Introduction

Toward the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D., there began a Buddha-Taoist controversy which was to have enormous consequences for both Buddhists and Taoists. This dispute centered around the bizarre theory that Buddhism was none other than a reflection of native Chinese Taoism, and that the Buddha was himself none other than Lao-tzu or, if not Lao-tzu, one of Lao-tzu's disciples. It is not the purpose of this paper to recapitulate the history of this controversy, since an admirable study of it, particularly during its early stages, has already been presented by E. Zürcher. It will suffice here merely to summarize certain points as regards this strange theory, which later came to be known as the "Conversion of the Barbarians," Hua-hu)

The theory apparently goes back to the well-known Shih-chi biography of Lao-tzu. There we read that Lao-tzu, having decided to retire from the world, because of the decline of the Chou House, met at the Western Pass a frontier-guard who begged from him the work which later generations called the Tao Te Ching. Afterwards, the master "departed and none knows where he died." This latter sentence, if it had been the frontier gate itself, could hardly have opened up a prospect more pregnant with fantastic possibilities. It provided later authors with just enough, but not too much information, and it carried its own aura of "Taoist" mystery. Thus, in the famous memorial of Hsiang K'ai of 166 A.D., which contains one of the earliest mentions of Buddhism in China, we find the following passage: "Some say Lao-tzu entered among the I and Ti (barbarians) and became the Buddha." And the Lieh-hsien chuan, a work the present version of which is attested from the beginning of the second century A.D., adds
(mistakenly; we will return to this later) that the frontier-guard was named Kuan Yin-tzu, that he was a Chou Dynasty official, and that "he together with Lao-tzu went west through the [desert] of the Shifting Sands." By ca. 300 A.D., this legend, which originally seems only to have stressed the cultural superiority and primacy of Chinese Taoism vs. its later (and consequently inferior and less pure) Indian version, seems to have turned into polemics. At this stage, Buddhism was claimed to be a doctrine which was deliberately taught by Lao-tzu (or by one of his disciples) to the barbarians so that, if its tenets were followed, this would result in their self-destruction. This ingenious theory of genocide was perfectly justified from the Taoist opponent's point of view, since the barbarians possessed natures no higher than that of beasts. And it is at this stage that the unknown Taoist author (or authors) wrote the series of anti-Buddhist arguments which are partially incorporated in and refuted by the equally unknown author of the Cheng-wu 

The phrase which by most commentators and translators is taken to mean "the frontier-guard Yin Hsi said, 'Master, you are about to hide [yourself and the light of the doctrine] . . ." has rather convincingly been shown by CH'IEN Mu to be a misinterpretation of the Shih-chi text, which has Kuan ling yinhsi yüeh, tzuchiang yin i. According to Ch'ien Mu, hsi here is to be taken in the sense of hsi-huan, "delighted". The sentence would therefore read, "The frontier-guard, delighted [at seeing Lao-tzu], said . . .". Hence, the ubiquitous Yin Hsi, of the later Taoist and Buddhist legends, disappears in a delightfully Taoist fashion à la wu-ming. But this is not the end of confusion. Both the Taoist and Buddhist opponents in the Cheng-wu lun have confused this non-existent Yin Hsi with an actually existent, but equally elusive, late fourth century B.C. philosopher, Yin-wen tzu. How this further misconception arose must remain a mystery. This brings us to the question of the authenticity and dating of the essay.

Zürcher believes that the Cheng-wu lun "very probably is the oldest Chinese Buddhist treatise in existence". He bases this opinion on his assumption that the Liu-huo lun by Mou-tzu is later and dates from the fourth or the early fifth century A.D. As he has shown, the mention of

4 As quoted in the Chi-chi in Takikawa Kametaro, Shiki kaihū kōshō (Tokyo, 1934), chūan 63, p. 6. Later editions of the Lieh hsien chuan add the words "and converted the barbarians (hua-hu)."
5 Zürcher, Conquest, p. 290.
6 See Shiki kaihū kōshō, chūan 63, p. 6; and Ch'ien Mu, Lao-chuang t'ung-pien (Hongkong, 1958), p. 16.
7 On Yin-wen and Yin-wen tzu, see Daikanwajiten, vol. 4, no. 7631.82,83, respectively.
8 Zürcher, Conquest, p. 304.

[14] 關尹子
[15] 集解
[16] 正説論
[17] 關令尹喜日子将隱矣
[18] 尹文子
[19] 眞子 理惑論
the "capital Lo(yang)" in the Cheng-wu lun would point to a date prior to the transfer of the Chin capital to Chien-k'ang in 316 A.D. Moreover, the reference in the last paragraphs to the death of Chou Chung-chhií (i.e. the magistrate Chou Sung) gives us the terminus post quem for the essay since, according to his biography in Chin-shu 61, Chou Sung was executed ca. 324 A.D. To Zürcher's argument we may add that the only other man mentioned in the text who lived during the Chin Dynasty is Shih Ch'ung. His biography in the Chin-shu is appended to that of his father, Shih Pao, and states that Ch'ung was executed ca. 300 A.D.

Also, the [Ta]-lo-t'an ching, which is the only scripture that can be identified and dated in the Cheng-wu lun, was translated on two occasions: the first time in 302 A.D. by Dharmarakṣa, and the second time by Fa-chü (and Fa-li) during the reigns of Emperors Hui and Huai (290—313). All internal textual evidence agrees therefore with the assumption that the Cheng-wu lun was written early in the fourth century. As regards the argumentation itself, one is struck by the fact that the Taoist antagonist cites Buddhist theories in order to disprove Buddhism, and that the Buddhist apologist sounds like a Confucian strongly influenced by Taoism. This lack of clear doctrinal distinctions also seems to point to an early date for our treatise. In later polemical works these lines are much more strongly drawn. For example, the Buddhist accepts the theory that Lao-tzu was the disciple of the Buddha, and that Yin-wen tzu was the disciple of Lao-tzu. (It, indeed, seems probable, as Zürcher has observed, that there must have been a Buddhist counterversion of the Hua-hu story in which Lao-tzu figures as a mere disciple of the Buddha, possibly, the venerable Kāśyapa.) Again, apparently (if only for the sake of debate), the Taoist antagonist accepts the Buddhist theory of rebirth (as animals, etc.) with its implicit doctrine of karman, in order to prove that the Buddha is a mere sinner as other individuals are, etc. On the other hand, the Buddhist accepts the theory of fate determined by Yin and Yang, a theory of cosmology which is totally foreign to Indian Buddhism. However in accepting this he is, after all, only demonstrating that he is Chinese. Nevertheless, it is to be observed that the majority of his examples and allusions are taken from the Confucian canon and other classical Chinese secular works rather than from

---

10 Zürcher, Conquest, p. 15
11 [Ssu-ma] Lun, Prince of Chao slew the wife of Emperor Hui (Empress Chia) and assumed complete power in 300 A.D. The order for the execution and the subsequent suicide of Shih Ch'ung is recorded in the Chin-shu almost immediately after the statement that "at this time [Ssu-ma] Lun, Prince of Chao assumed complete authority". We may therefore place Shih Ch'ung's death in 300 or, at the latest, 301 A.D. See Chin-shu, chüan 33, "Biography of Shih Ch'ung," appended to the "Biography of Shih Pao". Chin-shu chiao-chu ed., p. 706D, 708A); see also note 117 of this paper.
12 See note 48 of this paper.
13 Zürcher, Conquest, p. 312.
Buddhist sūtras, sāstras or jātakas. In fact, the Buddhist apologist in his moving denunciation of unjustified warfare happily draws from the Tao Te Ching as well as upon several stirring episodes from the Ch’un-ch’iu and the Shih-chi. Furthermore, if we are to judge the quality of the dialogue and its dialectic, it definitely appears unsophisticated. Both the Buddhist doctrine and the Buddhist technical terminology with which it is presented seem far more naive than, for example, that of the Feng-ia yao, a treatise written by Hsi Ch’ao [10] (336–377), a lay follower of Chih Tun [11] (314–366). Thus, considering all of these factors, I believe with Zürcher that if the Cheng-wu lun is not the earliest Buddhist treatise preserved to our time, it certainly is one of the earliest, and that we may safely assume that we have here a document from the very period when one of the most serious ideological battles commenced between early Chinese Buddhism and Taoism. Moreover, this battle was won by the Buddhists only in the latter half of the thirteenth century when their privileged position of the Yüan court enabled them to persuade the emperor to institute a literary inquisition against all forms of the Hua-hu literature. It is my hope that this first translation of such an important treatise will enable us better to understand this conflict.

