known by any seeker of Tao. Is there any need for me to mention it? The scholar who has the determination to learn must discriminate between even the slightest difference here and then he can really find the right way. Nevertheless, the scholar has three internal defects and four external evils. What are the three defects? The bankruptcy of pedantry, the arrogance of megalomania, and the levity of the unrestrained talent. What are the four evils? The intransigence of a closed mind, the scepticism of confused judgment, the wildness of seductive literature, and the death of being bound by a name. These seven things enslave the mind. When they descend on the mind, they become the catalyst for bandits and robbers. When their ways are opposed, they become enemies. That is why people are obstructed and have become closed, have become stubborn and unchanging, have become wild and cannot come back under control. All these happen because the mind is blocked by objects. When these obstructions are broken down and dispersed, when the mind is washed clean so that no selfish interests intervene, then one may have a glimpse of the mind's likeness.
Hui-an said: What is seen nowadays is more or less only (something) vague. Once one gets an image of the fundamental goal of Tao he will regard it as the real thing. . . . And yet I myself am aware that there is no spot on which I may stand and exert myself (in the pursuit of Tao). For directly I only see the Source's (appearance), which is like the overturning of a lake or the reversing of a sea. . . . It is like being (in a boat) in the middle of gigantic waves, which do not permit mooring for a single moment. (For what is seen) has always been like this.

That is why with respect to daily affairs and human relationships I only feel coarseness and decisiveness, which have redoubled as compared to former time. . . . From now on, I realize that in the midst of this Great Transformation, each school has its own place where one can be resigned to one's fate, and which is the key to the establishment of the Great Fundamental, and of practising the Tao which leads to fulfillment. This is where the substance and function are of one source and the subtle is manifested without interruption.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chu has probed deeply into the study of human nature, yet it is a pity he has not heard much of the Buddhist books and still less about Ch'an. For he has always been like this. He

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1Chu Hsi, tzu yuan-hui (1130-1200). Biography in Sung Shih, ch. 429, pp. 5583a-5585b.

2Quoted from "Ta Chang Ching-fu shu (答張敬夫書)" in Chu wen-kung wen-chi, ch. 33, p. 501b.

3Current phrase even found in Ch'an. C.f. Yuan-wu Ch'an-shih yu-lu, T1997, 719a.
knows about the 'noumenon (li)' but nothing about the 'phenomenon (shih)'; he knows about the 'Universality' and nothing about the 'Particularity';\(^4\) knows about the existence of Mañjuśrī and nothing about Samantabhadra.\(^5\) As for his school as a whole, it knows about the 'phenomenon' but nothing about the 'noumenon'; it knows about 'Particularity' but nothing about the 'Universality'; knows about the existence of Samantabhadra and nothing about Mañjuśrī. When he arrives at the teaching that "the substance and function are of one source and the subtle is manifested without interruption," he only begins to know both the 'noumenon' and the 'phenomenon,' both 'Universality' and 'Particularity,' both Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Surely, he should not have known about "the realm in which noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other,"\(^6\) "the complementarity of Universality and Particularity,"\(^7\) and the fact that Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra were of the same Dharmakāya?

As for "the all-rounded interfusion,"\(^8\) the "relation of using both substance and function,"\(^9\) and "the samādhi of the images reflected in the


\(^5\) Two bodhisattvas depicted as always in the vicinity of the Buddha, Mañjuśrī is to the left and Samantabhadra is to the right. Here they symbolize noumenon, phenomenon, Universality and Particularity.

\(^6\) The third dharmadātu of Hua-yen. See section 204 notes 7 and 8.

\(^7\) A phrase from the description of the five relations of Ts'ao-tung.

\(^8\) The third contemplation of Hua-yen. See Chu Hua-yen fa-chieh kuan men, T1884, 689c.

\(^9\) The fifth relation of the five relations of Ts'ao-tung.
ocean,"\textsuperscript{10} the "deployment of the net of Indra"\textsuperscript{11} as found in the section of "Sudhana's entrance into the dharmadhātu,"\textsuperscript{12} these he has never dreamt about. That is why he divided his discussion into three sections and his speech into two parts. He searched in the dark and (what he obtained) was limited to merely guessing on the basis of his own feelings. He asserted that Tao was such and such. Well, talking is so easy, is it not? He talked about having a place where he could resign himself to fate within this Great Transformation. He was not aware that the imposing wave of consciousness was already reaching up to the sky. He would suffer for not knowing that a rapid torrent (was coming his way.) The scholar should consider this carefully and clearly argue about it, and he must experience it himself. Perhaps, (after doing these things), he may come to believe that my words are not delusive.

\textsuperscript{10}The Hua-yen school propagates this phrase on the basis of the Avatamsaka sūtra.

\textsuperscript{11}Indra's net is full of jewels which mutually reflect one another and the images in them so that an infinite number of images are in any one of the jewels. Image used to convey the truth of the inter-penetration of phenomena.

\textsuperscript{12}This is the last section of the Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, ch. 60-80.
Hui-an said. It is more or less true that the principles of all the objects in the world must have their opposites. The only exception is 
Tao, which has no opposite. If we discuss (any object) from below the metaphysical, there has not been anything without its opposite. We may take the point of view of the left and right, or the above and below, or the front and the back, or many and few, or the contrast from the point of view of their similarity, or the contrast from the point of view of their difference. When we think about it carefully, we (shall see that) there is not a single object in the world which stands alone without its opposite. This was that which Master Ch'eng thought about deep into the night and (the reason why he) unconsciously broke into a dance.

P'ing-shan replies: It is a pity that Master Chu, with such a talent, did not read Buddhist books. All one hundred and eight sentences in the Lankāvatāra sūtra¹ deal with opposing dharmas. How can these be limited only to the above and below, front and back, left and right, many and few? This indeed is the mind which leads to life and death. Master Ch'eng could not wash away this mind and said that if there was birth, there would be death. Consequently, he lets it (his mind) go at whatever direction it wants to go in order to let it relax. How can this be the Tao? He is really the disciple of Jung Ch'i-ch'i². If it is said

¹Lankāvatāra sūtra, T670, 482b-483a.
that there is no case of singularity in the dharmadhātu, is this what is meant by Master Ch'eng? This is not so. How could Master Ch'eng know about the 'Ten mysterious gates'? (The saying) "One enters into the all and the all enter into the one" also teaches the convergence into one. Master Ch'eng sought it with the two, which is limited to the way of the world alone.

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3 Hua-yen yi ch'eng shih hsuan men, T1868, 517b.

4 See section 43, note 4.
Hui-an said: If there is Principle, there is ch’i. Ch’i must be two in number. That is why the Book of Changes says, "The Great Ultimate produces the Two Forms." When Lao Tzu said, "Tao first produces the one, and then one produces the two," his observation of Principle was not thorough. The short-comings of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu are more or less of this sort.

P'ing-shan said: There is one Principle and two ch'is. The Great Ultimate does not yet possess ch’i, how can there be two? Confucius said that "The Great Ultimate produces the Two Forms." The word 'produce' means to move from non-existence to existence. Is it not the same as Lao Tzu's saying that the one produces the two? Whose observation of Principle is not thorough? The short-comings of Master Ch'eng are more or less of this sort. The scholar should consider this deeply.

1Quoted from "Ta Ch'eng K'o-chiu shu (答程可久書) in Chu Wen-kung wên-chi, ch. 37, p. 602b.

2ICT, I, 11, p. 62.

3Lao Tzu, ch. 42.
Hui-an said: I seriously deplore the fact that scholars of the present age do not know the fundamental and the progression of the authentic teaching of sagehood, but, on the contrary, they submerge themselves in Buddhism and Taoism. They delusively think that aside from (this-worldly phenomena of) heaven and earth, the myriad things, human beings, the sun and the moon, there is 'another object,' the emptiness of which is so wonderful that it cannot be fathomed. They are eager for an opportunity to get a glimpse of this object, and they consider this to be the ultimate experience. They have all fallen into this.

P'ing-shan replies: (This-worldly phenomena of) heaven and earth, the myriad things, human beings, the sun and the moon all belong to the realm of 'within-form.' As for the 'above-form,' who talked about it? Master Chu was confused and forgot about these words, and regarded them as belonging to the teachings of the Buddha and Lao Tzu. I am afraid that Confucius' Tao is going to be swept away. Nevertheless, there is a necessity to argue on this point. How can there be 'another object' when one reads Buddha's saying that "The form is identical with the Void."

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1 Quoted from "Ta Chiang T'ai-ch'u shu (答江大初書)" in Chu Wen-kung wen-chi, ch. 46, SPTK, p. 791a.
2 A term found in the Platform sūtra to denote the Buddha-nature. T2008, 359b, line 29–c, line 1.
3 Two phrases from the ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
4 A phrase from the Prajñāparamitā hrdaya sūtra, T251, 848c, line 8.
and Lao Tzu's saying that "They are together called the mysterious"^5?
By truncating (the noumenon and the phenomenon) into two, Master Chu fell into this (saying) and was not aware of it.

