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SENSIBILITY OF THE INSENSIBLE

THE GENEALOGY OF A CH'AN AESTHETIC

AND THE PASSIONATE DREAM OF POETIC CREATION

John Alexander Jorgensen

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of the Australian National University

Submitted July 1989

This thesis is all my own work

John Alexander Jorgensen

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "John Jorgensen". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the printed name.

ABSTRACT

Ch'an Buddhism as an analogy for poetic creation has been a major feature of Chinese poetics from medieval times to the present. The comparison was made either between the techniques for or the contents of Ch'an and poetic "enlightenment." On these bases Sung dynasty critics formulated genealogies of poets couched in the terms of Ch'an lineages. While such comparisons have some merit, the deeper reason lies in the theory of the Buddha-nature (fo-hsing) of the insentient (wu-ch'ing) that was popularized by Ch'an. Classical critics understood that Nature could evoke emotions in man, but never adequately explained why. However, because the potential to become Buddha was present both in insentient Nature and sentient man, this doctrine postulated that there was a commonality between man and Nature and perhaps the possibility of a "mergence." When this theory was adopted by poets there was an increased use of "pathetic fallacy" and the conceit that Nature could preach the truths (of Buddhism) to man. This stimulated poetry critics to write of the "mergence of emotion and scene."

The thesis traces the history of the terminology of wu-ch'ing (insentience) and hsing (nature) in philosophy and poetry, and the continuing debates over the relations of emotion (ch'ing) to human-nature between the Buddhists and Confucians. Many of the most illustrious poets of China were Confucians in public life but involved with Ch'an personally, and their writings reflect these debates. But above all, the majority attempted to dissolve the barriers between man and Nature. Many found the solution in Ch'an meditation, but when this proved too difficult,

opted for achieving states of mind that approximated meditation experience but were more amenable to laymen, states such as dream and inebriation.

These themes all appear in their poetry, but with changing political circumstances, the rise of a Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, and a shallower appreciation by lesser poets and followers, the theory that had inspired these themes was forgotten for the superficial comparisons of lineages and techniques, and the true significance of the sensibility of the insensible was all but lost.

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SENSIBILITY OF THE INSENSIBLE: A CH'AN POETIC GENEALOGY

1) The comparison of Ch'an and poetry

The comparison of Ch'an Buddhism with Chinese nature poetry has long been a cliché. Yet when one follows the critics' observations and attempt to grasp a Ch'an theory in that poetry, the vision dissolves into the wild blue yonder of nothingness. The whole exercise becomes akin to the study of a Ch'an *kung-an*.

In these theories the observer-poet is often said to merge with the observed landscape in a form of Buddhistic non-duality, or it is claimed that the poet is describing (and usually lamenting) the transience of life in a Buddhist fashion. But frequently the poetry itself does not allow such a definite assertion, being neither properly non-dualist nor a Buddhist acceptance of transience.

Traditional Chinese literary criticism was largely to blame for this, for there were no attempts to define the terms used nor were there any critics who seriously studied the problems of the Ch'an-poetry analogy, the profundity and complexity of Buddhist doctrine evidently beyond most of them. Moreover, the interwoven strands of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, as well as the classical references to literature that were combined in medieval times, created some confusion. However, there has been a long tradition stretching back to the mid-T'ang of comparing poetry to Ch'an. The chief representatives of this orthodoxy in later times were Yen Yü (ca. 1180-ca. 1241)¹ and Wang Shih-chen (1634-1711). So pervasive has been their influence that some elements of their theories have been adopted by modern critics, especially the idea that the poet merges with the landscape. Yet the reasons for the comparison of Ch'an to poetry have been left largely unstated.

While the purpose of this thesis is to elucidate some of the reasons for the comparison of Ch'an to poetry, in particular the Buddhist doctrine of insentient Buddhahood and Ch'an genealogical conceptions, there are a number of complicating factors. Primarily, from Sung times this form of art and literary criticism was made in a Neo-Confucian context. As Ch'an was supposedly only taken as an analogy for artistic creation, this raises the vexed question of the relationship of Ch'an, Neo-Confucianism and the arts and why such an analogy

1. Huang Ching-chin, "Yen Yü chi ch'i shih-lun ch'ung-t'an," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 31 (June 1981), p.40.

was made.² The cross-fertilization of Ch'an and Confucianism to produce Neo-Confucianism is not just a problem for the historian of ideas; it was a vital issue for Buddhists and Confucians. The Neo-Confucians in particular were sensitive to accusations of Ch'an influence made against them by rivals who thereby hoped to deny their legitimacy as Confucians.³

Furthermore, at a deeper level the influence of the *Chuang-tzu* on art theory is undeniable,⁴ for it was known to all literate Chinese, Confucian or Buddhist. However, it is not correct to claim that Ch'an is merely a Buddhistic expression of the *Chuang-tzu* or "philosophical" Taoism as some popular writers do,⁵ for there are many fundamental differences over theories of causation and creation,

2. Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment: Wang Shih-chen's Theory of Art and Its Antecedents," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, pp.219,222; James Cahill, "Confucian Elements in the Theory of Painting," in *The Confucian Persuasion*, ed. A.F. Wright, p.116, especially note 5. Much has been written on Ch'an and poetry, usually in the traditional mode. The most extensive is Tu Sung-po's massive (522pp.) *Ch'an-hsüeh yü T'ang Sung shih-hsüeh*, Taipei, 1976.
3. Araki Kengo, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, pp.40-49, 61; William Theodore de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth-Century Enlightenment," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, pp.160-167, 170-177, 179, 182-184 on poetry, Ch'an, Neo-Confucianism, and *Chuang-tzu* in passing. I do not agree with all his points: p.165 on emotion and "no mind"; p.173, Ch'an "meditation" is wider than depicted here, for the *Platform Sutra* interprets "sitting in meditation" not as sitting, but as wisdom or "seeing the nature." See Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp.117, 140-141. Note de Bary, op. cit., pp.166-167 on principle in every element of Nature, a typical Neo-Confucian doctrine.
4. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, pp.30-35 et. passim; Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)*, p.48 says that *Chuang-tzu* and "the Taoist classics were the only ancient sources of stories that could be related to artistic creativity....these Taoist references need not indicate more than an imaginative interest in such literature."
5. See Alan W. Watts, *The Way of Zen* (Pelican Books, 1962), p.23; Thomas Hoover, *The Zen Experience* (New American Library: New York, 1980), pp.2-8; Wu Yi, "On Chinese Ch'an in Relation to Taoism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 12, no. 2 (June 1985).

karma, reincarnation, soteriology, epistemology, teleology and monism or non-dualism. There are some apparent convergences of ideas, especially concerning artistic or verbal expression, and we cannot preclude some hidden influences or parallel developments.⁶ However, some of these elements of similarity are the common property of Chinese culture, and cannot be considered the private domain of Taoism in any of its manifold aspects, even though Taoism may be its most vivid manifestation.

Before the rise of Ch'an in the early T'ang dynasty, the relationships of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism are complex and overlapping. Even before the T'ang the same poet may have seen the unsocialized landscape as the realm of the Taoist immortals, as a representation of the Buddhist Pure Land, or as a Natural lesson in the social and moral laws seen by the Confucian sage.⁷

Therefore there are many pitfalls to be avoided if one is to describe a poet or even a single work of art as "Buddhist inspired." This is not a problem when a poet or collection of poems is avowedly Buddhist, like Wang Fan-chih (Wang the

6. See Mori Mikisaburō, "Chuang Tzu and Buddhism," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n.s., vol. 5, no. 2 (Oct. 1972), pp.52-61; Murakami Yoshimi, "'Nature' in the Thought of Lao-Chuang and 'No-Mind' in Ch'an Buddhism," "Jin'i to Jinen" and "Rōsō no Jissenhitei" in his *Rikuchō shisōshi kenkyū* (Heirakuji shoten: Kyoto, 1974) on Ch'an and *Chuang-tzu* as represented by Kuo Hsiang. His analysis has too much of the Kyoto School of Philosophy and treats Ch'an as too monolithic for my liking. He at least points to some of the differences in the apparent similarities. See also chapters 6 and 7 of Wu I's *Ch'an yü Lao-Chuang*. The influence of Neo-Taoist analyses of *Chuang-tzu* on Seng-chao and Tao-sheng, pioneers in the Sinification of Buddhism, and ultimately Ch'an is canvassed in Livia Knaul, "Chuang-tzu and the Chinese Ancestry of Ch'an Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 13, no. 4 (1986.12), pp.411, 418-424.

7. For Nature and the Confucian sage see Andrew Lee March, "Landscape in the thought of Su Shih (1036-1101)," pp.34, 37, and on immortality and landscape, pp.59-60, 43-44. Fukanaga Mitsuji, "Sha Rei-un no shisō," *Tōhō Shūkyō* (July 1958), p.42 suggests that Hsieh Ling-yün saw his Shih-ning estate as a Pure Land on earth in his "Shan-chū fu," while Yabuchi Takayoshi, "Sha Rei-un sansuishi no haikai," *Tōhō Gakuhō* 56 (March 1984), thinks his viewing of the scenery was to remind him of the world of the immortals.

Brahmacārin)⁸ or Layman P'ang.⁹ But in cases of collections such as the *Han-shan tzu*, some of the landscape poems could just as well have been by a layman or a Taoist recluse.¹⁰ Likewise, many poems by the Chiang-nan poet-monks of the mid-T'ang to Five Dynasties period cannot be clearly distinguished from lay poetry because they contain references to secular ambitions, despair, and hopes that a Confucian sage ruler will appear.¹¹

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8. See Paul Demiéville, *L'Oeuvre de Wang le Zélateur (Wang Fan-tche) suivie des Instructions domestiques de l'Aïeul (T'ai-kong kiao-kiao)*, Paris, 1982. Wang's poems were imitated by Wang Wei (701-761). This title 二首梵志錄 may, however, be a note by the compiler of the collection, his brother Wang Chin (700-781). But Demiéville is inclined to see the note as a gloss by the Sung editor (pp.8-9). In any case, they were probably inspired by Ch'an. Note that the earliest reliable mention of Wang Fan-chih is by the Ch'an monk Wu-chu cited in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* written after Wu-chu's death in 774 but before 781 (pp.557-561), and later by the poet monk Chiao-jan (730-799) in his *Shih-shih* (pp.561-563).
9. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Yoshitaka Iriya and Dana R. Fraser, *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang: A Ninth-Century Zen Classic* (Weatherhill: New York, Tokyo, 1971). Layman P'ang was a pupil of Ma-tsu Tao-i (706/7-786). Some of his poems are similar to those by Han-shan. Cf. pp.20-21 and poems 2 and 5 on pp.78-79.
10. There is a considerable literature on Han-shan, much of it in conflict over dating, even that made on the basis of phonology and rhyme. For example, E.G. Pulleyblank, "Linguistic Evidence for the date of Han-shan," in *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Ronald C. Miao (1978) is contradicted by Wang Yün-hsi, "Han-shan-tzu shih-ke te ch'ang-tso nien-tai," in *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* (Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-p'an she, 1981) as cited by Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao* (Shen-hsi jen-min ch'u-p'an she: Hsi-an, 1985), p.127 note 2. Many of the Taoistic or lay poems may have been attributed to Han-shan due to a confusion in the folios of poems by Han-shan, Shih-te and the older Feng-kan. Cf. V.T. Yang's review of Burton Watson's *Cold Mountain* in *Journal of Oriental Studies* (Hong Kong U.P.), vol. 6 (1961-1964), pp.255-257.
11. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, pp.134-150. See also T'ang Kuei-jen, "T'ang-tai seng-jen shih ho T'ang-tai fo-chiao shih-su-hua," in *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* 7, comp. Chung-kuo T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh hsüeh-hui (Shen-hsi jen-min ch'u-p'an

Moreover, many poets merely toyed with Ch'an Buddhism, even the "Confucian" poet Tu Fu.¹² This was a part of the intellectual atmosphere of the time: a literati could dabble in any of the religions and philosophies, using their terms and works in literary pieces without any commitment or proper understanding. In general, poems with such references about Buddhism or Ch'an (and Taoism, but less so for Confucianism which was probably better understood) can be classified as "occasional" poems. The occasion of the composition demanded a reference to Buddhism or Taoism. When the occasion required a religious content of a poem, it was purely conventional and arbitrary.¹³ Poets could use such religious terminology because in the T'ang period at least, it was part of any literati's repertoire. Thus even the "Taoist" Li Po wrote perfectly acceptable Buddhist encomia.¹⁴ Even then, there was a considerable mutual

she: Hsi-an, 1986), pp.192-202 and Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang* (Yale U.P., 1981), pp.282-287.

12. For Tu Fu and Ch'an see Liang Shih-ch'iu, "Tu Fu yü Fo," in *Fo-chiao wen-hsüeh tuan-lun*, ed. T'ang Ta-yuan and Yao Pao-hsien et. al. (Ta-sheng wen-hua ch'u-p'an she: Taipei, 1980), pp.204-205. See also Toki Zenmaro, *To Ho e no michi* (Tokyo, 1973), "Zen o motomete" chapter, pp.215ff.
13. Tsuda Sökichi, *Shina Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 1957), p.473. Tsuda concludes that there was an idealized, static and conventional view of monks that conformed to traditional outlooks on eremitic life (p.476), and visits to Buddhist or Taoist monasteries were more often made for the scenery and pleasure. The poets rarely understood Buddhism or Taoism properly, their understanding being primarily bookish and definitely not practical (pp.475, 478). See also Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (Yale U.P., 1981), p.344.
14. See his "Encomium for the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang," *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 350,1590a-b and "Encomium for a Painting in Gold and Silver Paint of an Incident of Transformation in the Western Pure Land," 350, 1589c. See Hirano Kenshō, *Tōdai bungaku to Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Hōyū: Kyoto, 1978), pp.151, 208, but see the critical review by Kakehi Fumio in *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 30 (April 1979), pp.148-150. The focus of Hirano's work is very narrow.

borrowing of Buddhist and Taoist terminology, and Buddhist monks wrote commentaries on the *Chuang-tzu* and *Lao-tzu*.¹⁵

One of the major problems in understanding a given poet, particularly if he is famous, is the stereotype created by later critics. A classic case is Wang Wei (699-759), who was known for his associations with Ch'an. Such an over-reading of Ch'an into his landscape poems by literary critics is egregious. For example, Wai Lim-yip states: "In Wang Wei, the scenery *speaks* and acts The poet has become ... Phenomena itself The poet does not step in; he views things as things view themselves."¹⁶ This is indeed an unconscious approximation of the Buddhistic theory of poetry that I shall examine, and it probably owes its origin to the criticism of Wang Shih-chen.¹⁷

Recent studies of Wang Wei characterise his poetry in terms of Chinese metaphysical theories of poetry, the chief tenet of which is that "literature ... is the manifestation of the Tao ... the principle of the universe immanent in the totality of all being."¹⁸ James Liu, basing himself on Liu Hsieh's (ca. 465-522) *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, thinks that this principle or pattern (*li*) was present both in Nature and

15. For example, Chih-tun wrote commentaries on some chapters of the *Chuang-tzu* and other Buddhists wrote works claiming that Lao-tzu was a Buddhist saint. See Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden, 1959), pp.128-129, 313, 317, 320. Seng-chao also wrote a commentary on the *Lao-tzu* according to Itō Takatoshi, "Kichizō no Jukyō-Rōsō hihan," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (34.2), pp.502-509. Hui-yüan also lectured on the *Chuang-tzu*. See Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh* (Shanghai jen-min ch'u-p'an she, 1988), p.63.

16. See Eugene Eoyang, "Nature in the world and in the mind" in *Studies in Chinese Poetry*, ed. Ronald Miao, pp.116-117, quoting Wai Lim-yip, *Hiding in the Universe: Poems by Wang Wei*. Cf. also Shan Chou, "Beginning with Images in the Nature Poetry of Wang Wei," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.1 (1982), pp.118, 134-135.

17. Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment...", p.241.

18. Pauline Yü, *The Poetry of Wang Wei* (Indiana U.P.: Bloomington, 1980), p.2. Cf. Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High Tang*, pp.27-51, especially pp.38-39, 44 on Buddhism.

in the human mind,¹⁹ and that literature was a verbal expression of that principle,²⁰ a very Neo-Confucian formulation.

By the late T'ang, literature theorists, drawing in part on the *Chuang-tzu*, subscribed to the view that poetry is the author's embodiment and appreciation of, or union with, the Tao.²¹ Thus James Liu considers that Wang Wei and Meng Hao-jan "embodied their contemplation of Nature in their poetry, but had not explicitly discussed their practice."²² He further describes Wang Wei's poetry as that of his proposed "third world" where "The poet submerges his consciousness in the universe, and the beating of his heart is identified with the pulsation of all life....at one with the rest of creation ... the individual consciousness had lost its identity he is part of the nature that he is contemplating."²³

But to some observers there was not a complete merger of the poet and his milieu in Wang Wei's poems, for the social self mediates between the poet and his landscape via references to other people, even if distant or unseen.²⁴ This is so even in his most imagist and "depopulated" poems.²⁵ So while the landscape may be empty,²⁶ Wang Wei could not or did not void himself of his ego.²⁷ This is not what the Ch'an-analogy theory would claim.

19. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, pp.22-23.

20. *Ibid.*, p.25.

21. *Ibid.*, pp.30-35. Note that James J.Y. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 3 (1956), p.288 says it is difficult to distinguish Buddhism and *Chuang-tzu's* "Ch'i-wu lun."

22. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.35.

23. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," p.287.

24. March, *op. cit.*, p.28 describes it as a "screen"; Marsha Wagner, *Wang Wei* (Twayne Publishers: Boston, 1981), p.94.

25. March, pp.112-113.

26. Wagner, p.107. Note that *k'ung* had both a Buddhist and a secular meaning; Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry*, p.44.

There is another interpretation. James Liu would defend his thesis by asserting that even the human traces, like the landscape, "are all equally parts of nature, in which the poet has allowed his own consciousness to dissolve."²⁸ This would appear to be in agreement with the ultimate non-duality of Buddhism or Chuang-tzu's "equalization of things." However, it does imply the existence of a separate observer.

Wang Wei was of course concerned with non-duality, *śūnyāta* and the problems of sensory perception,²⁹ yet even here some Taoistic input can be detected. Therefore it is difficult to comprehend why the Neo-Confucian critic Wang Shih-chen promoted Wang Wei as the leader of the Southern Lineage or school of poetry, making him the Ch'an poet supreme, the "Poet-Buddha," just like Hui-neng of Southern Ch'an.³⁰

Indeed, one of the sources for Wang Shih-chen's theory, the T'ang poet Ssu-k'ung-T'u (837-908), who appreciated Wang Wei's poetry, used Taoist ideas in his criticism, quoting the *Lao-tzu* in his discussion of creativity:

The quintessential spirit of flowers and plants,
The waves and billows of the sea,
The rugged crags of the mountain-
All these resemble the great Tao:

27. Wagner, p.110.

28. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," p.288.

29. Wagner, pp.122-123, 133.

30. Pauline Yü, op. cit., p.123; Richard John Lynn, "Orthodoxy and Enlightenment....," pp.241ff. Wang Wei did write Hui-neng's epitaph, but he also wrote epitaphs for Northern Ch'an monks, and he and his relatives supported Northern Ch'an, as is evident from his collected works, and so this must have been known to Wang Shih-chen. Cf. Sun Ch'ang-wu's "Wang Wei te fo-chiao hsin-yang yü shih-ke ch'ang-tso" in his *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*. An even more detailed account of his relations with Ch'an monks appears in Yang Wen-hsiung, *Shih-Fo Wang Wei yen-chiu* (Wen-shih-che ch'u-p'an she: Taipei, 1988), pp.205-239. The epitaphs for Hui-neng and the "Northern" Ch'an monk Ching-chüeh can be found with annotations in Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū* (Hōzōkan: Kyoto, 1967), pp.539-543 and pp.517-520 respectively.

I identify with them intuitively, even to the dust.
 Leave forms behind but catch true likeness...³¹

Another poet-critic known to Wang Shih-chen through his writings was Su Shih (1036-1101). Su Shih not only appreciated Wang Wei but also compared poetry to Ch'an, adopting the theory of the identity of the artist and the scene, though he sometimes used Taoist terminology to do so.³²

Thus despite all this Taoist language, Neo-Confucian literary criticism for the most part championed the analogy of Ch'an for poetry and adopted Ch'an concepts of lineage in order to establish their ideals and exemplar poets. Yet the theoretical basis for this was left unstated and has remained obscure to this day.

31. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.35.

32. Wagner, pp.154, 157 on Su Shih's promotion of Wang Wei. Thus Su writes of his artist friend Wen T'ung:

When Wen T'ung painted bamboo,
 He saw only bamboos but no man;
 Not only did he see no man,
 But he had left his dissolved body.
 His body transformed with the bamboos,
 Producing endless limpidity and freshness.

Translation by James Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.36.

2) The Buddhist Theory of Insentient Buddhahood

Most of the great landscape poets who were to become the models for all later poets and the subjects of the writings of the literary critics lived during the late Nan-pei ch'ao and Sui-T'ang periods which was the golden age of Buddhism in China. The majority of these poets thus came under the direct or indirect influence of Buddhism, in particular Ch'an, the most vigorous and most Confucian of the Chinese Buddhist orders. Many of the illustrious literati of the T'ang made friends with Ch'an monks who seemed to have provided an intellectual and aesthetic stimulus that was an alternative to the politically and socially-centred Confucianism of the commentaries on the Classics. This tendency was continued in the Sung, but by this time Neo-Confucianism could attract more literati with its increasingly rigorous philosophy (derived in considerable extent from Buddhism) and later claims to orthodoxy and "nationalism." It should be no surprise then that Ch'an ideas entered into literary criticism, including that of the Neo-Confucian "orthodox."

In Ch'an there are constant references to a theory that came to have important ramifications for the theory of literary and artistic creation, especially the art of the landscape. The fundamental form of the Ch'an theory states that the insentient has the Buddha-nature (*fo-hsing*), is the Buddha; its derivative form claims that the insentient can preach the Dharma of Buddhism. In other words, the insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) has a numinous quality that can lead to the salvation of the astute or egoless observer.

This theory may have been prompted by the Chinese "perennial philosophy"¹ that affirms that the visually perceptible is good and can be intuitively understood

1. I am not claiming that there is a "perennial philosophy" as an eternal entity, for that is anathema to my view of history. It is only a metaphor. Indeed, there may have been an Indian origin for this world-view in Chinese Buddhism, for comments on the Vajrayāna concept of the *vajra* as universal, including the insentient, took the *vajra* to be conducive to enlightenment. This is, however, similar to the classic *prajñāpāramitā* idea of viewer and viewed, or ego and dharmas, being empty. See R.C. Majumder, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People, vol V: The Struggle for Empire* (Bombay, 2nd ed., 1966), pp.410-441 and *vol IV: The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bombay, 2nd ed., 1964), p.265. Tibetan rDzogs-chen, a branch of rÑying-ma-pa Buddhism, seems to have professed a related doctrine, but this may have been derived from Ch'an. See Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*, 2nd revised edn (Motilal Barnasidass: Delhi, 1979), pp.85-86, 80-81, 64.

through direct perception.² Thus the most Chinese of Buddhists absolutely affirm concrete reality in their realization.³

The dominant feature of Chinese Buddhism and the means by which reality was affirmed is the Buddha-nature. The term "Buddha-nature" was derived from the Indian Buddhist terms *buddhatā*, *buddhadhātu* and *tathāgatagarbha*, but its importance in China was overwhelming, forming the core doctrine of T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen, San-lun and Ch'an. This was undoubtedly identified with the human nature (*hsing*) that was such an important topic in pre-Buddhist Chinese philosophy.⁴

The Buddha-nature had two aspects; content and extent. The content was usually considered necessarily good, for it was a potential for Buddhahood, even Buddhahood itself. This view coincided with the Mencian outlook which was gaining ascendancy in the T'ang.⁵ Many Buddhists had their doubts, however, and wondered about the source of evil if the Buddha-nature was identified with the source or substratum of all existence such as the *ālayavijñāna*. The prevailing opinion was

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2. Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, ed. Philip P. Wiener (University Press of Hawaii: Honolulu, 1964), p.181.
 3. Tsukamoto Zenryū, cited in Kenneth Morgan, ed., *The Path of the Buddha*, (New York, 1956) p.209.
 4. William Henry Grosnick, "The Zen Master Dōgen's Understanding of the Buddha-Nature in Light of the Historical Development of the Buddha-Nature Concept in India, China, and Japan," Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1979, pp.113, 115; Andrew Rawlinson, "The Ambiguity of the Buddha-nature Concept in India and China" in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet* (Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 5), ed. Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley, 1983), pp.260-261, 267-270 for the original meanings and the various Chinese translations of these terms.
 5. *Mencius* became popular in the late T'ang with Han Yü. See D.C. Lau, *Mencius* (Penguin Classics: Harmondsworth, 1970), p.8; Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton U.P.: Princeton, N.J., 1986), pp.12, 178-182 on Mencian *hsing*, Ch'an and Han's promotion of *Mencius*. Cf. also Whalen Lai, "The Pure and the Impure: The Mencian Problematik in Chinese Buddhism" in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*. I find, however, some of his conclusions overly generalized.

that this evil or ignorance was but adventitious illusion and thus non-existent. It too is good, for *samsara* is *nirvana*.⁶

The question of extent was problematical. Before Tao-sheng's (c. 360-434) vindication by the Dharmakṣema translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in 428/9, many of the southern Chinese aristocracy or gentry (including monks) believed that only the high-born possessed the Buddha-nature that some beings called *icchantikas* lacked. Common people thus were considered ineligible for Buddhahood, just as the rites and the possibility of sagehood were denied to them in contemporary interpretations of Confucianism. But the new translation of the sutra clearly stated that all sentient beings possess the Buddha-nature, and this gradually became an axiom.⁷

However, others later wondered if this extent was too limited; that in a non-dualistic doctrine there should be no discrimination between a sentient Buddha-nature and an insentient nature. The crux of their argument was *sūnyatā*, "emptiness" or "non-substantiality." The first proposition in their thesis was probably the *Heart Sutra's* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra*) "Matter (*rūpa* or colour) is emptiness", and the second the *prajñāpāramitā Aṣṭasahasrika Sūtra's* "That which is known as mind is discursive reasoning, is no-mind (*acitta*), though without this Mind cannot be reached."⁸ The third proposition probably came from the *Śrīmālādevisimhanāda Sūtra's* "To know the Tathāgatagarbha is said to be the same as to know *sūnyatā*."⁹

6. Cf. Whalen Lai, op. cit., p.321. I have covered much of this ground in my M.A., "The *Long Scroll*: The Earliest Text of Ch'an Buddhism," A.N.U.: Canberra, 1979, pp.78-94.

7. Whalen Lai, pp.305-306; Walter Liebenthal, "The World Conception of Chu Tao-sheng," *Monumenta Nipponica* 12 (1956), pp.92-93; Ch'en P'ei-jan, *Chu Tao-sheng*, pp.163-167; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao shih*, p.648. Yabuchi Takatoshi, "Sha Rei-un sansuishi no haikai," p.134, says that in the Wei-Chin period, it was usually thought it was nigh impossible to become a sage, but Buddhist ideas changed that, saying it was possible as principal is universal.

8. This is as restated by D.T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (London, 1930), p.283.

9. Takasaki Jikido, *A Study on the Ratnagotra-vibhāga*, Serie Orientale Roma 33 (Rome, 1966), p.37. Note the similar passage in Alex and Hideko Wayman, *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā* (Columbia U.P., 1974), p.99 : "the knowledge of the Tathāgatagarbha is the voidness knowledge of the Tathāgatas." Note, p.98, that it links the Tathāgatagarbha and the

Thus the insentient or matter (at least as percepts), the mind and even the Buddha-nature (as Tathāgatagarbha) can all be thought of as empty, *śūnya*.

The Vijñānavādin (Representation or Consciousness Only) and Cittamātrin (Mind Only) approach, particularly in its Paramārthin translation, was another possible theoretical basis. Paramārtha's translation, the *Ch'uan-shih lun* reads:

To establish the meaning of vijñāna (representation/consciousness) only, at once banish sense-data and preserve the mind ... Empty mind (*k'ung-hsin*) is its correct meaning. Therefore the obliteration of both sense-data and the vijñānas is the realization of that meaning ... is the real nature, and the real nature is the *amalavijñāna*.¹⁰

What remains then is Pure Mind, in Ch'an terms "No-Mind" (*wu-hsin*), the mind that reflects all things as truly as a bright mirror does, without any attachment to or discrimination of the objects that are reflected in it. Thus this mind, lacking its own content, may be called *ādarśana-jñāna*, the "great round mirror wisdom"¹¹ that

Dharmakāya: "the Dharmakāya of the Tathāgata is named 'cessation of suffering'....This Dharmakāya of the Tathāgata when not free from the store of defilements is referred to as the Tathāgatagarbha." See also the comments on p.47 on the relation of this to the "viewpoint that all sentient beings are already Buddhas."

10. T31.62c16-19. Translation modified from Robert M. Gimello, "Chih-yen (602-668) and the Foundation of Hua-yen Buddhism," Ph.D.thesis, Columbia University, 1976, p.323.
11. The Buddhist and Chinese comparisons of the mind to a mirror are considered in Paul Demiéville, "Le miroir spirituel" in *Choix d'Etudes Bouddhiques*, ed. J.W. de Jong (E.J. Brill: Leiden, 1973). This has recently been translated by Neal Donner as "The Mirror of the Mind" in *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1987). Other studies include Whalen Lai, "Ch'an Metaphors: Waves, water, mirror, lamp," *Philosophy East and West* 29, no.3 (July 1979) and John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism* (University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1986), pp.144-147, 235-238 et. passim. Demiéville, "Le miroir spirituel," pp.136-137 describes the mind as being in a state of apathy, and points to the *Chuang-tzu* as a source. For example, Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p.69; "Men do not mirror themselves in running water--they mirror themselves in still water," on the need for calm or samādhi, which p.142, "The sage's mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth" is the condition of the saint's mind which reflects all, but p.70, "if the mirror

reflects and illuminates all things. In this sense, the mind and the world are simply Thusness (*tathatā*), empty of discrimination, good. There is only pure perception, which has neither object nor subject. This is the realization of Buddhahood, or seeing the Buddha. As the *Hua-yen ching* (*Avatāmsaka Sūtra*) says:

Realize that the self-nature (*tzu-hsing*) of all dharmas does not exist. If one understands the dharma-nature (*fa-hsing*) thus, this is to see the Rocana (Buddha).¹²

But there was a very formidable barrier to the hypothesis that applied the above theories to the insentient; the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* which states:

That which is not of the Buddha-nature is all walls, tiles, rocks and insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) things. That which is divorced from such insentient things is called the Buddha-nature [and that which is in the insentient is called the dharma-nature.]¹³

This definition makes sentience a prerequisite for the possession of the Buddha-nature and consequently Buddhahood. Otherwise, why should one practice if even insentient things can become Buddha?

But if the mind was the source of the problem by not keeping to its intrinsic nature of non-discrimination or detachment, if it changes from a mirror into a projector of images as was described in Hua-yen Buddhism (不守自性隨緣),¹⁴ then there should be no question that the insentient is already Buddha in some sense, for the mind is the creator of the perceived or attached-to world.

Another method of formulating the proposition that the insentient have Buddha-nature was to subject the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* itself to discriminating analysis.

is bright, no dust settles on it; if dust settles, it isn't really bright," which comes close to the Indian Tathāgatagarbhin theory of adventitious contaminants (dust).

12. *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching* (Śikṣānanda translation) T10.82a6-7.

13. *Ta-po nieh-p'an ching* T12.581a22-23 in Dharmakṣema translation and T12.828b26-27 in the "Southern" revision. Brackets are my gloss based on other passages. Cf. also Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1965), p.435.

14. The Hua-yen doctrine of the mind not keeping or maintaining its own nature (*pu shou tzu-hsing*) and following after conditions or sense-data is treated in my article, "Two Themes in Korean Buddhism," *Hanguk Bulkyo Hak (The Journal of the Korean Association of Buddhist Studies)*, Dongguk University, no.7 (Dec. 1982), pp.216-221.

Thus some scholars took the statement in the sutra that "The Buddha-nature of sentient beings is just like space (*hsü-k'ung*),"¹⁵ to mean that the distinction between the Buddha-nature and the dharma-nature was merely a provisional teaching designed to lead people to a higher level of understanding. This was approach of the T'ien-t'ai scholar Chan-jan (711-782) in his *Chin-kang pi* ("Diamond Scalpel").¹⁶

a) *Scholastic Formulations*

Chi-tsang (549-623), a San-lun scholar, approached the problem from the viewpoint of *sūnyatā* in the Madhyamika manner by taking up the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*'s identification of *prajñā* (insight) with the Buddha-nature and *sūnya*: "The Buddha-nature is called the primal meaning emptiness; the primal meaning emptiness is called *prajñā*."¹⁷ Soteriologically, the Buddha-nature was inherent, it only had to be realized; it was more an actuality than a potential. The statement that it is a potential and thus a cause with Buddhahood the result, was merely an expedient means.¹⁸ Yet in practice, Chi-tsang seems to have distinguished the sentient from the

15. T12.828a26-27.

16. T46.781-786. This text has not yet been studied intensively despite its great importance. The main studies are those by Kim Yöng-kil, "Kümbinon kwa mujöng pulsöngnon," *Pulgyo Hakbo* 16 (Dongguk University, Dec. 1979) and Ikeda Rosan, "*Kongöbei ron no mondai (sono ichi)*," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyögakubu kenkyü kiyö* 32 (1974), which list various theories as to whom it was attacking. From my reading and draft translation, I would agree with Yagi Nobuyoshi, "Tai-Zen ryöshü no köshö ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyögaku kenkyü* (36) 18.2 (1970.3), pp.611-612, that Shen-hui was the object of the polemic and not Ch'eng-kuan (738-839) of Hua-yen, his one time pupil, nor Fa-tsang as was thought by Kamata Shigeo (*Chügoku Kegonshisöshi no kenkyü*, pp.466-473) or Kim Yöng-kil (op. cit., pp.192-193), for Chan-jan probably saw Northern Ch'an as the legitimate lineage. I await the findings of Linda Penkower's doctoral thesis on this text from Columbia University.

17. T12.767c18-19. Cf. Aaron K. Koseki, "Prajñāpāramitā and the Buddhahood of the Non-Sentient World: The San-Lun Assimilation of Buddha-Nature and Middle Path Doctrine," *International Association of Buddhist Studies Journal*, vol. 3, no.1 (1980), p.19.

18. Koseki, pp.21-23.

insentient in respect of the Buddha-nature when it came to the means of realization, that is, contemplation.¹⁹

The T'ien-t'ai Order founders drew on both Hua-yen and San-lun for their justification of the Buddhahood of the insentient. Hui-ssu (514-577) implied that the One Mind or Tathāgatagarbha is found in everything, even grains of sand.²⁰ His pupil, Chih-i (538-597) stated this in terms of contemplating matter (colour) and mind as equal, or "there is not a material object or a fragrance that is not the Middle Way."²¹ In this he may have been influenced by Seng-chao's (374-414) Taoistic comment which was made in a Buddhist context (he was a pupil of Kumārajīva):
 "How can the Tao (Way) be afar? Perceived events 解事 are real. How can the sage be afar? The embodiment 骨體 of it is the spirit (*shen*).²² Thus Chih-i claimed that all

19. Koseki, pp.26-30. Chi-tsang, in his *Ta-sheng hsüan lun*, did however introduce a number of themes important to this whole development, themes taken up by Fa-tsang of Hua-yen and Chan-jan of T'ien-t'ai, as well as by the poet monk Kuan-hsiu. For example, Chi-tsang wrote:

"Dharma teacher [Seng]-chao said, 'Is the Way distant? It is identical with things and yet true. Is the sage distant?...The *Wei-shih lun* says, 'There is representation/consciousness only, there are no sense-data realms,' which elucidates that mountains, rivers, grass, and trees are all mental conceptions 心想; there are no other dharmas beyond the mind. This elucidates that within principle all dharmas, dependent and proper, are non-dual. Because they are non-dual, if sentient beings have the Buddha-nature then grass and trees have the Buddha-nature....Because sentient beings have a mind that is deluded, they can have the principle of awakening and enlightenment. Because grass and trees lack mind (*wu-hsin*), therefore they are not deluded, so how can they have the meaning (*artha*) of awakening and enlightenment? It is for example like dream and awakening. If one does not dream one does not awake." (T45.40c7-14, 24-26. Cf. Koseki, p.25 for 1st two citations).

20. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan and Burton Watson, comps, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol.1 (Columbia U.P.: New York, 1960), p.316, from T46.642, 648, 650.

21. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, p.440 from T46.1c.

22. *Chao-lun*, T45.153a4-5. For discussion of this and related passages, see Kamata Shigeo, "Chūgoku no Kegonshisō" in *Kōza Tōyōshi VI: Bukkyōshi II*, ed. Uno Sei'ichi and Tamaki Kōjiro, pp.186-189, and Yanagida Seizan and Umehara Takeshi, *Mu no Tankyū (Chūgoku*

phenomena, even ignorance, are true and are of the Dharma-nature (nature of the Law):

Ignorance is the Dharma-nature I wish to get sentient beings to manifest the Dharma-body (*Dharmakāya* 法身), events being true.²³

The introduction of the term Dharma-body or "Body of the Law" is significant here, for the assertion that the Dharma-body and the Dharma-nature are all events manifesting the truth could imply that these are synonyms for the Buddha-nature also. This passage echoes Chi-tsang's explanation of Reality or *shih-hsiang* 實相 (literally "the attribute or aspect of reality"):

Only a Buddha and a Buddha (仙54?) discern ultimately the dharmas' attribute of reality which is called the Tathāgatagarbha. Because the substance (*t'i* or embodiment) of the Dharma-body does not change, the Buddha-nature is also called the Tathāgatagarbha. Therefore the hidden is called the Tathāgatagarbha and the manifest the Dharma-body.²⁴

Chih-i recapitulates this in his elucidation of his thesis of a "trichiliocosm in a moment of thought" (一念三千):

Zen: *Bukkyō no shisō VII*, pp. 88-89 for its influence on Ch'an. Note that Chi-tsang has altered this passage slightly in his citation given above in note 19. Cf. Koseki p.25.

"Perceived events 觸事" or "that which is tangible" is sometimes rendered "all phenomena." Likewise, "embodiment" (*t'i*) and "spirit" (*shen*) can be interpreted variously, with Chi-tsang taking it as "enlightenment is the spirit" (悟即是神) (T45.40c7-8), which Koseki takes to be "When you understand him, you are identical with his spirit." (p.25). The lines are parallel, so just as "perceived events" are the Tao, so the embodiment of the sage or the Tao, or one's own body (*t'i*) is the spirit. The spirit was probably understood as a rarified soul or something divine. This passage owes something to Wang Pi's "embodiment of emptiness" as epitomised by Confucius and more distantly to *Chuang-tzu's* "Heaven and earth were born together with me, and the myriad things are one with me." (Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p.43), which is also reflected in the *Chao-lun's* "Heaven and earth are of the same root as I, the myriad things are one body/substance (一覺靈) with me." (T45.159b28-29).

23. Kamata, "Chūgoku no Kegonshisō," p.188 quoting T45.586b16-17; T46.1131a.
24. T34.367 cited in Han Chong-man, *Pulgyo wa Yugyo ūi hyōnsilgwan* (Wōngwang U.P.: Iri, 1981), p.17 note 6.

Only a Buddha and a Buddha can discern completely the real attribute of dharmas ... the thusness of dharmas, the thusness of attributes, the thusness of (their) nature...²⁵

Later on Chih-i says:

Because (the dharma-nature) is not of the world it is not existent, because it does not transcend the world it is not non-existent. There is not a single colour or single fragrance that is not of the Middle Way Vairocana is omnipresent. How can there be views and thoughts that are not the real Dharma?²⁶

Thus in contemplation, all percepts are the Middle Way, are imbued with the Vairocana Buddha, are the very Buddha-Dharma itself.

Another Chinese Buddhist order that took the Vairocana Buddha as its symbol was Hua-yen. It and T'ien-t'ai may be considered the intellectual wings or theoretical bases for Ch'an. Hua-yen developed the doctrine of the insentient having Buddha-nature from at least three different approaches. The first was based on the idea of the "interpenetration" or "non-obstruction of principle and events" (*li-shih wu-ai*); the second was the mind-only creation approach of the *Hua-yen ching* verse:

If a person wishes to perceive that the three worlds are all Buddha, they must contemplate the nature of the realm of dharma (*dharmadhātu*); all is only mind-created.²⁷

Fa-tsang (643-712), the doyen of the Hua-yen tradition, combined these two formulae with the action of karma. The mind-creation doctrine means that mind creates karma, *and* the karmic requital proper (*cheng-pao* 正報), i.e. the personality or status of rebirth (whether in another life or another moment), *and* the dependent or environmental requital (*i-pao* 依報 also *kung-pao/yeh*), i.e. the environment into which one is born such as heaven or hell.²⁸ The Buddha-nature then is in both the sentient or requital proper and in the insentient or the inanimate part of the

25. My translation of the passage cited in Leon Hurvitz, "Chih-I (538-597): An Introduction to the Life and Ideas of a Chinese Buddhist Monk," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhique* 12 (1960-1962), pp.290-291.

26. *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, T46.75b cited in Han Chong-man, p.24 note 20.

27. T10.102a29-b1.

28. See Akao Eikei, "Hōzō ni mieru sōmoku-jōbutsu ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 32.2 (March 1984), pp.962-965.

environmental requital. Of course, this can only be understood from the viewpoint of the Perfect Teaching of one who has reached Buddhahood:

In the Three Vehicles (level of) Teaching, the nature of True Thusness (*chen-ju hsing*) is common to the sentient and the insentient, (whereas) the (newly) revealed Aware Buddha-nature is restricted to the sentient alone. Therefore the *Nirvana Sutra* says, "That which is not the Buddha (-nature) means grass and trees etc."

In the Perfect Teaching, the Buddha-nature and nature-arisal (*hsing-ch'i*) are common to the environmental and proper (karmic requital)Therefore becoming Buddha is provided for in the Three Worlds; the lands and bodies of all being Buddha-bodies. Therefore it is restricted to the Buddha-result alone, and yet is common to and permeates the insentient.²⁹

The Three Worlds may be those of the *Hua-yen ching* mind-creation verse. Here though the worlds are defined as the world of sentient beings, the vessel or container world which is the environment, and the world of Awareness and pure perception of the Buddha.³⁰

Later Hua-yen thinkers such as Ch'eng-kuan (738-838) and his contemporary Kuei-chi Shen-hsiu made explicit statements about the insentient Buddhahood thesis, statements that were quoted by later Korean and Japanese Hua-yen scholars such as Kyun-yō (923-973) and Myōe's (1173-1232) pupil Shunko 順高. Thus Kuei-chi Shen-hsiu³¹ discusses the relation of sentience to insentience in which both are empty and the Buddha simultaneously; and that if one exists, the other is taken to be the self. He then relates this to the experience of Sudhana, the pilgrim of the last part of the *Hua-yen ching*, the *Gandavyūha*:

Because the self has no nature (of its own) it takes the other to create (its own nature). So the insentient not cultivating and not realizing is the sentient lacking cultivation and lacking realization. The (*Hua-yen*) sutra says:

29. *Hua-yen ching t'an-hsüan chi*, T35.405c26-406a1, cited in Akao, p.962 and Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, pp.445-446.

30. Akao, p.964.

31. Yoshizu Yoshihide, "Jinshū no Kegonkyōshū ni tsuite," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 24 (1982), pp.204-209. Identification of this later Shen-hsiu was made by Bernard Fauré, "Shen-hsiu et l'Avatamsaka-sūtra," *Zimbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies* 19 (1983), pp.1-15.

"When Sudhana viewed the tower, it was extensive, unlimited, equal (in extent) to space."

My interpretation of this is that the viewed tower is omnipresent in the realm of dharmas (*dharmadhātu*). The topic of sentience is empty because it is totally this one tower.

Comment by Kyun-yō: "From this text we know that what sentience cultivates and perfects is what the insentient cultivates and achieves, for they are non-dual substance."³²

b) *Ch'an Formulations*

Although the insentient Buddha-nature thesis can be found throughout the main scholastic schools of Buddhism in China from the late sixth to seventh century, the overt contemplative and poetic expression of this doctrine, as well as opposition, appears in Ch'an Buddhism.

The early Ch'an patriarch, Tao-hsin (580-651), according to the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* by Ching-chüeh (683-c. 750), opposed this thesis by declaring his support for the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*:

The *Nirvana Sutra* says, "All sentient beings have a Buddha-nature." I admit that it says, "Walls, tiles and stones do not have Buddha-nature," so how can they preach the Dharma? Furthermore, the *T'ien-ch'in lun* (Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Vajracchedikā*?) says, "The transformation (body-*nirmāṇakāya*) is not the true Buddha, and moreover it does not preach the Dharma."³³

Here Tao-hsin is asserting that only sentient beings have a Buddha-nature, and that the *nirmāṇakāya* (the transformation or illusory body of the Buddha- a form of docetism), not being a true sentient entity but a mere projection, could not preach Buddhism. The transformation body, if it is regarded as the world, lacks a Buddha-nature.

However, Tao-hsin appears to concede that in the contemplative experience, sense-data or conditions do not disturb the calm mind, for:

All events are the one Dharma-body (*Dharmakāya*) of the Tathāgata. If one dwells in this One Mind, all the linked frustrations (*kleśa*, passions) are naturally excluded and

32. The best text available is Kyun-yō's *Sōk Hwa-ōm-gyo pun'gi wōnt'ong ch'o* in *Hanguk Pulgyo ch'ōnsō*, vol.4 (Dongguk University: Seoul), p.331b-c.

33. Yanagida Seizan, *Shōki no Zenshi I: Zen no Goroku 2* (Chikuma shobo: Tokyo, 1971), p.264.

extinguished. In a single mote of dust, all the limitless worlds are present....for those fundamental events are Thus, and so do not hinder each other.³⁴

Hence in meditation, all things, sense-data or mental percepts, are really products of the mind, are fused in a mutual interpenetration, and no longer form frustrations or hindrances to the realization of the Pure Mind or Tathāgatagarbha.

According to the *Leng-chia jen-fa chih* (c.701), Tao-hsin's pupil Hung-jen (601-674) also referred to the Dharmakāya and sense-data in the meditation experience:

When you are correctly meditating in the monastery, doesn't your body (made up of insentient constituents) likewise sit in meditation under the mountain forest trees? Can't all earth, wood, tiles and stone also sit in meditation? Can't earth, wood, tiles and stone also see material objects, hear sounds, wear clothes and carry a bowl? The *Lankāvātāra Sūtra*'s "sense-data Dharmakāya" is this.³⁵

Thus mundane objects become the equal of humanity as manifestations of the Dharmakāya due to non-dual emptiness, and the sense of Dharmakāya has shifted from the transcendent Buddha as the corpus of the Law to the immanent numinosity of the totality of the constituents of existence (*dharmas*). This total experience is that seen by the successful meditator, who not only sees the body and the mind as empty and thus of the Buddha-nature, but also sees his environment in the same light. To illustrate this, Hung-jen demonstrates that the exemplary meditator, the Buddha, and physical objects (as perceived) also share identical characteristics:

"When you correctly realize the great Dharmakāya, who sees the realization?" He also said, "The Buddha has thirty-two characteristics, and so doesn't a vase likewise have thirty-two characteristics... even earth, wood, tiles and stone have thirty-two characteristics?"³⁶

Hung-jen further explains that *dharmas* are all equally "empty," and that the realization of this is the seeing of the Buddha-nature. However, Hung-jen does caution that it is not contemplation of external Nature that brings enlightenment, but one's own mind, which is what reflects those percepts, the inner nature. This means

34. Ibid., p.193. Cf. Suzuki Daisetsu, *Zenshūsōshi kenkyū: Daruma kara Enō ni itaru. Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū 2* (Tokyo, 1968), p.261.

35. Yanagida, *Zen no Goroku 2*, pp.287-288; Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshūsōshi no kenkyū*, p.461.