Translation

Cheng-wu lun: The Rectification of Unjustified Criticism
(Anonymous)

[Hung-ming chi] [18] I.T. 52. 7a

[Yin-wen tzu and Buddhism]

(1). There is a heretic who has maligned the Buddha by saying “Yin-wen tzu,” possessing supernatural powers, grieved that among those barbarians father and son shared the same wife; that they were avaricious, lacking in compassion, given to hatred, blind to all else but profit, lacking in shame, and encroached upon [the rights of others] without ever being satisfied, slaughtering and ravaging living beings; that they were unable

---

[11] Thereafter only a few stray quotations or fragments remained of this curious controversy.
[12] I-jen, tīrtika, non-Buddhist.
[14] Shen-t’ung, abhiṣekā. On this term see Mochizuki, Bukkyō-daijiten, vol. 3, 2080B.

---

to yield, and truly could not be made to understand through exhortation; hence, he made several things [to deal with them]," etc.

(2). And also: "He had disciple(s) who had obtained the Way, perform miracles," etc. "He also forbade them to take life, and had them do away with marriage so that they would have no posterity. What method for exterminating the barbarians could be better than this?", etc.

[T. 55. 7b] The Rectification states:

The maligner has said: "There is no Buddha," again he has said, "Wen-tzu possessed supernatural powers," also he has stated, "He had disciple(s) who had obtained the Way, and who were capable of performing miracles and expanding [themselves] and fully realizing the inconceivable principles [of the Tao]." This [sort of] talk truly is to have a head but to lack a brain.

Now Yin-wen tzu was none other than Lao-tzu's disciple, and Lao-tzu was the disciple of the Buddha. Therefore, his Canon states, "He (i.e. Lao-tzu) heard the Way in Chu-ch'ien. There was [in that country] a venerable master who has consumately entered Nirvāṇa, [a state that know] neither beginning nor end, eternal, continuing without inter­mission." Chu-ch'ien is India (T'ien-chu); Ni-huan (a transliteration of Nirvāṇa) is a barbarian (var. "Indian") phrase which means in Chinese Wu-wei, "Non-action." If the Buddha did not precede Lao-tzu, how could

---

20 Pien-hua, nirmita. The power of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas miraculously to transform themselves or to cause illusions. 
21 Read hsiung wu shin with S. Y. M. P. ed., literally, "a breast without a heart". As the heart was considered the seat of intelligence, the idiom corresponds to our "a head but no brain". 
22 Zürcher, Conquest, p. 311, translates this passage, ku ch'i ching yün, as "Therefore it is said in the scripture in question". But in the light of the antecedent this must refer to Lao-tzu. But what is this "scripture"? There are good reasons to suppose that it was an early version of the Hsi-sheng ching, the present text of which commences with almost identical words, Lao-tzu hsi-sheng k'ai-lao chu-ch'ien hao ku-hsien-sheng shan ju wu-wei pu-chung pu-shih yung-ts'un mien-mien. "Lao-tzu ascended to the West to open up the Way in Chu-ch'ien (India). He was called Ku Hsien-sheng ("Old Master"). He had consumately entered Nirvāṇa, [a state that knows neither beginning nor end, eternal, continuing without intermission]. See the Hsi-sheng ching in the Tao-ts'ang, vol. 346-347 and 349-450, and Zürcher, Conquest, p. 436, note 110. 
23 Chu-ch'ien, identified later in the text with T'ien-chu, India. 
24 It is unlikely that ku here renders a proper name. 
25 Ni-huan, a transliteration. 
26 The choice of wu-wei as an early translation for Nirvāṇa may in part have been prompted by the consideration that wu-wei also translates asamskrta, literally, "unmade", or "unconditioned". Nirvāṇa was considered an uncreated dharma, wu-wei ja. Naturally for the Chinese the age old sinitic, and particularly Taoist, connotations of this term were most evident.
正誡論
未詳作者

有異人者，謂佛曰：「吾子有神通者，故彼胡

狄父者，聚塵貪婪，恐害利。無恥侵害不

害屠戮群生。不可用讓，厲不可談嘸故具

諸事云云。又令得道弟子變化云云。又禁其

殺生斷其婚姻使無子女。伐胡之術。筈良於

此云云。

正曰：經者既無佛。復云處子有神通。復云

有得道弟子能變化懼怖盡神妙之理。此真

者即佛弟子也。故其經云。即道答乾有古

先老子何得稱先生。老子不先尹文。何故請

道德之經。即以此推之。佛故文子即老子為

先者。善入泥洹，不生於永長。故井乾。

天竺也。泥洹者。胡語。言者無為也。若不

問聖之元始也。安有弟子神化而師不能乎。

杜絕滅之原，若懷惡而討不義假道以成其

也。夫敵之怨惠不及後嗣惡止其身。重罪不

難。皆結成緩緩之計。故道薄德衰。始任詐力競以

之將敵之徒，求道薄德衰。始任詐力競以

詭詐之計濟緩之。心野戰則肆錄極殺。屠

城則盡坑無遺。故自起創首於社影。董卓居

身於宮門，君子知其必亡。舉世無其立於

兵之弊也。遂至一於此。此發可痛心而長歎

矣。何有聖人而欲大縱陰毒剪絕。黎元者也。

且十室容賢。而況萬里之廣。重華生於東夷。

文命出乎西羌，聖哲所興。豈有常地。或發音

[注释]
1. 狄（狄）
2. 庶＝庶
3. 信＝信
4. 俠＝俠
5. 洗＝洗
6. 靈＝靈
7. 聲＝聲
8. 現＝現
9. 進＝進
10. 前＝前
11. 信＝信
12. 習＝習
the [latter] have called him "Master"? If Lao-tzu did not come before Yin-wen, for what reason would [Yin-wen tzu] have begged the Tao Te Ching from him? From this we can infer that the Buddha indeed was the patriarch of Wen-tzu, and the primate of all beings. How could it be that the disciple would be able to perform supranormal transformations and that the teacher could not?

Moreover, the Sage in ordering the world definitely must use the Tao in supervising it. If people abroad do not submit to [the advantages of Chinese civilization], he pacifies them with culture and moral power. Only if all else fails, does he resort to weapons. When he has rid them of their violence, he then lays down his arms, and gives succor to all beings. This is to engage in slaying on a limited scale in order to refrain from slaying on a large scale. Hence, in the Spring and Autumn Period the feudal lords, in undertaking punitive expeditions, on every occasion relied on legitimate claims [as the pretext for doing so]. When enemy states have offended against us, we certainly must "beat the drums" and make their transgression known, [but] we should lead soldiers of righteousness against the offenders, and not institute secretly and covertly [cruel and unusual] punishments. Therefore, when they submit, we should conciliate them with our tenderness, not harry them with excessive punishments and extreme military severity. As for our victory, we dispose of it with the burial ceremony (i.e. we look on victory as if it were defeat); as for the slain, with lamentation and grief we weep for them. Hence, [such Sages as Lao-tzu and Confucius] deeply censured those who enticed others with false words [only] to seize them, and they made great efforts to stop up the source [which leads] to the perishing [of states] and the extinction [of the hereditary lines of legitimate descent]. Such [unjust tyrants] are like those who, enamored of evil themselves, yet seek to apply punitive measures to the unrighteous: [hypocritically] they avail themselves of [right] ways in order to achieve their own violent [and tyrannical desires]. All [the instances of this kind] time and again may be seen in the canonical texts.

27 Hsien-sheng, an ancient term of respect, literally, "prior born".
28 It is obvious from this that the anonymous author of the Cheng-wu Lun has confused Yin-wen tzu with the "frontier guard" (Yin Hsi), who according to legend begged the Tao Te Ching from Lao-tzu, when the latter was about to leave for the West.
29 Tsu-tsung.
30 Yün-shih.
31 Cf. Lao-tzu, chap. 31.
32 Chüeh-mieh, an abbreviation from hsing mieh-kuo chi chüeh-shih, "[Confucius] revised states that became extinguished and restored families whose lines of succession had been broken . . . " Cf. Lün-yü 22.1.7.
33 The "canonical texts" (ching) here refer to the so-called Confucian "classics".
exegetical works, and moral tales\(^{34}\) where they are censured and condemned. Therefore, [Confucius] in writing in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* of the covenant of alliance declared at the conference [of feudal states held in] Sung, relegated Ch‘u to an inferior position, and made Chin paramount. That he did so was just because he detested the hypocrisy of [Ch‘u’s envoy wearing] within [his ordinary garb] armor\(^{35}\), and honored the excellence [of Chin in that the latter] maintained its sincerity\(^{36}\).