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^5 Lao Tzu, ch. 1.
Hui-an said: "The Mean is the Great Fundamental in the world." (What) the scholar nourishes and cultivates according to this (Great Fundamental) are indeed simply obvious daily affairs. To consider that he has attained the truth, it is not necessary for him to investigate exhaustingly until he is suddenly stimulated. If this is not so, then one is submerged in the Buddhist teaching. They claim to have seen (the Truth) and yet they have not seen any truth in the 'four beginnings' and the 'five human relationships.' In more severe cases, they even pull out the roots, turn truth and falsehood upside-down, and do everything imaginable. As for their claim of having seen the truth, it is also a case of using their minds too much. How can that be mentioned in the same breath with the concrete pursuit (of Tao).

P'ing-shan replies: Water is identical with the waves. Without wind, it cannot be called waves. The Mean is identical with the Harmony. Without being acted on, it cannot be called Harmony. Confucius said, "There is no thought and no action. It is still and without movement; but, when acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky." How can there be no 'being acted on'? Master Chu knew about the Mean but did not understand what constituted the Mean.

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1 Quoted from "Ta Liao Tzu-hui shu (答廖子晦書)", in Chu Wen-kung wen-chi, ch. 45, SPTK, p. 774a.
2 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45.
3 A term from Mencius, Book II, part I, ch. 6, verse 5, p. 550.
He stopped at Mr. Ch'eng's teaching of nourishment, which was to pull up the roots and to see only a glimpse (of the truth). If one does not really see (the truth), how can there be a concrete pursuit (of Tao)?
Hui-an said: Human nature naturally cannot not move, yet the fact that it is present in everything is not due to the fact that it cannot but move. Although in its immobility, it is present in everything, yet there is nothing lacking, is it not so? The shortcoming of Buddhists is that they mistakenly identify the soul with nature. If they could truly see the nature, they should not have called it a delusion. When they have already called it a delusion, they should not say that nature was originally empty. In these places, their statements are imprecise. I am afraid that they are also due to the fact that what they have seen and obtained is not clear.

P'ing-shan replies: The nature is without motion or tranquillity. It is also without detriment or completion. Buddhists have a saying, "The reason why a seeker of Tao has never seen the truth is because he has always recognized the existence of a soul". How would they have regarded the soul as identical with the nature? Not to see that the nature is empty is called a delusive view. How can seeing that the nature is empty be a delusive view? When the right view is seen, seeing is just like not seeing. Is this not clear? I am afraid that if it is not clear, it is because the words of Master Chu are not clear.

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1 Quoted from "Ta P'an Kung-shu shu" (答潘恭叔書) in Chu Wen-kung wen-chi, ch. 50, SPTK, p. 868. The first sentence in Li's quotation is too abbreviated to make sense. I have therefore translated it from the wen-chi.

2 A saying of the Ch'an monk named Ch'ang-sha. Ch'uan-teng-lu, T2076, 274b.
Hui-an said: The Grand Apex (Huang-chi) is not one-sided and hence it does not favour any one party or disfavour another party because of personal opinions. It does not pretend to be good or evil and hence it does not hate one and love another because of personal biases. Not only is it all-inclusive, it is downright indiscriminate. It falls into Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu's teaching of indifference and mindlessness.

P'ing-shan replies: Master Chu's discussion about the Grand Apex is naturally appealing. However, when he says that it is all inclusive, indiscriminate and falling into Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu's teaching of indifference and mindlessness, then he is too hasty. Lao Tzu said, "The man of the highest virtue acts and there is nothing left undone. The man of inferior virtue acts and there remains something undone."¹ Chuang Tzu said, "The superior among men is but an inferior person in Heaven. The inferior person in Heaven is a superior person among men."² (The former quotation) does not say, "The man of the highest benevolence is not benevolent." (The latter quotation) does not say, "The inferior person among men is the superior person in Heaven." (The teaching) is clear-cut down to its details, how can it be said to be indiscriminate? Again, it says, "His bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he doesn't think himself benevolent; he passes judgment

¹Lao Tzu, ch. 38. Li's quotation is exactly like Wang Pi's version with the exception of the third and fourth characters. I have not followed Wang's version in the translation.

²CT, ch. 6, p. 18, line 74.
on the ten thousand things but he doesn't think himself righteous.\textsuperscript{3} Is this indifference? Again, it says, "No calamity is greater than having a mind conscious of virtue and acting as though the mind were a pair of eyes."\textsuperscript{4} That which is called having no mind among the no mind is the Heaven among men. In the case of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, can they be having a mind among the no mind? Master Chu's false accusation was indeed greatly exaggerated.

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 19, line 88. Watson's translation, op. cit., p. 90.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., ch. 32, p. 89, line 38.
Hui-an said: Chuang Tzu said, "If you do good, stay away from fame. If you do evil, stay away from punishments. Follow the middle (督 [tu]) as the constant course."\(^2\) Tu means the middle. The teaching of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu does not discuss whether a thing corresponds to the righteous principle or not, but wishes only to remain indifferent so that one may preserve the body from harm. This is exactly what Master Ch'eng called escaping from the adulterer and suppressing rumours.\(^3\) The saying "If you do good, stay away from fame" is plausible, whereas the saying "If you do evil, stay away from punishments" seriously offends Principle. To choose to act according to that by which one may not be punished and to dodge artfully from calamities is a supreme case of "the knave who is without caution."\(^4\) "Tzu Mo held on to the middle," but he was powerless.\(^5\) On the other hand, Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu did not understand the righteous Principle, and acted solely for profit. Hence, they could not be compared with Tzu Mo. If we trace them to their original intention, they were actually not different from hypocrites. On the other hand, their imitation was close and artful, which was something hypocrites were not capable of. The conclusion is that

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1 Quoted from "Yang-sheng-chu shuo (養生主說)" in Chu Wen-kung wen-chi, ch. 67, pp. 1246-47.


3 間紇打訶, meaning unclear.

4 Chung Yung, ch. 2, verse 2, p. 48.

they were thieves of the highest order. When Wang T'ung said, "It is not the shortcoming of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu," I really don't understand what he was saying.

P'ing-shan replies: "When the man of low capacity hears about Tao, he laughs loudly at it." People like Master Chu nearly scolded it. The term 'tu' does not mean the middle. It should be interpreted as 'pressing upon.' Chuang Tzu said, "Pressed, only then does he move; roused by something outside himself, only then does he respond; finding he has no choice, only then does he rise up." It is correct not to be conceited when one achieves success, or to regret when one makes a mistake. The reason why one stays away from fame when he does good, or stays away from punishments when he does evil is not to allow falsehood to destroy the truth. Master Chu maligned them as hypocrites or people of low character and extended his accusations to include Wang T'ung. I also do not understand what he was saying.

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6 Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo, ch. 4, SPTK, p. 16a.
(Epilogue): These scholars and myself live in different dynasties, and I do not belong to the parties of Yüan-feng and Yüan-yü.\(^1\) We are all Confucianists and hence do not have selfish motives of Taoist priests\(^2\) and Buddhist monks.\(^3\) Therefore, I have poured out my heart and have painfully presented mutual identifications in order that the teachings of the Three Sages may stop being like a thread on the point of breaking. (The point of view which sees that) they are mutually contradictory cuts into my heart and marrow. I desire that, with my ounce of strength, I could barely keep them from tumbling over from the tripod position. If you unite the crowd and garrulously attack me, then the tripod will tumble over. Alas! The fact is, I do not like debates. Yet because I was afraid that the Tao of the Three Sages would become fragmented and incompatible, I did act against my inclinations. For example, when there is a boil or a wart on the skin, one puts ointment over it so that flesh may grow; where there is a pit or a moat in the ground, one fills it up with earth. Would anyone dig out the flesh and remove the earth? The difference of opinions between me and these scholars is entirely contained in this volume. With the exception of this book, everything that is contained in the Ming-tao-chi\(^4\) and all that these scholars have written, commentaries on the Book of Changes, the

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\(^1\)See section 38, notes 3 and 5.  
\(^2\)Literally, the yellow crown worn by Taoist priests.  
\(^3\)Literally, the black garment of the Buddhist monk.  
\(^4\)See section 202, note 15.
Book of Poetry, the Book of History, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Great Learning, the Ch'un-ch'iu, the Analects, Mencius, and the Book of Filial Piety teach about purification of human desires and the clarification of the Heavenly Principle, the eradication of petty lords and the assistance of kingly rule, the exposition of the teaching of the mind beyond the confines of language and literature, the seeking of daily functions in the affairs of greetings and usual chores. In their care of the nature they regard sincerity as the basis; in their cultivation of the body, they take 'seriousness' as the entrance. The great Tao is sought from the good, sagehood is arrived at from learning. They continue the transmission of the lost teaching of the immemorial past; they establish the complete teachings of their respective school. The (other) Confucianists of the Sung Dynasty were not their equal. The T'ang and Han Confucianists were likewise not their equal. Soon, they will be galloping neck to neck with Mencius. Sometimes, their discussions and opinions are deceptive and turbulent. This is due to their past karma. They are all attributable to the followers of Hsun Tzu. This is a case of the fact that the former Confucianist raised it, the later Confucianists supported it, lifted their heels to look for it, and followed it closely, so that the entire later generations would be converted to it. Can they be said to be heroes? The learner who makes Tao his pursuit should first read the books of these scholars and then he will know that I have laboured in them. If he sees this book of mine and uses it as an excuse to find fault with the books of these scholars, then he is throwing away a piece of jade because of a spot, or giving up food because of choking. Not only would I be offending these scholars,
it is also not my expectations of the learner. Alas!
M1