36. *Zen no Goroku 2*, p.287; cf. Kamata, p.462 and the *Tsui-shang sheng lun*, T48.377c.

to be mindful of one's own Buddha, the mind in its pristine state, not another Buddha:

Therefore the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* says, "If one sees me through material form, or seeks me through sound and voice, that person is practising a perverse Way, and cannot see the Tathāgata." Therefore know that protecting the True Mind is superior to being mindful of another Buddha.³⁷

However, it appears that the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* lineage of Ch'an and possibly the Northern Ch'an patriarch Shen-hsiu (c. 606-706) used this doctrine as a practical method of teaching. The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* says:

The master (Gunabhadra) in general taught people wisdom, and never preached the Dharma; he just referred to things and inquired of them, pointing to tree leaves (and asking), "What are they?" He also said, "Can you enter a vase or a pillar ... can a mountain staff preach the Dharma, a vase ... and also earth, water, fire and wind (the *mahābhūtas*) can all preach the Dharma. What of this?"³⁸

This thesis was taken up in a most enthusiastic way by the newly-arisen Niu-t'ou faction of Ch'an Buddhism which was influenced by San-lun and possibly T'ien-t'ai. Unfortunately we cannot yet accurately date their texts, but it seems they were composed in the early to mid-eighth century.³⁹

The Northern Ch'an and Niu-t'ou proponents of this theory met a fierce opponent in Shen-hui (684-758), a monk who claimed to be an heir to Hui-neng (d. 713), one of Hung-jen's "minor" disciples. Shen-hui claimed that the true Southern lineage passed via Hui-neng, and that the Northern lineage headed by Shen-hsiu and

37. In Hung-jen's *Hsiu-hsin yao-lun*, Suzuki, op. cit., p.304. This work has been translated by John McRae in his *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*.

38. *Zen no Goroku* 2, p.122. McRae, op. cit., pp.92-93 gives this and other examples.

39. For Niu-t'ou, see John McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism: From Early Ch'an to the Golden Age" in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, ed. R.M. Gimello and P.N. Gregory (University of Hawaii Press, 1983). For some examples of their use of this theory see the undated Niu-t'ou text, the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, in *Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū* 2, p.191 or Yanagida Seizan and Tokiwa Gishin, *Contemplation Extinguished (Zekkan ron: Eibun yakuchū, gembun kōtei, kokuyaku* (Zenbunka kenkyūjo: Kyoto, 1976), p.178 note 17, section 6.

later P'u-chi was a travesty of orthodoxy, teaching a gradualist and quietist doctrine that smacked of dualism.

Judging from the sequence in the *Shen-hui yü-lu*, it appears that soon after Shen-hui met Wang Wei in 739/40, a meditation teacher Ch'ung-yüan of Mt. Niu-t'ou asked Shen-hui:

"Is the Buddha-nature universal or not?..." Shen-hui replied, "The Buddha-nature pervades all that is sentient, it does not pervade anything insentient." "My former teachers all said:

'Kingfisher green the emerald bamboo, all is the Dharmakāya; Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā.' Now why do you sir say, 'The Buddha-nature only pervades all sentient beings, it does not pervade anything insentient'?" Shen-hui replied: "How can you make kingfisher green emerald bamboo the equal of the merit-(achieved) Dharmakāya? How can you make thick and bushy yellow flowers the equal of the wisdom of prajñā? If the green bamboo and yellow flowers are identical to the Dharmakāya and prajñā, in which sutra did the Tathāgata preach that green bamboo and yellow flowers receive the prediction of Bodhi (Buddhahood)? If one thus makes green bamboos and yellow flowers identical to the Dharmakāya and prajñā, this is a heretical teaching. Why? Because the *Nirvana Sutra* has provided a clear text (which states): 'That which lacks the Buddha-nature are the so-called insentient things.'"⁴⁰

Shen-hui and his supposed teacher Hui-neng were devoted students of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and heirs to its conservative interpretation, in contrast to some Northern Ch'an and Niu-t'ou faction monks who espoused a radical or even "heretical" interpretation of it.

From this time on Ch'an texts frequently mention the question of the Buddhahood of the insentient and the verse quoted by Ch'ung-yüan. The proponents of the thesis seemed to have carried the day, for the "conservative" faction no longer denied the thesis outright, but rather made subtler distinctions. The strongest Ch'an champion of this thesis was Nan-yang Hui-chung (676-776), whom tradition claims was a pupil of Hui-neng as Shen-hui was. Like Shen-hui he also resided in Nan-

40. Hu Shih, *Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi: fu Hu Hsien-sheng wan-nien te yen-chiu*, ed. Ma Chün-wu (Hu Shih chi-nien kuan: Taipei, 1968), p.139. Also cited by Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, p.167; Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, pp.436-437. Cf. Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People*, p.640 note 12.

yang, so it is remarkable that his ideas on this subject were so at odds with those of his contemporary.⁴¹

In about 761 Hui-chung was at court combatting the opponents of this thesis from a meditational and epistemological standpoint. Hui-chung addressed all the issues raised in this debate. He claimed that the Buddha-mind was "walls, tiles and gravel," and that the Buddha-mind was the Buddha-nature for the enlightened. He defended these propositions against the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* by appealing to the *Hua-yen ching*:

The dharmas that the three realms have are all only mind-made.

Hui-chung also discussed the sub-theory of the insentient preaching the Dharma:

"(Since the insentient has a mind-nature) it constantly and clearly preaches without any intermission." "Why haven't I heard it?.... Who can hear it?" Hui-chung said, "The Buddha can hear it."

"But there shouldn't be any divisions between sentient beings, should there?"

Hui-chung said, "I preach for sentient beings and not for the saints."⁴²

Hui-chung's argument continues, claiming that if unenlightened people could hear the insentient preaching the Dharma, there would be no need for the human Buddha to preach, and all would already be enlightened. Hui-chung found scriptural support and authorities for the insentient preaching the Dharma in quotes or at least allusions to the *A-mi-t'o ching* (*Sukhāvativyūha*) and *Hua-yen ching*.⁴³

Hui-chung also confronted the issue of sin and karma in relation to the insentient by using the Hua-yen theory of proper and environmental requital which is bound up with the ego and resentment, and No Mind:

"If both (the sentient and insentient) have the Buddha-nature; and one kills something sentient, then one forms karma that will be repayed with harm; so why haven't I heard of the insentient (having harmed something) having requital?" Hui-chung said: "That of the sentient is requital proper which calculates the existence of the ego and the ego contents that

41. Biographies of Hui-chung in the earlier versions are those in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 43.208a24-b3; *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.113-1.130 and the *Sung Kao-seng chuan*, T50.762b11-763b21.

42. "Nan-yang Hui-chung Kuo-shih yü," included in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.438a18-21. Cf. *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.123. These probably came from the same original source.

43. For these references see *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.123 and T51.438a26.

harbour the bonds of resentment. This is to have the requital which lacks the mind that binds with resentment. Therefore it is not said to have requital."⁴⁴

Interestingly, resentment by the insentient of the sentient or vice-versa figures frequently as a theme in Chinese poetry.

Finally, Hui-chung also mentions the universality of the Buddhakāya (Buddha-body) or Vairocana (for which read Dharmakāya?) in respect to the problem of the prediction of Buddhahood for the insentient and the question, "Who is the insentient Buddha?" His reply echoes the relation of the environment to the subject as in dependent and proper requital:

When (something) sentient receives the prediction that it will become Buddha, all the countries in all directions are the Vairocana Buddha-body.⁴⁵

The next generation of Ch'an, especially the Ma-tsu lineage of Ch'an, also debated this question. Po-chang Huai-hai (720-814) made much of the ambiguity of the term "insentient" in Chinese, *wu-ch'ing*, saying that sentient beings who have emotion (*yu-ch'ing*) lack the Buddha-nature, but if there were no emotional bonds (*wu-ch'ing*), this is what was meant by the insentient having the Buddha-nature:

It is not the same as the insentience of wood or stone or space, of yellow flowers or green bamboo, or considering these to possess the Buddha-nature... But the present mirror awareness (*ādarśana-jñāna*), as long as it is not changed by having feelings (*yu-ch'ing*--sentience) may be likened to green bamboo which never fails to conform to its situation; never failing to know the season, it is likened to yellow flowers.⁴⁶

For Huai-hai, practice determines whether one has the Buddha-nature, for it is emotion that obscures the Buddha-nature. In his word play, Huai-hai allows that in man the insentient or emotionless (i.e. detached) have the Buddha-nature because there are no hindrances or frustrations; and as natural, insentient objects conform to causation (*sui yüan-ch'i* 隨緣起) automatically, they have the Buddha-nature. It is only the mind that strays from its true nature by pursuing objects or percepts (*pu-shou*

44. T51.438b3-6; *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.123-124.

45. T51.438c^{11 12}~~1-6~~; cf. *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.124.

46. Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol.2 (Iwanami shoten: Tokyo, 1935; reprint 1966), p.406. Cf. Thomas Cleary, *Sayings and Doings of Pai-Chang: Ch'an Master of Great Wisdom* (Los Angeles, 1978), pp.51-52.

tzu-hsing sui-yüan 不守自性隨緣) when it tries to oppose the stream of conditional arising (*yüan-ch'i*, *pratitya-samutpāda*) via emotional attachment to such conditions.⁴⁷

Of course not all Ch'an masters, even pupils of Ma-tsu, agreed with this doctrine. For example, Ta-chu Hui-hai was most scathing in the following passage with a *Hua-yen ching* teacher:

If the insentient were the Buddha, living people would not [even] be the equal of dead people, and dead donkeys and dead dogs would be superior to living people. A sutra says, "The Buddha-body is the Dharma-body, it arises from the precepts, samādhi and prajñā..." If you preach that the insentient is the Buddha, you should just go off and die to become Buddha.⁴⁸

However, the insentient Buddhahood doctrine was far more appealing to the Chinese, for Hui-chung's theories are met with throughout almost every major Ch'an collection, and many famous monks such as Tung-shan Liang-chieh (807-869), Wei-shan Ling-yu and Yün-men referred to Hui-chung's theories. This interest continued in the Sung dynasty.⁴⁹

In fact this theory may help explain seemingly meaningless statements or *kung-an* topics such as those by Tung-shan, "The Buddha is three catties of flax," or Yün-men's "The Buddha is a dried up shit-stick,"⁵⁰ for even the most mundane or disgusting objects are endowed with a numinous quality as a result. Thus these outrageous equations would have been made not simply for their shock value, but to also indicate the universality of the condition of Buddhahood that can be perceived by those who overcome the dichotomy of good and bad.

47. See note 14 of this chapter.

48. *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, T51.442c1-5; Hirano Sōjō, *Tongo yōmon: Zen no Goroku 6* (Tokyo, 1970), p.175 and pp.155, 138 for other passages quoting the poem on the numinosity of the bamboo and the flowers. Also cited in Kamata Shigeo, "Chūgoku Zenshōshi ni arawareta mujō Bussho shisō," *Shūgaku kenkyū* 4 (1962.3) (hereafter "mujō"), p.55 note 12, and Nakamura, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People*, p.279.

49. Kamata, "mujō," pp.56-57.

50. Fukunaga Mitsuji, "Issai shujō to sōmoku doseki," *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū*, vol.23, no. 2 (March 1981), p.112.

The thesis of the Buddha-nature of the insentient was most influential, for it spread to Japan, Korea and even Tibet. In Japan, Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253) made it famous and gave it poetical expression in his *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 in which he quotes Nan-yang Hui-chung at length.⁵¹ In Tibet, which was influenced by Ch'an in the eighth and ninth centuries, the sub-theory survives in rDzogs-chen⁵² texts, especially in respect of the *gter-ma* or "concealed/discovered texts." As the modern incarnation bDud-hjom Rinpoche writes in his history of rDzogs-chen, the *gter-ma* can be justified by the following sutra (?) quote:

If one's mind is really sublime, one will recognise the Doctrine which is to be found in the heavenly spaces, on walls or trees, even when no Buddha lives on earth.⁵³

In China this doctrine even found its way into Taoist texts⁵⁴ (after all it resembles *Chuang-tzu's* idea that the Tao is even in shit) and popular literature where the barriers between the sentient and insentient are weak, where the insentient is transformed into the sentient and vice-versa via shamanistic or supernatural magic.⁵⁵ Thus Wang Fan-chih in one account was supposedly born from a knob in a tree;⁵⁶ Pao-yü (Precious Jade), hero of the *Hung-lou meng*, who was originally a stone made by the creatrix Nü Kua, is sent to earth on his request out of resentment to become

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51. Nakamura Sōichi (translator), *Zen-yaku Shōbōgenzō* (Tokyo, 1971), vol.1, pp.89-92, the chapter titled "Sokushin zebutsu."
52. The rDzogs-chen, as one of the oldest continuous traditions of Buddhism in Tibet, preserves many of the earliest elements of Buddhism in Tibet, including Ch'an, Mahāmudra and the Mahāsiddha tradition under the guise of "New Tantra."
53. Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet*, pp.85-86. Cf. the *Chi i-ch'ieh fu-te san-mei ching* translated by Kumārajīva, T12.996c18-21 and 996a16-17.
54. Kamata, "mujō," pp.54, 57 notes 32, 33.
55. See Tokiwa Daijō, *Nippon Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Shunshusha: Tokyo, 1943), p.128 on Indian animism or pantheism, p.118 on transmigration in Indian popular thought. This was carried by popular Buddhism into China and Japan.
56. Li Fang, *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chū* (Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 1961) chapter 82, p.524.

enlightened in the guise of a man (he ends up as a Buddhist monk);⁵⁷ and Monkey (Sun Wu-k'ung), symbol of the passionate mind and escort of Hsüan-tsang to India in search of the sutras, is transformed from insentient stone into a sentient being who finally becomes a Buddha in the *Hsi-yu chi*.⁵⁸ This may well be a universal motif of folklore, derived as it may be from "animism" and shamanism, for similar tales are found in popular Japanese literature⁵⁹ and in the high culture of the Noh drama.⁶⁰ But these motifs were probably also stimulated by Buddhism in Japan.

Therefore I think the doctrine of the Buddha-nature of the insentient underlies much of Ch'an poetical expression and the aesthetics influenced by Ch'an. Moreover, it may have entered Neo-Confucianism via Ch'an, T'ien-t'ai or Hua-yen. For example, the "mentalist" wing of Neo-Confucianism represented by Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), seems to have adopted it. Wang Yang-ming said: "Grass, trees, earth and stones all have innate knowledge (*liang chih* 良知)." ⁶¹ This probably refers to the automatic responses by insentient things to the laws of nature such as gravity, but it was more than likely the culmination of a long interchange between Confucianism and Ch'an, and possibly with contributions from literary aesthetic appreciation of Nature, that brought this to Wang Yang-ming's attention.

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57. Cao Xueqin, *The Story of the Stone* (trans. David Hawkes, vol. 1 (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1973), pp.47-49.
58. Cf. James J.Y. Liu, *Essentials of Chinese Literary Art* (North Scituate, Mass., 1979) under "Journey to the West." See the translation by Anthony C. Yu, *The Journey to the West* (University of Chicago Press, 1977), vol. 1, p.68 where Monkey was born from an immortal stone. Cf. Yu's analysis of the mind-monkey, pp.59-60. Monkey becomes Buddha in the end, vol. 4 (1983), p.426. Note that stones played a significant role for Chinese aesthetics: Oswald Sirén, *Gardens of China* (The Ronald Press Company: New York, 1949), pp.19-20, and p.23 on the Sung stone enthusiasts Su Shih and Mi Fei.
59. Tokiwa Daijō, *op. cit.*, pp.107-125 cites many such tales.
60. Donald Shively, "Buddhahood for the Nonsentient: A Theme in Nō Plays," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 20.
61. Fukunaga, "Issai shujō to sōmoku doseki," p.115.

3) Emotion and Poetry: Reasons for the Introduction of the Insentient Buddha-nature Theory into Literary Criticism

a) *Early Theories of Literature: Confucianism and Neo-Taoism*

The Buddhist theory of the Buddhahood of the insentient would not have been accepted by the Chinese literati without there being some affinity between it and the pre-existing Chinese theories of literature and sagehood. The very fact that the Buddhists chose *wu-ch'ing* as a translation for "insentient" was probably due to the use of *ch'ing* in Chinese poetical theory and philosophy.

From its very inception, Chinese theories about poetry considered emotion (*ch'ing*) a prime ingredient and motive for composition. The preface to the *Book of Poetry* attributed variously to Confucius' disciple Pu Shang (507-400 B.C.) or Wei Hung was probably the ultimate authority for conceptions of the relation of poetry to emotion.

When an emotion (*ch'ing*) stirs within one, one expresses it in words; finding this inadequate, one sighs over it; not content with this, one sings it in poetry.¹

Later writers, such as Lu Chi 陸機 (261-303) in his "Wen fu" ("Rhyme-prose on Literature"), continued this tradition, writing:

Poetry follows emotion and tends to be elegant and exquisite.²

According to the modern historian of Chinese literature Kuo Shao-yü, critics divided over the role of emotion in poetry; some claiming that poetry was the result of spontaneous emotional outbursts 發情, others claiming that it was an ambition or aspiration (*chih* 志) to express (didactic) ideas (*i* 意 or *ssu* 思).³ The latter was first mooted in the *Shang Shu*, and was elaborated on by its commentators:

"Poetry is the wording of aspiration, songs are the singing of words." Cheng Hsüan [127-200] commented: "The reason for poetry is the wording of

1. James J.Y. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," p.278. Cf. also Chow Tse-tsung, "Early History of the Chinese Word *Shih* (Poetry)" in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p.157. For Wei Hung, see Vincent Yu-chung Shih, *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons by Liu Hsieh* (Columbia U.P., 1957), p.xviii. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, Prolegomena, p.34.
2. Chow Tse-tsung, p.165 and Vincent Shih, p.xxix.
3. *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih* (Shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Shanghai, 1934), p.120. Some modern critics equate *chih* with Schopenhauerian "will."

man's aspirations and ideas/intent 志意 ; *yung* ["forever" 永 = "sing"
] is to extend 長 this. The reason for songs is to extend the ideas 意 of
the worded poem".⁴

The former thesis was expressed by Chung Hung (fl. 483-513) for example:

Ch'i 氣 ["pneuma" or "energy"] moves things, things influence men.
Therefore it agitates the innate emotions (*hsing ch'ing* 性情) and forms into
the various dances and songs.⁵

But the most famous and oft-cited work was Liu Hsieh's (c. 465-522) *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, particularly the phrase "recite and sing their emotional nature (or emotions and nature)" 吟詠性情 from the following passage:

Elegance of rhetoric is based on the nature of the emotion 性情. Therefore
emotion is the warp (*ching* 經 or 'classic') of *wen* ('literature') and phrasing
辭 the woof of principle (*li* 理). Once the warp is correct the woof is
perfected; the principle fixed then the phrasing is clear. This establishes the
original source of literature.

In the past the poets [of the *Book of Poetry*] in writing their works created literature
because of their emotions....Now the inspiration [*hsing* 興 or "evocation"] of the
feng and the *ya* [forms of poetry in the *Book of Songs*] was that their aspirations and
conceptions 志想 were pent up in indignation, and so they recited and sang
of their emotional nature in order to lampoon their superiors; this is creating
literature because of emotion.⁶

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4. Fan Wen-lan, *Wen-hsin tiao-lung chu*, 2 vols (Peking, 1978), vol. 1, p.68 note 1. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 3, p.48.
 5. Kuo Shao-yü, p.120. Here *hsing ch'ing* could also be "nature and emotions."
 6. Fan, vol. 2, p.538; Vincent Shih, p.176. *Hsing* is associated with poetry 詩 by the *Lun-yü*. See Siu-kit Wong, "Ch'ing and Ching in the Critical Writings of Wang Fu-chih" in *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, ed. Adele Austin Rickett (Princeton U.P., 1978), p.141 and Donald Holzman, "Confucius and Ancient Chinese Literary Criticism" in the same volume, pp.35-36, where it is translated "metaphorical allusions." Liu Hsieh linked *hsing* to the emotions: "Evocation is arousal 起The arousal of emotions is to depend on the subtle in order to hint at what we mean. The *hsing* form is established because of the arousal of emotion." Fan, vol. 2, p.601 and commentaries p.604; Vincent Shih, p.195 for

Liu Hsieh united these two divergent opinions on emotion or emotion and the nature in poetry creation, for he paired or equated emotion with principle, which follows because he asserted that the creative individual was called the sage 夫作者曰聖, and that the emotions of the sage, that is Confucius, could be seen in his writings 文 and phrasing 辭.⁷ Therefore principle must be reflected in literature, for:

Now the emotion moves and words are formed,
The principle is expressed and the literature appears.⁸

Liu Hsieh hints that this principle may be discerned in Nature by a person of subtle sensibility:

Now peach and plums do not speak, and yet paths are formed to them, for they have a fruit 實 [to inquire after]. An orchid planted by a male will not be fragrant, for he lacks the emotion (required). Now if the trifling things such as grass and trees rely on emotion for their fruition, how much more so with literary exposition, which basis is in the expression of aspiration 志?⁹

The fundamental reason for this is that environmental changes influence our emotions, for all things in the universe are interdependent. The poet therefore writes of those emotions that were inspired by these influences, for he discerned the principle within them:

The movements of physical things and colours 物色 also affect the mind...Even minute insects are influenced [by the seasons and phases of Nature]...Physical things and colours summon each other, who can gain rest [from that]?...Emotions are due to the shifts of things, phrasing 辭 is due to the outburst of emotions...

quite a different translation. Later commentators such as Hu Yin (d.1151) say, "to be in contact 觸 with things in order to arouse the emotions is called *hsing*." Cf. the discussion in Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, 4 vols to date (Peking, 1979), vol. 1, pp.62-64. In Sung poetics this is to use the scene (*ching*) to give rise to emotion 以景興情. See Cecile Sun, "A Sense of Scene: Depictions of Scene as Expressions of Feeling in Chinese and English Poetry," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1982, II.10-13 and II.56 note 11.

7. Fan, vol. 1, p.15.

8. Fan, vol. 2, p.505.

9. Fan, vol. 2, p.538 and p.541 note 17 for the source in the *Shih-chi* biography of Li Kuang; Vincent Shih, p.177.

Therefore the poets [of the *Book of Poetry*] were influenced by things. (As) the associated categories were inexhaustible, within the realms of the connected flow of myriad images, they immersed themselves in the fields of recitation, sight and hearing [sensory perception]...in one word 一以爲之 they exhausted [took to its limit] the principle [of something]...

In recent times, literature has been respectful of the resemblance of form [natural realism] and [the writers] have observed their emotions in scenes and reflections 風景, and penetrated appearances in grass and trees. In reciting and chanting what emerges 發, the aspiration is but deep and distant and the embodiment of the things is marvellous.¹⁰

Liu Hsieh's work became the primary source for this theory of the relation of emotion to literature, and may have even influenced Neo-Confucian philosophy. However, because of the closely interwoven and obscure nature of his rather long and unsystematic work on criticism, it is difficult to ascertain the philosophies behind it. Certainly he was influenced by earlier works of criticism, Confucian and Lao-Chuang, but he was also deeply involved with one of the leading Buddhists of his day, perhaps acting as his amanuensis or even ghost-writer.¹¹ This has led to much ambiguity in the interpretation of his treatise. Nevertheless, the topic he mooted of emotion and its relation to the understanding of the universe or the Tao remained a pivotal question for centuries.

There was, however, an earlier and contrary opinion in one branch of Neo-Taoist philosophy which stated that a sage, in other words the exemplary author, in particular Confucius, lacked emotion (*wu-ch'ing*). Ho Yen (d. 249) claimed that a sage lacks emotion, taking his cue for this thesis from *Chuang-tzu*. But he was opposed in this interpretation by Wang Pi (226-249), who retorted that as human nature is natural, one has to react emotionally, no matter whether one is a sage or common person. However, a sage is not ensnared by the object of his emotion for his

10. Fan, vol. 2, pp.693-694; Vincent Shih, pp.245-248.

11. Kōzen Hiroshi, "Bunshin Chōryū to Shussanzō kishū" in *Chūgoku chūsei no shūkyō to bunka*, ed. Fukunaga Mitsuji (Kyoto, 1987), pp.127-129, 139-140, for the monk Seng-yu's discussion of literature, p.161, comparing T55.4b2-4 and Fan, vol. 2, p.624. Liu Hsieh's possible sources include the *Ta-po nieh-p'an ching*, T12.655a14-b7 (p.166). Note pp.223-224 that Kōzen says Liu advocated a return to the Confucian Classics, and that the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* was influenced by this. But this was merely for their language; Buddhism still had a strong hold on him.

response is like a mirror because he has embodied non-existence (*i'wu*).¹² So because Wang Pi, like the *Chuang-tzu*, was concerned with the sequence from words 言 to symbols or 象 images, then to the ideas or intent 意, and finally to the meaning/significance 義 or principle; the transcendence of each stage taking one closer to the truth;¹³ these theories about emotion were surely of interest to poets and critics.

While it seems that the more Confucian-oriented critics such as Liu Hsieh were attracted to Wang Pi, and so used the terms *ch'ing-hsing* 情性 or *hsing-ch'ing* 性情 ("innate emotion," "nature and emotion"); those partial to Ho Yen, especially that "Hinayana"-style faction of Buddhism that aimed to stifle the emotions, were undoubtedly drawn to the following passage from *Chuang-tzu* V in which the sophist Hui-tzu discusses with Chuang-tzu the proposition that the sage has a human body 形 but lacks emotion:

Hui-tzu said to Chuang-tzu, "Can a man really lack emotions (*wu-ch'ing*)?"

Chuang-tzu said, "Yes."

"How can you call a man who lacks emotions a man?"

Chuang-tzu said, "The Tao gave him a face, Heaven gave him a body; how can he not be called a man?"

Hui-tzu said, "Since we have called him a man, how can he lack emotions?"

Chuang-tzu said, "This is not what I call (mean by) emotion.

What I call a lack of emotion (*wu-ch'ing*) is when a man does not inwardly harm his self 身 (body) through his likes and dislikes, he constantly follows the self-so (*tzu-jan*, "natural") and does not (try to) augment his life."

Hui-tzu said, "Not augmenting his life, how can he have his self (identity)?"

Chuang-tzu said, "The Tao gave him a face, Heaven gave him a body; he has nothing with which to inwardly [psychologically or personally?] harm his self through likes and dislikes.

Now you externalize 外 [separate self from] your spirit 神 and belabour your

12. Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol.2, translated Derk Bodde (Princeton U.P., 1953) (hereafter Fung), pp.187-189.

13. Fung, p.184.

quintessence. Lean against a tree and sing... (for) Heaven selects your body for you and yet you harp on hard and white [sophistry/Ideals]."¹⁴

The critics who felt affinity with the sentiments of this passage were in favour of an unconscious, spontaneously generated writing. Nature provides all that man needs and so man should not be selective or emotionally attached to one thing rather than another. He should not desire what he cannot have nor try to attain mastery over Nature via intellection.

A poet associated with Ho Yen and who was familiar with the theories of Wang Pi, the "bohemian" Juan Chi (210-263),¹⁵ separated nature and emotion, and believed that Confucian values were meant to restrain emotions,¹⁶ something he did not live up to. There was a mystical or quietist strain in Juan Chi derived from the *Chuang-tzu* which concluded one needed to be "without passions."¹⁷ These concerns are reflected in one of his poems which seems to be a comment on the "Ch'i-wu lun" chapter of *Chuang-tzu*:

If there is sorrow there is emotion (*yu-ch'ing*).

If there are no emotions (*wu-ch'ing*) there also would be no sorrow.

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The ashes [cold] mind lodges in the withered [tree] residence.

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14. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.54; Liu Wu, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh nei-p'ien pu-cheng*, pp.142-143; Huang Chin-hung, *Hsin-i Chuang-tzu tu-pen*, p.100. Cf. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp.75-76 and A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu: The Seven Inner Chapters*, p.82. Cf. also Yanagida Seizan, "Kifū - Zenshisōshi no hitotsu no kadai," *Zenbunka kenkyūkiyō* 9, pp.182-183 for a discussion.
15. David Holzman, *Poetry and politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi* (Cambridge U.P., 1976), p.16. Juan Chi was Ho Yen's subordinate in the Ministry of State Affairs. Juan's exegesis of the *I Ching* was similar to that by Wang Pi, but less abstract (p.95).
16. *Ibid.*, p.97.
17. *Ibid.*, pp.138-139 and 143-144 where Holzman says that earlier Confucianism and Taoist philosophers had never advocated as complete a renunciation of the passions as Juan Chi, who was attempting a "mystical purgation."

Why should I look back to a human form?

But how can I know silence, the self left behind?¹⁸

Juan Chi acknowledges that Ho Yen's ideal may be correct and that as *Chuang-tzu* says, the mind can be emotionless like dead ashes and the ego forgotten 喪我, but this does not mean that the physical self or body will be silent and inactive amid Nature which has life and "music" of its own.¹⁹ According to *Chuang-tzu*, the source

18. Ting Fu-pao, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih* (Peking, 1959), p.223. The emendations follow Holzman's translation, p.169.

19. In the "Ch'i-wu lun," when asked whether he can make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes, and if he can, whether he is the same identity as before, Tzu-ch'i says, "Now I have lost my ego 喪我, do you know that? 汝知之乎" Tzu-ch'i states that his interlocutor is deaf to the sounds of Nature (the "pipes" of earth and Heaven: primarily Heaven according to the commentators) which are produced naturally. So the emotions are a product of a mind that "has emotion yet lacks shape." The commentators say that one "stultifies the emotions 情冥 and removes knowing" to eliminate the emotions (Liu Wu, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh nei-p'ien pu-cheng*, p.31), with the implication that the mind, being unmoved by the winds of Nature, is soundless, while the withered body (or at least its branches) can be moved and sound in the wind. Liu Wu says, "The wind moves and becomes emotions, the emotion is propagated by the mouth and becomes words; these are the Heavenly pipes...[which] are the chief; the human and earthly pipes are similes." (pp.32-33). Thus while the emotions are quieted, the mind persists as Heavenly pipes, still able to produce words. As the source of like and dislike, once the emotions are removed, the problem of things not being equal disappears (pp.38-40).

Kuo Hsiang (d.312) says that there is no "ego" to produce these sounds; they are produced naturally, of themselves 自 . That is "Heaven" (Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* [hereafter *SB in Ch. Phil*], p.328). Consequently, Juan could be saying that although he may lack emotion, the remaining Heavenly or Natural part of him will itself produce sounds. Perhaps Juan is criticising the *Chuang-tzu*, saying that although he would like to be without emotion, that could not stop him writing poetry and seeking the Confucian immortality of literary fame (cf. Holzman, p.220).

Both the *Chuang-tzu* passage and Juan's poem are difficult (cf. Holzman's comment on the poem and the commentators, p.109). *Chuang-tzu* translators and commentators differ (Burton

of the emotions is the formless mind, which, however, is not to be thought of as superior to anything else.

Juan was fascinated by Nature, but he wrote of it only in terms of the "pathetic fallacy," projecting his feelings onto it in traditional fashion.²⁰ Moreover, his "unbridled nature" and unrestrained emotions²¹ accounts for the negative reactions from Buddhists such as Chih-i.²²

b) *The Buddhist Response and the Poetic Tradition of T'ao Ch'ien*

Mahayana, of which Ch'an was definitely a part, adopted the position that a saint or bodhisattva was one who would achieve Nirvana or the realization of emptiness, or "non-existence" in Neo-Taoist terms, without cutting off or extinguishing the *kleśas* or emotions. Thus, like Wang Pi's sage, they claimed that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas embodied emptiness, reflected the environment and reacted to it like a mirror, with innate emotions but without attachment. This ideal of practice was certainly accepted by early Ch'an founders such as Bodhidharma (at least in the text attributed to him) and Shen-hui.²³

However, other Mahayana sutra passages, such as that in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* stating that one could not find Dharma via the percepts or emotions ("The Tathāgata

Watson, pp.36-39; A.C. Graham, pp.48-51; Huang Chin-hung, pp.60, 67-68, 71; Wang Hsien-ch'ien, pp.9-10).

20. David Holzman, p.234.

21. Cf. Mou Tsung-san, *Ts'ai-hsing yü hsüan-li* (Taipei, 1985), p.286 quoting the *Chin shu*; Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp.9, 372, "indulges his passions," "letting the hair fall loose," p.375, not following propriety.

22. Mou Tsung-san, pp.294-295; Chih-i, *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, translated Sekiguchi Shindai, *Makashikan* (Tokyo, 1966), vol. 1, p.110. This was on the grounds that people like Juan abandoned the precepts and prohibitions, setting a bad example to the young and peasantry which led to the destruction of the country and the disappearance of Buddhism, at least temporarily. Chih-i tried to counter what he saw as Juan's antinomian tendencies, stressing that his own *sui-tzu-i san-mei* 隨自意三昧 was not a form of selfish wilfulness. Note, however, that Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 4, p.1219 sees some similarities between Juan Chi and his associates' *ch'ing-t'an* and the *hua-t'ou* and *kung-an* of Ch'an.

23. Yanagida, "Kifū...", pp.178-179, 182-186.

is seen neither in material nor in the extinction of material nor in the essence of material")²⁴ and the *Vajracchedikā* ("If one sees me through material form, or seeks me through sound and voice, that person is practising a perverse Way"),²⁵ seemed to suggest that the bodhisattva or sage was emotionless, i.e. without the delusions of the five vijñānas. But this was denigrated as the practice of the śrāvaka of Hinayana. Mahayana wanted to go beyond this form of world and human-denying static quietism.²⁶ Ch'an did so with No Mind (*wu-hsin* 無心) and the transcendence of both emotion and lack of emotion. Those who saw Buddhahood in the insentient in addition used the Buddha-nature as the basis for this transcendence.

Thus, as with Ho Yen and Wang Pi, the *Chuang-tzu* passage on *wu-ch'ing* could be interpreted in two ways by Chinese Buddhists. The Neo-Confucians similarly interpreted the Buddhist position in various fashions. Some, like Chu Hsi (1130-1200), affirmed the emotions when they are in harmony, claiming that Buddhists repressed all their emotions to attain Nirvana (which is thus quiescence 寂滅 or indifference). Other Neo-Confucians could agree with that Buddhist dictum that would have one eliminate the kleśas or samsara, and so affirmed the nature 性 and denied the emotions. For example, Li Ao (d. ca. 844) said one can return to one's nature by eliminating the emotions 滅情以復性.²⁷

This debate on the emotions and the Buddha-nature of the insentient must have impinged on the consciousness of the literature critics who were so convinced that poetry was an expression of the emotion and one's nature (*ch'ing-hsing*). Some certainly were attracted by the theories of the insentient, as well as the sage's response to and possible mergence with the insentient due to his equivalent or parallel non-emotional (*wu-ch'ing*) state.

With hindsight, some Far Eastern commentators saw Ch'an influence, no doubt partly on the grounds of this insentient thesis, go back anachronistically as far as T'ao-Ch'ien (365-427). One such critic was the Japanese Ten'in Ryūtakū (1423-

24. Charles Luk, *The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra* (Berkeley and London, 1972), p.120.

25. Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi, *Hannya shinkyō: Kongohannyakyō* (Tokyo, 1960), p.114.

26. Yanagida, "Kifū...", p.179.

27. *Ibid.*, p.189.

1500) who wrote in his *Kinshudan* 錦繡段 a collection of T'ang, Sung and Yüan *ch'üeh-chü* poems:

The flowers in the day, the moon in the evening,
 If one writes of them or speaks of them,
 Then outside of the Zen there is no poem.
 From this I first knew that Yüan-ming's poems
 Have Bodhidharma's bone marrow...²⁸

Ten'in Ryütaku was probably referring to the following poem by T'ao Ch'ien (Yüan-ming), for it was the most often quoted poem by him:

I built my hut within the realm of men
 And yet there is none of the cart and horses' din.
 You ask me how this could be so;
 One's mind detached (distant), the place itself (becomes) remote.
 Picking chrysanthemums 'neath the eastern hedgerow,
 Distantly (anxiously?) I see the southern hills.
 The mountain air is beautiful as evening falls,
 And flying birds flock together returning.
 In this there is a true meaning,
 But about to explain it, the words are already forgotten.

Here T'ao Ch'ien seems to be trying to suggest that ineffable identity a sensitive man has with Nature, an identity which provides man with his only hope of eternity and significance,²⁹ a theme adumbrated by the *Chuang-tzu*. Perhaps this is what Chang

28. Ogasawara Shujitsu, *Zenbunka no taikei* (Tokyo, 1944), p.381.

29. For an analysis of the poem, especially with reference to the suggestion of a tension between the longevity to be gained from the chrysanthemums and the inevitability of death as seen in the southern hills, and man's ineffable identity with Nature, see James R. Hightower, "T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine Poems'" in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Chow Tse-tsung (University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp.12-16. Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry* (Princeton U.P., 1986), p.39 claims that T'ao Ch'ien had a "heightened consciousness and a positive attitude toward death unknown to earlier poets."

T'ao Ch'ien may well have been the first poet to merge his own personal feelings with the landscape, which is why post-T'ang critics described his poetry as "the fusion of feeling and

Chiu-ch'eng (1092-1159) was referring to when he wrote of this poem: "He had no intent 意 towards the mountains, and so the scene 景 and the intent merged. This is the 'meaning' 意 Yüan-ming obtained."³⁰

Similar hints were not unknown in Ch'an literature either, for there is an undertone of the search for immortality in the insentient Buddha-nature thesis. For example, the *Wu-teng Hui-yüan* records the following exchange between a monk and the Sung dynasty Ch'an monk Ta-lung Chih-hung (n.d.):

"When the material body is destroyed, what about the hard and firm Dharma-body?"

Ta-lung said: "The mountain flowers bloom like brocade,
The waters of the stream are deep and like indigo."³¹

Of course T'ao Ch'ien's themes were not based on Buddhism, but rather on the *Chuang-tzu's* advocacy of the acceptance of incorporation into an insentient Nature:

scene' (*ch'ing-ching chiao-jung*), (Kang-i Sun Chang, p.42). He escaped the limitations of discursive, philosophic poetry, restoring the ancient lyricism of the *Book of Songs* (p.12), but maintaining Neo-Taoist philosophy latent in his works (p.40). However, we should note that Gokan Shiren (1278-1346), a leading historian and literary critic of the Zen Gozan movement which both evaluated and taught Neo-Confucianism in Japan, thought of T'ao Ch'ien in Confucian terms, as the ancestor 宗 of all Ch'an-Confucian poets (Ogasawara, op. cit., pp.133-135, from a moralistic perspective, pp.266-267). T'ao did after all seek immortality through poetry (Kang-i Sun Chang, p.32). Buddhists favoured T'ao doubtlessly because of his autobiographical, self-conscious seeking to "know the self." Cf. Stephen Owen, "The Self's Perfect Mirror: Poetry as Autobiography" in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen (Princeton U.P., 1986), pp.74, 81, and p.76 on his "true nature." See also Kang-i Sun Chang, op. cit., pp.16, 24-27.

30. Ts'ai Meng-pi, *Tu Kung-pu ts'ao-t'ang shih-hua* ch. 1, f.8a-b in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*, comp. Ting Fu-pao.
31. Z138.302a6-8; *Zengaku daijiten* ,p.819a. Also in *Hsüeh-tou Sung-ku* by Hsüeh-tou Chung-hsien (980-1052); Iriya Yoshitaka, Kashitani Sōnin and Yanagida Seizan, *Setchō Juko: Zen no Goroku* 15 (Chikuma shobo: Tokyo, 1981), p.188; and the *Pi-yen lu*, Katsuki Sekida, *Two Zen Classics: Mumonkan and Hekiganroku* (Tokyo, 1977), pp.358-359. Cf. also Yasuichi Awakawa, *Zen Painting* (Tokyo, 1970), p.22 for a very free but insightful rendering.

"Who knows that life and death, existence and annihilation, are all a single body?"³²

However, Chuang-tzu is talking here of the cyclical transformations that are akin to the reincarnation that was to be halted by the Buddhists. Ch'an would escape or transcend what Chuang-tzu would welcome. But the introduction of the insentient as an element of one's environmental karma perhaps contributed a Taoistic or *Chuang-tzu* flavour. This thread of a connection between longevity in the image of the chrysanthemums (as in T'ao Ch'ien's poem) and identification with the insentient environment and thus the very truth or Tao is summed up in the couplet cited by Ch'ung-yüan to Shen-hui:

Kingfisher green the emerald bamboo, all is the Dharmakāya;
Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā.

"Yellow flowers" is another term for chrysanthemums which supposedly aid longevity when drunk in alcohol. Thus the author of the above verse couplet was probably conscious of T'ao Ch'ien's poem or one like it.³³ The author cannot be identified from extant compendia of poetry, but Ch'an scholars after the T'ang dynasty attempted to make such an attribution. The *Tsu-t'ang chi* of 952 ascribes it to Seng-chao (374-414), while the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* of much later times points to Tao-sheng (c. 360-434).³⁴ While both these suggestions may be simply speculation,

32. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p.84. Cf. A.C. Graham's translation, *Chuang Tzu*, pp.87-89.

33. See A.R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry: A Study in Variations upon a Theme" in *Wen-lin*, ed. Chow Tse-tsung, p.49.

34. See *Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.96: "(Seng)-chao has 'Kingfisher green the emerald bamboo, all is True Thusness; Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā.'...are not mistaken verses. Moreover, you master discuss the path of bodhi, but still I do not understand how thick and bushy yellow flowers can see the nature?..." This verse is also cited in *Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.47. Huai-hai did not allow this for "The Dharma-body has no image as object, (but) emerald bamboo take [images] to form their shape; prajñā lacks an object of knowing, (but) yellow flowers manifest attributes. Isn't it not that these yellow flowers and emerald bamboo have prajñā and the Dharma-body? The [*Nirvana*?] sutra says, 'The Buddha's true Dharma-body is just like empty space. It responds to things, manifesting its form like the moon in water.' If yellow flowers are this prajñā, then they would be identical to the insentient. If emerald

these two monks were potential candidates as pupils of Kumārajīva who had introduced the new Mādhyamaka analysis into Chinese Buddhism, and both were under the influence of Neo-Taoist *hsüan-hsüeh* philosophy. There is no concrete proof that either of those men taught a doctrine even similar to the insentient Buddha-nature, but by the late T'ang at the earliest, they were ascribed a more radically Sinitic and Ch'an-style role in the development of Chinese Buddhism.

For example, in a legend that was probably of Northern Sung origin, Tao-sheng, having aroused the ire of those Buddhists who adhered strictly to the text of Fa-hsien's translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* which stated "that all have the Buddha-nature with the exception of the icchantikas," by declaring all must "have the proper cause of nirvana. As the icchantikas are in the category of living beings, how can they alone lack the Buddha-nature?", was expelled from the capital in 428. However, soon after the Dharmakṣema translation appeared which said:

"Although the icchantikas are people who have cut off the good, they still have the Buddha-nature." Thereupon those teachers [who had opposed Tao-sheng] were all ashamed. Tao-sheng, expelled, had returned south, entered Mt. Hu-ch'iu,³⁵ and gathered stones as followers and lectured them on the *Nirvana Sutra*. When he came to the place about the

bamboo were this Dharma-body, would not emerald bamboo likewise respond to things [as the Dharma-body responds to sentient inducements]?"

This verse is attributed to Tao-sheng in the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* 5 of 1108 by Mu-yüan Shan-ch'ing, Z113.149a10-b6 : "Dharma teacher Tao-sheng preached that the insentient also hate Buddha-nature. He said, 'Kingfisher green the emerald bamboo, all is True Thusness; Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā.' Worldly people of little faith said this was not verified by the Buddha's words. The Dharma teacher sat up straight for ten years awaiting the sutra to verify (his theories). Later a Tripitaka brought the latter section of the *Nirvana* and it finally had this sermon [of course it did not!]. The Dharma teacher looked at it, then his fly-whisk fell to the ground, he leant on his chair and passed away." Nan-yang Hui-chung and Ta-chu Huai-hai are then cited, with some variants. Both sources are given by Hirano Sōjō in his commentary on *Tongyōmon: Zen no Goroku* 6 (Tokyo, 1970), the same passage as in *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi*, p.138, 142.

35. Mt. Hu-ch'iu in Su-chou fu had many names. This name comes from a story of a king of Wu in Spring and Autumn times who was buried in the "sword pond" with 3,000 swords. The spirit of the metal coalesced and became a tiger (Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp.234b, 1126b). Tao-sheng supposedly taught at the monastery which was variously known as Hu-ch'iu or Yün-yen Monastery.

icchantikas and he preached they all have the Buddha-nature, he also said, "Is what I preach in accord with the Buddha-mind?" The assembly of stones all nodded their heads. In ten days his students had gathered in a crowd.³⁶

This story in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* by the T'ien-t'ai scholar Chih-p'an who wrote to counter the Ch'an "histories" was written between 1258 and 1269. It was based on an earlier record, for Northern Sung poets, scholars and monks referred to it in their writings, but its origin is still a mystery.³⁷

36. *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* T49.266a12-16, 21-25.

37. None of the many studies of Tao-sheng have located the primary source of this legend. Cf. Fang Li-t'ien, *Wei Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao lun-ts'ung* (Peking, 1982), p.158; Yin-shun, *Fo-chiao shih-ti k'ao lun*, "Tien-t'ou wan-shih hua Sheng-kung" chapter, esp. pp.377, 398; T'ang Yung-t'ung, "Chu Tao-sheng yü Nieh-p'an hsüeh," *Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh kuo-hsüeh chi-k'an* ch.3 no.1 (1982.3), p.18 says that the early Southern Sung scholar Kung Ming-chih, in his collection of stories from the Wu district, the *Chung-Wu chi-wen*, claims to have seen the legend in the *Ssu-fan chih* 四蕃志, but T'ang does not know the date of this work. Cf. also his *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao shih*, pp.620-621. The story is not in the earlier biographies of Tao-sheng: *Kao-seng chuan* (T50.336-337); *Ch'u san-tsang chi* (T55.110-111); Hui-lin's eulogy (T52.265-266); nor in the *Fa-hua ching ch'uan-chi*; *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (T53.466c-467a); *Pei-shan lu* by Shen-ch'ing, a Ch'an monk of T'ang with a commentary by Hui-pao of the Western Shu (T52.598a1-6), mostly in the commentary. Hui-pao also quotes the poem in question as a gloss to the lines by Shen-ch'ing, "Even though the asankhya (eon) says, 'When the distant Dharmakāya has nothing beyond it, that is enlightenment!' Therefore the myriad images speak its truth and take emptiness as its nature." (T52.583c7-11). The tale does not appear in the *Lü-shan chi* (T51.1040c4-1041a5) written ca. 1072 or the *San-lun yü-i* by the Sui dynasty monk Dharma teacher Shih (z73.346a). A possible allusion to the story appears in Hui-hung's *Lin-chien lu* of 1107: "For those who had not achieved realization, they would take phenomena 事 to illuminate it. [Lin-chi, Te-shan, Chao-chou and Yün-men would] whip the grass till blood flowed, stubborn stones 頑石 would shout, so insentient things are not different from the sentient." There are cases for students to play with to realize emptiness. This is followed by a quote from Seng-chao (Z148.610b16-611a4).

On the other hand, the *Pao-tsang lun*, a work compiled sometime between c. 730-815,³⁸ which was falsely attributed to Seng-chao, contains many Ch'an and Neo-Taoist terms and ideas. It even begins in imitation of the *Lao tzu*:

The emptiness 空 that can be emptied 空 is not true emptiness,
The colour (matter) that can be coloured is not true colour.³⁹

It has intimations of the insentient Buddha-nature thesis and lines reminiscent of *Chuang-tzu*:

Therefore a sutra says, "The Buddha-nature is equanimous, expansive and vast, difficult to measure." Saint and commoner are not two, all are perfectly full, and it is fully provided (in) grass and trees, is omnipresent in ants, and even in motes of dust, there is nothing that does not contain this unity.⁴⁰

Such a reading of these two monks, especially Seng-chao, was partly developed from the *Chao-lun shu*, a commentary on Seng-ch'ao's treatises by Yüan-k'ang, a contemporary of Hsüan-tsang who studied in Ch'ang-an in the Chen-kuan era (627-649).⁴¹ Yüan-k'ang often referred in this commentary to native Chinese Taoist, Neo-Taoist and Confucian works, including the *Chuang-tzu*, Kuo Hsiang's commentary on *Chuang-tzu*, Wang Pi's *Chou-i* commentary, Cheng Hsüan's *Book of Poetry* commentary, Wang Su's *Lun-yü* commentary and even Liu Hsieh's *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*.⁴²

The use of such works by Yüan-k'ang in turn was his response to the Neo-Taoistic statements made by Seng-chao. For example:

38. Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, p.394; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao shih*, pp.332-333. This work has a preface by the Ch'an monk Huai-hai.

39. T45.143b18.

40. T45.148c8-10.

41. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, pp.326-327. For popularity of Seng-chao and Tao-sheng, see pp.328ff., 336, 376ff., 412ff.