Now the hatred which we feel for our enemies’ [crimes] should not extend to their posterity; the evil stops at their own persons; even as regards great crimes, one must not go beyond the bounds [of what is proper in punishment]. This [principle is embodied in] the wise policy of all sovereigns and the excellent statutes for regulating the nation. In this latter [degenerate] age those who led good soldiers had the defect of their virtue being slight and having a decay in their moral power, and so at this time they commenced to rely on deceit and physical prowess in contesting with one another, and used crafty and treacherous stratagems to attain their murderous and pernicious desires. When they fought on the fields of battle they extensively made use of weapons and exhausted their strength in [indiscriminate] slaying. When they put the population of a city to the slaughter, they buried all of them alive --- [elders, women and children] --- without any being spared. Thus, [as examples of this, we may cite the

---

\(^{34}\) This, as far as I know, is the earliest reference to the term *pien-wen*, translated above as “moral tales”. Arthur Waley suggests that *pien-wen* is etymologically related to the modern term *pien-shih*\(^{34}\), "incidents", or "marvels", (this term also occurs in ancient literature, e.g., in the *Shih-chi*) and is parallel to the term *pien-hsiang*\(^{35}\), translated by Waley as “pictures of incidents”, i.e. pictures of incidents in the sacred texts. I believe that the usual Chinese interpretation of this term is correct. These are tales taken mainly from the Buddhist sacred texts written in a special style and changed (*pien*) into forms of the popular literature (*wen*). *Pien-wen* therefore simply means such popular (mainly religious) texts as opposed to their corresponding literary (particularly translated) versions. Hence the term *pien-wen* covers a wide variety of vernacular forms. See Waley, *Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang* (New York, 1960), p. 244, and *Tzu-hai*, s.v. *pien-wen*.

\(^{35}\) Read with M. ed. *Chung-chia*.

\(^{36}\) During the *Spring and Autumn Period* the feudal states of Chin and Ch‘u struggled for hegemony. The Sung representative, Hsiang Hsü\(^{36}\), then persuaded the states of Chin, Ch‘u, Ch‘in, and Ch‘i to take part in a conference held in the state of Sung (546 B.C.). The Chin envoy, Chao Wu\(^{37}\), came with honorable intentions, but the Ch‘u envoy, Ch‘u Chien\(^{38}\), arrived wearing armor under his ordinary garb. When the time came for the solemnizing of the compact (by smearing the blood of the sacrificial victims on the mouths of those who took the oath), Chin and Ch‘u quarreled as to whom should be first. Later Chin allowed Ch‘u to precede. Confucius however in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* placed Chin first and Ch‘u second. Tso Ch‘iu-ming said in his commentary (*Tso-chuan*) that “[the reason that Confucius] in writing [the *Ch‘un-ch‘iu*] placed Chin first was [because of] its good faith”. See *Tso-chuan*, ch‘uan 38. (p. 1995c—1996c of the Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.).
following]. Pai Ch'i [who had buried alive four hundred thousand of the Chao troops that had surrendered to him, in the end], had to cut his own throat at Tu-yu; Tung Cho, [who under the Eastern Han had slain so many], was himself slaughtered [by Lü Pu] outside the palace gate. Men of high standards know that [such men as] these invariably must come to a bad end. The whole world mourned that [such a great number as a result of reliance on military force] came to be slaughtered. That it came to such a pass was [due to] the abuse of [relying exclusively on] weapons. This is something to be grieved at heart and deeply sigh over. Where is there a Sage who would desire to allow himself the greatest license in secret evil: the cutting off of the hair of the common people [as a sign that they will not marry, with the clandestine intent that they will thus have no posterity]!

Moreover in a neighborhood of ten households there will likely be men of worth; how much more will this be the case in the vast expanse of a

37 Pai Ch'i lived during the Warring States Period and was a native of Mei (the modern district of the same name in Shensi). He served under the Ch'in and defeated the Commander-In-Chief of the Chao troops, Chao K'uo, in 260 B.C. at Ch'ang-p'ing (modern Kao-p'ing district in Shansi). At the time it is said that he buried alive four hundred thousand of the Chao troops. Afterwards he quarreled with Fan Sui, the Prime Minister of Ch'in, and was demoted to the rank and file and exiled to Yin-mi (the present Ling-t'ai district in Kansu). When he had gone only some ten li out from the West Gate of Hsien-yang, the Ch'in monarch sent a messenger to present him with a sword, with which he then committed suicide (257 B.C. Cf. Shih-chi, chüan 73.

38 Tu-yu was located ten li from the West Gate of Hsien-yang (the modern district of the same name in Shensi).

39 Tung Cho, tzu Chung-yang, was a native of Lin-yao (the modern Lin-yao in Kansu). He was rough, cruel, and ambitious. Frequently victorious in battle, he was charged with the military protection of Liang-chou (the modern Ch'in-an in Kansu). When Emperor Shao slew the Dowager Empress Ho and set up the Emperor Hsien (190 A.D.), Yüan Shao, Ts'ao Ts'ao, and others, led their forces to attack him. Tung Cho availing himself of a "loan" of barbarian soldiers, attempted to resist them. He allowed this horde to plunder and pillage the common people. It is said, as a consequence that in the "Middle Plain" there was scarcely a single person left alive. He forced Emperor Hsien then to move his capital to Ch'ang-an, and himself assumed a high rank, with the idea of seizing the throne. Afterwards, he was slain by Lü Pu, one of his own subordinate generals. Cf. Hou-han shu, chüan 63.

40 For Lü Pu cf. San-kuo chi, Wei-shu, chüan 6, and Hou-han shu, chüan 65.

41 Read with K. ed. chiu for hui.

42 Paraphrased from Lun-yü 5.27: "In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honorable and sincere as I am but not one so fond of learning." (Legge, tr.)
myriad ll of the empire! Ch'ung Hua 43 (i.e. Shun) was born among the Eastern Barbarians; [King] Wen's commands were issued when he was among the Western Barbarians 44. How could it be that Sages and Wise Men should just arise in one and the same place! Some, making their pronouncements [7C] here, [and themselves perfect examples], spread their doctrines there. They outwardly manifested their teachings through a myriad regions and yet the [true] principles which they propagated were without distinction. If we search the sources, we find that the reason the Buddha passed into Nirvāṇa 45 in Central India (Madhyadesa), and brilliantly spread his wonderful [teachings] in the Western Regions was, indeed, because he had an absolute purpose at heart; but this cannot be realized by us or stated in detail. How could there be a Sage who, hating his enemies' violence, would desire to destroy them so that not a single person would be left! How does this differ from a pestilence, which has spread without exemption to the good and the kindly; or a raging fire on a plain, which consumes both the fragrant orchid and the stink weed together? Even the cruelty of a Chieh 46 or a Chou 47 still cannot be said to have been like this! Even if we assume that barbarian states, by and large, are wicked and rebellious, this is just to substitute violence for violence. Further, this is not even the purport of temporary expedients. Adducing arguments such as these, he can do no more than outrageously slander [the Buddha and His Doctrine], and bedazzle the eyes of foolish fellows. How can [such arguments] be considered as justifiable, logical, or thoughtful criticism?

There are two theories as to the meaning of the epithet Ch'ung-hua as applied to Shun: (1) Ch'ung means chi-hsi 41 "success", and hua, wen 42, "brilliance-of-culture-and-moral-power". (2) Ch'ung means shuang 43 "double"; hua, lung-tzu 44, "pupil of the eye", this being interpreted to mean that the pupils of Shun's eyes were double. This was one of those peculiar bodily characteristics which Chinese tradition (and historians) often ascribe to exceptional people. See Cheng-i to chuan one of Shih-chi.

44 Wen wang, named Chi Ch'ang 45, became "Chief of the West" (Hsi-po) in the time of the last wicked ruler of the Yin (Shang) Dynasty, the tyrant Chou. Wen wang was taken by the Chinese as a model of moral power and culture and honored by later generations as a sage monarch. He came supposedly from Chi-shan 46 (the modern Feng-hsiang 47 in Shensi). See Shih-chi, chuan 4.

45 Literally, I-chi, "vanished traces".

46 Chieh, tyrannical last traditional ruler of the Hsia Dynasty. According to one tradition, he oppressed his people, was defeated and forced to abdicate in 1752 B.C. by Ch'eng T'ang 81 ("T'ang the Victorious"), founder of the Yin- or Shang Dynasty. Chieh together with Chou became examples of wicked and unrighteous conduct in much the same way as Yao and Shun became examples of moral power and righteousness.

47 The last tyrannical ruler of the Yin; see above note 46.
(3). Again, the malinger has said, "Yin-wen tzu deceived them, [saying that] as regards the heavens there are thirty-two layers," etc. Moreover, [the malinger himself] has falsely cited the [Ta]-lo-t'an ching 48 as stating that the palaces in the various heavens occupy an area twenty-four myriad [square] li in length and breadth, and that each face (i.e. each side) opens out into a hundred gates, each gate of which is a myriad li wide," etc.

The Rectification states:

The Buddhist scriptures say that above and below the realms of the heavens and the earth (the universe) consist of stages, all of which are orderly in their arrangement, compartmentalized, and have a clear sequence in their stages. But the malinger, at times making forced interpretations and adding extraneous material, has erroneously created a wrong theory. At other times, he has inverted and confused [the issues], and has failed to grasp the essential truth. How could an area twenty-four thousand [square] li in extent contain gates four hundred myriad li [in width]? The refutation of just this one item suffices to demonstrate clearly the large number of his mistakes. Even [people of such little intelligence or learning as] male and female slaves and herdsboys can yet know the incorrectness of this. How much more is this the case with people of understanding! He wished by means [of this argument] to evince his own erudition, but he has merely revealed his own stupidity.