As a child, I did not like Buddhism and Taoism. I regarded the Buddhist as one who first injured his body, then he destroyed his family and finally corrupted the morality of the state and became a pest of the universe. For this reason, I wrote the essay "Against Buddhism."¹

Again, I thought that if one followed the way of Lao Tzu, one would become wild. From being wild, one would become uncivilized. From being uncivilized, one would become one among birds and beasts. Hence, I wrote the essay "The True Face of Chuang Tzu."² My thinking was that they were teachings left over from Yang Chu and Mo Ti. Then in my leisure hours, I began to read a little the literature from the West, especially the Sutra. Then, I began to understand the formation and destruction of Heaven and Earth, the reason why there was birth and death in human beings and things, the root and source of cause and effect, the various stages of the sagely and the ordinary. These became clear and straightforward as if one looked at his own palm. The following was all completely contained in (this book): That which was referred to by Confucius' saying, "By nature, men closely resemble one another, but by practice they diverge,"³ by K'ang Tsang-tzu's saying,

¹Now lost. Not seen in any other reference.
²Same as above.
"He sees with the ears and hears with eyes," by Lieh Tzu's saying,
"There is that which gives birth to production," by Chuang Tzu's saying,
"The true lord exists," by Mencius' saying, "The mind does not know its place," by the Book of the Changes' saying, "The spirit remains silent and unmoving." There was no need of a special commentary for it was particularly easy to understand. Nevertheless I was still doubtful when I heard the following phrases: "The stopping (of madness) is Bodhi"; "If your intellect is free from seeing, then this is nirvāṇa"; and (He) teaches me how to realize the dharmakāya in an instant."

Again, I read this passage from the Yuan-chūeh-ching: "(What one) should do at all times is not to give rise to delusive thoughts; and when confronted with delusive minds he should also not extinguish them. When situated in a realm of delusive thoughts, he should not try to understand it thoroughly. In this state of ignorance of complete-knowledge, he should not discern Reality. . . . He will be called one who is in accord with the nature of enlightenment. . . . He will have achieved perfect knowledge of all things." (In other words), this

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6 CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 17.
7 Mencius, Book VI, part I, ch. 8, verse 4, p. 871.
8 ICT, 1, 10, p. 61. 9 Sūraṅgama sūtra, T945, 121c, line 5.
10 Ibid., 124c, line 9.
11 Ibid., 119b, line 13. Luk, The Sūraṅgama Sūtra, p. 82.
teaches that this world is identical with the bodhisattva. Then, "Shapeless' finding of the Dark Pearl" and "Hun-tun's being bored a hole" can be made to complement (that teaching obtained) in the instant of a moan or laugh. The reason why "attainment, enlightenment, understanding and awakening are regarded as thieves" and "Effort, cessation, laissez-faire and annihilation are regarded as diseases" (is found in) Nan-hua's saying that "There is no greater evil than for the mind to be aware of virtue, and to act as though it were a pair of eyes," and Hsuan-fu's saying that "He had no forgone conclusion, no arbitrary pre-determinations, no obstinacy, and no egoism."

 Again, I read about the fact that Vimalakīrti alone regarded silence as the entrance to the depth of the non-dual teaching in the Vimalakīrti sūtra. Then, (the answer to the facts of) Jan Ch'iu's failure to ask, and Confucius' refusal to answer were obtained right under one's nose. However, I still had doubts about the following pas-...

13 CT, ch. 12, p. 29, lines 18-19.
14 CT, ch. 7, p. 21, line 35.
15 See section 86, near note 4.
16 Yuan-chüeh-ch'ing, see section 194, note 2.
17 Chuang Tzu.
18 CT, ch. 32, p. 89, line 38. Watson, op. cit., p. 359.
19 Analects, Book IX, ch. 4, p. 231. Hsüan-fu: Same as Confucius.
20 Vimalakīrti sūtra, ch. 9, T475, 551c.
21 CT, ch. 22, p. 60, lines 70-73.
22 Analects, Book XIV, ch. 6, pp. 316-317.
That which is neither worldly nor sagely (is the) cultivation (of the bodhisattva)\(^{23}\); "He is neither disgusted with samsāra nor delighted with nirvāṇa"\(^{24}\); "... All sorts of klesas are the seeds of the Tathāgata"\(^{25}\); "The liberation of all Buddhas should be sought in the activities of the minds of all living beings."\(^{26}\)

Recently, I read the Avatamsaka sūtra which said: "(The Buddha), in the phenomenal (samskṛta) realm, manifests the transcendental (asamskṛta) dharmas, but (this) does not annihilate the characteristics of the phenomenal; (likewise) in the transcendental (asamskṛta) realm, (he) manifests the phenomenal (samskṛta) dharmas, but (this) does not displace the nature of the transcendental (asamskṛta)\(^{27}\); "(The Buddha) does not regard the way-of-the-world as an obstacle to the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world; does not regard the way-of-going-forth-from-the-world as destroying the way-of-the-world"\(^{28}\); "The Tathāgata-nature is identical with the practice of the bodhisattva, the practice of the bodhisattva is identical with the Tathāgata-nature"\(^{29}\); "(The Buddha) is constantly mindful of purifying the countless worlds, and yet his mind is not attached to anything; he is constantly mindful of subduing the countless sentient beings and yet he has no thoughts of a permanent self."

\(^{23}\)Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 545b.

\(^{24}\)Words are from Yüan-chüeh-ching, T842, 915a.

\(^{25}\)Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 549b. \(^{26}\)Ibid., p. 544c.

\(^{27}\)Avatamsaka sūtra. See section 89, note 4.

\(^{28}\)See section 28, note 5.

\(^{29}\)Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 272a.
These sayings, of course, are identical with the following: "He dwells like a corpse and yet sees with a dragon vision; he remains silent like a deep pool and yet he sounds like thunder." 30  "He can give body to his inborn-nature, and embrace his spirit, and in this way wander through the everyday world." 31  "There is no thought and no action. Then acted on, it penetrates forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky." 32

Although "(The Sage) manifests benevolent (deeds) and conceals his functions" 33, yet "by means of these (three virtues), cleansed his mind, retired and laid it up in the secrecy (of his own consciousness). His sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil." 34 For, "the truth of Tao is used to manage the self; its fringes, leftovers, offal and weeds can be used to manage the state and the empire." 35 "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire had to begin with rectifying their minds and making their thoughts sincere." 36 The affairs of emperors and kings are the Sages' superfluous businesses, and they are tiny indeed.

30 ICT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.
31 ICT, ch. 12, p. 31, line 68. Watson, op. cit., p. 136.
33 ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
35 C. f. CT, ch. 28, p. 77, line 27.
Let me try to discuss it: "The Absolute Reality itself does not tolerate a speck of dust." 37 The one blow of Mañjuśrī is like the lion being roused to anger. "Within the realm of ten thousand acts not one act is forsaken." 37 The one exhalation of Samantabhadra is like the circling of an elephant. When we come to Vairocana's wearing a crown, it is like a lotus flower in water. When combined, they can be spoken of as one, but "the substance and function intermingle, and the universal and particular are mutually interposed." 38 For this reason, Te-yün was met only when he has passed over to another peak 39; entering into samādhi, P'u-yen became blind 40; while in concentration, Mahākāśyapa did not see the display of supernormal powers in the Jeta Park 41; recollecting his thoughts, Sudhana immediately opened Maitreya's imposing towers. 42 Speaking about it vertically, then the fifty-five holy positions are spread out at the snap of a finger, like the simultaneous appearance of reflected images in the ocean; speaking about it horizontally, then the fifty-three dharma-entrances completely merge at the tip of a hair, like the deployment of the jewel net of Indra. 43 The Ch'an Master Tu Shun established the Four Dharmadhātu. They are called the (realm of) noumenon (li), the (realm of) phenomenon (shih), the

37 See section 28, note 4.
38 The last phrase is seen in Tung-shan Wu-pen Ch'an-shih yū-lu, T1986, 515a.
39 See section 90, note 6.
40 Avatamsaka sūtra, T279, 211c.
41 See section 90, note 8.
42 Ibid., note 9. 43 Ibid., note 5.
(realm in which) noumenon and phenomenon interfuse without impediment to each other, and (the realm in which) all phenomena interfuse without impediment to one another. Is this not the same as Po-yang's saying, "Constant Non-Being; Constant Being; they are together called the mysterious; the mystery of mysteries, the gate of all wonders," and Chung-ni's words, "The 'Tao' and 'tool,' 'change,' 'continuity,' and 'field of action'"?