42. In sequence, T45.176c, 177a, 183c6; 175c1ff; 182b3ff.; 182b15-16; 163a8ff.

The Dharma-body (Dharmakāya) is without an image, but has a body when it responds to things (people). Prajñā is without knowing, but illumines in respect to conditions.⁴³

Therefore, given the marked parallelism of these lines to the couplet cited by Ch'ung-yüan (prajñā is not knowing, so chrysanthemums may have prajñā) and the possibilities they opened for the philosophy supporting them, it seemed to late T'ang and Sung dynasty Buddhists that Seng-chao was the most probable author.⁴⁴ In any case, Ch'ung-yüan's couplet evidently belongs to a theme in Chinese poetry that

43. T45.158c23-24, given as a sutra quote. Same as given above in note 34.

44. Many scholars think Tao-sheng had considerable influence on Ch'an. For example, Fung Yu-lan, vol. 2, pp.388-390. Nukariya Kaiten, *Zengaku shisōshi*, vol. 1, pp.241, 245, 248, quotes the *Chao-lun shu* on "(all) perceived things are the Way" to claim that this was the origin of the Ch'an slogan, "the everyday mind is the Way." On pp.245-252 he mentions quotes by Ch'an monks of these two Sinitic Buddhist pioneers. Yanagida Seizan sees the origin of the Ch'an emphasis on the Way immanent in all things as having been derived ultimately from Wang Pi, Kuo Hsiang and even the Confucian Classics and *Chuang-tzu* via Seng-chao. See Yanagida Seizan, *Mu no Tankyū (Chūgoku Zen)*, pp.88-89, 92, 94. He also sees Wang Pi and Kuo Hsiang behind the numinosity of the everyday and its mind (pp.146-147). Yanagida links Seng-chao's ideas with Chinese Buddhist developments such as T'ien-t'ai's "ten realms are present in each other" and Hua-yen's "phenomena and phenomena unhindered 事事無礙" and Ch'an's *yü-lu* (p.171). T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao shih*, p.630 compares Tao-sheng with Wang Pi and Ch'an (p.632). Cf. also Fang Li-t'ien, op. cit., p.187, who says Tao-sheng was a source of Ch'an, and through Ch'an a source for Neo-Confucian thinkers such as the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi. He also notes that Liu I-min, a lay pupil of Hui-yüan, when shown Seng-chao's "Prajñā Lacks Knowing," compared him to Ho Yen (p.113. Note, Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 4, p.1270 for a possible source of the story). Seng-chao used ideas from *Chuang-tzu* via Wang Pi (Fang, p.130), as well as Hsiang Hsiu and Kuo Hsiang (pp.140-141), and influenced Ch'an (p.152). Cf. also Ch'en P'ei-jan, *Chu Tao-sheng*, pp.170-171, who emphasises Tao-sheng's "sudden enlightenment" and Ch'an, and the influence of Wang Pi and Ho Yen.

Tradition also asserts a genealogical link between Tao-sheng and the Laṅkāvatāra monk Fa-ch'ung (587?-666+) through a branch of the San-lun lineage. See the "San-lun yüan-liu hsi-p'u" that is attached to Chi-tsang's *San-lun hsüan-i* in Z73.347.

linked chrysanthemums to concerns with longevity and the ephemeral state of human existence. Thus Po Chü-i wrote in 818:

I resent that my hair is turning white,
The unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*) chrysanthemums are of themselves yellow.

And again in 825 he lamented:

The flowering chrysanthemums filling the garden a mass of yellow flowers.
Among them there is a lone clump of a colour like frost,
Just like this morning's singing and drinking feast
Where a white-haired old man entered among a group of young fellows.⁴⁵

c) *Debates on the Relation of the Emotions to the nature and the Rise of the Neo-Confucian conception of wu-ch'ing.*⁴⁶

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45. A.R. Davis, "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry" in *Wen-lin*, ed. Chow Tse-tung, pp.62-63, translation modified. Cf. poem by Li Po on yellow flowers smiling at him (p.49). According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* T51.455a7-9, in 804 Po Chü-i wrote a series of "Eight Gradual Gathas," one of which shows knowledge of a Buddhist use of *wu-ch'ing*. On the topic of "enlightenment" he wrote:

Samādhi and insight joined together
Once together there is enlightenment.
It shines on the other myriad things,
Things that lack any concealed form.
Just like a great round mirror
That has response without emotion.

46. This section is necessarily oversimplified. I have for example not included the theories of Mou Tsung-san, *Hsin-t'i yü hsing-t'i* 3 vols (Cheng-chung shu-chü: Taipei,) or those of Hsiung Wan, *Sung-tai li-hsüeh yü fo-chiao chih t'an-t'ao* (Wen-tsin ch'u-p'an she: Taipei,) which deals primarily with Chu Hsi's thought and Buddhism, and its influence. My main source, the *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* by Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695) takes considerable interest in mind and nature, including *wu-ch'ing*. A Ming loyalist, he was opposed to excessive metaphysical speculation, and his concentration on problems of the mind are no doubt a reflection of Ming Confucianism (*The Records of Ming Scholars* by Huang Tsung-hsi, a selected translation edited by Julia Ching, pp.7, 13-14). Ming Confucianism was heavily influenced by Ch'an Buddhism, a tendency Huang deplored (Julia Ching, pp.15, 19, 269). The *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* was begun soon after 1676, were supplemented by his son, and considerably expanded over a decade by

Ambiguously, the principle or Tao could be seen in both emotion and the emotionless, and some theorists began to see that poetry was not merely either a vehicle for emotional expression or for a didactic exposition of the Tao.

One such theorist was Liu Mien who was active in the late eighth century to early ninth century. He opposed the division made between emotion and the Tao, especially that school which downgraded emotion as an impediment to the revelation of the Tao. But neither should one give way to flagrant emotion, which will obscure the Tao. Liu Mien's message thus contradicted the *ku-wen* (archaist) theorists who rejected emotion in poetry. He wrote:

Human emotions pity the gradual decay of teeth and hair. Personally I love the distant Tao, but I do not forget human emotion. Great indeed are the words of the gentleman (Confucius), for he has the wherewithal to see the mind of heaven and earth. Now Heaven gives birth to man, and man gives birth to emotions, so the sage and the wise man have long been in the midst of that which has emotion (*yu-ch'ing*, the sentient). If you then forget emotion in humaneness and righteousness, that is a danger to learning...The sagely man exhausts his knowledge in this and establishes his teaching on this. Present day Confucians, even though they hold different theories, regard the sage as emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*). This is mistaken. Hence the emotionless (insensible) is that mind of heaven and earth seen by sagely men, the basis of nature and fate (*hsing-ming* 性命), and is the division between failure and success maintained by them. Therefore it can be attained by forgetting emotion...[humaneness and righteousness, mercy, and friendship] emerge from emotion and become ritual (*li*), and through *li* it becomes the teaching. Therefore this *li* is simply the emotion that teaches men.⁴⁷

Ch'üan Tsu-wang (1705-1775). Ch'üan was possibly the greater of the contributors, with further amendments made by Wang Tzu-ts'ai (p.31). Note in his introduction to the *Ming-ju hsüeh-an*, Huang claims that Ch'an lineages were only a "tenuous association of intellectual lineages," and that his book clearly differentiated the transmissions (p.46). This organization was ultimately inspired by Ch'an theories of transmission.

According to Edward Ch'ien, Huang's opinions on Buddhism show a more tolerant attitude than the Sung orthodox Neo-Confucianism (p.317), for he understood that Buddhism was not nihilistic, considering "true emptiness" to be "marvellous being," and so did not negate existence and emotion (p.319). He claimed, however, that the Buddhists did not really understand the most fundamental problem, the mind (p.323).

47. Lo Ken-tse, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih* (Shanghai, 1957), pp.130-131. The "mind of Heaven and earth" is usually considered that of the third of the trinity, man.

Such was the sustained debate on the role of emotion or its lack in the sage writer over the centuries, that there must have been a fascination with the Ch'an proposition of the Buddhahood of the insentient, for Ch'an itself inspired a considerable corpus of poetry.

In fact, the debate over the relationship of the emotions 情 to the human nature ← was one of the foundation stones of Neo-Confucianism. Moreover, Buddhism, especially Ch'an, had considerable input into this debate.

The two terms *ch'ing* and *hsing* were long paired, for they appear together as a compound in the *I Ching*,⁴⁸ but they were separated as early as Wang Ch'ung (c. 27-c. 100).⁴⁹

Tsung Ping (375-443), the painter-pupil of the eminent monk Hui-yüan (d. 416), would deny emotion, for he stated in Hinayana fashion that it was the cause of the birth of all things, and that although the mythical emperors of antiquity transcended emotion to investigate 窮 the spirit 神, they had no principle, nor were they in accord with it. Since the emotions link the spirit to the body, emotion or desire must be eliminated. When the emotions are converted or reflected upon by spirit alone, Tsung Ping claimed that there would be no rebirth and so no body, and "to lack a body but have a spirit (soul) is what is called the Dharma-body".⁵⁰ This is of course doctrinally unsound in the normative Mahayana sense, as much *hsüan-hsüeh* as Buddhist. In any case, for Tsung, if there was no emotion there would be no retribution (karma) 無情無報矣.⁵¹

Tsung Ping was, however, aware of the obvious contradiction of having a desire to seek the Tao of non-desire, and he discussed the sage's lack of the usual mind, making the sage's mind that of things other than his mind. He thought that the true

48. Richard Wilhelm, *The I Ching or Book of Changes* (London, 1968), pp.376-377.

49. Tokiwa Daijō, *Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dokyō* (Tokyo, 1930), p.34; Fung Yu-lan, p.161. However, Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, pp.49-50, considers that the true division did not come until there was Buddhist influence, leading in the Nan-pei ch'ao to theories that the nature is good and the emotions bad, always being false emotions 妄情 or *kleśas*. The division was furthered by Han Yü (pp.52-53), where the emotions are derivative and polluting. Cf. also pp.15-16.

50. *Hung-ming chi* T52.10c1-10.

51. T52.11a1

nature of things is that the body dies and the spirit is extinguished, a position which seemingly contradicts his theory of the Dharmakāya, which presumably he did not consider a thing. Things of course include people.⁵² Therefore Tsung Ping concludes that the writings of the sages cannot be based on emotion, for "if elegant treatises do not rely on good authority and genuine instruction, they then would all be due to an emotional outburst 情發 . How can that (outburst of emotion) not be the obfuscation of the ordinary man?"⁵³

Unfortunately Liu Hsieh did not define what he meant by *hsing ch'ing* in his *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* or his *Mieh-huo lun* (a work on Buddhism), so we can only try and surmise his views about the relationship of the emotions to the nature from the writings of his predecessors and near contemporaries.

A Confucian historian who was opposed to Buddhism (reincarnation in particular), Taoism and *hsüan-hsüeh*, Sun Sheng (c. 302-373),⁵⁴ had a view of nature and the sage which may have influenced this debate. He stated that good and evil were both naturally (*tzu-jan*) part of the universe, each having their own specific principle.⁵⁵ All things, even vicious animals, are so because of their own innate, self-existent constitution 皆天質自然,⁵⁶ and are consequently not dependent on outside influence for their existence or moral status. Thus Sun Sheng concluded that desire and lack of desire both emerge from the gate of the marvellous, a mysterious and ineffable condition that presumably underlies the universe. He opposed Wang Pi's interpretation of the first chapter of the *Lao tzu*, saying,

"Why should you also have desire in order to understand its end? Desire 有欲 should also emerge from the gate of the marvellous and equally be called a mystery 玄 . If that is so, there being this toing and froing [interchange?], why should you value non-desire alone?"⁵⁷

52. T52.18c2,5, 18-20.

53. T52.21c8-9. Cf. Tokiwa, pp.80, 84.

54. Cf. Erik Zürcher, op. cit., p.136.

55. T52.120c23-24.

56. T52.120c25.

57. T52.120a19, 21-22.

Sun Sheng thus approved of natural emotion, for one cannot go against the way or flow of the natural (*tzu-jan*). If you desire or like something, you cannot escape an emotional response.⁵⁸

Sun Sheng's world-view seems akin to that of Wang Pi, despite his opposition to some of Wang's readings of Taoist texts. Tokiwa Daijō thinks that Sun's ideas contributed to the philosophical foundations of the Real Attribute 實相 (*shih-hsiang*) theories of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, in which "There is not a colour or smell that is not of the Middle Way."⁵⁹ Sun attracted attention, for his work was preserved by the Buddhist historian Tao-hsüan (596-667) in the *Kuang Hung-ming chi*. Tao-hsüan commented that Sun Sheng discriminated sharp and dull levels of spiritual opportunity; with various degrees of sages and wise men; and stated that "therefore the function of wisdom has gradual and sudden (states),"⁶⁰ a position that prefigured the gradual versus sudden enlightenment dispute between "Northern" and Southern Ch'an.

There was a resurgence of the debate over the question of the relationship of *hsing* and *ch'ing* among the founders of Neo-Confucianism that was held against the background of Ch'an Buddhism.⁶¹ The initiator of this debate in early Neo-Confucianism was Li Ao (774-836), whose theories as outlined in his *Fu-hsing shu* 復性書 were influenced by Liang Su's (c. 760s-c. 800) *Chih-kuan t'ung lieh*. This in turn was influenced by the T'ien-t'ai proponent of the insentient Buddha-nature thesis, Chan-jan. Chan-jan, after all, like several of his monk contemporaries, was initially a Confucian.⁶² Moreover, Han Yü (768-824) and Li Ao, teacher and pupil, both drew upon Ch'an in an attempt to revive Confucianism by going beyond

58. T52.121a20-22.

59. Tokiwa, p.53. He discusses Sun, pp.50-54.

60. T52.121b19.

61. Tokiwa, p.115; Carsun Chang, vol. 1, pp.28, 29; Ira Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai (1020-1077)* (Cambridge U.P.), pp.5, 15.

62. Tokiwa, pp.116, 119, 273; Fung Yu-lan, p.423.

the moribund commentary literature or *scholia* to the general principle behind the classics of the sages.⁶³

Han Yü asserted, like Mencius, that any man can become a sage through "integrity"⁶⁴ and overcome the false dichotomy between the holy or sage (*sheng*) and the mundane or commoner (*fan*).⁶⁵ A sage's writings are the Tao, not merely a vehicle for the Tao as Chou Tun-i (1017-1013) later maintained.⁶⁶ But in letters exchanged with the Ch'an monk Ta-tien in 818/9, Han Yü refers to the *Great Treatise on the I Ching*, which states, "Writing cannot express words completely. Words cannot express thought completely," as an element of doubt as to whether one can truly understand the ideas or Tao of the sages.⁶⁷ So even if the writings of the sages are identical with the Tao, that identity is not perfect because of the limitations of writing and words.

Han Yü's conception of the sage owes much to Buddhism mediated through Liang Su's *Chih-kuan t'ung lieh* which claims that the sage is one who has through progressive struggle completely realized his nature, and by so doing can perfect the natures of all other men and things in the universe.⁶⁸ Liang Su's conception of "nature" was a synthesis of the theories of Mencius⁶⁹ with the Chinese Buddhist idea of the universality of a nature that extends even into the insentient. Han Yü transformed that into the "will of Heaven" (*ming*), which "means 'to develop one's nature to perfection through the understanding of Principle and thereby to attain to the will of Heaven.'"⁷⁰

63. Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the Tang Search for Unity* (Princeton U.P., 1986), p.7.

64. *Ibid.*, pp.5, 9, 12.

65. *Ibid.*, pp.12, 186.

66. *Ibid.*, p.8. For Chou Tun-i's theory see *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.476.

67. Hartman, pp.14-15.

68. *Ibid.*, p.94. Cf. Richard Wilhelm, p.322. This passage is cited from the *Tsu-t'ang chi*.

69. Hartman, pp.187-188 on Liang Su. See also pp.154-156.

70. *Ibid.*, p.179.

The place of literature in Han Yü's scheme, as in Ch'an, is in the stage below silent understanding, which Han Yü calls "moral strength." But literature, as Li Ao explained, was the necessary start for anyone who wished to attain the Way of the sages, and thus is similar to the Buddhist theory of expedient means. As Li Ao writes:

All who study the Way of the Sages begin with literature (*wen*). When literature is mastered, then one brings order to human affairs. When one understands human affairs, then one attains to good speech. When speech is forgotten, then one understands in silence his own actions. This is called the practice of moral strength.⁷¹

Despite the secondary status of literature in the scheme, Han Yü still insisted on the unity of literature and the Way,⁷² and this was supported by Li Ao:

I have never met a man by nature (*hsing*) humane and righteous (*jen i*) who did not write literature....it is by nature (*hsing*) that one proceeds from these [humanity and righteousness] to the creation of literature, and by practice (*hsi*) that one proceeds from literature to humanity and righteousness.⁷³

This literature was forged in the enlightened sagely mind and required the emotions, for without emotion there would be no Confucian-style involvement.⁷⁴ Han Yü consequently opposed the idea of a lack of emotion in literature or in any form of artistic creation. Thus in a preface in farewell to a calligrapher-monk Kao-hsien, he mentioned the master calligrapher Chang Hsü:

Chang Hsü...Whenever his mind was moved by joy or anger, by despair, by sorrow or delight, was resentful or lustful....he would always express these in his calligraphy. Whatever he saw in the world - mountains and streams, peaks and valleys, birds, animals, insects, and fish, flowers and fruits....or warfare and contention, all the transformations of heaven and earth joyous or troubling - all these he lodged in his calligraphy....

71. Ibid., p.195.

72. Ibid., p.189.

73. Ibid., p.212.

74. Ibid., p.214.

The way to become like Chang Hsü is to know clearly what is in your interest and what not and to let nothing escape your attention. Then when an emotion burns within, the desire for that interest will fight its way forth....

Now Master Kao Hsien is a Buddhist. He considers life and death as one and is free from outside attachments. His mind must be still so nothing will arise. Toward the world he must be impassive so he will desire nothing. Yet when stillness and impassivity occur together one is fallen and exhausted....And his calligraphy will be an expression of this also.⁷⁵

Han Yü's interpretation of Buddhism here is clearly an elementary or Hinayana one, for it involves the cutting off of desire. Nor does it understand the difference between detachment and quietist impassivity. Thus for Han Yü emotions are a *sine qua non* of literature and consequently to the expression of the Tao and the sages who create the literature. In fact, the sage appears to be merely a vehicle for Heaven or the Tao, but the emotions must be present to show that the Tao is active and the sage is alive and receptive. Detachment in the quietist sense, which Southern Ch'an in particular denounced as non-Mahayana, is then detachment from the Tao. One has to be alive to the Tao. So, unlike his elder brother Han Hui, Han Yü was not so concerned with controlling the emotions in order to revert to the nature.⁷⁶ Rather the emotions should be freed. Han Yü's attitude seems similar to the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai sub-thesis of the insentient sermon and the *Chuang-tzu's* description of the wind blowing through the panpipes of Nature, especially in this preface written in farewell to Meng Chiao:

Whatever does not attain a state of equilibrium will sound forth. Trees have no sound but will cry forth when the wind stirs them....

Man with his gift of speech is the same. When there is no other course, then he speaks out, singing songs if moved, wailing if deeply touched. Every sound that comes from his mouth shows a lack of some inner equilibrium....

Heaven is also the same with men. The essence of human sound is language, and literature is the essence of language.⁷⁷

75. Ibid., p.224.

76. Ibid., pp.222-223.

77. Ibid., p.228.

The author then must respond spontaneously to the emotions which are disequilibriums of man's innately calm nature (*hsing*) created by Nature or Heaven.⁷⁸ These disequilibriums then are part of Nature.

But Han Yü seems inconsistent here. He maintains that the sage's mind is passive and understands without thought, while the wise man (*hsien*) has an active mind and attains sagehood via the investigation of things (*ko wu*).⁷⁹ If the mind is emotional or in disequilibrium, how can it be passive? The emotions arise as a response to the environment. If they then are merely reflections of Nature, then Nature must be good, evil and neutral, for this is the range Han Yü claims the emotions to have. In fact, Han Yü maintains that the best emotions are neutral in that they "abide in the Mean."⁸⁰ This would make Nature amoral. But if Nature or Heaven creates the emotions, and the human nature (*hsing*) is likewise provided by Heaven, man becomes but a mere echo or cipher of Heaven. How can the sage or man be "involved" or have an interest? As a result of this contradiction, Han Yü and Li Ao had to make a distinction between human nature and the nature of the Way of Heaven. By means of quietude, the sage can supposedly go beyond his own emotions and his individual nature to merge with the Way of Heaven, transcending good, evil and the emotions in the process.⁸¹ This is a Confucian shift away from Buddhism, and seems to approach the Upaniṣadic or Vedantin identification of ātman or brahmin with Atman or Brahma.

78. Ibid., pp.230-231. But Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, p.49, says that Han Yü was criticised for maintaining that joy, anger, grief and delight all come from the emotions and not from the nature, which supposedly places him in the same current as Buddhism and Taoism.

79. Hartman, p.232.

80. Ibid., p.303. These three grades of emotion may have been derived from the Fa-hsiang theory of the three grades of human nature, but there were earlier sources according to Wing-tsit Chan, *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.453-454. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, p.49 suggests that the three grades of human nature goes back to Tung Chung-shu, and p.53 that these divisions of the emotions into three grades is not the same as in Buddhism, but still it is a variation on Fa-hsiang thought.

81. Hartman, p.205.

Despite these philosophical problems, Han Yü maintained that "integrity" unites thought and action,⁸² and the sage's integrity is mirrored in his writings which find language suitable to each occasion or emotion. This is what Han Yü meant by *ku-wen*,⁸³ unlike the more didactic concepts of literature held by his Buddhistic predecessors, including Liang Su.⁸⁴ Han Yü's ideas on literature are thus similar to those of Ch'an, for whom the *yü-lu* were the words of the Ch'an masters or living Chinese Buddhas which they used appropriately to every opportunity for enlightening their pupils.⁸⁵

It was this similarity to Ch'an that caused Sung dynasty Neo-Confucians to disregard Han Yü's philosophy and concentrate on his literature.⁸⁶ Han Yü's position on the relation of the nature to the emotions provoked a reaction from Confucian-Buddhists such as Wang An-shih (1021-1086) and the monk Ch'i-sung (1011-1072).

The Ch'an Buddhist historian Ch'i-sung, whose theories were deeply in debt to Confucianism and who may have influenced Wang An-shih, attacked Han Yü on Confucian terms. Ch'i-sung often cited the *Chung Yung* in support of his theory that the Tao is equivalent to the nature (*hsing*), and that the five constants (humaneness, propriety, ritual, wisdom and faith) are refined emotions and nothing else.⁸⁷

Both Ch'i-sung and Wang An-shih referred to the line from the *Lun-yü*, "By nature (people) are close, but differ through practice."⁸⁸ They concluded from this

82. Ibid., pp.207-209.

83. Ibid., p.12.

84. Ibid., p.14. Cf. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, p.37 on Han's ideas of *ku-wen*, and for *ku-wen* movement and Buddhism, pp.1-23 et. passim, especially pp.5, 8. Sun links the earlier "Buddhistic" *ku-wen* with a search for equality by new examination class literati, which found ideological foundations in "even an icchantika can become Buddha" or "the insentient have the nature" (pp.10-11).

85. Hartman, p.225.

86. Ibid., pp.269-270.

87. *Hsin-chin wen-chi*, T52.722c1, 10-13; 723a13-14 passim; 727a11-15, 20-23.

88. T52.727b9-10 et. passim.

that the five constants are the excellent and moral aspect of the emotions, and that evil is the lesser aspect of the emotions. Therefore the emotions "commence from the boundaries of the nature."⁸⁹ This means that we can

see the division between emotion and the nature that was clearly explained by the sages....The *I Ching (Book of Changes)* says, "The beneficial and the steadfast are nature and emotion."⁹⁰ This means that the nature is correct and the emotions are perverse, which (means one is to) centre and correct 中正.⁹¹

In contrast to Han Yü, Li Ao had a more favourable reception from men such as Wang An-shih and Ch'i-sung, so much so that Tokiwa Daijō regards him as the true founder of Neo-Confucianism.⁹² Li Ao, who like Han Yü had studied Ch'an, opposed the Heavenly ordained or innate nature (*t'ien-ming chih hsing*) to the deluding emotions. But the emotions and the nature are inseparable. He thus advocated a return to the calm and unmoving nature by extinguishing the original, non-existent and disturbing emotions. However, Li Ao conceded that even a sage needed emotions to survive in the world, but as these emotions could only function under the control of the nature in the sage, these emotions were to be considered emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*).⁹³ Moreover, the nature of the sage is empty (*hsü*), but to be enlightened to that nature one must rely on the emotions. However, those emotions must not function as unrefined or uncontrolled emotions; they must be as non-emotional 非情 responses.⁹⁴ Emotion consequently has a dual aspect. Tokiwa

89. T52.727a1-5.

90. Cf. Richard Wilhelm, pp.376-377, who gives "furtherance and perserverance." Here amended in the light of Iulian Shchutskii, *Researches on the I Ching*, introduction by Gerald Swanson, pp.xx, xv note 17; Morohashi 1340.77.

91. T52.727c12-16

92. Tokiwa, p.116.

93. Tokiwa, p.130. Cf. Fung Yu-lan, p.420. Carsun Chang, *Development of Neo-Confucian Thought* (New Haven, 1957), vol. 1, pp.103-105 for Li Ao's study of Ch'an, pp.105-106 on emotion and nature. I have not had a chance to consult Tim Barrett's thesis on Li Ao.

94. Fung Yu-lan, p.415; Carsun Chang, pp.106-107, 110-111.

consequently thinks that Li Ao has been influenced by the *Ta-sheng Ch'i-hsin lun's* theory of the two aspects of the mind (True Thusness and conventional) and T'ien-t'ai's *chih-kuan*, as well as the *Yüan-chüeh ching* and *Leng-yen ching*, two Ch'an forged sutras.⁹⁵ Li Ao was likewise a champion of the *Chung Yung*, establishing it as a fundamental Neo-Confucian text.⁹⁶

Such theories as those of Li Ao about the emotionless sage could not but introduce some of the Neo-Confucians to the Buddhist thesis of the insentient Buddha-nature, or to the allied image of the unity of man and Nature when the emotions are removed or controlled and human nature allowed to revert to its pristine state where there are no obstructions between it and the nature of the universe.

A generation of philosophers created Neo-Confucianism out of the debates started two centuries earlier by Liu Mien, Han Yü and Li Ao on the problems of the relation of the nature to the emotions, and the sage's possession of or lack of emotion. These questions all had a bearing on the theories of literary creation as significant as the theories of Ch'an Buddhism in this area. One traditional source thus characterises Sung literati scholarship as outwardly (*yang*) Confucian and inwardly (*yin*) Buddhist.⁹⁷ Therefore some of the scholars who debated this central topic of Neo-Confucianism also wrote or cited poems that referred to the insentient Buddhahood, and may have related it to poetic creation, Wang An-shih being a prime example, and Chu Hsi another.⁹⁸

The philosophical debates on the emotions, human nature and metaphysics, resulted in Neo-Confucian theories that could be, and seem to have been, applied to poetical creation. Most of this generation of thinkers were anti-Buddhist and stressed Confucian ethics, but their theories of the nature derive mainly from Li Ao. The possible exception was Chou Tun-i (1017-1073), whose theory that the five constants pertain to human nature and are its reaction to his environment, derives from Han Yü. Chou, however, said that man should be without desire 無欲. That is quiescence,

95. Tokiwa, pp.132-134, on Liang Su, p.136.

96. Fung Yu-lan, p.418.

97. Ts'ai Shang-hsiang, *Wang Ching-kung nien-p'u k'ao-lieh* cited by Ando Tomonobu, " Ō Anseki to Bukkyō," *Tōhō Shūkyō* 28 (Nov. 1966), p.29. See also Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, p.54 for this description applied to Han Yü and Li Ao.

98. Tokiwa, pp.156 and 384.

which leads to enlightenment. This lack of desire means that the mind is like a mirror that reacts straightforwardly without thought to stimuli.⁹⁹

Chou Tun-i, who was both very sensitive to Nature and learned in Buddhist and Taoist literature,¹⁰⁰ headed a school that even had Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien as pupils for a while. His association with the Ch'an monks Ch'ang-tsung (1025-1091) and Liao-yüan (1032-1098), friends respectively of Huang and Shih, led to accusations by both Ch'an and Confucian sources that he was influenced by them.¹⁰¹ In the *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an*, it is reported by Ch'ao Shuo-chih that

Chou served the monk Shou-ya 壽涯 of Hao-lin Monastery and obtained the idea from him that there were things preceding Heaven and earth that were formless and originally calm, and which could be the master of the myriad things....

The Essential Points of Hsing-hsüeh says that Chou first travelled with (Ch'ang)-tsung of Tung-lin (Monastery) and knew him for a long time before gaining admittance (as a pupil). Ch'ang-tsung taught him quiet sitting 靜坐 and after one month he suddenly had an attainment. He presented (his understanding) in a poem:

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99. Fung Yu-lan, pp.437, 448-450; Ch'ien Mu, *Sung Ming li-hsüeh kai-shu* (Hong Kong, 1953), p.30. Cf. *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.473.
100. Carsun Chang, pp.139-140 on his refusal to cut the grass in front of his window and his love for the lotus flowers because they had life or principle. Cf. Ren Jiyu, "Chu Hsi and Religion" in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wing-tsit Chan (Honolulu, 1986), p.367. See also *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.462 and 535 which says Ch'eng Hao thought likewise. This was also mentioned by Chu Hsi, p.623.
101. For the allegations made by Ch'an Buddhists, see the Ming dynasty *Chü-shih fen-teng lu* which credits Ch'ang-tsung with input into Ch'an's famous *T'ai-chi t'u* (Z147.908a14-b16) but lists Chou as Dharma-heir to Liao-yüan. For the *T'ai-chi t'u* there is a ^{1p.}transcription in Carsun Chang, vol. 1, pp.142-143, *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.463-464; *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, pp.458-459. Chang thinks this was a redrawing of a Taoist diagram (p.141), but A. C. Graham debunks this theory in his *Two Chinese Philosophers*, p.172 note 19. Note that Ch'ien Mu (p.25) says Chou lived on Mt. Lü, where both these monks had monasteries, late in his life. He reports that Chu Hsi stated that Chou was under Taoist influence (pp.26-27). Wing-tsit Chan, *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.462 quotes Ch'eng I as calling him a "poor Ch'an fellow," but says Buddhist influence on him was negligible.

In the library I sat cross-legged and the myriad mechanisms ceased.
 The sun was warm, the wind soothing, the grasses naturally dark.
 Who says the Way is something two thousand years away?
 For now it is just within the pupil of my eye.

Ch'ang-tsung approved this and formed the Green Pine Society with him.¹⁰² Another text quoted here laments that scholars are "moved by the study of Ch'an to slander people," and that as Confucianism is orthodoxy and Buddhism heresy, one must not follow Ch'an views which ignore human social relationships and principle, threatening the survival of humanity by not marrying or working:

Ch'ang-tsung through [Ch'an] viewed the matter of life and death to be important....Even though it is the day of one's birth it is no different from (that of one's) death. Therefore one's own mind-nature and knowledge, even the mountains, rivers and great earth, all are empty. He allowed that the six faculties interacted with the six sense objects and yet one (who is enlightened) responds to events without emotion 應事無情¹⁰³

This text then discusses Ch'ang-tsung's ideas on rebirth, the lack of a controlling ego or entity and that heaven and hell are imaginations, with the implication that these concepts infiltrated Chou's Confucianism. Perhaps these very allegations of Ch'an influence on Chou Tun-i were what made Huang T'ing-chien praise him.¹⁰⁴

The true initiator of the Sung revival of Confucianism, Hu Yüan (993-1059), who was "recognized in his own time as the leader of the Confucian renaissance,"¹⁰⁵ was a moralist who sought his principles in the Classics and advocated literary attainments as the main medium of reform.¹⁰⁶ His teachings, judging from those of

102. *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* (hereafter SYHA), IV 11.134. Ch'ien Mu, p.27 states that this is one theory; there were others.

103. SYHA IV 11.134.

104. SYHA IV 11.134-135; Ch'ien Mu, p.28.

105. Wm. Theodore de Bary, "A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism" in *Studies in Chinese Thought*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (Chicago, 1953), p.89; cf. Ch'ien Mu, pp.3, 44.

106. de Bary, "A Reappraisal....," p.90; Ch'ien Mu, p.4; *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, pp.384-385, which also suggests that he was influenced by "T'ien-t'ai metaphysics" in his description of the "Way as substance, function and literary expression."

his pupil Hsü Chi, asserted that Hsün-tzu was wrong in claiming that human nature is evil.¹⁰⁷ On the contrary, human nature is good and evil arises from practice.¹⁰⁸ He preached:

The *Chung Yung* begins with emotion and nature. Emotions are both correct and incorrect....If the emotions [情 facts] of Heaven and earth can be seen, the emotions of the sage can be seen in his pronouncements 辭 . How can one conceive of (these) emotions as incorrect? If I want to be humane 仁 then humaneness will come....Therefore all those who say that the emotions are incorrect are wrong, and those who say that the sages lack emotion (*wu-ch'ing*) are likewise wrong. How can a sage be (inert) like earth and wood?¹⁰⁹

This was later interpreted to mean that correct emotion is human nature, and that the nature can only be seen via the emotions. As a commentator remarked,

The emotions of those Buddhists which are detached from things are *wu-ch'ing*. This is not the Way of the sages. The Master's [Hu Yüan] statement that the sage is not emotionless 非無情 is absolutely correct.¹¹⁰

A member of Hu's school, Sun Fu (992-1057), thought of literature as "the function of the Way. The Way is the basis of the teaching. Therefore one must attain (the Way) in the mind and then form it in words." He considered that literature had been polluted from the time of the Han by Yang Hsiung, the Mohists, Taoists and Buddhists with their ideas of karma and reincarnation. Later the sensuality and perversity of poets such as Shen Yüeh, Hsieh Ling-yün and Yü Hsin led readers away from the Confucian axioms of humaneness and righteousness.¹¹¹ His heir Shih Chieh

107. SYHA I 1.32-33.

108. SYHA I 1.37.

109. SYHA I 1.38-39. Ch'ien Mu, p.6 also says that "the unmoving mind is not necessarily insentient/without emotion," but it must be able to accommodate the changes in human affairs and Nature.

110. SYHA I 1.39.

111. SYHA I 2.92.

(1005-1045) was even more scathing in his attacks on Buddhism, Taoism and non-didactic literature as perversions of the literature of the Confucian Way.¹¹²

The Confucian teacher Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), founder of the Lü-ling School of Confucianism which had as members or pupils most of the leading writers of the Northern Sung (it included Wang An-shih, Su Shih, Su Ch'e, Tseng Kung and Ch'en Shih-tao as pupils and Mei Yao-ch'en and Su Hsün as associate members),¹¹³ was influenced by Hu Yüan and the leader of the "Minor Reform" Fan Chung-yen (998-1052). Ou-yang was subsequently famed as the "writer who rediscovered Han Yü and made his 'ku-wen' the standard for centuries," with his pupil Su Shih (1037-1101) claiming that he was philosophically and morally close to Han Yü. But unlike Su Shih's father Su Hsün, founder of the Su or Shu School, and his other contemporaries, Ou-yang thought the *I Ching* too abstract and the *Chung Yung* too impractical.¹¹⁴

Like Han Yü, Ou-yang Hsiu was publicly anti-Buddhist, advocating its gradual elimination, for a sudden proscription would allow it to reform, innoculating it and strengthening it further. One must be like a doctor who diagnoses the origins of the disease to seek the cure, and not attack the symptoms but the underlying humours 氣虛, feeding the patient's energy to remove the disease. In like manner, Buddhism infected China when Confucianism was weak; what Confucianism needs is an infusion of energy through ritual propriety and righteousness.¹¹⁵

Initially attracted to Hsün-tzu's view of human nature, Ou-yang confessed that when he examined the popularity of Buddhism, he realized Hsün-tzu's mistake. As the Buddhists say, human nature is good, but the Buddhists with their rejection of social mores in their attempt to revert to that nature lead people away from Confucianism. However, one cannot impose Confucian values, for the people would

112. SYHA I 2.101; de Bary, "A Reappraisal...", p.92; Ch'ien Mu, pp.6-7.

113. SYHA II 4.44-46.

114. de Bary, "A Reappraisal...", pp.94-95; Ch'ien Mu, p.11.

115. SYHA II 4.62-63; cf. Ch'ien Mu, p.9; from his *Pen-lun*, a translation of which appears in *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, p.387.

desert Confucianism for Buddhism. Thus Confucian values have to be introduced gradually.¹¹⁶

Ou-yang also said, contrary to Han Yü, that Confucius' statement about wise superior people and stupid inferior people being unmovable was in reference to intelligence and not to the good or evil of their natures. The nature is good, but to loudly proclaim this and other theories of human nature will not alter the Way. One should thus be silent about human nature.¹¹⁷ These ideas were adopted by his pupil Su Shih, but without the anti-Buddhist content.

Ou-yang Hsiu also used the term *wu-ch'ing* as "insentient." In his work on the *I Ching* he stated that only members of different categories had the energy to influence 感 each other.

Stone and iron are insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) things, yet a magnet stone can attract an (iron) needle. So although there is a separation between things there is a correspondence.

On this basis it is possible for the sage to influence the dumb masses, even barbarians, who although of different categories share an avenue of correspondence.¹¹⁸ Of course he claimed that a sage must be human and can only know his emotions.¹¹⁹ But even so, the insentient can thus influence things in other categories, presumably even the sentient, and the sentient must also be able to influence their environment.

Of the more metaphysically inclined Confucians, Shao Yung (1011-1077), at least superficially, seems to have been more under the influence of Neo-Taoism and Ch'an than Chou Tun-i, for he emphasised that the Mind is the Tao, and that the mind should observe (not visually) in reverse contemplation (*fan kuan* 反觀), an idea literally similar to the counter-illumination (*fan-chao* 反照) or reverse reflection of Ch'an.

This is the sage's way of observing things "in terms of those things," in the light of the very principles of those things, which means that the ego does not interfere in the observation and that one uses "the eyes of the entire world as one's

116. SYHA II 4.64. From the *Pen-lun; Sources in Chinese Tradition*, pp.389-390.

117. SYHA II 4.70; cf. Ch'ien Mu, p.10.

118. SYHA II 4.52-53.

119. Ch'ien Mu, p.10.

own eyes."¹²⁰ Shao Yung defined the relationship of the nature and the emotions in terms of observation:

To observe things in terms of those things, this is to follow one's nature. But to observe things in terms of the self, this is to follow one's feelings (*ch'ing*). The nature is impartial and enlightened, the feelings are partial and blind.

Therefore the emotions obscure the truth. So the empty ^虛 mind that is undivided responds to phenomena directly, which is enlightenment, is the very nature itself.¹²¹

The *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* elucidates:

The contemplation of things is not by means of the eyes. One does not contemplate them with the eyes but with the mind. One does not contemplate them with the mind but (in terms of the) principle. The means that permit sages to see the *ch'ing* (emotions/facts) of the myriad things is the ability of reverse contemplation. The means of reverse contemplation is to not use the self to contemplate things. One does not use the self to contemplate things, one contemplates things (in terms of) things. Once one can contemplate things in terms of things one can also put the self ^我 in between them.¹²²

This doctrine would have been very attractive to Nature poets who wished to observe the landscape through the pathetic fallacy, for it would allow them to exist as observers who were not interfering with Nature, and is, perhaps not coincidentally, almost identical with the assessment made of Wang Wei's poetry by Wai Lim-yip.

The next important group of Neo-Confucians were the Ch'eng brothers, Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) and Ch'eng I (1033-1108), and their uncle Chang Tsai (1020-1077). Chang Tsai taught that one should remove the distinction between the ego and non-

120. Fung Yu-lan, p.466. For the Taoist connection, see Carsun Chang, vol. 1, p.159. See also pp.162-163, and for *fan-kuan*, p.165. Anne D. Birdwhistell, "Shao Yung and his concept of fan kuan," pp.369, 371, emphasises that this is an observation of the principle within things and not an observation of the mind. See also *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.487-488. For Ch'an's *fan-chao*, see Robert Buswell, "The 'Short-cut' Approach to *K'an-hua* Meditation" in *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (University of Hawaii Press, 1987), p.347 and note 97.

121. Fung Yu-lan, p.467. This is related to the problem of the observer's "objectivity" which is damaged by agitated emotions. Birdwhistell, pp.379-380; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.488.

122. SYHA III 9.107.

ego, so that the sage becomes one with the universe by an infinite expansion of the mind. All becomes oneself, for all emerges from the Great Void. Even the material desires such as hatred and love are its products, but by destruction of such sensory bonds one can identify with the universe, which is our nature (*hsing*). This has a Neo-Taoist and *Chuang-tzu* hue, as Chang claimed that one should accept death as part of the cycles of primal *ch'i* (energy, matter), of which human nature is our share.¹²³

Chang Tsai was critical of Buddhism, not just for its theory of reincarnation, but also for its theory of the illusory nature of the world. He regarded this as a devaluation of Nature and an overestimation of the power of the mind. Chang criticised the mind-only conditional arising (*wei-hsin yüan-ch'i* 唯心緣起) theory of Hua-yen and other Chinese Buddhist schools from the point of view of the Great Void (*t'ai hsü* 太虛) and *ch'i*/energy, saying that if one followed its reasoning one

(would) descend into the Buddhist theory that the mountains, rivers and great earth are an illusion of seeing [perception]...which in brief is to know that the substance is empty 虛空, which is to know that, but not know that the basis 本 is the Heavenly Way which is the function.¹²⁴

This was a criticism of the popular Ch'an forgery, the *Leng-yen ching* (pseudo-*Śūraṅgama Sūtra*), and its theory of the mental "(re)creation" of the universe. All in all, Chang Tsai's prescriptions were not conducive to poetry, for he preferred reading

123. Fung Yu-lan, pp.483, 490-492, 495-496. Carsun Chang, vol. 1, p.177 on the expanded mind of the sage and its manifestation as *jen*, which is compared to the bodhisattva vow, pp.180-181. Chang, p.169 also says Chang Ts'ai's approach was partly via Buddhism and Taoism. Cf. Ira Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai (1020-1077)* (Cambridge U.P.), p.xi, pp.57, 141, on "Great Void," p.108 and "void mind," pp.88-89. Chang Tsai said that the emotions derive from the nature, which is good (Kasoff, p.67). Ch'ien Mu, p.40 says that Chang Tsai practiced a form of meditation to reach his view. For a discussion of the theory and its sources, see *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.499, on the Great Void, pp.501-502, 504.

124. Tokiwa, pp.229, 238-239; SYHA VI 17.10; Carsun Chang, p.174; Kasoff, pp.42, 121; see *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.502, 517 for criticism of Buddhism and *Chuang-tzu*.

the Classics and histories to contemplating Nature¹²⁵ as a means of realizing one's nature by expanding one's mind.¹²⁶

The Ch'eng brothers shared Chang Tsai's ideas about the sage's identity with the universe,¹²⁷ which Tokiwa Daijō thinks is similar to the Ch'an theory of the insentient Buddha-nature and the Hua-yen philosophy of the identity of phenomena and principle.¹²⁸ However, there were differences over the relationships between mind, human nature, the emotions and Heaven.¹²⁹

Ch'eng Hao asserted that principle underlies both mind and the universe, so if one examines the mind one will find the principle of the universe.¹³⁰ Human nature is decreed by Heaven and contains good and evil. Indeed, because the nature is given only to man, and contains both good and bad, Ch'eng Hao could not allow that there was a universal Buddha-nature that also inhered in the world.¹³¹ Consequently, man is separated from the universe because of his ego, so one must remove the ego naturally, without force, so that the mind is like a mirror, egoless.¹³² Therefore,

125. Kasoff, p.83, cf. pp.90-91.

126. Kasoff, pp.94-95, 107 on the sage lacking a self; Fung Yu-lan, p.491; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.515.

127. Fung Yu-lan, p.501.

128. Tokiwa, p.149. See Wing-tsit Chan's comment, *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.542-543 for a contrasting view. Note that the *Chü-shih fen-teng lu* Z147.908b-909a says that the Ch'eng brothers discussed the Hua-yen theories of *li fa-chieh* ("Dharma-realm of principle") and *shih fa-chieh* ("Dharma realm of events"), as well as *hsing-ming* 性命 with Ch'ang-tsung.

129. For other differences, see Kasoff, pp.137-143.

130. Fung Yu-lan, pp.502-504; Kasoff, p.134.

131. Tokiwa, p.149; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.528.

132. Fung Yu-lan, pp.514-515, 520-523.

The normality of Heaven and earth is that their mind permeates all things and yet [of themselves] they have no mind. The normality of the sage is that his emotions accord with [the nature of] all things, yet [of himself] he has no emotions (*wu-ch'ing*).¹³³

He comments that when we are at one or in sympathy with things, the emotions are attached to the objects and so do not leave any traces on the mind which can thus be characterised as *wu-ch'ing*:

The wind and the bamboos are an example of unconscious stimulus and response, If someone angers you, do not lodge your anger in your breast; you must be like the bamboos moved by the wind.¹³⁴

Many later Confucians condemned this doctrine as Buddhist "annihilationism," as an unconscious adoption of the Buddhist stance,¹³⁵ yet Ch'eng Hao opposed Ch'an and what he thought were its attempts to suppress the emotions, which for him come from the nature.¹³⁶

But for Ch'eng Hao, the sage realises humaneness or "empathy" 仁, which is the basis for one's awareness of one's identity with the universe. Even if humaneness could be defined as an emotion, the sage would not be bound by it, for he is emotionless.¹³⁷

133. Ibid., p.524; Tokiwa, p.292.

134. A. C. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan* (London, 1958), p.104.

135. For example, "Confucius' mourning for Yen Yüan, Yao and Shun's worries, and King Wen's anger are called emotions in accord with things. If this were lack of emotion 無情, then internal and external would be cut off, which is simply Buddhist annihilation. *Wu-ch'ing* is merely the lack of private emotions...", SYHA V 13.13. Yeh Shih (1150-1223) stated that Ch'eng Hao's words "are all Taoist 老 and Buddhist words. Ch'eng and Chang Tsai attacked and indicted Taoism and Buddhism profoundly, but still they use their doctrines completely, without knowing it." (SYHA V 14.39). Ch'eng Hao was accused of reading Ch'an texts, SYHA V 14.40; Ch'ien Mu, p.60.

136. Carsun Chang, vol. 1, p.204.

137. Tokiwa, p.292; Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, p.96ff.

Ch'eng I concentrated his philosophy on the relation of the nature to emotion in terms of the substance (*t'i* 體) and function (*yung* 用) dichotomy. The nature pertains to man, in other words, to the mind alone. He maintained that the mind is basically good, but mental function which manifests the mind is either good or bad. These manifestations are the emotions (*ch'ing*), not the mind itself. Consequently the nature is hidden; it can only be perceived via the emotions. Therefore the constants of Confucianism such as humaneness are a part of the nature, but their manifestations as love and distress etc. are the emotions.¹³⁸ As the emotions are the movements or functions of the nature, all one needs to do is to revert to the nature in order to achieve sagehood.¹³⁹ The sage, like a mirror, lacks any innate emotions; they are merely the reflections in the mirror of the calm substrate mind.¹⁴⁰ Consciousness then, which is necessary to the sage, implies the existence of the nature which takes its form as mind and manifests itself as the emotions, which then are functions of the Way.¹⁴¹

138. Fung Yu-lan, pp.516-517; Tokiwa, p.153; cf. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, p.46 and pp.50-53 on the doctrine that the passions are the response of the nature to outside stimulation.

139. Tokiwa, p.311; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.548, 567.

140. Fung Yu-lan, pp.525-526; SYHA V 15.68.

141. "'To deem nature good is to call it the Way....The self-so 自然 of the nature is called Heaven. The form that the nature takes is the mind. The movements of the mind are called emotion. All these particulars are one...'

'Do joy and anger come from the nature?'

'Definitely. The nature exists as soon as there is life and consciousness. To have the nature is to have emotion. If there is no nature, how can there be emotion?'

'What if joy and anger come from outside?'

'They do not come from outside. They are influenced from the outside and so are manifested into its midst.'

'Is not the nature's possession of joy and anger just like water having waves?'