(4). Again, the malinger has said, "The Buddha also [in his former lives] went through all the five destinies 49 , committed many transgressions, [in this regard not differing from ordinary beings], and yet by practising evil and wickedness still gained Buddhahood. This is not a method for frightening those who are wicked [so that they will refrain from their evil deeds].

Moreover, if one reckons with the fact that among the people, the good are few, and the wicked are numerous, and that the wicked when they die

48 There are two translations of a work of this title. The first was translated by Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu) on the twenty-third day of the first month of the first year of T'ai-an (i.e., March 8, 302 A.D.). See Taishō vol. 55, Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi[48], chüan 2, p. 8c.20. This sūtra, in five scrolls, for some strange reason was called a translation of a vaipulya (i.e. a Mahāyāna) work by Tao-an[49] (312—385). This version was already lost when Seng-yu[49] (445—518) compiled his bibliography, the Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi. (Concerning this latter work and its author, see my article, "Shih Seng-yu and His Writings", JAOS 80, no. 1 (Jan.-March, 1960), 17—43). The second translation by this title, in six scrolls, is said by Seng-ya to have been translated by śramaṇa Fa-chü during the time of the Emperors Hui and Huai (290—313) of the Chin. (Taishō 55, Ch'u-san-tsang chi-chi, chüan 2, p. 10a). However, this work is attributed to both Fa-chü and Fa-li in the introductory sentence to the present extant version (Taisho vol. 1, no. 23). It is one of the texts of the Dirghāgama, the Lokādhātu-sūtra and, as the title indicates, treats of Buddhist cosmology.

49 Wu-tao, i.e. the five ways (gati) of birth, viz. as denizens of hell, hungry ghosts, animals, human beings, and gods (devas).
become the six domestic animals⁵⁶; in this case, from the beginning down to the present, one really can consider that a long time has passed, that domestic animals should be nine-tenths [of the total of living beings], and that mankind should be very few."

The Rectification states:

Truly, it is as you have said. The Buddha was wicked as [common people are], but the reason that now he has gained Buddhahood is because he reformed, and followed the good. If he had always been wicked, and had not repented; being deluded, he would have continued afterwards to follow where [his former evil acts would have led him]. Thus, he would have [always] suffered the misery of rebirth in the five destinies, and would have had no means by which to attain liberation⁵¹ from the long night [of birth and death]⁵². But now because he was able to dig out the roots of all wickedness, extinguish even the ashes of the three poisons⁵³, cultivate the good as set forth in the five prohibitions⁵⁴, wholly realize⁵⁵ the excellences contained in the ten moral powers⁵⁶, and though worn out, never ceased to practise these through numerous aeons (kalpa), [thereby] understanding the fundamental limitations [of human existence], and perceiving that the three worlds⁵⁷, are void (śūnyata), he therefore, was able to liberate himself [and others] from the emptiness of Samsāra, and transcendentally attain the Realm of the Unconditioned⁵⁸.

As for reckoning the number of insects [and other living things], we have no means whereby to count them. Man within the Nine Regions⁵⁹ is like

---

⁵⁰ Horse, ox, sheep, chicken, dog, pig.
⁵¹ Chieh-t'o, vimokṣa.
⁵² Ch'ang-yeh, dirgharātra. Although this phrase is now taken almost always in a Buddhist sense [e.g. the Ch'ang-yeh leng, "the lamps of the Long Night", the stone lamps found on the way to so many Buddhist monasteries], the phrase occurs also in non-Buddhist contexts as well; e.g. in the Hsin-tzu. See Daikanwa-jiten, vol. 11, 41100.834.
⁵³ San-tu, tridosā, the three basic klesa, viz. sensuality, wrath, stupidity.
⁵⁴ Wu-chieh, paśicāverampi. These five prohibitions are not to slay, steal, commit adultery, lie, drink intoxicating liquors.
⁵⁵ Read chin [⁵¹] with S.Y.M. ed.
⁵⁶ Shih-te, here probably the ten virtues of a disciple: faith, sincerity, devotion to the Tīrītana, [seeking] the adornment of true wisdom, perseverance, moral purity, patience, generosity in giving, courage, resoluteness.
⁵⁷ San-chieh, trilokadhātu, the realms of desire, form, and formlessness, corresponding to the ancient Indian Brahmanic conception of the world as the bhuvanatraya, or triple world of bhūr, bhavah, and svar; respectively, earth, atmosphere, and heaven.
⁵⁸ Wu-wei; on this term as rendering Nirvāṇa, see above note 26.
⁵⁹ According to ancient Chinese tradition when King Yu of the Hsia Dynasty came to the throne (2183 B.C.), he divided the world (t'ien-hsia) into nine regions (chhu-chou): Chi, Yen, Ch'ing, Hsū, Yang, Ching, Yū, Liang, and Yung, corresponding respectively to the modern (1) Shansi, Hopei; (2) Western Shantung; (3) Eastern Shantung; (4) area to the north of the Huai River; (5) area to the south of the Huai River; (6) Hunan, and Hupei; (7) Honan; (8) Szuchuan and Southern Shensi; (9) Shensi and Kansu.

[51] 盛
the tip of a single hair [among all the others] on a horse's body. Since this is the case, how can one even say that [animals] form nine-tenths [of the total of living beings]? (i.e. they are much more than this estimate). Therefore, it is in the nature [of things] in the universe that man is considered most precious. The reason that Jung Ch'i was satisfied with himself in regard to his "Three joys", was that he comprehended the clear distinction between what is, and is not, precious.

Even more: [the malinger] no longer wishes to associate himself with the human race. He does not consider [birth as] an animal (tiryagyoni) either hateful or detestable; he regards grass and water as something savory, and finds no disgrace in bit or briddle. If he is comfortable in this, then he may do so; there is no need for him to raise up further objections.

[The scriptures of the Buddhists are Heterodox]

(4). Again, the malinger has said, "There is the Wu-ling hsia ching. This Wu-ling hsia ching is a weird and non-orthodox book, and it does not consist of words of instruction and counsel [such as are contained in] the ancient traditional literature, and it has not been read or studied by men of learning and talent, or by erudite [Confucian] scholars. Words about the San-tseng and the Wu-tsu also seem to have been writings intentionally assembled [as exegetical works]."

---

50 Chuang-tzu, p'ien 17.
51 Jung Ch'i is also known as Jung Sheng-ch'i and Jung Ch'i-ch'i. He is mentioned in the K'ung-tzu chia-yü. There we read that once when Confucius was traveling on T'ai-shan he saw Jung Ch'i-ch'i clad in a rough deer skin with a rope for a belt playing a lute and singing. Confucius then asked him, 'What may be the cause for your joy, Master'? [Whereupon the latter] replied, 'My joys are extremely numerous: Providence brought forth all things; but only man alone is considered precious. My first joy is in being able to be a man. In the distinction between the sexes, the male is honored and the female is little thought of. My second joy is in being a male. In human life there are those who do not see the sun or moon, or cannot avoid [dying] while still in swaddling clothes, while I've gotten through ninety years; this is my third joy. Poverty is a constant [characteristic of] the scholar; death is the [appointed] end for men. I'm abiding in this constancy and so awaiting the end. Why shouldn't I be happy? " See K'ung-tzu chia-yü, chüan 4.
52 I have been unable to identify the Wu-ling hsia ching. It probably belongs to the class of early Buddhist apocrypha.
53 Literally, san-ten and wu-tien. The ancient writings of the legendary Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and Huang-ti were called the three ten; the writings of Shao Hao, Chu'ung Hsiu, Kao Hsing, Yao and Shun were known as the five tien. The expression means here no more than the ancient traditional literature.
54 Literally, san-tseng would seem to mean "three generations", but I have been unable to determine what the expression signifies.
55 Wu-tsu literally means, the "five patriarchs", or "five ancestors". I do not know what is meant by it. From the context it would seem that both san-tseng and wu-tsu have reference to mythical periods and personalities in early Chinese history which were interpreted in the Wu-ling hsia ching in a Buddhist context. But this is a mere conjecture.
This does not even have to be investigated; on the contrary, the emptiness and absurdity [of these words] are obvious in themselves. Now for the time being, I will informally answer this [charge]. In general, profane people (prthagjana) commonly say that when a man dies, he perishes, and there is neither spirit nor ghost. But if such were the case, if there were no spirit, then there would be no [justice done by] the [judges of] the Heavenly Court; [and on the other hand], if there were no ghost, then there would be no means by which [punishment] would be received [by the wicked]. Supposing an instance where a [clan’s] posterity serves the Buddha, and posthumously [Heaven] punishes their ancestors [for not doing so]: or a [further] instance [of this sort] where during their lifetimes worthies and men of high standards, together with sons and grandsons, did not necessarily serve [the Buddha], and the [judges of] the Heavenly Court seize and punish them, this would subject the remains of Yen Hui and Jan Keng unjustly to the pains of corporal dismemberment. The ancestors of kindly and compassionate men would receive on their own precious bodies the most cruel and barbaric torments. If this were the case, how could we consider [the heavenly judges] intelligent and upright spirits? If they are not [like this], then how could such demonic beings as foxes and demons, and lewd and unclean devils, contrary [to all justice], put the spirits of kindly and worthy men under restraint, and cause distress to men who have maintained the prohibitions and precepts [of morality]? This is to malign us, and in this, your baseness and ignobility are wholly shown.

