THE SPIRIT OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

BEACON BP 148 \$1.75

By Fung Yu-Lan

Translated by E. R. Hughes

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BEACON PRESS BOSTON

First Chinese edition published in 1947 under the title Hsin Yüan Tao

First English edition published in 1947 by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., England

First published as a Beacon paperback in 1962 by arrangement with E. R. Hughes

Printed in the United States of America

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cultivates this morale needs at all times to understand the Tao and to accumulate righteousness, not allowing one thing in his mind to be out of tune. This is what comes in the quotation above, "Something must be done without stopping.¹ The mind must not forget." Without stopping means the same as the mind on no account forgetting. The task of the man who cultivates hao jan chih ch'i is just that. He needs at all times to understand the Tao and to keep on accumulating righteousness; thus his hao jan chih ch'i will naturally emerge. He must not be in haste to arrive, nor take special measures to that end. The man who takes such measures is what Mencius described as giving artificial assistance to things to grow.² Thus the main element in the work of cultivating is that there should be neither forgetting nor giving of artificial assistance.

The sphere in which the man who has the supreme morale lives is the transcendent sphere. In another passage Mencius said. "To dwell in the wide house of the world of men, to stand in the correct position in it, and to follow the great Way (Tao) of it, having obtained one's ambition, to practise one's principles for the good of the people ; when that ambition is disappointed, to practise them alone; when riches and honour cannot make one dissipated, when poverty and mean station cannot make one swerve, and power and force cannot make one bend; these are the characteristics of the great man." (Bk. III, B.) If we compare this "great man" with the man who has hao jan chih ch'i, we can see that the sphere in which the "great man" lives is not as high as the sphere in which the other lives. This "great man", living as he does in the wide house of the world of men, and standing in the correct position in it and practising the great Tao of it, cannot be said not to be a great man. But we still cannot say that he is the greatest kind of man. Riches and honour do not make him dissipated, poverty and mean station do not make him swerve, power and force do not make him bend. Such a man cannot be said not to be strong, but he has not got the highest kind of strength.

The question is what we mean by the greatest kind of man and the highest kind of strength. Whilst the greatness and

¹ The *cheng* character must be taken as *chih* to stop : *vide* Chiao Hsun's (eighteenthcentury) interpretation in his commentary on Mencius. (F. Y. L.)

² The peasants of Sung State were famous at that time for their simplicity. The story is told of one of them coming home from the fields and complaining of weariness because he had been helping the corn to grow. When his son went to look, he found the plants half out of the ground and dying. (E. R. H.)

us not proceed. Let us stop here." It is in this rejoinder that Chuang Chou advanced a step ahead of Hui Shih : and this is the second stage in the reasoning of the Ch'i Wu Lun Chapter. The " one " in " all creation and I are one " is a one which transcends shapes and features. It is impossible to conceive it or put it into words. The reason is that once there is thought and speech about the one, this one dealt with in that thought and speech immediately becomes an object of thought and speech, is in contrast to that thought and speech, and at the same time, is in contrast to this " I " of me. The " one " like this is not the " one " in the statement "all creation and I are one." Chuang Chou says that the one is inexpressible, and in so doing, he shows true understanding of "the one". Hui Shih said, "The greatest has nothing beyond itself, and is called the Great One ". He only knew that there was a "Great One"; he did not know that the Great One is inexpressible. The Taoists knew that it is inexpressible, and knowing this they advanced one step beyond the Logicians in their knowledge of the world transcending shapes. and features. The Logicians regarded ordinary people as wrong in what they took to be knowledge. In doing this, the Logicians themselves were also wrong. "The Tao has no limit. Words are not unchanging. How can the Tao leave (us) and cease to exist (for us)? How can statements continue to be made and be utterly fallacious ?" The common approach to things is also one aspect of the truth. The only point where this approach is open to criticism, is that people are not conscious that their respective approaches are only partial aspects of the truth. They are not conscious, and therefore their approach is a one-sided one. If they knew that their approach was one-sided, that approach would at once cease to be one-sided. To go a step further, the arguing as to "right" and "wrong" is part of "the everchanging voice of Nature". Every creature cannot but regard himself as right, and those things which are different from him as wrong. This also is natural in every case; and from the viewpoint of the Tao this is inevitable, and the creature is to be let alone to do this. The result is that the man who has reached "the axis of the wheel" does not need to discard the ordinary man's interpretation or argue over right and wrong. The only thing is that he "does not follow them, but views things in the light of Heaven ". This, then, is not destroying but transcending. As the Ch'i Wu Lun Chapter puts it, " This is why a sage harmonizes the different systems of right and wrong, and rests in the revolving

fact did it enable men to avoid injury to life. Nevertheless, it was able to abolish these problems. According to what it said, the problem of how to achieve wholeness in life and avoid injury is no longer a problem. In fact, we may be paradoxical and say that it made a solution which was no solution.

The Taoists' method of seeking the highest kind of knowledge and the highest sphere, was that of discarding knowledge. The fruit of discarding knowledge is no knowledge, but this kind of no-knowledge comes from having passed through a stage of knowledge. It is not the no-knowledge of original ignorance. To make the distinction clear, we shall call this "post-gained noknowledge". The man with the no-knowledge of ignorance lives in the unselfconsciously natural sphere, the man with the post-gained no-knowledge lives in the transcendent sphere.

These two kinds of no-knowledge appear to be like each other, as also do the two corresponding spheres. The sphere of the unselfconsciously natural is an undifferentiable sphere, and the sphere of the transcendent also appears to be undifferentiable. The man in the unselfconsciously natural sphere does not know how to make a lot of distinctions between things. The man in the sphere of the transcendent has forgotten the distinctions which he used to make between things. The reason why the Taoists spoke of forgetting was that the man in the sphere of the transcendent is not without knowledge, nor has he never made distinctions between things. He is one who, having made distinctions, has forgotten them. The other man, who has not made distinctions, has not reached this level. The act of forgetting these distinctions is the act of rising above the lower level. As Wang Jung (late third century A.D.) said, "The highest position of all, is to forget feeling, the lowest stage is to have feeling." (Shih Shuo Hsin Yü; Shang Shih Chapter.) From the point of view of knowledge the situation is like that. Original ignorance has not arrived at knowledge, and the man in that state may well be described in respect to knowledge as undifferentiably one with all creation. But he is unconscious of it. It is because he has not this kind of self-consciousness that he belongs to the sphere of the unselfconsciously natural. Post-gained no-knowledge transcends knowledge, and the man who belongs to this sphere is conscious that he has done so. It is because he has this kind of self-consciousness that he belongs to the sphere of the transcendent.

This point the Taoists often failed to recognize clearly. In their discussions of society, they constantly praised the primitive

with all creation. Confucius' and Mencius' method was the accumulation of righteousness, by this to overcome the self and so be able to enter the sphere of undifferentiable oneness with all creation. Using this method, the oneness which they attained was an emotional oneness. The oneness which the Taoists attained by their method was an intellectual one. Therefore the Confucianist sage always had what is called a heart of loving people as one's brother, of loving all creatures as one's friends, whilst the Taoist sages "abandoned the world and lived independently of it". The Confucianist sages were enthusiastic souls, the Taoist sages men of imperturbable calm.

If the method of accumulation of righteousness be used, then there must be no distinction between being in the world and being out of the world. The discarding of knowledge may entail having such a distinction, and the Taoists called the men who were out of the world "squatters", that is to say "men who squatted alongside of men but who were companions of Heaven". With this we may compare, "Heaven's little men are men's gentlemen : men's gentlemen are Heaven's little men." (*Ta Tsung Shih Chapter.*) The Taoist philosophy thus had this antithesis in it, and although it exalted the sublime, yet it still was not in accord with our criterion of attaining to the sublime and performing the common task.

There can be no doubt the Taoists were devoted to what they called "taking two courses at one and the same time". "In their oneness they belonged to the divine, in their not-oneness they belonged to the human, and for them there was no striving for victory between the two sides. This is what I call a true man." (*Ta Tsung Shih Chapter.*) Here is a "taking of two courses at one and the same time, one the divine, the other the human"; and also, "not discarding the right and the wrong, but living in the world of custom." (*T'ien Hsia Chapter.*) This, then, is the two courses of being in the world and being out of the world. None the less, taking our criterion of attaining to the sublime and performing the common task, to speak of two courses is open to criticism, because, according to this standard, attention to the sublime and to the daily round of common affairs are not two courses but one and the same course.

that the numinous is neither here nor there, the contents of the Yi Scripture are not limited to this or that, and hereby the Tao is revealed." This kind of explanation is, from a historical viewpoint, entirely wrong.

I have said above that what the Taoists called Tao is "something like" what the Hsin Li Hsüch calls ch'i: no more than something like, because things cannot come into existence in sole dependence on ch'i in the Hsin Li Hsüch sense, whilst the Taoists' Tao can produce things. The words "something like" also apply to the likeness between the Yi Amplifications' Tao and the Hsin Li Hsüch's li, because things cannot come into existence in sole dependence on this li, whilst that Tao could produce things. We may say that the Taoists' tao is an unclear version of the concept which figures in the Hsin Li Hsüch as ch'i; and the Tao of the Yi Amplifications is an unclear version of the concept which figures in the Hsin Li Hsüch as li.

The Yi Scripture was originally a book of divination, its nature being of the same character as books like the Ya Pei Shen Shu. The sentences in those books cannot be rigidly interpreted. E.g., in the use of the Ya Pei Shen Shu, the dealing of the cards may give, for example, the combination of hsia-hsia, hsia-hsia, shang-shang (down-down, down-down, up-up = two very bads to one very good). The oracle-key book gives for this combination, "Three campaigns : three times defeated : no cause for you to be ashamed. You will save the empire and rule over the feudatories." On the face of it, this oracle is concerned with an army being first defeated and then obtaining a victory, but actually it means first suffering bad luck, and afterwards being blessed with good luck. It is as if there was a bag containing all forms of bad luck changing to good. The wording of the γ_i originally had the same significance. Later the amplifiers of the Υi , following the lead contained in these rough figures, woke up to the idea of a formula. According to their theory, what the Y_i contained was a number of formulae, every one of them representing one or a number of tao (principles), the total of formulae being a perfect representation of as many principles as there are. That is what is maintained in the Yi Amplifications.

According to the Hsi Tz'ü, "The Υi consists of symbols; the sixty-four hexagrams and the three hundred and eighty-four yao (the single lines which comprise the hexagrams) are all symbols." Symbols are like what, in symbolic logic, are called variables, and a variable can be substituted for a class or a number of classes of

objects. An object or a class of objects only needs to satisfy certain conditions, and they can have a variable as their substitute. As the Hsi $Tz^{i}u$ expresses it, "Objects come to be aggregated through being classified : things come to be distinguished through being grouped." Every object must belong to one class or another. The objects in this or that class only need to satisfy certain conditions for them to be substituted by a certain hexagram or by a certain *yao*. The judgment attached to a hexagram or a *yao* is a formula representing the *tao* which the objects in this class, being subject to these conditions, either obey or ought to obey. If they do obey this *tao*, that is good fortune : if they do not obey it, that is bad fortune.

We must examine this. The Hsi Tz'ŭ says, "The Yi illuminates what has gone by and what is yet to come, and thus what is obscure becomes clear." That is to say, the hexagrams and the yao are formulae which are applicable to every event in the past and every event in the future. Now, although the formula may be clear, it is not necessarily the case that the tao which it sets forth is obvious. In these so-called "judgments" which the author of the Hsi Tz'ŭ regarded as "judgments made through the rectification of names ", a particular hexagram or a particular yao may be the substitute for more than one class of object. Of these classes one, as was realized at the time, may be of no particular importance, whilst another may be very important. Also, one class may be near at hand and easily recognized, another class remote and hard to recognize : as was said, "the idea contained in it (i.e., a certain hexagram under discussion) is far-reaching". Also, sometimes in a judgment there may be no direct reference to a certain class of object and it may be ascertainable only through its connection with another class. It was said of these judgments that they " have the quality of art : the words, although indirect, yet hit the mark." Thus, whilst a judgment may appear to be dealing with material things, what it really represents is the principles underlying those things, and thus, "the thing (under observation) is both obvious and not obvious." And further, these principles are guides for men in matters of conduct. There is a passage in the Hsi Tz'ŭ which, in spite of the obvious corruption of the text in two of its words, has quite clearly the meaning that if men follow this guidance they are successful in action, and if they do not follow it they fail. There is direct reference to a recompense, either one of success or one of failure. As is stated in another passage, "The

terms 'good fortune' and 'bad fortune' refer to success and failure in action."

