

THE COLLECTION FOR THE PROPAGATION
AND CLARIFICATION OF BUDDHISM

VOLUME II

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BDK English Tripiṭaka Series

**THE COLLECTION FOR THE
PROPAGATION AND CLARIFICATION
OF BUDDHISM
VOLUME II**

(Taishō Volume 52, Number 2102)

Translated from the Chinese

by

Harumi Hirano Ziegler

BDK America, Inc.

2017

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A Message on the Publication of the English Tripiṭaka

The Buddhist canon is said to contain eighty-four thousand different teachings. I believe that this is because the Buddha's basic approach was to prescribe a different treatment for every spiritual ailment, much as a doctor prescribes a different medicine for every medical ailment. Thus his teachings were always appropriate for the particular suffering individual and for the time at which the teaching was given, and over the ages not one of his prescriptions has failed to relieve the suffering to which it was addressed.

Ever since the Buddha's Great Demise over twenty-five hundred years ago, his message of wisdom and compassion has spread throughout the world. Yet no one has ever attempted to translate the entire Buddhist canon into English throughout the history of Japan. It is my greatest wish to see this done and to make the translations available to the many English-speaking people who have never had the opportunity to learn about the Buddha's teachings.

Of course, it would be impossible to translate all of the Buddha's eighty-four thousand teachings in a few years. I have, therefore, had one hundred thirty-nine of the scriptural texts in the prodigious Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon selected for inclusion in the First Series of this translation project.

It is in the nature of this undertaking that the results are bound to be criticized. Nonetheless, I am convinced that unless someone takes it upon himself or herself to initiate this project, it will never be done. At the same time, I hope that an improved, revised edition will appear in the future.

It is most gratifying that, thanks to the efforts of more than a hundred Buddhist scholars from the East and the West, this monumental project has finally gotten off the ground. May the rays of the Wisdom of the Compassionate One reach each and every person in the world.

NUMATA Yehan
Founder of the English
Tripiṭaka Project

August 7, 1991

Editorial Foreword

In the long history of Buddhist transmission throughout East Asia, translations of Buddhist texts were often carried out as national projects supported and funded by emperors and political leaders. The BDK English Tripiṭaka project, on the other hand, began as a result of the dream and commitment of one man. In January 1982 Dr. NUMATA Yehan, founder of Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai (Society for the Promotion of Buddhism), initiated the monumental task of translating the complete *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Buddhist canon) into the English language. Under his leadership, a special preparatory committee was organized in April 1982. By July of the same year the Translation Committee of the English Tripiṭaka was officially convened.

The initial Committee included the following members: (late) HANAYAMA Shōyū (Chairperson), (late) BANDŌ Shōjun, ISHIGAMI Zennō, (late) KAMATA Shigeo, (late) KANAOKA Shūyū, MAYEDA Sengaku, NARA Yasuaki, (late) SAYEKI Shinkō, (late) SHIOIRI Ryōtatsu, TAMARU Noriyoshi, (late) TAMURA Kwansei, (late) URYŪZU Ryūshin, and YUYAMA Akira. Assistant members of the Committee were as follows: KANAZAWA Atsushi, WATANABE Shōgo, Rolf Giebel of New Zealand, and Rudy Smet of Belgium.

After holding planning meetings on a monthly basis, the Committee selected one hundred and thirty-nine texts for the First Series of the project, estimated to be one hundred printed volumes in all. The texts selected were not limited to those originally written in India but also included works composed in China and Japan. While the publication of the First Series proceeds, the texts for the Second Series will be selected from among the remaining works; this process will continue until all the texts, in Japanese as well as in Chinese, have been published. Given the huge scope of this project, accomplishing the English translations of all the Chinese and Japanese texts in the *Taishō* canon may take as long as one hundred years or more. Nevertheless, as Dr. NUMATA wished, it is the sincere hope of the Committee that this project will continue until completion, even after all the present members have passed away.

Editorial Foreword

Dr. NUMATA passed away on May 5, 1994, at the age of ninety-seven, having entrusted his son, Mr. NUMATA Toshihide, with the continuation and completion of the English Tripiṭaka project. The Committee lost its able and devoted Chairperson, Professor HANAYAMA Shōyū, on June 16, 1995, at the age of sixty-three. In October 1995 the Committee elected Professor MAYEDA Sengaku (then Vice President of Musashino Women's College) as Chairperson, and renewed its determination to carry out the noble ideals of Dr. NUMATA under the leadership of Mr. NUMATA Toshihide. Present members of the Committee are Kenneth Tanaka (Chairperson), MAYEDA Sengaku, ICHISHIMA Shōshin, ISHIGAMI Zennō, KATSURA Shōryū, NARA Yasuaki, SAITŌ Akira, SHIMODA Masahiro, WATANABE Shōgo, and YONEZAWA Yoshiyasu.

The Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research was established in November 1984, in Berkeley, California, U.S.A., to assist in the publication of the translated texts. The Publication Committee was organized at the Numata Center in December 1991. In 2010, the Numata Center's operations were merged with Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai America, Inc. (BDK America), and BDK America continues to oversee the publication side of the English Tripiṭaka project in close cooperation with the Editorial Committee in Tokyo.

At the time of this writing, February 10, 2017, the project has completed about sixty percent of the seven thousand one hundred and eighty-five Taishō pages of texts selected for the First Series. Much work still lies ahead of us but we are committed to the completion of the remaining texts in order to realize Dr. Numata's vision of the Buddhist canon to become readily accessible to the English-speaking world.

Kenneth K. Tanaka
Chairperson
Editorial Committee of
the BDK English Tripiṭaka

Publisher's Foreword

On behalf of the members of the Publication Committee, I am happy to present this volume as the latest contribution to the BDK English Tripiṭaka Series. The Publication Committee members have worked to ensure that this volume, as all other volumes in the series, has gone through a rigorous process of editorial efforts.

The initial translation and editing of the Buddhist scriptures found in this and other BDK English Tripiṭaka volumes are performed under the direction of the Editorial Committee in Tokyo, Japan. Both the Editorial Committee in Tokyo and the Publication Committee, headquartered in Moraga, California, are dedicated to the production of accurate and readable English translations of the Buddhist canon. In doing so, the members of both committees and associated staff work to honor the deep faith, spirit, and concern of the late Reverend Dr. Yehan Numata, who founded the BDK English Tripiṭaka Series in order to disseminate the Buddhist teachings throughout the world.

The long-term goal of our project is the translation and publication of the texts in the one hundred-volume Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon, along with a number of influential extracanonical Japanese Buddhist texts. The list of texts selected for the First Series of this translation project may be found at the end of each volume in the series.

As Chair of the Publication Committee, I am deeply honored to serve as the fifth person in a post previously held by leading figures in the field of Buddhist studies, most recently by my predecessor, John R. McRae.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the members of the Publication Committee for their dedicated and expert work undertaken in the course of preparing this volume for publication: Managing Editor Marianne Dresser, Dr. Hudaya Kandahjaya, Dr. Carl Bielefeldt, Dr. Robert Sharf, and Rev. Brian Kensho Nagata, Director of the BDK English Tripiṭaka Project.

A. Charles Muller
Chairperson
Publication Committee

Contents

A Message on the Publication of the English Tripiṭaka	<i>NUMATA Yehan</i>	v
Editorial Foreword	<i>Kenneth K. Tanaka</i>	vii
Publisher's Foreword	<i>A. Charles Muller</i>	ix
Translator's Introduction	<i>Harumi Hirano Ziegler</i>	xix
The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism, Volume II		
Fascicle Eight		
The <i>Discourse on Debating to Remove Hindrances (Bianhuo lun)</i> and the Preface by Shi Xuanguang		3
The <i>Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions (Miehuo lun)</i> by Liu Xie, Record Keeper at Dongguan County		13
Response to the <i>Discourse on the Triple Destruction</i> , which Daoists Postulate is Zhang Rong's Composition (in Nineteen Articles), by Shi Sengshun		27
Fascicle Nine		
The Record that the Emperor of the Great Liang Dynasty Sets Forth the Right Logic for the Spiritual Intelligence and the Attainment of Buddhahood, together with the Preface and Annotation Composed by Shen Ji of Wuxing		41
Criticism of the <i>Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit (Shenmie lun)</i> Preface by Xiao Chen		48
The <i>Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit</i>		49
Criticism of Secretariat Fan's <i>Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit</i> by Cao Siwen		65
Response to Office Manager Cao's Criticism of the <i>Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit</i> [by Fan Zhen]		68
Imperial Response		73

The Second Criticism of Secretariat Fan's <i>Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit</i> [by Cao Siwen]	74
Fascicle Ten	
The Emperor of the Great Liang Dynasty's <i>Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit</i>	79
Letter Given by Dharma Teacher Fayun at Zhuangyan Temple to Lords, Kings, and the Noble Courtiers, and their Responses	80
[Letter Given to Dharma Teacher Fayun (467–529)]	80
The Answer of the King of Linchuan	80
The Answer of the King of Jian'an	81
The Answer of the King of Changsha	81
The Answer of Shen Yue (441–513), Director of the Imperial Secretariat	81
The Answer of Fan Xiu (460–514), Grand Master for Splendid Happiness and Current Commandant of the Right Guard of the Crown Prince	82
The Answer of Wang Ying, Governor of Danyang	82
The Answer of Wang Zhi (460–513), Secretariat Director	83
The Answer of Yuan Ang (461–540), Right Chief Administrator	83
The Answer of Xiao Bing, Chamberlain of the Court for the Palace Garrison	84
The Answer of Xu Mian (466–535), Imperial Secretary of the Ministry of Personnel	84
The Answer of Lu Gao (459–532), Palace Cadet of the Crown Prince	85
The Answer of Xiao Chen (476–512), Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary	86
The Answer of Wang Bin and Wang Jian, Attendants-in-Ordinary	87
The Answer of Lu Xu, Secretariat Drafter of the Heir Apparent	87
The Answer of Xu Gun, Gentleman of the Palace Gate	88
The Answer of Wang Jian (477–523), Palace Attendant	88
The Answer of Liu Yun (465–517), Palace Attendant	89
The Answer of Liu Cheng (d. 513), Attendant-in-Ordinary	90
The Answer of Wang Mao, Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Apparent	90
The Answer of Yu Yong, Chamberlain for Ceremonials	91

The Answer of Xiao Ang (483–535), Acting King of Yuzhang	92
The Answer of Yu Tanlong, Superior Grand Master of the Palace	93
The Answer of Xiao Mi, Frontrider of the Heir Apparent	93
The Answer of Wang Sengru (465–522), Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief	94
The Answer of Wang Yi, Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate	94
The Answer of Wang Tai, Gentleman Attendant of the Ministry of Personnel	95
The Answer of Cai Zun (467–523), Palace Attendant	96
The Answer of Wang Zhongxin, Director of Jiankang	96
The Answer of Shen Ji, Adjutant of Outer Troops of the King of Jian'an	97
The Answer of Sima Yun, Gentleman Attendant of the Ministry of Sacrifices	98
The Answer of Shen Gun, Adjutant of the Personnel Evaluation Section of the King of Yuzhang	99
The Answer of Wang Qi, Officer of the Personnel Evaluation Section of the King of Jian'an	100
The Answer of Wei Rui (440–520), Right Guard General	101
The Answer of Xie Chuo, Chief Minister for Law Enforcement	101
The Answer of Fan Xiaocai, Libationer of the Minister of Education	102
The Answer of Wang Lin, Attendant-in-Ordinary	103
The Answer of He Jiong, Gentleman of the Bureau of Provisions	103
The Answer of Wang Yun (481–549), Recorder of the King of Yuzhang	104
The Answer of Sun Yi, Gentleman of the Granaries Section	105
The Answer of Xiao Misu, Aide to [the Magistrate of] Danyang	106
The Answer of Fu Jing (462–520), Secretariat Gentleman	108
The Answer of He Yang, Erudite of the Five Classics	108
The Answer of Liu Qia, Secretary of the Heir Apparent	109
The Answer of Yan Zhizhi (457–508), Erudite of the Five Classics	110
The Answer of Cao Siwen, Houseman of the Eastern Palace	111
The Answer of Xie Ju, Vice Director of the Palace Library	111
The Answer of Ma Yuanhe, Chamberlain for the National Treasury	112
The Answer of Wang Jing, Court Gentleman for Evaluations	113

Contents

The Answer of Lu Ren, Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and Lu Chui (470–526), Secretariat Drafter of the Heir Apparent	115
The Answer of Wang Shengshu, Vice Commandant	116
The Answer of Ming Shanbin (443–527), Erudite of the Five Classics	117
The Answer of Yu Qianlou, Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty	119
The Answer of Yin Jun (484–532), Household Provisioner of the Heir Apparent	122
The Answer of Zhang Mian (490–531), Assistant in the Palace Library	122
The Answer of Lu Lian, Erudite of the Five Classics	124
The Answer of Zhang Fan, Mounted Escort of Yangzhou	125
The Answer of Wang Zhenguo (d. 515), Commandant of the Left of the Heir Apparent	126
The Answer of Cao Jingzong (457–508), General of the Palace Guard	126
The Answer of Yan Shan, Chamberlain for Attendants	127
The Answer of Shen Hong, Erudite of the Five Classics	128
The Answer of Sima Jiong (d. 518), Arbiter of Jiankang	129
The Answer of Qiu Zhongfu, Assistant Director of the Left	130
Fascicle Eleven	
Director He Shangzhi's Case to Glorify Buddhism, Responding to Emperor Wen of the Song Dynasty	131
The Responses of Two Dharma Masters, [Dao]gao and [Fa]ming, to Li Miao of Jiaozhou, Who Criticized the Matter that the Buddha Does Not Manifest Himself, and Li [Miao]'s Letters	137
[Li Miao's Criticism]	137
[Daogao's Response]	138
[Li Miao's Response]	139
[Daogao's Second Response]	141
[Li Miao's Second Response]	143
[Faming's Response to Li Miao]	144
The Letter of King Wenxuan Given to Kong Zhigui, Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief, in Order to Dispel Doubts, together with the Answer	149

Kong Zhigui's Letters, together with [Prince Xiao's] Answer	154
[Kong Zhigui's (447–501) Letter]	154
[Kong Zhigui's Second Letter]	156
[Kong Zhigui's Third Letter]	158
[Prince Xiao's Answer]	158
The Letters of Two Dharma Teachers, Daoheng and Daobiao, Responding to Yao [Xing Zi]lüe, the Usurper Ruler of the Later Qin Dynasty, Who Exhorts Them to Give up the [Buddhist] Way, together with the Letters of the Ruler Yao	158
The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Two Eminent Monks, [Dao]heng and [Dao]biao	158
[The Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao Responding to Yao]	159
[The Ruler Yao's Response]	160
[The Second Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao]	161
[The Ruler Yao's Second Response]	161
[The Third Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao]	161
Report to the Throne by the Three Dharma Teachers Senglüe, Sengqian, and Kumārajīva, in Response to the Letters of the Ruler Yao, Who Tried to Suspend [the Monkhood of Dao]heng and [Dao]biao, together with the Ruler Yao's Letters	162
The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Kumārajīva	162
The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Sengqian and Others	163
Report to the Throne by Senglüe, Sengqian, Kumārajīva, and Others Requesting [the Ruler Yao] to Cease Removing [Dao]heng and [Dao]biao from the [Buddhist] Way	164
The Letter of Dharma Teacher Huiyuan of Mount Lu in Response to Huan Xuan, Who Urges that [Huiyuan] be Removed from the [Buddhist Way], together with Huan Xuan's Letter	166
Huan Xuan's (369–404) Letter	166
Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan's Response	167
The Letters of Dharma Teacher Sengyan to Decline the Provincial Governor of Qingzhou Liu Shanming's Recommendation for the Official Appointment of the Cultivated Talent (Xiucai), together with Liu Shanming's Responses	168
The Letter of Dharma Teacher Sengyan	168

[Liu Shanming's] Response to Buddhist Monk Sengyan	169
Sengyan's Second Letter in Response [to Liu Shanming]	170
[Liu Shanming's] Second Response	171
Sengyan's Third Letter	172
[Liu Shanming's] Third Response	173
Fascicle Twelve	
Letter Given to Shi Daoan by Xi Zaochi	176
The Letter of the King of [Nan]qiao to Discuss Confucius and Śākyamuni	178
Zhang Xin'an's Response	179
Letter Given to Meditation Master [Huiyi] to Discuss the Manner of Eating While Squatting with Raised Heels by Zheng Daozi	180
Letter Given to Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs Wang [Hong] and All Others in Order to Discuss Buddhist Monks' Manner of Eating While Squatting with Raised Heels by Fan Bolun	182
Shi Huiyi's Letter in Response to Fan Bolun	184
[Fan Bolun's] Response to Eminent [Hui]yi	186
Fan Bolun's Letter Given to the Two Dharma Teachers [Zhu Dao]sheng and [Hui]guan	187
Petitions Presented to the Throne to Discuss the Manner of Eating While Squatting with Raised Heels by Fan Bolun	188
[First Petition]	188
[Second Petition]	190
[Imperial Decree in Response to Fan Bolun]	191
[Third Petition]	191
Report to the Throne Regarding the Issue that Śramaṇas Should Not Bow [to the King] by Director of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong	193
[Preface]	193
[Report to the Throne]	193
The Imperial Decree on Behalf of Emperor Cheng of the Jin Dynasty Composed by Yu Bing, Who Admonishes the Purport [of the Report] Again and Thinks that Śramaṇas Should Bow to the King	194
Second Report to the Throne by Director of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong and Officials such as Chu She, Zhuge Hui, Feng Huai, and Xie Guang	195

Emperor Cheng's Second Imperial Decree	197
Third Report to the Throne Regarding the Issue that [<i>Śramaṇas</i>] Should Not Bow [to the King] by Officials such as Director of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong and [Left] Supervisor Chu She	198
[Epilogue]	199
Letter Given to the Eight Executives to Discuss Buddhist Monks' Bowling [to the King] by Huan Xuan	199
The Eight Executives' Response	200
Letter Given to Secretariat Director Wang [Mi] to Discuss the Issue that Buddhist Monks Should Bow to the King by Huan Xuan	201
Letter in Response to Huan [Xuan] by Secretariat Director Wang [Mi]	202
Criticism [to Wang Mi] by Huan [Xuan]	203
Second Response by Lord [Wang Mi]	205
Second Criticism by Huan [Xuan]	209
Third Response by Lord [Wang Mi]	211
Fourth Letter by Huan [Xuan]	214
Additional Criticism by [Huan Xuan]	215
Fourth Response by Lord [Wang Mi]	216
Letter in Response to Huan Xuan Regarding the Issue that <i>Śramaṇas</i> Should Not Bow to the King by Dharma Teacher Huiyuan of Mount Lu, together with Huan Xuan's Two Letters	217
Letter Given to Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan by Huan Xuan	217
Response [to Huan Xuan] by Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan	218
Response [to Huiyuan] by Defender-in-Chief Huan [Xuan], together with the Decree to Stop <i>Śramaṇas</i> from Bowing [to the King]	222
Imperial Decree to Allow Buddhist Monks Not to Bow [to the King] by Huan [Xuan, Former King of] Chu	223
[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Bian Sizhi and Yuan Kezhi]	223
[Decree by Huan Xuan]	224
[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Ma Fan and Bian Sizhi]	224
[Decree by Huan Xuan]	225
[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Bian Sizhi]	225
[Decree by Huan Xuan]	226
[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Bian Sizhi]	226

Contents

Letter Given to Huan Xuan to Discuss the Evaluation of <i>Śramaṇas</i> by Huiyuan of Mount Lu, together with Huan Xuan's Decree	227
Decree Given to the Staff to Intend to Select Buddhist Monks by Regent Huan Xuan	227
Letter Given to Defender-in-Chief Huan [Xuan] to Discuss the Evaluation of <i>Śramaṇas</i> by Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan	228
Letter Given to Huan Xuan to Discuss that the Provincial Office Requests to Register <i>Śramaṇas</i> by Dharma Teacher Zhi Daolin	230
Report to Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty to Discuss the Issue of the Inspection and Examination of Buddhist Monks by Shi Daosheng of Tianbao Temple	232
Fascicle Thirteen	
<i>Essentials for Believing in the Dharma</i> by Palace Secretary Chi [Chao]	235
The <i>Family Code</i> : Clarification of Two Issues by Chamberlain for the Attendants Yan Yanzhi	253
[Issue One]	254
[Issue Two]	254
<i>Sunshine</i> by Wang Gai	255
Fascicle Fourteen	
Written Appeal to Mount Tai by Zhu Daoshuang	267
Written Appeal to the Demon by Shi Zhijing	273
Written Appeal to Destroy Demons Composed by Shi Baolin	281
Afterword to the <i>Discourse for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism</i> by Shi Sengyou	289
Notes	299
Glossary	329
Bibliography	339
Index	341
A List of the Volumes of the BDK English Tripiṭaka (First Series)	371

Translator's Introduction

The *Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism* (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, volume 52, number 2102, 1a3–96b3) is a compilation by Shi Sengyou (445–518), a Vinaya master of the Liang dynasty (502–557) consisting mainly of discourses, critical responses to anti-Buddhist discourses, correspondence, reports to the emperor, family codes, and written appeals by Buddhist laypeople and monks, mostly from the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) through the second decade of the sixth century of the Liang dynasty. These writings were intended to protect the Buddhist Dharma from interference by those who valued the teachings based on Confucianism and Daoism, and by the political powers of the time, as well as in order to promulgate Buddhism.

Sengyou was deeply concerned about delusions and misinformation held by anti-Buddhists, which he saw as a major cause of negative views toward Buddhism. In his Afterword (pp. 289–298 in this volume) Sengyou lists six kinds of secular scholars' doubts about Buddhism: (1) what the Buddhist scriptures expound is preposterous and unverifiable; (2) since one's spirit perishes when one dies, it is hardly possible that the spirit will transmigrate in the three periods of existence; (3) no one has ever seen the real Buddha and his teaching has no benefit to state governance; (4) the Dharma teaching did not exist in ancient times and emerged only recently during the Han period; (5) the Buddhist teaching should exist only in the region of western tribes and its edification is not for Chinese people; and (6) the Dharma was rarely practiced in the Han and Wei periods and began flourishing only during the Jin period.

Sengyou believed that "The Way is propagated by people, and the teaching is clarified by literature." By collecting literary works from distinctive scholars of former ages that were intended to dispel wrong views toward Buddhism, which included expressions to protect Buddhism and were advantageous in protecting the Three Treasures, he hoped to disperse these doubts.

Historical Background

Buddhist teachings transmitted to China before the Common Era were initially practiced only among non-Chinese groups. During the Han dynasty, the Buddhist clergy consisted of *śramaṇas* from India or Central Asia, and there was not a large number of Chinese followers. Around the middle of the third century we see the remarkable activities of a Chinese Buddhist group led by Zhu Shixing (or Zixing). More conspicuous activities of Chinese monks can be seen during the time of the Eastern Jin dynasty. Thanks to eminent Chinese monks such as Zhi Dun (314–366), Daoan (312–385), and Huiyuan (334–416), who expended great effort to spread Buddhist teachings, the number of Chinese monks notably increased. Intellectuals who were well versed in the Chinese classics, such as the *Zhuangzi* and the *Laozi Dao de jing* and who enjoyed the “pure talks” (*qingtan*), became increasingly devoted to Buddhism. By the early sixth century, when Sengyou compiled *The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism*, Buddhism had come to flourish in both north and south China.

The growth of Buddhism consequently caused serious conflicts between Buddhists and non-Buddhists in political and social arenas and thought. People became more aware that the Buddhist teachings differed significantly from Confucianism and Daoism in many ways. Moreover, lay Buddhists' enthusiasm resulted in the construction of many Buddhist temples and pagodas, which caused financial burden on civil administration and society, and the increasing number of monks who engaged in secular life and business contributed to the deterioration of the sangha. In the north, where non-Chinese groups had ruled continuously since the collapse of the Western Jin dynasty (316), government reaction to the ascendancy of Buddhism resulted in Emperor Wu's persecution of Buddhists between 446 and 452 during the Northern Wei dynasty. In the south, where the Chinese established political power successively, there was no such large-scale Buddhist persecution, but there were longstanding serious conflicts between Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Accordingly, Buddhist groups became the target of criticism from anti-Buddhist groups and were compelled to explain their positions and protect Buddhism at the same time.

Characteristics and Significance

The *Collection* is widely known as an invaluable source to examine the early development of Chinese Buddhism. It offers much insight into how Buddhism, a foreign religion, was accepted in Chinese society, mainly by intellectuals of the southern dynasties, and how these early adopters understood the Buddhist tenets in relation to their abundant knowledge of the Chinese classics. In fact, we find various issues encountered by Buddhists to be deeply rooted in Chinese society and belief: whether or not the spirit perishes after death; the causality of reward and retribution in the three periods of existence; the differing viewpoints of the sovereign and of monks; Chinese monks' beliefs and Chinese customs and thought on such notions as filial piety, taking the tonsure, and styles of personal deportment (such as manners of sitting, eating, and dress); lay Buddhists' religious practices; a ruler's attempt to recruit monks for his brain trust; and criticism of Daoism.

A notable aspect of this work is that Buddhist tenets are explained using Confucian and Daoist terminology. It is widely known that *geyi*, a way to interpret Buddhist scriptures by means of the philosophy asserted in the *Laozi Dao de jing* and the *Zhuangzi*, was popular during the Eastern Jin period. It began with Zhu Faya and Kang Falang who studied with Daoan under Fotudeng. Even though Daoan criticized *geyi*, it is known that Daoan allowed only Huiyuan, his eminent disciple, to explain Buddhist doctrines using non-Buddhist texts. We see many examples of this tendency in this work.

In addition to *geyi*, throughout the *Hongmingji* authors quote from the Chinese classics and historical records to support their arguments. Wherever possible I have tried to indicate in the notes the sources of these quotations together with available English translations.

Moreover, *The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism* is a valuable source to examine the early stage of Daoism in the south, particularly the Daoist school called the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain (Wudoumijiao) or the Way of the Celestial Master (Tianshidao). For instance, in Fascicle Eight (pp. 3–39 in this volume), through Shi Xuanguang's criticism of Daoism, Daoist practices and rituals such as the "unity of the yin-yang vapors" (*heqi*) and the "Mud and Ash Fête" (*tutanzhai*) are described.

In addition, we find the titles of each position of the organization together with their derivations. A scarcity of clearly dated Daoist sources for studies of early Daoism is a crucial problem in current scholarship. Although the *Collection* is a Buddhist work from chiefly the fourth and fifth centuries, it also serves well as a primary source for contemporary Daoism.

Finally, it should be noted that this text served as inspiration for Daoxuan (596–667), who took Sengyou's compilation as his model in compiling his own *Extensive Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism* (*Guang Hongmingji*) in 664.

Questions on the Compilation

The text of *The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism* currently circulated consists of fourteen fascicles, with fifty-eight headings. Sengyou, however, lists this work as consisting of ten fascicles together with a table of contents, with thirty-three headings, in his compilation *Collection of Records Derived from the Tripitaka* (*Chusanzang jiji*), completed around 515 in the last years of his life. The Buddhist catalogue *Zhongjing mulu* compiled by Fajing in 593 lists this text as being comprised of ten fascicles as well, but Fei Changfang's catalogue *Lidai sanbaoji* completed in 597 records the *Collection* as consisting of fourteen fascicles. Questions about the completion of the fourteen-fascicle text are still controversial and require further research.

Note on the Translation

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are listed in this form: Taishō serial number; volume number; page; register (a, b, or c); line number(s). For example, *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, T.185.3:472c1–483a13.

Transliterations of Chinese language follow the Pinyin system. Japanese Romanization follows the modified Hepburn system as employed in *Kenkyūsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (third and later editions).

THE COLLECTION FOR THE PROPAGATION
AND CLARIFICATION OF BUDDHISM
VOLUME II

Compiled by Shi Sengyou at Jianchu Temple in Yangdu
during the Liang Dynasty

**The *Discourse on Debating to Remove
Hindrances (Bianhuo lun)*
and the Preface by
Shi Xuanguang**

The trichiliocosm is remote and myriad transformations are limitless. People temporarily find their enjoyment in the dreamland, infected and misled by worldly fame. If the perception of objects (Skt. *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa*) increases, like mist, how can they discern the brilliant right [way]? The weakening of simple and sincere customs causes all the devils to compete with each other in confusion. When one seeks glory by means of falsehood and deception, he will assuredly commit the five rebellious acts. When he leads ignorant people by force, he must apply the six atrocious methods. Then he is filled with the pestilent force like dust in a dust storm and brings various troubles upon himself.

I remember that the eastern Wu region suffered from hardships caused by the Water Transcendents [led by Sun En (d. 402 C.E.)]; in the western tribal land [Zhang Lu] gave the title “spiritual soldier” (*guizu*) [to his followers]; in the groves of the Minyue region the obscene ways of seed people (*zhong-min*) remain;¹ and in the time of the Han dynasty the people were moved by the mourning song for the son (*sizi*).² Loyal, wise men sigh in disappointment. The government has been maltreated and is about to come to an end. Even if we were to pick up [grains of] sand and grasses from the ground, how could we count the sins we have committed? People of insignificant and superficial learning do not know the foundation of the teaching. The erroneous words of the worldly teaching defy and conceal the Three Treasures (i.e., Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha). The streets are full of resentment of our dear spiritual people (*guimin*; i.e., followers of the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain). All of this is none other than the ashes of Mount Yan and the dregs of the Yellow and Luo Rivers, and is together submerged in dangerous difficulty. I am very sorrowful about it. I will try to explain what happened in

the past, in the hope of mirroring the future. I will illuminate the profound native land for children who are confused [in foreign lands and who do not know the way to go home], expose the subtle purport beyond this world, secretly spread a happy breeze, and judge situations of [the dualism of] self and other. Is this something that can be presented and copied in words?

**To Ban [the Circulation of] Scriptures and to Raise their Price—
The First Rebellious Act**

The profound scriptures (i.e., Buddhist scriptures) unfold like clouds and pierce through the beautiful world of emptiness and existence. What among the sages' achievements would not have derived from these [scriptures]? [The scriptures] are really the deep sea for those who learn [Buddhism] and the sun and moon for sentient beings. Therefore, Sadāprarudita Bodhisattva illuminates [sentient beings] equally with benevolence, makes a flash of lightning in the nether world, puts an end to devils in a dangerous marsh, sets a divine boat afloat with the winds of faith, and delivers [beings of] this fleeting world from the sea of suffering.

48b I have heard that when Daoist scriptures are composed worldly ideas are blended into them. Since the traces of the [Daoist] teaching are perverse and sinister, [the scriptures] have not been transmitted [to the public]. It is strange that the edification of Daoism is futilely banned and yet we see today that those who study [Daoism] ignore the strict rules and give the scriptures in order to obtain gold and silk fabric. If a poor man comes to the Daoists they will not see him even if he dies. They are greedy for profit and have no mercy. No one goes against [reason] more than this.

Moreover, their art is obscene and evil; it is not clean. They consider the grinding of teeth to be a heavenly drum, swallowed spit to be [like water from] a sweet spring, horse excrement to be numinous firewood, and old mice to be the raw material for a transcendent elixir. Even if one avails himself of this [teaching] to seek the Way, how could he attain it?

Formerly, the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty and Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (141–187 B.C.E.) could not lighten their bodies [to become a transcendent]. [The First Emperor of the Qin dynasty] sent Xu Fu and [Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty] sent Gongsun [Qing] to a very distant place, beyond the clouds and waves, and [both emperors] ordered them to offer a prayer and a greeting to communicate with transcendents, but there

was no result [in either case]. When we tranquilize our minds and remove desire, [we see that] facts and the Way are next to each other. Would it then be necessary to make efforts to run around, swallow spit, or grind one's teeth?

To Recklessly Claim the True Way—The Second Rebellious Act

Those who try to reach the pale red-colored clouds [in order to become a transcendent] talk of the merits of alchemy and elixirs. Those who try to open and clarify the pure intelligence count on the energy of a marvelous herb called *danghua*.³ Although [Daoists] maintain these [practices] and consider them to be true, they have not been able to avoid the final consequence (i.e., death). Furthermore Zhang Ling absurdly called himself the Heavenly Master, but since he insulted people as well as spirits, he received retribution while still alive; at the end of the Xingping era (195 C.E.) of the Han dynasty he was swallowed by a python. His son Heng ran about looking for his body but could not locate it. [Heng] was afraid that [his father's] pure talk would be besmirched by [his death]. So he set up a false expedient: in order to show the trace of [Zhang Ling's] mysterious transformation, he bound [the legs of] a live crane and placed the animal on a precipice. After the scheme was complete, he set a date to make it public. In the first year of the Jian'era (196 C.E.) he sent messengers [to the parishes] to announce that the Heavenly Master would ascend to the Mysterious Capital [where divine transcendents dwell] on the seventh day of the first month. The followers of the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain and those who make a living by hunting in the mountains gathered like ants outside the door [of the temple]. The parishioners of Mount Yuntai (in present-day Jiangsu province) bowed their heads to the ground twice and said, "We have humbly heard that the sage (i.e., Zhang Ling) will travel to the Mysterious Capital. We followers will be separated from his blessing and salvation forever. Corpus spirits (*shijin*) will surely enjoy themselves⁴ and [the world] will precisely be as dark as the Nine Murks (i.e., the bottom of the earth).

Heng entered [the temple] and after a while came out. He lied to the people, telling them that [Zhang Ling] had said, "I will turn the carriage toward Chenhua. Each of you, return to your parish, purify your mind, sustain the practice, keep the Master in mind, and think of the Way." Heng then surreptitiously untied [the crane] and the crane flew straight up into the air. The followers, including those who make a living by hunting [in the mountains],

were ignorant and foolish, and all said that [Zhang Ling] had ascended to [the realm of] immortals. [This example shows how] the living take advantage of the dead for profit and cheat Heaven and Earth.

To Explain Sins by Means of the Union of the *Yin* and *Yang* Energies (i.e., Sexual Practices)—The Third Rebellious Act

When one clears his mind of all feelings and removes desire, his aspiration for the Way becomes bright and true. A group of nameless, ignoble people recklessly composed the *Yellow Books*.⁵ They bow down and lightly reproach those who deliver an evil, unprovoked magic formula.

(The magic formula says, “The Way of Heaven comes to an end. After fifteen days have passed, the sun and moon are bright. As they come out, it is tranquil and deep; as they go in, it is dark and profound. When energy comes in, the true energy is opened. When the spiritual energy spreads out, the energy of the Way is exercised. All vicious spirits vanish. He who sees me will become blind and he who hears me will become deaf. He who dares to impose upon me will receive disaster instead. I am fortunate and he is unfortunate.”)

In the year of Jiazi there was an imperial decree, and in response a religious register was created. Men and women became intimate with each other (i.e., engaged in sexual behavior), and there was no distinction between high and low. Lu Xiuqing (406–477 C.E.) of the Wu region frequently practiced this [incantation].

48c Then they open the gate of destiny (*mingmen*) [where the foundation of life resides], hold a baby of the perfected, and adopt postures like the “winding dragon” and the “playing tiger.” Through taking postures like these, they [claim that they can] prevent calamities and disperse misfortune. Is this true? Is it possible to do so? Yi Jun of the Han period practiced this [incantation] as the Way; he greatly misled the people and plunged them into disaster, and was exiled to Dunhuang. Later, as for Sun En [of the Eastern Jin dynasty], his teaching was much more dissolute; [relations between] men and women became disordered and wild, no different from those between male and female birds and beasts.

[People] are easily drawn by visual objects, form and color, and it is difficult to eliminate defilements, not to mention those who mix the [*yin* and *yang*] energies at the cinnabar field (*dantian*; i.e., the abdomen), who attempt to prolong life at the transcendent cave, who give full swing to a weapon

and pass through the prohibition of the jade gate (i.e., the vulva), and who go to the extremity of adopting abnormal postures like the “winding dragon” and the “playing tiger.” When alive they have no principles of loyalty, and after death they suffer in the blue court (i.e., a euphemism for hell, located on the east side of Mount Tai). I sincerely wish that the bright Heaven will investigate and reveal these fellows; all things, including myself, will be upright and clean and will not go against the instructions of the unseen world.

To Presume Upon the Way and to Rise in Revolt—The Fourth Rebellious Act

It is difficult to understand the ultimate truth and easy to be deluded by the glory of fame. Relations [in the secular world] are more significant than deep waters or high mountains, and virtue is less important than wind and dew. People just like the rebels of the Yellow Turbans hoped [to soar just as] a hawk does [and usurp the power of] the Han royal family, but on the contrary they despised bright Heaven. For this sin they were all executed. Subsequently, there was [Zhang] Zi Lu, who also set forth the Way of Spiritual Beings (*guidao*). Yet the gods did not help him and he was gored by an elk. After that, Sun En also claimed the Purple Way (*zidao*). He did not care about his lowly status and inferior position and intended to attain the nobility of the emperor, [a dream as intangible as] a cloud or a sound in a dark cave; he issued absurd ideas in empty profundity. The Water Transcendent (i.e., Sun En) confused others and killed sinless people regardless of their age. He ruined the country and destroyed the people. Isn't this cruel and inhuman? Therefore Emperor Wu of the [Liu-]Song dynasty thought of this and sighed with deep feelings. Then he flew a thousand *li* like a dragon and crossed over the three large rivers like a tiger. He mounted a surprise attack and vanquished the witchcraft group without any special effort in twelve days. Sentient beings were pleased and the grasses and trees enjoyed the spring light.

Making Petitions Harms Virtue—The Fifth Rebellious Act

The highest edification, even a very minor aspect of it, cannot be falsely accused and cannot be concealed. If one confers a posthumous title to the spirit of the dead or strives to follow the illustrious virtue, if there is no true essence in the Way, he just recklessly chases after unreality. Then [people] say that [the spirit of a dead person] has gone to the east, they get drunk and

bring [the deceased's] sins to an end. Isn't such a bigoted and obscure thing vile and unusual?

Moreover, regarding the issue that the merit one makes can be transferred to his ancestors of seven generations [through the Yellow Register Fête (a memorial service)], the purport of this passage is shallow and superficial. [Some people] ask to escape from [the physical labor of] carrying sandstones and become spiritual [soldiers] (i.e., followers) of Daoism for a long time.

The intelligence of sages thoroughly investigates the subtle [reason]; if there is a thought, this is illuminated. Why is it necessary to bother the libationary (*jijiu*; i.e., clergy of the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain), or to waste paper and ink unreasonably [in order to make a petition to the heavenly office]? If one must submit a petition and later a judgment is given, we know for the first time that the Lord of the Way has no ability to profoundly examine things, and the heavenly administrative staff does not possess the function of the heavenly eyes. [The spiritual officials of] the Three Offices (*san'guan*, the offices of Heaven, Earth, and Water) tire of attending to legal cases and spiritual officers are exhausted by arresting [sinners]. To hear a petition is originally intended for those who are suddenly taken ill, but if one submits a petition on the day of wuchen it never reaches [the Most High Lord Lao]. Since the petition does not reach him, the petitioner will be wronged and driven to death. Alas, it is sad! This is truly the fifth rebellious act.

To Be Afraid of Evil Spirits and Wear Talismans is the Atrocity of Lawlessness—The First

For those who follow the correct Way sincerely, even recalcitrant evil spirits reform their [harmful] force. For this reason, sages of the superlative degree and people of lofty wisdom are devoid of emotions through myriad changes. Therefore they can profoundly enjoy music played with instruments made of metal or stone and sleep in mists and rosy clouds (i.e., nature). This is because their pure sincerity touches [Heaven] and is understood [by Heaven]. How can wearing [talismans] make [sages and wise people experience] this? The words of the [Daoist] scriptures falsely exaggerate the harm caused by spirits. [The scripture] says:

If one carries the talisman of the Grand Terminus (Taijizhang) on the left and the iron sword of Kunwu on the right, when he points to the

sun, the sun stops shining, and when he imitates a spiritual being, he can cover an area even a thousand *li* away with blood.

If one receives the *Yellow Book* and the *Red Writing* (*Chizhang*, a talisman register written in red ink), [Daoists] say that he is a numinous transcendent. They put on shoes made of stone and enter the oratory (*jingshi*), yet they cannot have an audience with the Most High [Lord Lao]. Regarding the matter of using a talisman to protect one against evil spirits on the six *jia* days and bowing one's head to ground in a toilet, (just as Guo Jingchun said that those of the Daoist school go into a toilet to exorcise evil spirits but in the end they are unsuccessful), they are senseless and confused. How could this be the way for those who know rules and [have] integrity? I have heard about wearing talismans. In former days, as a group symbol, there were the yellow signs used by Zhang Jiao's [group], the dark red-colored signs worn by [Zhang] Zi Lu's [group], the purple marks [used by] by Lu Song's [group], and the tactics called *guxu* ("solitary void") [used] by Sun En's [group]. They all powerfully confused the emperor's troops, but in the end their people and spiritual beings were all exterminated.

To Institute Imposing a Tax or Donation on the People is the Atrocity of Skillful Deception—The Second

The teaching of the [Way of the] Five Pecks of Grain was founded by the Heavenly Master (i.e., Zhang Ling). Later it became vicious and corrupt. In addition, his group established [the system to collect grain as a tax from] the followers. People of the world loathed and feared [the group]. Therefore, [the Daoists] Zi Ming and Du [Zi]gong were both worried about [being swallowed] by an evil python [just as Zhang Ling had been].

Moreover, as for the Mud and Ash Fête (Tutanzhai), the ritual was begun by Zhang Lu. Since it was difficult to edify the Di and Yi tribespeople, he established this ritual in which the practitioners tumble about in mud like a donkey, put yellow alkaline mud on their faces, bump their heads against a pillar and hang down, beating their bodies, just as clay is fashioned. This rite is designated to the borderland; it should not be performed in China.

At the beginning of the Yixi era (405 C.E.), there was Wang Gongqi, who was greedy for treasures. He avoided ascetic practices and excluded beating [his body] in private [from the practice]. Lu Xiuqing (406–477 C.E.) of the

Wu area was quite aware that the ritual was originally abnormal, but still he smeared mud on his forehead and hung down with his hands bound behind his back. This is the extremity of idiotic and abnormal practices. I would be happy if you do not speak of this.

To Open a Kitchen at the Gate of a Tomb is the Atrocity of Not Being Benevolent—The Third

To open the city gate and give great alms to the people is understood to be virtuous.⁶ In the lingering vapor of the heterodox path (i.e., the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain) they open a kitchen at the gate of a tomb and give food to pitiful people, which becomes a disorderly situation. Formerly Zhang Zi Lu inaugurated a meritorious event in Guanzhong (present-day Shaanxi province) and gathered a large crowd of libationers and spiritual soldiers.

(Spiritual soldiers [*guizu*], spiritual people [*guimin*], spiritual officers [*guili*], and the Way of Spiritual Beings [Guidao] were created by [Zhang] Zi Lu, who looked down upon the Di and Yi tribes. Furthermore, the titles Heavenly Master [Tianshi], Succeeding Master [Xishi], Heir Master [*sishi*], and Master of Three Daughters [Sannüshi] were eulogistic titles created by Zhang Lu for himself. Moreover, the Woman of the Way [Daogu], the Man of the Way [Daonan], the Capped Female Officials [Guannüguan], the Father of the Way [Daofu], the Mother of the Way [Daomu], the Spiritual Lord (Shenjun), and the [True Lord's] Seed People [(Zhenjun) zhongmin] are names given to followers after they perform the ritual sexual practices of the union of the *yin* and *yang* energies. In addition, the People of Grain [Mimin], the Family of Grain [Mixing], the Supervisor of Merit [Dugong], and the Libationer [Jijiu] are titles given in order to placate followers in hard times. Again, the Deficient of the Way [Pindao; i.e., the humble self-reference of a Daoist priest] and the Dharma Master of the Three Grottoes [Sandong fashi] are titles created by Senghui of Chang'an. Moreover, the Learned Elder [Xiansheng], the People of the Way [Daomin], and the King of the Transcendent Lord [Xiangongwang] were created by Wang Lingqi, a man of Moling county. Furthermore, [the titles] Daoist Priest [Daoshi], Bandit of Ants [Yize], Controller of Wine [Zhiijiu], and Bandit of Grain [Mize] are named by what the people consider. Moreover, regarding the Dharma Master [Fashi], the Dharma Preacher [Dujiang], and the Attendant of Scriptures [Shijing], Lu

Xiujing established these names relying on Buddhism and following the world. The Lord of Heaven [Tiangong], the Lord of Earth [Digong], and the Vassal [Chen] or Concubine [Qie] are also designated. The Way of Great Peace [Taipingdao], the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain, the Great Way [Dadao], the Purple Way [Zidao], and the Teacher of Spiritual Beings [Guishen shijun] were false prestigious titles created during the rebellious times. In addition, Luan Da of the Jiaodong region (present-day Shandong province) was appointed to the post of General of Five Profits [Wuli jiangjun]. Even though he was installed as a feudal lord he had none of the principles of a high-ranking official. By the end of the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, this title was no longer used.)

[Zhang Zi Lu] drank [wine] excessively and consequently fell into a drunken frenzy. His disgrace spread far and wide, and eventually reached the far-distant Min region [of the Ba Shu area (present-day Sichuan province)]. Liu Zhang, [a prince of the Ba Shu area,] admonished [Zhang Zi Lu], “Even the numinous transcendent refrains from taking pine nuts and the mist of clouds in order to preserve his life, yet you lead a luxurious life and relish good food and drink. How can you respect the Way?” When [Zhang] Zi Lu heard this, he was deeply resentful but felt ashamed in his mind. He punished himself and cleared roads. He imparted [this practice] to Daoists in the world. Later, in an assembly, he submitted a written form in order to prevent such difficulties. Concurrently, he established the rules of kitchen in which [the consumption of] wine is limited to three *sheng*.⁷ From the end of the Han dynasty onward, he was called the Controller of Wine.

At the time of Wang Lingqi the category of the sin was removed. The Learned Elders and the People of the Way were bestowed with [wine]. This is similar to [the case where] although [Luan Da] had the nobility of the [General of] Five Profits, [his name] became the name of a monster. 49b

To Deliver Living Creatures from Distress and Suffering is the Atrocity of Wild Imagination—The Fourth

The physical body is more fragile than the calyx of ripe fruit in fall and life is more transitory than ice in spring. The wind of karma blows widely and vigorously in the transitory realm. Therefore, Lord Jing [of Qi state] left [his life] in conditioned fate,⁸ and Sunzi recorded that [Lord Jing] was a

walking corpse. Deluded people and those of shallow learning are not aware of the Great Law (i.e., Dharma). When they have an illness, fall into decline, or experience disaster, they are much more deluded and [thus] deepen the cause [of their misfortune] under the influence of evil spirits; they consider that a spiritual myna bird is the cause of disaster and try to turn their disasters over to the distant Milky Way; [they think it is inauspicious] to see a fishing star (*diaoxing*; i.e., a night-traveling prostitute) at the place where water falls in drops. [Therefore, when they see such a case] they wash the talisman written in red ink (i.e., the *Red Writing*) in clean water of Mount Hua. Then they frown and revile the spirits of the unseen world, saying, “The messengers of the Three [Spiritual] Offices have already sent [the spirit of] the dead.” One who is going to die will naturally die. To vainly mourn [in this way] is nothing other than throwing away money. This is really only the libationer’s scheme to profit from [donations of] clothes and food, and they exploit people just as a silk worm consumes mulberry leaves. It is loss for both the public and private sectors. It results in startling the highest sage by a burning house and manipulating people’s emotion with an elegy.

To Commit a Sin in a Dream is the Atrocity of Ignorance—The Fifth

Human beings originate with the function of consciousness as the foundation. The amount of grass and trees is not greater than the number of times they have abandoned their lives. In this case, even the great earth, hills, and mountains are all my former traces. A broad, blue river is all my tears and blood. Observing from this point of view, who would not be my close friend? [Nevertheless,] if someone sees in a dream someone who has passed away, then people say that it is a ghost or an apparition. Even though human beings differ from spiritual beings, both are assuredly the same in arising and extinction. Their feelings of kindness and affection sometimes influence each other. All evil spirits are ill-mannered and do not understand the law of submission and opposition. [Daoists] summon and feed spiritual officers and soldiers, and report to [the Lord of Heaven] in written form in order to judge them (i.e., the evil spirits). They can cut off disembodied spirits, but who can illuminate their minds? I hope that in future you will not uphold superstitious words. Then it causes [the departed spirits of your ancestors] to have no thought of stopping a meal before finishing in Heaven and [hell beings] to calm the voice of disastrous thoughts in the icy river [of hell].

To Hastily Make Cold and Hot is the Atrocity of Ferocity and Hypocrisy—The Sixth

To profoundly calm the mind and keep silence is the true virtue among myriad acts. Generally, sentient beings in this world have no mercy. Those who are fierce, cruel, evil, and vicious vie with one another in making talismans. They hang [the talisman] on a gate or attach it to a door and deceive ignorant people. Lofty, wise people and intellectuals are still not content with this. [Daoists] make the Yellow God (*huangshen*) and the transgressed talismans (*yuezhang*),⁹ and with them they kill [evil] spirits. Furthermore, they set up the *Red Writing*, which is used to kill people. Their interest is only to please human nature without taking disastrous sin into account. Regarding [the results of] making conspiracies and harboring jealousy, old patterns are found in [Buddhist] scriptures. [Such people] will go to the great hell of pincers after death and will be reborn as an owl or a shriek, or they will be dumb [upon their rebirth]. Their spirits and skeletons will decay in confusion and drown and perish [in sins] eternally. Who is aware of this?

For our dear spiritual people of Daoism, the characteristics of the Way are not so. The issues must be questioned. Although severe admonition is bitter, wise people should submissively listen to it. Therefore, I have briefly conveyed my best regards. I hope you will try to think about them repeatedly. If you can correct your conduct and change your plan, you will be in the same practice of the great edification (i.e., Buddhism). If you cannot adequately reform yourself, please wait for a person of the highest virtue [to appear] and prepare yourself to be illuminated by the melody of his song (i.e., his teaching) in order to understand the long night [of spiritual darkness]. Is this (i.e., the teaching) something that I can explain with my weak words today?

49c

***The Discourse on Extinguishing
Delusions (Miehuo lun)* by
Liu Xie, Record Keeper
at Dongguan County**

A person composed the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction (Sanpo lun)*.¹⁰ Its purpose and testimonies are vulgar and its literary style is philistine. Even though people of profound knowledge ascertain the highest principles, people of shallow ideas are confused by groundless statements. The vulgar views

of townspeople [such as those found in the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] are truly not worthy of argument, but on second thought I am afraid that if ordinary people hear [this discourse] they may think it is true. For the time being I will take up what can be adopted from [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] and briefly give my correct account.

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, “The excellent point of the Daoist teaching lies in putting all one’s thought in the attainment of the One and becoming a sage without death. On the other hand, the wonderful point of the Buddhist teaching lies in samādhi, in which one attains supernatural powers and is able to wish for no rebirth. Death is named nirvana. I have never seen a person who learns about death and yet does not die.”

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “The true and the false of these two teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Daoism) are evident and easily argued. In the Buddhist teaching one trains the mind, while in the Daoist teaching one exercises the body. The body that must die is confined within a time period and a place. The spirit is boundless and can go around the circumference of the world twice [in a single moment]. Bright people avail themselves of boundlessness and teach others with distinctive wisdom. Dark people feel a persistent attachment to [their bodies] that must die, and deceive others with [the fiction of becoming] a flying transcendent. The heart of the art of the transcendent is food and medicine. [Buddhist] conduct based on wisdom begins with meditation. Since meditation trains the true consciousness, it is exquisite and delicate, and nirvana can be wished for. Medicine, on the other hand, detains the impermanent body [temporally in this world], and consequently even if one puts all his thought [toward attainment of the One], he will be thrown into disorder endlessly. If one abandons the wonderful treasury (i.e., Buddhism), loses his wisdom, and nourishes his body, when we prove it on the basis of principles we can know [his course] is false. If his body flies into boundless space and his spirit, which remains in the dark, flies up to Heaven like a hawk, how could he escape from being a bird? In the wonderful fruition of nirvana, the Way is simply eternal. How could the assertion of ‘learning about death’ be about analyzing principles?”

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, “If it is said that a prince is the founder of the [Buddhist] teaching, then he did not take the tonsure yet he causes others to shave their heads; he did not give up his wife, yet he

causes others to cut off their posterity (i.e., to stay unmarried and childless); this is really laughable. We clearly know that Buddhism is precisely the art to exterminate evils. I have humbly learned that, regarding the virtue of gentlemen, our bodies, down to each hair and every bit of skin, are received from our parents and therefore we must not presume to damage them; this is the beginning of filial piety.”¹¹

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “The prince gave up his wife and took the tonsure. This matter is evidenced in Buddhist scriptures. Isn’t it deceptive to call white black? What Buddhist filial piety covers is probably more extensive. Reason is due to the mind, and has nothing to do with one’s hair. If a person has a persistent attachment to his or her hair and disregards their mind, what can he or she take hold of for filial piety? Formerly, [the two brothers] Taibo and Yuzhong cut their hair short and tattooed their bodies [in order to abdicate the throne for their younger brother Jili].¹² The Master (i.e., Confucius) praised them both for their highest virtue and their timely conduct.¹³ Wise people in the secular world should practice worldly decorum, but [the two brothers’ conduct,] cutting their hair to abdicate the throne, [has been transmitted] as the praiseworthy anecdote of sages and saints, not to mention the teaching of *prajñā*. Conduct [based on this] is more clearly well-timed; the fruition of highest wisdom (i.e., enlightenment) is more wonderful than abdication in reason. Since [enlightenment] is more wonderful than abdication in reason, [Buddhist monks] shave their heads and follow the Way. Since the conduct based on [the teaching of *prajñā*] is more clearly well-timed, they abandon worldly conduct and seek the mind. Judging from the two wise men (i.e., Taibo and Yuzhong), [Buddhist monks] have no deficiency in filial piety. When you examine it with a sacred state of mind, of what are you doubtful?”

50a

As for the first kind of destruction, [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] says, “[Buddhism] is something that entered our country and destroys it. [Buddhist monks] talk nonsense with falsehoods, build [temples] regardless of the expense, exploit people, empty the National [Treasury], and put people in distress. Since they do not help the country, the population decreases. If we see a case where people do not conduct sericulture and yet wear [silk clothes] or where they do not cultivate land but have food, the country will go to ruin and the people will become extinct. Because of this, [Buddhism]

is a failure; [Buddhist monks cause] losses and waste things in daily use. There is no benefit at all; even the suffering from the five kinds of disasters is no worse than that caused by them.”¹⁴

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “The teaching of Mahayana Buddhism is completely perfect; it probes into the very root of truth and is the most subtle. Therefore, [this teaching] clarifies the twofold truth [of absolute and relative reality] in order to drive existence away, and speaks of the three levels of apprehension of emptiness (*sankong*) in order to put a mark on nonexistence. The four immeasurable minds (Skt. *catuḥ-apramāṇa*) promote people’s distinctive minds. The six *pāramitās* save people from karmic suffering. Even though you slander them by saying ‘[Buddhist monks] talk nonsense,’ how could you damage the sun and moon (i.e., Buddhism)? They build Buddhist temples in order to expound and propagate the wonderful teaching. While the construction work is momentary the teaching lasts a thousand years.

“In former times, when [Sage King] Yu gathered all the lords, many states presented gems and silk to him. Later, in the epoch of the Warring States (403–221 B.C.E.), only seven lords (i.e., those of the states of Qin, Chu, Yan, Qi, Han, Zhao, and Wei) survived. During the Taishi era (96–93 B.C.E.) [of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty], the government flourished and every household was prosperous, too. [Nevertheless,] the disturbance of the Red Eyebrows caused the land within a thousand *li* [from the capital city, Chang’an,] to have no human habitation.¹⁵ ‘The country will go to ruin and the people will become extinct.’ Why is this due to [Buddhism]? In the reign periods of Hai (i.e., Hu Hai, the second emperor of the Qin dynasty, 209–207 B.C.E.) and Ying (the third emperor, 207 B.C.E.) one *dan* of grain cost a hundred thousand *qian*. During the reign periods of Emperor Jing (157–141 B.C.E.) and Emperor Wu [of the Former Han dynasty] the stored grain became red and rotted. There were few Buddhist monks at the end of the Qin dynasty, and at the beginning of the Han dynasty there was the Buddhist teaching. If we analyze [events that happened in] the past and accord [their causes] to present conditions, how can it be said that [Buddhism] has been harmful to state affairs?”

As for the second kind of destruction, [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] says, “[Buddhism] comes into a family and ruins it. [Buddhism] causes

a father and his sons to differ from each other in their behavior, brothers to differ from each other in following rules, [children] to desert their parents, and the Way of filial piety ceases, [family members] separate from each other on sad or pleasant occasions or do not sing or weep together, enmity arises between kinsmen, a relative in mourning is eternally abandoned, [family members] go against what they have been taught and violate the right order, and [children] do not repay [the kindness of their parents, who are as lofty as] Heaven. Nothing among the five rebellious acts and impious conduct is worse than these.”

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “The principle of filial piety is supreme and runs through Buddhist clergy as well as laypeople equally. Although the Buddhist teaching differs from the non-Buddhist teaching (i.e., Confucianism) in conduct, the function of mind is the same in principle. If my fate falls in the secular realms, I will basically cultivate myself according to the decorum of Confucianism. When my fate receives the fruition of the Buddhist Way, I assuredly propagate filial piety in the pure conduct [of Buddhism]. Hence, the *Lotus Sutra* clarifies the meaning of conferring with one’s parents [about becoming a Buddhist monk].¹⁶ The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* is an example for learning after hearing.¹⁷ How could [Buddhist monks] forget the foundation?

“There are reasons they do so. They all realize the principles of the mind and examine and illuminate the human world. [The metaphor of] passing horses exceeds proverbs.¹⁸ A stream aggrieves the superb sage’s heart.¹⁹ Therefore, we know that even if we attend our parents with devotion throughout our life, which is as short as the blinking of an eye, there is no salvation for the disembodied spirit. If we learn the [Buddhist] Way and take our parents out [of the realm of suffering], then the suffering of the netherworld will vanish eternally. [Buddhist monks] ascertain that there is no failure in [Buddha’s] subtle response to us and discern that it is certainly possible to attain the wonderful fruition.

“Consequently the gravity of matters is weighed; that (i.e., the less important matter) is rejected and this (i.e., the more important matter) is adopted. Issues such as the rules of mourning [and the funeral] system are executed in order to commemorate remote ancestors. Even though rites are based on the mind, they still follow secular customs.

“In former days when the Three Augusts governed well, they were adored by [the sage kings] Yao and Shun. When one died, [his corpse] was covered with pieces of wood and laid in an open field, without raising a mound over it or planting trees around it.²⁰ There is no historical record about a mourner’s staff (*juzhang*) or a mourning dress (*zhanshuai*). How could it be said that the Three Augusts instructed [the people] to reject filial piety?

“At the time of the Five Thearchs the mourning [and funeral] system was brilliantly established, [but] it has not been heard that Yao and Shun performed a rite and blamed the Three Augusts belatedly [for not having a mourning and funeral system]. The Three Augusts have never been blamed [for such, either]. Why is the Buddha alone doubted? The reason the Buddha has no rule for mourning [and the funeral] system is because his aim is to get rid of suffering. Why the Three Augusts abolished the mourning practices is because they followed the sincere and simple customs [of their time]. [Following] sincere and simple customs is not doubted, yet getting rid of suffering is reproached. This is what is called one who is inconsistent (*chaosan musi*) and who mixes up joy and anger.²¹ [From this] it is clearly known that the teachings of the sages are perfectly understood, complying with what people feel. The Three Augusts did not have the system of mourning practices because they [followed] the sincere and simple customs [of their time]; the Five Thearchs formulated the mourning [and funeral] system according to people’s feelings. Since Śākyamuni [intended to] get rid of suffering, he abandoned secular customs and returned to the truth. When the traces [of these sages] are inspected, [we know] there are different paths, but their profound edifications result in the same point.”

As for the third kind of destruction, [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] says, “[Buddhism] enters one’s body and destroys it. In the body born as a human being, there is first of all the suffering of injury; second, the pain of punishment of shaving off the hair; third, the rebellious sin of being impious to one’s parents; fourth, the sin of extinguishing [one’s family line by not having] offspring; and fifth, [the sin of] damaging the body, [all because of] following the Buddhist precepts and learning only impiety. Why do I say this? The precepts cause [Buddhist monks] to not bow to their parents. They vie with one another in following them. If a boy becomes a novice (Skt. *śrāmaṇera*) first and later his mother becomes a nun, she must bow down to her

own son. The teaching of discourtesy should be terminated in China. How could we follow it?"

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, "The body in which one dwells and the mind he receives are determined, in reason, by conduct performed in a previous life. Whether someone enters the [Buddhist] Way or stays in the secular life is, in truth, linked with the causality [of his circumstances]. For this reason, Śākyamuni appeared in the world and his edification diffuses throughout Heaven and the human world. The trace of the [Buddhist] Way is testified to both in governing a country and ruling a family. I have never heard that all the people of the world renounce the world at the same time, because [each person] varies in giving rise to faith. Therefore there are two noble teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Confucianism). This is why the official class is different from that of *śramaṇas*.

"When we first begin to free ourselves from the secular world, we must depend on the precepts and meditation in reason. A wife is a nuisance of affection, and having hair is merely an adornment of one's appearance. The nuisance of affection damages the mind and [being concerned with] the adornment of one's appearance goes against the [Buddhist] Way. Therefore, [Buddhist monks] purify their minds and exterminate affection, and attending to the [Buddhist] Way they give up adornment. When principles go beyond the ordinary level, the teaching must reverse the secular way. If one does not bow to his parents, it is because the [Buddhist] Way is esteemed. If the parents bow to [their monk son], it is because they respect the [Buddhist] Way. The [*Yi*]/*li* (*Ceremonies for Courtesy*) states that when a son who newly wears the cap [that marks his attainment of manhood] sees his mother, the mother bows to him. She is delighted with her son who is possessed of virtue. Therefore she condescends and bows to her inferior (i.e., her son). When a man in armor meets the ruler, he does not bow. Since it is valued that he holds weapons in his hands, to honor [the ruler by bowing] does not apply to [this man].

"The cap made of black fabric is used for minor ceremonies; originally it had no significance in the Way of the Spirit. A helmet and armor are instruments of evil omen and have no highest virtue. Nevertheless, in the case where respect is to be paid, a mother bows to her son. In the proper circumstances to suspend paying one's respects, vassals do not kneel down and bow to the ruler. The provisions of decorum are [part of] the worldly teaching

50c established by the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. Speaking of its flexibility, it is not only from one pattern, not to mention the dignity of the Buddhist Way that reveals beyond the three realms of existence, which is the subtle foundation of the marvelous teaching and the profound origin of a great number of principles. If this [teaching] is given to a person, he really is more respectable than those who wear caps or armor. If those who wear caps or armor go against decorum, no one of any age will doubt them. Regarding the dignity that is given to the Buddhist Way, why are you surprised by it?"

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, "*Fo* (the Chinese term for "buddha") is indicated as *futu* ("to slaughter as a punishment") in old Buddhist scriptures. Kumārajīva changed it to *fotu* ("a follower of Buddhism") since he knew the derivation of the term *futu* ("to slaughter as a punishment") is evil. The word *futu* was used because barbarians are atrocious. Laozi said, 'I will educate [a person] at a fundamental level and I do not intend to injure his body.'²² Therefore, the punishment of shaving [a criminal's] head was called *futu* ("to slaughter as a punishment"), which was compared with *tuge* ("to slaughter and sever"). Later Senghui changed it to *fotu* ("great plan"). Originally, in old Buddhist scriptures [Buddhist monks] are called *sangmen* ("gate of the dead"). The term *sangmen* derives from the gate of annihilation. Since it is said that the [Buddhist] Dharma is the teaching about nonarising (or nonbirth), [Buddhist monks] are called *sangmen*. Again, Kumārajīva changed it to *sangmen* ("gate of mulberry trees"). Senghui changed it once again to *shamen* ("gate of sorting"). The term *shamen* derives from the law of careful selection. Buddhist monks are not worthy of being called [*shamen*]."

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, "Buddhist scriptures were transmitted [to China] for the first time during Emperor Ming's reign (57–75 C.E.) of the Later Han dynasty. Therefore, the sounds and the Chinese characters used for the transliteration [of foreign words] were not correct. The sound of *fu* ("floating") is similar to that of *fo* ("buddha") and the sound of *sang* ("mulberry tree") is like that of *sha* ("sorting"). These [examples] show the slippage of pronunciations. To take *tu* ("plan") as *tu* ("to slaughter") is a divergence from the Chinese characters. Kumārajīva was well versed in Chinese and foreign languages; he knew both the sounds and their meanings. It is indeed appropriate for him to correct such errors.

“The Five Classics are traditional Chinese books. Studies of them are not based on translation, but in both Ma [Ron]’s and Zheng [Xuan]’s annotations on them, the sounds and Chinese characters are interchanged. Hence, in a sentence [of the annotation,] ‘How deep and recordable are they (*yu mubuji*)!’ there is an error between the original text and the annotation in the hymns of Zhou [in the *Book of Odes*],²³ and in the section ‘He is truly blocked up and peaceful (*yunse anan*),’ the interpretation [of the annotation] contradicts the sage’s virtue in the *Yao dian* [in the *Book of History*].²⁴ Why is it regarded that the profundity of the highest teaching exists only within these two words (i.e., “highest” and “teaching”)? Zhuangzi understood to forget the words after apprehending the ideas [conveyed through the words].²⁵ Mencius ridiculed the harm done to one’s ideas by written language.²⁶ You have not traced back to the great principles and only pursue words. Could the people’s lack in versatility in Song state [during the Warring States period] have been any worse than this?”²⁷

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, “The teaching to destroy the three entities (i.e., one’s country, one’s family, and oneself) is not applicable in China. Originally it was intended to correct [the tribespeople of] the western region. Why do we meddle in it? Tribespeople are matchless in being indomitable and uncivil. They do not differ much from beasts, and they do not believe in absolute vacancy (*xuwu*). After Laozi entered [the western region] through [Hangu] Pass, he intentionally established the teaching [to worship] the images [of buddhas and bodhisattvas] and edified them.”

Furthermore [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] says, “Tribespeople are fierce and rude. [Laozi] intended to cut off their evil seeds. Consequently he ordered the men not to take a woman in marriage and the women not to get married to a man. If all the nations submit themselves to this teaching, evil seeds will naturally be extinguished.”

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “[Śākyamuni] obscured his trace under the twin [*śāla*] trees and then his images took his place. There is no doubt that [the Buddha’s] truth has been exquisite from the ancient time of nonbeginning, and the [Buddhist] Way will cover the endless [future]. Examining the event when Elder Li (i.e., Laozi) went over [Hangu] Pass, the time period falls in the last years of the Zhou dynasty. Since the world

was in isolation and wise people lived in reclusion, he departed and forgot to come back. Even when Jie Yu withdrew from worldly affairs²⁸ he wiped out his trace, not to mention [Laozi who] went to the foreign land. Who could catch sight of his footprints? Thereafter, a cunning and wicked libationer (i.e., Wang Fu) composed the *Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians* [by Laozi] (*Laozi huahu jing*). The doctrine [of this scripture] is clumsy and its expressions are vulgar. [The scripture] has been transmitted by petty people. When I examine it, [I realize that] the western tribespeople are weak and cowardly, while the northern tribespeople are evil and vigorous. If Laozi gave up virtue and employed punishment in order to destroy evil, why did he love the evil northern tribe, contrarily conquer the weak western tribe, and then cause the Xianyun tribe (i.e., the Huns) to run wild and their poison to flow all over the world?

51a ““[Ravenous and cruel beasts, such as] jackals and wolves, are on the road, and [they] kill foxes and raccoon dogs. Dragging each other to total ruin, [ravenous and cruel beasts] commit cruelties. Nothing [about the kindness of] Heaven and Earth is conveyed. Even the [harsh] law made by Shang Yang [of the Qin dynasty] is not as cruel as this. How could the way of Boyang (i.e., Laozi) be like this? Moreover, it is useless if images of the founder of the teaching are provided before people [know and] follow [the teaching]. If people faithfully follow the teaching, massacres can be prevented. If only those who already follow [the teaching] are given the death penalty, this means that a single word can cause morality to be lost and numerous falsehoods to be visible. What reason could be seen in the sayings of an uncultivated person of the east [of Qi state]?”²⁹

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, “Now I wonder by what means people such as the Three Augusts, the Five Thearchs, and the Three Kings learned the Way. They all received responses from [Heaven], but we have not heard about [their association with] Buddhism. Is it because the Nine August Ones (*jiuhuang*) disregarded it,³⁰ or because Buddhism had not yet been established? If [you say that] it is because Buddhism had not yet been established, this is vicious and false. I will not say anything more about this.”

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, “Regarding supernatural powers and transformations, the substance of [the Buddha’s] teaching is not one. Receiving mysterious responses appears and disappears endlessly. If a

condition exists in the subtle edification, bodhisattvas propagate the teaching, and if the edification exists in a coarse condition, sage rulers exercise their virtue. Sage rulers and bodhisattvas reveal their responses in accordance with what they receive. Different teachings are united. There is originally no [teaching] that is not of the Buddha. It is certainly known that after the time of the Three Augusts what [these sages] received was extinguished and what was distinguished was hidden, but in the teaching during Emperor Ming's reign (57–75 C.E.) of the Later Han dynasty, the condition responded to [the world] and the [Buddha] image appeared. Such things as the Three Augusts' influence by means of virtue and the Five Thearchs' education with benevolence are called the Way, but this seems not to be the highest [teaching]. We have not heard that when [Fu]xi and [Shen] Nong conducted their administrations there were written reports to them. Yao and Shun continued their administrations. How could they have approved of talismans? King Tang and King Wu eased the violent conditions. Would they have ever taken elixirs? The Five Classics do not mention the Heavenly Master, yet [the *Discourse on the Triple Destruction*] seeks instructions from these sage rulers. Isn't this sad?"

The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* says, "In Daoism material force (*qi*) is considered to be the foundation, and the achievement is attainment of the One. When I examine the people of the Central Plains (i.e., the downstream regions of the Yellow River), there is no one who does not believe in Daoism. Those now in China who believe in Buddhism must be from a tribal background. If they say they are not, why then do they believe in Buddhism?"

The *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* says, "The ultimate of the highest Way results in the One in reason. The true state of the subtle Dharma is originally nondual. The highest [achievement] of the Buddha is empty, profound, and formless, but he responds to all aspects of natural phenomena. [The Buddha] entered the state of tranquility and extinction (i.e., nirvana) and he has no thought in his mind, yet his profound wisdom shines more and more. Our invisible fate secretly encounters [the providence of the Buddha], yet no one sees its culmination. We employ the deep merit [of the Buddha] daily, yet we are not aware that we are doing so. Once all aspects of natural phenomena have been produced, we consequently create tentative names and simply say *bodhi* in Sanskrit and 'the Way' in Chinese.

51b “When [the Buddha] reveals his trace, he shows his sacredness with his golden form. When he responded to the secular world, he was born [as a prince] in a royal palace. In order to get rid of ignorance, the four-stage meditation (Skt. *caturdhyāna*) is considered to be the beginning. In order to develop wisdom, the ten [bodhisattva] stages (Skt. *daśabhūmi*) are considered to be the way leading to the goal. All dragons and spirits are equally guided, and even insects are equally loved.

“The expedient teaching has no set rules. There is no contradiction between [Buddhist] clergy and laypeople in [the Buddha’s] response. The subtle edification is very extensive. Could there be any difference between Chinese people and foreigners in his mind? Therefore, when [the Buddha] expounds the Dharma in one language, people who speak a different language from each other all understand it together. When [the teaching of] the One Vehicle is expounded, [people who have learned] different scriptures are led to the same [awakening]. Since Buddhist scriptures follow expedients, although the teaching of Confucius is different from that of Śākyamuni, [both teachings] tally with the Way. Since understanding similarly follows the subtle teaching, although the foreign language differs from Chinese, the edification is comprehended in both [foreign lands and in China].

“There are, however, exquisiteness and coarseness in [people’s] perception. Therefore, the teaching is divided into two; one for the clergy and the other for laypeople. Because there are [the directions of] east and west on earth, a country fixes its boundary between its interior and its exterior. In extensively administrating the marvelous edification and educating and molding sentient beings, there is no distinction. Assuredly [Buddhism] can save [all sentient beings] in the six realms of existence and completely regulate the trichilocosm. The Way is simply the highest, and the Dharma is merely the most honored. Nevertheless, even though the highest Way is one, delusions arise at the crossroads. The ninety-six non-Buddhist teachings all claim to be the Way. When we hear their names, we cannot tell whether they are evil or virtuous, but when we verify their teachings, their truth or falsehood is spontaneously proven.

“According to the Daoist system, there are three classes. Laozi is marked as the highest, the divine transcendent follows him, and Zhang Ling comes last. The Most High [Lord Lao] is the main body to worship. Considering the

Archivist's (i.e., Laozi's) great escape [to the western region], he is really a great, virtuous man; he wrote a book; he treated of the Way; he valued non-action; he attributed reason to being still and uniform (*jingyi*);³¹ and his teaching is based on voidness and suppleness. Nevertheless, he did not record about the three periods [of existence], and the conduct based on wisdom was not transmitted by him. This means that [his writing] is a good guidebook for secular people, but it is not a wonderful scripture beyond the mundane world. The petty way, like that of the Divine Transcendent, is called the Five Directions (*wutong*). Their highest happiness is to be reborn in Heaven; the best of one's physical ability is to soar up [into the sky]; one attains supernatural powers and yet cannot escape from having defilements; one has a long life and yet cannot avoid death. Merits are not expected from food and medicine. Virtue follows practice and cultivation. Thereupon, ignorant and crafty Daoists give rise to false pretexts; Zhang Ling, a grain thief, was recorded to have ascended to Heaven; and Ge Xuan, a rustic, was made known as Lord Transcendent (*xian'gong*) in his biography. Ignorant people are deluded in this way. Can intelligent people be deceived?

“Today when we speak of [Daoism] based on the way of Venerable Sir Li (i.e., Laozi), the shortcoming of the [Daoist] teaching is like this. When we clarify [the art of] the divine transcendent following [the way of Laozi], its essence is of low quality like this. The first and second points [mentioned above] are excellent, but they are still matters of no importance.

“Moreover, imitating [Zhang] Ling and [Zhang] Lu, [Daoists] perform religious services and make petitions and talismans. They established the teaching of [the Way of] the Five Pecks [of Grain] and intend to save [sentient beings] in the three realms of existence. It is as if a mosquito were to try to carry a mountain on its back. How could they be competent enough [for such a task]? They hold up the name of the Great Way, but their teaching is below the level of secular [teaching]. They put up the designation Most High [Lord Lao], but their law is extremely idiotic. How do I know this?

“To wish greedily for a long life and to fear an early death are common feelings of sentient beings. Therefore, with the transcendent elixirs called *rouzhi* and *shihua* [Daoists] deceive people in order to throw them into disorder. To be amorous and touch one's heart is something of which all people of the world are unanimously fond. Therefore, with the *Yellow Book* they

control women, and falsely call themselves the earthly transcendent. The body that is first vigorous and later weak is loved by all sentient beings. Hence, they value tears and saliva [as highly as] treasures in order to pour them onto the numinous root (i.e., a physical body). To avoid disaster, suffering, and disease is the constant concern of the people. Therefore, [Daoists] kill or bind evil spirits in order to make the people's foolish minds feel happy. To rely on power and depend on military force is the traditional custom of the secular world. Therefore, with civil officers, soldiers, and armed horsemen they stir up people's shallow thoughts. Regarding the dissolute method to prevent calamities and the debauched way to control people by charms, the principles are vile and the words are disgraceful. I cannot convey them through writing. [Nevertheless,] since these issues fit [the needs of] the populace, every household takes refuge in them and believes in them.

51c “Accordingly, Zhang Jiao and Li Hong exerted a harmful influence on society at the end of the Han dynasty. Rebellions led by Lu Song and Sun En filled the last years of the Jin dynasty. They have truly numerous followers wherever the aftermath extends. They are not lords in the ranks of the nobility, yet they imprudently established a register system of their followers. They have neither the tiger-shaped [copper tally to dispatch troops] nor the bamboo [tally to collect taxes] as a sign of their authority and rank, yet they recklessly collect taxes from [their followers]. They waste people's property and ruin and delude men and women. When the vicissitudes [of the world] become a difficult situation, they damage the country. When the world is peaceful, they gnaw at people. They destroy the government and foment rebellions. How could they be regarded to be the same as the Buddha?

“Moreover, how could the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* be compared with the *Inner Section of the Mysterious and Sublime (Xuanmiao Neipan)* and scriptures of the Shangqing (“Supreme Purity”) school? Why would [the Buddha of] the golden form with the [thirty-two] excellent marks envy the [Daoist] room for spiritual beings (*guishi*) and the [Daoist] house of emptiness (*kongwu*; i.e., a place for cultivation, far away from towns and villages)? He who subjugated the devil king of Paranirmitavaśavartin Heaven does not admire deceptive and vicious tricks. How could the pure cultivation and observance of the precepts be the same as the disgracefulness of [Daoist] tallies? To collect great vows in the mind

is better than to store up [a hundred and twenty spirits called] the Palace General (*gongjiang*) in the cinnabar field (i.e., the abdomen). Is producing a clean and pure sound from a large bell similar to beating a heavenly drum with one's lips and teeth (i.e., grinding the teeth)? If we compare [Buddhism with Daoism] in their forms and traces, their exquisiteness and coarseness are already far apart from each other. When we examine them with the ultimate principle, how could the truth and falsehood be hidden? If [Daoists] laugh at exquisiteness through its coarseness and slander truth with falsehood, this is precisely the same as the case of the blind man who says to Li Zhu, [who has very good eyesight,] 'I can see clearly.'"

**Response to the *Discourse on the Triple
Destruction, which Daoists Postulate
is Zhang Rong's Composition
(in Nineteen Articles)*
by Shi Sengshun**

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, "Nirvana is precisely death. I have never seen a person who has learned about death and attained a long life.³² This is a teaching to extinguish the species."

My explanation is, "Excessive endeavours to perpetuate life result in no life (i.e., death).³³ People like Zhang Yi and Shan Bao are good examples of this.³⁴ Accordingly, Confucianists say, 'Everyone accounts death [as] a boon, and life [as] an evil.'³⁵ Laozi says, 'If I did not have a body, what great calamity could come to me?'³⁶ Zhuangzi became ill and suffered from pain in his body. These three men are in a group of sages and virtuous men. They consider life to be trouble. If we want to seek no life, nothing is equal to nirvana; it is the sublime appellation of *wuwei* (nonaction). When the trace [of the Buddha] is spoken, there is a written record that [Śākyamuni was born in] a royal palace and [passed away under] twin [*śāla*] trees. When the reality [of the Buddha] is discussed, there is the doctrine, 'eternality and everlasting bliss (*changzhu changle*).' You, [however,] are now only transmigrating in the five realms of existence. How could you hear of the essential points of nirvana?

There were once three blind men who handled an elephant; the one who touched the elephant's ear insisted that an elephant is just like a winnower; another who touched the elephant's nose disputed this and said that an elephant

is like a pestle.³⁷ Each one could know a part of the elephant, but they could not completely apprehend the actuality [or entirety] of the elephant after all. You say that nirvana is precisely death. You are truly like a blind man who touches only a part of an elephant.”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “The prince did not give up his wife and yet he causes others to cut off their posterity (i.e., remain unmarried and childless).”

My explanation is, “The sacredness [of the Buddha] is truly tranquil, but he manifested the traces. The prince took a consort as an heir [of the royal family] probably because he wanted to show the people that after he had fulfilled the way of human ethics, he was then simply able to abandon this great treasure (i.e., the throne) and forget his kindness and affection [for his family]. With regard to the facts: all the gods sent blessings from Heaven in the evening [when he was born]³⁸ and he jumped over the castle [gate] astride a white horse [when he renounced the world];³⁹ the reason for the ten epithets [for the Buddha] exists in these [events].”

52a “Why should a wife and children be necessary? Moreover, children are the heaviest burden in the world. When one suffers from cold and hunger, he turns to thievery to make a living. When he has more than enough food and clothes, he becomes arrogant and extravagant. Therefore, when a leper woman delivers a baby at night, she hurriedly looks for a light to shine upon [the baby], anxious that the baby may, like herself, be a leper.⁴⁰ A group of ordinary people is similar to a leper who delivers [a baby at night]. The [*Nirvana Sutra (Niepan jing)*] says, ‘All sentient beings have buddha-nature.’⁴¹ When we respectfully seek its purport, this refers exactly to those who have the seed of buddhahood. They give up their family, follow the [Buddhist] Way, reject evil, and take refuge in the Buddha. This is [the highest] bliss and benefit. What else could be added to this? You are confused by the tenor of the secular world and stagnate in serious delusion. You are dreaming. How can you understand it?”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “The prince did not take the tonsure and yet he causes others to shave their heads.”

My explanation is, “Those who live with their family have their parents’ affection, while Buddhist monks have the valuable [instructions] of their strict teacher. Speaking of [parents’] love, one’s hair and skin are important.

Speaking of the strict [teacher], shaving the head is a difficult task. Therefore, for [Buddhist monks] who are pleased to take the tonsure, who take long leave of their parents, and who wish to leave behind the defilements of this world and approach the *wuwei* (i.e., nirvana) of that [world], it is still possible to give up their attachment to hair and skin. Why would they value highly things outside of themselves? If they do not think little of hair and skin, how could they respect the [Buddhist] Way? If they do not leave behind the relations appointed by Heaven (i.e., familial relations), how could they follow their strict teacher?

“This can be compared to the mourning system: when one leaves [the family in which he was born] and becomes the head of his clan, he shortens [the mourning period] for his real parents and lengthens it for his adoptive parents. [This system] requires this person to assume the heavy responsibility of [maintaining] the ancestral temple of his adoptive family and cut off his love and care to [his real parents]. The fact that he is [in mourning] for his real parents for only one year is not because his gratitude [to his real parents] is weak. That [the mourning period] for his adoptive parents is extended to three years indicates the weight of his obligation indeed. The *Book of Rites* states: ‘The reason why one who leaves his original family must shorten [the mourning period for his real parents] is because what he receives [from his adoptive family] is greater.’⁴² This is an example of it. Sutras say that all heavenly beings offer swords and ascend to Heaven holding [Śākyamuni’s] hair.⁴³ What do you mean by saying ‘[The prince] did not take the tonsure’? You are merely fearless in probing a matter to the bottom yet cowardly in seeking the purport. This is deplorable!”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “If a boy renounces the world first and later his mother becomes a nun, she must bow down to her own son. This is extreme discourtesy.”

My explanation is, “Those who have renounced the world revere their teacher, value the Dharma, give up secular life, and follow the [Buddhist] Way. How could they be asked to act in the same way [as people in the secular world do]? Moreover, when the prince engaged in the learning, his father, the king, paid his respects to him. Gaozu, the founder of the Han dynasty, accepted the advice of the Household Prefect of his father, and considered his father to be his own subject.⁴⁴ Lord Gaogui Xiang (i.e., Cao Mao, 241–260 C.E.),

[the crown prince of] the Wei kingdom, revered the King of Qi [who had been dethroned] in his private chamber.⁴⁵ Empress Dowager Chu of the Jin dynasty treated her father as a vassal in the Court.⁴⁶ If we judge from these incidents, it is not strange [for a mother to pay her respects to her monk son].”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “Those who take the tonsure are of *futu* (“floating diagram,” the Chinese transliteration of Buddhism).”

52b My explanation is, “Sutras say that the term *futu* means ‘sacred auspiciousness’ or ‘numinous diagram.’ Since it floated upon the sea and reached [China], it is called *futu*. The stone buddha image of the Wuzhong area had floated in the sea and suddenly came to [China].⁴⁷ This historical fact is an example of this. At present, you drop the Chinese character *tu* (“diagram” or “drawing”) in the word *tuxiang* (“icon”) and replace it with the Chinese character *tu* (“to butcher”) in the word *xingtū* (“death penalty”). That is to say, Taibo [who left for Wu state in order to abdicate the throne for his brother, Jili] put on a ceremonial robe and cultivated the ceremonies [of the Zhou dynasty]. Consequently he had nothing of which to be ashamed in being defective in morality. [His younger brother,] Zhongyong, followed the customs [of Wu] by cutting off his hair and tattooing his body, and he educated [the natives].⁴⁸ If they met you today, they would certainly fall under your disastrous barking at sounds.

“Among things, there are things that look the same and yet are not alike, and things that do not look alike and yet are alike. Non-Buddhist scriptures take Zhongni (i.e., Confucius) to be a sage, but the Chinese character *ni* [in Zhongni] is used to refer to a nun in Buddhist scriptures. If someone says Zhongni is a nun, would you believe it? This can be compared to the fact that the Chinese character *tu* (“butchering”) is a homophone for the Chinese character *tu* (“diagram” or “drawing”). How are they different from each other?”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “The term *sangmen* (“gate of extinction,” i.e., a *śramaṇa*) refers to the gate of annihilation.”

My explanation is, “‘Gate’ means the origin, the entrance and exit of clear principles. Going in and out arises from the origin. There are the Dharma gate of nonduality (*bu'er famen*) in Buddhism and the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful (*zhongmiao zhi men*) in Laozi’s [teaching].⁴⁹ [The *Zuozhuan*] says that there is no gate for fortune and misfortune.⁵⁰ These are all the rich growth of gathering and going [of clear principles] and the profound house

of the subtle functions [of reason]. Buddhist monks understand the significance of this.

“The Chinese character *sang* [in the term *sangmen*] means extinction. To extinguish defilements and lead to spiritual relief are precisely what the term *sangmen* (“gate of extinction”) means. The Chinese character *sang* (“mulberry”) [in the term *sangmen* (“gate of mulberry trees,” i.e., a *śramaṇa*)] should [instead] be the Chinese character *sheng* (“carriage”); this is simply the case of an incorrect character. The term *shengmen* (“gate of a carriage”) refers to the gate of Mahayana Buddhism. After extinguishing defilements, [Buddhist monks] carry all the people they have encountered by this [over to the yonder shore]. Therefore, it was formerly called *miemen* (“gate of extinction”) and *shengmen* later. Furthermore, [in Buddhism] all eighty-four thousand [gates] are called the Dharma gate. Why would there be only the two gates called *sangmen*?”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “Barbarians do not believe in absolute vacancy (*xuwu*). After Laozi entered [the western region] through [Hangu] Pass, he intentionally established the teaching [to worship] the images [of buddhas and bodhisattvas] and edified them.”

My explanation is, “When we make inquiry into the origins of the establishment [of worshiping] images, [we find] that is not the original intention of the teaching; it is simply because after [Śākyamuni] passed away, [his disciples’] attachment to and affection for him did not cease. It is also clear in the descriptions in the Buddhist scripture that they made an image [of him] from a fragrant tree, [*gośīrṣa*] *candana*.⁵¹ Furthermore, after Confucius passed away, his three thousand disciples remembered him forever and gave rise to deep attachment to him. Since Youruo’s (i.e., Youzi’s) facial appearance bears the strongest resemblance to that of Confucius, [the disciples] asked him to take the seat of honor in the lecture hall and deliver a talk. The adherents inquired and respected [Youzi] in the same manner they had formerly done [for Confucius]. Zeng Shen (i.e., Zengzi) was displeased about this and said, ‘You, stand up! This is not a seat for you.’ Inferring from this, we know that [disciples] think about and adore [their deceased teachers].

“Dharma teacher Kumārajīva was born in a foreign land. He was sharp and intelligent. He had profound and extensive knowledge. He was good at talking about the characteristics of all phenomenal things. He [came to China]

52c carrying Buddhist scriptures on his back and circulated them in Guangzhong (present-day Shaanxi province) and the Sanfu area [near the capital Chang'an]. He explained the twofold designation of absolute and relative reality, and verified that both objects and the intelligence to discern them are tranquil. He aroused the lofty education of *wuwei* and urged the profound stream [of the teaching] to those who had not been awakened. This, as they say, is to drive away [defilements] until there is nothing to drive away.⁵² You said 'Barbarians do not believe in absolute vacancy.' This is really not a serious discussion. Gentlemen [of the world] emphasize that there is superiority and inferiority in principles and they are not concerned with the existence of images, yet you talk about images. Isn't this applying yourself to paganism?"

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, "[The purpose of] the tonsure is originally not to seek the Buddhist teaching but to subjugate evil barbarians. Today Chinese people do not teach themselves by [following] good gods but adopt the teaching of ignorant barbarians."

My explanation is, "The six groups of barbarians to the west, the five groups of barbarians to the north, the four groups of barbarians in the east, and the eight groups of barbarians in the south do not know the influence of the monarch. Those who do not hear the Buddhist Dharma are compared to animals; their circumstances are alike the eight difficulties (*ba'nan*) in reality. The current sage [emperor] conducts more lofty state affairs than did the Three Augusts and the Five Thearchs. He clarifies the Dharma of the One Vehicle. Heavenly and human beings rejoice equally. All beings of the world are delighted. [Insects, creatures] that crawl around, and [birds] that take breath through a beak all rely on him. It is said that even insects that pant and wriggle are rightly placed. If you say this and that without firm thought, you should immediately shut your mouth. Why do I have to make effort to suggest this to you?"

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, "The term *shamen* (*śramaṇa*) means 'careful selection' (*shatai*)."

My explanation is, "Those who concentrate their minds on one object and reach the origin are called *śramaṇas*. That is to say, to train one's mind, to wash away filth, to go upstream, and to return to purity is the meaning of 'careful selection.' You intend to defame [*śramaṇas*], but their significance

only increases. Truly, the more [Buddhism] is revered, the loftier it can become, and the more it is penetrated, the firmer it is.”⁵³

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “[Buddhism] entered our country and destroys it.”

My explanation is, “The Sage (i.e., the Buddha) assuredly follows the affections in the minds of [sentient beings] and responds to them everywhere. From remote antiquity, when people kept records by knotting ropes, the people became faithless and their customs insincere. In the edification of monarchs of latter generations, Yao and Confucius were exalted. As to places benefited by the subtle Dharma, [Buddhism] certainly helps [a monarch of] the secular world and edifies [the people]. [As a result,] the people spontaneously become sincere without being killed as a penalty, and they adopt the right Way without suffering from being whipped. The rulers of the Shi royal family (i.e., Shi Le and Shi Hu of the Later Zhao dynasty) had Fotudeng as their teacher and brought prosperity to their country. King [Rāmadatta] of ancient times consulted Bo in order to help the [Buddhist] Way flourish.⁵⁴ On what basis do you use the expression ‘[Buddhism] destroys our country’?”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “[Buddhism] comes into a family and ruins it.”

My explanation is, “Śākyamuni’s teaching completely has the virtue of the six kinds of cordiality; a father loves [his children]; sons are filial [to their parents]; elder brothers are kind [to their younger brothers]; younger brothers are respectful [to their elder brothers]; a husband is courteous [to his wife], and a wife is gentle [to her husband]. What point do you think is the unwholesomeness that can destroy a family? I hear only that Daoist monks of insignificant learning make the *Red Writing* in order to curse [others]. They disclose others’ personal secrets, go around the altar with disheveled hair, call out to Heaven, [kneel and] touch their foreheads to the ground, and scheme to get rid of each other and kill each other regardless of their relative degree of intimacy. This is precisely the way to destroy a family.”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “[Buddhism] enters one’s body and destroys it.”

My explanation is, “The body is a worse nuisance than shackles. Laozi considers the body to be dung and earth.⁵⁵ Śākyamuni considers the three

53a realms of existence to be [like] a house on fire. Therefore, those who have renounced the world must leave behind luxury, give up fame and wealth, realize the difficulties of staying in [this world that is like] an inn (i.e., a temporary abode), and wish always for the bliss of complete extinction. Those who follow popular customs, on the contrary, seek the way to escape from death. It is exactly as [Zhuangzi] says: ‘What destroys life does not die, and what produces life is not produced.’⁵⁶

“Recently a Daoist monk, who is fond of fame, said [with self-confidence] that he surpasses others in the Way of the Divine Transcendents. He tried to ascend to [the realm of] immortals on a certain day and soar skyward in daylight. [Nevertheless,] before he reached several *zhang* in height, he fell violently to the ground. When I went near him and examined him, [I found that he had used] none other than two wings of a large bird. He is truly the so-called one who cannot spread his wings and fly away!⁵⁷

“Analyzing the doomed fate of [Daoist monks] based on their present affairs, they will come to ruin [in a very short time]; they will be punished before they turn back. Zhang Ling of the Han dynasty falsely accused people and collected a high-rate tax from them. [His group] was called the Grain Thieves (*mize*). They were also wiped out. Regarding [your statement,] ‘entering one’s body and destroying it,’ isn’t this something like the poem ‘The Bow Adorned with Horn (*Jiaogong*)’ [in the *Book of Odes*, which was composed as a satire of domestic discord]?”⁵⁸

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “[Buddhism causes family members] to not join together in singing or weeping.”

My explanation is, “To weep when others weep is the ignorant behavior of common people. To be able to sing a song in the face of someone’s death indicates the calm and peaceful feelings of Buddhist monks. When Yuan Rang lost his parent he climbed a tree and sang a song. Confucius, who was passing by, did not blame him.⁵⁹ This is also one aspect of the teaching on morality and ethics (i.e., Confucianism).”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “[Buddhist monks] do not go to the court [to be received in audience by the emperor].”

My explanation is, “Confucius said, ‘The scholar sometimes will not take the high office of a minister of the son of Heaven, nor the lower office of

serving the prince of a state.’⁶⁰ Confucian scholars are a group of philistines, but they can still be like this. Needless to say, *śramaṇas* are people who are beyond this world. Formerly Bocheng and Zigao [in Yao’s time] and Zizhou and Zhibo [in Shun’s time] simply longed for profundity and adored the Way.⁶¹ Because of this they did not get involved in human affairs.”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “Those who take the tonsure commit the sin of damaging their body.”

My explanation is, “My view regarding the hair and skin was completely explained in my previous answer. I will further briefly speak of it. Generally speaking, regarding the issue, ‘not to dare to damage [one’s body],’ this is precisely in order to prevent people from doing evil, offending the judicial constitution, being punished with the five penalties, and having an incomplete body.

“Today *śramaṇas* keep the teaching of the Sage (i.e., Śākyamuni) in mind and stick to it. They seek the ten [bodhisattva] stages [toward enlightenment] in the distance. They shave their beards and hair and put on the Dharma robe. They do not go against [filial piety by] establishing themselves and becoming famous.⁶² When they attain the [Buddhist] Way they liberate their relatives as well. What is the negative point by which you place *śramaṇas*’ [tonsure] under the sin of ‘damaging [the body]’?”

“Those who stick to written language simply do not understand the purpose beyond what is written. Even the wheelwright Bian did not pass on his skill to his son [through teaching him with words].⁶³ I have nothing more to say about this.”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “Among those who have renounced the world I have not seen a gentleman. This is because [the renunciants] are all escapees from corvée labor.”

My explanation is, “Alas! Why are you having such difficulty in making things clear? The *Zuozhuan* says, ‘Words are an embellishment of the person.’⁶⁴ Zhuangzi says, ‘If words are not extensive, it is insufficient to clarify the Way.’⁶⁵ Although I would prefer not speaking, how would it be possible?”