When the discussion comes to this point, one enters the truth-plot (merely) by lifting up the foot, one attains the Buddhist Tao (merely) by lowering the head. One obtains the transmission of the superior man by (performing daily chores of) sweeping the floor and verbal exchanges; one knows the taste of the Mean by eating, drinking and daily functions. How can one decide what belongs to Confucianism, what belongs to Buddhism and what belongs to Taoism? People of recent time like Li Hsi-chih, Wang Chieh-fu and son, Ch'eng Cheng-shu and his brother, Chang Tzu-hou, Su Tzu-yu, Li Chi-fu, Chang T'ien-

44 C.f. Fa-chieh hsüan ching, T1883, 672c.
45 This is the Tzu of Lao Tzu, c.f. Shih Chi, "Cheng-i", p. 2139.
46 Lao Tzu, ch. 1.
47 C.f. ICT, I, 12, p. 63.
48 Li Ao, see section 110, note 3.
49 Wang An-shih, see section 27, note 3.
50 Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I, see section 40, note 1 and section 79, note 1.
51 Chang Tsai, see section 9, note 1.
52 Su Che, see section 27, note 4.
chüeh⁵⁴, Chang Chiu-ch'eng⁵⁵, Chang Shih⁵⁶, Lü Tsu-ch'ien⁵⁷, Chu Hsi⁵⁸ and Liu Tzu-hui⁵⁹ know about this teaching in their minds, and all have written books (about it). But they are afraid of being ridiculed and hence have not talked about it openly. Some people may have wondered whether it is a case of Confucianists plagiarizing from the Buddhists, or Buddhists plagiarizing from the Confucianists. This is the same as wondering whether the well of one's neighbour on the east side has stolen water from the well of the neighbour on the west. This was the same attitude I had when I was a child. Alas! The Spirit Man "uses the truth of the Tao to manage the self; and its fringes, leftovers, offal and weeds to manage the state and the empire."⁶⁰ The Sage "by means of these cleansed his mind, retired and laid it up in secrecy. His sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good fortune and evil."⁶¹ For the Spirit (Man) who is never separated from Tao can give rise to the Sage who is transformed beyond the limits of the universe; the Sage who is great and who transforms can hide himself in the unknowable Spirit (Man). The Taoist teaching and the Confucian teaching are complementary like the left and right sides of a tally. Lao Tzu,

⁵⁵ See section 203, note 1.
⁵⁶ See section 205, note 1.
⁵⁷ See section 204, note 1.
⁵⁸ See section 209, note 1.
⁵⁹ See section 110, note 10.
⁶⁰ See above note 35.
⁶¹ See above note 34.
Chuang Tzu and Confucius and Mencius are but different postures (described in this verse in the I Ching):

"The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils;
That in his home the time beguiles; . . .

That man Yang Chu only knew about the fact that "The Spirit Man first manages his body." Although "he could benefit the world by plucking out one hair, he would not have done it." Mo Ti only knew about the fact that "The Sage's sympathies were with the people." Although he "rubbed his body clean of hair from pate to heel in order to benefit the world, he would also do it." When we look at the characters of these two men, we can see that they would deceive later generations. The later generations were also suspicious of them on account of these teachings. The disciples of Lieh Yü-k'ou appropriated far-fetched teachings of Yang Chu and haphazardly placed them in the former's book. Mr. Han Yu said that the Masters of Confucianism and Mohism should mutually appropriate each other's teachings. If it were not so, they would not have been Confucianists and Moists. Alas! This is strange! After reading the Diamond Sutra, I could destroy the mistakes of these schools. For one who has the mind of Tao, whether beings are

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62 ICT, I, 8, p. 59.  
63 See above note 35.  
64 Mencius, Book VII, part I, ch. 26, verse 1, p. 956.  
65 See above note 34.  
67 Han Yu's opinion is seen in Chu Wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, ch. 11, SPTK, p. 101a.
born from the womb, from the egg, in moisture, from transformation, conscious or not conscious, he well liberate all of them. 68 How could he allow "the possibility of benefiting the world by plucking out one hair and yet not doing it" 69? When the mind has not entered into Tao, although at all times one gives in alms one's own lives as many as there are grains of sand in the River Ganges 70, yet it would also be useless. How could it be limited to "rubbing the body clean of hair from pate to heel" 71? As for the so-called Sage and the Spirit Man, of course they cannot be attained by these means.


69 See above note 64.

70 Diamond sūtra, T235, 750a.

71 See above note 66.
Ever since I began to read, I knew that Mencius was a sage. Mencius said, "The (human) nature is good."  
1 Hsün Tzu said, "The (human) nature is evil."  
2 Yang Tzu said, "(Human) nature is a mixture of good and evil."  
4 Han Tzu said, "(In man), there are nature and feelings."  
6 Su Tzu said, "(In man), there are nature and endowment."  
8 Ou-yang Tzu said, "(Human) nature is not a pressing problem for the scholar."  
10 I follow Mencius and hence I must argue with these philosophers. (While) Hsün Tzu was saying, "The (human) nature is evil," would Hsün Tzu really permit the doing of evil? (While) Yang Tzu was saying, "(Human nature is) a mixture of good and evil," when Yang Tzu was doing good, did his evil exist? (While) Han Tzu was saying, "(In man), there are nature and feelings," when Han Tzu was doing good, was it because of his nature or because of his feelings? (While) Su Tzu was saying,

2 Hsün Tzu, ch. 23, p. 86, line 1.
3 Yang Hsiung. See section 2, note 5.
4 Yang Tzu fa yen, ch. 3, SPTK, p. 88.
5 Han Yü.
6 Han's theory is found in his "Yüan-Tao," in Chu Wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-cheng chi, ch. 11, SPTK, p. 97.
7 Su Shih, see section 27, note 4.
8 Su's theory is found in his "Yang Hsiung lun (揚雄論) in Ching-chin Tung-po wen chi shih liieh, ch. 8, SPTK, p. 47b.
9 Ou-yang Hsiu, see section 125, note 3.
10 Found in "Ta Li Hsü ti-erh-shu (答李詔第二書)" in Ou-yang Wen-chung kung wen chi, ch. 47, SPTK, p. 341.
"(In man), there are nature and endowment," was the endowment of Su Tzu not (pertaining) to his nature? (While) Ou-yang Tzu was saying, "(Human) nature is not a pressing problem for the scholar," what sort of things was contained in Ou-yang Tzu's learning?

At the time of Mencius, surely there were those who regarded "eating and having sex as pertaining to the heavenly nature"; those who thought "there were good natures and bad natures"; those who thought there was "no differentiation between good and evil (in human nature)"; and those who thought that "the nature could become good or evil." All the same, Mencius still regarded nature as good. Again, he said, "From the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good." Again, he said, "If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their endowment."

Again, when I read Chuang Tzu's book which said, "Harmony and Principle arise from (human) nature." Harmony and Principle produce Tao and Te (virtue); Tao and Te produce Benevolence and Righteousness; and Benevolence and Righteousness produce Propriety and Music. Then, the theory that human nature is good became even clearer. Later on, I read Buddhist books in which the Bhūtātathā-gate nature was regarded as the

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11 *Mencius*, Book VI, part I, ch. 4, verse 1, p. 853.
12 Ibid., ch. 6, verses 1-3, pp. 859-860.
15 C.f. CT, ch. 16, p. 41, line 2.
Tathāgatagarbha. Only when this latter's merit had exceeded the amount of pure merit which was equal to the number of grains of sand in the River Ganges, and which had been accumulated from its very beginning, then it realized that all kleśas and tainted dharmas had illusory existence, and that the nature was itself originally empty. For this reason, it is called the "amala (or untainted) consciousness." When it is fumed by avidyā (ignorance), it changes into the 'alaya (or store) consciousness.' It is darkly unrecordable (as good or evil) and is that which is referred to by Yang Tzu's saying "good and evil are mixed." It changes a second time into the adanavijnāna (consciousness of holding on to) in which the ego and attachment are produced for the first time. This corresponds to the evil referred to by Hsün Tzu. It changes a third time into the 'discriminating mind consciousness' (manovijnāna), in which like and dislike arise together. This corresponds to the feelings referred to by Han Tzu. It changes a fourth time into the 'fragmented five perceptions,' in which sight and hearing are also pro-

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16. When the Bhūtatathata is in the midst of kleśas, it is called the Tathāgatagarbha. C.f. Soothill, Dictionary, p. 210b.

17. See section 195, note 3.

18. One of the twelve links of the pratitya-samutpāda.


20. avyākṛta.

21. The seventh consciousness which will not permit release.

22. These are the attachments formed in the seventh consciousness.

23. This is the sixth consciousness.

24. These are the perceptions of the eyes, ears, nose, tongue and the body.
vided. This corresponds to the endowment referred to by Su Tzu. In the reverse process, the seeker of Tao uses the Bhūtatathā to fume (hsün-hsi) the ignorance (avettyā) and turns the 'four consciousness' into the 'four wisdoms.'\(^25\) The first is called the 'Great perfect mirror wisdom (ādarsana-jñāna)'; the second, 'the universal wisdom (samatā-jñāna)'; the third, 'wisdom of profound discrimination (pratyaveksana-jñāna)'; the fourth, the 'wisdom that accomplishes all that should be performed (kṛtyānusthana-jñāna). These originally cannot be increased or decreased. Hence, they are called (the wisdoms of) the Tathāgata.