We go on to the actual hexagrams and yao, each one of them the substitute for one or more classes of objects. The Hsi Tz'u says, "With expansion of the use of the hexagrams, new classes can be included and everything that man can do in the world is there." Wang Pi (A.D. 226-249) in his Treatise on the Yi says, " Postulating the definite meaning of ' virility in the ascendant', what is the necessity about the horse (with its virile nature)? Postulating the class of 'docility in the ascendant', what is the necessity about the cow (with its docile temper)? Postulating this vao here as conforming with docility, what is the necessity which makes the K'un hexagram apply to the cow? Postulating the particular meaning of 'virility in the ascendant', what is the necessity which makes the Ch'ien hexagram apply to the horse ? " The Shuo Kua says, "The Ch'ien includes the horse, the K'un includes the cow." The horse and the cow may come under the categories represented by these two hexagrams, but the Ch'ien and the K'un are not the substitutes for the horse and the cow alone. Any thing which has the virile nature can have the Ch'ien hexagram as its substitute; and so also with any thing with the docile nature and the K'un hexagram. In the Wen Yen, in the section dealing with the K'un, there are the words, "With regard to the Yin qualities, admirable though they are, the use of them in the carrying out of the king's business entails that they dare not aim at their own completion. This is the tao of earth, the tao of wifeliness, the tao of ministership." The earth, the wife, the minister, have docility as the right course for them : hence, they all come under the K'un. It is the symbol of each one of them. The judgments which come under this hexagram and its yao give the principles of earth-ness, wifeliness, ministership. The opposite to the K'un hexagram is the Ch'ien hexagram, the symbol of Heaven, of being a true husband, of being a true monarch. The judgments under this hexagram and its yao give the principles of Heaven-ness, of husband-ness, of monarch-ness. Every one of the hexagrams in the Y_i represents more than one class of object, and the judgments attached to the hexagrams and their yao deal with the principles of more than one class of object. Hence, as the Hsi $Tz'\tilde{u}$ puts it, "The Yi, as a book, must not be out of your mind. It is based on unceasing change." Also, "The Yi is not subject to rigid interpretation : the interpretation varies with the circumstances."

The whole Υi book is then a system of symbols. As the Hsi $Tz'\check{u}$ says, "The result is that (the contents of) the Υi are symbols. By symbol, is meant something resembling." Also it says, "The sages made observations of all the complex phenomena under the sky, and then considered their characteristic forms and symbolized their types. That is why they are called symbols. The sages made observations of all the movements under the sky, directing their attention to the interpenetrations which take place in them, this with a view to putting into effect right rituals. They made appended judgments, so that decisions might be made as to what brings good fortune and what brings bad fortune. This is why they are called yao. They dealt with the most complex phenomena under the sky in this way, in order that there might be no revulsion of feeling against them [i.e., the phenomena]. They dealt with the most mutable things under the sky in this way, in order that there might be no confusion." In other words, all the things in the universe are complex, for ever changing. If there are symbols and judgments attached to them, representing principles, then among the complexities simplicity can be found, among the changes something unchanging. With such simplicities there can be no revulsion of feeling against (the universe), with such an unchanging quality introduced there can be no confusion in the world.

In the Chien Tsu T'u, among the Wei books of the Yi,¹ and in Cheng K'ang-chen's Praise of the Yi and his Discussion of the Yi we find the following statement : "What is included in the one word ' Υi ' is three meanings, (1) ease and simplicity, (2) variability, (3) invariability."² The Υi in the midst of complexities reveals simplicity. As the Hsi Tz'ŭ puts it, "the Ch'ien by its easiness is knowable, the K'un by its simplicity is do-able. If easy, then easy to know; if simple, then simple in application. With ease and simplicity, then all the principles in the world of man are successfully obtained." This is the idea of ease and simplicity attached to the Υi . It also reveals an element of invariability in the midst of variability. As the Hsi Tz'ŭ says, " Movement and quiescence are invariably what they are. There is the definite distinction between the virile [i.e. movement]

¹ From the middle of the First Han, a certain type of scholar exercised great ingenuity in building up a pseudo-science of omens in relation to the Six Classics (Ching). These were quite popular for some 300 years. The term wei means the weft complementary to *ching* (the warp). (E. R. H.) ² These works are lost. The above is K'ung Ying-ta's quotation from them (in the T'ang era) in his commentary on Wang Pi's exegesis of the *T*i. (E. R. H.)

and the docile [i.e. quiescence]." It also says, "All the movements in the world are true to their invariability." This is the idea of invariability in the Υi . Thus the symbols and formulae in the Υi are simple and invariable, but since they are the substitutes for any and every class of object, the Υi is not subject to rigid interpretation. The interpretation varies according to the circumstances. This is the idea of variability in the Υi .

According to the Hsi $Tz' \ddot{u}$'s interpretation, although the Yi has only sixty-four hexagrams and three hundred and eightyfour yao, yet with these as a framework, one can continuously expand their scope to include new classes. The conclusion drawn is that its symbols and the judgments attached to them include every principle there is. Thus it is said, "The Yi dovetails (chün) with Heaven and Earth, with the result that it completely interweaves the governing principles of Heaven and Earth." Dovetailing (chün) means corresponding (teng) at every point, whilst the interweaving emphasizes the inclusion of all the governing principles in Heaven and Earth. As is said, "What does the Yi accomplish? The Υi opens the door to the myriad things in Nature and brings man's task to completion : it embraces all the governing principles in the world. This and no more and no less is what the Yi accomplishes." The reference here is to "the principles in man's world". The "governing principles of Heaven and Earth " refers to those laws which everything obeys. For instance, the principle of kingliness, and the principle of ministership, that of being a good husband and that of being a good wife, these illustrate the first class, whilst the principle known as "one round of Yin and one round of Yang", refers to the second class.

Whatever exists as an event or a thing cannot divorce itself from the Tao, nor can it disobey it. Concrete things may be defective : in the Tao, there can be no defect. The symbols of the Υi include every kind of tao there is, and these symbols and their formulae are, therefore, what events and things cannot be divorced from and what they cannot disobey. That is to say, there can be no defect about them. That is the Hsi Tz'i's position, as it shows : "There is a similarity here with Heaven-and-Earth, with the result that the Υi is necessarily not disobeyable. The knowledge (in the Υi) embraces all things, and the principles here are of assistance to all beneath the sky, with the result that there are no defects in the Υi ." Also, "The Υi includes within its scope all the transformations in Heaven and Earth without

as effective evolving." It is also stated, "That which goes away wanes, that which comes waxes. Waxing and waning have a mutual influence, so that results accrue." The content of the course of transformation in the universe is a process of construction and destruction in things. And this process of construction-plusdestruction in things is the opening and shutting referred to in the explanations of the Ch'ien and the K'un. The constructive part of the process is equivalent to the "coming forward", the destructive part is equivalent to the "going away". A whole act of coming forward, plus a whole act of going away, that is transformation. This going and coming has no end to it, and just because this is so, therefore the universe is without limit of time. Therefore it is said, "the unceasing moving one way and the other is designated as effective evolving." The process is without limit, because what comes must go and what goes must come back again : the advancing thing also retires and the retiring thing comes back again (fu). The words, "there is no level place without a bank," indicate the same idea, that there is no coming without going and no going without coming back.

The Hsi Tz' i says, "Whenever a climax is reached, there is transformation. Whenever there is transformation, there is effective evolving. Whenever there is effective evolving, there is continuous survival." Because the Yi emphasizes effective evolving, therefore it also lays emphasis on returning (fu). There is a Fu Hexagram, and in the Tuan Judgments we find : "Does not the Fu Hexagram reveal the mind of Heaven and Earth?" In regard to the great flux of transformation in the universe, wherever we cut athwart it, what we see is a returning. This is because there has been no original coming. As the Lao Tzu Book says (c. 16), "All things arise side by side; so I watch for their returning." The meaning of fu here is that indicated in the words "back to their root, 1 back to their destined condition". The Lao Tzu Book also says, "All things sprout luxuriantly, and each of them turns back home again to its root. To be back in its root is to be what is called quiescent, and that means back again to a destined state." In other words, all things emerge from the Tao and return to it. Wang Pi's comment here is, "All things come from emptiness [? infinity], all movements begin in quiescence. The result is that all things, although they in every case move and act, yet in the end go back to emptiness and quiescence." So also with, "Does not the Fu Hexagram reveal the mind of Heaven and Earth?"

¹ Root: "groundstock"; cf. the German "Grundlage". (E. R. H.)

THE YI SCRIPTURE AMPLIFICATIONS

Wang Pi's comment is, "The meaning of fu is a reverse movement back to the origin, and the reference to the mind of Heaven and Earth is to the original root. If there is desistance from movement, this is quiescence. Quiescence is not the opposite to movement. To desist from speaking is to be silent, but silence is not the opposite to speaking. That being so, although Heavenand-Earth is so vast and is filled with myriads of things, with such transformations as thunder moving and the wind travelling, yet the silence of non-being is the original root of it all."

This interpretation amounts to the use of the Laotzian ideas in explanation of the Υi ; it is not true to the original idea of the Υi . The Laotzian returning is one of return to the root, to the destined condition, and the emphasis here is on Non-being, whilst in the Yi Amplifications the emphasis is on going and coming without end, i.e. on Being. Here, as we have shown, lay the fundamental difference between the Confucianists and the Taoists. None the less, here is where the Yi Amplifications and the Lao Tzu Book come nearest to each other. In the old days there was the saying, based on the point we have been considering, that "the Yi and Lao Tzŭ are mutually explanatory". Both books agree that for a thing to reach the highest point of its development is for it to start going in the reverse direction. This is the general law to which transformations conform. What that section of the Amplifications called The Order of the Hexagrams has to say about the order of the sixty-four Hexagrams represents this general law. The mutually opposed hexagrams always go together in Thus in this amplification we find the "T'ai \equiv pairs. (Prosperity) Hexagram symbolizes having free course. Things cannot have that for ever, with the result that P'i = (Lack of Prosperity) succeeds T'ai ". " P'o (Disintegration) symbolizes things disintegrating. It is impossible that a thing should be entirely obliterated. When the process of disintegration is ended, the reverse process begins. The result is that the succeeding hexagram is the Fu $\equiv \equiv$ (Return)." Further, "Chen (Startling Movement) symbolizes movement. But things cannot keep moving for ever, with the result that the next hexagram is the Ken $\Xi\Xi$ (Arrested Movement)." Also, next to the Chi Chi = (Having Accomplished) Hexagram comes the Wei Chi 🧮 (Not Yet Accomplished) Hexagram, about

The salt flavouring is the other to the bitter, and the bitter is the other to the salt. With these two "others" combining in due proportions and a new flavour emerging, this is what is expressed in "harmony" and what brings things into existence. Where water helps out water, the result is just the flavour of water, and that is what is expressed in " sameness supplementing sameness ", and "sameness having no offspring". Sameness and difference are opposite concepts. A harmony includes differences, with all the differences harmonized to produce a state of harmony. None the less, if differences are to produce a state of harmony, then it is necessary that all the differences should have each its own due proportion and be "exactly good" to that extent, neither exceeding nor coming short. What is described as "achieving the Mean", and also as "in due proportion" amounts to all the differences each being neither too much nor too little, if a state of harmony is to be achieved. That is why it is said, " (when the emotions) well up, they are all in due proportion, and this is called harmony."