'That is so. Clarity and calm as in a mirror is the nature of water, but when it meets with sand, rocks or landforms that are uneven there are rapid flows. When wind blows over its surface

One evidence of the achievement of sagehood is the absence of dreams, although completely exhausted people also may not dream. Dreams prove that the mind is not fixed or imperturbable, for dreams are a product of memory and influences from perceived things that stir such memories. This is still attachment, even if it is to worthy things. The sage dreams only when there are events portended by Heaven.¹⁴²

Ch'eng I claimed that Buddhists denied any reality to the world, that it was dream or illusion, and so advocated a complete detachment, which the Ch'eng's said made Buddhists "withered wood and dead coals," in other words emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*).¹⁴³ Thus the Ch'eng's method for attaining sagehood was to discipline their emotions, allowing only "natural" emotion but curbing its excess.¹⁴⁴ Ch'eng I wrote:

The student's first duty is to be firm in mental purpose. Some wish to eliminate hearing, seeing, knowing and thinking (*Lao-tzu*), which is to cut off (the path to becoming) a sage and to discard wisdom. Some wish to eliminate thinking and worries, harmed by their confusions, and so sit in meditation and enter samādhi (Ch'an). (One should) be like a clear

there are billows, waves and turbulence. How can they be the nature of water? There are only the four beginnings 四立端 in human nature. So how can one also allow of many non-good events (in it)? Without water how can there be waves, and without the nature how can there be emotion?" SYHA V 15.68. Cf. Carsun Chang, p.215 and *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.567. Note Ch'ien Mu's criticism of the Ch'eng's observations of Nature in an attempt to discover a nature in it, pp.71-72.

142. A discussion of dreams by Ch'eng I states that undesired things seen in the day or even decades past are dreamt of because the mind is not fixed (定, calm, samādhi, stable). One can meet any time with unexpected occurrences or ambiances that have an empathy 相感, with these earlier events, stimulating their appearance in dreams. Only those who have long practiced the Way such as sages and wise men lack such dreams because of their purified *ch'i*. They only dream of portents which are not harmful but beneficial, unlike the dreams of those who dream contrary to reality due to an unstable mind. Even good events are harmful to ordinary people because they move the mind. Other people do not dream because their *ch'i* is so clouded that it blocks the stimuli of outside events. Confucius only dreamt of the Duke of Chou once because he wished to practice the Way of the Duke of Chou, but once he realized that the duke was so long dead (and the world situation so changed) that his Way could not be practiced, he no longer dreamt of him. SYHA V 15.55. Cf. Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, pp.105-106.

143. Graham, op. cit., pp.84-90, especially p.88.

144. Carsun Chang, pp.225-226.

mirror in which the myriad things are finally reflected. The mirror's constance¹⁴⁵ means that it is difficult to stop it reflecting. Man's mind cannot but interact with and influence the myriad things. It is likewise difficult to stop it from thinking and worrying. If one wishes to avoid this, then the mind should be mastered.¹⁴⁶

Other leading Confucians besides Wang An-shih and Su Shih, both of whom were accused of Ch'an tendencies, were influenced by Buddhism. For example, Liu Ch'i-chih, the founder of the Yüan-ch'eng School who had studied for five years under Ou-yang Hsiu and was an occasional acquaintance of Su Shih, was fond of discussing Ch'an. He consequently did not agree with Ou-yang Hsiu's anti-Buddhist position, being closer to Su Shih philosophically. Ch'üan Tsu-wang criticised Liu for being tainted by Ch'an because he advocated, "do not think of good or evil, merely desire 原真 the emptiness of all existence." Liu thought that the mind of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism were one, and he studied the *Lotus* and *Leng-yen* sutras.¹⁴⁷

One important figure who introduced the ideas of Ch'eng I to the south of China was Yang Shih (1053-1135). He helped create the so-called "orthodox" lineage that culminated with Chu Hsi, attacking Buddhism as heresy. In a discussion of the emptiness of "nature-awareness" 性覺 he referred to the works of the Lin-chi Ch'an monk Ch'ang-tsung and those of Wang An-shih, criticising their conceptions as ignorant or obstinate emptiness:

Old (Ch'ang)-tsung says that the sutras preach ten vijñānas. The eighth, amalavijñāna, in the T'ang (translation) is the pure and unpolluted. The ninth, ālayavijñāna, the T'ang called good and evil seeds. The pure and unpolluted is what Mencius meant when he said that the nature is good. To say that the nature is good is to mean that one can search out its origin, but to say that good and evil are mixed is to see it once good and evil have already sprouted. Wang An-shih did not know this.¹⁴⁸

Yet for all this, Ch'üan Tsu-wang commented:

145. Here *ch'ang* 常 could mean Buddhist "permanence," but usually in Neo-Confucianism it means "regularity" or "normality." See Graham, *Two Chinese Philosophers*, p.90.

146. SYHA V 15.53-54. Cf. Carsun Chang, p.222.

147. SYHA VII 20.44-45. The line "do not think of good or evil..." is from the *Platform Sutra*.

148. SYHA VIII 25.34.

Late in life Yang indulged in Buddhism. As he said, "Elder Tsung says that in the sutra..." He also said, "Layman P'ang says 'Miraculous powers are marvellous functions are carrying water and toting wood.' That is the Way of Yao and Shun..."

Yang also quoted the *Yüan-chüeh* and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* sutras, concluding,

Confucianism and Buddhism reach this [understanding that the "true mind is the site of the Way"]. In reality they are not two principles.¹⁴⁹

It is noteworthy then that one of Yang Shih's pupils, Lü Pen-chung (1084-1145) was the propagandist for the Chiang-hsi School of poetry lineage.¹⁵⁰ All of Lü's teachers mixed Ch'an with their Confucianism which came from the Ch'eng brothers.¹⁵¹

Among this later generation of Neo-Confucian pioneers, laymen such as Chou Tun-i, Shao Yung, Chang Tsai, Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng I and Wang An-shih, we must also include the Ch'an monks Ch'i-sung (1011-1072) and Ta-kuan T'an-ying (989-1060), for they made contributions also.

T'an-ying, a member of the Lin-chi lineage and author of a Ch'an history, was one of the teachers of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), perhaps the most influential initiator of the Sung revival of Confucianism.¹⁵² T'an-ying tried to synthesise Confucianism and Buddhism. In his *Hsing pien* 性辯 (*Debate on the Nature*), T'an-ying took the "nature" to be the "nature of things." Once one discriminates between things, he claimed false emotions 妄情 arose. Thus the nature of a thing is clear when there are no false emotions about it, which appears to be similar to Tathāgatagarbhin theories, especially Hua-yen's "nature arisal" 性起 and Ch'an theories.

149. SYHA VIII 25.35. For a criticism of his philosophical proximity to Ch'an, see Ch'ien Mu, p.78.

150. For his lineage see SYHA VIII 25.28.

151. For Lü see SYHA X 36.25, 27-28. Ch'üan Tsu-wang says that he loved poetry and "wanted to use the *Chiang-hsi t' u-p'ai* to conceal it so that the world would not know what he wrote was eminent." Lü Tsu-ch'ien (Ch'eng-kung, 1137-1181) even wrote a poem on this subject, and Ch'üan condemns Lü Pen-chung for not fully condemning Buddhism late in his life, SYHA X 36.34. Note that Lü Tsu-ch'ien was a friend of Chu Hsi. Cf. Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi* (Harvard U.P., 1982), pp.60-62.

152. Ronald C. Egan, *The literary works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)* (Cambridge U.P., 1984), p.70.

T'an-ying asserted that there was a difference between the Confucians and Buddhists of his day over the nature and the emotions. For him, the emotions are movement, are part of consciousness, and are based on the nature. The sages have a fixed nature which external delusions or emotions cannot conceal. The emotions of the sage are controlled by his nature, which consequently manifests itself. But the Confucian theory would have it that to control the emotions is to violate that which is natural.¹⁵³

Ch'i-sung, the defender of the orthodox Ch'an tradition against T'ien-t'ai, was also a great writer on Confucian topics, attacking anti-Buddhist Confucians, Han Yü in particular, while simultaneously advancing his own theories of nature and emotion in a Confucian manner.¹⁵⁴ He also attacked Ou-yang Hsiu. In his Confucian-Buddhist synthesis, the nature and emotions were asserted to be universal, for life is derived from emotion, which in turn is grounded in the nature. This topic was so important to Ch'i-sung that the first of his essays, the "Fu-chiao pien" ("Essays in Support of the Teaching"), in his collected essays, the *Hsin-chin wen-chi* 鍾津文集, begins:

The myriad things have a nature and emotions, the past and present have birth and death (samsara). And so birth and death is the nature and emotion. (From) beginningless (time) they did not cause each other, and yet they (things) had it. Death originally is caused by birth, and birth is originally caused by emotion, and emotion is originally caused by the nature. That which makes the myriad things float and sink [in the ocean of] birth and death is the emotion that forms their bondage.¹⁵⁵

Here, the nature undoubtedly indicates the Tathāgatagarbha or Buddha-nature, the ground (*āśraya*) of all existence. He proceeds to describe what the sage would come to understand of this process, and how the different classes of human beings, both

153. Tokiwa, pp.154-156.

154. For his contribution as an historian, see Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und die Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China* (Steiner: Weisbaden, 1982), pp.51-63. Ch'i-sung also attacked Li Kou (1009-1059) and Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072), both leading contemporary Confucians. See also Jan Yün-hua's biography of Ch'i-sung in Herbert Franke (ed.), *Sung Biographies* (Weisbaden, 1976) and Jan's "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China," *ZDMG* 114 (1964), pp.360-381.

155. T52.648c25-28.

socially and Buddhistically, derive from their emotional cultivation of good and evil. For example, the human vehicle 人乘 is the suppression of the emotions by means of the five precepts of Buddhism. Ch'i-sung then discusses the five Confucian constants used for controlling the nation, implying thereby that Confucianism is only an ethical system, a mere preliminary to salvation or liberation.

Ch'i-sung next asks himself a series of questions about the creation of things being due to the emotions:

A Buddhist sutra says, "All dharmas are produced and take shape due to the will 意 (*manas*?)." This what is meant. Does this mean that the Buddhist Way is to eliminate emotion and so be like this? How is it [will?] not emotion? Does the Buddha also have emotion?

Shapes 形 and symbols 象 all have emotion (*yu-ch'ing*). Would the Buddha alone lack emotion (*wu-ch'ing*)? The Buddha acts out 行 emotion but is not emotional 不情! What the Buddha does is akin to humaneness and righteousness and yet how can humaneness and righteousness not be called emotion? What is righteousness? It means what is appropriate and proper. The proper and love both arise from the nature and form 形 (body) as (in) a function. If that is not emotion, what is? We speak of them (the constants) in respect of their emotions. So humaneness and righteousness are the good of emotion. If we perform them emotionally then their force is close to provisionality 權. If we perform them unemotionally then their force is close to principle. The natures are mutually identical [behind the constants], but the emotions are mutually different. As there is a difference between them, it is rare that the world does not compete. As there is an identity (behind) them, it is rare that the world is not calm. The sage wishes to induce the reason for their being calm. Therefore he posits the nature to be identical in all sentient beings. The sage wishes to stop the reason for their competition. Therefore he posits their wishes 懷 and lives among the myriad things.^{155a}

Later, in an expansion of the above essay, Ch'i-sung further defined the nature and emotions and their relation to the world and the sage:

The transformations of the myriad things are seen in the emotions. The ultimate of the world 至 exists 存 in the nature. So the transformations of the myriad things can be distinguished via emotion, and the great marvel 大妙 of the world can be contemplated via the nature. 故 then is the emotion and nature that can be spoken of as the sage's teaching of the Tao.¹⁵⁶

155a T52.579c11-23.

156. T52.655a23-25.

Emotions emerge from the nature. The nature is concealed by the emotions. If the nature is concealed then the Tao of the ultimate reality is halted 息 ! For this reason the sage uses the nature to be the teaching with which he instructs people. The movements of the world are born from emotion. The delusions of the myriad things are corrected by the nature....

See that which links birth and death and dark and light, and forms images and forms shapes, (even) the ultimate reaches of heaven and earth, arises from the emotions. The ultimate greatness of the universe is contained within the nature. Emotion is the beginning of existence. For there to be [human?] existence there has to be love. For there to be love there has to be lust and desire. If there is lust and desire, then men and women and the myriad things are born and die in consequence....The nature is the ultimate of non-existence...beginningless non-existence...¹⁵⁷

Ch'i-sung here has given the Confucian nature-emotion debate a Buddhist dimension, and he writes at length to establish his theorems. Moreover, he wrote Buddhistic interpretations of the *Chung Yung*, being aware also of the writings of Tsung Ping.¹⁵⁸ But he still attacked Han Yü for equating the five Confucian constants with the nature, for Ch'i-sung declared the five constants to be emotion.¹⁵⁹ Therefore he concludes, as "the nature is correct and the emotions false, one must use the nature to repress the emotions."¹⁶⁰

Ch'i-sung was an able poet who admired the three great poet-monks of the T'ang; Chiao-jan, Ling-ch'e and Tao-p'iao.¹⁶¹ However, it is difficult to discern his opinion on poetic creativity. He wrote a postface for one author in which he states; "It was not in vain that he intoned and sung of emotion and nature, giving vent to them, even though it was only self-satisfaction..."¹⁶²

157. T52.655b18-29.

158. T52.649b4.

159. T52.727c2-5.

160. T52.727c20.

161. T52.738b.

162. T52.719c24-25.

Now in what the nature creates, and where the aspiration 志 goes the petty people use words and the gentlemen use poetry. As one can find their aspiration through their words and poetry, one can fully investigate the gentlemen and the petty men.¹⁶³

This statement contains elements of the earliest Chinese dicta on poetry theory, with no indication that Ch'i-sung was aware of the insentient or emotionless theory in connection with poetry.

There was a reaction to these theories in the person of Wang An-shih (1021-1086), who criticised both existing Neo-Confucian theories and Buddhism. Firstly he criticised Han Yü's theory that the five constants are the nature, which he considered allowed evil to be included within the nature. Wang claimed, on the contrary, that these constants were the emotions that through practice and self-cultivation could be changed or shifted, whereas the nature, being an innate state, could not.¹⁶⁴ Wang agreed that good and evil arose after the emotions were produced from the nature, for which idea he was probably indebted to the Ch'an monks T'an-ying and Ch'i-sung. Wang, who later in life turned increasingly to Buddhism, claimed that earlier scholars had simplistically and mistakenly equated the nature with the emotions. One thus cannot either just say that the nature is good and the emotions bad, for that is empty formalism ("knowledge of name") and not knowledge of reality.

Thus for Wang An-shih, human nature is the basis of the emotions which are the functions of the nature. Emotions arise because of the stimuli of the movement of things. The difference between the gentleman and the petty man is due to their differing orientations, the gentleman seeking out the nature and the petty man the emotions. As in Mahayana Buddhist doctrine, one cannot be enlightened by removing the emotions even though the nature is itself good, for if one is insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) or without emotion, how can one have a sensibility of the nature? If one is insentient like wood and stones, there can be no possibility of enlightenment. Therefore, the nature and the emotions (especially in the search for enlightenment) are inextricably linked, just as a bow and arrows must function together to be effective. As the emotions may be evil, the nature consequently must have an evil component. Conversely, the emotions may have a positive role.

For example, the distinction between good and evil is to be sought in the harmony or disharmony between the seven emotions and, or in, the nature. In this

163. T52.720a8-10.

164. Tokiwa, p.127. The five constants are humaneness, propriety, ritual, wisdom and faith.

Wang An-shih is in partial agreement with Ch'eng Hao, and there are some similarities with the T'ien-t'ai doctrine of "a trichiliocosm in a moment of thought" and the "evil of the (Buddha)-nature not removed," as well as Vijñānavādin theory. In other words, the nature is a potential for both good and evil.¹⁶⁵ These ideas of Wang's were so important that they became the basis of much debate in Neo-Confucianism, and he was definitely a pioneer in the creation of Sung-style Neo-Confucian commentary, to which even Chu Hsi owed much.¹⁶⁶

The summation of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy was made later by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) who founded his ideas about the nature-emotion pairing on the formulations of Li Ao while basing his theory on their relations with the mind in the dictum of Chang Tsai that the "mind controls 心統 the nature and the emotions." The nature for Chu Hsi is comparable to the Supreme Ultimate 太極, which is obscured by *ch'i*. The mind consequently is akin to the fluctuations of *yin* and *yang* in the *ch'i*, but each of these elements are self-so (*tzu-jan*).¹⁶⁷ The nature is embodied in every single thing in the universe; if there was no thing, there would be no nature. Even tiles and pebbles have principle or the nature.¹⁶⁸ Thus when Chu Hsi was asked whether inanimate things have a principle, he affirmed that they did; each individual item in

165. Tokiwa, pp.156-157, 249, cf. p.245 where Tokiwa compares his ideas with some selected Buddhist texts. Ch'ien Mu, p.17: "emotions before they are manifested externally are existent 存 in the mind, which is the nature. When they are manifested and operate outside the mind they are the emotions." I shall treat this complex man and Su Shih in greater detail later, especially for how their Buddhist and Confucian theories may have influenced their literature.

166. Ch'ien Mu, p.18.

167. Tokiwa, p.344; Fung Yu-lan, p.552. For a definition of *ch'ing* in Chu Hsi's thought see Lik Kuen Tong, "Nature and Feeling: The Meaning of Mentality in the Philosophy of Chu Hsi," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* (March 1982), p.5: "all mental acts or 'intentional'...expressions of sensitivity. Emotions are *ch'ing* and so they are desires and conscious deliberations." Allen Wittenborn, "Some Aspects of Mind and the Problem of Knowledge in Chu Hsi's Philosophy," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* (March 1982), p.20, says they are "more empathetic than emotive."

168. Fung Yu-lan, pp.551-552. Cf. Ren Jiyu, "Chu Hsi and Religion," pp.365-366.

the world has its own characteristic principle, the entirety of the Supreme Ultimate.¹⁶⁹ He adopted the Buddhist metaphor of the moon reflected in water to describe this, saying that although the reflections are discrete, the moon-principle is really one.¹⁷⁰

Chu Hsi made the distinction between the nature and the emotions as Ch'eng I did, in terms of substance and function or quiescence and movement. The principle or substance is the five Confucian constants in man which are manifested by the mind as the four beginnings (*ssu-tuan* 四端) of love, dislike, forbearance and knowledge adumbrated by Mencius, in other words the emotions. The master or unifying agent of all these is the mind, because it lies between the concrete world of the emotions and perceptions and the "metaphysical" realm of the constants and the refined mind.¹⁷¹

Chu Hsi attacked Buddhism, especially Ch'an, for attempting to suppress thinking through introspection, which he correctly said is to seek the mind with the mind.¹⁷² He maintained that through quietude one could attain the original purity of the mirror-mind by removing desires (not emotions)¹⁷³ and by letting the principles of the

169. Fung Yu-lan, pp.536, 538, 540. Cf. Ren Jiyu, p.366.

170. Fung Yu-lan, pp.541-542; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.638-639.

171. Fung Yu-lan, pp.556-558; Tokiwa, p.344. See also Julia Ching, "Chu Hsi on Personal Cultivation" in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wing-tsit Chan, p.278. The emotions though are associated with desires or passions which are the disturbing waves in the water of the nature (p.279). Cf. Ch'ien Mu, pp.119-120.

172. Julia Ching, "Chu Hsi on Personal Cultivation," pp.282-283. Note that "to seek mind with mind" was ~~advocated~~^{opposed} by Mādhyamaka (*San-lun*) but ~~opposed~~^{advocated} by Vijñānavādin theorists, including some Ch'an monks, who said that in fact the mind is constituted of various parts or functions which may observe each other. Lik Kuen Tong, pp.7-8, says interestingly that Chu Hsi made the distinction (as did some Buddhists) between the mind not knowing itself as an organ of knowing and knowing itself as knowing. See also Allen Wiitenborn, op. cit., p.30; SYHA XII 48.22; *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol. 1, p.500; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.602-604. Note that Julia Ching's definition of "quiet sitting" (p.282) is at variance with that of the *Platform Sutra*.

173. Julia Ching, "Chu Hsi on Personal Cultivation," p.283.

mind be found by reflecting the nature or principle of objects.¹⁷⁴ The human mind that controls this human nature is *jen*, humaneness or "sensitivity," which is part of the "creative mind of Heaven and earth."¹⁷⁵ This allows an empathy for all existence, for Chu Hsi claimed that even "inanimate" things "possess some degree of mentality....Materiality and mentality are completely coextensive in Nature."¹⁷⁶ This empathy is good; it is only when emotions go to excess as with the selfish desires that they are bad. Consciousness is necessary to man for it is only through it that principle can be known. Thus emotions are an integral part of any man. Hence, "without mind, principle would have nothing in which to inhere."¹⁷⁷ The principle inherent in man's mind is known as the nature and it is manifested in emotion.¹⁷⁸ The mind that is calm is pure consciousness, but has also a stage of potential emotions which are yet good and so nature, and culminates in the actualization of the emotions

174. Allen Wittenborn, p.34.

175. Lik Kuen Tong, p.2; *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, pp.486-487. Note that some of Chu Hsi's pupils did not agree when set this proposition by him. Huang Ch'iao-chung (Tao-fu) said,

"The Master taught us to ponder whether Heaven and earth has mind or is mindless. I...consider that Heaven and earth lack mind. *Jen* 仁 is the mind of the living things of Heaven and earth. If it has mind it must have thoughts, worries and activities....If it lacks mind, then surely oxen will give birth to horses, peach trees to plum flowers....Master Ch'eng thought that Heaven and earth lacked mind yet performed transformations, and that the sage has a mind yet is inactive (*wu-wei*). This is a theory that Heaven and earth lacks mind, being just as the four seasons operate and the many things grow. How can Heaven and earth contain mind? As to the sage, he merely accords with principle. What more does he do? Therefore Ch'eng Hao said, 'The constant of Heaven and earth is to make its mind universal in the myriad things and yet be no-mind (mindless). The constant of the sage is to make his emotions accord with the myriad events and yet be without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*).' This is the best theory." SYHA XII 48.25; cf. *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.623, 643.

176. Lik Kuen Tong, p.4. Cf. Allen Wittenborn, p.31; *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, p.487 on the "mind of Heaven and earth" and "no mind."

177. Allen Wittenborn, p.17.

178. *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.

which can be restrained and harmonious (good) or excessive and violent (bad). The nature then can only be inferred at the state when we can be conscious of the emotions, that is, when they are activated.¹⁷⁹

Chu Hsi, although he studied Ch'an and was sympathetic when young, developed an antipathy towards it, trying to overcome it by adapting some of its ideas and repudiating others.¹⁸⁰ He was especially familiar with Tsung-mi's theories of Ch'an which derived in part from Shen-hui, using Tsung-mi's criticisms of Ma-tsu Ch'an, the basis of most Sung dynasty Ch'an, to attack Buddhism as a whole.¹⁸¹ He was acutely aware of the theories of the Sung monks Tsung-kao (Ta-hui, 1089-1163)¹⁸² and Ch'ang-tsung (1025-1091).¹⁸³ This familiarity introduced him to the

179. *Ibid.*, pp.21-24; *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.601-602, 631-632.

180. Charles Wei-Hsun Fu, "Chu Hsi on Buddhism," pp.377-379 et. passim. Cf. Ch'ien Mu, p.104. Much has been written on Chu Hsi's views about Buddhism, but no consensus on his understanding of Chinese Buddhism has been reached. See the differences between Charles Fu and Edward T. Ch'ien, "The Neo-Confucian Confrontation with Buddhism...", pp.311-317, especially note 3. The centre of the debate between Fu and Ch'ien revolves around principle and *t'i* and *yung*. See also Galen Eugene Sargent, "Tchou Hi contre le Bouddhisme," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957) and Yanagida Seizan, "Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen," *Zenbunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 8. Cf. *SB in Ch. Phil.*, pp.647, 649-650, 653.

181. See John Jorgensen, "'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.125 note 159; Galen Sargent, pp.36, 104, 124-125; Geoffrey Broughton, "Tsong-mi..." (1975), p.55 note 13. Chu Hsi's use of *shen* 神 in reference to consciousness and sensation as reported in Allen Wittenborn, p.23 is almost identical to the criticism made by Nan-yang Hui-chung of some "Southern Ch'an" heretics, possibly Ma-tsu. Chu Hsi also refers to Ma-tsu's pupil P'ang Yün (Charles Fu, "Chu Hsi on Buddhism," p.398). The SYHA XII mentions Chu Hsi's references to Ma-tsu's ideas (48.41, 46-47), on P'ang Yün's "carrying water and toting wood" (49.65), on Lin-chi's "positionless true man" (49.68), on sitting in meditation (49.71), on Buddhist "mind-nature" (49.75), on "non-dependence on letters" (49.85), and on the need to study everything, including Ch'an (48.53).

182. Charles Fu, p.379; Ch'ien Mu, p.104; Yanagida Seizan, "Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen," pp.27-28.

183. Conrad Schirokauer, "Chu Hsi and Hu Hung" in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, pp.487-488.

theory of the insentient Buddha-nature, for he read the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and quoted the Ch'an verse, "Green, green the verdant bamboo, there are none not True Thusness; Lush and splendid the yellow flowers, all are prajñā."¹⁸⁴ This may explain some of his ideas about Nature. In a discussion of Ch'eng I's thesis that the nature is principle and the proposition that some things have a nature while others do not, Chu Hsi referred to a line from Mencius:

"The nature of mountains and the nature of water." How can mountains and waters have knowledge and awareness? If one can see and perceive through into them, one will know that the world lacks natureless things. The exception is non-existent things; they lack a nature. If there is such a thing, it is the Thus Come's simile of a tree burnt to ashes, or human āyatanas 𠄎 being earth. Even these have the *ch'i* of ashes and earth, which means ashes and earth can have a nature. How can it be that dead wood lacks a nature?¹⁸⁵

Therefore everything has its nature, but this is nothing like the Buddha-nature or mind-nature of Ch'an.¹⁸⁶

Perhaps it was the ability to create an apparently convincing philosophy out of Confucianism with enough similarities to Ch'an to subvert Ch'an that allowed Chu Hsi's influence, as Ch'ien Mu's rather hyperbolic statement has it, to keep "China from turning into a Ch'an nation."¹⁸⁷

184. See SYHA XII 48.41, 53; Ch'ien Chung-shu, *T'an-i lu*, revised edn (Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 1984), p.547 quoting *Chu-tzu yü-lei*.

185. SYHA XII 49.73-74.

186. "The Buddhists merely within the interval of unconsciousness see certain shadows of the mind-nature and haven't yet carefully seen the true mind-nature. Therefore they do not see anything of the many principles of the Way beneath the surface." SYHA XII 49.75. Cf. *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.651 for this passage and p.648 on the Buddhist nature as empty and not like Confucian reality, p.623 on principle in everything.

187. Cited by Charles Fu (p.377) from Ch'ien Mu's *Chu Tzu hsin hsüeh-an* 3, p.490. For the extent of Buddhist influence in certain areas of Southern Sung see Brian McKnight, "Chu Hsi and His World" in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, pp.415-416, 428.

Chu Hsi's theory of literature was an integral part of his programme. He took up Chou Tun-i's catchcry of making "literature carry the Way,"¹⁸⁸ and emphasised that good writing is produced only by those in close touch with the Way, and not as Su Shih claimed, that experience and literary refinement brought one closer to the Way. Su Shih's was a subjective, experiential realization and not the result of a deliberate and conscious attempt to gain it that Chu wanted.¹⁸⁹ For Su literary excellence is a result of clear communication,¹⁹⁰ not a measure of the didactic exemplar as Chu Hsi would have it.¹⁹¹ Everything, including poetry, had to be in accord with morality and rules for Chu, so even Tu Fu's K'uei-chou period verse is not to be imitated and Su Shih's writings supposedly had no Confucian import.¹⁹² This, I suspect, was because these writers had given more attention to Buddhist themes such as the numinosity of the insentient than Chu could stomach.

Yet most remarkably, even Chu Hsi cited some verses which he claimed were very similar to his own Neo-Confucian propositions:

Splash it falls, it is not another thing,
Hither and thither, it is not a sense-contaminant.
The mountains and rivers and the great earth
Completely disclose the body of the Dharma-king.

188. Richard John Lynn, "Chu Hsi as Literary Theorist and Critic" in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, p.337. Cf. *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.476 for Chou Tun-i's theory.

189. Lynn, "Chu Hsi as Literary Theorist and Critic," pp.338-339.

190. *Ibid.*, p.340.

191. *Ibid.*, pp.343-344. Chang Chien, *Chu Hsi te wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing yen-chiu* (Taiwan Shang-wu yin-shu kuan: Taipei, 1969), p.47, poetry is about "aspiration" 志 .

192. Lynn, *op. cit.*, p.348 and Chang Chien, p.83 on Tu Fu's K'uei-chou poems as too complex and not suitable for study. He also did not like their rhymes (p.85). Su Shih harmed orthodoxy because his best and most influential writings were Buddhist, and his Confucian writings of his earlier period are really those of his father Su Hsün (pp.97-98).

These ideas were derived from the Ch'an works and schools that Chu Hsi studied, in particular the *Ta-hui yü-lu* by Tsung-kao or the schools of Wei-shan and Fa-yen.¹⁹³

In summary, the debates on emotion and the nature, and the problem of *wu-ch'ing* both in the realms of literary criticism and philosophy or religion, created an ambience in which Ch'an could infiltrate its theories of the insentient Buddha-nature and the insentient preaching the Dharma into lay poetry. As Ch'an itself provided a major stimulus to Neo-Confucianism, its theories could not help but gain an airing even in the poetry and literary theories of the Confucian literati. These varying positions on *wu-ch'ing* also partly account for the very ambiguity of the term, meaning variously "insentient," "insensible" or "emotionless" and "heartless."

193. Tokiwa, p.384. This poem by Ch'an master Hsing-chiao Hsiao-shou (Hung-shou, see *Zengaku Daijiten*, p.556d) was written when he was enlightened by Te-shao (891-972) of the Fa-yen lineage. See the first lines of Hui-hung's *Lin-chien lu* Z148.585b13-14. Note that Chu Hsi denied the eternal status of the *Dharmakāya*, *SB in Ch. Phil.*, p.650. Yet Chu liked the poems of Han-shan (Chang Chien, p.88). See Yanagida Seizan, "Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen," p.6 on this poem and other Fa-yen influences.

4) Intimations of the Buddhist Theory in Poetry, Painting and Criticisma) *Hsieh Ling-yün*

It has been alleged that in the couplet,

The Tao dissolves into rivers,

The Tao coagulates into mountains,¹

Sun Ch'o (c. 320-c.380) was expressing the idea that the "landscape ... is the Tao itself ... So the contemplation of landscape is the contemplation of Reality itself."² However, Sun Ch'o was as much a *hsüan-hsüeh* scholar as a Buddhist. He was rather a syncretist who tried to harmonize half-understood ideas of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.³ His poem probably is but an elucidation of the passage of *Chuang-tzu* on the universality of the Tao:

"Where is this which you call Tao?" "Everywhere," Chuang-tzu replied. "Where specifically?" "It is in the ant... in the earthenware tiles...in excrement...There is no single thing without Tao."⁴

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1. J.D. Frodsham, "Landscape Poetry in China and Europe," *Comparative Literature* 29 (Summer 1967), p.187 and Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433)*, Duke of K'ang-lo 2 vols (Kuala Lumpur, 1967), vol. 1, p.100.
 2. *Murmuring Stream*, p.100.
 3. Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* 2 vols (Leiden, 1959), vol. 1, pp.133-134. Sun Ch'o is generally characterised as a *hsüan-yen* (Neo-Taoist) poet. This was a poetry of discursive philosophy imitating *ch'ing-t'an*, thus lacking emotion. See Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry*, pp.5-7. This makes Sun Ch'o quite unlike T'ao Ch'ien, Juan Chi or Hsing^{ek} Ling-yün. While Frodsham, "The Origin of Chinese Nature Poetry," *Asia Major*, n.s., vol. 8, pt. 1 (1960) and Tu Wei-ming, "Profound Learning, Personal Knowledge, and Poetic Vision" in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, pp.23, 31 see *hsüan-yen* poetry as the origin of landscape poetry, they tend to gloss over the need for an emotional or empathetic rather than a rational relation to it as the characteristic of true Chinese landscape poetry.
 4. Chang Chung-yüan, *Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art, and Poetry* (New York, 1963), p.34. Cf. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp.240-241 and A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p.161.

Sun Ch'o, was in my opinion, too early to have grasped the Buddhist cosmology, much less epistemology and the doctrines of the Buddha-nature and Buddha-bodies.

One of the earliest masters of Chinese landscape poetry, Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433), the first Chinese^{poet} to use the word *ch'an* in its Buddhist sense of meditation,⁵ is claimed to have introduced something like our theory into his poetry and view of the landscape. On the basis of a remark by Richard Mather, John Frodsham asserts that Hsieh Ling-yün's "own experiences of dhyāna techniques would have convinced him that since the landscape was perhaps the most perfect manifestation of the Buddha, contemplation of it constituted a religious exercise. Looked at in this way the garden is simply a microcosm of the Tao, a cult-image of the *dharmakāya* itself, and thus the very embodiment of Truth (*dharmatā*)," being "almost a devotional exercise, bringing him into contact with the 'Body of the Dharma' itself."⁶

Paul Demiéville objected that while this may be said of the *nirmāṇakāya*, it cannot be said of the *dharmakāya* or *tathatā*, for that would be heresy. Demiéville states that the "cult of Nature is essentially Chinese and Taoist, and one should refrain from introducing Sanskrit into it."⁷

While Demiéville's statement may be true of the normative doctrine for this period, we must understand how Hsieh Ling-yün's mentors and contemporaries understood the *Dharmakāya* or *fa-shen*. Hsieh was a student of the illustrious monk Hui-yüan, traditionally made the first patriarch of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism,

5. Jao Tsung-i, "Chung-kuo ku-tai wen-hsüeh chih pi-chiao yen-chiu," *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 32 (Oct. 1980), p.22 (in Chinese), p.vi (in English). An example is cited in Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, p.75.

6. *Murmuring Stream*, vol. 1, pp.63-64. He referred to Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün," *Journal of Asian Studies* 18 no. 1 (Nov. 1955), pp.76, 78. This assertion requires rigorous examination, for it is frequently cited. For example, it is repeated in J.D. Frodsham and Ch'eng Hsi, *An Anthology of Chinese Verse: Han Wei Chin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties* (Oxford U.P., 1967), p.xxxi; Wolfgang Kubin, *Der durchsichtige Berg: Die Entwicklung der Naturanschauung in der chinesischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp.186-187. Kubin further elaborates and discriminates on this theme in the section "Die Natur als Kunst: Privatheit und Gartenkultur", especially on Hsieh Ling-yün and Chiang Yen (444-405), p.206, "die Landschaft, als Ort Buddhas zu sehen."

7. "Presentation d'un Poete," *T'oung Pao* 56 (1970), p.256.

from 411 or 412 until the latter's death in 416.⁸ Hui-yüan taught the contemplation of the *nirmāṇakāya* or "Body of Transformation" via the technique of *chien* (or *kuan*) *fo san-mei* (*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* 見佛三昧).⁹ This was achieved through an icon or visualization of the subject Buddha's body.¹⁰

However, Hui-yüan was troubled about the meaning of the *Dharmakāya*, and one of his pupils, Tsung Ping (375-443), even thought it meant the "pure existence of the spirit" (*shen*, in those days a "soul") that had no material support.¹¹ For Hui-yüan, the

8. *Murmuring Stream*, p.14; Ogawa Fujio, "Sha Rei-un to Bukkyō," *Tōyōshigaku ronshū* 7 (1965), p.35 says from 411 A.D.

9. *Murmuring Stream*, p.19. Also *nien-fo san-mei*. This is a complex topic. According to Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp.220-225, this *samādhi* could range from a mere visualization of Amitābhā, which could be dreamlike and an assurance of rebirth in a Pure Land, or a true *dhyāna* in which the *nirmāṇakāya* was seen, with the ultimate object of understanding the *dharmakāya*. Kumārajīva explained to Hui-yüan that there were three kinds of *chien-fo san-mei*; that of the divine (*deva*) eyes and hearing of the bodhisattvas who can see and question the Buddha, the seeing of the Buddha by being constantly mindful of the present Buddhas such as Amitābhā with one-pointed concentration, and seeing the Buddha by cultivation of *nien-fo* (recitation?) or viewing his icon or body (*Ta-sheng I-chang* T45.134b22-28). Dream is only used here as a metaphor to encourage those people who fear they cannot gain the divine powers or comprehension that would enable them to see the vast distances to the Buddhas. The power of dreams is an illustration that one can see far, and so likewise the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* allows one to see the Buddhas over vast distances unimpeded by mountains or forests or any other physical obstacle. Similarly, the Buddha-bodies are produced by conditions and have no self-nature, just like dreams and illusions (T45.134c10-19). Through such practices one comes to understand that "seeing the Buddha is seeing the mind," one of the foundation stones via the *Kuan wu-liang-shou ching* of the Ch'an slogan "this mind is Buddha." See Yanagida Seizan, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi (sono ichi)* (Hanazono Daigaku gakusei Bukkyō kenkyūkai, 1967), pp.33-34: "The mind produces the Buddha, the mind sees itself. The mind is the Buddha. The mind is the Thus Come; the mind is my body..." For the background to these ideas, see Paul M. Harrison, "Buddhānusmṛti in the Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6 (1978).

10. Zürcher, p.224.

11. *Ibid.*, p.143.

challenge was how to get beyond the *nirmāṇakāya* or illusory body of the Buddha and perceive the real body of the Buddha, the *Dharmakāya* or "the eternal Buddha as the embodiment or personification of transcendent Truth (*dharmatā*)."¹²

Although Hui-yüan felt that the *Dharmakāya*, as a body, had to be made of subtle matter,¹³ he certainly did not equate it with the universe. His teacher in these matters, Kumārajīva (344-413), wrote trying to explain to him that although the Buddha and the *Dharmakāya* appear to be material, they are not.¹⁴ Even though the *Dharmakāya* is omnipresent, it has to be transformed to appear to sentient beings in all realms as the *nirmāṇakāyas*. The *Dharmakāya* is not identical or coterminous with the universe, for "it is like the manifestation of the sun, and the transformation body is like the sun's rays,"¹⁵ an emanation. So it is unlikely that Hsieh took the landscape to be a manifestation of the *Dharmakāya*.

Further, Hsieh became a pupil of Tao-sheng (c. 360-434), also a student of Kumārajīva, before 422 when Hsieh wrote his *Pien-tsung lun* 辨宗論. Hsieh was also connected with the leading clerics of the metropolis who had close political involvement with the Liu Sung court. A number of these monks were followers of Kumārajīva. They tried to create a community of interest between Buddhism and the ruler, a state-protected Buddhism that would also give support to the state created by

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12. Zürcher's gloss, p.225. He notes here that the full-blooded three-body theory had not yet arrived in China, which it probably did with the first Vijñānavādin and Tathāgatagarbha sutras. Cf. Nagao Gadjin, "On the Theory of Buddha-Body (*Buddha-kāya*)," *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. 6 no. 1 (May 1973), pp.30-31.
13. Zürcher, p.229.
14. T45.122c20-24: "[The Buddha-dharmakāya is] like an image in a mirror...it looks as if it is material, but it lacks tangibility and the rest [of the sense perceptions], so it is not material. The transformed [illusory/nirmāṇakāya?] is like this and the Dharmakāya is likewise. Furthermore, the sutra(s) say of the Dharmakāya that sometimes it is the body transformed by the Buddha, or the marvellous conduct Dharma-body, the nature-produced body...[which is] the true Dharma-body."
15. T45.124a9-10. All the abilities of the Dharma-body arose probably because it is a divine ability or potential and so it can be divided. 是法身神力無所不能...皆是法身分 See T45.125c17-20.

Liu Yü,¹⁶ while still maintaining the moral and religious ascendancy of Buddhism. It was in correspondence and debate with some members of the court-connected group, linked by Hui-lin, occasionally called "the black-robed (monk) prime minister,"¹⁷ that Hsieh wrote his *Pien-tsung lun*.¹⁸ But it was Tao-sheng above all who taught Hsieh the doctrine of sudden enlightenment, and confirmed his suspicions about the question of the Buddha-nature of the *icchantikas*. In addition, some of the metropolitan monks were also in the thrall of Tao-sheng's teachings,¹⁹ so the *Pien-tsung lun* is in a sense an exposition of or commentary on Tao-sheng's theories.

With his aristocratic outlook, arrogance and disdain for the lives of others, Hsieh had a contempt for faith which seemed tainted by the emotional excesses of popular piety, and for gradualism of enlightenment which implied a dualism. The *Pien-tsung lun* was an attempt to overcome the conservative *ko-i* style Buddhism and replace it with that of Tao-sheng.²⁰ In aristocratic fashion it would soar above the real world of man-made divisions and ranks, of symbols and literary accretions, and replace it with the indivisible, monistic realm of principle. In so doing Hsieh tried to harmonize Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism to create a Chinese Buddhism different from that of the Indians and other such "barbarians," who did not have the immediate discernment of the Chinese and so had to rely on practices of gradualism.²¹

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16. Ogawa Fujio, pp.26-31; *Murmuring Stream*, p.34; Yabuchi Takayoshi, "Sha Rei-un sansui shi no haikai," pp.140-141.
17. Ogawa, p.36.
18. *Ibid.*, p.38.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p.24. Even Buddhists saw Hsieh's haughtiness. Cf. *Kao-seng chuan* as translated by Zürcher, p.252. Note that there is a Japanese translation of the *Pien-tsung lun* by Kimata Tokuo, "Sha Rei-un no Henshūron," *Tōhō ūkyō* 30 (oct. 1967). See also Yabuchi Takayoshi, p.135.
21. Ogawa, p.51. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, p.73^{says he} tried to match Confucianism with Buddhism, while promoting the latter, by stressing the importance of the mind-nature. Others of course see Hsieh and his poetry as *hsüan-hsüeh* which incorporated

Tao-sheng himself was trying to overcome the opposition or contrast of Confucianism and Buddhism, so as to see existence and non-existence as one dimension, undiscriminated and linked by the Buddha-nature.²² But Hsieh in his *Pien-tsung lun* still maintained the superiority of Buddhism or principle over Confucianism and the mundane world of the state and events.²³ Hsieh even advocated the forgetting of events and the valuing of principle,²⁴ hardly a position that accords with the vision of the world of events as the *Dharmakāya*.

Hsieh Ling-yün also studied Buddhist terminology with another of Kumārajīva's pupils, Hui-jui. Both Tao-sheng and Hui-jui were experts on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. After Tao-sheng's position on the possibility of *icchantikas* becoming Buddha or having the Buddha-nature was vindicated in 428, Hsieh, together with several monks including Hui-jui, reworked the entire Dharmakṣema translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* to produce a more readable text.²⁵ As a style-polisher for the project, Hsieh must have read and written down the sutra's assertion about the separation of the dharma-nature and the insentient from the Buddha-nature and the sentient. Moreover, as he wrote a commentary on the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*,²⁶ he would surely have noted the line,

Buddhism. See Wang Kuo-ying, *Chung-kuo shan-shui shih yen-chiu* (Taipei, 1986), pp.161-164, 4-6, esp. note 14.

22. Ogawa, p.51. Yabuchi Takayoshi, p.109, thinks ^{Hsieh's} his Lao-Chuang references most intense in his Yung-chia period, and p.136, that he had a penchant for principle which he thought made Chinese superior to Indians. But Yabuchi concludes, p.167, that his true position, philosophically and poetically, was Buddhist in his Shih-ning period.
23. Ogawa, p.53: "The principle [Buddhism] is true, events [Confucianism] are temporal 假設."
24. Ogawa, p.24. Yabuchi, p.138 on Hsieh's position on Confucian or Chinese teaching as sudden realization and "seeing principle." Note that he cannot trace this last term to any of the Neo-Taoists, but finds it in the works of Tao-sheng (pp.140-142).
25. *Murmuring Stream*, p.72; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, p.72. The text is the so-called "Southern text" or *Ta-po nieh-p' an ching* T12, no. 375.
26. *Murmuring Stream*, p.73.

If one sees me through material form, or seeks me through sound and voice, that person is practicing a perverse way, and cannot see the Tathāgata.²⁷

These passages would have been doctrinal obstacles to anyone trying to assert that the *dharmatā* was embodied in the world or that the landscape was a manifestation of the Buddha-body.

Unfortunately, Tao-sheng has left no clue to his interpretation of the *Nirvana Sutra* passage that distinguished the Buddha-nature from the dharma-nature. His commentary to that sutra, or that recorded by his disciple Pao-lin from a verbal commentary, ends before this passage.²⁸ However, he has left a commentary on another sutra that Hsieh was familiar with, the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*.²⁹ This sutra says of the contemplation of the bodies of the Buddha:

Just as one contemplates the attributes of reality (*shih-hsiang*), one should contemplate the Buddha likewise.³⁰

The Tathāgata is seen neither in material nor in the extinction of material nor in the essence (nature) of material.³¹

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27. Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi, *Hannya shinkyō: Kongohannyakyo*, p.114. Cf. also the lines, "One cannot see the Thus Come via the bodily attributes" (p.48) and "The Thus Come is the meaning that all dharmas are Thus" (p.94).
28. In the *Ta-po nieh-p'an ching chi-chieh*. His commentary ends in the "Siñhanāda Section" (*Shih-tzu k'ung p'in*), T37.554a9. The reason for stating that Pao-lin wrote out the commentary is *Kao-seng chuan* T50.367a24-25: "Later the patriarch (Pao-lin) wrote out the ideas of Tao-sheng...and wrote the *Nieh-p'an chi*." Cf. the study by Kanno Hiroshi, "Daihatsu nehankyō shūge no kisoteki kenkyū," *Tōhō bunka* 66 (Feb. 1986), which lists all occurrences of Tao-sheng's comments as well as giving a survey of the bibliographical problems.
29. *Murmuring Stream*, p.73.
30. *Wei-mo ching chu* T38.410a3. Note that Kumārajīva states that there are three kinds of contemplation of the Buddha; via form or the body, via the Dharmakāya, and via the emptiness of the nature 性空, of which the final is the best, for "it elucidates the empty nature of the Tathāgata" (T38.409c23-26).
31. Charles Luk, *The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sutra*, p.120. T38.410a27 differs.

Tao-sheng commented that the contemplative visualization of the emptiness of phenomenal events here is the attainment of enlightenment.

The human Buddha is naught but the concatenation of the five aggregates (*skandhas*) [and so non-existent].... When there is nothing to be seen, that is seeing reality. See that reality is the Buddha. Seeing reality therefore is seeing the Buddha.³²

For Tao-sheng, as for Seng-chao and Kumārajīva, the attribute of Reality (*shih-hsiang*) is only the reality of the Body of the Buddha. As for the *Dharmakāya*, Tao-sheng says it is a body of the Buddha which responds to human inducement (*kan* 感).

If it is induced in the east, then it (appears in) the east, if in the west, it appears in the west This is the Buddha's response (*ying* 應).³³

Seng-chao similarly states that

The Dharmakāya is not present anywhere and yet there is nowhere that it is not present.³⁴

As the sutra says, "The Tathāgata's body is the Dharma-body."³⁵ Kumārajīva said that there were three kinds of Dharma-body or *Dharmakāya*; one "born of dharmic transformations," the second with the mental and moral aspects of Buddhahood (*wu-*

32. T38.410b3-4. See also T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao fo-chiao shih*, p.643 for this passage which is meant to show that the Dharmakāya is not material, and pp.633-634 to show that the attributes of reality are non-attributes 無相 (or Taoistically, "attributes of non-existence"), which equals the Dharmakāya and the Buddha-nature. This point is argued in terms of logic and sets by Ch'en P'ei-jan, *Chu Tao-sheng*, where Tao-sheng claims that the "embodiment of Dharma is the Buddha," and that the body of the Dharma is actually an embodiment of Dharma or principle, which is the Buddha. Tao-sheng thus says, "The Buddha is the embodiment/substance of the enlightenment to principle" (pp.63-64, 69-71, 75). Physical bodies of the Buddha are simply manifestations from the Dharmakāya. The *Dharma* here is defined as "the attributeless reality 無相實," the body/*kāya* as "the embodiment of this meaning" (p.84). Cf. also Yabuchi, p.143.

33. T38.411b8-10. There was confusion on the question of the Dharmakāya at this time. See Zürcher, pp.227-229 and note 243. The induced body must be the *nirmāṇakāya*.

34. T38.411b8-9.

35. T38.359c19.

fen fa-shen 五分法身), and the third "the attribute of the reality of dharmas 諸法實相 in combination to make a Buddha. Therefore the attribute of reality is called the Dharma-body."³⁶ Therefore, despite a few suggestive ambiguities, nothing that Hsieh Ling-yün has left us, either in poetry or prose, nor any of the doctrinal elucidations of his Buddhist mentors, can justify the claim that Hsieh viewed the landscape as the *Dharmakāya*, either as a manifestation of the Buddha or as an image of the *Dharmakāya*.³⁷

36. T38.359c19-22. The first probably applies to the bodhisattva's *Dharmakāya*, another to the Buddha's *Dharmakāya* in which he preaches to the bodhisattvas, and the other to the *Dharmakāya* as principle. See Zürcher, p.227. Kumārajīva only understood the related tathāgatagarbha to be in the sentient, but in the *Śrīmālādevī siḥhanāda Sūtra* translated soon after Tao-sheng's death, the tathāgatagarbha is equated with the *Dharmakāya* as a realized actuality, not just a potential. Cf. Alex and Hideko Wayman, *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā*, pp.45-47.