It is a case of man being ignorant about his nature, not a case of nature falling short of man, is it not so? This is referred to by Confucius' saying, "By nature men are similar, but by practice (or contagion) they become different. Only the people of the highest wisdom or the lowest dullness are not changed."\(^26\) These are identical to our Buddhist avai-vartika\(^27\) (one who never recedes) and the uchantika\(^28\). This is not the supreme truth. Master Ou-yang ordinarily did not like Buddhism and Taoism and found fault with scholars who discussed nature. How could we be deceived by this old fellow? He even denied the Great Appendix to be the words of the Sage.\(^29\) How could he have any respect for Lao Tzu and Buddha?

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\(^25\) These are the four wisdoms established by the Ideation school. Cf. Takakusu, op. cit., p. 95.

\(^26\) Analects, Book 17, ch. 2 and 3, p. 377.

\(^27\) One who never recedes from becoming the Buddha.

\(^28\) Originally, it means one who will never attain the enlightenment. But in the Mahāyāna teaching, even he possesses the Buddha-nature and hence capable of enlightenment.

\(^29\) See section 125, note 4.
I notice that all Confucianists talk about Benevolence and Righteousness and yet they do not understand what is Benevelonce and what is Righteousness. Recently, I read Chuang Chou's book, which said, "The one who practised Tao in ancient times employed tranquillity to cultivate tranquillity (t'ien) . . . and employed tranquillity to cultivate knowledge. Harmony is produced from tranquillity, and Principle is produced from knowledge. Te (virtue) is Harmony; Tao is Principle. When Te embraces all things, we have Benevolence. When Tao accords in all respects with Principle, we have Righteousness."\(^1\) It follows then that Tao and Te are the substance of Benevolence and Righteousness; and Benevolence and Righteousness are the function of Tao and Te. People of later later generations forget about their origins. They only know about the existence of Benevolence and Righteousness and forget about Tao and Te. For this reason, Lao Tzu was aroused and he said, "I'll seek its truth in the opposite direction!"\(^2\) He said this because he desired to re-unify Benevolence and Righteousness with Tao and Te. How could he be really "attacking Benevolence and Righteousness."\(^3\)

That fellow Han Yu made arrogant guesses, taking "Tao and Te as empty positions and taking Benevolence and Righteousness as fixed names."\(^4\)

\(^1\) CT, ch. 16, p. 41, lines 1-3, with alteration and abbreviations.

\(^2\) No such quotation in existing literature.

\(^3\) Words of Yang Hsiung, Yang Tzu fa yen, ch. 4. SPTK, p. 11a.

\(^4\) Han Yu's "Yuan-Tao" in Chu Wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng ch'i, ch. 11, p. 95b.
His intention was to separate Benevolence and Righteousness from Tao and Te. Really, who is the one who "sits at the bottom of a well and looks up at the sky"? Confucius said, "Set your will on Tao, grasp at Te." Are Tao and Te empty positions? Mencius said, "He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness." Are benevolence and righteousness fixed names? It follows that Mr. Han Yü also did not know what sort of things were Benevolence and Righteousness.

In recent times, the Ch'eng Brothers began to clarify the teaching on Benevolence and Righteousness. As for the fact of regarding Benevolence as consciousness, it is to know about only affections and magnanimous love. It is not enough to exhaust the essence of Benevolence. It seeks for its meaning but has not attained it. To think of it, the trouble is that it goes against its origin. Compared to it, Chuang Chou's words are more orderly. The realm of the square inch (that is, the mind) is originally quiet and enlightened, enlightened and quiet. For this reason, he says, "The one who practises Tao employs tranquillity (t'ien) to cultivate knowledge. . . . and employs knowledge to cultivate tranquillity." One employs tranquillity so as to attain quietness. One employs knowledge so as to attain enlightenment. When quietness

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5 A phrase used by Han Yü, ibid.
8 See section 47 Ming-tao's quotation.
9 See note 1 above.
reaches its ultimate, then there is nothing wayward; when enlightenment reaches its ultimate, then there is nothing obstructive. When there is nothing wayward, then there is no place at which one is not received; when there is nothing obstructive, then there is no place one cannot reach. That is why he says, "Te is Harmony; Tao is Principle." The tzu (i.e. courtesy name) of Te is Benevolence; the tzu of Tao is Righteousness. That is why he says, "When Te embraces all things, we have Benevolence. When Tao accords in all respects with Principle, we have Righteousness." Its clarity and straightforwardness are like these! It is just like the Buddhist who practises the method of cessation and insight by means of the wonderfully enlightened mind, and who obtains the balance of concentration and wisdom by means of the power of cessation and insight. He either becomes a 'compassion-increasing bodhisattva' by means of the 'concentration of the compassionate mind,' or a 'wisdom-increasing bodhisattva' by means of the 'wisdom of non-obstruction.' Compassion and wisdom having been perfectly cultivated, they both attain the great enlightenment together. The Benevolence and Righteousness referred to by the Confucianists, Tao and Te referred to by Lao Tzu are all completely in it. Alas! How can I find talented persons with whom I can discuss the true Benevolence and Righteousness?

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10 Term found in Chi yi-men-lun, T1536, 377c.
Wang T'ung regarded the Buddha as a sage, but he said, "His teaching is unsuitable when applied to China." Su Che knew that the Buddha was the teacher of men and heavenly beings but he said, "To use his teaching to manage the world will lead to confusion." I must seriously argue with these views. These two gentlemen understood only one part (of Buddhism) and not the other. They saw its minor things and not its major aspects. They heard about the teaching of self-enlightenment of the arhat but did not hear about the deeds of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. They read briefly the Hinayāna scriptures such as the Āgama, but not the sayings of the Avatamsaka and the Vimalakirti. Irresponsibly, they made those statements. It is indeed a pity! Were they not basing their opinions on the affairs of the Emperor Wu of Liang? The Mahāsattva Bodhidharma has already pointed out his mistakes. If we act according to the words the Venerable Harivarman said to Emperor Sung Wen about the government of China, how could we have those opinions?

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1 Wen-chung-tzu chung-shuo, ch. 4, SPTK, p. 16b.
2 Found in "Lao Tzu Chieh," ch. 4.
3 See section 180, note 12.
4 Ibid., note 13.
Han Yü composed the "Yüan-Tao" so as to reject Buddhism and Taoism. He accused them of teaching unmixed solitude and annihilation.\(^1\) He used the analogies of the fur and linen garments, and drinking and eating.\(^2\) This is most ridiculous. I don't know if Yü has ever seen the books of these two schools. I know that he hasn't read them. That which is referred to by Lieh Yü-k'ou's saying, "To be like a pile of dust or a heap of clods is doing nothing and is unreasonable,"\(^3\) and Vimalakīrti's saying, "the scorched shoot and rotten seeds"\(^4\) is a state in which one has already entered into the upright position of non-action, and in which one can never again give rise to the mind of bodhi. Even the students of Buddhism and Taoism have known its shortcomings. For example, the Ying-lo-ching says, "From the positions of the three worthies, the minds become quiet and annihilated. Naturally, they will drift into the great ocean of wonderful awakening."\(^5\) This is what the Tathagata taught Chih Shou about the enlightened way of giving rise to the ten thousand dharmas. The Nan-hua-ching says, "Be still, be pure, and the body will right itself."\(^6\) This is what Master Kuang Ch'eng has advised, and that by which the Yellow Emperor "insured the growth of all

\(^1\) The accusation is found in "Yuan-Tao" in Chu Wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, SPTK, p. 96a.

\(^2\) Ibid. \(^3\) Lieh Tzu, "Chung-ni," p. 91. Quotation is altered.

\(^4\) See section 203, note 8.

\(^5\) Ying-lo-ching, T1485, 1016a.

\(^6\) CT, ch. 11, p. 27, line 36. Order altered.
living things." Have the following nothing similar to our Confucian teaching: "The extension of knowledge, the investigation of things, making the thoughts sincere, rectifying the mind, regulating the family, ordering the state, and illustrating the illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom"? In his (interpretation) of the Great Learning, Yü was afraid that "the extension of knowledge and the investigation of things" were too close to the teachings of the Buddha and Lao Tzu and hence he deleted them, retaining only "rectifying the mind and making the thoughts sincere." Again, I do not know how Yü went about 'rectifying' and 'making sincere.' Not to understand this teaching and to eliminate what does not suit ones inclinations is not 'to rectify.' To have understood this teaching and to deceive himself by wilfully eliminating it is not 'to be sincere.' He thought he had inherited Confucius' and Mencius' teaching. If Confucius and Mencius lived up to their names, they would not have agreed with him.

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7 Ibid., line 30. Watson, op. cit., p. 118.
8 The Great Learning, "Text of Confucius," verse 4, pp. 4-6.
Ssu-ma Kuang's ¹ Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien records that Han Yu was forceful in rejecting Buddhism and Taoism. One of his serious attempts was seen in the "Preface Dedicated to Wen-ch'ang" which said, "Birds lower their heads to peck and raise them to look around (for danger); beasts stay in inaccessible locations and come out only briefly. They are still not liberated (from danger). Man alone lives comfortably and eats at ease. Can we afford not to know from where these things originate?"² He meant that if it were not for the former kings' chasing away the tigers and leopards, relocating the dragons and snakes, taming the ox and breaking-in the horse for riding, then man could not have lived at peace and could not have satisfied his hunger. This shows that his wit was not different from that of an idiot who said that rice came out from the mill. I am going to enter his room, snatch his spear and stab him with it, saying, "Birds lower their heads to peck and raise them to look around (for danger); beasts stay in inaccessible locations and come out only briefly. They are still not liberated (from danger). Man alone lives comfortably and eats at ease. Can we afford not to know from where these things originate?" The scholar should think about it seriously and discuss it thoroughly. Then (he will understand that) one must know about the Buddhist and Taoist teachings.