[Utilitarian argument: Religious expenditures are useless extravagance]

(5). Again, the maligner has said, “The monks collect contributions from the common people and construct on a grand scale stūpas and monasteries; ornamenting and adorning these, they extravagantly spend funds and waste materials on expenditures which are of no benefit.” etc.

66 "[Judges of] the Heavenly Court" translates t’ien-ts’ao.
67 Read shou for mei in accordance with S.Y.M.P. ed.
68 Yen Hui, tzu Tzu-yüan [44], a beloved disciple of Confucius. He was thirty years junior to Confucius. Gifted with a natural endowment of wisdom, though poverty stricken, he was devoted to study. He was noted for his moral power and was considered most worthy among Confucius’ disciples. The master frequently praised him. It is said that at the age of only twenty-nine his hair had already completely turned white. He died at the early age of thirty-two. Confucius was profoundly moved at losing him and exclaimed that Heaven was destroying him.
69 Jan Keng [55], another disciple of Confucius whom the master considered worthy of him. His tzu was Po Niu.
70 Emend shu [56], which makes no sense, to read chin [57].
The Rectification states:

Now in regard to the Teaching, there is that which is profound, and that which is shallow. It is adapted to the times and answers [the special needs] of men. All of these [methods] have been fully set forth in the chief sāstras (? shou-lun)\(^71\).

Please allow me to expatiate on this a little further.

Now for being mindful of a cautious frugality, none has surpassed Yao and Shun\(^72\) yet [their sacrificial garb] was embroidered with mountains and dragons, with flowers and insects, in stripes\(^73\). Thus, the commentary [on the Shu-ching] states, “They [the ancient sovereigns used] the tin luan\(^74\) bells [on the pennants] and the soft chimes [on the eves of the halls] to symbolize their voices, and the smaller and larger flags with their suns, moons, and stars\(^75\) to symbolize their brilliance, and variegated colors as emblems to symbolize their cultural refinement\(^76\). It is for this reason that in the abodes of the sovereigns there must be golden (or “metal”) gates, jade steps, marvelously constructed observatories, and lookout towers with their [ornamental roof] phoenixes on the main gates. And this was done to effect a distinction between the common people, and to mark a difference between the exalted and the lowly. Human feelings, after all, arise and are conditioned by what one experiences\(^77\). Hence, on hearing the sounds of war drums, or seeing such insignia as the feather crests [of the troops] and their pennants, one thinks of generals; and when listening to the sounds of lutes and guitars, or viewing the deportment of those in the official schools\(^78\), one calls to mind the great ministers of the court. If we change places and alter our field of vision, both our feelings and our appearance will be transformed. At present\(^79\), a multitude of fellows see [only] outward formalities and are not able to apprehend the principles [behind appearance]. None of them does not lay value on what is noble and exalted and despise what is petty and lowly. Thus, [88] all those who worship the Buddha look up with reverent regard to the [Sacred] Vestiges that have been transmitted, and meditate and ponder on that which is Inscrutable. Because of this they dedicate and set up portraits and images to evince to the utmost their reverence and veneration, and strip themselves of precious and loveable things in order to make the sacred temples

---

\(^{71}\) I am not satisfied that my translation of shou-lun is correct, but I know of no other alternative.

\(^{72}\) Both Yao and Shun were noted for the simplicity of their lives.

\(^{73}\) For the phrase shan lung hua ch'ung fu-fu chih-hsiu, which is translated above, see Daikanwajiten vol. 4, 7869.1080A.

\(^{74}\) The luan was a kind of bird.

\(^{75}\) San-ch'en, a collective name for sun, moon, and stars.

\(^{76}\) Reading wen with K. ed.

\(^{77}\) Literally tu, “see”, but here used in a broader sense.

\(^{78}\) Hsiang-hsü. Under the Yin (Shang) Dynasty the official schools were called hsiu, under the Chou, hsiang. Later both terms were used in a general sense for “official schools”.

\(^{79}\) Reading chin with K. ed. for ling.
all the more worthy of respect. Hence it is that when people of superior attainments visit these places, they are unmindful of outward symbols and grasp instead the profound import; and when people of inferior abilities visit them, they regard their outward splendor as beautiful and delight in their magnificence. First [as regards such men], we give pleasure to their ears and eyes, and gradually then lead them on to the realm of righteousness. As for those in the three [evil] ways, we draw them out, and none is lost or abandoned. This can be likened to a vessel’s [capacity] to contain water; it may be used as its capacity is greater or lesser. Only if the bottom is open, it then has no utility; that is, it cannot contain anything at all.

[Fortune and Misfortune depend on the Buddha]

(6). Again, and as a special point of emphasis, the maligner has held the view that fortune and misfortune are caused by the Buddha. This we may call a fundamental misinterpretation. For the time being informally I will further explain this.

Now the relationship of good and bad luck to good and evil is as the dependence of shadow and echo on form and sound: by nature they are what they are; they cannot be forced (i.e. one cannot make one’s shadow the shadow of someone else). What we do proceeds from ourselves, and in this there is a principle which invisibly responds [with results appropriate to our deeds].

The Buddha, the Duke of Chou, and Confucius all only clarified [the principles of] loyalty, filial piety, honesty, and obedience. Those who follow these have good luck; those who reject them meet with bad luck. [For example,] they showed the way to cross the river, and so had them use ships and oars. But they could not make those who tried to wade by foot cross over [and be saved]. In the expedients which they used for instructing men, and the methods which they used to save them from peril and death, they were moreover, like Shen Nung when he tasted of

---

80 *T‘i-ch‘üan*, literally, “rabbit snares and fish traps”, from *Chuang-tzu, p‘ien 26*; *Legge, The Texts of Taoism*, vol. 2 (SBE 40), p. 141. "Fish traps: the reason for them lies in the fish; get the fish and forget the trap. Rabbit snares: their purpose lies in rabbits; get the rabbits and forget the rabbit snares. The purpose of words lies in their sense; grasp the sense, and forget the words". (My tr.) Later generations used *T‘i-ch‘üan* to stand for “symbols” or “provisional media” for the conveyance of truth.

81 The three [evil] ways (san-t‘u): beings born in the fires of hell; or in the hell of swords, where the grass and leaves are swords; or as animals in the hell of blood, where they devour each other.

82 Reading *fu* with S. Y. M. ed. for K. sheng.

83 Shen Nung, literally, the “Divine Farmer”, one of the early mythological “emperors” or culture heroes. He supposedly used fire to symbolize his royal power and hence is sometimes called Yen-t‘i, the “Red Emperor”. He also is credited, as mentioned in our text, with having tasted of the wild herbs and grain bearing plants in order to provide his subjects with medicines and suitable food stuffs.
[various] grains to find which were edible in order to supply men's hunger and [fill] their emptiness, or the Yellow Emperor when he invented clothing by which men could ward off cold and heat. But as for such as kept their mouths shut fast and still hoped to be full, or as went about stark naked and yet looked for warmth, [even such as Shen Nung or the Yellow Emperor] could not force them to accept what they gave. Why was Pien long ago praised as a good physician? It was precisely because he gave the proper medicine suitable to the disease and [thus the sick person] did not lose his opportunity [to become well]. We should not demand of him that he bring it about that there are people who do not die. Even Pien Ch'üeh himself said, "I am able to prevent those who should live from dying; I certainly am not able to keep those who should die alive." If a man, as a son, is unfilial; as a minister, is disloyal; has a critical illness, and yet is unaware of this; if when he is subject to misfortune and the day of his death is upon him, he all the more blames the Sages, and bitterly hates his good physician, not only does he turn his back upon the source of salvation (tung-tsou), but in such a situation he casts himself in the pitfall [of his own wicked contriving].

[The Buddhists do no bring any benefit to the Ruler or to the Empire] (7). Again, the maligner has said, "The śramaṇa at Loyang, the capital, are numerous, yet we have never heard of their being able to lengthen the years of the Ruler on High, or to add to his length of life. [As regards Heaven] above, they are unable to regulate the Yin and Yang, thus making the harvests fruitful and the people prosperous, or to reduce disasters and prevent epidemics, nor can they quieten political disturbances and disorders," etc. "Below [as regards themselves], they are unable to refrain from [partaking of] cereals or to desist from [eating] grains, and to support their

---

84 Literally, ch'üi, "bestowed". The Yellow Emperor, another culture hero, in legend follows after Shen Nung and is credited with the unification of the Chinese tribes, the invention of writing, boats, carts, and the establishment of officials and clerks in the bureaucracy. His wife is credited with the rearing of silk worms, and the weaving of garments. See Shih-chi, chüan 1.