This also is setting up a particular state of affairs as an illustration of harmony, and it does not mean that only this constitutes a state of harmony. On the scale of the universe for "all things alike to be nourished and not to injure each other, for all the tao (plural) to be practised and there to be no mutual contradictions", this also is a state of harmony. Hence the affirmation, "when harmony is carried to the highest, the heavens and the earth maintain their right positions, and all creatures are nourished." This state of harmony is not merely that of man with man in the world. Hence, in the *Yi Amplifications* there is what is called "the Supreme Harmony", and in the *Tuan Judgments* on the Ch'ien Hexagram there is the ejaculation, "How vast is the originating (power) symbolized by the Ch'ien . . . protecting the Supreme Harmony in unison. This indeed is profitable and auspicious."

The Chung Yung says, "Reality is the Way of Heaven; making oneself real is the Way of man." Also, it says that the "quality of realness is the Way of combining the inward and the outward". "Heaven" already includes everything with no distinction between inward and outward. Men make the distinction between the "I" and the "not-I", i.e. the distinction between the inward and the outward. The cause of their making this distinction is that they do not know that each and every man's human nature, together with the natures of all the species of

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"things" are equally a charge entrusted by Heaven. All these natures alike come from one source. This state of not knowing can be called unenlightenment. In the *Chung Yung* there is the statement, "(To be able) to proceed from realness to a state of enlightenment is to be ascribed to the nature of man. To proceed from enlightenment to a state of realness is to be ascribed to spiritual culture." This proceeding from realness to enlightenment has the same significance as the statement in the beginning of the *Chung Yung*: "That which Heaven entrusts to man is to be called his human nature and the following out of this nature is to be called the Way." The proceeding from enlightenment to realness has the same significance as "the building of the Way", namely "spiritual culture". It means making one's self real.

This matter of enlightenment leading on to realness has been discussed in the *Hsin Yüan Jen*, where the argument is that by proceeding from understanding and self-conciousness the highest sphere of living can be attained. It is this step from understanding and self-conciousness which the *Chung Yung* calls *ming* (becoming enlightened). Without this step being taken there is unenlightenment. With regard to "realness being the Way by which the inward and the outward are combined", this is what the *Hsin Yüan Jen* described as the sphere of identification with Heaven. This sphere the *Chung Yung* describes as "the height of realness".

The Chung Yung says : "It is only the man who is entirely real in this world who has the capacity to give full development to his human nature. If he has that capacity, it follows that he has the capacity to give full development to other men's human nature. If he has that capacity, it follows that he has the capacity to give full development to the natures of all species of things. Thus it is possible for him to be assisting the transforming and nourishing work of Heaven-and-Earth. That being so, it is possible for him to be part of a trinity of Heaven, Earth and himself." Now, the first half of this passage can be explained along a certain logical line. We may say that the entirely real being is a man and also a thing, that he has the nature of a man and also has the nature of a thing, and for this reason by implication he who is capable of developing his own human nature also is capable of developing the human nature of man and the natures of things in general. But this is not the logic of the Chung Yung. The position maintained by the Chung Yung is that the nature of each and every man, together with the natures

of all species of things, all equally come from one source, and it is for this reason that the man who is entirely real is capable of extending the scope of his high activities from himself to other men and to the whole world of creation.

In what sense is complete realness able to assist in the transforming and nourishing work of Heaven-and-Earth? The Chung Yung says, " It is only the man who is completely real in the world, who can weave the fabric of the great basic strands in human society, who can establish the great foundations of this world, and who can understand the transforming and nourishing work of Heaven-and-Earth." Compare this with the statement, "There are nine basic strands which constitute the society of man and its constituent states and families," and "this quality of the Mean, is the main foundation of human society". The main strands and the main foundation referred to are the same. and to understand the transforming and nourishing work of Heaven-and-Earth, this is on all fours with assisting those processes. "The hawk beats its way to the height of the heavens, the fish dives down in the abyss." These are part of the transforming and nourishing processes of the universe. In man's life, every phase of activity is also part of the transforming and nourishing processes of the universe. If men have a full understanding that this is so, then every phase of their activity is of assistance to these transforming and nourishing processes. Given the man who can do that, the result is that he is part of a trinity of Heaven and Earth and man. If men have not a full understanding that every phase of their activity is so, then they are only transformed and nourished by Heaven : in other words, they are just things, creatures, and cannot be part of this trinity. The Taoists constantly said, "To thing things, but not to be thinged by things." The things which assist the transforming and nourishing processes, these are not merely in the category of things (i.e. not to be thinged by things). The distinction between those two classes consists in whether they have enlightenment or not.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the man who is entirely real is not necessarily compelled to engage in acts which are different from the main bulk of mankind. He may quite well, in point of action, be engaged " in the deeds of ordinary virtue and devote himself to ordinary speech". But in regard to his sphere of living, it is one with the universe. It is of the same order as the quality of realness which the *Chung Yung* describes in the

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following terms : " In its substantiality, it pairs with Earth, in its sublimity it pairs with Heaven, in its permanence it is infinite time."

The sage men referred to in the Yi Amplifications and the Chung Yung are all engaged in the deeds of ordinary virtue, and careful about ordinary speech. The method they employ in aspiring to the highest sphere of all is that described by Mencius as, "the marriage of righteousness and the Tao." The moral sphere is attained by means of the accumulation of righteousness. The transcendent sphere can also be attained by the method of accumulating righteousness, but the difference in the sphere attained to lies in the kind of Tao to which righteousness is "married". There are higher and lower kinds of tao. The fruit of accumulating righteousness is the quality of unselfishness, and unselfishness entails self-sacrifice. The man who lives in the moral sphere is without selfishness, as also is the man who lives in the transcendent sphere. If a man can be like this, it follows that then the sphere in which he lives depends on the loftiness of the tao to which he is devoted. By using this method we avoid the Taoists' distinction between the inward and the outward. In the last resort these two lines of activity make one course, not two.

There is, however, this to be considered.

The authors of the Yi Amplifications and the Chung Yung knew that the nameable can also transcend shapes and features. But they did not know that for a perfect discussion of what transcends shapes and features it is necessary that the unnameable should also be considered. It is not necessary that what transcends shapes and features should be unnameable, but it is necessary that what transcends shapes and features should not be restricted to the nameable. Arguing from this, we are in a position to maintain that the philosophical system in the two books with which this chapter has dealt is entirely in accord with the criterion of performing the common task, but is still not entirely in accord with the criterion of attaining to the sublime. Thus, the kind of life attained through this philosophy is still inadequate for "absorption in the Abstract and ferrying over into the Beyond".

took place, there was a fore-shadowing, a groundstock ready for the burgeoning, and this was before there was any hard and fast shape to anything." About the non-beginning to the beginning, he said, "With the ch'i (vital gas) of the heavens beginning to descend and the ch'i of the earth beginning to ascend and the Yin and the Yang in reciprocal agreement, these (forces) were intermixing with things, but no foreshadowing of individuality had emerged." About " a non-non-beginning to the beginning ", he said : "With the heavenly harmonizing influence not yet descending and the earthly ch'i not yet spreading abroad, there was emptiness and silence . . . the great indiscriminate mass entirely dark." About "being", he said that there was a time when "all things became mixed together, so that they could be separated and handled and numbered and measured ". About "non-being", he said that this was like "looking for but seeing no form, listening for but hearing no sound, a vast desert to which no features attach, over which no measurement can be made but through which light penetrates". About "the nonbeginning to being and non-being", he said, "it enveloped the heavens and the earth and had a moulding control over all things, with this great indiscriminate mass entirely dark, (namely) a depth and width of space outside which it were impossible there should be anything, and inside which it were impossible there should be anything smaller than the split section of a hair tip, so that with no supporting base the root of being and non-being is produced." About "a non-non-beginning to the non-beginning of being and non-being", he said : "With the heavens and the earth not yet split asunder, the Yin and the Yang not yet separated, the four seasons not yet distinguishable and the myriad things not yet born, it was like a vast lake, level and still, colourless and transparent, without form and void."

It was with this kind of theorizing that most of the Han thinkers imagined the process by which the universe came into existence. Even the idea in the expression "without form and void", does not transcend shapes and features. Thus the formal concepts of the *Chuang Tzü Book* were changed into positive concepts and its formal propositions into positive propositions.

In the Ch'üan Yen Hsün (i.e. teaching in explanation of terms) Chapter of the Huai Nan Book there is the following : "When the heavens and the earth were still an abyss, still a chaotic mass, this was before the creation of the myriad things. To this condition is given the name of 'the Supreme Oneness'. All

things emerged from this oneness, each after its kind, birds, beasts and fishes. To this is given the name 'the differentiation of things'. Creatures became grouped according to their genus, classified according to their species. The natures allotted to each are different, but all have form in the category of being. They are divided into quite distinct classes and so become the myriad things with none able to return to the essence (i.e. the original oneness). The result is that as active beings they are spoken of as being alive, and when they die they are spoken of as having come to an end. All these are things : none of them is able to thing things (wu wu). That which things things is not in the midst of the myriad things." The gist of this passage is akin to the Lao-Chuang position. But if the words "abyss ", " chaos," " mass," used as describing the heavens and the earth at a pre-beginning stage, have the same meaning as the terms in the T'ien Wen Hsün quotation, then the Supreme Oneness is in the category of shapes and features. It is, after all, no more than a thing.

According to these quotations from the *Huai Nan Book*, the treatment of the concepts of "Tao" and "being" and "nonbeing" is such that what we are given is knowledge of a certain kind of history, that is to say, the history of the way in which the universe came to be. It comes in the category of natural science, just as astronomy and geology do.

Natural science can increase man's knowledge, but it cannot elevate man's sphere of living. Philosophy can elevate man's sphere of living, but cannot increase his knowledge. Take the statement in the *Lao Tzŭ Book*: "Heaven and earth and the myriad things are produced from being, and being is produced from non-being." Now these words cannot afford us any knowledge of heaven and earth and the myriad things, as to how they came into existence; but what the *Huai Nan Book* sets out to do is to tell us how all things actually came into existence—the only trouble being that, as far as we can see, what it says is simply not true. The difference in the two outlooks marks the difference between philosophy and science.

Strictly speaking, the Han era possessed religion and science but had no pure philosophy. The main concepts and propositions in pure philosophy are all formal concepts and propositions; they make no assertion about actuality. The concepts and propositions in religion and science, on the other hand, are all positive and do make assertions about actuality. In recent years, religion and science constantly have taken up opposing positions, and his affectional side, just as Heaven has the Yin and the Yang. To speak of a man's constitution and leave out the affectional side would be like speaking of Heaven's Yang and leaving out its Yin. Man's nature is revealed without in humanheartedness, his affectional side is revealed without in greed." The same chapter also says, "The reality of the individual person has both greed and humanheartedness, the ch'i of both these qualities being in the individual. In speaking of *shen* (body or person or individual), this is derived from Heaven; for Heaven employs both the Yin and the Yang and the individual has a constitution which includes both greed and humanheartedness."

Heaven gives rein to the Yang and not to the Yin. So men also ought " to use their nature to restrict the affectional element ". This is the function of the mind. "The mind is that which prevents all evils from within, so that they cannot manifest themselves without, with the result that as Heaven has the Yang restricting the Yin, so the individual has his nature restricting the affectional. The principle is identical with that of Heaven. Hence the activities of the Yin do not succeed in having a bad effect in spring and summer, and the dark [lit. : ghost] of the moon has an aversion to the light of the sun, and there are times when the moon is waxing full and times when it is on the wane. Heaven's restriction of the Yin is like this. Surely man must lessen his desires and restrict the affectional, and thereby correspond to Heaven. This is restricting what Heaven restricts. To restrict what Heaven restricts is not restricting Heaven." (Examination of Terms and Titles.) Men are morally bound to restrict what Heaven restricts, and if they do, they can in time become perfectly good men. "For morality consists in men making up what Heaven leaves undone, accomplishing something extra, something outside not inside the compass of what Heaven itself performs. What Heaven performs has a limit, and Heaven stops at that point. That which is within this limit is ascribed to Heaven, that which is outside this limit is ascribed to kingly culture." (Ibid.)