¹See section 3, note 1.

²Taken from the "Sung Fu-t'u Wen-ch'ang shih hsü (送浮屠文暢師序)" in Chu Wen-kung chiao Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi, SPTK, p. 156. Abbreviated.
The brief essence of Ssu-ma Kuang's replies to Han Ping-kuo's letters is: "What you call the Mean is not to have thoughts and worries, which is close to Buddhist and Taoist teachings. What I call the Mean is not to go in excess or to fall short."¹ He also had the analogy of taking medicine², and thought that he really had attained the teaching of the Mean. I think this is really very easy to clear up. Tzu Ssu said, "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of the Mean. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony."³ The Mean that Kuang referred to was not really the Mean but something similar to harmony. "The Mean is the great root (from which grow all the human actings) in the world, and this harmonon is the universal Tao (which they all should pursue.) Let the states of Mean and harmony exist in perfection, and an happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish."³ The Mean and harmony talked about by the Sage were so great, why was it that Kuang himself allowed them to be regarded as so insignificant? (Perhaps) Kuang had not seriously studied the Buddhist books, so he limited Buddhism to merely "having no thoughts

¹Taken from the letters "Ta Han Ping-kuo shu (回答親國書)" and the "Ta Ping-kuo ti erh shu (回答國第二書)" in Wen-kuo Wen-cheng Ssu-ma Kung chi, ch. 63, SPTK, pp. 470-471.

²Ibid.

³Chung Yung, ch. 1, verses 4-5, p. 45. C.f. Legge's translation.
and worries." The bodhisattvas of the eighth stage obtain the patience of
the law of no-birth. They do not give rise to any of the Buddha-minds and the bodhisattva-minds. Still more so would they not give rise to
the worldly mind. The Buddhas bestowed their protection and said, 'Man
from a good family, you have appropriately obtained this one teaching.
This is the dharma-nature of the dharmas: Whether the Buddha appears in
the world or if he does not appear in the world, this teaching dwells constantly without any change. The Tathāgata is called the Tathāgata
not because he has obtained this teaching. All those in the two vehi-
cles can also obtain this teaching of non-differentiation. The Tathāgata has infinite wisdom. The sons of Buddha should learn about this.'

For this reason, the Master of sūtras said, "If one single dharma is
affirmed, Vairocana will fall into the mundane world; if the ten thou-
sand dharmas are negated, Samantabhadra will lose his realm." Well
said are the words of Su Che. He said, "The Mean is just another name
of the Buddha-nature; the Harmony is a summary of the deeds of bodhi-
sattvas." "Let the states of Mean and Harmony exist in perfection," and heaven, earth and the ten thousand things will be produced by them.
What can be responsible for this if it is not the Buddha-nature? This
is, the teaching which truly understands the Mean and the Harmony. It is
a pity that there are such divergent opinions!

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4 See section 207, note 7.
5 See section 90, note 4.
6 See section 65, note 4.
7 Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 5, p. 45. C.f. Legge's translation.
Su Shih composed Ssu-ma Kuang's epitaph\(^1\) which says, "He did not like Buddhism, saying, 'Its refined and subtle (points) probably cannot exceed that of our books; its fantastic (theories) I do not believe in.'"\(^2\) Alas! How much of an obstacle cleverness has been to people! If something is similar, then it must have come from our books, if it is different, it is fantastic and unbelievable. This is precisely to put an obstacle in one's own intelligence. The interpenetration of the Taos of Sages is like the lock and the key. Their correspondence is like a seal and its imprint. Though they may be several thousand miles apart, they appear as if they have been dwelling in the same room. Though they may span ten thousand generations, they appear to have been sharing the same mat. That is why Confucius said, "There is a Sage in the West."\(^3\) Chuang Tzu said, "After ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear who will know their meaning, and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed."\(^4\) Are their refined and subtle points not the same? Lieh Tzu said, "The divine sages of ancient times would first meet the ghosts, spirits and goblins, next summon the human beings of the eight quarters, and finally assemble the birds and beasts and insects. They knew the habits of all the myriad things, and interpreted the cries of all the different species. Therefore in teaching they left out none

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\(^1\)Quoted from "Ssu-ma Wen-kung hsing-chuang (司馬文公行狀)" in Su Tung-po ch'uan-chi, vol. 1, ch. 36, p. 430.

\(^2\)Ibid. \(^3\)CT, ch. 28, p. 79, lines 78-79.

\(^4\)CT, ch. 2, p. 7, line 84. Watson's translation.
of them." Is there anything fantastic (about Buddhist teachings)?

Confucius wandered within the visible universe and hence he suspended discussions on matters beyond the six directions (i.e. the universe). Tsou Yen⁶, (Lieh) Yü-k'ou, and Chuang Chou were characters (who wandered) beyond the visible universe, and there was no limit to what they talked about, but of course (the things they talked about were) not as numerous as those in Buddhist books. Kuang would not believe those things because his ears and eyes could not reach them. If they cannot be reached by ears and eyes, how dare I not to believe them. Kuo P'u⁷ was a diviner who performed divination in the House of Chin and its accuracy was like (the complementariness of the two parts of) a tally. How can we doubt that the Buddha can remember things happening in millions of kalpas? Tso Tz'u⁸ was one who practised the occult art. He transformed himself in the Wei capital and turned into the same colour as objects. How can we doubt that our Buddha can manifest himself in billions of transformations? People believe in Chang-fang's⁹ tour within a pot, how can we not believe that Vimalakirti's room of ten cubic feet contained eighty thousand seats, and that Mount Sumeru could be

⁶Founder of the Yin-yang school during the Warring States. Biography in Shi Chi, ch. 74, p. 2344.
⁷Kuo P'u, tzu Ching-ch'un, of the Chin Dynasty.
⁸Tso Tz'u, tzu Yu-an-fang, of late Han Dynasty, acquainted with Ts'ao-ts'ao who unsuccessfully tried to kill him.
⁹Same as Fei Chang-fang, of Latter Han Dynasty.
fitted within a mustard seed? People believe in the dream in Han Tan, how can we not believe that Buddha Prabhataratna lived in his precious stūpa for five thousand kalpas, or that asamkhya ages are passed over at the snap of a finger?

If Kuang does not believe in any of these, I wonder if he has ever dreamt? After one dozes off in bed, he sees himself in his joyful youth, mountains, rivers and villages in their vivid realities, human beings, instruments, utensils and what-not, people bowing and greeting one another, together forming a universe of their own. These are specifically the projections of the sixth consciousness of discrimination of the ordinary man. Its power is such as this. Still more so (would be the power of) the Tathagata's wisdom of the Great Perfect Mirror (ādarśanajñāna) and the bodhisattva's samādhi of reaching the truth of illusion, is it not so? The scholar should digest all these points and not be coerced by empty fame.

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10. Vimalakīrti sūtra, T475, 546b.
11. A reference to a novel of T'ang Dynasty called Han Tan Meng (Dream at Han Tan), also known as Huang Liang Meng (黃粱夢). Tzu Hai, pp. 1557d. 1337a.
12. Lotus sūtra, T262, 212b, c.
13. It means countless.
14. See section M2, note 23 and text at that point.
15. See section M2, note 25.
Ch'eng Hao discussed learning with Chou Tun-i, saying, "The reason why Tao has become unclear is the injury done to it by the heterodox teachings. The error made in ancient time was near and easily understandable. The error made in the present is deep and difficult to distinguish. In the old days, they deceived people by taking advantage of their stupidity and dullness. Nowadays, they are accepted by people because of their sublime teachings. They claim to have thoroughly investigated the spirit and have understood transformations, and yet they are not good enough to disclose things, complete affairs." Although they are said to cover all aspects, yet in reality they rebel against morality. Although they are said to have investigated thoroughly the profound and the minute, yet they cannot be included within the Tao of Yao and Shun. As for the scholars in the empire, if they are not shallow, simple and stubborn, then they must have entered these teachings."  