37. For example, Tao-sheng claims that with the attribute of reality, "the ultimate image is formless, ultimate voice soundless....How can there be forms and words?" (cited T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei*..., p.634). Moreover, in his eulogy it says, "Enlightened he said, 'Images are what are borrowed 假 by principle; to grasp the image is to be deluded to principle'" (cited by Yin-shun, *Fo-chiao shih-ti k'ao lun*, p.384, and related to his theory of "getting the intent and forgetting the image."). It also says that "samsara is the sense-realm of the great dream; from samsara to the adamant mind, all is dream" (Yin-shun, p.387 and T'ang, p.662). The adamant or vajra-mind here is the mind's ultimate development, it is only after this stage that enlightenment comes and "there is no more to see."

Hsieh's contemporary, Tsung Ping (375-443) in some translations seem^s to provide comfort for those who would claim that at this time poets saw the landscape as the Dharma-body. J. Frodsham translates Tsung Ping's *Preface to a Painting of a Landscape* with such a Buddhist nuance:

"Landscapes exist in the material world and yet soar into the realms of the spirit...The Saint interprets the Way as Law [Dharma?] through his spiritual insight, and so the wise man comes to an understanding of it. Landscape pays homage to the Way through Form and so the virtuous man comes to delight in it." ("The Origins of Chinese Nature Poetry," *Asia Major* 8 (1960-1961), pp.101-103).

But other translations differ markedly, making the theory more Confucian. Oswald Sirén translates:

However, Hsieh Ling-yün did take varying positions on the topic of the nature-emotion relationship and poetry throughout his life. Fukunaga Mitsuji divides Hsieh's mature life and thought into three main periods.³⁸ His Buddhist thought in the mould of Tao-sheng belongs to his period of residence in Yung-chia (422-423), when he wrote the *Pien-tsung lun*. During this period he adopted the stance that the sage embodies non-existence (*t'i-wu*),³⁹ and seems to have inclined towards Ho Yen's theories.⁴⁰ He seems to have given knowledge of principle priority over emotion,

"As to landscapes, they have a material side but also a spiritual influence....This has been called to find pleasure (in mountains and water)[*Lun-yü* vi.21]. The wise men follow Tao in their souls, and the virtuous men captivate Tao by the forms of the landscapes." (*The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, New York, 1963, p.14. Cf. Lin Yutang, *The Chinese Theory of Art*, London, 1969, p.45 who refers to *Mencius*).

Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p.14 note 26 says this deals with the viewing of paintings and not the "artists' feelings towards things in nature that are lodged in the work affecting the viewer." Thus it is hard to sustain the view that one sees the landscape as the Dharmakāya; it may be the Pure Land as with Hsieh Ling-yün (see above, "Introduction" note 7), but Tao-sheng wrote a *Buddha* or "*Dharma-body has no Pure Land* to show that the Dharma-body lacks a Pure Land" (T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han Wei...*, p.644).

38. Fukunaga Mitsuji, "Sha Rei-un no shisō," *Tōhō Shūkyō* (July 1958), p.44.
39. *Pien-tsung lun* T52.225a1, translation Fung Yu-lan, p.275. T'ang, *Han Wei...*, p.664 gives a useful commentary, relating this to the ideas of Wang Pi. By using this term here, Hsieh is trying to merge Confucianism, especially that of Wang Pi, with the fresh sudden enlightenment theories of Tao-sheng. Tao-sheng may not have approved of *t'i-wu*, for this would imply a dualism of existence and non-existence which Buddhism wanted to transcend, but it may possibly be read as to "embody emptiness" or "the Way." Cf. Kimata, pp.2, 5, 9 on attaining *wu*. Yabuchi, p.139, thinks that in his Shih-ning period, Hsieh advocated "embodying principle," something that is identical to Tao-sheng's position.
40. Cf. *Murmuring Stream*, p.37 note 66 on Confucius teaching sudden enlightenment and Ho Yen's theory.

even when that knowledge was but temporary,⁴¹ but we have no certain indication that he thought the sage lacked emotion, or side with Ho Yen against Wang Pi, both of whom he cites in the *Pien-tsung lun*.⁴²

In the next period of Hsieh's life, when he retired to his estate at Shih-ning (423-431), he began to express the theory of "following and according with one's nature and emotion 順從性情," along with a heightened interest in the Pure Land and Lao-Chuang thought. Allied with this was a positive evaluation of Nature (possibly as that to which one will revert at death), for he saw principle (*li*) or Tao behind all phenomena and one's own mind.⁴³ This would bring him closer to Wang Pi's standpoint. However, while he saw differences between Buddhism and Lao-Chuang, he did admit that Buddhist *li* was the same as that of Neo-Taoism, non-existence (*wu*).⁴⁴

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41. T52.225c5-9; Fung Yu-lan, p.279; ^{Kimata}~~Mokuzen~~, p.11. Note that Tao-sheng stated, "If emotions do not accord with principle, that is called pollution. If one can see principle, the polluting emotions must have disappeared" (cited Yabuchi, p.142).
42. T52.227c23-24; ^{Kimata}~~Mokuzen~~, p.14.
43. Fukunaga, "Sha Rei-un....," pp.32-35. Perhaps this was because he was driven by emotion and felt some intellectual weaknesses (Kimata, p.19). Yabuchi, pp.121-123, thinks he was searching for a universal truth that transcended the phenomenal world, which could come from Lao-Chuang (pp.128-130), although this principle was identified with Buddha by Seng-chao and Tao-sheng (p.131), and can be found in Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism (pp.132-133). See also Yabuchi, p.146, on Hsieh and the Pure Land. For Hsieh, emotion had a role to play in the appreciation of Nature, the principle of which had to be seen suddenly in one awakening. Thus Hsieh wrote at the end of one of his landscape poems: "Emotion, by the use of the appreciation [of Nature] is beautified;/Events obscured, ultimately who can distinguish them?/Contemplating this [landscape], I leave behind things of anxiety;/At once enlightened, I understand what is to be banished." ^{所遣} (Yabuchi, pp.150-153. Cf. the translation by Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry*, p.74). Yabuchi says that what is to be banished according to Kuo Hsiang is "right and wrong, and banishment itself...so there is no banishment...right and wrong depart of themselves," an idea also found in Tao-sheng and Seng-chao, where it is the banishment of "deluding emotions." (pp.150-153).
44. Fukunaga, pp.36-38, 42-43.

In the final period of his life, from 431 until his execution in 433 at Kuang-chou, Hsieh came to recognize more clearly the distinction between Lao-Chuang and Buddhism. This probably arose out of his increased interest in transmigration and the Pure Land salvation that he had learnt earlier in life from his first Buddhist teacher, Hui-yüan. (This doctrine can be seen in Hui-yüan's *Ming pao-ying lun* 明報應論.) Hsieh finally came to the conclusion that to grasp principle (*li*) one must deny the emotions, affirm insight,⁴⁵ and in this he reaffirmed his earlier predilection for Ho Yen's opinion. Thus I think that he may have been interested in the sage's lack of emotion (*wu-ch'ing*), but this is still far from endorsing the Buddhahood of the insentient, which had in all likelihood not yet been conceived.

Hsieh Ling-yün was a proponent though of Wang Pi's theory of language, which he may have learnt through Tao-sheng,⁴⁶ and when combined with his approval of nature-emotion (*hsing-ch'ing*) in his Shih-ning period, means not only that Hsieh's position wavered from Ho Yen to Wang Pi and back to Ho Yen again, but also that he was aware of some of those issues which contributed to the development of the Ch'an-linked theory of poetic creation.

b) *Chu Fo-nien's P'u-sa ying-lo ching and the first appearances of Buddhist wu-ch'ing in pre-T'ang poetry*

While the term *wu-ch'ing* was used in non-Buddhist philosophy, it does not appear to have been used in poetry in any deliberate philosophical sense until Buddhism adopted the term as an antithesis to *yu-ch'ing*, with the significance of

45. Ibid., pp.43-44. For example, Hsieh wrote of Mt. Shih-men, "If principle comes, emotion will not exist 理來情無存" Li Shan (?-689) in his commentary states, "If marvellous principle comes, things and myself will both be lost. Therefore there is no place for the emotions to exist." This condition could arise from his contemplation (*kuan*), as with the *Kuan fo san-mei*, enabling him to overcome his loneliness and emotion through the landscape (Yabuchi, p.127). For Hsieh's viewing (*kuan*) the landscape as a consolation or a method of enlarging oneself, see Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry*, p.63. It was a shift from visual experience to emotion, and finally a "revelation" (pp.73-74), a "momentary triumph of landscape over his feelings" that Sun Chang discerns in such poems (p.76). Yabuchi, p.139, connects this to Hsieh's Shih-ning period however. In his later life, Hsieh probably understood he had failed in his quest for enlightenment, and settled for second best, rebirth in a Pure Land (cf. Yabuchi, pp.161, 163).

46. Fukunaga, pp.39-41.

"insentient" versus "sentient." Although earlier poets may have occasionally used *wu-ch'ing* to indicate "heartless" people, and rarely perhaps even inanimate things, it had no implications beyond that of describing a person's attitude or a simple pathetic fallacy lacking any philosophical grounds.

Surveying poetry from the end of the Han until the beginning of the T'ang, I have found virtually no instances of the use of *wu-ch'ing* with the sole exception of one of four old *chüeh-chü* which may date from the end of the Han:

The dodder drifts in the strong wind
 But its root and stem are not severed.
 If even the insentient cling together-
 How could the sentient ever be separated?⁴⁷

As this is a folk love song,⁴⁸ the reference is not to philosophy, so the last couplet should read

If even something heartless (*wu-ch'ing*) still would not leave,
 How can (you my) lover (*yu-ch'ing*) depart?⁴⁹

47. Translation by Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang" in *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, p.303. Text in Ting Fu-pao, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih*, p.60.

48. Shuen-fu Lin, p.303.

49. See Lin's comments, p.305, where the human dimension of the insentient is treated. *Wu-ch'ing* appears in the *Ta-hsüeh*, (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p.364) 無情者不得盡其辭, "those who are devoid of principle to carry out their speeches," but here it has no philosophical implications. Occasionally we find in later times intimations of Wang Pi's or Ho Yen's position on the sage and *wu-ch'ing*. For example, in a commentary to the *Lun-yü* xi.13, where Confucius is asked if his grief or lamenting is excessive on the death of Yen Yüan, Confucius said, "If I am not to lament excessively for this man, for whom shall I do so?" (cf. Legge, vol. 1, p.240). Huang K'an of the Liang dynasty commented: "A man's lament is yet a lament, a man's excess is yet an excess. So one who is without emotion is one who changes with the person 蓋無情者與物他也." (cited in Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 3, p.1106). Huang may have also known of the Buddhist usage, for according to the *Liang Shu* he daily chanted the *Hsiao-ching* twenty times in

An echoing poem with similar ambiguous nuances, was that by Emperor Chien-wen (503-551) of the Liang dynasty (r. 549-551). This emperor, Hsiao Kang, was a skilful poet who used his princely court as a literary salon.⁵⁰ Although it is clear that Hsiao Kang did not fully comprehend Buddhist epistemology and psychology, not properly differentiating the various functions of perception,⁵¹ he undoubtedly had a broad but superficial familiarity with Buddhist texts and terminology. He had compiled, after all, the voluminous Buddhist *Fa-pao lien-pi*.⁵²

The term *wu-ch'ing* appears in one of four poems Hsiao Kang wrote in harmony with the courtier Hsiao Tzu-hsien⁵³ on their parting in spring.

Parting, I contemplate the grapes hanging down with fruit,
And the nutmegs of Chiang-nan which grow connected branches.
Without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*) or intent, still they are like this,
Having a mind and resentment, we separate in vain.⁵⁴

The "connected branches" are a trope for brothers or relatives,⁵⁵ and they are produced from the nutmeg or Chinese cardamom flowers which Southerners used as a metaphor for pregnancy due their shape when they bloomed slightly in early

imitation of the *Kuan-shih-yin ching* ("Sutra of Avalokiteśvara"). See Yao Ssu-lien, *Liang Shu* (Peking, 1973), 48.680.

50. John Marney, *Liang Chien-wen Ti* (Boston, 1976), p.65.

51. Ibid., p.124.

52. Ibid., p.126.

53. For this man's biography, friendship with Hsiao Kang, and literary ability, see Li Yen-shou, *Nan Shih* (Peking, 1975) 42.1073.

54. Ting Fu-pao, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih*, vol. 2, p.939. I have not included the *fu* genre in this survey. Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 4, p.1407, quotes a *fu* by Chiang Yen (443-504) on a similar theme: "I see the red grasses [knotgrass] overlapping flowers;/ And gaze at the jade green trees of the four quarters;/ The grass is of itself so and yet has thousands of flowers;/ The trees lack emotion and yet are of hundreds of colours." Here † the hundreds probably means to share, be a mass of colour.

55. Morohashi 38902.1115.

spring.⁵⁶ What Hsiao Kang is resentful of is the fact that these insentient or emotionless plants which have no intent ironically can remain together when emotional humans have to part.

A contemporary, Liu Hsiao-ch'ò (482-c. 540), a favourite of Emperor Wu of Liang, and one of the most brilliant poets of the period,⁵⁷ also wrote a poem that may reflect the Buddhist idea of the insentient. He was celebrating (*yung* 詠) the seed of the lotus which was thought to be as hard as stone, and so was called the *shih-lien tzu*.

"Celebration of the Stone Lotus"

Lotus the name, it bears [lasts?] millions [of years/seeds?]

Stone the surname, it's worth thousands in gold.

I do not understand how this insentient thing (*wu-ch'ing-wu*)

Can get to resemble the human mind.⁵⁸

This lotus seed has Buddhist implications. The seeds (*i* 慧), being so hard and resilient for a long time, were supposed by Buddhists to contain the intent (*i* 意) of birth, and its rootstock shooting and germinating again and again, it was symbolic of rebirth. However, the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* states that it was used by Buddhists as a metaphor for the continual existence of marvellous principle.⁵⁹ Consequently, there would seem to be a consciousness of the Buddhist conception of insentience operating in this poem, with its use both of the pathetic fallacy and description as an insentient object that continually has an intent to be reborn.

In poems of the Ch'en dynasty (557-589), we find *wu-ch'ing* used in poems of complaint by the lonely women of the harem who are depicted as casting their feelings onto Nature and inanimate objects. One woman is saddened by her lover's absence on a distant mission to remote borderlands.

56. Morohashi 30989.1.

57. See *Nan Shih* 39.1010-1012.

58. Ting Fu-pao, op. cit., vol. 2, p.1209.

59. Morohashi 24024.854.

The screen has an intent to display the bright moon,
 The lamp-flame heartlessly (*wu-ch'ing*) illuminates lonely eyes.
 The Liao-hsi waters are frozen, autumn's response is meager.⁶⁰

While the above examples may be simply a non-philosophic usage, the unusual groupings of occurrences of the words *wu-ch'ing* in this period suggest Buddhist influence. It is not possible yet to say definitely when the peculiarly Buddhist use of the term *wu-ch'ing* began. It was later used as a translation for "insentient" by Hsüan-tsang after he returned from India in 645 A.D. *Wu-ch'ing* or *fei yu-ch'ing* (the latter more common) was used as an antonym to *yu-ch'ing* in his new translation terminology. *Yu-ch'ing* replaced *chung-sheng* 衆生 which had been used heretofore to translate *sattva*.

However, there is one conspicuous use of the term *wu-ch'ing* as an antonym to *yu-ch'ing* in an early translated sutra, the *P'u-sa ying-lo ching*. This was translated by Chu Fo-nien in 376.⁶¹ The sutra, unfortunately, has no Indian or Tibetan counterparts, so we cannot ascertain what the original of *wu-ch'ing* was. Chu Fo-nien was fluent in both Chinese and Central Asian languages, for his family came from the

60. Ting Fu-pao, op. cit., vol. 2, p.1427. Note that another eminent poet of the period, Chiang Tsung (519-594) wrote a *fu* in 550 about a visit to Lung-hua Monastery in Kuei-chi which had been constructed by an ancestor and was then in ruins, used by an ascetic monk, which saddened him. He describes it in his "*Fu on the Cultivation of the Mind*" as "An ancient monastery for the calm sitting in Ch'an [meditation]....The rain sings in the forest and the sudden gusts of wind/ The birds are rather familiar and know to come./ The clouds are without emotions and of themselves join together" (*Ch'en Shu* 27.344-345. Cf. Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 1, p.112). Thus this *fu* could be a Buddhistic successor to the *fu* of T'ao Ch'ien on stilling the emotions ("Hsien-ch'ing fu").

61. Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* (Kyoto, 1946), pp. 472, 476-479, shows that this is not to be confused with the *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching* which significantly was a forgery created from a pastiche of sutras in an evident attempt to replace the genuine sutra. The forgery seems to contain responses to and elaborations on the ideas of Tao-sheng and Hsieh Ling-yün, especially sudden awakening. Notably, the forgery was first used by Chih-i, one of the creators of the Buddhahood of the insentient (cf. Ono Hodo in Ono Gemmyo, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, vol. 9, p.414).

north-west, in Liang-chou. Fo-nien studied both Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts,⁶² so he was probably familiar with the debate between Ho Yen and Wang Pi of a century earlier on the problem of *wu-ch'ing* and the sage.

The *P'u-sa ying-lo ching* mentions the "broad, long tongue attribute" of the Buddha,⁶³ an image that later appears in poetry describing the insentient preaching the Dharma. The sutra also states that when the Tathāgata preaches the Dharma, he causes

a sweet dew Dharma-rain to fall, and the sentient (*yu-ch'ing*) and insentient (*wu-ch'ing*),
conscious and unconscious are totally caused everywhere to receive the beneficial
moisture.⁶⁴

The Tathāgata can do this because of the attributes of the Dharma-body (*Dharmakāya*).

We have already become Buddhas,
Complete with the empty Dharma-body.
.....
The ability to divorce from desire within desire,
Is all due to the inexhaustible treasury [matrix].
Despite dwelling where there is no place to dwell,
And also lacking form and material characteristics,
Discriminating the vijñānas and attachments,
The Buddha's vijñāna has no form and attributes.
The Thus Come lacks a material attribute,
But manifests attributes for sentient beings.
Without attachment or taint,
The Thus Come body is also empty
And permeates throughout the worlds of all directions,
Just as this present equal, correct Awareness
Cannot be conceived by the fundamental consciousness,

62. *Kao-seng chuan* T50.329a28-b15.

63. T16.15c6.

64. T16.29c16-17. Note that a similar image occurs in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika Sūtra* 5, "Medicinal Herbs" (see Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, pp.101-109), but none of the translators use these terms.

But preaches the inexhaustible meaning.⁶⁵

The clearest and most extensive use of the *wu-ch'ing yu-ch'ing* contrast is to be found in a discussion of the seven treasures of the Cakravartin King (in this case the Buddha who turns the wheel of Dharma): the golden wheel, the white elephant, the "purple" horse, the divine pearl, the jade girl, the layman or minister in charge of the stores (pitaka) and the minister or general in charge of the soldiers.⁶⁶ When asked by a bodhisattva whether these treasures are formless or not (i.e. have a body), the Buddha says that they both have body and emotion (*yu-ch'ing*), and lack body and lack emotion (*wu-ch'ing*). Asked which of the treasures had a body and sentience, the Buddha replied, "the jade girl treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the keeper of the pitaka and the controller of the soldiers." Those that lack a body and sentience are the "wheel treasure and the pearl treasure."⁶⁷ Thus here there is a clear division between the sentient and the insentient. This passage is followed by a discussion as to the roles of the treasure classes in the preaching.

The Pure Bodhisattva said, "The Cakravartin holy king does not comprehend (*t'ung*) and does not influence (*kan*), so how can he cause the insentient to have the verbal teaching?"

The Buddha said, "The Cakravartin holy king comprehends worldly customs, so he can cause worldly things to respond as he thinks. But he cannot make sentient things become insentient."⁶⁸

Then they discuss the processes of going from sentience to insentience and vice-versa. The Buddha first gives the example of the Cakravartin king who

seeing those sentient beings with bodies and emotions, loves and delights in them, and cannot abandon them. He wishes to make them survive forever without any change. He thinks of he himself receiving the status of the Cakravartin king, and only sees good fortune in this and does not see its extinction [when he become a sentient being]. This is a formless (bodiless) thing [the Cakravartin?] wishing to make itself sentient.⁶⁹

65. T16.31b2, 6-11.

66. Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, pp.587c, 991a.

67. T16.50a19ff.

68. T16.50b5ff.

69. T16.50b11-14.

Several examples of the contrary process are given, one being of a person who perfects their study of Buddhism, so that person "has no emotion in sentience. 無情於有情"⁷⁰ The sutra continues with many permeations of such examples with sentience in insentience and vice-versa, including states of dhyāna.⁷¹ The Buddha concludes that:

If good men and women recite, receive and hold to the meaning of the *yu-ch'ing* in *wu-ch'ing*, and the *wu-ch'ing* in *yu-ch'ing*, then they can be complete in all the dharmas. Why? Because all the Buddhas, World-Honoured, and all the saints attained Buddhahood through this meaning.⁷²

With the promise of such benefits coming with the understanding of the permeations of "sentience" and "insentience" within each other of the condition of a lack of emotion in a sentient being and the emotion or feeling for that which is insentient, this sutra may have attracted literati who then reflected these ideas in their poetry.

c) *Hsüan-tsang's translations and T'ang poetry till Meng Hao-jan*

However, it was not until Hsüan-tsang introduced the use of the *yu-ch'ing/wu-ch'ing* dichotomy as set terms throughout his translations that these became popular in poetry. After his arrival in Ch'ang-an in 645, Hsüan-tsang translated a vast volume of texts in which he adopted *yu-ch'ing* for *sattva* (previously *chung-sheng*) and *wu-ching* or more frequently *fei yu-ch'ing* for *a-sattvā* (also *fei yu-ch'ing shu* for *a-sattvākhyā* or *a-sattvāsamkhyā*). This last term is used in Hsüan-tsang's 656 translation of the *Mahāvibhāṣā śāstra* for the minions of hell who only appear to be sentient but are in fact mere automatons.⁷³

These terms were also associated with the doctrine of joint or common karma (*kung-yeh* 共業), which in the *Shun-cheng-li lun* (*Abhidharma-nyānānusāra śāstra*), translated by Hsüan-tsang in 653-654, is illustrated by the case of a ruler who dies but whose country survives. If the insentient country depended for its existence on one man, the karma of all other sentient beings in the country would be as naught. Moreover, each house, garden, forest and hill for example could be induced or

70. T16.50b27.

71. T16.50c-51a.

72. T16.53b9-11.

73. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, pp.4283-4284.

produced only by an individual sentient being's karma.⁷⁴ Thus, as Hsüan-tsang's heir Kuei-chi (632-682) writes in his commentary to the famous *Ch'eng wei-shih lun*, the environment is not the product of a single being's karma or representation.⁷⁵

Because Hsüan-tsang had the respect of the emperor and many of the leading courtiers, his ideas had a temporary but wide currency among the metropolitan literati. This is evident from the many important bureaucrats who assisted him in his translation activities. This is, I suspect, reflected in the upsurge in the use of terms such as *yu-ch'ing* in the early T'ang poets. For example, one of the leading writers on the techniques of poetry, Shang-kuan I (?-664),⁷⁶ wrote in a poem:

The peach branches a green fan, a slight wind arises,
The unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*) brushes at the sleeves, desiring to detain the guest.⁷⁷

A contemporary, Lu Chao-lin (c. 641-680) uses *wu-ch'ing* in a poem on learning the *sao* style of poetry on a autumn night⁷⁸ and in a poem on a Taoist immortal in the mountains.

I face the unfeeling bright sun,
And have resentment towards august Heaven.⁷⁹

Wang P'o (648-675), in a celebration of the wind ("yung feng") anthropomorphizes it.

74. Ibid., p.4311b.

75. Ibid., p.643b. Cf. the various theories in the translation into English via the French of Louis de La Vallée Poussin (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi: La Siddhi de Hiuan-tsang*, Paris, 1928) by Wei Tat, *Ch'eng Wei-shih lun: The Doctrine of Mere Consciousness by Hsüan Tsang* (Hong Kong, 1973), pp.145-147.

76. For Shang-kuan I's theories on poetical technique, see Wang Meng-ou, *Ch'u T'ang shih-hsüeh chu-shu k'ao* (Taipei, 1977), pp.23-62.

77. *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (hereafter CTS) 40.507, "Ho T'ai-wai hsi Kao-yang kung."

78. CTS 41.520.

79. Ibid., "Huai hsien yin."

It comes and goes without any traces,
It moves and stops as if it were sentient.⁸⁰

Another minor poet of this period, Kuo Chen (Kuo Yüan-chen, 656-713) wrote in a similar vein about the lotus flower, comparing this Buddhist symbol to the wives of Shun who mourned him on the banks of the Hsiang River.

Face glossy (made up), perfumed with fragrance, as if sentient,
What thing in the world can compare for delicate grace?
The Hsiang River queens after the rain come to look at the pond,
And play with the crystal in the emerald-jade bowl.⁸¹

Other authors of a slightly later period write more of the preaching of the Dharma by animals. Sung Chih-wen (c. 650-712), a lay pupil of the Northern Ch'an patriarch Shen-hsiu, "even professes to have heard the Dharma expounded by birds at a temple where he passed a night. Here surely there is no question that the natural world has been imbued with religious spirit!"⁸²

Similar lines can be found in some of the poems of Meng Hao-jan (689-740), a friend of Wang Wei, Li Po and Wang Ch'ang-lin, who will all figure in this story. Meng Hao-jan was far more detailed and specific in his descriptions of Nature than Wang Wei, who tended to be more abstract.⁸³ Like Wang Wei, Meng was interested in meditation,⁸⁴ and was associated with at least eleven monks.⁸⁵ Thus he was more likely in some ways than Wang Wei, who was associated with the anti-insentient Buddhahood monk Shen-hui, to have had some intimations of the insentient's numinosity.

80. CTS 55.670.

81. CTS 66.759. The last line refers to the Yangtze which was called "the crystal bowl."

82. Paul W. Kroll, *Meng Hao-jan* (Boston, 1981), p.119.

83. *Ibid.*, p.100.

84. *Ibid.*, p.113.

85. Counted from Fu Tung-hua, *Meng Hao-jan shih* (Taipei, 1969), which is but a selection, and from Kroll.

On a visit to a mountain monastery, Meng described the animals listening to the Dharma (a common motif in Buddhism, for they are sentient beings who can benefit from it) and the birds chanting the sutras.

Playful fishes assemble to hear the Dharma,
As leisurely birds come to intone the scriptures.
Discard appearances - be awakened to profoundest truths;
Forget words - the absolute shall come to you whole.⁸⁶

This approaches the idea of the insentient preaching the Dharma, but as the birds are sentient, Meng's poem does not necessarily display an awareness of the doctrine. In fact, in one poem, Meng denies any nature inherent in the insentient:

Grass and trees are fundamentally without a nature (*wu-hsing*),
They flourish and wither in their own time.⁸⁷

Thus I cannot agree fully with Kroll's characterization of some of Meng's poems in which "this natural world, to the poet, seems no less sublime than - and may indeed be the material representation of - the *dhyāna* realm of 'True Suchness'."⁸⁸

More incisive is Kroll's finding that the pre-T'ang poems on Buddhist temples and cloisters "rarely contain specific Buddhist references or images," being simply descriptions of the mountains, with Nature dominant over Buddhism. It is only by the late seventh century, Kroll asserts, that "we begin to find more explicit Buddhist references and more use of Buddhist terminology in poems on temple outings."⁸⁹ This I think is partly a result of the court sponsorship and wide circle of literati admirers that Hsüan-tsang had gained. He thus gained a greater hearing among the intellectuals for the doctrines of Buddhism. Simultaneously, Ch'an came to the notice of the metropolitan elites. Meng Hao-jan himself was conversant with Ch'an, for he uses the term *wu-sheng* which is often associated with the Tung-shan fa-men

86. Kroll, p.114.

87. Fu Tung-hua, p.46.

88. Kroll, p.117.

89. Ibid., p.118, cf. p.120.

style of Ch'an.⁹⁰ Meng also mentions suddenness in association with *wu-sheng*,⁹¹ and he says of his teacher, Meditation teacher Ming,

The evening sun shines clearly and brightly;
My master is positioned beneath it,
Sitting in meditation to witness non-arisal (*wu-sheng*).⁹²

Thus, although this rise in the frequency of use of *wu-ch'ing* and *yu-ch'ing* in poetry may just be fortuitous, there seems to have been an awareness of the linkage between the Buddhist terminology and the poetic usage. But the full expression of the insentient Buddhahood of Nature and its ancillary thesis of insentient preaching had to await its popularization through the debates between Shen-hui and his opponents in the 730s and 740s.

90. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, p.450, although the term *wu-sheng* is not restricted to Ch'an, equalling *anutpanna* or Nirvana. It was used by Fa-tsang of Hua-yen for example. See Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegonshisōshi no kenkyū*, pp.59-61, 135 and p.127 note 29.

91. Fu Tung-hua, p.14.

92. *Ibid.*, p.10.

5) Wang Ch'ang-ling and the Introduction of Ch'an into Literary Theory

The first inklings of the analogy of Ch'an for poetry date back to Wang Ch'ang-ling (698-756), one of the most respected authors of his day.¹ He was considered by Yin Fan writing in 753 to be the equal of Wang Wei, Ch'u Kuang-hsi, Ts'ao Chih and Hsieh Ling-yün as a poet.² Moreover, he was friends with most of the leading poets of his day, Meng Hao-jan, Wang Wei, Ts'en Shen, Li Po and Chang Chiu-ling.³

Wang Ch'ang-ling and another friend, Chi-mu Ch'ien, served the Vinaya master Fa-shen (666-748). Fa-shen was learned in Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai, and attempted to meld Confucianism and Buddhism, thus attracting many of the literati and officials from the capital to be his pupils.⁴ If there was a Buddhist influence on Wang, it was probably through this monk. However, Wang Ch'ang-ling knew Wang Wei, a patron of Shen-hui, the monk who made the first propaganda positing a division between the Southern and Northern lineages of Ch'an. Wang Ch'ang-ling was therefore undoubtedly familiar also with the doctrines promoted by this outspoken and controversial monk.⁵

Wang Ch'ang-ling's book on poetic creation and literary lineages was evidently popular, for Kūkai (774-835) says it was the most avidly read of the texts on poetry in the lower and mid-Yangtze region.⁶ Kūkai brought a copy

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1. For a biography, see the first chapter of Joseph J. Lee, *Wang Ch'ang-ling* (Boston, 1982). See also Wang Ching-fen, "Wang Ch'ang-ling sheng-p'ing hsing-i chi i-shih chi-nien k'ao," *Ssu yü yen*, vol. 25 no. 1 (May 1987), pp.63-64. For contemporary evaluation of his poetry, see Lee, p.117.
 2. Joseph Lee, p.49.
 3. Wang Ching-fen, pp.68-72.
 4. Kanai Noriyuki, "ō Shōrei to Bukkyō" in *Yamazaki Sensei taikan kinen: Tōyōshigaku ronshū* (Tokyo, 1967), pp.149-151. For biographies of Fa-shen see *Sung Kao-seng chuan* T50.796b14-797a7, and the stele by Li Hua for Huai-jen, *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 320.
 5. Wang Ch'ang-ling, like Wang Wei, lived in Lan-t'ien. See Joseph Lee, pp.15, 25.
 6. Kōzen Hiroshi, "ō Shō-rei no sōsakuron" in *Chūgoku shijinron: Okamura Shigeru kyōju taikan kinen ronshū* (Tokyo, 1986), p.288.

to Japan and quoted it at length in his *Bunkyō Hifuron*, thus preserving it in a more complete form than in China where it was fragmented from Sung times.⁷

In the introduction to his discussion, Wang Ch'ang-ling characterizes the history of Chinese literature as a decline from the natural simplicity and lack of artifice of the ancient sages, via the *Book of Poetry* to the works of Confucius. From then he saw the history of literature, especially poetry, in terms of lineages (*tsung*).⁸ The idea of lineage was a key symbol of legitimacy in Chinese thought. At the time Wang Ch'ang-ling was writing, family genealogies had become one of the most important topics in debates over social status, while Shen-hui adapted this to his needs as a champion of "Southern Ch'an" by merging imperial concepts of the *tsung* with those of Buddhism.⁹ It is therefore significant that Wang claimed that after Confucius the lineage passed through Mencius and Hsün-tzu, but split with Ssu-ma Ch'ien (c. 145-c. 90 B.C.), who was made the Northern Patriarch, and Chia I (200-168 B.C.), who was made the Southern Patriarch:

Confucius transmitted it to (Tzu)-yu and (Tzu)-hsia, who transmitted it to Hsün Ch'ing (Hsün-tzu) and Meng K'o (Mencius)...[who indirectly] transmitted it to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who transmitted it to¹⁰ Chia I. Chia I was demoted to live in

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7. Kōzen, op. cit., pp.288-292, where he also discusses text problems and the authenticity of the *Bunkyō Hifuron* passages.
8. Ibid., p.292. For the various meanings of *tsung*, as "theme" and "lineage," see John Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.109.
9. "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," pp.90-91, 96, 103-104, 109-110.
10. Here I agree with Lo Lien-tien (comp.), *Sui T'ang Wu-tai wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing tzu-liao hui-pien* (Taipei, 1978), p.57, that  is an interpolation, and should not read "who transmitted it to..." for that would mean Ssu-ma Ch'ien (c.145-c.90 B.C.) transmitted the lineage to Chia I (200-168 B.C.) who was dead before Ssu-ma Ch'ien was born. Therefore Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody in Early Mediaeval China: A Study and Translation of Kūkai's *Bunkyō Hifuron*," Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1978, pp.365-366, substitutes Ch'ü Yüan (343?-278 B.C.) for Ssu-ma Ch'ien, but this is an anachronism itself, Hsün-tzu being thought to have been born ca.300 B.C. In addition, the text clearly says that the division arose from the period of the two men mentioned

Ch'ang-sha, and so did not attain his aspiration 志, and as the environment was different he was angered at his superiors for his expulsion¹¹, and he made fewer metaphors and evocations of things than the *Feng* and the *Ya* [*Book of Poetry*]. So there are the words of the *sao* people¹² which all have the barbs of resentment and are lost to their original theme [*pen-tsung* 本宗 i.e. their lineage or "ancestry"]. Thus we know that Ssu-ma Ch'ien formed the Northern lineage, and Master Chia the Southern lineage. It was from this that (the lineage) divided.¹³

We may cite as background and precedent for Wang Ch'ang-ling's schematic "history" the model of the Northern and Southern Ch'an lineage schism between Shen-hsiu and Hui-neng that was conjured up by Shen-hui from around 732. But even Shen-hui's imagination may have been inspired by the general opinion in early T'ang times that literature was divided into Southern dynasty and Northern dynasty styles during the Period of Division. The usual characterization was of Southern melody, purity, decoration,

(Kōzen, op. cit., p.293). Moreover, after Confucius, the lineage is via pairs of individuals (Tzu-yu and Tzu-hsia, Hsün-tzu and Mencius), so it is the disagreement between Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Chia (not personally) that is important, not the chronological sequence.

11. This *ch'ien* does not refer to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, but means "demoted" or "expelled," for the subject is Chia I.
12. *Sao* can mean "annoyed," but it also ambiguously refers to *sao* poetry which derived from Ch'ü Yüan's *Li Sao*. It definitely refers to Chia I's style, but perhaps also to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's indignation at his castration, for as David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (Oxford U.P., 1959), p.8, says, "All proclaim the poet's purity and integrity in the face of an evil and corrupt world...he reverts again and again to his grief and anguish." Cf. also pp.16-17 on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's sympathy for Ch'ü Yüan and Chia I.
13. Wang Ch'ang-ling's "Lun-wen i" 論文意 in *Bunkyō Hifuron*, Lo Lien-tien, p.57 and Chou Wei-te, *Wen-ching pi-lun* (Peking, 1975), p.128.

frivolity and elegance, but Northern emphasis on theory (*li* 理), propriety, turgidity, solidity and firmness.¹⁴

More signally, Hsieh Ling-yün, a Southerner, used the analogy of the saintly South and the stupid North (as a parallel to his characterization of Chinese versus barbarian, of direct perception versus gradual and interminable progress by application) in the debate over sudden versus gradual enlightenment in his *Pien-tsung lun*.¹⁵ Here the South is equated with principle (*li*) or śūnya and sudden enlightenment, and the semi-barbarian North with mundane existence and gradual enlightenment.¹⁶

However, Wang Ch'ang-ling was certainly cognizant of Shen-hui's theories when he applied the word *tsung* or "lineage" to this Northern and Southern dichotomy in literature, for Shen-hui was the first to use the terms *nan-tsung* and *pei-tsung* as a pair.¹⁷

But why did Wang Ch'ang-ling select Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Chia I as the patriarchs of these lineages, especially when poet-critics of the early T'ang usually paired Chia I with Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (179-117 B.C.)? For example, Lu Chao-lin (c.641-680) wrote that "Just as the school of Yu and Hsia was followed by Hsün Ch'ing and Mencius, after Ch'ü Yüan and Sung Yü there came Chia I and Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju."¹⁸ Even later when people may have been influenced by Wang Ch'ang-ling, the grouping of post-Mencian authors

14. Kōzen, op. cit., p.293 on the prefaces to the biographies of literati in the *Sui Shu* and the *Pei Shih*, and the characterization by Lu Chao-lin (c.650-c.689).

15. T52.225c11-14.

16. Cf. T52.226c12-15.

17. Bodman, p.80; Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.90, and p.111 on Shen-hui's possible sources in the "northern and southern learning" (*nan/pei hsüeh*) of Confucian classical studies going back to Cheng Hsüan (northern) and Wang Su and Wang Pi (southern), and pp.126-127 on possible connections of *nan-tsung* with a lineage from Tao-sheng.

18. Joseph Lee, pp.44-45.

usually included Chia I, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Yang Hsiung, and either one of Tung Chung-shu, Liu Hsiang or Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju.¹⁹

However, Liu Mien evidently saw Chia I as an heir to Mencius and Hsün-tzu,²⁰ and P'ei Tu (764-839),²¹ after mentioning Mencius, dismisses *Sao* poetry as an outburst, of pent-up emotion and castigates Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, the leading *fu* poet, for feigned and hypocritical remonstrance. P'ei proceeds to say that "Chia I's writings are the writings of civilization perfected 文化成 Ssu-ma Ch'ien's writings are the writings of resource (talent) perfected. 財成"²² Thus although this linkage may have been derived from Wang Ch'ang-ling, I suspect that P'ei Tu was drawing on a long-held evaluation, which Wang may have drawn on also.

The key to Wang Ch'ang-ling's schema seems to be the reference to the loss of the original theme or the lineage 失本宗 by the *Sao* poets due to their resentment. This loss of the authentic message of the lineage by Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Chia I, and the subsequent divergence of lineages, was due to the different literary and emotional reactions of each man to his own misfortune. It was the crippling anger or resentment that the earlier Confucian authors had left unexpressed that caused this fall from grace.²³

Chia I, after a short rapid rise in imperial favour, was exiled at twenty-four years of age out of the envy of his rivals to the then wilds of Ch'ang-sha in the south. His literary fame lies in his admiration for and imitation of Ch'ü

19. See the opinions of Ch'i-sung as cited by Huang Ch'i-fang, *Pei Sung wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing tzu-liao hui-pien* (Taipei, 1978), p.124, and of P'ei Tu (764-839) and others, who very rarely include Ch'ü Yüan (Kuo Shao-yü, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih*, vol. 1, pp.264, 356).

20. Lo Ken-tse, *Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih* (Shanghai, 1957), vol. 2, p.132.

21. A distinguished military and political figure who was a patron of the monk Niu-t'ou Fa-ch'in and a devout Buddhist. See *Chiu T'ang shu* 170.4413-4432; *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* T50.764 .22 and *T'ang Yü-lin* 6.

22. Kuo Shao-yü, p.264 citing a letter to Li Ao, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 538.2452b2-4.

23. See the passage from Wang Ch'ang-ling's work quoted by Joseph Lee, p.54: "because the mind or heart is troubled."

Yüan after his rustification. Chia I seems to have accepted his fate stoically (but with some disappointment) in the manner of Ch'ü Yüan (though not suicidally) or *Chuang-tzu*, but perhaps it was his predominantly Confucian ideals²⁴ that prevented him from falling into object fatalism. He could be compared to Confucius, the uncrowned king, in this period, for he took up Ch'ü Yüan's lament, "There is none in the kingdom who knows me,"²⁵ and stated, "The divine virtue of the value^d saint is distanced from the polluted world and is hidden by itself."²⁶

Chia I was called the Southern lineage patriarch probably because he drew on the "southern" Ch'ü Yüan and the *Chuang-tzu* for his literary inspiration, especially his *fu* ("rhyme prose"). Perhaps this is what Wang meant by *sao* people, after the *Li Sao* of Ch'ü Yüan. This strain of thought may have suggested to Wang a theory of poetic creation in the period of decay, for Chia I's *fu*, "The Owl," contains lines such as:

The impassioned pursued a fair name.

.....

The sage abandons things

And joins himself to the Tao alone,

While the multitude in delusion

With desire and hate load their heads

Limpid and still, the true man

Finds his peace in the Tao alone,

Transcendent, destroying self,

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24. Sawaguchi Takeo, "Ka Gi" in *Chūgoku no shisōka*, vol. 1 (Uno Tetsuto Commemorative Volume: Tokyo, 1963), pp.244-245.
25. *Han Shu* (Peking, 1962) 48.2224; cf. 48.2222 for Ch'ü Yüan's 困亡人莫我知也. Wang sympathized with Chia I, for he saw his own involuntary retirement and poverty to be akin to that of Yen Hui who understood Confucius' ideals even when in poverty (Joseph Lee, p.19).
26. *Han Shu* 48.2224. Note that after Wang Ch'ang-ling's time, Hui-neng, the "Southern Ch'an patriarch," was similarly compared to Confucius by Liu Tsung-yüan, and Shen-hui to Confucius by Tsung-mi (Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.123).

Vast and empty, swift and wild,
He soars on the wings of the Tao.²⁷

There is some similarity of this poem's lines to Wang's theory of the forgetting of the ego.

In contrast, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's reaction to his disgrace at his punishment of castration was one of pent-up anger and humiliation. He did not accept his fate and wrote to vindicate his decision not to commit suicide. He declared that he wanted to leave something to posterity: unlike the sage he passionately sought fame.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien's own theory of literary creation was that all the great literary works of the past demonstrated that they were due to the reactions of the authors to trouble or disgrace.²⁸ This is part of his self-justification. Even when Ssu-ma Ch'ien writes of Confucius, he mentioned the line, "The superior man hates the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death," and quotes Chia I's line, "The impassioned pursue a fair name."²⁹ Thus Ssu-ma Ch'ien thought that Ch'ü Yüan wrote out of anger,³⁰ yet he was confounded by Ch'ü Yüan's suicide and Chia I regarding death as the same as life.³¹

27. Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature* (Columbia U.P., 1962), p.258.

28. See his "Letter to Jen An," *Han Shu* 62.2735-2736, translated by J.R. Hightower in *Anthology of Chinese Literature* (Penguin, 1967), pp.126-127: "The general purport of the 300 poems of the *Book of Songs* is the indignation expressed by the sages....expressed their pent-up feelings, hoping to realize themselves in literature....I go on best I can, putting up with whatever treatment is meted out to me....I can hope for justification only after my death."

29. *Shih-chi*, "Biography of Po Yi and Shu Ch'i" in *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p.129.

30. Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (Columbia U.P., 1971), vol. 1, p.500.

31. *Ibid.*, p.516.

These differing emotional reactions and ideas about literary inspiration are reflected in the styles of these two men, Chia I's style being more rhetorical and rythmical, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's being a rather plain narrative of events,³² with appended judgements of those people and events. This precisely echoes the ideas current in Wang's time about the differences in literary style between the Northern and Southern dynasties, and which continued to make their mark throughout the T'ang.³³ It is not clear that Wang Ch'ang-ling favoured either style. Perhaps he desired a compromise between the two to recreate a plain yet rythmical style; a return to the original themes and styles of Confucius and Mencius (or even earlier), for he describes the decline of literary abilities after the time of Ts'ao Chih (A.D. 192-232) and Liu Cheng (2nd and 3rd century A.D.):

Their spirit (*ch'i*) rose as high as the heavens, and although they did not depend on the classics and histories, they eminently created literature (*wen*). From this time on it was handed down through patriarchal writings 祖述 of warp and woof for one hundred generations. Knowledgeable people 識 were empty and superficial, and made compositions about flowers and grasses, losing their ancient (heritage) therein. In the middle were Pao Chao [d. 466 A.D.] and Hsieh K'ang-lo [Ling-yün] who indulged in idleness (and simply) succeeded (to that tradition), successes and failures operating together. By the Chin, (Liu) Sung, Ch'i and Liang dynasties, all (writers) fell into decadence.³⁴

In this view of literary decline, Wang Ch'ang-ling foreshadows some of the themes of the *fu-ku* or *ku-wen* movement, which may have taken his ideas on lineage to justify their own assertions. Although Wang's description of the split in the lineages is parallel to the supposed split between Shen-hsiu of Northern Ch'an and Hui-neng of Southern Ch'an, and may be derived from it,

32. Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature*, pp.115-116. This judgement of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's style dates to Pan Ku, *Han Shu* 62.2738: "He discriminated but was not flowery, was vigorous and yet not vulgar. His text is direct, its events are the core, not empty prettiness, not hiding the bad....[his extreme degradation in punishment] he kept hidden, yet he vented his indignation."

33. Han Yü's style, for example, is more Northern, at least in his prose.

34. Lo Lien-tien, p.57; Chou Wei-te, *Wen-ching pi-lun* (Peking, 1975), p.128.

Wang did not "characterize the differences between these literary schools in Ch'an terms,"³⁵ making it easier for the Confucian reformers to appropriate some of his ideas. However, Wang did use terms about literary creativity that are similar to Shen-hui's stigmatization of his Northern Ch'an opponents, "freezing the mind" and "illuminating/reflecting sense-data/percepts" (*chao-ching* 照境).³⁶ Wang seems to be siding with Northern Ch'an, for he adopted these ideas as positive, ideas that Shen-hui condemned.

But Wang Ch'ang-ling was probably attempting to forge a new synthesis between the Northern didacticism of aspiration (*chih* 志) and the Southern emotionalism of the individual, for one could not return to the simple and immediate expression of ancient spontaneity,³⁷ for the damage had been done. In this sense he was advancing the theories of Lu Chi (261-303) and Liu Hsieh (c. 465-522),³⁸ who similarly advocated a combination of aspiration (*chih*) and emotion (*ch'ing*). This theory had its basis in Pu Shang's preface to the *Book of Poetry*:

Poetry is where the aspiration/inclination (*chih*) of the mind goes. When it lies in the mind, it is "aspiration"; when expressed in words it becomes "poetry." When an emotion (*ch'ing*) stirs within one, one expresses it in words; finding this inadequate, one sighs over it; not content with this, one sings it in poetry.³⁹

Lu Chi states that an absence of either emotion or aspiration means a loss of inspiration: "There are times when the six emotions are stranded, when the *chih* has departed and the spirit halted."⁴⁰ He maintains that poetry

35. Richard Bodman, p.80.

36. Ibid., pp.59, 80-81. Shen-hui wrote, "freeze the mind and enter samādhi,...activate the mind to illuminate/reflect the external." See Hu Shih, *Shen-hui Ho-shang i-chi*, p.287.

37. Joseph Lee, pp.52-54.

38. Kōzen Hiroshi, "ō Shō-rei no sōsakuron," pp.302-304.

39. James J.Y. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," p.278 modified.

40. Kōzen Hiroshi, op. cit., p.302. Cf. Shih-hsiang Chen's translation in *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p.231.

consequently must express emotions 詩緣情.⁴¹ This view was extended in Liu Hsieh's *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*.⁴² Thus Wang Ch'ang-ling writes:

Poetry has its basis in aspiration. In the mind it is aspiration, expressed in words it is poetry. Emotion moves in its midst, and it is formed in words. Only after is it written down on paper.⁴³

It is probable that this idea of emotion came also from *Chuang-tzu*, and possibly Buddhism, not just earlier literary theory, for Wang Ch'ang-ling advocated a forgetting of the ego in a kind of intellectual perplexity, so that ideas or intent (*i* 意) and sense-data (*ching* 境) come naturally to the poet.