The king is the one established by Heaven for the purpose of educating men in spiritual culture. As the chapter on examination of terms and titles says, "Heaven brought into existence the nature of ordinary people with its groundstock of goodness and its inability (of itself) to carry goodness to perfection. Thus on their behalf Heaven established the king in order to make them good. This is Heaven's aim. Ordinary people, having received knowledge, therefore *pan jo* is not knowledge. Sheng Chao, in his reply to a letter from Liu Yi-min, has the following : "With regard to the birth of knowledge, its limit is reached within the sphere of qualities. Since things have no real qualities, how can the sage's knowledge be knowledge?" And then in the *Discussion* on Pan Jo being not Knowledge he says about sage knowledge that it is knowledge of that which is qualityless, and that the sage man has this kind of knowledge so that he also has "the illumination of not-knowledge".

The illuminations of not-knowledge are in relation to the real essence of things. Hence, sage knowledge is not divorced from things. Not to be divorced from things is what is meant by the expression, "ying hui" or "fu hui", namely to deal with events and things. The sage having the pan jo knowledge which is not-knowledge, that is described as "emptying the mind". The sage also has "the illumination of not-knowledge", and that is described as "having a real illumination". "Emptiness does not fail to illuminate, and illumination does not fail to empty." "So then sage knowledge has a complete purview of essentials, and yet is not knowledge." His spirit has the function of dealing with things, and yet does not deliberate about them. Because it does not deliberate, therefore it has the capacity of being at home in the beyond. Because the sage has knowledge which is not knowledge, therefore he has the capacity of throwing a mysterious light on what is beyond the sphere of things. Although his knowledge is outside the sphere of things, yet at no time does he fail to deal with things. Although his spirit is in the beyond, yet it is all the time in the world." (Discussion on Pan Jo being not Knowledge.) "Hence in illuminating the qualityless, the sage does not lose the power of dealing with things. In his observation of change he is not in opposition to the qualityless." (Ibid.) "Hence the sage man is like a cavity, with his mind dwelling always on not-knowledge. He thus lives in the realm of change and utility and yet abides in the sphere of wu wei; is within the walls of the nameable and yet out in the open country of what goes beyond speech. He being silent and alone, empty and all open, his state of being cannot be clothed in language." (Reply to Liu Yi-min.) Here the realm of change and utility and confinement within the walls of the nameable refer to the sage's deeds ; the abiding in the sphere of wu wei and the open country of what goes beyond speech refers to the sphere in which the sage lives.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INNER-LIGHT SCHOOL (CH'AN TSUNG) OF BUDDHISM

The source of the Inner-light School of Buddhism may be traced back to Tao Sheng (d. 434). Tao Sheng and Sheng Chao were men of the same generation and had the same teacher. Tao Sheng laid down: "the thesis of good deeds receiving no recompense," "the thesis of sudden enlightenment for achieving Buddhahood," and "the thesis of making clear the Buddha nature in every man". These theses of his were the bases in theory of the Inner-light School in the T'ang era (618-907).

Tao Sheng's writings have for the most part not survived, and his detailed argument on the thesis of good deeds receiving no recompense is to-day undiscoverable. But his contemporary, Hui Yüan, wrote a Discussion Illustrating Recompense, in which he maintained the same thesis, and what he says may well have been influenced by Tao Sheng. According to Hui Yüan's statements, what is called recompense is what is induced by the mind. If in the mind there is a greedy love of anything [cp. concupiscence], then immediately there is a clamping and attachment; and if there is clamping and attachment, then what a man does is creaturely activity (yu wei); and if there is creaturely activity, then there is the creation of a cause in what Buddhists call the "revolving wheel of life and death"; and if there is a cause, then there is an effect; and this effect is the recompense. In this discussion of recompense Hui Yüan says : " The radical ignorance of a man obscures the light of his mind, with the result that feeling and thought become clamped on external objects : the greedy love saturates the nature, with the result that the Four Elements cohere and make his body. If the body coheres, then there is a boundary fixed between the I and the not-I. If feeling be clamped, then there is an agent of good and evil. If there be a boundary between the I and the not-I, then the body is regarded as belonging to the I, and thus cannot be forgotten. For there to be an agent of good and evil entails greedy love of life and the self bound on the Wheel. Thus he is willing to sleep 'in the Great Dream', be blinded by delusion. Doubt is hugged to the breast through the long night, and there is nothing but attachment. The result is that failure and success push each other aside

and blessing and calamity follow on each other's heels. Evil piles up and divine punishment comes of itself : sin comes to a head and hell is the punishment. This is the unavoidable fate without any shadow of doubt" (Hung Ming Chi, chüan 5). The sage man in his response to things acts without a deliberate mind. Hence although he responds to things, there is no clamping or attachment. That being so, then although his response appears to be creaturely activity it actually is not : that is, it is wu wei. Hence, although there is action on his part, yet it does not create a cause in the Buddhist wheel of cause and effect; and, there being no cause, there is no effect. In Hui Yüan's discussion we find : " (The sage man) takes everything as it comes and goes on in the natural round of events, and whether there is cohesion or dispersal (of the Four Elements), he holds nothing to be the I. For him, all things are part of the Great Dream, and although he dwells with being, he is identified with non-being. How can he make compartments in what comes to him? How can he be attached to anything by the tie of greedy love?" "It is as if the not-I and the I together are the gainers and in the mind there is no antithesis between the two. That being so, when swords are in play, he is absorbed in the mystic significance of it; when the battle is on, he meets the situation without revulsion : when he kills, it is not only that the killing does no harm to his spirit, but yet more the killing is not a killing." He is "the one who is as he is", and "although his merit covers the world, there is no reward. How can there be punishment of sin for such a one?" (op. cit.). Thus the sage man, although he takes action, does not bring about a cause, and since where there is no cause there is no effect, even if he kill a man, the killing is not a killing-his daily existence is in the midst of being, but he is identified with non-being. Thus, in spite of his activity, he is free from the bond of causation.

We now come to Tao Sheng's "thesis of sudden enlightenment for the achievement of Buddhahood". This is to be found in Hsieh Lin-yün's *Enquiry into the Ultimate.* "Although the sage man dwells in the midst of being, yet he iş identified with nonbeing." That is to say that the sage man's sphere of living is that of identification with non-being. As Liu Yi-min said in his letter to Sheng Chao, "The sage's mind is in the indifferentiable, in the silence of the beyond : his exercise of reason carries him to the ultimate and he is identified with non-being." And, "although his daily life is spent in the midst of the nameable,

he is far away amid the unnameable " (Chao Lun). Hsieh Lin-yün (op. cit.) also said : " (The sage) is one with non-being and has complete enlightenment. His exercise of reason carries him home to the One Ultimate." Now, as we have seen, non-being is qualityless, and to be qualityless is the real quality of all things, and knowledge of the real quality of all things is pan jo. On the other hand, what is without quality cannot be an object of knowledge, so that pan jo is the knowledge which is not knowledge. To have the knowledge of the real quality of all things is in fact to be one with it. This is the same as "his exercise of reason carries him to the ultimate and he is identified with non-being ", and is the same as being one with non-being and having complete enlightenment, with his exercise of reason carrying him home to the One Ultimate. His enlightenment being complete and he being one with non-being, he has an all-embracing vision of all creation. And it follows from this, that when he is one with nonbeing, then at the same time he has complete enlightenment. The state of identification with non-being is what is called nirvana. Nirvana and pan jo are two aspects of one and the same state of affairs. Nirvana is the sphere in which the man with pan jo lives. Pan jo is the knowledge pertaining to the man who has obtained nirvana. To obtain nirvana is to obtain pan jo: to obtain pan jo is to obtain nirvana.

Identification with non-being is something which once it is done it is done. Hence with nirvana and pan jo, once they are obtained they are obtained. The man who is engaged in spiritual cultivation cannot on one day become identified with one part of non-being and the next day become identified with another part. Non-being cannot be divided into parts. When a man identifies himself with non-being, he is completely identified : when he is not identified he is completely not identified. With nirvana and pan jo it is the same. Either a man has them, or he has them not. This is what is meant by "a sudden enlightenment and becoming Buddha". The sudden enlightenment is equivalent to obtaining pan jo, becoming Buddha is equivalent to obtaining nirvana. As Hsieh Lin-yün says (op. cit.) : "There is a Buddhist scholar with a new thesis who regards tranquil enlightenment as an exquisite mystery, one which does not allow of step by step attainment. Step by step teaching is for the foolishly ignorant, but one indivisible enlightenment gets the true idea." The Buddhist scholar referred to here is Tao Sheng.

What in the last resort is this "wu" which we translate as "non-being"? With regard to this, there are two interpretations. One is that it is not anything at all, a final nil, nullity as against all that is, even null in relation to its own nullity. It is without any quality whatever, and therefore cannot be defined as a something. The sage's mind is one with this nullity, hence the statement that the sage man's mind is like empty space. The other interpretation is that wu denotes the mind, the mind which brings all things into existence.¹ Without the mind as the origin there would not be anything at all. When the mind is at work, things come into apparent existence. When the mind is not at work, things do not come into existence.² The existence or nonexistence of things depends on the working or non-working of the mind. The real quality of things is the "original mind" in all living beings. This original is known as "the intrinsic nature" (hsing), or as it is sometimes put "the Buddha-nature". To have a vision of the real quality of all things is equivalent to being enlightened in one's own mind and getting a vision of one's own nature. Tao Sheng put this as follows : "To turn one's back on delusion is to attain to the ultimate; to attain to the ultimate is to attain to the origin." (Quoted by the Collected Commentary on the Nieh Pang Sutra.)

Sheng Chao adopted the first interpretation, Tao Sheng with his theory of the Buddha-nature apparently adopted the second. Later in the Inner-light School there were two tendencies. One tendency was in the direction of the first interpretation with the slogan " not mind, not Buddha". The other tendency was in the direction of the second interpretation with the slogan " being mind, being Buddha". To use the criterion of this book, the second interpretation is inferior to the first with its complete transcendence of shapes and features.

The Inner-light School, without respect to whether it accepted the first or the second interpretation of "wu", laid stress on five points. These were: (1) the First Principle is inexpressible; (2) spiritual cultivation cannot be cultivated; (3) in the last resort nothing is attained; (4) there is not anything very much in the Buddhist philosophy; (5) (the simple tasks of) carrying

¹ The force of this statement can only be appreciated if it be clearly understood that, to the Buddhist, the relation between the mind and things is like that between a piece of water and a wave. The wave does not exist apart from the water and is only a temporary form of its appearance. (F. Y. L.) ² Thus the Chinese term (*sheng*), which is translatable as bringing into existence, the computer of the product of the p

² Thus the Chinese term (*sheng*), which is translatable as bringing into existence, does not denote an act of production, such as is commonly meant when a carpenter produces a table.

water and chopping wood in all respects represent the mysterious Tao.

The First Principle is inexpressible because what it attempts to express is "beyond thought and the conscious mind" (vide Sheng Chao's Works). According to one tradition of the Innerlight School : "The body is like the sacred bodhi tree, the mind like a clearly reflecting mirror. At all times be diligent in cleansing the mirror. Do not let dust settle on it " (vide a hymn by Shen Hsiu, d. 716). In opposition to this there is Hui Neng's (d. 713) hymn with : "There is actually no bodhi tree, actually no mirror. Actually there is nothing at all where the dust can settle " (vide Sermons of the Six Patriarchs). The first two sentences in the Shen Hsiu quotation make an affirmation of a sort about what the term "First Principle" attempts to express, and thereby Shen Hsiu gave quality to what is qualityless. The last two sentences in the hymn are concerned with emphasizing that in order to reach what the "First Principle" attempts to express, there is need for the use of spiritual cultivation. The first two sentences of Hui Neng's hymn refer to the fact that in regard to what the "First Principle" attempts to express, nothing can be expressed. The last two sentences refer to the fact that in order to reach to what the "First Principle" attempts to express, there must not be any spiritual cultivation. This does not mean that there must be no cultivation, but that it must be cultivation by means of non-cultivation. The adherents of the Inner-light School for the most part maintained that not to disclose the First Principle was the right way of stating it. That is "statement by nonstatement ". They also maintained that not to cultivate spiritual cultivation was the right way to cultivate it. That is, cultivation by non-cultivation.1

Hui Neng's famous disciple, Huai Jang (677-744), in the record of his sayings appears as saying : "Ma Tsu (d. 788) [i.e. Tao Yi] lived in the Ch'uan Fa Monastery on the Nan Yo (South Holy Mountain). He occupied a solitary hut in which all alone he practised meditation (tso ch'an²) and paid no attention to those who came to visit him. The Teacher [i.e. Huai Jang] one day kept grinding bricks in front of the hut, but Ma Tsu paid no attention. This having gone on for a long time, Ma Tsu at

¹ Shen Hsiu and Hui Neng are representative of doctrinal differences which had a geographical counterpart, Shen Hsiu being famous as the representative of the North, Hui Neng as the representative of the South. (F. Y. L.) ² Sitting in meditation. "Meditation" is hardly strong enough for the Chinese word *ch'ar*, which emphasizes being lost in meditation. (E. R. H.)

length asked the Teacher what he was doing. He replied that he was grinding to make a mirror. Ma Tsu asked him how bricks could make a mirror. The Teacher replied that if grinding bricks could not make a mirror, how was it possible for *tso ch'an* to make a Buddha." (Record of the Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 1.) To say that *tso ch'an* could not make a Buddha was as much as to say that spiritual cultivation cannot be cultivated. Again (from the Record of Ma Tsu's Sayings), "The question was asked in what way spiritual cultivation could be cultivated. The Teacher [i.e. Ma Tsu] answered : 'Spiritual cultivation does not belong to the class of the cultivatable. If it be maintained that it can be obtained by cultivation, then, when it has been cultivated, it can also be lost as in the case of the śrāvaka (ordinary adherents). If we maintain that it is not cultivatable, then it is like the common man.""