Alas! Among Confucianists sayings of rejection of Buddhism and Taoism, none is as serious and bitter as this one. After I had read the Book of Changes, I did not find heterodox teachings strange; after I had read Chuang Tzu, I knew that heterodox teachings were a matter for joy; after I had read the Vimalakirti Sutra, I knew that heterodox teachings were a matter for

\[\text{1}\text{ICT, I, 11, p. 62. Wilhelm's translation, p. 316.}
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\[\text{2Quotation taken from "Ming-tao hsien-cheng hsing-chuang (明道先生行狀)" in I-ch'uan wen-chi, ch. 7, p. 6b in Erh Ch'eng ch'uan shu.}\]
nings were not really heterodox; after I have read the Avatamsaka sūtra,
I began to understand that there was no such thing as heterodox teach-
ing. The Doctrine of the Mean says, "The taoe are practised at the same
time and yet they do not mutually reject one another." 3 The Book of
Changes says:

"The ways of good men (different seem).
This in a public office toils;
That in his home the time beguiles.
One man his lips with silence seals;
Another all his mind reveals." 4

"... All things return to their common source and are distributed
along different paths; through one action, the fruits of a hundred
thoughts are realized." 5 Although there are heterodox teachings yet
how should they be regarded as something strange? Chuang Tzu said,
"They do not see the wholeness of Heaven and Earth." 6 The Great Body,
the Tao and Te, of the ancients are fragmented by people in the world.
"(The fragmented Tao and Te are blocked off from one another) like the
mutual blocking off of the ears, eyes, mouth and the nose," 7 or like
"the difference in taste of the haw, the pear, the orange and the
citron." 8 Although each of them alone is inadequate (to be used as the
principle) for managing the world, they are useful to people in the

6 CT, ch. 21, p. 56, line 38.
7 CT, ch. 33, p. 91, lines 11-12.
8 CT, ch. 14, p. 38, line 40.
world. "Things ribald and shady or things grotesque and strange, the Tao makes them all into one." This shows that the heterodox teachings are a matter for joy. Vimalakirti sutra says, "All the people of erroneous views and all heretics are my attendants." 10 The bodhisattvas of the sixth stage can become demons. "Defame the Buddha, destroy the dharma, desist from entering the sangha, follow the errors of the Six Heretical Teachers, then you may take the food and eat it." 11 Truly, there are no heterodox teachings. The Avatamsaka sutra said, in the section "On Entering the Dharmadhātu," 12 that everyone in the infinite number of good teachers (or knowledgeable friends) has practised the way of the bodhisattva for an ocean of kalpas. Being a king, an elder, a layman, a monk or nun, a woman, a girl, an heretic, a ghost or spirit, a sailor, a physician-diviner or an incense-monger are all entrances to the dharma. If one sees the (characteristics of the kind of people in) the Fifty-three Good Teachers 13, all of whom possess the method of great release, for example, the cruelty of Anala 14, the lewdness of Vasumitra 15, the endurance of Jayomāyata 16, the mischief of Indriyesvara 17, the oddity of Mahādeva 18, the gloom of Vasanti 19, then one

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10 Vimalakirti sutra, T475, 544c.

11 Ibid., p. 540c.

12 Avatamsaka sutra, T279, ch. 60-80.

13 The fifty-three teachers that Sudhana interviewed in the Avatamsaka sutra, T279, ch. 60-80.

14 See section 107, note 9.

15 Ibid., note 8.

16 Ibid., note 10.

17 Ibid., note 13.

18 Ibid., note 11.

19 Ibid., note 12.
knows that in this dharmadhātu there is no longer such a thing as an heterodox teaching. Tao makes no distinctions with respect to time. There is no differentiation of profundity and shallowness with respect to harm, is it not so? I am afraid that the confused and dark is not really confused and dark, that the one who regards himself to be in sublimity says so only by himself.

Let me try to discuss this. The Three Sages arose together in the time of Chou just like the rise of the sun, the moon and the stars in the East, or like the confluence of the Rivers Chiang, Ho, Huai and Han at the whirlpool of Wei-lü. This is not something accidental. Their minds are the same, their outward manifestations are different; their taoes are one, their teachings are three. Confucius wandered within the material universe. His care of the people was profound. Fearing that if the people were dazed by the sublimity of the teaching, they would become unrestrained and would not have a destination, hence he controlled them with the teaching of names. Lao Tzu wandered beyond the confines of the material universe. His concern for leading the world was urgent. Fearing that if the people lacked understanding of the most subtle concepts, they would become obstructed (in their understanding) and would not have an handle on things, hence he showed them the True Principle. As for the inevitable mutual bickering between the two, it is due to their disciples' fragmentary understanding and the

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20 This analogy was used by Li Shih-ch'ien (525-590). See Fot-su li-t'ai t'ung-tsaï, T2036, 559b.

21 CT, ch. 6, p. 18, lines 66-67.
failure to grasp their identity.

After the books of our Buddha have come to the East, (we know that his teaching) is not like these. "(The Buddha) is so large that he encompasses the entire universe in excess; he can be so small that he enters into the tip of a feather in autumn without causing a displacement." He borrows dream-talks to play with illusory men. With the teachings of the five śilas and the ten good deeds, he initiated in the Deer Park the way of re-birth into the realms of heavenly beings and human beings. By means of the four meditations and eight concentrations, he established the āryavaka vehicle under the Vulture Peak. By means of the six pāramitās and the ten thousand practices, he planted the cause of the bodhisattva. By means of the three bodies and four wisdoms, he bore the fruit of the Tathāgata. He attained the Supreme Enlightenment in one instant; he liberated sentient beings for an infinite duration of time. "Vertically, he sees the past, present and future; horizontally, he reaches to the limits of the ten directions." He turned the dharma-wheel in the (instant) snap of a finger; he pro-

22See section 22, note 16.  
23See section 180, note 6.

24Four meditations of the rūpa world. Eight concentrations are the four meditations of the rūpa world plus the four meditations of the arūpa world. These are meditations attributed to the Pāli school.

25See section 180, note 7.

26The three bodies (trikāya) are dharmakāya, sambhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya. These three bodies are formed by the four wisdoms. For the latter, see M2, note 25.

27See section 71, note 5.
duced the sūtras from the midst of dust particles. The rules and ritual prescriptions are clear down to the least detail, they are eighty-four thousand in number. The wonderful enlightenment comes in layers, they are in singles and plurals twelve in number. He secretly supplemented the Record of Rites with that which the Uncrowned King (i.e. Confucius) had not established. He straightforwardly opened up the learning of Tao with that which the Dark Sage (i.e. Lao Tzu) found difficult to explain. With the wide acceptance of his teaching, everyone is benefited, is it not so? It is like a swimming fish going in and out of the great sea, or like the flying bird gliding here and there in the great space. It fumes the muscles and bones like the (fuming of the) fragrance of camphor. It fills the lungs and entrails like the (filling of) nectar. Scholarly endeavours are joyous samādhis. The crown of the Taoist and the shoes of the Confucianist are all the truth-plot of the bodhisattva. The intelligence and debating talent of these philosophers must also have their causes, which are forgotten because of deeds in former lives. On top of this, Mr. Ch’eng’s learning comes from Buddhist books. Why must he defame and injure (the Buddha). Furthermore, he teaches people to be sincere in every word that they say, and yet he says these things. If he wants to deceive people by these, he must be foolish; if he wants to deceive himself, then he must be mad. Alas, the teaching of the investigations of the nature and Principle to the utmost has come to such a pass. And yet he still has such an object in his mind. Indeed, his disease has come to an incurable state.

28 See section 57, note 7.
Great indeed is the thing called mind. It can roughly be named 'The True Ruler'; its *tzu* (courtesy name) is 'The True Lord.' In the time of 'The Grand Chaos,' it was 'Its own origin and root. Heaven and Earth were produced by it; the ghosts and rulers received their spirits from it.'

"By the intermingling of the genial influences, the myriad things are abundantly transformed." "There were productions and transformations." "(By observing) the essence and the *ch'i* and the wandering souls, and by going back to the beginning and pursuing them to the end, we come to know the lessons of birth and death." "Death has its destination, life its sproutings, end and beginning tail one another in unbroken round," and "my bones return to the root (from which they grew, my spirit goes through its door." "(The myriad things) come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again." "That which dies here will be born there." "With their forms they

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1 Term normally used to designate Heaven.
2 Same meaning as the term above.
4 *CT*, ch. 6, p. 16, lines 29-30.  5 *ICT*, II, 5, p. 67.
8 *CT*, ch. 21, p. 55, line 29.
9 Same as note 6. C.f. Graham, op. cit., p. 23.
10 *CT*, ch. 18, p. 47, lines 45-46.
give place to one another."\textsuperscript{12} "His body decays, his mind follows it."\textsuperscript{13} "The hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs, all come together and exist here (as my body)."\textsuperscript{14} "Now, having had the opportunity to take on human form once, I said, '(I want to be) a man'"\textsuperscript{15}, "but the human form has ten thousand changes that never come to an end,"\textsuperscript{16} and yet "nothing adds or substracts from his Truth."\textsuperscript{17}

"He who does not depart from the True is called the Perfect Man."\textsuperscript{18} That "Perfect Man is godlike,"\textsuperscript{19} he "tucks the universe under his arm, leans on the sun and moon."\textsuperscript{20} "Though the great rivers freeze, they cannot chill him,"\textsuperscript{21} "Though (the heat) melts metal and stone, he will not be burned."\textsuperscript{22} "Though swift lightning splits the hills, they cannot frighten him."\textsuperscript{23} The debater cannot delude him, the good man cannot abuse him, robbers and thieves cannot rob him. He is the equal of anyone who ever existed in contests and he forgets about libels by the mere small utterance of assent. When he is delighted, "he sets off with the Creator. When disgusted, he goes out beyond the six direc-