Now in the creation of literature, just posit many ideas (*i*) and make them interpenetrate 左穿右穴 troubling the mind (*k'u-hsin* 苦悶) to exhaust the intellect (*chih* 智). You must forget yourself (*shen* 身), it cannot be restrained. If thoughts (*ssu* 思) do not come, then you should release your emotion (*ch'ing*), step back and permit them,⁴⁴ so as to allow sense-data to arise [naturally] After that take the sense-data (*ching* 境) and illuminate/reflect (*chao* 照) them, and then the thought will come. When it comes, write. If the sense-data and thought do not come, you cannot write...

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41. Joseph Lee, p.43. Lee sees *chih* as purely Confucian and the emotions as contrary to *chih*, but Lu Chi and Pu Shang would seem to confute that. Lu Chi was influenced by *Chuang-tzu*; see Vincent Yu-chung Shih, op. cit., p.xxix.
42. Suzuki Shuji, "To Ho no shi to 'jō'" in *Chūgoku shijinron: Okamura Shigeru kyōju taikan kinen ronshū*, p.370.
43. Lo Lien-tien, p.58; Chou Wei-te, p.129. Cf. Joseph Lee, p.54 for this and similar passages.
44. 寬之, "Be patient with them." Bodman, p.73 translates, "step back and be patient," but the *k'uan chih* here requires an object in translation. If *k'uan* is translated "permit them," the object would be "thoughts" as Bodman implies, for he says "and allow the world [*ching*] to create thoughts." But my texts have only 令境生. It is the "sense-data" that arise, so the *k'uan* may apply to the "sense-data." Later *chao-chih* has an object, which Bodman translates, "Thereafter illuminates them with the world," taking them to be "thoughts."

Having established the intent (*i*) to write a poem, you should freeze the mind, and when the eye witnesses a thing, witness it with the mind, and deeply penetrate 穿 that sense-data. It is like climbing the highest peak of a lofty mountain and looking down over the myriad images 象 as if they are in one's hand. Take those seen images and see them clearly in the mind. Doing this they will function (*yung* 用)....It is just like the sun and moon seen in water, the writing is the reflection (*ching* 景), the matter and colour (*wu ssu* 物色) the basis. If you are to illuminate/reflect it then you must clearly see its image....

All those devoted to literature should constantly create ideas (*tso i* 作意). Freeze the mind beyond the heavens and seas (the world) and use (*yung*) thoughts before (the formation of) primal *ch'i* [*yüan-ch'i* 元氣, primordial matter/energy]....Since [a mere imitator] lacks his own nature (*tzu-hsing* 自性), he cannot concentrate his mind and trouble his thoughts (*k'u-ssu*), so that he cannot see properly.⁴⁵

There is an indication of an element of a Buddhist theory of perception and mental creation behind Wang's theory of literary motivation and processes of writing. These may have been inspired in part by Ch'an Buddhism, especially Northern Ch'an.

Wang Ch'ang-ling uses many terms and compounds in the above passage that have long histories in Chinese philosophy and literary criticism. These present problems of interpretation, especially when the passages in the *Bunkyō Hifuron* appear to be disjointed quotes or aphorisms à la Nietzsche.⁴⁶

For example, the compound "exhaust the intellect" 立竭智 resembles Mencius IV.1.i.5, "exhaust the mind's thoughts" 立竭心思. This "troubling of the mind" seems akin to the creation of doubt in the Ch'an *kung-an* theory that developed in the Sung dynasty. Nevertheless, Wang claims that literature should not cause suffering or hardship; it should be simple and natural 凡文章皆不難,又不幸苦 for the reader. Kōzen Hiroshi thinks that likewise, in the process of creation, there should be no difficulties, and hence

45. Lo Lien-tien, pp.58-59; Chou Wei-te, pp.129-130.

46. "ō Shō-rei no sōsakuron," pp.290-292, 294.

no signs of mental struggle in the workmanship of an ideal Wang Ch'ang-ling poem.⁴⁷ Therefore there is an initial search for ideas that lead to a mental block, then via a negation of the intrusion of the ego and a relaxation of the emotions that have been pent-up, one allows the vision, or the sense-data to arise, which then illumine the original intention, permitting thoughts to present themselves to consciousness.

The "intention" or "idea" is crucial, but it is ambiguous, having the sense of both idea and even will. Buddhists used the word *i* 意 to translate *manas*, "the co-ordinator of sense-data." *Manas* in the broad interpretation means "thinking" or "reasoning," and has a nuance of being a mentally constructed representation of the external world or rather the percepts (*ching* 境) reflected by the sense-organs.⁴⁸ Wang says that the "idea" of a poem determines its *ko* ("measure", "rule" or "artistic plane"),⁴⁹ which may in a way relate it to the later Neo-Confucian *ko-wu* or "the investigation of things."

The most essential thing in the establishment of a literary piece is to frequently use its ideas 意 which you should make interpenetrate; they cannot be bound and tethered. The creation of words must not be difficult and bitter; (one should) arrange the principle of their *Tao-ko* ("measure of the Way").⁵⁰

Joseph Lee claims to be able to distinguish three forms of *i* 意; "thought" (*chih* 志), "emotion" (*ch'ing*) and "inspiration" (*hsing* 興).⁵¹ I

47. Ibid., pp.301-303.

48. Ibid., p.295, notes the six *visayas* of Buddhism, one of which, the dharmas, are the constituents of existence co-ordinated and perceived by the *manas* (or rather, the *manovijñāna*). The *manas* takes the activity of the *manovijñāna* to posit the existence of the ego. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 4745c-4746a. There were various opinions, however, as what *i* was, cf. 105a-c.

49. For such translations of *ko*, see Joseph Lee, p.53. Cf. Kōzen Hiroshi, p.295; Chou Wei-te, p.8.

50. Chou Wei-te.

51. Joseph Lee, pp.53-54.

then is the primal mental foundation, for according to Wang Ch'ang-ling, "if one uses the ideas (*i*) from the best of the ancients, the sense-data of Heaven and earth will be translucent and can be contemplated."⁵² *I* evidently is a result of the functioning of the mind and is the creative element as in the Buddhist theory of mind-creation; it is more than just a mere response to physical stimuli:

Now the inspiration (*hsing*) for writing literature is primarily due to the movement of the *ch'i* [pneuma/energy]. The *ch'i* is born in the mind, and the mind is expressed in words which are heard by the ear, seen by the eyes, and recorded on paper. The ideas (*i*) should transcend 出 the sense-data (perceived by) the masses of mankind, and one (should) see the ancients at one's feet [格 to 脚踏] and encapsulate the heavens and oceans in the square inch (of the mind). The poet uses his mind in this way.⁵³

The *ch'i* that moves is a form of mental energy. *Ch'i* is an important concept in Chinese philosophy and literary criticism.⁵⁴ The *Kuan-tzu* considers *ch'i* to be the ground of consciousness and thought,⁵⁵ and Mencius and others thought that it is the concentration of *ch'i* that is essential to create a well-spring of inspiration, a flood or reservoir of *ch'i*.⁵⁶ Thus in literary criticism, Ts'ao P'i (187-226) wrote that "the important thing in literature is *ch'i* 文以氣為主," in other words it is an innate endowment.⁵⁷ *Ch'i* for Wang

52. Lo Lien-tien, p.57; Chou Wei-te, p.128.

53. Chou Wei-te, p.130. 脚踏 replaces 格 in the Koyasan text. Cf. Joseph Lee, p.54 and Kōzen Hiroshi, p.296.

54. David Pollard, "Ch'i in Chinese Literary Theory" in *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, ed. Adele Austin Rickett (Princeton U.P., 1928), p.43.

55. Ibid., pp.45-46.

56. Ibid., p.51.

57. Ibid., p.48.

Ch'ang-ling is probably the universal constituent of the physical and mental realms that appears in the mind as the emotions (i.e. as movement), and these (emotions and sense-data) link together to form ideas. Thus

all poems, once they have combined the physical and coloured (*wu-ssu* 色) with the idea 意 are good. If there is matter and colour (*wu-sê*) but no idea-inspiration (*i-hsing*), no matter how skilful (one is), it is of no use anywhere. For example, "The sound of bamboo, for the first time I knew it was autumn" is called combination.⁵⁸

Another element in poetical creation is "thought" (*ssu* 思), which is the result of the illumination of the sense-data. Thought is the second essential ingredient after the sense-data. In Buddhism *ssu* 思 equals *cetanā*, a natural desire in the broad sense, but in the more restricted sense it is the conscious selection of an object of desire from out of the various motifs and motives one possesses.⁵⁹ Here it is probably the latter sense, the selection and arrangement of one's sense-data for the poem. However, *ssu* also has a Confucian dimension, and Wang was mindful of this, for he quotes the *Lun-yü* at the presumed conclusion of his essay when he discusses the need for practice: "If 'one thinks and does not study, that is perilous.' It is also said, 'Thought is the depth of virtue.'"⁶⁰ Another source may well have been the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*, which describes *ssu* as a form of imagination:

An ancient [*Chuang-tzu*] said, "The body may be on the rivers and seas, but the mind remains beneath the palace gate." This is what I mean by spiritual *ssu*

58. Lo Lien-tien, p.60; Chou Wei-te, p.133. Note that *Wu-sê* is the title of chapter 46 of the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*.

59. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 1706c-1707a, says it is the consideration or examination of the sense-data, a creative function of the mind. It not only moves the body and produces speech, but as examination and decision it corresponds to *i* and causes *i* to function. Thought activates the mind to function with sense-data "just as the power of a magnet can cause metal to move."

60. Lo Lien-tien, p.64; Chou Wei-te, p.141.

Therefore he quietly freezes (out) anxieties 慮, and his thought will link a thousand years.⁶¹

For Liu Hsieh, thought precedes the idea or intent 意, which precedes the words.⁶²

Chih, which I have identified with Confucian ambition and aspiration and the concomitant didacticism, in Buddhism means "will" or "resolve." But Lu Chi, who reinterpreted Confucian *chih* in his "Wen fu," drew also upon the meaning *chih* had in *Chuang-tzu*. *Chih* is discussed in *Chuang-tzu* chapter 16, "Mending the Nature," where it can be interpreted as "success" or "ambition."⁶³ This was not in the worldly or vulgar 俗 sense, but in the sense of being completely happy in all circumstances, without worry, as part of the person's nature (*ming-hsing*).

So Chia I did not attain his innate, complete "satisfaction" (*chih*). This was the cause of his anger, his emotional outbursts. *Chih* then may be the cause of the emotions, which in turn appear to be related to the *ch'i*. Wang Ch'ang-ling declares that poetry must contain the emotional personality of the poet, and so,

Therefore a poem is the writing of the envoy [行李 baggage or retinue/accompaniment] of the personal mind, and the ordering of the explosion of *ch'i* (anger) of that time. If the *ch'i* comes inappropriately, and the mental events 心事 are not understood, and (the poem) is used to criticize superiors, civilize inferiors, demonstrate one's mind, or to order matters, it is all because the pivotal 中 mind is not decided 決, and the masses do not know me.⁶⁴

Just as ideas (*i*) have been paired with sense-data (*ching*), so can emotion (*ch'ing* 情) be paired with the "scene/reflection" (*ching* 景). The

61. Fan Wen-lan, vol. 2, p.493. Cf Vincent Shih, p.154 and Kōzen Hiroshi, p.296.

62. Fan Wen-lan, p.494; Vincent Shih, p.156.

63. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p.174, translates "When joy is complete, this is called the fulfillment of ambition." In this case, *chih* could have the Confucian sense of "ambition," but if we follow A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p.172, it becomes "It is the happiness of being whole which is meant by success."

64. Lo Lien-tien, p.59; Chou Wei-te, p.133. Cf. Joseph Lee, p.54 and Bodman, p.374.

emotions are also related to *chih*, and thence to *ch'i*, which is the underlying ground of both mind and the world. But the Mind, or thoughts, can in a Buddhist fashion go back beyond either the discriminating mind or the mind-created or represented world. The "emotion" and the "scene/reflection" then are of a more concrete and worldly dimension, for the "idea/*manas*" coordinates these elements:

In poetry it is valuable to fuse the idea into the title completely so you can observe the scene and things seen, and the idea. That satisfied, they combine with the Tao. If you solely speak of the idea, the poem will not be marvellous and will lack flavour. If the scenic vocabulary is too great, it will not combine closely with the idea, and so even if there is principle (*li*) and Tao, it will still lack flavour. The morning and evening colours, the atmosphere and images of the four seasons, are all arranged by the idea (*i*), so that they will have an order. If one speaks of them in combination with the idea, they will be marvellous.⁶⁵

The "emotion" and "scene" were paired by the late Sung theorist Chou Pi 周弼 in his *San t'i shih* 三體詩 with vacuity (*hsü* 虛) and reality (*shih* 實). Although Wang uses similar terms,⁶⁶ these were not contrasted with emotion, idea or scene. This idea had to await Chiao-jan (730-799), who applied *shih* to scenic objects like rain and snow, and *hsü* to verbs such as come and go.⁶⁷

Later theorists used "emotion" (*ch'ing*) and *ching* ("scene/external world") as a pair that are necessary for poetry, a pair that must be fused. They were compared to the mirror of the mind. Thus Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692) says that they are "called by different names but are in fact inseparable. Those who can work miracles in poetry fuse the two naturally."⁶⁸ James Liu

65. Lo Lien-tien, p.62; Chou Wei-te, pp.137-138. Cf. Joseph Lee, p.62 and Bodman, pp.393-394.

66. Lo Lien-tien, p.61; Chou Wei-te, p.136, where *hsü-wu* 虛無 equals "colour" 色 in comparison with *shih-hsiang* 實象 as "grass." Bodman, p.389 translates the first as "abstraction" and the latter as "concrete."

67. See Kōzen Hiroshi, op. cit., p.298.

68. Bodman, p.96; James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, pp.40-42.

and Siu-kit Wong cite many such passages, but all the citations are of relatively recent sources, the earliest being Southern Sung, not from Wang Ch'ang-ling himself.⁶⁹ Wang Fu-chih, to his credit, recognized that the terms "emotion" and "scene" were mere conventions,⁷⁰ and that they did not have to match in mood.⁷¹

The continuity and dominance of such theories is indicated by the fact that some modern critics still write criticism in these terms.⁷² For example, Liu delineates three "worlds" (as he translates *ching* 境), a term he thinks was borrowed from the Buddhist Sanskrit *viṣaya* (*ching-chieh* 境界) or "realm of sense-data." While Liu claims that Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927) was the first critic to use *ching* 境 systematically in poetry criticism, he notes that Ssu-k'ung T'u (837-908) and later some Ch'ing scholars used it.⁷³ However, in the *Yin-ch'uang tsa-lu* 吟態雜錄 compiled by Ch'en Ying-hsing, a passage attributed to Wang Ch'ang-ling has a heading of

69. James Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, pp.40-42; Siu-kit Wong, "Ch'ing and Ching in the Critical Writings of Wang Fu-chih" in *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, ed. Adele Austin Rickett, pp.122-123 and note 4.

70. Siu-kit Wong, p.123.

71. *Ibid.*, p.127.

72. Besides James J.Y. Liu, Joseph Lee (pp.53-54), Bodman (p.78), and Wolfgang Kubin (*Der durchsichtige Berg*, pp.34, 36, 109, 118, 295, 298), all of whom are influenced by Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927). Bodman, Lee and Kubin were all influenced also by James Liu, especially Kubin, who refers to a theory of Liu's that this state of abolition of subject and object, or *ching* and *ch'ing* (translated variously as Nature, object, reality, or landscape versus sensation/perception [Empfindung], emotion and Idea) is the "Third world," a stage Kubin claims is influenced by Ch'an (p.295). Cecile Sun, "A Sense of Scene: Depictions of Scene as Expressions of Feeling in Chinese and English Poetry," wishes to apply this to Chinese and English poetry.

73. "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," pp.280-281. Note that Huang Tsun-hsien (1848-1905) used the term *ching*; see Wu-chi Liu and Irving Lo, *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry* (Indiana U.P., 1975), p.616.

"Poetry has Three *Ching*" 詩有三境.⁷⁴ One of these three *ching* is the material *ching* 物境, of which it is written:

Now if you wish to make a landscape poem, set out the *ching* (sense-data) of springs, clouds and peaks. That which has the ultimate beauty and absolute refinement is the spiritualization of it in the mind 神之於心. Place one's self in the *ching*, see the *ching* in the mind as luminously as if it were in the palm of one's hand. After that use thought (*ssu*) and clarify the sense-data image. Therefore one can attain a likeness of the form.⁷⁵

It seems probable then that Wang Kuo-wei and James Liu derived their theories from Wang Ch'ang-ling, albeit indirectly. After all, Wang Kuo-wei defined the *ching* "world" as a fusion of *ch'ing* "emotion" and *ching* "scene." He was thus adopting the traditional mode of poetry criticism which had borrowed from Buddhism when he expounded the existence of worlds with an ego and those without (*wu-wo*).⁷⁶ James Liu took this even further, writing of

74. The others are "emotional *ching*" and "ideational (*i ching*)." Cf. Chang Hsiu-yung, "Wang Ch'ang-ling chih shih-ko," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 20 (Sept. 1977), p.96.

75. Quoted in Kōzen Hiroshi, p.306 note 7; cf. passage in Chou Wei-te, pp.129-130 and Bodman, p.76.

76. James J.Y. Liu, "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," pp.280-281, translates a passage from Wang Kuo-wei's *Jen-chien tz'u-hua* as: "There is a world [*ching* 境] with a self and there is a world without a self...In the former, it is 'I' who look at external objects [*wu*], and therefore everything is tinged with my [*wo*=ego] colour 色. In the latter, it is one object that looks at other objects, and therefore one no longer knows which is 'I' and which is 'object'." Cf. Joseph Lee, p.53; Bodman, p.97. See also Adele Austin Rickett, *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien Tz'u-hua: A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism* (Hong Kong U.P., 1977), p.41. Note in the "world without a self," T'ao Ch'ien's famous lines are quoted. While Wang Kuo-wei drew upon Yen Yü, Wang Fu-chih and Wang Shih-chen (Rickett, p.20), especially for the *ching ch'ing* 境情 pairing, this latter ultimately came from Buddhism (pp.23-28), although even Schopenhauer's influence is possible. However, this passage also has elements reminiscent of *Chuang-tzu* (the last line of the quote above) and the Neo-Confucianism of Shao Yung.

There are a number of detailed studies of Wang Kuo-wei's poetry and philosophy,

the abolition of subject and object (or *ching* "scene" and *ch'ing* "emotion"), a stage in which natural things, including men, speak for themselves, a state Wang Wei supposedly achieved consistently in his poetry.⁷⁷

However, for Wang Ch'ang-ling, it is the combination of the idea (*i*) with the scene/reflection (*ching* 景) and not that of the "scene" and "emotion" that expresses the Tao and is marvellous. This proposition goes back once again to Lu Chi who wrote of inspiration that it occurred in "Such moments when Mind and Matter hold perfect communion."⁷⁸ This was echoed by Ts'ai Meng-pi (fl. 1247) when he wrote of T'ao Ch'ien's famous poem cited above,

including Huang Chih-min, "Jen-chien tz'u-hua chih ching-chieh shuo chi ch'i shang-chüeh," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 29 (June 1984) which deals with this point. Chapter 6 of Hermann Kogelschatz, *Wang Kuo-wi und Schopenhauer: Ein philosophisches Ereignis* (Stuttgart, 1986) deals with poetry, his use of *ching* and *ch'ing*, and their traditional sources and use in translating Schopenhauer's ideas, especially pp.245-258, 316-321. Wang Kuo-wei defined *ching-chieh* as a fusion of emotion and scene 景, and his world-view, and that of Schopenhauer, was that humanity is bound by the desires of life, which is sorrow, and that art could provide a temporary release, which is equivalent to nirvana (*wu-sheng*) (Huang Chih-min, pp.3-5). Another of his favourite philosophers, Nietzsche, took the metaphor of the mind of the child being like that of a genius (p.13). This is very similar to Buddhism and Ch'an, some of which both the German philosophers knew, and so *ching-chieh* is a mixture of Buddhist-tinged poetics and Schopenhauer's aesthetic appreciation (pp.8, 21-22). But he also knew that both *i* and *ching* 境 (itself made up of scenic things 景物 and the emotions and sympathies for them) were part of traditional poetics going back to Wang Ch'ang-ling (pp.22,24). T'ao Ch'ien's poem depicts a scene not blocked off to emotion, whose insentient Nature adds to man's sympathy (pp.33, 45), prompting one critic of Wang Kuo-wei to say his theory is one of the "sentientization 有情化 (sentimentalizing?) of insentient objects" (p.61). Yet there is still a Neo-Confucian and Mencian aspect to all of this (pp.83-84).

77. "Three 'Worlds' of Chinese Poetry," pp.287-289. These three "worlds" are: 1) the poet looks at the world via his emotions, 2) scene is seen objectively or naturally, and 3) mergence of self and Nature as one.

78. Cyril Birch, ed., *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p.320.

that although "he had no intention (*i*) towards the mountain, yet the scene ^景 and the intention ^意 agreed ^會 ."79

Wang Ch'ang-ling, moreover, does not use the term *ching* ^景 just as "scene," but also as "reflection." He uses *ching* to mean "scene" when he writes, "The evening and morning scene colours,"80 but he also compares writing as the "reflection" of material things to the reflection of the sun or moon in water:

Mountains and forests, sun and moon, the scenic reflection ^{風景} being true, take a song to celebrate it. It is just like seeing the sun and moon in water, the writing is the reflection ^景, the matter and colour is the basis; to illumine/reflect (*chao* ^照) it you must clearly see its image.⁸¹

Hence the idea that *ching* is purely a scene that is reflected in the mirror of the mind, and that *ch'ing* is merely emotion is probably a later coinage. James Liu would define *ching* as "scene" in the sense that it is "not only natural scenery but any physical object," even an imagined scene.⁸² Wang Ch'ang-ling probably did not mean that, for he takes *ching* ^境 to be the "object" in the Buddhistic sense of "sense-data," with *ching* "reflection/scene" being far more ambiguous. This is shown by his use of the compound *chao-ching* ^{照境}.

Chao-ching, as used by Ch'an Buddhists, meant "illuminating/reflecting sense-data." *Chao* has both the import of "illumination", where it means enlightenment or seeing with the illumined mind (especially in the context of *fan-chao*),⁸³ and the sense of "reflection" when it is used in the metaphor of

79. *Tu Kung-pu ts'ao-t'ang shih-hua*, ch. 1, f.8a, in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*, comp. Ting Fu-pao.

80. Lo Lien-tien, p.62; Chou Wei-te, p.138.

81. Chou Wei-te, p.130; cf. Bodman, p.371.

82. "Three 'Worlds' in Chinese Poetry," p.279.

83. Robert Buswell, "The 'Short-cut' Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation," p.369 note 97.

the mirror for the enlightened mind so popular with Ch'an Buddhists.⁸⁴ *Chao* then is a function of prajñā or gnosis,⁸⁵ and in the photism of Buddhism has both the function of reflection and illumination, functions native to light.

In summary, Wang Ch'ang-ling is speaking in a semi-Buddhist manner when he asks the would-be poet to exhaust his intellect by the perplexity induced by an overload of ideas. This leads to the forgetting of the ego and the removal of the barriers or writer's block produced by discursive thought. This allows sense-data or percepts (*ching*) to arise without deliberation, naturally, in accordance with the poet's emotions which are released from the moorings of habitualized and alienating thought. Only then can one *chao* or "reflect on" and "illuminate" those sense-data, which then appear to the mind in a purified immediacy, the mind that has "frozen out" the grasping intellect. The poet is then fully aware that his data and images are mental reflections and can consequently perceive them directly, without distractions, selectively arranging them as thoughts.

Wang Ch'ang-ling outlines the subsequent process of creation from the perception of the external world to the commitment of this to paper:

The scenic  things that are spoken of by thought (*ssu*) must properly resemble the four seasons. The atmosphere (*ch'i* ) and colours of spring, summer, autumn and winter produce ideas (*i*) according to the season. The idea is adopted  and used. When it is used, one should calm the spirit (*an-shen* ) and purify one's anxieties  (so that) the eye sees the thing, it enters one's mind, and the mind comprehends (*i'ung* ) that thing. The thing comprehended, verbalize it. When one verbalizes its form, it must resemble its reflection (*ching* ) , and the words should insert all that is within Heaven and the seas into the square inch (of the mind)...one should allow thought [*ssu* or *i*] to arise of itself, and (when there is the) idea/intent that wishes to create literature, ride that inspiration (*hsing*) and write. If it seems to be perplexing [*fan* , cf. *kleśa*] then stop; do not tire

84. Bodman, pp.83-85 cites passages from Shen-hui for this sense.

85. Demiéville, "Le miroir spirituel," p.137; Bodman, p.79.

the mind. If one always frees (yün 運) it thus, inspiration will be uninterrupted and the spirit will never weary.⁸⁶

Wang Ch'ang-ling would have the poet halt the operations of the selective and discriminating intellect in a manner akin to Ch'an, but he did not deny the mind (nor did Ch'an, especially Northern Ch'an, which affirmed the One Mind or No Mind). However, Wang seems to have in addition affirmed the self or personality (*shen* 身), something that normative Buddhism rejected.⁸⁷ However, he may have been speaking loosely, not in the Ch'an sense, for Ch'an masters had distinctive personalities,⁸⁸ though not necessarily egos. In any case, for Wang, this personality was essential for poetry:

Now all poets (should) place a bright lamp at the head of their beds at night. If sleep comes, they allow themselves to sleep, and if they awaken from sleep and get up, inspiration is initiated and ideas arise, and the refined spirit is clear....all need personality (*shen*) in their ideas (*i*). If there is no personality in the poem, then whence did the poem come into existence? If you do not write with your own personal mind (*shen-hsin* 身心), how can it be a poem? Therefore a poem is the writing of the envoy (行李) of the personal mind, and the ordering of the explosion of *ch'i* of that time.⁸⁹

In conclusion, Wang Ch'ang-ling's theory, as much as we can ascertain from the surviving collection of aphorisms, was a synthesis of traditional Chinese literary criticism compounded of Confucian and *Chuang-tzu* elements, plus Buddhist epistemology and theories of perception. It was

86. Lo Lien-tien, p.62; Chou Wei-te, p.138. Cf. Bodman, pp.394-395 and Joseph Lee, p.55.

87. Cf. the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, "sentient beings lack the attributes of ego (*wo*), personality 人, sentient being, and life (*shou*)," Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi, *Hannya shinkyō: Kongohannyakyō*, p.50.

88. Thus I would refute Ernest Becker's idea that Zen "is a denial of life, a negation of the Western ethic of individuation and autonomy....," *Zen: A Rational Critique* (W.W. Norton & Company Inc.: New York, 1961), p.13. This is, however, a challenging book, despite a lack of access to primary sources.

89. Lo Lien-tien, p.59; Chou Wei-te, pp.131-132; Bodman, p.379.

probably this latter feature that succeeding theorists of literature took most notice of. Wang then was one of the founders of the tradition of Chinese literary criticism that is active even today. Moreover, Wang's introduction of the concept of lineages in literature was to take on some significance as the foundation for the genealogy of poetry with Ch'an overtones.

6) Emotional Ambiguity and the Insentient: Tu Fu and his High T'ang Contemporaries

An interest in Ch'an and the insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) was common among the leading poets of Wang Ch'ang-ling's day and slightly later. Their use of the compound *wu-ch'ing* though, demonstrates the agreeable ambiguity it gained from the irruption of the Buddhist concept of the "insentient." Thus *wu-ch'ing* evoked both the idea of the insentient and the condition of being insensitive and "heartless," equally applicable to a person "with (a mind) of wood and stone"¹ and an anthropomorphized object. Poets gave varying valencies to each of these facets, due either to their personalities or the changing fashions in aesthetic appreciation. The theory of the insentient Buddhahood probably helped trigger a revolution in the evaluation of insentient objects, making each item a distinctive, individual entity worthy of notice, something that really came to the fore in the poetry of the Five Dynasties and the Sung.

This ambiguity in the term *wu-ch'ing* easily leant itself to the pathetic fallacy. This can be illustrated from that well-known 18th-century anthology of T'ang poems, the *T'ang shih san-pai shou* (*Three Hundred T'ang Poems*), where even writers unmoved by Buddhism used such tropes. For examples, the strict Confucian, Chang Chiu-ling (673-740), a mentor of Wang Ch'ang-ling and other poets, wrote:

Grass and trees have their fundamental minds.
Why then do they seek to be plucked by beauties?²

According to the commentators, this poem has political implications. The beauties (*mei-jen*, a word that can also mean men of elegance) are thought to be the chief ministers, the grass and trees the candidates for higher office, possibly men of humble origins. The grass and trees, in Chang's opinion,

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1. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten*, 1445.259 and 281. The term was used by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in his "Letter to Jen-an" and by Juan Chi. These refrains derive from the *Shih Ching*, "My mind is not a stone," Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p.39. Note it also had the sense of eternal life, that the insentient could not die as it was inanimate. Cf. Ch'ien Chung-shu, *Kuan chui pien*, vol. 1, p.129.
 2. Yü Shou-chen, *T'ang shih san-pai shou hsiang-hsi* (Hong Kong, 1959), pp.5-6. Cf. Innes Herdan, *The Three Hundred T'ang Poems* (Taipei, 1973), p.54.

have their own ideas and integrity, and should not offend their proper instincts out of political ambition. This poem was supposedly written as a protest at Chang's own dismissal by the emperor for opposing Li Lin-fu and Niu Hsien-k'o, the chief ministers from 736. It was also a warning to younger aspirants to political influence.³ If so, the vegetative veil was useful as an attempt to camouflage political remonstrance.

The enigmatic Li Po (701-762), Tu Fu's rival as the greatest T'ang poet, and supposedly a non-Buddhist who espoused immortal's Taoism, was a frequent user of *wu-ch'ing* in his poems,⁴ usually with a hint of ambiguity. The motive for this may lie in the passionate nature that tradition ascribes to him, or in his love for the immortals, shamans and Ch'an monks⁵ who often

3. Yü Shou-chen, pp.5-6; Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China vol. 3: Sui and T'ang China 589-906, Part 1* (Cambridge U.P.: Cambridge, 1979), pp.407-409. To be without emotion could imply a retreat from government into seclusion, a form of repression of ambition which was conveyed in poetry. Cf. Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp.29-30, 33, 252-253.
4. See *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 20.242, 248; 21.274; 23.306; 26.370; 163.1690, 1693; 164.1702; 165.1707; 176.1802.
5. See Edward H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman* (San Francisco, 1980), pp.100-101, 152-153; Elling O. Eide, "On Li Po" in *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (1973), pp.374-375. Unlike most of his fellow poets who were Confucian-Buddhists, Li Po may be characterized as a Taoist-Buddhist who still had Confucian ambitions until implication in an uprising in the aftermath of the An Lu-shan rebellion. This disappointment confirmed his interest in Buddhism, especially Ch'an. For a pithy study of Ch'an and Taoism in Li Po, see Ko Ching-ch'un, "Li Po yü fo-chiao ssu-hsiang" in *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh lun-ts'ung* 9, comp. Chung-kuo T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh hsüeh-hui, Hsi-pei Ta-hsüeh Chung-wen hsi (Shan-hsi jen-min ch'u-p'an she: Hsi-an, 1987.3), who notes that Li's works contain the names of over 30 monks and 20 monasteries (p.58), that he understood samādhi and discussed Ch'an with both monks and Taoists, frequently referring to the Great Dream (p.61). He learned Ch'an from the monk Pai-mei k'ung and attained some realization, calling himself the "Layman Blue Lotus (Utpala)," something also noted by the Sung critic Ko Li-fang (?-1164) (pp.62-63). Most of his Taoist associates were also interested in

evoke the insentient. In his "Drinking Alone Under the Moon," Li Po writes of the interplay between himself, the moon, and his shadow:

Let us ever be bound in this emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*) play,
And meet together in the distant Milky Way.⁶

There is a feeling that Li Po was often lonely despite the attention and solicitations of many of his fellow poets, and so he sought consolation in the insentient world.

This ambiguity is even more marked in a poem by Liu Chang-ch'ing (early 8th century), a friend of the poet-monk Ling-ch'e. His attribution of *wu-ch'ing* to water is one of the earliest occurrences of this metaphor, and interestingly, he was writing of "Passing Chia I's Residence at Ch'ang-sha":

Emperor Wen (of Han) had the Way, but was thin in forgiveness.
The Hsiang (River) water are unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*), how could they know
my distress?⁷

Ch'an, possibly because it had some Lao-Chuang tendencies (pp.63, 70-71). Without a detailed chronological study of his poetry, it is not possible to determine whether *wu-ch'ing* is a reference to his political disappointments, that the world is heartless, or has a Ch'an or Taoist meaning (cf. pp.73, 76 on this and his Confucian ambitions). Perhaps *wu-ch'ing* was an expression of helplessness before Nature and man. Cf. Stephen Owen's comments on a poem by Li Po: "Many poets had taken note of nature's apparent indifference to human misery and our mortality; but here, indifference is puffed into a haughty scorn as the anthropomorphic sun 'leaves' the poet behind, and the waters fail to acknowledge even the most exaggerated bid for attention...." *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*, p.140. It could also be related to Taoist ideals of the "perfected immortal 真," for the *Chen-kao* 3 says, "Now the immortals are all without the feelings of emotions and desires or concepts of male and female" (cited in Li Pi, *Wang Ching-kung shih-chu*, SKCS 1106.178b). This is repeated by Sun Ssu-miao of the early T'ang who was influenced by Hua-yen (cf. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kagonshisōshi no kenkyū*, p.290ff), and is related to a lack of sexual desire (Ch'ien Chung-shu, *T'an-i lu*, pp.398-399). Perhaps the pursuit of immortality is loveless.

6. Yü Shou-chen, p.19; Herdan, p.5.

7. Yü Shou-chen, p.222; Herdan, p.338.

Here the water is as insensitive as the emperor, who had once made Chia I his favourite, but after banishing him because of the slander of jealous ministers, ignored all Chia's pleas. In addition, Chia's hero, Ch'ü Yüan, drowned himself in these very waters, and Chia, who like Liu was exiled in the region, lamented (the word I translated "distress" in the poem actually means a song of condolence) his loss.⁸ Yet those waters did not show any signs of a response.

It was the greatest of the High T'ang poets, Tu Fu (712-770), who made this ambiguity his own, and attracted renewed attention to the role of emotion in the poet and the object of his poem. Tu Fu took up this theme in his poems and allusions to poetic theory after he had abandoned his much-vaunted poetry of "social concern" and his ambitions for a promotion in the bureaucracy. It was then that he pursued Ch'an and renewed a frustrating search for Taoist immortality, calling himself a "putrid Confucian" 腐儒, that is, a worthless pedant willing no longer to serve as a petty clerk.⁹

Tu Fu's attraction to Buddhism was intensified by the flight of Emperor Hsüan-tsung to Szechwan in the face of the An Lu-shan rebellion which resulted in Tu Fu's capture by the rebels in the capital, Ch'ang-an, in 757. He wrote of his emotions then:

The nation devastated, mountains and rivers remain behind,
The city in spring, grasses and trees are dense.

8. Yü Shou-chen, pp.222-223.

9. Suzuki Shuji, "To Ho no shi to 'jō'," *Chūgoku shijinron*, pp.355, 360-361. Note the similarity of views with Liang Shih-ch'iu, "Tu Fu yü Fo" in *Fo-chiao wen-hsüeh tuan-lun*, ed. T'ang Ta-yüan and Yao Pao-hsien (Taipei, 1980), pp.203-204, who thinks that Tu's Taoist period was earlier, but cf. Andō Shunroku, "To Ho in okeru fuchi-na mono e no dōkei" in *Chūgoku shijinron*, pp.388-392, who considers Tu had an interest in Buddhism and immortal's Taoism to the end of his life, with Buddhism rather restricted in scope. My study of Tu Fu is limited; I have read only about 50% of his collected works and none of the numerous commentaries, such as the massive *Tu shih hsiang-chu* in 5 vols by Ch'ou Chao-ao (Chung-hua shu-chū: Peking, 1979).

Moved by the times, flowers are splashed by tears;
 Resenting the separation, birds agitate the mind.¹⁰

Soon after, Tu Fu wrote to Abbot Ts'an of Ta-yün Monastery and visited him.¹¹ Tu escaped the rebel-held city later that year to join his friend Fang Kuan, a leading minister of the loyalist forces in Szechwan. But Fang was soon demoted, on the pretext of a minor offence, for his manifest military incompetence, and Tu Fu was likewise dismissed for protesting.¹² The next year (758), Tu Fu decided to retire from the public service to pursue the life of a Buddhist layman and live near his friend Abbot Ts'an, a minor poet,¹³ in the traditional mould of the Chinese "hermit."¹⁴ But Tu Fu could not abandon his family, give up alcohol and devote himself to Buddhism, he could only dabble in Ch'an and intermittently in the alchemy of Taoist immortality (which he sometimes denied, especially in his declining years).¹⁵

There has been considerable speculation on Tu Fu's attitude towards Ch'an, and what branch of ch'an he was involved with. In 755 just before the rebellion of An Lu-shan, when he was in Ch'ang-an, Tu Fu wrote about listening at night to some poems by a Mr. Hsü the Eleventh, a guest at a monastery on Mt. Wu-t'ai:

Scholar Hsü 許生 is a guest at Wu-t'ai.
 Your karma (業 work) good,¹⁶ coming over the stone wall.

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10. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 4.320; cf. A.R. Davis, *Tu Fu* (New York, 1971), p.52.
11. William Hung, *Tu Fu, China's Greatest Poet*, 2 vols (Harvard U.P., 1952), pp.105-107, and Davis, *Tu Fu*, p.68.
12. Hung, pp.109, 130.
13. Toki Zenmaro, *To Ho e no michi* (Tokyo, 1973), p.246.
14. Hung, pp.144, 148.
15. Liang Shih-ch'iu, p.207; Tozaki, p.219.
16. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 1141b, 2282.

I also serve (Seng)-ts'an and (Hui-)k'o,
But still am in meditation's quietist thrall.¹⁷

Hui-k'o and Seng-ts'an are the second and third patriarchs of the Ch'an genealogy, and it is noteworthy that Seng-ts'an only became significant upon his promotion by Shen-hui, with Northern Ch'an supporters creating their own propaganda stelae for Seng-ts'an. One of these men was Fang Kuan, in 762.¹⁸ But Fang Kuan also wrote a preface to a diagram/portrait of the six patriarchs made by Shen-hui in 752.¹⁹ As Tu Fu was a supporter of Fang Kuan, he must have known of these events.

Later, after the rebellion and his political disappointments, Tu Fu left Ch'eng-tu where he had been living for some years and went to K'uei-chou, just at the time that his important clan namesake, Tu Hung-chien (709-769), was appointed military governor of Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan in Ch'eng-tu in order to settle a rebellion.²⁰ While in Szechwan, Tu Hung-chien questioned the pupils of the Ch'an masters Mu-sang (684-762) and Wu-chu (714-774) about the principles of Ch'an.²¹ Tu Hung-chien was evidently taken by Ch'an, for he was tonsured just before he died and he wrote a poem on the theories of Ch'an.²²

Tu Fu fled the troubles around Ch'eng-tu, and perhaps the influence of Tu Hung-chien, of whom he seems to have been critical, for the backwaters of K'uei-chou, where he stayed between 766 and 768, writing nearly one quarter

17. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 3.246-247. Shih-pi is the name of a place, "Stone Cliff/Wall" where the Pure land teacher T'an-luan stayed.

18. Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.95.

19. *Ibid.*, p.121.

20. Hung, p.216.

21. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no Zenshi 2: Rekidai hōbōki: Zen no Goroku 3* (Tokyo, 1976), pp.189, 199.

22. *Chiu T'ang shu* 108.3284.

of his extant poems there.²³ During this time, Tu Fu wrote a long poem titled, "On an autumn day at K'uei-chou, I sang of my thoughts, and presented 100 rhymes to Inspector Ch'eng (Fan) and Receiver of Guests Li (Chih-fang)," in which he denies Taoist immortality and praises Buddhism. In it are lines which have given rise to much speculation:

I have vowed in person that at Shuang-feng Monastery
I would seek the Ch'an of the Seventh Patriarch at the gate.²⁴

Many suggestions have been made as to the identity of the seventh patriarch, ranging from one of the pupils of Hui-neng,²⁵ either Shen-hui (684-758) or Huai-jang (677-744), to one of Shen-hsiu's pupils such as P'u-chi (651-739);²⁶ but as all these monks had long been dead, he was probably referring in general to an idealized seventh patriarch.²⁷ The name Shuang-feng Monastery almost certainly refers to the monastery founded by Tao-hsin (580-651) about 620 on the mountain of that name, but there was a monastery of the same name on Mt. Heng (Nan-yüeh). Fang Yü, however, rightly points out that the two men Tu Fu was writing to were in Chiang-ling (Ching-chou), which would have been on the way down the Yangtze to Mt. Shuang-feng²⁸ (though one could go down the Hsiang River from there to Mt. Heng also). Toki Zenmaro thinks that Tu Fu may have earlier visited a monastery founded

23. Hung, p.221.

24. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 19.1713-1714, dated 767. Cf. Liang Shih-ch'iu, p.205 and Toki, p.221.

25. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 19.1714 note 7; Liang, pp.204-205, who notes however, that Hui-neng did not transmit the robe.

26. Toki, p.223, notes that Gokan Shiren (1278-1346) raised this question, positing P'u-chi and then throwing this into doubt.

27. Toki, pp.224, 228. None of the Szechwan-lineage "seventh patriarchs" could be candidates, for all had died well before this.

28. Fang Yü, *Tu Fu K'uei-chou shih hsi-lun* (Taipei, 1985), p.113.

by Shen-hsiu (Hsiu-chüeh Monastery in Hsin-tsin, south-west of Ch'eng-tu),²⁹ which is interesting, for in a tombstone inscription for his younger brother who died in 742, Tu Fu wrote that his brother had

Given up garlic and blood for the taste of Ch'an,
And he left the turbid current at Tu-men.³⁰

Tu-men Monastery was founded by Shen-hsiu (606-c. 706),³¹ the patriarch of Northern Ch'an. There are other hints in this passage that Tu's brother was a Northern Ch'an devotee,³² and this may be applicable to Tu Fu also. So as Tu Fu was thinking of going to Chiang-ling to visit his two friends, he may also have wished to pay his respects at the not-too distant Tu-men Monastery at Tang-yang. In fact he had visited two monasteries after being at Yü-ch'üan Monastery,³³ which may be in a sense considered the parent monastery of Shen-hsiu's hermitage.

Perhaps Tu Fu's concern with the theory that poetry depends on emotion, rather than being the expression of Confucian *chih*, had some bearings then on his attraction to Ch'an. This theory of poetic sentiment began to smolder in

29. Toki, p.225. I have not been able to locate this monastery.

30. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 25.2230.

31. John McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, pp.50-51. Tu-men Hermitage was made a monastery on imperial orders, *Ch'üan Tang wen* 224.2859b.

32. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 25.2230 則其著心定慧, but in *Tu Fu ch'üan-chi* (Taipei, 1975) p.250, it is 則其著心定惠. *K'an-hsin* is a feature of Northern Ch'an, as is *chu-hsin*, the *Platform Sutra* warning against them. Cf. Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki Zenshushisho no kenkyū*, p.459 note 15.

33. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 22.1986-1989, dated 769. The two monasteries are to the south-west of Ch'ang-sha. Tu also mentions Sung Chih-wen, a patron of Shen-hsiu. See McRae, op. cit., p.54 for Sung's epitaph for Shen-hsiu, and *Ch'üan Tang wen* 240.1089a for his memorial to invite Shen-hsiu to the court in 700.

Tu's works in his Szechwan days,³⁴ but were undoubtedly sparked by Lu Chi, who wrote of *yüan ch'ing* 緣情 (dedendence on emotion; Buddhistically, "conditioned by emotion"), for Tu was interested in Lu Chi who was known to him through the media of the *Wen-hsüan* in which Tu was well-versed from his youth.³⁵ This collection had brought the Southern Six Dynasties' poems and their authors' ideas about emotion to his attention.³⁶

There are lines in Tu Fu's poems which hint that he was probably familiar with the ambiguous meanings of *wu-ch'ing* (insentient/emotionless) and *yu-ch'ing* (sentient being/passionate). In about 753/4 he wrote:

The fallen catkins and floating gossamer threads also have emotion,
Following the winds and reflecting the sun, gently are put in motion.

Thus an emotionless or insentient thing is given emotion.³⁷ This was an idea not necessarily elicited by the insentient Buddhahood thesis, for it had a poetic precedent in the work of Juan Chi (210-263) who considered that all was empty. Juan proclaimed that "If you have compassion you have emotion (*yu-ch'ing*)." ³⁸ As all is empty, one may conclude that emotion is as empty as the insensible and that there are no barriers between these states. Thus in 757, Tu Fu, lamenting the loss of young men in the wars, and remembering the tragic death of Yang Kuei-fei, rebuked the insensitivity of Nature:

The blood-stained wandering soul cannot return.
The clear Wei (River) flows east, Sword Defile is deep.
From the departed to the survivor, her to him, they cannot communicate.

34. Suzuki Shuji, p.354.

35. Ibid., pp.355, 357, 366.

36. Ibid., pp.369-370.

37. Ibid., p.356. Suzuki makes the contrast with *wu-ch'ing* here. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 2.145.

38. Suzuki Shuji, p.356 makes this connection.

Human life has emotion (*yu-ch'ing*), tears moisten his breast.
The river waters and river flowers, how finally are they ultimate?³⁹

The Wei River was running alongside Ma-wei slope where Yang Kuei-fei was killed to the west of Ch'ang-an; Sword Defile is the narrow pass with a road made of wood fitted to the sides of the cliffs over which Hsüan-tsung had to flee on his way to Szechwan. Nature then does not respond to the sorrow of the mourning emperor, for it allows no news from the wandering ghost of his love to reach him.

Later, in 759, Tu Fu wrote about sending a young man to the front in his poem "Hsin-an li":

The blue mountains are as if weeping aloud,
But don't make your own eyes wither.
Save your tears for the battle lines,
For if eyes wither (dry up) you will see the bones.
Heaven and earth are ultimately heartless (*wu-ch'ing*).⁴⁰

It is not just inanimate objects like the waters of the Wei River that lack emotion,⁴¹ but also plants and sentient animals, as can be seen in his poem "Night" written in 766 when his interest in emotion had begun to bloom:

Again I've met the southern chrysanthemum; a person lies ill,
A letter from the north hasn't arrived yet, the goose heartless.⁴²

39. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 4.331. He was in captivity at the time (4.329); Suzuki, p.356. Cf. Davis, p.53.

40. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 7.523-524. The blue mountains are meant to indicate the people living there according to the commentary. To make the eyes wither is for tears to dry up, possibly turning to blood. The commentary cites the *Chin Shu* as saying, "Emotion is produced due to memory. If one does not remember there is therefore no emotion 無情." Such verses as these here account for Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü* (Yale U.P., 1975), p.109, talking of Tu Fu and "nature's indifference to human affairs." Cf. also p.169 on Meng Chiao.

41. Suzuki Shuji, p.357.

42. *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 17.1467; Suzuki Shuji, pp.359-360.

Here he refers to the heartlessness of a relative who does not write when Tu lies ill in the south, but like the other verses quoted above, this one too has an overtone of insentience, the goose also being a trope for a letter.

Themes such as these suggest to A.R. Davis the traditional Chinese theory of poetry or "the basic characteristics of Chinese landscape poetry: they blended scene (*ching*) with the writer's emotional response (*ch'ing*) to it. Pure description of scene without personal response would be regarded as a geographical rather than a literary work."⁴³ This is what has been called by Yeo Song-nian the "sentimental fallacy" in Chinese poetics.⁴⁴ I believe that it is not merely the response to the stimuli of things that has given rise to the pathetic fallacy of these poems, but also the Ch'an consideration for the insentient. And it was the resultant ambiguity that signalled what was according to both A.C. Graham and Kurokawa Yoichi a new sensibility in poetry which they source in Tu Fu's poems of the K'uei-chou period.⁴⁵

The use of multiple meaning though was not restricted to the poets alone, for at that very time Nan-yang Hui-chung was using just this in his reading of a sutra made in justification of his advocacy of the Buddha-nature of the insentient. This was probably made at court ca. 761:

Asked, "What scriptural authority do you have for the insentient preaching the Dharma?" Hui-chung said, " ... Haven't you seen where the *A-mi-t'o ching* says, 'Water, birds and forest trees are all mindful of the Buddha...'? The birds are sentient, but how are water and forest trees sentient?"⁴⁶

43. A.R. Davis, *Tu Fu*, p.129.

44. Yeo Song-nian, "The Problem of 'Sentimental Fallacy' in Chinese Literary Criticism," *Tamkang Review*, vol. 6 no. 2 and vol. 7 no. 1 (Oct. 1975-April 1976), pp.342-343.