“All those who have renounced the world have the stable root of the spirit from their previous existences, a very deep capacity for virtue, and profound intelligence. They have firm [faith] that cannot be uprooted. Therefore, their spirits are concentrated and their minds are led [to enlightenment]. Since

53b they rise above the world, cherishing lofty thoughts, even the universe cannot examine what they have in their minds. Since they are tranquil and have nothing to commit, how could dust and dirt disturb their minds?

“They are removed from the valuable favor of their kind parents, give up the joy and love of their families; they empty the room in order to produce bright light (i.e., empty the mind in order to produce happiness),⁶⁶ and they practice meditation, abiding by the profound [Way]. Some of them practice frugal living (Skt. *dhūta*) in a forest or wilderness, and give up their own bodies to hungry beasts. Some lead a calm and upright life and follow a vegetarian diet. They dedicate themselves [to cultivation] without negligence. They delightedly seek the ten powers [possessed by the Tathāgata], leap over to the highest path, set the heavenly net free, melt away the earthen web, give rise to myriad merits before they fully manifest, and relieve ordinary people from [transmigration in birth and death for] ten thousand *kalpas*. This is truly the magnificent plan of a great person, and not something you have had a chance to hear.

“What do you mean by saying, ‘[The renunciants are all] escapees from corvée labor’? Confucius wished to have a beak three *chi* long.⁶⁷ Although words come out of the mouth, if a long tongue [that is fond of gossip] does not offend other people, your beak should be three *zhang* long.⁶⁸ How deeply the people are hurt by your annoying statements about things that have nothing to do with you!”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “If two grownup men out of three [in a family] renounce the world, why does the [remaining] one have no chance for the providence [of the Buddha]?”

My explanation is, “[People who have] no chance for the providence [of the Buddha] were born under [the karmic condition of having] no chance for the [Buddha’s] providence. Those who have a chance for the providence [of the Buddha] come into existence precisely under [the karmic condition of having] a chance for the [Buddha’s] providence. How do I know this is so?

“In the world there is a case where the whole family entered the [Buddhist] Way. Therefore it is said that they came into existence under [the karmic condition of having the] chance for the [Buddha’s] providence. [On the other hand,] there are those who have never heard about *bhikṣus* (*bīqiu*) from the

time they were born. Therefore, it is said that they were born under [the karmic condition of having] no chance for the [Buddha's] providence.

“Sixteen princes renounced the world on the same day and entered the Buddhist Way, following their father.⁶⁹ This is exactly a case in which the whole family was drawn by the [Buddha's] providence and reached [the Buddhist Way] all at once. Why do you think only two grownup men [out of three in a family] should renounce [the world]? Those who have no chance for the [Buddha's] providence accommodate themselves to the condition of having no chance for the [Buddha's] providence and should simply seek to examine themselves. Just now you are in the Avīci Hell for a long time, while you anxiously discuss this. Don't you want to put away your shield and spear? What I really hope for is that you can come back from [the world of] delusion.”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “The Daoist teaching raises virtue and makes the country great.”

My explanation is, “There are ninety-six kinds of teachings. The Buddhist [teaching] is the most esteemed [among them]. Brahmanic [teaching] is like a small hill. Even if the deities of mountains and rivers can produce clouds and rain, they are objects to be worshiped by the country and by families. In the point of raising virtue and making the country great, [these deities] have more or less efficacy. Nevertheless, in saving [sentient beings] extensively and boundlessly, pulling them out of great affliction, our *vajra* sage (i.e., the Buddha) alone loftily wins the victory.

“The Buddha already existed at the beginning of time, when the Grand Terminus was divided [into *yin* and *yang*], but at that time sentient beings' causes and conditions were not yet active. Hence the name [“Buddha”] was hidden for the time being. Why do I say this? Inferring about the past before the Three Augusts, how could there be neither the *Book of Rites* nor the *Book of Changes*? That is to say, the two hexagrams *qian* and *kun* and the two lines *li* and *yu* conveniently arose together with Heaven and Earth. Even though it is said that they arose together [with Heaven and Earth], the reasons why these names did not arise [at the same time] are merely because [sentient beings'] faculties and receptivity had not begun, so the employment of [these names] had not yet taken place. Although the principles have always existed, their traces were not evident.

53c “As for the two sages, one in China and the other in a foreign country (i.e., India), their principles are the same. Therefore, it is said in [the *Scripture on the Clean and Pure*] *Dharma Practice (Qingjing faxing jing)*, ‘The three wise men (i.e., Māṇava, Guangjing Bodhisattva, and Kāśyapa) were first sent [to China]. They gradually led [the people] to the secular teaching. Later, with the Buddhist scriptures they [instructed] the people to eliminate evil and follow the correct [path].’⁷⁰ Li Lao’s school is a branch of Śākyamuni’s teaching. The Buddhist scriptures say, ‘[The Buddha] spoke here and there but his name varied,’⁷¹ and ‘Once he was the leader of the circle of Confucian scholars, the most reverent priest of the country, or a monk.’⁷² Or, he was tranquil and inactive and yet he performed a Buddhist service. What the golden mouth [of the Buddha] expounds corresponds to [reality], just as [two pieces of] a tally fit together precisely. Why do you leap around to the east and west, avoiding neither what is high nor what is low?⁷³ Alas! Availing themselves of my wisdom and trusting to my supernatural powers, heretics consequently intend to bend and confuse the passages of my scriptures and destroy my teaching! A person who lacks conscience has come to such a pass!”

The *Discourse [on the Triple Destruction]* says, “The Way is material force (*qi*).”

My explanation is, “The concept of the Way takes the principles as a function. When we attain the principles we are complete in the Way. For this reason, a *śramaṇa* is called a person of the Way (*daoren*). The people of the Yangping area (present-day Shaanxi province) are called Daoists (*daoshi*). The Sage Śākyamuni attained the foundation of the Way. Penzu and Laozi occupy the end of the Way.⁷⁴ For [Śākyamuni,] who attained the foundation of the Way, the Way is spontaneously revealed before he speaks of the Way. Those who occupy the end of the Way always talk of the Way, but the Way [of which they speak] is insufficient. For instance, Confucius, who was deeply learned, did not make his name only for expertise in a special skill, but his disciples, such as [Zi]you and [Zi]xia, are regarded as [experts in] all four subjects [of learning] (i.e., virtuous conduct, speech, state affairs, and literature).

“Zhuangzi said, ‘Life is [due to the collecting of] material force. When that is collected, there is life, and when it is dispersed, there is death.’⁷⁵ If we follow your statement, and if the Way is material force, the Way would then be collected and dispersed, as life and death. Your Way, then, is the law

of birth and death, not of permanence. I have heard that your Way also has the subject of uniting the *yin* and *yang* energies (i.e., sexual practices). I wish that you will not mention this really disgraceful issue. Moreover, Zhuangzi says, ‘The Way exists in excrement and urine.’⁷⁶ It is possible that the Way that exists in excrement and urine is [the same as] your Way of uniting the *yin* and *yang* energies, isn’t it?”

End of Fascicle Eight of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

**The Record that the Emperor of the
Great Liang Dynasty Sets Forth the
Right Logic for Spiritual Intelligence
and the Attainment of Buddhahood,
together with the Preface and
Annotation Composed
by Shen Ji of Wuxing**

The Way of the Spirit is profound and obscure, and [hence] Xuanni (i.e., Confucius) certainly had nothing to say about it.⁷⁷ Psychological operations are subtle, [therefore] the Archivist [of the Zhou dynasty] (i.e., Laozi) did not talk about it, either. This is not because the wisdom of these sages was not complete but it is difficult to understand [this] with familiar feelings, and if it is explained in words it is abstruse. Therefore, great scholars of former generations left discussions about past karma, and eloquent speakers of later generations stammer when it comes to discussing one's life to come. Without utmost discretion of the world, how can [these issues] be made clear?

Therefore, when deluded people hear that the spirit does not cease to exist [at death], they all think that it is eternal; when they hear that thought (Skt. *citta-carita*) is not eternal, they all think that it becomes extinct. When it is said that [the spirit or thought] becomes extinct, people are confused about the issue of whether its nature is eternal; when it is said that [the spirit or thought] is eternal, they are deluded about the issue that its function ceases to exist. They are doubtful about the nature [of the spirit or thought] based on its function, and think that its nature can be extinguished; they are doubtful about its function based on its nature and think that the function is not influenced. None [among them] is able to seek it exquisitely. Each person has a strong inclination toward [his or her own view]. They then cause their spontaneous nature of awakening to sink to the level of superficial talk.

The sage ruler (i.e., Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty) received a profound auspicious omen and manages [the nation] from the imperial throne. He is

aware that he should confer the law in advance of Heaven and provide teaching [based on] observing the people. He fears that incoherent sophistry makes its own logic and becomes rampant. Who can restore order through subtle descriptions of complicated traces? The literary forms of the teaching left behind by Śākyamuni are going to disappear. For this reason, [Emperor Wu] wrote this intelligent discussion in order to promote the most precious scriptures.

I, Ji, thinking from early in my life that my body is empty, set the Buddhist teaching in my mind and I often appreciate the sound of the Dharma (i.e., the Buddhist teaching), and because of this I forget to eat and sleep. Nevertheless, it is difficult for me, having a stupid and dull temperament, to understand [the teaching]. [Every time] I come into contact with the doctrine I have many questions. Regarding the great meaning of buddha-nature, I lost my footing and was confused in the path of my mind (i.e., thought). Since the words of the emperor have pervaded over even distant areas, all the people equally receive comfort. Myriad nights have ended and eternal dawn has come to the darkness. Questions about various issues are now clear and completely understood. Personally, I think that phenomena and principles proceed smoothly. If there is nothing, we do not recognize anything. Function follows the Way and squares with it. How can the mind not discern this?

Consequently, hovering like floating clouds, we still sense the harmony of beautiful sounds; joyful, like a swimming fish, we still appreciate the harmony of pure sounds produced with a stringed instrument. Moreover, the divine wonder is sent from the will of Heaven. This is why I dance, waving my hands and stepping about, and cannot stop myself. With superficial perception I venture to respectfully make an annotation. Might this be an attempt to trace to the very source of the innermost of Heaven through the eye of a needle? I am probably confused. Therefore I make this explanation.

Practicing [the Buddhist Way] is based on the establishment of faith.

I, Ji, say, “Ignorant and dark people assuredly give rise to great intelligence. Intelligence does not arise suddenly; it surely arises through practice. Practice is not mastered for its own sake; it must be cultivated based on faith. Faith is [the attitude of] mind in reliance on a teacher and in conformity with reason without disobedience. Therefore, the five roots of wholesomeness (Skt. *pañca-indriyā*) take faith as the basis, and faith in the four objects (*sixin*) takes being

true to them as primary. Since primary faith is established, myriad wholesome deeds are spontaneously performed. To perform wholesome deeds and reach fruition is called practice.”

The establishment of faith derives from right understanding.

I, Ji, say, “If we do not know right from wrong, how can we attain faith? Consequently, the foundation of establishing faith is supported by right understanding.”

When understanding is right, external wrong views (i.e., non-Buddhist teachings) do not disturb us.

I, Ji, say, “If the mind is right, myriad wrong views are extinguished. From this it is known that when we hold right views in our minds, external wrong views do not disarrange us.”

When faith is established, there are no doubts in the consciousness.

I, Ji, say, “Consciousness is the mind. Therefore, the *Discourse on the Achievement of Reality* (*Chengshi lun*) says, ‘The mind, thought, and consciousness are the same in essence though different in name.’⁷⁸ Now that the mind has faith, of what are we doubtful?”

Nevertheless, what faith and understanding depend on has its foundation.

I, Ji, say, “To ‘depend on’ means to rely on. When there is the basis for having peace in the mind, minor issues and actions spontaneously follow [the basis]. It is evident in the following sentences that there is the basis.”

Why? Because when we examine the origin of the spiritual intelligence in which imperishability is considered to be exquisite, the exquisite spirit indeed returns to wonderful fruition.

I, Ji, say, “If there is a case where the spirit is exhausted, why is it called ‘spirit’? Therefore the sutra says, ‘When we see a dead [person], the body deforms and decays yet the spirit does not perish. According to the actions, good or bad, [the person made during his life,] fortune and misfortune spontaneously follows him.’⁷⁹ This is precisely the meaning of the imperishability and ceaselessness [of the spirit]. If the [spirit] decays just as do grass and

trees, could it be said to be exquisite? Because [the spirit] is free from cessation, it returns to the culmination of subtlety after all. When the mind is based on this ground, all principles that you touch become clear. When you are clear in numerous principles, what practice could you not achieve? The foundation of faith and understanding means this.”

The essence of the wonderful fruition goes to the end of eternity. The exquisite spirit cannot avoid impermanence.

I, Ji, say, “Regarding the wonderful fruition, the principle has already been sufficiently clarified. Therefore, its essence simply extends to the end of eternity. The exquisite spirit takes part in practice and has not yet been completed. Hence, it must go through changes.”

Impermanence is to perish first, arise later, and not stay even for a moment (*chana*).

I, Ji, say, “The term *chana* (i.e., “moment” or “instant”) is [the Chinese transliteration of] the Indian term [*kṣaṇa*], which designates an extremely brief [moment of time]. When [a being] arises and is then extinguished, how could there [be any possibility] of staying? Therefore, Vimalakīrti lamented, ‘O *bhikṣus!* We are born, grow old, and die in an instant.’”⁸⁰

If the mind is employed as being affected by an external object (Skt. *ālambana*), the consciousness of the former [existence] must differ from that of the latter [existence]. In this case, [the mind] goes together with the circumstance. Who then would be able to attain buddhahood?

I, Ji, say, “The mind moves following the circumstance. This is its external operation. Even though the latter follows the former, this is not a discussion of reality after all. Consequently, it is known that the nature of the spiritual consciousness is quiet and calm and does not move. Since it is quiet and calm and does not move, it finally returns to the wonderful fruition.”

The sutra says, “The mind is the right cause and achieves the fruition of buddhahood after all.”⁸¹

I, Ji, say, “Briefly speaking of the cause of attaining buddhahood, there are two meanings: one is the condition that causes [the attainment of buddhahood]

and the other is the right cause [for the attainment of buddhahood]. The condition [that causes the attainment of buddhahood] refers to all wholesome deeds, and the right [cause] means the spiritual consciousness. All wholesome deeds have the merit of helping to reveal [buddhahood]. Therefore it is called the condition [that causes the attainment of buddhahood]. The spiritual consciousness is the basis of the right cause. Therefore it is called ‘right cause.’ It has already been stated that [the mind] achieves the fruition of buddhahood after all. This clearly verifies that [the mind] is ceaseless.”

Furthermore, [the sutra] says, “If ignorance is transformed it turns into intelligence.”⁸² According to this, the purpose of the sutra should be able to be pursued in reason. Why? The mind is the basis of function. The basis is one while its function varies. When the function varies, there are spontaneous rising and falling away, yet the nature of the basis, which is one, does not change.

I, Ji, say, “When defilement is washed away, the fundamental consciousness becomes bright. The mutual shift between brightness and darkness is called ‘change.’ In the case where something leaves first and another thing comes later, this is not called ‘change.’”

The basis, which is one, is nothing but ignorance and spiritual intelligence.

I, Ji, say, “Spiritual intelligence is based on darkness. Therefore, ignorance is considered to be the cause.”

Searching for what is called ignorance, it is not a category of the Grand Void. Soil and stone have no feelings. How, then, can it be said that they are ignorant?

I, Ji, say, “In distinguishing between good and bad, we have no ideas without the mind; in knowing clearly [what is] right or wrong, we have no recognition without feelings. Since the Grand Void has no feeling, it does not clarify either a fool or an intelligent [person]. Soil and stone have no minds. How could they discern understanding or delusion? Therefore it is known that understanding and delusion depend on the existence of the mind, and a fool and an intelligent [person both] depend on the existence of consciousness. When ignorance is mentioned, the meaning depends on the existence of the mind.”

Consequently, it is known that while discerning thought should be intelligent, its essence is subject to delusion, and since deluded thought does not know, it is called ignorance.

I, Ji, say, “Intelligence is the real nature. Therefore, it must be intelligent. Consciousness is affected by external defilement. Hence, delusion unavoidably enters it. Being deluded and not understanding is called ignorance. Based on this, the name was given. How could its purport be untrue?”

54c Accordingly, ignorance has arising and extinction in essence. Arising and extinction differ from each other in function. The meaning of the ignorant mind does not change.

I, Ji, say, “Inasmuch as there is essence, there is function. When speaking of function, it is not essence. When speaking of essence, it is not function. In function there are arising and falling away, but in essence there is no arising or extinction.”

I am afraid that if one sees that function varies, he will think that the mind is extinguished, following the circumstance.

I, Ji, say, “Deluded people are confused regarding essence and function. Therefore, they cannot break off doubts. Why? Essence and function sustain a relation of staying neither too close nor too far away. Apart from essence there is no function. Therefore, it is said [that essence and function sustain a relation of] staying not too far away. Since the meaning of function is not essence, it is said [that they sustain a relation of] staying not too close, either. When people see [that essence and function sustain a relation of] staying not too far away, they may become confused about [that essence and function sustain a relation of] staying not too close; when they are confused about [that essence and function sustain a relation of] staying not too close, they think that the mind is extinguished following the circumstance.”

Therefore, [in the five kinds of afflictions (*wuzhudi huo*)] the term *zhudi* (the place in which afflictions are entrenched) is added after the name “ignorance.” This shows that ignorance is precisely spiritual intelligence and the nature of the spiritual intelligence does not change.

I, Ji, say, “The reason to link the term *zhudi* to ignorance is probably to expel the deluded consciousness. Those who harbor afflictions have not [yet] perceived [the truth].”

How do we know this? If the mind formerly committed a heavy evil act which causes one to fall into Avīci Hell, and later the consciousness gives rise to the excellent wholesomeness of non-thought, good and evil are very far apart from each other in reason, and there is a big difference between the former and the latter. If in function there is really no basis, how then can the continuation like this happen?

I, Ji, say, “If there is no basis, function has nothing on which to rely. A deluded person sees that the similar categories are continuous and thus considers them to be the same. Therefore, the great wholesomeness is taken up in order to expel the confusion about this continuation.”

From this, it is known that the former evil is spontaneously extinguished, yet the deluded consciousness does not change; and even though the latter wholesomeness arises, the mind of darkness does not change.

I, Ji, say, “The arising and extinction of good and evil never damage the basis.”

Therefore, the sutra says, “What is accompanied by the bondage of defilement is called ‘ignorance,’ and what is accompanied by all wholesome things is called ‘intelligence.’”⁸³ Isn’t it that the nature of consciousness is one and it varies following conditions?

I, Ji, say, “If good and evil alternately arise, how can it then be said [that they are] ‘together’? Nevertheless, these words (i.e., “good” and “evil”) are constantly opposed to each other, and their purposes are always indistinct. Therefore, this important sentence is given in order to explain this to the many deluded people.”

Hence, it is known that the change of arising and extinction requires a past cause, and the alternation of good and evil arises in the present state of the mind.

I, Ji, say, “Arising and extinction are caused by actions one previously performed; it is not that they are caused by the present state of the mind. Good and evil arise in the current state of the mind; it is not that one’s actions done in the past cause them.”

Moreover, the mind is the basis. It never changes.

I, Ji, say, “Even though the function differs, the essence does not.”

Since the basis of the function is ceaseless, the law of the attainment of buddhahood is bright. Since it changes following the state of the mind, it is clear that birth and death can be brought to an end.

I, Ji, say, “That [the law of] the attainment of buddhahood is bright relies on the basis. That birth and death can be brought to an end is derived from the function. If there is function but no basis, one is extinguished and does not attain [buddhahood]. If there is basis but no function, one attains [buddhahood] and there is nothing to extinguish.”

Criticism of the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* (Shenmie lun)

Preface by Xiao Chen

Fan Zizhen (i.e., Fan Zhen, 450–507?), the elder brother of my wife, wrote the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, in which he clarified that there is no buddha. He says that he has defeated numerous people in argument and caused a thousand people to surrender in a single day. I am still unconvinced. I would like to examine some doubtful points and inquire about what I have not yet understood.

55a What the *Discourse* has maintained up to today is about the physical body and the spirit, and what it argues is [whether or not] the principle is exquisite. For instance, the fact that offerings are presented with filial piety at the ancestral temple in spring and autumn is considered to be for what the sages, in accordance with the Way of the Spirit, laid down instructions and rites and guarded against ignorance. [The disembodied spirit of] Du Bo [who was killed by King Xuan of the Zhou dynasty] fully drew a bow [to

shoot King Xuan].⁸⁴ [A man dreamed that] Boyou, [who had been killed by a man of Zheng state, walked around] in armor.⁸⁵ It is said that monsters spontaneously appear between Heaven and Earth; it is not that people who died became ghosts.

In this way, it is impossible to cross-examine with the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History* or to compare with things that happened in the past. It is possible only to debate the separation and reunion of body and spirit. If body and spirit are one, and exist and are extinguished at the same time, then Fan Zi[zhen] will exult and rouse himself in an impregnable fortress in the distance. If spirit and body separate from each other and arise and go to ruin at different [times], I will overcome my enemy and attain superiority, and my task will be completed. Moreover, even though I make clear that there are buddhas, my treatment of [the term] “buddha” is not the same as that of other secular people. I will explain my real intention at the same time and attach it after the *Discourse*.

The Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit

The questions and answers are those between a guest and a host in the original text of the *Discourse*; the criticism is my present inquiry.

Question: “You say that the spirit is extinguished. How do you know it is extinguished?”

Answer: “The spirit conforms to the body and the body conforms to the spirit. For this reason, when the body exists, the spirit does, too. When the body withers away, the spirit is extinguished.”

Question: “The body is the name of what has no perception. The spirit is the name of what has perception. There are differences in conformity with phenomena between what has perception and what does not. In reason, it is not acceptable that spirit and body are one. That body and spirit conform to each other is not what I have learned.”

Answer: “The body is the substance of the spirit and the spirit is the function of the body. This means precisely that the body is the substance and the spirit is the function. It is impossible that body and spirit differ from each other.”

Criticism: “The *Discourse* asserts that body and spirit are one. It should then give evidence for their inseparability. However, [the *Discourse*] simply

says, 'The spirit conforms to the body and the body conforms to the spirit. It is impossible that body and spirit differ from each other.' This is debating without evidence. It is unlikely that this is your explanation.

Here I will testify on the basis of dreams that it is impossible that body and spirit are one. While someone is asleep, his body is an object that has no perception, but it has occasion to see something. This is because the spirit goes out [of the body] and makes contact with [other objects]. The spirit does not stand by itself; it must inhabit the body. It is just like that people do not live in the open air but need a house in which to live. The body is just a filthy and foolish thing, just as a house is merely a closed-up place. When the spirit returns to the body, the consciousness becomes slightly confused, and [in its confusion] what [the spirit] has seen becomes a dream. When people come back to their homes, their spirits are suddenly obstructed. Since [their spirits have suddenly become] obstructed, brightness turns to darkness. Sometimes in a dream people soar up into the deep sky or travel ten thousand *li* to a distant place. [In this case,] if the spirit does not travel [far,] does the body go? If the body does not go and the spirit does not separate from the body, how could a case like this be possible?

55b It is said that [a dream] is a manifestation of what one thinks. So when a person peacefully enjoys deep sleep, his body is like a piece of wood that lies flat, and his breath is like cold ashes. Even when we call out to him, he cannot hear us; if we touch him, he does not feel it. If it is said that spirit and body are one, this means that both the outside and the inside are inactive. If a [sleeping person] does not have contact with sounds from the external world, how then could he give rise internally to thoughts? From this, it can be certainly known that even if the body is motionless the spirit moves swiftly. Furthermore, I have questions about dreams in general.

Some [dreams] meet with unexpected results.

Zhao Jianzi dreamed of a naked boy singing a song that could [be interpreted] as meaning that the state of Wu would invade the state of Zou.⁸⁶ One of the eunuchs of the state of Jin dreamed [in the morning] that he had ascended to Heaven carrying the marquis on his back, but [in fact, at midday on the same day] he had to carry the marquis on his back out of the privy [into which the marquis had fallen].⁸⁷ These are examples of this.

Some [dreams] are unreasonable.

Lü Qi [of the state of Jin] dreamed that he had shot an arrow at the middle of the moon.⁸⁸ The empress of Wu state dreamed that her intestines left [her body] and flew around the Gate of Heaven (i.e., the front gate of a palace).⁸⁹ These are examples of this.

Some [dreams] are precursors of things that have not yet happened.

Lü Jiang (i.e., Taigong Wang, Lü Shang) dreamed that Heaven named his son Yu.⁹⁰ A man of Cao state dreamed that many gentlemen were plotting to ruin the state of Cao.⁹¹ These are examples of this.

Some [dreams] are pretexts of symbols.

Cai Mao attained an official rank after he dreamed that he had lost the rice crop [since the Chinese character *zhi*, “to attain official rank,” consists of the two Chinese characters: *he*, “rice crop,” and *shi*, “to lose”].⁹² Wang Jun had a dream about three swords and became a district magistrate of a province [since the Chinese character *zhou*, “province,” consists of three of the Chinese character *dao*, “sword.”].⁹³ These are examples of this.

Some [dreams] have nothing that conforms to reality.

A man of the northern tribe [who lives in a desert] dreamed of a boat. A man of the Yue region [in southern China, where river boats are a major means of transportation] had a dream of riding a horse. These are examples of this.

Some [dreams] later come true, and some do not.

The head of the Yin dynasty (i.e., Emperor Wu Ding) obtained Fu Yue, [a sage who was later promoted to Prime Minister by Wu Ding,] in a dream.⁹⁴ Emperor Wen (r. 180–157 B.C.E.) of the Han dynasty dreamed that he obtained Deng Tong.⁹⁵ [These are examples that] testify [to dreams that later came true]. Since there are too many examples of dreams that never come true, I will not dwell upon them [here].

All of these indicate that the mutation of the spirit is vague and uncertain, and [the relation between] the unseen world and this world is unpredictable.

This is easy to understand in brief but difficult to discuss thoroughly with logic. If it is not accepted that the spirit goes out [of the body], all [explanations] must be sought within the body. I am afraid [you think] that a piece of the hidden spirit is cut off from seeing the external world. Although you lean on [the divination of] the six kinds of dreams⁹⁶ or try to aid [your discourse] with [Buddhist terms such as] conception (Skt. *saṃjñā*) and cause, it is impossible [to verify your discourse] in reason.”

Question: “The spirit is originally not the substance and the body is originally not the function, either. Why is it impossible that [spirit and body] differ from each other?”

Answer: “Their names differ from each other, but their essences are one.”

Question: “Their names already differ from each other. Why is it possible that their essences are one?”

Answer: “[The relation] between spirit and substance is similar to that between sharpness and a sword. [The relation] between body and function is similar to that between a sword and its sharpness. The word ‘sharpness’ is not the sword; the word ‘sword’ is not sharpness. There is, however, no sword apart from its sharpness, and there is no sharpness apart from the sword. I have not heard that when a sword disappears its sharpness remains. How could it be possible that the body is lost yet the spirit remains?”

Criticism: “The sharpness that a sword possesses is due to the effect of the [sword having been] sharpened on a whetstone. Therefore, it can slice iguanodons and dragons in water and cut rhinoceroses and tigers on land.⁹⁷ If its sharpness is used up thoroughly and its function comes to an end, the sword’s tip and edges will certainly break and the sword becomes blunt. Just like this, sharpness is lost, yet the sword remains. Namely, the spirit is lost yet the body remains. Why do you say there is no sword apart from sharpness and the words ‘sword’ and ‘sharpness’ differ from each other but their essences are one? Since a sword and sharpness are not extinguished together, body and spirit do not perish together, either. Even though you are capable of making an example from familiar things, it goes against reality in reason.”

Question: “[The relation between] a sword and sharpness is probably as you say, but the significance of [the relation between] body and spirit is not the same as this. Why do I say so? The substance of a tree has no perception, while the substance of a human being has perception. A human being already

has substance, as does a tree, yet [the human being] has perception that a tree does not have. Isn't it that a tree has one [characteristic] (i.e., substance) but a human being has two (i.e., substance and perception)?"

55c

Answer: "This sounds strange! If a human being has substance, like that of a tree, that is considered to be the body, and he has perception, which a tree does not have, that is regarded as the spirit, then it might be as you say. Now, regarding the substance of a human being, this substance has perception. As for the substance of a tree, its substance has no perception. The substance of a human being is not [the same as] that of a tree; the substance of a tree is not [like] that of a human being. Is it possible to have a substance like that of a tree combined with perception, which a tree does not have?"

Question: "The reason the substance of a human being differs from that of a tree is because [the former] has perception. Would a human being who has no perception be any different from a tree?"

Answer: "A human being does not have substance without perception. It is just as a tree does not have a body that has perception."

Question: "Isn't the dead body [of a human being] a substance without perception?"

Answer: "Yes, it is a substance without perception."

Question: "If that is the case, a human being surely has a substance like that of a tree, as well as the perception that distinguishes [him or her] from a tree."

Answer: "A dead body has substance like that of a tree, yet it does not have the perception that distinguishes [a human being] from a tree. A living person has this perception that distinguishes [a human being] from a tree, yet he or she does not have a substance like that of a tree."

Question: "Isn't the skeleton of a dead body the same as that of a living person?"

Answer: "A living body is not a dead body; a dead body is not a living body. The distinction between them is already evident. How could a person who has the skeleton of a living person have the skeleton of a dead body?"

Question: "If the skeleton of a living person is not the same as that of a dead body, the [deceased's] skeleton must not derive from that of a living person. If [the deceased's skeleton] does not derive from the skeleton of a living person, from where does this [deceased's] skeleton come?"

Answer: “It comes from the skeleton of a living person, which changes and becomes the [deceased’s] skeleton.”

Question: “Even if the skeleton of a living person changes and becomes the [deceased’s] skeleton, wouldn’t there be death on the basis of life? So, it is known that a dead body is still a living body.”

Answer: “If a leafy tree changes and becomes a withered tree [with no leaves], how could the substance of the withered tree be same essence as that of the leafy tree?”

Question: “The essence of a leafy [tree] changes and becomes the essence of a withered [tree]. The essence of a withered [tree] is exactly the [same] essence as that of a leafy [tree]. It is just like the essence of very fine thread that changes and becomes the essence of twisted yarn; the essence of the twisted yarn is exactly the same essence as that of the very fine thread. Is there anything faulty in this?”

56a Answer: “If a withered [tree] is exactly a leafy [tree] and a leafy [tree] is nothing other than a withered [tree, a tree] should then appear withered when it is flourishing and bear fruit when it is withered. Moreover, a leafy tree should not change and become a withered tree. Since a leafy [tree] is exactly a withered [tree], no further change can happen to a withered [tree]. In addition, if a leafy [tree] and a withered [tree] are the same, why isn’t a tree first withered and leafless, only later does it have leaves? Why is it first leafy and later withered [and leafless]? Very fine thread and twisted yarn [made of that thread] are [essentially] the same [substance]. It is impossible to compare them to [a tree].”

Question: “When [a person’s] life leaves his body, [his life] should be suddenly and completely exhausted. Why does his dead body remain for a long time?”

Answer: “There must be a sequential order in the essence of arising and extinction. Therefore, what arises suddenly must be extinguished suddenly; what arises gradually must be extinguished gradually. What arises suddenly are such things as a cyclone or a sudden rainstorm. What arises gradually are such things as animals or plants. There is sudden [arising and extinction] and gradual [arising and extinction]. This is the law of phenomena.”

Criticism: “The *Discourse* says, ‘The substance of a human being has perception while the substance of a tree has no perception.’ Isn’t this because

a human being recognizes when it is cold or hot, he knows pain and itchiness, he lives when he is nourished, and dies when he is [seriously] injured? A tree is the same. It is leafy in spring and withered in fall. When it is planted it must grow, but when it is pulled out [at the root], it must die. Why do you think [a tree] has no perception?

Here now the substance of a human being is just like that of a tree. When the spirit stays [in the body], the body arises; when the spirit leaves [the body], the body is exhausted. [The body that] arises is precisely like a leafy tree, and [the body that] is exhausted is exactly like a withered tree. Why do you assert that this is not the perception of the spirit and say that substance has perception? Myriad things are all perceived by the spirit; they are not perceived by the substance. The nature of grass, trees, and insects is, however, to simply be aware of flourishing, withering, arising, and extinction. The consciousness of a human being distinguishes safety from danger, or advantage from disadvantage. Why do you say it is not that [a human being] has substance like that of a tree, which becomes the body, and has perception that distinguishes [a human being] from a tree, which becomes the spirit? This would mean that body and spirit exist as two [elements] that can be distinguished from each other. Trees merely receive the partial energy of *yin* and *yang*, while human beings bear the exquisite intellectual function of the numinous being. In consciousness, both [human beings and trees] are probably the same, but they differ from each other in spirit. In the discussion on the skeleton [of a dead body] and that [of a living person], and in the explanation for giving and receiving death and life, judgment has already been previously settled. The issues are absurd, as well. Why must we debate about them in detail?"

Question: "In the case where the body conforms to the spirit, are [body parts,] such as hands, considered to be the spirit, too?"

Answer: "All are parts of the spirit."

Question: "If all are parts of the spirit, then just as the spirit ought to be able to think, hands and other body parts should be able to think, too."

Answer: "Hands and other body parts have perception [of such feelings as] pain and itchiness, but they have no faculty of thinking to judge right or wrong."

Question: "Are perception and thought the same or different?"

56b

Answer: "Perception is precisely thought. What is shallow becomes perception and what is deep becomes thought."

Question: “If this is so, there ought to be two kinds of thoughts. Since there are two kinds of thoughts, are there then also two kinds of spirits?”

Answer: “The body of a human being is only one. How could it be possible to have two kinds of spirits?”

Question: “If there cannot be two kinds of spirits, why does [a human being] have perception [of such feelings as] pain and itchiness as well as the faculty of thinking to judge right or wrong?”

Answer: “Even though hands differ from feet, they all are [parts] of a person, and even though right and wrong, or pain and itchiness, differ from each other, they all are of the spirit.”

Question: “If the faculty of thinking to judge right or wrong is not concerned with hands and feet, with what should it be concerned?”

Answer: “The faculty of thinking to judge right or wrong is taken charge of by the heart organ.”

Question: “The heart organ is the heart of the five internal organs (i.e., heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys), isn’t it?”

Answer: “Correct!”

Question: “What distinction is there among the five internal organs? Does only the heart have the faculty of thinking to judge right or wrong?”

Answer: “What difference is there among the seven apertures in the human head (i.e., eyes, ears, nostrils, and mouth)? Their functions are not equal. Why?”

Question: “Thought has no set pattern. How is it known that this is taken charge of by the heart organ?”

Answer: “When the mind becomes ill, the faculty of thinking falls into disorder. From this, it is known that the heart is the basis of thought.”

Question: “How do you know that [the faculty of thinking] does not lodge in other body parts, such as the eyes?”

Answer: “If the faculty of thinking can lodge in the eyes, why does the faculty of sight not lodge in the ears?”

Question: “Since the essence of thought has no basis, it can lodge in the eyes. The eyes have their own basis and they do not borrow other body parts [in order to function].”

Answer: “Why do the eyes have the basis? Why does thought have no basis? If [thought] has no basis in my body and it can lodge anywhere else,

it is possible that Zhang Jia's mind lodges in Wang Yi's body, or Li Bing's nature lodges in Zhao Ding's body. Is this the case? No, it is not."

Criticism: "The *Discourse* says, 'Body and spirit do not differ from each other. [All body parts] such as hands are of the spirit.' This indicates that the spirit takes the body as the essence. When the essence is complete, the spirit is complete, too; when the essence is injured, the spirit becomes deficient.⁹⁸ What is spirit? It is discernment and thought. Now, even if a person receives a cut on his hands and feet, or his skin and flesh are damaged, his wisdom does not fall into disorder. It is just as Sun Bin, who suffered the punishment of having his feet severed, became clearer in strategy, or Lu Fu, who had had his arm amputated [because of a disease] remained solely serene in Confucian scholarship.⁹⁹ These are appropriate testimonies that the spirit separates from the body, and even if the body is injured the spirit is unharmed.

"The spirit simply employs wisdom in order to do things and it lodges in the organs in order to facilitate the intellectual function. Each of the visual, audio, olfactory, and gustatory senses has what it takes as a basis, and thought and consciousness belong to the heart organ. It is similar to dwellings, which have a gate on the east to invite wise people, a balcony on the south for views, a window on the north to take in fresh air, and carved windowsills on the west that project the moon; [in such a dwelling] the host uprightly occupies the middle of the room and conducts all his business. 56c

"If the issue is just as your discourse says, each of the [sense organs of the] mouth, nose, ears, and eyes has its part of the spirit. Then, if an eye becomes ill, the spirit of the visual sense will be damaged and both eyes ought to go blind together; if an ear becomes ill, the spirit of the auditory sense will be harmed and both ears ought to go deaf together. [Nevertheless,] this is not actually the case. From this, it is known that the spirit is considered to be the organ, but is not considered to be the essence.

"Moreover, [the *Discourse*] says, 'The heart is the basis of thought. Thought cannot lodge in other parts.' In regard to the mouth, eyes, ears, and nose, this view is correct. If, however, it is concerned with other people's minds, this is not so.

"Although the ears and nose work together with one body, they cannot be mixed together. It is because what each of them has control of differs from the other organs and the function of each organ differs from that of the others.

Even though other people's minds exist in each of their bodies, it is possible to communicate with one another. This is because the principles of the mind are equally ingenious, and discernment and thought are equal in achievement. Therefore, the *Book of History* says, 'Open your mind and pour it into my mind,'¹⁰⁰ and the *Book of Odes* says, 'What other people have in their minds I can measure by reflection.'¹⁰¹ Lord Huan of Qi state followed the plans of Guan Zhong.¹⁰² Emperor Gaozu of the Han dynasty employed Zhang Liang's strategy.¹⁰³ These cases all show that one can lodge in another's mind [while] based in one's own body. Why do you say that Zhang Jia's mind cannot lodge in Wang Yi's body, or Li Bing's nature cannot lodge in Zhao Ding's body?"

Question: "Sages' bodies are similar to those of ordinary people, but there is a difference between ordinary people and sages. Hence, it is known that body differs from spirit."

Answer: "This is not so. Pure gold can shine while impure gold cannot. Could there be a case where pure gold, which can shine, has the essence of impurity, which cannot shine? Moreover, could there be a case where the spirit of a sage lodges in the body of an ordinary person? There is no case where the spirit of an ordinary person lodged in the body of a sage, either. Therefore, [Fang]xun (i.e., Yao) had [eyebrows of] eight variegated colors, and [Zhong]hua (i.e., Shun) had eyes with double pupils. Xuan[yuan] (i.e., the Yellow Emperor) had a forehead resembling that of a dragon, and Gao [Yao] had a mouth like that of a horse.¹⁰⁴ These are differences in physical appearance. In Bi Gan's heart seven apertures stand side by side.¹⁰⁵ Boyue's gall was as large as a fist. These are differences in the heart and internal organs. Therefore, it is known that the characteristics of sages always differ from those of ordinary people. It is not only that their way is more remarkable than that of sentient beings; the bodies of sages also go beyond those of all creatures in the world. I dare not be content with [the view that] ordinary people and sages have the same physical bodies."

Question: "You said that sages' bodies must differ from those of ordinary people. I venture to ask you: Yang Huo looked like Confucius and [the eyes] of Xiang Ji (i.e., Xiang Yu) resembled those of Emperor Shun. Between Shun and Xiang [Ji] or between Confucius and Yang [Huo] there are differences in intelligence even though they were similar in appearance. What is the reason for this?"

Answer: “The stone called *min* resembles jade, but it is not jade; the bird called *ju* looks like a male phoenix, but it is not a male phoenix. In things there really are such cases. [The case of] human beings is originally not exceptional. The features of Xiang [Ji] and Yang [Huo] are similar [to those of Emperor Shun and Confucius, respectively], but the former are not [Emperor Shun and Confucius] in reality. It is because the heart organs [of Xiang Ji and Yang Huo] are not equal [to those of Emperor Shun and Confucius]. [The resemblance of] their physical features alone is meaningless.”

Question: “You may say that ordinary people and sages differ from each other; their bodies and internal organs are not the same. Sages are completely perfect, and they are peerless in reason. Confucius, however, did not look the same as the Duke of Zhou, and King Tang’s appearance differed from that of King Wen.¹⁰⁶ Spirit has nothing to do with appearance. It is more evident here.”

Answer: “Regarding the issue that sages are equally sages, they are equal in sacred ability, but this does not mean that their bodies must be the same. It is just like horses whose coats vary in color run equally fast, or jade stones that are diverse in color are still equally beautiful. Therefore [the jade produced in] Chuiji of Jin state and [the jade of Bian] He of Chu state are as valuable as fifteen cities.¹⁰⁷ [The horses called] Hualiu and Daoli could both gallop a thousand *li* [in a day].”¹⁰⁸

Question: “I have already heard that body and spirit are nondual. That the spirit is extinguished when the body withers should be indeed so in reason. I dare ask you: the *Canon [of Filial Piety (Xiaojing)]* says, ‘They prepare the ancestral temple and make offerings to serve the spirits of the deceased.’¹⁰⁹ What does this mean?”

Answer: “The sage’s teaching is exactly so. The reason is to cause people to follow their filial minds and oppress thoughts of slighting [their ancestors]. [There is a passage in the *Book of Changes*], ‘God is the one who clarifies it.’¹¹⁰ This is the meaning.”

Question: “Boyou (i.e., Liang Xiao of Zheng state), [who had been killed by Gongsun He, appeared] clad in armor [and killed Si Dai and Gongsun Duan]. Pengsheng, [who had been executed for murdering Lord Huan of Lu state,] appeared as a boar.¹¹¹ These incidents are recorded in ancient books. Why are these exerted only for the teaching?”

Answer: “Things about ghosts are vague; they may or may not exist. There are many who die an unnatural death, yet not all of them become ghosts. Why would only Pengsheng and Boyou do so? Now he is a man, now a boar. It is not necessarily the case that [a ghost] is the son of the lord of Qi state or Zheng state.”

Question: “The *Book of Changes* says, ‘Thus it is known that the condition of spiritual beings is similar to the law of Heaven and Earth, and there is no difference between these two.’¹¹² Furthermore, it says, ‘There is a carriage full of ghosts.’¹¹³ What do these [statements] mean?”

Answer: “There are birds and animals. There is a difference between them: [birds] fly and [animals] run. There are people and disembodied spirits. There is a difference between them: people live in the world of the living and disembodied spirits exist in the world of the dead. I do not know that someone who died became a disembodied spirit, or the disembodied spirit that was extinguished became a person.”

Criticism: “The *Discourse* says, ‘Could there be a case where the spirit of a sage lodges in the body of an ordinary person? There is no case where the spirit of an ordinary person lodges in the body of a sage, either.’ [Nevertheless,] Yang Huo looked like Confucius and Xiang Ji resembled Emperor Shun. These are precisely [examples] that the spirit of an ordinary person can lodge in the body of a sage.

57b “The stone *min* and jade, or the bird *ju* and a male phoenix, cannot be used as parables [in this case]. The stone *min* has its own name, *min*; jade is truly called jade; the full name of the bird *ju* is designated as *yuanju*; a male phoenix is called the divine phoenix. The names already differ from each other and their features differ from each other in reality as well. Shun had the eyes with double pupils and Xiang Ji also had eyes with double pupils. This is not the case of having two different names, *min* and jade. We simply observe the similarity: [both Shun and Xiang Ji had] double pupils.

“Furthermore, there are other examples, such as that Nüwa had a body like a snake and Gao Yao had a mouth like a horse. [These cases show] not only that the spirit of a sage can enter into the body of an ordinary person, but also that the spirit can subsequently lodge in the body of an insect or animal. From this, it is more evident that body and spirit differ from each other, and brightness and darkness are not the same.

“If body and spirit are uniform and the cause of the former existence is cut off in reason, only a sage ought to be born to a sage; a worthy person must give a birth to a worthy person; and a brave person, a coward, an ignorant person, and an intelligent person are all supposed to resemble their parents [in their dispositions]. In considering what body and spirit [as uniform] shape and create, and what a single kind of material force [of the universe] nurtures, it is impossible that Yao, who is wise and clever, yet [his son Dan]zhu is silly, or that [Gu]sou is ignorant but [his son,] Shun, is a sage.

“The *Discourse* further says, ‘Sages are equal in sacred ability. This does not mean that their abilities must be the same. It is just like horses whose coats vary in color run equally fast.’ Here, are the horses’ coats the abilities that run fast? Among horses whose coats are the same color, old, worn-out horses and [young] fine horses may differ [in their abilities to run fast]. In this way, the color of the horse’s coat has nothing to do with the characteristic of running fast. This is because in body there is no sacred ability. In the body of a human being there is no difference between an ordinary person and a sage, but there is a difference between being strong and being weak. Therefore, a patient spirit stays in a profound body, while an impatient spirit dwells in an approachable body. In short, everything merely comes down to this point. Regarding the bodies of sages mentioned previously by [Fan Zhen], he directly refers to the bodies of Confucius and Shun but he does not say that their bodies have sacred intelligence. If [your view] is not contradictory to mine, do not approach this delusion.”

Question: “If I know that my spirit is extinguished, what advantage is there [in knowing this]?”

Answer: “Buddhism is harmful to state affairs. *Śramaṇas* ruin popular customs. Just as fierce winds blow and fog arises, [Buddhism] spreads out widely, without stopping. I lament its baneful influence and intend to save those who indulge in [Buddhism]. People use up their wealth in order to go to Buddhist monks, and they go bankrupt in order to follow the Buddha, yet they neither sympathize with their relatives nor feel pity for poor and destitute people. Why? It is really because they have the deep feeling to favor themselves and a shallow intention to save others. Therefore, when they give a very small amount of grain to a poor friend, they have a stingy expression on their face, but when they send a thousand *zhong* (about 5,540 bushels) of

grain to rich Buddhist monks, their great joy is expressed in their entire body. Isn't this because they expect a great reward from the Buddhist monks but [little or] no repayment from their friend? When they make a donation, they are not concerned in helping the distressed, yet [they are concerned that] the merit attained [by donating to monks] must come to themselves.

“[Buddhist monks] delude people with obscure words, frighten people with [stories of] torment in Avīci Hell, decoy people with preposterous talk, and make people joyful with [promises of] happiness in Tuṣita Heaven. Therefore, [Confucianists] take off the Confucian robe and put on a Buddhist monk's robe. They abandon the sacrificial stand and pot [for Confucian rites] and arrange vases and bowls [for Buddhist services]. In every family, people give up attachment to their family members. Every one cuts off his offspring. As a result, [Buddhism] causes soldiers to lose courage in military affairs, officials to absent themselves from government offices, [stores of] grain to be used up because of people's laziness, and commodities to be exhausted because of construction projects. Therefore [Buddhist monks] are thieves and robbers. [Nevertheless,] voices praising the Buddha's excellence are still powerful. This is all because of [Buddhism]. This tendency continues without stopping, and the harm goes on limitlessly.

57c “If we know that the creation [of all things] is endowed from Nature, that phenomena of the universe change equally by themselves, that everything suddenly comes into existence and suddenly disappears, and that arising cannot be controlled and disappearing cannot be stopped, then each of us will be content with our nature, availing ourselves of the laws of nature. [Then] the common people are satisfied with [working in] their fields and gentlemen remain calm, being free from avarice. If people till the land and obtain food, we will not run short of supplies of food. If they raise silkworms in order to obtain [thread for] clothing, we will not run out of clothes. When people of the lower classes have a surplus they will offer it to those of the upper class. People of the upper class maintain *wuwei* and wait for the common people [to offer food and goods to them]. Then people can fulfill the entire course of their lives, attend their parents with devotion, manage themselves, act for the sake of others, do things for the good of the country, and make their ruler powerful. [All of this will be achieved] if they act in this way.”

Criticism: “The existence of the Buddha depends on whether or not the principles of the mind exist. I have already spoken about this previously, but I would like to briefly speak of it again here. From now I will point out the gains and losses [of Buddhism] and speak of its advantages and disadvantages in order to correct your excessive discussion.

“You say that *śramaṇas* ruin popular customs, damage edification, waste [a great amount of] money and property, and reduce [the number of those who do] military service. Some monks do so, but this is not the Buddha’s fault. When the Buddha established the teaching, its basis was to be fond of life, to abhor killing, to practice good deeds, and to be engaged in almsgiving. To be fond of life is not only limited to the wish that birds and animals should multiply but also to consider that the numen of a human being is important. Could it be possible that to abhor killing means to suspend a sentence, forgive a criminal, or let a criminal abscond? This refers to investigating criminals and judging them with sympathy. To practice good deeds does not necessarily mean to revere [a buddha image that is] one *zhang* and six *chi* tall. It is to consider faithfulness and honesty as superior. To be engaged in almsgiving does not at all mean to use up one’s wealth for construction projects. It means to consider that helping those who are in distress is virtuous. If everyone were to cut off his offspring the Dharma seed (i.e., the Buddha’s teaching) would certainly never be transmitted. If Buddhist temples are built side by side there would be no land to sow and plant. Even ordinary people understand this. Needless to say, it is unlikely that our Benevolent One (i.e., the Buddha) would be happy about this.

“At present, if Buddhist monks who ‘wait by the stump,’ [hoping other hares will come by that same spot because they once caught a hare at that place] and confused, petty people see someone [shivering] with cold, they do not give even a poor article of clothing to him, or if they encounter a starving man they do not give even coarse food to him.

Nevertheless, [laypeople] vie with one another in gathering Buddhist monks who lack insight, and compete with one another in making many buddha [images]. They abandon their relatives and never think of them. They abolish offering sacrifices [to the gods and ancestors] and never practice moral cultivation. They tear up good silk fabric [to ornament] Buddhist temples and

scatter cinnabar and gold under pagodas. They think such acts are all for a field of merit (Skt. *punyaḥsetra*) and expect a reward. This is all because their comprehension of the Buddha is not deep and their understanding of the Dharma is not excellent. Even though they call the Buddha the Buddha, do they understand the purpose of taking refuge in the Buddha? They call a Buddhist monk a Buddhist monk, yet how could they reach the [true] meaning of following Buddhist monks? In this condition, divine beings do not bless them. I can do nothing for them, either.

“In the ways of the six schools of philosophy, each has had a long-accumulated evil effect. The Confucian school has the fault of being biased; the Mohist school has the fault of being extreme;¹¹⁴ the Legalist school has the fault of being too severe; the Nominalist school has the fault of being sophistic. This is entirely because the founders [of these schools] lost the [correct] transmission [of the teachings] and came to fall into the mire. You now take up the fault of being biased or extreme, but you do not criticize the founders Confucius and Mo [Di]. You pick up the fault of being too severe and sophistic but you do not blame the founders Han [Fei] and Deng [Xi]. Yet you punish only our Tathāgata and disparage his right, perfect enlightenment. This is similar to becoming angry at wind and waves and destroying a ship [in a fury].

58a “Rebels and villains presently deceive the ruler and their parents who are in a superior social position, and they are cruel to people of the same class in an inferior social position. Some do not fear the brilliant law [of the country], but are suddenly afraid of the government office of the netherworld. They shrink from King Yama’s ferocity and fear the brutality of the ox-headed wardens of hell. Consequently, they repent their evils and reform themselves. This is an advantage [of Buddhism]. Moreover, the law of evil acts and meritorious deeds [in Buddhism] cannot differ from that of the worldly teaching, and should not go against human feeling. If there is someone who serves the ruler with loyalty, earnestly attends his parents with filial piety, and is trusted by his friends, it never happens to such a person that if he commits a fault that squanders his virtue he is disdained and abandoned, or if he commits the sin of killing insects or fish he falls into hell.

“No one surpasses Yi Yin, [a minister of the Yin dynasty,] in loyalty, and no one is above Zeng Shen in filial piety. Lord Yi slaughtered an animal in

order to nourish King Tang.¹¹⁵ Zengzi (i.e., Zeng Shen) cooked a fowl in order to nourish [his father] Dian. Both of these men, however, went to the hell of intense heat (Skt. *tapanah*), [just as other ordinary people do,] and to the hell of sharp-pointed swords together. This is because a great achievement may be canceled out by a minor fault: they served their superiors yet they were against benefiting their inferiors.

“Formerly, Mi Zi[xia] made a false statement and rode a carriage [of the lord of Wei state because he was rushing to his sick mother], but he was spared from execution because of his great generosity.¹¹⁶ Alas! I once thought that the numinous artisan (i.e., the Buddha) is not as good as the lord of Wei state. Therefore, it is known that this [teaching] (i.e., Buddhism) is a precaution for merciless people and not an admonition for kindhearted people. If we thoroughly examine its deviation and arbitrariness, the fault does not lie in the Buddha. When we observe fortune and misfortune, we realize that the teaching was given in order to lead [people to the right path].

“If one stops thinking trivial matters in order to respect the basis, does not uproot the basis in order to make an exhaustive investigation of trivial matters, thinks of forgetting about himself in order to propagate the Dharma, and does not put off the Dharma in order to benefit himself, then even though he may say that he has not yet been a Buddhist, I certainly think that such a person is a Buddhist.”

**Criticism of Secretariat Fan’s *Discourse*
on the Extinction of the Spirit
by Cao Siwen**

The *Discourse* says, “Spirit conforms to body, and body conforms to spirit. For this reason, when the body exists, the spirit does, too. When the body withers away, the spirit is extinguished.”

Criticism: “Body does not conform to spirit and spirit does not conform to body. These [two] are united and then they perform functions. Accordingly, uniting is not conforming. While one is alive, [his or her spirit and body] are united and perform functions. At the time of death the body still remains but the spirit departs. On what basis do I say so? In former times Zhao Jianzi was ill for five days, during which he did not recognize people [around him],

and Lord Mu of Qin state came to his senses seven days [after he lost consciousness].¹¹⁷ Both of their spirits traveled to the place of the Celestial Thearch, where the Thearch had magnificent music played for them in Juntian (Melody Heaven, one of nine heavens). Is this an example that the body remains while the spirit departs? If the spirit is extinguished when the body perishes, as the *Discourse* says, then body and spirit should certainly be together, just as a shadow [follows its form] or echo [follows its sound]. If this is so, when the body is ill the spirit would also be ill. How, then, could only the spirits [of Zhao Jianzi or Lord Mu] travel to the Celestial Thearch and be delighted by the magnificent music of Juntian, while their bodies [were ill and] they did not recognize the people [around them]? This means that the spirit (*hun*) communicates with others while one sleeps. Therefore, the spirit (*shen*) [of Zhuangzi] became a butterfly and flew around.¹¹⁸ That is to say, his body and spirit separated from each other. When he awoke his body began functioning, and he became the veritable Zhuangzi. Namely, his body and spirit were united. There is both separation and unity of spirit and body. When they are united they become one entity; when they separate from each other, the body perishes and the spirit departs. Therefore, when [Jizi of] Yanling (i.e., Jizha of Wu) buried his son, he said, ‘The bones and flesh return again to the earth but the spirit in its energy (*hunqi*) can go everywhere.’¹¹⁹ This exactly means that even though the body perishes, the spirit is not extinguished. If this is so, then the clear testimonies found in the scriptures and history books are of uncommon brilliance. [The issue] is just like this. How could it be that when the body perishes the spirit is extinguished?”

The *Discourse* says, “The questioner says, ‘The *Canon [of Filial Piety]* says, ‘They prepare the ancestral temple and make offerings to serve spirits of the deceased.’ The explanation says, ‘It is not that there are spirits of the deceased. This is because the sage’s teaching is exactly so. The reason is to cause people to follow their filial minds and oppress thoughts of slighting [their ancestors].’”

Criticism: “What the *Discourse* says is completely a sentimental expression, not the sage’s purpose. Please let me quote a passage from the *Canon [of Filial Piety]* in order to testify to the sage’s teaching. The *Canon of Filial Piety* says, ‘Formerly, the Duke of Zhou sacrificed to Houji (Minister of

Agriculture) at the border altar in order to enshrine him as the correlate of Heaven, and he honored King Wen in the Brilliant Hall in order to enshrine him as the correlate of the Supreme Thearch.¹²⁰ If body and spirit are extinguished together, who then was enshrined as the correlate of Heaven, and who was enshrined as the correlate of the Supreme Thearch? Moreover, when [Zilu falsified a case in which Confucius] had vassals, even though he had no vassals, Confucius said, ‘Is it possible to deceive Heaven?’¹²¹ If the spirit of [Hou]ji did not exist and yet he is enshrined as the correlate [of Heaven], does this mean that Zhou Dan (i.e., the Duke of Zhou) deceived Heaven? If [Hou]ji did not really exist and yet he was vainly enshrined as the correlate of Heaven, this is precisely to deceive Heaven, and it also deceives the people. This would indicate that this sage’s teaching guides the people with deception and falsity. How could one who establishes a teaching on the basis of deception and falsity cause people to master the mind of a filial child and oppress thoughts of slighting [their ancestors]?

“Seeking for the purpose of the *Discourse*, its prerequisite is that the spirit does not exist. I will try to question closely again.

“Confucius offered a small amount of vegetable soup and melons in sacrifice at his ancestral temple.¹²² The *Book of Rites* says, ‘We welcome [the spirits of ancestors] with joy and send them off with sadness.’¹²³ If there is no spirit, what are we supposed to welcome in reception? If there is no spirit, what are we supposed to send off at that time? If [Confucius] was happy when he welcomed [nonexistent spirits], it would be false happiness that appeared on his face. If he was sad when [nonexistent spirits] departed, the tears he shed from his body (i.e., eyes) would be false. If this [was the case, then] in the religious services Confucius performed deception filled his mind, and his ancestral temple was full of falsity. Could the sage’s teaching be like this? Nevertheless, you say, ‘The sage’s teaching is exactly so.’ Why?”

I, Siwen, speak. I personally read Fan Zhen’s *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, in which he made himself the guest as well as the host. Consequently, there are more than thirty articles. Without thinking of my ignorance, I, Siwen, slightly criticized only two articles of the important points of the *Discourse*. I earnestly desire to break the root [of the *Discourse*] with this. I will sincerely take risks to submit it to Imperial hearing. My nature is

shallow and deficient, and I am afraid that I cannot refute this peculiar writing (i.e., the *Discourse*). When I look up I disgrace a blessing from Heaven, and when I look down I tremble in fear as a consequence of [my criticism].

Humbly, yours.

[Imperial Response]

The two articles you criticized will be separately read in detail.

I proclaimed my response to you above.

**Response to Office Manager Cao's
Criticism of the *Discourse on the
Extinction of the Spirit*
[by Fan Zhen]**

58c Criticism: “Body does not conform to spirit and spirit does not conform to body. These [two] are united and then they perform functions. Accordingly, uniting is not conforming.”

Answer: “If [body and spirit] are united and perform functions, it is clear that they have no function unless they are united. It is just like the animal called *qiong*[*qiong*] and the animal called *ju*[*xu*] depend on each other; if one of them becomes disabled, the other cannot [survive]. This is exactly essential evidence for the extinction of spirit, but it is not a right conclusion for the existence of the spirit. Your intention is basically to force a fight on me. Will you, however, become reinforcement for me?”

Criticism: “In former times Zhao Jianzi was ill for five days, during which he did not recognize people [around him], and Lord Mu of Qin state came to his senses seven days [after he lost consciousness]. Both of their spirits traveled to the place of the Celestial Thearch, where the Thearch had magnificent music played for them in Juntian. Is this an example that the body remains while the spirit departs?”

Answer: “Regarding the issue that Zhao Jianzi became a distinguished guest [of the Celestial Thearch] and Lord Mu of Qin state traveled to the Celestial Thearch, since it is said that they enjoyed [the magnificent music of] Juntian with their ears and made themselves easy tasting all sorts of food and drink with their mouths, it is possible that they pacified their bodies in a grand mansion, their eyes were delighted with a good view of the universe,

they wore beautifully embroidered robes, and they ‘bit and reined’ (i.e., rode) a dragon. Therefore, it is known that what the spirit expects does not differ from what people do. Each of the four limbs and the seven apertures in the head [of the spirit] is equal to those of the [human] body. Since it cannot go far with a single wing, it flies with both wings. This is adapted to the spirit, without doubt. How then could [the spirit that] goes by the body become independent?”

Criticism: “If the spirit is extinguished when the body perishes, as the *Discourse* says, then body and spirit should certainly be together, just as a shadow [follows its form] or echo [follows its sound]. If this is so, when the body is ill the spirit would also be ill. How, then, could only the spirits [of Zhao Jianzi or Lord Mu] travel to the Celestial Thearch and be delighted by the magnificent music of Juntian, while their bodies [were ill and] they did not recognize the people [around them]?”

Answer: “If the issue is just as you think, then when the body is ill the spirit is not. When one is injured, he suffers from pain. [Under your logic,] in such a case the body would feel pain but the spirit would not. When one has an affliction, he is anxious. [Under your logic,] in this case the body has anxiety yet the spirit does not. If anxiety and pain have already been experienced by the body in this way, how could the spirit be bothered for nothing?”

“I, Cao [Siwen], think that [body and spirit] are united and perform functions while one is alive; they share pain and disablement. When one dies, the body remains and the spirit travels. Therefore [the spirit] that traveled to the Celestial Thearch is different from the body.”

Criticism: “[This means that] the spirit communicates with others while one sleeps. Therefore, the spirit [of Zhuangzi] became a butterfly and flew around. That is to say, his body and spirit separated from each other. When he awoke his body began functioning, and he became the veritable Zhuangzi. Namely, his body and his spirit were united.”

Answer: “This criticism can be said to be a thorough argument, but it cannot be said to be [the ideas of] the one who has mastered the principle. You say, ‘The spirit [of Zhuangzi] became a butterfly and flew around.’ Did [Zhuangzi] truly become a flying insect? If so, when in a dream someone becomes a cow, he would then bear the shafts of another person’s cart on his

59a

back, or if he becomes a horse in a dream, he would then be ridden by other people. [In this case,] the next morning there would be a dead cow or a dead horse [where the person had been asleep]. However, there is no such thing. Why not? Moreover, [the empress of Wu state dreamed that] her intestines flew around the Gate of Heaven (i.e., the front gate of a palace). She should have died instantly. How could she continue to live after losing her liver and lungs? Furthermore, the sun and moon have their places in the sky, and land stretches a thousand li between east and west as well as between south and north. It is unlikely that [the moon] comes down and enters into the bosom of a common woman.¹²⁴ Dreams and phantasms are unreal. There is no base from which they arise. It is too extraordinary if we were to take them to be real. If we unite ourselves with intelligence and ponder over the sky, we can travel all around the sky from our seats. If our spirits are confused within us, we untruly see peculiar things. How could it be that Zhuangzi [became a butterfly] and really disported himself in the south garden, and Zhao Jianzi truly ascended to the Gate of Heaven? My cousin Xiao Chen at Ying also keeps grumbling about this based on dreams. I wonder who wants to take a look at it.”

Criticism: “[Therefore, when Jizi of Yanling buried his son, he said, ‘The bones and flesh return again to the earth, and the spirit in its energy can go everywhere.’ This exactly means that even though the body perishes, the spirit is not extinguished.”

Answer: “When a human being is born, the energy is provided from Heaven and the body is received from Earth. Therefore, [when he dies,] the body vanishes down into the earth and the energy extinguishes into Heaven. Since the energy extinguishes into Heaven, it is said that ‘it can go everywhere.’ That ‘it can go everywhere’ means simply that it is unfathomable. Is it necessary that [the energy] has spirit as well as perception?”

Criticism: “What the *Discourse* says is completely a sentimental expression, not the sage’s purpose. Please let me quote a passage from the *Canon [of Filial Piety]* in order to testify to the sage’s teaching. The *Canon of Filial Piety* says, ‘Formerly, the Duke of Zhou sacrificed to Houji at the border altar in order to enshrine him as the correlate of Heaven, and he honored King Wen in the Brilliant Hall in order to enshrine him as the correlate of

the Supreme Thearch.’ If body and spirit are extinguished together, who then was enshrined as the correlate of Heaven, and who was enshrined as the correlate of the Supreme Thearch?”

Answer: “If everyone is equally a sage or a very wise person, the teaching originally does not exist. The reason for the foundation of the teaching lies in the people. The people’s feeling usually values life and despises death. [If they believe that] there is a numinous being after death, a feeling of awe increases, but [if they think that] there is nothing to know after death, they give rise to disrespectful thoughts. Since sages were aware of [the people’s feeling] like this, they made ancestral temples, raised altars, and cleared the ground around them [for the performance of sacrifices] in order to cause the people to deepen their sincere minds; they spread out bamboo mats and arranged stools [for worship] in order to cause the people to completely compel themselves [to worship]; they cause the people to respect their ancestors and offer exhaustive sacrifices to Heaven; and they cause the people to revere their fathers, enshrine them as the correlates of Heaven, and offer sacrifices to them in the Brilliant Hall.

“Furthermore, faithful and honest people have the foundation of their minds, while ruffians are awestruck on this point. The reason the imperial cultural education shines in the upper social class and customs are simple and sincere in the lower social class is because this way is employed. Therefore, the *Canon [of Filial Piety]* says, ‘They make the ancestral temple where they present offerings to disembodied spirits.’¹²⁵ That is to say, by employing the way of disembodied spirits we perform this filial offering. [Furthermore, the *Canon of Filial Piety* says,] ‘In spring and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of [their ancestors] as the seasons come round.’¹²⁶ [The sage] clarified that he encourages people to honor their ancestors [with sacrifices]; it is forbidden that one who dies in the morning is forgotten in the evening.

Zigong asked, ‘Does a person have cognition after death?’ Confucius said, ‘If I say that a person has cognition after death, a filial son may slight his life and immolate himself [when his parents die]. If I say that a person has no cognition after death, an unfilial son will abandon [his parents] and never bury them.’ When Zilu (i.e., Jilu) asked about serving the spirits of the dead, the Master (i.e., Confucius) said, ‘While you are not able to serve people,

59b

how can you serve the spirits?’¹²⁷ [Zilu] precisely spoke of offering sacrifices to the spirits. Why did [Confucius] not allow [Zilu] to serve them? It is because if a person has cognition after death, [a filial son will] slight [his own] life and immolate himself [when his parents die]. Why did [Confucius] not clearly say that [cognition] exists [after death] and why did he give such an evasive answer? Examining its meaning, it is already discerned that cognition does not exist after death. Ancestral temples, a sacrifice to Heaven in winter, and a sacrifice to Earth in summer are all expedients of the sages’ teachings. The way of the unvarying principles (*yilun*) simply cannot be abolished.”

Criticism: “Moreover, when [Zilu falsified a case in which Confucius] had vassals, even though he had no vassals, Confucius said, ‘Is it possible to deceive Heaven?’ If the spirit of [Hou]ji did not exist and yet he is enshrined as the correlate [of Heaven], does this mean that Zhou Dan (i.e., the Duke of Zhou) deceived Heaven? [If Houji did not really exist and yet he was vainly enshrined as the correlate of Heaven,] this is precisely to deceive Heaven, and it also deceives the people. This would indicate that this sage’s teaching guides the people with deception and falsity. How could one who establishes a teaching on the basis of deception and falsity cause people to master the mind of a filial child and oppress thoughts of slighting [their ancestors]?”

Answer: “A sage is the one who manifests benevolence, who stores up his functions within, who thoroughly comprehends the spirit, and who completely knows the processes of transformation. Therefore, it is said that ‘The sage masters his principle, while the wise person keeps to his principle.’¹²⁸ Could it be possible to seek only the means [to attain the goal] and limit the teaching by words?

“Deception merely refers to impeding edification, corrupting customs, and leading the people to injustice. If it is possible to stabilize the upper class of the society, to govern the people, to improve public morals, and to have the brightness of the sun, moon, and stars above, and the happiness of the common people below, what deception is there?

“Please let me ask you a question. King Tang, [founder of the Yin dynasty,] banished King Jie, [the last ruler of the Xia dynasty,] and King Wu, [founder of the Zhou dynasty,] attacked King Zhou, [the last ruler of the Yin dynasty]. These cases are of killing a sovereign, aren’t they? Nevertheless, Mencius

said, ‘I have heard that [King Wu] put the fellow Zhou to death, but I have never heard that he killed a sovereign.’¹²⁹ You do not blame the sages’ conduct of banishing [a sovereign] or committing regicide. Nevertheless, you make strenuous efforts regarding the issue that offering a sacrifice to [Hou]ji is absurd, don’t you?

“The southern suburbs of a city [where Heaven is worshiped on the summer solstice], the round mound [where Heaven is worshiped on the winter solstice], and the Brilliant Hall where the emperor performs sacrificial offerings to Heaven and Earth are exactly the headquarters of Confucianists; they are not for endless disputes about the significance of body and spirit. Why do things come to this?”

Criticism: “[The *Book of Rites* says,] ‘We welcome [the spirits of ancestors] with joy and send them off with sadness.’ And so on.”

Answer: “The significance of this issue is naturally understood without thorough explanation. I will not waste words on a useless issue. There are many statements about this in the *Book of Rites*. I recently try to write about this section, but regret a bit that I have not [yet] completed it.”

I, Siwen, speak.¹³⁰ I read for the first time the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, composed by Fan Zhen in response [to the Imperial edict]. He still holds fast to his previous delusion. I, Siwen, tried to speculate about his logic and principle and charged forward with the four demonstrations. I will respectfully report this to the Throne. I am, however, ignorant and shallow in feeling and intelligence, and I have nothing with which to refute his vigorous discussion. When I look up I cover the sacred mirror with dust, and when I look down I tremble in fear as a consequence of [my criticism].

Humbly, yours.

[Imperial Response]

The matter has my understanding in all its particulars. [Fan] Zhen already established the meaning by going against the scriptures, and he delivered a talk that opposes the truth. It is difficult to upbraid with sacredness those who have lost sacredness, and it is difficult to berate with the truth those who oppose the truth. If the situation is like this, on the whole it is all right to stop debating [about this] in language.

Above is the Imperial response.

**The Second Criticism of Secretariat
Fan's *Discourse on the Extinction
of the Spirit* [by Cao Siwen]**

The *Discourse* says, “If [body and spirit] are united and perform functions, it is clear that they have no function unless they are united. It is just like the animal called *qiong*[*qiong*] and the animal called *ju*[*xu*] depend on each other; if one of them becomes disabled, the other cannot [survive]. This is exactly essential evidence for the extinction of spirit, but it is not a right conclusion for the existence of the spirit. Your intention is basically to force a fight on me. Will you, however, become reinforcement for me?” The *Discourse* again says, “[The relation] between body and spirit is similar to that between a sword and its sharpness. . . .¹³¹ I have not heard that when a sword disappears its sharpness remains. How could it be possible that the body is lost yet the spirit remains?”

[The *Discourse*] furthermore says, “[Jizi of] Yanling said that the body vanishes underground and the spirit extinguishes into Heaven. Therefore, it is said [that the spirit] can go everywhere.”

[The *Discourse*] also says, “That [Hou]ji is enshrined as the correlate of Heaven does not deceive Heaven. It is just like when King Tang banished [King Jie] and King Wu attacked [King Zhou]; these are not cases of killing a sovereign. You do not blame the sages' conduct of banishing [a sovereign] and committing regicide. Nevertheless, you make strenuous efforts regarding the issue that offering a sacrifice to [Hou]ji is absurd, don't you?”

Criticism: “The [example of the] animals *qiong*[*qiong*] and *ju*[*xu*] is evidence only for the case that functions are made of what are united; it is not evidence for the issue that when the body dies the spirit immediately perishes. The reason I say this is because the animal *qiong*[*qiong*] is not the animal *ju*[*xu*], and the *ju*[*xu*] is not the *qiong*[*qiong*]. If the *qiong*[*qiong*] is now killed, the *ju*[*xu*] does not die, and if the *ju*[*xu*] is beheaded, the *qiong*[*qiong*] does not perish. They do not conform to each other. At present, you refer to [the example of] these [animals] as keen evidence and good reinforcement regarding the issue that body and spirit perish together. This is as if you were to give someone a spear that points toward yourself and you then seek a way to survive. How sad! This is nothing but the first testimony for the issue that the body dies yet the spirit is not extinguished.

“You say in the *Discourse*, ‘[The relation] between body and spirit is similar to that between a sword and its sharpness. . . . I have not heard that when a sword disappears its sharpness remains. How could it be possible that the body is lost yet the spirit remains?’

“The ground of your discourse on the issue that body and spirit perish together is merely this single point. An ignorant person has a delusion. Why? Spirit and body, the two things, are united and perform functions. Namely, as you refer to in the *Discourse*, the *qiong*[*qiong*] and *ju*[*xu*] that depend on each other are [an example of] this. A sword and its sharpness are simply two different names for the same thing. In this case, since a thing has two different names, if the sword is abandoned its sharpness does not exist; since two different things are united and function, when the body dies the spirit departs. At present, you refer to a thing with two different names and try to prove [by this] that two different things are united and function. This looks like a hairbreadth’s difference, but in fact it is a difference of thousands of li. This is also the second testimony for the issue that the body dies yet the spirit is not extinguished.

Furthermore, [the *Discourse*] gives the statement of [Jizi of] Yanling, ‘The body vanishes underground and the spirit extinguishes into Heaven.’ The *Discourse* says that body and spirit are one entity and they conform to each other. If the body dies here, then the spirit should also perish in the body. How could it be said that ‘the body vanishes underground and the spirit extinguishes into Heaven’? How can it be said, furthermore, that ‘[the spirit] can go everywhere’? This is also the third testimony for the issue that the body dies yet the spirit is not extinguished.

Moreover, [the *Discourse*] says, ‘That [Hou]ji is enshrined as the correlate of Heaven does not deceive Heaven. It is just like when King Tang banished [King Jie] and King Wu attacked [King Zhou]; these are not cases of killing a sovereign.’ Is this supposed to remove evils by expedients? The rulers Tang [Yao] and Yu [Shun], however, had no trouble in banishing or attacking [their immediate predecessors]. It is understandable in this case, the era was not peaceful; it was the last period of the three ancient dynasties (i.e., Xia, Shang, and Zhou), and the teaching was established as an expedient in order to relieve the people temporarily; therefore [Hou]ji was enshrined for the time

60a

being as the correlate of Heaven and King Wen was enshrined temporarily as the correlate of the Supreme Thearch. Nevertheless, when Yu [Shun] ruled over the empire, he performed the imperial sacrifice for the Yellow Emperor once every five years, offered sacrifices to Emperor Ku, and worshiped Zhuan[xu] as the remote ancestor and Yao as the originator. [In his time] the simple and sincere customs and traditions had not yet come to an end, and there was no need for expedients. Now Heaven has been deceived and the Supreme Thearch has been slandered. Why? What has been quoted to support [the *Discourse*] is like this. This is again the fourth testimony for the issue that the body dies yet the spirit is not extinguished.

These four testimonies have already been established, and the root [of the *Discourse*] has spontaneously collapsed. The remaining various side issues will be dispersed before the wind blows away.”

The *Discourse* says, “[The *Book of Rites* says,] ‘We welcome [the spirits of ancestors] with joy and send them off with sadness.’ The significance of this issue is naturally understood without thorough explanation. I will not waste [words] on a useless issue. There are many statements about this in the *Book of Rites*.”

[The *Discourse*] further says, “Deception merely refers to impeding edification and corrupting customs. If it is possible to stabilize the upper class of the society and govern the people, what deception is there?”

Criticism: “I said in my previous criticism, ‘If [Confucius] was happy when he welcomed [nonexistent spirits], it would be false happiness that appeared on his face. If he was sad when [nonexistent spirits] departed, the tears he shed from his body (i.e., eyes) would be false.’ In fact, the scaling ladder (i.e., a means) of my vulgar criticism and the sharp point of my weak reason lie in these words. You, the respondent, however, have not understood them well, and say only, ‘[The significance of this issue] is naturally understood without thorough explanation.’ Please let me explain it again.

“According to the purport of your discourse, you already admit that Confucius had false happiness and false tears. In addition, you admit that [Hou]ji was enshrined as the correlate of Heaven indicates pointing to nonexistence and considering it as existence. Confucius said, ‘Having not and yet affecting to have, empty and yet affecting to be full. . . , [it is difficult with such characteristics to have constancy].’¹³² This is not something that can be divined

with diagrams; it is something kept away from wise sayings. If this practice is employed in order to instigate [the people for edification], how could it be possible that [edification] is not damaged and customs are not corrupted? You, however, say, ‘[If] it is possible to stabilize the upper class of the society and govern the people, [what deception is there?]' Why? The *Discourse* says, ‘It is already understood [without thorough explanation],’ but an ignorant person (i.e., Cao Siwen) has not yet understood it. I will again send an inquiry in a humble way. I would like to learn something from you directly.”

End of Fascicle Nine of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

**The Emperor of the Great Liang
Dynasty's *Imperial Response to His
Subjects: [The Examination of] the
Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit***

In order to make an argument in the current situation, there must be a formality. If you would like to talk about the nonexistence of the Buddha, you should establish host and guest, make the points of argument clear, distinguish the strong points from the weak points, refute the Buddhist doctrine that your opponent asserts by means of the Buddhist doctrine that you understand. Then, the reason supporting the existence of the Buddha falters and the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* spontaneously prevails. Is it appropriate to recklessly put forth a heretical view without seeking out others' thoughts, to utilize the veiled mind, to wag your tongue, to vainly draw suffering, and to aimlessly slander?

Insects specific to a season (i.e., summer) are fearful and apprehensive of the changes [of the four seasons]; a frog in a well regards vastness as nonsense.¹³³ Why is this? It is because [the insects,] engulfed in ignorance and idleness, struggle for life that is as brief as a breath, and [the frog] has been badly informed of the world and waits by the parapet of the well. How could [these creatures] know the eternity of Heaven and Earth and the vastness of the dark sea?

Mencius said, "What people know is not so much as what they do not know."¹³⁴ This is true! Observing the teachings founded by the three sages (i.e., Confucius, Laozi, and Śākyamuni), they all speak of the imperishability [of the spirit]. Since their writings regarding this are extensive, it is difficult to record them all. I will take up only a couple of examples [here] and try to make a statement.

The "Chapter on the Meaning of Sacrifices" (*Jiyi*) [in the *Book of Rites*] says, "Only filial sons can perform a sacrificial ceremony for their parents,"¹³⁵ and the section on "Ceremonial Usages" (*Liyun*) says, "After three days' purification, one assuredly sees those to whom his sacrifice was to be offered."¹³⁶

If it is said that one offers a sacrifice to someone to whom he is not supposed to offer and sees those he is not supposed to see, this is to go against proper principles and rebel against his parents. This is unspeakable. The *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* is something I do not understand.

**Letter Given by Dharma Teacher
Fayun at Zhuangyan Temple to
Lords, Kings, and Noble Courtiers
and their Responses**

[Letter Given by Dharma Teacher Fayun (467–529)]

Here I send you His Majesty's [*Imperial*] *Response to His Subject: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

What is marvelous and tranquil can be known but cannot be explained. The significance of this has not been explained even from [the time of] Confucius, and the principles have been unclear since [the time of] the Duke of Zhou.

His Majesty becomes Heaven, shines upon the foundation, conforms to the Way, instructs people according with their faculties, and bestows his response [to the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*] to his subjects. His purpose and instruction are attentive to every detail. The rite of filial offering is already evident. Even [a person as ferocious and cruel as] King Jie, [the last ruler of the Xia dynasty,] will hold in mind devotion for his parents, just as [filial and upright men such as] Zeng [Shen] and Shi [Yu] did. The speech of the three periods of existence (i.e., Buddhism) is also clear. Even [a person as tyrannical as] King Zhou, [the last ruler of the Yin dynasty,] will follow the feelings of Sadāprarudita, [a bodhisattva who laments aloud the suffering of sentient beings]. Among all those who are not trees or plants, who would not sing praises of [His Majesty]? I hope you will accept the moral education and greatly praise him together.

Submitted by Shi Fayun.

The Answer of the King of Linchuan

60c I received the *Imperial Response [to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit]* that you sent to me. I humbly read its profound gist. The argument is accurate, and the composition is perfect. The ways of the two teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Confucianism)

are agreeable for modern times. The teaching of the three periods of existence (i.e., Buddhism) carries weight in the present age. [This writing] is good enough to cause those who go astray to return to the right path by themselves, and to make the wondrous purport even brighter. One of these days I will write a response in which I will show my analysis completely.

I, Xiao Hong (473–526), bow (Skt. *vandana*).

The Answer of the King of Jian'an

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. His Majesty's insight shines over distances, and his thoughts are deeply expressed. I humbly read what is subtle, and truly realize I am ignorant. You intimately showed it to a vulgar man [like me]. I deeply appreciate your generous consideration.

I, [Xiao] Wei (477–534), bow.

The Answer of the King of Changsha

You have kindly shown me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. His Majesty's discretion profoundly coheres, and his intelligence shines deeply over distances. This can be a tool for people of deluded views to attain enlightenment; it teaches and leads on those of ignorant minds. I study this intensively with respect, read it repeatedly, and cleanse my worldly thoughts. You intimately showed it to me. I greatly appreciate your favor.

I, Xiao Yuanye (479–526), bow.

The Answer of Shen Yue (441–513), Director of the Imperial Secretariat

The spirit is originally immortal. This is what I have believed for a long time. The assertion [given in] [the *Discourse on*] *the Extinction of the Spirit* really startled me. Recently, when Dharma Teacher [Hui]yue (452–535) came out of the palace, I also received a copy of the *Imperial Response to His Subjects*[: *The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*]. I happily received it, paying my respects, and scrutinized it tirelessly. This [writing] not only subdues the heterodoxy but it also can destroy demons eternally. Hereupon [the teachings of] Confucius and Śākyamuni are equally promoted. This is truly the imperishable wondrous purport and [will serve

as a] ferry for all ages. I, your disciple, have also recently completed and presented [in public] my doubts and examinations about the *Discourse [on the Extinction of the Spirit]*.

I, Shen Yue, bow.

The Answer of Fan Xiu (460–514), Grand Master for Splendid Happiness and Current Commandant of the Right Guard of the Crown Prince

I, Xiu, bow.

I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

His Majesty's instruction is profound, and he discerns the very beginning of a movement. Referring to a non-Buddhist text, he promotes Buddhism, illuminates and enlightens ignorant people, and teaches and leads on those who have not yet awakened. Just now he causes all the people of the world to respectfully look up at him, all the beings of the ten directions to praise him, those who have different views to hold their tongues and say nothing, and both the Buddhist clergy and laypeople to be happy together. I attentively learn this through recitation night and day, and write it on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown, [so that I will not forget whether] waking and sleeping. You kindly showed this to me. I deeply appreciate your favor.

I, Fan Xiu, bow.

61a **The Answer of Wang Ying, Governor of Danyang**

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly read the significance of the Imperial statement that the spirit is immortal.

His Majesty's perspicacious thought is resourceful and deep. His affections [toward his subjects] are observed just as clouds grow. [This writing] shows reason and clarifies instances. [My doubts] have been dispersed, just as ice melts away. [The way] to indicate the issue and make a statement is as clear as if it were illuminated by the sun. This will enlighten the ignorant and carry those who lack ability [to the goal]. There is no one among all sentient beings who will not take this and keep this in mind. I will respectfully write this on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown [so that I will not forget], and I will revere this throughout my life.

I, your disciple Wang Ying, bow.

The Answer of Wang Zhi (460–513), Secretariat Director

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly read the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. The purport is lofty and the meaning is extensive. It shines upon me as if enlightening the ignorant.

I, your disciple, have followed Buddhism from my early days. It has been a long time of practicing and following the teaching I learned a long time ago. I not only echo [His Majesty's] very lofty [views], but also praise and encourage his purport. Moreover, the two interpretations he showed graciously in his response are calming to my mind, and beautifully illuminate what I have learned. I do not know how he could expound and propagate his deep plan and gloriously display his sacred account any more than this does. Furthermore, it disables a purposeless person (i.e., Fan Zhen) from distorting the truth. There will be no chaotic obstruction either within or outside [the country]. I would really like to clap my hands in joy.

I am humbly favored by your instruction. I will deeply keep your favor in mind.

I, Wang Zhi, bow.

The Answer of Yuan Ang (461–540), Right Chief Administrator

[I received] your gracious letter. Together with it, I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I respectfully read [the *Imperial Response*] repeatedly. I suddenly awoke from my binding in confusion. The spirit is imperceptible and tranquil. It is hard to get at the principle. Alas! How could I, an ignorant man, explore it?

Taking an example from familiar matters, I do not know all about the body that I still use every day, not to mention the principle of profound and obscure [things], which is often incorrectly understood. Respectfully inquiring about it in the sacred books, they clearly state that [the spirit] is not nonexistent. I must simply revere the teaching and take refuge in the position of the existence [of the spirit]. Even if we follow the position that [the spirit] exists and speak of its existence, we are still unable to reach the [original] nature. Consequently, we discuss nonexistence from the position of “not nonexistence.” This means we may be further away [from the truth].

Except for someone whose understanding towers above others and whose wisdom is peerless, how could we subtly infer the statement that [the spirit] is not extinguished, and how could we deeply comprehend the purpose that [the spirit] continues from one life to the next? Also, [His Majesty] cites two illustrations. I see precisely that the existence of the spirit is obvious. Seeking this in the three periods of existence, the doctrine of the immortality [of the spirit] is more evident. It can be said that “When I try to penetrate it, it seems to become firmer; when I look up to it, it seems to become higher.”¹³⁷ [His Majesty’s examination] will surely clear away all delusions and vice, and cause those who are misguided to return to the right path. I will humbly recite this tirelessly, dancing with great joy.

I, your disciple Yuan Ang, bow.

The Answer of Xiao Bing, Chamberlain of the Court for the Palace Garrison

[I received] your gracious letter. Together with it, I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. Even though [the law of] the three periods of existence is evident, the teaching of the One Vehicle is profound. Some people have the obscuration of biased views and still adhere to strange doctrines.

61b Our sage emperor explored what is hidden, searched out what is subtle, focused on the spirit in the metaphysical world, probed into the very root of the principle, reached the [original] nature, and embraced Heaven and human beings. He discussed and analyzed both the Buddhist teaching and non-Buddhist teachings. The main purpose and intention of his composition is profound. Might [his examination] cause all sentient beings to disperse their delusions? Truly it may also cause even an *icchāntika* to immediately awaken. Surely this will be enhanced in the world, and this model will be handed down to future ages.

You kindly sent me the information. I deeply keep it in my mind.

I, a man bereaved of his father, Xiao Bing, lower my head to the ground and bow.

The Answer of Xu Mian (466–535), Imperial Secretary of the Ministry of Personnel

According to the Imperial decree, the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* was briefly

shown to me one day. [I received] your gracious letter, together with [this writing that] you sent to me. I humbly studied and read it closely. It probes into the very root of the principle and reaches tranquility. The nature and reasons of the issue are minutely investigated and the inscrutable essence is penetrated. Both the writing and its meaning are clear. It profoundly transcends the secular world. When I respectfully go into the details of [the doctrine of] the three periods of existence, its brightness is like enlightening the ignorant.

I will not only recite and sustain this sincerely, but also always distribute it to those who have not yet been awakened. You kindly showed this to me. I received your great favor.

I, your disciple Xu Mian, bow.

The Answer of Lu Gao (459–532), Palace Cadet of the Crown Prince

I, Gao, bow.

I humbly read the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

[Vimalakīrti] followed the doctrine that being free from any thought of attachment (Skt. *apratiṣṭhāna*) is the foundation.¹³⁸ He kept silent [about entering the gate of nonduality] and cut off thinking.¹³⁹ What is concealed in the collection of [words spoken by] the Tathāgata is mysterious and absolute. It is difficult to express it in words. Therefore, it caused Zhongchu (i.e., Yu Chan) to propose the assertion of the allegory of firewood and fire [to explain the relationship between body and spirit], and Huiyuan to disseminate the criticism [of the assertion that the spirit is extinguished, just as fire consumes firewood].¹⁴⁰ Questionable assertions have been conveyed and discussed by many people. We have wasted years, sunken in incongruity.

His Majesty's brightness was endowed by Heaven. His sacred intelligence is innate. Understanding the faculties of the people, he bestowed medicine to us. He made use of expedients according to the object. Consequently, he straightened out propriety and corrected faults. He points out filial piety and shows one corner of the aspect [so that the people will be aware of the remaining three corners].¹⁴¹ This is truly because confusion arises from vulgar learning. He caused the people to cleanse themselves of confusion and bestowed the [Buddhist] Way on them. Delusion is supported by compositions of non-Buddhist teachings. [His Majesty] then accommodated himself to the non-Buddhist teachings in order to clarify the Buddhist teaching.

He freely made statements and prevailed by surprise. Based on what is in accordance with the principles, he fixed [the doctrine of] the three periods of existence as firmly as a city that is defended by moats, and sustains sentient beings. If [his examination] breaks ignorance in the present and rends [evil] nets into pieces in the future, at what point would his writing not be beneficial? How could the advantage of these few words presented by him be minor? [His Majesty] was born on the basis of celebration of the former existence, and simultaneously he has the highest virtue.

I took part in receiving a share of his discussion with respect. I am happy to pay respects to him. You kindly showed this to me without forgetting me. I deeply appreciate it.

I, Lu Gao, bow.

The Answer of Xiao Chen (476–512), Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary

I, your disciple Chen, bow.

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, which wondrously surveys [the relation between] people's faculties and the spirit, and which brings ethical education into full play. This is really good enough to cause the pure Dharma to increase its brightness and Confucianists to respect their studies. The people will attain liberation without a teacher's guidance, and the public will admire the Way of filial piety. Here the basis of the principles of human relationships is more clarified. One who goes against the scriptures and who introduces disorder into the public customs will spontaneously destroy himself. I recite this, clapping my hands in joy, and overwhelmingly pay respect.

My brother (i.e., Fan Zhen), who is stupid and incompetent, invited faults and now faces his trial. He is tormented and fearful in public and private, and his feelings and thoughts increase his terror. Therefore, he has no composure from which to respectfully praise [His Majesty's] magnificent plan and properly acclaim its essential significance. He received [His Majesty's] edification with respect and heard his guidance. He can only prostrate himself, feeling frightened and ashamed.

You deeply show your favor and encouragement to me. I will remember with admiration your kindness and guidance.

61c I, your disciple Xiao Chen, bow.

The Answer of Wang Bin and Wang Jian, Attendants-in-Ordinary

[We received] your gracious letter. We humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

His Majesty's thought profoundly coheres, and his logic is preeminent. When he argues about the three periods of existence, he clearly explains the doctrine. When he cites two instances, the Way of filial piety is easily understood. [This writing] will block the path made by someone who deeply studies [scriptures on his own], and close the mouth of the heretic. This is good enough to cause the devil's low fences to fall down eternally and the rightful peak to be lofty for a long time.

We, your disciples, respectfully receive the highest path and observe the law of Heaven. How could our joyful minds be commonplace?

Wang Bin and Wang Jian bow.

The Answer of Lu Xu, Secretariat Drafter of the Heir Apparent

I received your very gracious letter. I humbly looked at His Majesty's [*Imperial*] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I bent and lifted my head, and kneeled and worshiped this. I loitered about and bowed. I have heard in private that sages simply have a single principle [to govern the world],¹⁴² but Tang [Yao] and Yu [Shun] have previously made no such remarks. To know an omen just as a god does is only to receive with respect the edict of the Liang dynasty today. When the Way is carried out [properly], all beings keep out their corruption and delusion. When virtues last long, the world praises the illuminative guidance. [The emperor's examination] can precisely help the people, nourish his own virtue, save sentient beings equally for a hundred years, care for the people, make the people active, and bring every being into submission eternally.

You, the Dharma teacher, have deep knowledge and determination. You sustain it (i.e., Buddhism) and keep all [teachings] faithfully. Your determination is great and you are well versed in many things. You understand the essence of the spirit very well.

I, Lu Xu, bow.

The Answer of Xu Gun, Gentleman of the Palace Gate

I, Gun, bow.

[I received] your gracious letter together with the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* that you sent to me. I humbly read the profound purport, which removed obstructions from my mind and washed away my troublesomeness.

I personally think that it is difficult to seek the basis of profound reason, and the origin of the subtle and esoteric teaching is not seen. Only a superior sage can talk about the foundation. How could a man who does not have supreme intelligence lead [the people] to its apex? His Majesty probes into the very root of the spirit, masters the mysteries of tranquility, examines the Way, and abides in the subtle state. When he gives virtuous utterance, [the law of] the three periods of existence spontaneously becomes evident. When he expresses virtuous words, even [people as far away as] a thousand li receive his influence. His sincerity accords with propriety; his righteousness moves both human beings and deities; his reasoning stimulates the profound ways [of Buddhism]; and his virtue covers both the unseen world and this world. The long darkness of the vast great night suddenly [disappears at] dawn. Foolish and ignorant sentient beings become awakened by themselves overnight. They exert themselves for the secret merits [made by the Buddha] in the Deer Park (Skt. Mṛgadāva), and saturate their daily lives with the stream of the [Buddhist] Dharma. The great reputation spreads eternally and the majestic reality goes swiftly to all directions. Those who are confused and hindered will know to return to [the right path]. Those who have sunk in doubt will spontaneously [have their doubts] come to an end.

62a Since I, your disciple, returned to [Buddhism] early and believe in it deeply, I am much happier about [the *Imperial Response*]. I will always follow it and make it my course of action. I will not venture to say anything against [its purport]. I, however, [have little insight, just as if] I were to try to determine the amount of water in the sea by using a calabash, or try to view [the sky] through a pipe. I am simply worried all the time that I may fail.

I, Xu Gun, bow.

The Answer of Wang Jian (477–523), Palace Attendant

It is very kind of you to take the trouble to send a letter to me. Together

with [your letter] I respectfully read the *Imperial Response [to His Subjects]: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

His Majesty's purport is profound and illuminating. It educates and enlightens many ignorant people. The significance exposes the delicate issue, and the principle propagates the tranquil and profound matter. The *Canon [of Filial Piety]* speaks of the significance of the corpse, and Section One of the Great Appendix [in the *Book of Changes*] describes the issue of the wandering spirit.¹⁴³ What I, an ignorant man, have recognized is that [the spirit] is not extinguished.

Furthermore, His Majesty's thought is magnificent and extensive. He has completely mastered the principles and traces to the very source of subtlety. Referring to writings, he testifies with books. [Our confusion] is evanescent like ice that is melting away. Those who have vulgar eyes will respectfully turn around, and those who have the defilement of delusion will reform their insecure minds. [His Majesty] disclosed the past clearly and instructs us for the future. I will humbly follow the profound teaching. I cannot stop stamping my feet in glee.

I, Wang Jian, bow.

The Answer of Liu Yun (465–517), Palace Attendant

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

There is no dualism in a concourse where all points meet; the main purpose is originally one. That [the spirit] continues from previous existences without cessation is the great law of the Buddha's teaching. To enter into the hall [of the ancestral temple], [to see] the faces [of the dead], and [to hear] their voices are the profound purpose of [Confucius'] great teaching. [The purposes of] these two sages, one in China and the other in a foreign land, match each other just as shadow [follows its form], or an echo [follows its sound]. Even though the truth exists without a doubt, suspicions [about the immortality of the spirit] and the deep attachment to it were equally divided. I will humbly follow the profound purpose [of His Majesty], which illuminates, as if enlightening me in my ignorance. [His Majesty] indeed comprehends the profound tenor, traces to the very source of the spirit, and understands tranquility. There is a similarity between [His Majesty] and Heaven and Earth in completely

surveying the characteristics [of the spirit]. The unresolved doubts of the past thousand years melt away along with the spring ice. A lifelong perverted mind is opened together with a drifting cloud.

I will simply recite [the *Imperial Response*] repeatedly, in order to be released from suffering eternally. I appreciate your concern for me. My sadness is truly pacified.