\textsuperscript{12} CT, ch. 27, p. 75, line 9.  
\textsuperscript{13} CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 20. C.f. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38.  
\textsuperscript{14} CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 16. C.f. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38.  
\textsuperscript{15} C.f. CT, ch. 6, p. 17, line 59.  
\textsuperscript{16} CT, ch. 6, p. 16, line 27.  
\textsuperscript{17} CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 18.  
\textsuperscript{18} CT, ch. 33, p. 90, line 3. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 362.  
\textsuperscript{19} CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 71. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 46.  
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., line 77. Watson, 47.  
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., lines 71-72.  
\textsuperscript{22} CT, ch. 1, p. 2, line 33.  
\textsuperscript{23} CT, ch. 2, p. 6, line 72.
He knows nothing of hating death, or of loving life." In seeing and hearing, he does not use the eyes and ears. . . . If there are the minutest existing thing or the faintest sound in the great distance beyond the eight borderlands, they (appear to him) as close as the eyebrows or eyelashes." If this is true, he is "shy like a young girl, with skin like ice or snow. He sucks the wind, drinks the dew, rides a flying dragon and wanders beyond the four seas." "He rides the white clouds all the way up to the village of God." "He will soon choose the day and ascend far off." He may "enter into the mother of ch'i and hold up heaven and earth." For the one who possesses this Tao, the wonder seen by sight cannot be translated into words. "It can be possessed but it cannot be seen"; if one thinks about it, one will shiver. "It can be handed down but it cannot be received"; if one talks about it, one's teeth will be fractured. That is why when (the question about Tao was) asked three times, three times the answer was that he did not know it; when asked four times, four times he did not answer it. Alas! This is really simple. If one can be "stupid as a newborn calf," "inert like

24 CT, ch. 7, p. 20, line 9.  
25 CT, ch. 6, p. 15, lines 7-8.  
27 CT, ch. 1, p. 2, lines 28-29.  
28 CT, ch. 12, p. 30, line 32.  
30 CT, ch. 6, p. 16, lines 32, 31.  
31 Ibid., line 29.  
a child that has not yet smiled,"\textsuperscript{33} "having a mouth like a nose, eyes like the ears,"\textsuperscript{34} "having a shape like a withered tree, a mind like extinct ash,"\textsuperscript{35} attaining the 'without' of "giving forth light without shining,"\textsuperscript{36} the 'stillness' of "brightness is produced from stillness in the empty chamber,"\textsuperscript{37} clear like a mirror not covered by dirt, pure like the uncontaminated water, is he not the one who has "made the roots strike deep by fencing the trunk, and the life long by fixed staring,"\textsuperscript{38} who, without the practice of breath-control, has lived a thousand years, and who has been disgusted with the world and has ascended to become an immortal? All these do not go beyond the confines of my mind.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33}Lao Tzu, ch. 20.
\item \textsuperscript{34}Lieh Tzu, "Huang-ti," p. 29.
\item \textsuperscript{35}CT, ch. 2, line 2.
\item \textsuperscript{36}Lao Tzu, ch. 58.
\item \textsuperscript{37}CT, ch. 4, p. 9, line 32.
\item \textsuperscript{38}Lao Tzu, ch. 59.
\end{itemize}
"There was something formless yet complete, that existed before heaven and earth."

Again, it is said, "The Great Ultimate produced the Two Forms." "That which produces production is not produced; that which transforms transformation is not transformed. The Colourer of colours never appears; the Sounder of sounds has never issued forth."

"We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them." "I looked at them before me, and suddenly they seemed to be behind." For this reason, it is said, "(One maintains the truth of) 'Constant Non-Being' so as to observe its Secret Essences; (the truth of) 'Constant Being' as as to observe its Manifestations. These two things issued from the same mould, but nevertheless are different in name. This 'same mould' we can but call the Mystery, or rather the 'Darker than any Mystery,' The Doorway whence issued all Secret Essences."

Again, it is said, "The metaphysical is called Tao." "That which raises them up and sets them forth before all people on earth is called the field of action."

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1 Lao Tzu, ch. 25.  
2 ICT, I, 11, p. 62.  
4 Chung Yung, ch. 16, verse 2, p. 64.  
5 Analects, Book IX, ch. 10, verse 1, p. 234.  
7 ICT, I, 12, p. 63.  
8 Ibid., Wilhelm, op. cit., p. 323.
(When we came to a stage when) "the spirits have descended and brightness shone forth, the Sages were produced and the Kings were established"⁹ (from Tao), people no longer knew that "that which completes is called the nature, and that which follows after is called the good."¹⁰ "After Tao is lost, we have the Virtue; after the Virtue is lost, then we have Benevolence."¹¹ "The benevolent man sees it and calls it benevolent; the wise man sees it and calls it wise."¹² Even "the foolish man possesses it originally."¹³ "There are many who have followed it all their lives without knowing that it is Tao."¹⁴ Who can (know the world without) going out through the door?¹⁵ For example, "(everybody) eats and drinks, yet there are few who can distinguish flavours."¹⁶ For, it is "very easy to know, very easy to practise."¹⁷ The only thing is not to lose the mind of the child.

But "hold it fast, and it remains with you. Let it go, and you will lose it. Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place,"¹⁸ and "its heat is that of burning fire, its coldness that of solid ice, its swiftness such that, in the time it takes to lift and lower the head, it has twice swept over the four seas and beyond."¹⁹

⁹CT, ch. 32, p. 90, line 2. ¹⁰ICT, I, 5, p. 58.
¹¹Lao Tzu, ch. 38. ¹²Same as note 10.
¹³CT, ch. 2, p. 4, line 22.
¹⁵Lao Tzu, ch. 47. ¹⁶Chung Yung, ch. 4, verse 2.
¹⁷Lao Tzu, ch. 70. ¹⁸Mencius, Bk VI, part I, ch. 8, verse 4.
¹⁹CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 18.
The ancients had a saying, "The mind of man is restless, --prone (to err); its affinity for the (right) way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean."\textsuperscript{20} Again, it is said, "While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of the Mean. When these feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of Harmony. This Mean is the great root (from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this Harmony is the universal path which they all pursue."\textsuperscript{21} "The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it. The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it."\textsuperscript{22} For, "the most lofty who talk about the Mean"\textsuperscript{23} give body to their inborn natures, and embrace their spirit, and in this way wander through the everyday world."\textsuperscript{24} "They are still and without movement; but when acted on, they penetrate forthwith to all phenomena and events under the sky."\textsuperscript{25} They are "dependent on nothing, unchanging, and also are all pervading, unfailling."\textsuperscript{26} Although that which is passed over is transformation and that which is preserved is the spirit, yet "It manifests itself as kindness


\textsuperscript{21}Chung Yung, ch. 1, verse 4, p. 45. \textsuperscript{22}Ibid., ch. 4, v. p. 49.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., ch. 26, verse 6, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{24}CT, ch. 12, p. 31, lines 68-69. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 136.

\textsuperscript{25}ICT, I, 10. Legge's translation, p. 356.

\textsuperscript{26}Lao Tzu, ch. 25. Waley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 174.
but conceals its workings. It gives life to all things, but it does not share the anxieties of the holy sage."27 "(The Sage) by means of these cleansed their minds, retired and laid them up in secrecy. His sympathies were with the people in regard both to their good and evil fortunes."28

For he abandons the mind and uses his material form. "He has the material form of a man, but he has no human feelings."29 "He has no forgone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy and no egoism,"30 and "he has no self, no merit and no fame."31 These are the same as what are referred to by the sayings "Nothing is affirmed and nothing is left unaffirmed,"32 and "do nothing and nothing is left undone."33 Of course, there is the case of the sage who "dwells corpse-like and yet sees with dragon-vision; remains silent like a deep pool and yet sounds like thunder."34 Hence, not saying anything is also saying something; there is nothing that is not said and yet nothing is being said. Not knowing anything is also knowing something; there is

28 ICT, I, 11, p. 62.
29 CT, ch. 5, p. 14, line 54.
30 Analects, Book IX, ch. 4, p. 231.
31 CT, ch. 1, p. 2, lines 21-22.
32 CT, ch. 14, p. 40, line 80.
33 Lao Tzu, ch. 37.
34 CT, ch. 11, p. 26, line 15.
nothing that is not known and yet nothing is known. All these "manifest Tao and show the virtuous actions in their spiritual relations."\textsuperscript{35} "To hold them in lowly station is the Tao of the dark sage and uncrown king. To hold them in high station is the Virtue of emperors and kings and of the Son of Heaven."\textsuperscript{36} Is this not the complete truth about Heaven and Earth, the Great Substance of the ancients? "Its dust and leavings can mold a sage."\textsuperscript{37} "Its fringes, leftovers, offal and weeds can be used to manage the universe."\textsuperscript{38} All these are also due to my mind!

\textsuperscript{35} ICT, I, 9, p. 61. C.f. Legge's translation, p. 366.

\textsuperscript{36} CT, ch. 13, p. 33, lines 8-9. Watson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 143.

\textsuperscript{37} CT, ch. 1, p. 2, lines 33-34.

\textsuperscript{38} CT, ch. 28, p. 77, line 27.
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