85 Reading Pien with Y. M. ed. for K. Ho.

86 Pien Ch'üeh, a noted physician during the Warring States Period. It is said that his surname was Ch'in, his given name was Yüeh-jen, and that he came from the Ch'i state. Of those that were ill whom he treated, all were saved, and people of the time said that he could keep a man from dying. This occasioned Pien Ch'üeh to remark, "I (Yüeh-jen) am not able to keep a dying man alive. Only as regards those that should live, I (Yüeh-jen) am able to make them arise [from their bed of illness]." See Shih-chi, chüan 105.

87 Literally, tung-tsou, "to go the east". The translation above is admitted a conjecture. This is based on the assumption that the west here stands for the Western Paradise where Amita Buddha resides, hence, "to proceed eastwards" would be "to depart from the source of salvation".

---
lives by breathing pure clear air, pass through dangers, and thus preserve themselves so that they may long be seen,” etc. 

The Rectification states:

This is not so. There is a passage in which Chuang Chou has said, “If one is able to comprehend the [true] conditions of one's allotted span of life, one will not [need] to pay heed to the source of this allotment.” Why does he wish to examine in detail what cannot be changed, that length of time which is appointed [for every man]? If it were so ordered that the allotted span of human life could be sought [to be prolonged] by means of wisdom and moral power, then the two sons, [Chi] Fa and [Chi] Tan, would have been able to make their father, Wen [Wang], last for a millennium. When Yen-tzu died, [Confucius] declared that “Heaven is destroying me” this was the most lamentable [of events, and in it we see that Confucius] had no means by which he could prolong [Yen Hui's] life. 

[8C] Moreover, as regards that fate which is determined of Yin and Yang, it occurs at the appointed period of a cycle; [for example, at the end of] one hundred and six [years] there comes about the culmination [of

---


89 For “source” (yüan), S. Y. M. P. ed. give wu. If we accept wu as correct, then this sentence must be interpreted differently. These two characters could quite easily be confused since the original form for the modern wu (written wu) is easily mistaken for yüan. Understanding this in the sense of wu, we would then translate: “If one is able to comprehend the [true] conditions of one's allotted span of life, one does not seek for what cannot be gained in regard to that life, because one understands the immutability of that length of time which is appointed [for every man].” (For the quotation within quotes see Chuang-tzu, p'ien 19). Since both interpretations are possible, I have given both.

90 Chi Fa was the personal name of King Wu.

91 Chi Tan was the personal name of the Duke of Chou.

92 Namely Yen Hui; see above note 68.

93 See Lun-yü 11.

94 As regards the 106 year cycle, we find the following explanation in the Lü-li chih in Han-shu, chüan 1: 4617 years comprise one epoch (i-yüan). This epoch is then divided into nine periods during which there occur times of Yang ascendency (i.e. drought) and times of Yin ascendency (i.e. flood). We may diagram this data as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>periods</th>
<th>duration</th>
<th>yang (droughts)</th>
<th>yin (floods)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>720</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one epoch there are therefore 4560 so-called normal years, and 57 years of disasters. But the allusion in our text to this theory (if such it is) is not at all clear.

[60] 无

[61] 娑

[62] 一元
正曰。豈斯言似乎幸人之災。非通言也。仲智之言，雖有好道之意。然意未受戒為弟子也。論其率情亮直。見涉俊士。自是可才。而有強梁之失。未合道家嬰兒之旨矣。以此而遇忌賊之與，縶如難者。云。精進而遭害者。有矣。此何異頃項顔。延叔之齧死，比于盡忠而陷釘心之禍。申生篤孝而致姦經之痛。夫佛經自謂得道者。能玄同彼我渾膏修短涉生死之變。況乎無常。步禍福之地。而夷心不恤。樂天知命安時處順耳。其未體之者。哀哉。憤終之心。乃所以增其篤也。故有大悲弘誓之義。嘗人之喪猶加哀矜。以德報怨不念舊惡。況乎骨肉之痛。情隆天然者。而可以無哀感之心者哉。於人悲時已之深也。逆情違道於斯見矣。
disasters] in accordance with the times. So in the time of Yao there was a flood in which the waves reached the sky\(^95\), and in the time of T'ang there was a drought in which the earth was scorched red. At Chuo-lu\(^96\) blood flowed so that one could row boats in it; and at Pan-ch’üan\(^97\) corpses were scattered about everywhere on the field of battle. Why did not [these Sages] just sit and ameliorate these [disasters by their moral power], thus saving [the people] before such [calamities had taken place]?  

Furthermore, “bear-stretchings” (hsiung-ching\(^98\)) and “bird pantings\(^99\), “drawing in deep breaths”, “expelling [the old] and inhaling the revitalizing [breath]”, ceasing [to partake of] glutinous and panicked millet, and making use [instead] of flower pistils; consuming the wind and dew in order to replace ordinary rations\(^100\); depending on [such as] these to prolong one’s longevity, after all, still belongs to the dass of having to rely on [things external to oneself]\(^101\). [People who rely on] such methods as these [still] have a time when they will die, and they are unable to have an inexhaustible [span of life].

\(^{95}\) According to Chinese legend, Yü was ordered by Shun to control the floods. He labored and pondered over this task to such an extent that during a period of seventeen years though he had occasion to pass by the gate of his own house three times he never once entered it. According to Shih-chi, chüan 1, Yao is said at this time to have exclaimed, “Vast, vast are the floods towering to heaven. Enormously they embrace the mountains and engulf the hills. The common people are vexed because of them. Is there one who is able to bring them under control?“ Yü, having succeeded in this gigantic task by opening up nine rivers to the sea, drained the land, and took over the throne from Shun when the latter abdicated, thereby founding the Hsia Dynasty. Later generations reverenced Yü as a sage ruler. Again, as in most of these early legends, one recognizes the familiar pattern of the culture hero. See Shih-chi, chüan 1.

\(^{96}\) Chuo-lu. The name of a mountain located in the modern Chalar southeast of the present district of the same name. According to tradition the Yellow Emperor slew Ch ’ih-yu! there. See Shih-chi, chüan 1.

\(^{97}\) Pan-ch’üan, located in the modern Huai-lai district in Chahar, was the site where in legend the Yellow Emperor exterminated the descendants of Yen-ti. See Shih-chi, chüan 1.

\(^{98}\) Hsiung-ching, a form of Taoist Yoga. See Chuang-tzu, p’ien 15.

\(^{99}\) The text gives niao-i which should be emended to read niao-shen\(^64\), the last character standing for the modern graph shen\(^65\).

\(^{100}\) For the above methods see especially Chuang-tzu, p’ien 15, from which passage our text is adapted.

\(^{101}\) Yu-tai. This phrase, from Chuang-tzu, p’ien 1, in a Taoist sense means that one is not independent; in a Buddhist sense, that one is subject to suffering.

\(^{102}\) Ch’ih Sung-tzu\(^66\) is mentioned in Shih-chi, chüan 55. There we read that Chang Liang\(^99\) (a member of Han Kao-tsu’s general staff) once remarked, “Now with but a tongue of three inches (i.e. with no other talent), I am the teacher of the Emperor, and am enfeoffed with a myriad households, holding a rank as a marquis (hou). This is the ultimate [honor] that this common person [can aspire to], and as far as I [Liang] am concerned, I am satisfied. [Now] I only wish to reject worldly affairs, and desire to follow after Ch’ih Sung-tzu.”

[Commentary]: “Ch’ih Sung-tzu, a Master of the Rain in the time of Shen Nung, was able to enter fire; he consumed himself on the top of Mount K’un-lun.
In the view of the śramaṇa, [Ch’ih] Sung [Tzu] and [Wang-tzu] Ch’iao are regarded as if they were infants who have not coughed [after having been delivered]. They would place their aspiration in the region beyond heaven and earth and prolong their blessed happiness in the realm of immortality. How could they belittle their own minds in the performance of what is superficial in competition with Chüan and P‘eng for long life?

As for the opponent, in debate he desires by main force of argument to gloss over his faults and to set up unreasonable quarrels in which he refuses to accept exhortation. His words are without orderly sequence, and his ideas are without rhyme or reason. Alas! This is confusing the songs of prostitutes with the ritual music of the Ya [odes of the Shih-ching], and the replacing of yellow [the imperial color], with an odious green. As for the sound of his other cawing, it is without any rationality, and in complete accordance with our Former Master’s idea we will not answer (i.e. we will not engage in argument just for the sake of argument).