I, your disciple Liu Yun, stated above, bow with my head to the ground.

The Answer of Liu Cheng (d. 513), Attendant-in-Ordinary

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. The profound purport is abstruse, and the reasoning traces to the very source of deep points.

I personally think that in cultivating causes [for the future] and going toward fruition, the spirit does not have two consciousnesses; in attaining emancipation through the [Buddhist] Way the buddha-nature is only one. In the Yin dynasty they [used sacrificial vessels and] showed the people that [the dead] have perceptions.¹⁴⁴ Confucius sacrificed to the spirits, as if they were present.¹⁴⁵ Reason is always transmitted to those who have the subtle awakening, and justice is made clear to those who have life and perceptions. Yang [Zhu] and Mo [Di], however, put these into confusion; they offered far-fetched explanations meaninglessly. Hindrances went on and Confucianism, in particular, was concealed.

His Majesty's mind profoundly discerns [the true state of things], and his testimonies are faultless. He completely grasps the outline, and unfolds and displays details. He praises and censures the three dynasties (i.e., Xia, Yin, and Zhou), and he leads all to the same conclusion. Both reality and unreality are clear, without hindrance.

I will humbly read this with respect over and over again so that both my doubts and parsimonious thoughts will be exhausted. Your letter and consideration for me are greatly appreciated.

I, Liu Cheng, stated above, bow with my head to the ground.

The Answer of Wang Mao, Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Apparent

62b I, Mao, bow.

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response [to His Subjects: The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, to which I pay my respects. I am very happy and I cannot but dance about, clapping my hands.

The mysterious law is extensive and vast. Even though it is not something of which we speak thoroughly, it is luminously revealed in the writings left behind by various sages. There is no one who does not clap his hands in glee, who does not respectfully straighten himself, and who does not follow the established rules. How could it be possible to recklessly speak unfounded statements and falsehoods, and bring a heavy false charge against the imperial mandate that was previously made? If one thinks that he has no expectation for the cause and condition of the life to come, and abandons the utmost propriety he is offered, then the wrong path is boundless for him; it is uncertain whether he will be able to return to the [right] path. Once visited by suffering and emptiness he will repent [of his sin], but it will be too late.

His Majesty bears intelligence, embodies sacredness, and wondrously discerns the truth and the untruth. He expresses righteousness, illuminates expressions, and navigates for those who are drowned [in delusions]. Would only heavenly and human beings praise and respect him? Truly all buddhas also emit light for him.

I, your disciple, have from early in my life basically relied on the Pure Land to ease my mind. Fortunately I have lived a long time and met with this prosperous world. I will surely accumulate [good] causes for my next life and educate myself with this merciful guidance for a long time. The sincerity of my joy is not only for today. I cannot simply express it. I always deeply appreciate your outstanding favor to me. I will visit you one of these days. I have no more words for now.

I, Wang Mao, bow.

The Answer of Yu Yong, Chamberlain for Ceremonials

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me His Majesty's *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Before I humbly finished reading this, [my foggy thoughts that are like] smoke and mist were again removed. I personally think that wormlike animals

have perception but trees and plants have no consciousness. Groundless discourse, such as [the *Discourse*] *on the Extinction of the Spirit*, intends to equalize those [living beings] that have perception with those that have no consciousness, and asserts that omniscience (i.e., enlightenment) is extinguished together with the body [at death]. In reason, this is really sad. Except for one whose virtue matches Heaven and Earth, who is one of the four great ones in the universe (i.e., the king),¹⁴⁶ who belongs to the sun (i.e., the ruler in the human world) that can go against convention, or who has the opportunity to secretly edify [the people], no one would be able to receive the theory of the twofold truth (i.e., absolute and conventional), and the discussion of the three periods of existence would almost come to an end.

His Majesty feels pity for those who are born from the four modes of birth and evidently sink in the six realms of existence. He examined and compared the teaching of Confucius with that of Śākyamuni, and gave evidence drawn from both [teachings]. He enabled those who live in the land [that is farthest from the sea] to know about the sea, and those in hell to see the sun. These words of utmost importance are as bright as the autumn sun. Numerous doubts disappear just as does the spring ice. Even though [I knew that His Majesty] issued the discussion to propagate the Way and I openmindedly appreciated his virtue, I was furthermore given his instruction and guidance. I bow down, delighted with [the good] acts I performed in my previous life.

You, the Dharma teacher, keep the Dharma gate (i.e., the Buddhist teaching) in mind and stick to it. You will deeply agree with my joy in this. I respectfully appreciate [the *Imperial Review*] with praise. I will recite this throughout my life tirelessly.

I, your disciple Yu Yong, bow.

The Answer of Xiao Ang (483–535), Acting King of Yuzhang

[I received] your gracious letter. You have extensively circulated the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

His Majesty's purport and the analysis he gave are able to make deluded people bright. The immorality of the spirit is apparent in the circulated books. Since reason is abstruse, people are confused. His Majesty's discernment is illuminating. He examines by knowing [the character of] coming events, and

goes beyond what is stored up in all past [experiences]. He wields wonderful thought beyond the laws of nature, and criticizes the heretic's wild assertion. Moreover, he refers to the scripture of rites (i.e., the *Book of Rites*), and examines truth and falsehood. The Way of filial piety is surely propagated here.

I, a man bereaved of his father, Xiao Ang, lower my head to the ground and bow.

62c

The Answer of Yu Tanlong, Superior Grand Master of the Palace

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at His Majesty's [*Imperial*] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, which enlightens the ignorant brightly and illuminates them clearly.

The utmost truth is abstract and tranquil, and the tenor of the teaching is abstruse. The superior sage (i.e., the emperor) is extremely intelligent. Therefore, he traced to the very source of wondrous reality. Ordinary people who live in the impermanent world (Skt. *sahā*) do not recognize profound matters by themselves. I have heard that for making an assertion, the instructions given in scriptures are all traces of the teaching. Regarding the Buddha, foreign books state peculiar things. It is difficult to expect reasoning for them. This is beyond description. I rely on the work and the sacred thought of His Majesty. He analyzed and explained various situations for his subjects. Are we not glad with praise? I will imprint the clear purport in my mind and keep this throughout my life.

I feel more greatly obliged to your instructions, my Dharma teacher.

I, your disciple Yu Tanlong, bow.

The Answer of Xiao Mi, Frontrider of the Heir Apparent

You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Before I had even finished reading it, my heart became as delighted as if clapping my hands in glee. His Majesty is attentive by nature. With his sacredness and various abilities, he does not sever the heart of language and yet his expressions overflow with implications. Since the testimony of the meaning is fully provided from classical scriptures, the frame of mind of filial piety is manifested here. Because [His Majesty's] purport is supported by Buddhist scriptures, his mind of great benevolence is even greater. I will respectfully

keep this [writing] at my elbow, spread it out on a desk or near my pillow, and read it thoroughly, day and night. I will write this on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown for eternal use and show it to everyone.

Your great consideration is really appreciated.

I, your disciple Xiao Mi, bow.

The Answer of Wang Sengru (465–522), Palace Aide to the Censor-in-Chief

[I received] your gracious letter. [Together with it] you kindly sent and showed me His Majesty's response to all the officials who respectfully inquired about the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly read this over and over again, deeply received it, and studied it with respect. It enlightens the ignorant and dispels hindrances. I became clear just as the clouds open.

I personally think that it is difficult for the culmination of things to take shape, and that no one but a sage can make this clear. Since the truth is tranquil and obscures its location, the ignorant become deluded. Except for one whose spirit goes beyond the implications of language, and whose thought transcends [the condition] prior to [receiving] an omen, how could anyone illuminate these sublime words? When we hear the sound of metal and stone (i.e., a piece of good writing) and see through the subtle state like this, there is no wild path. [His Majesty] taught this, certainly recommended it, and showed it to us as if it exists [in front of our eyes]. He causes the person who presented the discourse to not end up in the long muddy wheel tracks, and those who have exclusively fallacious views to not sink into the sea of delusion eternally.

63a I took part in receiving his profound plan with respect. Who would not be pleased and pay their respects to this? I will end my response here; I will not go on tediously.

I, Wang Sengru, present this and bow.

The Answer of Wang Yi, Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Heaven is profound and tranquil; it is originally beyond discussion. It is assuredly difficult to hear about human nature and the Way of Heaven.¹⁴⁷

[His Majesty's] benevolence in fostering [the people] with tender care moves them according to each one's place, and the teaching with which he guides them is bestowed along with each incident. He is sympathetic toward the frog that stays at the bottom of the well, and feels pity for the cicada that lives only a very short time. Thoughts come from the depths of his heart, his words are subtle, and his reasoning is clear. When he refers to classical scriptures, his composition is simple but his purpose is profound. When he concentrates on a tranquil and abstruse issue, he can go through it by a single reason. Ancient books are numerous, yet he embraces them in one sentence. He reveals the hidden purport of various sages. He has finally brought long-standing stagnant delusions to an end. Thanks to this, the issue of whether or not [the spirit] is extinguished is understood. Based on this, the Way of filial piety flourishes. This is truly good enough to warn and admonish those who are seriously confused, and to serve as a model for a hundred generations. As it is said, "A sage's course of action is vast and great. Fine words are quite evident."¹⁴⁸

I, your disciple, am ashamed of [my inadequacy in] discerning reason; I am weak in my ability to judge others' intentions. I successfully participate in hearing the moral instruction. I was bestowed with the subtle writing. Thus I am rejoiced at this even while occupying the lowest seat. I am forever grateful for the sacred rule.

I, your disciple Wang Yi, bow.

The Answer of Wang Tai, Gentleman Attendant of the Ministry of Personnel

One day, having been invited to a banquet, I took part in hearing Secretariat Fan [Zhen]'s writing, the discourse on the spirit and the body that are extinguished together. This person is quite different from others and not familiar with human feelings. Since I am merely of inferior ability, I have not been able to break the horns of Wulu [Chongzong] (i.e., Fan Zhen).¹⁴⁹

[I received] your gracious letter. You showed me His Majesty's purpose. He subtly refers to the Way of filial piety and enhances the profound principle [of Buddhism]. I will always recite this sincerely and rid myself of ignorance and delusion.

I, your disciple Wang Tai, lower my head to the ground and bow.

The Answer of Cai Zun (467–523), Palace Attendant

[I received] your gracious letter. [His Majesty] declared the Imperial instruction of responding to [the people's] inquiries about the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

The mysterious law is profound and wondrous. It is really difficult to completely discern it. Even though former sages spoke cordially, talented people in later generations are still deluded. His Majesty's purpose is accordingly explained and the ignorant are brilliantly enlightened. Assuredly he rises above all past generations and exclusively possesses wondrousness. He awakens [the people of] the future and immortalizes [the teaching].

I humbly received the imperial message with respect. I am extremely happy to retain this. I will sincerely copy it on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown and rid myself of confusion and hindrance eternally.

I, Cai Zun, bow.

The Answer of Wang Zhongxin, Director of Jiankang

I, Zhongxin, address you.

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly read this profound and beautiful [writing], and I cannot stop clapping my hands and jumping with joy.

His Majesty's divine sagacity is innate and his sharp faculty is outstandingly profound. The five kinds of ceremonies (*wuli*) shine on his outward appearance and the three transcendental knowledges sparkle within him. When the golden [Dharma] wheel slowly revolves, the [Buddhist] Way saves the whole world. 63b When jade libation cups are already arranged, filial piety flourishes in the seven imperial shrines. The sun of wisdom (Skt. *jñāna-divākara-prabhā*) reveals in the sky of China, and the Dharma cloud hangs down in the trichiliosm. The meaning of [worshiping] as if [spirits] exist [in front of our eyes] was made clear again this morning. That the eternality [of nirvana] is evident is everlastingly testified through all coming *kalpas*. For this reason, [His Majesty's] virtue surpasses that of a hundred kings and his reputation will be supreme eternally.

[The mind of] your disciple (i.e., my mind) rests in the Dharma gate and worships the great teaching (i.e., Buddhism). My sincere [joy], [evidenced

by] the motions of the hands and the stamping of the feet is simply greater than that of a wild duck [that obtains] pond weeds.

I, Wang Zhongxin, bow.

The Answer of Shen Ji, Adjutant of Outer Troops of the King of Jian'an

I, your disciple Ji, bow.

You showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I am humbled and dance in joy.

I, your disciple, personally think that teaching is not spontaneously spread, but is truly spread by people. People need the consciousness and the consciousness desires the position. Doesn't this mean what is said in the *Book of Changes*, "What is great treasure for the sage is to attain the [highest] position"?¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, there may be a case when there is a position and yet someone is not suitable for the position. In another case there may be a [good] person yet the position is not suitable for him. Reasonably speaking, it is the most difficult to find all three elements (i.e., a person, consciousness, and a position) together. Therefore Confucius concluded the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu jing*) with the record about the capture of a unicorn called *lin*,¹⁵¹ and Mencius turned back to the title Nobility of Heaven.¹⁵² It is really because they had no positions [suitable for them]. Alas! Genuine edification is about to go down and disappear!

His Majesty occupies the position of the most august with [the virtues of] benevolence, sacredness, majesty, and brightness. A mountain range may be moved by a blast of hot air, but the harmonious sound [made by the blast] is not affected; the toll of a bell and the sound of a drum may be disturbed by the rooster crowing and the hogs grunting, but all the sounds cannot be blocked. As for saving frightened people from a long night [of spiritual darkness], except for [His Majesty,] whose virtue matches that of Heaven and Earth, who else would be able to do so?

I, your disciple, bask in the marvelous teaching from the early days. So I have already heard about this (i.e., the immortality of the spirit). Nevertheless, a group [of petty people, like a flock of] swallows and sparrows, still confuse each other, and [unstable people, like] flying dried mugwort, compete with each other. His Majesty's purpose was accordingly bestowed. The expressions

are lofty and the principle is delightful. He encourages the wholesomeness of human and heavenly beings and admonishes people for their gravest punishments (i.e., impious conduct). He gives the instruction in a brief writing that clarifies [it for] both Buddhists and non-Buddhists. If a child were to fall into a well, even ordinary people would be heartbroken, not to speak of His Majesty, who governs the people with mercy. He certainly considers sympathy to be the essence. [The sophistry that] refers to that a white horse is not white is still seen to be inferior position to [the teaching of His Majesty, who has mastered] the golden mean.¹⁵³ Regarding [His Majesty's] mind, which he has received beyond the law of nature, and his determination to promote edification, evil spirits and monsters will destroy their own cheeks and tongues [and shut up]. How can this be adequately expressed? His marvelous writing is as noble as Heaven, and this cannot be originally inferred.

You forthwith showed it to me. I feel quite ashamed of myself for having little virtue.

I, your disciple Shen Ji, bow.

The Answer of Sima Yun, Gentleman Attendant of the Ministry of Sacrifices

[I received] your gracious letter. At the same time you showed me the significance of the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: [The Examination of the Discourse on] the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly read it completely, and sang and danced with joy.

63c Consciousness and thought are deeply hidden; the numen is obscure and subtle. They cannot be caught up with by walking with short steps, and they cannot be surveyed by the minds of ordinary people. Sages of non-Buddhist teachings are aware of this, and so they repressed [this teaching] and did not talk about it. Therefore, even after Confucius, the issue is still unclear; after the Duke of Zhou this still remains obscure. Nevertheless, mediocre people forget reason, believe [only] in what their eyes perceive, dig [the earth] with an awl, and view [the sky] through a pipe. This causes different opinions to rise with irresistible force. They momentarily seek fame [with the sophistry of] “separating the hardness [of a stone from its white color],”¹⁵⁴ and consequently they are confused about the reality of diligence. When ignorance and delusion become to this point, we should feel deeply sorry for this.

Our emperor's way pierces this world as well as the unseen world, and is brighter than the sun and moon. He investigates thoroughly the apex of Heaven and Earth, and searches the innermost part of things from beginning to end. He hates the manner in which a foul-smelling water plant called *you* overpowers [a pleasing] fragrance and a purple color (i.e., a compound color) takes away the luster of vermilion (i.e., a primary color). He is angry when the stone min that resembles jade hinders jade and a pheasant disturbs a phoenix. Thereupon, he revealed sincerity and bestowed this graceful purport, which is truly good enough to exalt subtle awakening and deliver [people from a condition that is like being] sunk in mud. He illuminates the culmination of the mind as a familiar case, and clarifies the basis of the virtue of filial piety as a profound case. Truly he causes those who learn heathen ways to cut off their evil minds and those who lean toward honesty to make firm their admiration.

I fortunately happened to receive with respect [His Majesty's] edification. I receive favors and kind considerations from you. So I jump with joy. I am obliged to you, and my gratitude to you becomes even deeper.

I, Sima Yun, bow.

The Answer of Shen Gun, Adjutant of the Personnel Evaluation Section of the King of Yuzhang

I, Gun, bow.

I, your disciple, personally think that in the way to exchange what is sought, there must be equal give and take. Regarding the case of "not instructing so as to create annoyance to the ignorant,"¹⁵⁵ this vainly results in restlessness. A sudden idea would almost come to end. Therefore, I stopped receiving consultation for myself. I am sincerely ashamed of myself for not examining highly profound things. I have only vague knowledge about the mechanism of causality. I genuinely hope that if I [am able to] walk on hoarfrost without falling backward, [eventually] stronger ice will come.¹⁵⁶

You, the Dharma teacher, have a mind as broad as hills and valleys and with which, fortunately, even evil people can be accepted. Though I do not have the rank to ascend to the court, you invited me to join the group [studying] the Buddhist teaching. Du Yi [of the Jin dynasty] said, "If a person wants to call a thirsty horse to a water fountain, the horse comes even if [the person] does not use a horsewhip." You showed me His Majesty's [*Imperial Response*

to His Subjects: [The Examination of] the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit. I humbly read it morning and night tirelessly, without sparing myself.

[His Majesty] established this Dharma hall and leads the confused group of people. The relationship between father and son (i.e., the Way of filial piety) is already mentioned and [the law of] the three periods of existence is explained. The conditions of the spirits can be pursued here. It is said that the sea is vast, but who can know how vast it is? It is said that the sky is high, but it is impossible to measure its height. His Majesty's sacred discourse probes profound issues, and its purpose goes beyond the world of language. With my ignorant mind I am incompetent to comment on this. I imprint in my mind the instruction I received, and I will study this intensively with respect through my life.

I, your disciple Shen Gun, bow.

64a **The Answer of Wang Qi, Officer of the Personnel Evaluation Section of the King of Jian'an**

You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit.*

I personally think that the spirit is obscure and quiet. Successive sages have not preached anything about this. It is said that even Confucius did not talk [about the spirit].¹⁵⁷ Zhuangzi fictitiously made up the words [of the spirit]. When I seek [these things] in records, my grief and vagueness cross each other and deepen.

I chanced to see [His Majesty's] present discussion. His thought arose from the profound point, his sublime purpose was deeply settled, the truth is already spread, and the vital point of filial piety is concurrently investigated thoroughly. Truly this is enough to step beyond eternity and to illuminate both present and future.

I, your disciple, was born in the great time, and I am able to take part in seeing His Majesty's writing. [Doubts] I had had in my mind disappeared, just as ice melts away. Truly I realized with what I had been carelessly deluded. Who among all those who have a mind would not study this intensively with respect? Needless to say, I, an ignorant man, am especially deeply impressed with this.

I, Wang Qi, bow.

The Answer of Wei Rui (440–520), Right Guard General

The truth is abstract and tranquil. It is difficult to argue about what is profound and obscure. When one says it exists, it seems it does not. When one says it does not exist, in fact it exists. This issue is subtly expressed in Laozi's sayings and exquisitely revealed in Śākyamuni's teaching. The words [of the truth] are luminous in Daoist scriptures. The history of writings [of the truth] is of long standing in Buddhist and Daoist scriptures.

His Majesty's way embraces the universe and is as bright as the sun and moon. The mechanism of appearance and disappearance is assuredly illuminated, and a vital point of existence and nonexistence is already seen. Consequently, [His Majesty] handed down the brilliant discourse, with which he responded with analysis to his subjects. His guidance is already deep, and his logical explanation of the meaning is surely harmonious. Who among all those who have a mind would not rejoice? I was shown His Majesty's writing, which I attentively read. My defilements have disappeared, just as clouds are dispersed. Concurrently I clapped my hands in joy.

You, the Dharma teacher, have a good stroke of fortune; the karma you created in your previous life caused you to meet the Dharma in this life. You parted from the five desires, entered into the eight kinds of meditation for liberation, left behind the three realms of existence, and follow [the teaching of] the One Vehicle. I could again happily hear your virtuous voice and come to praise you more. I benefit from your kind letter. My gratitude to you is really deep.

I, Wei Rui, bow.

The Answer of Xie Chuo, Chief Minister for Law Enforcement

I, Chuo, bow.

[I received] your gracious letter. I was shown the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly read the profound plan, which purified my mind.

[His Majesty] has already rejected shortsighted discussion and truly explains various doubtful points.

I personally think that [of all creatures] a human being is the most highly endowed, and his spiritual function is inexhaustible. People of the best class know [the character of] coming events and store up all past [experiences],

and people of the next class nearly attain [the standard of perfection].¹⁵⁸ From this viewpoint, there is in reason no possibility [for the spirit] to be extinguished. Therefore, Confucianists explicate ceremonies of sacrifice [for the spirits], and Buddhists are engaged in great benevolence and illuminate the condition of birth [and death]. The Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings become clear [in this issue]. It is already enough to relieve us from hindrance.

Moreover, His Majesty's instruction is patient and his references and information are more extensive. He promotes what supports and begins [all things] to the people, and offers a guideline about discernment and studying to those who are smart and openhearted. He assuredly taught the ignorant and drew them out of hindrances. From his seat he surveyed the extremely profound issue. Heretical beliefs have already been cut off and the right path has returned. Disputants will feel ashamed of themselves for having stuck to [heretical beliefs]. Mr. Fan [Zhen] will become aware that he has been [suffering from] an incurable disease. Who among those who are delighted with being sentient would not give praise by clapping their hands?

I, your disciple, however, think that I have studied in the school of the Sage in vain. I was entirely ignorant, restricted in vision, and shallow in understanding. I received [your letter] with respect, jumping with joy. I am eternally delighted by your protection and guidance.

64b I, Xie Chuo, bow.

The Answer of Fan Xiaocai, Libationer of the Minister of Education

I, your disciple Xiaocai, bow.

I was shown the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I personally think that when Pengsheng became a boar [after he was killed by a man of Qi state] and stood up,¹⁵⁹ disaster fell upon the Lord of Qi state, and the incident in which [Zhang] Yuanbo put on a ceremonial cap [and appeared in Fan Shi's dream] is well known in the history of the Han dynasty.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, when we take account of parables of murderous schemes, we know they mean that [the spirit] must exist. The tenet of the immortality of the spirit pierces through the Buddhist clergy and laypeople equally. If we intend to destroy the spirit, the Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings will both be lost. This is like the case where someone steals a glance of the height of the sky through a pipe. How could he distinguish west from

east? If someone were to attempt to measure the blue sea with a calabash, how could he gain even a rough estimate of the amount of the water?

His Majesty's purpose is broad and deep. He is attentive to the subtle Way. His sacred mind is compassionate by nature and absorbed in sacrificial ceremony and worship. He not only makes the [Buddhist] scriptures and teaching flourish, but truly he also causes ignorant people to become awakened in the [Buddhist] Way.

You show deep concern for me. I am obliged to you for handing down [His Majesty's composition]. I will imprint this instruction and guidance on my mind, which brims with [joy].

I, your disciple Fan Xiaocai, bow.

The Answer of Wang Lin, Attendant-in-Ordinary

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the Most August's [Imperial] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I sincerely went to the limit of my mediocre ability and respectfully read His Majesty's composition.

His voice brims with the sound of metal and stone, his reasoning penetrates the deep spring, his righteousness penetrates the six lines of a hexagram, and his statement completes [the law of] the three periods of existence. This is sufficient to cause those of biased learning to know the ultimate law of nature and those who have gone astray to remember returning [to the right path].

Fortunately I, your disciple, was born in a happy and brilliant [time]. I am favored by your great kindness. Moreover, I was able to read His Majesty's composition. I rubbed my eyes and took a good look at his wondrous writing. The sincerity of my pleasure is as boundless as that of a wild duck [that obtains duckweed].

You bestowed on me various favors. I do nothing but imprint this in my mind repeatedly and jump with joy.

I, your disciple Wang Lin, reply to you.

The Answer of He Jiong, Gentleman of the Bureau of Provisions

I, Jiong, bow.

You graciously bestowed on me your letter, and showed me [the *Imperial*] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I have personally heard that one sacrifices to the spirits as if the spirits were present.¹⁶¹ Even though I seek [this meaning in the words of] previous monarchs, they did not fathom it. [The spirits] dwell in the eternal world; they do not change. I keep this in mind and stick to this, and only then does [the meaning] become clear to me. The profound mystery I had studied intensively with respect disappears, just as ice melts away. Therefore I come to know that vast and profound traces of sages do not derive from a single way. Different actions and responses basically follow the times. Today the perfidious flow has already come to an end. The ignorant will become enlightened. People possess faculties; [His Majesty's] teaching simply puts them in motion. He firmly establishes the significance of filial piety and clarifies the tenor of the Enlightened One (i.e., the Buddha). Who among those who possess a mind would not rejoice at this? How could even Emperor Yan and Emperor Shaohao [Jintian] vie with [His Majesty] for superiority? Even Xuan[yuan] (i.e., the Yellow Emperor) and [Tao] Tang (i.e., Emperor Yao) could not compete with him. His lofty, highest virtue cannot be named, either. His clear and Great Way hereupon reaches its apex.

I, He Jiong, bow.

The Answer of Wang Yun (481–549), Recorder of the King of Yuzhang

I, Yun, bow.

[I received] your gracious letter. You showed me His Majesty's [*Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*].

64c I have personally heard that "one will seem to see [the deceased] in the place [where his spirit tablet is]" is a maxim in the canon of rites.¹⁶² It is now the great tenor of Buddhism that [the spirit] is not extinguished. Nevertheless, the wondrous characteristics [of the Way] are evanescent and profound, and the working of the spirit is extremely tranquil. Except for those who have mastered the Way, how could anyone understand in his heart the ultimate Way of nature? Without one who knows what produces all things, we have no way on which to depend to meet responses from the unseen world.

His Majesty has thorough knowledge of the myriad matters he manages, his mind roams in the seven factors of wisdom in order to cultivate superior wisdom, he feels compassion for sentient beings and warmly raises up the common people,

cleanses defilements, encourages [the people] with the wisdom of realization, relieves them from ignorance and delusion, and causes them to ascend to the state of the long-lived virtuous. He truly is great! He excels in transcendental wisdom.

My family respectfully follows the great Dharma from generation to generation, and transmits the teaching of the [Buddhist] Way. I, your disciple, however, am of a shallow learning, and of impolite manner. My defilements are still arising. I have already received [His Majesty's] teaching and heard his great guidance. I am able to understand with his single voice. All wholesomeness can be within my whole body. My great pleasure is beyond comparison.

I, your disciple Wang Yun, bow.

The Answer of Sun Yi, Gentleman of the Granaries Section

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly received this with respect and am delighted with it. I cannot stop rejoicing.

Large rivers and seas are deep and vast. This is not something of which a frog in a well can be aware. We [Buddhists] set our minds at ease and enter into meditation. How could a heretic perform [this practice]? Without moving even a single hair [in meditation], all evils will be dispersed, and by crossing over on the ship (i.e., the Buddhist teaching) we will go beyond to the yonder shore.

His Majesty keeps the two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth) in his body, his virtue combines those of the three dynasties (i.e., Xia, Shang [i.e., Yin], and Zhou), by means of the marvelous plan, he manages the ultimate Way of nature, and he takes charge of supreme wisdom in order to regulate the people. When he issues an order, [the people obey him, just as] the grass bends when the wind blows. When he sits upon the throne and governs the nation, he keeps silent but his edification moves just like that of a god. He raises the Five Thearchs and follows their tracks. His method is eternal, beyond myriad *kalpas*. Moreover, by ringing [a stone and tolling] a large bell he [instructs us as easily as if he were to] point to his own palm. He sends down wondrous ideas and enlightens the ignorant. His logic is admirable and deep, and his purpose penetrates the issue and goes further. He is equal to a precious jewel beyond price, and equivalent to an undefiled lotus flower. Filial reverence covers the people, and his instruction and examples glorify previous sages. Even slowly moving creatures

recognize this pleasure together with us, and living things that flit, fly, or crawl are all happy about this blessing.

I greatly appreciate that your letter was distributed even to me, one who occupies the lowest seat. I received this with sincerity, and will write it on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown. This will instruct my ignorant and deluded mind eternally.

I, your disciple Sun Yi, bow.

The Answer of Xiao Misu, Aide to [the Magistrate of] Danyang

65a [I received] your gracious letter. Together with it, I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. It is said that when human nature and the Way of Heaven are spoken of, reason is cut off. By great fortune I was graciously granted [this] wondrous instruction. I received it in the manner like throwing myself at your feet. I will keep joy and respect in my mind.

I personally think that the Way of the Spirit is quiet and silent, and it is difficult to see the edge of the sea of the Dharma. Therefore, even though we accumulate knowledge, as if piling up hemp and reeds, we cannot survey it. Our consciousness understands objects sensed as visual color or form, but they are still ambiguous. How could an ignorant person be aroused and look up at them? Nevertheless, it has been a very long time since the cloud of wisdom was gradually transmitted to the east [from India] and the boat of treasures crossed over to the south. The sound of the Dharma has spread into remote areas. While wise rulers and good premiers have believed in [Buddhism] from generation to generation, I, rather unexpectedly, have not heard about the one who personally grasped the profound origin and himself realized the subtle goal (i.e., enlightenment). Hence, [Buddhist doctrines such as] the twofold truth and the eight kinds of meditative powers that lead to liberation are entirely lacking in the emperor's statement. The nine kinds of Buddhist scriptures and the Tripiṭaka are bent to and mixed up with the national learning (*daxue*, "great learning"). Alas! What a deplorable matter this is!

I personally examined the origin of the extinction of the spirit; [I found that] a man called Ulūka started this idea, in a scripture called the *Vaiśeṣika* (*Weishi*). Although his assertion was refuted by Āryadeva, his influence has not yet ceased. Therefore, it causes people of different learning, who have

numerous doubts, to establish various views. If we had not received the teaching of the one who apprehended this issue in the past, we would really have ended up in confusion even in the next life.

His Majesty's way benefits the world, and his faculty penetrates everything without any set pattern. He inspects both the [White] Tiger Library (Baifuguan; i.e., Confucianism) and the Dragon Palace (Longgong; i.e., Buddhism), and he leads [people] equally by the highest virtue [of Confucianism] and the ultimate reality [of Buddhism]. Therefore he is in accord with the secular teaching and ascertains the way of the truth; that is to say, he follows the teaching of filial piety and propagates the teaching of the nature of awakening. He illuminates the distressed ignorant people hereupon and removes the net of their doubts. Though Śākyamuni speaks skillfully with flexibility and Confucius is good at inducing people by means of extensively studying all learning and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, how can that be compared with this? How lofty is [His Majesty]! He has already performed the ten wholesome acts, and is not far from [attaining the status of] the golden wheel king (Skt. *cakravartin*) [who rules the four continents of the world].

You, the Dharma teacher, received the wisdom to discern emptiness by nature, and have received training and learned much [about the Buddhist teaching] in this world. When you turn the Dharma wheel, the eight kinds of gods and demigods who protect Buddhism gather like clouds. When you speak sublime words, heavenly beings accept them. Therefore, you can spread the incense of the precepts in the private quarters of the imperial palace, and embellish His Majesty's abode with the flowers of realization. How truthful you are! You can cause all the people to listen to the voice of the Buddhist Way.

I, your disciple, have no recollection of Śākyamuni's scriptures, and I have not reached the gate of the Confucian school. Although I wish to hear [the teaching] in the morning, I end the day feeling ashamed of myself for frivolously squandering [my life]. I simply hope to follow the boundless Dharma and benefit other people as well as myself. I am suffering from a disease, and my mind and thought are confused with fear. I have sincerely done my best to state my thoughts. I do not know whether or not I have arranged this in [good] order. I look forward to visiting you to ask questions and intimately receive the greatest teaching from you.

I, your disciple Xiao Misu, lower my head to the ground and bow.

The Answer of Fu Jing (462–520), Secretariat Gentleman

I was graciously shown the Most August's [*Imperial*] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly received the profound purport, and was able to dispel many doubts.

His Majesty's mind shines alone, and he is apart from others in looking at the issue for his wondrous examination. Therefore, this is not something ignorant people would be able to penetrate and look up to. Nevertheless, ordinary scholars of narrow views, [like me,] personally sought a distinguished opinion. Now we have again received these tenets [from His Majesty]. I looked for the doctrine extensively in the scriptures; the doctrine is exactly founded on the tenets [given by His Majesty]. This is truly just like when two pieces of a tally match.

65b You, the Dharma teacher, publicized and exalted His Majesty's astute and discreet principles, and greatly praised his sacred words. You precisely cause the two teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Confucianism) to come to the same [teaching], and the absolute and the relative [truths] (i.e., the Buddhist Way and secular ways) to square with each other. Fortunately I was able to participate in receiving the favor of your instruction and guidance. I am influenced and molded by the highest edification. I clap my hands in glee, [while occupying] the lowest seat. Yet I truly dance at the same time. I am looking forward to meeting you to ask questions in the near future. I will exhaust my sincerity on that occasion. While writing this, I feel happy and grateful. I do not know how to [adequately] express my thoughts.

I, Fu Jing, present this.

The Answer of He Yang, Erudite of the Five Classics

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I studied this [composition] intensively with respect, recited it, and enjoyed it again and again. Therefore I know that [His Majesty's] wonderful [wisdom] encompasses the origin of what produces all things, his business is apart from what ordinary people can recognize, his spirit concentrates on the meaning beyond language, and his principles excel ordinary people's minds. His Majesty's astute and discreet discernment profoundly reaches human nature

and the Way of Heaven. Therefore his faculty is outstanding and profound, and he realizes [the truth] by himself, transcendently and deeply. He gives an account of the three sages in order to lead those who have not yet understood. He shows the two issues in order to remove biased delusions. Hence, the purpose of the perpetuity of filial duty is even more clarified, and the ultimate law of causality is more easily understood. The perfect scriptures expounded [by the Buddha] on Vulture Peak (Skt. Gṛdhrakūṭa) manifest here again. The clean teaching [established by Confucius on the bank of] the Zhu River becomes clear again at this point. Even if compared to the sun and moon, there is nothing that can go beyond this.

I, your disciple, am stupid, confused, and very ignorant, yet I, an unworthy man, receive the maxim with respect. I will research the wonderful tenor. I feel as if I am still dancing with joy.

You, the Dharma teacher, publicized and exalted the highest Way and made the great plan clear and bright. You bestowed [the *Imperial Response*] on me, an incompetent person. I am even more impressed by you.

I, your disciple He Yang, present this.

The Answer of Liu Qia, Secretary of the Heir Apparent

[I received] your gracious letter. With respect I looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly opened the letter of white silk, and respectfully looked at the profound account.

The composition is as harmonious as the music of Emperor Shun and Emperor Yu, and the meaning surveys the [sixty-four] hexagrams and the Great Appendix [of the *Book of Changes*]. [The *Imperial Response*] encompasses all scriptures and covers all writings. [His Majesty] spreads the authentic teaching, which is handed down to us in written form. The profound reason is outstanding; it is difficult to have the opportunity to hear [it]. [His Majesty] takes [the teachings of] wise people and sages into consideration, and analyzes even extremely small points. He understands thoroughly both Buddhist and non-Buddhist paths. His words surpass the ultimate of heavenly and human beings. Except for those who have mastered the highest virtue like his and whose thoughts match the virtuous spirits, would it be possible to deeply clarify the essential points of the Way that the human intellect hopes to attain?

I will prudently write this on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown, and wear it eternally. Now that the [His Majesty's] pure guidance has entered into me, it shines as if to enlighten me, an ignorant man. I will visit you on purpose to study [the Buddhist Way] one of these days, and explain more about this.

I, your disciple Liu Qia, bow with my head to the ground and present this.

The Answer of Yan Zhizhi (457–508), Erudite of the Five Classics

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

The body is separated [from the spirit] and engages in coarseness. Moreover, [the spirit] is abstruse and mysterious; it is difficult to comprehend. Needless to say, the principle of discernment is minute. How could those of confused views understand this? Therefore, the view that life ends with death and the view that life is permanent intersect and arise, and competition based on the difference [between these two views] occurs quickly. If we keep the Middle Way (i.e., the principle of nonduality) in mind, we can come back to [the right path] when we are swayed by desire. If you pay attention only to the two [opposite] ends of a matter, you will be unable to reach the yonder shore forever. In discussions on the extinction of the spirit, this obstruction is really heavy.

I respectfully rely on His Majesty, the chief support of the highest teaching. The brilliant imperial instruction was accordingly issued. The issue has been clarified, just as clouds disperse. [This imperial instruction] not only profoundly tallies the books authored by sages and virtuous emperors of ancient times, it also deigns to promote the significance of filial piety. [His Majesty] has most likely wonderfully reached the origin of life and deeply mastered
65c the basis of conduct. He consolidates even more the moral character to maintain the rules of propriety and [a feeling of sadness that he cannot help when] he treads on hoarfrost and dew.¹⁶³ With the knowledge of examining the spirit, he respects the joy of practicing meditation and enhances his mind. Everyone should learn the mind of determination (Skt. *dharma-kṣānti*) in the path of wisdom and force back the tide of the sea of delusions.

I, your disciple, try to establish my pure mind from early days, but I have not yet known how to cross over to the yonder shore. I humbly read [the

Imperial Response] and my body and mind were filled with jubilation. You kindly think of me and encourage me. I deeply appreciate your favor.

I, Yan Zhizhi, present this.

The Answer of Cao Siwen, Houseman of the Eastern Palace

You graciously sent the Imperial message to me. I, your disciple, recently received the point of this argument with respect in person, too. It is truly lamentable that Secretariat Fan became confused and cornered [with the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*] in this way. His Majesty was deeply afraid that people would be deluded. Therefore he bestowed the instruction of compromise. Once this imperial instruction is practiced, even those of ignorant mind will understand that the spirit is immortal.

I, your disciple, recently criticized somewhat [Fan's *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*] following [the teachings of] the Duke of Zhou and Confucius,¹⁶⁴ which I now enclose in this letter. Please be so kind as to take a look [at it] and refute [Fan's] strange points against [Buddhist] scriptures. Since I do not probe deeply, [please tell me the points] to restrain or to expand. I will not talk of many things here.

I, your disciple Cao Siwen, bow.

The Answer of Xie Ju, Vice Director of the Palace Library

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I have personally heard the [old] saying, "When all things are in disorder, they are examined with celestial phenomena, and when various words are confused and chaotic, they are judged with the sacred principles." This is clear from past events, and energetically shown here [in His Majesty's writing]. I humbly appreciate His Majesty's instruction bestowed in written form. The instruction deeply molds and fashions [the people]. Except for those who investigate thoroughly the significance of words and symbols, who can recognize such subtle matters?

The Imperial reason is profound to the utmost degree. It effects the complete development of [every] nature, and makes an exhaustive discrimination of the spirit. [His Majesty] feels pity on [those who] have the six coverings (*liubi*),¹⁶⁵

and feels sorrow that they have the four kinds of evil attachments (a heretical doctrine of the ninety-six non-Buddhist schools). He dispels the insignificant assertions that cause confusion about the Way. He delivers those who are on a narrow path to the Great Way. The purpose is unrestrained and yet mysterious, and the meaning is gentle yet clear. Extensively studying all learning and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety fill [the world] greatly. Wide comprehension and great scope are all embraced here. With a single sound of his voice and his chanting of half a *gāthā* (four-line verse) he manifests his outstanding realization. Sunlike wisdom and a mind like [clear] water remove defilement and confusion here. This causes the heart of the ultimate Way to have a place to which to return, and teaching others and thinking of oneself to have a place [in which to settle down]. Heterodoxy naturally ceases, and false accusations against wholesomeness spontaneously come to an end. [His Majesty] concentrates on the world beyond language before written language was made, and he directs the flow of meditation in the sea of suffering. Can he bear only the Tripiṭaka and cover the seven [non-Buddhist] books?

I, your disciple, am fortunate to abide in the best of times and secretly receive correct guidance. I receive a special favor from you, and clap my hands in joy. I will follow [the *Imperial Response*] with respect and write it on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown.

I, Xie Ju, bow.

The Answer of Ma Yuanhe, Chamberlain for the National Treasury

[I received] your gracious letter. You bestowed on me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

66a I have personally heard that the purpose of the crucial point [His Majesty] showed is not studied by ordinary people, and the pivot that tallies with a wonder is mastered only by the virtuous. Therefore, various teachings go around, but the principle comes to sincerity and wholesomeness. Numerous scriptures state full details, yet the main point comes down to deliverance.

I humbly think that by natural endowment His Majesty forms the people, masters the Way, and regulates edification. His principle transcends language and his consideration extends beyond the phenomenal world. He attacks and

blocks heterodoxy, and expounds that [all teachings] are united into one. All things in the universe know the ultimate law of nature. Human and heavenly beings look up at him and follow him. He is truly like a bridge formed of ships afloat on the blue sea or the sun and moon in the dark sky.

Discussions on the extinction of the spirit do not convince me. Why? When past sages spread teachings, they forced them on [the people] or guided [the people] to them, in different ways. In short, the principle is in fact not dual. The *Book of Changes* says, “The family that accumulates wholesomeness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery.”¹⁶⁶ The *Canon of Filial Piety* says, “Parents are content with [their sons] while living, and when they are worshiped after death their disembodied spirits enjoy [offerings].”¹⁶⁷ Although [in these two scriptures the law of] the three periods of existence is not evidently discussed, the tenor is apparent. When firewood is completely burned up the flame dies out. This is an expedient teaching of Hinayana Buddhism. The wondrous existence (i.e., existence beyond nonexistence) is transparent. This is the proficient assertion of the ultimate. If one conforms to the principle on the basis of his feelings, the principle is indeed reliable. Moreover, if we pay careful attention to performing the funeral rites for parents and the ceremonies of sacrifice to ancestors, the people’s virtue will deepen. The succession of a state and a family from generation to generation is derived from this. The treasures of the three powers are marked by various changes and movements. Discussions on the extinction of the spirit are frequently harmful to political affairs. “Those who refute sages have no law in their minds, and those who object to filial piety disown the principle of affection toward parents.”¹⁶⁸ If one fails in these two issues, it will be difficult for him to conduct himself in the world of His Majesty.

I, your disciple, am ignorant and inexperienced in the highest Way. You deigned to send a letter to me, an ordinary man of shallow learning. I am filled with awe indeed. There is no place in this world for me.

I, your disciple Ma Yuanhe, bow.

The Answer of Wang Jing, Court Gentleman for Evaluations

You showed me His Majesty’s [*Imperial*] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I humbly think that His Majesty [administers state affairs,] letting his robes fall down and folding his hands, at the Imperial Court, while in his mind he enjoys making a trip to eternity. He lives without wasting even a single day. His way is distinctive and he is simply sharp. Thereupon he made inquiries to his subjects, and extensively promoted the meaning of filial piety. His Majesty's writing is profound; the ingenious principle is deep and boundless. Except for a sharp and smart ruler, or a sunlike monarch whom we follow, or clouds we gaze upon from afar, could there be someone who can analyze profound and tranquil issues and who can clarify them in an elegant discussion? [His Majesty] elucidated the great sacred [teaching] in an instant, and right away settled ordinary people's doubts. This is not only because in reason he thinks with the deep mind, but also because in meaning he is close to his subjects. In a country where the harmonious energy is held and where love is kept, and in a region where the society remains peaceful even though the ruler does not do anything special and where customs are simple, there is no one who does not bow in appreciation of kindness and who is not favored by the customs handed down from Tang (i.e., Emperor Yao).

I, your disciple, am a lonely man from the area between the Yangzi and Huai Rivers. I have no learning and no skill. Even though I have followed a teacher and have had an audience with the emperor, I am not versed in even a single scripture. Even if I were to try to recall an old composition, how could I remember anything closely resembling this?

The Five Classics are vast and profound, and the categories of items are broad and abundant. As for the purpose of spiritual intelligence, there is a great variety of meanings. Regarding the music from instruments made from metal, stone, string, and bamboo, and the story that the Duke of Zhou [swore an oath to the spirits] on behalf of King Wu, are they not meant to be for His Majesty's purpose? Furthermore, when we speak of the "Chapter on the Meaning of Sacrifices" [in the *Book of Rites*], there is particularly clear evidence. If it is said that the spirits do not exist, then it would be possible that sages do not exist either. If it is approved that sages exist, there should also be the spirits. The law of the spirit is luminous. How could it be allowed that [the spirit] is extinguished?

My, your disciple's, view is stupid and shallow. I have nothing with which

to publicize and exalt His Majesty's kindness. Since I was asked, I frankly expressed my opinion.

I, your disciple Wang Jing, bow.

The Answer of Lu Ren, Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and Lu Chui (470–526), Secretariat Drafter of the Heir Apparent

[We received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed us His Majesty's [Imperial] *Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Formerly when people of different schools argued about the path, Mencius took upon himself the Duke of Zhou's way.¹⁶⁹ When Hinayana Buddhists put the [Buddhist] Way into confusion, Nāgārjuna explained the [authentic] teaching of Śākyamuni. Thus, in circles of Yangzi and Mozi, every time they moved their tongues their mouths stiffened. Regarding followers of the six leaders of non-Buddhist teachings, their chariots were in disorder and their banners dropped (i.e., they were completely routed).

It can be said that those who assert the extinction of the spirit are biased in learning and inflexible. [They are similar to] those who travel south while seeking the Yan region [of the north], or those who head toward the Chu area [in the south] while steering the shafts of the carriage toward the north. If one travels a thousand *li* on roads in this way, he will be farther away [from his destination].

His Majesty feels pity on those who go astray. Thereupon, he exerted himself to create this Imperial composition, in which he investigated what lies deep and attained what is distant. He completely comprehends the processes of transformation and knows what the spirit is. He causes the ignorant equally to disperse their doubts, just as ice melts away, and he explains the essential points of the Way as brightly as the moon shines.

We, your disciples, are both mediocre, yet we benefit from your kindness. Wearing a cap, we [serve] at the imperial court that corresponds to Heaven. We have heard the discussion to examine and study ancient matters. We sincerely feel happy about this guidance; our joy increases more and more. You graciously distributed [the Imperial composition] to us. We will respectfully write this down on the ends of the sashes of our ceremonial gowns.

We, Lu Ren and [Lu] Chui, present this.

The Answer of Wang Sengshu, Vice Commandant

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

How great is the right Way! How can we see it through a tiny pipe? How can those who speak of human nature learn this? [His Majesty,] however, excellently treats the issue following each category. I am happy and contented with the fact that my ignorance has dispersed. I will respectfully follow and sustain [the *Imperial Response*] and take a course of action. I will recite this in due order.

You, Dharma teacher, are outstanding in virtue today, and your reputation is remarkable throughout all generations. You speak in every assembly of knowing the whole [of a thing from a single bit of information].¹⁷⁰ You certainly reward people with a wealth [of wisdom] to enlighten the ignorant. I think that you clarify and propagate His Majesty's purpose. The cloud [of doubts] will disperse luminously.

I, your disciple, feel ashamed of myself for studying under adversity and being unable to see the whole of a matter with my [poor] discernment. How could I revere with praise the great brightness and publicize and uplift the wondrous model? The advocate [of the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*] sticks to a single delusion and complies with singlemindedness. It is indeed impossible for him to speak of the right path. How could he know of the certain danger of becoming stuck in a hitch when he has gone too far.

The principles of this world and of the other world are bright and errorless. Cause and effect arise mutually and have no independence in relationship. When the body perishes, it naturally belongs to a class of trees and plants, but the spiritual intelligence always exists following conditions. Therefore, there is a story in the *Zuozhuan* that Pengsheng appeared as a boar,¹⁷¹ and we find this passage in the *Book of History*, "Ancestors have arrived."¹⁷² The *Rites of Zhou (Zhouli)* says, "If music changes nine times, human and spiritual beings can know this. You should observe ceremonies."¹⁷³ [In the *Zuozhuan* there is an episode of] by tying up grasses [someone] repaying a favor he has received.¹⁷⁴ How could [the spirit] consequently be extinguished? How could it be possible that the spirit does not exist in what was dreamed by Yuan Gui?¹⁷⁵ The immortality of the spiritual intelligence is written in the

Buddha's golden sayings. In the statements of Confucius there is more evidence of this. Even though [Laozi composed] the *Five Thousand Words* (*Dao de jing*) and there are three hundred cantos in the *Book of Odes*, if we attain their principle it may spontaneously be embraced in a single sentence. Therefore we do not have to trouble ourselves to extensively seek for testimonies of [the immortality of the spirit]. 66c

The three sages established brilliant teachings, and the various schools of thinkers permanently established great doctrines, but those who are ambitious and too hasty still strikingly make compositions and study [strange doctrines] again and again. His Majesty has presently clarified the essence and illuminated what is hidden and tranquil. His discernment penetrates both the Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings. Since [the teachings of] ancient sages are eternal and His Majesty finds that heresy recklessly arises, he greatly gives rise to [favors] herein and bestows a piece of writing with love. This causes even *icchantikas* to attain realization immediately and consequently attain the fruition of buddhahood, and it openly and clearly cleanses persistent delusions in Jambudvīpa. Moreover, the beneficial cause for gentlemen of the official class is great.

I, your disciple, have enjoyed the [Buddhist] Way without any order, but you, Dharma teacher, have given me a bamboo basket full [of favors]. Consequently I was nicely allowed to share His Majesty's writing. You caused me to be able to delightedly receive the cool breezes. I pay respect to this, dancing with joy. There is nothing with which my joy can be compared. I will keep [your favor] in mind deeply and much more.

I, your disciple Wang Sengshu, lower my head to the ground and bow.

The Answer of Ming Shanbin (443–527), Erudite of the Five Classics

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. Its foundation is deep and its purport is profound. How could [an ignorant being like] a deer or rabbit investigate them? One understands things following one's own faculty. Probably each person will be happy about what he sees. I will make my course of action following [His Majesty's composition]. I cannot stop dancing with joy.

You, Dharma teacher, are outstanding in learning in the present time, and [you have] accorded with the Way for a thousand years. [The ability] to

enlighten the ignorant is truly within your brilliant virtue. I think that you propagate [His Majesty's] subtle purpose without missing anything.

I, your disciple, have excused myself from focusing on Buddhist scriptures for [spiritual] cultivation, and I am not proficient in knowledge. How can I respectfully give an account of the profound Way and glorify the teaching?

The advocate limits [his view] to what he sees and hears. How could he reach what is vast and profound? He can see what happens in a hundred years, and he will be deluded throughout the three periods of existence. He says that since the physical body perishes, the spirit is extinguished together with the body. This is already against what is stated in Buddhist scriptures and it also goes against the teaching of Confucius. How can we argue about the highest Way and speak of the wondrous doctrine with him?

In this world we have ceremonies and music, while in the other world there are spiritual beings. Therefore, when Confucius gave an instruction, he responded to [Jilu's] question, ["While you do not know life, how can] you know about death?"¹⁷⁶ King Wen of the Zhou dynasty established a teaching; [he made an oath] that he, a man of versatile talent [who is able to serve the spirits], will die instead of [King Wu].¹⁷⁷ The *Book of Odes* says, "The Three Augusts reside in Heaven."¹⁷⁸ The *Book of History* says, "Ancestors have arrived."¹⁷⁹ Moreover, the famous man who roamed on a bridge spanning the Hao River (i.e., Zhuangzi) wrote the *Discourse on the Coexistence of Opposite Views* (*Fangsheng zhi lun*).¹⁸⁰ The Archivist of superior intelligence (i.e., Laozi) said, "The manes of the departed do not manifest their spiritual energy."¹⁸¹ When one puts firewood forward [toward the flames as the force of the fire weakens], the flames are transmitted [and increase the fire's intensity].¹⁸² [People become] very close to each other and are reborn. All these stated and recorded in the classic books are evident and clear matters.

Since conditions (*yuan*) are transient, they are extinguished. Because karma is something to be made, it is impermanent. Therefore, even when the five *skandhas* (Skt. *pañcaskandha*) unite and become things, they end up in nothingness, just as smoke vanishes in the air. Even when the four small elements (*siwei*) are groundlessly formed together, they disappear, just as a fire is extinguished.

I personally think that the Way of Spiritual Intelligence is neither karma nor conditions. Since it is neither karma nor conditions, although it moves,

it is not extinguished. Since it is the subject that can perceive the object and also karma, the subject of activities, there are differences in the reward and retribution of joy and sorrow. This is Śākyamuni's wondrous assertion, at which the gentry lower their heads [in respect]. Even though there are different paths of teaching, the truth returns to one. At present [Fan Zhen] has abandoned the original texts of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, and goes against Śākyamuni's genuine statement. I do not know what he is going to become when he is like this. Even when the True Dharma was practiced in the world, there were still [two different] assertions: at death the world is extinguished and life ends (Skt. *uccheda-drṣṭi*), and both the world and life are eternal (Skt. *śāśvata-drṣṭi*). Moreover, after entering into the period of the Semblance Dharma there could be no situation in which there is no heretical view. Regarding the issue that the spirit exists and is not extinguished, the three sages have the same tenor. This is clearly written in books but many years have passed [since the time the books were written], so wise Confucian scholars and the erudite have not completely encountered this meaning.

67a

His Majesty's intelligence is complete in the doctrines of emptiness and existence, and his intellectual function investigates thoroughly the origin of the spirit. Accordingly, he gave rise to the sacred sincerity and personally wrote this composition. He promotes the highest teaching and enlightens those who are seriously confused. He relieves learned people from their doubts forever. His favor has reached everyone throughout the world.

You caused me to be able to have a chance to appreciate His Majesty's teaching and to receive his favor. I pay my respects to you and I am truly delighted with [His Majesty's teaching].

I, Ming Shanbin, bow.

The Answer of Yu Qianlou, Court Gentleman for Comprehensive Duty

The *Canon of Filial Piety* says, "Parents are content with [their sons] while living, and when they are worshiped after death their disembodied spirits enjoy [offerings]."¹⁸³ The "Chapter on Records of Music" (*Yueji*) [in the *Book of Rites*] says, "In this world there are ceremonies and music, while in the other world there are spiritual beings."¹⁸⁴ The *Book of Odes* says, "[The music] is majestic, peaceful, and harmonious. The spirits of our ancestors will hear it."¹⁸⁵ The *Zong Boshi* section [in the *Chunguan* of] the *Zhouguan* (i.e., *Zhouli*), says, "If music changes nine times, human and spiritual beings

can know this. You should observe ceremonies.”¹⁸⁶ The “Chapter on the Meaning of Sacrifices” [in the *Book of Rites*] says, “When we go into the hall [of the ancestral temple] [the spirits] heave a sigh, and we certainly hear their sigh of lamentation.”¹⁸⁷ The *Book of History* says, “If you, Three Kings, truly bear the responsibility for [the illness of] Heaven’s great son (i.e., King Wu), [please let me, Zhou Dan (i.e., the Duke of Zhou, who can serve spiritual beings), be a substitute for his person].”¹⁸⁸ The *Zuozhuan* says that the spirit of Gun (i.e., the father of the legendary ruler Yu) changed into a yellow bear, Boyou became a ghost, and Pengsheng appeared as a boar.¹⁸⁹

Above are seven items [regarding the immortality of the spirit].

I, your disciple, was born within the past hundred years. I heard [the law of] the three periods of existence from my early years. I have examined numerous scriptures and sought various ancient facts about this. The evidence that spiritual beings exist is already shown in Chinese books. The fruition of the highest wisdom is also indicated in the studies of the western region (i.e., India). The sacred teachings [of China and India] tally with each other on the point that the spirit has no end. While their expressions may differ, their principles are found to be the same.

[The Way of] the Sage’s (i.e., the Buddha) edification is, however, based on thoroughly understanding the people’s receptivity. This means to praise or censure people following an urgent case and to give or take away in accordance with each person’s faculties. What the people do not understand is not spoken, and what is spoken must be accomplished. [The Buddha] does not respond to [the people] when it is not the appropriate time, and when he responds to them he alone saves them.

The reward and retribution of karma, however, varies. Consequently, the path of acceptance differs from the path of refusal. The conditions of going and coming gather together, and the mind that sinks [in delusion] and the mind to be awakened are in opposition to one another. Those who are intimate with a little knowledge remain in darkness about this great tenet, and those who stick to familiar information do not discern what is profound and subtle. This is similar to the case where [a cicada and a little dove, which are only capable of flying over] an elm or spindle tree, laugh at [the great bird called *peng* that can soar ninety thousand *li* [into the sky],¹⁹⁰ or the case where [the people of] China are amazed at [the vastness of] the trichiliocosm. Originally

this is a natural consequence. People like these thereupon scheme far-fetched explanations, control [people] with sensational statements, make false assertions, and instigate the uneducated people. This is called heresy, which formerly Confucius considered to be harmful.

Our emperor succeeds the Three [Augusts] and the Five [Thearchs], attends to all state affairs, and succeeds to the seven hundred [wise people who gathered in the second meeting for compiling the Buddhist teaching] in order to control the six elemental energies of the changing [seasons].¹⁹¹ His achievements are immeasurable and his way [of teaching] is pure at the same time. He has the virtue of great ability to govern the universe, and the brightness that is just like having the sun on his left and the moon on his right. This is something that former emperors and kings did not distinguish, that many sages do not possess, that all the people should thoroughly understand, and that we will certainly achieve in the future. There is no one who is obstructed to receive [His Majesty's] profound wave and does not attain his deep point. 67b

I humbly read the wondrous discussion, which completely covers absolute and relative reality. The three powers are clearly recorded. All the people of His Majesty's territories (*jiufu*) are attracted to [this discussion]. Even slowly moving creatures and wormlike animals know of this and dance with joy, not to mention [the rejoicing of] people. Who cannot beat time with one's hand?

I, your disciple, am young and wanting in reading thoroughly the meaning of writings. I am particularly ignorant in logic. Since [His Majesty's discussion] matches my long-cherished intention, I secretly dance with deep joy. Regarding the extent of various schools of thinkers, their statements are quite numerous. When we look for the issue of spiritual beings, there are many clear testimonies. Moreover, the scriptures of *prajñā* originally clarify this meaning (i.e., the immortality of the spirit). Because [these scriptures] are rejected by evil people, I will not quote anything from them. Except for correct words, what else could correct [their mistakes]? I have briefly mentioned the seven items, all quoted from [Chinese] scriptures. These are just like if very tiny things were to lean against the Five Peaks, or a snail were to cling to the emperor's six military corps. I dare to state just a little bit of my view, and surely break into a cold sweat [with anxiety].

I, your disciple Yu Qianlou, bow.

The Answer of Yin Jun (484–532), Household Provisioner of the Heir Apparent

Recently [I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me His Majesty's *Imperial [Response to] His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Human nature and the Way of Heaven cannot really be heard. His Majesty simply observes the twofold truth and concurrently understands [the teachings of] the three sages thoroughly. He clarifies both of these in a few words and explains what is subtle in simple writing. He teaches that sentient beings [should] live within the five kinds of ceremonies, and his purpose is inclusive of the universe outside the limits of the human world. This can be compared to how a river and the sea both lead to land, or how the sun and moon ride high in the sky.

I humbly read [the *Imperial Response*] and am very happy; I rejoice both in body and mind at this. Why? I, your disciple, have been influenced by the profound edification from early in my life, and now, when I have become old, I have never lost [faith in Buddhism]. I am always afraid that my discernment and study have not been extensive and I may yet turn back halfway in vain. When I sit straight and contemplate quietly, my mind wanders about and scatters, or when I give a statement or set up a discourse, I am sometimes daunted by eloquent and sharp people. The Great Way is very smooth, yet common people love the byways. This is entirely due to the [influence of these eloquent and sharp people].

At present I humbly received the wondrous purpose with respect. I was illuminated as if my ignorance has been enlightened. I always carry this with me and chant it. I will eternally take this as my treasure. I have been involved in public and private matters for the past several days, and was also laid up with illness, so I was unable to respond to you immediately. I cherish your favor more deeply.

I, Yin Jun, bow.

The Answer of Zhang Mian (490–531), Assistant in the Palace Library

In my search, [the law of] the three periods of existence is bright and the two effects (i.e., reward and retribution) [in the law of cause and effect] luminously reveal themselves. How is it possible to be deluded by the six dusts

(Skt. *śaḍ viṣayāḥ*), to not be awakened, to be confused in the five realms of existence, and to sink [in delusion] for a long time? I think that “when the body withers, the spirit is extinguished” or “when a skeleton perishes, the consciousness decays” are the wrong views of a heretic. How could [a heretic] control Gautama’s True Dharma? In my sense, this is compared to a case in which a man easily deploys a brigade to oppose a powerful vanguard [of his enemy], or a case of a man arbitrarily making an old, worn-out horse and a legendary fine horse that is capable of covering one thousand miles a day race at the same level of speed. I am afraid that at the end of a long *kalpa* [the day when a heretic] leads insects will certainly arrive. The body dies and decays, and again another body is received, but the exquisite spirit does not change. Human beings and animals comply with [causes and] conditions. [This tenet is found in] the brilliant composition of the *Nirvana Sutra* and the valuable sayings in the [*Taizi*] *ruiying* [*benqi jing*].¹⁹²

67c

His Majesty sacredly illuminates what is tranquil and profound, and clearly examines what is deep. Comparing to the two phrases regarding sacrificial offerings [quoted from the *Book of Rites*], he understands that the spirit is not extinguished. He makes clear that the reckless conduct [of the heretic] goes against one’s parents. His justice, woven into [in his composition], follows the eightfold holy path to enlightenment (Skt. *ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*). It is difficult to be able to hear [His Majesty’s] words, just as [Confucius’ discourse about] human nature and the Way [of Heaven] cannot be heard.¹⁹³

I, your disciple, visited the Ruo River when I was young. I received the precepts in the area of Fan and Deng (present-day Henan province), and studied under Dharma teacher Qi at the White Horse Temple (Baimasi). [Dharma teacher Qi] frequently talked to me about the profound tenor of birth and death, and spoke often of the subtle purpose of the exquisite spirit. From that time on, I have taken refuge in [the Buddhist teaching] and cut off all doubt about these issues.

I again see that this judgment has destroyed the devil’s path to a greater extent. This not only causes us to experience [Buddhism] in this world, but also to establish a relationship with [Buddhism] in the next existence. I know only to take refuge in [Buddhism], and tacitly compare myself to Seeking Fame (Qiuming) [described in the *Lotus Sutra*].¹⁹⁴

You graciously benefited me by showing [the *Imperial Response*] to me. I deeply appreciate your favor.

I, your disciple Zhang Mian, bow.

The Answer of Lu Lian, Erudite of the Five Classics

I, Lian, address you.

I received your letter. You graciously showed me the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*. I humbly read His Majesty's purpose, which clearly illuminates my defilement and ignorance.

My, your disciple's, entire clan believes in the Three Treasures. From the time of my youth I have followed the Buddhist teaching. Even though I sincerely take refuge in the highest teaching, I am in the dark about the principle of nonduality.

I carefully thought of many sages, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and found that they expand and guide [the people] with distinguished writings. The Tathāgata explained the three vehicles in order to indicate one principle, and spoke of the twofold truth in order to awaken those who are stuck [in delusion]. Former kings explained the five [kinds of] ceremonies in order to cause the people to thoroughly understand love and respect, and propagated the music of the six generations [starting with the Yellow Emperor] in order to lead spiritual beings. They further showed [the law of] the three periods of existence in order to prove [the law of] cause and effect. Moreover, they clarified that sincerity moves [others] in order to verify the reality of reward and retribution. How is it possible to promptly reject the origin of the spirit and eternally cut off consciousness as a condition? If this was the case, reward and retribution for good and evil deeds would be merely an empty statement, and the establishment of sacrifices and reverence [to the spirits of ancestors] would be false. When we seek this in common sense, is it possible to be content with this? Nevertheless, ignorant and deluded people still remain quite obstinate.

Therefore His Majesty clearly viewed [all things] with a tranquil mind, and his spirit visited the subtle gate [of Buddhism]. He put forth reason in words that are as bright as morning sunlight, and gave testimony by issuing this writing, which is as clear as a glowworm [in the darkness]. This is enough to quickly educate ignorant and confused people and cause ordinary people to contentedly have faith.

I humbly follow the tenor of the imperial writing. I will examine the origin of the mind. I prudently discerned this and respond to you. I cannot express my happiness in words, but I clap my hands and dance with joy.

I, your disciple Lu Lian, present this.

The Answer of Zhang Fan, Mounted Escort of Yangzhou

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, in which the magnificent purpose traces to the very root of a vital point; [His Majesty's] sublime words tally with the Way.

His Majesty's innate intelligence is above those of the six [renowned] scholars, spontaneously inclusive of that of the one (i.e., the Buddha) above the sages (i.e., bodhisattvas) in the tenth stage [of enlightenment]. Regarding the law of effects brought about by causes, his reason shines upon [the law of] the three periods of existence. As to the significance of observing the proper rules for filial offerings [to the ancestral spirits], he follows the continuous line of all kings. His sublime understanding is explained as easily as the ice melts in the springtime. His supreme purpose is as bright as the autumn sky. [These] are enough to change the [evil] minds of Devadatta, [who attempted to kill the Buddha], and the *icchantikas*, and to influence the intentions of [the tyrant King] Jie and [the notorious robber] Zhi. [His Majesty] has restored the faithless style to [the faithful style] of ancient times. He causes the orderly, simple, and sincere tradition to thrive. He has an outstanding reputation and excellent sincerity. Nothing more can be added to his [great] esteem.

68a

You, Dharma teacher, are an outstanding man of virtue, well versed in principles. You monopolize high reputation in the world. You have received His Majesty's edification together with us, but you alone enjoy the spiritual intelligence, deeply examine the profundity of the Way, and have insight into the path of the ultimate law of nature.

I, your disciple, formerly heard a certain master's view and became awakened to the tenor of the grand scholar [Confucius]. Today I encounter an era of peace and justice, and follow the teaching that [the spirit] is not extinguished. [This teaching] truly shines upon me, clarifies my ignorant mind, and washes away my defilement. I prance and dance with joy. How could language or symbols surpass [dancing in expressing such joy]?

I, Zhang Fan, bow.

The Answer of Wang Zhenguo (d. 515), Commandant of the Left of the Heir Apparent

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly looked at the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

Regarding the immortality of the spirit, scriptures present explicit sentences. When we talk about the issue in conformity with our minds, it lustrously stands to reason. The discourse that the spirit is extinguished is really frightful and lamentable.

His Majesty illuminates [the issue] deeply and rightly. His wonderful tenor encompasses all extensively. [His composition] breaks the heresy and propagates this model of teaching. This can truly cause [people] to clearly realize the profound path, and it will be the chief support for a millennium.

I humbly read [the *Imperial Response*]. I am happy to sustain this personally and deeply forever. I will pay a visit to you one of these days. I look forward to inquiring about this issue to you.

I, Wang Zhenguo, present this.

The Answer of Cao Jingzong (457–508), General of the Palace Guard

You deigned to give me the Imperial instruction responding [to the subject] of the mortality of the spirit.

The reasoning [of this writing] encompasses eternity, and the purpose includes the issue of the three periods of existence. Those who have been confused in the six realms of existence for a long time will hereupon be awakened forever. Those who have constantly been suspicious about the five realms of existence will realize the truth, just as if being enlightened. Except for [His Majesty], who thoroughly examines the eight kinds of meditation leading to enlightenment (*bajietuo*), who shines as brightly as [the Buddha] who is called by the ten epithets, who rejects what is not upright, and who transcends the secular world, who else could be like this?

I will respectfully carry [the *Imperial Response*] with me and write it on the end of the sash of my ceremonial gown. I will be sure not to disregard it even while sleeping and eating.

You, Dharma teacher, have knowledge that goes beyond the realm of existence. Your learning has reached [the clear cognition of] nonarising (Skt. *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*). You praise and recommend [His Majesty's composition],

and this good deed of yours shines as brightly as that of [Zichan of] Dongli (the eastern village).¹⁹⁵

I opened [His Majesty's composition] and appreciate it repeatedly, and so I forgot about my illness.

I, Cao Jingzong, reply to you.

The Answer of Yan Shan, Chamberlain for Attendants

You deigned to distribute to me the Imperial instruction to ascertain the immortality of the spirit in response to subjects, together with your explanatory letter.

The grounds of the reasoning [of this instruction] are evident, and it is wondrously inclusive of both sides. Consequently, [His Majesty] propagates the intelligent insight on his own, praising both the boat and the bridge [by which people cross over to the other side]. What cannot be seen with the eyes may be blocked by a curtain or a wall, and what cannot be heard with the ears may be obscured by distance. We cannot say there are no sounds or objects simply on the basis of their not being heard or seen. If we intend to ask about the Buddhist teaching now, we should rely on books of non-Buddhist teaching. It is hereupon shown that books of the non-Buddhist teaching does not differ from those of the Buddhist teaching. A book says, "The spirit in its energy can go everywhere."¹⁹⁶ A Buddhist scripture says, "Nevertheless, the spirit is not extinguished."¹⁹⁷ Since [the description in] the Buddhist scripture tallies with that in the book of non-Buddhist teaching, there is little to question about the issue that the spirit exists. Those who doubt [the immortality of the spirit and assert] its mortality are like an ephemerid that does not know [what takes place between] the morning [it was born] and the end of the day (i.e., transient life), or a [short-lived] cicada that does not know [what takes place between] spring and autumn. How could they know the long life of the tree called Dachun or the eternity of the sun and moon?¹⁹⁸

68b

His Majesty's intelligence exceeds that of the ancient [sages]. He exquisitely and ingeniously penetrates the spirit. The tenor of the three periods of existence has testimony. The principle of filial offerings [to the ancestral spirits] is honored here. Ordinary people had dark and narrow views before, but they have now become intelligent again. People of later generations will fall into darkness and confusion, but they will be awakened.

I, your disciple, planted [a good seed] in my previous life and thus encountered happiness [in this life], being able to participate in following and enjoying the [Buddhist] Way. I present my mind to Maitreya Bodhisattva; I sincerely and deeply take refuge in him with respect. I simply behave prudently and expect to have a relationship to [the Buddha] in my next life. I keep in mind great joy, just like that of a wild duck among duckweed.

I, your disciple Yan Shan, present this.

The Answer of Shen Hong, Erudite of the Five Classics

I, your disciple Hong, lower my head to the ground and bow.

[I received] your gracious letter. I humbly read the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.

I think that it is difficult to understand the vital point, and an obscure matter easily becomes confused. Except for concentrating one's mind in examining this, searching out what is deeply hidden and clarifying the reason, how could we save deluded people from heavy mist (i.e., obscurity)? How could we exercise our own views in [spiritual] darkness?

I personally think that the great sage [emperor] who manages the empire manifests his superior virtue over the people. He bestows the Dharma clouds [upon the people] in order to deeply benefit them. He discloses sunlike wisdom and increases its splendor. His profundity is comparable to that of the dark, vast ocean, and his familiarity with the people is likened to theirs with a well crib. Throughout the ages, who else [but His Majesty] could know this [principle]? There are parables found in the Buddhist scriptures, [such as] “After a sparrow [that was in a vase] flies away, the vase is still there” or “Even if [the candle]light [by which one can read a writing] is extinguished, the writing remains.”¹⁹⁹ The *[Book of] Rites* says, “[The ancestral spirits] do not accept offerings from those who are not their family members. When [their family members] offer sacrifices to them, they send down blessings.”²⁰⁰ Moreover, [a concubine of Duke Wen of Zheng state], after dreaming of an orchid, conceived the Duke of Mu of Zheng state.²⁰¹ [The father of the concubine of Wei Ke's father's] tied grasses together and fought Du Hui [on behalf of Wei Ke].²⁰² Generally speaking, there are many instances like these; it is impossible to record them all.

Furthermore, we transmigrate in the five realms of existence, but we will return to the same place [through practicing] the six *pāramitās*. All this is the

evident testimony [for the existence] of the spirit and the profound meaning of the immortality [of the spirit]. Xi Ke is simply a lame person [of Jin state]. How can he be compared in the way of walking with a man from Handan [who mastered the art of walking]? How could Lu Ao, a swiftfooted man [of Qin], be claimed as equal to Ruoshi, [a legendary wizard of the Northern Sea]?

Today [His Majesty's composition] was bestowed on heavenly beings above²⁰³ and reached even the *icchantikas* below. This is what is called the simile of dispersing the dense fog by hanging two well-matched objects (i.e., the sun and moon), or coming out of a dark night and seeing [the light of] Zhulong (the torch dragon).²⁰⁴

I attempt to draw water from a deep well with only a short rope²⁰⁵ and examine the condition of the sea only by gazing at great waves in the distance. I am really happy and pay respects to [His Majesty's composition], which is just like an invaluable precious jewel.

I, Shen Hong, lower my head to the ground and bow.

The Answer of Sima Jiong (d. 518), Arbiter of Jiankang

[I received] your gracious letter. You kindly showed me the Imperial criticism on the *Discourse on the Extinction of Man's Nature (Mixing lun; i.e., Shemie lun)*.

I personally think that [His Majesty's] benevolence greatly spreads out like waves, his way is the utmost among those of all numinous beings, his intelligence illuminates what is deeply concentrated, and his principle is unmatched by those of all ancient sages. Therefore, the discernment of the seven kinds of meditation (*qichan*) and the eight kinds of meditation leading to enlightenment (*bahui*), and the subtlety of the three gates of emancipation and the fourfold truths, are originally luminous in scriptures and they are bright in [His Majesty's] clear and logical instruction. Therefore an exposition of the Dharma by the Buddha (Skt. *udāna*) says, "It is just like the case where even if a hundred people were to praise the wondrous awakening in a chorus, they would still be unable to express even one ten-thousandth of the praise."²⁰⁶

When karma arises, reward or retribution springs up from it. When a cause goes, an effect follows. Though the meaning is obscure, the event is apparent. Moreover, even though the principle is profound the testimony is evident. From what is familiar, we can understand what is profound. Through seeking what happened in recent times we can discover what happened in ancient

times. For instance, when the sun or moon rises in the sky, we do not have to borrow the eyes of Li Lou, [a man of excellent eyesight, to perceive it,] or when the sound of a bell reaches our ears we do not have to bother Ziqi, [a man of excellent hearing ability,] to hear it. The advocate [of the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*], however, makes himself dark, strays from the right path, and has trouble understanding [the truth]. If he follows what he has in mind, he will easily fall into a pitfall.

I humbly read His Majesty's excellent purpose. His reason is wondrous and his expressions are gorgeous. He achieves the apex and investigates what is profound. He examines the most tranquil truth, and moreover he elucidates it. He opens the profound path and at the same time he clarifies it. Even if various sages were to ride stirrup to stirrup with each other, or a large number of scriptures laid out the mysterious principles in a row, [the Dharma expounded by the Buddha] with his golden mouth on Vulture Peak and with his beautiful tongue near the Nairāñjanā River cannot be sought and understood thoroughly after all without this (i.e., the *Imperial Response*), and if we disregard this instruction we cannot attain the right path. Truly, this washes away dust and dregs, like the waves in the Yangzi River or the Han River, leads with virtue, sets ceremonies in order, and returns customs and edification to [the right path]. This is the reason why [His Majesty] is versed in both the Buddhist teaching and the secular teaching. I will send these statements to you. I precisely completed my statement.

I, your disciple Sima Jiong, present this.

The Answer of Qiu Zhongfu, Assistant Director of the Left

I humbly read the *Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*, in which His Majesty illuminates what is profound and includes the absolute and the relative reality. His reasoning goes beyond the world of language. The meaning penetrates a vast amount of knowledge.

I will study this marvelous plan intensively with respect. My humble joy deepens. You kindly showed this to me; I appreciate your favor.

I, Qiu Zhongfu, address you.

End of Fascicle Ten of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

**Director He Shangzhi's Case to
Glorify Buddhism, Responding
to Emperor Wen of
the Song Dynasty**

On the fifth day of the fifth month of the twelfth year of the Yongjia era (435), an official delivered the following report [to the emperor].

Xiao Mozhi, the magistrate of Danyang, respectfully submits a report, in which he says, "Four dynasties have already passed since Buddhism was transmitted to China. Buddhist temples and images in the thousands are everywhere. When we advance, we can connect our minds to [Buddhism], and when we retreat, there are plenty of [monks and nuns] from whom we may ask advice. Nevertheless, recently people esteem digressive matters. They do not consider diligence and sincere faith to be supreme. Moreover, they place value on competing for luxury. Dilapidated buildings have never been repaired. Instead, they construct their several new buildings and proudly boast of it to each other. The best-quality lands are nearly overloaded by mansions of eminent people. Construction materials such as timber, bamboo, copper, and varicolored silk are wasted limitlessly. Those who disregard a standard degree and go beyond a [reasonable] limit should be given restraint. If we do not take measures against this, its longstanding evil will not come to an end.

"I would like to request that from now on all those who wish to erect a bronze [Buddhist] statue [must first] go to a government office and notify [of their plans] in person. All those who wish to build a Buddhist temple or a monastery [must] first go to the governor-general of their local district²⁰⁷ and notify him of the relative scope [of their construction project]; according to the matter, [the governor-general] will give a statement that is sent to the main prefectural office, [the petitions] must be approved, and [only] then should the petitioners begin [construction]. If someone arbitrarily erects a bronze statue or establishes a Buddhist temple or monastery the case should be discussed, and under the law of failure to accept and exert the imperial

decree the bronze metal and all building and construction materials and tiles will be entirely forfeited to the government.”

His report was sanctioned.

At that time, Śramaṇa Huilin, who falsely took up the position of a Buddhist monk and slandered the [Buddhist] teaching, wrote the *Discourse on Buddhist Laymen and Clergy* (*Baihei lun*). He Chengtian, the magistrate of Hengyang, was in collusion with [Hui]lin, and they often praised one another. [He Chengtian] wrote the *Discourse on the Full Understanding of Life* (*Daxing lun*). They both adhere to one side and slander Śākyamuni’s teaching. Yan Yanzhi (384–456), magistrate of Yongjia, and Zong Bing, Secretary of the Heir Apparent, believe in the [Buddhist] Dharma. They reviewed these two essays and respectively refuted them in writings of more than ten thousand words. [Hui]lin and [He Chengtian] at first corresponded with [Yan Yanzhi and Zong Bing], but they stopped before stumbling. [Zong] Bing accordingly wrote the *Discourse to Clarify Buddhism* (*Mingfo lun*) in order to propagate his purpose.

His Majesty considered this to be virtuous and said to Palace Attendant He Shangzhi, “I did not read [Buddhist] scriptures when I was young and I have no free time recently. I have not yet thoroughly discerned [the law of] causality of the three periods of existence. Nevertheless, the reason I do not dare go against [the law] is simply because my precursors and you, contemporary men of outstanding ability who lead [the world], all respect and trust in [this law]. Fan Tai (355–428) and Xie Lingyun (385–433) always say, ‘The compositions of the Six Classics were originally intended to save the common people and govern them. If we must seek the genuine heart of our spirits, how can we manage without taking Buddhist scriptures as guide-books?’ Yan Yannian’s (i.e., Yan Yanzhi’s) refutation of the [*Discourse on the Full Understanding of Life*] and Zong Shaowen’s (i.e., Zong Bing’s) criticism of the [*Discourse on Buddhist Laymen and Clergy*] deeply and extensively clarify the Buddhist teaching. They are very logical. In addition, they are sufficient to open and encourage people’s minds. If everyone within the territory of my state is completely edified by this teaching, I will achieve the great peace without doing anything. What is the matter with this?”

“Recently Xiao Mo[zhi] requested me to draw up a constitution but I have not ordered to let [the request] pass. That is to say, I have already shown [this

request] to you, and I will leave to your judgment the issue of whether it will give profit or loss. We must have a measure to correct and stop superficial dissolute practices. If [the request] has no harm in greatly encouraging [the people], then you should write an order.”

Shangzhi replied, “People who have vague ideas mostly do not believe in the Buddhist teaching. I am stupid and ignorant, yet I take charge of the matter with my foolish diligence. I am afraid that my incompetence will blemish the great teaching. Furthermore, I receive your great patronage but [this task] is not one that I dare assume. Regarding a great number of wise people of previous generations, they did not disobey brilliant imperial decrees. The medieval period is already far in the past, and it is difficult to know [about that time] completely. After moving to the Jiangnan area, Wang Dao (276–339) and Zhou Yi (269–322) are the most outstanding among the successive prime ministers. Wang Meng (309–347) and Xie Shang (308–357) are models of the principles of human relationships. Chi Chao (336–377), Wang Tan[zhi] (330–375), Wang Gong (d. 398), and Wang Mi (360–408) are known either as being unparalleled or unrivaled. Their refined and sophisticated vapors and their pure and chaste feelings are also beyond the secular world. People such as Guo Wen, Xie Fu, and Dai Kui (326–396) all set their minds to the ultimate of heavenly and human beings and raise their bodies among the clouds. The late brothers of my great-grandfather (i.e., He Chong and He Zhun) were exemplars of the world with their virtuous opinions. Wang Yuan and the Lin brothers held premier positions in the court due to their intelligence. Other people, roughly scores of men such as Fan Wang, Sun Chuo, Zhang Xuan, and Yin Ji, were talented people of the time. Moreover, all *śramaṇas* mentioned in [Zong] Bing’s *Discourse [to Clarify Buddhism]*, Bo[yuan], Tan[wuchen] (Dharmarakṣaṇa), and [Yu Dao]sui, are the next generation after them. They are compared and contrasted with Yu Yuanguì. All the gentlemen before [Yu Dao]sui, such as [Zhu Fa]hu (Dharmarakṣa) and [Yu Fa]lan, are next to those gentlemen [who accumulate virtue within]. Moreover, they are unpredictable. When Buddhist clergy and secular people of modern times are compared and explained, they are like this. If we take extensive examples both from foreign countries and China, and accordingly come to examples from the Han and Wei periods, how could we be competent enough to speak of geniuses and extraordinary virtuous people? Why should

we vainly repress our spirits, abandon our family relations without doing anything, be submerged in and deluded by a counterfeit assertion, and on our own initiative fall into an edification that is unsupported by any evidence?

69c “Your Majesty’s thought penetrates beyond the world of creation and discretion and consideration is abstruse and subtle beyond the phenomenal world. You investigate things deeply and attain what is profound. There is no example to take from familiar cases. Hereupon, if we your subjects and those under us can prudently infer things along with this example, lay Buddhists are not few in the present time. How could [Confucius’ words] ‘A man can propagate the Way’ be a false statement?²⁰⁸ Dharma Master Huiyuan once said, ‘There is nothing negative in Śākyamuni’s edification. Following the Way indeed stems from the origin of the teaching. To save the world is also an important task.’ If the ruler of the times can destroy mistakes and falsity and encourage [the people] to examine reality, [Buddhism] will be practiced equally alongside the ruler’s state affairs throughout the world, and the unseen world and the manifested world will work in concert and jointly enrich the common people. Why can it be said that only King Cheng and King Kang [of the Zhou dynasty] and Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing [of the Han dynasty] were extraordinary? If this [Buddhist] edification were practiced in concurrence with [these extraordinary rulers’ ways of administration] at the beginning of the Zhou and Han dynasties, it would have been doubly fast that praise is made and punishment is terminated.

“Personally, I am inclined to think that this statement accords with the essence of reason. Why? If ten people from a village of a hundred households observe the five precepts (Skt. *pañcaśīla*), those ten people are all honest and sincere. If a hundred people in a town of a thousand households cultivate the ten wholesome acts, those hundred people are peaceful and generous. If the instruction of this teaching is transmitted and spreads throughout the world, then a million people among ten million households will be benevolent. This is merely an example given for those who observe both [the five] precepts and [the ten] wholesome acts. If those who observe even one [of the five] precepts or one [of the ten] wholesome acts were all counted, the number would be at least twenty or thirty percent of the population. If one can perform a wholesome act, he removes an evil act. Since an evil act has been removed, one punishment comes to an end. If one punishment comes to an end in a family, then in a state

ten thousand punishments will come to an end. It is not worthy to think that abandoning four hundred prisons is difficult. It would be doubly fast in reason that the ode of the kingdom *ya* and the hymn of praise song rise. This would be, namely, to achieve the great peace without doing anything, as Your Majesty has said. Theoretically speaking, things should be like this.

“If we seek actual facts for this, I, your subject, will say more. A history book of antiquity states that the people of the Western region all serve the Buddha and respect the Dharma. Therefore, even if the population of a large country numbers in the tens of thousands and that of a smaller country is in the hundreds, in the long run they do not annex each other. After they were subordinated to China, their customs worsened considerably. [The people of the region] are, however, still very honest and gentle; they seldom fight. Moreover, the [Chinese] people have been in great misery since the time when the five barbarian tribes from the North (i.e., the Huns, the Tungusic, the Jie, the Di, and the Qiang) threw China into disorder. Countless people were wrongly put to death. During these times, those who attained peace of mind certainly relied on Śākyamuni’s teaching. Therefore, when Fotudeng (ca. 232–348) entered Ye, cases of massacres carried out by Shi Hu (295–349) were reduced by half. When the treasure pagoda of Minchi [in present-day Henan province] emitted light, Fu Jian’s use of a mallet and a saw [to harm people] stopped. [Juqu] Mengxun (368–433) turned against the one to whom he was indebted; he was heartless, as cruel as a wolf or tiger. In his later years he was inspired and enlightened [by Buddhism] and ended up becoming a good man. [His understanding of] the Buddhist teaching matched that of Buddhist monks. He possessed power as strong as that of ten thousand men combined. When someone threw the region along the Yellow and Wei Rivers into disorder, he was ready to risk his life and went to his teacher who was in difficulty. This is due to nothing other than a respectful faith [in Buddhism].

70a

“There is originally a reason for the fact that the Way of the Spirit helps in edification. It often happens that [people] are struck by lightning on a rainy summer day. Regarding the incidence that the Zhan family shrine shook [from being struck by lightning], it was written [in the *Zuozhuan*] that [the Zhan family] had hidden guilt.²⁰⁹ In the reign periods of [King] Jie [of the Xia dynasty] and [King] Zhou [of the Yin dynasty], those who were wrongly put to death were too numerous to record, but only King Xuan of the Zhou dynasty

and Lord Jing of the Jin dynasty incurred divine wrath for abusing [their power to inflict] punishment. When we inspect reason based on the reward and retribution [in the traditional meaning], there are already examples that do not fit [this notion]. When we examine examples from ancient and modern times, our suspicions merely increase. Scriptures and history books, however, record such cases as evidence of encouraging [people to do good acts] and warning [them against committing evil acts], and say that one out of ten thousand images still bears its full fruit. It is better than a statement that censures Buddhism.

“[As for Buddhism,] in reason there is a purport that should be axiomatic and believable, and in examining the fact there is also no fault of being perverse or absurd. Furthermore, familiar efficacies bestowed by Avalokiteśvara Mahāsattva all immediately manifest in experiences of one’s lifetime, and the people see them together with their own eyes. In a family that offers prayers, whatever [they pray for] comes true, one after another. This is the reason to encourage [people to do good acts] and warn [them against committing evil acts]. Therefore [Buddhism] bears its full fruit. How can we talk [about Buddhism] with that (i.e., Confucianism) in the same breath?

“Nevertheless, a cohort of ignorant people improperly proceed to slander [Buddhism], neglect what is important yet die for what is unimportant. They stick to trivial matters and miss out on what is important; they resent that Buddhist monks and nuns cut off their offspring and hate that red and purple paint is wasted on Buddhist images and pagodas. This is similar to the case that people receive favor of Heaven and Earth yet they do not talk about [this favor] in daily life, or that civil officials suffer from their duties to conduct official sacrifices and sometimes denigrate [the sacrifices]. The case of Huilin and [He] Chengtian is probably like this, too.

“As for the system reported by Xiao Mo[zhi], I do not think this is entirely wrong, but the worst people, who hurt and harm the Buddhist clergy and laypeople, exist among Buddhist monks and nuns who do no religious practice, and it is difficult to sort them out based only on internal and external behaviors. We have not yet been able to imprudently remove them. Even though more and more gold, copper, soil, and wood are wasted [to make Buddhist images and build Buddhist temples], this is assuredly what is brought about by meritorious deeds. It is also difficult to promptly stop this. I was thinking to deal with this matter seriously these days, but I had difficulty in settling my course

of action. Today I graciously received with respect [Your Majesty's] virtuous voice, and I am truly at ease."

At that time, Yang Xuanbao, Gentleman of the Ministry of Personnel, was present. He stepped forward and said, "This discussion surpasses the ultimate of heavenly and human beings. How could this be something in which I should meddle? I am personally afraid that when we discuss plans to build up military power [just as] the states of Qin and Chu did, or when we make an elaborate plot to annex other states [just as] Sun[zi] and [Wuzi] did, we should take something from this [example]."

His Majesty said, "This is not a preparation for [war between states of] the Warring States period, but the issue is truly just as you (i.e., He Shangzhi) said."

[He] Shangzhi then said, "While a recluse is treated with due honor, soldiers are treated coldly. When benevolence is valued, military esprit de corps declines. If Sun[zi] and Wu[zi] are considered ideal and we engage in gobbling up other states, then the Way of [the sage kings] Yao and Shun is useless. Is only Śākyamuni's teaching [useless]?"

His Majesty was delighted with [Shangzi's statement] and said, "That Śākyamuni's school has you (i.e., He Shangzhi) is comparable to that Confucius' school had Jilu. It is simply a case of 'Evil talk does not reach my ears.'"²¹⁰

**The Responses of Two Dharma Masters,
[Dao]gao and [Fa]ming, to Li Miao of Jiaozhou,
Who Criticized the Matter that the Buddha Does
Not Manifest Himself, and Li [Miao]'s Letters**

[Li Miao's Criticism]

The Way abides in purity and emptiness. The principle of the four that are great is permanent,²¹¹ but there is the Dharma gate that wondrously goes beyond a multitude of spheres. If it is said that benefiting the people with efficacy and delivering immeasurable [people] are what is taught [by the Buddha], why doesn't he make a true appearance in this world, why does he give empty talk that lacks substance? I am now surely going to ask you about the origin of [the teaching established] in the West. I am humbly solicitous of you, Great Precept Master, to have compassion on me, take ahold of my mind, and freely bestow upon me your marvelous words.

I, your disciple Li Miao, bow.

70b

[Daogao's Response]

I, Shi Daogao, respond.

I received a question from you about whether or not the greatest sage manifests himself. The taste of your principle is profound and extensive, and the significance of your words is luminous and clear. The more times I read this, the more highly your virtue resounds. The fences and the walls of your house are high and large, and this naturally makes it difficult to find the gate. Then, I will try to exhaust my humble opinions and emulate Wangxiang, [who was able to find] a mystic jade [for the Yellow Emperor].²¹²

There are generally three instances in which the Tathāgata responds to the people. The first is emitting light and causing the earth to quake, [which are equivalent to] manifesting himself. The second is that the True Dharma, which is equivalent to the Buddha, exists in this world. The last instance is the edification with the aid of an image [of a buddha], a model which closely resembles [the Buddha]. The model which closely resembles [the Buddha] corresponds to feelings of today's people. The people's feelings receive the saving power from images [of buddha]. What else then do they want to see? Therefore, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* states that [the Buddha] is able to clarify the characteristics of existing things and know the faculties of sentient beings.²¹³ With regard to the three assemblies held under the dragonflower tree at Kukkuṭārāma [in the city of Pāṭali in Magadha state, when Maitreya descends to this world from Heaven], people perceive in their minds [Maitreya Buddha's present existence]. What is then hidden? Hence, the *Lotus Sutra* states, "At that time I (i.e., the Buddha) appear together with many monks at Vulture Peak."²¹⁴ It can be expected that the palace of [the wheel-turning king (Skt. *cakravartin*)] Saṅkha, [who appears when Maitreya descends to this world,] is lofty. [Nevertheless,] how is it that the origin [of the teaching established] in the West cannot be seen? Furthermore, many people of the world who have such doubts say that the descriptions in Buddhist scriptures do not coincide with reality. They have little inclination to rely on something obscure, and so they all produce delusions because they have not seen [the Buddha].

We learn all about the Three Augusts, the Five Thearchs, the three ancient dynasties (i.e., Xia, Shang, and Zhou), the Five Powers (i.e., the Qi, Song, Jin, Qin, and Chu states in the late Zhou dynasty), the Duke of Zhou, who established the system of propriety, and Confucius, who revised the *Book of*

Odes, in history books. [But] who actually experienced all these [events or actually met these people]? Śākyamuni let the Dharma drum resound at the Deer Park, and Confucius raised his virtuous voice in [his native land,] the Zou region of Lu state. We cannot actually experience any of this with our own ears and eyes; we believe them all based on written records. If you do not believe in this (i.e., the histories and records of China), I am not troubled by the fact that you have doubts about that (descriptions of the Buddhist scriptures). You are, however, able to understand [the histories and records of China]. Why then do you stick so firmly only to [your doubts about Buddhism]?

If you, for whom His Majesty has deep consideration, clearly see [the law of] the three periods of existence, hope for and seek the teaching [of the Buddha, whose] life span is inexhaustible, take up, as a recent example, the trace of Dīpaṅkara Buddha and Māṇava Bodhisattva,²¹⁵ and infer, as an example from the recent past, the great assemblies of Mahābhijñāñānābhībhū Buddha,²¹⁶ then through these actions you will dispel many people's obscure delusions, just as the sun disperses heavy clouds.

My statements are superficial and my expressions are poor. Although I speak, I cannot articulate my thoughts. I simply hope that on the day we personally see each other I must speak of your criticism.

Stated respectfully [by Daogao].

[Li Miao's Response]

I, Li Miao, bow.

I immediately examined your discussion. This is closely reasoned. Your expressions are arranged beautifully, and there are many points with which I happily agree.

As you say, [the Buddha's Way] to reform the people varies according to the time, and [the edification by] the True [Dharma] (i.e. the Buddha) or that [with the aid of] an image [of the Buddha] differs from people to people. You illuminate Buddhism by invoking non-Buddhist teachings. You verify facts by inquiring into writings. I respectfully take your purpose as a model, with which I can find no flaw.

Nevertheless, the cause to attain awakening is assuredly based on examining by seeing [the Buddha]. To rely on something obscure produces doubt. Doubt is not the foundation of awakening. If what exists in written records

70c is uniformly understood by various different generations, we do not have to wait for a sage to appear as our teacher after countless generations. If we resign ourselves to [the Buddha's] voice and trace equally, his words and image are interdependent. Once the great justice is disregarded, the antagonism just like that between Confucianism and Mohism will flourish. Then not only right faith will not be clear, but also slander and misunderstanding will increase our sins. Is it impossible to obtain the testimony of [the Buddha's] manifestation and strengthen [our faith] with the seal [of the Dharma] and signs [of the Buddha]?

With the wisdom of nonobstruction the Great Sage (i.e., the Buddha) bestows benevolence without being asked to do so. Why does he have to spare bright light, make his two *xun*-tall body obscure, cut off sentient beings' hope after he entered nirvana, and cause them to commit sins prior to the three assemblies [held when Maitreya descends to this world]? If straw dogs are futilely displayed, are they able to awaken you? If ritual instruments and images are pointlessly set up, are they able to cause you to have faith?