The method of obtaining spiritual cultivation is neither cultivating it, nor not cultivating it; it is cultivation by noncultivation.

To do a cultivation by cultivation is an activity of the deliberate mind and that involves creaturely activity. Creaturely activity belongs to the category of production-annihilation, and so where there is a completion there is likewise a decay. As Huang Po [i.e. Hsi Yün, d. 847) said, "Supposing that through innumerable æons a man has practised the six Pāramitās, has done good and attained the Buddha's wisdom, this also is not finally lasting. Why is this so? The reason is because it is in causation. When the force of the cause is exhausted, he reverts to the permanent." And again he says : "All deeds are essentially permanent. All forces have their final day. They are like a dart discharged through the air : when its strength is exhausted, it turns and falls to the ground. They are all connected with the wheel of life-and-death. To cultivate in this fashion is to misunderstand the Buddha's idea and entails much fruitless labour. How vastly wrong is this !" (Records of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 3.) Cultivation with a deliberate purpose is creaturely activity : it is only one thing among other things and does not transcend them. What does transcend all things is what the Inner-light School described as "ceasing to be the booncompanion of things ". The lay monk P'ang Sun asked Ma Tsu : "What kind of a man is he who is not the boon-companion of things?" Ma Tsu replied : "Wait until at one draught you can drink up all the water in the West River and I will tell you."

(Records of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 1.) That which is not being a boon companion with things, is inexpressible, because what the expression expresses is itself a thing, so that at once there is a lapse into being the boon companion of things. Ma Tsu's reference to the condition of drinking up all the water in the West River was merely a way of saying that he could not answer the question. But this in itself was the answer. This is the way to express the inexpressible. If you want to express that which is not companionship with things, you have to use expressions which do not express it. If you want to obtain it, you have to use the cultivation which does not cultivate it.

Since the cultivation of spiritual cultivation is a form of creaturely activity, the ensuing actions, being within the Wheel, give birth to cause which means the creation of an inevadable recompense. As Huang Po put it, "If you do not understand having no deliberate mind, then you are attached to objects, and that is a state of devil-obstruction (mo chang). Even though you do something with a view to the Pure Land and to serving the Buddha, that also is action producing effect [i.e. Karma], and that is a state of Buddha-obstruction. The reason is that all these things obstruct the mind. Thus you will be controlled by causation and will have no freedom in going and coming [i.e. in dying and living]. Actually there is no such thing as bodhi wisdom. What the Buddha talked about in that connection was an adaptation of means to the end of men, like pretending yellow leaves are gold coins in order to stop the children crying. Therefore there is no such thing as anuttarabodhi (complete enlightenment). If you understand this, what is the use of being driven hither and thither (in your search)? The only thing to be done is to get rid of your old karma, according as opportunity offers, and not to create a new karma from which will flow new calamities." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 2.) Thus, to avoid creating a new karma involves avoiding spiritual cultivation. That being so, the true cultivation is to not cultivate. Hence this kind of cultivation is the cultivation of non-cultivating.

To avoid creating a new karma is not to refrain from doing anything at all, but to have no deliberate mind in whatever one does. As Ma Tsu put it, "The intrinsic nature of man is already enough. Not to be clamped to either good or evil, this is all that a man engaged in spiritual cultivation needs to do. To cleave to the good and to eschew evil, and to regard all things as unreal and to enter into contemplation, all these are creaturely activities.

And it is worse still if you are feverishly active over externals. The more you do that, the further you are from the true course." Further he said : "In a sutra there is the statement, 'It is only by the combination of various things that the body is produced.' When the body gets going, it is only these things which get going : when it fades out of existence, it is only these things which fade out. This getting going should not be taken as referring to the getting going of an ego, nor the fading out to the fading out of an ego (because the ego is unreal). When (you see that) earlier thoughts and later thoughts and thoughts in between are momentary thoughts independent of each other and do silently fade away, this is what is called sagari samādhi (the vision of all things in a Buddha-meditation)." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 1.) Not to be clamped to either good or evil is to have no deliberate mind. Not to be clamped is to be detached and not to stay put, and this amounts to not being chained to feeling. In the Record of Sayings of Pai Ch'ang [i.e. Huai Hai] we find a questioner asking : "How is it that with feeling there is no Buddha-nature and without feeling there is the Buddhanature?" The Teacher's reply was "to go from being a mortal man to being a Buddha, this is a foolish clinging to the Buddha : to pass from being a mortal man to being in hell, this is a foolish clinging to one's mortality. You have only to let your mind be contaminated by concupiscence in relation to mortality or Buddhahood and this is what is designated as having feeling and not having the Buddha-nature. As the term expresses it, ' with feeling there is no Buddha-nature.' And now with regard to mortality and Buddhahood together with all things whether in the category of being or non-being, you need only to have a mind which does not deliberately select and reject, and to have no thought about having no such deliberate mind. This is what is designated as 'having no feeling and having the Buddhanature'. To be unchained to feeling is what is meant by being without feeling. It does not mean not having any feeling at all, like a piece of wood or a stone, like the empty air or a yellow flower and the blue-green bamboo." There is also the statement : " If you tread the ladder which the Buddha trod, you are without feeling and have the Buddha-nature. If you do not tread the ladder which the Buddha trod, then you have feeling and have not the Buddha-nature." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan I.)

To be without a deliberate mind is to have no thoughts. In

the Sermons of the Sixth Patriarch or the T'an Scripture 1 there is the statement by Hui Neng : "With regard to the teaching of our school from the founders down to the present, we have established no thought (wu nien), no object (wu hsiang) and no attachment (wu ch'u) as of fundamental importance. This 'no object' means that there is an object there but it is not a real one. This ' no thought ' means that there is thought there but it is a momentary thought which silently fades away. This 'no attachment' means that in the midst of a momentary thought a man does not think of the object before (his consciousness)." Again, "In regard to things, a momentary thought does not stay put : that is to say that the man's mind is not enchained [i.e. is free]." And again, "This is to regard not staying put as of fundamental importance. Here what is denoted as being without thought does not mean not thinking of anything, nor of an expelling of any and every kind of thought." As is said (op. cit.), " If you do not think of anything, then the truth itself becomes a chain." As Shen Hui (a disciple of Hui Neng) said, "Where the śrāvaka (ordinary adherents) cultivate unreality and stay put in unreality, the very unreality enchains them : where they cultivate contemplation and stay put in it, the very contemplation enchains them : where they cultivate stillness, and stay put in it, the very stillness enchains them : where they cultivate the silence of the beyond and stay put in it, the very silence of the beyond enchains them." (vide Shen Hui's Literary Remains, Chüan 1.) Not to think of anything at all is thus the cultivation of unreality. The " having no thought (wu nien)" is to avoid contamination in one's mind from the objects before one's consciousness, is always to be detached from these objects." (vide T'an Scripture.) To avoid contamination from things is equivalent to one's momentary thoughts not staying put by those things, and this is the meaning of "not staying put". This also is equivalent to "there being an object, but it not being a real one ", and this is the meaning of the expression " no object ". Hence, where the T'an Scripture speaks of " no thought, no object, and no attachment ", it is really only saying "no thought". As the T'an Scripture puts it, " If one's former thoughts be attached to their objects, this is misery : if

¹ T'an refers to the platform on which a teacher stood and addressed his disciples. "Scripture" is a translation of *ching*, the word used by the early Buddhists only to denote a sutra translated from the Sanskrit. But *ching* was also the word universally used to denote any authoritative writing whether Confucianist or Taoist. We have here an instance of the Inner-light School using it as the designation for the recorded sayings of a great teacher. Thus *T'an Scripture* is the Inner-light School Scripture in which is recorded the platform teaching of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui Neng. (F.Y.L.)

one's later thoughts be detached from their objects, this is complete salvation (*bodhi*)." And this is the meaning of "good deeds receiving no recompense" and of "a sudden enlightenment and achieving Buddhahood".

Lin Chi [i.e. Yi Hsüan, d. 720] said : "The men of to-day who engage in spiritual cultivation fail to achieve their ends. What is their fault? Their fault is not having faith in themselves [i.e. in their own inner light]. If you are lacking in faith, then you are in a vastly undirected condition, absorbed by all the topsyturvy changes in your surroundings, subject to the revolutions in those surroundings, unable to achieve freedom. If you succeed in stopping the mind as it dashes hither and thither, searching for this and that, then you are not different from the Patriarchs and the Buddha. Do you wish to know who are the Patriarchs and the Buddha? All you who are before me listening to my teaching are the Patriarchs and the Buddha." (Record of the Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 4.) Also there is the passage, "You people who are engaged inspiritual cultivation, who wish to achieve the Buddha doctrine, for you there is no place for using effort. The only way is to do the ordinary things and nothing special, to relieve your bowels and to pass water, to wear clothes and to eat, when tired to lie down, as a simple fellow to laugh at yourself over these matters-though indeed the wise man understands (their significance) !" (Ibid.) The man engaged in special cultivation needs to have adequate faith in himself and to discard everything else. There is no need to exert oneself in special spiritual cultivation outside the common round of daily living, but only whilst in the midst of the common round of daily living, to be conscious of no object and to have no thought. This, then, is the striving in non-striving, the cultivating in noncultivating.

Lin Chi also said : "There are times when I eliminate the man but not his surroundings (ching), times when I eliminate his surroundings but not the man, times when I eliminate both, and times when I eliminate neither." "Man" is the subject which knows in regard to knowledge, his ching is what is known in regard to knowledge. According to a tradition of the Inner-light School, there is the incident of Abott Hui Ming approaching Hui Neng, the Sixth Patriarch, and begging for the doctrine. The Patriarch replied : "For the time being concentrate your mind, but do not think about either good or evil." The Abott having said that he was now thus prepared, the Patriarch said : "Having no thought about good and no thought about evil, just at this very moment give me the real features of the Abbot Ming, before his father and mother brought him into the world." The Abbot, under the impact of these words, was silently identified (with non-being). Then he did formal obeisance and said : "It is like a man drinking water, knowing in himself whether it is cold or warm." (*T*'an Scripture.)

Before his parents brought him into the world there was no Abbot Ming, a subject, neither was there an object in contrast to him as subject. The force of the Patriarch's request was to eliminate subject and object. When a man as a subject and its object are eliminated, then he is one with "non-being", and is to be described as having silent identification with non-being ; and by that is meant that not merely the man knows there is non-being but that he is actually identified with non-being.

Silent identification with non-being is the same as what is described as sudden enlightenment. So also what is described as, "when one single thought is in accord (with the truth), at once you have the ultimate wisdom of the Buddha." (*Recorded Sayings* of Shen Hui.) This enlightenment is not the same as what is ordinarily called knowledge, where there is the contrast between the knower and the known; for in a state of enlightenment there is no contrast between the man who is enlightened and that about which he is enlightened. Because there is no object of enlightenment, therefore we may rightly say that enlightenment is not knowledge. But enlightenment also is not lack of knowledge in the ordinary sense. It is neither the one nor the other but what is described as the knowledge which is not knowledge.