45. A.C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang* (Penguin Classics, 1965), p.20. The very example he chooses on p.21 presents the possibility of the pathetic fallacy. But note that J.D. Frodsham, *Goddesses, Ghosts, and Demons: The Collected Poems of Li He* (San Francisco, 1983), pp.li-iii, says "ambiguity" or "plurisignation" goes back to the Six Dynasties period. It is just that at this time in the T'ang that they became more involved. This issue requires further study.

46. *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.123.

Hui-chung is being a little devious here, for the original of the scripture might read "Water, birds and forest trees" only by the most creative parataxis and imagination. Neither of the translations by Kumārajīva and Hsüan-tsang mention "water-birds", let alone "water, birds and forest trees", and both restrict mindfulness to sentient beings (*chung-sheng* in Kumārajīva and *chung-sheng* or *yu-ch'ing* in Hsüan-tsang).⁴⁷ But all the same, Hui-chung was working within the framework of Ch'an "contemplative analysis."⁴⁸

Ch'an was particularly fond of such ambiguity for it reflected and evinced the multi-stability of perception and the paradoxes that could be used to lead to Awakening.⁴⁹ This ambiguity was a part of the philosophical tradition that preceded Ch'an (including the paradoxes of the prajñāpāramitā Scriptures and the analysis of mind in the *Ch'i-hsin lun* for example),⁵⁰ so the

47. *Fo-shuo A-mi-t'o ching* (T. no. 366), T12.347a and *Ch'eng-ts'an ching-tu Fo she-shou ching* (T. no. 367), T12.349b.

48. John McRae, *The Northern School...*, pp.201-202, 206.

49. For example, "Empty-handed I hold a hoe/ Walking on foot I ride a water buffalo" (Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, New York, 1966, pp.49, 264-265) or the dialogues of Nan-ch'üan (p.280) and Tung-shan on the insentient (p.297), or the lines "I take blindness as vision, deafness as hearing" (p.120), "the sound of one hand clapping," or "what was your original face before you were born?" (p.44). The idea of multistability comes from Fred Attneave, "Multistability in Perception" in *Recent Progress in Perception* (Readings from *Scientific American*) (San Francisco, Sept. 1975) and the "introduction", p.138, on "ambiguity," where ambiguous diagrams such as the Necker Cube may be reversed by perception and the brain. Only one alternative is seen at one time even though one may know rationally that there are two (or more). Ch'an aimed at seeing them as they are; in terms of Buddhist logic and the two truths, either one or the other (conventional truth) or both or neither (higher truth).

50. For example, the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* says, "The Thus Come preaches that the compleate material body is not the compleate material body, (so it) is called the compleate material body." Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi, *Hannya shinkyō: Kongohannyakyō*, p.104. For the definition of the ālayavijñāna in the *Ch'i-hsin lun* T32.575b7-9: "The mind that arises and ceases is dependent on the Tathāgatagarbha, so there is an arising and ceasing mind. That which is called non-arising and non-

reinterpretation of the sutras via "contemplative analysis" to the extent of distorting the sense of the original text was quite acceptable. Anyone who was cognizant of the standard sutras and the Ch'an style of analysis would have known how Ch'an monks traded on the ambiguities of the texts (and the vague impressions people with average memories had of specific passages). Given the links that many poets had with Ch'an, and Ch'an's growing popularity, such an understanding of deliberate ambiguity may have been in part derived by poets from Ch'an.

Finally, we should note Suzuki Shuji's claim that all the later mid-T'ang poets were conscious of Tu Fu's work, and tried to take Tu's dominant themes and techniques even further.⁵¹ This was especially true of the theme of emotion in poetry, which played a part in the arisal of what has been characterised as Chinese baroque poetry, with some observers even wishing to include Ch'an literature in this arena.⁵² Certainly this literature does display an intense sensibility and concern with mutability, even a magical paradox of illusion and the breakdown of barriers.⁵³ But even if this characterization is apt, poetry still had to go through the medium of a monk-poet, Chiao-jan, who gave the insentient in poetry its first theoretical expression.

ceasing which is combined with arisal and cessation, neither one nor different, is called the ālayavijñāna."

51. Suzuki Shuji, p.370.

52. Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity*, p.274.

53. J.D. Frodsham, *New Perspectives in Chinese Literature* (A.N.U. Press: Canberra, 1968), pp.10-12; Tak-wai Wong, "Toward Defining Chinese Baroque Poetry," *Tamkang Review*, vol. 7 no. 1 (April 1977), pp.26, 28, 33, 35, on emotion, time, landscape and conceit, p.61 on "fusion of illusion and reality" and p.54, on Buddhism and illusion. Cf. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, p.68, "the boundaries that separate the real world from the metaphysical world are breaking down."

7) Explicit Explorations of the Insentient in Poetics: Chiao-jan

Soon after the time of Tu Fu, the theories of perception in poetry initiated by Wang Ch'ang-ling were explicitly linked to the thesis of the Buddhahood of the insentient for the first time by the poet monk Chiao-jan (c. 734-c. 800+ or 730-799), a tenth-generation descendant of Hsieh ling-yün. Chiao-jan began his Buddhist career as a pupil of the T'ien-t'ai master Shou-chih (700-770),¹ a monk also learned in Tantra and Northern Ch'an. Chiao-jan was likewise an eclectic, specialising in Vinaya and the *Hua-yen ching* (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*). Chiao-jan also studied secular texts, and he practiced Ch'an, but under whom we do not know.

Chiao-jan became a member of a very talented circle, having friends in the T'ien-t'ai monk Yüan-hao (?-817), an heir of Chan-jan, the poet monk Ling-ch'e (746-816) from Chiang-nan, author of the preface to the Ma-tsu Ch'an "history," the *Pao-lin chuan*² and his poetry pupil; Lu Yü, author of the *Ch'a Ching* (*Classic of Tea*); Yen Chen-ch'ing, a poet and master calligrapher; and the poet Wei Ying-wu (737-792). He even helped Yen Chen-ch'ing write a treatise on rhyme, the *Yün-hai Ching-yüan*.³ Chiao-jan was thus a member of a circle of pro-Southern Ch'an poet-monks centred on Kuei-chi and the lower Yangtze region who had a considerable role

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1. For biographies of Chiao-jan, see *Sung Kao-seng chuan* T50.891c22-892b22 which is translated in Thomas P. Nielson, *The Tang Poet-Monk Chiao-jan*, Occasional Paper no. 3, Center for Asian Studies (Arizona State University: Tempe, 1972), pp.56-62, which is rather free. He also reconstructs Chiao-jan's biography, pp.1-12. See also Fu-lin's epitaph for Chiao-jan, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 919.4297a-c. Cf. also Sun Ch'ang-wu, "Lun Chiao-jan *Shih shih*" in his *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, pp.172-174, and Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High Tang*, pp.287-295, who stresses Chiao-jan's connection to the secular world and the secular nature of his poetry, and occasional imitation of Wang Fan-chih and Han-shan. For Shou-chih there is *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 918.4291b-c, an epitaph by Chiao-jan, and SKSC T.50.797c12-798a6.
 2. T50.892a4. For the biography of Yüan-hao, SKSC T50.740a17-c1; of Ling-ch'e, T50.802b2-23, Fu Hsüan-tsung, ed., *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan chiao-chien* (Peking, 1987), pp.612-617, and Toki Tetsuhiko, "Horinden no jōsha Rei-tetsu to shi-sō Rei-tetsu," *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 30.2 (Oct. 1987), esp. pp.36-48, 50-51.
 3. T50.892a24-26, b13-14. According to the *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan (chiao-chien)*, p.623, Lu Yü was raised by a Ch'an monk, and was a close friend of Chiao-jan (p.627).

in the popularization of the Southern Ch'an of Hui-neng and its legends, probably as mediated via the interpretations of the Ma-tsu and Niu-t'ou lineages.⁴

Chiao-jan is famous above all for his tracts on the theory of poetry, including the *Shih-shih* 詩式 which was expanded from the original one *chüan* to five by Li Hung after 789.⁵ Although there are many textual difficulties,⁶ we can see that Chiao-jan defined poetic terms from a mental perspective. Thus he says "calm" (*ching* 靜) and "distance" (*yüan* 遠) refer to psychological states, and not to words of the poem such as, "The breeze not moving the pines," or "Peering at the mountains... distant haze."⁷

Thomas Nielson thinks that Chiao-jan's poetry is based on a theory that "the natural universe and the true self are both manifestations of Tao, making it possible to know one by knowing the other, the ascetic hopes to discover himself by discovering nature" and its "amorality." Nielson therefore thinks that "the total absorption into the environment that accrues from pondering the natural universe may be seen in the following poem...:

Being fond of the sound of pines, I listen unceasingly,
Always midst pine trees, I forget to return.
Suddenly, there being nothing beyond this,
I laugh at the idle clouds... idle as I."⁸

This is very slight evidence!

4. Toki, pp.36-38; *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 917.4287b14, 4288a4ff., 4289a, 4290a-c.

5. T50.892a18-21; Nielson, pp.19-21; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, p.174.

6. See Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, pp.174-175. An attempt at a reconstruction of Chiao-jan's texts on poetry theory has been made by Funazu Tomohiko, *Tō Sō bungaku ron* (Kyūko shoin: Tokyo, 1986), pp.23-39 for the *Shih-i* and pp.56-65 for the *Shih-lun*. The remainder of the article describes the problems of the reconstruction, pp.7-22, 40-55. For other comments on these works see "Chiao-jan" in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser Jr. (Indiana U.P., 1986), pp.270-272. I have not seen all the secondary works mentioned in it.

7. Nielson, p.22.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.

Rather, I would turn to the evidence of Chiao-jan's own treatises and references to Buddhism in his poems for his theories of creation. Chiao-jan assayed the comparison of the Buddhist dogma of mind-only (*citta-mātra* 唯心) genesis or evolution to the production of literature. The problem is encapsulated in a poem that shows he still had his doubts:

How do the manifold images come forth from the mind?
 Yet the mind is indifferent 無記 [neutral], building naught.

 It is a fond hope that I would know, the difficulty of creating sense-data (*ching*),
 For the image forgotten, divinely it happens upon my brush tip.⁹

The Buddhist proposition, derived from experiments with meditation and perception, that the mind, like a mirror, reflects all images with detachment or indifference, was well known at this time, for one of Chiao-jan's lay contemporaries, Lü Wen (c. 774-814), wrote in a poem to Ling-ch'e:

Monks also have the inspiration of the gorgeous Spring,
 For their own mind-source lacks the hindrances of sense-data.
 When you look at the water in the pond, it is clear;
 When did it not receive the reflection 景 of the flowers and branches.¹⁰

Consequently, Chiao-jan had no trouble in understanding that the images of the poem and the sense-data or percepts of the poet must be related, and that the *ching* (scene/reflection) is finally empty. This is elucidated in his treatise:

Now if the sense-data 境 and the images are not one, the empty (*hsü*) and the real (*shih*) will be difficult to clarify. That which can be seen 看 and yet not apprehended 取 is the reflection (*ching*). That which can be heard [perceived] and yet not seen is the mind. That which, although it coordinates my body/personality, yet functions marvellously without a substance 體, is the mind. The reason (義, *artha*) that links the manifold images, yet

9. CTS 821.9255; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, p.164. Note that the words "divinely happens upon 神通" occur in *Chuang-tzu* for the butcher's perfected technique; Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.29. Cf. A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p.63, "in touch with the daemonic in me."

10. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, p.165. Cf CTS 370.4162

lacks a definite (material) constituent 質, is colour (色 *rūpa*).¹¹ Now all of these can be used to pair with the empty,¹² and can also be paired with the real.¹³

The difficult technical term *artha* usually means a sense-object, with the extended semantic range of "meaning" or "principle" as implied by its Chinese translation. *Rūpa* is literally colour, and although generally translated as "matter," in fact is the only way the visual sense (the primary one in the vast majority of Buddhist technical manuals, being the most accessible and appealing) can detect matter.

Thus the concern in this circle with forms of perception and psychological states, with how the object world is reflected and represented in the mind, derives from Buddhist epistemology. Chiao-jan's theory of poetical creation has as its core the "apprehension of sense-data" (*ch'ü-ching* 取境) and "consciousness/idea of sense-data" (*i-ching* 意境).¹⁴ The latter term comes from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and is glossed as *mano-gati*. Its literal meaning is "wish," but it means in the sutra the "realm where the *manas* [the mental coordinator of the sense-data] operates."¹⁵ Sun Ch'ang-wu suggests that these ideas and terms are derived from Fa-hsiang School (i.e. that founded by Hsüan-tsang's pupil, Dharma Teacher Chi) theories of cognition,¹⁶ but I suspect that this is too specific. However, there is undeniably a Buddhist theory behind Chiao-jan's poetics.

11. Bodman, p.410 has *karma*?

12. 对虚, "to take the sky or emptiness as an object" in the Buddhist sense. Cf. Chan-jan's *Chin-kang pi* T46.781c1 and *Ta-po nieh-p'an ching* T12.828b28 对於虚空 in part of the passage on the insentient. *Tui* also has the meaning of being parallel, especially in literature.

13. Chou Wei-te, , p.144; Lo Lien-tien, p.102; Bodman, p.102.

14. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, pp.175-177.

15. Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, vol. 1, p.274. For the various meanings of *ching*, see Andrew Rawlinson, "The Ambiguity of the Buddha-nature concept in India and China," p.274 note 24, *visaya* or *gati*.

16. *T'ang-tai...*, pp.176-178. Sun has elaborated on these points also in *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, pp.350-354, where he points out further similarities. Cf. the comments by Huang K'an who comments on the idea of "the spirit and things wandering" from the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* that "this says that the internal mind and external sense data are in contact...by

Moreover, Chiao-jan appears to have been aware if the ideas of Shen-hui, or at least those of Shen-hui's protagonist, Ch'ung-yüan. This is evident from Chiao-jan's autocommentary to his poem:

Sense-data pristine, the myriad images true,
 Conveyed by the eye, all are of benefit.
 On the plain, the insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) flowers,
 In the mountains, the listening sutra rocks.¹⁷

The comment reads:

The meaning of the Saint's teaching is that although the grass and trees etc., the container world, are insentient, they are permeated by the principle-nature (*li-hsing* 理性). It is also said, "Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā." This is the meaning of this poem....The eminent monk (Seng?)-ch'üan's poem says, "For students a number of rocks." (Tao)-sheng had stones that comprehended the sutras.¹⁸

The first line of his quote is one half of the couplet cited to Shen-hui by Ch'ung-yüan of Mt. Niu-t'ou in the debate about the extent of the Buddha-nature. The centre of Niu-t'ou Ch'an was on Mt. Niu-t'ou, near where Chiao-jan lived, so this line may have been popular locally. In any case, Chiao-jan meant that the objects of Nature, the container world or environment of Buddhist theory, are themselves true and of spiritual benefit to those who can truly "see" them with an undisturbed mind, or in Ch'an terms, No Mind. In this condition emotion, though not non-existent, does not overwhelm one, as Chiao-jan affirms in the following poem:

He and I battle to overcome sorrow (*k'u*),
 And perceive sense-data, not drowned in emotion.

apprehending sense data to approach the mind, the mind finds it difficult to illumine the sense data," (p.335), a most Buddhist comment.

17. CTS 816.9187; Sun, *T'ang-tai*..., p.181.

18. CTS 816.9187. It is not completely certain whether or not this is really Chiao-jan's own commentary, or that of the compiler of his collection, Yü Ti, or even someone later. If it is genuine, it would prove that the legend of Tao-sheng preaching to the stones goes back to mid-T'ang, and if the monk Seng-ch'üan who was in the lineage to Chi-tsang is meant, it could go back to Sui or earlier.

The intellect (*chih* 智) is confused by the movement of thoughts (*nien*)
 But merits accumulate due to No Mind (*wu-hsin*).¹⁹

So when the mind is as empty (*śūnya*) as the sense-data that disturb it, the mind can see their source, itself. This thesis goes to the very philosophical substratum of Ch'an, the Paramārthin line of Vijñānavāda that claimed that the obliteration of the sense-data and the vijñānas (consciousnesses, processes of perception and representation) is the Amalavijñāna or Pristine Consciousness. It is because the world as perceived is a creation of one's own mind that one can see one's own mind.²⁰ In some ways this has affinities with Tsung-mi's (890-841) characterization of Niu-t'ou Ch'an as expounding, "Fundamentally there are no events and the forgetting of emotions."²¹ He elaborates on this summation as follows:

"Fundamentally no events" is the principle that is awakened to, i.e. mind and sense-data are originally empty, they did not begin now [at awakening] to be quiescent. If one is deluded about this, that is considering (events to be) existent. [By considering there to be existence, one] thereby produces the emotions of love and hate etc. The emotions produce the bonds of the frustrations (*k'u*). Because they are dream creations and dream perceptions (*meng-shou* 夢受), the realization that they are ab origin non-existent etc., is the necessary destruction of the self and the forgetting of emotions. Because forgetting the emotions is the transcendence of the frustrations and sorrows, they take forgetting emotion to be their practice.²²

However, it is not definite that Chiao-jan was under Niu-t'ou influence, for he may also have been a follower of Ma-tsu Ch'an, which Tsung-mi sums up as "All categories (of perception) are the Way, let the mind go free," a doctrine that allows even evil to be in the mind, and as the Mind is the Way, one cannot use the mind to cut off the evil of the mind.²³ Although Chiao-jan may have had Ma-tsu connections,

19. Sun, *T'ang-tai...*, p.182. The term "drowned in emotion" also occurs in Chiao-jan's *Shih-i*, Lo Lien-tien, p.104.

20. Jorgensen, "The Long Scroll," pp.201-202 for this idea in Ch'an and its origins.

21. *Yüan-chüeh ching Ta-shu shih-i ch'ao* Z14.557b9.

22. *Ibid.*, 557b18-558a3.

23. *Ibid.*, 557a2-557b.

if Tsung-mi's outline is correct, I think that Chiao-jan was probably closer in doctrinal affiliation to Niu-t'ou because of its concern with emotion (Chiao-jan might not have gone so far as to completely forget emotion though) and its assertion that one can see mind with mind. This can be discerned in the following poem by Chiao-jan:

The manifold dharmas come out of the gate of non-existence;
 Their profusion causes confusion to the intelligence.
 It is vainly said that Mr. So and So,
 Alone created the origins of Heaven and Earth.

 Before things, how could there be (anything) in existence?
 You should know that unmoved thoughts (*nien*)
 Illuminate/reflect the multi-layered source.²⁴

Therefore, as both the discursive mind of moving thoughts and the grasped insentient environment are ultimately empty, and so pure potential, both can have the Buddha-nature:

The lone crane and the horizon, both attain the nature (*hsing*),
 The floating clouds and myriad worlds, all are insentient.²⁵

Chiao-jan thus implies that we only need to stop the mind from being moved and the sense-data or precepts will no longer disturb us; the world will no longer be alienating.

A clamour from the bird I sent away, my mind is unmoved,
 I allow the teaching's fragrance to intoxicate me, the sense-data are constantly dimmed.²⁶

But such doctrines as put into poetic form by Chiao-jan do not mean that as a consequence Chiao-jan was not alive to the value of emotion in the writing of poetry. The balance between emotion or sensibility and language had to be just right. A poet

24. CTS 820.9249; Sun, *T'ang-tai...*, p.182. Could the 魚 of the last line be 法 or 象 ?

25. CTS 817.9208; Sun, *T'ang-tai...*, p.182.

26. CTS 817.9209; Sun, *T'ang-tai...*, p.182.

has to be human after all; one merely is not overcome by one's emotions, which is what forgetting emotions may imply. This is stated in Chiao-jan's treatise:

Furthermore, literary composition is related to one's fundamental nature (*pen-hsing*).... Thus we know that if we are drowned in emotion and ignore 廢 the language 語, the language will be crude 朴 and the emotions dimmed; if we are slave to the language and make light of the emotions, the emotion will be missing and the language insipid 淡. Skilful clumsiness and pure impurity, with these we see the aspirations (*chih*) of wise men.... Is this not just like the possession of the Middle Way in the realization of the nature in the gate of emptiness?.... This can be spiritually understood, it cannot be verbally attained. This is what is called the Middle Way of the poets... It is like,

"White clouds envelop the darkened stones,
The green reeds flatter the clear Lien waters."

...These are couplets which convey emotion through matter and colour.... Now the work of poetry is a creation of the mind, it takes emotion as its ground, evocations (*hsing* 興) as its sutra; only after that will the pure tones rhyme with its style and rules.²⁷

Here Chiao-jan's poetics are not just redolent of Buddhism, Buddhism is the epitomy of poetic creation. But he has not overlooked Chinese tradition here. Chiao-jan still admits to finding the aspirations of the sages and the worthies of the past in their works.

Indeed, a reference to Wang Ch'ang-ling's theory is made by Chiao-jan in relation to the "apprehension of sense-data" and literary creation:

It is also said, "There is no need to trouble thoughts (*k'u-ssu* 苦思). If the thoughts are troubled, one loses the constituent 質 of the spontaneous (*tzu-jan*)." This is not correct. If you do not go into the tiger's cave, (the mind), how can you get the tiger? When you apprehend sense-data, it should be of the utmost difficulty and danger. Then you will see the strange verses for the first time. After the composition is completed, when you contemplate its spirit and complexion, it seems as if it was attained at leisure without thought (*ssu*). This is the height of skill.²⁸

27. Chou Wei-te, pp.147-148; Lo Lien-tien, p.104; cf. Bodman, pp.419-421.

28. Lo Lien-tien, p.88; Chou Wei-te, pp.147-148. Note that Chiao-jan in his *Shih shih* quotes an evaluation of Lü Tsang-yung's (c.660-c.714) assessment of Chia I and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's writings as modelled on the *Rites* and *Music* as experienced and full, unlike contemporary

Therefore the process of writing has an apparent active aspect; it has all the preliminary struggles of the Ch'an practitioner who attempts to grasp the essence of the mind via intellection. Thus when his enlightenment dawns naturally, it appears as if there was no preceding struggle or quest. Consequently, Chiao-jan alludes to Ch'an and Hua-yen theories of enlightenment when he states that the basic nature (*pen-hsing*) must not become a problem for the poet, in the sense that he must not constantly imitate or return (*fu* 復) to earlier and ancient examples.

It is like the sudden teaching of Buddhism whose (beginning) students have the fault of being immersed in the nature (*hsing*). They really do not know that with the dharma of nature-arisal (*hsing-ch'i chih fa* 性起之法) that the myriad and manifold images are all true.²⁹

In other words, as in the Hua-yen theory of *hsing-ch'i* or "natural-arisal," where the pristine Buddha-potential (called *ju-lai hsing* 如來性) arises spontaneously in both the proper and environmental realms of requital, and where the *pen-hsing* arises rather than the desire-motivated conditional arisal (*yüan-ch'i* 緣起),³⁰ true images are created or arise for one without you being obsessed with them as objects. "Nature-arisal" then is a paradigm for creative writing, for it likewise seems to be easy and uncontaminated by effort and design. It even appears in a Chiao-jan poem:

Nature-arisal, marvellous and not stained,
Mental activity, quiet and without trace.³¹

authors. He also refers to and counters a theory of 500-year eras in literature; 500 from Confucius to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, after which the Way had been lost for 500 years until Ch'en Tzu-ang (661-702), Lo Lien-tien, p.98. This seems similar to Wang Ch'ang-ling's concerns, but has added the Chinese Buddhist theory of *mo-fa*, the end period of the Dharma, with a renewal of the cycle when a new Buddha or great writer appears. Chiao-jan also mentioned many of the famous poets associated with Buddhism, such as Wang Fan-chih (Lo Lien-tien, p.90), Hsieh Ling-yün and Chih-tun (Lo Lien-tien, p.102). Moreover, he quotes Wang Ch'ang-ling (Lo, p.89).

29. Lo Lien-tien, p.100.

30. Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Kēgonshisōshi no kenkyū*, pp.555ff, 565ff et. passim. and "Yuishin to shōki" in *Koza Daijō Bukkyō 3: Kēgonshisō*, ed. Hirakawa Akira (Tokyo, 1983).

31. CTS 815.9170.

Of course Chiao-jan had still to admit that emotion was a precondition for poetry, and that emotion was intermeshed with the perceptions of one's environment. Writing of the meaning of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and his ancestor Hsieh Ling-yün's role in the editing of its Southern recension, Chiao-jan wrote:

Poetic emotion is aroused due to the sense-data,
The dharma-nature conveys the trap of emptiness.³²

Given that Chiao-jan was versed both in T'ien-t'ai doctrine and the *Hua-yen ching*, he was surely conversant with the problems of the relationships between "nature-arisal," sense-data, the dharma-nature, emptiness and the emotions. Although these relations are still rather obscure, attempts had been made by Hua-yen scholastics to clarify them.

The term *hsing-ch'i* (natural-arisal) appears in the *Pao-wang hsing-ch'i* chapter of the *Hua-yen ching*, and is of a common origin with the *Tathāgata-utpattisambhava* or *Ju-lai hsing* of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* (*Pao-hsing lun*).³³ The Chinese translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, that by Buddhahadra (359-429) in sixty *chüan* and that by Śikṣānanda (642-710) in eighty *chüan*, both titled *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching*, give no coherent explanation of *hsing-ch'i*, but rather make allusive and indirect suggestions via the context.

Firstly, the dharma-nature (*fa-hsing*, *dharmatā*), emptiness, the Buddha's sense-data realms and the Buddha-nature or fundamental nature (*pen-hsing*) are described:

True Thusness (*chen-ju*), divorced from falsity, is constantly quiescent,
Without birth and without extinction, it is omnipresent.
The sense-data realms of the Buddhas are likewise,
The substance-nature (*t'i-hsing*) is equanimous, neither increasing nor decreasing.
.
Universal throughout the three worlds and yet not universal.
The sense-data realms of the guiding teacher are also thus,
Permeating the three worlds, all lack any kind of hindrance.
The nature of the dharmas (*fa-hsing*) lacks activity and change,
Just like the fundamental purity of empty space.

32. CTS 815.9175. Here the topic of the poem is the meaning of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and his ancestor Hsieh Ling-yün's role in editing the "Southern text."

33. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon...*, p.565 and "Yuishin to shōki," p.253.

The nature of the Buddhas (*fo-hsing*) is pure also thus,
 The fundamental nature not being a nature, divorced from existence and non-existence.
 The dharma-nature is not accessible to verbal discussion,
 Lacking preaching, divorced from preaching, constantly quiescent.

. . . .
 No literature or speech can describe it.

Realize and know the nature of the dharmas to be quiescent,
 Just like a bird flying in the sky (*k'ung*) leaves no trace.
 By the power of the original vow, (the Buddha) manifests the material body
 To get (beings) to see the Thus Come's great spiritual transformation.
 If you desire to know the sense-data realms of the Buddhas,
 You should purify your *manas* (i 意) to be like empty space,
 And distance your self from false imaginations and apprehensions,
 And cause the mind's course to be entirely without obstructions.³⁴

So this Thus Come-nature or Tathāgata-gotra that arises is empty; both the Buddha-nature and the dharma-nature are empty, and it is through this equivalence of condition that the two are interrelated. In Buddhist reasoning these natures are then true and real. Thus the sense-data that arise and are empty, appear to the person of purified *manas* who does not apprehend or grasp (*ch'ü 取*) them, as pure and Truly Thus; the nature of the Buddha in all things is clear to him because it has arisen without the obstructions of discursive thought or attachments derived from preconceived notions. Perhaps monks such as Chiao-jan could read this as Nature preaching the Dharma, as the "Thus Come nature-arisal Dharma (*Ju-lai-hsing-ch'i fa 如來性起法*).³⁵ Indeed, it is striking that all the terms that have a truly Buddhist distinctiveness in Chiao-jan's works can be found in the above verse passage from the sutra.

The most famous section of this chapter of the *Hua-yen ching* is one that can be interpreted as saying that Nature contains the truth of Buddhism. It is preceded by

34. Śikṣānanda translation, *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching* T10.262a1-262b11; cf. Buddhahadra's translation, T9.614c19-615a14. This has been partly translated by Thomas Cleary, *Entry into the Inconceivable* (Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp.202-203.

35. T9.612a19.

the topic of the elimination of the *kleśas* or passions, and the residue of the *kleśas* in the bodhisattvas³⁶ through insight.

There is a great wind of wisdom, called the extinguisher. It can extinguish the *kleśas* and residues of the *kleśas* of all the Great Bodhisattvas.³⁷

The sutra proceeds to describe the universality of the wisdom of the Buddhas:

If one divorces oneself from false imaginations, all-wisdom, natural-wisdom and unobstructed-wisdom can be manifest before the sons of the Buddha [Buddhists]. It is for example like a giant sutra scroll, as vast as the trichiliocosm, that describes in writing the affairs in the trichiliocosm, all is complete therein. That is, the descriptions of the events of the Great Iron Surrounding Mountain are as vast as the mountain itself. The descriptions of the events of the Great Earth are as vast as the Great Earth....Sumeru....the material realm heavenly mansions. Every single one is described. The extent of this massive sutra, although as vast as the Great Thousands of Worlds, is complete in a single dust-mote [atom]. If (it is in) one dust-mote, then likewise (it is in) all dust-motes.

Once there was a man of discerning and clear intellect, complete with the perfected pure Heavenly (deva) eye, who could see this sutra scroll within the finest mote, where it had not the slightest benefit for sentient-beings. So he thought, "I will use the strength of zeal (*virya*) to smash open that dust-mote and bring forth that sutra so as to benefit all sentient beings."

....Thus you should know that each and every dust-mote is likewise. Sons of the Buddha! The wisdom of the Thus Come is likewise, unlimited and unobstructed, universally able to benefit all sentient beings, being complete in the bodies ~~of~~ of sentient beings.³⁸

Although this passage does not assert that Nature preaches the Dharma, being merely an illustration, it does allow for such an inference to be made, especially when the sutra states, "You should know that the mental sense-data realms are the Thus Come sense-data realms,"³⁹ both being unlimited. The sutra is universal, as are the Thus

36. See Etienne Lamotte, "Passions and Impregnations of the Passions in Buddhism" in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, ed. L. Cousins et. al. (Dordrecht, 1974), p.91ff.

37. T10.272b26-27.

38. T10.272c6-24; cf. T9.623c26-624a14.

39. T10.273c15; T9.625a24.

Come and the mind, which after all, represents the universe in Hua-yen mind-only theory.

These topics were taken up by Hua-yen scholars, among whom Chiao-jan may be included, for he specialised on this sutra authority, and so must have consulted the commentaries and treatises elucidating it. His master, Shou-chih, although formally a Dharmagupta Vinaya or T'ien-t'ai lineage monk, is also reputed to have read the voluminous *Hua-yen ching* two or three hundred times.⁴⁰ Chiao-jan probably studied this sutra with his teacher's directions. Moreover, as there was a continuing debate between T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen scholars over the Buddha-nature and its relationship to causation and the question of good and evil, Chiao-jan must have been versed in these theories.

The T'ien-t'ai theorists proposed the doctrine of *hsing-chū* 性具 in explanation, to which Hua-yen schoolmen responded with *hsing-ch'i*. The first Hua-yen master to propound *hsing-ch'i* was Chih-yen (602-668), who used the *Hua-yen ching*'s term *hsing-ch'i* as a means to unifying his theories of conditional arisal (*yüan-ch'i*) and as a basis for the Hua-yen system. Whereas arisal only occurred because of the conditions in *yüan-ch'i*, *hsing-ch'i* needed no conditions or causes, it arises without arising, and therefore was a marvellous function of One Vehicle (as opposed to Three Vehicle) *yüan-ch'i*. Chih-yen based this theory on the Ti-lun concept of the Tathāgatagarbha and the She-lun notion of the ālayavijñāna,⁴¹ both evidently considered by Chih-yen to be the subliminal mental matrix of all existence, good and evil, as well as the potential for Buddhahood. It is also noteworthy, given that Chiao-jan uses the "Ch'an" term *wu-hsin* (No Mind), that Chih-yen also made it part of his *hsing-ch'i* theory by incorporating all of T'an-ch'ien's (542-607) *Wang shih-fei lun* 亡是非論, a treatise greatly indebted to Kuo Hsiang's commentary on the *Chuang-tzu* which uses *wu-hsin* as a key term, into the *hsing-ch'i* chapter of his *Hua-yen ching nei-chang men teng tsa k'ung-mu chang*.⁴² The *Wang shih-fei lun* concludes:

40. *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 918.4291b16 says 300 times; SKSC T50.797c24-25.

41. Andō Toshio, *Tendai shōgushisō ron* (Kyoto, 1973), p.120.

42. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon...*, p.569 and "Yuishin to shōki," pp.256-257; Kimura Kiyotaka, *Shoki Chūgoku Kegonshisō no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1977), p.557. For a detailed comparison of the works of Kuo Hsiang and T'an-ch'ien, see Kimura, pp.290-300. Cf. Whalen Lai, "T'an-ch'ien and the Early Ch'an Tradition: Translation and Analysis of the Essay 'Wang-shih-fei-lun'" in *Early*

If you do not wish to be in bondage, there is nothing like *wu-hsin*. Because of the lack of mind (*wu-hsin*), who is there to consider that there is right or wrong (*shih-fei*). Right and wrong are eliminated (*wang* 亡). Other and ego consequently are lost.....So then one can be released into *wu-wei* (the uncreate?), travel free and easily beyond bonds. This is also due to conforming with nature-arisal.⁴³

As Kimura Kiyotaka has demonstrated, *wu-hsin* was especially used by Kuo Hsiang in his commentary on the "Ch'i-wu lun" chapter of the *Chuang-tzu*. It has resonances for poetical theory and for T'an-ch'ien's treatise:

Wu-hsin is to be merged 冥 with things and never to have contrasted oneself with the world.

So then to become great and not be categorised, there is nothing better than *wu-hsin*. Since you have rejected right and wrong, and have also rejected that rejection...you will arrive at no rejection.⁴⁴

T'an-ch'ien may also have consulted the works of Seng-chao (384-414), who also used the term *wu-hsin*.⁴⁵ Chih-yen put *hsing-ch'i* into the context of the mind as described by the *Ch'i-hsin lun*, a mind with two aspects, one of True Thusness, the other of birth and cessation or samsara. Thus when he avers that "*hsing* is the substance (*t'i*) and the arisal (*ch'i*) is manifested in the mind-ground (*hsin-ti*),"⁴⁶ he is referring to that ambiguous matrix which in its pure aspect is No Mind.

Fa-tsang (643-721), Chih-yen's heir, advanced the theory of *hsing-ch'i*, claiming that it was mutually dependent with conditional practice (*yüan-hsiu* 緣修), which means that *hsing-ch'i* had to be put into practice in accordance with conditions, implying that it did not arise spontaneously without effort. Thus it came close to

Ch'an in China and Tibet, ed. Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (Berkeley, 1983), esp. pp.76-84.

43. T45.581b15-19; cf. Whalen Lai, op. cit., p.81.

44. Kimura, p.298.

45. Ibid., p.299.

46. *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching sou-hsüan fen-ch'i t'ung-chih fang-kuei* T35.79b29-79c1; Kimura, p.555.

T'ien-t'ai statements on *hsing-chü*.⁴⁷ Indeed, Fa-tsang seems to have introduced some elements of the T'ien-t'ai *hsing-chü* doctrine, in particular the explanation of evil as rising from the nature, into his own system. But Fa-tsang made the distinction that the evil taints belong to the ignorance aspect of the substratum nature, and that pristine truth depends on nature-arisal, in other words, the removal of the kleśas.⁴⁸ Thus Fa-tsang writes in his *Hua-yen ching t'an-hsüan chi*:

Question, "Are sentient beings and kleśas all nature-arisen or not?"

Answer, "They all are."

"Why?"

"Because they are what are saved and cut off [respectively], are what are known (?).

Therefore all are nothing but *hsing-ch'i*."⁴⁹

In the same work, Fa-tsang also considers the extent of *hsing-ch'i*, whether it is present in the sentient and the insentient, and whether it is only dependent on the Buddha-result:

"But the three worlds are present in the result. For this reason sentient beings [and not just Buddhas?] are subsumed within it."

Question, "Since it has been restricted to the Buddha-result, why does the following text (of the sutra) have it that it is common (*t'ung* 同) to all dharmas?"

Answer, "According to the Three Vehicles Teaching, the nature of True Thusness is common to the sentient (*ch'ing*) and non-sentient (*fei-ch'ing*). The initiated, Aware Buddha-nature only is restricted to the sentient (*yu-ch'ing*). Therefore the *Nirvana Sūtra* says, 'That which is not the Buddha-nature is grass and trees etc.' According to the Perfect Teaching, the Buddha-nature and the nature-arisal are both common to the dependent [environmental] and proper (requisite). This is just as the following text expounds. Therefore the perfected Buddha is provided with the three worlds; the lands and bodies are all the Buddha-body. Therefore it is restricted only to the Buddha-result, and (yet) is common to and universal in the insentient."⁵⁰

47. Andō Toshio, p.121.

48. Ibid., pp.122-123.

49. T35.405c9-11.

50. T35.405c24-406a1.

Thus Chiao-jan, citing the *hsing-ch'i* theory as he does, may have connected it in a similar fashion to the Buddha-nature of the insentient which he found both in Fa-tsang's philosophy and in Niu-t'ou teaching. Moreover, in another text attributed to Fa-tsang, the *Hua-yen ching wen-ta*,⁵¹ other relevant problems are addressed:

Question, "The two terms, *hsing-ch'i* and *yüan-ch'i*, how are they different?"

Answer, "*Hsing-ch'i* is of itself a term for not following after conditions. The term *yüan-ch'i* [one text has "is fundamentally *chü-hsing*"], herein is an approach to expedient means, in that dharmas arise by following after conditions because they have no self-nature. Since in its dharmas not arising, one can get to enter and understand it, its *hsing-ch'i* is its dharma-nature. Therefore its lack of arising (*wu-ch'i*) is taken to be the nature, and so its non-arising is an arising."⁵²

Therefore *hsing-ch'i* is the dharma-nature when it is not discriminated by discursive thought and desire.

Fa-tsang here also deals with the passage on the dust-mote sutras:

Question, "... Why does the (*Hua-yen*) sutra adopt the dust-mote sutra as an analogy? Was it to show to sentient beings that within the ignorant mind there is a natural wisdom, a wisdom that needs no teacher etc., a nature-arising wisdom?"

Answer, "The saint can see the nature-arising dharma of sentient beings. Therefore he preaches thus. What impediment is there?"⁵³

By Chiao-jan's own day, the debate over such questions had become more complex with the introduction of new elements. The Hua-yen scholar Ch'eng-kuan (738-839), who had studied together with the T'ien-t'ai master Chan-jan under the Vinaya specialist T'an-i (one-time pupil of Fa-shen), also studied Ch'an under the direction of the Niu-t'ou master Fa-ch'in (714-793), chief disciple of Hsüan-su (668-752), in addition to Northern Ch'an and Shen-hui lineage Ch'an (the latter under Wu-ming, 724-794). As Chiao-jan was associated with several of these monks, he must have known of Ch'eng-kuan's synthesis of these doctrines.

51. For a discussion of this attribution, see Ishii Kosei, "*Kegonkyō mondō no chōsha*," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 32.2, pp.593-596 who attributes it to a Silla monk.

52. T45.610b17-21. Note that the text is corrupt. One version has often added *chü-hsing* into the text.

53. T45.610c11-14.

Ch'eng-kuan allowed for both good and evil in his variation of *hsing-ch'i*, the distinction being merely one of awakening versus delusion. Thus he said that there is pure *hsing-chi* and tainted *hsing-ch'i*.⁵⁴ But it was Ch'eng-kuan's adherence to the theories of Shen-hui, who denied the Buddha-nature of the insentient, that probably led him to clash with Chan-jan, whom tradition declares wrote his *Chin-kang pi* to refute Ch'eng-kuan's position on the Buddha-nature of the insentient. (I think, however, that Chan-jan was attacking Shen-hui, not Ch'eng-kuan who was Chan-jan's junior.) Ch'eng-kuan had divided the Buddha-nature into the nature as the dharma-nature and the attribute (*hsiang*) as numinous knowledge (*ling-chih* 靈知, this term was coined by Shen-hui). So one can say in respect of the dharma-nature that the insentient is included in the authoritative *Mahāparinirvāṇa* statement that "all have the Buddha-nature," but in respect of the Buddha-nature as numinous knowledge, the insentient lacks the Buddha-nature.⁵⁵

The citations by Chiao-jan of these terms specific to certain Buddhist lineages are an aid in ascertaining his religious affiliations. It has been proposed by Sekiguchi Shindai that Chiao-jan was associated with the line of Niu-t'ou Ch'an headed by Hao-lin Hsüan-su (668-752), for not only did Chiao-jan write an encomium for Hsüan-su, he was also a close friend of one of Hsüan-su's leading pupils, Fa-hai (n.d.), a friendship said to have "transcended form." Chiao-jan may also have known Li Hua, the pro-T'ien-t'ai and Northern Ch'an literatus, for Li Hua wrote funerary stele for both Fa-hai and Hsüan-su. Pertinently, Li Hua wrote of Hsüan-su's death that the sentient and the insentient both felt the influence of his great virtue.⁵⁶

Fa-hai may have been an inspiration to Chiao-jan. According to Li Hua, Fa-hai was the stupa-guardian or keeper of the master's remains,⁵⁷ a position often synonymous with heir to the teacher's monastery. Chiao-jan would probably have

54. Andō Toshio, pp.123-124. Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon...*, pp.477-500 discusses Ch'eng-kuan's teachers and his opinion on Ch'an.

55. Andō Toshio, p.126.

56. *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 320.1456a11-12; Sekiguchi Shindai, *Zenshū shisōshi* (Tokyo, 1964), pp.326-328, for Hsüan-su, pp.293-299.

57. *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 320.1456a21-22.

had respect for this monk, and he does in fact quote Fa-hai in a preface.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Fa-hai had attended the lectures of the Vinaya teacher Fa-shen, who had been the Buddhist teacher of Wang Ch'ang-ling, at Yang-chou together with the Vinaya poet-monks T'an-i and Ling-i in the T'ien-pao era (742-756). Yen Chen-ch'ing states that in 772 he met Fa-hai, Chiao-jan, Lu Yü and a number of other officials, and that Fa-hai and Chiao-jan both assisted him with the *Yün-hai ching-yüan*.⁵⁹ This was a highly literate circle of people interested in poetry, all of whom undoubtedly knew Wang Ch'ang-ling's theories of poetry.

Moreover, Fa-hai may have attempted to create a compromise between Niu-t'ou and Southern Ch'an. Yanagida Seizan has mooted a theory (since modified)⁶⁰ that Fa-hai was a compiler of one of the earliest, if not the earliest, version of the *Platform Sutra*, injecting Niu-t'ou themes into it.⁶¹ In fact, Fa-hai is called a pupil of Hui-neng by both the *Platform Sutra* and Tsung-mi.

So Chiao-jan was probably associated with Niu-t'ou and Southern Ch'an, but like his former teacher Shou-chih, he would also have been knowledgeable of Northern Ch'an. He wrote an encomium for Hui-neng and Shen-hsiu as a pair, and an encomium for Chih-i the T'ien-t'ai founder.⁶² He wrote a funerary inscription for a monk of Hui-neng's line, and the author of his own funeral stele may have belonged to the Shen-hui lineage,⁶³ despite his rejection of some of Shen-hui's basic beliefs. Thus Chiao-jan's outlook, as summed up in the encomium for Hui-neng and Shen-

58. Ibid., 917.4288c6ff.

59. Ibid., 339.1540b1ff.

60. For these modifications see "Goroku no rekishi," pp.411-412, 414. I have dealt with some of the issues involved briefly from another perspective in "Nan-yang Hui-chung and the Heresies of the *Platform Sutra*," a paper delivered at the International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism held at Fo Kuang Shan, Kao-hsiung, Jan. 9-13, 1989.

61. Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, pp.165, 187-188, 196-204.

62. *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 917.4289a.

63. CTW 917.4290a-c for Hui-ming. Fu-lin, who wrote his stele epitaph (CTW 919.4297a-c), is given as a pupil of Shen-hui in SKSC T50.892b22-28, though there is some doubt due to dating discrepancies.

hsiu, is a transcendence of the division into Northern and Southern Ch'an, which he regarded as a mistake.⁶⁴ This apparently was an attitude common to members of the Niu-t'ou line,⁶⁵ and indicates eclectic tendencies and a dislike of schism (*saṅghabheda*).

Chiao-jan seems to have had a complex about his poetry. After his initial enthusiasm for poetry, he later, ca. 785, proclaimed that he wished to stop writing as it was not the intention (*i* 意) of a Ch'an practitioner, being a vexation to his true nature, and that perhaps he should take as his companions the solitary pine and the lone cloud, and sit silently in meditation with them. He subsequently stopped his work on the *Shih shih* and put down his brush, addressing his brush and inkstone:

I am weary of your service, and you are vexed by my stupidity. For several decades I have finally attained nothing. Rather, you are external objects, how can you be bonds for a person? If (you) remain, I (will still be of) No Mind, and if you leave I (will still be of) non-ego. I will free you so we may each return to our fundamental nature. To make things one's own thing is not a concern for me.⁶⁶

However, in June 789, Li Hung met him and they were in immediate sympathy. At first they talked of Buddhist principles, but when Li Hung managed to see the *Shih shih* draft, he was astounded and compared it favourably to the great works of poetics of the Southern dynasties, perhaps a flattering indirect reference to Chiao-jan's favourite ancestor, Hsieh Ling-yün. Li Hung, with his affinity for Buddhism, persuaded Chiao-jan, not without the aid of other leading literati, that Chiao-jan was a talented poet, and that to reject literature as an evil was Hinayanist. From then on his friendships with the likes of Yen Chen-ch'ing, Yü Ti and others flourished like his poetry, evidently overcoming his doubts about the place of poetry in Buddhism.⁶⁷

In such a milieu, it is certain that Chiao-jan's references to these various terms in his poetry and poetics were not accidental; they are based on his study of the debates raging over the Buddha-nature of the insentient and the origins of good and evil out of the matrix nature. Therefore, when we read his poems, these terms, especially those dealing with emotion and the nature, must be read in the correct scholastic

64. CTW 917.4289a.

65. Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, p.171, describes this as a typical Niu-t'ou attitude.

66. SKSC T50.892a11-14; cf. Nielson, p.58.

67. T50.892a15-27.

context, and if possible, with reference to the stages in his life. Thus the emotion mentioned in his poetry is not always ordinary emotion, especially when it concerns a Ch'an monk:

The Ch'annist has emotion (*yu-ch'ing*/is a sentient being), but not the worldly emotion.⁶⁸

Still Chiao-jan concedes, probably of himself, that "A Ch'annist with No Mind, resentment yet arises," but this is in a verse of parting in which he says, "I have heard it said that men of emotion hate the emotion of separation,"⁶⁹ and so is probably a polite formality. But he means for sure that there are two levels of emotion. This was in fact a Niu-t'ou tenet, for Lung-ya Yüan-ch'ang (n.d.), a pupil of Hsüan-su, wrote the following in a verse:

When human emotion is intense, the emotion of the Way is faint.
The Way uses human emotion, how can the world know this?
Emptied of the existence of human emotion, there would be no Way to use (it).
But human emotion can attain it [the Way?] any number of times.⁷⁰

The delusory emotion is that mentioned in another of Chiao-jan's poems on parting:

Delusory emotion has going and staying.
The true nature lacks separation and leaving.⁷¹

The other register of emotion is probably the unconscious, pure emotion of the sage that must remain, at least as a residue,⁷² as a necessary corollary of human life. This is what in Niu-t'ou fashion was called the emotions that are forgotten. Chiao-jan's poem on a spring night at recluse Lu's scenic retreat is surely an illustration of this:

68. CTS 821.9265.

69. CTS 821.9268.

70. Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 1, p.132. Cf. Sekiguchi Shindai, *Zenshū shisōshi*, pp.316-319.

71. CTS 818.9214.

72. Cf. Lamotte, "Passions and Impregnations of the Passions in Buddhism."

The man who has forgotten emotion visits the man of emotion (*yu-ch'ing jen*),
 West Forest (Monastery), how can it lack the pure reflection (*ching*/scene)?
 It is just because of forgotten emotion that one does not notice it is Spring.⁷³

So Chiao-jan means that the "forgetting of emotion" is the forgetting of mundane emotion, not the sagely emotion, for he states in another poem that, "The sense-data (*ching* 境) excellent, it increases the emotion of the Way."⁷⁴ This implies that the sagely emotion can be a response to the environment, but only that environment that is not sought after and attached to, the percepts that arise with direct perception, unmediated by likes and dislikes and other such conditioned reactions.