Regarding the [Five] Thearchs, the [Three] Augusts, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius, their teachings are limited to this world. Matters of the next life were left intact and they did not discuss them. Therefore they did not discriminate about hiding or appearing, declining or rising, expedient or reality. The Tathāgata's teaching completely threads through the three periods of existence and his compassion universally profits [sentient beings]. This cannot be limited to the present existence. Since many confused people seek liberation, he cannot consider nirvana to be the ultimate. Therefore, edification and salvation are not confined to scriptures. The Buddha's altruistic activities are fully arranged, successively and innumerably.

I have a question. Where do "the Buddha's altruistic activities" exist today? If the situation is just as you say, then you believe in this (i.e., Buddhism) and testify to that (i.e., Confucianism). The Sage, however, does not appear in the world. Confucius and Śākyamuni have different paths. Speaking in touch with reality, there are all contradictions. How could this be a testimony?

I cannot hold my tongue and refrain from [asking questions]. I have just expressed my thought in words. I would be happy if you could further investigate in detail. I look forward to seeing your clear explanation.

[Daogao's Second Response]

I, Shi Daogao, inform you.

I have again respectfully received your deep instruction. Your meaning is splendid and the purpose is profound. I read it three times and thought of it several times and I finally came to admire your profound meaning. The wisdom of predecessors and the ultimate principle are not what a common person can fathom, and sublime words and abstruse expressions are not something in which a lowly and ineloquent man is concerned. I will now attentively act in accordance with an ordinary man's indiscretion and roughly explain what I have in mind.

A myriad of wholesome acts all become teachings. The means [for teaching] are not only one. Some people sit and meditate in a grove; some cultivate meritorious qualities in the vicinity of the city; some bow and snap their fingers; some sing *gāthās* and chant poems [to praise the Buddha]. All these [actions] are comprehended through the ears and eyes. Actions are immeasurable. This precisely corresponds to the case that the ferry by which one attains awakening is caused by relying on something obscure. Why is it always the case that to attain awakening is based on examination by seeing [the Buddha]? Why is it always the case that to rely on something obscure produces doubts? Doubt is also the foundation of awakening. Please let me discuss this.

When one has a doubt he seeks a resolution [of that doubt]. When [the doubt] is resolved one is able to become awakened. When awakened, one enters the Way. If this is not the foundation, then what is? Even though Confucianism and Mohism vied with each other in rising and the nine schools discussed right and wrong, [this is as if] the torches have not been put out and it is not that the sun and moon no longer shine brightly. Why do you anxiously urge [the Buddha's] manifestation and hurriedly return to the same point?

The present world is indeed in the last period of the [Decadent Dharma], when there is no realization. It is also not incorrect to produce an effect in order to prove sincerity. "The Great Sage spares bright light." Those in the world who have this doubt are arrogant and they do not see [the Buddha's appearance]. Subsequently they end up being long confused in a great dream and perversely sink and drown in [the transmigration of] birth and death. Scholars of the past and ancient sages have made old statements on this for

71a

the most part. There are not several traces of wheels on the [right] path. In that case, I transmit [their points] but will not state [my own views].

If we efface ourselves and sincerely devote ourselves to [Buddhism], we will assuredly sense [the Buddha]. When we sense him, we equally see him. If we do not sense him, we do not see him. Those who have seen [the Buddha] tell this to those who have not seen him, but those who have not seen him certainly do not believe it. How could it be that the Sage does not exist? How could it be that sentient beings do not see him?

People hear the sound of the Dharma and praise it as good. [This] does not mean [the case of] “straw dogs are futilely displayed.” People see [Buddhist] images and bow to them. Would this be the case when wonderful ritual instruments [and images] are futilely set up?

The Duke of Zhou and Confucius tried to save decadent worlds. Their strength was, however, not adequate to complete their task. How did they have time to spare to instruct people about future existences? If Confucius and the Duke of Zhou had been born [in the time of purity and sincerity,] when knotting rope [was a recording method], they would have endlessly clarified [the law of] the three periods of existence. You asked me, “Where do the Buddha’s altruistic activities exist today?” We bow our heads and join our hands [in prayer]. All these are the Buddha’s altruistic activities. There are, however, [various] methods to bring people to be deeply awakened. Even though the paths may vary they all arrive at the same point.

Regarding what I referred to in my previous letter, that “having a doubt in this (i.e., Buddhism) and believing in that (i.e., Confucianism),” this is precisely because since people of the world do not see [the Buddha] and then say there is no Buddha, I simply used the example of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, whom we have also not seen. This follows [naturally] even if we remain indifferent with folded arms. How could this be called contradiction?

Your innate intelligence is perfect and original disposition is spontaneous. You hold a rank in the place of the Imperial throne and plan with your great resources. You roam in the park of philosophic principles and wander in the garden of books. In spare moments from your busy duty, you enjoy carefree time for a long day. Once your virtuous voice is given, there is no one who does not listen to you attentively.

I have rough and shallow learning. I am deeply ashamed of my poor skill in correspondence. I submit my absurd and coarse reply to you, [though]. I fear that I will stain your glorious writing with particles of dust. My awe and shame increase afterward and I am in an incessant cold sweat.

Stated respectfully [by Daogao].

[Li Miao's Second Response]

I, Li [Miao], bow.

Your discussion clarified that the ferry to reach awakening is accordingly attained through doubt; to rely on something obscure is sufficient [for awakening]; there is no need to examine by seeing [the Buddha]; and [actions such as] bowing and reciting praises are all enough to reach [the Buddhist] Way. The more I read this, the more I see what is profound and complicated [in it].

Nevertheless, you say that the Dharma of a [buddha] image departs from the True [Dharma]. [In this case] your logic of seeking for awakening is vulgar. [You say that] if people understand the tenor by making use of expedient, there is no need to avail oneself of [the Buddha's] manifestation. This is certainly why the Duke of Zhou and Confucius gave instructions and emitted a brilliant light and why they taught the normative law. To take this from secular books serves the purpose sufficiently. Why must [the Buddha] emit light and cause the earth to quake without any reason? If right faith is not confined to merely bending and lifting one's head, and the Buddha's altruistic activities are completely performed through body and speech, then what the Great Awakened One depends on is his wonderful physical form, which is the foundation at the beginning when one first becomes involved and seeks [faith]. Therefore, it is known that those who first come to believe in [the Buddha] certainly doubt [the Buddha's manifestation] based on Confucian or Mohist [teaching] and even those who learn [Buddhism] still feel sorry about a lack of testimony [of the manifestation of the Buddha]. There is no trouble with the Three [Augusts] and the Five [Thearchs] even if they spare bright light, but it is a fault of [the Buddha of] the ten epithets to hide morality. Wouldn't this be the case?

In addition, you say that the Duke of Zhou and Confucius were engaged in relieving the decadent world and had no time [to discuss] the next life. [You also say that] if they had existed in the time [of purity and sincerity,]

when knotting rope [was a recording method,] they would have spontaneously clarified [the law of] the three periods of existence. This is not the case, either. The future is included in the meanings spoken of in the Seven Classics. Issues expounded and recorded in Buddhist scriptures are confined to reward and retribution based on causality. Therefore the *Book of Changes* says, “[The family that] accumulates wholesomeness is certainly to have superabundant happiness, and [the family that] accumulates evil surely to have superabundant misery.”²¹⁷ The [*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*]-*sūtra* says, “There are no self, no one who creates [karma], and no one who receives [reward and retribution], yet good and evil karma does not perish.”²¹⁸ This precisely indicates that the teaching of causality (i.e., Buddhism) usually indicates being gradual while the teaching that includes [instruction for the future] (i.e., Confucianism) is very magnanimous. Could it be said that what [Confucianism] is engaged in lies in this, and what it lacks lies in that?

Your discussion is beautiful but it is, from the beginning, merely speech that goes around and around in circles. I hope that you will pick up new [elements] and expound something different in order to wash away the delusions of all ages, make the level and easy way wider and smoother, and greatly pierce through the accumulated hindrances. I deeply wish that you, Great Precept Master, will graciously accept my clear sincerity.

Presented respectfully by your disciple Li Miao.

[Faming’s Response to Li Miao]

I, Shi Faming, inform you.

A great discussion has been bestowed on me here. I spent time to respectfully read this. This [discussion] is as fragrant as an orchid that blooms in a dark gorge, and as clean as a gentle breeze. My caliber is not as sharp as peaked frost, and my movement is not [as skillful as] that of chef Sheng.²¹⁹ I am inclined to be contrary to reason and alone am frustrated by many doubts. This is truly because my expression is poor and my point of argument is not lucid, and [therefore] severe criticisms are ranged just as stars [in the sky].

I, a silly person, think that doubting something obscure, placing one’s mind in what is wonderful, examining through seeing the [Buddha’s] manifestation, bowing and singing praises, and being moved by [the Buddha who] mysteriously transforms are all guides to reach the [Buddhist] Way and

a happy occasion to cleanly ascend [toward the attainment of buddhahood]. Therefore, placing one's mind [in what is wonderful] and examining through seeing [the Buddha's manifestation] may both be recommended, and both doubt and verification should be practiced. Would it be possible to give up seeing the manifestation [of the Buddha], promptly forget the [Buddha's] brilliant appearance, [consider that the Buddha] equalizes the path with that of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, take [Buddhism] to follow the same pattern as worldly instruction, and think that [the Buddha's] emitting light and causing the earth to quake are empty speech for nothing?

The *dharmakāya* is quiet and still and the wondrous physical form [of the Buddha] is calm. Therefore he is able to hide and show himself in accordance with the times, and his course of action is inscrutable. When he manifests himself he appears taking advantage of thusness (Skt. *tathā*). When he hides himself he is well gone (i.e., attains emancipation; Skt. *sugata*). When we seek the purpose in conformity with these words, what mistake could there be between [the Buddha's appearance and disappearance] and the ten epithets?²²⁰

The glow after [the Buddha hid himself] shines brightly enough for the decadent world. How can those who have faith [in the Buddha] be more doubtful about [the Buddha's manifestation] since [the glow] is just like the [weak] light of a firefly or candlelight? How can Buddhist monks who properly face the [bright] morning sun stand shoulder to shoulder with Buddhist laypeople? Buddhist pagodas, images, scriptures, and books are replete all over the world. How can those who learn [Buddhism] feel sorry about a lack of testimony?

Furthermore, in the meanings of the Seven Classics to which you refer, the future is included; [for instance,] “[The family that] accumulates wholesomeness is certainly to have superabundant happiness and [the family that] accumulates evil is surely to have superabundant misery.” [In Buddhism,] even though people are born and die one after another and successively change into a new generation, it is impossible [for them] not to receive the reward and retribution for good and evil karma [they have created]. This is extensively clarified in [the law of] the three periods of existence, which is even clearer than the Seven Classics. I have inquired into this in writings and inspected it in reality. Thus I accept what you say.

You say in your previous discussion, [however,] “Regarding the [Five] Thearchs, the [Three] Augusts, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius, their teachings

are limited to this world. Matters of the next life were left intact and they did not discuss them. Therefore they did not discriminate about hiding or appearing, declining or rising, expedient or reality.” This seems to contradict [your assertion above]. Which point shall I take in reason? “A man yields to no one when he is doing what is right.”²²¹ I humbly wish to hear your profound opinion about this.

In my previous letter I gave a rough account of the appearance and latency of the Highest Sage (i.e., the Buddha), but the significance [of my argument] is unclear and my expressions were vague. I will carefully make a further examination in detail. I would like to propagate the highest Way together with you.

Sentient beings enjoy a long sleep in the three realms of existence. Their consciousness is eternally confused in the six dusts. They secretly move [from one life to another] and become mere subjects to be preyed upon. They successively go through the transmigration of birth and death. The body serves as an inn and the spirit is equal to a guest who rests there on its way. They suffer transmigration in the three lowest realms of existence. They have hardships passing through the eight difficulties. Happiness and joy are temporary pleasures; anxiety and fear are unending. After the body dies and decays they receive another body.

71c Even a person who is knowledgeable about worldly affairs and eloquent, who peruses numerous books, who understands thoroughly [the studies of] various schools of thinkers, who completely masters [the theories of] the nine schools, who knows that “Birth and death have their determined appointment, and wealth and high position depend on Heaven,”²²² from whom even spiritual beings demand nothing, and about whose future sages and saints are unable to predict, may not avoid the case of clouding his mind with wrong views, disturbing his thought with suspicion, relying on sorcery, surrendering to talismans and incantations, hoping for right by sticking to wrong, expecting the truth by depending on falsehood, stupidly loitering between two different thoughts, or hesitating [at the parting of] two ways. Even if [the Buddha] were to emit light and cause the earth to quake, could [a person in such a condition] see it?

Consequently, profound scriptures are circulated and expedients wait in array for a chance to take action. When action is taken, [the minds of sentient beings] assuredly sense it. After sensing it there is a response to it. If we let

our determination rest in the tranquil house and settle our moral fortitude in the profound state, we will clarify that our life is as transient as the morning dew and discern that [the law of the three periods of existence] is not unfounded. We slacken the reins in the way of purity and tighten them in the streets of evil and falsehood. If we plant virtue and remove weeds, virtue will grow densely and luxuriantly. If we plant merit and pour [the water of] right on this, [merit] will branch out with a thick foliage. If we cultivate integrity and maintain it through hardships, competing for time even in a very short period, if we keep ourselves free from immorality, vying with the sun setting in the west, and if we embrace sincerity and hold aspirations, then our minds will be consequently understood. How could we not be intimately illuminated by the brilliant luster [of the Buddha] and see his mysterious transformation?

Taking examples from what the ears and eyes perceive and what may be seen in a dream, [there are the following cases]. Emperor Ming of the [Later] Han dynasty awoke to the Sage (i.e., the Buddha) on the basis of a dream he had. The great Dharma was thereupon transmitted [into China]. Monarchs sincerely devote themselves to take refuge in [the Buddha's] virtue. Outstanding persons adjust themselves and abide by the [Buddhist] edification. *Śramaṇas* stand shoulder to shoulder with princes. Buddhist monks and nuns do not bow to emperors. Who considers the ninety-six [heterodox schools] to be as lofty as [Buddhism]?

At the time Emperor Wu of the Song dynasty first ascended to the throne, he dreamed of a Buddhist monk, carrying an almsbowl to beg [for food], who then addressed him, “You gave a bowl of food to Vipaśyin Buddha in your previous life. [Because of this] you attained the throne in this life.” [The emperor] dispatched a messenger to ask Eminent Huiyan (363–443) to prove whether [what was said in the dream] was true or false. Eminent Huiyan immediately sent the *Sutra on the Seven Buddhas* (*Qi fo jing*) to present [to the emperor] for his perusal.

Sun Quan (181–252), a ruler of Wu state, was at first doubtful of Buddhism. He thought that as there was no mysterious efficacy [the teaching] should be stopped and discarded. Sun Quan subsequently obtained a relic [of the Buddha]. [The relic] cast bright light in his palace, it could not be broken [by hitting with] metal or iron [rods], and it could not be melted through metallurgy.

Jianchu Temple seen today in the capital was [built in connection with this incident].²²³

In Wu County there was a stone Buddhist image that floated on the sea. Daoist monks, sorcerers, and more than a hundred of their followers held talismans and danced to the beat of drums but they were not able to move [the image] even an inch. Five or six Buddhist monks and four men whose family name was either Zhu or Zhang approached and respectfully welcomed it. Then they succeeded in lifting up [the image]. [This image] remains now at North Temple in Wu County. Among those who are extremely sincere there is no one who does not have the receptivity [of the Buddha's power]. The Zhu and Zhang families believe in Buddhism from generation to generation because they saw this miracle happen.²²⁴

Guo Wenju greatly worshiped the Three Treasures. His right faith was firm and clear. He once groped for a fish bone [that was stuck a tiger's throat]. He had deep discernment regarding what is safe and what is dangerous.

72a Eminent [Yu Fa]lan brushed off a heavy coat of snow from a ferocious animal.²²⁵ Eminent [Zhu Fa]hu moved a dried-up spring, from which water flowed out in response.²²⁶

All [these people] were equally outstanding in lofty conduct and surpassed ordinary people in pure spirit. They all exhibited extraordinary behavior which was fully recorded by the people of the world. In addition to these [there are more miraculous events], but they are too numerous to mention.

I have been lazy in studying since my youth up to now, when I have gray hair. I feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information. I simply tried to show [my opinion] with sincerity. My words are impolite and my expressions are plain. It may not be necessary to take notice of [my opinion]. I am afraid that this does not serve as [anything good]. I am humbled by shame and awe as a consequence of [my criticism].

Presented respectfully [by Faming].

The *Discourse to Clarify Buddhism* composed by Layman Zong [Bing] of Jingzhou says,²²⁷ “Bo Yi said in the *Book of Mountains and Seas (Shanhai jing)*, ‘In the country of Shendu the people are very dear to others and love one another.’ In Guo Pu’s commentary on the book it is said, ‘The country we formerly called [Shen]du is Tianzhu (i.e., India) where Futu (Buddhism) originated.’” (The term *futu* is *fotu*, “the Buddha’s purpose”).

“Liu Xiang’s *Biographies of Arrayed Transcendents* (*Liexian zhuan*) states that seventy-four [of the transcendents] are found in the Buddhist scriptures. These are scholars’ [views of limited scope]. Again, it was not [during the reign of] Emperor Ming of the [Later] Han dynasty that [Buddhism] began [in China].”

“The eminent Buddhist monk Fotudeng was a kindhearted sage at the time of Shi Le and [Shi] Hu. [Fotudeng] told Shi Hu, ‘In the city of Linzi county (in present-day Shandong province) there is the old site of Ayuwang (i.e., King Aśoka) Temple where there is still a [buddha] image, and the dew basin is buried in the earth more than twenty *zhang* under a big tree in a deep forest.’ An envoy of [Shi] Hu looked for them, relying on the illustration, and found everything [Fotudeng] had mentioned. Recently, when Yao Lüe’s uncle was a king of Jin, he saw a bright light at the site of Ayuwang Temple, so called by the elders, in Puban of Hedong. Seeking [the origin of the light,] he had [his men] dig there and obtained relics of the Buddha in a silver case placed inside a stone container. The brightness was extraordinary. Following [Yao] Lüe, [the king of Jin] came out onto the bank of the Ba River to see [the relics arrive]. Today *bhikṣus* live in a new temple [where the relics are worshiped].

“From the observation of these facts, [we can see that] a long time has passed since Buddhist practices were transmitted to the land of Qi and Jin. The reason [the transmission of Buddhism] was not mentioned in the three commentaries [on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*] (i.e., the *Zuozhuan*, the *Gongyang*, and the *Guliang*) is similar to the reason why in the history books written by Gan Bao and Sun Sheng (i.e., the *Jinji* and the *Jinyangqiu*) there are no remarks about the Buddha. The subtle [Buddhist] edification is, however, really obvious. During the Jin period [Buddhism] flourished in the Jiangzuo area (present-day Jiangsu province).”

**The Letter of King Wenxuan Given
to Kong Zhigui, Palace Aide to
the Censor-in-Chief, in Order
to Dispel Doubts, together
with the Answer**

I closely read your letter line by line. I have long worried that groundless words always impair the right path and drastic measures harm purity and

peace. The *Mengzi* says, “A monarch should not be fond of wisdom. A monarch should not be fond of courage. Excessive courage and wisdom produce trouble and disasters. What he abides by is exactly that he should take love and justice as the foundation.”²²⁸ Today, since studying Śākyamuni’s teaching I have realized for the first time from where this statement derives. By pledging to and practicing [this statement], I would like people in both high and low positions to equalize their good points. Furthermore, I will use an illustration for liberation: “Nothing is gained and nothing is lost. The small contains the large.”²²⁹ Regarding the phenomenal world, it does not spontaneously deserve to be mentioned.

The goal of the teaching of the truth (i.e., Buddhism) and the secular teaching (i.e., Confucianism) is simply the same. Because those who practice [either of the teachings] have not mastered this, inconsistent views arise indiscriminately. You say, “One who accumulates karma stays in faith.” In that case, this would mean that speech and action go against each other. Can it be said to be great filial piety that while attending one’s parents a person respects his parents on the one hand and injures or wounds [his own body, a gift from his parents] on the other?²³⁰ I have never heard of such a thing.

72b The deeds of a person of virtue are not something to injure heartlessly but something to increase his goodness. The moral conduct of an honest person does not form his virtue through greed and theft. If things were like this, would it be possible to reject taking refuge in the Three Treasures and observing the five precepts even for a moment? Would it be possible to abandon the ten wholesome acts and the eightfold holy path to enlightenment even for a short time? I have not seen a case where the foundation is treated lightly while the branches are valued. This is what is called “The root has already been inclined and its branches and leaves follow it afterward.”²³¹ Now you say, “The two paths are separate and different from each other. How could it be possible to follow [both]?” I see that this statement is merely superficial talk. It is not that you have not seen what is discussed in sutras and Vinaya texts. Why do you incline your determination only to one side (i.e., Confucianism) and bury the [common] path [to Buddhism and Confucianism]?

A person of learning does not usually leave the secular world to give instruction. The teaching that conforms to the ways of the world can be understood. If it is said that this Dharma vainly consists only of deception and

falsehood, the doubts of [the people] increase and [they think] it should be destroyed. I will, then, precisely state the cause. After all, how many people who are filial to their parents and respectful to their siblings at home are there in our numerous communities? Would it then be possible to reprimand various instructions and admonitions for the reason that there are not many [such good people], and to burn all the classics, history books, and admonitory works? At present you are hesitant to accept Buddhism. How different is [your case] from this example? Therefore, those who take refuge in the excellent Dharma originally do not show their minds with decorum and respect, and those who respectfully admire and worship [Buddhism] do not, from the beginning, forget other people and think only of themselves.

Today, those who courteously overcome their own desires are precisely only your group of people. Together you now intend to leave behind arrogance, remove haughtiness, restrain sensual desires, control greedy desires, cultivate politeness and modesty, learn how to be respectful, admire benevolence and righteousness, and deepen your filial piety toward your parents and respect for your siblings. You impose [these practices] upon yourselves through extensive charity, propagate them with philanthropy, praise them with outstanding talent, and promote them with wondrous capability. Why would you then be ashamed of yourselves in the eyes of spiritual beings? To diligently urge yourselves to carry out the practices is exactly seen here. Although I am not able to respectfully follow [your opinion], I do not forget this in my mind. [The jade that] glows in the night has not yet been thrown to you but you have already stood up and placed your hand on your sword [for naught].²³² Even though you seek to hope for morality together, don't you instead feel more ashamed? This must be because you have not seen the situation. Therefore you merely have expectations in ordinary faith. What I have in my mind is not this. I often take it seriously that [my faith] is not yet great enough.

The Office of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs primarily exhorts the teaching of the five kinds of principles of human relationships.²³³ Together we earnestly perform these good acts in order to act in accordance with freedom from desire and cause those who deceive and flatter others to reform themselves through merely viewing the gate [of the Office of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs], or cause those who make an outward show without sincerity and who have loose morals to improve their

behaviors only through stepping into the yard [of the Office of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs], equalize [the Office of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs] to that mansion which sets our hearts at rest (i.e., a Buddhist temple), and make [the Office of the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs] equal to the tower of freedom from desire (i.e., a pagoda). Wouldn't this be good?

First, we respectfully follow the benevolence bestowed by the emperor all over the world. Second, we respectfully receive the affectionate wholesomeness granted to us by the crown prince. Simply, what I am vigilant of morning and night is precisely the concern that my feeling about this is not satisfied.

[People of the world] are fond of idly speaking on a great variety of subjects. They say they do so because they wish for wholesomeness. They have not been aware of the important point of harming the edification. Even if someone tries to be loyal to his country and filial to his parents through deception, if he tries to show love and justice through flattering and pleasing others, if he tries to make the complaisance proper to the rule of propriety through false actions, or if he tries to be irreproachable through pretense, if he can overcome his own desires even for a single day all under Heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him,²³⁴ not to mention that if he were able to do so for more than ten days or a month [the conditions] would be better than expected.

72c Frankly speaking, I certainly feel bitter about the fact that there are not many cases like this in which wrongs have been corrected. If [you think that] this trouble has not yet spread, I, an old vulgar shallow person, deeply regret it. Certainly you must admonish yourselves to correct the contradictions and develop what you have not yet mastered. Why do you think that [Buddhism] hurts the basis of filial piety and damages the foundation of principles? Alas! To have trouble in my mind is not something I wish for. If this issue can be abandoned I would be happy to hear other good points.

Furthermore, you say that it is not necessary to exhort the people to observe the precepts, and that instead we should cause those from the lower stratum of the society to do good acts voluntarily. If a teaching is propagated in this way without fail, Fangxun (i.e., Yao) should have waited for the four wicked ones to reform themselves and attain sagehood [instead of banishing them to the four distant regions],²³⁵ and Yu Shun should have waited for [his unworthy son] Shangjun to become wise and his virtue to become clear. Is it possible

to hope to fulfill wholesomeness in this way? Your intention like this should have what is broadly corrected. In that case, we should question the frugality of the earthen steps of Yao's [residence],²³⁶ praise the beauty of a temporary abode for an emperor on a tour, speak ill of the stinginess of Yu's [residence with its roof of] couch grass and thatch, esteem the distinction of the Efang Palace [of the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty], feel ashamed of the correct attitude of Ji An [in the service of Emperor Wu of the Former Han dynasty], and honor Zhu Tuo's obsequious manner.²³⁷ Regarding all other honorable conduct, such as the virtues of integrity, purity, sincerity, modesty, and courteousness, we must change our ways and turn away from them. What practice would we then be able to cultivate?

Generally, when we hear a speech we assuredly judge the [speaker's] behavior. When we see a behavior we certainly search for the reason [behind that behavior]. If your reason does not contradict [the truth] and your behavior does not transgress, please do not reach for strange doctrines. Truly different paths arrive at the same goal. You need not be consistent in a minor point.

Recently there are many people who agree with you in this intention. Today, I convey my opinion in this letter. Those who do not concentrate their attention harbor doubt and delusion in their minds. His Majesty made this known publicly and widely. I have briefly expressed his thought but it seems that nothing is clear. The issue easily becomes troublesome in a letter. I cannot completely express my intention after all. I will meet with you one of these days and make this clear at that time.

Everyone has a mind of his own, just as everyone's face is unique. Could it ever happen that every person's face is the same and his or her intelligence is equal [to that of others]? When we examine that there are differences in the physical appearances of people, we fully see that their spirits are separate from each other. Once this determination has been made, the issue is no longer something that requires further discussion. Once someone goes against the [right] path, how could [his mind] be changed by explanation? When I saw you, even though you clarified the issue completely in your statement we did not reach this point. This is truly because there was already a difference between the two parties, yours and mine. It would be fortunate if each party could maintain the same small difference [as there is now]. There is simply no need to fruitlessly discuss right or wrong and slander each other without restraint.

73a As for resting one's mind and coming to have faith, it is not that the virtuous people of former times did not have this determination. I consider now that following wholesomeness is my happiness. Therefore I try to take the conceit out of myself when meeting with people. If you think that your virtue surpasses those of the ancient wise people, your sacredness exceeds that of former virtuous people, your intelligence excels that of a large number of people, and your rank is the highest of human nobility, then you can enjoy a free and leisurely life outside the mundane world, edify people in your own way, place your mind at a lofty level, have nothing more to seek, and be self-sufficient. Moreover, if you step back and imitate the virtuous people of former times, I am afraid that you will not be able to be far apart from them. You vainly hold the two paths (i.e., Buddhism and Daoism) in hand. You alone are separate from the wonderful Dharma.

If we were to meet each other in a leisurely manner I would not have said anything from the beginning. My intention is not light; I simply show you what is in my mind. I will see you one of these days and discuss all of this in detail. Recently I wrote a two-fascicle work, the *Explanation on Dispelling Delusions (Shizhi)*. I think you may have already seen it at some other place. I now send it and show it to you. If you have already read it, please send it back to me. I would be happy if there is no need for you to further trouble yourself [with it]. If you have not yet read it you should read through my intention for my sake. Originally I did not hope that other people would change their minds [by reading this]. It was written only to dispel my own doubts and delusions. When you read this you will surely clap your hands in glee.

I, Xiao Ziliang, have thus written.

Kong Zhigui's Letters, together with [Prince Xiao's] Answer

[Kong Zhigui's (447–501) Letter]

I, Zhigui, explain.

I receive with respect your benevolent favor from early on. I have deeply enjoyed the instruction given by you together with great mercy. Thanks to your kindness I will assuredly complete my life. I dare to now show my sincerity and humbly pray to illuminate your mind.

My family has occupied a noble position for a long time, respectfully following [the teaching of] Li Lao (i.e., Daoism). We set our minds to become void and calm and make our conduct pure and moderate. We tread upon all the depths of wholesomeness in our behavior and expect for the abode of the highest level of obedience in our minds. I revere and hold to the path my ancestors followed and cut off [defilement] even as tiny as a speck of autumn dust. I still do not dare lose what my faith heads toward.

Regarding the brilliant teaching of the Great Awakened One and the right origin of transcendental wisdom, these are what I have come to respect in the course of my life. I have not been against them from the beginning. Usually when I infer the ultimate principle, [all] principles come to the same point. When I place them in the culmination of the ultimate law of nature, I see that the culmination of the ultimate law of nature does not hold more than one.

Since the time I began to respectfully receive your instruction, I rely on and come close to your style. You guide me through the right vehicle (i.e., the right teaching), and lead me with the universal precepts. You caused me to promptly remove the six kinds of hindrances,²³⁸ and to precisely clarify the five desires. I reformed myself. I bow with my head to the ground and join my hands [in reverence]. I am willing to abide by this. I respectfully take refuge in [Buddhism]. I have pure faith from early on. Regarding the important precepts and minor articles, I have already observed half of them.

The reason I have not converted to the [teaching of those who hold the three kinds of] robes and an almsbowl (i.e., Buddhism) and admire the teaching of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi is in fact based on my family profession. It would simply be unbearable for me to one day suddenly give up [Daoism]. There is an origin in the world of my mind. I do not wish to conceal myself with regret throughout the morning. Since the two teachings (i.e., Buddhism and Daoism) are almost the same, I originally do not dare be unwilling to transfer my mind [to Buddhism]. In fact, I truly praise the profession of my ancestors and simply cannot bear to give up the determination of my family. How could I not happily think of the Mahayana teaching and cordially make up my mind to pursue [the teaching of] the One Vehicle? Needless to say, I respectfully rely on you who equally govern propriety and morals. Furthermore, I must recite with reverence your pure faith.

73b As to the preface to the *Jingzhuzi (Jingxing Famen)* that you wrote, you clarify the hearts of ten thousand gates [of teachings] and propagate the profound tenor of a hundred million sections. Even though I think to say something against this, my mind is unconsciously infatuated with it. Further, I did not foresee the greatness of your skillful guidance was so wondrous. Extensiveness and simplicity are arranged from point to point and the exquisite light shines out. Even if I intend to stop this, I am still unable to do so. Even if I did want to go against this how could I avoid facing it? Until now I was not intelligent indeed but from now on I will make it my business to practice your words.²³⁹

My silly mind just adheres to my family law. I dare not distinguish Śākya-muni from Laozi in my mind. For the first time I made inquiries about the past of my family. We once clarified the significance [that Buddhism and Daoism are] related to each other. On one occasion, we taught this to Zhang Rong, who then wrote the *Discourse on the Way to Reach the Origin [of the Two Teachings] (Tongyuan lun)*. His [pseudonymous] name is Shaozi. What Shaozi clarified [in the *Discourse*] is how to combine Daoism and Buddhism. [Zhang] Rong's comprehension of this derives from my family. Since my family's [view] is exactly so, how could I obstruct [that way]? In the beginning I hesitated to take this trace but now I always respect both [Buddhism and Daoism] from the bottom of my heart. On one hand, I have not vainly abandoned [the teaching of] the Yellow Emperor and Laozi, but on the other I take refuge in [the teaching for] the right, perfect enlightenment.

I do not expect to suddenly attain great awakening one morning. [But if I am able to attain] awakening, it will be entirely owing to your guidance. I am extremely happy about this.

Sincerely yours.

[Kong Zhigui's Second Letter]

I am writing to you.

Again, I have personally investigated how Daoism differs from Buddhism. [The difference] simply comes from the fact that [Daoism] does not completely discuss the ultimate. When Daoists discuss the ultimate they say that it exists in all the heavens, but Buddhists despise this [assertion] and say that it does not go beyond the three realms of existence. This is [the difference] between

the exquisite and the coarse, or between far and near. [If we see only from this point, Daoists] would really feel ashamed of themselves in the great system, but when we examine it the Daoist teaching establishes a stratagem, which is similar to the idea found in Confucius' books, that the ultimate is only Heaven and Earth. This probably comes from the fact that what common people see are only the two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth).

Teachings are originally based on the mind and are adaptable to all people. [Teachings] employ whatever people see, and then the people follow them. On the point of [people] following [a teaching], both [Buddhism and Daoism] make an exhaustive study of wondrous things. Therefore the "pair of bellows" mentioned by Laozi and the "non-self" spoken of by Vimalakīrti match Heaven and Earth in virtue.²⁴⁰ In the School of Changes there is the Grand Terminus.²⁴¹ Based on the fact that people worship Heaven, this caused people to further worship what is even more wondrous. Accordingly, if there is a ground at the end of the ultimate, its profundity would certainly tower over Heaven.

Laozi also says, "There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth."²⁴² This means that the Way already exists beyond Heaven. Rather, [Laozi] does not take Heaven as the Way. How is this different from the fact that in the Buddhist school an arhat is indicated as one who has attained the fourth fruition and yet, just as in the *Shengman jing* (Skt. *Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanāda-sūtra*), it is known that he still has more steps [to cultivate for enlightenment]? Daoists' worship of the zenith of Heaven is similar to the Buddhists' [notion of] the fruit of arhatship. The Buddhist intention is not limited to arhatship. The Daoist [intention] is not confined to Heaven, either. Then and only then do I believe that what Daoists consider to be the Way is definitely connected with the Buddhist Way in origin. What my present mind relies on, then, follows the same direction as yours.

The Daoist school asserts abiding by wholesomeness. This is consequently the same as the Buddhist school. In the points common to both [Buddhism and Daoism] I do not carelessly abandon the Daoist teaching. In the points where Daoism differs [from Buddhism], I follow and join your Mahayana teaching. I beg you to dare not lay down a further difference [between Buddhism and Daoism] today.

I truthfully keep [your instruction] in mind and stick to it. I have respectfully written of my sincere view. I humbly wish for you to take notice of the penitence of an insignificant person [like me] and understand my initial position [as a follower of Daoism]. I will withdraw and repent of my initial [position]. I am in awe and reverence.

Sincerely yours.

[Kong Zhigui's Third Letter]

On the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month, a man of the province, Palace Aide to the Censor-in-chief Kong Zhigui explains.

73c I am very glad for a chance to completely express my thoughts. Originally reason is not dual. People make their choice from many paths, discuss with and criticize one another's views, and so on. This is something I usually deplore, sighing. It is, however, proper if one is led to Daoism in the beginning. Those who are taught and learn [a teaching] cannot [understand this], but since you have extensively proven various Buddhist scriptures, I am not concerned that you will fall into and remain in that path. I will meet you one of these days and differentiate one from another.

[Prince Xiao's Answer]

Prince Xiao's answer says, "This letter from you is very good. You should show it widely to those who have not understood the point."

The Letters of Two Dharma Teachers, Daoheng and Daobiao, Responding to Yao [Xing Zi]lüe, the Usurper Ruler of the Later Qin Dynasty, Who Exhorts Them to Give up the [Buddhist] Way, together with the Letters of the Ruler Yao

The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Two Eminent Monks, [Dao]heng and [Dao]biao

You are delighted with the tranquility of the essence of the Way. You keep the Dharma gate in mind and stick to it. Your immaculate integrity is truly commendable.

I, however, reign over the world and require talent to govern the nation. I desire to summon [able] people who live in sylvan seclusion with satisfaction and to search for [talented people] who live in obscurity at a butcher's shop.

Needless to say, you two [Dharma teachers] seriously attend to [Buddhist practice]; I am already fully aware of this. Each of you receives the ability to manage the trend of the times, and yet hides yourself in a place to keep yourself clean and pure. Does this indicate the most genuine feeling with which I seek the wise and the deep interest by which you both propagate [the Buddhist teaching] together? The ancient people had a saying, “There is a very fast horse in the country but no one rides it, and the people only anxiously search for it.”²⁴³ This refers to us.

Today I will make an Imperial edict to Director of the Imperial Secretariat [Yao] Xian, in order to take up your meritorious minds of the two vehicles. Wouldn't it be great for you to glorify the times and benefit the world through the capacity of your spotless fame? If someone keeps the significance of the [Buddhist] Way in mind, is it necessary for him to be a monk or layman? I hope you will understand my thoughts about this. You cannot make “to remain faithful to your principle” a good excuse.

[The Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao, Responding to Yao]

We respectfully received the Imperial decree dated the twenty-eighth day of the last month. You will make an Imperial edict to the Director of the Imperial Secretariat in order to take the Dharma robes from us, Daoheng and Daobiao. Since the moment we received the decree we have been sad in fear. We have lost our composure and are ashamed and bewildered in every action. There is nowhere to place ourselves.

We, [Dao]heng and [Daobiao], are truly stupid and incompetent in natural abilities and endowments. It has not been long since we were imbued with the Dharma. What we keep in mind is serious and our attachment to [the Dharma] is also deep. We humbly received the favorable edict in which we are praised above what we deserve. You make explanations, instructions, and encouragement for us. Even though you speak and reason in every possible way, we really feel that we have no moment of ease.

We made a vow that throughout our lifetimes we will be under Dharma robes. Concurrently, we have been learning the Buddhist Dharma since our youth and we are not familiar with worldly affairs. If we vainly accept an extraordinary appointment we will end up having made no special achievement. Even though we have a reputation for outstanding capability, we are

74a useless to benefit the times. Before seeing even a small amount of help there would be a loss as large as a mountain. We thus do not accept [your offer] for your sake, Your Majesty. Even Emperor Guangwu [of the Later Han dynasty] could allow the recluse Yan [Guang Zi]ling to think freely,²⁴⁴ and King Wen (i.e., Cao Pi) of the Wei kingdom kept Guan Ning's moral principles intact.²⁴⁵ [In either case] the monarchs controlled their lofty ideas and let an ordinary person fulfill his trifling determination. Lenient with the masses, [the monarchs] were content; not to mention Your Majesty who manages the people by means of the [Buddhist] Way. You concurrently propagate the Three Treasures, gather scholars of philosophical principles from all over the world in the capital city, and circulate new and unfamiliar Buddhist scriptures in remote as well as near places. The great Dharma flourishes and prospers upon this.

Now you certainly expound and propagate the magnificent edification, assist in clarifying [the teaching], and arouse its brightness. You have inherited the sound transmitted from Prince Jeta's garden, and you fan the air that remains on Vulture Peak. You have established a model for the coming one thousand years as a path to guide future generations [toward enlightenment]. [Given all of this,] how could we, Daoheng and [Daobiao], alone submit to this bright time and be unable to appeal to you for our ambition?

We humbly pray that you will examine our intention, especially bestow the unrestrained principle which is understood by the less educated, grant a brilliant decree again, and concede our insignificant thought. Then we will bear our gratitude to you even in the underworld and appreciate your virtue, *kalpa* after *kalpa*. We cannot stand trembling with fear. We respectfully report to you.

[The Ruler Yao's Response]

I examined your report, in which you gave a thorough account of your intention. The reason you have to submit to me now is because you are needed by the times. Do not come to this [conclusion] through pushing your true intention. Feel vexed about your politeness, expand your horizons, and respond to my interest. I think you both always have an experience [like this]. I will not grumble anymore. You are only expected to respectfully accept the current government order and make efforts to follow the bodhisattva path.

[The Second Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao]

We, Daoheng and [Daobiao], recently presented [our intention], hoping you would understand when you examined it. We again received your brilliant decree. We are not favored by your sympathy and benevolence. We humbly read it with sorrow and anxiety. We are nearly out of our minds. Your Majesty, your benevolence is as great as Heaven and Earth, and you cause the people to be delighted in their nature. We, [Dao]heng and [Daobiao], received training in Dharma edification when we were young. What our stupid minds hope is that upon our oath, we will be able to complete our trifling lives in the Dharma robes. Nevertheless, you bestow on us undeserved favor, kindly forget our ignorance, and encourage us to propagate the bodhisattva way to save [all sentient beings] without distinction. There is, however, a limit to our determination and power. This [appointment] is really something for which we are not adequate. [Our intention] is not only to excuse ourselves from [the appointment] because we want to live [in a careless way] in our remaining years; we personally think that we must live up to what we foolishly keep in mind.

We humbly pray that you will examine and excuse us for our wholehearted sincerity, and will not blame us for being stubbornly biased, grant us a special benevolent imperial decree, and accede to our trifling feelings. We repeatedly invite your brilliant decree, and accordingly gasp for breath in fear. We are overwhelmed by [the prospect of occupying] the highest [position] of the common people.

We report with reverence to you again.

[The Ruler Yao's Second Response]

I obtained your second report in which you give details. The situation is just as I explained thoroughly in my previous decree. You must open your minds and follow the current government order. Do not annoy me again and again!

[The Third Letter of Daoheng and Daobiao]

In our previous petition presented to the throne the issues to which we, Daoheng and [Daobiao], hold with foolish intention have been thoroughly stated. But since our purity and sincerity are wanting we were unable to move and awaken Your Majesty's mind. We repeatedly received an Imperial decree in

reply [to our petition] but we have not been placed under your benevolence. We are anxious and fearful in our everyday life and our minds are not [restful].

74b Your Majesty cherishes the Way, you efface yourself and accept everything, and there is no limit to your support for the people. We pray that you will reveal your kindness [as vast as] Heaven and Earth and allow us to accomplish one-tenth of our determination. [We wish to be able to] keep the sincerity to which we adhere without fail until we die. If we take part in the offense of breaching an Imperial decree we will contentedly take responsibility for it without resentment. We frequently asked you to listen to our winding [intention]. Consequently, we gasp for breath with fear. We cannot bear the feeling of [committing] transgression [against you].

We report with reverence to you.

**Report to the Throne by the Three Dharma
Teachers Senglüe, Sengqian, and Kumārajīva,
in Response to the Letters of the Ruler Yao,
who Tried to Suspend [the Monkhood of
Dao]heng and [Dao]biao, together with
the Ruler Yao's Letters**

The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Kumārajīva

Several tens of days have passed since I saw you last. My mind is carried back to the day [we met]. It is gradually getting warmer and warmer. How have you been these days? A petty savage tribe started hostilities in a remote area and there is no way to deal with them. I am simply confused in my mind. Everything is mournful. I need talented people in order to manage these things.

Recently I issued an Imperial edict to Daoheng and [Daobiao] and ordered them to take off the robes for arhat and seek the bodhisattva's trace. I think that they are simply hesitating. The Way exists everywhere. You, Dharma teacher, must persuade them. If I only mean to cause them to give up their minds of seeking the Way, why would it be necessary for me to do this (i.e., summon them to join the administration)?

Please convey my best wishes to Holy Priest [Seng]qian. How has he been since I saw him last? I do not know how Superintendent [Seng]lüe has been, either. Since I have too many things to do I am not able to write in

detail. [Dao]heng and [Daobiao] may trouble all holy priests. Please persuade them and cause them to advance in the bodhisattva practice.

The Ruler Yao's Letter Given to Sengqian and Others

I examined what you have presented in your letter, which gives a detailed account of each matter. I think that the virtue of self-righteousness is not as good as the merit of saving both oneself and others, and to remain faithful to one's own principle is not as great as to deliver the people [from suffering]. [Yan Guang] Ziling emulated Emperor Guangwu, [Yan] Junping was arrogant in a marketplace of Shu,²⁴⁶ Zhou Dang refused a stipend from the Han court,²⁴⁷ and Du Wei told Zhuge [Liang] (i.e., Kongming) that he was deaf.²⁴⁸ All these people stubbornly esteemed righteousness. How sufficient are they to judge the essential points [and determine] whether to be silent or to speak out, and to understand the tenor of loftiness and excellence?

At present China is not governed well and the common people have hardships. Having little virtue, I alone try to deal with this bad situation. I expect to find many talented people with whom I might peacefully have the highest level of administration. Even though you Dharma teachers have a quiet concentrated mind in the Dharma gate, you also assist the world and propagate the teaching. Even if you were unable to lead people, edify the times, encourage the people, or manage the state, you praise Xu You, who refused the world in a remote time, and esteem Xie Fu, who had disheveled hair [and resigned from worldly affairs] in the recent past. If the nine tributary streams of the Yellow River overflowed and all the people were to become fish, how could you Dharma teachers, who assist the world and propagate the teaching, apply [your current way]?

Furthermore, for a long time Daoheng and [Daobiao] have kept the instructions of the Dharma in mind. Moreover, their talents are useful enough to help accomplish worldly affairs. Therefore, I simply wish to remove their determination against their will in order to assist my ignorance in administration. If there is a manifestation of meritorious reward [for good conduct] and if the Buddha does not lie, then regarding the achievement of delivering the world from an emergency and the honor of benefiting the times and peacefully governing the country, the merit exists here [in this existence], not over there [in the afterlife]. You should instruct and explain this to each other in order to meet my hopes.

74c

**Report to the Throne by Senglüe, Sengqian,
Kumārajīva, and Others Requesting
[the Ruler Yao] to Cease Removing
[Dao]heng and [Dao]biao from
the [Buddhist] Way²⁴⁹**

We hear that in the highest [governance] people are educated by means of the Way and the people personally take this to be positive, and in the second best a person of virtue governs the world. Therefore brilliant monarchs of ancient times discerned that it is difficult to govern if they go against nature, and they became aware of the reason it is easy to let the people conduct affairs without restriction. Thus, Yao freed Xu You in Mount Ji, Ling (i.e., Lord Wen of Wei state) allowed [Duan] Ganmu to retire to his hermitage in Wei state,²⁵⁰ the founder of the Han dynasty released the four bright men to Mount Zhongnan,²⁵¹ Shudu (i.e., Huang Xian) was summoned for the government during the Han dynasty and yet declined,²⁵² Zai Kui of the [Eastern] Jin dynasty put on coarse clothes in Shan county [in order to avoid the king of Wuling's summon],²⁵³ and Xie Fu became a recluse on Mount Ruoye with disheveled hair. They probably considered that following the nature of the wise is virtuous. Therefore, there are a wise ruler above and those who wear a leather girdle (i.e., common people) below. The manners of hermits give a lesson today.

Regarding Daobiao and [Dao]heng, their virtue is not perfect and prominent now, and their lot lies in remaining faithful to their principle. Furthermore, they learned the profound edification when they were young and they keep the Buddhist Way in mind and maintain it. They are earnestly sincere and their determination is certainly firm, without agitation. As for expounding the subtle Buddhist scriptures and studying what is obscure, they are sufficient to enlighten even children and to help edify [people] about merit. When one can cause people to discern what is evil and what is meritorious, he has the benefit to deliver them from suffering. If the Buddha does not lie, [Dao]biao and [Daobiao] are propagating the teaching [of Vimalakīrti] of Vaiśālī.

We personally heard that recently [Daoheng and Daobiao] often received a favorable Imperial decree that aimed to take the Dharma robes from them. This is like removing feathers from kingfishers perching upon a wintry tree branch, or illuminating lotus flowers under a thick ice. This indeed indicates

Your Majesty's benevolence and friendliness; you spread kindness that is uncommon in the world. Certainly we, [Seng]lüe and other monks, will remember this with tender feelings. We personally have a foolish thought: we think that Your Majesty shakes the rope of morals in order to maintain the whole wide world and spread the net of the nine kinds of virtues in order to catch the world. You fan the profound air before the future millennium and mold love and justice for countless future generations. Even beings outside the universe are moved by your pure virtue and are widely edified [by you]. Within China people make free use of the profound ferry [to enlightenment] and enjoy a free and leisurely life. Ordinary people have no bitterness due to dying in the gutter and widows do not lament stopping weaving [because of the lack of the] woof [thread]. This is really why you bestow the good edification within the country and why [the people in the country] respectfully rely on you.

We, foolish monks, think that although [Dao]heng and [Dao]biao are insignificant individuals and differ a little from others in maintaining their views, they are originally within your net; that is to say, they are subjects for whom Your Majesty edifies the Way.

Formerly Bei assisted in governing the world for twelve years. We have not heard that his Dharma robe was taken away and he [heeded] worldly opinions about his appearance.²⁵⁴ If a person is helpful for the times he will greatly benefit [the world] even if he wears a Buddhist surplice (Skt. *kaṣāya*). Why is it necessary to take away [the Dharma robes from Daoheng and Daobiao]? Buddhist monks and secular people differ from each other in terms of their aptitude. In former times Chao[fu] and [Xu] You upheld their high principles, both Yao and [Xu] You were lofty, and the four bright men [of the Qin dynasty] did not surrender to [the founder of the Han dynasty]. [In these cases] the ruler and the ruled are all equally good. This is the same principle throughout all ages and has been the common manner for one hundred generations.

Moreover, [Daoheng and Daobiao] are not as virtuous as Guan Zhong. They do not deserve having a magnificent carriage [as Guan Zhong had] in the Tangfu village.²⁵⁵ They are not as intelligent as [Zhuge] Kongming. Would they be good enough to receive three calls at the thatched cottage [in the way that Kongming was visited by Liu Bei]?

We pray that Your Majesty will bestow bygone favors on them and comply with their trifling determination. If a ruler does not give too much kindness

75a

and the ruled do not lose their lot, the edification of Emperor Tang (i.e., Yao) will reemerge here and the guests near the Ying River and under Mount Ji (i.e., Chaofu and Xu You) will appear again today.

We, [Seng]lüe and his fellow monks, are ignorant, yet we foolishly present this petition of honest words [to the Throne]. We are afraid of offending your dignity and we gasp in fear afterward.

Senglüe and his fellow monks speak.

**The Letter of Dharma Teacher Huiyuan of
Mount Lu in Response to Huan Xuan, Who
Urges that [Huiyuan] be Removed from
the [Buddhist Way], together with
Huan Xuan's Letter**

Huan Xuan's (369–404) Letter

The ultimate Way is far and remote. The Buddhist principles are subtle and profound. How could this be what ordinary people, who spend time idly, can learn and seek? A *śramaṇa* leaves behind his affection for his family members of the six relations, disfigures his appearance, abstains from delicious food, wears coarse clothes fastened with a rope belt, lives in a mountain resting his head on rocks, separates from worldly affairs eternally, all in the hope that he might have just a bare moment [to attain buddhahood] for a hundred generations. [Nevertheless,] Buddhist monks of the present world, even though they disfigure their appearance, have more [worldly desires] than secular people. What they talk about is the boundary between the Buddhist clergy and secular people. It can be said that they are similar to the man who tried to learn the art of walking at Handan [but forgot his original way of walking] and [finally] crawled back home from there.²⁵⁶ A sage of former times had a saying, “While you do not know life, how can you know about death?”²⁵⁷ [Buddhist monks,] however, torment their bodies and minds throughout their lifetimes and seek the imperceptible happiness of the nether world. This is all a narrow view. They have not mastered the great edification. If they get lost and yet recognize [the need] to return, they will not be far from the right path. They have to consider this well. The movement of Heaven does not let a person stay at a standstill. We will quickly become old [if we waste

time]. It is too late to try to recover [one's youth]. I confer these few words of the utmost importance for you. I will be happy if you can accept my words.

Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan's Response

The Great Way is profound and its principles are abstruse. I cherish this lofty purpose, which is really as you say. Nevertheless, I have renounced the world; accordingly I am a guest from outside this world. Even though I have not fulfilled the virtue of ancient wise people, I am earnestly determined [to seek enlightenment], remove worldly clothing and dress, decline fame, and seek truth. If the other world exists I originally and certainly do not fall short of secular people [in studying it]. [Judging from] my outward appearance, I may seem incomplete [in my determination], but in my mind I have the firmest determination that could cut metal. It can be said that even though you see the appearance [of Buddhist monks] you have not yet come to the truth [behind it]. How sad this is! How sad this is!

[Those who wear coarse clothes] fastened with a rope belt and [who live in the mountains] resting their heads on rocks are [simply hermits]: they look majestic but they are unsubstantial. They are people of a narrow view, not worthy of envy. Even though they discipline their original nature in mountains and forests, how different are they from trees and shrubs? The Way exists in the mind but they falsely consider refining the body to be the true Way. Bian He wept aloud on Mount Jing because he was troubled by the fact that people could not distinguish [jade from stone].²⁵⁸ Formerly we heard the name [of Bian He] and now we see a person [like this]. Therefore, Zhuangzi sighed in lament and said, "Man's life between Heaven and Earth is like a white colt passing by a crevice, [briefly glimpsed and then it suddenly disappears]."²⁵⁹ Examining this, who would be able to stay [in this world] for a long time? Shouldn't you make merit for your future life?

You mentioned that a person who learned the art of walking at Handan had no achievement in the new [style of walking] and lost his original way [of walking], so he employed a man of Handan and crawled back to his hometown. [You also noted] that in a hundred generations there is only a moment [to attain buddhahood]. How can you mix these [two analogies] together to lead to your point?

75b

I already go against worldly affairs. I temporarily place myself amid popular customs because among them I would like to edify those who have not yet been edified. Even though one receives favors [from the emperor] and becomes arrogant, how can he deal with doubt and defilement [in his mind]? [Temporal] glory of one's lifetime is as momentary as a flash of lightning. Whenever things meet, they [eventually] come to part. It is not worthwhile to be greedy. People of shallow views are confused on this point. It can be said that "The scholars of the lowest class, when they hear about the Way, have a great laugh at it."²⁶⁰ They can really be said to be people who are confused and do not know how to return [to the right path].

My body is no better than others' and my talent does not meet the requirements of the world. Therefore, I disfigure my humble appearance (i.e., shave my head) and wear patchwork clothes (Skt. *vastraccheda*). In reason my mind has been unable to deeply meet the profound edification, but nonetheless I keep the institution established by the Great Sage for a long time. How could I give up my original ambition and realize your lofty instruction?

I am growing old with the passing of time and I have not recovered from illness. You then graciously bestowed on me your brilliant consolation. I have mingled feelings of appreciation and joy. Oh, our donor (Skt. *dānapati*)! Your faith is deep and you serve as one to whom the great Dharma entrusts itself. How could you cause even a single wound and damage the foundation [of the great Dharma]? [Your statement] is not the words of Pāpīyas, [the devil king,] who tried to distract [the Buddha's determination]. My expression is poor and I have little knowledge. I did my best to respond to your lofty order. Now this is simply my intention to not go against [your expectations].

**The Letters of Dharma Teacher Sengyan to
Decline the Provincial Governor of Qingzhou
Liu Shanming's Recommendation for the
Official Appointment of the Cultivated
Talent (Xiucan), together with
Liu Shanming's Responses**

[The Letter of Dharma Teacher Sengyan]

I renounced the world in my youth and separated from secular affairs from my early years. I enjoy myself with the Buddhist teaching in my mind

and in my determination I have turned my back on the Confucian teaching. Even though I have not accorded with the place where the Buddhist Way is practiced I am originally far from the instruction of [Confucius, who was born near] the Zhu River. I am just now thinking to feed my body to a beast, hoping to achieve the merit (i.e., the attainment of buddhahood) beyond nine *kalpas*,²⁶¹ and to share my flesh to feed a dove, intending to ride on clouds [beyond the four seas]. How could I let my wings hang down in the middle of agricultural land, turn back the path [I have come] toward the place of confinement, give up the comfort of being in this path, and hold these nuisances of the Imperial court in my arms?

Moreover, officials are [selected] based on [their good] ability, and good talent is certainly necessary for official ranks. There has not been a case where someone who is favored by an undeserved recommendation can maintain his glory to the end. Therefore, I respectfully return the order to you and I pray that you will withdraw the excessive favor. Please do not cause me to make you sigh in lamentation again, just as Lord [Cao, who lamented the talented people who had declined his rewards], and do not make me feel ashamed of myself once more, just as Wang Zhou did. The summons for replacement of the Cultivated Talent is not something for which I am fit.

I, Shi Sengyan, present this.

[Liu Shanming's] Response to the Buddhist Monk Sengyan

The book *Zhuangzi* explains that it is a mistake to leave one's native place in his youth.²⁶² A Buddhist scripture depicts the confusion of a poor son [who does not know how to return to his father].²⁶³ Every time I read these books I heave a long sigh.

It is important to respectfully care for our own hair and skin, to become famous in future history, and to reverently make [the names of our forebears] well known. I will humbly make [one's family name] widely known. When we seek sacred words far away, this teaching (i.e., Buddhism) is superlative. When I apply the various familiar matters to me, the reality confuses my reason and feeling. If Gautama were to see this he would not oppose [my observations] indeed. Moreover, you possess skill in debating and arguing others down over trifling points and knowledge to penetrate ancient and modern times. If you tear my cap and do not doubt, or if you pull out my root and

are not aware of it,²⁶⁴ [beings of] the nether world will be surprised and people in both distant and near regions will be startled.

75c In ancient times Lü Shang (i.e., Taigong Wang) held a fishing rod at the age of eighty and set his mind on fishing. This is because his time had not yet come. You have not yet come to drown and perish. I simply hope that you will be able to have as many good points as other people have. If you do not do so, wouldn't that be sad?

I am grateful to have been appointed to an office in my native place, where I hope to find bright people who live in obscurity. I will recommend them to the Imperial court. They will certainly put their talents and virtue to the best use. Therefore I would like to lead those who have not been led and cause those who have not risen [in the world] to rise. Many of the things you said in your letter are contradictory to your true intention. If you were to make an absurd statement would this be what I expect?

Formerly Wang Xiang [of the Jin dynasty] was a woodman at [Lin]yi and, at the age of sixty, for the first time he assented to a provincial order.²⁶⁵ Gong-sun Hong [of the Former Han dynasty] pastured pigs on a beach. When he already had gray hair he was only then recommended to serve in the central government as a wise man from a local school. He finally attained the rank of prime minister, had an audience with the emperor, and improved the situation of the world.²⁶⁶ His way was luxuriant in those days and his reputation has been transmitted for a long time. What do you think about this? I respectfully declare my true thoughts and feelings. Please reconsider [my request].

I, Liu Jun reply to you.

Sengyan's Second Letter in Response [to Liu Shanming]

You again gave me a gracious instruction!

An excellent purpose again descended upon me. You give the *Zhuangzi* in evidence and invoke a Buddhist scripture. The basis of your theory is bright. When I wish to yield to the principles [of the *Zhuangzi* and the Buddhist scripture] and argue with my feelings I merely have no ground. Even though lofty righteousness appears as a phenomenon and subtle words enter into mind, things in which my despicable mind persists can be still understood.

The reason is because one who knows people is wise and one who examines oneself is intelligent. I truly feel uneasy if I were to forget my lot and

rush on recklessly. Formerly Wei Zhi complied with an order and had the humiliation of losing his reputation at last, and Zun Zu was invited for service because of his ability and in the end he invited disgrace like that of the swan who tried to perch on a willow branch.²⁶⁷ If I forget my lot and intend to imitate them (i.e., Wei Zhi and Zun Zu) in order to follow the traces of Wang [Xiang] and Lü [Shang], I am afraid that I will be like [the carp that failed to ascend a waterfall and become a dragon,] exposed its gills at Longmen, and injured its forehead many times. The ability [to steal] is the same crime as [actually] stealing things. To recommend an incapable person results in both the recommender and the recommended being simultaneously despised. Shouldn't we refrain from this?

Moreover, "They say, 'It is according to the rules of propriety,'" but this does not mean only gems and silk by propriety.²⁶⁸ Is the practice filial piety limited to maintaining only one's own skin? Therefore, even if [King Sivi] cut his own flesh [in order to save a dove], no one jeered at him in former ages, and even if he had his hair cut he still had the chance to join [the administration of the state] in the past. This likely means that even if one were to cut off his own hand, if he preserves the rest of his body perfectly, what he has kept is great [indeed]. Why is this strange? I pray that you will pardon my foolish persistence and grant a favor to allow me to achieve my humble ambition.

I, Shi Sengyan, present this.

[Liu Shanming's] Second Response

I received a letter from you again. I see for the first time your deep ideas. Your clear realization can be said [to cause] both sides to look at each other and smile. You have the knowledge to examine many currents [of teachings] and the wisdom to embrace the innermost of principles. Every time you investigate the source of the relationship between [people's] receptivity and [the Buddha's] responsive activity, you look for a theory as thoroughly as if you were sorting stones. Why don't you always come to the point in every sentence and clearly see the foundation of the principles? Furthermore, if your humility makes you more brilliant, you go against the manner of yielding a seat to the wise. You are just like someone who follows an overturned chariot and has no regret about falling in its tracks.²⁶⁹ While it is not difficult to recognize this, it is not easy to practice it.

76a Three years after a person leaves his country he is happy when he sees someone who looks like a member of his family. Isn't it sad that he left his hometown such a long time ago? Today, if you make a vow to let go of the heavy burden [as a Buddhist monk] from your shoulders and sit idly, you will feel like giving up being a traveler and returning home. You will ascertain good aspects of brotherly love and deepen good relations to the nine degrees of your kin. You will go to the gate of your house joyfully and enjoy great happiness. Moreover, this is a time when the civilization controls the movements of Heaven, just as when the Duke of Zhou and Lord Zhao mutually helped in political affairs; thinking of wise people and praising the Way, they forgot to take a meal until the evening came. If you use your talent, enlarge your virtue, put on gems, make yourself known at the court, wear a luxurious robe, and awaken the people of distant areas, then your achievements will benefit ways of the world and you will become famous after you die. How is it possible to talk [of such merits] at the same level with the disgrace of shaving one's head and the suffering of being a bachelor?

We have worked sedulously in defiance of hardships; we have wished for a long time to train our deep determination. If I hide a wise man like Zhan Qin [of Lu state], I will be reproached for being as disloyal as Zang [Wen Zhong].²⁷⁰ Therefore, I have done my best to quickly inscribe this in my mind and explain it again in my response. I am in the last years of my life; time does not wait. You should make effort; and do not end up with bitter regrets.

I, Liu Jun, reply to you.

Sengyan's Third Letter

The issue I wrote about the other day should have somehow caused you to have fun, and I did not think your favorable purpose was that profound. I have often received a letter from you. Your kindness to encourage and instruct me extends this much. Before I humbly read [your letter] completely I broke into a cold sweat. My despicable determination is unimportant and was expressed in my previous letter. Moreover, even in the prime of life I was still not as good as others. Now I have already grown old. How can I now do something [significant]?

If an elderly man commands others and accomplishes tasks, he is given special powers by the Green God [who takes charge of spring (i.e., rejuvenation)].

Someone who acts for him will fail the task. In assisting an outstanding person who ascends the throne or helping a leader who overturns a dynasty in order to establish his own dynasty, if you intend to place the shadow of a farmer of the east land or an old water-drawer man of the west garden on the side of the glory of former times and get them involved in following the tracks of ancient people, then this would be no different from whipping an old, worn-out horse's legs in order to make [the horse] equal to Hualiu [which could gallop a thousand *li* in one day], or from binding a pheasant of the marshes in order to make a pair with a phoenix or crane. These are beyond comparison. Do you need to wait to examine this deeply?

Formerly Zitai (i.e., Tian Chou) obeyed [Liu Yu's] order and held his principle against Gongsun [Zan].²⁷¹ Yu [Rang], who lacquered his body, took revenge upon [Viscount Xiang of Zhao state] on behalf of Zhibo [of Jin state] and had no regrets about ruining himself.²⁷² My virtue that you excessively praise today is as good as those of the two wise men. I really regret to say that my time draws near [to the end just as the sun approaches] Mount Yanzi [where it sets], and my life [is coming to the end] as quickly as the Meng and Fan Rivers flow. Swallowing charcoal [as Yu Rang did for revenge] or deserting to the enemy camp [as Zitai did] are eternally far from my wish. Facing letter paper, I felt sad. I did not know what to express. I would be happy if you can stop your excessive favor of me. Please do not write back to me again.

I, Shi Sengyan, present this.

[Liu Shanming's] Third Response

When you talk about Heaven and Earth your feelings are [as bright as] a mirror. When you grasp a writing brush and write a letter, your wisdom and thought enter [the letter] deeply. Nevertheless, you lost the root of reason when you were young, and now move unsteadily, losing the course when you have gray hair. I value highly your talent. Therefore I always sigh in lamentation. Even though your mind is above the clouds your body remains in a pit in the ground. Since you form a group with titmice I am afraid that you will lose the beauty of a phoenix (*yuezhuo*). Therefore I acted in accordance with formal propriety in inviting scholars for service. Compromise [your integrity] and comply with my recommendation for service in which we have a relationship between guest and host. You deigned to write to me

76b three times and I have replied to you twice. Even if you are modest and firmly decline [my recommendation] with the excuse of your old age, I consider your virtue to be exactly “penetrating (i.e., the assemblage of excellences)” and great good fortune.²⁷³ If you are not able to lessen your determination you should fly around in the air, choose a perch, rest on a Chinese parasol tree, and eat bamboo seeds indeed.²⁷⁴ Why is it worthwhile [for you] to descend for a despicable order and an unimportant summons? I respectfully defer to your clean breeze and reverently follow what you esteem. From the beginning our intentions oppose each other. I decided [to give up the recommendation but] I am still ashamed of myself [for this decision] and concerned for you.

I, Liu Jun, reply to you.

End of Fascicle Eleven of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

Fascicle Twelve

[*The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]*] I have compiled is a complete collection of discourses to protect the Dharma. Moreover, the reason I have cited written reports and petitions to superiors and emperors is because the issues are serious.

When I make an inquiry, I see that once *śramaṇas* renounce the world they are not bound by worldly dignities and emoluments. Since the time of the Han and Wei periods successive distinguished sages (i.e., rulers) all extended their greetings [to *śramaṇas*] and no ruler requested them to bow before him. Nevertheless, Lord Yu [Liang of the Eastern Jin dynasty] monopolized power and absurdly gave rise to heterodoxy. Huan [Xuan] doubted the brilliant [teaching] (i.e., Buddhism) and followed Yu's groundless views. If Lord He [Chong] had not said that [*śramaṇas* should not bow to kings], the Dharma would have been hidden eternally. If Virtuous Master [Hui]yuan had not argued about [this issue], practical works of the [Buddhist] sangha would have suddenly come to an end. When I look at what has happened in the past and have regrets, why shouldn't I make a compilation [of discussions] about [the issue that *śramaṇas* do not have to bow to kings]? 76c

The section of *gu* lines (*guyao*) of the *Book of Changes* says, “not to serve either king or feudal lord.”²⁷⁵ The “Chapter on Scholars' Behaviors” (*Ruxing*) of the *Book of Rites* says, “not to take the high office of being a minister of the son of Heaven.”²⁷⁶ Among the four classes of people (i.e., scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants) in the secular world, there are people who do not bow [to kings], not to speak of those who abandon secular life and follow the [Buddhist] Way. How can they be admonished to pay the vassal homage to kings? [This problem], therefore, does not exist during happy and bright times, yet frequently emerges in a time of decadence.

Regarding [Dao]heng and [Dao]biao, who declined [Yao] Lüe's [summons], and Eminent [Hui]yuan, who rejected [Huan] Xuan's [offer], [the actions of] all [these monks] were assuredly not to make a display of their eccentricity but they are adequate to sincerely encourage [other Buddhists]. The *Essentials [for Believing in] the Dharma* and *Sunshine* are discourses

to awaken secular people. The hermits' three written appeals are also statements made in order to destroy devils.²⁷⁷ Therefore I also include them in [this work].

Letter Given to Shi Daoan by Xi Zaochi

On the fifth day of the fourth month of the third year of Xingning (365), I, Zaochi (or Zuochi), bow my head to the ground and worship (Skt. *vandana*).

I hear that you, the arhat, follow the right [path], you are smart and cheerful, your merciful instruction shines upon us equally, and Buddhist clergy and laypeople are equally indebted to you. Those who believe in emptiness realize the tenet of impermanence, and those who preserve themselves in the phenomenal world master the expedient of having a transient body. The cool breeze adorns China. The voice of the fabulous *luan* bird encourages [people] all over the world. You have deep taste and a far-seeing plan. What is as glorious as these?

I, your disciple, hear that what causes rainfall throughout the whole world before the dawn are the clouds that fill the sky, and what spreads from the source and moistens the universe are the four great rivers. The [clouds] simply bring rainfall spontaneously and all things in the universe rely on its benefits. Even though this is originally an unintentional work, lands both high and low receive moisture. Moreover, [the Buddha,] sympathizing with [all the sentient beings of] the world, descended to this world and, feeling pity for the times, was reborn. [All sentient beings] owe their beginning to him. [This fact] is related with [his activity,] delivering sentient beings [to the yonder shore]. Clarifying the Way lies in training secular people. [The Buddha] rides a carriage free from suffering in order to go to an immensely far place. He has the vehicle of a transient body prepared in order to respond to requests from the ten directions. Moreover, he is able to obtain enough gems to embellish an entire mountain and enough ice to freeze a whole gorge. Even if [the Buddha] obtains a view of Mount Langfeng (i.e., the immortals' abode), he does not desert the Buddhist rules of conduct. How could he be someone who rejects this world and would not teach [people] the way to salvation?

Furthermore, it has been more than four hundred years since the great teaching was transmitted to the East (i.e., China). Among feudal kings and

unemployed scholars there were occasionally those who believed in [Buddhism], but traditional Chinese teachings were practiced in primeval times before [the introduction of Buddhism]. Even though reason changed with the lapse of time, not all people in the secular world were awakened. Those who took delight in the great wave (i.e., Buddhism) were only scholars of the lowest class.

Only Emperor Ming, Suzu [of the Eastern Jin dynasty (r. 322–325)], is truly one upon whom Heaven bestowed virtue. For the first time he respected this Way (i.e., Buddhism). He drew the Tathāgata’s countenance with his own hands and appreciated the purpose of *samādhi* by chanting. His practice in compliance with the precepts he had received was more rigorous than that of a hermit in a mountain cavern. His profound foundation reaches the state of nonarising. Since the Great Mass [of Nature] (i.e., Emperor Ming) has already chanted, just as myriad apertures began howling,²⁷⁸ all wise people and gentlemen take refuge in the ultimate Way of nature (i.e., Buddhism). Even though the sun and moon are far away, the light gets brighter. There is no time when the practice of the [Buddhist] Way flourished more than now. Isn’t this like “Moonlight Boy (Skt. Candraprabha) will first enter the tranquil state and then be reborn in China”²⁷⁹ or “the mysterious bowl will move to the east and suddenly produce an effect in this place”²⁸⁰

77a

In addition, I hear that three thousand monks who attained the Way are all in Nanyang (present-day Henan province) and the bodhisattva of brilliant learning (i.e., Daoan, 312–385) expounds words of mystic truth and edifies them. In the upper level I examine the instructions to attain the stage of a sage, and in the lower level I survey the effects of Buddhist practice. Who else but you could uphold all these profound sutras? I cherish the [Buddhist] Way in my mind and make effort to practice the teaching. Who [except you] would descend to lodge here? Therefore, all Buddhist monks in this region admire you wholeheartedly. They rejoice to see the golden-hued auspicious [image of the Buddha] and wish to hear the supreme admonitions. Both old and young equally wish for this, and Buddhist clergy and laypeople think in the same way. Their feelings of deep admiration are not expressed in ordinary ways. If auspicious clouds move to the east, if a *maṇi* gem rotates and shines, if you even once ascend the seat of the seven treasures, if even for a short time you show the sage’s lamp, if you cause nectar to rain on the grass that

grows thick, and if you plant sandalwood trees on a riverbank then the Tathāgata's teaching will again be revered today and the profound waves and outstanding sounds will cleanse this generation once again.

I cannot hesitate any more so I decided to write and convey my thoughts. How can I fully express what I have harbored in my mind?

I, your disciple Xi Zaochi of Xiangyang, bow with my head to the ground and worship.

(Yu Chan's preface to the *Hymn for the Hall of Happy Wise People* [*Lexiantang song*] also says that Emperor Ming, Suzu, was very fond of the Buddhist Way and copied a wonderful portrait [of the Tathāgata] with his own hands.)

The Letter of the King of [Nan]qiao to Discuss Confucius and Śākyamuni²⁸¹

In Buddhism, in regard to evil acts and meritorious deeds, the relationship between cause and effect is just like that between [a form] and its shadow or between a sound and its echo. The sacred words are clear and precise and cause the people to feel their blood run cold. Nevertheless, from ancient times—the eras of the Five Thearchs, the Three Augusts, Emperor Wen (of the Han dynasty), Emperor Wu, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius—the Regulations (*dian*), Counsels (*mo*), Instructions (*xun*), and Announcements (*gao*) have been completely provided. There is, however, nothing that gives a clear account of the law of the three periods of existence or that clearly describes reward and retribution. All of the sages [mentioned above] exhaustively probed the very root of the truth, discerned thoroughly [every] nature, and clearly understood what cause phenomena. How is it possible to see without compassion that people are driven into or drowned in [delusion] yet be unwilling to help them, and to have never spoken even a single word to instruct on the path to the ferry [to enlightenment]?

Furthermore, [Confucius] angled but did not use a net. He shot, but not at birds perching.²⁸² However, when fattened cows and sheep and plump pigs are offered, the Supreme Thearch receives them. From this viewpoint, it is probably difficult to understand [the laws of the three periods of existence and of reward and retribution]. I hope you will explain the gist [of these concepts] and relieve me of my delusions with clear evidence.

Zhang Xin'an's Response

I look again at your profound meaning, which is not a shallow teaching. I humbly think I am still immature. I bow and offer this insignificant reply to you.

I personally think that to successfully reach [the Buddhist Way] is achieved through one's receptivity [to the Buddha's responsive activity], and to cross over to enlightenment is accomplished through availing oneself of [causes and] conditions. If we are indeed weak in [creating] good causes we will give rise to delusions as vast as the Milky Way.

From old days, to wait to be questioned is compared to a bell when it is struck,²⁸³ and in order to awaken people we wait for them to be anxious to explain themselves or eager to get knowledge. One who is awakened to what is mysterious or who probes into the very root of the truth is a sage or deity whose light shines throughout the eight directions. He can see the nine provinces (i.e., China) in an instant. Nevertheless, we live at a time when the human life span is only a hundred years. If what is profound (i.e., enlightenment) is myriads of *kalpas* away, isn't it that the good conditions [for enlightenment] have not [yet] been established and, accordingly, there is no truthfulness in the edification of karma? Therefore the holy spirits [of Confucianism] did not make the track and nothing regarding this issue was recorded in the cause of truth. It is impossible to clearly seek for the ultimate point of reason and indicate the ultimate principle. What is subtle manifests, gently completes, and secretly moves to a far and high place.

"To be fond of life," [as is said in the *Book of History*,] is the origin of 77b
[the law of] the three periods of existence.²⁸⁴ The phrase "to accumulate wholesomeness" [found in the *Book of Changes*] follows in the same wake of [the law of] reward and retribution.²⁸⁵ The fact that [Confucius did not use] a net [for fishing and did not shoot at perching birds] shows his benevolence. [The expression] "[spring] hunting and [summer] hunting" [found in the *Zuozhuan*] propagates honesty.²⁸⁶ Since the people have been gradually imbued with these teachings and became familiar with them, stinginess and defilement has lessened day by day. Then the [Buddhist] Way reached the brilliant Han dynasty. The teaching spread during the Yongping era (58–75). The people had no doubt [about the teaching] and bowed to it just as grass sways in the wind. We know precisely that in the age of Fang[xun] (i.e., Yao)

and [Zhong]hua (i.e., Shun) [Buddhism] was still not clear, and [this teaching] was not apparent in the time of King Wen and King Xuan [of the Zhou dynasty]. It is not the case that [Confucianism and Buddhism] take different paths because their purposes are separate from each other. Presumably their doctrines are equal, yet both were frustrated.

Who can make a forced interpretation of your deep and profound thought through a range of careless words? [Probably] I have absurdly made an erroneous statement because I am careless, ambitious, and too hasty.

**Letter Given to Meditation Master [Huiyi]
to Discuss the Manner of Eating
while Squatting with Raised Heels
by Zheng Daozi**

Sages' instructions are [intended] to cultivate the basis and remove nonessentials. They establish teachings in accordance with people's minds and fit [the teachings] for practical use on the basis of actualities. There has not been [a teaching] that greatly edifies the people while opposing human nature and disregarding the human body.

Even though [*śramaṇas*] appear different from secular people and their task keeps aloof from the world, regarding the rule of paying respect and the courtesy of yielding politely, bowing with one's hands folded in front: these [actions] come from one's most sincere heart and there is no difference between Buddhist clergy and laypeople [in this regard]. Therefore, when [Buddhist monks] perform purification and give a series of lectures, they prepare the Dharma robe. There is an order in worship and a system in sequence. When respect fills one's mind a person pays respects outwardly.

[The Chinese manner of] bowing with one's head to the ground [is approved of, while] the [Buddhist] manner of squatting with raised heels is not. The [Chinese] manner of pulling the lapels of the garments together, respectfully saluting, and bowing ten times is not something with which the easy, informal sitting style practiced by Buddhists is concerned. [*Śramaṇas*,] however, consider the manner of eating while squatting with raised heels to be [advantageous] for mental function, and that abandoning [Chinese] deportment is [advisable] for teaching and leading ordinary people of the secular

world. Here, facts and reason go against each other. I do not see a common aspect in them.

In the teachings of phenomena, each [teaching] has significance. With regard to the *Banzhou* [*sanmei*] (Skt. *Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi*), the body is tormented in order to maintain the [Buddhist] Way. [A practitioner] dear to the [Buddhist] Way neglects his body. There is a reason for practicing in this way and a basis for employing [this practice]. In the instruction on the manner of eating while squatting with raised heels, there is nothing to propagate in reason. Even if we employ [this manner] it is not [a practice] to torment the body. If we [practice] passively we pass on contempt to the later world. One who sees the manner but does not reach its essence loses his feeling to pay respect and expresses surprise and disdain. Is this the principle that sages establish teachings on the basis of actualities, and that the ceremonial caps [of the Yin dynasty] were not suitable for the Yue region [where the people cut their hair and tattooed their bodies, and therefore they had no use for a cap]?

When we examine from what [these teachings] arise we find that some derive from the characteristics of foreign lands. Some come from remediation and indicate that there is something from which one is rescued. This is just as when one suddenly falls ill and takes medication as an emergency measure, but [the emergency medicine is] not intended to be used for a long time.

[In Buddhism] the form and the teaching fit each other and the actualities and principles are systematic. [Buddhists] have already set up the system of the three robes and perform worship. They discipline themselves with the Dharma drum and line up in accordance with their rank. When they squat with raised heels in such an environment, how could this be seen as the systematic [manner] and rudeness going against each other? In the past it was proper and appropriate for the situation. At most it is just a one-day-only engagement; it cannot be an instruction for a long time. Reason is understandable. Therefore, many people ask about perfect virtue, which is the foundation to return to propriety.²⁸⁷ Today [*śramaṇas*] meditate and reform their minds but they adhere to this custom and never depart from it. This is already insignificant in reason and poor in function as well. Truly there is something I have not understood, but I dare not [sufficiently] display what I have in my mind.

I, Zheng Jun, bow with my head to the ground.

77c

**Letter Given to Minister of Education and
Cultural Affairs Wang [Hong] and All
Others in Order to Discuss Buddhist
Monks' Manner of Eating While
Squatting with Raised Heels
by Fan Bolun**

I, Fan Tai (i.e., Fan Bolun [355–428]), respectfully address the high-ranking officials and many wise people.

Śramaṇas of today have two different sitting styles, [formal and informal].²⁸⁸ It seems that this was not so at Qiyuan Temple in the past.

Even today foreign languages differ from our language and [the standard] by which we adapt or reject something differs from theirs, too. Sages establish laws complying with secular customs and propagate teachings according to each region. We have not yet changed our language. Why is it necessary to take the trouble to make our system the same as theirs? Nevertheless, a state should not have two rulers. How can there be lack of uniformity in one hall?

At the present time, however, each person believes in biased views and thinks that he himself is correct and [all] others are wrong. No one examines the [original] intention of making, they only consider that echoing another's views is good. There is no master to control this. Consequently, the situation has led to the present state. One who has no intention to disinterestedly receive others' [opinions] employs his mind to adhere to [biased views]. He does not seek the reality of the fish and the rabbit and vies with others in attacking the insignificance of [using] stakes [to catch fish] and snares [to catch rabbits]. If this trend is not reformed it will be difficult to attain the Way.

The king of the [*bodhi*] tree, [Śākyamuni,] attained right, perfect enlightenment in the sixth year [of his cultivation]. For the first time he clarified the profound teaching and personally expounded it while sitting on a raised seat. All those in the audience sat with crossed legs; they did not adopt the informal style of squatting with raised heels. Meditation aims at stabilizing [the mind] and its meaning is not to squat with raised heels and wait for someone to come. The good point of eating while squatting with raised heels lies in eating not in order to be sated. This is entirely the easy, informal method of one country and not the common system of the world.

In addition, there is no decorum for wearing clothes made of hemp rags in cold rural areas, and there is no rule [that stipulates] wearing a [heavy] felt garment in sunny southern regions. Based on this, considering the early time when Great King Yu took off his clothes [to enter the country of the naked people], we cannot say that they had no [decorum of wearing] ceremonial caps. I beg each of you to give up [your own views] altogether and entrust the issue to gentlemen who have compromised their views.

I, Fan Tai, am an insignificant person. I positively hope [that the manner shown] in today's dinner gathering is equal. I am uncertain of anything before and after this. Harmony is valued in [practicing the rules of] propriety.²⁸⁹ The rules for Buddhist monks esteem equality.

Presently we ascend to the refectory (*zhaitang*) and face the sacred images, as if spirits exist in them. As for the eight sages of the four stages of sainthood [of Hinayana Buddhism], we have no different statement in principle. We would rather temporarily try to leave behind our ego than be self-conceited.

When Eminent Shi [Daoan] resided in Xiangyang the easy, informal squatting style had already been introduced [into China], but he did not think to change [the traditional Chinese way]. He must have had his intention for this. Accordingly, he abandoned his walking stick and rode on the Imperial carriage.²⁹⁰ The meaning for this lies in that [Daoan acted] in the same way as did secular people. Recently, in Meditation Master [Buddhabhadra's] grand assembly at the [Jiankang] seminary, [Buddhist monks] adopted the formal sitting posture. Isn't this because major points are kept and minor points are omitted, and it is not necessary in reason that [two different ways] be practiced concurrently?

The formal sitting posture is taken regardless of time but the easy, informal squatting posture is done at fixed times. If one adopts the formal sitting posture it is difficult to continually adjust to a different way, but it is easy to keep the same way when one experiences an unusual event.

78a

Moreover, regarding the issue that a host humbles himself and pays respects to his guest, there is a reason for this. I have inquired of Eminent [Hui]yi about this but I have not yet been rewarded with any answer from him at all. Therefore I respectfully address you, the people who agree with my opinion, and seek a common opinion. I pray that you will kindly give me a surplus of coughs and sneezes to cover my weak and cowardly mind.

Shi Huiyi's Letter in Response to Fan Bolun

Fifty [monks], including Shi Huiyi of Qiyuan Temple, respectfully address all our donors.

In the conventional way of *śramaṇas* we should precisely abide by the sutras and Vinaya texts sincerely, and consider faith and obedience [to the Buddhist teaching] as the foundation. If a *śramaṇa* intends to act contrary to sutras and violate Vinaya [texts] and considers his own mind as his teacher and that he himself is right, such a case is serious trouble for the great Dharma and the worst in defiling the [Buddhist] Way.

In the precepts established by the Tathāgata there are [actions that are] approved and [actions that are] prohibited. The approved [actions] are namely those one carries out with no doubt, and the prohibited [actions] are those one does not venture to violate. [For instance,] a precept prevents *śramaṇas* from touching females with their hands and bodies and from being close to them.

[This led to the case that] when all those who observe the precepts met with an accident in which their own mothers were cast adrift and about to drown in deep waters, even if they could see [the danger of the women dying] no one ventured to rescue them [because of the precept against touching females]. Thereupon people of the world said, “*Śramaṇas* have no mercy. In such a situation, where is the [Buddhist] Way?” So the Tathāgata, [in order to remove] the ridicule and suspicion of people of the world, initiated a precept to counter-balance this, which allowed [*śramaṇas*] to rescue [women] from difficulties [even if it means that they have to have contact with a female body].

The precepts established by the Tathāgata are in a uniform system and we should positively follow them with faith and carry them out. How could it be allowed that we arbitrarily revise [the precepts] from our own will? Even scholars of shallow learning esteem to follow faithfully the expression “the fifth, summer (*xia wu*)” [found in *Zuozhuan*], and they dare not add the Chinese character “month” (*yue*) to it.²⁹¹ This is intended to seriously prevent people from offering far-fetched explanations and to eradicate those who are fond of new things and pleased with peculiar things. Moreover, the precepts were instituted by the one who possesses the three transcendental knowledges (the Buddha). How could we venture to recklessly adjust them [for our convenience]?

You, our donor Fan, intend to cause these monks to change from the easy, informal [squatting] style to the formal sitting style, in order to seek harmony without difference. Even if you wish for the beauty of harmony, if you do not use the [Buddhist] Way to create harmony, this means to exactly seek unity, not harmony.

From the time monks came to reside at Qiyuan Temple up to the Dharma assembly [at this time], there have been two groups: those who adopt the formal sitting style and those who take the easy, informal [squatting] style. Since there is no testimony in sutras and Vinaya texts [about this matter], it is no trivial matter if you suddenly intend to change the Buddhist Dharma. Truly we dare not agree with you.

It has been a long time since the time this temple received the *Mahā-sāṃghika-vinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lü*). Furthermore in this Vinaya [text] there are clear descriptions altogether in eight items that stipulate the method of eating while [squatting] in the easy, informal style. If there was originally no establishment of eating while squatting in the easy, informal style, then the full set of two hundred fifty [precepts for *bhikṣus*] would not exist. The descriptions include “Food cannot be placed on a bed [that is also used as a meditation seat],” and “Food you wish to discard should be placed beside your right foot.” It also says “You cannot squat with your knees apart and put one calf over the other.” Aren’t these clear testimonies for eating while squatting in the easy, informal style? Buddhist precepts (Skt. *śīla*) and the Vinaya are [the mystical lore of the] *śramaṇas*. No one except the king can participate in hearing them.

Today you, our donors, all have doubts about the two sitting styles, the formal and the informal, and you wish to make [the formal style] flourish and reject [the informal style]. It is impossible for me to not weigh the significance [of these two sitting styles]. I have briefly given several articles in order to show their basis. I will accept the burden of the sin of announcing our precepts publicly.

The rise and fall of the Buddhist Dharma depend on all our donors. When the Buddhist Dharma flourishes we mutually attain the great achievement of protecting the Dharma, but when it declines we all certainly incur the sin of the destruction of the Dharma. I pray that you will think of this thrice and not cause yourselves to have regret in the other world as well as in this world.

78b

[Fan Bolun's] Response to Eminent [Hui]yi

I reply to you.

My previous discussion already included all the statements I will make here. You, Holy Priest, have a strong will and a brave spirit. [Consequently] you simply did not seek [to understand my intention].

Precepts are for the prevention of evils. If there is no evil, why would precepts be necessary? Thus I, an ignorant person, am confused about this.

The precepts alter rules in accordance with customs. In China originally the informal sitting style, squatting with raised heels, was not practiced. We follow the rules against collecting the remains and crossing one's legs. Therefore, [the informal sitting style] can be omitted.

As for the precept regarding eating with the hands, there is no written instruction for the use of a spoon and chopsticks. Why do you value the precept for the easy, informal sitting style and slight the precept for eating with the hands? According to the precepts [monks] cannot bring their hands close to females, yet subsequently it is allowable for [monks] to rescue their mothers from drowning [which requires them to touch their mother's bodies]. This is a case that causes ordinary people to have doubt. As a matter of fact, this was sufficient cause to revise the precepts established by the Sage. Increasingly we know that the two hundred and fifty [precepts] are not spontaneous, permanent laws. If this is the case, firmly observing [the precepts] does not mean to completely attain all [rules] and it is unworthy to be very surprised if one takes his own mind as his teacher.

It is not doubtful for us to adhere to the rule for the omission in the phrase "the fifth, summer." If clear and prudent views are understandable, how can you be unsettled in minding other people's opinions? As for the significance of squatting with raised heels, the intention lies in this posture being suitable to move forward, but if one wants to act quickly [usually] things cannot be carried out well. When one [who is familiar with squatting with raised heels] formally sits up straight, he is uneasy in that posture. Sometimes there is a haughty person, but this is originally not what decorum allows.

Regarding the two different sitting styles in the same temple hall, your party is confused and no one seizes the drift [of the questions]. My party is

me alone, without companions. Why do I venture to deal with the great lines of fifty [monks]? Here I will employ the strategy of “being afraid of an enemy and keeping silence.” I hope this is the best relief.

**Fan Bolun’s Letter Given to
the Two Dharma Teachers
[Zhu Dao]sheng and
[Hui]guan**

Foreign customs naturally differ from ours. When Saṃghadeva first came [to China], monks such as [Hui]yi and [Hui]guan all received his favor and admired him with praise. [What Saṃghadeva brought] was, however, merely the Hinayana teaching. [Monks] thought that this teaching was the ultimate doctrine and said that all Mahayana scriptures of nonarising were the writings of demons. The last time Saṃghadeva expounded Buddhist scriptures he did not ascend to a raised seat.

Faxian later returned to [China] and the *Nirvana Sutra* was chanted for the first time. [Monks] then thought that [this scripture] consists of words of eternity and the best of various doctrines, and that the ultimate fundamentals of the transcendental wisdom entirely derive from this.

Inferring from this, [monks] have no subjectivity within themselves and when they hear [something new] they always change [their thinking]. If we compare this to shooting [in competition], the shooter who shot last was defeated and divests the shooter who shot first of the point. So we see that foreign precepts are not fixed laws.

[Monks of] the school that adopts the informal sitting style have no time to sit in the formal style. When they expound the Dharma on a raised seat they sit in the style of squatting with raised heels. The hands are mostly used in the foreign manner of eating. In the precepts there is no mention of using a spoon and chopsticks. Huiyi’s group of monks is aware of this but they have never converted [to the practice of using their hands to eat]. Regarding the informal sitting style, [however,] they have practiced this style for a long time and feel no shame in being in conformity with it. They contradict themselves. Who can understand this [contradiction]?

I, your disciple, always think that making a mistake along with others is wiser than being proud of my own [view]. To infer my mind and be delighted

78c

with aligning myself with others is not to venture to allow myself to seek straightness. Today's laypeople who revere the Dharma should never wear foreign clothes. Why do *śramaṇas* seem to have a hard time in keeping the rule of the informal sitting style?

**Petitions Presented to the Throne to
Discuss the Manner of Eating while
Squatting with Raised Heels
by Fan Bolun**

[First Petition]

I, your subject, speak.

Your Majesty (i.e., Emperor Wen, r. 424–453) acquires mastery of the Buddhist doctrines and you are about to attain its highest perfection. With your lofty aspiration you anticipate what is far-reaching. You examine the essentials and go into details. I, however, regret that you do not enlighten me as much as you did in former days, and it is not easy for me to respond to you and enhance [Buddhism].

I have had faith in the great Dharma since the time I was young. I have accumulated the practices for wholesome nature. I often hear additional discussions [of Buddhism] and somewhat understand the profound foundation of the teaching. I formerly attended near the Imperial Throne and received unmerited favor and guidance from you. My thoughts are vulgar and I am slow of speech. So I could not help you understand issues that I tried to convey. My regret for this will not come to an end in my lifetime.

I recently criticized Huiyi's assertion of eating while squatting with raised heels. This is because of my trivial thought to keep in perfect step [with others]; it is not because I dare seek to be better than others. I strained my ears in a lower seat and heard that [my criticism about eating while squatting with raised heels] had already reached your ears.

I ask you to understand that this matter is a local manner of one country, and not a universal, eternal system. Foreign customs are not the same as ours and [foreign] languages differ from ours as well. Sages do not change their language. Why must only [Chinese monks] trouble themselves to change their actions?

Language is a means to express one's thoughts. When a thought has been conveyed the language [used to express it] is forgotten. Deportment is a

means to keep respect. Once respect has been established, the form [of one's deportment] is discontinued. Therefore, sages establish the precepts in light of actualities and change laws in accordance with customs. When one reaches the Way it can be all right if he follows no regulation. I think that if preventive measures become more numerous, to decide what to adopt and what to reject depends on the current of the times, and to judge what to continue and what to stop is simply up to reason. Isn't it despicable [to stick to a fixed idea, just like] gluing the bridges [on a Chinese large harp], or waiting by a stump [hoping that other hares will come by that spot because a hare was once caught there]?

Śramaṇas of today guide people skillfully but they do not have a vital point to their way. Each of them believes in his own views. Few monks can accept another's views without bias. Consequently, they vie with their fellow monks from the same temple hall in asserting peculiar views and they do not harmonize with the peaceful world. I personally feel ashamed of this; how much more so do your other subjects who are more talented than I am?

Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs [Wang Hong (379–432)], who is knowledgeable and whose realization is justified, does not consider my assertion wrong. The celebrated people of the present day do not have much sincere faith in the [Buddhist] Way. They have decided nothing beforehand in their intentions. So they consider following both styles [of sitting] to be good and remaining unsettled to be great. If we set up the system according to this, would [the muddy water of] the Yellow River become clear?

Huiyan and Daosheng (355–434) originally did not squat with raised heels. Huiguan appears to regret his initial standpoint [on this]. I humbly think that you, Your Majesty, have already made up your mind. At present I do not hope that you will issue an Imperial decree alone. However, if you give the gist of the Imperial decree to a prime minister, the people below him will see this and be educated. Who can say that he will not consent to this?

The august virtue of Your Majesty is about to reach remote areas. Writing systems and the width of cart axles will be standardized. No matter how trivial such minor differences may seem, they should not be allowed to continually increase. If we do not cut the fresh green plants now, we will have to look for an ax later. Therefore it is proper to cause no one, from the people close to you to those who are far from you, to think of disobeying you.

79a When [the Jin dynasty] was restored in the Jiangzuo area (i.e., Jiangsu province), [Śrīmitra, the Buddhist monk who expounded while sitting on] a raised seat, came [to the capital]. He loved China and enjoyed his stay. He did not say anything about this system (i.e., eating while squatting with raised heels). Eminent Shi [Daoan] had the most sincere faith in Buddhism; he did not suffer from the restriction [of eating while squatting with raised heels]. He knew of this style of eating yet he did not adopt it. It seems that he had a reason for this. Kumārajīva was excellent, unrestricted, and immeasurably [great]. He took the tonsure, but neither did he sit in the easy, informal style nor eat while squatting with raised heels. Facts like these should also be taken into account. When Meditation Master [Buddhabhadra] came to [Chang'an] for the first time, he visited the imperial palace and asked for an audience with the emperor. He wanted to go into [the palace] with his meditation couch and squat with raised heels. This was unacceptable in principle. Consequently, he was not permitted to visit [the imperial palace]. Later, when monks gathered at Dong'an Temple they surely did not eat while sitting in the informal style. These are past events of former dynasties that I personally observed.

Humbly, yours.

[Second Petition]

I, your subject, speak.