In the Recorded Sayings of Chao Chou [i.e. Ts'ung Nien] we find : "The Teacher asked Nan Ch'üan [i.e. P'u Yüan, d. 830] what the Tao was like. Ch'üan replied : 'The ordinary mind is the Tao.' The Teacher then asked whether the Tao can be something aimed at. The reply was : 'When you delineate the Tao, it is not the Tao.' The Teacher than asked, 'If you do not delineate the Tao, how do you know the Tao as the Tao?' The reply was : 'The Tao is not classifiable as either knowledge or not knowledge. Knowledge is illusory consciousness, not-knowledge is blind unconsciousness. If you really comprehend the indubitable Tao, it is like a wide open emptiness ; so how can distinctions be forced in it between right and wrong?'" (Recorded Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 13). Shu Chou [i.e. Ching Yüan, d. 1120] said : "My late teacher [i.e. Fa Yin] at thirty-five became a

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monk, and being in Cheng Tu submitted himself to learning the truths of the Buddhist Idealist (Wei Shih) School. On one occasion he heard a lecture as follows : 'For a bodhisattva entering on vision of the Tao, knowledge and truth become indifferentiable, as also objects and the spirit (of the bodhisattva) become a unity; and thus there ceases to be a distinction between the experiencer and the thing experienced. There were heretics who criticized this on the ground that if there is no distinction between the experiencer and the thing experienced, there can be nothing that the experiencer experiences. At that time no one was able to answer them, and all the lecturers ceased to ring the bell and beat the drum [i.e. to come out and lecture]. They went back home discarding their robes. Afterwards Hsüan Ch'üan saved this doctrine by telling people that the indifferentiability of knowledge and truth and the uniting of object and the spirit (of the man) was like a man drinking water and knowing in himself whether it is cold or warm. The next day Fa Yin was meditating on the fact that this is quite right; water is either cold or warm; but the question is what is knowing in one's self. Becoming immersed in doubts, he asked the lecturer, saying that he could not understand the truth of knowing in oneself. The lecturer was unable to answer his question. Later Fa Yin came to Fou Tu Mountain and met Yüan Ch'ien. He saw that he had penetrated the arcana of the truth, for all that he said was relevant to the issues in Fa Yin's mind. So he stayed there for a year. He was instructed to consider the saying : 'Sākyamuni had secret teachings, but Mahākāśyapa did not keep the secret.' One day Yüan Ch'ien said to Fa Yin : 'Why did you not come earlier? I am too old. You can go to the monk Shui Tuan (d. 1072) at the Pai Yün Monastery.' My former teacher then went to the Pai Yün Monastery, and one day on going into the hall of discussion, was greatly enlightened on the saying that Sākyamuni had secret teachings, but Mahākāśyapa did not keep the secret. 'Inevitably so, inevitably so (he said). Knowledge and truth are indifferentiable : the object and the spirit are a unity, like a man drinking water and knowing in himself whether it is cold or warm. This word indeed is the truth.' He wrote a poem in praise of this. 'In front of the mountain there is a patch of fallow field. With arms respectfully crossed I repeatedly asked the old greybeard teacher about the many times this field had been sold and bought back again. The answer was that this was because they liked the fir trees and bamboos which

entice the fresh winds.' The monk Shui Tuan nodded his head." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 32.)

The truth is an object of knowledge, an object to the spirit. Knowledge and spirit represent the knower, and the truth and the object represent what he knows. Thus the indifferentiability of knowledge and truth and the unifying of the object and the spirit represent the merging of the knower and what he knows, so that there is no distinction between them. Now, a man whilst seeing no distinction here, is still conscious that there is no distinction, and this is what is described as drinking water and knowing in one's self that it is cold or warm. As Nan Ch'üan said : "The Tao is not classifiable as either knowledge or notknowledge." Thus with the Tao there cannot be the distinction which is ordinarily made between the knower and what he knows. Therefore knowledge is designated as illusory consciousness. In other words, the Tao is not classifiable as knowledge. And yet, in relation to the non-distinction between knower and what he knows, and the enlightenment which comes thereby, men are not unselfconscious. If they were unselfconscious, then they would be in "a brutish state of primitive ignorance, a state of stupid empty-headedness ". This was why the statement was made that not-knowledge is not blind unselfconsciousness and why it was affirmed that the Tao is not classifiable as not-knowledge.

The Inner-light School constantly symbolized enlightenment as "the bottom of the tub falling out", the image being of the contents of a tub being in a moment all gone. So when a man obtains the enlightenment of the Tao, every kind of problem which he has is solved in a moment. These solutions are not positive solutions but an understanding in the midst of the enlightenment that these problems are basically not problems at all. This is why the statement was made that after the enlightenment the Tao thus obtained is "the indubitable Tao".

What is obtained through enlightenment is not any positive kind of knowledge, just as in the last resort it is not an attainment of any sort. As Shu Chou said on one occasion : "If at the present moment you comprehend this, where is that which you could not comprehend before?"¹

The conclusion to be drawn is that the thing about which you were deluded before is the same thing about which you are now enlightened, and the thing about which you are now enlightened is the same thing about which you were formerly

¹ A rhetorical question signifying that it is nowhere at all. (E. R. H.)

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deluded. (Cp. Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 32.) The Inner-light School were continually referring to the question whether a mountain is a mountain or a river is a river. In the state of delusion a mountain is a mountain and a river is a river, and when a man arrives at a state of enlightenment a mountain is still a mountain and a river still a river. Thus, with regard to "the patch of fallow land in front of the mountain", and "the many times it has been sold and bought back ", what was sold and what was bought back was just that patch of land, no more than what the monks had in the beginning. If you should want to get more out of the patch than what it is, that would be a case of "riding an ass and searching for it", and if, after realizing what you are riding on you should think you have got something new [i.e. not there before you realized it] that would be a case of "riding an ass and being unwilling to dismount". As Shu Chou put it, " there are only two diseases (of the mind), one riding an ass and searching for it, the other riding an ass and being unwilling to dismount. You say that if a man be riding an ass and at the same time searching for it, he is so silly that he should be punished. It is indeed a very serious disease. I tell you, do not search for the ass. An intelligent man will immediately understand my meaning, and thus the error of searching for the ass will be immediately eliminated, and the deluded state of his mind cease to exist. Having found the ass but being unwilling to dismount, this disease is the hardest to heal. What I say to you is, do not ride : you yourself are the ass, and everything is the ass. Why do you go on riding? If you do, you cannot expel your disease. If you do not ride [i.e. if you and the ass are one], the worlds in all directions are as a great space open to view. With these two diseases in one moment expelled, nothing remains infecting your mind. This is what it is to be a man of (real) spiritual cultivation ; and there is nothing more that you need to do." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 32.)

Before the enlightenment comes, there is no spiritual cultivation which can be deliberately cultivated. After the enlightenment has taken place, there is no further Buddhahood to be achieved. In *Huang Po's Recorded Sayings*, there is the statement : "A questioner asked where the Buddha was just at the moment of enlightenment. The Teacher said : '(If there be enlightenment), speech and silence, movement and stillness, every sight and every sound is a buddha state of affairs. Where ever could you go to find the Buddha? You do not put a head on top of a head or a

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mouth alongside of a mouth." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 3.) Not only is there no form of buddhahood which can be achieved, but also there is no form of enlightenment which can be obtained. As Ma Tsu put it : "We speak of enlightenment as contrasting with delusion. Since delusion is unreal, then enlightenment also cannot stand." (Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies, Chüan 1.) This is what is called "an obtaining which is not an obtaining ", and also " in the last resort nothing obtained ".

The conclusion is that the sage's daily life does not differ from the ordinary man's. The ordinary man, as the Inner-light School were continually saving, wears clothes, eats his food, relieves his bowels and makes water; and the sage also acts in the ordinary way. In the Second Instalment of the Light-Transmitting Record, there is a conversation which Hui Yüan [d. 1176], of the Lin Yin Temple, had with the Emperor Hsiao Tsung, of the Sung Dynasty. The Teacher said : "Formerly there was one Kuei Sheng, an Inner-light Teacher in Yeh District, who had a disciple. The disciple went to Hangchow to the Shih Fang Fang Hsüch Monastery there. Having made an enigmatic poem he communicated it to the people there. 'In a deep pool of the Fang Hsüch there was a turtle-nosed serpent. A queer thing when you come to think of it ! Who pulled out the head of the serpent?'" The Emperor said : "Another sentence is needed." The Teacher said : "The poem was made with only three sentences." The Emperor asked why only three sentences, and the Teacher answered : "His idea was that he wanted to wait (for someone else to finish the poem)." Later an old monk of the Ta Sui Temple, by name Yüan Ching (d. 1135), after reading over the three sentences, added his own words, saying : "In a deep pool of the Fang Hsüeh there was a turtle-nosed serpent." (Second Instalment of the Light-Transmitting Record.) After the pulling out of the head of the serpent, there was still the turtlenosed serpent of the Fang Hsüch pool there. This is what is meant by the expression "in the last resort nothing gained".

With regard to the main tenets in the Inner-light teaching, if the veil of the paradoxes be pierced, they actually are clear and simple. As Shu Chou said, "My late teacher said that the practice of Inner-light is to be described as the gold-and-ordure method. Before it is comprehended, it is like gold; after it is comprehended, it is like ordure." (*Record of Sayings of Ancient Worthies*, Chüan 32.) In other words, once the veil of the paradox is pierced, there is nothing fantastic or secret in it. Hence, the teachers in this school constantly said : "Śākyamuni had secret teachings, but Mahākāśyapa did not keep the secret." Yün Chu [i.e. Tao Yin, d. 901] said : "If you do not understand, then it is a secret of Śākyamuni's : if you do understand, it is Mahākāśyapa not keeping the secret." What constitutes the secret is the fact that the mass of people do not understand. As Fo Kuo [d. 1135] said : "What Mahākāśyapa did not keep secret, that was the real secret in Śākyamuni's sayings. When a saying is not kept secret, it is a secret : when it is a secret, it is not kept a secret."

The cosmological and psychological theories of the original Buddhism were regarded by the Inner-light School as " arguments which are the ordure of nonsense". (Pai Ch'ang's Sayings, vide Ancient Worthies, ch. 2.) They were also described as "useless furniture" by Yo Shan [i.e. Wei Yen, d. 834] (Sayings in the Light-Transmitting Record, ch. 14). These nonsense arguments were, so they felt, only fit to be thrown away, as furniture which is actually of no use. Then, after all these have been cleared away, what remains in the Buddhist teaching is only a few open secrets. As Lin Chi said, "In Huang Po's place I three times asked about the main tenets of Buddhism. Three times I was beaten. Afterwards in Ta Yü's place I was suddenly enlightened and said : 'At bottom there was not anything very much in Huang Po's Buddhism.'" (Ancient Worthies, ch. 4.) As a matter of fact, not merely Huang Po's Buddhism had not much to it, Buddhism itself had not much. This appears in the Light-Transmitting Record, ch. 11, where there is a different version of Lin Chi's words, namely that Buddhism has not much to it.

The meaning of passing from delusion to enlightenment is one of leaving one's mortal humanity behind and entering into sagehood. After that has come about, the sage's manner of life is no different from that of the ordinary man. That is to say, "the ordinary mind is the Tao." The sage's mind is the ordinary mind. This is described as leaving sagehood behind and entering into mortal humanity. To leave sagehood behind and enter mortal humanity is spoken of as a "falling into". But "falling into" may also be described both as a falling from sagehood and as a rising above sagehood. (Cp. Ts'ao Shan's Recorded Sayings.) This rising above sagehood is what is described as " over beyond the top of a hundred-foot bamboo-cane rising yet another step". Nan Ch'üan made the statement : "After coming to understand the other side, you come back and live on this side." (Ancient Worthies, ch. 12.) In the Ts'ao T'ung Record, there is also a quotation from Nan Ch'üan : "Having first passed over to the other side to learn something, to come back and live on this side." To go to the other side is to leave mortal humanity behind and enter on sagehood ; while to come back and live on this side is to leave sagehood behind and enter on mortal humanity.