103 Wang-tzu Ch’iao, literally, “Prince Ch’iao,” is said to have been the Heir Apparent of King Ling of Chou, with the personal name Chin. Because of his straightforwardness in admonishing his father, he was degraded to be a commoner. It is also said that he was fond of blowing the sheng (a kind of flute with various pipes placed vertically to the blowing end). When he played this instrument it sounded like the call of the phoenix. He roamed about in the area of the I and Lo rivers (in Honan) and, having become an immortal, rode a white stork up to heaven. See Lieh-hsien chuan (Ts’ung-shu chi-ch’eng ed.), p. 23.

104 Reading k’ang with S. Y. M. ed. for K. fan. Literally, “in the region beyond the two I.” However I here stands for “heaven and earth.”

Chüan refers to Chüan-tzu, a man from Ch’i who became a recluse at Tan-shan (in Southern Shantung). He was fond of eating the shu (Podophyllum versipelle?), a plant valued for its supposed ability to aid one to live for a long time. Having found a talisman in the belly of a fish, he was able by means of it to command the wind and rain. See Lieh-hsien chuan (Ts’ung-shu chi-ch’eng ed.), p. 9.

105 P‘eng, or P‘eng-tzu, was the grandson of the mythical “Emperor” Ch’üan Hsü. He was promoted to become a minister under Yao, and tradition has it that he lived from the Hsia Dynasty to the later years of the Yin, a period of 800 years. His longevity secret was the eating of cassia [buds] (kuei) and “Spirit Fungus” (ling). He also excelled in guiding and drawing upon the “vital force.”

107 Pel-li. The expression goes back to the Shih-chi. It is said that King Chou of the Yin Dynasty had Shih Chüan make “new licentious sounds,” “pel-li dances,” and “sensuous music.” Later the term came to mean the “section for prostitutes” or simply “prostitutes.” See Shih-chi, chüan 3.

108 Wu chi-kang.

109 The text has l-tsun hsien-shih pu-ta chih-chang, which makes no sense. I emend the text to read l for chang. The “Former Master” must be Sākyamuni-buddha. As is well known, there were certain questions which the Buddha refused to answer on the grounds that they were not properly put, or did not tend to edification.
[Tso Jung, an example of an unethical Buddhist]

(8). Again, the maligner has said, "In the latter years of the Han there was a certain Tso Jung\textsuperscript{110}, who joined forces under T'ao Ch'ien\textsuperscript{111}, the inspector (Tz'u-shih\textsuperscript{112}) of Hsü-chou\textsuperscript{113}. T'ao Ch'ien ordered him to take charge of [grain] transportation, but as Tso Jung considered service to the Buddha paramount, he consequently stole the officially transported [grain supplies] in order to profit himself, and put these in [his own granaries, using the funds derived therefrom] to construct on a grand scale Buddhist monasteries," etc. "In every case, as regards those who passed by, he gave them wine and food," etc. "Later he was attacked by Liu Yu\textsuperscript{114} and slain," etc.

The Rectification states:

This objection does not even need a rope to tie it up as it has already wound itself up (i.e. the maligner is trapped by his own words).

Buddhism guides men by means of compassion and love, and [it instructs us] not to slay those who are loyal and honest, nor to harm\textsuperscript{115} those who are humble and pure, and to regard those who are not corrupt as the best [element of society]. Lao-tzu has said, "Weapons are the instruments of misfortune." Now this cruel Tso Jung caused his soldiers to have low morale\textsuperscript{116}, and he felt quite at ease in allowing himself to join up with bandits and rebels. This is his first offense: slaying.

Though subject to others’ orders, he made off with [property], and did not inform his superior about this. This is his second offense: deception.

He forcibly took over official property in order to profit himself and put it in his own [depots]. This is his third fault: robbery (i.e. corruption).

\textsuperscript{110} Tso Jung, a man from Tan-yang (located in the Southeastern part of modern Anhui), lived during the Later Han. Gathering a group of soldiers around him, he put his band at the service of T'ao Ch'ien, and the latter then had Tso Jung take charge of the army. Subsequently Tso stole the property entrusted to him and supposedly used the proceeds to build Buddhist monasteries on a grand scale. Later he plundered Kuang-ling (N. E. part of Chiang-tu District in Kiangsu), slew its governor (T'ai-shou), Chao Yu\textsuperscript{177}, and then slew the Governor of Yu-chang (the modern Nan-ch'ang area in Kiangsi), Chu Hao\textsuperscript{178}, and captured the city. At last, defeated by the Governor of Yang-chou, Liu Yu\textsuperscript{179}, he fled to the hills and was there slain. See Hou-han shu, chüan 36.

\textsuperscript{111} On T'ao Ch'ien, see Hou-han shu 63; San-kuo chi, Wei-shu, chüan 8.

\textsuperscript{112} Tz'u-shih, an officer charged with inspection and promotion in the commanderies and principalities.

\textsuperscript{113} Hsü-chou, the modern site of the same name.

\textsuperscript{114} Liu Yu, the Governor of Yang-chou; see above note 110.

\textsuperscript{115} Reading ch'ien for hsüan. For the following Lao-tzu quotation, see Lao-tzu, chap. 31.

\textsuperscript{116} Reading ch'i with P. ed. for tsu of K. ed.
The Buddhist scriptures state, "Do not take wine as a gift to bestow on others." But Tso Jung permitted himself to do so. This is his fourth offense: [giving others] wine. As he has broken all of the prohibitions, he has [lost his proper way] and himself has proceeded to the place of death. In this he can be likened to an official emissary who, having lost his seal [of employment], and stripped himself of his [official] cap (i.e. insignia), yet goes contrary to the right way and gives himself up to the utmost cruelty. Boys of [only] five [Chinese] feet [would have the strength] to bring him under control. Mr. Tso died an unnatural death, and in this, he is quite able to aid us just to demonstrate the fact that those who do evil must receive calamities.

[Shih Ch'ung: An Example of the Non-efficacy of Buddhist Worship]

(9). Again, the maligner has said, "Shih Ch'ung worshipped the Buddha also most ardently, yet he could not avoid [the disaster of having] himself and his clan exterminated," etc.

The Rectification states:

We are completely conversant as to what manner of man Shih Ch'ung was. Proud, full of self-esteem, given to drink, without limit he assumed rights that were not his. Extensively gathering together property and lavishly collecting funds, he had no pity for the poor and the orphaned. If we speak about talent, he did have a little; but if we mention virtue, he did not have any at all. Though he made himself known by serving the Buddha, he did not in the least observe [9 A] the precepts and prohibitions [of Buddhism]. He was just like worldly people: outwardly they appear pure, but their hearts are filthy. Their features are stern and proper, but within they are soft and decadent. In their mouths they sing the

117 Shih Ch'ung, a native of Nan-p'i (the modern Nan-p'i district in Hopei), Tzu, Chi Lun. For many years he served as Inspector (ts'u-shih) of Ching-chou. He became very wealthy through overseas trade by men who lived with him, and whom he sponsored, and built the "Golden Valley Garden." Later a certain Sun Hsiu slandered him before the Prince of Chao, Ssu-ma Lun, and as a result, he was beheaded in the market place in or about 300 A.D. See Chin-shu, chüän 33, and above note 11.

118 Literally, yu i-ko chih li, a simile for "lesser ability," from the phrase, "If you use a lead knife it is only fit for one cutting." The loc.cit. is found in a memorial which Pan Ch'ao presented when he wished the emperor to allow him to attack the Hsiung-nu, and the emperor refused: "Your servant respects the awesome power of Our Great Han. Why do I not have the utility of a lead sword fit for one cutting?" The reference in our text is to the fact that Tso Jung actually had achieved a certain literary reputation. See Hou-han shu, chüän 37.
praises of Yü and T'ang, but their actions match those of Chieh and T'uo. [Shih Ch'ung] brought this calamity on himself; after all, who else is to be blamed for it?

[Another Example: Chou Chung-chih]

(10). Again, the maligner has said, "Chou Chung-chih worshipped the Buddha also with great diligence (virya), but in the end he still was not favored with [Buddha's] blessings," etc.

The Rectification states:

When we examine these words they seem as if [made by one who] enjoys the mishaps of others. They are not the words of a man of wisdom [and virtue]. Although Chou Chung-chih did have the idea of devotion to the Way, yet we feel that he had not accepted the prohibitions and

---

[119] For Chieh, see above note 46.

There were several stories told about bandits named T'uo. One occurs in the Shih-chi, chüan 61: "[T'uo] slew the innocent day after day. He took human flesh and dried it in the sun; he was cruel and hateful beyond all bounds. Gathering together a band of several thousand [bandits], he went everywhere in the world. [Nevertheless] to the last he lived a long life and died [a peaceful death]." To this the Cheng-i adds: "T'uo is the name of a great bandit in the time of the Yellow Emperor."

Later during the Spring and Autumn Period the younger brother of a worthy gentleman, Liu Hsia-hui, became a much feared brigand and the scourge of his day. For this reason he also was called Tao-t'uo, the "Bandit T'uo."