Your Majesty, you recently made an Imperial visit to Qiyuan Temple, where I insistently begged you for a eulogy to be inscribed on a monument. I recall that it seemed to me that you had approved this. So soon after the Imperial carriage returned [to the palace], paying reverence to you I precisely engraved the three Chinese characters *huang, di, and zan* (i.e., the emperor's eulogy) on the monument. I will submissively accept a demerit for my arbitrary action. As for registering merit in the other world, I do not know how to cultivate for salvation. If you bestow on me your writing of several Chinese characters, I will die but my body will suffer no decay. With [your eulogy], social mores will be greatly encouraged. There will be benefits and no loss. If you do not have time to do this because of your heavy workload, please let your intention be known to your subjects who can assist you with this. How could your vassal, the Left Scribe or the Imperial Guard, not have the utmost sincerity to render service? Why then are the cases of Pi Chen, [who

made the rough draught of governmental notifications,] and Shi Shu, [who examined and discussed its contents,] examples of remote ages?²⁹² We should not trouble your mind. This is also the intention of high ministers who wear the ceremonial cap.

I left the service a long time ago and my days are drawing to a close. My only petty concerns are in regard to my next existence. I receive deep and significant favor from you, as well as a generous salary. When I think of myself, I have in the end no requital of your kindness to the world over which you rule. I bow with my head to the ground, and with sincerity [equal to that of the spirit of the person who] tied grass [in order to help Wei Ke in repayment of his kindness],²⁹³ I pray that Your Majesty will take pity on me and will not blame me for my statement.

[Imperial Decree in Response to Fan Bolun]

The Imperial decree is here given.

I know that you have debated with Huiyi regarding the manner of eating while squatting with raised heels. Recently I further heard a rough outline of your opinion, which does not differ from the purpose of your report. I, however, have not read Buddhist scriptures. There is simply no way to manage this issue with my views. I have no idea what Huiyan thinks. Daosheng is far apart from agreeing with [Huiyi]. Huiguan appears unwilling to repent of his original standpoint [and amend his ways]. Can you yourself seek a point of agreement with all Buddhist monks these days?

As for the eulogy for the monument at Qiyuan Temple, I do not recall giving you permission. Since [making eulogies] is not something I have learned and, in addition I have no time to do so, I am unable to grant your request. I am terribly sorry about this.

[Third Petition]

I, your subject, speak.

I received with respect the brilliant Imperial decree, for which I am very much obliged to you. It is unworthy to relate my narrow and biased view, but since it has already reached you I would rather not keep silent. In the Imperial decree of today you order me to further seek a point of agreement

[with all monks]. Here, following my wild impulse, I will explicate a long-cherished thought. I think that wherever principles exist it is fortunately possible to not harm an intention by a composition.

None of the Five Thearchs followed the ceremonies of his predecessor, and none of the Three Kings adopted the music of his predecessor.²⁹⁴ In reforming the world with the mandate of Heaven and following the current of the times, the significance is completely great. Zhuangzi compared ancient times and the present time to a boat and a carriage.²⁹⁵ Mencius thought that it would be better to be without books than to believe in them exclusively.²⁹⁶ Therefore, [the son who] testified [that his father had stolen] a sheep is not upright.²⁹⁷ I have heard that employing these two ways causes the Great Way to be pursued and the whole world to become one family.

79b My case is a trifling matter, simply the unification of the system in one temple hall. Moreover, [eating while squatting with raised heels] is a foreign custom and a local system; it is originally not a reasonable teaching. [Hui]yi, [Dao]sheng, and [Hui]guan attained favor and broadly make contact with the Imperial will. If they have questions to ask me, I hope that I will respond to them through relying on principles. [I also wish that] they dare not advance themselves by trusting merely in numbers in order to outdo the other party. The answers Huiguan gave me all lack a reasonable basis. He only praised me excessively and disparaged me as having a thousand faults. Inferring from this, I doubt if he is truly remorseful. He has not yet returned to wholesomeness and expressed words of submission. Your vassal, [Wang] Hong, also says that my assertion is correct. The lines of Huiyi's great troops have already collapsed and the paths to flee in retreat and hide are closed. He relies on this [monk] (i.e., Huiguan) to rescue them but it is difficult for him to escape from there. Moreover, the virtuous person who is in charge of the tallies is above them.²⁹⁸ Even if he explains everything away, he will know that he has gotten into a scrape. I recently criticized Huiguan. I then submitted a petition to the Throne again and gave evidence [for my assertion].

I am silly and petty. Though I have tried to be intelligent I have reached an extremely old age [without achieving this]. Not only are my words unsuitable but I fear deeply that I am not aware of my own confusion. The Imperial Guard retainers are really in high repute of the day, but they will not be able

to sympathize with my inclination and admonish my incompetent points, either. These are all my faults that I invited onto myself.

I humbly pray that Your Majesty will accept my earnest sincerity and not consider my poor knowledge to be a fault and become disgusted by my rudeness. I personally rely on my old age which, as the classic states, is not subject to punishment.²⁹⁹

**Report to the Throne Regarding the
Issue that *Śramaṇas* Should Not Bow [to
the King] by Director of the Imperial
Secretariat He Chong**

[Preface]

In the sixth year of Xiankang of the Jin dynasty (340), Emperor Cheng (321–342) was still young and Yu Bing assisted him in political affairs. [Yu Bing] said that *śramaṇas* should bow to the king. Officials such as Director of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong said that *śramaṇas* do not have to do so, and ordered the officials of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials to debate [the subject] at length. The opinion of the Erudite [of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials] was the same as [He] Chong's, but the Chancellery supported [Yu] Bing and refuted [He Chong's view]. [Therefore,] officials such as Director of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong, Chief Administrators Chu She and Zhuge Hui,³⁰⁰ and Feng Huai and Xie Guang of the Imperial Secretary made a report [to the Throne] that *śramaṇas* do not have to bow [to the king].

[Report to the Throne]

We, [He] Chong (292–346), Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Army Commander, General of the Pacification Army, and Chief Township Marquis; [Chu] She, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Left Supervisor, and Count of Changping; [Zhuge] Hui, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Right Supervisor, and Count of Jian'an; [Feng] Huai, Imperial Secretary and Marquis of Guanzhong; and [Xie] Guang, Probationary, Imperial Secretary, and Viscount of Chang'an, speak.

Shizu, Emperor Wu, reformed the world with the mandate of Heaven [and established the Jin dynasty] with his abundant intelligence. Suzu, Emperor Ming, who was quick in apprehension and of far-reaching intelligence, viewed everything with a tranquil mind. Wouldn't it have been easy for the *śramaṇas*

of their days to kneel [and bow to them]? [Both emperors,] however, regarded the permanence of the [*śramaṇas*'] way of doing good acts (i.e., not bowing to the king) to be a reason to facilitate the determination [of the people] of the world. We humbly think that you should follow the historical example of these preceding emperors, which is excellent in reason.

**The Imperial Decree on Behalf of Emperor
Cheng of the Jin Dynasty Composed by
Yu Bing, Who Admonishes the Purport
[of the Report] Again and Thinks that
Śramaṇas Should Bow to the King**

79c

All nations have different customs and the Way of the Spirit is difficult to discern. These facts are based in what they derive from. If we take a philosophic view of the object and closely understand it, there is really nothing strange, not to mention the [issue of] saluting in the kneeling-to-worship style. Why must anyone feel strange about this practice? We should trace back to the original intention with which the preceding emperors esteemed it. Were they simply fond of this style of bending one's body and from their seats meeting people circumambulating them [when they withdraw]? Certainly this was not the case. Based on the respect between father and son, the order between the king and his vassals was established, laws and institutions were set up, and considerate treatment was honored. How can these be done meaninglessly? There is a deep reason. Since there is a reason, why must we change it? If this is the case, when the teaching on morality and ethics (i.e., Confucianism) and the framing of ceremonies were established, was there no reasoning behind them?

Moreover, does the Buddha exist, or not, as a matter of fact? If the Buddha exists, his Way is assuredly magnanimous. If there is no Buddha, what significance can we obtain [from kneeling to worship]? Following [his Way] and believing that it is right is a matter for Buddhist monks. How could a matter for Buddhist monks become something that people of the secular world have to carry out? [Buddhist monks], however, deform their physical appearance, avoid ordinary duties, change the statutes of ceremonies, and reject the teaching on morality and ethics (i.e., Confucianism). This is something by which I am surprised.

The teaching on morality and ethics has a long history. It is not discontinued no matter how many generations pass. [The inscription on the tripod of Chan says,] “You may get up early in the morning and [study to] become greatly distinguished, but in future generations [your descendants] will still become idle.”³⁰¹ Regarding the bad aspect that [one’s descendants] will become idle, it is difficult to discern the cause. If today we adore something that is far away and uncertain, rely on something faint and undistinguished, reject our proprieties suddenly, and discontinue the teachings of the present age, we will cause ordinary people to haughtily go against the constitution. This is also something by which I am surprised.

Even if [the Buddhist Way] is truly so [great], and even if [the Buddha] actually exists, I will understand these issues with my intelligence and keep them in mind. Rules, laws, and magnificent models should assuredly not be discontinued in the Imperial court. All these kinds of people (i.e., Buddhist monks) are the nation of the Jin dynasty. Speaking of their intelligence, they are only ordinary people, too. Nevertheless, because what they assert is difficult to argue against, they avail themselves of outrageous costumes and accessories, set up haughty decorum based on strange customs, and do not bow down even before the emperor who commands ten thousand chariots. This is again something I cannot accept.

You, gentlemen, are all people of talent of our country. When you hear reasonable words you will survey what is obscure. When you speak of governing the nation you must honor national laws. If you do not do so, of what shall I give an account?

**Second Report to the Throne by Director
of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong
and Officials such as Chu She,
Zhuge Hui, Feng Huai,
and Xie Guang**

We, [He] Chong, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Army Commander, General of the Pacification Army, and Chief Township Marquis; [Chu] She, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Left Supervisor, and Count of Changping; [Zhuge] Hui, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Right Supervisor, and Count of Jian’an; [Feng] Huai, Imperial Secretary and Marquis of Guanzhong; and

[Xie] Guang, Probationary, Imperial Secretary, and Viscount of Chang'an, speak.

The Imperial decree is just as found above.

We are ignorant and witless. We do not deserve to glorify the Imperial will and to propagate the great righteousness. We humbly examined the brilliant Imperial decree. We now tremble in fear and confusion.

80a Together we all promptly inquired into the details. The issue of whether or not the Buddha exists is assuredly not something we can determine. Nevertheless, when we look into the scriptures that have been left to us and intensively study their essential points, [we find that] the prescription of the five precepts truly helps the king's edification for the people. [Buddhists] despise actions that are taken obviously to seek fame, and they value the imperceptible secret fidelity. To practice virtue lies in forgetting oneself. To stick to one principle (*baoyi*) is the purity and wondrousness of the mind. Moreover, from the time of the Han dynasty [when Buddhism was] introduced [to China] up to the present day, even though the Dharma has risen and fallen there has not been any harm of weirdness and absurdity. The Way of the Spirit (i.e., Buddhism) has prevailed for a long time. There is no other case like this.

One who curses has loss, and one who prays must gain benefit. From the bottom of our hearts we truly wish that [Buddhist monks' prayers, which are] as insignificant as dust and dew, will increase [Your Majesty's] benefaction, which is as lofty as Mount Song and Mount Tai, and that their unimportant prayers will enable [Your Majesty] to manage the most important rules to govern the world. [Nevertheless,] if you even once order [monks] to bow to you, you will consequently destroy the Dharma and cause the custom of cultivating wholesomeness to be discontinued in your holy world. If an [obsolete] custom becomes a common practice, an unhappy and fearful situation will certainly occur. We are concerned about these things and our minds quietly grow uneasy.

Even though we are ignorant, how could we dare confuse and misguide Your Majesty's ears with our biased views? We simply think that [Buddhism] has prevailed through the three dynasties (i.e., Han, Wei, and Jin) and that intelligent and enlightened rulers have appeared one after another. Presently, even if we do not create a new law [mandating that *śramaṇas* must bow to the king], there will be no shortage of the king's law, and it is possible that

there would be no hindrance of the rules of the other world. For these reasons, we again express our sincerity. We beg you to graciously examine this.

Humbly yours.

Emperor Cheng's Second Imperial Decree

I examined the report in which you fully explained your situation and intention. The issue of the other world truly cannot be completely explained with allegories. The general idea [of the Buddhist netherworld] is, however, simply that conventional rules between human beings and spirits are overstated and classified examples are briefly added to them.

In all cases, when various kings institute laws, even though they emphasize substance or rhetorical embellishments that follow the tendency of the times, it is unprecedented for foreign customs to be mingled with political affairs, and for weird and absurd stories to be mixed into the edification. Is it because the sages of former times were not intelligent but sages of the later age are knowledgeable?

Moreover, the minor good conduct outlined in the five precepts was roughly drawn up and modeled after the [five] principles of human relationships [of Confucianism]. Nevertheless, do [Buddhist monks] omit [all practices of] decorum and homage for the ruler of the times? Decorum is important and paying homage is significant. The general rules of government administration reach an extreme at this point. The emperor who commands ten thousand chariots is superior not from [his own] choice, and the people of his territory are his inferiors not by [their own] preference. Nevertheless, even if the difference between superiors and inferiors is not arranged, the king's teaching must be unified. If there are two [paths] in the king's teaching the world becomes disordered. This is why the sage kings of former times established constitutions, and those who assume the responsibility of governing the country should not be misled.

People of all-around talent extensively collect [knowledge] and they often study the principles [of Buddhism]. They may cultivate themselves [in Buddhism] in private but not on the level of the nation and the Imperial court. Wouldn't this [therefore] mean to stay away from [Buddhism]? I examined your statement. Sure enough, you have not been able to determine whether

or not [the Buddha] exists. Even if you know [that the Buddha exists], I still say that [Buddhism] cannot be a part of state affairs, not to mention the case of [the Buddha] not existing at all. Should we allow both [Chinese and Buddhist decorum] to be practiced?

**Third Report to the Throne Regarding the
Issue that [*Śramaṇas*] Should Not Bow [to
the King] by Officials such as Director
of the Imperial Secretariat He Chong
and [Left] Supervisor Chu She**

Even though we are quite ignorant and do not thoroughly understand your profound intention, regarding the thought to follow assiduously, day and night, your virtue and magnanimity, how could we hold fast to narrow biased views and throw important [human] relations into disorder? Simply, from the time of the Han and Wei dynasties up to the time of the Jin dynasty, we have not heard that there were objections [to Buddhist monks' decorum] and there was no case in which the statutes of superior and inferior were damaged even for a short time.

80b Today *śramaṇas* are earnestly prudent in observing the precepts and they exercise decorum. This is simply the same as [our exercising Chinese decorum]. Regarding those who seriously observe the precepts, they do not spare even their own lives. How could they then dare neglect decorum and homage in order to be particular about [bowing] their bodies?

Every time we see [Buddhist monks] burn incense and pray, they assuredly first offer prayers for the country and wish for the prosperity [of the country] with divine help. Their [earnest] feelings are boundless. They spontaneously admire the king and honor obedience. The simplicity of their decorum is probably because they concentrate their attention on abiding by the Dharma. Therefore, in ancient times the former sage kings followed [the *śramaṇas*] and did not change [their decorum].

“The meshes of the heavenly net are large, far apart, yet they let nothing escape.”³⁰² We consider with reverence that even if we do not have [*śramaṇas*] bow [to the king], no damage is done to the laws of the land. If we favor people according to what benefits them, and if we cause none among the wise and the ignorant to dare not exert his mind, then what we have above

will be an extensive government, just as “Heaven overspreads all and Earth supports all,”³⁰³ and what we have below will be people who preserve one principle and cultivate wholesomeness.

We have sincerely restated our fatuous and shallow [views]. We pray that you will graciously examine [our report].

Sincerely yours.

[Epilogue]

At this time, Yu Bing’s opinion [that *śramaṇas* should bow to the king] came to an end and [the requirement that *śramaṇas*’] must bow [to the king] was not applied after all.

Letter Given to the Eight Executives to Discuss Buddhist Monks’ Bowing [to the King] by Huan Xuan

I, Xuan, bow twice and speak. I bow with my head to the ground.

The eighth day of the month is approaching.

Formerly *śramaṇas* did not bow to kings at all. Even though He [Chong] and Yu [Bing] have already debated this matter and both presented their opinions, neither of them submitted to the other logically. Yu [Bing’s] intention lies in respecting the ruler, but he has not completely established the basis of his reason. Because of his strong inclination toward faith [in Buddhism], He [Chong] consequently lost the essence of his name.³⁰⁴

Even though the Buddha’s edification is endlessly vast and infers the world beyond the visual and aural senses, respect is considered to be its foundation. On this point, there is no difference between [Buddhist] clergy and laypeople. I assume that what they aspire for may differ but this does not mean that respect should be abolished.

In the *Laozi* [*Dao de jing*], princes are considered equal to the three great elements: [Heaven, Earth, and the Way]. When [we examine] why they are considered to be so important, [we find that the reason] lies entirely in that they support [all things] to grow and [the heavenly bodies] to move smoothly. [Otherwise,] how could they be referred to as equal to the two polarities, [Heaven and Earth], only for the reason that sages occupy the throne? [As the *Book of Changes* says,] “The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called

life.” [The virtue] to make life all over the country and arrange all things lies in sovereigns. Therefore, we respect the throne and we are gloriously courteous to it. How could we vainly revere and value them? The significance is simply in the fact that sovereigns control [all things].

The reason *śramaṇas* are born in succession and live with support is also that they are every day under government ordinances [made by sovereigns]. How could it be that [*śramaṇas*] enjoy the virtue [given by sovereigns] and abandon courtesy [toward the sovereigns], or benefit from [sovereigns’] kindness but reject [the propriety of] paying respect to them?³⁰⁵ Inasmuch as this is not allowed in reason, neither is it tolerable in sentiment. For such a serious matter to our generation, we must together seek an appropriate idea. Moreover, we should thoroughly study this in a body. You should have a complete conclusion by this coming eighth day of the month.

I, Huan Xuan, bow twice, and bow down with my head to the ground.

The Eight Executives’ Response

(This piece of writing came from a historical fact.)

We, Huan Qian, General of the Capital Army, Director of the Imperial Secretariat, and Dynasty-founding Marquis of Yiyang, and others, fearing the death penalty, respectfully received your instruction to require *śramaṇas* to bow to the king. [You say that] even though He [Chong] and Yu [Bing] have
80c debated [this matter] the issue has not been completely examined and, since this is a serious matter, an appropriate conclusion should be made. Everything is truly as you have said.

Nevertheless, the Buddhist Dharma and the teaching of Laozi and Confucius are separate from each other in tenor and entirely go against each other in terms of ethical education. [Chinese] people consider their hair and skin to be valuable, while [Buddhist monks] do not question shaving off their hair. [Buddhist monks] renounce the world, abandon their parents, and do not think that being respectfully attentive to their parents is filial piety. They view their bodies [as being as insignificant as] a clod of dirt or a piece of wood; they cut off desires and stop competing. They do not expect anything in this existence and seek for bliss beyond myriads of *kalpas*. They keep away from all the things that are considered honorable in the secular

world, and in their intention they completely cut off what is valued in ethical education. “The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler.”³⁰⁶ [This phrase shows that] the relationship with one’s blood relatives is considered to be the most important [in ethical education]. [Buddhist monks, however,] leave behind even love for their relatives. How would it be possible that they would bow to the emperor who commands ten thousand chariots? Taking the tide as it comes, they naturally cope with discontinuing [the requirement to bow to the king].

Through the three dynasties (Han, Wei, and Jin) we have allowed [Buddhism] to take its own course. This is because [the people thought that] spirits have no set rules, and so they also did not control [what Buddhist monks do]. In the world that is beyond the visual and aural senses there is probably a separate reason. Even if today we require *śramaṇas* to bow [to the king], we fear that we have to change many things [related to this]; the issue is not only about bowing [to the king] with one’s head to the ground and then standing up.

Furthermore, the fact that the king deferentially follows the Dharma is due to his own respect [for Buddhism]. It is incomprehensible that he would believe in Buddhist doctrines yet want to change [Buddhist] deportment.

To conform [to the present situation] and allow *śramaṇas* to be as they are is the magnificence of “letting the people act freely and exercising forbearance.”³⁰⁷ Secretariat Director Wang [Mi] responded to your criticism separately. Zhang Chang of Confucius’ kingdom is over there; I think you have already inquired of his [group] face-to-face what they have in mind.³⁰⁸ All Buddhist monks, including Daobao, deserve to requite your lofty purpose. We do not know Buddhist doctrines. We have written here in accordance with what we feel. We are ashamed that our statement is unworthy for you to read.

We, [Huan] Qian and others, are afraid of being sentenced with the death penalty.

**Letter Given to Secretariat Director
Wang [Mi] to Discuss the Issue that
Buddhist Monks Should Bow
to the King by Huan Xuan**

Śramaṇas reject bowing to the Most August. I feel that this is an awkward situation and a matter of grave concern of our generation. We should discuss

this fully together. I have already sent my letter to the Eight Executives in the capital. Today I give this letter to you. You are the one who is capable of managing this matter. I look forward to hearing your virtuous opinion.

**Letter in Response to Huan
[Xuan] by Secretariat
Director Wang [Mi]**

Wang Mi, General of the Palace Guard, Minister of the Ministry of Personnel, Secretariat Director, and Baron of Wugang, fearing the death penalty, respectfully received your instruction, which refers to the fact that Buddhist monks reject bowing to the Most August. I read your letter, which was given to the Eight Executives at the same time.

I fully understand your lofty purpose. Both the expression and principle of your patient assertion are of the utmost. Recently I briefly heard the impartial way but I have not yet completely investigated the issue. I examined the two purposes of He [Chong] and Yu [Bing]. I also regret that they have not fully [discussed the issue]. I think that these two [gentlemen's] debate has faltered in biased views. They have not pressed the point to make it clearly understandable. This is truly as you have pointed out.

81a The Buddhist Dharma arose in and came from India. Its foundation is deep and it is difficult to express in words. Since [some aspects of the foundation] became doctrines, we can roughly speak of it.

I think that every place has its unique customs. Although what the people are content with varies in each place, as far as the principles by which their ruler reigns over the people are concerned, it is hardly possible that nothing is the same.

Today, even though *śramaṇas* are deeply respectful [to the king] in their minds, they do not consider bending their bodies [to bow down] to be a courtesy. [Monks] are those whose footprints fill this land and yet whose interest goes beyond the boundaries of this world. Therefore, every king of a foreign country humbly shows courtesy to them. This is really to value that the Way exists, not merely to weigh the importance on account of a [particular] individual.

I think that it has been really a long time since the great Dharma began to be circulated [in China]. It has been more than four hundred years and three dynasties have elapsed. Even though our customs have changed and government

has shifted, there is no change in the fact that [the great Dharma] is propagated. Wouldn't this be because the teaching of splendid isolation is beneficial for edifying the people little by little in daily life, and the clean and simple style [of Buddhism] does no harm to worldly prosperity and peace? Therefore kings behave themselves prudently and do not feel sad about having fewer households (i.e., taxpayers) [because Buddhist monks are exempt from taxation]. *Śramaṇas* protect the truth and make no question of going against worldly affairs.

I heard that you said, “[The virtue] to make life all over the country and arrange all things lies in sovereigns.” When I examine what it is to which all principles return, it is really just as you have argued. I read your virtuous letter three times and still cannot stop rereading it. Even though I wish to respectfully reply to you, I have no words. I still think that one whose achievement is lofty is not rewarded, and one whose benevolence is deep is not given grateful acknowledgement. Even if [*śramaṇas*] were to bow to [the king], would this be enough for them to respond to the kindness with which he aids and leads them?

With favorable consideration you did not forget me and asked me for my vulgar opinion. I have arbitrarily and frankly expressed my foolish views. I would simply not like to cause you to detest what I have reported. I pray that you will not reject my words merely because they are from me. At the moment I finished my statement, I felt restless.

I, [Wang] Mi, am afraid of the death penalty.

Criticism [to Wang Mi] by Huan [Xuan]

You wrote in your letter, “Even though *śramaṇas* are deeply respectful [to the king] in their minds, they do not consider bending their bodies [to bow down] to be a courtesy.”

I criticize this, saying, “Regarding *śramaṇas*’ reverence, how could they all neglect it in their outward form and keep it only in their minds? When they repent and worship, they do so in a serious [manner]. Here, in regard to this matter (i.e., extending one’s greeting), monks—from a teacher (Skt. *śāstr*) up to a senior priest who supervises the ceremonies and services of a temple—all [pay respect]. There is only a minor difference in their system from that of people in general who bow with their hands folded in front while

kneeling. Since they cannot forget the form [they follow] over there, why then do they disregard the style of deportment here?

“Moreover, [in Buddhism], regarding the reason to become a teacher, they consider awakening through helping others to be virtuous. The way of the ruler is to make life possible throughout the country. Therefore, this principle should lie at the foundation. How could the meaning of the three most revered people (ruler, father, and teacher) not be the very pinnacle of reason and feeling?”

You wrote in your letter, “[Therefore,] every king of a foreign country humbly shows courtesy to [Buddhist monks]. This is really to value that the Way exists, not merely to weigh the importance on account of a [particular] individual.”

81b I criticize this, saying, “It is not appropriate to compare [our king] to those of foreign countries. In [the place] Buddhism originated we can see its tenor. Isn't it the case that since the six barbarian tribes are disobedient and strong and cannot be educated by normal teachings, therefore, by the great establishment of a mysterious and strange [teaching, the Buddha] aroused awe and they then submitted [to the teaching]? Having already aroused awe in them and gained their submission, the Buddha later caused them to follow the rules. This is probably based on the fact that [the barbarians] were basically fearful of the reward and retribution of spiritual beings. How can this be said to be reverence for the profound and wondrous Way? You said, ‘This is really to value that the Way exists.’ [The reality] differs from your purpose. How could it be possible that if one merely puts on a Dharma robe the Way [then] exists within him? If the Way first exists and only later is deemed valuable, as you said, the way of sages would therefore be the culmination of the Way. In the homage paid to a ruler by his subjects courtesy would be deeper. In such a situation, how could it be possible that the reason *śramaṇas* do not bow [to the king] is because ‘the Way exists’ is considered to be valuable?”

You wrote in your letter, “[Since the great Dharma began to be circulated in China] it has been [more than] four hundred years and three dynasties have elapsed. [Even though our customs have changed and government has shifted,] there is no change in the fact that [the great Dharma] is propagated. Wouldn't this be because the teaching of splendid isolation is beneficial for edifying the people little by little in daily life, and the clean and simple style [of Buddhism] does no harm to worldly prosperity and peace?”

I criticize this, saying, “The fact that [Buddhism] has not changed over the duration of [the three dynasties] cannot be considered as a testimony. Formerly there was almost no one among the Chinese who believed in the Buddha. All *śramaṇas* and their followers were various kinds of foreigners. Moreover, the [Chinese] kings did not make contact with [foreign *śramaṇas* and their followers]. [The kings] simply let them practice their own local customs without restriction. Presently His Majesty believes in the Buddha and is on intimate terms with [*śramaṇas*] in Buddhist services. The [present] situation is different from that of former times. Why, then, should we not have ratification of the Buddhists’ decorum? ‘[Buddhism is beneficial] in daily life’ and ‘the clean and simple [style]’ is helpful in teaching the people’—this is entirely as you have said, but this is likely the achievement of the Buddhist Dharma, not a benefit brought about by *śramaṇas*’ boasting. If we are sincerely respectful to [*śramaṇas*] now there will be nothing more to strengthen their help [in edifying the people].”

You wrote in your letter, “One whose achievement is lofty is not rewarded, and one whose benevolence is deep is not given grateful acknowledgement. Even if [*śramaṇas*] were to bow to [the king], would this be enough for them to respond to the kindness with which he aids and leads them?”

I criticize this, saying, “The utmost degree of reason is not recompensed. This is really as you pointed out in your letter. Nevertheless, in our sentiments, when [the ruler’s kindness] is boundless our respect for him naturally follows. This is why sages establish courtesy according to human feelings and lead each person to that to which he entrusts himself. If gratitude is always to be omitted when the achievement is deep and there is great benevolence, is Śākyamuni’s virtue deep or shallow? If it is shallow, we should not throw important [human] relations into disorder [in order to follow] his minor ways. If it is deep, how could it be possible that [*śramaṇas*] seriously pay respect among themselves yet reject bowing [to the king]?”

Second Response by Lord [Wang Mi]

You criticized, “Regarding *śramaṇas*’ reverence, how could they all neglect it in their outward form and keep it only in their minds? When they repent and worship they do so in a serious [manner].”

I reply, “The way of *śramaṇas* originally takes reverence to be primary. Since [*śramaṇas*] are simply different from us (i.e., secular people) on the path to ferry [beings to the yonder shore], they do not bow [to the king,] according to what is right. Consequently, even though families and relatives are important, the physical form of showing courtesy [toward one’s families and relatives] becomes insignificant. The reason *śramaṇas* admire and respect their teachers and senior monks is truly because when they share the same goal younger monks give precedence to elders, and in their relationships with [their teachers and senior monks] who support and lead them to [the goal] their actions comply with their minds. Originally, although the Buddhist Dharma is vast it does not abandon minor wholesome conduct. Reward complies with even small merit. ‘Many a little [bit] makes a mountain.’ The meaning of this is apparent here.”

You criticized, “The way of the ruler is to make life possible throughout the country. Therefore, this principle should lie at the foundation. How could the meaning of the three most revered people not be the very pinnacle of reason and feeling?”

I reply, “The way of the ruler is to make life possible throughout the country; that is to say, it is the same, in reason, as the Creator. [The Creator] makes all things and spreads [life-giving] vapor all over, and its achievement is magnanimous. Nevertheless, it has never been the case that those who receive its blessings are thankful to [the Creator] for them. No one has felt obligated to the foundation of reason (i.e., the Creator). Why? It is truly because the foundation of profundity is quiet and remote and not something that can be shown in physical and phenomenal objects. The principle of moving [Heaven and Earth] smoothly is wondrous. How can we requite it through our poor conduct? Therefore, Confucius says, ‘[The people] may be made to follow [a course of action] but they may not be made to understand it.’³⁰⁹ That is what this means.”

You criticized, “It is not appropriate to compare [our king] to those of foreign countries. In [the place] Buddhism originated we can see its tenor. Isn’t it the case that since the six barbarian tribes are disobedient and strong and cannot be educated by normal teachings, therefore, by the great establishment of a mysterious and strange [teaching, the Buddha] aroused awe and they then submitted [to the teaching]?”

I reply, “[Sages] established their instructions in accordance with the Way of the Spirit,³¹⁰ which is really difficult to discern in language. I think that [the Buddha] shows [the law of] reward and retribution by the great establishment of the mysterious and strange [teaching]. This is the superlative reason of the truth; [the effect follows the cause, just as] a shadow [follows a form] and an echo [follows a sound]. This is the fundamental essence of Buddhism. If we think now that [the teaching of] the three periods of existence is false and absurd and [the teaching of] weal and woe [as the result of good and bad conduct] is a threat, then what Śākyamuni clarified has nearly no standpoint.

“I usually think that the edification of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius is to rescue [the world] from a very harmful situation. Consequently, [the instructions] spoken by them are limited to a lifetime and do not explain the path [of the principle of causality] for myriads of *kalpas*. Nevertheless, when we deeply inquire about their purport we can also often find [teachings similar to those of Buddhism]. [Chinese teachings such as] being a filial child, showing respect to one’s elder siblings, and being benevolent and righteous unexpectedly clarify that [such teachings] are spontaneously the same [as those of Buddhism]. Compassion and mercy are certainly observed in [the Chinese law regarding] the destruction of life according to the four seasons. Furthermore, [Confucius] admonished and stopped Zhong You (i.e., Zilu) from asking [about death and spirits].³¹¹ It also appears that he had a profound purpose [for doing so]. The style of the teaching [of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius], however, differs from [that of Buddhism]. Therefore these points are usually obscure. I calmly looked into this issue. It is mostly so. It is nearly so.”

You criticized, “In the homage paid to a ruler by his subjects courtesy would be deeper. In such a situation how could it be possible that the reason *śramaṇas* do not bow [to the king] is because ‘the Way exists’ is considered to be valuable?”

I reply, “I reexamined your lofty discussion. You think that the way of the ruler moves [Heaven and Earth] smoothly and [that the ruler] is the same as the three great elements (Heaven, Earth, and the Way) in reason. Regarding this issue, I have already presented my vulgar opinion. I think that as far as the way of the ruler and his people is concerned, I personally agree with your lofty purport. Regarding the homage paid to a ruler by his subjects, the principle

is limited to the teaching on morality and ethics (i.e., Confucianism). Today *śramaṇas* are not the subjects of princes and nobles. Therefore [the requirement that they must] bow to them is abolished.”

You criticized, “The fact that [Buddhism] has not changed over the duration of [the three dynasties] cannot be considered as a testimony. Formerly there was almost no one among the Chinese who believed in the Buddha. All *śramaṇas* and their followers were various kinds of foreigners. Moreover, the [Chinese] kings did not make contact with [foreign *śramaṇas* and their followers]. [The kings] simply let them practice their own local customs without restriction.”

I reply, “The reason I wrote in my previous letter that [Buddhism] has continued for many years is exactly that there must be a reason for [the kings] to have allowed and supported the [Buddhist] Way. I did not mean that there is never a reason to change anything that has been accomplished. This was probably said by mere chance; it is not a point to which I stubbornly hold fast. Foreigners did not make contact with [Chinese] kings. This is again just as [you pointed out in] your lofty discussion. The reason the issue [of *śramaṇas* bowing to the king] was not discussed in former ages probably lies in this [historical] fact.”

You criticized, “This is likely the achievement of the Buddhist Dharma, not a benefit brought about by *śramaṇas*’ boasting. If we are sincerely respectful to [*śramaṇas*] now, there will be nothing more to strengthen their help [in edifying the people].”

I reply, “I respectfully examined the discussion in your letter. It does not bring a false charge against Buddhist doctrines. The act of boasting merely damages the great edification (i.e., Buddhism). This is truly as you admonished; really, just as you admonished. I think that the way of *śramaṇas* can be said to be peculiar but it is not [comprised of] such boasting.

“Presently, in these latter days, a thousand years [after Śākyamuni passed away], simple and sincere customs and traditions have declined and those who dishonestly wear [the Dharma] robe have become numerous. They are unbecoming [to other *śramaṇas*]. How could I not feel ashamed of them?

“I simply think to control myself and keep silent now. I should put aside speaking about other human beings and speak only of the [Buddhist] Way. I wrote in my previous response, ‘[This is really to value that the Way exists,]

not to weigh the importance on account of a [particular] individual.’ My humble intention lies in this point.”

You criticized, “If gratitude is always to be omitted when the achievement is deep and there is great benevolence, is Śākyamuni’s virtue deep or shallow? If it is shallow, we should not throw important [human] relations into disorder [in order to follow] his minor ways. If it is deep, how could it be possible that [śramaṇas] seriously pay respect among themselves yet reject bowing [to the king]?”

I reply, “I think that the Way of Śākyamuni is deep, indeed profound, and those who look up to him respectfully consolidate their respect more and more. This is probably because those who reach the Way must rely on the achievement of practice, and nothing is more esteemed than the virtue of the achievement of practice. Just like this, accumulating practice is the base cause, the key to one’s next existence. Moreover, it is still difficult to restrain [a śramaṇa’s] achievement [of the practice] of paying respect to his teachers and seniors. Furthermore, in drawing the mind toward the ultimate, is it possible to neglect courtesy? Therefore, even if one were to bend or lift his head [to show respect] for numerous *kalpas*, this does not mean that he expresses his gratitude for the blessings [he has received].”

Second Criticism by Huan [Xuan]

I examined your letter. I still have not settled some uncertainties. In accordance with your letter, I once again roughly express my criticism.

How is it allowable for there to be two different principles for feelings and paying respect? Everything is simply from the inside (i.e., feelings) and influences the outside (i.e., actions of paying respect). Since we have already entered the realm of beings who possess feelings and consciousness (sentient beings), it is impossible to do without [respect]. If, just as you said in your letter, “[The way of] the ruler . . . is the same, in reason, as the Creator. . . . It has never been the case that those who receive its blessings are thankful to [the Creator] for them. No one has felt obligated to the foundation of reason (i.e., the Creator),” this means that [the ruler’s] achievement is profound, his reasoning is deep, and nothing is greater than this. How could the Buddha’s edification surpass this?

82b Nevertheless, you said in your discussion, “Since [*śramaṇas*] are simply different from us (i.e., secular people) on the path to ferry [beings to the yonder shore], they do not bow [to the king] according to what is right” and “[The reason *śramaṇas* admire and respect their teachers and senior monks is truly because] when they share the same goal younger monks give precedence to elders, and in their relationships with [their teachers and senior monks] who support and lead them to [the goal] their actions comply with their minds.” If [the ruler’s] reasoning lies in his own foundation and his virtue is deep and has reached culmination, then how is it possible to say, “[*Śramaṇas*] are simply different from us on the path to ferry [beings to the yonder shore]” and “[they do not] bow [to the king]”? What is their goal? If studies are considered to be their goal, what scholars learn originally spring simply from the essential qualities of Nature. If Nature exists [first of all] and [what scholars learn] is received from it, then it is easily known that Nature is the foundation. The awakening that is attained by one’s teacher’s support and guidance merely further illuminates its final point. How is it possible that “actions comply with the mind” applies here but does not [apply] over there?

Moreover, you said, “The edification of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius is to rescue [the world] from a very harmful situation. Consequently, [the instructions spoken by them] are limited to a lifetime and do not explain the path [of the principle of causality] for myriads of *kalpas*.”

When one edifies the people by means of the mysterious, the teaching is easily practiced. This is different from the teaching that urges [and encourages] people to practice benevolence and righteousness, which is limited to human affairs. Therefore, the followers of the Yellow Turbans who aroused people with wild talk all advanced just as clouds do, [to fight the enemy]. If this [teaching] is the truth and is also easily practiced, why do sages reject the practical way that is easily practiced and take up minor things that are difficult to carry out? It is also clear that this cannot be so. In edifying those of various customs, the principle lies in salvation through expedient means. The purport of exaggerated talk can be known [as a matter of course].

Furthermore, you said, “[Regarding] the homage paid to a ruler by his subjects, the principle is limited to the teaching on morality and ethics. Today *śramaṇas* are not the subjects of princes and nobles. Therefore [the requirement that they must] bow to them is abolished.”

Why is this so? Regarding the principle of respect, I have explained it in detail in my previous letter. The homage paid to a ruler by his subjects arises entirely spontaneously and is firm in the foundation of feeling in reason. How could this be a matter of the teaching on morality and ethics? In my previous discussion I said, “[As the *Book of Changes* says,] ‘The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called life.’ [The virtue] to make life all over the country and arrange all things lies in sovereigns.” If what makes life possible all over the country lies in these (i.e., sovereigns), how could it be possible that [the sovereign] is not valued by Nature?

In addition, you said, “Those who reach the Way must rely on the achievement of practice . . . accumulating practice is the base cause, the key to one’s next existence. . . . Furthermore, in drawing the mind toward the ultimate, is it possible to neglect courtesy? [Therefore,] even if one were to bend or lift his head [to show respect] for numerous *kalpas*, this does not mean that he expresses his gratitude for the blessings [he has received].”

Please allow me to follow your purpose in your letter, avail myself of it, and offer criticism. According to your letter, paying respect is the beginning of practice, and sincerely paying respect is important. The achievement of practice must be simply calculated based on the effort one has made toward its achievement. How could it be possible that one merely reveres Śākyamuni and then claims that there is nothing more esteemed than this [action]? Gratitude for blessings is beyond expression. This is something about which wise people have no doubt. In reason, however, [homage paid to a ruler] is extremely deeply rooted in feeling. It is simply impossible to go about without respect. How could subjects’ paying homage to their king be [the same as] showing gratitude for blessings?

Third Response by Lord [Wang Mi]

I respectfully received your words, together with your gracious second criticism. I accept your lofty purpose. The principle of this issue is profound and it is extremely difficult to discuss. Furthermore, it is a matter of grave concern for our generation. We should thoroughly discuss this in detail before it is too late.

My talent is not outstanding and I particularly lack the ability for close investigation and analysis. Moreover, your wondrous criticism is of an

82c

extremely advanced level. I become more uncertain and confused. Nevertheless, since your lofty purpose has reached me I dare not keep silent. In this case I will again recklessly respond to your admonition in accordance with my shortsighted view. Please pardon me if there is nothing [here] to inspire you. I am merely restless. I pray that you will inquire of various Buddhist monks and versatile scholars [about this issue] and remove my imperfect points.

You said, “What is their goal? If studies are considered to be their goal, what scholars learn originally springs simply from the essential qualities of Nature. If Nature exists [first of all] and [what scholars learn] is received from it, then it is easily known that Nature is the foundation.”

I think that [*śramaṇas*’] goal is the highest Way toward which they are heading. Studies are an expedient that we use daily. As we now intend to go to the utmost degree there, it is simply impossible to advance without borrowing the expedient [means of study]. Therefore, we know that achievement of [the expedient of study] that we are borrowing is not the utmost point. One who goes to the utmost point [of the Way] through the accumulation of learning certainly goes up coarse steps and reaches a wondrous stage. After the fish is caught the bamboo fish trap (i.e., an expedient) is abandoned. This principle is seen here.

You think that it is easy to edify [people] by means of the mysterious, and difficult [to urge and encourage] the achievement of benevolence and righteousness. [You said,] “why do sages reject the practical way that is easily practiced and take up minor things that are difficult to carry out? It is also clear that this cannot be so.”

I think that the Buddha’s teaching is absolutely different from that of the Chinese sages. Since it is said that they differ from each other, they are not on the same level as a matter of course. At present we are discussing Buddhist doctrines. Therefore, we must establish our statements on the basis of its foundation. Only then we can know in detail which aspect [of Buddhism] goes smoothly and which aspect is blocked.

The reason I mentioned in my previous response about benevolent and wholesome practices and the teaching of non-killing [of Confucianism] is because they are similar to and can be seen to be the same as [Buddhist tenets]. Therefore I simply cited them. Regarding your observation, I would

like to argue against it. What the teaching of the Buddhist precepts aims for is assuredly too difficult to be considered the same as [that of Confucianism].

Nevertheless, as far as my ignorant view is concerned, Buddhism is more difficult. Why do I say this? According to what the Chinese sages have now clarified, it is believed that when one sends forth his words, if they are good, they will receive a response, just as a shadow [follows a form] and an echo [follows a sound]; and if the [words] are evil, they will be opposed by people as far as a thousand li distant.³¹² In this way, good or bad conduct soon responds [to the one who performed the action], and fortune and misfortune [as their results] appear before his eyes. Moreover, [as Confucius says,] “Benevolent conduct is from a man himself.”³¹³ If one broadens [his path] it is good enough. There are, however, still those who reject right and comply with evil, and those who go against the Way and follow [their own] desires.

Moreover, in Buddhism one’s lifetime is explained as of very brief duration, like the time it takes to snap one’s fingers, and reaching the essential destination is expected to take place after an eternal *kalpa*. It is said that mysterious things have no fixed status. Reward and retribution is provided [in the future, even though] no indication of our existence is given. Isn’t it also difficult to accept these and believe [in Buddhism]? For this reason, even though the edification [of the Buddha] was introduced into China there are only a small number of people who have become awakened. Therefore, the [*Taizi ruiying*] *benqi jing* says, “Words that are strictly true sound paradoxical.”³¹⁴ This is what is meant.

You said, “The achievement of practice must be simply calculated based on the effort one has made toward its achievement. How could it be possible that one merely reveres Śākyamuni and then claims that there is nothing more esteemed than this [action]?” 83a

Please let me try to say more about this. I think that the Buddhist Way is great and vast, and its doctrines are complicated. It may be believed that there are more than one practice for training one’s spirit and attaining the Way. In the case of someone who has no weariness in his mind and is able to effort to do anything, to revere the ultimate is merely one of the achievements of practice. I said in my previous response, “Nothing is more esteemed than this.” What I meant was that in drawing the mind toward the ultimate Way, it is difficult to esteem anything more than the principle. I did not mean

that worship counts for nothing as a practice. As I am yet only in the unsettled stage I cannot but hope that I might be led [to the ultimate Way]. Even if something is very insignificant, it is certainly what is needed for the closing period.

You said, “The homage paid to a ruler by his subjects arises entirely spontaneously and is firm in the foundation of feeling in reason. How could this be a matter of the teaching on morality and ethics?”

I respectfully keep your valued discussion in mind and stick to this. It is faultless. Therefore, I said in my previous response, “As far as the way of the ruler and his people is concerned, I personally agree with your lofty purport.” My intention lies in this.

Regarding the homage between a ruler and his subjects, the issue is limited to the decorum of bowing with one’s hands folded in front. Therefore I simply took this to be [the decorum of] the teaching on morality and ethics (i.e., Confucianism). I did not mean that [expressions of respect] between [ruler and subjects] is limited to this behavior.

Please let me explain again in order to completely express my humble intentions. In the world of greatest antiquity a ruler and his subjects were each in their own rank and they had a natural feeling of [mutual] love. Namely, righteousness was apparent in the foundation of edification. The forms to show respect of that time are never heard [of today]. The way of the ruler was openly carried out. Consequently, the operation in which [a ruler and his subjects] do not engage with one another was peaceful. The way of the subjects was moved and influenced [by their ruler] imperceptibly. Therefore, they were completely content with any aspect of matters. Inferring from this point, it is almost clear that the forms to show respect have nothing to do with one’s mind. Later, when [people] gave rise to love and praise [for their ruler], this decorum developed. Can it be denied that [this decorum] was established by a sage of later ages and developed in accord with the need of the times?

This logical sequence is abstract and extensive. It is truly difficult to explain this. If I am wrong, please let me receive your lofty words.

Fourth Letter by Huan [Xuan]

Your counterargument is very beautifully written. It is particularly striking. I thought it could dispel my doubtful points but it still has not come to [that

point]. Thereupon, we have attacked and criticized each other but we have not come to a conclusion. If we now again consider the essentials, clarify the principle of the three most revered people, and argue with regard to the gravity [of the ruler and the Buddha], then the reason why [*śramaṇas*] do or do not bow [to the king] can be understood. I think that the achievement of closely investigating something subtle must lie in going through such trouble and making a judgment.

The eighth day of the month has already come. I have now written to Right Chief Administrator [Yu Heng] and ordered him to enforce [the custom that *śramaṇas* must] bow [to the king] and revere the way of the ruler. I caused no one in the world to not bow [to the king]. Even though the Buddhist Way is the most respectable, can it be acceptable for [*śramaṇas*] to not have complete good conduct?

Although this matter has already been put into operation no one should hesitate to discuss this. We should investigate it exhaustively. I think that there are some among you who have analyzed the issue more closely. They may show [their views to Yin] Zhongwen (d. 407).

Additional Criticism by [Huan Xuan]

The other day I received your letter and all the gentlemen's discourses but none of these have resolved our doubts. While we make criticisms about this issue we merely change from one point to another. Today I will repeat what I previously thought and go into details. I hope that you will rein in a white horse (i.e., stop quibbling) and simply understand that there are rules in debating.³¹⁵

83b

What is important in Buddhism is to completely value the human spirit. For this reason, a teacher and his disciples mutually believe in this incomparable principle. Generally, each side of the spirit's light and darkness has its own part. There is the foundation from which each part receives its nature when it arises. The teacher's achievement lies in developing [his disciples' natural abilities] and awakening them. This can be compared to the achievement of polishing a rough jade from Mount Jing until it becomes smooth and glossy. If the real substance is not fine jade [to begin with], what benefit can be expected if one were to chisel and polish it? This means that the good and bad dispositions of people exist naturally. Profound virtue exists in a

person at the beginning of his life. The achievement of polishing [his disposition] until it becomes smooth and glossy truly comes at the very end.

One holds [his virtuous disposition like] a jade within himself and works on it in order to make [it as useful as a serving] vessel. Except for the way of the ruler nothing prolongs and completes one's life and leads one to devote himself to the Way. This is why in [ranking] the importance of the three most revered people, the teacher is at the bottom. How can this be said? It is because the way of the ruler holds that of the teacher simultaneously, but [the way of] the teacher does not hold [the way of] the ruler concurrently. To propagate [the Way] through teaching and regulate [people] through laws is the way of the ruler. Isn't this so? How could it be possible for [the teacher, who is] less important in the principle [of the three most revered people,] to deprive [the ruler, who] should be more highly respected, of homage? I repeated this reason three times. I have even greater suspicions [about your views] and I am surprised by them.

The purport that [the sages] created [decorum] lies in that (i.e., the ruler), but not in this (i.e., the teacher). When we mistakenly employ this the harmful influence becomes more serious. I further hope that you will understand the purport [that the sages created decorum], value this issue highly, and comprehend it, [just as Zhuangzi understood beyond the scope of words on the dam] over the Hao River.³¹⁶

Fourth Response by Lord [Wang Mi]

Thank you again for your excellent instruction!

You said that the Buddha's teaching values the human spirit; each side of the spirit's light and darkness has its own part; the teacher's principle lies in developing [his disciples' natural abilities] and awakening them; and, regarding the way of the ruler, it can prolong and complete one's life and leads one to devote himself to the Way. You indicated that the teacher does not have virtue to lead [the people] inclusively, but the ruler holds the virtue of the teacher simultaneously. You promote the grand decorum to venerate the ruler and analyze the depth of the three most revered people. Everything is exactly as you said. You are truly right, sir.

The reason I recently spoke of my humble views impertinently and corresponded with you is this: as inquiries [about this issue] gathered around me and I was not allowed to hide them. Therefore, I further argued some reasons separately, but this is not a delusion that I have usually had.

I have already carefully looked again into your wondrous purpose. Your reason is quite great and extensive. The phrase “Seeing clearly as if a film has been removed from my eyes” applies here.³¹⁷

I was told that you had already ordered Yu Heng to enforce the custom [that *śramaṇas* must bow to the king]. This issue has been settled just in time. We, the people and I, feel very happy about this.

I look up respectfully to the meaning I understand, which lies in encouraging us to adhere to fidelity [to the ruler]. As for your instruction [that we should comprehend this issue just as Zhuangzi understood beyond the scope of words on the dam] over the Hao River, I dare not accept your order.

**Letter in Response to Huan Xuan Regarding
the Issue that *Śramaṇas* Should Not
Bow to the King by Dharma
Teacher Huiyuan of Mount Lu,
together with Huan Xuan’s
Two Letters**

Letter Given to Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan by Huan Xuan

83c

As for the issue that *śramaṇas* should not bow to the king, this is already not understood in my feeling and not clarified in reason. It is a matter of grave concern for our generation. We cannot make this establishment inappropriate. Recently I wrote to the Eight Executives. Today I show this to you. Please explain why [*śramaṇas*] should not pay homage to [the king]. This custom (i.e., bowing to the king) must be put into practice. I will have every single thing sent to you. I hope that you will certainly have explanations for my doubtful points. Commandant Wang [Mi] seriously intends to take charge of this matter. Recently I visited Xie Zhong along with [Wang Mi] and consulted with [Xie Zhong] about it face to face. I differ from these two (i.e., Wang Mi and Xie Zhong) in regard to the principles on which we base [our arguments]. So we have not dispelled our doubts. I will order Guo

[Changzhi], [the Regional Chief of] Jiangzhou, to accept your response. Please deliver your opinion to him.

Response [to Huan Xuan] by Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan

I carefully examined your proclamation in a separate envelope and the letter given to the Eight Executives.

You ask me my opinion regarding the issue that *śramaṇas* are disrespectful to the king. Your intention lies in revering the ruler and, in turn, establishing the order of moral justification. In order to prove it, you refer to Laozi and take princes to be the same as the three great elements, [Heaven, Earth, and the Way].³¹⁸ Since the way [of the ruler] is what supports [all things] to grow and [the heavenly bodies] to move smoothly, we must value the throne.

If we infer the foundation [of all beings] in order to look for its origin, all beings receive the [*yin-yang*] vapor from the two polarities (Heaven and Earth) and their bodies from their parents. That is to say, the way to perpetuate lives and cause Heaven and Earth to move smoothly is magnanimous. The principle on which we depend for our existence and which we employ every day is great. Consequently, [*śramaṇas*] should not abandon showing courtesy to [the king] as long as they receive his virtue. They should not reject paying their respects to him as long as they benefit from his kindness. This is the foundation of your purpose, our donor, and I do not have a different thought from yours. When I look into the issue from [the standpoint of] Buddhism and seek the way of *śramaṇas*, [however,] the situation is not so in reason.

Why? According to what is clarified in Buddhist scriptures there are two groups [of Buddhists]. One group are those who stay in the secular world and propagate the teaching. The other group are those who renounce the world and pursue the [Buddhist] Way [as monastics]. For those who remain in the secular world, the courtesy to serve the ruler, paying respect to one's parents, and the righteousness of loyalty toward the ruler and filial piety toward one's parents are found in compositions in Buddhist texts. The instruction [to value] the three most revered people is evident in the sacred books (i.e., Buddhist scriptures). This is the same ordinance as that of the Imperial system; they are just like a pair of tallies. This point is entirely what you, our donor, have clarified. A divergent view is not allowable in reason.

Those who have renounced the world are visitors from beyond the mundane world. Their way of life is beyond that of worldly people. The teaching

for them is to master [the fact] that afflictions are caused by having a body and that afflictions are ended by not preserving the body, to know that [the operation of] life after life is derived from receiving the principle of the mutation [of birth and death in the phenomenal world], and to seek the ultimate law of Nature by not following the principle of the mutation [of birth and death]. Since they seek the ultimate law of Nature by not following the principle of the mutation [of birth and death], they do not value the support of [a sovereign who] manages the movement of [Heaven and Earth]. Since they bring an end to afflictions by not preserving the body, they do not esteem the advantage of [the sovereign's] welfare [toward the people]. This means that the principles and forms go against each other and monks and secular people are contrary to each other. Accordingly, in general those who have renounced the world live in seclusion in order to pursue their aspiration and they become different from secular people in order to realize their way. Since they are different from secular people, their clothing code must not be the same as in secular rule. Since they live in seclusion they must follow a lofty lifestyle. On this basis, they are able to save secular people who are drowning in the deep stream [of the transmigration of birth and death], uproot their deep roots [of karma] for numerous *kalpas*, profoundly lead [others] to the ferry of the three vehicles, and open the broad path to the realms of heavenly and human beings.

84a

For this reason, while privately a *śramaṇa* opposes his family's valuable [attachment to him and becomes a monk] he does not go against filial piety, and while a *śramaṇa* may lack the courtesy of paying respect to the ruler in public he is not impolite [to the sovereign]. This kind of person makes a vow for himself by taking the tonsure at the beginning, and his determination is accomplished in his later years. If someone completes the virtue [of a monk], the Buddhist Way diffuses [virtuous influence] over his family members of the six relations and the benefit spreads to all people. Even though [*śramaṇas*] are not placed in the rank of princes, [their way] is certainly compatible with the fundamental Way by which the emperor rules over the world, and they provide extensive protection for the people. Their situation is just like this. Do they receive the [ruler's] favor by doing nothing and vainly benefit from his kindness in the same way as those wise people who receive a stipend without ever rendering any service?

You recently considered that there are [monks] who put on [Dharma] robes, yet there is no one [who is qualified to wear the robe]. Therefore, you put the situation in order by selecting monks and training them; you purged and weeded out [unqualified monks]. Since the time this edict was issued, all monks have increased their sincerity a hundred times over and their fulfillment has become much deeper. This is beyond all description.

If you further explain what Buddhist monks should be in order to propagate the Buddhist Way, then those who are free from prejudice (i.e., Buddhist monks) will follow [the Buddha's] footsteps, and those who rinse their mouth with the water of the stream [of the Dharma] will taste the remaining drops.

If, after purging and weeding out [unqualified monks], your mind is still not settled, if true and false [monks] are mixed together in [the Buddhist order (*bhikṣu* sangha)], and if you are unable to distinguish between [the muddy water of] the Jing River and [the clear water of] the Wei River, then you may remove evil monks by means of the [Buddhist] Way—however, you assuredly must not abolish the [Buddhist] Way because of [such evil] monks. If you remove evil monks by means of the [Buddhist] Way, it is appropriate to take away their [Dharma] robes. Even if you abolish the [Buddhist] Way because of [evil] monks you must keep the framework of [the Buddhist] ceremonies. If the [Buddhist] ceremonies remain, the [Buddha's] purpose for establishing the [Buddhist] teaching can be sought. If the traces [of the teaching] (i.e., the framework of the Buddhist ceremonies) are abandoned, there will be no basis for the pleasure of accomplishing our determination.

Why do I say this so plainly? Even though the *śramaṇa*'s regulation of clothing and Buddhist implements are not like those found in the rules of the six generations,³¹⁹ they are themselves the distinguished system for the Buddhist school and they are excellent articles beyond the secular world. If such excellent articles are mingled with [secular ones], phenomena go against the foundation. If phenomena go against the foundation, the [framework of the Buddhist] ceremonies loses its function. Accordingly, those who love ceremony certainly do not damage such excellent articles. What you have attained cannot be lost. There is a reason for this.

One who abides by the Classics of the distant past (i.e., Confucius) still keeps the sacrificial sheep connected with the inauguration of the first day of each month.³²⁰ If the sacrificial sheep can still preserve the ceremony, how

much more so could the Dharma robe of the Tathāgata [preserve the Buddhist ceremonies]! Inferring from this, I say that even if the [Buddhist] Way does not [actually] exist we should certainly preserve the ceremonies. If the ceremonies are preserved the Dharma can be promulgated. If the Dharma can be promulgated the [Buddhist] Way can be sought. This is common throughout the ages and it is the immutable great law.

Furthermore, the Buddhist surplice is not the type of clothing [for monks to wear] when they have an audience with the emperor at court, and [a Buddhist monk's] earthenware almsbowl is not a vessel to be used in the Imperial court. The clothes [one wears to participate] in military affairs differ from those [worn when one takes part] in state affairs. The customs of non-Chinese people are not mixed with those of the Chinese. If [a monk] who shaves his head and disfigures himself were to suddenly participate in various Chinese ceremonies, this is a phenomenon in which two different kinds of things are mingled. It is also something with which I am personally not content.

You, our donor, have an outstanding personality, towering over others since the time you were young. Your refined taste surpasses that of people of the decadent world. You still call on and study with wise people of the time in order to seek the truth. From this point I infer that you would surely not ignore [good] words just because the person [who expresses those words is flawed].

I am in the evening of my life, just [as when the sun] goes down in the west. I avail myself of my remaining time, awaiting my final day. How could what I value highly in my mind only be in order to keep my existence? If I hold fast to my assertion without yielding, it is likely because I merely wish to restore the Three Treasures in this illustrious time and honorably transmit [the Buddha's] bright virtue to the coming hundred generations.

84b

If this issue [of requiring *śramaṇas* to bow to the king] is enforced even once Buddhism will be ruined for a long time, the Tathāgata's immutable law will vanish without a trace at this point, heavenly and human beings will lament, and Buddhist monks and laypeople will change their minds [and stop following the Buddhist Way]. How, then, could what I secretly and sincerely expect also be realized?

According to the abundant kindness [with which you treat me], I have frankly expressed here all of what I have in my mind. While writing this I

felt sad and resentful. I was unaware as my tears and nasal mucus unrestrainedly flowed.

**Response [to Huiyuan] by Defender-in-Chief
Huan [Xuan], together with the Decree to
Stop Śramaṇas from Bowing [to the King]**

I came to know that [śramaṇas] abandon their bodies because they are [visitors from] beyond the mundane world, and therefore they do not value the benefit of maintaining their lives. [You said,] “Since they seek the ultimate law of Nature by not following the principle of the mutation [of birth and death], they do not value the support of [a sovereign who] manages the movement of [Heaven and Earth].”

Moreover, you said, “While privately a śramaṇa opposes his family’s valuable [attachment to him and becomes a monk] he does not go against filial piety, and while a śramaṇa may lack the courtesy of paying respect to the ruler in public he is not impolite [to the sovereign].”

If the situation is just as you describe in your letter and all principles between father and son are originally not important, then we have nothing to follow in extending a feeling of filial piety. If the task of [śramaṇas] has nothing to do with the support and guidance [of the ruler], they need not again have the significance of extending respect [to him]. If you admit that [śramaṇas’] feelings for the ruler and their own fathers have not come to an end, why then do they reject [paying respect] to convey their feelings?

Worries exist in mental delusions, not from the form of bowing. Probably the form of bowing is simply [the manifestation] of the mental function. If in the basis (i.e., the mind) one rejects the form of bowing, this is again something I do not understand.

Furthermore, you said that Buddhism is propagated by two groups; there is the teaching for those who stay in the secular world; there is also the teaching [for śramaṇas,] the benefits of which spreads to all people of the world; the way [attained by śramaṇas] diffuses [virtuous influence] over their family members of the six relations; [the way of śramaṇas] is assuredly compatible with the fundamental Way by which the emperor rules over the world; and [śramaṇas] do not vainly benefit from [the ruler’s] virtue.

Buddhism exists in acts. By each [act Buddhists] comply with circumstances. There is the origin of cause and condition and there is surely a result, without fail. If [Buddhism] is like this, how can those who follow the [Buddhist] Way disobey [the doctrines]? Therefore Śākyamuni's Way was not able to cause his father, King Śuddhodana, to ride the ferry beyond [to nirvana]. Even though [King Śuddhodana] did not attain the stage of entering the stream of the sacred law (Skt. *śrotaāpatti-phala*), originally this is simply the same as what his people received. Just as you said in your letter, there is a reason for this. The achievement of profound virtue is assuredly not what “those who should teach [Buddhism]” (i.e., *śramaṇas*) of today can consider and deliberate.

I have not been able to seek the reason [of this issue] together with you in your letter. I have only been greatly disappointed. Accordingly, I have not yet clarified the issue. I hope that you will become free from confusion and the stagnant ideas that you have held for a long time, and not make a mistake in employing feeling and reason.

**Imperial Decree to Allow Buddhist
Monks Not to Bow [to the King] by
Huan [Xuan, Former King of] Chu³²¹**

My people! The Buddhist Dharma is too vast and unintelligible for me to understand. I infer your serious feelings for [Buddhism] and purposely join you in your respect for it. Today [I have ascended the throne], so the issue [of whether or not *śramaṇas* must bow to the king] is already at my discretion. If the issue is not completely understood, I would sooner follow the course that [*śramaṇas*] are exempt [from bowing to the king]. Everyone, do not force [*śramaṇas*] to bow [to the king] any more, and let all the people know about this.

**[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree
by Bian Sizhi and Yuan Kezhi]**

On the third day of the twelfth month, we, Palace Attendant [Bian] Sizhi and Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate and Palace Attendant Yuan Kezhi, speak. 84c

The Imperial decree is just as mentioned above. The Way of the Spirit is profound and obscure and the Imperial will is profound and remote. What

Your Majesty propagates is great. This has accordingly reached Buddhists who believe in the Buddha. Within the territory of your state all people are Your Majesty's lieges. Nevertheless, [Buddhist monks] place themselves as equal in courtesy to the emperor who commands ten thousand chariots, because they formerly began wearing the Dharma robe [and became monks]. We are discontented with this. How can practicing the decorum of bowing [to the king] with one's head to the ground and standing up damage their way? The important human relations between the nobles and the humble people should not be discontinued at all. If you allow that those except Confucianists may be excused from the deportment of bowing, please reject granting them an audience immediately. This statement should be kept in mind.

Humbly yours.

[Decree by Huan Xuan]

What is the problem? You must follow my Imperial decree.

**[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree
by Ma Fan and Bian Sizhi]**

On the fourth day of the twelfth month of the second year of Taiheng (403), we, Director of Interpreter-Clerk Ma Fan and Palace Attendant [Bian] Sizhi, speak.

We report to you. Again we received your brilliant Imperial decree. You honor the highest degree of deep modesty and walk the way of glorious humility. We are always concerned about you and we personally feel uneasy.

Even though there are various ways to govern the world, all principles come to the same point. In revering one's ruler and parents the Dharma teaching (i.e., Buddhism) does not go against [the Chinese teaching]. The four that are great (i.e., Heaven, Earth, the Way, and the king) advocated by Laozi are equal in nobility.³²² Even though [the teaching] of which *śramaṇas* avail themselves differs from [that of secular people,] their traces (actions) do not go beyond this world. How could it be possible that they are not the same as those whom Heaven made?

Your Majesty sincerely intends to promulgate [the custom that *śramaṇas* do not have to bow to the king] above others. Nevertheless, the decorum between the humble people and nobles is the statute to govern the world. We

think you must condescend and follow popular sentiment and uphold [the custom that *śramaṇas* should bow to the king] as an eternal system for the future. Please do as we have stated previously.

Humbly yours.

[Decree by Huan Xuan]

Leave this issue as it is! Let each person act in his own way! This is also to love the nine schools without distinction and to let each fulfill his own way.

[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Bian Sizhi]

I, Palace Attendant and Libationer Sizhi, speak.

Again I was granted the Imperial decree, as mentioned above.

Your Majesty's highest virtue is perfectly free from prejudice. You let [the wind] blow so that each of the myriad [apertures] makes its own sound.³²³ Each of the nine schools shows its good point. Both the eminent and the dark attain their summit. Your marvelous kindness secretly flows. There is no one who does not hold this thought in mind. This is why all people rely on your support and guidance, and this is why heavenly and human beings feel comfortable together.

I have heard that Buddhism takes spiritual wisdom as the foundation and reaching the goal as the achievement. Except for these points, this [teaching] likely only has the function of edifying and leading ordinary people of the secular world.

The mysterious principle is obscure. We seek it beyond the world of form. If [Buddhist monks] respectfully bow [to the king] with their heads to the ground and then stand up, there is nothing in this that will damage their observance of [Buddhist] precepts. If they practice the [Buddhist] Way without losing respect [for the ruler], and if the laws of the land are equally revered in the territory of your state, then both the [Buddhist] Way and the [king's] constitution will flourish and Buddhism and the non-Buddhist teaching (i.e., Confucianism) will be entirely harmonious.

I was previously appointed to a post in a foreign land and I was rarely informed of your words. Therefore I did not know about your brilliant discussion on this issue last spring. Recently I was directly granted the Imperial

decree. I then frankly stated my silly thoughts, which I was afraid did not meet yours. After returning here, I precisely saw the reality of this issue and received your marvelous writings. Your purpose is boundless and your logical analysis is profound. These are not things that I, an incompetent man, am able to praise merely by clapping my hands.

85a In former ages it was already practiced that *śramaṇas* place themselves as equal [to the king]. Today you, a great bright man, ascended [the throne] and your edification of the Way reaches all people without exception. In order to rule the country there should not be any deficiency in important human relations. As I previously stated, please keep control over those except [Confucianists] and put this into operation.

Humbly yours.

[Decree by Huan Xuan]

Now that both Buddhism and the non-Buddhist teaching are promulgated concurrently, why do you employ the principle of former ages? You are too meticulous about this issue. Again, this is not praise for the way [of the ruler].

[Response to Huan Xuan's Decree by Bian Sizhi]

I, Palace Attendant and Libationer Sizhi, speak.

I respectfully received the Imperial decree again.

Now that both Buddhism and the non-Buddhist teaching are promulgated concurrently, the Imperial decree is deeply understood and [Your Majesty's] way holds the premier position over those of a hundred kings. I humbly read [the Imperial decree] and exclaimed with reverence. This is beyond my reach. To revere the ruler and respect the law is the fidelity of vassals. Therefore, I diligently and incessantly stand on [the custom that *śramaṇas* must bow to the king].

Your brilliant decree is transcendental and your profound strategy is eternal and fair. I am ignorant, shallow, and illogical. As a result, I am ashamed of myself. I will follow [the Imperial decree] and consign this [matter] to the external bureau. I will propagate, regulate, and abide by this.

Humbly yours.

Presented on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Yuanshi (403).

**Letter Given to Huan Xuan to Discuss
the Evaluation of *Śramaṇas* by
Huiyuan of Mount Lu, together
with Huan Xuan's Decree**

Decree Given to the Staff to Intend to Select Buddhist Monks by Regent Huan Xuan

The Way of the Spirit is obscure. This is something of which sages do not speak. Nevertheless, when we think about what their works promulgate, it seems that we will be able to see [the sages' idea regarding the Way of the Spirit].

What the Buddha treasures is *wuwei* (i.e., nirvana), and his cordial intention lies in cutting off desire. These days, however, [his teaching] has fallen into decadence and consequently these tenets (i.e., nirvana and cutting off desires) are lost. In the capital city [of Jiankang, Buddhist monks] vie with each other in having an extravagant life. Opulent [Buddhist] buildings are numerous in the Imperial court as well as in the city. Because of this, public funds in the Imperial treasury are decreasing. Rankings and the proper equipages [for ceremonies] have become wicked and corrupt due to this fact. Those who run away from corvée labor gather together in every county. Absconders fill the Buddhist temples. Consequently several thousand [runaways and absconders] gather in every county and form a lawless community. The drones of society gather in groups in every town. In every place outlaws flock together. These people have already caused harm to the government and profaned Buddhism; they assuredly exhaust both that (i.e., the government) and this (i.e., Buddhism). They really corrupt the standard of customs and cultural influence.

We should immediately issue the following strict orders. Among all the *śramaṇas* in every place, those who are able to explain the teachings of Buddhist scriptures in detail and can fluently expound the Buddhist doctrines; those who orderly cultivate religious practices, who observe the precepts without deficiency, and who always reside in a hermitage (Skt. *araṇya*); and those who live in the mountains to ennoble their aspirations and who are not deluded by popular custom—all these are worthy to be in charge of propagating the

great edification. Therefore they will show people what the Way is, propagate the teaching, and serve as a model for the people. Fortunately they practice Buddhism and the non-Buddhist teaching concurrently.³²⁴

[Buddhist monks] who do not fall within the purview of the abovementioned should all be purged from [the Buddhist order]. In each place where an institution is located the registers [of the Buddhist monks] must be managed and strictly controlled. This should be promptly decreed and, at the same time, [the measures we take] should be listed and reported to me. Mount Lu is the only place where virtuous Buddhist monks reside and it is excepted from the investigation for this decree.

**Letter Given to Defender-in-Chief
Huan [Xuan] to Discuss the
Evaluation of *Śramaṇas* by
Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan**

85b It has been a long time since Buddhism gradually began to decline and became obscene and odd. Every time I think about this, my heart fills with indignation. I am always afraid that [Buddhism] will unexpectedly encounter bad times, get mixed up [with evil], and altogether sink into ruin. This is why I lament and worry from early morning until night without sparing myself.

I have read, our donor, your decree to put all Buddhist monks in order. This truly conforms to my true intention. If the Jing River were separated from the Wei River, the clear water will flow separately from the muddy water. If what is crooked is straightened by what is upright, those who lack virtue will spontaneously disappear. Inferring from this point, I say that once Heaven's auspicious decree is put into practice we will certainly be able to distinguish between the two principles (i.e., good and evil). Most certainly [monks] who make a plausible outward show will cut off their false path by themselves, and [those] who believe in the [Buddhist] Way and embrace the truth in their minds will not be suspected of turning their backs on the secular world. Thus, the [Buddhist] Way and the secular world will flourish together and the Three Treasures will again prosper here.

The reason I live in the Jiangnan area is because I wish to rely on the one who practices the [Buddhist] Way in order to maintain the great enterprise

(i.e., Buddhism). The rise and fall of the [great] enterprise truly depends on this person. I happened to meet in these years when you, our donor, [have come to the forefront]. This is the best time for me to restore [Buddhism]. My secret feeling to rely on you was already formed in our former existences. Accordingly, in letters I often sent to you I considered that relying on you is the foremost point. Every time I find that your letter comforts me, I keep your favor in my mind and never forget it. I am simply afraid that as I grow older and older with the change of times I will not be able to see your prosperous edification through to the end. Therefore, I now confer with you about several articles, as [outlined in] the attached paper.

According to what is stated in the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures there are generally three classes [of Buddhists]. First is the class of those who enter the subtle [state] through meditation; second are those who recite and appreciate the scriptures left [by the Buddha]; last are those who perform meritorious acts. These three classes are truly separate from one another but they all make acts based on the Vinaya as the foundation. [The three kinds of Buddhist monks] recently [identified by] you, our donor, in your decree appear to be almost the same as these classes. There is no question about these [three classes of Buddhist monks].

[Nevertheless,] among those who establish meritorious acts there are some who do not violate the precepts in their minds yet live in a place other than a hermitage; there are those who recite many Buddhist scriptures and chant them continually, yet they cannot smoothly explain the doctrines; or there are those who are already aged and do not fall under the three classes [mentioned above], yet whose essential nature is pure and virtuous and who do not do serious evil. Generally, people like these are suspect. When I make a thorough investigation on the regulation of your [decree] to banish [unqualified monks] now, these people should not be targeted for interrogation; otherwise, the people of the world will be anxious and confused [about your decree] and no one will be able to feel peaceful. Therefore I clearly state this.

It is easy to examine outward appearance and manner but difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood. Except for someone who has a deep ability to examine and study, it is truly difficult to clarify this. *Śramaṇas* who reside in the metropolitan city and whom you, our donor, can [directly] see and

hear assuredly have nothing that makes them suspect. If government offices in the border regions are remote and [clear] information does not reach them, and [the people in these offices] do not understand the purpose of your decree, then they may take advantage of Heaven's auspicious decree and unreasonably include good people in [the purge]. This is my deepest concern. If an executive official of each office has no detailed idea [about the decree], and if at that time there are no experienced and reputable *śramaṇas* who can make a correct judgment, please have the reports sent to the central government office in order to be examined by you. Then it will be great in reason. I think that you, our donor, have wondrous thoughts and already understand this. This is merely my commonplace feeling. Therefore I could not stop speaking to you about it.

85c If among the sons of powerful families there are lineages that are originally exempt from corvée labor, those [whose families] follow the great Dharma from generation to generation or who are known to be intelligent by nature when they are young and who wish to renounce the secular world, enter the [Buddhist] Way, and strive to become a *śramaṇa*, then when I infer from the regulation [of the decree] and think of the intention, it seems that [these cases] will not be blocked from their pure path. However, you must confer and settle this point and cause those who purify their minds and head toward the goal to have no doubt about themselves. In former times many foreign kings applied their minds to sacred [Buddhist] scriptures. Moreover, in accordance with the times, some kings helped the propagation of the great edification, protected [the Buddhist Way] from danger, and saved it from disadvantage. Truly there are reasons for this. Since you, our donor, often hope to equalize your frame of mind with those of ancient [wise] people, I again briefly state what I have learned.

**Letter Given to Huan Xuan to
Discuss that the Provincial Office
Requests to Register *Śramaṇas*
by Dharma Teacher Zhi Daolin³²⁵**

On the fifth day of the fourth month of the third year of Long'an (399), we, *śramaṇas* of the metropolitan city, bow with our heads to the ground and speak.

If there is the fundamental [principle] in the culmination of manifestation, those who rely upon this will reach it. If the law agrees with what is supernatural and profound, we will more deeply receive favor. Therefore, Confucius

emptied his room [to travel around] and Yan [Yuan] forgot to go home because of pleasures elsewhere. Isn't it the case that they both had abundant morality but simply forgot to return home?

Even though we have an ordinary personality and are frivolous in practice, we respect the Three Treasures and cultivate ourselves with them. Our affection [for Buddhism] came from Heaven and we had faith [in Buddhism] before learning it. As for the merit (i.e., enlightenment) attained by diminishing day after day,³²⁶ however, we place our hands on our chests and increase our lamentation. Throwing ourselves under the wings of sage rulers and sagacious kings, we are personally able to further propagate the [Buddhist] Way. You enable those who live in the mountains to have their own way in cultivation and those who live near a city to be quietly proficient in [the teaching]. Because the Imperial favor is broadly poured on us, even the decayed trunk of a tree may be covered by lush vegetation.

Nevertheless, the status of *śramaṇas* in the world may be simply compared to that of unloaded boats that converge at a great gorge. When they come they do not think anything, and when they go they take advantage of tranquility. Somewhat to our surprise, there is no abode for them in this world. If the country is in a troubled state they travel alone, shaking a walking stick. When the [Buddhist] Way is diffused they gladly gather together. Therefore, there is truly a reason for *śramaṇas* to come from distant places.

You try to raise great disciplines in the period of decadence and extend sincerity for a hundred generations, but these days we are frequently requested by the provincial office to present the register of *śramaṇas*. The situation has become acute and very urgent. We have not yet understood your lofty purpose for this. Rustics easily become fearful and deeply anxious. Consequently, this causes people who meditate to lose their calmness and gentlemen who practice diligently to discontinue their practice. We lose the essence and vital energy and cannot sleep until dawn. We are uneasy and do not know how to calm ourselves.

We humbly pray that our bright lord will raise the customs handed down from [Tao] Tang (i.e., Emperor Yao) to a high rank and treat Buddhist monks kindly under these conventions. Please allow those who hold the [Buddhist] Way in mind to attain liberation and all those who have the noble aspiration to achieve their goal. Their bodies will perish and they will exhaust their bodies

and complete their lives here. Your Majesty's thought and judgment is extremely far-reaching. Though we have not yet written everything, we respectfully submit this to Imperial hearing. Having done so, we are humbly frightened.

**Report to Emperor Wu of the Qi
Dynasty to Discuss the Issue of
the Inspection and Examination
of Buddhist Monks by Shi
Daosheng of Tianbao Temple**

I, Shi Daosheng of Tianbao Temple, report.

86a Formerly Confucius educated three thousand disciples. Among them, those who studied astronomy wore a round cap and those who studied geography put on rectangular shoes. Zhuang Zhou of Chu state visited Lord Ai [of Lu state] and said, "I have heard that there are quite a few people who are well acquainted with astronomy and geography in this country. Please let me test them." Lord Ai immediately sent out an official announcement through the country, ordered those who were versed in astronomy to wear a round cap and those who were learned in geography to put on rectangular shoes, and commanded all to come to the gate [of his palace]. Confucius alone arrived at the gate and answered all the questions. Therefore it is known that all the other scholars adopted the [Confucian style of] dress arbitrarily.

Śākyamuni emerged into this world, expounded the Four Noble Truths and the six *pāramitās*, and established various precepts and deportment. [His disciples] such as Śāriputra all attained arhatship. Accordingly, it is known that the great Dharma is not something that has no fundamental truth.

Nevertheless, from that time (i.e., the time when the Buddha resided in the world) on people's faculties have become dull and we have become far removed from the [Buddhist] Way. Our minds are bound with defilements. If we can leave behind the thought [of desire] we will be in accord with the precepts and codes of conduct. If not, we will be [like] those who arbitrarily put on [Buddhist] robes.

I humbly pray, Your Majesty, that with your holy brightness you will deeply understand this principle and not assume that [we *śramaṇas* are simply] ordinary people who seek the Way of the Sage.

In ancient times Zichan of Zheng state was praised as a great wise person but he still was unable to correct his faults and was jeered at by Shentu Jia.³²⁷ This goes without saying for *bhikṣus* of the present time, in the age of the Decadent Dharma. How can they correct their faults? If one cannot correct his faults he will certainly give rise to evil intentions. How can the three administrative monks of the temple fulfill your order? There is criminal law in the country. I pray that you will decree that the local government office should punish [evil *bhikṣus*] according to the offense [they have committed]. We would be happy if we do not confuse you [by doing so].

Illness due to old age rages within me, but I admire the complaints board of remote antiquity³²⁸ and dare to express this. I bend down over the paper and break into a cold sweat.

Sincerely yours.

End of Fascicle Twelve of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

Fascicle Thirteen

Essentials for Believing in the Dharma by Palace Secretary Chi [Chao]³²⁹

The threefold refuge (Skt. *triśaraṇa-gaṃana*) refers to taking refuge in the Buddha, the twelve kinds of Buddhist scriptures, and the Buddhist order. You must always worship and repent your sins to the buddhas of the three temporal worlds of past, present, and future in the ten directions [of the universe], the doctrine of the scriptures of the three temporal worlds in the ten directions, and the Buddhist order of the three temporal worlds in the ten directions. We must take refuge with an utmost mind in each part of [this triad]. At the same time, we should think of all sentient beings with compassion and benevolence and pray that they will all attain liberation.

What is called *namo* in the foreign language (Skt. *namas*) means “to surrender oneself to” in the Chinese language. [The word] “buddha” means “awakened one” and [the word] “sangha” means “a group” in the Chinese language.

The five precepts [for lay Buddhists] are: (1) not to kill, nor to cause others to do so, and to always be sure to observe [this precept] firmly to the end of one’s life; (2) not to steal nor to cause others to do so, and to always be sure to observe [this precept] firmly to the end of one’s life; (3) not to commit adultery nor to cause others to commit it, and to always be sure to observe [this precept] firmly to the end of one’s life; (4) not to speak falsehoods nor to cause others to do so, and to always be sure to observe [this precept] firmly to the end of one’s life; and (5) not to drink intoxicants, nor to give intoxicants as a gift or a treat [to others], and to always be sure to observe [this precept] firmly to the end of one’s life.

86b

When an intoxicant is used for medicinal purposes the dosage must be weighed; it is important to stay within the limit of sobriety. Drunkenness causes thirty-six faults and the scriptural teachings take this as a serious precept.

If there are no acts of killing [all creatures] can live a long time. If there are no acts of stealing [the world] will always remain peaceful and safe. If

there is no adulterous conduct, we remain clean and pure. If there are no falsehoods people will always respect and trust each other. If there is no drunkenness our spirits are clear and in good order.

After [mastering] observation of the five precepts, we then perform purification for three periods every year and six days each month. The three periods in a year for purification are from the first to the fifteenth day of the first, fifth, and ninth months. The six monthly days for purification are the eighth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, the twenty-third, the twenty-ninth, and the thirtieth day of each month.

On all purification days fish and meat must not be offered. We eat before noon and must not partake of anything such as sweets and delicious food in the afternoon. We cleanse our minds, keep our minds on the [Buddhist] Way, take refuge in the three revered ones (i.e., the Three Treasures), repent our sins, reproach ourselves, and practice the four immeasurable minds. We stay away from the inner chamber (i.e., engagement in sexual relations) and do not become attached to the six desires. We must not whip or curse others, nor ride in an oxcart or horse-drawn carriage, and we must not carry weapons.

Regarding [lay]women, over and above these [rules of deportment] they must abstain from adorning themselves with perfume, flowers, and cosmetics, correct their minds, rectify their thoughts, and strive to remain docile.

The purification is extensively performed for the sake of one's acquaintances and relatives, both those who have passed away and those who are still alive, as well as for all sentient beings. Everyone will come to awaken the aspiration [for enlightenment] (Skt. *bodhicitta*) on the basis of this utmost sincerity. Once our minds have become inspired [toward enlightenment] we will finally avoid the suffering caused by the sins [we have committed]. Therefore, loyal and filial people make effort and encourage themselves to perform [purification]. This is really for the merit of liberation of all people, not simply for one's own sake.

On the day of purification we must devote ourselves solely to practicing the profound contemplation and recite the words of the Dharma. If we are unable to practice [the contemplation on] emptiness, we must learn the six kinds of mindfulness (Skt. *ṣaḍ anusmṛti*). The six kinds of mindfulness refer to: (1) mindfulness of the Buddha, (2) mindfulness of the [Buddhist] scriptures, (3) mindfulness of the sangha, (4) mindfulness of donations, (5) mindfulness

of the precepts, and (6) mindfulness of Heaven. What is meant by “mindfulness of Heaven”? The ten wholesome acts and the four immeasurable minds are considered to be the acts [that lead us] to be reborn in Heaven. Moreover, it essentially means to exert ourselves to the best of our ability to save all sentient beings.

The ten wholesome acts refer to not committing the bodily sins of killing, stealing, and adultery, not committing the mental sins of envy, rage, and ignorance, and not committing the verbal sins of telling lies, engaging in idle talk, being duplicitous, and using abusive language.

What is meant by “not killing”? We must always be compassionate toward all living creatures, including vermicular animals. Even in desperate circumstances we must never harm them. Whenever sentient beings are facing a disaster or danger we must devote all our energies to rescue them and return them to the water or the land, according to wherever they used to live. In the case where there is doubt whether [a living thing] was killed for our benefit (i.e., slaughtered for food) we must not receive [any benefit from the killing].

What is meant by “stealing”? This generally means to take things that are not our own possessions, regardless of size, as well as to become corrupt when in an official position. These are all called “stealing.” 86c

What is meant by “adultery”? All kinds of attachments are generally called “excessive desires.” As applied to sexual desire, we must not engage in sexual relations with anyone other than our officially married spouse. In addition, since [adultery involves having an illicit] secret [relationship with someone] that cannot be made public, it is simultaneously a sin of “stealing.”

What is called “envy” is jealousy. When we see others’ good points, or we see that other people are virtuous we all must replace [any sense of envy] with great joy. We must not give rise to rivalry or thoughts of jealous hatred.

What is called “rage” is that the mind harbors wrath and keeps defilement within it.

What is called “ignorance” is to have no faith in the great Dharma and to doubt the scriptural teachings.

What is meant by “telling lies” is to consider nonexistence to be existence and to fabricate groundless assertions.

What is meant by “idle talk” is rhetorical embellishments and sweet-sounding words, which may be beautiful but lack substance.

What is meant by “being duplicitous”? This means to say different things to one’s face and behind his back, and be self-contradictory.

What is meant by “abusive language”? This refers to reviling [others]. Some people say that abusive language also refers to speaking unwholesome things and cause people to blindly follow [this speech] and commit sin.

On the whole, we must not give rise in the mind to any of these ten [unwholesome] behaviors even for a moment. These are the ten wholesome acts and [refraining from them is] also called the ten precepts. The five precepts regulate bodily acts and the ten wholesome acts serve to protect one’s mind from evil. There is a difference between crudeness and fineness in acts. Accordingly, there is a difference between light and heavy reward and retribution [for these acts].

Generally, the relative world [where sentient beings transmigrate from one life to another] is collectively called the three realms of existence, within which there are five paths, those of (1) heavenly beings, (2) human beings, (3) animals, (4) hungry ghosts, and (5) inhabitants of the hells.

Those who completely observe the five precepts will possess a human form. Those who complete the ten wholesome acts will be reborn in Heaven. Even those who complete only one [of the five] precepts will be able to become human beings. There are differences among people regarding their social rank or life span. These [differences] are due to how many precepts one has observed [in his or her previous existences].

The opposite of the ten wholesome acts are the ten evil acts. Those who have committed all ten evil acts will fall into hell.³³⁰ Those who are bellicose and obstinate, who disregard sincere remonstrance, whose minds are full of poisonous thoughts, and who deceive others to profit themselves fall either into the realm of animals or are reborn as snakes or vipers. Those who are stingy and greedy, who monopolize profits, and who always complain of dissatisfaction fall into the realm of hungry ghosts. Those whose sins are somewhat light but who often keep [their misdeeds] secret, and whose personal feelings are not fair and clear, all fall into the state of spiritual beings (*guishen*). Even though they may enjoy a little happiness they cannot avoid suffering from pain. These [three realms] (i.e., hell, the realm of hungry ghosts, and the realm of animals) are called the three lowest realms of existence (*santu*) and also called the three evil paths (*san’edao*).

Form, perception [consisting of pain (*tong*) and pleasure (*yang*; literally meaning “itch”)], conception [consisting of thinking and recollection], volition [consisting of arising and extinction], and consciousness are called the five *skandhas* (Sk. *pāñcaskandha*). Generally all external things that have a shape and are visible are called form. Losing this [form] and becoming sad and distressed is [the perception] of pain. Having this [form] and being greatly delighted is [the perception] of pleasure. Considering beforehand what has not yet taken place is thinking, and looking back at what has already happened is recollection. That mental functions begin to take place refers to arising, and that recollection has ended and consciousness has been extinguished refers to extinction. That which formerly was involved [in the mind], stored there, and never forgotten is consciousness. Consciousness still germinates in the mind after having passed through a succession of *kalpas*. Even though its derivation is obscure it is deeply rooted [in the mind] and is secretly linked to [other consciousness]. What is as small as a hair’s breadth in the beginning becomes as large as a huge gulf or high mountain in the end. For this reason those who learn [Buddhism] try to be prudent even in things in which they are well versed.

87a

The five hindrances that cover one’s mind (Skt. *pañca-nivaraṇā*) are: (1) greed and excessive desire, (2) anger (hatred and resentment), (3) ignorance; (4) holding wrong views, and (5) dallying [with someone of the opposite sex].³³¹ Speaking of each [hindrance] separately, the desire to seek something is greed; extreme attachment to things is excessive desire; the external expression of [anger] is a hateful glare and smoldering [anger] is resentment; and being bound by defilements, offending the right path, and being perverse and confused are ignorance. Ignorance is the foundation of the causality of birth and death. All kinds of various attachments entirely begin with ignorance. Painful torment in hell mostly results from anger. A sutra says, “The sin of committing murder in an unexpected fight is still light, but if one harbors poison in the mind and conspires [to commit a murder] the sin coagulates more and more through a succession of *kalpas* and the person has no time for liberation.”³³²

The six feelings (Skt. *ṣaḍ-āyatana*), also called the six [elements of] decay or the six desires [corresponding to the six sense organs,] are the visual perception of form, the auditory perception of sound, the olfactory perception

of smell, the gustatory perception of flavor, the tactile perception of touch, and the mental perception of recognition. Recognition is consciousness of [the five] *skandhas* mentioned above. I am inclined to think that the five *skandhas* and the six desires [corresponding to the six sense organs] are the origins of the transmigration of birth and death and [thus] the source of all sin and suffering. The methods to remove and control these are set forth in detail in numerous sutras.

A sutra says, “The mind makes one a heavenly being. The mind makes one a human being. The mind makes one an inhabitant of hell. The mind makes one an animal. Even those who attain the Way owe [this accomplishment] to the mind.”³³³

Whenever a thought is impelled by the mind, each and every thought is subject to reward and retribution. Even if an action has not yet taken place the hidden response is constituted in the unseen world. Thoughts arising from feelings move swiftly and smoothly. They abruptly emerge one after another, without cessation. The mechanism [of causality] very slightly moves but then fills the universe. Fortune and misfortune [as reward and retribution] and one’s physical form and destination (Skt. *gati*) [in the next existence] entirely derive from [thoughts arising from feelings]. Good or bad luck, repentance or regret, are determined in a moment. Therefore, those who practice the [Buddhist] Way must mentally exercise caution when alone to obviate [evil thoughts] while they are still minor, to take the beginning [of a matter] into account, to consider the highest doctrine to be like a city wall and moat [that provide a barrier against evil], to manage the foundation always in order to control the end, and to not rashly give rise to thoughts simply because any action [arising from thought] has not yet taken place. How could they be concerned only with “[Good] words expressed in a house are responded to from a place a thousand *li* away,”³³⁴ or that one is prudent in his bodily actions because “nothing is more visible than what is secret”?³³⁵

The second translation of the *Sutra of Twelve Gates (Shiermen jing)* says,³³⁶ “If one has a good point he should always hide it. If one has a bad point he should bring it forth.”

A gentleman does not set his mind either for anything or against anything.³³⁷ If one has faults and does not repent [of his folly], certainly he will not feel satisfied with himself. [Therefore,] he had better abandon the course of action

within the circumstance he has been given. How can one worry about the matter of whether [his actions] are known or hidden? If this is so, the application of the teaching lies in [our mental attitude] in ordinary [daily life].

When we examine the laws of nature working in evil acts and meritorious deeds, we see that the more [an evil intention] leaks out, the lighter [the sin] will be, and the more [an evil intention] is inwardly accumulated, the heavier [the sin]. Once an [evil] act is set forth in the human world retribution in the unseen world will certainly be lessened.

Moreover, boasting about wholesome acts and making a display of one's meritorious deeds are the grand reality of human beings. Covering up one's faults and speaking of one's demerits in fine language are common among all people. If wholesome conduct is apparent, the achievement becomes known. If the achievement becomes known, public praise centers on one [who has made wholesome conduct]. If someone is concerned about stopping [evil] and encouraging [virtue] in his feeling, and if public praise centers on him from the outside, he will then harbor greed [to retain praise], which certainly fills him from within. Furthermore, a gentleman among human beings is still a small man of Heaven.³³⁸ [Even so he is a gentleman,] not to speak of one whose benevolence is immature and whose fame does not match with reality. Such a person certainly deserves punishment in the unseen world.

87b

Except for those who possess virtue, we all surely have some incompleteness. If one were to frankly expose [his transgressions] to everyone [his sin] will disperse along with [his transgressions]. If he allows an unjust thought to become imprinted on his mind, harbors it, maintains his honor outwardly in order to avoid others' reproach and win worldly fame, he then greatly insults the laws of nature. The punishment of nature will be even heavier! Therefore, Zhuangzi said, "If one does evil secretly and stealthily, spirits can punish him."³³⁹

Moreover, regarding human feelings, one does not feel shame before the laws [of nature] yet does before the public. If his fault is revealed he will be blamed. If he is blamed, he will be ashamed. If that feeling occurs and if he compensates for [his fault], no further transgression will be accumulated. [On the other hand,] if one presumes that [his fault] will not be revealed, he will not reform himself after all. In addition, if heavenly blame [for his fault] fills one's mind and he fears that it will be revealed, he will inwardly worry

about everything and take precautions even more skillfully. He will thus be in distress for the rest of his life about this one matter. Disasters from Heaven and the troubles of the human world will surely and suddenly visit him in the end. This is probably because he did not refrain from giving rise to the [evil] scheme at the beginning, concealed the fault, and did not praise what is wholesome.

The *Sutra on the Formal Purification (Zhengzhai jing)* says,³⁴⁰ “You may simply speak of a hundred good things of others, but you must not speak of even a single evil thing of others.” When we speak of others’ wholesomeness we give rise to a wholesome mind. When we speak of others’ evils we give rise to an angry intention. Even though [such a wholesome or unwholesome] intention may be small at first, it gradually grows by accumulation. For this reason, a good thought produces an immense amount of wholesomeness, while an evil thought produces a vast amount of unwholesomeness.

Ancient people said, “The prosperity of a military family does not last more than three generations.” Chen Ping also said, “Because I have laid many plots, my descendants will not become prosperous.”³⁴¹ If we refer to [these words] and take them as a teaching, it is truly worthy to propagate [Buddhism in China].

Nevertheless, in [the royal families of] of Qi state and Chu state [whose founders committed evil deeds], their descendants enjoyed [power] generation after generation, while the descendants of [such virtuous people] as Yan [Hui] and Ran [Boniu, who both died young], received no prominent reward. Since it is already obvious in these cases [that the subject of reward and retribution lies in oneself], this is not a matter that can be clarified logically.

Moreover, Gun was put to death but [his son,] Emperor Yu, became prosperous. Xi and Fu were [both brothers of the Yangshe but they] differed from each other in appearance.³⁴² It has been a constant rule for a hundred generations to punish the four criminals (i.e., Gonggong, Huandou, the chief of Sanmiao, and Gun)³⁴³ yet not to blame [their families and relatives]. Even when sage kings ruled over the world there was no unjustifiable [punishment]. How much less so when the profound response of nature works without private influence! Nevertheless, [if someone were to say that] reward and retribution fall wrongly and good and evil are not made clear, then that person brings a false charge against the laws [of nature]. This is also serious, without doubt.

Furthermore, in the Qin dynasty the [practice of exacting] punishment on three generations of family members along with the offender was instituted.³⁴⁴ They still took the offender to be the principal, but after the principal offender was punished his kin were then also subjected to punishment. If a punishment is not inflicted on the offender while disasters (i.e., punishments) befall the offender's kin, and if this practice is legislated, it would not only be allowed in rules made by sages but would also certainly be rejected even by [penologists such as] Shen [Buhai] and Han [Fei]. Therefore, the *Nirvana Sutra* says, "If the father does something evil the son does not suffer for his father. If the son does something evil the father does not suffer for his son, either. One who does good obtains a reward by himself, and one who does evil receives retribution by himself."³⁴⁵ How truthful this is! These words fill our minds and accord with the laws [of nature].