Because for the sage to do what the ordinary man does is to leave sagehood behind and enter on mortal humanity, therefore, although what he does is what the ordinary man does, yet the significance of his doing of it is not the same as the ordinary man's doing of it. As Pai Ch'ang said : "That which before enlightenment comes is called lust and anger, after the enlightenment is called buddha-wisdom. The result is that a man is not different from what he was before, only what he does is different." (Ancient Worthies, ch. 1.) Huang Po said : "But to have the mind unattached to all and sundry things, this is to have perfect wisdom. It means to go daily back and forth, to sit and sleep, to speak every kind of word, but not to make a creaturely activity of it. In that case the words one speaks and the glances one directs represent perfect wisdom." (Ancient Worthies, ch. 2.) As the lay monk P'an Yün's hymn said : "The power to work miracles and to function divinely is in carrying water and chopping firewood." If ordinary people carry water and chop wood, that is nothing more than carrying water and chopping wood. If the sage does it, then it is in the nature of a miraculous deed and something divinely useful.

Because in this fashion he is different, therefore, although the sage man does what the ordinary man does, yet his deeds are not subject to recompense within the compass of the Wheel. As Huang Po put it : "When a questioner asked whether mowing grass and chopping down trees, digging out the earth and ploughing new soil, had the quality of sin, his reply was : 'One cannot say for certain whether these are sin, nor can one say for certain that they are not sin. Whether there is sin or not depends on the man. If he be contaminated by all and sundry things, and if the mind be embedded in selecting and rejecting, and he cannot go beyond the Three Sentences, this man for certain has sin. If he go beyond the Three Sentences, and his mind be empty like empty space and he even does not think of the empty space, this man for certain has no sin.'" Again, "According to the

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transmitted teaching of the Inner-light School the mind is empty like empty space and does not retain one single thing, not even consciousness of emptiness. Where then can sin come in and abide?" (Ancient Worthies, ch. 1.) Although the sage does all the ordinary things, he is not attached to them, nor is he caught in their toils. Huang Po said : "To eat rice all day and yet not swallow a grain, to walk all day and yet not tread an inch of the earth; and in that state to have no sense of an object either in relation to the not-I or in relation to the I; and all day long to be not separated from all sorts of things but not to be deluded by them, this is to be named the liberated man, the man who is at ease in himself." (Ancient Worthies, ch. 3.) Yün Men [i.e. Wen Yen] also said : "To have discussed affairs all day and yet have nothing come across your lips or teeth, nor to have spoken a single word: to have eaten rice and worn clothes all day and yet not have run against a grain of rice or to have touched a thread of silk." (Ancient Worthies, ch. 16.)

According to this view the sage is this kind of man, one at ease in himself, one who is liberated. As the *Record of T'ung Shan's Sayings* [i.e. Lang Ch'ieh, d. 869] puts it : "The Teacher on one occasion was fording a river with one Mi, and he asked Mi what sort of action crossing a river was. The reply was that it was (an action in which) the water did not wet the feet. The Teacher said : 'Most reverend Sir, you have declared it.' Mi asked him how he would describe it, and the Teacher replied : 'The feet are not wet by water.'" The significance of this is that one should do things without getting attached to them, without getting caught in their toils.

This is the outcome of the cultivation of non-cultivation. While this cultivation is going on, there is need that the momentary thoughts should be detached from their objects, that the objects should become not-objects. When the cultivation is completed, these thoughts are also detached from their objects and the objects have become not-objects. On the other hand, although during the earlier stage this desired state of mind is only achieved through conscious effort, in the second stage this state of mind requires no effort, but is so entirely naturally. This happens, not because the man engaged in this cultivation has nourished a habit of this kind and therefore does not need to exert any conscious effort, but because the man at the moment of achievement is suddenly enlightened and is identified with nonbeing. This is the reason why he need not exert any effort but

can be like that entirely naturally. The sphere in which the sage lives is one which is described as having "neither subject nor object eliminated ". In this sphere a mountain is still a mountain and a river still a river, but the man is not one who has left mortal humanity behind him and entered on sagehood. That, according to Pai Ch'ang, means that he is not a different man from what he was before, but that he lives and moves in a different place. Strictly speaking he ought to have said that he is a different man from what he was before, but lives and moves in the same place. That is, he leaves sagehood behind and enters into mortal humanity. So although there are still subject and object, to him it is as if there were no subject and no object. To eliminate both subject and object, this is the process of leaving mortal humanity behind and entering into sagehood. To eliminate neither subject nor object, this is the sphere of the man who leaves sagehood behind and enters into the sphere of mortal humanity.

In Chapter VII we stated that the Mystic School maintained that the sage also responded to the call of affairs and to the demands of the world, and that this meant that the sage was not handicapped by doing this. What Sheng Chao said [cp. c. 7] was : "Living in the world of active functioning and yet residing in the world of *wu wei*." This meant that to do the one is not incompatible with doing the other. But to speak like this is to make the sage's mysterious aloofness and his response to affairs and this world two different courses. It is not to make them one and the same course. If we follow the lead of the Inner-light School, then response to affairs and the world is, as far as the sage is concerned, of the nature of the Mysterious Tao. To live in the world of active functioning is the same as to reside in the world of *wu wei*; and to maintain this is to see that there are not two courses but only one course.

Thus the Inner-light School took a step beyond other schools in synthesizing the antithesis between the sublime and the common. On the other hand, if to carry water and chop wood are of the nature of the Mysterious Tao, then why should it still be necessary for a man engaged in spiritual cultivation to abandon his family and become a monk? Why should not the service of father or of sovereign also be of the nature of the Mysterious Tao? Here also there was need for a further word. The mission of the Neo-Confucianist School of the Sung and Ming eras was to say that word.

CHAPTER IX

THE NEO-CONFUCIANIST PHILOSOPHY

Chang Tsai's Ting Wan¹ (Correcting the Ignorant) is a Neo-Confucianist product of the greatest importance. In it we find "the Ch'ien (i.e. Heaven) is called Father, the K'un (i.e. Earth) is called Mother. (As a man) I am so insignificant that in a muddled kind of way I dwell between them. Therefore in regard to what fills the area which is Heaven and Earth ² I am part of its body, in regard to what directs the movements of Heaven and Earth, I am part of its nature (hsing). All men are my brothers from the same womb, all things my companions." Also : "To honour men of great age is to pay due respect to their [i.e. Heaven and Earth's] elders : to be tenderly kind to orphans and the weak is to give due care to their young people. The sages are men who are identified with them [i.e. Heaven and Earth], the worthies are their fine flower." Also : "To have understanding of their transforming power is to be able to hand down what they do, to plumb the depths of their divinity is to maintain their purpose." Also : "Wealth and honour, heavenly grace and favour, may be given to me to enrich my life : poverty and low estate, grief and sorrow, may be given to you as the discipline required for accomplishment. While I am alive, I serve them obediently: when I am dead, I am at peace." (Cheng Meng, To Enlighten Beginners, Ch'ien Ch'ang Chapter.) Neo-Confucianists of the time and those after thought very highly of this essay. As Ch'eng Hao said, "I have the same idea as that expressed in the Hsi Ming, but it is only Tzu Hou [i.e. Chang Tsai] whose pen has the power to do justice to it. Other men are unable to achieve this, for from the days of Mencius down there has been nobody who reaches this level. Now that we have this expressed, much talking is saved." (The Two Chengs' Literary Remains, ch. 2a.)

Chang Tsai regarded ch'i (vital gas, etc.) as the basic element in all things. The entire body of ch'i he called "the Supreme Harmony", or alternatively "the Tao". As he put it : "What is called the Tao is the Supreme Harmony. Within it is contained

¹ Also known as the Hsi Ming.

^a The question arises here in an acute form whether t ien were more accurately translated as "the heavens" or "Heaven" and ti as "the earth" or "Earth". The sense here for the most part requires "the heavens" and "the earth", and yet his concept goes beyond the material. (E. R. H.)

the inherent natures of floating and sinking, rising and falling, moving and being still, with all of them affecting each other. These natures are what gave birth to the beginning of the mutual stimulation of conquering and being conquered, of declining and progressing." (To Enlighten Beginners, T'ai Ho Chapter.) To Chang Tsai within this ch'i is included the Yin and the Yang. The ch'i which has the Yin quality tends to be still, to be submerged and to fall, whilst the ch'i which has the Yang quality tends to move, to float on the surface, and to rise. Ch'i being like this, therefore "there are rising and falling, flying and dispersing which never cease ". Since in this there is mutual stimulation, therefore there is cohesion and dispersion continually going on. Where there is cohesion, there things come to be : where there is dispersion, there things revert back to being ch'i. "The cohesion of ch'i in the Great Emptiness is like water congealing and becoming ice, and its dispersion like ice melting and becoming water." (Ibid.)

Ch'ien and K'un are alternative names for Heaven and Earth. All men and all things are brought into existence by Heaven and Earth. Thus they may well be described as the father and mother of all men and all things, and men and things are alike in treating them as father and mother. Nevertheless, there is this respect in which men and things are different, namely that man, apart from his human body, possesses in addition "the nature of Heaven and Earth ". I, along with Heaven and Earth, am a cohering point of one and the same ch'i. Therefore I, along with Heaven and Earth and all things, am basically one body. "In regard to what fills the area of Heaven and Earth, I am part of its body." But the nature of Heaven and Earth signifies the directive force there. Since my nature is what I derive from the nature of Heaven and Earth, " in regard to what directs the movements of Heaven and Earth, I am part of its nature." Thus in regard to "my seven-foot tall body",¹ in comparison with Heaven and Earth, I am a very insignificant object : in regard to the basis of my body and its mind and nature, I am one with Heaven and Earth and all things. To carry understanding to this point is to know that all men are my brothers from the same womb, all things my companions. As Chang Tsai said : "The nature is one fountain head of all things : the nature is not something I can take for my private edification. It is only a great man who can carry this tao to its limit. Therefore when he

¹ The Chinese chih (foot) equals roughly ten inches.

wants to establish himself, he is sure to establish all : in the matter of his knowledge, it is sure to be all-inclusive; in the matter of his loving, to include every one : in the matter of his completion, to complete others. Those who obfuscate their nature have no idea how to obey our logic of humanity, and nothing can be done with them." (To Enlignten Beginners, Ch'eng Ming Chapter.)

It is not only the nature which is one fountain head of all things and which I cannot take for my private edification. The ch'i also is a fountain head which I cannot take for my private edification. The nature of man reveals a power to have conscious knowledge, and "the combination of this nature and conscious knowledge has a name, the mind ". (T'ai Ho Chapter.) Men have minds and thereby are able to have self-consciousness and understanding. Since the nature along with ch'i makes the source from which things come, the sage man is conscious of this and understands it. Therefore, when he wants to establish himself he is able also to establish others, to make his knowledge all-inclusive, to love all men alike, and to complete all while he is completing himself. This amounts to being able to give full development to his mind and to his human nature. Chang Tsai made the statement : "If a man enlarges his mind, then he is able to identify himself with all the things in the world. If there be any part of things with which he is not identified, then his mind has something beyond its range. The minds of ordinary people are restricted within the narrow range of what they hear and see. The sage gives full development to his human nature and does not pen his mind inside what he hears and sees. In his view of the whole world not one thing but is part of himself. This is how Mencius came to say that the full development of a man's mind was equivalent to comprehending his human nature and comprehending Heaven. Heaven is so vast that there is nothing beyond it; and therefore the mind which has something beyond its range is inadequate for being united with the mind of Heaven." (To Enlighten Beginners, Ta Hsin Chapter.)