In the twenty-ninth p'ien of Chuang-tzu there is further mention of this "Bandit T'uo." There we read: "Confucius was a friend of Liu Hsia-hui. Liu Hsia-hui's younger brother was named Tao T'uo. T'uo led nine thousand bandits, and went everywhere in the world. He violated [the boundaries of the states of] the feudal lords. He destroyed the dwellings [of the people] and broke in their doors, and forcibly took off the oxen and sheep of others, seizing their women and girls. He paid no attention to his parents or brothers, nor did he sacrifice to his ancestors... All the people were troubled because of him."

[120] Chou Chung-chih is the tsu of the magistrate Cohu Sung. He and his elder brother, Chou K'ai, were both honored and praised in their time. Chou Sung is said by nature to have been decisive, generous, and straightforward. However he was conceited because of his great talent. In the time of Emperor Yuan he gradually was promoted to Yü-shih chung-ch 'eng, a rank somewhat analogous to the present position of Vice-president of the Control Yüan in the Republic of China. Just at this time Emperor Yuan (318—323) became aware of the danger inherent in the increasing power of the Wang clan, particularly that of Wang Tao and his younger brother, Tun. Unknown to the Wangs, Chou Sung had presented a memorial which allayed the emperor's suspicions and served to save the Wang clan. Later Wang Tun slew Chou K'ai, Chou Sung's brother, and sent men to "condole" with Chou Sung. Chou Sung replied, "My late elder brother was a man of the world, and he has been slain by men in the world. What use are condolences now?" Wang Tun knew from these words that Chou Sung was vexed at heart and, having slandered him, he also slew him. During his life, Chou Sung had ardently worshipped the Buddha, and even when he was executed in the market place, he still continuously recited the sūtras. For the above see Chin-shu, chüan 31.

[10] Chou Chung-chih
[84] 周顯
[85] 柳下惠
[86] 王導
[87] 數
become a [true] disciple [of the Buddha]. If we speak of the brilliance and uprightness of his innate nature, they had wholly\textsuperscript{121} attained a superior height. Naturally, he was a capable man. Nevertheless, he had the fault of being overbearing and domineering, and he had not come to agree with the Taoist dictum [that one should imitate the gentleness of an] infant. Because of this he met with a belligerent man, who was very jealous of others who were [also] given to contention, and was defeated. [That this happened] is only logical. We concede that there are such instances as the opponent has stated. There are those who, though diligent [in worshipping the Buddha], yet meet with disaster. But how do they differ from Yen [Hui] and Hsiang [T’uo]\textsuperscript{122} who died prematurely; or from [Po] I, and [his brother], Shu [Ch’i]\textsuperscript{123} who starved to death? Pi Kan\textsuperscript{124} was utterly loyal, yet he met with the calamity of having his heart cut out. Shen Sheng\textsuperscript{125} was the paragon of filial piety, yet he came to suffer the pain of being hung. As examples of this type are so numerous, we are unable to

\textsuperscript{121} Reading with S.Y.M.P. ed. chü for K. ed. chien.

\textsuperscript{122} Hsiang T’o[88], a precocious youth who, according to a tradition alluded to from the second century B.C. on, scored off Confucius. For one of the versions of this strange story see Arthur Waley, Ballads and Stories from Tun-huang (New York, 1960), p. 89—96 and references.

\textsuperscript{123} Po I[89] and Shu Ch’i.[90] were the sons of the Prince of Ku-chu[91]. Their father wanted Shu Ch’i to succeed him, but when the father died, Shu Ch’i abdicated in favor of Po I. Po refused, saying that according to their father’s will, Shu should hold the throne, and departed from the country. Shu Ch’i also was unwilling to accept the throne and likewise fled. Thereupon the people of the state persuaded the middle son to accept the dignity. Still later when King Wu was about to attack the last ruler of the Yin, both Po and Shu held on to his horse and remonstrated with him, saying, “Your father has died and is not yet buried and yet you immediately set off for war. Can this be said to be filial? For a vassal to slay his lord, can this be said to be kindness?” Those [attending] right and left desired to kill them, but the Grand Duke said, “These are righteous men,” and he [had soldiers] conduct them away.” Later when the Chou overthrew the Yin, both Po and Shu starved themselves to death on Mount Shou-yang[92] (in Shansi) rather than eat the “unrighteous grain” of the Chou. Both Confucius and Mencius praised the conduct of the two brothers as blameless, and they are mentioned frequently as sages noted for their “moral purity.” For the above see Shih-chi, chüan 61.

\textsuperscript{124} Pi Kan was the uncle of the last tyrannical king of the Yin, King Chou. Pi Kan was deemed by the men of his day to be a sage. When the cruelties of Chou continued without abate and all other virtuous ministers had left the court, Pi Kan remained on. “One who is the minister to a sovereign”, he said, “cannot but strive to exhort him [to the right way]”. Thereupon he [continued] strongly to admonish him and for three days did not leave [the court]. Chou becoming enraged said, “We have heard that the heart of a sage possesses seven apertures, and he then [had men] cut open [Pi Kan’s chest] to see his heart””. For the above see Shih-chi, chüan 3.

\textsuperscript{125} Shen Sheng, a man of the Spring and Autumn Period, noted for his kindness and filial piety, was to have succeeded to his father, Duke Hsien of the Chin. Li Chi[93], his father’s concubine, desired to slay him, and so she slandered him to the duke, saying that Shen had placed poison in the duke’s food. His father was then of a mind to have him executed. According to the Tso-chuan,
cite them all here. Confucius has said, "A man of love will have a long life; a righteous man will prosper." Yet there were still some who were not able to avoid [such calamities]. Truly, we may know [from these examples] that the verification of a destiny predetermined from the past is a profound principle that may be trusted.

[Buddhists are in love with Death]

(11). Moreover, the malinger has said, "A family that serves the Buddha loves death and detests life. When they place the fine floss silk [before their dying parents' nostrils as an indication of whether they are still breathing or not] at the time that they wait for them to die, they all feel that a blessed reward is coming, and do not show the least appearance of grief or mourning," etc.

The Rectification states:

The opponent perhaps does not possess a "compassionate heart" in dealing with others. If this is not the case, then why are his words so unnatural?

The Buddhist scriptures themselves state that one who has gained Enlightenment (Tao) is able mysteriously to realize the unity of the "other" with "himself", and to regard without distinction [lives] which are long or short. He has crossed over the changing Realm of Samsāra ("Birth and Death"), and peacefully he is unmoved. Having gone beyond the land of miseries and blessings (dualism), his placid heart is fearless. Delighting in the [mandate of] Heaven (Nature), and knowing destiny, he is comfortable in [all] seasons. Calmly he abides in the natural order of things.

As for those who have not realized in themselves [Enlightenment], they must evince a heart which is carefull in regard to the death [of their parents], and this is done because they must express to the utmost degree [their filial piety]. Therefore, [in Buddhism] there is the doctrine of the [Bodhisattva] vow of Great Compassion (Mahākarunā). When our enemy

"Someone then said to [Shen Sheng], 'If you, Sir, clearly set forth this affair, the lord, your father, will certainly become aware of the situation'. Shen Sheng replied, 'If the lord (my father) does not have nee Chi (my stepmother), he will neither be able to rest peacefully nor to eat to the full. If I set forth this affair clearly, Chi will certainly have become guilty of a crime. The lord (my father) is already old, and I also am not happy'. [To this that person] replied, 'Will you, Sir, leave [for exile]? To this [Shen Sheng] said, 'The lord actually does not know as to [whether I've committed] a crime. If I should leave therefore bearing the name [of a criminal], what man would take me in?' Subsequently he hanged himself at Hsi-ch'eng (modern Wen-hsi district in Shansi). See Tso-chuan, ch'uan 12.

126 Su-min g; in a Buddhist sense determined by karman.
128 A reference to Chuang-tzu. Cf., e.g., the Hsiao-yao p'ien.
129 Ta-pei hung-shih, i.e. the vow to save all beings.
dies we still show towards him grief and compassion, and requite his hatred with our virtue, and we are unmindful of his former wickedness. How much more is the pain for our own flesh and blood felt --- and that it is greater is but natural. How could we be lacking a heart that is filled with the most intense feelings of grief! "Those who love their parents do not dare evince hatred towards others," as they fear that payment in kind will be returned to themselves ever more severely. [The opponent's] rebelling against the natural instincts and his opposing the proper way is in this [accusation amply] demonstrated.

130 Quoted from Hsiao-ching. See the Shih-san-ching chu-shu ed., p. 11: Tzu yüeh ai ch'in che pu-kan wu yü jen; ching ch'in che pu-kan hsing yü ssu-hai. Legge, SBE, vol. III, p. 467: "He who loves his parents will not dare [to incur the risk of] being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare [to incur the risk of] being contemned by any man". Our text construes this passage in a slightly different sense.

134 敬親者不敢刑于四海