If we investigate [why] the worldly teaching [that ancestors' good or evil conduct results in their descendants' happiness or misery] originated, isn't it because [people] feel that the way [of reward and retribution] does not stop even after they themselves have been punished? The more widely [reward and retribution] spreads, the deeper the people's prudence and fear will be. Therefore, [the sages who established the worldly teaching] conceal the truth, just as if they were placing [a beautiful gem] in a case,³⁴⁶ and they often explain this by [giving] a familiar example in order to teach and guide ordinary people of the secular world. This way is not deficient in punishing [evil] and urging people toward [virtue], and it accords with that with which the people are content. Those who have [the Buddhist teaching] in mind should leave out events [they experience], know this point, and understand the profound intentions. If one sticks to written words without understanding thoroughly the expedient way, if one recklessly follows the teaching without reaching the heart of the teaching, and if one measures himself by this [prejudiced] way and tries to comply with the truth, aren't such people misdirected?

87c

Regarding evil acts and meritorious deeds in [the law of] right and wrong, there are certainly reward and retribution without fail. If one is ignorant of this truth he will have no fixed position for right and wrong and his mind will have no authority in which to trust. When we examine [the law of karma] only in regard to the present existence, [we find that] it is truly vague and there is scant evidence. There is no mistake or unreasonableness in the law

[of karma] but the actual fact is not constantly apparent. How could we not consider it all to be due to conditions from our previous existences that extend to future existences? Consequently, those who set their minds on the law [of karma] ascertain the undeceivable [certainty of this law, just as] a shadow [follows a form] and an echo [follows a sound], reject verifying [the law] in phenomena, and rely on the unseen world. Because we understand that “The meshes of the heavenly net are large, far apart, [but they let nothing escape],”³⁴⁷ we hope that nothing will escape. We realize that time continues without interruption, see ten thousand *kalpas* to be the same as a brief space of time, lump the three periods of existence together and take them all to be one, and seek the final result as that which inevitably comes. [If we think in this way,] why should we reform ourselves depending on revealing or concealing [our sins], or why would we have to change our thought depending on whether [reward and retribution] will come slowly or quickly? This is the chief foundation for those who have the initial faith [in Buddhism] and something that is deeply hoped for by those whose minds are bound by karma.

The *Sutra of the Twelve Gates* says, “Sometimes, if you think of yourself that you are correct and good, you must then examine yourself [in the following way]. There is nothing in your body but liver, intestines, stomach, lungs, bones, blood, excrement, and urine. What good things do you possess? Moreover, when you observe other people’s bodies, [be aware that] their impurities are all the same as these.”³⁴⁸ If stinginess and greedy intentions arise, you must remember that all your property and jewelry and valuables neither came with you when you were born, nor will they go with you when you die. [Time] passes and [everything] changes; it is even impossible to guarantee that [something that happens in] the morning [will be the same in] the evening. Your body does not last long and nothing has a permanent possessor. In the present existence we should bestow favor on others and show kindness to them, offering money to the poor and saving the sick with medicine. We must delightedly live all day long diligently watching over others and providing relief to them. If an angry intention arises you must deeply produce [a mind of] equality and concurrently observe the ten precepts.

The *Kṣemaṃkara-paripṛcchā* (*Chamojie jing*; i.e., *Pusa shengdi jing*) says, “Among the bodhisattva practices forbearance is the greatest. If bodhisattvas are called names they keep silent and express no reaction. If they are

beaten they receive [the beating] and never retaliate. If they encounter an angry person they face him with compassion. If they are slandered they do not think of the slanderer's vice."³⁴⁹ Furthermore, the *Dhammapada* (*Faju jing*) says, "When you are disgraced, your mind should be [as firm as] earth. When you practice forbearance, you should be like a doorsill."³⁵⁰ The examples of "earth" and "doorsill" are probably used because these are things that are covered with dust, soiled with mud, and trampled upon all day long.

The *Sutra on the Complete Accomplishment of the Light Samādhi* (*Chengju guangming dingyi jing*) says, "If a person inflicts the four kinds of [verbal] transgression on you, you will be aware of the verbal faults. You should respond to such a person with well-intentioned words and peaceful expressions. You should be greatly sincere and not ostentatious."³⁵¹ The four kinds of [verbal] transgression refer to being duplicitous, engaging in abusive language, telling lies, and engaging in idle talk, as mentioned above. When someone comes to you with evil and you respond with wholesomeness, if his mind is not that of a senseless being he will be moved in reason. You should be concerned only that you may not always cope with such a case in this way and do not accumulate [merit] by developing this manner. If you can keep forbearance in mind on every occasion, regret and stinginess will disappear in this life and a happy reward will appear in the future.

88a

The *Sutra on the Virtue of a Wise Person* (*Xianzhede jing*) says,³⁵² "If your mind is unstable, never bite at others." Speaking in familiar language, this is the way of magnanimity. If we infer this to the highest point, it is the meaning of the four immeasurable minds. What are the four immeasurable minds? They are benevolence (*ci*), compassion (*bei*), joy (*xi*), and protection (*hu*).³⁵³ What is meant by benevolence? It means to feel pity for sentient beings, to regard all beings as equal to yourself, to be merciful in putting yourself in another person's position, to pray to be able to provide for all beings to be easy and comfortable, to extend your love [to all beings,] even to insects, and to have a feeling of nondiscrimination. What is meant by compassion? It means to love others universally, to save [all beings] equally, to let [compassionate] tears fall like rain, and to exhibit innate mercy. You must cause a real achievement to reveal itself secretly. It is not [enough] to simply have a mind [of compassion]. What is meant by joy? It means to be joyful, happy, and gentle and to make donations without regret. What is meant by

protection? It means to save living things, skillfully following the expedient case by case, to understand the way to liberate people, and to strive and think broadly of salvation for them.

Those who can practice the four immeasurable minds are the most esteemed in the three realms of existence. However, if you are unable to efface yourself in the state of no portent, then your fate is sealed to certainly come to an end. Therefore, the [*Taizi ruiying*] *benqi jing* says, “Although all heavenly beings have a happy time, when their merit is exhausted [their happiness] comes to an end, too. When you reach the apex of glory, the way to Heaven is right across from [the way to] hell.”³⁵⁴ The *Sutra on the Complete Accomplishment of the Light Samādhi* furthermore says, “Fortune has suffering, defilement, vexation, and coming and going (i.e., the transmigration of birth and death).”³⁵⁵ The *Nirvana Sutra* says, “In the five realms of existence there is no peace. Only nirvana is pleasurable.”³⁵⁶

The sutras say, “Those who practice the [Buddhist] Way must first reject the eight worldly matters: gain and loss, slander and fame, praise and ridicule, sorrow and joy.”³⁵⁷ [Those who practice the Buddhist Way] are neither pleased when they hear about wholesomeness, nor fearful when they hear about unwholesomeness. If one’s faith is spontaneously firm, neither encouragement nor discouragement can change his will. Since the truth has become rooted in him, objects of the external world cannot offend his thoughts. Moreover, whatever he encounters in this existence must have been caused by conditions from previous existences. Conditions caused in previous existences mysteriously keep moving, and their working is just the same as the operation of the four seasons. It is impossible to guard against their advent or to stop their passing away. Assuredly we must submit to this, be content with it, and delightedly complete it. If we cordially enhance ourselves in the training of Buddhism, expect various things and yet are unmindful of them, since the retribution upon one’s body has ceased one will attain the great peace.

The truth is founded in the mind, and reward and retribution manifests itself in a factual matter. [This relation] is compared to the fact that if a form is upright then its shadow appears straight, too, or if a sound is peaceful then its echo is agreeable to the ears. This is the profound response of nature. How could there be one who does this?

If this is so, those who harmonize their minds with the Way of the Spirit should expect assuredly to lead their minds to the truth, strive to have the far-reaching thought, efface their minds, correct themselves, and have no expectation of obtaining help from others. They must neither be in contact with vile and profane things, nor make demands according to their feelings. These are the keys for those who hold [Buddhism] in their minds, and the points to which those who learn [Buddhism] should attend.

Some people say, “If a thought surely brings reward and retribution and this law is as inevitable as the relationship between [a form and] its shadow or between [a sound and] its echo, then we should solely rely on ourselves. Certainly this has nothing to do with what is dark and abstruse.”

When we investigate why the teachings of the scriptures were established, we see that the reason is probably to make us aware of relying on ourselves. In the way to rely on oneself, however, there is no awakening that is not based on the teachings. If awakening is based on the teachings the merit [one may obtain from relying on oneself] derives from the Way of the Spirit. If exultation arises within the mind, [this feeling] certainly takes a definite form in phenomena. It is just like when simply singing a song is not enough [to express an exultant feeling], so one [also] dances for joy. If this is so, to admire and respect [the teachings] is probably not necessary in reason but it cannot be rejected in feeling. We should efface ourselves and master thoroughly the tenor of the teachings and absorbedly and joyfully think of [the teachings]. We must place ourselves in sentient beings’ place in order to lead them with our own bodies. Consequently, we can secure the ambitions of new followers [of Buddhism] and cause them to have the determination to consign their feelings to [Buddhism].

88b

A sutra says, “Birth is suffering, aging is suffering, sickness is suffering, death is suffering, meeting one’s enemies is suffering, separation from loved ones is suffering, and not obtaining what one wants is suffering.”³⁵⁸ If you encounter any of these types of suffering you should think that such suffering is simply a result from what you have done in previous existences, and concurrently you should realize that this is an evil falsehood. You must awake from [these delusions] through a farsighted view and enlarge [merit] with the [four] immeasurable minds.

Moreover, our brief lifetimes are as short as the time it takes for a white colt to pass a crevice.³⁵⁹ Even though we all have different circumstances, we all pass away in the end. The number of our successes and failures certainly does not deserve counting. If you practice the several ways [mentioned above] concurrently, this thought (i.e., counting up one's successes and failures) will naturally cease. Furthermore, if you do not enter the [Buddhist] Way, weal and woe arise alternately. In the collecting and dispersing [of the vapor] (i.e., birth and death)³⁶⁰ or in going and coming (i.e., transmigration in birth and death), both the wise and the foolish attain the same thing. Therefore, sutras say, "If there is peace, then there is danger. If there is gain, there is loss. If there is a meeting, there is separation. If there is birth, there is death."³⁶¹ This is probably the common force of nature and the fixed rule that inevitably visits you. If you infer [this rule] and pacify [your mind], you will be at ease in whatever you do.

The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* says, "All phenomenal things take form following the workings of a mind."³⁶² If this is so, there is a sign of a [mental] activity at the beginning and then a phenomenon responds to it later. A thought arises and then there is [a phenomenon]. When thought ceases there is no [phenomenon]. When your mind is stable you are at ease in whatever circumstance you encounter. When your feelings are hindered you are inactive wherever you go. Speaking from this point, the cause of doing something smoothly or being inactive lies within oneself, not in the external world. If fear arises in the mind, a misfortune from the external world takes advantage of [your fear]. When misfortune from the external world takes advantage, fear increases in the mind. If you are anxious that you may lose something, there is nothing to which you will not proceed.³⁶³ Therefore, a sutra says, "When a person (*zhangfu*) is fearful, non-human beings (i.e., ghosts or apparitions) take advantage of [his fear]."³⁶⁴ If you are able to abide by the [Buddhist] doctrines and the natural bastion is firm in your mind, other people and spiritual beings will have no chance to take advantage and the predetermined response will spontaneously cease. In all phenomena there will be nothing that can disturb you and no evils will be able to assail you.

The four types of impermanent things are (1) impermanence (Skt. *anitya*), (2) suffering (Skt. *duḥkha*), (3) emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*), and (4) non-self (Skt. *anātman*). The fact that our bodies change as we go from young to old

or that a hill and a valley change places [as time goes on] is called impermanence. That arising and falling away alternate or that joy at its summit certainly turns into grief is called suffering. That all phenomena finally end in nothingness is called emptiness. That the spirit does not have a permanent dwelling and transmigrates without cessation is called non-self.

A sutra says, “If you place yourself in delusive pleasure you will be aware of [the truth that] there will inevitably be a response of suffering to this.”³⁶⁵ This is probably to regard changes as going and returning and to discern that when pleasure departs, grief arrives. Therefore, even if you reside in peace you still worry about danger, and if you enjoy a good reputation [during the day] you become anxious [about losing it] in the evening.

To deeply concentrate one’s thought on suffering is called clarifying the truth (Skt. *dr̥ṣṭa-satya*). This is to realize that having a mind means to have hindrance, and having hindrance means that suffering exists. Even if one were to become the noblest in the heavenly and human realms and concurrently have a high rank, the more significant one’s position, the deeper his arrogance. The greater one’s pleasurable feeling, the more suffering there will be in the law [of reward and retribution]. Therefore, a sutra says, “The three realms of existence are full of suffering; there is nothing pleasurable.”³⁶⁶ Moreover, [another sutra] says, “Sentient beings in the five realms of existence are all in a large prison.”³⁶⁷ As long as your mind is bound to the world of existence, weal and woe are linked together. This is why the three realms of existence are collectively called a large prison.

88c

The Buddha [once] asked his disciples what impermanence means. One [disciple] answered, “[Life] is unwarrantable even for a single day. This is impermanence.” The Buddha told him, “You are not my disciple.” Another said, “[Life] is unwarrantable even for as brief a time as it takes to have a meal. This is impermanence.” The Buddha said, “You are not my disciple.” Another said, “One has transited to the next life before even his exhaled breath has returned to him. This is impermanence.” The Buddha said, “You are truly my disciple.”³⁶⁸

The evident testimony of impermanence is displayed before [our eyes] every day, yet [people of] all generations continue to act in the same ways and no one realizes [the reality of impermanence] after all. They have no peace even for a moment and yet they make a plan for their whole lifetimes.

If fear does not exist before [their eyes], they neglect to do everything. If they try to improve their virtue in this manner, they will not have even as small an achievement as overturning a basket [of earth].³⁶⁹ If they control the mind in this way they will be indolent in what they learn.

Consequently, gentlemen who have a grasp of the Way pay heed [even] for a few minutes and regret the passing [of time]. They continually strive for improvement, lashing the laggards, and cultivate themselves through competing with [the passage of] time. Because they do not have enough time, deluded thoughts have no cause to arise and the conditioned response to [these thoughts] has no derivation from which to arise.

The six *pāramitās* refer to (1) giving (*dāna*), (2) [observance of] precepts (*śīla*), (3) forbearance (*kṣānti*), (4) diligence (*vīrya*), (5) meditation (*dhyāna*), and (6) wisdom (*prajñā*). To be capable of giving away [money and property] that you have accumulated in order to benefit and save sentient beings is giving. To respectfully observe the ten wholesome [acts] and ward off evils by sincerity is [the observance of] precepts. To not retaliate [for any outrage you have suffered] and to always remain humble is forbearance. To practice industriously what you have learned and never be idle, day or night, is diligence. To concentrate your thoughts, maintain your intention, and concentrate multiplicity through simplicity is meditation. Generally, if these five matters are practiced with thoughtfulness, this is called the worldly *pāramitās*, and if they are operated with the [non-thought of] concurrently forgetting everything,³⁷⁰ this is called the wisdom of the Way, [the last of the six *pāramitās*].

The [*Taizi ruiying*] *benqi jing* says, “There are ninety-six different teachings. Each believes in what it serves. They all hope for peaceful living. Who [among them] knows their own delusions?”³⁷¹ To be delighted with gain, hate losing, enjoy living, and lament over death are probably the ordinary delusions of young wanderers (*ruosang*) and the common feelings of sentient beings.³⁷² However, once the unseen power secretly responds, no matter how one may strive to attach to [these feelings] he cannot keep them. When the [karmic] response arrives he receives retribution. How could [this process] be controlled by intellectual functions?

Accordingly, those who learn [Buddhism] must unite their minds in the foundation of transformation and understand and view the profound ultimate. When one appreciates and values [the profound ultimate], all [worldly]

thoughts spontaneously disappear. When [all thoughts] disappear, one has [no thought of] forgetting [everything]. When one has [no thought of] forgetting [everything], causation is cut off. Retribution due to causation is therefore already cut off and then one will enter [the state of] nonarising. Since he or she is not reborn, he or she will not trouble to die. Therefore, the *Lalitavistara* (*Puyao jing*) says, “There is no place from which things arise and they arise everywhere. In all places they arise, there is no place where they arise.”³⁷³ The *Nirvana Sutra* says, “When your mind and consciousness cease, you neither die nor are reborn.”³⁷⁴ The mind is like a seed, actions are like the soil, and reward and retribution are like the resulting fruit. It is just as one sows each seed according to its kind. When the time has come [the plants] sprout, and no one can stop it. The above section gives a minute account of what kind of rebirth one will receive when the precepts of the ten wholesome acts are planted.

In addition, when one plants the seed of the four abodes of emptiness (*sikong*) in the realm beyond material elements through *dhyāna*, he or she will receive the noblest position in Heaven. Several sutras dwell upon the meanings of the four abodes and *dhyāna*. From the first heaven up to the twenty-eighth [heaven]³⁷⁵ merit gradually increases according to what one has done. When one plants the truth of impermanence through meditation, goes against the world of existence, and places himself in the world of nonexistence, he is able to enter the nirvana of the arhat. Not shunning the world of transience, not being bound by contemplation on emptiness, uniting tacitly with all principles, having no attachment, and depending on nothing results in nothing planted. Since there is nothing that has been planted, one is not subject to retribution. Being unprejudiced and profoundly extinguished is the nirvana of the Buddha.

89a

Nirvana is translated as *wuwei* (nonaction) in Chinese, and it also called *miedu* (“liberation of extinction”). The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* says, “Those six [heretical] masters say their partial teachings are the Way. Those who follow these masters are enmeshed in various [deluded] views, fall into prejudice, and end up in the eight difficulties. They are unable to leave behind the way of birth and death.”³⁷⁶ Even though the profound mental state is repeatedly practiced, if [your mind] moves even slightly you will also be detained in [the way of] limited existence, just as the six [heretical] masters

were. How much more so in the case of those who cling to existence, who hold biased views, who have self-attachment, and who oppose the edification [of Buddhism]! Even if their merits go beyond mountains and rivers and they are the most noble in the three realms of existence, fortune and misfortune alternate with each other³⁷⁷ and return to them. They will fall into punitive suffering in the end. How can they attain the great achievement of pacifying their spirits [and enjoy] calm, restful, profound peace?

Living creatures inevitably have feelings. This is the natural course of Heaven. If they do not settle in wholesomeness they will surely dwell in unwholesomeness. Consequently, those who begin to practice the [Buddhist] Way need something on which to rely. That on which this reliance is based is invariably grounded on existence. That on which existence avails itself invariably avails of tedious things. So a sutra says, “If you want to build a mansion in the air, it is impossible to accomplish this after all. [Equally,] if you want to take hold of the buddha lands it is not [possible only] through [understanding] emptiness.”³⁷⁸ If this is so, the [first] five [of the six] *pāramitās* and the four immeasurable minds cannot be disregarded. [Beginners] simply have to remove all malicious intentions [in applying those practices] in accordance with their practical use [in our daily life].

When you take refuge in the Buddha [you will realize that] there is no emancipation [to be found] in the Buddha. When you take refuge in the precepts [you will realize that] there is no merit [to be found] in the precepts. Then the truth [that is realized through] *dhyāna* and the five *skandhas* will be deeply united. The function [of the precepts] as secondary and contemplation as fundamental will be equally complete. Even though numerous practices may be concurrently arranged, this is originally only to practice emptiness within emptiness.

Some people may think, “In emptiness there is nothing to practice. If it can be practiced, then it is not emptiness. Since there is already practice, isn’t it [instead] to lose emptiness?” Emptiness is a term of no-thought, not a designation of [an actual place like] a government office or a residence. Nonbeing is truly nonbeing. If we existentialize nonbeing, we will completely remain in the limited [world]. Being is really being. If we forget both [being and nonbeing] then we will attain profound realization. If this is so, being and nonbeing derive from the mind and they have nothing to do with the

external world. Although physical objects and phenomena (i.e., being) are displayed in their practical use [in daily life], when sensations cease they deeply unite with the principle (i.e., nonbeing). How could there be nonbeing after the extermination of being? How could we reach exhaustion only by means of gradual decrease? Speaking from this viewpoint, being is indeed not in itself a hindrance. It is only because we are hindered by being that we go against the ultimate Way. If we reverse the current, return to the origin, and entrust ourselves to the foundation we will spontaneously be without limit.

Therefore, bodhisattvas' profound practices unify [delusion and realization] consistently. [Bodhisattvas] understand that all things in the universe are always deeply united, they profoundly apprehend [the truth] availing themselves of what is consigned to them, they know that all things that come to them are originally empty, they continually comprehend [all things] with the same view, they realize that the four physical forms (i.e., the four great elements) are devoid of self, and they discard all things following ultimate truth. Since they ascertain the nature of all things in the universe they see, they leave no trace behind no matter what they practice. In the profound Mahayana sutras the three periods of existence are always combined in one, and the phenomena we see right in front of our eyes are usually not considered to be existent. Accordingly, the purpose of "to practice emptiness within emptiness" is [clearly] seen here.

89b

***The Family Code: Clarification of
Two Issues by Chamberlain for
the Attendants Yan Yanzhi***

[There are three methods] to discern that [Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism] are equally wholesome and to become proficient in divergent subjects. First is to speak [based on] the Way; next is to discuss [based on] the mind; and the last is to examine [based on] reason. To speak [based on] the Way is to talk in conformity with Heaven; to discuss [based on] the mind is to argue on the basis of human beings; and to examine [based on] reason is to take [reason] in phenomena. When we distinguish [the three teachings] following [these methods], we separate them from one another and arrange each by its path. When we summarize and understand [these three teachings we find that] they all reach the same point in the end.

Things like profound and marvelous [Buddhist] scriptures and extremely brilliant [Buddhist] doctrines all offer clues of these three significances (i.e., the Way, the mind, and reason) and reach the highest point of nonduality. The language [of Buddhist scriptures], however, originates in a foreign region. Therefore [the Buddhist teaching] has been disliked by worldly scholars. The teaching was established in [a place with] different moral principles [from those of the Chinese]. So [Buddhism] is considered to be wrong in Chinese common practice. In the Way bestowed by Heaven there is no difference between foreign countries and China. Whenever a person receives the spirit [in his body], how could it be that [the spirit] is limited to a specific place, either outside or within [China]? When we consider this, there can be no arbitrary judgment.

[Issue One]

Those who practice Daoism are of the school that came out of the Way of the [Divine] Transcendents. Therefore, refining the form is considered to be primary. Regarding those who worship the Buddha, the origin lies in enlightening the mind. Accordingly, controlling the mind is considered to be foremost.

Those who follow the school of refining form must go to a deep and spacious place, where they try to return to flying spirits. They take cinnabar as food and consume the essence of numinous mushrooms. Consequently, they become rejuvenated, reject aging, prolong youthful charm, and preserve the bright appearance of youth. They intend to unite their bodies with the light red clouds and spread their traces all over the empty sky. These are their strong points.

If false [Daoists] practice this, [however,] they fear divine punishment, force people to offer crude prayers, mix male and female together, and throw evil and justice into disorder. In these points, they are consummate villains.

[Issue Two]

In the art of controlling the mind, people must part from their relatives and wives, restrain themselves [from committing vice] in both body and mind, revere the Pure Awakened One (i.e., the Buddha) as their teacher, and believe in causality and [former] lives. Therefore, they return to nonarising and are able to achieve the sacred enterprise; their intelligence is brighter than the sun and their aspirations are [as extensive] as innumerable *kalpas* are narrow. These are their distinguished points.

If those who go against [the Buddhist Way] practice this, they take advantage of [the appearance of monks by] taking the tonsure, become overly familiar with high-ranking people, attend those who have honor and fame, and seek profit. These are their severe deceptions.

In anything there is a case of not-so; in any matter there is nothing without harm. Even if we measure something with a weight and check it every day, we still worry about finding a difference. Moreover, the Way of the Spirit is formless and assuredly something of which numerous matters avail themselves. If one is not suspicious that there is no spirit before he is able to comprehend the spirit, I think that this is because the nature of numinous beings is subtle and obscure. We can understand [the spirit] by accumulating principles. Great change happens abruptly [and cannot be seen by our eyes, but] we can rely on great conformity (i.e., the laws of nature). [The Way of the Spirit] shines just as the clear sky does, and it is as cautious as when one looks into an abyss. Those who can consider that principles and [great] conformity make a person can altogether say that there is the spirit. If someone slanders the truth and blames [the teaching] for its disadvantages, he has simply not yet developed discernment.

***Sunshine* by Wang Gai**

When I inquire [I see that] the scriptures of the highest Way (i.e., Buddhism) explicate the origin of birth and death, indicate reward and retribution for good or evil conduct, and explain that there is a ferryboat to take us beyond this world. The instructions and precepts are clearly stated and fully enumerated, going into particulars. Nevertheless, “sincere words are not beautiful.”³⁷⁹ The compositions [of the scriptures] are complicated and the expressions are vague. Profound [reasons] piled up one after another are extremely obscure. Waves separate us from the deep pool [in which a pearl worth a thousand ounces of silver is found].³⁸⁰ Therefore, those who learn [Buddhism] have not attained its gate or they have not paid attention to it. When the profound music of *Xianchi* [composed by the Yellow Emperor] is taken up even a little, it accidentally becomes the common music heard in the streets. When we avail ourselves of the small in order to reach the great, we may unexpectedly come close to secular customs. To assist Heaven and to enhance brightness is called sunshine.

89c

I was influenced by my pioneer leader's (i.e., the Buddha's) great admonitions, and opened a lock with a profound key at the numinous gate. I go all around the Grand Void in order to look far into the distance, enjoying myself. I investigate exhaustively what is magnificent and do not come to an end. I tread on an [expansive] terrain [as if walking on] a small piece of land, and I wear the round sky [as if on] an overturned bowl. I see the boundlessness of the three realms of existence far in the distance, and I encounter the vigorous *yin-yang* vapors. I seek the profound origin of the Grand Creator and survey the deep root of Nature's nourishing. Then [I find that] the body that avails itself of the four great elements will dissipate like foam, while the spirit that is subtle among all things exists permanently. This is the state understood by those good people. Consequently, [the transmigration of] birth [and death] is sad and [the permanence of] the spirit is pleasing.

As for all living creatures, the spirit has no set pattern. Regarding the species of wriggling living creatures, their disposition is impermanent. To come [into existence] occurs as swiftly as flowing water, and to entrust [one's life to this world] is [as brief as] a spark. [The spirit] follows and entangles us. It alternates between withering away and spreading fragrance. It goes and returns, appears and disappears. It is imperceptible and vast. It flows around in the great sea [of birth and death] and transmigrates in the great change [of Nature]. It rides upon the waves and drifts far away. What stepping stone does it have in order to cross [the stream]? It transmigrates in the three lowest realms of existence and stagnates in the environment of the eight difficulties. It is pitiful that there is no hope to attempt to break [free from this environment and escape]. It is lamentable that there are hired people (i.e., lowly people) who return to [the three lowest realms of existence].

We regard respectfully that virtue should be quickly exalted, and we consider that the accumulation of evils must be delayed. This is the easy point to see the accomplishment of this undertaking (i.e., edifying people). The mental movement of foresight is not weak. The five kinds of happiness arise from performing correct things, and the six extreme evils are formed by following evils.³⁸¹ It is natural to be moved by the truth. Imperceptible responses take shape profoundly. Who creates happiness? Who launches disasters?

Water moves and makes a pool in a lower level. The way of human beings hates arrogance. Sins are caused by the accumulation of wealth and blessings

are brought about by the promotion of modesty. When even a child acts correctly, evil spirits run away. When even an adult man does evil conduct, the mischievous spirits insult him.

When we look at the pair of a form and [its shadow], or of a sound and [its echo], or when we examine a pair of signs such as weal and woe, the principles exactly fit our thoughts. With our own eyes we can see that the traces correspond to [the principles], just as a round wheel holds a pair of compasses or a carpenter's ink string is attached to a straight rafter. The blue dog, [a reincarnation of Ruyi, who committed suicide because Empress Dowager Lü had murdered his concubine,] was begotten of his father, Emperor [Gaozu, the founder of the Han dynasty].³⁸² The yellow bear, [a reincarnation of Gun, the father of Yu,] helped the sage [Yu in his work of building an embankment].³⁸³ If they had transformed yet did not save [their relatives], how could we say that familial relations are reliable?

To seek happiness sincerely lies in oneself, and to become a good person truly lies in one's own [actions]. Alas! Those who breathe have nothing permanent. We have no idea to where they arrive after suddenly departing. If that (i.e., cause and condition) is not what people can accumulate, wouldn't there be something from which vapor begins? We sympathize with a young beauty who dies at a tender age. She might return [to this world] reincarnated as a pig owned by her former household. She was raised with great love and care in her former life but in her current life [as a pig] she will be slaughtered [as an offering] in a sacrificial ceremony. The spirit subtly and continually dwells within us but our bodies undergo changes and transform into other bodies. Even before ten years have passed after our deaths we will be forgotten. We should sigh deeply and weep for this. This is not only what one person does—we ignorant people all act like this.

When we investigate why intelligent species [usually] have a small number of offspring and comprehend the reason that insects reproduce in vast numbers, [the former] is compared to an incessant drizzle that is seen as a light rain, while [the latter] is like overturning a full bag from which rice grains spill out. The latter are restlessly prolific, day after day. Who knows how to secretly clear up the cause of this? It is not something I can surmise. I may be wrong but I have learned as follows. 90a

People who turn things upside down and those who idly live in vain abruptly and secretly go far away when rumors of war reach their ears. Even though the Way of the Spirit is obscure, the law of spirits is particularly clear. [The spirits of the dead] wander around in the intermediate state between death and a new life (Skt. *antarā-bhava*), and they go to the iron city [of hell] where Wang Shu (i.e., the driver of the moon) is terminated in the night and where there is no sun in the daytime. The occupants [of that hell] are in fetters. They have to pass through a yard of burning charcoal. On the mountain of sharply pointed blades knives are piled up. The forest of swords that raise up their sharp tips are awe-inspiring and exquisite. There is a vast expanse of melted copper that gushes out like the sea. In a huge cauldron boiling water undulates and makes a sound like thunder. King Yama supervises inspections [of the dead], and beside him the wardens of hell hold prongs in their hands. [The wardens] place their triple-forked prongs between the two middle fingers of their left hands, and once they wield [the prongs] myriad things are piled up and arranged. There are venomous birds called *zhen* with sharp beaks, bright and scintillating fiery carts, sharply pointed nails, pointed spears, and dogs called *jiao* that bare their fangs.

Licentious people are burned on an illusory pole. Hungry convicts are laid out to dry up on dirt and sand. Even though [the dead] avail themselves of a light and clever numinous quality, they are easily subjected to more and more pain and humiliation, tormented for a long time. [This suffering] lasts for numerous *kalpas*. Is there anything crueller than this? It is impossible to list all of the harsh punishments of the eighteen [hells]. There are a thousand different severe [torments] and they cause diverse types of suffering. You cannot go through it without gasping for breath. You suddenly arrive in [hell] and forget your home. I have briefly described [hell] in a short period of time, but you will tremble with fear and be distressed until you die.

Thereupon, there are those who observe the five precepts without failure and who are perfect in performing the way of the ten wholesome acts. When they pass away, just as the evening sun sets, they fortunately ascend to the nine heavens where they will see a dazzling holy palace hall and a stately mansion built in the air. There are altogether a hundred beautiful buildings and nearly a thousand clean households. The Gate of Gold shines as brightly as crystal; the lanes made of gems sparkle as attractively as lapis lazuli; pearl

trees line the streets and the fabulous birds *luan* and phoenixes sing in the tree branches. Fragrant flowers are dignified, splendid, and elegant, and an aromatic breeze blows gently, diffusing the aroma. If you merely think of clothing, a beautiful garment is put on you. If you think of eating, fragrant food appears in abundance before you.

Xi He (the driver of the sun; i.e., the sun and moon) goes on a long journey, and one day [there] is as long as ten thousand years [here]. No one ever does anything to offend his nature. [The inhabitants] are always naturally calm. They look at the splendid flower buds glittering. They narrow their eyes and see that beings lightly fly around. They master the highest level of music of wonderful sounds. They go to the end of existence prolonging their lives. They abandon this vulgar world and ascend. Accompanying their outstanding peers, they ascend higher.

If this is so, delicacies are served daily in order to provide a feast for the virtuous people of the past. This land is barren; agriculture cannot take place. Even if there were a large accumulation of resources, how could they be inexhaustible? Even if someone is blessed with longevity, his life will come to an end at last. When the three disasters (i.e., fires, floods, and windstorms) arise even the palace buildings will be lost. When the seven symptoms reach there³⁸⁴ the revenues conferred by the Lord of Heaven will cease. When the great autumn season comes and [the plants,] having fulfilled [their growing season,] wither away, there is no distinction between the legendary tree called *dachun*, [whose life span is enormously long,] and a [short-lived] fungus.

Therefore, the Tathāgata, the Great Sage, clearly illuminates us with the three transcendental knowledges, feels compassion for those of us who are in trouble and ignorant, and explains clearly the essentials of the [Buddhist] Way. He washes away [our defilements] with skillful expedients and [leads us,] sometimes broadly and sometimes subtly, just as the dark sea turns the currents [within] or the sun bestows daylight on us. A superior person opens wide his mind and forgets what he wished to say,³⁸⁵ but a mediocre person tenaciously holds to his aspiration and sticks to the teaching.

90b

The [Tathāgata's] teaching has no fixed pattern; it follows whatever people do. [For instance,] if one is traveling on land he should go by a vehicle, but when he is traveling on water he requires a boat. [The Tathāgata] lays down various [expedients] and extensively speaks in numerous and abundant ways.

The “Section on Pasture” (*Jiong*) [of the *Praise Odes of Lu*] does not comprise all of the three hundred odes (i.e., the *Book of Odes*). The key point [of the teaching] lies in one point: profundity. If we grasp the outline of all profundity, put away minor matters into a fur bag, and extensively encompass the great instruction, then we will develop our intelligence. There is nothing unequal in the teaching but there is sharpness and dullness in individuals’ temperament. He who goes to [the Tathāgata] empty will come back full.³⁸⁶ Each person will be content in mind. The foolish and the wise are guided equally; dragons and spiritual beings are edified together. Myriad paths come together and return to one through transcendental wisdom. This can be compared to the fact that one cannot cross the sea in anything other than a ship. If we urge numerous people to move to a place where the Buddhist Way is studied, they will complete *wuwei* (i.e., attain nirvana) and cease transmigrating [in the cycle of birth and death].

Originally in the beginning, the three vehicles equally returned to one: nonexistence. Each individual, however, differs in his or her natural abilities and intelligence. So, for practical purposes, [the vehicles] are differentiated. Arhats dismiss existence from their minds and seek emptiness. Consequently, they are absorbed in emptiness and are peaceful and contented. *Pratyekabuddhas* understand troubles through knowing the minute (*wei*). Accordingly, they move to a profound place and do not dwell [in a fixed place]. Though their subtle traces are lost again [because they have left the world of existence, they still make an impression] as if they remained there. Bodhisattvas have released all the things that may detain them and have nothing to which to attach in their doings. How would they need to remove anything? They understand clearly before they examine. They keep [the truth] in mind and unite it in their initial intention. Their principles are important and deep, beyond words. Who else is able to clearly see and act just as they do?

In former times, when ancients met the Imposing One (i.e., the Buddha) whose light shined upon them, they were able to personally receive the sacred instructions. The people who adored [the Buddha] respectfully gave their eyes and ears to him. Some were enlightened by the sound of a single cough from him and some repented and reformed themselves on account of receiving a single meal [he provided to them]. They were all edified on the basis of language and there was not a single person who was not liberated.

[The teaching of] one who has attained emancipation (Skt. *sugata*) extends to today, even as the fortune of the [Buddhist] Way has begun to decline. The great teaching still exists, but those who appreciate it are rare. Sandalwood is considered to be as fragrant as smartweed or purple perilla. Moonlight is considered to be as bright as a firefly.

Yu [Falan] transcended the secular world and realized the profound tenor [of Buddhism]. He led the life of a recluse in the hills and valleys and his benevolence moved even tigers and water buffaloes. Eminent [Zhu Fa]hu was pure and peaceful. His morals were profound and good. When he chanted in a feeble voice in a deep ravine water in the dried-up spring gradually arose and increased. Elder Que [Gongze] ascended to the sky and Wei [Shi]du belonged to the [Buddhist] path, but they were both indifferent to nonarising, so they left their bodies and became immortals.

Today, Zhi Dun (314–366) is particularly outstanding. He understands and grasps the profound symbols. His great enterprise is deep and pure and his spiritual manner is clean and reverent. When he utters a single word the obstructions people have collected [in their minds] disperse. When one contacts [Zhi Dun] time and time again, the serious obscurity of his mind becomes bright. To see him is enough to wash away one's stinginess. By hearing his [teaching] one can leave behind arrogance.

[Zhi Dun] humbly cleansed himself in the stream [of the Buddhist teaching] in order to depart from worry and suffering. He fulfilled his original [purpose] and now enjoys composing poems on the eastern mountain. What kind of deep appreciation must he have in order to live such a simple life and to consider that the great treasure is as light as a very tiny thing? [It is probably] because the guidance of the Way instigates him to do so and he has reached the deep state of enjoyment in untroubled ease. If no one has difficulties in his talent, the wise is not valued. If the fool is not laughed at, sages are not lofty. Profound music seems shallow to vulgar ears. Who [but Confucius] could forget the taste [of meat] when he hears the *Shao*, [the music composed during the time of the sage Emperor Shun]?³⁸⁷ Wherever we go there is the Way. There are spirits wherever we go. There are exquisiteness and coarseness in principles. There are able, virtuous people and people of the greatest sincerity. The great occupies the position of an exquisite lord and the minor becomes a minister of great virtue. Winged birds follow the sacred bird called

90c

garuḍa. The creatures that have a shell belong to the *asuras*. The two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth) take the Grand Terminus as their origin.³⁸⁸ All the stars link to the North Polar Star.

Therefore, the ninety-six [non-Buddhist] schools abundantly spread their branches, slight and abandon the important root, and rashly reject what is tranquil and great. Their followers all claim that they participate in sacredness. Each school arbitrarily operates in its own area. Some move to a mountain and dwell near a stream, and some are short-lived. They command beautiful beings who wear heavenly garments, howl at the savory odors in a numinous kitchen, glorify the atrocity of the orderly returning troops, transform a pebble into a fine piece of jade, exhaust every means of transformation, and tower above others in eccentricity. They regret that what they rely on has no perpetuity. These are pleasures within the limited world and they are not as good as even the chaff and bran of the highest Way (i.e., Buddhism).

Regarding those found in the [*Biographies of*] *Arrayed Transcendents* and those who [practice to] refine the body, they pass their time like a [dormant] bear, stretch and twist [their bodies] like a bird,³⁸⁹ and breathe in the Grand One. In the evening they consume the brilliant moon along with the moisture of an elm tree, and in the morning they take the bright rosy clouds together with the red sun. Chifu lived long by taking cinnabar. Juanzi flew into the sky by eating glutinous millet. An [Qisheng] enjoyed longevity by eating pine resin. Fengren lightly lifted his body to the sky by eating nuts of the cypress tree.

What the elixir imbues is enough to support life and sustain the body. Inwardly they are not peaceful if they rely on their outward appearance. They vainly climbed into the clouds, fell, and died. They tie up a sack in order to try to strengthen the ground for resentment.³⁹⁰ As a matter of course, even if they all go out of the same gate together they will not ascend to the hall of Yan [Hui] in reason and will be eternally blocked from gazing at Confucius' home.

It is esteemed to be able to fly, yet even moths and butterflies can fly high. It is wonderful that one hardly grows old, yet even turtles and snakes live long. While we make ourselves comfortable in this inn (i.e., this transient world) only the mind should be treasured. Those who wish to sustain the body are not worthy of discussing the spirit with us. Those who are familiar with secular customs cannot talk about the Way with us.

What is it that is called the Way? There is no method to ask or answer this. Those who try to inquire about it are at a loss in asking, and those who try to answer are confined in themselves. To keep silent about it is to understand it. When it is spoken of, it is exhausted. As for the dark-colored pearl (i.e., the essence of the Way) and the explanation of the Way, I would say that [the former] has no phenomenon and [the latter] has nothing to say. If we keep still and silent, there are admonitions in the profound response. Even if we intensively investigate superficial sounds we do not understand the profound sound. The more we expect to know [the Way], the more mistakes we make. The more we seek it, the deeper it sinks. Ever since a man of Ying, [the capital city of Chu state,] died, who can serve as a chopping board for the artisan [Shi]?³⁹¹ (i.e., what can we do without those things on which we have relied?) Even if one [has completed preparations to know the Way, just as one] sets up a bamboo fish trap in deep water or sets a snare in a dense vegetation, waiting for a fish in the river or a rabbit in the forest, if he attains the meaning beyond what is spoken then as soon as he has seen it he should abandon the mind.

Before no movement is observed [people] abruptly go and come back. Wise people suddenly arrive and abide in this world (Skt. *sahā-lokadhātu*).³⁹² A great number of teachers have educated people [in this land]. Now, for the first time, we can cross over [the limited world like] a die. Maitreya is now glorious. We respectfully expect [Maitreya] to benevolently edify us. Who could say in blame that [Maitreya's edification] is far from us? When you catch a glimpse of it you will be dazed. Even though the divine reins move swiftly, the mechanism of causality is unending. There is no beginning and no end in it (i.e., the mechanism of causality), but there is a beginning and end with oneself. People temporarily take steps [in the world as feebly as] the end of a streak of bright lightning, and they breathe amid violent winds that carry stones and gravel. They know to fear [the dangers of] a path and to be terrified of bandits, but they puzzle over the fact that the desires caused by objects of the six sense organs have invited the foreign [teaching].

91a

People neglect what is profound and superb yet covet what is familiar to them. They think that luxury and frugality are both aspects of wealth. They do not protect [trees] from becoming leafless when there are violent sandstorms. After the strong winds have stripped [away all the leaves], they think

to return to the beginning and try to make [the leaves] more beautiful than before. Even if they feel regret myriad times, how could their [desires ever] be satisfied?

Consequently, those who have made a great oath burn their fingers and bore through rocks [to create Buddhist niches]. They secretly expect to attain [their goal] without [having the wish] to wait for it. They accumulate [good conduct] for their aspirations, deepen the moat of intelligence, and raise high the wall of wisdom. They draw the divine sword and brandish the halberd of the [Buddhist] precepts. When [wild] thoughts are about to be harbored in their minds, they exterminate [those thoughts]. When [vulgar] feelings are about to arise, they sever and remove [those feelings]. They weed out the six thieves (i.e., the six sense organs) from their minds and try to put an end to an expedition (i.e., transmigration) in the five paths. Folding their hands (i.e., not taking any action), they regulate what is internal in themselves and completely have the decisive mind to attain Dharma wisdom (Skt. *dharmā-kṣānti*). The [confusions of] the three periods of existence will then all be extinguished and their minds will become entirely open. Even if they commit their ears to hearing what is not clear and consign their eyes to seeing what cannot be relied on, defilements will fruitlessly fall away following [the causes] and impurity will futilely dissipate along with them.

The spacious and wonderful awakening makes everything true in the light of expedients. It universally saves people and peacefully ferries them across [to the yonder shore]. Who commiserates with great benevolence? People entrust [their bodies] to the lodging house (i.e., this world) in order to [mingle with the world by] tempering their brightness. They customarily ramble about and abide in what is deep and dark. They act like Heaven [during their life], and [at death] they undergo transformation just as [all] things do.³⁹³ They are just like someone who treads water with no worry [of drowning].

If through the subtle wonders of supernatural transformation one regulates miracles, he can lift up the trichiliocosm on his palm, cause a mustard seed to contain Mount Sumeru³⁹⁴ and the four seas to be held within a single pore of one's skin,³⁹⁵ and make the seven treasures [last] longer than the period of a *kalpa*.³⁹⁶ These can be believed but they cannot be sought; these can be followed but they cannot be understood. These are not what are propagated

through talking or chanting. How could these be revealed by writing on pure white silk (i.e., paper)?

How good are the words expounded by the Buddha of his own accord (Skt. *udāna*)! Even if the world were full of wise people and one of them had a hundred heads, and one of those heads had a hundred tongues, and one of those tongues explained a hundred meanings with sharp and outstanding oratorical talent, and even if all those people gathered and praised the [Buddhist] Way, [the value of their praise] would still be less than one ten-thousandth [of the real value of the Buddhist Way]. Only by the fact that awakened ones sigh in wonderment [the value of the Buddhist Way] spreads out and manifests itself entirely. Moreover, I, an ignorant bigot, respectfully give an account of [the Buddhist Way] under the pretext of being ambitious and too hasty. Am I one who tries to raise the brightness of the glow of a firefly and who intends to increase the light of the sun in order to assist the sun?

Alas! The repository of numinous beings outside of this secular world is excessively far and vast. Of all that is subtle and wonderful, the innermost is immeasurable. People of minor attainment cannot walk in it. Those who have great words unexpectedly lose [their words].

The virtue of Earth is deep. It contains all things. We are startled when we hear about immense gullies. We are surprised when we see lofty mountain masses. Chinese classical books carry [the virtue of Earth] in their grasp of them. Foreign scriptures record this as if listing doors and windows. Zhuangzi was already versed in [things] but he could not settle this. So he believed in the lowly and disgraceful stories of the *Qi Xie*.³⁹⁷ He saw the bird called *peng* and the fish called *kun* and indicated that they are large, but he did not see the king of birds (Skt. *garuḍa*) or the mother of fishes (Skt. *makara*).

Alas! Alas! Unusual and extraordinary things have accumulated but they are too subtle and extensive to record. How could they all be described and recorded? [Numerous things] are extensively arranged in the book *Huanglan*. This book is worthy to search for what is profound or to learn singular phenomena. How can we shallowly detest [the record of the sword that can] cut jade? Furthermore, why would we largely bring a false charge against [non-combustible] textiles [that can be washed in] fire?³⁹⁸

Moreover, below these there is the tenor of the teachings bound together, but these are the expedient baits of Emperor Yao and Confucius. I always

91b

devote myself to [the Buddhist Way] and abide by the law. I am afraid to overstep what I am told, to completely reject reason in order to testify to statements, to not understand meanings inferring in accordance with [similar] categories, to vainly make things vast and scheme to complicate things, and further to increase suspicion and invite fear. I realize that I have skillfully made a display of my wisdom and astonished people. Therefore I will lay down my brush and stop thinking. I put one corner (i.e., my humble view) in my rough purport. I will wait for someone who has clear knowledge to embody truthfulness.

End of Fascicle Thirteen of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

Fascicle Fourteen

Written Appeal to Mount Tai by Zhu Daoshuang

I, Śramaṇa Zhu Daoshuang, dare to address the Spiritual Government Office and the messengers of the Overseer of Mount Tai, the Eastern Mountain [of the Five Sacred Mountains].

When the profound primordial vapor (*xuanyuan*) began its disintegration³⁹⁹ and the two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth) began to separate from each other, the first four stars of the Big Dipper were arranged above, helped by the light of the sun, moon, and stars. The god of earth was placed below and guarded by the Five Sacred Mountains. The *yin* and *yang* spread Nature's nourishment throughout the eight directions. All things were born in this [environment].

Therefore, Mount Tai occupies the region of the blue dragon (east), Mount Heng and Mount Huo are located in the body of *yang* (south),⁴⁰⁰ the mountain of Huayang (i.e., Mount Hua) manifests itself in the area where the sun sets (west), Mount Heng and Mount Tai line up near the place of the profound turtle (north), and Mount Song juts out in the middle of the great river and suppresses the banks of the Four Holy Rivers (i.e., Yangzi, Huai, Yellow, and Ji). These [Five Sacred Mountains] receive pure vapor, make use of the truth, and have no impurity of evil. They are the Way of the Spirit; they are spontaneous, dignified, and not false. They follow the laws of Heaven and Earth. They are sincere, honest, upright, straight, tranquil, calm, profound, and pure. Advancing, they lead the beginning of the operations of the four seasons. Retreating, they follow the essence of the teaching of the five kinds of principles of human relationships.⁴⁰¹ They conceal the disposition to understand what is subtle within and clearly show the brightness of the Way and its outflowing operation without. At the upper level they master absolute vacancy and at the lower level they nourish the masses. They cherish virtue and secretly understand it thoroughly. There is no place, no matter how far away it may be, that they cannot penetrate. They roam around the nine cliffs (i.e., the edges of the world) and fly with a flap of the wings to Mount Xuanque [in

the north]. Consequently, it can be said that they do not have an exact beginning for their formation, that they breathe the *yin-yang*, grasp Heaven and Earth (*qian kun*) in their hands, and walk all over the world.

91c The Eastern Mountain (i.e., Mount Tai) is the starting point of the east and springtime, and the vapor of pure *yang*. It nurses, moves, and produces [all things]. It is in the rank of king or father, just like the constellation Nanji and the Big Dipper that are the central stars in the nine heavens, or the King-Sire of the East (Dong wanggong) and the Queen Mother of the West (Xi wangmu) who are the former rulers of the ultimate of nonbeing (*wuji*).⁴⁰² [Mount Tai] flies like a phoenix riding on vapor and goes to this subtle and profound world, which is clearer and more still than the primordial substance,⁴⁰³ and in which human beings do not exist. All filthy things are cleansed there. Its Way is spontaneous.

Nevertheless, why do you use apparitions and other prodigies or specters under the pretext of the Way of the Eastern Mountain, or numinous beings who dwell on the mountain, and mislead the ignorant feelings of secular people on the basis of the wild deceptions of the wandering spirits of the dead? You make books about deities and artificially erect images of them. There is originally no record and in the end nothing to ascertain the truth.

In your appearance there is a poisonous vapor caused by destroying the lives of living creatures, and within you a hundred evil spirits prevail. During the day grains and cooked rice are greatly offered to you; during the night numerous evil spirits haunt in the yard. These are all spirits of wolves and snakes. Owls and pythons vainly cry out. From the time the Three Augusts established the foundation up to the present time, when the tradition is transmitted, I have never seen such a divine message among what has been respected for successive generations. Therefore, the *Records of Minor Conquest (Lingzheng ji)* says,⁴⁰⁴ “When the spirit is right, its light is hidden in dimness. It goes up high above to the celestial bodies, and plays below at Mount Xuanque [in the north]. It roams around in the clouds’ shadows and soars like a dragon to the eight ends of the universe. A wind rises and rain is distributed. Nature’s nourishment is [dispersed] just like thunder and lightning. Even though no lunch basket is provided, foods of numerous flavors are spontaneously offered. [The right spirit] bears benevolence and holds the [primordial] substance in hand. [Consequently,] its kindness benefits the

masses. Its favor surpasses that of parents. Its kindness is as bright as the morning sunlight. If you eat in accordance with Heaven, you will not destroy the life of numerous living creatures.”

This is a subtle principle regarding the wonderful soaring and the Way of the Spirit that is pure and free from prejudice. If the spirit is not right, it offends all things. According to the circumstances or when taking advantage of divine messages, [the wrong spirit] conveys to secular people things that confuse them. [The wrong spirit] causes calamity, damages the simple nature [of people], agitates their minds, squanders their fortunes, and leads to the most atrocious destruction of life. The lives of numerous living creatures are cut off, living creatures who are in the middle of their lives are unfairly killed and their bones and flesh are put on a cutting board [in order to offer them to the wrong spirit]. The people’s minds then become scattered and their primordial energy (*yuanqi*) is painfully injured. How could the deity of the Eastern Mountain be considered in this way?

Therefore, the *Zhenzhong jie* (*Admonitions on the Pillow*) says,⁴⁰⁵ “Those who bear vapor, those who wriggle, and numerous insects should not be harmed.⁴⁰⁶ Never eat the eggs of birds. They have spirits within them. [All living things] receive life from the primordial energy of Heaven and form their bodies in the yard of Earth. At their origin they received [their lives and bodies] from the two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth). How could these lives be destroyed?” These acts are all against reason and go against the essential principle of the Way. Many people bear benevolence in mind, so they do not kill others, obeying [the mandate of] Heaven. It is needless to mention the taking of the lives of pigs and sheep and drinking their blood [for rituals]. From this, we can infer that [the deity you name] is not the [right] spirit.

Furthermore, the true deities of the Five Sacred Mountains are the symbols of the spirits. They are modeled after the first four stars of the Big Dipper above, and they abide by [the laws of] Heaven and Earth below. They receive the Way, so they are pure and free from prejudice. They have neither voice nor sound. They take no pleasure in being respected and they do not feel sadness even if they are disrespected. They have no sense of benefit or loss even if they are praised a thousand times or slandered ten thousand times.

Nevertheless, you falsely say, “[The deities of the Five Sacred Mountains], disguised as living people, become angry groundlessly and eat butchered

[animals]. Those who follow them are granted favors, but those who disobey them receive misfortune.” Your course of action is unjust and false. You eternally have no rule, as do the wise. You defame and disgrace the true deities. It is not their Way.

92a Therefore, the section called the “Record of the Midst of Profundity” (*Xuanzhong ji*) of the *Huangluozi jing* (*Sutra on Huangluo*) says,⁴⁰⁷ “One who claims to be the deity of a mountain is most certainly a python or a snake. One who calls himself the deity of a large river or the sea must be a sea turtle, an alligator, a fish, or a freshwater turtle. One who represents himself as the parent deity of Heaven and Earth is certainly a wild animal such as a cat or raccoon dog. One who assumes the title of the deity of generals must be a bear, brown bear, tiger, or leopard. One who calls himself the deity of officials must be a small or large monkey. One who refers to himself as the deity of a household is most certainly a dog, sheep, pig, or cow.” Mischievous spirits incarnate themselves as categories such as a door, a well, a furnace, or broken utensils. They all call themselves deities but they are only vapor of vicious spirits that frighten people. The energies of obscene spirits are all recorded in scriptures and clearly analyzed in commentaries.

More than six years have passed from the time you made the assertion of fortune and misfortune. You invite people from remote places in the four directions. There is no one who does not promptly respond to you. Those who escort a sick person and come to you, [seeking your help,] are like a small stream flowing to the sea, but the grief of those who take their dead back from you fills the road. A person with a severe illness soon dies; you then say that that person has exhausted his life span. A person with a minor illness easily recovers; you then praise yourself [for giving] your good fortune to him.

If it is difficult for you to save someone with an advanced disease, you have no favor. The disease of the ancient state of Zhongrong was not cured by you.⁴⁰⁸ You had no efficacy in these two cases. How can you render service to [people]? You try to cause a large number of people to join themselves to you and take refuge in you. Without a good physician and good medicine, even those who take the tonsure (Buddhist monks) cannot subdue [the demon of disease]. Even after ten days or a month have passed, there would be no sign and response [in recovering from illness]. Inferring from this point, what efficacy do you possess?

Furthermore, at the great beginning of the country King Huan was installed as a feudal lord.⁴⁰⁹ He bestowed virtuous relationships on the six states, restrained the assistance of the Three Communicating Agencies (*santai*), and glorified the Imperial house. The masses were delighted with his benevolence. Heavenly calamity, [however,] accidentally befell him and his body was attacked by a minor illness. He thought that your god of the land (*qi*) could reveal the mysterious virtue. Consequently, he propagated your virtue and believed in your command. He visited your sanctuary, offered three kinds of livestock (i.e., cows, sheep, and pigs), and gave an additional gift of rare and precious things. If you represent the sacred Way, if you can communicate with Heaven, and if you can achieve what is subtle, why is it that you could not remove his illness and attain peace for him by informing the Nine Augusts (the Great Bear and two assistant stars) above, consulting with the god of the earth (*houtu*) below, gathering a hundred numinous beings, manifesting a miracle, or utilizing the good assistants of the country? Since there was no prompt efficacy [in healing], [King Huan] suddenly passed away. We have verified these kinds of falsehoods. Why are you [trust]worthy enough to be believed?

Moreover, in ancient times the stones on Mount Tai stood by themselves and the altar of the god of the land (*she*) moved. Divine spirits sent down omens. This legend has been passed down for ten thousand generations. This is a case where Heaven and Earth responded to [Mount Tai] and [the response] manifested as auspicious events of the time. You claim the sacredness [of Mount Tai] for yourself. You are not able to manifest supernatural virtue by raising clouds and causing rain at all. You plot evil in order to damage the true Way. Even if you are able to move chopsticks along the surface of a tray and completely drink wine by lifting a cup, it is similar to performing supernatural magic. [These performances] are not of a real deity. Moreover, there is no evidence that you do. What deity is there?

Furthermore, Mount Tai is ruled by King Yama. His domain is dark and obscure, different from this world in its mysteriousness. The messengers of the Overseer send down [good or bad omens] in the same manner as deities do. One's life span is laid down in the light of the great record (*huangji*), and the register of life spans is examined at the heavenly office. Myriad evils are all recorded, even if they are trifling. Trivial acts of wholesomeness

are unimportant but nothing is left out [of the record]. All spirits [of the dead] are completely collected [in the heavenly office]; it is not a government office with which living people must comply.

Nevertheless, why do harmful spirits falsely state this purpose, throw off all restraint at will among human beings, and deceive and jeopardize people in all respects? Among the trees of a dense forest or in a field full of magpies, they draw together or move around. They are enumerated in books of ceremonies from remote [times] to the present [time]. They assemble men and women and plant earthly desires in their minds. Their foul vapor invites misfortune from the external world. The hooting of an owl spreads out into the distance. Their poisons accumulate in the king's territory, become harmful, and increase exceedingly.

92b Clouds and fog cover the sky. Various kinds of evil conceal what is right. Many things are harmed through your weird and peculiar means. Even though I am but an insignificant follower, I fully step up to the rank of the Three Seasonal Tailoring Groups (*sanfu*). I often read classic books and commentaries and now I see these calamities. Inferring from ancient matters and examining present matters, [I can say that] evil does not go along with good. I will wash away impurity and brightly raise the sacred Way. I inform you that I will strictly investigate the faction of mischievous spirits and make them return to the graveyards to roam about there. If they eat fruit and drink spring water, it is enough for them to open a path to living. This then causes the masses to cut off the trouble of exhausting their wealth and the birds and animals to not be killed in snares.

If there are still some spirits that turn their heads around, feel a persistent attachment [to this place], and do not leave here, hoping for food, then I will summon deities such as the divine king Vaiśravaṇa and Rāṣṭrapāla, to whom I will grant *vajra*. I will station a military division of true [spirits] that are brave and sternly powerful. They will rigorously move the trichiliocosm. They are fierce; [their enemies] are difficult to endure. The mere posture of couching their shining spears or drawing their bright swords can break a mountain into pieces, subdue dragons, and bring demons to their knees. No one among them does not bow with his head to the ground.

You are a minor spirit. If you dare to touch the sun, moon, and stars, you will be like a swan's feather that goes in charcoal [and is burned up], or like a fish that swims in a cauldron of boiling water, or like a fire that is extinguished

by all the water of a large river, or like the morning dew dried up by the sun. I think of benevolence and feel pity for you for what you do. When I warn you of this danger and worry about you, my heart hurts. Quickly appear before me and return to your original form! Go on a long journey myriad miles back to blue waves on the seashore! Do not stay here any longer! Show your submission and do as I have ordered!

Written Appeal to the Demon
by Shi Zhijing⁴¹⁰

I, Shi Zhijing, repeatedly bow to you with my head to the ground.

O Brilliant General! Your Excellency and I have traveled on different ferries in the profound path, but human beings and Heaven are unified. Even though our most honored masters differ from each other, we are fundamentally the same in terms of being in the three realms of existence. I often plan to have a good meeting with you and speak various issues of long standing, but what we profess is not yet profound. This therefore results in the separation between you and me. At the present time the Dharma King manages the world and everyone in the ten directions desires to follow him. The marvelous net is precisely spread and the large rope of the net is seized completely. There is the tide for the Great Pervader to prevail⁴¹¹ and the lofty assembly will soon be held. I cannot stand up eagerly longing for it, so I am simply writing this to make my intention clear.

The times that are blocked have a way to be opened. When a negative situation ends it becomes peaceful. A thousand sages hand [this belief] on from one to another. A great number of teachers inherit this in succession.

In ancient times, our great founder, the heavenly king Ultimate Source (Benyuan), embodied the functions of all changes and ascended the throne in the original region [of his kingdom,] in accordance with an auspicious omen sent down from Heaven. He relied on the expedient form and subjugated all countries. He exerted the axe of benevolence and covered the whole wide world. He powerfully washed away the four evils⁴¹² and cleansed the three realms of existence. He duly stretched the majestic rope toward the whole world and spread the marvelous net over the entire universe. He brought calmness to the remote backward regions in the seven directions and pacified and unified the nine lands (i.e., China).

Nevertheless, the profound laws of nature were not sympathetic to him. His true appearance became tranquil. The double brightness [of the sun and moon] stopped the luminosity and waves capsized an empty boat. Consequently, this caused evil [thoughts] to arise one after another, just as when ants [swarm], and [wrong] views like an owl to develop fiercely. The true path was dimmed and polluted. Pure people became stained and confused. Cruelty accumulated among the masses. Poison flowed for myriad *kalpas*. Sentient beings who cherish the Way in mind have different thoughts from one another but they come to anger in the same way.

Our Dharma King received the mandate [of Heaven, appeared in this world] as occasion demands in order to rectify confusions. He was born as an heir of a noble house of the upper level [of society], and charged himself with numerous people's minds on the lower level. He held in hand the star called the Heavenly Banner (Tianqi) and encompassed the trichiliocosm. He took a firm grip of the sacred chart and caused the great enterprise to prosper.

92c Clouds arose in the four palaces and the auspicious bird *luan* flew to India, when the spirit [of Śākyamuni] descended to Kapilavastu and made the moat of time around the city. [Śākyamuni] pacified the masses and nicely ease high-ranking officials' minds. He encouraged and led people's minds and offered comfort and instruction to the sick. He adorned his heart with the axe of wisdom, wore the wondrous armor on his body, sympathized with the eighteen innocent people,⁴¹³ and felt sad that the path to the three kinds of emptiness was cut off. He was determined to relieve [even those who live] in the end of the world and had to conquer many difficulties. All the people in the countries of numerous regions respectfully bowed before his excellent edification.

I have heard [the following] about you. You are unafraid that serious delusions may cover you; you are deeply attracted by silly thoughts; so you stick to false views; like a wolf, you occupy a heaven of the realm of desire; like an owl, you hoot at a mysterious watchtower; you betray and leave [your allies] at national borders; you oppose the divine principle; and you think that you are able to ascend the Throne and change great laws. Looking at even just two or three of these issues causes me to draw a deep breath.

Formerly Mahābhijñāñānābhībhū governed the world and all regions depended on him, just as a shadow follows [a form]. There was a deceitful idiotic heavenly demon who did not observe the right principles, disobeyed

the will of Heaven, and disturbed deities' minds. Soldiers led [by him] filled the empty sky, took temporary forms, and variously transformed. Their fine armor gleamed in the sunlight and their pointed spears wiped out the area. Mysterious drums vied with one another in their loud pounding. [The drumbeats] went to the world beyond this world. [The demons] vigorously walked about or ran around, thinking themselves to be strong and energetic.

Once King [Mahābhijñāñānābhibhū's] army rose in force the group of evil spirits was brought to an end. Many deluded beings reformed themselves, adored [Mahābhijñāñānābhibhū] from a distance, and were subjugated by him, just like a shadow [is subject to a form]. Needless to say, you are only a single general and try to be valiant. Even if an upright person employs many people, if he has no set rules he cannot form them into a brigade. Nevertheless, you intend to go against [the Dharma King], usurp and oppress the splendid capital city, seize the powers of the spiritual world, and fly over the Supreme One (i.e., the Buddha). If you disgrace truth with falsity, you are really wrong.

Today Śākyamuni governs the world. His Way has flourished since the time of the beginning of this *kalpa*. His subtle edification is vast and his supernatural net is stretched even in remote places. Intelligent people are harmonious. They are counted as numerous as clouds; they cover the world. Warriors [for Śākyamuni] leap like dragons. There are myriad troops of archers. Arhats strategize together and their clever schemes are outstanding. Consequently, they give orders [to the generals].

Sadāprarudita, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Vanguard General-in-Chief, Commander-in-Chief of Jambudvīpa, and the Marquis who Pledges Allegiance to Justice, you alone received the heavenly wonder and flew from the capital Mysterious Mirror [to this world]. Your spirit is as lofty as Mount Sumeru. Your brave energy encompasses the world. You are skilled in military affairs and you have completed literary arts. Your loyalty is famous in the Imperial palace. Lead forty trillion people, collect your horse, and go to battle!

Guru (Skt. *nara-nāyaka*),⁴¹⁴ Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, General-in-Chief of the Subjugation of Remote Lands, Commander-in-Chief of the Four Heavens, and Duke of Trāyastriṃśa, you are preeminent in military skill and your literary skill surpasses great schemes. Your subtle thoughts are beyond earthly affairs. Your mind stays outside of this illusory world.

You are concerned about the times and forget yourself. You are determined to save the world by all means. Lead a hundred trillion people and fly like the great bird *luan* to the thoroughfare of Heaven!

93a Vimukticandra, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, General-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force Against Demons, Commander-in-Chief of the Six Heavens, and King of Tuṣita Heaven, your subtle thoughts are very profound, and you loftily walk outside of this world. Your strategy is on the same level as that of [bodhisattvas] in the eighth of the ten stages (Skt. *kumāra-bhūta*) and your merit is equal to that of [bodhisattvas] in the ninth stage. You mournfully feel compassion for beings in the three lowest realms of existence. When you become angry you go so far as to indulge yourself in destruction. When you draw your sword you are impassioned by lamentation and indignation. You think to rise up in force, going around and around just like a dragon [in the sky]. Lead four hundred trillion people and revolve around the heavenly gate just as clouds do!

Vajragarbha, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Proficient in Subtlety General-in-Chief, Commander-in-Chief of the Seven Heavens, and King of the Four Meditation Heavens, your bright disposition shines and reflects. Your golden face illuminates even remote places. Your kindness is greater than the place where the sun rises. You have the physical strength to overthrow mountains and seas. When you glance to your right, waves splash in the Meng and Fan Rivers. When you gaze to your left, even the gleam of the divine tree called *fusang* is diminished.⁴¹⁵ There is no place that your virtue does not illuminate. There is no one who does not submit himself to your dignity. Lead seven hundred trillion people and glare fiercely, just like a tiger, on Mount Sumeru!

Great Vimalakīrti, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Garrison General-in-Chief, Commander-in-Chief of the Nine Heavens, and King of the Bodhisattvas of the Eighth Stage, your outstanding schemes are marvelous. With the axe of the Dharma you invigorate [people] in remote lands. You bear a lofty air. Your temporary manifestation exceeds myriad transformations. When you breathe, all the people of the world follow you, just as the clouds flow [in the sky]. When you command, all people in the ten directions obey you, just as trees and plants bend before the wind. You grieve for innocent

people who have many hardships. Lead nine hundred trillion people and let the horses drink water at a ferry of the sky!

Great Mañjuśrī, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, General-in-Chief of Illuminating the Coming Age, Commander-in-Chief of the Thirteen Heavens, Military Supervisor of the Small Thousand Worlds (Skt. *sahasraścūḍika-lokadhātu*), and King of the Bodhisattvas of the Ninth Stage, you are a descendant who has received the origin from remote times. Your body is as bright as the sun, moon, and stars. You are descended from [the Celestial Thearch of] the Palace of Purple Tenuity (the constellation to which the polar star is central). Your mind is lofty and your physical body is great. In responding to [the requests of sentient beings] you have a thousand paths to reach them. Your profound schemes number in the tens of thousands. You feel various kinds of movements upon yourself and [are able to] calm numerous worries in one moment. You deeply hold benevolence in mind and possess all the four methods of winning people over (Skt. *catur-saṃgrahavastū*) in your heart. Lead people as numerous as particles of dust and soar up from this land!

Avalokiteśvara, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, General-in-Chief of Reforming the World with the Teaching, Military Supervisor of Recording of Demons, Commandant Against Various Evils, and King of the Middle Thousand Worlds (Skt. *divisāhasra-madhyama-lokadhātu*), your resources are profound. With the axe of wisdom you invigorate [people] in remote lands. You clearly master the four ways to enlightenment (Skt. *catur-pratipadā*) and brightly examine the three kinds of defilements. You sometimes appear among numerous evil beings and rise with irresistible force to perform a feat. You sometimes manifest yourself in temporarily transformed forms in the eighteen [hells] and stop the direst distress in those places. When you wave your hand the iron rocks of Mount Iron Surroundings (Skt. *Cakravāḍa*) are smashed. When you exhale a single breath from your mouth the drifting clouds [are blown and] break apart on a cliff. In all directions you are able to be a friend who helps people without being asked to do so. Lead people as numerous as a miraculous number, take up arms, and howl like a tiger!

Great Maitreya, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, General-in-Chief of the Promulgation of Edification, Commander-in-Chief of the Three

Realms of Existence, and King Who Will Take Up a Buddha's Place [in the Next Life], you have an excellent body with which you cast the net [of the law]. Your natural constitution is outstanding. Your body is stronger than *vajra* and your mind encompasses the world beyond this world. Your brave energy soars into the clouds and with the axe of wisdom you invigorate [people] in remote lands. The insight of nonarising (Skt. *anutpattika-dharmakṣānti*) revolves in your mind. With the wisdom of expediency you conform to the outside of this phenomenal world. Regarding what you plan with your determination, you are successful wherever you go. You exercise both power and kindness and equally exert noumenon and phenomenon. Lead eighty-four thousand people and wait for our order, taking strict precautions!

The trichiliocosm is brimful of brave warriors. *Vajra* fighters fill the eight ends of the universe (i.e., the entire world). They all wish to help in this military action and sweep across the world. They ride the honorable chariots of all the *pāramitās*, guard the long eightfold holy path to enlightenment, sit astraddle on the divine horses of the six supernatural powers, and control the spiritual reins of the ultimate law of profound emptiness. They draw the powerful bows of the four stages of meditation (Skt. *catur-dhyāna*) and shoot the sharp arrows of a temporary manifestation (i.e., an incarnation of a buddha or bodhisattva). Great horses neigh ferociously and their light hoofsteps are strong and powerful. [All the troops] receive orders from the Imperial court. They have never failed.

93b The guru of your domain has only five hundred distinctive people. You should deeply examine the mandate of Heaven and come to submit to our king's edification. His Majesty (i.e., Śākyamuni) will open his heart to you, be moved by your intention to submit, confer official positions and titles of nobility upon all of you, and award fiefs as well. Your achievement will be considered equal to that of vassals of long service. Your reputation will spread over myriad regions. Nevertheless, what frame of mind do you possess? You unreasonably give rise to a peculiar plot. You are haughty in a deserted border region and scheme to strengthen a permanent position. [Consequently] harmful influence will break out among the masses and disasters will flow eternally. How sad this is! It is really wrong!

Formerly, according to circumstances, you were misled by [external] objects. Your mind was unrestrained and confused. You plunged yourself

into danger and escaped to the non-Buddhist teaching. If someone makes a single mistake out of a hundred acts, even though he may be wise and virtuous he loses his normal state [of mind]. I have said this for a long time. If you become aware of this, turn back from ignorance, plead guilty to your sins at the palace gate, restrain yourself, take the tonsure, study together with many prominent people, and entertain yourself with the Way, honor and fame will then be yours from beginning to end.

Why do you choose ignorance, cling to absurdity, and seek merely temporary ease in an evil position? You commit yourself to the mountain of ignorance and consider yourself to be lofty. You rely on the grove of wrong views and rest in comfort. You indulge in the defilements of the six desires, amuse yourself with evil delusions, and please your spirit. You raise the standard of arrogance aloft, lead the ferocious battle array of ignorance, stride along a deserted path, and make light of the sacred treasures. You try to usurp the heavenly palace and compete with the sun and moon. I am afraid that you will not be successful.

[Regarding actions such as] reflecting back the light of the sun, moon, and stars by raising the hands, or filling a huge ocean by grasping the earth, even if you intend to do so, these are illusions and difficult to carry out. You, General, have planted merit at the profound ferry and I heard that it originated a long time ago. Your splendid features are bright and shining and you are the center of public attention. It is easy for you to ascend to the fundamental [status] of the descendant of a respected family. Merit that you have made from the very first should be valued. You should reflect on your past conduct, cultivate yourself for the future, and quickly submit to us. You should apologize for your faults at the red gate [of Buddhism]. When everything is set in order by the Way, family and nation coexist, the sovereign and his vassals are equally eminent, your body and fame are secure, you are able to understand with a philosophic eye, and your dependents are peaceful and easy. How good this is!

The [Dharma] King's army now sets the time to take the field. In the ten directions the reins [of the horses] are raised. [Warriors] carry trumpet shells in their hands. A group of sages dance in unison. The axe of the Way glitters in [the corps of] the vanguard and mysterious drums roar in the rear guard. Once the spiritual bell has been struck the ten directions will be overturned,

the waves of the sea will splash, and lands will quake, just like a boiling [spring]. At this moment, Mount Sumeru is enclosed within a particle of dust and Heaven and Earth revolve within a millet grain. [The land of] Akṣobhya is put in the left palm and [the lands of] wondrous happiness shines in the right palm. Given that the supernatural power [of the Buddha] is like this, how could you face it?

Our Dharma King who has mastered the Way is benevolent. He has scruples about easily attacking you, temporarily stops all military forces, and collects the reins of divine [horses] for the moment. At the very moment to go to the front, he had me send this letter to you, hoping that you will order your deluded vehicles to about-face. You should decide soon what is good for you, tie your hands behind your back, submit yourself at our gate, leave your fate to our Imperial court, and enjoy untroubled ease in the profound realm. Your glorified name will then shine within you and your freely moving body will sojourn in the external world. Who else but you, then, could take an official post of the celestial realm?

Wisdom is to clearly know a crucial point; intelligence is to value avoiding calamities. To know to return at the time of coming to the end is what a gentleman considers to be good. This is precisely the best time to turn misfortune into a blessing and a good opportunity to secure merit.

93c In ancient times, when King Jie of the Xia dynasty was a tyrant, King [Tang] of the Yin dynasty subjugated him; when King Zhou of the Shang dynasty was the principal of disorder, King Wu of the Zhou dynasty took up arms against him. These are exactly [clear matters] that were divined with stalks and tortoise shell, and they serve as comprehensible lessons for generals [of all ages]. Even though you and I are against each other in these years, our intellectual style in the sense of the [Buddhist] Way should be the same. Human and heavenly beings are uneasy and troubled, but why is it worth causing a separation between us [on this point]?

I would like to quickly send an order through this writing.

Why I secretly feel sad about these words and yet still send a letter describing all this in full detail is that I do not wish to cause a fragrant orchid to wither in summer or cut its stalk until it is destroyed (i.e., I do not want to cause you to come to ruin in the prime time of your life). Deeply think about my statements! Make a good consideration by yourself! Do not cause yourself

to fall into the three lowest realms of existence! Do not cause the six heavens [of the realm of desire] to raise worthless grass! I feel anxious when I take a quick sidelong look at your situation. I send you this letter on the verge of taking the field. I am confused with various feelings in my mind so I cannot fully express my thoughts in words.

Written Appeal to Destroy Demons Composed by Shi Baolin

On the first day of the month when the five defilements vigorously arise, just as water in a cauldron boils up, and the current life span of people is a hundred years, in the year of the minutest particle of the trichiliocosm in the Auspicious Kalpa (Skt. *bhadra kalpa*, the present cosmic period), your vassal Vajragarbha, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Commander-in-Chief of All Military Affairs in the World of Gaṅgānadīvālukā, General-in-Chief of an Expeditionary Force Against Demons, Regional Inspector of the Pure Province, and King of the Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Stage; your vassal Vimukticandra, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Commander-in-Chief of All Military Affairs in the World of Eighty Thousand Pāramitās, General of Destruction of Defilements, Commandant of Leading Demonic Barbarians, Minister of War, Regional Inspector of the Brahman Province, and Duke of the Bodhisattvas of the Eighth Stage; and others bow with our heads to the ground, bow with folded palms, and present [a written appeal] to the Imperial Secretary of the Imperial Court.

We think respectfully that the whole world is equally illuminated by the numinous mirror (i.e., the sun), numerous streams return to the king of all the valley streams (i.e., large rivers and seas),⁴¹⁶ myriad transformations are equal to what is empty and profound, and all wonders take absolute intelligence as the foundation. This is most likely because there is unity in the foundation of truth, and in phenomena there is nothing with which to gather together different kinds of things.

Therefore, the Tathāgata went beyond the serious darkness of confusion and alone arose. He diligently accumulated abundant merit for numerous *kalpas*, emitted lofty bright [light] into the three lowest realms of existence, uprooted immense ignorance that exists from the beginning of the creation of the world, mastered the innermost of the sacred virtue, investigated

exhaustively the abstract tenor of nonarising, examined the vital element of the transformation of things, and grasped the large rope to control the great virtue. With regard to the fact that his distinguished appearance is outstanding and extraordinary and his supernatural light is glorious, even if a thousand suns shine at the same time, [the Tathāgata] is assuredly unparalleled.

[The Tathāgata] manifests in myriad forms but this does not mean that [his manifestations] are too numerous. His true form unites with what is the most subtle but this does not mean that it is the same. He manifests in the five realms of existence corresponding to [sentient beings' needs] but this does not mean that he is born [in those realms]. He demonstrated entering [nirvana] through physical death but this does not mean that he was extinguished. He is elusive and inaudible.⁴¹⁷ He is indeterminable and fleeting. He has neither name nor image. His depth is immeasurable and his breadth is unknown. He responds to many people's feelings yet he is not troubled. He provides for myriad movements but he is always tranquil. He quickly goes through as many *kalpas* as there are grains of sand in the Ganges River. He relieves the whole world momentarily. Even if the two polarities (i.e., Heaven and Earth) were to fall down he can never be harmed. Even if a strong man were to carry him off on his back and try to move him secretly, [the Tathāgata] would not change [position from his original place]. If he is visited by a disastrous fire he will not be not burned. If he is immersed in a torrent he will not drown. Even Heaven and Earth are beneath his virtue. Someone who possesses profound literary knowledge is still unqualified to clarify the [Tathāgata's] Way. The enormity [of the Tathāgata] contains the whole world, but this cannot describe his greatness. His fineness goes into infinitesimal space between things but this cannot describe his minuteness. So he nourishes the masses. His edification holds both the Originator and the Mother of all things. He has no desire. He does nothing [just for the sake of doing it], yet there is nothing that he does not do.⁴¹⁸ He soars on the path of complying with mutation and saunters about in the world beyond existence and nonexistence. He is outstanding and prominent and the visible embodiment of a multitude of sages. He is peaceful in the state of nirvana. The two vehicles (i.e., of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*) conceal their thoughts in the tenor of emptiness as emptiness. Bodhisattvas of the tenth stage stop thinking at the pivot of movement. The Brahmā King sighs with praise and

94a

takes refuge in the [Tathāgata's] virtue. Śakra-devānām-indra keeps [the Tathāgata's virtue] in mind and detests being in the rank [of the lord god of Trāyastriṃśa Heaven]. The Tathāgata's sacredness goes to extremes [in this way].

Thereupon [Śākyamuni] responded to Dīpaṅkara's prediction and verified Mahābhijñānjñānābhībhū's prophecy. [Śākyamuni] went out of the five realms of existence and rose just like a dragon. He is prominent in the world beyond emperors. His Way is the most powerful in the three realms of existence and his virtue covers the ten directions. The areas [he governs] near the capital are as numerous as grains of sand in the Ganges River and his capital city is the trichiliocosm. He is at rest in the comfortable room of the nine kinds of meditation (Skt. *navā-anupūrvasamāpatti*), ascends the lofty mansion of the seven factors of wisdom (Skt. *sapta-bodhyaṅgā*), washes in the clean pond of the eight kinds of meditation leading to liberation (Skt. *aṣṭa-vimokṣa*), and roams about in the spacious garden of *dhāraṇī*. Thereafter he resides in the palace of benevolence, places himself on the seat equal to emptiness, wears the [eighty] minor marks of physical excellence as his imperial ceremonial dress, and has a topknot (Skt. *uṣṇīṣa*) as his heavenly cap.

He appoints the one who belongs to Maitreya as Minister of the Left and a peer of Mañjuśrī as Minister of the Right. Graceful hymns of Mahayana sutras are sung before him and the bells and whisks of the four methods of winning people over dance behind him. He is guarded by officers who have mastered the contemplation for bodhisattvas of the eighth stage, and he is attended by numerous eminent transcendents who have attained the four fruits. Officials of the Three Communicating Agencies are all sages and the Six Tax Supervisors have only wise people.⁴¹⁹ Thereupon, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius propagate the teaching. Yao and Shun preside over [China]. King Tang and King Wu elevate the great authority. The Regional Governors are the Three Augusts.

When [Śākyamuni's] edification is accomplished the level thoroughfare of the eightfold holy path to enlightenment (Skt. *ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*) becomes evener, the ferries of the three vehicles are opened to all directions, the wonderful residences of *wuwei* are arranged, [people who have] severe suffering are liberated from defilement, the crooked paths of the three lowest realms of existence are closed off, pleasure is opened to heavenly and human beings, the stage of fruition [attained through cultivation] is considered a

title of nobility, and the meal of nectar (Skt. *amṛta*) is taken as official pay. Those who have great merit are rewarded with a fief of the Pure Land. Those who have small merit are directed to the peace of the city created by supernatural powers (Skt. *ṛddhi-maya-nagara*). This is what goes beyond the great enterprises of all kings and the highest administration of the world of great peace.

The five realms of existence are the pure Imperial court for government officials. The four modes of birth are the culmination for those in the officers' ranks. Nevertheless, people are deluded and gravely ignorant. They waste time going against the truth. They are pleased by familiar satisfaction, just as [fishes] that keep one another wet by tiny bubbles on the surface of water completely forget about distant rivers and lakes.⁴²⁰

Therefore Devil King Pāpīyas planted the root of ignorance in himself at the very beginning, accumulated delusions in his mind in the illusory world, drifted on the turbulent waves of the three major evil passions,⁴²¹ and entered the dense forest of perverted views. Consequently he has come to stealthily make sport of the sacred treasures, avail himself of falsehood, and profane the truth. He boastfully reigns over the heavenly palace and divides the high mountains and lands [among his vassals]. He issues a command to the six heavens of the realm of desire as he likes and indulges in the power of prejudice. Internally he designates various poisons as the three dukes (three paramount aides to the ruler) and the nine kinds of defilement (Skt. *nava-saṃyojanā*) as ministers. Externally he employs the six coverings (greed, breaking precepts, anger, indolence, distraction, and ignorance) as his generals and the four kinds of defilement (delusion regarding the self, the view that the self exists, self-conceit, and attachment to the self) as soldiers. Internally he rampantly acts in defiance of authority; he is not afraid of ordinances of the August (i.e., the Buddha). His light is as feeble as the glow of a firefly yet he still competes with the sun for brightness. Consequently he has recently
94b challenged the divine authority and risen in arms against the *bodhi* tree. He raises his voice just as Lord Thunder makes a sudden peal of thunder, and he arranges people in a line just as Mount Khadiraka belches out fire.

Furthermore, Vasudhāra Bodhisattva became confused in his meditation room⁴²² and Sadāprarudita Bodhisattva cried mournfully [over military maneuvers] at a marketplace.⁴²³ These are all due to the fact that the crazy idiot

(i.e., Pāpīyas) indulges in savagery and damages the holy principles. He has caused disorder in China for a long time.

The Sage King (i.e., the Buddha) laments that confused people are deaf and blind [to the True Dharma]. He is saddened by the fact that a young person who has lost his way [to return home] grows more homesick. He will unite numerous evil people in order to equalize [and correct] their views, and will assemble [the followers of] the nine heretical schools in order to cause them to get on board the same ferry.

Hereupon, [the Buddha] orders his followers who have great powers to be his generals and selects soldiers from among the *vajra* [wrestlers]; these are men who eat gold and chew iron and people who can break up ice or walk through fire. Brave soldiers are as numerous as particles of dust and sand. There are myriad intrepid people. They move like a shooting star, rise like a wind, and prance like a dragon in the devils' territory. The corps is stationed according to a carefully thought-out plan and [the soldiers] press their enemies to the field of inevitable death.

Nevertheless, the devil rebels do not behave themselves prudently. They dare adhere to the ignorance of the savage tribes in the south. They oppose us by ignoring the order, just as the states of Zong and Kuai did,⁴²⁴ unfurl a commanding flag in the land of self-conceit, and solidify defilement on the steep mountain of a multitude of delusions. [Devil rebels] impertinently approach again and again, waywardly repeating [their actions], one after another just like the scales of a fish. Moreover, as for their situation, the mountain of ignorance is high, steep, and firm in front of them, the vast river of lust swells behind them, the forest of evils luxuriantly covers their left flank, and the deep abyss of the mountain stream of ignorance gloomily lies on their right. The soldiers of [the four kinds of] defilement alternately watch for [a chance] just like jackals in a border region. The generals of the six coverings walk just like tigers on a long thoroughfare. When you gaze into the distance, it looks just as it does when clouds rise and cover the sky and fog envelops the whole world. The vigor of [the devil rebels] is a rare case since the creation of the world.

We, the vassals [of the Buddha], hereupon receive the lofty authority from the Imperial court and devise a superior wonderful strategy.

We set up splendid plans with excellent wisdom and extensively make an enclosure of profound stratagems. Skilled cavalry and foot soldiers surround [the devils] a thousand or ten thousand times over. Covering the battle field, the reserve forces are stationed at positions of strategic importance. General Dāna (giving) in the front line watches the flag of parsimony and advances straight ahead. General Vīrya (diligence) in the rear pushes [the devil] soldiers of indolence to the back. [General] Dhyāna (meditation) captures the cavalry of sloth on the left. [General] Śīla (precepts) defends against [the soldiers of] wickedness on the right. [General] Upāya (expedient means) of the outer army moves the cavalry to a steppe and causes the soldiers of frivolity to run swiftly to the point under cross-examination and submission.

We spread out the brave brigades and we are in high spirits. We set up the dangerous machinery in hidden places. [General] Prajñā (wisdom) of the central army grasps the subtle mirror of the profound pivot, handles the wonderful art of victory, controls myriad powerful generals, and possesses as many strong soldiers as there are particles of dust and sand.

Hereupon all our forces act in concert and vie with each other in advancing on myriad paths. Their minds move the world and their voices shake Heaven and Earth. Exercising their authority, brave men move quickly like waves. The brightness of their drawn swords dazzles people's eyes even more than sunshine. The sound of the Dharma drums mixes with thunderclaps. [Spirited] horses run and prance. Swift elephants jump and run around. The bow of meditation is like smoke going up or clouds rising. The arrows of wisdom fly like a shower and drift into the air. [Soldiers] wield the whip of provisional name (Pāli *saṃmuti*) and tread onto the steppe of does-not-exist (Skt. *asaṃpravṛtti*). They burnish themselves through the lion's roar (i.e., the Buddha's exposition of the Dharma), pierce [their enemies] with the sound that suffering is emptiness, wield [the famous sword called] Ganjiang and cut [the enemy soldiers] to pieces, and brandish spears and lances, vying with each other to win victory.

94c We lay the corpses of defilement down and cover the field with them. The blood of the defilement runs just as a long river does. We demolish the high and steep mountain of ignorance, dry up the great stream of lust, drive those who defy [authority] to the cave of various wrong views, and crush imper-tinence in the nest of the seven kinds of self-conceit.

Thereupon, even if the devil rebels can make their way, they have lost the spirit to oppose. Even though they try to retreat, they have no hiding place where they hope to escape [from their difficulties]. They exhaust their resources. Their path comes to an end. They run about anxiously but there is nothing on which they can depend. Devil King [Pāpīyas]’s hands are tied behind his back and he is brought before the military tribunal. His subordinates bring death upon themselves at our camp gate. All heavenly beings arise just as lightning flashes and take refuge in [the Buddha’s] edification. Confused people come swiftly as the wind to receive their first light of the sun (i.e., the Buddhist teaching). The power of the August (i.e., the Buddha) wipes out [the devil rebels] just as the sun melts morning frost or the whole water of a great stream is poured to extinguish a bonfire. Therefore, in the morning we cause the enemies who have absconded for myriad generations to collapse just like a landslide and purge the difficulties from ancient times in China within a brief moment. This is truly the wonderful achievement of the spiritual assembly by the holy August (i.e., the Buddha), and an excellent meritorious deed that is rare in the world.

Formerly King Tang of the Yin dynasty [defeated King Jie of the Xia dynasty and] established merit as great as a cloud in the outskirts of the Xia dynasty; King Wu of the Zhou dynasty exterminated [King Zhou of the Yin dynasty] and cleansed the atmosphere in the pasture of the Shang (i.e., Yin) dynasty. These are, however, simply the heroic and wonderful incidents of remote ages. How could it be possible to view [these achievements] as equal to the achievement of our Sage?

Thereupon, I reverently propagate the Imperial plan and pacify those who adhere to [Buddhism] for the first time. I content them with the house equal to emptiness, fill them with the stream of the eight kinds of meditation leading to liberation (Skt. *aṣṭa-vimokṣa*), defend them from [evils] through the propriety of the [five] precepts and the [ten] wholesome acts, and cause them to follow the breeze of the six *pāramitās*. Old people understand to follow the truth in a new song, and young wanderers hear for the first time the sound of “Let me return [to Buddhism]!”⁴²⁵

To be punished in accordance with Heaven’s decree is the way of the Spring and Autumn era. To render a meritorious deed and suppress a rebellion are acts that are praised by former kings. When a great criminal follows the

sacred law by respecting peace, the world is equally bright and this world is reformed and purified. The profound breeze incites [people of] remote areas. Those within the territory of our state have joy in their minds. In the imperial court there is the song of “[all affairs] will be happily performed!”⁴²⁶ and outside the government there is the song of “happy borders!”⁴²⁷

[The Buddha’s] merits are high and his Way is great. They are beyond expression. His sacred thoughts are deep and profound, and they cannot be described in words. I have briefly itemized the Imperial authority and the methods of wonderful schemes. Moreover, I have displayed the vigorous power of our military. Our courier who travels as fast as lightning goes quickly, like a shooting star, [carrying this appeal to you]. We respectfully inform you with this written appeal. We, the vassals [of the Buddha], sincerely humble ourselves and clap our hands in joy.

Having become free from giving sermons, I again somehow prolong the day (i.e., have leisure time). With allegory I created this fictional account, hoping to clarify the Great Way. I hope that those who are fond of the wrong way will return before they go too far.

A sutra says, “Nirvana is nonarising and yet there is nothing that is not brought into existence. The most genuine intelligence is non-illuminating and yet there is nothing that is not illuminated. Only the Tathāgata [possesses both of these].”⁴²⁸ Victory is not won through the merit of shields and spears. To invade territory is not achieved through a powerful army that is well known in the world. An emperor or king is not esteemed just for being in that rank. Regarding supreme rulers’ vassals, not only those of Lord Huan [of Qi state] or Lord Wen [of Jin state] are noble. The teaching of Confucius and the Duke of Zhou is far [from that of the Buddha] at this point. The words of Laozi and Zhuangzi appear to be similar to [those of the Buddha] but they are not equal to [the Buddha’s words]. Therefore, we know that the foundation of truth exists beyond the views of the common people, and that the most August (i.e., the Buddha) is the king within the true mirror. Middle-class people hesitate between existence and nonexistence. The ignorant people of the lowest class are surprised and laugh in a state of permanent confusion. I hope now that those who read this will abandon their conceit, which is just like that of Hebo, [the deity of the Yellow River,] who was happy about the abundant water in the river in autumn, [showing that he had no knowledge

that there is more water in the Northern Sea], and that they will go to a distance and enjoy themselves at the profound gate of Ruo, [the deity] of the Northern Sea who ruled over vast expanses of water].⁴²⁹ We should not bind our minds with the familiar teaching or frighten our spirit with absurd doctrines. 95a

**Afterword to the *Collection*
for the *Propagation and*
Clarification of Buddhism
by Shi Sengyou**

The [Collection for] the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism] I have compiled is intended to guard the Dharma against [heretical] insults. It consists of erudite people's well-intentioned discussions and distinguished scholars' excellent statements. It is also completely equipped with the fort to destroy evils and break delusions and the moat to propagate the [Buddhist] Way and protect the Dharma. The wise, however, are free from confusion, and those who are confused contradict wisdom. If we lead people by [only speaking of] the profound Dharma, we will end up causing them to understand nothing. Therefore, I have further collected instances from secular writings and point to issues with evidence. These words are not glorious or elegant but their logic is simple and concise. I pray that those who have gone astray will return to [the Buddhist Way] before too long and that they will completely dispel all doubts. Therefore, [this] is entitled the *Collection for the Propagation and Clarification [of Buddhism]*.

I say [as follows]. The twofold truth (i.e., absolute and relative; Skt. *paramārtha saṃvṛti*) differ from each other. So Buddhists and non-Buddhists are separated from each other in this point. The way to enlightenment (Buddhism) is [the teaching of] emptiness and tranquility, and it encompasses the three realms of existence and it regards them equally. The worldly teaching is confined and stagnated; it directs only [the affairs of] a country and it limits the mind. If your mind is limited to [the affairs of] a country, you will be doubtful of all things except for whatever you can directly hear and see. If you regard the three realms of existence equally, then the law of the mutation of the spirit (i.e., the transmigration of birth and death) will always be understood. To be seized with doubt and waver in understanding is the reason that sentient beings are submerged [in the transmigration of birth and death] forever.

When we closely inspect the worldly teaching and examine and clarify the Five Classics, only Heaven is revered and only sages are given as paragons. [The worldly teaching], however, does not survey the shape of Heaven and does not infer the minds of sages, either. People respect [the teaching] and have faith in it, but it is still obscure to them and they do not understand it. Much less do they understand the Buddha, who is more honorable than Heaven, or the Dharma, which is more wonderful than sages' [teaching]. The [Buddhist] edification goes beyond the world and its law is beyond the world in which we cling to language. Even Jian Wu was frightened by the Milky Way.⁴³⁰ How could it be possible that worldly scholars would not be suspicious of or surprised by the ocean of enlightenment? If they are surprised by the ocean of enlightenment, their surprise is the same [as that of Jian Wu when he heard about the vastness of] the Milky Way.

Their first doubt is that what the Buddhist scriptures expound is preposterous and exaggerated and cannot be verified. The second doubt is that since one's spirit perishes when one dies, it is hardly possible that [the spirit will transmigrate] in the three periods of existence. The third doubt is that people have never seen the real Buddha and [that his teaching] has no benefit to the governance of the state. The fourth doubt is that the Dharma teaching did not exist in ancient times and only recently emerged during the Han period. The fifth doubt is that the [Buddhist] teaching should exist only in the region of the western tribes and its edification is not for Chinese people. The last doubt is that the Dharma was rarely [practiced] in the Han and Wei periods and began flourishing only during the Jin period. Because of these six doubts, no faith is planted [within the people]. We must save people from being drowned [in delusion]. Therefore, I will clearly discuss these matters.