For there to be nothing beyond is the extremity of vastness, is to be the Great Whole. Since Heaven is so, the man who enlarges his mind unites it with the mind of Heaven, and therefore for him there is nothing beyond the range of his mind. For the man who unites his mind with the mind of Heaven everything he sets about, every movement he makes, is "in aid of the nourishing and transforming work of Heaven and Earth". This is the ground

of the statement in Correcting the Ignorant, that honouring men of great age is paying due respect to the elders of Heaven and Earth : being tenderly kind to orphans and the weak is giving due care to the young people of Heaven and Earth. Now, if the men of great age be taken as only the old men in one's society, and the young as only the young in one's society, then this honouring and caring are nothing more than moral acts. But the seniors in society are also Heaven's seniors, the young also Heaven's young ones. Now, the man who unites his mind with Heaven on the basis of his self-conscious understanding sets out to honour men of great age and to be kind to orphans and the weak. In so doing he is, just the same, honouring men of great age and being kind to orphans and the weak, but the significance of his actions is to treat Heaven's seniors as they should be treated and Heaven's young as they should be treated. In this respect, his actions transcend the moral. Thus, to the man whose mind is united with Heaven, the study of Nature and the making use of Nature in science are an understanding of the transforming work of Heaven and Earth, a plumbing of the depths of their divinity. To Heaven belongs the power of transforming, and when a man studies and comprehends this, this is a following on of the work which Heaven has not completed. The man whose mind is united with Heaven in doing these various things is thus like a filial son following on with his father's purposes, continuing his father's work. Hence the significance of it is that of serving Heaven. This kind of man on the basis of his self-conscious understanding does his duty in society, and it is all the same to him whether he is rich and of high station or poor and of low station, as also whether he come to a ripe old age or whether he die young. For every day that he is alive he has a day in which he can continue doing his duty in society : for every day that he is dead he rests in eternal peace. As was said above, "while I live, I obediently serve Heaven : when I am dead I am at peace."

This of which we have been speaking represents a particular attitude to life and also a particular method of spiritual cultivation. This method has been described in Chapter III as "accumulation of righteousness". The Neo-Confucianists, in speaking of "the efforts necessary for achieving sageness" always have this method of cultivation in mind, so that they regarded themselves as in the true tradition of Mencius. The man whose mind is united with Heaven in all that he does, transcends the moral, and therefore the sphere in which he lives transcends the

moral sphere. Likewise, he is not restricted to his social environment. On the contrary, for him there is no distinction between being in this world and being outside it. Thus the antithesis between the sublime and the common is synthesized. Since this principle is made clear in Chang Tsai's *Correcting the Ignorant*, here then is where the value of this work lies.

Ch'eng Hao said : "I have the same idea as is expressed in Correcting the Ignorant." This idea is the idea of making all things one body, an idea on which Ch'eng Hao himself spoke in the dictum of his which was later known as Comprehending humanheartedness (jen). There he said : "The learner needs first to comprehend jen. The jen man is indifferentiably one with all things. Righteousness, ritual courtesy, wisdom, and good faith, all these are jen. Get to comprehend this truth and cultivate it in sincerity and reverence : that is all that is required." Also : "This Tao has nothing in contrast to it : even the word great is inadequate to express it. The function of Heaven and Earth is my function." Mencius said : "There is everything in one's I." You must reflect and find that it is really so. Then it is a source of immense joy. If your reflecting does not reveal that it is really so, then there are two things which are still in contrast : even though you are trying to unite the I with the not-I, you have not yet achieved the unity of the self and the not-self. How then can joy be obtained? In Correcting the Ignorant there is a perfect statement about this unity: "If you engage in spiritual cultivation with the idea which is there, surely there is nothing further requiring to be done." (The Two Ch'engs' Literary Remains, ch. 24.) The jen referred to in this passage is that special jen which the Neo-Confucianist associated with being united with all things. As Ch'eng Hao said : "A doctor should speak of paralysis in a man's arms or legs as non-jen, for thus the term jen acquires its greatest significance. The jen man takes Heaven and Earth and all things as one body with himself, as there being nothing which is not his self. Having recognized them as himself, there is no limit to which he cannot go. If there be not this relationship with the self, it follows of necessity that there is no connection between them. If the hand or the foot are not-jen, it means that the ch'i is not circulating freely and the parts are not properly connected with each other. Therefore to ' distribute all round and to bring salvation to all', this is the function of the sage man." (Op. cit., ch. 2a.)

Now we have stated above in Chapter IV that if we use the

Taoist method of discarding knowledge, the indifferentiable oneness is in regard to the intellect, and that if we use the Confucianist method of accumulating righteousness, the indifferentiable oneness is a oneness in regard to the emotions. The ien of becoming one body with all things to which Ch'eng Hao refers here is indeed an emotional oneness. The jen man is emotionally become one body, the " one body " being an inclusive term for everything that exists. This body is the Great Whole. This Great Whole is not a formal whole. Within this Great Whole, according to Ch'eng Hao's idea, everything has an inward connection with everything else. As Ch'eng Hao said : "The supreme virtue of Heaven and Earth is to give life." 1 He also said : "The tendencies in life are altogether admirable. This comes under the term 'jen'. Jen represents oneness with Heaven and Earth ; but men elect to minimize themselves. Why do they ever do this?" (Op. cit., ch. 11.) The tendencies in life in all things are the jen of Heaven and Earth. If there be an emotional oneness with all things, then this is the jen of the jen man. Since jen in this sense has as wide a scope as Heaven and Earth, we can see why the statement was made that *ien* represents oneness with Heaven and Earth.

Since the term *jen* has as wide a scope as Heaven and Earth, we have the statement about it : " that this Tao has nothing in contrast to it : even the term 'great' is inadequate to express it." Any and every sort of thing is actually part of the life of Heaven and Earth, and everything comes within the scope of the ien of Heaven and Earth ; but it does not follow that any and every sort of thing is conscious of being so. For example, the great majority of men are not conscious that they are so. This is what is meant by men electing to minimize themselves. The sage man not only comes within the scope of the life of Heaven and Earth : he is also conscious that really and truly he is so. This is what is meant by reflecting and finding that he is really one with all things. This reflecting "is like turning a ray of light on one's self", and here denotes the power of reflection in self-consciousness and understanding. Thus by means of reflection there comes the genuine consciousness of everything being in one's I. If reflection produces no real consciousness of this, then the distinction between the I and the not-I still remains. If I

¹ This is a quotation from the Ti Amplifications. In Chapter V we translated sheng as "produce", here we say "give life", as this seems to be Ch'eng Hao's interpretation of the term. (E. R. H.)

remain I, and Heaven and Earth remain Heaven and Earth, then unity is not achieved. The expression "comprehending the truth" is what is spoken of in my *Hsin Yüan Jen* as "knowing Heaven". So also in relation to "cultivating this in sincerity and reverence", this is equivalent to using a real mind and a real intention in devoting one's self to this truth. When this has continued for a long time, then it is possible to have the experience of being blended as one body with all things, or, as my *Hsin Yüan Jen* expresses it, "to be identified with Heaven."

Mencius' method of "nourishing the great morale" was that of accumulating righteousness. That means, as Mencius said, "something to be put into action." In other words, at all times accumulating it, not ceasing for a moment : as he said, "never forgetting." When this accumulating has gone on for a considerable time, then the great morale of itself comes into existence. It is impossible for it to be gained suddenly or for one to give artificial assistance to it to grow. This is the method of accumulating righteousness. Ch'eng Hao said that it was cultivated by sincerity and reverence, no more and no less, and asked what more could be needed. These expressions bear a close resemblance in meaning to those used by Mencius.

The man who has become really and truly a jen man is the sage, and the sage is one body with Heaven and Earth and all things. For him Heaven and Earth and all things are not something external to himself, nor is he in relation to them something internal. The contrast as between himself and others for him no longer exists. They are just in each other, and there is no distinction of external and internal between them. The sage man also responds to the world, and here again the distinction of being in this world and being outside it no longer exists. Ch'eng Hao, in a letter replying to one from Chang Tsai, makes the statement: "With regard to what I speak of as spiritual composure, in activity there is this composure : in stillness also. There is no anticipating and no retrospecting, no distinction of internal and external. If you take external things to be external and regard yourself as implicated in following them, then you are taking your nature 1 to be divided into two parts, external and internal. Further, if you regard your nature as able to follow after things outside, then whilst it is engaged outside, what is there

¹ In this letter there can be no question but that when he speaks of the nature (*hsing*) he is really thinking of the mind part of *hsing*. (E. R. H.)

inside you? You may have a purpose to eliminate the enticements of the external, but you are then ignoring the fact that in one's nature there is no distinction of external and internal. If the internal and the external are to be taken as entirely separate. then surely you are straight away disqualified from advocating spiritual composure! The constancy of Heaven and Earth lies in the fact that there is mind in all things, but Heaven and Earth have no mind. The constancy of the sage man lies in the fact that his feeling is in accord with all things, but he himself has no feeling,¹ with the result that in learning to be a man of principled intelligence (*chun tzŭ*) there is nothing more important than being open and impartial, than showing no favour to one thing or the other, but responding spontaneously to everything as it comes. The actual condition in men is to have a blind spot. and this is the cause of their inability to achieve the Tao. The trouble generally is that they are selfish and rely on the use of their intellect. Since they are selfish, they are precluded from making their actions to be spontaneous responses : since they rely on the use of the intellect, they cannot regard their intuitions as something entirely natural. As to regarding the external as wrong and the internal as right, this is not so good as forgetting that there is any external and internal. If you forget this distinction, then you are in a limpid state with nothing to disturb you. In that state you have spiritual composure. Having spiritual composure, then you are clear-minded : being clear-minded, what is there which can catch you in its toils when you respond to things?" (Collected Papers, ch. 3.) This letter of Ch'eng Hao's later generations have entitled " the letter on the Composure of the Nature". The ideas expressed in this letter are in many respects similar to those held by the Inner-light School. Take their ideas and carry them to their logical conclusion, and what you get is just what Ch'eng Hao had to say in this letter.

What the Neo-Confucianists took to be an antithesis between the active and the still is what we have dealt with in previous chapters where an antithesis was made between being in this world and being outside it. Other-worldly people are the latter, separating themselves from society and becoming mysteriously remote, stillness being their guiding principle. This-worldly people are the former, complying with the demands of practical

¹ The idea here is not that the sage is without feeling, but that his feeling is not caught in the toils. This is because there is no selfish element in his feeling. (Cf. Wang Pi's theory in Chapter 7.) (E. R. H.)

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affairs, with activity as their guiding principle. Lao Tzŭ and Chuang Tzu, together with the original Buddhists, all made stillness their guiding principle. The earlier Neo-Confucianists also did so, as for example Chou Tun-yi, who said : "The sages fixed the principles of jen and yi (righteousness), and made stillness the guiding principle, thus establishing a standard for mankind." (T'ai Chi T'u Shuo.) The later Neo-Confucianists in their statements about spheres of living no longer inculcated stillness but composure, in their statements about methods of spiritual cultivation no longer urged stillness but reverence. This was a very great change. Activity and stillness are antithetical. Composure and reverence are not antithetical to activity, but represent a synthesis of stillness and activity. In regard to living, activity may be composed as stillness is composed, whilst, in regard to method, activity may be reverent as stillness is reverent.

The sage man is composed both in his activity and in his stillness, and for him there is no distinction between the external and internal. Because he is blended into one body with all things, and everything is in his I, and the function of Heaven and Earth are his function, therefore for him there is nothing external to him. The man to whom stillness is the guiding principle, regards the affairs of the world as externals, and sees in them forms of enticement which are calculated to throw his stillness into confusion. For the sage man, however, to whom there is nothing external and nothing internal, the result is that he is not concerned with eliminating external enticements. The scope of his mind is as wide as the scope of Heaven and Earth, and he, like Heaven and Earth, has no private predilections. His mind is like "the emptiness of a mirror and the evenness of a balance". When business comes to him, he follows the naturalness of his mind's intuitive response to the demand.

The sage man is not selfish, nor does he rely on the use of his intellect. This corresponds to what the Mystic School and the Inner-light School called "having no deliberate mind". Whereas these two schools said that the sage man had no deliberate mind, what the Neo-Confucianists said was that, whilst Heaven and Earth have no mind, the sage man has a mind, though not a deliberate mind. As Ch'eng Hao put it : "The constancy of Heaven and Earth lies in the fact that there is mind in all things, but Heaven and Earth have no mind. The constancy of the sage man lies in the fact that his feeling is in