If people have the doubt that what the Buddhist scriptures expound is preposterous and exaggerated and it has no verification, this is probably because [in the Buddhist doctrine] the periods of time are infinite and the world is boundlessly vast. People in the present world all know that it will certainly last tens of thousands of years, well beyond a hundred years, yet they do not believe that after the lapse of tens of thousands of years it will reach innumerable *kalpas* (Skt. *anādi-kāla*). This is because they measure the Creator only with their limited minds. All the people are aware that there are surely the four polar regions outside of China,⁴³¹ yet they do not believe that there

are even more worlds far beyond those regions. This is because they adhere to their own views in judging the Grand Void (i.e., the universe).

Formerly King Tang [of the Shang dynasty] asked [Xia] Ge, “Is there a limit to the universe?” Ge replied, “There is more boundlessness outside the boundless, and there is more limitlessness within the limitless.” [The king then said,] “I, therefore, know [that the universe is] boundless and limitless.”⁴³² The great wise man of ancient times taught the sage king according to reason, and it completely tallies with [the teachings of] the Buddhist scriptures even after a thousand years.

95b

With what information do a group of people of limited knowledge object to [the Buddhist teaching]? They look to themselves with their narrow minds and make mistakes. With small round eyes they cannot see things and complain that their view is blocked by a wall. Moreover, they intend to disgrace the esteemed Buddhist scriptures, go against the holy doctrine, and bring false charges against [the teachings of] the infinite time period and the worlds [beyond the four polar regions]. This is the first point for which they should be pitied and lamented.

If people have the doubt that because one’s spirit perishes when one dies and it is hardly possible that [the spirit will transmigrate] in the three periods of existence, this is a case where someone falsely accuses his own spiritual nature and despises and casts away his ancestral shrine.

The Duke of Zhou and Confucius, however, drew up statute records in which they spoke the excellent words of spiritual beings. The *Book of Changes* says, “[The union of essence and breath form things]. The wandering away of the anima (*hun*) produces changes. Therefore we know the sentiments and the appearances of spiritual beings.”⁴³³ Since [spiritual beings have] both sentiments and appearance, would they be shapeless? The *Book of Odes* says, “The three sovereigns reside in Heaven and King [Wu] is in charge of the capital.”⁴³⁴ Spirits ascend to Heaven. Can it be said that they perish? The *Book of Rites* says, “Under the Xia dynasty it was the [administrative] way to give honor to the nature conferred on people; they served the spirits of the departed (*gui*) and respected the spiritual beings (*shen*).”⁴³⁵ How could what Great King Yu revered be viewed as unreal and preposterous? The *Book of History* says, “When the Duke of Zhou tried to sacrifice himself for King Wu, [who was critically ill,] he said, ‘I am capable of serving spiritual beings

(*guishen*).”⁴³⁶ Is it possible that the Duke of Zhou’s prayers to his ancestors were deceptive?

If one dies and yet his spirit [continues to] exist, then [the law of] the three periods of existence is as clear as a mirror. Who can know the end of the transmigration of birth and death? Worldly scholars cling to ceremonies and betray the Five Classics. They not only falsely accuse the Buddha but also disgrace the sages. If they believe in the spirit (*gui*) found in the Five Classics but doubt the spirit (*shen*) spoken by the Buddha, such people are assuredly deaf or blind. They are unspeakable. This is the second point for which they should be pitied and lamented.

If people have the doubt that they have never seen the real Buddha and [that his teaching] has no benefit to the governance of the state, then offering sacrifices to Heaven and worshiping the deities of mountains and rivers should be discontinued. Why? Who can see the Supreme Thearch’s face in the deep blue sky? How could we recognize the appearance of Houji on the vast earth? People plough the field with their own hands. What help do they receive from the god of the land? People create the footpaths between the fields. Why do the *zha* deities get credit for this?⁴³⁷ Nevertheless, people still spend a lot of money on the sacrificial offerings and perform numerous seasonal religious services [for these deities]. Isn’t this because it is considered that such unseen numinous beings should be revered and the people are taught to render good returns [to the numinous beings]?

Moreover, the Buddha’s wisdom prevails throughout the realm of ultimate reality and his divinity takes shape beyond the world. On the basis of [the Buddha’s] compassion in creation the Supreme Thearch achieves [the functions of] Heaven. The sage kings rule over the people depending on [the Buddha’s] nourishing precepts. If you revere the Dharma the six heavens are all delighted. If you reject the Way myriad deities are vexed. People today have never seen the appearance of [the Lord of] Heaven, yet they say that offering a sacrifice to Heaven and Earth brings them happiness. They have never seen the golden countenance [of the Buddha], yet they say that there can be no reward even if they respectfully serve [the Buddha]. They make light of the root and value what is insignificant. This is the third point for which people should tremble in fear.

If people have the doubt that the Buddha's teaching did not exist in ancient times and only recently emerged during the Han period, [I would like to say that] the miraculous edification [of the Buddha] is now in and now out of our sight. Who can gauge its beginning and end? When we think of the far distant time of [Fu]xi and [Shen] Nong, even their administrative achievements are obscure. If the Dharma teaching existed during their times, how could we have learned about it?

Formerly Fotudeng knew that there were an old [buddha] image and a dew basin under the stone buried in the earth in the city of Linzi.⁴³⁸ Jiantuole perceived the foundation of an old temple on Mount Panchi.⁴³⁹ Many people tried to dig there and found that everything was just as he had said. These are the vestiges left behind over many generations that were revealed in the Jin period. Who can conclude that the Buddha's teaching never existed in ancient times?

The *Liezi* says, "During the reign of King Mu of the Zhou dynasty, a wizard came from the far west. He could enter water and fire [without being harmed], pass through metal and stone, overturn mountains, cause river streams to flow backward, and move cities and towns. He stayed in the air and never fell down. He was not obstructed when he ran into solid substances. He performed various transformations without exhaustion. He was able not only to change people's physical forms but also to change their thoughts. King Mu respected this wizard as if he was a god, and served him as if he was [the king's] master."⁴⁴⁰ When we observe the [wizard's] mysterious conduct we see that there were already edification by a bodhisattva and the foreshadowing of the great Dharma at the outset of the Zhou dynasty. It was not during the Han period that the portent of the Buddha's responsive activity in conjunction with human beings' receptivity first occurred. Nevertheless, people firmly stick to this single period (the Han period) [when the Buddha's teaching emerged]. This is the fourth point for which they should sigh in lamentation.

95c

If people have the doubt that the [Buddhist] teaching should exist only in the region of the western tribes and that its edification is not for Chinese people, this would mean that the sages of former times stood on specific regions in order to lay down their teachings; it would not mean that they established their teachings in order to teach the people.

A long time ago the Three Augusts edified the people with *wuwei*, the Five Thearchs did so by means of virtue, the Three Kings did so through observing the proprieties and inflicting a punishment, and the seven states [of the Warring States period] did so through wielding power and influence. The region [they ruled over] was always China, yet the worldly teaching changed nine times. Today, when we return to the origin of the highest path and take lessons from great wisdom, [the teaching of Buddhism] touches us and consequently we understand it thoroughly. Is there any region where the teaching does not spread?

Yu (the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty) is from the western tribe Qiang, and Emperor Shun was born in the eastern Yi tribe. Who would say that these sages' birthplaces were humble and therefore he rejects them? Confucius wanted to reside in the region of the Yi tribe and Laozi went to the western region of the Rong tribe. How can a place be fixed as the location for the teaching? When even the sages of the mundane world founded their teachings, they did not concern themselves with the location, whether China or a non-Chinese region, not to speak of the Buddha who governs over the trichiliocosm. How could he restrict his edification to the western region?

According to the "Chapter on Royal Regulations (*Wangzhi*)" in the *Book of Rites*, "Within the four seas [China occupies] a space of three thousand *li* square."⁴⁴¹ The space that China occupies is not very large, either. The regions along the Yi River and the Luo River originally used to belong to China, but in the end they became the Rong tribe's territory. The Wu and Chu areas [along the Yangzi River] were originally non-Chinese territory, but they became part of China. The Way moves and flows everywhere, yet the land is not placed under constant edification. Moreover, the earth is boundless and each large area is governed differently. The polar star is seen in the northwest. Therefore, we know that India occupies the center of the world. Today [Chinese people] call this small middle land "the prosperous land (*hua*)" and reject the True Dharma. Even though they want to estrange themselves from [the True Dharma], the miraculous edification [of the Buddha] is continuously transmitted [into China]. This is the fifth point for which they should feel mournful.

If people have the doubt that the Dharma was rarely [practiced] in the Han and Wei periods and began flourishing only during the Jin period, this is only because the fortune of the Way has its ups and downs. We cannot

investigate this thoroughly. If we believe that *śramaṇas* cultivate Śākyamuni's teaching, how different is this from Confucius' giving an account of [Tao] Tang (Emperor Yao) and Yu (Emperor Shun)? Confucius studied the Five Classics and left a model for all kings of later generations. Nevertheless, the feudal lords of the Spring and Autumn era were not willing to follow and employ [the model left by Confucius]. In the Warring States period [Confucius' instruction] was slighted and at a low ebb. In the time of the first emperor of the Qin dynasty [the Confucian canon] was burned to ashes. Did this happen because Confucius was unworthy or the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History* were shallow and superficial?

More recently, in the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, Confucianism began to be celebrated. Those who were well versed in the Classics were appointed as ministers and the art of Confucius was honored. How could it be possible that [Confucianism] is discarded in later ages because it was slighted in the seven states [of the Warring States period]?

The preface to the *Biographies of Arrayed Transcendents* compiled by Liu Xiang in the reign of Emperor Yuan of the Han dynasty says, "Seventy-four [transcendents] are found in the Buddhist scriptures." Therefore, we know that the Buddhist scriptures were first transmitted to China a long time ago.

When Emperor Ming dreamed [of the golden man], Fu Yi called [that man] the Buddha. Thereafter, Qin Jing went on a mission from the east (China), and Kāśyapa-mātaṅga came [to China] from the west. After that, a [buddha] image was drawn on the watchtower outside of the Kaiyang Gate [of Luoyang], and Buddhist scriptures were deposited in a room of Lantai (the palace library). [Nevertheless,] the profound scriptures were not expounded and the people did not acknowledge the heart of the scriptures. Therefore, King [Ying] of Chu built a shrine for benevolence and purity and Emperor Huan established worship under a lotus flower-shaped canopy. The Buddhist doctrine did not unite with [people's minds]. [The Buddha] was only worshiped as a deity, nothing more than that.

96a

During the Wei dynasty Emperor Wu intelligently examined [the scriptures] and explained the subtle edification in his writing. Sun Quan, [the founder of the Wu kingdom,] carried out a grand project and built a Buddhist temple. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Wu of the Jin dynasty, [Buddhism] had a chance to take root deeply [in Chinese society]. Jīvaka brightly showed

traces of supernatural powers. Zhu [Fa]hu collected the [three] stores of the Dharma treasures (Skt. *tripiṭaka*). Consequently the princes and dukes as well as officials made progress in virtue by cleansing their minds. Numerous intellectuals of myriad countries painstakingly reformed their ways.

In the Jin dynasty Emperor Ming was perspicacious and awakened. He concentrated his mind preserving the one and drew treasured images with his own hands to depict [the Buddha's] appearance, which he enjoyed looking at. Shortly, Master Daoan spread the Buddhist scriptures in the eastern region of Mount [Taixing]. Kumārajīva propagated the Dharma in the Guanyou area (i.e., Chang'an). The profound meaning [of the Buddhist Dharma] completely extended and the ultimate reality [of things] was increasingly illuminated. People of outstanding ability and wisdom verified the [Buddhist] doctrines together, kept them in mind, and adhered to them.

We know therefore that the Dharma clouds began to rise [from a very small place where] pebbles touch each other, and the wisdom water began to flow from [a tiny pool], the water which was only as much as could be held in a wine cup. It is the normal state of the miraculous edification [of the Buddha] that there are certainly gradations in the teaching. The [mysterious] responsive activities [in conjunction with] people's receptivity are in accordance with the times. If we are in no condition to receive them, what can we do about them? [It cannot be helped.]

Accordingly, it is not that Confucianism was unintelligent in the Qin dynasty and only became intelligent in the Han dynasty. It is simply a matter of whether or not [Confucianism] was adopted [in those respective times]. It is not that the Buddhist Dharma was unimportant in the Han dynasty but became important in the Jin dynasty. It is solely a matter of whether or not [the Buddhist Dharma] was clarified. Consequently, we know that the Five Classics are continually wholesome and their ups and downs follow the turning of the wheel of fortune and that, [similarly,] the Buddhist edification is always thriving and whether or not it spreads widely depends on the conditions. Once you think about it in this way, you can no longer harbor deep doubts. The [worldly scholars who have doubts about Buddhism], however, stick to their doubts and have never been awakened. This is the sixth point for which they should bitterly grieve.

Believing in and following [Buddhism] is the foundation of good fortune. Being confused and engaging in slander is the gate to misfortune. How much more should dark people do so! The majority of them do not estimate their own abilities. On the basis of their ignorance they falsely accuse the Awakened Precursor's omniscience, and on the basis of their lack of observation they slander the discernment of the Perfect One (i.e., the Buddha). They contrarily tell everyone that those who are experts on [the causality in] the three periods of existence are perverse. Devoted only to immediate events, they consider themselves to be intelligent. Thereupon, their minds are choked by confusion and doubt and calumny fills their mouths. They expiate their hasty arguments with heavy suffering and they bring on themselves punishments of the unseen world through their conspicuous slander. Their words do not have even a trifling amount of merit; their thoughts do not have even a hairbreadth's amount of benefit.

A river flows as fast as if flying. If a hill is hidden [in a marsh] [it may be carried away] as quickly as a flash of lightning.⁴⁴² Before an exhaled breath comes back, we suddenly leave this world behind. Retribution follows us just as a shadow [follows the form]. If you repent of your folly would it be possible to try to recover?

The mutation of the spirit (i.e., the transmigration of birth and death) is endless. We go through this world and the netherworld alternately. We experience the transmigration of birth and death in the five realms of existence. Is there any [realm] we would not go to? The heavenly palace is the clear evidence that was bestowed upon Zhao Jian[zi] and Lord Mu of Qin state.⁴⁴³ Retribution that alternately comes from the spiritual world is seen in the cases of Du Bo and Pengsheng.⁴⁴⁴ The case that good fortune visits those who cultivate virtue is verified by the examples of [Tai]wu of the Yin dynasty and Lord Jing of Song state.⁴⁴⁵ That misfortune falls upon those who kill many people is proven by Bai Qi and Cheng Pu.⁴⁴⁶ Obscure and marvelous things in this world are minutely recorded in ancient books. The beneficial activities of unseen divine beings in the next existence are extensively explained in venerable [Buddhist] scriptures.

The laws of dependent origination and the Buddha's responsive activity in conjunction with human beings' receptivity are, however, recondite, and

the truth of causality is subtle. Since it is difficult to understand subtle things, I omit and do not explain them here. [These] key points have already been correctly shown in what wise people of the past debated. I somewhat follow my shallow thoughts and add them here at the end of this volume. Although my writing is not as beautiful as the jade tablets used in official ceremonies, the content is sufficient to instruct people (*panjian*).⁴⁴⁷ I hope that amiable, courteous gentlemen will seek great fortune for themselves.

End of Fascicle Fourteen of *The Collection for the Propagation
and Clarification [of Buddhism]*

Notes

- ¹ The Daoist term *zhongmin* refers to those who attained sagehood and longevity through the instruction of a brilliant sage master. The concept of *zhongmin* developed in southern China and was later applied by Kou Qianzhi (365?–448) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534). By the time of the Tang dynasty (618–907) the notion of *zhongmin* was no longer popular.
- ² This derives from a historical fact in the Han dynasty. During Emperor Wu’s reign (141–87 B.C.E.), “worm magic” (*wugu*; i.e., the art of poisoning or casting a spell over someone) was popular in the court. When the emperor fell ill, his son Prince Wei (131–91 B.C.E.) was falsely accused by Jiang Chong, who claimed the prince’s practice of worm magic had caused the emperor’s illness. The prince then killed Chong and attempted a revolt, but he was defeated and subsequently committed suicide. The emperor, having found that the prince was falsely charged, felt pity for him and built the Sizi Palace. See the *Hanshu*, Wu wuzhuan.
- ³ There is no equivalent English name for the Chinese herb *danghua*, also called *tian-xianzi*. It is a narcotic that causes frenzied behavior when ingested.
- ⁴ Corpus spirits are generally called *sanshi* (“three corpses”), evil spirits that inhabit a human body and shorten one’s life span.
- ⁵ The *Yellow Books* are generally known as instruction books for the arts of the bed-chamber. Presently, only four texts called *Huangshu* are extant in the *Daozang*.
- ⁶ Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1973–1975), vol. 3, p. 445, n. 1, suggests that this passage refers to Prince Sudāna’s charity (Skt. *dāna-pāramitā*). See the *Taizi Xudana jing* (T.171.3:419a28–b1, 420c7–8).
- ⁷ In the Later Han dynasty three *sheng* was equivalent to six hundred milliliters.
- ⁸ This expression is based on a conversation about death between Marquis Jing and Yanzi, found in the *Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong’s twentieth year. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), vol. 5, p. 684 (right column).
- ⁹ The *Baopuzi* explains the *huangshen* and *yuezhang* talismans. See James R. Ware, trans. and ed., *Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei p’ien of Ko Hung (Pao-p’u tzu)* (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 298.
- ¹⁰ The *Discourse on the Triple Destruction* was composed as a rejection of Buddhism by a Daoist writing under the pseudonym Zhang Rong.

Notes

- ¹¹ *Xiaojing*. See Henry Rosemont, trans., *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence: A Philosophical Translation of the Xiaojing* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), p. 105.
- ¹² *Shiji*, juan 4, Zhou benji. See William H. Nienhauser, Jr., *The Grand Scribe's Records* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994, 2008), vol. 1, p. 57.
- ¹³ *Lunyu*, Taibo. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes* (Taipei: Wen shih che ch'u pan she, 1972), vol. 1, p. 207.
- ¹⁴ The five kinds of disasters refer to those that King Wu of the Zhou dynasty encountered during his expedition to defeat King Zhou of the Yin dynasty: (1) he departed on an inauspicious day, (2) he saw the planet Jupiter in the east, (3) he encountered a flood, (4) he was besieged, and (5) he encountered a landslide. See *Xunzi*, Ruxiao.
- ¹⁵ The Red Eyebrows were a rebel group that emerged toward the end of the Former Han dynasty. The members applied red paint on their eyebrows in order to distinguish themselves from Wang Mang's soldiers.
- ¹⁶ T.262.9:60a16–b13.
- ¹⁷ T.475.14:557a18–b3.
- ¹⁸ The metaphor of passing horses derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Zhibeiyou: "Man's life between Heaven and Earth is like a white colt passing by a crevice, [which is briefly glimpsed but then it] suddenly disappears." See James Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji* (Taipei: Wen xing shu ju, 1963), p. 505.
- ¹⁹ *Lunyu*, Zi han. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 222.
- ²⁰ *Yijing*, Xici xia. See James Legge, *I ching; Book of Changes* (New Hyde Park, NY: University Books, 1964), p. 385, n. 22.
- ²¹ This expression is based on a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiwlun: "A keeper of monkeys, in doling out their acorns, [once] said, 'In the morning I will give you three [acorns] and in the evening four.' This made them all angry, so he said, 'Very well. In the morning I will give you four and in the evening three [acorns].' His two proposals were substantially the same, but the result of the first was to make the creatures angry, and of the second to make them pleased."
- ²² The source of this statement is unknown.
- ²³ *Shijing*, Wei tian zhi ming: "[The ordinances of Heaven/]How deep are they and non-intermittent! (*yu mubuyi*)."
- ²⁴ *Shangshu*, Yaodian: "[Yao] was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful—naturally and without effort (*qin ming wen si anan*)."
- ²⁵ *Zhuangzi*, Waiwu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 581.

- ²⁶ *Mengzi*, Wangzhang shang: “Those who explain the odes may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 353.
- ²⁷ The people of Song state during the Warring States period were referred to as ignorant.
- ²⁸ Jie Yu was a madman of Chu state; *Lunyu*, Weizi. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, pp. 332–333.
- ²⁹ “The sayings of an uncultivated person of the east of Qi state” means unreliable talk. This expression is found in *Mengzi*, Wangzhang shang. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 351.
- ³⁰ Generally the term “Nine August Ones” refers to all legendary rulers before Shen Nong; however, there are other interpretations. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 2, p. 242, n. 160.
- ³¹ The term *jingyi* is found in *Zhuangzi*, Keyi. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 414, n. 3.
- ³² This citation is given in Liu Xie’s *Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions* as “Death is named nirvana. I have never seen a person who learns about death and yet does not die” (T.2102.53:49c10).
- ³³ This expression is based on the statement found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 50: “There are also three in every ten [people] whose aim is to live, but whose movements tend to the land (or place) of death. And for what reason? Because of their excessive endeavors to perpetuate life.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 140.
- ³⁴ *Zhuangzi*, Dasheng. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 457.
- ³⁵ *Liji*, Liyun. See F. Max Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1885), vol. 27, p. 378, n. 15.
- ³⁶ *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 13. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 104.
- ³⁷ *Da banniepan jing* (T.375.12:802a13–19).
- ³⁸ *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:473c3–474a2).
- ³⁹ *Xiuxing benqi jing* (T.184.3:468a11).
- ⁴⁰ This is based on a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, Tiandi: “If an ugly man has a son born to him at midnight, he hastens with a light to look at it. Very eagerly he does so, only afraid that it may be like himself.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 376.
- ⁴¹ See, for example, *Da banniepan jing* (T.376.12:881b24).
- ⁴² *Liji*, Tangong, shang. Legge translates the passage: “[Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister, (when they have been married);] the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full

Notes

- measure of observance”; See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 147, n. 43.
- ⁴³ No specific scripture is noted here.
- ⁴⁴ *Shiji*, Gaozu benji. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 2, p. 69.
- ⁴⁵ *Sanguo Weizhi*, *juan* four, Gaogui Xianggong zhuan.
- ⁴⁶ *Jinshu*, *juan* thirty two, Kangxian Chu huanghou zhuan.
- ⁴⁷ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:409c18–21).
- ⁴⁸ *Zuozhuan*, Aigong’s seventh year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 813 (right column).
- ⁴⁹ See *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 1. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 95.
- ⁵⁰ *Zuozhuan*, Xianggong’s twenty third year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 502 (right column).
- ⁵¹ *Zengyi ahan jing* (T.125.2:706a17–18).
- ⁵² This expression is based on a passage in the *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 48: “He diminishes it and again diminishes it, until he arrives at doing nothing [on purpose].” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 138.
- ⁵³ This expression derives from *Lunyu*, *Zi han*. Legge translates it as “I looked up to them, and they seemed to become more high; I tried to penetrate [into] them, and they seemed to become more firm”; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 220.
- ⁵⁴ *Foshuo Beijing chao* (T.790.17:730a16–736a20).
- ⁵⁵ *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 13. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 104.
- ⁵⁶ See the *Zhuangzi*, *Dazongshi*. Legge translates it as “the destruction of life is not dying, and the communication of other life is not living”; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 294.
- ⁵⁷ *Shijing*, *Beifeng*, *Bozhou*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 40, n. 5.
- ⁵⁸ *Shijing*, *Xiaoya*, *Jiaogong*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 404, n. 1.
- ⁵⁹ *Liji*, *Tangong*, *xia*. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, pp. 198–199, n. 24.
- ⁶⁰ *Liji*, *Ruxing*. English translation by James Legge, in Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 408, n.16.
- ⁶¹ *Zhuangzi*, *Tiandi* and *Rangwang*. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 363, 589.
- ⁶² The *Xiaojing* states, “When we have established our character by the practice of the [filial] course, so as to make our name famous in future ages and thereby glorify our

- parents, this is the end of filial piety.” See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 105.
- ⁶³ This expression is from the *Zhuangzi*, Tiandao, based on a conversation between the wheelwright Bian, who could not tell a knack by word of mouth, and Duke Huan, who learned through reading the words of the sages. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 391–392.
- ⁶⁴ *Zuozhuan*, Xigong’s twenty-fourth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 192 (left column).
- ⁶⁵ This expression is not found in the *Zhuangzi*.
- ⁶⁶ The phrase “to empty the room in order to produce bright light (*xushi shengbai*)” derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Renjianshi. Legge translates it as “the empty apartment is filled with light through it”; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 258.
- ⁶⁷ *Zhuangzi*, Xuwugui. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 545.
- ⁶⁸ One *zhang* is equivalent to ten *chi*. In the sixth century, when the *Hongmingji* was compiled, one *chi* was 24.5 centimeters (about 9.6 inches).
- ⁶⁹ See the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:22c3–6).
- ⁷⁰ *The Scripture on the Clean and Pure Dharma Practice (Qingjing faxing jing)* is a Chinese indigenous text. The manuscript fragment of this sutra is found in the Nanatsudera manuscript collection. The text was published by Tairyō Makita and Toshinori Ochiai, eds., *Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho, Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1994–), vol. 2, pp. 6–15; the passages concerned are on pp. 13–14.
- ⁷¹ *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:42c3).
- ⁷² *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:473b10).
- ⁷³ This expression derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou; “east and west it (i.e., a cat) leaps about, avoiding neither what is high nor what is low, until it is caught in a trap or dies in a net.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 222.
- ⁷⁴ Penzu is a legendary official during the reign of Emperor Yao. Penzu was believed to have lived eight hundred years.
- ⁷⁵ *Zhuangzi*, Zhibeiyou. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 499.
- ⁷⁶ *Zhuangzi*, Zhibeiyou. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 506.
- ⁷⁷ Xuanni is a posthumous title conferred upon Confucius by Emperor Ping of the Han dynasty.
- ⁷⁸ *Chengshi lun*, T.1646.32:274c19.
- ⁷⁹ *Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, T.185.3:475a1–3.
- ⁸⁰ *Weimojie suoshuo jing*, T.475.14:542b5.

Notes

- ⁸¹ *Da bannie pan jing*, T.374.12:533b4 and T.375.12:778a26–27.
- ⁸² *Da banniepan jing*, T.374.12:411a23 and T.375.12:652a5–6.
- ⁸³ *Da banniepan jing*, T.374.12:411b18–19 and T.375.12:652b2–3.
- ⁸⁴ *Mozi*, Minggui, xia and *Guoyu*, Zhouyu, shang.
- ⁸⁵ *Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong’s seventh year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 618 (left column), in which Boyou is given as “Pih-yëw.”
- ⁸⁶ *Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong’s thirty-first year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 738 (right column), in which Wu would invade Ying.
- ⁸⁷ *Zuozhuan*, Chenggong’s tenth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 374 (right column).
- ⁸⁸ *Zuozhuan*, Chenggong’s sixteenth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 397 (left column).
- ⁸⁹ *Tai ping yulan*, juan 398.
- ⁹⁰ The biography of Lü Shang is found in the *Shiji*, juan 32, Qi Taigong shijia, but this story is not found there.
- ⁹¹ The source of this story is unknown.
- ⁹² *Hou Hanshu*, juan 56.
- ⁹³ *Jinshu*, juan 41.
- ⁹⁴ *Shiji*, juan 3, Yin benji. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 1, p. 48.
- ⁹⁵ *Shiji*, juan 125, Ningxing liezhuan.
- ⁹⁶ Divination of the six kinds of dreams by the sun, moon, and stars is mentioned in the *Zhouli*, Chunguan Zongbo.
- ⁹⁷ This expression is based on a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui, “People that do business on the water do not shrink from encountering ikanodons and dragons—that is the courage of fishermen. Those who do business on land do not shrink from encountering rhinoceroses and tigers—that is the courage of hunters”; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 434.
- ⁹⁸ The Chinese character *fo*, “buddha,” here is replaced with the character *shen*, “spirit.”
- ⁹⁹ For Sun Bin, see *Shiji*, Sunzi Wu Qi liezhuan; Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 7, pp. 39–41; for Lu Fu, see *Jinshu*, juan 44, Lu Fu zhuan.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Shujing*, Shanshu, shuoming, shang. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 252.
- ¹⁰¹ *Shijing*, Xiaoya, Qiaoyan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 342.
- ¹⁰² *Shiji*, juan 62, Guan Yan lie zhuan. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 7, pp. 9–10.

- ¹⁰³ *Shiji*, *juan* 92, Huiyinhou liezhuan. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 8, p. 94.
- ¹⁰⁴ Gao Yao served as a chief judicial officer for the legendary ruler Shun.
- ¹⁰⁵ This expression is based on a story in the *Shiji*, Yin benji: King Zhou, a tyrant and the last emperor of the Yin dynasty, became angry at Bi Gan, who remonstrated with him. Zhou cut open Bi Gan to examine his heart, saying, "I have heard that a sage's heart has seven apertures"; see Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 1, p. 51.
- ¹⁰⁶ The Chinese character *li*, "to stand," is read as the character *qiu*, "hillock," and the character *yang*, "sun," is read as the character *tang*, "hot water," according to Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shisōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 492.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Zuozhuan*, Xigong's second year; see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 136 (right column) for the jade produced in Chuiji, and vol. 1, n. 69, for Bian He's jade. King Zhao of Qin state asked King Huiwen of Zhao to exchange He's jade that he possessed for fifteen of his cities; *Shiji*, *juan* 81, Lian Po Lin Xiangru liezhuan; see Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 7, p. 263.
- ¹⁰⁸ This statement is probably based on *Zhuangzi*, Quishui, "The [horses] Qiji and Hualiu could in one day gallop one thousand *li*"; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 429.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Xiaojing*; see Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 116.
- ¹¹⁰ *Yijing*, Xici shang. Legge translates this passage: "Seeing their spirit-like intimations and understanding them [depended on their being proper men]"; *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 378.
- ¹¹¹ Pengsheng was killed by the people of Qi state. Later he appeared as a boar. The marquis of Qi state saw him and fell down in his carriage. See the *Zuozhuan*, Huangong's eighteenth year and Zhuangong's eighth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, v. 5, p. 70 (right column) and p. 82 (right column).
- ¹¹² *Yijing*, Xici shang. Legge translates this: "[T]hus he knows the characteristics of the anima and animus. There is a similarity between him and Heaven and Earth, and hence there is no contrariety in him to them"; *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 354.
- ¹¹³ *Yijing*, Kui. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 140.
- ¹¹⁴ According to *Shiji*, *juan* 130, Taishigong zixu, Mohists overemphasize frugality, and [therefore] it is difficult to follow their teaching.
- ¹¹⁵ *Shiji*, *juan* 3, Yin benji, says, "Carrying a chopping board and a tripod on his back, [Yi Yin] persuaded King Tang by means of a dainty"; See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 1, p. 43.
- ¹¹⁶ *Han Feizi*, Shuonan. See Burton Watson, trans., *Han Feizi: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 78.

Notes

- ¹¹⁷ *Shiji*, *juan* 43, Zhao shijia.
- ¹¹⁸ *Zhuangzi*, Qi wulun. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 245.
- ¹¹⁹ *Liji*, Tangong xia. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 193.
- ¹²⁰ *Xiaojing*. See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 110.
- ¹²¹ *Lunyu*, Zihan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 220.
- ¹²² *Lunyu*, Xiangdang. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 233, n. 10.
- ¹²³ *Liji*, Jiyi. Legge translates: “We meet the approach of our friends with music, and escort them away with sadness, [and hence at the sacrifice in spring we use music, but not at the sacrifice in autumn]”; see Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 210.
- ¹²⁴ *Taiping yulan*, *juan* 398. Sun Jian’s wife, Wu, dreamed that the moon entered her bosom and she gave birth to King Huan of Changsha.
- ¹²⁵ *Xiaojing*. See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 116.
- ¹²⁶ *Xiaojing*. See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 116.
- ¹²⁷ *Lunyu*, Xianjin. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 240, chap. 11.
- ¹²⁸ *Zuozhuan*, Chenggong’s fifteenth year, has *sheng da jie ci shou jie*, which Legge translates as “A sage is equal to the duties of all positions; a man of the second class maintains the duty of his position”; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 388 (right column).
- ¹²⁹ *Mengzi*, Liang Huiwang xia. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 167, chap. 8.
- ¹³⁰ Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shisōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 508, n. 30, suggests that Cao Siwen’s statement starting with this and the Imperial response should come after the second criticism on Secretariat Fan’s *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*.
- ¹³¹ The entire passage in the *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* is “[The relation] between the body and the function is similar to that between a sword and its sharpness” (T.2102.53:55b16–17).
- ¹³² *Lunyu*, Shuer. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 203, chap. 25.
- ¹³³ These expressions are based on a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui, “A frog in a well cannot be talked with about the sea—he is confined to the limits of his hole. An insect of the summer cannot be talked with about ice—it knows nothing beyond its own season”; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 423.
- ¹³⁴ *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui. This expression is found in a conversation between Hebo and Beihai Ruo; Mencius is not a correct reference. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 425.

- ¹³⁵ *Liji*, *Jiyi*. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 212, n. 6.
- ¹³⁶ *Liji*, *Jiaotesheng*. The attribution of the section on *Liyun* (“Ceremonial Usages”) is incorrect. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 448, n. 20.
- ¹³⁷ *Lunyu*, *Zihan*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 220, chap. 10.
- ¹³⁸ *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:547c20–22).
- ¹³⁹ *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:551c20–22).
- ¹⁴⁰ See “Section Five: The Body is Mortal but the Spirit is Immortal,” in “The *Discourse on Why Śramanas Do Not Bow to the Sovereign* (*Shamen bujing wanghe lun*) by Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan,” in *The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism*, Vol. I, Fascicle Five, pp. 183–190 (T.2102.52:31b10–32b11).
- ¹⁴¹ This expression is based on Confucius’ statement in *Lunyu*, *Shuer*, “When I have presented one corner of a subject to someone, and from it he cannot learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson”; see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 197, chap. 8.
- ¹⁴² *Mengzi*, *Lilou xia*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 317, chap. 1.
- ¹⁴³ *Yijing*, *Xici shang*. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 354.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Liji*, *Tangong shang*. Legge translates this passage as “Under the Yin they used the [ordinary] sacrificial vessels, intimating to the people that [the dead] had knowledge”; See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 151, n. 6.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Lunyu*, *Bayi*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 159, chap. 12.
- ¹⁴⁶ This expression is based on a passage in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 25, “In the universe there are four that are great, and the [sage] king is one of them”; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 116.
- ¹⁴⁷ This expression is based on a passage in the *Lunyu*, *Gongzhi Chang*, “His (i.e., Confucius’) discourses about human nature and the Way of Heaven cannot be heard”; see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 177, chap. 12.
- ¹⁴⁸ See the *Shangshu*, *Yi xun*. Legge translates this passage “[Think of them!—] Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth!”; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 198.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Wulu Chongzong* was an intellectual of the Han dynasty who was favored by Emperor Yuan, so no one dared to argue against him. Only *Zhu Yun* refuted him in an argument and brought him to submission, whereupon all the Confucianists said, “*Zhu Yun* broke the long horn of *Wulu*”; see *Hanshu*, *Zhu Yun zhuan*.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Yijing*, *Xici xia*. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 381, n. 10.
- ¹⁵¹ This is in accordance with the description found in the *Gongyang zhuan*, *Aigong*’s fourteenth year. The *Zuozhuan* contains the writings of Confucius until his death, in *Aigong*’s sixteenth year.

Notes

- ¹⁵² *Mengzi*, Gaozi shang. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 418–419. “Nobility of Heaven” refers to benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, fidelity, and indefatigable joy in these virtues.
- ¹⁵³ The sophistry of a white horse not being white refers to the “Chapter on the White Horse (*Baima lun*)” in the *Gongsun Longzi*, by Gongsun Long of Zhao state.
- ¹⁵⁴ The expression “separating the hardness [of a stone] from its white color” is based on a sophistry asserted by Gongsun Long during the Warring States period: “A piece of stone has two different characteristics: hardness and white color. Two different characteristics cannot mean one object, stone.”
- ¹⁵⁵ This expression derives from a passage in the *Yijing*, Meng. Legge translates “[A second and third application create annoyance, and] I do not instruct so as to create annoyance”—annoyance [he means] to the ignorant”; *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 217.
- ¹⁵⁶ This expression derives from a passage in the *Yijing*, Kun, “In the first SIX, divided, [we see its subject] treading on hoarfrost. The strong ice will come [by and by]”; Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 60, n. 1.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Lunyu*, Shuer, says, “The subjects on which the Master did not talk were: extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings”; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 201.
- ¹⁵⁸ These expressions are based on passages in the *Yijing*, Xici shang and xia, respectively, “By their spirit-like ability they knew [the character of] coming events, and their wisdom had stored up [all experiences of] the past,” and “I may venture to say that the son of the Yan family had nearly attained [the standard of perfection]”; Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, pp. 372, 392–393.
- ¹⁵⁹ See note 111.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Hou Hanshu*, *juan* 111, Fan Shi zhuan.
- ¹⁶¹ *Lunyu*, Baiyi. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 159.
- ¹⁶² *Liji*, Ji yi. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 211, n. 3.
- ¹⁶³ The Chinese phrase *jian shuang lu* (“to treads on hoarfrost and dew”) in the *Liji*, Ji yi, is translated as a feeling of sadness on the basis of the passage, “When he (i.e., the superior person) treads on the dew which has descended as hoarfrost he cannot help a feeling of sadness, which arises in his mind, and cannot be ascribed to the cold”; see Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 210.
- ¹⁶⁴ See “Criticism of Secretariat Fan’s *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit* by Cao Siwen,” in Fascicle Nine, pp. 65–68.
- ¹⁶⁵ The six coverings are originally found in the *Lunyu*, Yanghua; they lead to (1) foolish simplicity, (2) mental dissipation, (3) disregard of harmful consequences, (4) rudeness, (5) insubordination, and (6) extravagant conduct. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*,

- vol. 1, p. 322, n. 3. In Buddhism this term refers to (1) greed, (2) breaking precepts, (3) anger, (4) indolence, (5) distraction, and (6) ignorance.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Yijing*, Kun Wenyan. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 419.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Xiaojing*. See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 109.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Xiaojing*. See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 112.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Mengzi*, Dengwengong xia. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 283–284.
- ¹⁷⁰ This expression derives from the *Lunyu*, Gongye Chang. Legge translates, “[Hui hears one point and] knows all about a subject”; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 176.
- ¹⁷¹ See note 111.
- ¹⁷² *Shujing*, Yushu, Yi Ji. Legge translates this as “the imperial progenitors come to the service”; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 87.
- ¹⁷³ *Zhouli*, Chunguan, Zongbo.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Zuo zhuan*, Xuangong’s fifteenth year. Wei Ke was able to escape death in dangerous battle because his enemy was tripped up by tied-up grasses; later he came to know in a dream that the grass had been tied by the father of his father’s concubine, as repayment for Wei Ke’s previous kindness to the man’s daughter. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 328 (right column).
- ¹⁷⁵ *Zhuangzi*, Waiwu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 576, n. 6.
- ¹⁷⁶ *Lunyu*, Xianjin. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 241.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Shujing*, Jinteng. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, pp. 353–354.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Shijing*, Daya, Wenwang zhi shi, xiawu. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 458.
- ¹⁷⁹ See note 172.
- ¹⁸⁰ *Zhuangzi*, Qiwlun. The *Discourse on the Coexistence of Opposite Views* refers to the theory that that view and this (the opposite view) mutually produce one another. This was originally asserted by Zhuangzi’s friend, Huishi. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 230.
- ¹⁸¹ *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 60. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 152.
- ¹⁸² *Zhuangzi*, Yangshengzhu. Legge translates “What we can point to are the faggots that have been consumed; but the fire is transmitted [elsewhere]”; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 250.
- ¹⁸³ See note 167.
- ¹⁸⁴ *Liji*, Yueji. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 99, n. 19.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Shijing*, Zhou song. Legge translates, “In solemn unison they give forth their notes. Our ancestors will give ear”; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 588.

¹⁸⁶ See note 173.

¹⁸⁷ According to the *Liji*, *Jiyi*, one hears the sigh when he is departs through the door of the hall. Legge translates this whole section, “On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment [of the temple], he will seem to see [the deceased] in the place [where his spirit tablet is]. After he has moved about [and performed his operations] and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing”; Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 211, n. 3.

¹⁸⁸ See note 177.

¹⁸⁹ *Zuozhuan*, Zhaogong’s seventh year for Gun and Boyou, and Zhuanggong’s eighth year for Pengsheng, respectively. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 617 (right column), p. 618 (left column), and p. 82 (right column).

¹⁹⁰ This expression is based on a passage in the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou: “A cicada and a little dove laughed at it, saying, ‘We make an effort and fly towards an elm or sapanwood tree; and sometimes before we reach it, we can do no more but drop to the ground. Of what use is it for this [creature] to rise 90,000 *li* [in the sky] and make for the South?’”; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 214.

¹⁹¹ The Chinese term *liubian* (six elemental energies of the changing seasons) derives from the term *liuqi zhi bian* found in the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 217.

¹⁹² *Ban niyuan jing* (T.6.1:188c25–26), and *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:472c7–8).

¹⁹³ See note 147.

¹⁹⁴ See the *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:4b11–13): “Among eight hundred disciples there was one called Seeking Fame. He was greedy for profit. Even though he repeatedly read and recited many Buddhist scriptures, he did not attain nonobstruction through this practice, and forgot many points he had read. Therefore, he was called Seeking Fame.”

¹⁹⁵ The expression “Zichan of Dongli” derives from the *Lunyu*, Xianwen. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 278.

¹⁹⁶ *Liji*, Tangong xia. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 193.

¹⁹⁷ *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:475a2).

¹⁹⁸ These statements derive from the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 214.

¹⁹⁹ *Dhammapada (Faju jing)* (T.210.4:574b5–6) and *Beijing chao* (T.790.17:735b13–14).

²⁰⁰ These passages are not found in the *Book of Rites*. In the *Zuozhuan*, Xigong’s tenth year, there is this passage: “I have heard that the spirits of the dead do not enjoy the

- sacrifices of those who are not of their kindred, and that people only sacrifice to those who were of the same ancestry as themselves”; see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 157 (left column).
- ²⁰¹ *Zuozhuan*, Xuangong’s third year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 294 (left column).
- ²⁰² See note 174.
- ²⁰³ The Chinese term *tianzao* means hanging pearl ornaments of a heavenly crown, but this does not fit the context. I translate this term as “heavenly beings,” following the treatment in Ōta Teizō, trans., *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Wa-Kan senjutsu bu, Gokyōbu 1* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1936), p. 251, n. 194.
- ²⁰⁴ *Shanhai jing*, Dahuangbei jing, for Zhulong. See Pu Guo, Yixing Hao, Hsaio-Chieh Cheng, Huizhen Zheng Bai, and Kenneth Lawrence Thern, *Shan hai ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China* (Taipei: Committee for Compilation and Examination of the Series of Chinese Classics, National Institute for Compilation and Translation, 1985), p. 249.
- ²⁰⁵ This expression is based on the phrase in *Zhuangzi*, Zhile: “A short rope cannot be used to draw water from a deep well”; see Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 447, n. 5.
- ²⁰⁶ This quotation is not found in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*.
- ²⁰⁷ The Chinese term *erqiandan* refers to a governor-general because the salary for this position was two thousand *dan* of grain. During the period between the Western Jin and Liang dynasties one *dan* was equivalent to 26.4 kilograms.
- ²⁰⁸ The phrase “A man can propagate the Way” derives from the *Lunyu*, Weilinggong. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 302.
- ²⁰⁹ *Zuozhuan*, Xigong’s fifteenth year. Legge did not translate this section.
- ²¹⁰ Confucius said, “Ever since I have had You, I have not heard malicious words”; *Shiji*, *juan 67*, Zhongni dizi liezhuan. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 7, p. 69.
- ²¹¹ The term “four that are great” from the *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 25 refers to the Way, Heaven, Earth, and the Sage King. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 116.
- ²¹² In the original version of this story in *Zhuangzi*, Tiandi, there is Xiangwang (Purposeless) instead of Wangxiang. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 360.
- ²¹³ *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:537a16).
- ²¹⁴ *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:43b24).
- ²¹⁵ Dīpaṅkara Buddha gave a prediction to Māṇava Bodhisattva about his future attainment of buddhahood. See *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:472c18–473a23).

Notes

- ²¹⁶ *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:25a1–2).
- ²¹⁷ See note 166.
- ²¹⁸ *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:537c16).
- ²¹⁹ The Chinese name Pao (“kitchen”) Sheng (“to produce”) is not known. Probably the Chinese character *sheng* is *ding*; *Zhuangzi*, Yangshengzhu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 246–248.
- ²²⁰ “Thus Come” (Tathāgata) and “Well Gone” (Sugata) are two of the ten epithets for the Buddha.
- ²²¹ This expression derives from Confucius’ statement in the *Lunyu*, Weilinggong, “Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher”; see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 304.
- ²²² *Lunyu*, Yan Yuan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 253.
- ²²³ This story is found in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:325b7–c5).
- ²²⁴ A similar story to this is found in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:409c18–28).
- ²²⁵ In the biography of Yu Falan in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:349c22–29), there is a story about a tiger that came into Falan’s room on a snowy day, stayed overnight, completely tame with Falan, and left the next morning when it stopped snowing.
- ²²⁶ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:326c17–20).
- ²²⁷ The following section before the letter of King Wenxuan (460–494) consists of partial descriptions of the *Discourse to Clarify Buddhism*, T.2102.52:12b27–29, 12c8–10, 12c11–21.
- ²²⁸ This quotation is not found in the *Mengzi*.
- ²²⁹ I moved the Chinese character *xiao* (“small”) between the characters *shi* (“to lose”) and *cun* (“to exist”), following the suggestion found in Ōta, *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Gokyōbu* 1, p. 263, fn. 2.
- ²³⁰ This expression is based on a passage in the *Xiaojing*, “Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them. This is the beginning of filial piety.” See Rosemont, *The Chinese Classic of Family Reverence*, p. 105.
- ²³¹ *Zuozhuan*, Mingong’s first year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 125 (left column).
- ²³² This expression is based on a passage in *Shiji*, *juan* 83, Lu Zhonglian Zou Yang liezhuan, “Your servant has heard that if the bright-moon pearl or a glowing jade ring were tossed from the dark to a man on the road, he would put his hand to his sword and glare at those around him.” See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 7, p. 290.

- ²³³ There are different definitions of the five kinds of principles of human relationships (*wujiao*). The *Zuozhuan*, Wengong's eighteenth year, says, "Fathers became just and mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons became filial." See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 283 (left column).
The *Mengzi*, Tengwengong shang, says, "To teach the relations of humanity: how, between father and son there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity." See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 251–252.
- ²³⁴ This expression derives from the *Lunyu*, Yan Yuan: "If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under Heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him." See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 250.
- ²³⁵ According to the *Zuozhuan*, the "four wicked ones" refer to Chaos, Monster, Block, and Glutton. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 283 (left column).
- ²³⁶ In the *Shiji*, *juan* 130, Taishigong zixu, the frugality of the earthen steps of Yao's residence is praised as an example of virtuous conduct.
- ²³⁷ Zhu Duo's obsequious manner is also mentioned in the *Lunyu*, Yong ye. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 190.
- ²³⁸ The Chinese term *liuzhi* (six kinds of hindrances) is unknown. The *Gumyōshū kenkyū* suggests that this probably refers to the six sense objects of sensation and perception (*liuchen*): visual color and form, sound, odor, taste, tactile object, and mental object; see Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 598, n. 3.
- ²³⁹ This expression derives from the *Lunyu*, Yan Yuan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 250.
- ²⁴⁰ For the expression "a pair of bellows," see the *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 5; Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 98. For non-self, see the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:545a1).
- ²⁴¹ *Yijing*, Xici shang. See Legge, *I ching; Book of Changes*, p. 373, n. 70.
- ²⁴² *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 25. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 115, chap. 25.
- ²⁴³ *Chuci*, Jiubian.
- ²⁴⁴ *Hou Hanshu*, Liezhuan 40, Yang Li Zhai Ying Huo Yuan Xu lie zhuan.
- ²⁴⁵ *Sanguo Weizhi*, *juan* 11, Guan Ning zhuan.
- ²⁴⁶ Yan Junping was a diviner in Chengdu. See the *Hanshu*, *juan* 72, Wang Kong liang Gong Bao zhuan.
- ²⁴⁷ *Hou Hanshu*, Liezhuan, *juan* 73.

Notes

- ²⁴⁸ *Sanguozhi*, *juan* 42.
- ²⁴⁹ The *Gumyōshū kenkyū* suggests that the four Chinese characters *fa fu fa zhi* after Sengqian could be interpolations, redundancies owing to misprints, or scribal errors. I follow this and have not translated them here. See Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 606, n. 9.
- ²⁵⁰ *Shiji*, *juan* 44, Wei shijia.
- ²⁵¹ The “four bright men” refer to Dongyuan Gong, Luli, Qili Ji, and Xiahuang Gong of the Qin dynasty.
- ²⁵² *Hou Hanshu*, Liezhuan 43.
- ²⁵³ *Jinshu*, *juan* 94.
- ²⁵⁴ *Foshuo Beijing chao* (T.790.17:729a1–736b1).
- ²⁵⁵ *Zuozhuan*, Zhuang Gong’s ninth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 84 (right column).
- ²⁵⁶ This expression derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 437–438.
- ²⁵⁷ See note 176.
- ²⁵⁸ Bian He, a man of Chu, obtained a jade on Mount Chu and presented it to King Li and King Wu, but both kings thought that it was only a stone and He’s legs were amputated as punishment. King Wen later realized that it was a real jade. This story is found in the *Han Feizi*, Heshi. See Burton Watson, trans., *Han Feizi: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 81–82.
- ²⁵⁹ See note 18.
- ²⁶⁰ *Laozi Dao de jing*, chap. 41. Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 132, n. 1.
- ²⁶¹ This expression is based on the passage found in the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (T.184.3:463a20–21).
- ²⁶² *Qiwulun*. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 242.
- ²⁶³ *Miaofa lianhua jing* (T.262.9:16c4–17b17).
- ²⁶⁴ This expression is based on the statement of the king of Zhou found in the *Zuozhuan*, Zhao Gong’s ninth year: “I am to you (i.e., Shuxiang of Jin state) as the cap or crown to the other garments, as the root to the tree, or the spring to the steam, as their counselor to the people. If you tear the cap and break the crown in pieces, tear up the root, stop up the spring, and take it on you to cast the counselor away, what can be expected by me, the one man, from the Rong and the Di?” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 625 (right column).
- ²⁶⁵ *Jinshu*, *juan* 33.

- ²⁶⁶ *Hanshu*, Liezhuan 28, Gongsun Hong, Bu Shi, Er Kuan zhuan.
- ²⁶⁷ Neither Wei Zhi nor Zun Zu is known.
- ²⁶⁸ This statement derives from the *Lunyu*, Yang Huo: “‘It is according to the rules of propriety,’ they say. Are gems and silk all that is meant by propriety?” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 324.
- ²⁶⁹ This statement is based on the proverb in the *Hanshu*, Jia Yi zhuan, “We learn from the follies of others (*qianche fu houche jie*).”
- ²⁷⁰ *Lunyu*, Wei Linggong for Zang Wen Zhong. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, pp. 298–299.
- ²⁷¹ *Sanguo Weizhi*, juan 11, Tian Cou zhuan.
- ²⁷² *Shiji*, juan 86, Cike zhuan. See Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, trans., *Selections from Records of the Historian* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1979), pp. 387–389.
- ²⁷³ The expressions “the penetrating (i.e., the assemblage of excellences)” and “great good fortune” derive from the *Yijing*, Qian Wenyan and Kun, respectively. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, pp. 60, 408.
- ²⁷⁴ This statement is based on a description found in the *Zhuangzi*, Quishui: “There is in the south a bird called ‘the Young Phoenix’—do you know it? Starting from the South Sea, it flies to the Northern [Sea]; never resting but on the *bignonia*, never eating but the fruit of the *melia azederach*, and never drinking but from the purest springs.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 439.
- ²⁷⁵ Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 96, n. 6.
- ²⁷⁶ Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 408, n. 16.
- ²⁷⁷ The three editions of the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, and the old Song edition of the Kunaichō Library have the Chinese characters *ji* (“then”) and *xian* (“transcendent” or “hermit”) instead of the characters *yu* (“I”) and *zuo* (“to make”). Since the three appeals (found in Fascicle Fourteen) list the composers’ names, I translate here following the four editions mentioned above; however, it is possible that Sengyou composed them on the basis of only three names.
- ²⁷⁸ This expression is based on a description in *Zhuangzi*, Qiwulu: “When the breath of the Great Mass [of Nature] comes strongly, it is called Wind. Sometimes it does not come so; but when it does, then from myriad apertures there issues its excited noise”; see *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 225.
- ²⁷⁹ *Shenri jing* (T.535.14:819b2–3).
- ²⁸⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (T.2085.51:865c1–6).
- ²⁸¹ “King of Nanqiao” refers to Liu Yixuan (415–454), the sixth son of Emperor Wu of the Song dynasty.

Notes

- ²⁸² *Lunyu*, Shuer. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 203.
- ²⁸³ *Liji*, Xueji. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 89.
- ²⁸⁴ *Shujing*, Dayumo. See *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 59, n. 12.
- ²⁸⁵ *Yijing*, Kun Wenyan. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 419.
- ²⁸⁶ *Zuo zhuan*, Yinggong's fifth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 19 (left column).
- ²⁸⁷ This is based on the statement found in the *Lunyu*, Yan Yuan: "To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under Heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him." See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 250.
- ²⁸⁸ The formal sitting style refers to sitting with both knees on the ground or floor with the buttocks resting on the legs (the traditional Chinese style); the informal style refers to squatting with raised heels (the Indian style).
- ²⁸⁹ This expression derives from the *Lunyu*, Xueer. Legge translates the passage as "In practicing the rules of propriety, a natural ease is to be prized"; *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 143.
- ²⁹⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:353a23–27).
- ²⁹¹ *Zuo zhuan*, Huangong's fourteenth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 61, for the Chinese text. This statement means that lacunae in the text should not be interpolated based on presumption.
- ²⁹² The *Lunyu*, Xianwen, for Pi Chen and Shi Shu. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 278.
- ²⁹³ *Zuo zhuan*, Xuangong's fifteenth year. Wei Ke was able to escape imminent death in a dangerous battle because his enemy was tripped up by tied-up grasses; later he came to know in a dream that the grass had been tied up by the father of his father's concubine, as repayment for Wei Ke's previous kindness to the man's daughter. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 328 (right column).
- ²⁹⁴ This statement is based on a description in the *Liji*, Yueji: "The times of the five Dis were different and therefore each did not adopt the music of his predecessor. The Three Kings belonged to different ages and so each did not follow the ceremonies of his predecessor." See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 102, n. 27.
- ²⁹⁵ *Zhuangzi*, Tianyun. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 401.
- ²⁹⁶ *Mengzi*, Jinxin xia. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p. 479.
- ²⁹⁷ This expression is based on a conversation between the Duke of She and Confucius recorded in the *Lunyu*, Zilu: "The Duke of She informed Confucius, saying, 'Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have

- stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact.’ Confucius said, ‘Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this.’” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 270.
- ²⁹⁸ The expression “the virtuous person who is in charge of the tallies (*siqu*)” derives from the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 79. Legge translates the Chinese term *siqu* as “the conditions of the engagement”; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 169.
- ²⁹⁹ This expression is based on a passage found in the *Liji*, *Quli shang*: “At eighty or ninety, we say of him, ‘He is very old.’ When he is seven, we say that he is an object of pitying love. Such a child and one who is very old, though they may be chargeable with crime, are not subjected to punishment.” See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 66.
- ³⁰⁰ According to the *Jinshu*, *Liezhuàn* 47, the name Chu Yi is read as Chu She.
- ³⁰¹ *Zuo zhuan*, *Zhaogong*’s third year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 589 (left column).
- ³⁰² *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 73. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 164.
- ³⁰³ This expression is based on a phrase found in the *Zhuangzi*, *Dazongshi*: “He overspreads Heaven and supports the Earth.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 304.
- ³⁰⁴ The Chinese word *chong* (in the name He Chong) means “fullness,” “complete,” “great,” or “reality.”
- ³⁰⁵ The statement starting with the sentence “Even though the Buddha’s edification is endlessly vast and infers the world beyond the visual and aural senses, respect is considered to be its foundation” up to this point is found in “The *Discourse on Why Śramaṇas Do Not Bow to the Sovereign* (*Shamen bujing wanghe lun*) by Dharma Teacher [Hui]yuan,” in *The Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism*, Vol. I, Fascicle Five, p. 174 (29c24–30a3).
- ³⁰⁶ *Liji*, *Sanfu sizhi*. See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 466, n. 5.
- ³⁰⁷ This phrase “letting the people act freely and exercising forbearance (*zaiyou*),” is the title of a chapter in the *Zhuangzi*.
- ³⁰⁸ Zhang Chang is probably the Metropolitan Governor of the Former Han dynasty, who often quoted the Chinese classics at court. His biography is found in the *Hanshu*, *juan* 76.
- ³⁰⁹ *Lunyu*, *Taibo*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 211.
- ³¹⁰ This passage derives from the *Yijing*, *Guan*, *Tuan*. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 230, XX, n. 3.
- ³¹¹ *Lunyu*, *Xianjin*. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 240.

- ³¹² This statement is based on one found in the *Yijing*, Xici shang: “The superior person occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they are good, they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand *li*—how much more will they be so in the nearer circle! He occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they are evil, they will awaken opposition at a distance of more than a thousand *li*.” See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 361, n. 42.
- ³¹³ *Lunyu*, Yan Yuan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 250.
- ³¹⁴ T.185:3.480c2–3.
- ³¹⁵ This statement based on the “Chapter on the White Horse (*Baima lun*)” in the *Gongsun Longzi* is known as a sophism asserted by Gongsun Long of Zhao state in the Warring States period.
- ³¹⁶ This statement is based on a conversation between Zhuangzi and Huizi regarding the enjoyment of fishes, found in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui: “Zhuangzi and Huizi were walking on the dam over the Hao [River], when the former said, ‘These thryssas come out and play about at their ease—that is the enjoyment of fishes.’ The other said, ‘You are not a fish; how do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?’ Zhuangzi rejoined, ‘You are not I. How do you know that I do not know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?’ Huizi said, ‘I am not you; and though indeed I do not fully know you, you certainly are not a fish, and [the argument] is complete against your knowing what constitutes the happiness of fishes.’ Zhuangzi replied, ‘Let us keep to your original question. You said to me, ‘How do you know what constitutes the enjoyment of fishes?’ You knew that I knew it, and yet you put your question to me—well, I know it [from our enjoying ourselves together] over the Hao.’” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 439–440.
- ³¹⁷ This expression is based on that found in the *Liji*, Zhongni Yan ju: “When the three disciples had heard these words from the Master, they saw clearly as if a film had been removed from their eyes.” See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 277.
- ³¹⁸ The *Dao de jing* states, “Therefore the Dao is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the [Sage] King is also great. In the universe there are four that are great, and the [Sage] King is one of them.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 116, n. 3.
- ³¹⁹ There are basically two definitions of the six generations: (1) the Yellow Emperor, Yao, Shun, Yu, King Tang, and King Wu; and (2) the Xia, Yin, Zhou, Qin, Han, and Wei dynasties.
- ³²⁰ This statement is based on a conversation between Confucius and Zigong found in the *Lunyu*, Bayi. When Zigong wanted to stop the offering of sheep on the inauguration of the first day of each month, since the sacrificial ceremony had degenerated into formalism, Confucius said that it is regrettable to lose the form of the old ceremony. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 161.
- ³²¹ According to Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū

- han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 684, n. 3, Huan Xuan issued this decree on the third day of the twelfth month of Yuanxing (403), the day he ascended the throne.
- ³²² See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 116, for “the four that are great.”
- ³²³ This expression is based on a conversation between Ziyou and Ziqi found in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiwlun: “Ziyou said, ‘The notes of Earth then are simply those which come from its myriad apertures; and the notes of Man may just be compared to those which [are brought drawn from the tubes of] bamboo—allow me to ask about the notes of Heaven.’ Ziqi replied, ‘Blowing the myriad differences, making them stop (proceed) of themselves, sealing their self-selecting—who is it that stirs it all up?’”
- ³²⁴ Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 691, n. 18, suggests that “non-Buddhist teaching” here refers to the edification of the king based on a description found in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiwlun: “. . . thus it was that the Dao, which inwardly forms the sage and externally the king, . . .”
- ³²⁵ Zhi Daolin lived from 314 to 366, Huan Xuan from 369 to 404. The date of this letter is the fifth day of the fourth month of the third year of Long’an (399). Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 696, n. 1, presumes that this letter was composed by someone else.
- ³²⁶ This statement is based on one found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 48: “He who practices the Dao daily diminishes his doing. He diminishes it and again diminishes it, till he arrives at doing nothing (*wuwei*). Having arrived at this non-inaction, there is nothing that he does not do.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 138.
- ³²⁷ *Zhuangzi*, Dechongfu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, pp. 274–276.
- ³²⁸ A “complaints board” derives from a story that during the reign of Emperor Yao a board was set up on a roadside for people to record errors made regarding public administration; through these records, the emperor learned of his faults.
- ³²⁹ The Chinese character *chi* in the family name of Chi Chao (Jiapi, 336–377) is often read as *xi*. According to Huang Bosi’s *Fatie kanwu (Model Book for Errata)* compiled in the Northern Song dynasty, *chi* is the correct pronunciation. See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1955–1960), vol. 11, p. 243.
- ³³⁰ *Puyao jing* (T.186.3:507c23–24).
- ³³¹ The five hindrances (Skt. *pañca-nivaraṇā*) are usually listed as (1) greed (Skt. *rāga*), (2) anger (Skt. *pratigha*), (3) lethargy (Skt. *styāna-middha*), (4) restlessness and mortification (Skt. *auddhatya-kauṛṭya*), and (5) doubt (Skt. *vicikitsā*).
- ³³² Similar phrases are found in the *Puyao jing* (T.212.4:753a26–28) and the *Foshuo Beijing chao* (T.790.17:731c14–15).
- ³³³ *Ban niyuan jing* (T.6.1:181a25–27).

- ³³⁴ This expression derives from the *Yijing*, Xici shang: “The superior man occupies his apartment and sends forth his words. If they are good they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand *li*.” See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 361.
- ³³⁵ This derives from the *Liji*, Zhongyang: “There is nothing more visible than what is secret.” See Müller, ed., *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 300.
- ³³⁶ According to the *Collection of Records Derived from the Tripiṭaka (Chusanjang jiji*, T.2145.55:5c26–27), the earliest extant catalogue compiled by Sengyou in the early sixth century, there are two translations of the *Sutra of the Twelve Gates (Shiermen jing)* by An Shigao. This text was believed to no longer be extant until a manuscript of the text was found in Kongōji Temple in Kawachi Nagano, Japan. The Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Daigakuin Daigaku group, led by Ochiai Toshinori, has researched the Kongōji collection and published three monographs. The *Shiermen jing* was introduced in one of them, *Kongōji issaikyō no kisoteki kenkyū to shinshutsu batten no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Daigakuin Daigaku, 2004), pp. 195–203. The passage quoted here is not found in this manuscript.
- ³³⁷ *Lunyu*, Liren. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 168.
- ³³⁸ *Zhuangzi*, Dazongshi. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 301.
- ³³⁹ *Zhuangzi*, Gengsang Chu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 523.
- ³⁴⁰ According to the *Collection of Records Derived from the Tripiṭaka (Chu sanzang jiji*, T.2145.55:8c3), this scripture is called the *Pusa zhengzhai jing*, the *Pusa zhafā*, or the *Chizhai jing*. This quotation is not found in any text in the Taishō canon.
- ³⁴¹ *Shiji*, *juan* 56, Chen chengxiang shijia. See Yang and Yang, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, p. 264.
- ³⁴² Yangshe Xi (Shuxiang) was the elder brother of Fu (Shuyu). See *Zuozhuan*, Xianggong’s sixteenth year and Zhaogong’s fifth year for Xi, and Zhaogong’s thirteenth year for Fu.
- ³⁴³ See the *Shangshu*, Shundian, for the four criminals. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, pp. 39–40.
- ³⁴⁴ *Shiji*, *juan* 5, Qin benji. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 1, p. 91.
- ³⁴⁵ T.6.1:181b1–3.
- ³⁴⁶ The phrase “placing [a beautiful gem] into a case” derives from the *Lunyu*, Zihan. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 221.
- ³⁴⁷ This expression is found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 73. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 164.
- ³⁴⁸ See note 336 for the *Sutra of the Twelve Gates (Shiermen jing)*. According to the Kongōji manuscript, the original expression differs slightly from this quotation, but this tenet is designated as the first gate.

- ³⁴⁹ T.533.14:814a20–24.
- ³⁵⁰ T.210.4:573c8.
- ³⁵¹ T.630.15:453a12–14.
- ³⁵² This sutra is listed in the *Collection of Records Derived from the Tripiṭaka (Chusanzang jiji*, T.2145.55:7a13) but it is no longer extant.
- ³⁵³ Generally, the “four immeasurable minds” refer to benevolence or loving-kindness (*ci*; Skt. *maitrī*), compassion (*bei*; Skt. *karuṇā*), joy (*xi*; Skt. *muditā*), and giving up [all attachments] or equanimity (*she*; Skt. *upekṣā*). The Chinese word *hu* in the four immeasurable minds is used as an equivalent to the word *she* in many sutras, such as the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T. 125), the *Sheng jing* (T. 154), and the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T. 185). Here the term *hu* is literally interpreted as “protection.”
- ³⁵⁴ This is a summary of the original statement. See T.185.3:475c14–17.
- ³⁵⁵ This passage is not found in the *Chengju guangming dingyi jing* (T. 630) of the Taishō canon.
- ³⁵⁶ T.6.1:189b22–23.
- ³⁵⁷ The list of the eight worldly matters is found in the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (T.184.3:496b26–27), the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:476c14–15), and the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, an indigenous Chinese scripture found in *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* (Beijing Shi: Zong jiao wen hua chu ban she, 1995–), vol. 7; the passage is on p. 301, lines 6–7; CBETA (ZW7.n63.301a6-7).
- ³⁵⁸ This tenet is found in various sutras. The same Chinese expression is found in the *Zhong ahan jing*. See T.26:435c27–28, 462a27–28, 464b29–c1, 467b29–c1, 600b8–9, 673a7–8.
- ³⁵⁹ This expression is based on a passage found in the *Zhuangzi*, Daozhi: “Its brief existence is not different from the passing of a crevice by one of King Mu’s horses,” or one from the *Zhuangzi*, Zhibeiyou: “Human life between Heaven and Earth is like a white colt passing by a crevice and suddenly disappearing.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 615, or p. 505, respectively.
- ³⁶⁰ This expression derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Zhibeiyou: “Life is due to the collecting of the breath. When [breath] is collected there is life; when it is dispersed there is death.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 499.
- ³⁶¹ This exact statement is not found in any sutra but a similar one is found in the *Xiuxing benqi jing* (T.184.3:469a18–19), the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:476b21–22), the *Dhammapada (Faju jing)* (T.210.4:559a20–21), and the *Faju piyu jing* (T.211.4:576b4–5).
- ³⁶² T.474.14:523a25.
- ³⁶³ This statement derives from the *Lunyu*, Yang Huo: “When they have got them their

Notes

anxiety is because they might lose them. When they are anxious that such things might be lost, there is nothing to which they will not proceed.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 325.

³⁶⁴ *Weimojie jing* (T.474.14:528c1).

³⁶⁵ *Chengju guangming dingyi jing* (T.630.15:451c25–26).

³⁶⁶ A similar expression is found in the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:473c3).

³⁶⁷ This quotation is not found in any text in the Taishō canon.

³⁶⁸ A similar story is found in the *Sishierzhang jing* (T.784.17:724a1–5), in which the Buddha asked his disciples how long is the human life span.

³⁶⁹ This expression is based on *Lunyu*, Zihan: “The prosecution of learning may be compared to what may happen in raising a mound. If but one basket of earth is lacking to complete the work and I stop, the stopping is my own work. This may be compared to throwing earth down onto the level ground. Even though only one basketful is thrown at a time, the advancing with it is my own going forward.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, pp. 222–223.

³⁷⁰ The phrase “concurrently forgetting everything (*jianwang*)” derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Tianyun: “If it is easy to make my parents forget me, it is difficult for me to forget all the people in the world. If it is easy to forget all the people in the world, it is difficult to make them all forget me.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 395.

³⁷¹ *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* (T.185.3:479c27–28).

³⁷² The Chinese term *ruosang*, which means to leave one’s native place or homeland when young, is originally found in the *Zhuangzi*, Qiwlun. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 242.

³⁷³ T.186.3:507c26–27.

³⁷⁴ T.6.1:181a21: “When your mind, consciousness, and feeling cease you neither die nor are [re]born.”

³⁷⁵ The twenty-eight heavens refer to the six heavens of the realm of desire (Skt. *kāmadhātu*), the eighteen heavens of the realm of form (Skt. *rūpadhātu*), and the four heavens of the formless realm (Skt. *ārūpyadhātu*).

³⁷⁶ *Weimojie jing* (T.474.14:522b11–13).

³⁷⁷ The Chinese word *yifu* is based on passages found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 58: “Misery!—happiness is to be found by its side! Happiness!—misery lurks beneath it!” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 150.

³⁷⁸ *Weimojie jing* (T.474:14.520a14-16).

³⁷⁹ *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 81. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 171.

- ³⁸⁰ This statement is based on the *Zhuangzi*, Lie Yukou: “Near the He [River] there was a poor man who supported his family by weaving rushes [to make screens]. His son, when diving in a deep pool, found a pearl worth a thousand ounces of silver.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 651.
- ³⁸¹ *Shujing*, Hongfan, explains the five kinds of happiness and the six extreme evils: “Ninth, of the five [sources of] happiness. The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will [of Heaven]. Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening one’s life; the second, sickness; the third, mental distress; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 343.
- ³⁸² *Shiji*, *juan* 9, Lü taihou benji. See Nienhauser, *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol. 2, pp. 125–126.
- ³⁸³ *Zuo zhuan*, Zhaogong’s seventh year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 617 (right column).
- ³⁸⁴ The “seven symptoms” (*qizheng*) are not known. Ōta Teizō and the *Gumyōshū kenkyū* suggest that this may refer to the seven disasters (*qinan*): loss of the light of the sun and moon, loss of the light of the constellations, fire, floods, strong gales, drought, and bandits, according to the *Renwang huguo boreboluomiduo jing* (T.246.8:843a18–29). See Ōta, *Kokuyaku issaikyō*, *Gokyō-bu* 1, p. 325, n. 43; Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 738, n. 53.
- ³⁸⁵ The expression “to forget what he wished to say” derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Dazongshi. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 288.
- ³⁸⁶ This expression derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Dechongfu. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 271.
- ³⁸⁷ This statement is based on a passage in the *Lunyu*, Shuer: “When the Master was in Qi he heard the *Shao* and for three months did not know the taste of flesh.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 199.
- ³⁸⁸ *Yijing*, Xici shang. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 373, n. 70.
- ³⁸⁹ *Zhuangzi*, Geyi. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 412. The Chinese phrase *xiong jing* can also be translated as “to climb up a tree like a bear.”
- ³⁹⁰ This statement is based on the *Yijing*, Kun: “The fourth six, divided, [shows the symbol of] a sack tied up. There will be no ground for blame or for praise.” See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 60.
- ³⁹¹ This statement is based on a story in the *Zhuangzi*, Xuwugui, that the artisan Shi cleaned off all the mud from a statue of a man of Ying. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 541.

- ³⁹² The Chinese term *ren li* is read as *rentu*, in accordance with Ōta, *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Gokyōbu* 1, p. 328, n. 78, and Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shisōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 740, n. 106.
- ³⁹³ This statement derives from the *Zhuangzi*, Tiandao: “Those who know the joy of Heaven during their life act like Heaven, and at death undergo transformation like [other] things.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 380.
- ³⁹⁴ Several Buddhist scriptures state that Mount Sumeru enters into a mustard seed. See, for instance, the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:546b28).
- ³⁹⁵ This idea is also found in several scriptures; see, for instance, the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:546b29–c1).
- ³⁹⁶ The *Gumyōshū kenkyū* suggests that the seven treasures could be seven days, based on the description of the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:546c9–12): “A bodhisattva extends seven days to a *kalpa*.” See Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shisōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 741, n. 124.
- ³⁹⁷ *Qi Xie* is the title of a book. It is also said to be the name of a good storyteller of ghost tales. See the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou. James Legge takes it to be a book; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 213.
- ³⁹⁸ According to the *Liezi*, the sword that can cut jade, called *kunyu*, and the noncombustible textiles that can withstand fire (*huowanfu*) were presented by the western tribe. See *Liezi*, Tang wen. The English translation in Eva Wong, *Liezi: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living* (Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, 1995) does not include this last section, called “Tang wen.”
- ³⁹⁹ The Chinese term *xuanyuan* refers to the profound primordial vapor of Chaos, before Heaven and Earth separated from each other.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Mount Heng was designated as South Mountain (Nanyue), but Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty designated Mount Huo as South Mountain. Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty (r. 581–604) later changed the designation of South Mountain back to Mount Heng.
- ⁴⁰¹ There are different definitions regarding the five kinds of principles of human relationships (*wujiao*). The *Zuozhuan*, Wengong’s eighteenth year, says, “Fathers became just and mothers gentle; elder brothers kindly, and younger ones respectful; and sons became filial.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 283 (left column). The *Mengzi*, Tengwengong shan, says, “To teach the relations of humanity: how between father and son there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity.” See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, pp. 251–252.
- ⁴⁰² The Chinese term *wuji*, “ultimate of nonbeing,” derives from the *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 28. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 119. where he translates this passage as “Endless [return to] man’s first state [has made].”

- ⁴⁰³ According to the *Liezi*, the “primordial substance” (*taisu*) is the stage where “things have not only assumed definite shapes and forms but have taken on qualities,” and “in the Primal Beginning, *yin* and *yang* divide, and their interaction produces limited but identifiable shapes and forms”; Wong, *Liezi: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living*, p. 28.
- ⁴⁰⁴ The *Lingzhengji* is no longer extant, therefore, it is unknown where this quotation ends. I follow Ōta, *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Gokyō-bu* 1, p. 331.
- ⁴⁰⁵ The *Zhenzhongjie* is no longer extant.
- ⁴⁰⁶ The Chinese characters *ying* (“baby”) and *ying* (“gnarl”) do not fit the context here. I follow the interpretation found in Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 745.
- ⁴⁰⁷ These texts can be interpreted as the *Huangluozi jing* and the *Xuanzhong ji*, both of which are no longer extant. It is unknown where the quotation ends. I follow Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 745.
- ⁴⁰⁸ The ancient state of Zhongrong is found in the *Shanhai jing*, but the source of the disease mentioned here is unknown. See Ching, Cheng, and Thern, trans., *Shan hai ching: Legendary Geography and Wonders of Ancient China*, p. 216.
- ⁴⁰⁹ This sentence is obscure. If King Huan is meant to be Huan Wen (312–373), he died of illness before the Taiyuan era (376–396). Therefore, following Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 746, I translate the Chinese phrase *da yuan* as “great beginning.”
- ⁴¹⁰ A text that is very similar to this, *Written Appeal to the Demon*, attributed to Daoan, is found in the *Guang Hongmingji* (T.2103.52:344a24–345b16).
- ⁴¹¹ The Chinese term *datong* is originally found in *Zhuangzi*, *Dazongshi* and *Qishui*. According to Ogawa Tamaki, *Rōshi Sōshi* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1998), pp. 278, 396, it refers to the Great Way beyond all discriminations. Legge says that it is another denomination of the Dao, and “is also explained as meaning, ‘the great void in which there is no obstruction,’” *Daodejing ji Zhuangzi quanji*, p. 305, n. 2. Following Legge, I translate *datong* as “the Great Pervader.”
- ⁴¹² According to Ōta, *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Gokyō-bu* 1, p. 334, fn. 4, and Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo Chūsei Shishōshi Kenkyū han, ed., *Gumyōshū kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 759, n. 13, the four evils are (1) ignorance of non-self, (2) belief in the existence of a self, (3) self-conceit, and (4) self-attachment.
- ⁴¹³ Ōta suggests that the “eighteen innocent people” may be the eighteen kinds of sages who have not attained arhatship (Skt. *aṣṭādaśa saikṣāḥ*); *Kokuyaku issaikyō, Wa-Kan senjutsu bu, Gokyō-bu* 1, p. 334, fn. 10.
- ⁴¹⁴ The *Written Appeal to the Demon* attributed to Daoan, found in the *Guang Hongmingji* (T.2103.52:344c4), has the name *Tanwujie*, after the Sanskrit word *guru*.

- ⁴¹⁵ These two sentences appear to be word games. The Chinese word *mengfan* refers to the place where the sun sets, while *fusang* means the place where the sun rises.
- ⁴¹⁶ This expression is based on a passage found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 66: “That whereby the rivers and seas are able to receive the homage and tribute of all the valley streams, is their skill in being lower than they;—it is thus that they are the kings of them all.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 157.
- ⁴¹⁷ The Chinese term *xiyi* (“elusive and inaudible”) derives from the *Laozi Dao de jing*, Chap. 14. Legge translates this term as “equable and inaudible”; *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 105.
- ⁴¹⁸ The same statement is found in the *Laozi dao de jing*, Chap. 37. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 127.
- ⁴¹⁹ The Three Communicating Agencies are a collective reference to three agencies that were intended to keep the emperor in contact with the central administration, the officialdom at large, and foreign states; respectively, the Imperial Secretary (Central Pavilion), the Censorate (Pavilion of the Fundamental Laws), and the Tribunal of Receptions (Outer Pavilion). The Six Tax Supervisors are six agencies subordinate to the Ministry of Education; they are the agencies of Land, Forest, River, Grain, Crafts, and Market Tax Supervisors.
- ⁴²⁰ This statement is based on the *Zhuangzi*, Dazongshi: “When the springs are dried up the fish collect together on the land. Then that they should moisten one another there by the damp[ness] around them and keep one another wet by their slime, it would be better for them to forget one another in the rivers and lakes.” See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 290.
- ⁴²¹ The Chinese term *sanran* is taken to mean the term *sandu*, the “three poisons” of greed, anger, and stupidity.
- ⁴²² *Weimojie suoshuo jing* (T.475.14:543a9–25).
- ⁴²³ *Xiaopin borebolumi jing* (T.227.8:582a.24–26).
- ⁴²⁴ Emperor Yao once intended to smite the rulers of the Zong and Kuai states; *Zhuangzi*, Qiwulun. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 238.
- ⁴²⁵ The Chinese word *guiyu* (“to let me return”) derives from the *Lunyu*, Gongye Chang. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p. 181.
- ⁴²⁶ *Shangshu*, Yiji. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 90.
- ⁴²⁷ *Shijing*, Weifeng, Shuoshu. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 172.
- ⁴²⁸ This sutra is unknown.
- ⁴²⁹ See *Zhuangzi*, Qiushui, for Hebo, who realized the danger of his ignorance. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 422.
- ⁴³⁰ *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyou. See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 218.

- ⁴³¹ According to the *Er'ya*, the four polar regions (*siji*) outside of China are (1) Taiyuan in the east, (2) Binguo in the west, (3) Puqian in the south, and (4) Zhuli in the north.
- ⁴³² *Liezi*, Tang wen. See Wong, *Liezi: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living*, p. 131.
- ⁴³³ *Yijing*, Xici shang. See Legge, *I ching: Book of Changes*, p. 354.
- ⁴³⁴ *Shijing*, Daya, Xia Wu. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p. 458.
- ⁴³⁵ *Liji*, Biaoji. See Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 28, p. 341.
- ⁴³⁶ *Shangshu*, Jinteng. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p. 354.
- ⁴³⁷ *Liji*, Jiaotesheng. The eight *zha* deities were believed to be meritorious for people's livelihood. During the Zhou dynasty there was a year-end sacrifice for these deities. See Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 431.
- ⁴³⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:385b22–24).
- ⁴³⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan* (T.2059.50:388c21–25).
- ⁴⁴⁰ *Liezi*, Zhou Muwang. See Wong, *Liezi: A Taoist Guide to Practical Living*, p. 85.
- ⁴⁴¹ *Liji*, Wangzhi. See Müller, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 27, p. 245, n. 19.
- ⁴⁴² This expression is based on a statement in the *Zhuangzi*, Dazongshi: "If you hide a boat in the ravine of a hill, and hide the hill in a lake, you will say that [the boat] is secure; but at midnight a strong man will come and carry it off on his back, while you, in the dark, know nothing about it." See Legge, *Dao de jing ji Zhuangzi quan ji*, p. 290, n. 6.
- ⁴⁴³ The Chinese character *mu*, "peaceful," is read as the character *mu*, "beautiful," here. When Zhao Jianzi and Lord Mu recovered consciousness after their serious illnesses both said that they had experienced great pleasure in the Heavenly Thearch's palace; *Shiji*, *juan* 43, Zhao shijia.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Du Bo was falsely charged and killed by King Xuan of the Zhou dynasty. King Xuan was later shot to death by the spirit of Du Bo; *Mozi*, Minggui. Pengsheng was killed by the people of Qi state, but he later appeared as a boar. The marquis of Qi state saw him and fell down in his carriage; *Zuozhuan*, Huangong's eighteenth year and Zhuang-gong's eighth year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 70 (right column) and p. 82 (right column).
- ⁴⁴⁵ See *Shiji*, *juan* 3, Yin benji, for Taiwu and *juan* 38, Song Weizi shijia, for Lord Jing.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Bai Qi's biography is found in the *Shiji*, *juan* 73, Bai Qi Wang Jian liezhuan. See Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol. 7, pp. 167–173.
- ⁴⁴⁷ The Chinese *panjian*, a large girdle with a mirror in it used by a queen, derives from *Zuozhuan*, Zhuangong's twenty-first year. See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p. 101 (right column). In ancient times people wrote admonitions or maxims on the *panjian* and used it as a note of instruction.

Glossary

bhikṣu (biqiu): A mendicant monk; a Buddhist monk. *See also* four kinds of Buddhist disciples; *śramaṇa*.

bhikṣuṇī (biqiumi): A Buddhist nun. *See also* four kinds of Buddhist disciples.

bodhisattva: Literally, “enlightenment (*bodhi*) being (*sattva*),” one who has generated the aspiration for highest enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) and is on the path to buddhahood. In the Mahayana bodhisattvas seek enlightenment not just for themselves but in order to compassionately aid others to attain liberation as well. The bodhistava path entails the perfection of six qualities or attitudes (Skt. *pāramitās*) and completion of ten stages of spiritual development (Skt. *daśabhūmi*) *See also* Mahayana; One Vehicle; six *pāramitās*.

dharmakāya (fashen): The Dharma body. There are various interpretations for this term. In the Sarvāstivādin school it refers to the True Dharma expounded by the Buddha or the collection of the auspicious qualities of the Buddha, including his wisdom, compassion, and various powers. In the Mahayana the term evolved into a kind of cosmic principle that was regarded as the true nature of the Buddha or ultimate reality and the source from which his other forms derived. For instance, the *dharmakāya* is one of the two kinds of buddha bodies along with the physical form (*rūpakāya*), or of the three kinds of buddha bodies along with the enjoyment or reward body (*sambhogakāya*) and the accommodative body (*nirmāṇakāya*), or of the four kinds of buddha bodies along with the enjoyment or reward body, the accommodative body, and the transformed body, or of the ten kinds of buddha bodies, two versions of which are presented in the *Huayan jing (Garland Sutra)*.

Dao de jing (Scripture of the Way and Its Virtue): The foundational Daoist scripture authored by Laozi. Also called *Laozi* or *Laozi Dao de jing*.

Decadent Dharma *See* three periods of the Dharma.

dependent origination (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*): A fundamental Buddhist teaching on the twelfold chain of causation through which all phenomena come into being dependent on their causes and conditions; nothing exists independently of its causes and conditions.

eight difficulties (*ba'nan*): The eight conditions in which one is unable to encounter a buddha or hear the Dharma: being in hell; being in the state of an animal; being in

the state of a hungry ghost; being in the heaven of long life or in Uttarakuru, the continent to the north of Mount Sumeru where people always enjoy great happiness (people in these worlds would not therefore be motivated to seek liberation); being deaf, blind, and mute; being knowledgeable about worldly affairs and eloquent (which may impede people from following the true path); and living during the period before or after the Buddha's appearance in the world.

eightfold holy path (*bashengdao*): The last of the fundamental Buddhist teaching of the fourfold truths is the cessation of suffering through the eightfold path to enlightenment or nirvana, consisting of (1) right view, (2) right thought, (3) right speech, (4) right action, (5) right livelihood, (6) right effort, (7) right mindfulness or recollection, and (8) right meditation. *See also* fourfold truths.

eight kinds of gods and demigods that protect Buddhism (*babuzhong*): Gods (*devas*), demigods (*asuras*), dragons (*nāgas*), demons (*yakṣas*), divine musicians (*gandharvas*), mythical birds (*garuḍas*), half-horse, half-human beings (*kimnaras*), and great serpents (*mahoragas*).

Five Classics: The Confucian canon comprised of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing* or *Zhouyi*), which looks into the law between Heaven, Earth, and human beings and asserts that all phenomena of the universe arise from changes caused by the union and separation of *yin* and *yang*; the *Book of History* (*Shujing* or *Shangshu*), a record of two ideal rulers, Yao and Shun, and the three dynasties of Xia, Yin (Shang), and Zhou; the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* or *Maoshi*), a collection of three hundred odes composed prior to Confucius's time; the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), which discerns virtue and vice in various historic events that took place in all states for a period of two hundred and forty-two years, from the first year of Lord Yin up to the time of Lord Ai of Lu state; and the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*), a compilation of records of theory and practice regarding rites.

five desires (*wuyu* or *wuqing*): Desires that arise in connection with the five senses of sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch; or desires for wealth, sex, food and drink, fame, and sleep.

five kinds of ceremonies (*wuli*): Sacrificial ceremonies, funeral rites, ceremonies for guests and visitors, ceremonies for the army and military forces, and coming of age and marriage ceremonies.

five penalties (*wuxing*): Harsh punishments for crimes, including branding, cutting off the nose or feet, castration, and death. The earliest record that describes *wuxing* is the *Canon of Shun* in the *Book of History*, in which Gao Yao carried out these penalties at Shun's command.

five precepts (*wujie*; Skt. *pañca-sīla*): The five basic precepts taken by laypeople on entering the Buddhist path: not killing, not stealing, not using false speech, not engaging in sexual misconduct, and not ingesting intoxicants.

- five realms of existence (*wudao*, *wutu*, or *wuqu*): The realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, human beings, and heavenly beings. *See also* six realms of existence; three realms of existence.
- five roots of wholesomeness (*wugen*): (1) Belief in the Three Treasures, (2) making efforts to practice good, (3) being mindful of the True Dharma, (4) concentration, and (5) investigation into the true nature of reality. *See also* Three Treasures.
- Five Sacred Mountains (*wuyue*): The Eastern Mountain (Mount Tai), the Southern Mountain (Mount Heng or Huo), the Western Mountain (Mount Hua), the Northern Mountain (Mount Heng), and the Central Mountain (Mount Song).
- five *skandhas* (*wuyin* or *wuyun*; Skt. *pañca-skandha*): The five constituent elements of existence that produce various kinds of suffering: matter or form (*rūpa*), perception (*vedanā*), conception (*samjñā*), volition (*samskāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*).
- Five Thearchs (*wudi*): Five legendary emperors of Chinese antiquity: the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), Emperor Gaoyang (Zhuanxu), Emperor Gaoxin (Diku), Emperor Yao, and Emperor Shun.
- four abodes of emptiness (*sikong*; Skt. *catur-ārūpyāvacara*): (1) The abode of limitless space, (2) the abode of limitless consciousness, (3) the abode of emptiness, and (4) the abode of neither thought nor non-thought.
- four devils (*simo*; Skt. *māras*): Defilements (Skt. *kleśas*), the five *skandhas*, death (Skt. *marāna*), and the king of devils, Māra, in the Paranirmitavaśavartin Heaven, who tries to thwart followers' attempts to carry out good acts. *See also* five *skandhas*.
- fourfold truths (*sidi*): The fundamental Buddhist teaching: the truth of suffering, the truth regarding the cause of suffering, the truth regarding the extinction of suffering, and the truth of the cessation of suffering, which is the eightfold path to enlightenment or nirvana. *See also* eightfold holy path.
- four fruits (*siguo*): The four stages of spiritual attainment in the Hinayana: the fruit of entering the stream of the sacred Dharma (Skt. *srota-āpanna*), the fruit of having only one more rebirth (Skt. *sakṛdāgāmin*), the fruit of not returning (Skt. *anāgāmin*); and the fruit of arhatship. *See also* Hinayana.
- four great elements (*sida*): Earth, water, fire, and wind.
- four immeasurable minds (*sidengxin* or *siwuliangxin*; Skt. *catur-apramāṇa*): Benevolence (*cī*; Skt. *maitrī*), or giving pleasure and happiness to others; compassion (*bei*; Skt. *karuṇā*), or removing others' pain and suffering; taking joy (*xi*; Skt. *muditā*) in making other people happy; and giving up all attachments, or equanimity (*she* or *hu*; Skt. *upekṣa*).
- four kinds of Buddhist disciples (*sizhong*): Monks (*bhikṣus*), nuns (*bhikṣuṇīs*), laymen (*upāsakas*), and laywomen (*upāsikās*).

Glossary

four methods of winning people over (*sishe*; Skt. *catur-saṃgrahavastu*): Means of converting people to Buddhism through offering donations, kind speech, kind conduct to benefit others; and doing things together with others.

four modes of birth (*sisheng*): Four ways in which living beings are born: birth from the womb, from an egg, from moisture, and through metamorphosis.

four small elements (*siwei*). The first four of the five *skandhas*: color or form, smell, taste, and touch. *See also* five *skandhas*.

Grand Terminus (Taijizhang): In Daosim, the origin of all things in the universe.

Hinayana (“Lesser Vehicle”): A derogatory term applied by Mahayana Buddhists to early schools of Buddhism whose primary soteriological goal is individual salvation. Hinayana followers are grouped into two paths of practice of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*, and there are four stages of spiritual development culminating in arhatship. *See also* four fruits; Mahayana; *pratyekabuddha*; *śrāvaka*.

icchantika (*yichanti*): One who has no good roots and thus no possibility of becoming a buddha.

kalpa (*jie*): An eon, an immeasurably long period of time.

Mahayana (“Great Vehicle”): A school or movement in the development of Buddhism that took place over several centuries beginning around the second century B.C.E., often contrasted with the earlier Buddhist traditions termed by Mahayanists as the Hinayana. The ideal of the Mahayana is the bodhisattva path. *See also* bodhisattva; Hinayana.

Mount Sumeru (Xumishan): In Buddhist cosmology, the highest mountain that rises from the center of the world.

nine kinds of Buddhist scriptures (*jiubujing*): The first nine of the twelve kinds of Buddhist scriptures. *See* twelve kinds of Buddhist scriptures.

nine kinds of defilements (*jiujie*): (1) Clinging or attachment, (2) anger or hatred, (3) arrogance, (4) ignorance, (5) holding evil views, (6) attachment to the body, (7) doubt, (8) jealousy, and (9) greed.

nine realms of the transmigration of birth and death (*jiudi*): Subdivisions of the three realms of samsaric existence, consisting of the realm of desire, the four meditation heavens of the realm of form, and the four domains of the formless realm. *See also* three realms of existence.

nine schools (*jiuliu*): Confucianism, Daoism, the school of *Yin-Yang*, Legalism, the Nominalist school, the school of Mo Di (i.e., Mohism), the school of the Political Strategists, the school of Miscellaneous Thoughts, and the school of the Farming Life.

nirvana (*niepan*): The ultimate goal of Buddhism, a state in which delusions are extinguished and the highest wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*) is attained.

- One Vehicle (*yisheng*): A Mahayana teaching of the single path to enlightenment of the bodhisattva, as opposed to the paths of *śrāvakas* or *pratyekabuddhas*. *See also* bodhisattva; Mahayana; *śrāvaka*; *pratyekabuddha*; three vehicles.
- pratyekabuddha* (“self-enlightened one”): One who attains enlightenment through direct apprehension of dependent origination (Skt. *pratīyasamutpāda*) without the aid of a teacher and who does not teach others. One of the two types of Hinayana paths. *See also* dependent origination; Hinayana; two vehicles.
- Semblance Dharma *See* three periods of the Dharma.
- Seven Classics: The Five Classics plus the *Book of Music* (*Yuejing*), no longer extant, and the *Analects* (*Lunyu*) of Confucius. *See also* Five Classics.
- seven factors of wisdom (*qijing*, *qijuezhi*, or *qiputifen*): (1) Distinguishing the True Dharma from false teachings, (2) making effort to practice the True Dharma, (3) rejoicing in the True Dharma, (4) eliminating slothfulness and attaining ease and relaxation, (5) mindfulness to maintain the equilibrium of concentration and insight, (6) concentration and (7) detaching one’s thoughts from external objects, thereby securing mental serenity.
- seven imperial shrines (*qimiao*): Shrines dedicated to the earliest ancestor (*taizu*) in the center, to the three sons of the earliest emperor (*san zhao*) on the left, and to the three grandsons of the earliest emperor (*san mu*) on the right.
- seven kinds of self-conceit (*qiman*): The feeling of superiority toward those who are inferior to oneself; the feeling of superiority toward those who are one’s equals; the feeling of superiority toward those who are superior to oneself; being proud of oneself and despising others; considering oneself to be more worthy or virtuous than one actually is; false humility, i.e., feeling pride at one’s humility; and proudly thinking that one is virtuous when, in fact, one has little virtue.
- seven states: The seven dynastic states that formed during the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.E.) when China was embroiled in warfare: the states of Qin, Chu, Qi, Han, Zhao, Wei, and Yan.
- six arts (*liuyi*): Six areas in which a refined person must be skilled: rites, music, archery, driving a chariot, learning, and mathematics.
- Six Classics: The Five Classics plus the *Book of Music*. *See also* Five Classics.
- six desires (*liuyu*): Desires arising from the contact of the six sense organs of the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind with their respective objects: form or color, sound, odor, taste, tactile objects, and mental objects. Also called the six feelings (*liuqing*). *See also* six dusts; six sense organs.
- six dusts (*liuchen*; Skt. *ṣaḍ viśayāḥ*): The objects of the six sense organs: color or form, sound, odor, taste, tactile objects, and mental objects. *See also* six sense objects.

Glossary

six extreme evils (*liuji*): Misfortune that results in shortening one's life span, illness, mental distress, poverty, wickedness, and weakness.

six *pāramitās* (*liuboluomi* or *liudu*): The six qualities or “perfections” a bodhisattva practices in order to attain enlightenment or nirvana: (1) generosity or giving (Skt. *dāna*), offering material goods, the Dharma, and peace; (2) morality or precepts (Skt. *śīla*); (3) forbearance or patience (Skt. *kṣānti*); 4) diligence or effort (Skt. *vīrya*); (5) meditation (Skt. *dhyāna*); and (6) wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*). *See also* bodhisattva.

six purification days (*liuzhai*): The eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days of the month, during which laypeople observe eight precepts (the five precepts along with additional proscriptions against indulging in adornment or perfume, entertainment, sleeping in a raised bed, or eating after midday) in order to purify themselves. *See also* five precepts.

six realms of existence (*liudao* or *liuqu*): The six realms of existence into which sentient beings are reborn: the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, humans, *asuras* (demigods), and *devas* (heavenly beings). *See also* three lowest realms of existence.

six relations (*liuqin*): One's father, mother, elder and younger brothers, wife, and children.

six sense organs (*liugen*): The eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body (tactile sense), and mind.

six schools (*liujia*): The predominant Chinese philosophical schools: Yin-yang, Confucian, Mohist, Legalist, Nominalist, and Daoist.

six supernatural powers (*liutong* or *liushentong*): (1) The ability to go anywhere at will and to transform oneself or objects at will; (2) the capability of seeing anything at any distance; (3) the capability of hearing any sound at any distance; (4) the ability to know others' thoughts; (5) the ability to know one's own and others' former lives; and (6) the ability to destroy all evil passions.

śramaṇa (*shamen*): A Buddhist monk.

śrāmaṇera (*shami*): A male novice.

śrāvaka: Literally, “hearer,” originally referring to the Buddha's early disciples who directly heard him teach. The term later came to designate followers of the Hinayana. *See also* Hinayana; two vehicles.

Sun En (d. 402 C.E.): Leader of the rebel followers of the Way of the Heavenly Master, whose group agitated in Central and Southern China for more than ten years. He called his teaching the Purple Way (*zidao*) and taught his followers on how to become a Water Transcendent (*shuixian*). *See also* Way of the Five Pecks of Grain.

Tathāgata (*rulai*): One of ten epithets of a buddha, construed as “one who comes from thusness.” *See also* thusness.

ten epithets of a buddha (*shihao*): Tathāgata (Thus-come One), Arhat (One Worthy of Alms), Fully Enlightened One, One Having Wisdom and Practice, One who Has

Attained Emancipation, Knower of the World, Unsurpassed, Tamer of Humans, Teacher of Gods and Humans, and World-honored One.

ten powers (*shili*): Ten powers attributed to a buddha: (1) distinguishing right and wrong; (2) knowing the karma of all sentient beings of the past, present, and future, and its outcome; (3) knowing all forms of meditation; (4) knowing the greater and lesser capacities of sentient beings; (5) knowing the thoughts and desires of sentient beings; (6) knowing the different levels of existence of sentient beings; (7) knowing the results of various methods of practice; (8) knowing the transmigratory states of all sentient beings and the courses of karma they follow; (9) knowing the past lives of all sentient beings and the nirvanic state of nondefilement; and (10) knowing how to destroy all evil passions.

ten wholesome acts (*shishan*): Not killing living beings, not stealing, not committing adultery, not telling lies, not uttering harsh words, not uttering words that cause enmity between people, not engaging in idle talk, not being greedy, not being angry, and not holding wrong views.

Three Augusts (*sanhuang*): Three legendary monarchs of ancient China. There are several different theories about the identity of these figures. For instance, Sima Qian's *Shiji* lists Tianhuang (Emperor of Heaven), Di Huang (Emperor of Earth), and Renhuang (Emperor of People) in the *Sanhuangji* (*Chronicles of the Three Augusts*), and Tianhuang, Di Huang, and Qinhuang (the first emperor of the Qin dynasty) in the *Qin Shihuangji* (*Chronicles of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty*). The *Chunqiu wei* (a book about charms and omens circulated in the Han dynasty as appendices to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) lists Fuxi, Shen Nong, and Nüwa as the Three Augusts.

three kinds of emptiness (*sankong*): The three gates of emancipation: emptiness (*kong*), devoid of characteristics (*wuxiang*), and absence of aspiration (*wuyuan*).

three lowest realms of existence (*santu*): The three lowest of the six realms into which sentient beings may be reborn, the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, and animals. Also called the three evil paths (*san'edao*). See also six realms of existence.

three most revered people (*zaisan*): The sovereign, one's parents, and one's teacher.

three periods of existence (*sanshi*): Past, present, and future.

three periods of the Dharma: Three five-hundred year-periods of the Buddhist teaching: the period of the True Dharma (*zhengfa*), when the Buddha's teaching is properly practiced and enlightenment can be attained; the period of the Semblance Dharma (*xiangfa*), when the teaching is practiced but enlightenment is no longer attainable; and the last period of the Decadent Dharma (*mofa*), when only the teaching still exists but practice and the attainment of enlightenment are no longer possible.

three poisons (*sandu*): Greed, anger, and stupidity.

three powers (*sancai*): Heaven, human beings, and Earth.

Glossary

three realms (*sanjie*): The realm of desire (Skt. *kāmadhatu*), which comprises the realms of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, *asuras* (demigods), and human beings, and a part of the heavenly realm of *devas*; the realm of form (Skt. *rūpadhātu*), which includes part of the lower heaven, and in which there are only refined types of form without sexual desire and other appetites; and the formless realm (Skt. *arūpyadhātu*), in which there is no material form, only meditative states.

three robes (*sanyi* or *sanfu*): The three types of monks' robes: (1) a formal robe made out of nine to twenty-five pieces of cloth (Skt. *saṃghāṭī*), worn for almsrounds or when a monk is invited to a royal palace; (2) a robe made out of seven pieces of cloth (Skt. *uttarāsaṅga*), worn when attending services, lectures, and ceremonies; and (3) the everyday robe (Skt. *antaravāsaka*) worn by a monk day and night.

Three [Spiritual] Offices (*san'guan*): In Daoism, the office of Heaven, the office of Earth, and the office of water. In the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain illness was considered to be a punishment meted out to a sinful person by spiritual beings. People who were afflicted with illness wrote letters of appeal to the Three Spiritual Offices, asking that their offenses be pardoned so that they would be relieved of their illness. *See also* Daoism; Way of the Five Pecks of Grain.

three transcendental knowledges (*sanda* or *sanming*): The ability to know one's former lives and those of others, the ability to know one's future destiny and that of others, and the ability to know about all the suffering of the present life and to remove its root cause.

Three Treasures (*sanbao*): Buddha, Dharma (the Buddhist teachings), and Sangha (the community of Buddhist followers.).

three vehicles (*sansheng*): The three paths of Buddhist teaching and practice for *śrāvakas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, and bodhisattvas. *See also* bodhisattva; Hinayana; Mahayana; One Vehicle; *pratyekabuddha*; *śrāvaka*.

thusness (*ru*; Skt. *tathā*): The state of things as they really are; ultimate reality.

trichilocosm (Skt. *tri-sāhasra-mahāsāhasra*): In ancient Indian cosmology, the entire universe in which a thousand worlds make a small one-thousand world; a thousand of these make a medium one-thousand world; and a thousand of these make a great one-thousand world.

Tripitaka (*sanzang*): The three "baskets," or collections, of the Buddhist teachings; Sutra (discourses of the Buddha), Vinaya (monastic rules), and Abhidharma (treatises).

True Dharma. *See* three periods of the Dharma.

twelve gates of meditation (*shiermen*): Three groups of the four stages of meditation: the four stages of meditation in the realm of form, the four immeasurable virtues attained through meditation, and the four stages of meditation in the formless realm.

twelve kinds of Buddhist scriptures (*shierbujing*): (1) *Sūtra*, the Buddha's exposition of the Dharma in prose; (2) *geya*, verses that repeat the ideas already expressed in prose;

(3) *gāthā*, verses containing ideas not expressed in the prose section of a *sūtra*; (4) *nidāna*, narratives of past occurrences that explain a person's present state; (5) *itivr̥ttaka*, narratives of past lives of the Buddha's disciples; (6) *jātaka*, narratives of the Buddha's past lives; (7) *adbhuta-dharma*, accounts of miracles performed by the Buddha or other deities; (8) *avadāna*, exposition of the Dharma through allegories; (9) *upadeśa*, discussions of doctrine, often in question-and-answer form; (10) *udāna*, exposition of the Dharma by the Buddha without awaiting questions or requests from his disciples; (11) *vaipulya*, full-length, in-depth exposition of principles of truth; and (12) *vyākaraṇa*, the Buddha's predictions of his disciples' attainment of buddhahood.

two vehicles (*ersheng*): The two paths of Buddhist teaching and practice for *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*. *See also* *pratyekabuddha*; *śrāvaka*; three vehicles.

upāsaka/upāsikā: Buddhist laymen/laywomen. *See also* four kinds of Buddhist disciples.

Way of the Five Pecks of Grain (Wudoumijidao): An early Daoist order established by Zhang Ling in the Shu region (present-day Sichuan province) in the last years of the Late Han dynasty; also called the Way of the Heavenly Master, since the founder adopted the title Heavenly Master and succeeding patriarchs maintained the title. So called because followers were required to offer five pecks of grain. *See also* Zhang Ling.

Way of the Spirit (*shendao*): In Daoism, the unfathomed mysterious way, the transcendental religious world, or a synonym for a supreme spiritual being.

Zhang Ling: Founder of the Way of the Heavenly Master (Tianshidao), also called the Way of the Five Pecks of Grain; he is also known as Zhang Daoling. His son is Zhang Heng, the second patriarch, and his grandson is Zhang Lu, the third patriarch. *See also* Way of the Five Pecks of Grain.

Zhang Jiao (d. 184): The leader of the Yellow Turbans, who gained the support of the people of Luoyang who suffered from disease or poverty by offering medical care and religious practice and organized a religious group called Taipingdao (Way of Great Peace) based on the cult of Yellow Emperor and Laozi (Huang-Lao). In 184 C.E. Zhang Jiao led several hundreds of thousands of followers in a rebellion against the Han dynasty, with the intent of bringing about the "world of great peace," but he died of illness and eventually the rebellion was quelled. His followers wore yellow turbans to distinguish themselves from their enemies.

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Index

A

Ai, Lord, 232
animal(s)/beast(s)/creature(s), 5, 6, 11, 32,
54, 58, 60, 63, 64, 79, 101, 105, 121,
123, 148, 235, 237, 238, 240, 252,
256, 262, 268, 269, 270, 272,
300n21, 310n190
alligator, 270
bear, 120, 257, 262, 270, 323n389
boar/hog(s)/pig(s), 60, 97, 120, 170,
178, 257, 269, 270, 271
cat, 270, 303n73
cow(s), 69, 70, 178, 270, 271
deer, 117
dog(s), 257, 270
jiao, 258
raccoon, 22, 270
dragon(s), 6, 7, 24, 52, 58, 69, 129, 171,
260, 267, 268, 272, 275, 276, 283,
285, 304n97
foxes, 22
frog, 79, 95, 105, 306n133
hare(s)/rabbit(s), 63, 117, 182, 189, 263
horse(s), 4, 17, 51, 58, 59, 60, 61, 70,
99, 123, 159, 173, 236, 275, 277,
278, 279, 286, 300n18, 321n359
Daoli, 59
divine, 278, 280
Hualiu, 59, 173, 305n108
Qiji, 305n108
white, 28, 98, 215, 308n153
iguanodons, 52, 304n97

jackal(s), 22, 285
leopard, 270
monkey(s), 270, 300n21
rhinoceroses, 52, 97n97
sheep, 178, 192, 220, 269, 270, 271,
317n297, 318n320
tiger(s), 6, 7, 26, 52, 135, 148, 261, 270,
276, 277, 285, 304n97, 312n225
turtle(s), 262, 267, 270
unicorn, 97
water buffaloes, 261
wolf/wolves, 722, 135, 268, 274
wormlike/vermicular, 91, 121, 237
See also bird(s); fish(es); insect(s);
snake(s)
An Qisheng, 262
anti-Buddhist, xix, xx
Archivist. *See* Laozi
Aśoka, King, 149
See also Ayuwang Temple
Avalokiteśvara, 136, 277
Ayuwang Temple, 149

B

Bai Qi, 297, 327n446
Ban niyuan jing, 310n192, 319n333
Banzhou sanmei jing (Skt. *Pratyutpanna-*
buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-
samādhī), 181
Baopuzi, 299n9
barbarians, 20, 31, 32, 132, 204, 206
Ba River, 149

Index

- Bei, 165
Beihai Ruo, 306n134
Beijing chao, 310n199
bhikṣu(s) (*biqu*), 36, 44, 149, 220, 233
two hundred and fifty precepts for, 185
See also Buddhist clergy/monk(s);
Buddhist order/sangha; four kinds
of Buddhist disciples; *śramaṇa(s)*
- Bian, 35, 303n63
Bian He, jade of, 59, 167, 305n107
Bian Sizhi, 223, 224, 225, 226
Bi Gan, 58, 305n105
Binguo. *See* four polar regions
Biographies of Arrayed Transcendents
(*Liexian zhuan*), 149, 295
See also Liu Xiang
- bird(s)/fowl, 6, 14, 34, 59, 60, 63, 65,
178, 179, 262–262, 265, 269, 272,
315n274
crane, 5, 173
dove, 70, 77, 300n194
ju/yuanju, 59, 60
juxu, 68, 74, 75
kingfishers, 165
luan, 176, 259, 274, 276
myna, 12
owl(s), 13, 268, 272, 274
peng, 120, 265
phoenix(es), 59, 60, 99, 173, 259, 260,
268, 374n274
qionqiong, 68, 74, 75
shrike, 13
sparrows, 97, 128
swallows, 97
wild duck(s), 97, 103, 128
zhen, 258
See also animal(s)/beast(s)/creature(s)
- birth and death, 36, 39, 48, 123, 141,
146, 219, 222, 239, 240, 246, 248,
251, 255, 256, 260, 289, 292, 297
See also rebirth; transmigration
- Bo, 33
boat(s)/ferryboat, 4, 51, 106, 127, 192,
231, 255, 259, 274, 327n442
Bocheng, 35
bodhisattva(s), 23, 80, 125, 162, 177,
244, 253, 260, 278, 293, 324n296
images, 21, 31
path/way, 160, 161
practice(s), 163, 244, 253
stages, ten, 24, 35, 276
eighth, 276, 283
ninth, 276
tenth, 125, 282
- body and spirit, 49–50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60,
61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 85
Book of Changes, 37, 59, 60, 89, 97, 113,
144, 179, 199, 211, 291
Great Appendix, 109
section on *gu* lines (*guyao*), 175
See also Five Classics; *Yijing*
- Book of History*, 49, 58, 116, 118, 120,
179, 291, 295
Yao dian, 21
See also Five Classics; *Shangshu*;
Shijing
- Book of Mountains and Seas*, 148
See also *Shanhai jing*
- Book of Odes*, 12, 15, 23, 28, 51, 119, 126
“The Bow Adorned with Horn (*Jiao-gong*),” 34
See also Five Classics; *Praise Odes of Lu*; *Shijing*
- Book of Rites (Liji)*, 29, 37, 67, 73, 76,
93, 123, 128, 291, 310n200
“Chapter on Records of Music (*Yueji*),”
119
“Chapter on Royal Regulations
(*Wangzhi*),” 294
“Chapter on Scholars’ Behaviors (*Ru-xing*),” 175

- “Chapter on the Meaning of Sacrifices (*Jiyi*),” 79, 114, 120
 section on “Ceremonial Usages” (*Liyun*), 79, 307n136
See also Five Classics; *Liji*
- Boyang. *See* Laozi
- Boyou, 49, 59–60, 120, 304n85, 310n189
- Boyuan, 133
- Boyue, 58
- Brahmā King, 282
- Brahmanic teaching, 37
- buddha(s), 20, 48, 49, 91, 235, 278, 304n98
 image(s), 21, 30, 31, 63, 138, 143, 149, 293, 295
- Buddha, xix, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 33, 36–38, 61–65, 79, 93, 104, 109, 117, 120, 125, 128, 135, 137–149, 163, 164, 168, 176, 184, 194, 195, 196, 198, 204, 205, 207, 208, 215, 220, 224, 227, 229, 232, 236, 249, 252, 254, 256, 260, 275, 284, 285, 287, 288, 290, 292, 294, 295, 297, 322n368
- altruistic/responsive activities, 17, 24, 140, 142, 143, 171, 179, 293, 297
- edification/teaching, 22, 23, 63, 89, 120, 139, 199, 204, 206, 209, 212, 213, 216, 287, 293, 294, 296, 317n305
- exposition of the Dharma, 129, 130
 lion’s roar, 286
- image(s), 23, 139, 177, 296
- manifestation/trace, 24, 27, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145
- marks, eighty minor, thirty-two, 26, 283
- nirvana, 23, 251
- relic(s), 147, 149
- power, 148, 280
- merit(s)/providence/virtue, 23, 36–37, 88, 147, 221, 288
- taking refuge in, 28, 64, 147, 235, 252
- ten epithets, 28, 126, 143, 145, 312n220
See also Śākyamuni; Tathāgata
- Buddhabhadra, 183, 190
- Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. *See* Three Treasures
- buddhahood, 28, 44–45, 48, 117, 145, 166, 167, 169, 311n215
- buddha lands, 252
See also Pure Land
- buddha-nature, 28, 42, 90
- Buddhism, xx, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15–16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 33, 63, 64, 65, 80, 81, 83, 87, 88, 95, 96, 104, 106, 107, 122, 123, 124, 131, 134, 135, 136, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 155, 169, 175, 177, 178, 180, 181, 188, 190, 196, 197–198, 199, 201, 203, 204–205, 206, 207, 208, 212, 213, 218, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 231, 239, 244, 246, 247, 250, 252, 255, 261, 262, 279, 287, 289, 294, 297, 308n165
- adoption/transmission of, in China/Chinese, xx, xxi, 131, 149, 177, 196, 242, 295
- and Confucianism/Daoism, 14, 19, 27, 30, 80, 107, 108, 136, 140, 142, 150, 154, 155, 156–157, 180, 207, 225, 226, 253
- criticism/doubts/negative views of, xix, 15–17, 18, 33, 34, 61, 62, 136, 139, 147, 152, 227, 254, 296, 299n10
- six doubts about, xix, 290
- Hinayana, 113, 183
- Mahayana, 16, 31
- promulgation/protection of, xix, xx, 82, 107
- Buddhist(s), xx, xxi, 4, 15, 38, 52, 65, 98, 102, 105, 109, 115, 124, 134,

Index

Buddhist(s) (*continued*)

- 147, 156, 157, 175, 180, 181, 196,
197, 200, 218, 220, 223, 224, 229,
261, 289
- ceremonies/service(s), 38, 62, 205, 220,
221
- decorum/rules of conduct, 176, 198,
205
- images, 131, 136, 142, 145, 148
- lay/laypeople, xix, xx, xxi, 24, 82,
102, 134, 136, 145, 176, 177, 180,
199, 221, 235
- robes/surplice, 165, 221, 232
- pagodas/temples, xx, 16, 63, 131, 136,
145, 152, 227, 264, 295
- practice(s), 149, 159, 177
- precepts, 18, 185, 213, 225, 264
- Buddhist clergy/monk(s), xix, xx, 15–20,
24, 28, 29, 31, 34, 61–64, 82, 102,
132, 133, 135, 136, 145, 147–149,
165–167, 169, 172, 176, 177, 180,
182, 183, 190, 191, 194–196,
198–204, 212, 220–225, 227–229,
231, 232, 270
- See also bhikṣu(s); śramaṇa(s)*
- Buddhist Dharma, xix, 20, 32, 88, 132,
159, 185, 200, 202, 205, 206, 208,
223, 296
- See also Dharma*
- Buddhist edification/doctrine(s)/princi-
ples/teaching(s)/tenets, xix, xx, xxi,
14, 16, 17, 32, 37, 42, 79, 84, 85,
92, 99, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107,
117, 121, 123, 124, 127, 130, 132,
133, 135, 149, 159, 166, 168, 184,
188, 200, 201, 208, 212, 220, 227,
243, 248, 254, 261, 287, 290, 291,
293, 295, 296
- Buddhist order/sangha, xvi, 175, 220,
228, 235

- Buddhist scripture(s)/texts, xix, xxi, xxii,
4, 13, 15, 20, 24, 30, 31, 32, 38, 82,
93, 101, 103, 111, 118, 127, 128, 132,
138, 139, 144, 145, 149, 158, 160,
164, 169, 170, 187, 191, 218, 227,
229, 230, 235, 236, 254, 290, 291,
295, 296, 297, 310n194, 324n394
- nine kinds of, 106
- See also scripture(s); sutra(s)*
- Buddhist Way, 17, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 33,
35, 36, 37, 42, 85, 90, 96, 103, 105,
107, 108, 110, 115, 117, 128, 143,
144, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 166,
169, 175, 177, 178, 179, 181, 184,
185, 189, 195, 208, 213, 215, 219,
220, 221, 223, 225, 228, 230, 232,
232, 236, 240, 246, 248, 252, 255,
259, 260, 261, 266, 280, 289
- See also Great Way; Way, Buddhist/of
the Buddha/Śākyamuni/Tathāgata,*

C

- Cai Mao, 51
- Cai Zun, 96
- cakravartin*. *See* golden wheel king/
wheel-turning king
- Canon of Filial Piety*, 59, 66, 70, 71, 89,
113, 119
- See also Xiaojing*
- Cao, Lord, 169
- Cao Jingzong, 126–127
- Cao Mao, 29
- Cao Pi, 160
- Cao Siwen, 65, 68, 69, 74, 77, 111,
306n130, 308n164
- Cao state, 51
- causality/causation, xxi, 19, 99, 109, 132,
144, 207, 210, 239, 240, 251, 254,
263, 298
- See also karma/karmic; reward and
retribution*

- Celestial Thearch/Heavenly Thearch, 66, 68, 69, 277, 327n443
See also Five Thearchs; Supreme Thearch
- ceremonial cap/dress/gown(s)/robe, 30, 82, 94, 96, 102, 106, 110, 112, 115, 126, 181, 183, 191, 283
- ceremony(ies), 19, 30, 116, 118, 119, 120, 130, 192, 194, 203, 220–221, 227, 272, 292, 298, 316n294, 318n320
 five kinds of, 96, 122, 124
 sacrificial/of sacrifice, 79, 102, 103, 113, 257, 318n320
See also Buddhist, ceremonies/service(s); rite(s)/ritual(s)
- Chan, 195
- Chang'an, 10, 16, 32, 190, 193, 196, 296
- Changsha, King of, 81, 306n124
- Chaofu, 165
- Cheng, Emperor, 193, 194, 197
- Cheng, King, 134
- Chengdu, 313n246
- Chengju guangming dingyi jing*, 321nn355, 365
- Cheng Pu, 297
- Chenhua, 5
- Chen Ping, 242
- Chi Chao, 133, 235, 319n329
- Chifu, 262
- China, xx, 9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 30, 31, 38, 51, 89, 96, 120, 131, 133, 135, 139, 147, 149, 163, 165, 176, 177, 179, 183, 186, 187, 190, 196, 202, 204, 213, 242, 254, 273, 283, 285, 287, 290, 294, 295, 299n1, 326n431
- Chinese, xix, xx, xxi, 21, 24, 32, 120, 121, 135, 174, 177, 180, 183, 188, 189, 198, 200, 205, 207, 208, 212, 213, 221, 224, 254, 266, 290, 293, 294, 295, 299n3, 303n70, 316nn288, 291; 317n308, 321nn357, 358; 327n447
- character(s)/language, xxi, 20, 21, 23, 24, 30–31, 44, 51, 184, 190, 235, 251, 304n98, 305n106, 308n163, 310n191, 311nn203, 207; 312nn219, 229; 313n238, 314n240, 315n277, 317nn298, 304; 319n329, 321n353, 322nn372, 377; 323nn389, 392; 324nn399, 402; 325nn406, 409, 410, 415; 326nn417, 425; 327n443
- Chu area/state, 16, 59, 115, 137, 138, 223, 232, 242, 294, 295, 301n28, 314n258
- Ying (capital city), 263
See also Mount Chu
- Chu, Emperor Dowager, 30
- Chuiji, 59, 305n107
- Chu She, 193, 195, 198, 317n300
- Classics, 220, 295
See also Five Classics; Seven Classics; Six Classics
- Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism*, xix–xxii, 175, 307n140, 317n305
- Afterword, 289–298
See also Hongmingji; Sengyou
- Collection of Records Derived from the Tripitaka (Chusanjang jiji)*, xxi, 320nn336, 340; 321n352
See also Sengyou
- Confucian, 57, 62, 64, 107
 canon/teachings, 143, 169, 295
 robe/style of dress, 62, 232
 scholars, 35, 38, 119
See also Confucianism/Confucianist(s); Confucius
- Confucianism/Confucianist(s), 17, 27, 34, 62, 73, 86, 90, 102, 107, 140, 141, 144, 150, 179, 194, 197, 208, 212, 213, 214, 224, 226, 253, 295, 296, 307n149

Confucianism/Confucianist(s) (*continued*)
 and Buddhism, 19, 80, 107, 108, 136,
 140, 142, 150, 180, 225
 and Daoism, xix–xxi
See also nine schools
 Confucius, 24, 30, 31, 36, 38, 41, 59, 61,
 64, 67, 72, 76, 79, 80, 90, 97, 98,
 100, 107, 117, 118, 121, 123, 125,
 137, 139, 140, 169, 178, 179, 201,
 220, 230, 232, 261, 262, 294, 295,
 303n77, 307n147
 books/teachings/writings of, 81, 89,
 92, 109, 111, 118, 157, 200, 288,
 307n151
 cited/quoted, 34–35, 67, 71–72, 76,
 134, 206, 213, 307n141, 311n210,
 312n221, 316n297
 and the Duke of Zhou, 20, 59, 111,
 119, 138, 140, 142, 143, 145, 178,
 207, 210, 283, 288, 291
 and Taibo and Yuzheng, 15
 and Yang Huo, 58, 59, 60
 and Yao, 33, 265
 and Youzi, 31
 and Yuan Rong, 34
 and Zhong You/Zilu, 67, 72, 207
 and Zigong, 318n320
 and Ziyou and Zixia, 38
See also Canon of Filial Piety; Five
 Classics; *Spring and Autumn Annals*
 constellations/stars, 72, 144, 262, 267,
 268, 269, 271, 272, 277, 279, 285,
 288, 304n96, 323n384
 Big Dipper, 267, 268, 269
 Great Bear, 271
 Heavenly Banner, 274
 Milky Way, 12, 179, 290
 Nanji, 268
 North Polar/polar, 262, 277, 294
 Palace of the Purple Tenuity, 277
 Cultivated Talent (Xiucan), 168, 199

D

Danzhu, 61
 Danyang, 82, 106, 131
 dao/Dao, 51, 318n318, 319nn324, 326;
 325n411
 Daoan, xx, xxi, 176, 177, 183, 190, 296,
 325nn410, 414
 Daobao, 201
 Daobiao, 158, 159–160, 161–163,
 164–165, 175
Dao de jing, 117
See also Laozi; *Laozi/Laozi Dao de
 jing*
 Daogao, 137, 138–139, 141–143
 Daohan, 114
 Daoheng, 158, 159–160, 161–163,
 164–165, 175
 Daoism/Daoist teaching, xix–xxii, 4, 8, 13,
 14, 23–27, 37, 154, 155, 156–157,
 158, 253, 254, 299n1
See also nine schools; *wuwei*; *yin* and
yang
 Daoist(s), xxi, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 25, 26,
 27, 38, 156, 157, 254, 299n10
 monk(s)/priest(s), 10, 33, 34, 148
 school(s) and titles, xi, xxi, 9, 10–11,
 157, 254
 scripture(s), 4, 8, 101
See also *Dao de jing*; *Laozi/Laozi Dao
 de jing*; rite(s)/ritual(s); *yin* and *yang*
 Daosheng, 189, 191, 192, 232
See also Zhu Daosheng
 Daoxuan, xxii
Daozeng, 299n5
 defilement(s), 6, 25, 29, 31, 32, 45, 46, 47,
 89, 101, 105, 112, 124, 125, 155, 168,
 179, 232, 237, 239, 246, 259, 264,
 277, 279, 281, 283, 284, 285, 286
 Deer Park, 88, 139
 Deng Tong, 51

- Deng Xi, 64
- Devadatta, 125
- Dhammapada (Faju jing)*, 245, 310n199, 321n361
- Dharma, xix, 12, 24, 29, 32, 63, 64, 65, 86, 100, 101, 106, 107, 129, 130, 135, 140, 143, 150, 151, 154, 161, 163, 175, 185, 187, 188, 196, 198, 201, 220, 221, 224, 236, 264, 276, 286, 289, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296
- cloud(s), 96, 128, 296
- drum(s), 139, 181, 286
- gate, 30, 31, 92, 96, 137, 158, 163
- great, 105, 147, 159, 160, 168, 184, 188, 202, 203, 204, 230, 232, 237, 293
- profund/subtle, 23, 33, 289
- robe(s), 35, 159, 161, 164, 165, 180, 204, 208, 220, 221, 224
- sound, 42, 106, 142, 286
- teacher(s), 31, 87, 92, 93, 99, 101, 107, 108, 109, 116, 117, 123, 125, 126, 159, 162, 163
- three periods of:
- Decadent, 141, 233
 - Semblance, 119
 - True, 119, 123, 138, 139, 143, 285, 294
- wheel, 96, 107
- See also* Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha; Buddhist Dharma
- dharmakāya*, 145
- Dharma King, 273, 274, 275, 279, 280
- See also* Buddha
- Dharmarakṣaṇa. *See* Tanwuchen
- Dian, 65
- See also* Zeng Shen/Zengzi
- Dīpaṅkara, 139, 283, 311n215
- Discourse on Buddhist Laymen and Clergy (Baihei lun)*, 132
- See also* Huilin
- Discourse on Debating to Remove Hindrances (Bianho lun)*, 3–13
- See also* Xuanguang
- Discourse on Extinguishing Delusions*, 301n32
- See also* Liu Xie
- Discourse on the Achievement of Reality (Chengshi lun)*, 43
- Discourse on the Coexistence of Opposite Views (Fangsheng zhi lun)*, 118, 309n180
- See also* Zhuangzi
- Discourse on the Extinction of Man's Nature (Miexing lun)*, 129
- See also* *Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit*
- Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit (Shenmie lun)*, 48, 49–65, 68, 69, 70, 73, 79–80, 81, 82, 92, 94, 96, 111, 116, 130, 306n130, 131
- Cao Siwen's criticisms of, 65–68, 74–77, 306n130, 308n164
- See also* Fan Zhen/Zizhen
- Discourse on the Full Understanding of Life (Daxing lun)*, 132
- See also* He Chengtian
- Discourse on the Triple Destruction (Sanpo lun)*, 13–18, 20, 21–22, 23, 27–38, 299n10
- See also* Zhang Rong
- Discourse on the Way to Reach the Origin of the Two Teachings (Tangyuan lun)*, 156
- See also* Shaozi; Zhang Rong
- Discourse on the White Horse (Baima lun)*, 318n315
- Discourse on Why Śramaṇas Do Not Bow to the Sovereign (Shamen bujing wangzhe lun)*, 307n140, 317n305
- See also* Huiyuan

Index

Discourse to Clarify Buddhism (Mingfo lun), 132, 133, 148, 312n227

See also Zong Bing

Di tribe/tribespeople, 9, 10, 135, 314n264

Dong'an Temple, 190

Dongguan County, 13

Dongli, 127, 310n195

Dongyuan Gong, 314n251

See also four bright men

Duan Ganmu, 164

Du Bo, 48, 297, 327n444

Du Hui, 128

Dunhuang, 6

Du Wei, 163

Du Yi, 99

Du Zigong, 9

dynasty(ies), xxi, 75, 90, 105, 131, 138, 173, 190, 196, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 208

E

Eastern Jin dynasty, xix, xx, xxi, 6, 175, 177

See also Jin dynasty/state; Western Jin dynasty

Eastern Mountain, 267, 268, 269

See also Five Peaks/Five Sacred Mountains; Mount Tai

eighteen innocent people, 274, 325n413

Eight Executives, 199, 200, 202, 217, 218

eightfold holy path, 123, 150, 278, 283

eight difficulties, 32, 146, 251, 256

eight kinds of gods and demigods that protect Buddhism, 107

See also gods

eight worldly matters, 246, 321n357

elements:

four great, 253, 356

four small, 118

three great, 199, 207

See also six elemental energies

emptiness, 4, 16, 26, 91, 107, 119, 137, 176, 248, 249, 252–253, 260, 278, 282, 283, 286, 287, 289

contemplation on, 236, 251

four abodes of, 251

three kinds of, 274

enlightenment, 15, 35, 81, 92, 106, 125, 126, 129, 157, 160, 165, 167, 179, 231, 290

aspiration for, 236

path/way to, 123, 150, 178, 277, 278, 283, 289

right, perfect, 64, 156, 182

See also nirvana

Essentials for Believing in the Dharma, 175, 235–253

See also Chi Chao

existence(s), 4, 16, 36, 44, 62, 76, 101, 113, 119, 123, 126, 140, 146, 157, 163, 200, 213, 218, 221, 237, 243, 246, 249, 252, 252, 256, 259, 260, 282, 288, 297

former/previous, 35, 44, 61, 86, 89, 229, 238, 244, 246, 247

future/next, 142, 191, 209, 211, 240, 244

See also nonexistence; realm(s), of existence; three periods of existence

Explanation on Dispelling Delusions (Shizhi), 154

Extensive Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism, xxii

See also Daoxuan; *Guang Hongmingji*

F

Fajing, xxii

Faju piyu jing, 321n361

Falang, King, xviii

Family Code, 253

Faming, 137, 144, 148

- Fan Bolun/Fan Tai, 132, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191
- Fangxun, 58, 152, 179
See also Yao/Yao, Emperor
- Fan River, 173, 276
- Fan Shi, 102
- Fan Wang, 133
- Fan Xiaocai, 102–103
- Fan Xiu, 82
- Fan Zhen/Zizhen, 48, 49, 61, 67, 68, 73, 83, 86, 95, 102, 119
See also Secretariat Fan; Wulu Chongzong
- Fatie kanwu (Model Book for Errata)*, 319n329
See also Huang Bosi
- Faxian, 187
- Fayun, 80
- Fei Changfang, xxii
- Fengren, 262
- Feng Huai, 193, 195
- filial/filial piety, xxi, 15, 17, 18, 33, 35, 48, 59, 64, 66, 67, 71, 172, 79, 80, 85, 86, 87, 93, 95, 96, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 125, 127, 150, 151, 152, 171, 200, 207, 218, 219, 222, 236, 302n62, 312n230, 313n233, 324n401
See also Canon of Filial Piety
- First Emperor of the Qin dynasty, 4, 153
- fish(es), 42, 64, 148, 163, 182, 212, 236, 263, 265, 270, 272, 284, 285, 318n316, 326n420
kun, 265
See also animal(s)/beast(s)/creature(s)
- Five Classics, 21, 23, 108, 110, 114, 117, 124, 128, 290, 292, 295, 296
See also Book of Changes; Book of History; Book of Odes; Book of Rites; Seven Classics; Six Classics; Spring and Autumn Annals
- five desires, 101, 155
- five hindrances, 239, 319n331
- five kinds of afflictions, 46
- five kinds of disasters, 16, 300n14
- five kinds of happiness, 256, 323n381
- five kinds of principles of human relationships, 151, 197, 267, 313n233, 324n401
See also Confucianism/Confucianist(s)
- five paths, 238, 264
See also realm(s), of existence, five
- Five Peaks/Five Sacred Mountains, 121, 267, 269
See also Mount Heng/Huo; Mount Hua; Mount Song; Mount Tai
- five penalties, 35
- Five Powers, 138
See also Chu area/state; Jin dynasty; Qi dynasty; Qin dynasty/state; Song dynasty
- five rebellious acts, 3, 17
- five *skandhas*, 118, 239, 240, 252
- Five Thearchs, 18, 22, 23, 32, 105, 121, 138, 140, 143, 145, 178, 192, 294
See also Celestial Thearch/Heavenly Thearch; Shun, Emperor; Supreme Thearch; Yao/Yao, Emperor; Yellow Emperor
- Five Thousand Words*. *See* Dao de jing; Laozi/Laozi dao de jing
- Former Han dynasty, 16, 153, 170, 300n15, 317n308
See also Han dynasty; Later Han dynasty
- Foshuo Beijing chao*, 302n54, 314n254, 319n332
- Fotudeng, xxi, 33, 135, 149, 293
- four bright men, 164, 165, 314n251
See also Dongyuan Gong; Luli; Qili Ji; Xiahuang Gong
- four classes of people, 175

Index

- four continents, 107
four criminals, 242, 320n343
four evils, 273, 325n412
fourfold truths/Four Noble Truths, 129, 236
four fruits, 283
four great rivers/Four Holy Rivers, 176, 267
 See also Huai River; Ji River; Yangzi River; Yellow River
four immeasurable minds, 16, 236, 237, 245–246, 247, 252, 321n353
four kinds of evil attachments, 112
four methods of winning people over, 277, 283
four polar regions, 290, 291, 326n431
four seas, 169, 264, 294
four seasons, 79, 207, 246, 267
four stages of sainthood, 183
four subjects of learning, 38
four that are great, 92, 137, 224, 307n146, 311n211, 318n318, 319n322
four types of impermanent things, 248
four wicked ones, 152, 313n235
Fu, 242, 320n342
Fu Jian, 135
Fu Jing, 108
Futu. *See* Buddhism
Fuxi, 23, 293
Fu Yue, 51
Fu Yi, 295
- G**
- Gan Bao, 149
Gaṅgānadīvālukā, 281
Ganges River, 282, 283
Gaogui Xiang, Lord. *See* Cao Mao
Gaoseng Faxian zhuan, 315n280
Gaoseng zhuan, 312nn224, 225, 226; 316n290, 327nn438, 439
Gao Yao, 58, 60, 305n104
Gaozu, Emperor, 29, 58, 257
Ge Xuan, 25
god(s), 7, 28, 32, 63, 87, 105, 283, 293
 of the earth/land, 267, 271, 292
 Green God, 172
 Yellow God, 13
 See also eight kinds of of gods and demigods that protect Buddhism
golden wheel king/wheel-turning king, 107
Gonggong, 242
Gongsun Duan, 59
Gongsun He, 59
Gongsun Hong, 170
Gongsun Long, 308nn153, 154; 318n315
Gongsun Longzi, “Chapter on the White Horse (*Baima lun*),” 308n153, 318n315
Gongsun Qing, 4
Gongsun Zan, 173
Gongyang/Gongyang zhuan, 149, 307n151
 See also *Spring and Autumn Annals*
Grand Creator, 256
Grand One, 262
Grand Terminus, 8, 37, 157, 262
Grand Void, 45, 256, 291
 See also void/voidness
Great Awakened One, 143, 155
 See also Buddha
Great Law, 12
Great Mass of Nature, 177, 315n278
Great Pervader, 273, 325n411
Great Sage, 140, 141, 168, 259
 See also Buddha; Sage King
Great Way, 11, 25, 122, 167, 192
 See also Way
Guang Hongmingji, xxii, 325nn410, 414
Guangjing, 38

Guangwu, Emperor, 160, 163

Guan Ning, 160

Guanyou area, 296

See also Chang'an

Guanzhong, 10, 32, 193, 195

See also Shaanxi province

Guan Zhong, 58, 165

Guliang, 149

See also *Spring and Autumn Annals*

Gun, 120, 242, 257, 310n189

Guo Changzi, 217–218

Guo Jingchen, 9

Guo Pu, 148

Guo Wen, 133

Guo Wenju, 148

Gusou, 61

H

Handan, 129, 166, 167

Han dynasty, xix, xx, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 26, 29, 34, 51, 58, 102, 133, 134, 147, 163, 164, 165, 175, 178, 179, 196, 198, 259, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 299n2, 303n77, 307n149, 324n400

See also Former Han dynasty; Later

Han dynasty

Han Fei, 64, 243

Han Feizi, 305n116, 314n258

Hangu Pass, 21, 31

Han River, 130

Hao River, 118, 216, 217, 318n316

Heaven, 7, 8, 12, 14, 17, 19, 22, 25, 28, 29, 33, 42, 50, 51, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 80, 84, 85, 94, 98, 115, 118, 138, 146, 152, 157, 177, 199, 207, 218, 224, 231, 237, 241, 242, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 262, 264, 269, 271, 273, 276, 290, 292, 292, 300n23, 311n211, 313n234, 316n287, 318n318, 319n323, 324n393

correlate(s) of, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76

Gate of, 51, 70

Lord of, 11, 12, 259, 292

law/mandate/will of, 42, 60, 87, 192, 193, 269, 274, 275, 278, 323n381

movement(s) of, 166, 172

rebirth in, 25, 237, 238

sacrifice(s) to, 71, 72, 73, 292

son of, 34, 120, 175

See also Heaven and Earth; heaven(s); Way of Heaven

Heaven and Earth, 6, 22, 37, 49, 73, 79, 89, 92, 97, 99, 105, 136, 157, 161, 167, 173, 199, 206, 207, 211, 218, 219, 222, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 280, 282, 286, 300n18, 305n112, 317n303, 321n359, 324n399

heaven(s), 156, 251

Juntian (Melody Heaven), 66

nine, 66, 258, 268

Paranirmitavaśavartin, 26

Trāyastriṃśa, 285

Tuṣita, 62, 276

twenty-eight:

eighteen, of the realm of form,

322n375

four, of the formless realm, 322n375

six, of the realm of desire, 274, 281,

284, 292, 322n375

heavenly, 8, 36, 241, 249, 262, 271, 274,

275, 276, 278, 279, 283, 311n203

beings, 29, 32, 91, 98, 107, 109, 113,

129, 133, 137, 219, 221, 225, 238,

240, 246, 280, 283, 287, 311n203

bodies, 199, 218

drum, 4, 27

net, 36, 244

office, 8, 271, 272

palace, 279, 284, 297

Heavenly Master, 5, 9, 10, 23

See also Zhang Ling

Index

- Hebo, 288, 306n134, 326n429
He Chengtian, 132, 136
He Chong, 133, 175, 193, 195, 198, 199, 200, 202, 317n304
Hedong, 149
He Jiong, 103–104
hell(s), 7, 12, 64, 92, 238, 239, 240, 246, 258
 Avīci, 37, 47, 62
 eighteen, 258, 277
 of intense heat, 65
 of pincers, 13
 of sharp-pointed swords, 65
Henan province, 135, 177
 Deng and Fan areas, 123
Heng, 5
 See also Zhang Ling
Hengyang, 132
heretical, 79, 102, 112, 119, 289
 masters, six, 251
 schools, nine, 285
heretic(s), 38, 87, 93, 105, 123
He River, 322n380
He Shangzhi, 131, 137
heterodox/heterodoxy, 10, 81, 112, 113, 175
 schools, ninety-six, 147
hexagram(s), 103
 qian and *kun*, 37
 sixty-four, 109
 See also *Book of Changes*
He Yang, 108–109
He Zhun, 133
Highest Sage. *See* Buddha
Hinayana, 183, 187
Hongmingji, xxi, 303n66
 See also *Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism*
Houji, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 292
Hu, 33
Huai River, 114, 267
Huan, Duke, 303n63
Huan, Emperor, 295
Huan, King, 271, 306n124, 325n409
Huan, Lord, 58, 59, 288
Huandou, 242
Huang Bosi, 319n329
Huanglan, 265
Huangluozi jing (Sutra on Huangluo), 170, 325n407
Huangshu, 299n5
Huang Xian, 164
Huan Qian, 200, 201
Huan Wen, 325n409
Huan Xuan, 166–167, 175, 199–200, 201–202, 209, 214–216, 217–218, 222–223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 318n321, 319n325
Hu Hai, 16
Hui, 309n170
Huiguan, 187, 189, 192
Huilin, 132, 136
Huishi/Huizi, 309n180, 318n316
Huiwen, King, 305n107
Huiyan, 147, 148, 191, 217, 218, 222
Huiyi, 180, 183, 184–185, 186, 187, 188, 191, 192
Huiyuan, xx, xxi, 85, 134, 166, 167–168, 175, 227, 228, 307n140, 317n305
Huiyue, 81
Huns, 22, 135
hunters/hunting, 5, 179, 304n97
Hymn for the Hall of Happy Wise People (Lexiantang song), 178
- ## I
- icchantika(s)*, 84, 117, 125, 129
immortality, of the spirit, 81, 82, 84, 89, 97, 103, 111, 116, 117, 120, 121, 126, 127, 129
immortals, 261
 abode/realm of, 6, 34, 176

Imperial Response to His Subjects: The Examination of the Discourse on the Extinction of the Spirit, 79–80
 responses to, 80–130
 India/Indian, xx, 38, 44, 106, 120, 148, 202, 274, 294, 316n288
 identified as Shendu/Tianzhu, 148
Inner Section of the Mysterious and Sublime (Xuanmiao Neipan), 26
 insect(s), 24, 32, 55, 60, 64, 69, 79, 123, 245, 257, 269, 306n133
 cicada, 95, 120, 127, 310n190
See also animal(s)/beast(s)/creature(s)

J

Jambudvīpa, 117, 275
 Jeta, Prince, 160
 Ji, 41–48
See also Shen Ji
 Ji An/Ji Miao, 153
 Jian'an, 5, 193, 195
 King of, 81, 97, 100
 Jianchu Temple, 1, 148
 Jiangnan area, 228
 Jiangsu province, 5
 Jiangzuo area, 149, 190
 Jiang Chong, 299n2
 Jiankang, 96, 129, 183, 227
 Jiantuole, 293
 Jian Wu, 290
 Jiaozhou, 137, 218
 Jie, King, 72, 74, 75, 80, 125, 135, 280, 287
 Jie tribe, 135
 Jie Yu, 22, 301n28
 Jili, 15, 30
 Jilu, 71, 118, 137
See also Zilu
 Jin dynasty/state, xix, 26, 30, 50, 59, 99, 129, 136, 149, 164, 170, 173, 190,

193, 194, 195, 198, 288, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 314n264
See also Eastern Jin dynasty; Western Jin dynasty
Jingdu sanmai jing, 321n357
 Jing, Emperor, 16, 134
 Jing, Lord, 11, 136, 297, 327n445
 Jing, Marquis, 299n8
 Jingnan area, 133
 Jing River, 220, 228
 Jingzhou, 148
Jingzhuzi (Jingxing Famen), 156, 190
Jinji, 149
See also Gan Bao
 Jinqi Menxun, 135
Jinyangqiu, 149
See also Sun Sheng
 Ji River, 267
 Jizi (of Yanling), 66, 70, 74, 75

K

kalpa(s), 36, 96, 105, 123, 160, 169, 179, 200, 207, 209, 210, 211, 213, 219, 239, 244, 254, 258, 264, 274, 275, 281, 282, 290, 324n396
*bhadra*kalpa, 281
 Kang, King, 134
 Kang Falan, xxi
 Kapilavastu, 274
 karma/karmic, 11, 16, 36–37, 41, 101, 118–119, 120, 129, 144, 145, 150, 179, 219, 243–244, 250
See also causality/causation; reward and retribution
 King-Sire of the East (Dong wanggong), 268
 Kongōji Temple, 320nn336, 348
 Kongming, 163, 165
See also Zhuge Kongming/Liang
 Kong Zhigui, 149, 154–158

Index

Kou Qianzhi, 299n1
Kṣemaṃkara-pariprcchā (*Pusa shingdi jing*), 244
Kuai state, 285, 326n424
Ku, Emperor, 76
Kukkuṭuṭārāma, 138
Kumārājīva, 20, 31, 162, 164, 190, 296
Kunaichō Library, 315n277

L

Lalitavistara (*Puyao jing*), 251
Lantai, 295
Lao, Lord, 8, 9
Laozi, 21–22, 24–25, 30, 31, 33, 38, 41, 79, 101, 117, 155, 156, 200, 218, 224, 288, 294
quoted, 20, 27, 118, 157
See also Dao de jing; Laozi/Laozi Dao de jing
Laozi/Laozi Dao de jing, xx, xi, 199, 301nn33, 36; 302nn49, 52, 55; 307n146, 309n181, 311n211, 313nn240, 242; 314n260, 317nn298, 302; 319n326, 320n347, 322nn377, 379; 324n402, 326nn416, 417, 418
See also Dao de jing; Laozi
Later Han dynasty, 20, 23, 149, 160, 299n7
See also Former Han dynasty; Han dynasty
Later Qin dynasty, 158
See also Qin dynasty
Later Zhao dynasty, 33
See also Zhao dynasty/state
Legalist school, 64
See also nine schools
Li, Elder/Sir, 21, 25
See also Laozi
Li, King, 314n258
Liang dynasty, xix, 1, 41, 79, 87, 311n207

Liang Xiao. *See* Boyou
Li Bing, 57, 58
Lidai sanbaoji, xxii
See also Fei Changfang
Lie Yixuan, 315n281
See also Nanqiao, King of
Lie Yu, 173
Lie Yun, 89–90
Liezi, 293, 324n398, 325n403
Li Hong, 26
Liji, 301nn35, 42; 302nn59, 60; 306nn119, 123; 307nn135, 136, 144; 308nn162, 163; 309n184, 310nn187, 196; 316nn283, 294; 317nn299, 306; 318n317, 320n335, 326nn435, 437, 441
See also Book of Rites
Li Lao, 38, 155
See also Laozi
Li Lou, 130
Li Miao, 137, 139–140, 143–144
Lin brothers, 133
Linchuan, King of, 80
Ling. *See* Wen, Lord
Lingzhengji, 325n404
Liu Bei, 165
Liu Cheng, 90
Liu Jun. *See* Liu Shanming
Liu Qia, 109–110
Liu Shang, 11
Liu Shanming, 168, 169–170, 171–172, 173–174
Liu-Song dynasty, 7
See also Song dynasty
Liu Xiang, 149, 295
Liu Xie, 13, 301
Liu Yixuan. *See* Nanqiao, King of
Li Zhu, 27
Longmen, 171
Lord of Heaven, 11, 12, 259, 292
Lord of the Way, 8

- Lotus Sutra*, 17, 123, 138
 Lü, Empress Dowager, 257
 Luan Da, 11
 Lu Ao, 128
 Lu Cheng, 170
 Lu Chui, 115
 Lu Fu, 57, 304n99
 Lu Gao, 85–86
 Lǔ Jiang. *See* Lǔ Shang
 Luli, 314n251
 See also four bright men
 Lu Lian, 124–125
 Luo River, 3, 294
 Luoyang, 295
 Kaiyang Gate, 295
 Lu Qi, 51
 Lu Ren, 115
 Lǔ Shang, 51, 170, 171, 304n90
 See also Taigong Wang
 Lu state, 59, 139, 172, 232
 Lu Song, 9, 26
 Lu Xiuqing, 6, 9, 10–11
 Lu Xu, 87
- M**
- Ma Fan, 224
 Magadha, 138
 magic, 271
 formula, 6
 worm, 299n2
 Mahābhijñāñānābhibhū, 139, 274, 275, 283
Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, 26
Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, 26
Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya (Mohe sengqi lü), 185
 Mahayana, 16, 31, 155, 157
 scriptures/sutras, 187, 253, 283
 Maitreya, 128, 138, 140, 263, 277, 283
 Māṇava, 38, 139, 311n215
- Mañjuśrī, 277, 283
 Ma Ron, 21
 Ma Yuanhe, 112–113
 medicine, 14, 25, 85, 181, 244, 270
 meditation, 14, 19, 36, 105, 110, 112, 182, 229, 250, 251, 286
 couch/room/seat, 185, 190, 284
 eight kinds of, 101, 106, 126, 129, 283, 287
 four-stage/four stages of, 24, 278
 nine kinds of, 283
 seven kinds of, 129
 Mencius, 21, 72–73, 79, 97, 115, 192, 306n134
 Meng River, 173, 276
Mengzi, 150, 312n228
 merit(s)/meritorious, 5, 8, 10, 23, 25, 36, 45, 62, 64, 88, 136, 141, 147, 159, 163, 164, 167, 169, 172, 178, 190, 206, 229, 231, 236, 241, 243, 245, 246, 247, 251, 252, 276, 279, 280, 281, 284, 287, 288, 297, 327n437
Miaofa lianhua jing, 393nn69, 71; 310n194, 311n214, 312n216, 314n263
 Middle Way, 110
 See also nondual/nonduality
 Minchi, 135
 See also Henan province
 Ming, Emperor, 20, 23, 147, 149, 177, 178, 193, 295, 296
 Ming dynasty, 315n277
 Ming Shaobin, 117–119
 Minyue region, 3
 mirror, 73, 173, 281, 286, 288, 292, 327n447
 Mi Zixia, 65
 Mo Di, 64, 90
 Mohism/Mohist(s), 64, 140, 141, 143, 305n114
 See also nine schools

Index

- Moling county, 10
Moonlight Boy (Candraprabha), 177
Mount Chu, 314n258
Mount Heng, 267, 324n400
Mount Hua, 12, 267
Mount Huo, 267, 324n400
Mount Iron Surroundings (Cakravāḍa)
Mount Ji, 164, 166
Mount Jing, 167, 215
Mount Khadiraka, 284
Mount Langfeng, 176
Mount Lu, 166, 217, 227, 228
Mount Panchi, 293
Mount Ruoye, 164
Mount Song, 196, 267
Mount Sumeru, 264, 275, 276, 280,
324n394
Mount Tai, 7, 196, 267, 268, 271
Mount Taixing, 296
Mount Xuanque, 267, 268
Mount Yan, 3
Mount Yanzi, 173
Mount Yuntai, 5
See also Jiangsu province
Mount Zhongnan, 164
Mozi, 115
Mu, Duke of, 128
Mu, King, 293, 321n359
Mu. Lord, 66, 68, 69, 297, 327n443
music/musical, 8, 109, 114, 116, 118, 119,
124, 192, 255, 259, 261, 130n123,
316n294
compositions:
Shao, 261, 323n387
Xianchi, 255
of Juntian, 66, 68, 69
- N**
Nairāṅjanā River, 130
Nanqiao, King of, 178, 315n281
Nanyang, 177
See also Henan province
Nature, 62, 210, 211, 212, 256, 267, 268
law of, 219, 222
See also Great Mass of Nature
Nine August Ones/Nine Augusts, 22,
271, 301n30
Nine Murks, 5
nine schools, 141, 146, 225, 285
nirvana, 14, 23, 27, 96, 140, 223, 227, 246,
251, 288
of the Buddha/Tathāgata, 140, 251, 282
equated with death, 14, 27, 28, 301n32
as *wuwei*, 29, 227, 251, 260
Nirvana Sutra, 28, 123, 187, 243, 246, 251
Nobility of Heaven, 97, 308n152
Nominalist school, 64
See also nine schools
nonarising, 20, 176, 177, 187, 251, 254,
261, 278, 282, 288
non-Buddhist(s), xx, 98, 109, 124, 289
books/scriptures/text(s), xxi, 30, 82,
112, 127
teaching(s), 17, 24, 43, 84, 85, 98, 102,
115, 117, 127, 139, 225, 226, 228,
279, 319n324
schools, ninety-six, 112, 262
nondual/nonduality, 23, 30, 59, 85, 110,
124, 254
nonexistence, 16, 76, 79, 83, 101, 113,
237, 251, 260, 282, 288
See also existence
non-self, 157, 248, 249, 313n240,
325n412
Northern Sea, 129, 289, 315n274
Northern Song dynasty, 319n329
See also Song dynasty/state
Northern Wei dynasty, xx, 299n1
See also Wei dynasty
North Temple, 148

numinous, 4, 26, 30, 65, 254, 256, 258,
262, 281
being(s), 55, 71, 129, 255, 265, 268,
271, 292
transcendent, 9, 11

O

One, the, 14, 23
One Vehicle, 24, 32, 84, 101, 155
See also vehicle(s)

P

Pao Sheng, 312n219
Pāpīyas, 284, 287
pāramitās, 250, 278, 281
dāna-, 250, 299n6
six, 16, 128, 232, 250, 252, 287
Pengsheng, 59, 60, 102, 116, 120, 297,
305n111, 310n189, 327n444
Penzu, 38, 303n74
Perfect One. *See* Buddha
Pi Chen, 190, 316n292
Ping, Emperor, 303n77
power(s), 138, 148, 161, 172, 250, 275,
278, 285, 287
supernatural, 14, 22, 25, 38, 280, 284,
296
six, 278
ten, 36
three, 113, 121
Praise Odes of Lu, “Section on Pasture
(*Jiong*),” 260
See also *Book of Odes*
prajñā, 15, 121, 250, 286
See also wisdom
pratyekabuddhas, 260, 282
precepts, 18, 19, 26, 107, 123, 152, 155,
177, 184, 185, 186, 187, 189, 198,
213, 225, 227, 229, 232, 235, 237,
238, 250, 252, 255, 264, 284, 286,
292, 308n165

five, 134, 150, 196, 197, 235, 236,
258, 287
ten, 238, 244
two hundred and fifty, 185, 186
province(s), 51, 158, 179
Puban of Hedong, 149
Puqian. *See* four polar regions
Pure Awakened One. *See* Buddha
Pure Land, 91, 284
Purple Way, 7, 11
Pusa zhengzhai jing/Pusa zhaifu, 320n340
Puyao jing, 319nn330, 332

Q

Qi, 132
Qiang tribe, 135, 294
Qi dynasty/state, 16, 22, 58, 60, 102,
138, 149, 232, 242, 288, 301n29,
305n111, 323n387, 327n444
King/Lord of, 30, 102
Qili Ji, 314n251
See also four bright men
Qin dynasty/state, 4, 11, 16, 22, 153,
165, 243, 295, 296, 314n251,
318n319
See also Later Qin dynasty
Qingzhou, 168
Qin Jing, 295
Qiu Zhongfu, 130
Qi Xie, 265, 324n397
Qiyuan Temple, 182, 184, 185, 190, 191
Qiwulun, 314n262
Queen Mother of the West (*Xi wangmu*),
268
Que Gongze, 261

R

Rāmadatta, King, 33
Ran Boniu, 242
Rāṣṭrapāla, 261, 271

Index

realm(s) of existence:

five, 27, 123, 126, 128, 246, 249, 282, 283, 284, 297

six, 24, 92, 126

three, 20, 25, 33–34, 101, 146, 156, 238, 246, 249, 252, 256, 273, 283, 289

three lowest, 238, 256, 276, 281, 283

See also existence(s)

rebirth, 13, 14, 251

See also birth and death; transmigration

receptivity, 37, 120, 148, 171, 179, 293, 296, 297

Records of Minor Conquest (Lingzheng jì), 268

Red Eyebrows, 16, 300n15

Red Writing (Chizhang), 9, 12, 13, 33

See also talisman(s)

Renwang huguo boreholuomiduo jing, 323n384

reward and retribution, xxi, 119, 120, 122, 124, 129, 136, 144, 145, 178, 179, 204, 207, 213, 238, 240, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249, 251, 255

See also causality/causation; karma/karmic

rite(s)/ritual(s), 9–10, 17, 18, 48, 269

Daoist, xxi

canon/scripture of, 93, 104

Confucian, 62

of filial offering, 80

funeral, 113

instruments and images, 140, 142

Mud and Ash Fête, xxi, 9

Yellow Register Fête, 8

See also Book of Rites; Rites of Zhou

Rites of Zhou (Zhouli), 116

Rong tribe, 294, 314n264

Ruo, 289

Ruo River, 123

Ruoshi, 129

Ruyi, 257

S

Sadāprarudita, 4, 80, 275, 284

Sage, 33, 35, 38, 102, 120, 140, 142, 147, 186, 232, 287

See also Buddha; Great Sage; Śākya-muni

Sage King, 285, 311n211, 318n318

See also Buddha; four that are great

Śakra-devānām-indra, 283

Śākyamuni, 18, 19, 21, 27, 29, 33, 79, 119, 134, 137, 139, 182, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 223, 232, 274, 275, 278, 283

and Confucius, 24, 81, 92, 107, 117, 140, 178

and Laozi/Li Lao, 38, 117, 156

passing of, 27, 31, 208

teaching of, 24, 33, 35, 38, 42, 81, 92, 101, 115, 117, 132, 135, 137, 150, 295

See also Buddha; Sage

śāla trees, twin, 21, 27

Samghadeva, 187

Sanfu area, 32

Saṅkha, 138

Sanmiao, chief of, 242

See also four criminals

Sanskrit, 23, 325n414

Śāriputra, 232

school(s), 26, 38, 64, 102, 15, 117, 121, 147, 187, 262

Buddhist/of Śākyamuni, 137, 157, 220

Confucian/of Confucius, 107, 137

Daoist, xxi, 9, 157, 254

heterodox/non-Buddhist, ninety-six, 112, 147, 262

nine, 141, 146, 225, 285

six, of philosophy, 64

- School of Changes, 157
See also Daoism/Daoist teaching; nine schools
- scripture(s), 4, 8, 22, 24, 25, 26, 38, 66, 73, 86, 87, 93, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 120, 121, 126, 129, 130, 136, 140, 146, 187, 196, 229, 235, 247, 255, 270, 295, 302n43, 320n340, 324n395
- Buddhist, xix, xxi, 4, 13, 15, 20, 24, 30, 31, 32, 38, 93, 101, 103, 106, 107, 109, 111, 118, 127, 128, 132, 138, 139, 144, 145, 149, 158, 160, 164, 169, 170, 187, 191, 218, 227, 229, 230, 236, 254, 255, 290, 291, 295, 296, 297, 310n194, 324n394
- twelve kinds of, 235
- Chinese, 121, 321n357
- Daoist, 4, 8, 101
- classical, 93, 95
- foreign, 265
- non-Buddhist, 30
- See also* sutra(s)
- Scripture on the Clean and Pure Dharma Practice (Qingjing faxing jing)*, 38, 303n70
- Secretariat Fan, 65, 74, 95, 111, 306n130, 308n164
See also Fan Zhen/Zizhen
- Seeking Fame (Qiuming), 123, 310n194
- Senghui, 10, 20
- Senglüe, 162, 164, 165, 166
- Sengqian, 162, 163, 164, 314n240
- Sengshun, 27
- Sengyan, 168–169, 170–171, 172–173
- Sengyou, xix–xx, xxii, 1, 289, 315n277, 320n336
- sense objects, six, 313n238
- sense organs, six, 57, 239–240, 263, 264
See also six desires
- senses, 57, 199, 201, 317n305
- seven apertures, 56, 58, 69, 305n105
- Seven Classics, 144, 145
See also Five Classics; Six Classics
- seven symptoms, 259, 323n384
- seven treasures, 177, 264, 324n396
- sexual behavior/practices/relations, 6, 10, 39, 236, 237
- Shaanxi province, 10, 32
 Yangpeng area, 38
- Shan Bao, 27
- Shan county, 164
- Shandong province, 11, 149
- Shang dynasty, 75, 105, 138, 280, 287, 291
See also Yin dynasty
- Shangjun, 152
- Shangqing (Supreme Purity) school, 26
- Shangshu*, 300n24, 307n148, 320n343, 327n436
See also *Book of History*
- Shang Yang, 22
- Shanhai jing*, 311n204, 325n408
See also *Book of Mountains and Seas*
- Shaohao Jintian, Emperor, 104
- Shaozi. *See* Zhong Rong
- She, Duke of, 316n297
- Shen Gun, 99–100
- Shen Hong, 128–129
- Shen Ji, 41, 97–98
See also Ji
- Shenman jing (Śrīmālādevīsīmhanāda-sūtra)*, 157
- Shen Nong, 23, 293, 301n30
See also Three Augusts
- Shentu Jia, 233
- Shi, 263, 323n391
- Shi Baolin, 281
- Shi family, 33
- Shi Hu, 33, 135, 149

Index

- Shiji*, 300n12, 302n44, 304nn90, 94, 95, 99, 102; 305nn103, 105, 107, 114, 115; 306n117, 311n210, 312n232, 313n236, 314n250, 315n272, 320nn341, 344; 323n382, 327nn443, 444, 446
- Shijing*, 300n23, 302nn57, 58; 304n101, 309nn178, 185; 326n427, 327n434
See also Book of Odes
- Shi Le, 33, 149
- Shi Yu, 80
- Shizu. *See* Wu, Emperor
- Shu, 163
- Shudu. *See* Huang Xian
- Shujing*, 304n100, 309nn172, 177; 316n284
See also Book of History
- Shun, Emperor, 6, 18, 35, 58, 59, 60, 61, 76, 87, 109, 152, 261, 294, 305n104, 318n319, 323n381
See also Five Thearchs; Yao and Shun
- Shuxiang, 314n264, 320n342
- Shuyu. *See* Fu
- Sichuan province, Ba Shu area, Min region, 11
- Si Dai, 59
- Sima Jiong, 129–130
- Sima Yun, 98–99
- Sishierzhang jing*, 322n368
- Sivi, King, 171
- six barbarian tribes/groups of barbarians, 32, 204, 206
- Six Classics, 132
See also Five Classics; Seven Classics
- six coverings, 111, 284, 285, 308n165
- six desires/six feelings, 236, 239, 279
See also sense organs, six
- six dusts, 122, 146
- six elemental energies, 121, 310n191
- six extreme evils, 256, 323n381
- six kinds of dreams, 52, 304n96
- six kinds of hindrances, 155, 313n238
- six relations, 166, 219, 222
- Sizi Palace, 299n2
- snake(s), 60, 238, 262, 268, 270
python(s), 5, 9, 268, 270
vipers, 238
See also animal(s)/beast(s)/creature(s)
- Song dynasty/state, 21, 131, 138, 147, 297, 301n27, 315nn277, 281
See also Liu-Song dynasty; Northern Song dynasty
- sorcerers/sorcery, 146, 148
- South Mountain. *See* Mount Heng
- South Sea, 315n274
- spirit(s), 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 24, 27, 35, 41, 43, 48, 49–50, 51–52, 53, 55–61, 65–76, 83–86, 88, 90, 94, 96, 100, 104, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 118, 120, 124, 127, 129, 132, 134, 146, 148, 153, 183, 186, 191, 197, 201, 207, 213, 215, 216, 236, 241, 252, 254–258, 261, 262, 268–269, 272, 274, 275, 279, 289, 291, 292, 304n98, 305n110, 308n158, 310n200, 327n444
- ancestral/of ancestors, 12, 67, 73, 76, 119, 124, 125, 127, 128
- corpus, 5, 299n4
- disembodied, 12, 17, 48, 60, 71, 113, 119
- divine/holy/virtuous, 109, 179, 271
- evil/mischievous/vicious, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 26, 98, 257, 268, 270, 272, 275, 299n4
- exquisite, 43, 44, 123
- immortality/imperishability/permanence of, 41, 43, 79, 81, 82, 84, 89, 92, 97, 102, 111, 117, 120, 121, 126, 127, 129, 256
- characteristics/essence/origin/nature of, 41, 87, 90, 119, 124

- extinction/extinguishment/perishing
 of, xvii, xix, xxi, 41, 43–44, 48, 49,
 52, 59, 61, 65–66, 67, 68–69, 70,
 74, 75, 76, 84, 85, 89, 95, 102, 104,
 106, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118,
 119, 123, 125, 126, 127
 tablet, 104, 310n187
 transmigration of, xix, 249, 289, 290,
 291, 297
See also Way of the Spirit/Way of
 Spiritual Beings
 spiritual, 3, 10, 12, 13, 31, 101, 118, 225,
 261, 275, 278, 279, 287, 291, 297,
 consciousness/energy/intelligence, 6,
 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 114, 116, 118, 125
 darkness, 13, 97, 128
 officers, 8, 10, 12
 soldier(s), 3, 8, 10, 12
 spiritual being(s), 9, 12, 26, 60, 116, 118,
 119, 120, 121, 124, 146, 151, 204,
 238, 248, 260, 291, 308n157
Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu
jing), 97, 149
See also Five Classics
 Spring and Autumn era, 287, 295
śramaṇas, xx, 19, 30–32, 35, 58, 61, 63,
 133, 147, 166, 175, 180–182, 184,
 185, 188, 189, 200, 201, 203, 205,
 206, 208–210, 212, 215, 218–220,
 222–224, 226, 227–232, 295
 and bowing to the king, 175, 193–194,
 196, 198–205, 207–210, 215, 217,
 221–226
See also Buddhist(s), clergy/monk(s)
 Śrīmitra, 190
 Sudāna, Prince, 299n6
 Śuddhodana, King, 233
 Sui dynasty, 324n400
 Sun Bin, 57, 304n99
 Sun Chuo, 133
 Sun En, 3, 6, 7, 9, 26
 Sun Jian, 306n124
 Sun Quan, 147, 295
 Sun Sheng, 149
Sunshine, 175, 255–266
 Sun Yi, 105–106
 Sunzi, 11, 237
 Supreme One. *See* Buddha
 Supreme Thearch, 67, 71, 76, 178, 292
 See also Celestial Thearch/Heavenly
 Thearch; Five Thearchs
 sutra(s), 29, 30, 43, 44, 45, 47, 150, 177,
 184, 185, 239, 240, 246, 247, 248,
 249, 251, 252, 253, 288, 303n70,
 321nn352, 353, 358, 361; 326n428
 See also scripture(s)
Sutra of the Twelve Gates (Shierman
jing), 240, 244, 320nn336, 348
Sutra on the Complete Accomplishment
of the Light Samādhi (Chengju
guangming dingyi jing), 245, 246
Sutra on the Formal Purification (Zheng-
zhai jing), 242
Sutra on the Seven Buddhas (Qi fo jing),
 147
Sutra on the Virtue of a Wise Person
(Xianshede jing), 245
 Suzu. *See* Ming, Emperor
 sword(s), 29, 51, 52, 65, 74, 75, 151,
 258, 264, 272, 276, 286, 306n131,
 312n232
 Ganjiang, 286
 Kunwu, 8
 that can cut jade (*kunyu*), 265, 324n398
- T**
 Taibo, 15, 30
 Taigong Wang/Lü Shang, 51, 170
 See also Lü Jiang
Taiping yulan, 304n89, 306n124
 Taishi era, 16

Index

- Taishō canon/*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*,
xxii, 311n206, 320n340, 321n355,
322n367
- Taiwu, 297, 327n445
- Taiyuan. *See* four polar regions
- Taiyuan era, 325n409
- Taizi ruiying benqi jing*, xxii, 123, 213,
246, 250, 301n38, 303nn72, 79;
310nn192, 197; 311n215, 321nn353,
357, 361; 322nn366, 371
- Taizi Xudana jing*, 299n6
- talisman(s), 8–9, 12, 23, 25, 146, 148
huangshen and *yuezhang*, 13, 299n9
- Tang dynasty, 299n1
- Tangfu village, 165
- Tang, King, 23, 59, 65, 72, 74, 75, 280,
283, 287, 291, 305n115, 318n319
See also Three Augusts
- Tang/Tang Yao, 75, 87, 114, 166
See also Tao Tang; Yao/Yao, Emperor
- Tanwuchen, 133
- Tao Tang, 194, 231, 295
See also Tang/Tang Yao; Yao/Yao,
Emperor
- Tathāgata, 36, 64, 85, 124, 138, 140, 177,
178, 184, 221, 259–260, 281–283,
288, 312n220
See also Buddha
- ten directions, 82, 176, 235, 273, 276,
279, 283
- ten evil acts, 238
- ten wholesome acts, 107, 134, 150,
237–238, 250, 251, 258
See also precepts, ten
- Three Augusts, 18, 22, 23, 32, 37, 118,
121, 138, 140, 143, 145, 178, 268,
283, 294
See also Tang, King; Wu, King; Yu,
King
- Three Communicating Agencies, 271,
283, 326n419
- threefold refuge, 235
- three great elements (Heaven, Earth, and
the Way), 199, 207, 218
- Three Kings/three sovereigns, 22, 120,
192, 291, 294, 316n294
- three most revered people (ruler, father,
and teacher), 204, 206, 215, 216, 218
- Three Offices, 8, 12
- three periods of existence, xix, xxi, 25,
33–34, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88,
100, 103, 113, 118, 120, 122, 124,
125, 126, 127, 132, 139, 140, 142,
144, 145, 147, 178, 179, 207, 244,
253, 264, 290, 291, 292, 297
- three revered ones. *See* Three Treasures
- three sages, 79, 109, 117, 119, 122
See also Confucius; Laozi; Śākyamuni
- three teachings, 253
See also Buddhism; Confucianism;
Daoism
- three transcendental knowledges, 96, 184,
259
- Three Treasures, xix, 3, 124, 148, 150,
160, 221, 228, 231, 236
- Tianbo Temple, 232
- Tian Chou. *See* Zitai
- Tianzhu. *See* India
- titles (Buddhist/Confucianist/Doaist):
- Attendant of Scriptures, 10
 - Bandit of Ants, 10
 - Bandit of Grain, 10
 - Capped Female Officials, 10
 - Concubine, 11
 - Controller of Wine, 10
 - Daoist Priest, 10
 - Deficient of the Way, 10
 - Dharma Master, 10
 - Dharma Master of the Three Grottoes,
10
 - Dharma Preacher, 10
 - Family of the Grain, 10

Father of the Way, 10
 General of Five Profits, 11
 Heavenly Master, 10
 Heir Master, 10
 King of the Transcendent Lord, 10
 Learned Elder(s), 10, 11
 Libationer, 10
 Lord of Earth, 11
 Lord of Heaven, 11
 Man of the Way, 10
 Master of the Three Daughters, 10
 Mother of the Way, 10
 People of the Grain, 10
 People of the Way, 10, 11
 Spiritual Lord, 10
 Succeeding Master, 10
 Supervisor of Merit, 10
 Teacher of Spiritual Beings, 11
 True Lord's Seed People, 10
 Vassal, 11
 Woman of the Way, 10
 Tiyang, 89, 302n232
 transmigration, 27, 36, 141, 146, 219, 240,
 246, 248, 256, 264, 289, 292, 297
See also birth and death; rebirth
 Tungusic tribe, 135
 two polarities, 105, 157, 199, 218, 262,
 267, 269, 282
See also Heaven and Earth

U

udāna, 129, 265
 Ultimate Source (Benyuan), 273

V

Vaiśālī, 164
Vaiśeṣika (Weishi), 106
 Vaiśravaṇa, 272
vajra, 272, 278
 Vajragarbha, 276, 281

vapor(s), 10, 133, 248, 257, 267, 268, 269
 foul/poisonous/of vicious sprits, 268,
 270, 272
 life-giving, 206
 primordial, 267, 324n399
 yin-yang, xxi, 218, 256
 Vasudhāra, 284
 vehicle(s), 155, 260
 three, 124, 219, 260, 283
 two, 159, 282
 See also One Vehicle
 Vimalakīrti, 44, 85, 157, 164, 276
Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra, 17, 138, 144,
 248, 251
 Vimuktīcandra, 276, 281
 Vinaya, xix, 185, 229
 text(s), 150, 184, 185
 Vipāśyin, 147
 void/voidness, 9, 25, 155, 325n411
 See also Grand Void
 Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakuṭa), 109, 130,
 138, 160

W

waiting by a stump, metaphor of, 189
 Wang Bin, 87
 Wang Dao, 133
 Wang Fu, 22
 Wang Gai, 255
 Wang Gong, 133
 Wang Gongqi, 9
 Wang Hong, 182, 189, 192
 Wang Jian, 87, 88–89
 Wang Jīng, 113–115
 Wang Jun, 51
 Wang Lin, 103
 Wang Lingqi, 10, 11
 Wang Mang, 300n15
 Wang Mao, 90–91
 Wang Meng, 133

Index

- Wang Mi, 138, 201, 202–203, 205–209, 211–214, 216–217
- Wang Qi, 100
- Wang Sengru, 94
- Wang Sengshu, 116–117
- Wang Shu, 258
- Wang Tai, 95
- Wang Tanzhi, 133
- Wangxiang, 138, 311n212
- Wang Xiang, 170, 171
- Wang Yi, 57, 58, 94–95
- Wang Ying, 82
- Wang Yuan, 133
- Wang Yun, 104–105
- Wang Zhenguo, 126
- Wang Zhi, 83
- Wang Zhongxin, 96–97
- Wang Zhou, 169
- Warring States period, 16, 21, 137, 294, 295, 301n27, 308n154, 318n315
- Water Transcendents, 3, 7
See also Sun En
- Way, xix, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10–11, 13, 14, 15, 22–25, 35, 38–39, 42, 80, 87, 88, 92, 104, 109, 112, 115, 117, 125, 134, 137, 141, 157, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 172, 176, 177, 182, 189, 199, 202, 204, 207, 208, 209, 211–213, 216, 218, 224, 226, 228, 240, 250–254, 261–263, 267–272, 274, 279, 280, 292, 294, 311nn208, 211
correct/right/true, 8, 33, 116, 167, 271
of filial piety, 17, 86, 87, 93, 95, 100
fundamental, 219, 222
highest, 23, 24, 109, 113, 118, 146, 212
profound/subtle, 118, 103
ultimate, 104, 105, 112, 166, 177, 213, 214, 253, 255, 262
Buddhist/of the Buddha/Śākyamuni/
Tathāgata, 17, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 33, 35–37, 42, 85, 90, 96, 103, 105, 107, 108, 110, 115, 117, 120, 128, 139, 143, 144, 157, 159, 160, 164, 166, 169, 175, 177–179, 181, 184, 185, 189, 194, 195, 208, 209, 213, 215, 218–223, 225, 228, 230–232, 236, 240, 246, 248, 252, 255, 259–261, 265, 266, 275, 280, 282, 283, 288, 289
See also Great Way
- Way of Heaven, 6, 94, 106, 109, 122, 123, 307n147
- Way of the Celestial Master, xxi
- Way of the Divine Transcendents, 34, 254
- Way of the Eastern Mountain, 268
- Way of the Five Pecks of Grain, xxi, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25
- Way of the Spirit/Spiritual Beings/Spiritual Intelligence, 7, 10, 19, 41, 48, 106, 118, 135, 194, 196, 207, 223, 227, 247, 255, 258, 267, 269
- Wei dynasty/kingdom/period/state, 198, 201, 295, 318n319
See also Northern Wei dynasty
- Wei Ke, 128, 191, 309n174, 316n293
- Weimojie jing*, 322nn364, 376, 378
- Wei, Prince, 299n2
- Wei River, 135, 220, 228
- Wei Rui, 101
- Wei Shidu, 261
- Weimojie suoshuo jing*, 303n80, 307nn138, 139; 311n213, 312n218, 313n240, 324nn394, 395, 396; 326n422
- Wei Zhi, 171, 315n267
- Wen, Duke, 128
- Wen, Emperor:
of the Han dynasty, 51, 134, 178
of the Song dynasty, 131, 188
of the Sui dynasty, 324n400

- Wen, King, 59, 67, 70, 76, 314n258
 of the Wei kingdom, 160
 of the Zhou dynasty, 118, 180
- Wen, Lord:
 of Jin state, 288
 of Wei state, 164
- Wenxuan, King, 149, 312n227
- West/Western region, 135, 137, 138
- Western Jin dynasty, xx, 311n207
See also Eastern Jin dynasty; Jin dynasty/state
- wheel, golden, 96
See also Dharma, wheel
- wheel-turning king, 138
- White Horse Temple (Baimasi), 123
- White Tiger Library (Baifuguan), 107
- wisdom, 8, 14, 23, 24, 25, 38, 41, 57, 84,
 96, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110,
 116, 140, 141, 150, 171, 173, 225,
 250, 264, 266, 278, 280, 286, 289,
 292, 294, 296, 308n158
- axe of, 274, 277, 278
- highest, 15, 120
- seven factors of, 104, 283
- sunlike, 112, 128
- transcendental, 105, 155, 187, 260
See also *prajñā*
- Wu (wife of Sun Jian), 306n124
- Wu, Emperor, xx, 178, 193, 295, 318n319
 of the Former Han dynasty/Han
 dynasty, 4, 11, 153, 295, 299n2,
 324n400
- of the Liang dynasty, 41–42
- of the Liu-Song dynasty, 7
- of the Qi dynasty, 232
- of the Song dynasty, 147, 315n281
- Wu, King, 23, 72, 73, 74, 75, 114, 118,
 120, 280, 283, 287, 291, 300n14,
 314n258
See also Three Augusts
- Wu area/region/Wu County, 3, 6, 10,
 294, 148
- Wu Ding, Emperor, 51, 295
- Wugang, 202
- Wu kingdom/state, 30, 50, 51, 66, 70,
 147, 295, 304n326
- Wuling, 164
- Wulu Chongzong, 95, 307n149
See also Fan Zhen/Zizhen
- wuwei* (nonaction), 27, 32, 62, 283, 294,
 319n326
 as nirvana, 29, 227, 251, 260
- Wuxing, 41
- Wuzhong area, 30
- Wuzi, 137
- X**
- Xi, 242
See also Yangshe Xi
- Xia dynasty, 72, 75, 80, 90, 105, 135,
 138, 280, 287, 291, 294, 318n319
- Xia Ge, 291
- Xiahuanggong, 314n251
See also four bright men
- Xiang, Prince, 154, 158
- Xiang, Viscount, 173
- Xiang Ji, 59, 59, 60
- Xiangwang. *See* Wangxiang
- Xiangyang, 178, 183
- Xiang Yu. *See* Xiang Ji
- Xianyuan tribe. *See* Huns
- Xiao Ang, 92–93
- Xiao Bing, 84
- Xiao Chen, 48–49, 70, 86
- Xiao Hong, 81
See also Linchuan, King of
- Xiaojing*, 59, 300n11, 302n62, 305n109,
 306nn120, 125, 126; 309nn167,
 168; 312n230
See also Canon of Filial Piety

Index

- Xiao Mi, 93–94
Xiao Misu, 106–107
Xiao Mozhi, 131, 132, 136
Xiaopin boreboluomi jing, 326n423
Xiao Wei. *See* Jian'an, King of
Xiao Yuanye, 81
Xiao Ziliang, 154
Xie Chuo, 101–102
Xie Fu, 133, 163, 164
Xie Guang, 193, 194–195
Xie Ju, 111–112
Xie Lingyun, 132
Xie Shang, 133
Xi Zaochi, 1176–178
Xie Zhong, 217
Xi He, 259
Xi Ke, 129
Xiuxing benqi jing, 301n39, 314n261,
321nn357, 261
Xuan, King, 48–49, 135, 180, 327n444
Xuanguang, xxi, 3
Xuanni, 41, 303n77
See also Confucius
Xuanyuan, 58, 104
See also Yellow Emperor
Xuanzhong ji, 325n407
Xu Fu, 4
Xu Gun, 88
Xu Mian, 84–85
Xunzi, 300n14
Xu You, 163, 164, 165, 166
- Y**
- Yama, 64, 258, 271
Yan family, 308n158
Yangdu, 1
Yang Huo, 58, 59, 60
Yangshe, 242
Yangshe Xi, 320n342
See also Xi
- Yan Guangi Ziling, 160, 163
Yang Xuanbao, 137
Yangzhou, 125
Yang Zhu, 90
Yangzi, 115
Yangzi River, 114, 130, 267, 294
Yan Hui, 242, 262
Yan Junping, 163, 313n246
Yanling, 66, 70, 74, 75
Yan region/state, 16, 115
Yan Shan, 127–128
Yan Yannian/Yan Yanzhi, 132, 253
Yan Yuan, 231
Yan Zhizhi, 110–111
Yanzi, 299n8
Yao/Yao, Emperor, 33, 35, 58, 61, 76,
104, 114, 152–153, 164, 165, 166,
179, 231, 265, 295, 300n24,
303n74, 313n235, 318n319,
319n328, 326n424
See also Fangxun; Five Thearchs;
Tang, Emperor; Tang/Tang Yao; Tao
Tang; Yao and Shun
Yao and Shun, 18, 23, 58, 75, 137,
179–180, 283, 295
See also Shun; Yao/Yao, Emperor
Yao Lüe, 149, 175
Yao Xian, 159
Yao Xing Zhilue/Ruler Yao, 158–159,
160–161, 162–163, 164
Ye, 135
Yellow Books (Huangshu), 6, 9, 25, 299n5
Yellow Emperor, 58, 76, 104, 124, 138,
155, 156, 255, 318n319
See also Five Thearchs; Three
Augusts; Xuanyuan
Yellow River, 3, 23, 135, 163, 189, 267,
288
Yellow Turbans, 7, 210
Yi, Lord, 64

Yijing, 300n20, 305nn110, 112, 113;
 307nn143, 150; 308nn155, 156,
 158; 309n166, 313n241, 315n273,
 316n285, 317n310, 318n312,
 320n334, 323nn388, 390; 327n433
See also Book of Changes
Yili (Ceremonies for Courtesy), 19
 Yin dynasty/state, 51, 64, 72, 80, 90,
 135, 181, 280, 287, 297, 300n14,
 305n105, 318n319
See also Shang dynasty
yin and *yang*, 6, 10, 37, 39, 55, 267, 268,
 325n403
 vapor(s), xxi, 256
 See also Daoism
 Yin, Prince, 34, 278
 Ying (city), 70, 263, 323n391
 Ying, King, 16, 295, 304n86
 Ying River, 166
 Yin Ji, 133
 Yin Jun, 6, 122
 Yin Zhongwen, 215
 Yi River, 294
 Yi tribe, 9, 10, 294
 Yixi era, 9
 Yiyang, 200
 Yi Yin, 64, 305n115
 Yongjia, 131, 132
 Yongping era, 179
 Youruo/Youzi, 31
 You Yu, 19, 116, 153
 Yu, 51
 Yu, Emperor/King, 16, 120, 183, 291,
 294, 295, 318n319
 See also Three Augusts
 Yuan Ang, 83–84
 Yuan dynasty, 315n277
 Yuan, Emperor, 295, 307n149
 Yuan Gui, 116
 Yuan Rang, 34
 Yu Bing, 193, 194–195, 199, 200, 202

Yu Chan, 85, 178
 Yu Daosui, 133
 Yue region, 51, 181
 Yuezheng Zi Chun, 95
 Yu Falan, 133, 148, 261, 312n225
 Yu Heng, 215, 217
 Yu Liang, Lord, 175
 Yu Qianlou, 119–121
 Yu Rang, 173
 Yu Tanlong, 93
 Yu Yong, 91–92
 Yu/Yu Shun, Emperor, 75, 76, 87,
 152–153
 See also Shun, Emperor
 Yu Yuangui, 133
 Yuzhang, 92, 99, 104
 Yuzhong, 15

Z

Zai Kai, 164
 Zang Wen Zhong, 33, 294n86
 Zeng Shen/Zengzi, 31, 64, 65, 80
Zengyi ahan jing, 302n51, 321n353
 *See also Collection for the Propaga-
 tion and Clarification of Buddhism*
 Zhan family, 135
 Zhang Chang, 201, 317n308
 Zhang family, 148
 Zhang Fan, 125
 Zhang Jia, 57, 58
 Zhang Jiao, 9, 26
 Zhang Liang, 58
 Zhang Ling, 5–6, 9, 24, 25, 34
 Zhang Lu, 3, 9, 10, 25
 Zhang Mian, 122–124
 Zhang Rong, 27, 156, 299n10
 Zhang Xin'an, 179–180
 Zhang Xuan, 133
 Zhang Yi, 27
 Zhang Yuanbo, 102

Index

- Zhang Zi Lu, 7, 9, 10, 11
Zhao, King, 305n107
Zhao, Lord, 172
Zhao Ding, 57, 58
Zhao dynasty/state, 16, 173, 305n107, 308n153, 318n315
 See also Later Zhao dynasty
Zhao Jianzi, 50, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 297, 327n443
Zhan Qin, 172
Zheng Daozi/Zheng Dun, 180–181
Zheng state, 49, 59, 60, 128, 233
Zheng Xuan, 21
Zhenzongjie (Admonitions on the Pillow), 269, 325n405
Zhi, 125
Zhibo, 37, 173
Zhi Daolin, 230, 319n325
Zhi Dun, xx, 261
Zhong ahan jing, 321n358
Zhongchu, 85
 See also Yu Chan
Zhonghua, 58, 180
 See also Shun, Emperor
Zhongjing mulu, xxii
Zhongni. *See* Confucius
Zhongrong, 270, 325n408
Zhongyong, 30, 119
Zhong You, 207
 See also Zilu
Zhou, Duke of, 21, 66, 70, 71, 80, 98, 114, 115, 120, 138, 140, 145, 172, 178, 291–292
 and Confucius, 20, 59, 111, 119, 142, 143, 145, 207, 210, 283, 288, 291
 and Houji, 66–67, 70, 72
 and King Wu, 114, 120, 291–292
Zhou, King, 72–73, 74, 75, 80, 135, 280, 287, 300n14, 305n105
Zhou Dan, 67, 72, 120
 See also Zhou, Duke of
Zhou Dang, 163
Zhou dynasty, 21, 30, 41, 48, 72, 75, 90, 105, 118, 134, 135, 138, 180, 280, 287, 293, 300n14, 318n319, 327nn437, 444
Zhouguan, *Zong Boshi* section of *Chun-guan*, 119
Zhouli, 119, 304n96, 309n173
 See also *Zhouguan*
Zhou Yi, 133
Zhuangyan Temple, 80
Zhuang Zhou, 232
Zhuangzi, 21, 27, 34, 35, 38, 39, 66, 69, 70, 100, 118, 167, 192, 216, 217, 241, 265, 288, 309n180, 318n316
Zhuangzi, xx, xxi, 169, 170, 300n18, 21, 25; 301n31, 34, 40; 302nn56, 61; 303nn63, 65, 66, 67, 73, 75, 76; 304n97, 305n108, 306nn118, 133, 134; 309nn175, 180, 182; 310nn190, 191, 198; 311n205, 212; 312n219, 314n256, 315nn274, 278; 316n295, 317nn303, 307; 318n316, 319nn323, 324, 327; 320nn338, 339; 321nn359, 360; 322nn370, 372; 323nn380, 385, 386, 389, 391; 324nn393, 397; 325n411, 326nn420, 424, 429, 430; 327n442
Zhuangxu, 76
 See also Five Thearchs
Zhu Daosheng, 187
 See also Daosheng
Zhu Daoshuang, 267
Zhu Duo, 313n237
Zhu family, 148
Zhu Fahu, 133, 148, 261, 296
Zhu Faya, xxii
Zhuge Hui, 193, 195
Zhuge Kongming/Liang, 163, 165
 See also Kongming
Zhuli. *See* four polar regions

- Zhulong, 129, 311n204
 Zhu River, 109, 169
 Zhu Shixing/Zixing, xx
 Zhu Tuo, 153
 Zhu Yun, 307n149
 Zichan, 127, 233, 310n195
 Zigao, 35
 Zigong, 71, 318n329
 Zilu, 67, 71–72, 137, 207
 See also Jilu; Zhong You
 Zi Ming, 9
 Ziqi, 130, 319n323
 Zitai, 173
 Zixia, 38
 Ziyou, 38, 319n323
 Zizhou, 35
 Zong state, 285, 326n424
 Zong Bing, 132, 133, 148
 Zong Shaowen. *See* Zong Bing
 Zou region/state, 50, 139
 Zun Zu, 171, 315n267
 Zuochi. *See* Xi Zaochi
 Zuozhuan, 30, 35, 116, 120, 135, 149,
 179, 184, 299n8, 302nn48, 50;
 303n64, 304nn85, 86, 87, 88;
 305nn107, 111; 306n128, 307n151,
 309n174, 310nn189, 200;
 311nn201, 209; 312n231,
 313nn233, 235; 314nn255, 264;
 316nn286, 291, 293; 317n301,
 320n342, 323n383, 324n401,
 327nn444, 447

BDK English Tripiṭaka (First Series)

Abbreviations

<i>Ch.</i> :	Chinese
<i>Skt.</i> :	Sanskrit
<i>Jp.</i> :	Japanese
<i>Eng.</i> :	Published title

Title	Taishō No.
Ch. Chang ahan jing (長阿含經)	1
Skt. Dīrghāgama	
Eng. <i>The Canonical Book of the Buddha's Lengthy Discourses</i> (Volume I, 2015)	
<i>The Canonical Book of the Buddha's Lengthy Discourses</i> (Volume II, 2017)	
Ch. Zhong ahan jing (中阿含經)	26
Skt. Madhyamāgama	
Eng. <i>The Madhyama Āgama (Middle-length Discourses)</i> (Volume I, 2013)	
Ch. Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing (大乘本生心地觀經)	159
Ch. Fo suoxing zan (佛所行讚)	192
Skt. Buddhacarita	
Eng. <i>Buddhacarita: In Praise of Buddha's Acts</i> (2009)	
Ch. Zabao zang jing (雜寶藏經)	203
Eng. <i>The Storehouse of Sundry Valuables</i> (1994)	
Ch. Faju piyu jing (法句譬喻經)	211
Eng. <i>The Scriptural Text: Verses of the Doctrine, with Parables</i> (1999)	
Ch. Xiaopin banruo boluomi jing (小品般若波羅蜜經)	227
Skt. Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra	

Title	Taishō No.
Ch. Jingang banruo boluomi jing (金剛般若波羅蜜經) Skt. Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra	235
Ch. Daluo jingang bukong zhenshi sanmoye jing (大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經) Skt. Adhyardhaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā-sutra Eng. <i>The Sutra of the Vow of Fulfilling the Great Perpetual Enjoyment and Benefiting All Sentient Beings Without Exception</i> (in <i>Esoteric Texts</i> , 2015)	243
Ch. Renwang banruo boluomi jing (仁王般若波羅蜜經) Skt. *Kāruṇikārājā-prajñāpāramitā-sutra	245
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Ch. Shengman shizihou yisheng defang bianfang guang jing (勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經) Skt. Śrīmālādevīsīmhanāda-sutra Eng. <i>The Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā of the Lion's Roar</i> (2004)	353
Ch. Wuliangshou jing (無量壽經) Skt. Sukhāvativyūha Eng. <i>The Larger Sutra on Amitāyus</i> (in <i>The Three Pure Land Sutras</i> , Revised Second Edition, 2003)	360
Ch. Guan wuliangshou fo jing (觀無量壽佛經) Skt. *Amitāyurdhyāna-sutra Eng. <i>The Sutra on Contemplation of Amitāyus</i> (in <i>The Three Pure Land Sutras</i> , Revised Second Edition, 2003)	365

Title	Taishō No.
Ch. Amituo jing (阿彌陀經) Skt. Sukhāvativyūha Eng. <i>The Smaller Sutra on Amitāyus</i> (in <i>The Three Pure Land Sutras</i> , Revised Second Edition, 2003)	366
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Ch. Fochuibo niepan lüeshuo jiaojie jing (佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經) Eng. <i>The Bequeathed Teaching Sutra</i> (in <i>Apocryphal Scriptures</i> , 2005)	389
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Ch. Yuedeng sanmei jing (月燈三昧經) Skt. Samādhirāja-candrapradīpa-sutra	639

Title	Taishō No.
Ch. Shoulengyan sanmei jing (首楞嚴三昧經) Skt. Śūraṅgamasamādhi-sutra Eng. <i>The Śūraṅgama Samādhi Sutra</i> (1998)	642
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Ch. Dasheng rulengqie jing (大乘入楞伽經) Skt. Laṅkāvatāra-sutra	672
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Ch. Da Biluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing (大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經) Skt. Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulyasūtreन्द्रa- rājanāma-dharmaparyāya Eng. <i>The Vairocanaḥśambodhi Sutra</i> (2005)	848
Ch. Jingganding yiqie rulai zhenshi she dasheng xianzheng dajiao wang jing (金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經) Skt. Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha-mahāyānā-bhisamaya-mahākālparāja Eng. <i>The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra</i> (in <i>Two Esoteric Sutras</i> , 2001)	865
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Ch. Modengqie jing (摩登伽經) Skt. *Mātāṅgī-sutra Eng. <i>The Mātāṅga Sutra</i> (in <i>Esoteric Texts</i> , 2015)	1300

Title	Taishō No.
Ch. Mohe sengqi lü (摩訶僧祇律) Skt. *Mahāsāṃghika-vinaya	1425
Ch. Sifen lü (四分律) Skt. *Dharmaguptaka-vinaya	1428
Ch. Shanjianlü piposha (善見律毘婆沙) Pāli Samantapāsādikā	1462
Ch. Fanwang jing (梵網經) Skt. *Brahmajāla-sutra	1484
Ch. Youposaijie jing (優婆塞戒經) Skt. Upāsakaśīla-sutra Eng. <i>The Sutra on Upāsaka Precepts</i> (1994)	1488
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