However, when Chiao-jan says of himself that he has emotion, it may be an admission of failure in his Ch'an quest, when the emotionality and passion required of the poet interfered, as he himself admitted around 785. These emotions though are those of friendship, not surprising given his wide range of acquaintances and the mores of the age. This comes out in his poems on separation.

The fragrant grasses, accompanying you, naturally I have emotion,
 It is not related to the gibbon's cry or the colour of the mountains.⁷⁵

Therefore emotion is not solely linked to the natural environment. The perceived world is really a mental creation, its foundations are emptiness itself, for the matrix nature is empty. Numinous creativity then transcends the ordinary environment or emotions, it is the emotion of the Way. Thus he wrote about a painting by Chou Fang:

I know the true image fundamentally is not colour (matter),
 In this the marvellous function, your mind will attain it.
 If you can apply your brush in communion with spiritual creation
 Every dot, even a mistaken one, is likewise of the Way.⁷⁶

73. CTS 817.9210.

74. CTS 817.9207.

75. CTS 818.9224.

76. CTS 821.9258.

With the Buddha-nature as an underlying potential to both the sentient and insentient, being an empty (*sūnya*) matrix or kind of pleroma, with the mind as No Mind and emotions forgotten, and the environment empty, reversals between sensibility and insentience could easily occur. Hence Chiao-jan writes of a song describing a girl sent off on the tide by a King of Wu:

Now I know that the ancients were sincere through aspiration.

The flowing waters lacked emotion [were insentient], but on the contrary they had emotion.

The placid waves suddenly leapt to two or three feet,

And on top of them I suppose she resided with immortals.

.

The king of Wu is already dead, the girl not returned,

The tide waters lack emotion, how could they wait?⁷⁷

Chiao-jan also wrote of the more technical aspects of poetry criticism, giving it a Buddhist basis also. For example, Chiao-jan seems to have graded poetry into five levels of mental function (*tso-yung* 作用), the types of mental activity of the *manas* (i 意) that selects "sense-data," the raw images of poetry, and processes them in various levels of logic. These levels were detected by Sun Ch'ang-wu,⁷⁸ and although I am not certain of his findings given the unsystematic nature and corruption of the texts, his discovery of the word *liang* 量 in this connection is significant. In Buddhist logic there are various forms of knowing, or *pramāna*, ranging from the usual three as Tsung-mi asserts, of which he thinks most Ch'an groups use the upper two, inference (*anumāna*) 比量 and direct perception (*pratyakṣa*) 現量.⁷⁹ He stated that Ma-tsu Ch'an (and possibly Niu-t'ou?) only had inference, that is, knew of the Buddha-nature through words, while Ho-tse Shen-hui Ch'an knew it through

77. CTS 821.9261-9262. The tide waters are a tidal bore famous in the Wu region.

78. *T'ang-tai wen-hsüeh yü fo-chiao*, pp.187-188.

79. Kamata Shigeo, *Zengen shosenshū tojo: Zen no Goroku 9* (Tokyo, 1971), pp.56-57. For a translation see Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, "Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings," Ph. D. thesis, Columbia University, 1975, p.123.

direct perception, via the pure mind.⁸⁰ Other methods of knowledge include the authority of the scriptures, metaphor and deduction (or rather being self evident, *arthaprāpti*).⁸¹ Of the two forms of knowing typical of Ch'an, direct perception is a state beyond verbal function and thus unattainable in poetry itself, but can be used by the enlightened poet in his creative process, this being the inspiration.

Chiao-jan praised Hsieh Ling-yün's poetry as belonging to the penultimate grade of inference (*pi-liang*) where one is not attached to words, but uses them to direct attention beyond normal feelings to the true sense.⁸² Perhaps he also had in mind the meaning of *pi* in traditional Chinese poetics going back to the *Book of Poetry*, meaning a comparison or allegory of criticism.⁸³ Thus Chiao-jan writes:

From the two double intents (*liang-chung i* 兩重意 ?) on up, the sense is all beyond the text. If you happen upon the height of skill like the Duke of K'ang-lo [Hsieh Ling-yün] and you read and examine (his poetry), you will simply see the emotional nature (*ch'ing-hsing*), you will not see the words. This is to reach the height of the Way.⁸⁴

The Way he mentions here is the Middle Way of poetry:

Is this not like the realization of the nature of the Gate (topic) of Emptiness that is the possession of the Middle Way?⁸⁵

80. *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p.336. This is in a text called *Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*.

81. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 1696c-1697a.

82. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, p.188; cf. Lo Lien-tien, pp.88-89.

83. Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "The Ch'ang-chou School of Tz'u Criticism" in *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*, ed. Adele Rickett, p.158 note 15 quoting Cheng Hsüan.

84. Lo Lien-tien, p.89.

85. Lo Lien-tien, p.104; Chou Wei-te, p.148.

This then is the fundamental nature of literature 且文章闡其本性, the Middle Way of poetry, being made the equivalent of the realization of the Buddha-nature.⁸⁶ There can be no stronger comparison of Ch'an to literature or poetry than this!

Chiao-jan's ideas were spread through the world of poetry via his large number of lay friends, poetry pupils, and admirers who included Ssu-k'ung Shu (d. ca.790), Li Tuan (d. ca.787), Yen Chen-ch'ing, Wei Ying-wu (737-?), Meng Chiao (751-814) and Liu Yü-hsi (722-842).⁸⁷ The "inner" members of this circle such as Wei Ying-wu, Ssu-k'ung Shu and Li Tuan practised or dabbled in Ch'an,⁸⁸ and their language

86. Lo Lien-tien, p.104; Chou Wei-te, p.148.

87. For Ssu-k'ung Shu and Li Tuan, who is conjectured to have been Chiao-jan's pupil, see *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, p.607, and for his relations with Meng Chiao and praise by Liu Yü-hsi, pp.270-271. Meng Chiao wrote several poems mourning Chiao-jan (CTS 379.4252-4253 also for Lu Yü, and 381.4272 "Feng Chiang-nan ku Chou shang-jen..." where a note explains that he had written many poems to Meng, who must have visited him for Meng says "I remember my days at Tung-lin."), and he read the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* ("Tu ching" CTS 380.4267). He also regrets in "Self Pity" that "For the first time I was warned of the errors of Confucianism/ And gradually became close to the Buddhist vehicle" (CTS 374.4202), and he says in a very Ch'an poem about "Visiting Ch'an Master Chih-yüan on a Summer Day": "My teacher corresponds to what [number] patriarch?/.../I cannot be a disciple/ For my name is hung in the Confucian temple" (CTS 380.4265). See also Innes Herdan, *The Three Hundred Tang Poems*, p.506 for Li Tuan, pp.510-511 for Ssu-k'ung Shu, p.517 for Wei Ying-wu. Li Tuan left several poems such as "Remembering His Eminence Chiao-jan" (CTS 285.3247) and "Sending His Eminence Chiao-jan back to his mountain" (CTS 286.3270). Yen Chen-ch'ing wrote a "Presented to the Monk Chiao-jan" (CTS 152.1583); Wei Ying-wu a "Sent to His Eminence Chiao-jan" (CTS 188.1925).

88. For Wei Ying-wu's relations with a Ch'an monk from Hao-lin Monastery (CTS 186.1899) and other monks (CTS 192.1975 and 1979 with monk Shen-ching, and for other monks 1980-1984, and last poem 1981 on a monk from Ts'ao-ch'i); for Ssu-k'ung Shu visiting various monks (292.3317-3319, 3331 "Sending the Monk Wu-yen back to his mountain"). Note that a Sung biography says Chiao-jan imitated Wei Ying-wu's poems (Ogawa Tamaki, *Tōdai no shijin - sono denki*, p.301). For Li Tuan, CTS 285.3255, who in a note to the poem "My thoughts sent to Ch'ang Tang," says that he originally had venerated the Taoist immortals, but gaining

reflects the interests and poetics of Chiao-jan (or the circle as a whole), using the words *wu-ch'ing*,⁸⁹ "scenic enlightenment. 風景悟" and the "quieting of sense-data."⁹⁰ But above all, it was the idea that the Way is universal, realized through meditation, that was adopted from Chiao-jan. Thus Wei Ying-wu wrote in "Together with Yüan Hsi inscribed on Lang-yeh Monastery":

In the mountains there are many pure scenes.

.

Emotions emptied, placidity arose;

Sense-data quietened, sense-contaminants and falsity extinguished;

The passing world, how is it not the Way?⁹¹

Another element in their poetry is the sense that ture could reveal that Way to the sensitized observer. Li Tuan wrote in a poem "Sent to His Eminence Chen of Mt. Lu":

nothing thereby, his friend Ch'ang attempted to direct him to Ch'an, and while he knew it was correct, he could not gain (intellectual) entry to it.

89. Wei Ying-wu, CTS 186.1894 the 1st of "Twelve poems in imitation of the Old Poems," 190.1946 in "Reply to Registrar Ts'ui Cho," 194.2001 "Song of Gold Valley Garden": "The extremity of a calamity at once buries the resentment for a long time/ The many grasses without emotion in spring are themselves greenⁿ_λ
90. Wei Ying-wu, CTS 190.1947 "Reply to Registrar Ts'ui together with a letter to Eminence Wen": "Conditioned by emotion, crowds of bonds are produced./ I was enlightened late, depending on the current of the Way [monks]/ All the sense-data at once are already quietened./ I realized to take the body as floating in the world."; 191.1961 "Riding the Moon I pass over the ford at Hsi-chiao": "The mind holds the pure scene enlightened 心將 風景悟," or 191.1962 "Summer Day": "Wakened to tranquility, about to banish anxieties./ I studied emptiness, almost leaving behind sense-data..." A minor poet of this group, Huang-fu Tseng wrote in CTS 200.2186 "Presented to Ch'an Master P'ei": "Contemplate emptiness, not polluted by colour./ Towards sense-data, the mind self-satisfied..." 200.2180 "Sending off Eminence P'u Returning to Yang-hsien": "What use is there of seeking expedient means./ Looking at the mind 看心 is the One Vehicle."
91. CTS 192.1983-1984.

The moon bright and the pool's hues clarify the empty nature;
The night quiet and the apes' sounds verify the mind of the Way.⁹²

But it was Ssu-k'ung Shu who summed up Chiao-jan's influence in a verse sent to Wei Ming-fu:

Chai-sang's official residence is close to Tung-lin (Monastery).
The children with their first hair tufts, that is the mind of the Way.
.
The eminent monk silently gazes, the mountain servants in tow,
The running lictors noisily come, the water ducks dive.
The emerald bamboo and yellow flowers, all are of the Buddha-nature.
Do not teach that sense-contaminant data mistakenly encroach on it.⁹³

Therefore it is no surprise that full-blown expressions of Buddhist doctrine appear in treatises on poetic creation by admirers of Chiao-jan like Liu Yü-hsi.⁹⁴

92. CTS 286.3271. Compare the lines of Huang-fu Tseng, CTS 200.2184 "Presented to His Eminence Chien": "The cold pond, the moon moves and shakes/ Stopping the mind to return to the quiet principle..."
93. CTS 293.3325. The penultimate line refers to the couplet quoted by Chung-yüan to Shen-hui. The mountain servants are the monk's attendants. The last line says all is Buddha-nature, so one cannot use the excuse of adventitious contaminants to deny the numinosity of oneself or of Nature.
94. Liu Yü-hsi (772-842), who wrote "Notes on the Collected Works of Ling-ch'e" (Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry*, p.282), also had a Buddhistic theory of poetic creation and tried to explain why it was that Buddhists produced so many poets: "The term *śramana* in Sanskrit is equivalent to the expression *qu-yu* 去欲 (eliminate desires) in Chinese. Only when one is able to quit the desires will his mind become *xu* 虛 (empty, *śunya*), and when it is empty, the myriad forms of phenomenal reality will enter it. When they enter it, there is sure to be something which will break out, and it is this which consequently will take form in verbal expression.... Thus, from the time of near antiquity on, disciples of Śakyamuni who have become famous throughout the world ^{appear} one on the heels of another. Through *samadhi* (*dīng* 定, a composed mind) one achieves a *viśaya* (*jing* 境, a mental realm) which consequently reaches a purity through a soaring freedom and which, in accordance with *prajñā* (wisdom) charges words with meaning. Therefore, such a one attains beauty through the essence of art.

Chiao-jan, like Tu Fu, probably did much to pave the way for the next generation of poets, the so-called Baroque poets such as Li Ho. Thus Meng Chiao, an erstwhile pupil, shifted to a poetry that ascribed intent to Nature, even blaming it, a poetry where Nature usurps the role of man.⁹⁵ This Nature is unsympathetic, the harbinger of death and violence for sentient beings.⁹⁶ It is only in death that man can merge with Nature.⁹⁷ This may explain Meng's violent emotionality.

Indeed, Chiao-jan clearly approved of Ch'ü Yüan,⁹⁸ a most fitting model for any Baroque poet. Moreover, Chiao-jan advocated delving into the dangerous recesses of the mind and its creations in the search for direct perception, or at least, the overturning of conventional ways of thinking. In a passage parallel to one quoted above, he propounded the search for the unusual or bizarre.

Someone has said, "In poetry there is no need to trouble thoughts. If one troubles thoughts one is lost to the Heavenly (Natural) Truth." This is absolutely incorrect. You should definitely unravel your anxieties/concerns 慮 in the midst of danger, pluck the strange 奇 from the beyond of images, form flying and moving couplets, and write/unburden (oneself of) obscure and deep [冥冥 hellish?] thoughts. Now the pearl that is rare in the world must come out from under the jaws of the black dragon.⁹⁹ How much more so (must

Believe in the flowers which bloom in the forest of Ch'an and shun the pearl or jade which might be fished up out of the river." (Richard John Lynn's review of Pauline Yu, *Wang Wei*, in *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, vol.4 no.2 (July 1982), p.261. The pearl is that of *Chuang-tzu* 32. Cf. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.285. In other words, something so valuable is dangerous, either politically or because of attachment.

95. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp.160-161.
96. *Ibid.*, p.169.
97. *Ibid.*, p.181.
98. Bodman, p.414; Chou Wei-tè, p.146; Lo Lien-tien, p.103.
99. This image, deriving from *Chuang-tzu* (Burton Watson, *The Complete Works...*, p.360) was widely used also in Ch'an as a symbol of the need to take great risks to obtain something as valuable as the transmission of the patriarchal teaching (*Zengaku Daijiten*, 1291a). This was a theme of several poetical works by Tan-hsia T'ien-jan (739-824), a friend of Layman P'ang in his youth and pupil later of Ma-tsu Tao-i and Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien. These works are "Song on Playing with the Pearl" and "Song of the Pearl of the Black Dragon" (*Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.164).

one) penetrate the existences of the obscure enclosures of transformation.¹⁰⁰ But what is valued is that after the composition is completed it will have the complexion of ease, as if it were attained without thought.¹⁰¹

This surely was a prelude to a manifesto of Chinese "Baroque." For this reason, one cannot use clichés, for they present no difficulties or dangers of the unfamiliar. Chiao-jan attacks all clichés, even the Buddhist ones,¹⁰² and he excoriates what he calls "vulgar antitheses" such as "the face of the waters" 水面 or "the heart of the wave" 浪心 in poetry,¹⁰³ i.e. simplistic anthropomorphisms. These were destructive of the subtler appreciations he was seeking through his meditations on the insentient Buddhahood and the enlightening power of poetry. Like the later Li Ho, he demanded striking, if not shocking, and penetrating images which illustrate the revolution and upheaval of the various dimensions (*gatis*) of existence or transmigration, the eternal relationship of sentience to its containing milieu.

100. Translation tentative.

101. Lo Lien-tien, p.103; Chou Wei-te, p.147; cf. Bodman, p.124 and note 2 on p.423.

102. Lo Lien-tien, p.102; Chou Wei-te, pp.144-145; Bodman, p.411. I suspect this was aimed at a number of the Ten Talents of the Ta-li Era who tended to use such clichés as Vulture Peak, Tung-lin Monastery, the other shore, Layman Hsieh Ling-yün, and Eminent Monk Chih-tun and the like.

103. Lo Lien-tien, p.102; Chou Wei-te, p.144; Bodman, p.410.

8) Chiao-jan's Successors: The "Baroque" Poets, Followers of Han Yü

Soon after Chiao-jan and his fellow monk-poets of the lower Yangtze began to popularize "Southern" Ch'an in their poetry, another group of poets emerged in the metropolitan capitals of the north under the guidance or inspiration of the anti-Buddhist Confucian revivalist Han Yü, who with Meng Chiao has often been seen as the founder of Chinese Baroque poetry.¹ While Han Yü was an advocate of morality in society and duty and responsibility in state service, as an individual and poet he was more interested in emotion than in aspiration and its corollary, morality.² His advocacy of a heightened sensibility and a fascination with time and death thus has a Buddhist or Taoist dimension, and it is this conflict with his deeply-felt and public Confucian views that perhaps account for what J.D. Frodsham terms his interior "tension."³

Han Yü attempted to create a literature modelled on his own distinctive, imaginative recreation of antiquity, hijacking the *ku-wen* movement which had been led by the pro-Buddhist didactic authors Liang Su (promoter of Chan-jan's ideas and pupil of Yüan-hao), Li Hua (pupil of Chan-jan, friend of Chiao-jan, stelaewriter for Northern Ch'an monks), and Tu-ku Chi (friend of Ling-i and some Ch'an monks).⁴ These men had been trying to create a Confucian-Buddhist synthesis. Han Yü rejected this, at least overtly, as a pollution of the pure Confucian tradition even while he was, perhaps subconsciously, using Buddhist-derived ideas to reinforce his new vision. This occurred because Han Yü and his pro-Buddhist *ku-wen* predecessors, like Ch'an, wanted to overthrow the constraints of scholastic, textually-tied exegesis of the classics and moral exemplars of either Buddhism or Confucianism. It

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1. J.D. Frodsham, *New Perspectives in Chinese Literature*, p.11. This is refined in Tak-wai Wong, "Toward Defining Chinese Baroque Poetry," pp.25-28, 37-38, 46-61, where Han Yü is considered "High Chinese Baroque" and Meng Chiao as "Mannerist." Cf. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp.56-65.
 2. Cf. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp.36, 20 and Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity*, pp.224, 232-233.
 3. Frodsham, *New Perspectives...*, p.12, cf. p.7.
 4. Hartman, pp.217-220, 225, p.6 on Ch'an and the "ku-wen movement." Sun Ch'ang-wu, *T'ang-tai...*, chapter 1 "T'ang-tai 'ku-wen yün-tung' yü fo-chiao," pp.6-17, esp. pp.12-13; Stephen Owen, *Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, p.35.

permitted them to be bolder and more unconventional in their interpretations and more personal in the images of their emotional sensibility.

Han Yü consequently attracted a number of followers, including Chia Tao, Li Ho, Meng Chiao and Li Ao, to name some of the best poets and thinkers of the age. Chia Tao, Li Ho and Li Ao were also deeply involved with Buddhism, a religion that Han Yü despised in its popular forms, and which he had to confront not only politically, but also in experiential and personal terms when he held dialogues with the Ch'an master Ta-tien during his exile in remote Ch'ao-chou. Indeed, Ta-tien seems close to have having converted Han Yü.⁵

a) *Chia Tao (779-843)*

Chia Tao became a monk in 798, possibly because his family was poor and he wanted to avoid tax.⁶ He took the religious name Wu-pen. His younger cousin, Wu-k'o, equally famous in his day as a poet, also became a monk. But Chia Tao was ambitious, and so in 810 he went to Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an where he attempted to gain a patron in his quest for an official post by presenting his poems to Meng Chiao and Chiang Chi, and then later to Han Yü. He tried to flatter these doyens of the "Baroque" group, for around 811/812 we find Han Yü making humorous jibes at Chiao-jan's exaggerated attempts to write in what Stephen Owen calls the "cult hermetic style."⁷ Certainly Chia Tao concentrated on his writing at the behest of Han Yü, perhaps even changing his style towards the new Late T'ang style pioneered by Han Yü which was less symbolic, more restrained, and with a more direct appeal to Nature and the emotions than the arcane realms of the intellect.⁸ He probably even destroyed his earlier poems in response,⁹ for the extant collection is comparatively easy to read when compared to the typical "hermetic" or "baroque" poem of Han Yü, Lu T'ung or Li Ho.

Despite Han Yü's encouragement, Chia seems to have continued in the monastic life for a while before leaving the Order, not following his advice to the letter. This

5. Hartman, pp.93-99 based on *Tsu-t'ang chi* 2.1-3.

6. Li Chia-yen, *Chia Tao chu Ch'ang-chiang chi hsin-chiao* (Shanghai, 1983), preface p.2, p.138.

7. Owen, *Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp.225-226, 270; his first mature poetry dates from 813.

8. *Ibid.*, pp.224, 240-241.

9. *Ibid.*, p.213.

meant that when Han Yü was exiled to Ch'ao-chou in 819, Chia Tao had to get even more involved with political factions in order to gain another patron, resulting in a long period of frustration. He failed the *chin-shih* examinations in 822 because of the factional bias of the examiners, and it was not until 837 that he was given his first official posting as the lowly registrar of Ch'ang-chiang county in Szechwan. Chia Tao ended his life at another minor post in Chin-chou, leaving a widow.¹⁰

A life of poverty and disappointment accounts for much of the despondent, grey and even whining tone of Chia Tao's poetry.¹¹ It was not solely due to Romantic melancholy or Baroque morbidity.¹² Han Yü's influence is in evidence in Chia's poetry of "social realism," depicting poverty of common people and the oppression visited on them by the elite and the rapacious. Han Yü had advocated the use of the shocking, of eccentric and bizarre imagery, to call attention to their plight, a method Chia was also known for. With the criticism of Han Yü, and his master's personal change in style, Chia Tao reached a new compromise. His poetry came to be influenced in form at least by the works of Wang Wei and Meng Hao-jan, while the pursuit of the unusual and social comment was rather indebted to Tu Fu.¹³ But in contrast to Tu Fu, Chia Tao shared Han Yü's "northern" predilections in both poetry and philosophy, with its emphasis on politics and ethics, rather than the "southern" tendency to theory and emotion as a state of mind of the landscape. The world for Chia was too uncaring; the "baroque" poetry of the earlier years was a form of futile protest, and it continued to make its mark in the more placid nature poetry of the later Chia Tao and Han Yü. Thus we find no mention of the insentient thesis and pathetic fallacy constellation in the works of Chia Tao or Wu-k'o.

However, Ch'an intruded in other dimensions. Han Yü, inspired by the genealogical theories of Shen-hui that created northern and southern lineages in

10. Based on Li Chia-yen's *nien-p'u* and Ogawa Tamaki, *Tōdai no shijin - sono denki*, p.425.

11. Li Chia-yen, preface p.5.

12. See Frodsham, *New Perspectives...*, p.9 for the Romantic melancholy, and pp.12-13 for Baroque morbidity.

13. Li Chia-yen, p.206 and preface p.10. Cf. Owen, *Meng Chiao and Han Yü*, pp.240-241. For Han Yü and Meng Chiao's criticism, see Wu-chi Liu and Irving Lo, *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.570-571. Chia Tao has been considered the leader of one of the six branches of the followers of Tu Fu, the "eccentric 奇僻."

Ch'an and by Wang Ch'ang-ling's literary lineages, conceived the notion of *Tao-t'ung* (the lineage of the Way). He stated that it came from the Duke of Chou via Confucius to Mencius, and then in a great leap of hubris to Han Yü himself. Similarly, and possibly under the shadow of Han Yü, Chia Tao is alleged to have written:

The discussion of lineages [*tsung* 宗, or schools of literature] arose from the distinction between Northern and Southern Schools [in Ch'an Buddhism]. The style of the Southern School is such that each line conceals a principle, while that of the Northern School is such that in every two lines the meaning is clearly expressed.¹⁴

Even if these are not the exact words of Chia Tao, and there are some doubts, they are certainly pre-Sung,¹⁵ and thus a precursor to the inevitably cited poetry-Ch'an lineages of Yen Yü (1180-1235). Moreover, Chia Tao was positively pro-Southern Ch'an in his later years, especially after his repeated failures and during his life at Ch'ang-chiang, which seem to have prompted him to revert to his previous Buddhist ideals and practices.¹⁶ Not only did he exchange a great many poems with monks in this period,¹⁷ he also baldly declared his partisanship of Southern Ch'an as well as its connection with verbal expression and orthodox lineage:

"Sending off His Eminence Hsüan-chiao on a trip to T'ai-po"

14. Bodman, p.81.

15. There is some doubt that this text, the *Erh-nan mi-chih*, was by Chia Tao. The *Hsin T'ang shu* biography and the funerary inscription for Chia Tao mention only that he wrote poetry and do not mention any theoretical works. Nor is this text listed in the bibliography in the *Hsin T'ang shu* that includes his poetry. The compilers of the *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao* write of this work: "It is an old text titled as written by Chia Tao. Note that Ch'en Chen-sun's *Shu-lu chieh-t'i* says, 'The *Erh-nan mi-chih* in one chüan, written by Chia Tao of the T'ang. In all there are fifteen topics. I fear it is a [false] ascription...' Sometimes it is said to have had fifteen topics and sometimes forty-seven topics....Some scholars think it shows the influence of Po Chü-i." See Chang T'ai-sheng, *Chia Tao yen-chiu* (Nanking?, 1947), pp.35-38.

16. See Li Chia-yen's opinion, p.6.

17. Ibid., preface p.7.

I obtained a line in agreement with my talented neighbour,
To discuss the lineage (*tsung*), whose intent (*i*) is in the South.¹⁸

"Presented to His Eminence Shao-ming"

How could the patriarch depart without a word?
Through mental causation, the cut-off arm transmission (of Hui-k'o),
(And yet) he knew not that after (Hui-)neng,
There would still be a number of lamps burning.¹⁹

Elsewhere, Chia admitted, even while in Ch'ang-an, that perhaps he was better off studying Ch'an than swotting to take a degree.

"Written in Green Gate Ward"

The swallows remain, but the wild geese are already gone,
Within the seas [empire] any number of men are forlorn.
If you wish to ask of the principles of the Southern School,
You should return to North Peak [Hua-shan] to practice it.
If you do not have the lot to pluck the cassia [take a degree],
Simply lie upon the clouds and rest.²⁰

Finally, when Chia Tao was living far from his old haunts, he admitted to nostalgia and suggested that perhaps he should not quell that emotion, for that would be contrary to the Mahayana tenet of attaining nirvana without eliminating kleśa, a doctrine he avers that Northern Ch'an did not support:

"New Year"

Flowers bloom on the newly transplanted tree,
My mind then knows that in my homeland it is spring.
Even though I could pacify this resentment,
How can I be a Northern School adherent?²¹

18. Ibid., p.68.

19. Ibid., p.67.

20. Ibid., p.71.

21. Ibid., p.65.

In conclusion, it is probable that Chia Tao did assert the superiority of the South in both Ch'an and literature. But this "South" is not the geographic South by now, but an idealized South, for Chia's own regional roots and personal affiliations were in north China. He was, like his cousin Wu-k'o, evidently knowledgeable of the lineage disputes within Ch'an, and may even have sided with the claims of the self-annointed heir to the Ho-tse Shen-hui Ch'an lineage, Tsung-mi, for both he and his cousin wrote poems concerning this monk.²² Chia Tao wrote a poem of lament at Tsung-mi's death,²³ for Tsung-mi was a friend of both Chia and Po Chü-i an "associate" member of Han Yü's circle.²⁴ In spirit, Tsung-mi, despite his Szechwanese origins, was a party to the "northern" activism of Shen-hui and Han Yü, even to the extent of being implicated in the Sweet Dew Incident, a plot against the powerful court eunuchs.²⁵ He was also active as the author of works proclaiming the orthodoxy of the Shen-hui line, works steeped in Ch'an genealogy, while he also wrote apologies defending his Buddhism against the attacks made by Han Yü in his Confucian polemics.²⁶ Thus he was one of the forerunners of the Buddho-Confucian synthesis in Neo-Confucianism, for his works are full of references to Confucian ideas and the cosmology of the *Book of Changes*.²⁷

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22. Ibid., p.92 and CTS 813.9154 for Wu-k'o's poem.
23. Li Chia-yen, p.92; Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, "Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings," p.64, translates Chia's lament.
24. Broughton, pp.26, 59.
25. For a biography of Tsung-mi, see Broughton, pp.39-64, for the Kan-lu (Sweet Dew) Incident, pp.58-62.
26. Ibid., p.51 note 125. For Tsung-mi's relation to the Shen-hui lineage, see Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," p.107, esp. note 82, pp.109-110, 117-119, esp. note 128, p.123 for "clan genealogy" style of some of Tsung-mi's works.
27. Broughton, p.52 note 126 on the role of Tsung-mi as a link between Buddhism and Confucianism. Jan Yün-hua has considered these problems variously in his "Tsung-mi's questions regarding the Confucian Absolute," *Philosophy East and West* (Oct. 1980), pp.496ff., and "A Buddhist Critique to the Classical Chinese Tradition," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* vol. 7 no. 4 (Dec. 1980), pp.303-305, 308-309. For the *I Ching's* influence and Confucianism

In any case, although history has not made Chia Tao into a major poet, he was very influential in his day. Not only did his ideas on lineages in poetry garner much support in later times, but he was also considered the founder of one of the two schools of Late T'ang five-word regulated verse,²⁸ the other being that of Chang Chi (c. 765-c. 830), one of Han Yü's most faithful followers. Many monks belonged to Chia's school, and this was true even into the Sung dynasty, when Chia exerted an influence on the so-called Nine Monks, the Chiang-hsi School of poetry, and Su Shih.²⁹

One of Chia's imitators, Li Tung (f. 890s-c. 900+ when died in Szechwan), even made a statue of Chia Tao, chanted his name like that of the Buddha 念贊島佛 with a rosary in front of it, and burnt incense before Chia's poems, claiming them to be the equals of the Buddhist sutras.³⁰ Li Tung's eccentric actions confirm the view that poetry and Ch'an were regarded as one, and may be based on the new Ch'an opinion that actual contemporary Chinese teachers, even laymen, were Buddhas. (Perhaps Han Yü also thought of himself as the equal of Mencius or Hsün-tzu?)

Chia Tao then was not really an heir to Chiao-jan, who belonged to a varying geographic and aesthetic tradition. Although Chia Tao only conveyed emotion through the medium of the landscape in the traditional manner, critics such as Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692) still included him as an exemplar of the mergence of the poet and his scene via a Ch'an-style "direct perception":

"The monk knocked on the door 'neath the moon" is just imaginative speculation, just like relating another person's dream. Even though you allow that the description is very similar, how was there the slightest connection of mind? If you know this, then you will regard his deep thought in chanting over the two characters "push" and "knock" to refer to the other's thought creation 作想. If the scene 景 matches the mind, then one must necessarily rest on "push" or "knock." Because of the scene and the emotion, they themselves form a

in his Buddhism, see chüan 1A of his *Yüan-chüeh ching Ta-shu shih-i ch'ao* Z14.409b-435a, quoting the *I Ching* on *ch'i*, yin and yang, hexagrams, Confucian interpretations; Seng-chao; *Lao-tzu*, *Chuang-tzu* and the *Lun-yü*. Jan used Z14.703a-706b and 829b-832a.

28. Li Chia-yen, preface p.10, cf. pp.13, 205.

29. *Ibid.*, pp.208-210. For brief biographies and several selected poems of the Nine Monks, see Ch'en Hsiang, *Ch'an shih liu-pai shou* (Taipei, 1985), pp.250-259.

30. Li Chia-yen, p.209.

numinous marvel. How can one work at deliberating to make a decision (between the two words)? "The sinking sun is round on the Long River," initially it is not a fixed scene: "Separated by water, I ask the wood-cutter"; initially the thought is not realized. These then are what Ch'an calls direct perception (*hsien-liang*).³¹

The above is a discussion of the legend of Chia Tao's first meeting with Han Yü. Chia was wandering along the street pondering over whether to use "push" or "knock" in a poem when he bumped into Han Yü's palanquin. When asked the reason, Chia explained, and Han Yü decided that "knock" was best.³² Wang is criticising the idea that one can know other minds; rather, in the right conditions, the fusion of scene and emotion will provide the appropriate word without any deliberation or discursive thought, which is "direct perception."

b) *Li Ho (790-816)*

Li Ho, a distant scion of the T'ang royal house, has been enlisted by literary historians as one of the pupils of Han Yü, meeting him around 807,³³ when he was very young. Certainly Han Yü was his patron and defender, especially after jealous rivals of the teenage prodigy prevented him from sitting the *chin-shih* examination on the flimsiest of excuses.³⁴ The real reason was that they were convinced that he was a member of Han Yü's faction.³⁵

Li Ho learnt the social utility theory of poetry from Han Yü,³⁶ as well as *ku-wen* or the ideal of antiquity in literature and the use of unusual imagery in poetry.³⁷ Yet

31. Ibid., p.217 quoting *Chiang-chai shih-hua*.

32. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* 12284.27.

33. Harada Kenyu, *Ri Ga ron-kō* (Kyoto, 1980), p.4.

34. J.D. Frodsham, *Goddesses, Ghosts and Demons: The Collected Poems of Li He* (hereafter *Li He*), pp.xvii-xix.

35. Ibid., p.xx.

36. Ibid., p.xxvii.

37. Ibid., p.xliii. Cf. A.C. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, p.72 for Han Yü's strange imagery, and p.89 for that of Li Ho.

Li Ho seems to have spent only a short time out of his brief life in Han Yü's circle.³⁸ This, plus his hypersensitive personality, may account for Li Ho's "deviance" from this circle over the theme of emotion, or rather the insentient as sensible, in poetry. Tu Fu was his real master here,³⁹ for Li Ho was possibly the greatest exponent of emotion in poetry, taking Tu Fu's ideas on this to their ultimate conclusion: the emotionless or insentient communicate with emotional outbursts just as sentient and passionate humans do. This inevitably takes the form of the poetic fallacy, in which "The hibiscus weeps dew, and the fragrant orchid smiles."⁴⁰

While Li Ho may have learnt and imitated some of Tu Fu's anthropomorphizing poems,⁴¹ possibly through the mediation of his father Li Chin-su, who met Tu Fu in 768,⁴² and inherited Tu's love and imitation of the poetry of the Six Dynasties,⁴³ I suspect that Li Ho was influenced by Ch'an theories of the Buddhahood of the insentient. Li Ho declares that his "Bibles" were the *Ch'u Tz'u* and the *Lañkāvatāra Sūtra*.⁴⁴ The latter was a favourite textual authority among Ch'an Buddhists, having undergone a revival in esteem through its use by Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788) and his pupils after it had been denigrated by Shen-hui. It may even be possible to see the influence of monks such as Chiao-jan in such poems by Li Ho about inanimate passions.

This attribution of an emotional life to inanimate objects is not the same as the Six Dynasties or Wei-Chin period use of natural things to convey the emotions of the poet 寄物陳意 for that implies that Nature is still divorced or separated from

38. Harada, p.658.

39. Cf. Frodsham, *Li He*, p.xliii.

40. *Ibid.*, p.xxxi.

41. Suzuki Shuji, pp.370-373.

42. Harada, p.471 discusses the probable year of the meeting which he gives as 769. Cf. also A.R. Davis, *Tu Fu*, p.95 and Frodsham, *Li He*, p.xiii who give 768.

43. Suzuki Shuji, pp.375-376.

44. *Li He*, pp.xxxvii, 82.

human society as a distant ideal.⁴⁵ There can be no mergence of emotion and scene in that. In the extreme cases in Li Ho, the insensible object becomes passionate, while the humans become heartless. Li Ho, a devotee of the *Ch'u Tz'u* and the shamanist aspect of Chinese culture,⁴⁶ combined this with the epistemological "mind-only" theories of the *Lañkāvatāra Sūtra* to create a poetry of the haunting delusions and illusions in which the images are pure emotion-tinged imagination 妄想, written in a language which can only hint at the ultimate unreality of its subject and itself by its extremity and exaggeration, verging on a Baroque use of language.⁴⁷

Shamanism is ostensibly a contradiction of Ch'an Buddhist beliefs, but in the doctrine of the Buddhahood or even "divinity" of inanimate things, they are complimentary. Firstly, shamanism in its animistic guise considers that many insentient objects have a numinous life of their own; swords can be dragons⁴⁸ and statues can weep.⁴⁹ Even the supposedly sceptical literati and state functionaries incorporated such beliefs into their writings and rituals, thinking that "nature was animated by divine beings - that rivers, clouds, and crags were the physical manifestations of the supernatural world."⁵⁰ Thus it is not untoward that both Li Ho and the later Ch'an poet-monk Kuan-hsiu (832-912) wrote of the mineral and crystallized fairies and immortals, emotionless and deathless, yet somehow active like stalactites.⁵¹

45. Cf. Obi Kōichi, *Chūgoku bungaku ni arawareta shizen to shizenkan* (Tokyo, 1962), pp.49-51.

46. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*, pp.8-9; Wu-chi Liu and Irving Lo, *Sunflower Splendor*, p.572.

47. See the quote from Odette de Mourgues in Frodsham, *New Perspectives in Chinese Literature*, note 31 on imagination, emotion and the surreal nature of Baroque poetry. Ch'ien Chung-shu, *T'an-i lu*, p.412 refers to the use of meaningless phrases in Ch'an such as "three catties of flax" as a way of "using words to eliminate words."

48. Edward H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman*, p.22.

49. *Li He*, p.lvii.

50. Schafer, *The Divine Woman*, p.99.

51. *Ibid.*, pp.142-145.

Still, even these so-called immortals were part of the omnipresent and ineluctable transiency (*wu-ch'ang*) of the universe perceived by the Buddhists. Li Ho, who was morbidly fascinated by the passing of time and the onrush of death, wrote of visions of the immortals dying and the apparently unchanging landscape going through vast upheavals. These visions, partly shamanistic seances like those described in the *Ch'u Tz'u*⁵² in which the poet-shaman induces visitations from the gods and travels through the heavens and the underworld in search of the wandering souls of the sick and the dead,⁵³ and semi-shamanist mystic journeys through the universe described in philosophical language as in the "Free and Easy Wandering" chapter of *Chuang-tzu*, have counterparts in Buddhism.

In the background to the development of Buddhism in India, Tokiwa Daijō has perceived a strain of shamanism. Something akin to animism or pantheism can be traced back to the *Vedas*, in which gods are "personifications" of natural forces and where elements of tree worship and the like may be detected.⁵⁴ This is tightly interwoven with concepts derived from the Indian notion of transmigration⁵⁵ that helped break down the barriers between the sentient and the insentient. Folk-tale and shamanistic themes such as the birth or transformation of an insentient object into a human being were used to promulgate Buddhism among the common people.⁵⁶ It is these *Jātakas* and other such "birth-tales" that undoubtedly inspire visions of the heavens and hells of Buddhism, and the shamanistic journeys to or rebirths in these parallel worlds. After all, the Buddha and other enlightened beings could trace their past lives back through countless incarnations in many different realms.

In medieval China such stories of visits to the underworld, particularly the hell in which Yama presided, were popular and were used by Buddhist preachers to teach

52. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, on Li Ho and transiency p.89, on the death of the immortals and the *Ch'u Tz'u*, p.90.

53. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, pp.9, 34-35, 81, 101. Cf. the comments of Toshihiko Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism* (Univ. of California Press, 1983), p.307.

54. *Nippon Bukkyō no kenkyū*, p.128.

55. *Ibid.*, p.118.

56. *Ibid.*

the lessons of karma and filial piety.⁵⁷ Some of these collections even contained non-Buddhist mirabilia of the shaman-journey type.⁵⁸ The very dichotomy of heaven and hell in such a clear-cut form came to China from India via Buddhism, which had adopted these concepts from the tradition of the *Vedas*.⁵⁹ Shamanistic journeys into hell by figures such as Maudgalyāyana or Mu-lien were cloaked in Sino-Buddhist filial piety. On the other hand, the visions of the Pure Lands of Amitābha and Amitāyus could be linked to the shaman spirit-voyages and the Heavens of the Taoist immortals, for Amitāyus means the Buddha of Limitless Life. For example, in the *Kuan wu-liang-shou ching (Sutra of the Contemplation/Vision of Amitāyus)*, Queen Vaidehī makes prostrate and tearful supplication to the Buddha, bemoaning the fact that this world is evil and a "hell" full of starving ghosts and beasts. She is granted a vision of the Buddha who teaches her sixteen methods of visualizing the Pure Land.⁶⁰ These visions of paradise include those of trees and flowers of gold, precious stones, lapis lazuli and corals,⁶¹ or vistas and prospects of bejewelled lakes with gold sands and vast lotus flowers, and birds singing the Dharma which automatically induce thoughts of Buddhism in the hearers.⁶²

57. For Tsung-mi's use of these tales, see Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, pp.24-29. See also Tsung-mi, *Yüan-chüeh ching Ta-shu shih-i ch'ao* Z14-836a-841b, which deals with resurrection, visits to hell, ghosts, revenge, and concludes with a hierarchy of knowing from humans down to vegetation.

58. Jorgensen, "The *Long Scroll*: The Earliest Text of Ch'an Buddhism," pp.41-44 for some early examples such as *Hsü Kao-seng chuan* T50.657c25-658a8; *Ming-pao chi* of ca. 650-655, T51.788c6-24, 793a-b, 795c12-796b4. For a general outline of some of these Buddhist mirabilia, see *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William Nienhauser, pp.628-629.

59. Daigan and Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Concept of Hell* (Philosophical Library: New York, 1972), pp.15-20, 23-24.

60. T12.341b.

61. T12.342b.

62. *A-mi-t'o ching* T12.347a. Cf. Hsüan-tsang's translation of the same sutra, T12.349a-b.

In Ch'an, and to an extent Mahayana in general, these visions were linked by the doctrines of emptiness or mind/representation only. Ch'an claimed, like some Mahayana philosophers (as distinct from the pious Mahayana devotees), that heaven and hell are merely our mental creations, which are manifest in the here and now. Everyday items of existence can be seen either as the delights and prospects of paradise,⁶³ or as the hellish nightmares of the animals, ghosts and denizens of hell.⁶⁴ Hence Ma-tsu's pupil Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan (748-835) told his students that they "should practice in the realm of the beasts," for that realm is closer to the real truth than the realm of the Buddhas. Those who can save the benighted beings of hell and the realms of the beasts are in those very realms, in other words, ourselves. By saving ourselves we save others, there being no distinction between the saviour and saved, man or beast.⁶⁵ This is particularly true if the only means to salvation or liberation is by the bodhisattva vow which declares that one will not enter nirvana or Buddhahood until all beings are rescued. We must look to the hell of here and now and not the promise of a future, transcendent salvation in a Pure Land paradise if we are truly to be saved.

Therefore, if Li Ho truly comprehended and practised the theories of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (and perhaps Ch'an), he could take the shamanistic journeys and imageries into his poetry as examples of the delusions men create for themselves, as denials of the immortality of the gods of Buddhism and Taoism, and as proclamations of the immanence of death. Perhaps Li Ho plunged into these realms in search of self-awakening,⁶⁶ an enlightenment induced by the realization that all is imagination.

63. Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Concept of Hell*, p.69.

64. Ibid., pp.40, 79. This attitude goes back to the earliest Ch'an texts. Cf. Jorgensen, "The *Long Scroll*...", pp.250, 182.

65. Nishimura Eshin, "Zen Bukkyō ni okeru 'Butsu' hitei no ni ruikai - Rinzai to Jōshū," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34.2, pp.469-480. See also *Tsu-t'ang chi* 4.116 行畜生行, on becoming a water buffalo 4.110-112, 4.120 作摩生是異類中行 and 4.124; *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* T51.257c1.

66. *Li He*, pp.lvii-lviii. Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, p.199 notes that he uses the hallucinations of drunkenness, not an unknown practice among shamans, but according to Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard R. Trask

His poetry is mythopoeic, made up of shamanist trances of "creative imagination,"⁶⁷ a poetic language which pronounces itself delusory. Yet it is via that delusion one reaches understanding by realizing the delusoriness of the language itself. Thus the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* states:

By means of the lamps of words and discrimination, the Bodhisattva-Mahasattvas go beyond word and discrimination and enter upon the path of self-realization.⁶⁸

The wise know that words are but fingers pointing out the moon of reality, and that pointing is necessity for initiating the path to enlightenment.⁶⁹ As the *Ta Chih-tu lun* claims, ordinary people think that there is a reality because there is a name, but

If the birth of the ideas were itself the criterion for the reality of the object, then there should not be the further search into the nature of the object whether it is really there or not. Now the eyes see the moon in the water, the idea is born that this is the moon.⁷⁰

Thus if language is not examined for its illusory status, conventionally-established or expedient names will be taken to designate a reality, and people will dwell only in name and attribute, "the thought-constructions that are devoid of substantiality."⁷¹

Such a combination of Ch'an, shamanism and language theory is not uncommon: even in Korea today the eccentric painter-monk Jung-kwang 鍾光 likes the company of the *mudang* shamanesses,⁷² and makes outrageous and lewd public statements to shock middle-class believers. His paintings and poems have that synaesthetic quality

(Princeton U.P., 1964), p.401, a sign of decadence in technique, or in Li Ho's case, being at some remove from the tradition.

67. Toshihiko Izutsu, p.302.

68. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (London and Boston, 1972 reprint of 1930 edn), p.109 note 1.

69. *Ibid.*, p.109.

70. K.V. Ramanan, *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy* (Varanasi, 1971), p.81.

71. *Ibid.*, p.72.

72. Lewis R. Lancaster, *The Mad Monk: Paintings of Unlimited Action by Jung-kwang* (Berkeley, 1979), p.22.

that we meet with in Li Ho and many Ch'an poets.⁷³ Moreover, his mixture of roue and saint belongs to the iconoclastic tradition of Mahayana.⁷⁴ Thus Jung-kwang writes:

I'm a mop
 Living
 As if half-sane and half-insane

 Stars sing songs
 the moon plays an hour-glass drum,
 The fish with knives
 Carve out a slice of raw meat..⁷⁵

In a like manner, tradition describes Li Ho as a "daemonic genius," and A.C. Graham mentions his combination of "pessimism, voluptuousness, aestheticism, and an imagination haunted by dark forces."⁷⁶ Li Ho then is a lay equivalent of that type of mystic who expresses himself in weird imagery, sometimes called a "twilight language," but better an "intentional language" (*saṃdhyābhāṣa*), in which synaesthetic elements and paradoxical statements come easily. These strains may be found in the poetry of the North Indian Mahāsiddhas (and the Śaivite Siddhas of Tamil-nadu), who demonstrate many similarities to Ch'an. For example, compare *caryā* 33, "The bullock calved, the cow is barren. He is milked,"⁷⁷ with the Ch'an verse,

73. For synaesthesia in Li Ho, see *Li Ho*, p.xlvii.

74. Lancaster, pp.6, 30.

75. *Ibid.*, p.18.

76. Graham, *Poems of the Late Tang*, p.91.

77. Dušan Zbavitel, *A History of Indian Literature vol. 9: Bengali Literature* (1976), p.129. Cf. Shashibhusan Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Firma KLM Private Ltd.: Calcutta, 1976 reprint of 3rd edn 1969), pp.413, 416-417. For the poetry, doctrines and language of the Tamil Siddhas, see Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Poets of the Powers* (Rider & Co.: London, 1973), pp.21, 66-67, 85, 93.

Empty handed, I hold a hoe;
Walking on foot, I ride a water buffalo.⁷⁸

Likewise, compare *caryā* 40 by Kāṇha,

How can Kāṇha speak of the jewel of the Buddha?
As the dumb explains it to the deaf.⁷⁹

with Tung-shan Liang-chieh's

Inconceivable is the insentient preaching the Dharma.
If you hear it with the ears, finally it is hard to understand.
When it is heard by the faculty of the eyes, then one can know it.⁸⁰

Ch'an reflected this new shift in aesthetics that occurred from around the time of Han Yü, when poetry became more withdrawn,⁸¹ with feminine emotion and incredible imagery which became increasingly artificial.⁸² In Ch'an we may occasionally find this in the mineral-poetry of Kuan-hsiu and Ch'an sayings and paradoxes such as those of the Five Dynasties' monk Pa-ling Hao-chien:

Question, "What is the Deva tenet?"

Answer, "Filling a silver bowl with snow."

"What is the Blown Hair Sword?"

"The tip of each branch of coral supports the moon."⁸³

J.D. Frodsham's characterisation of Li Ho's poetry as "Baroque," a field of sentiment where the spiritual and the material have become so disassociated that the landscape no longer promises salvation (is no longer a prospect) because it is too

78. Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p.49, modified.

79. Zbavitel, p.130.

80. Paul Demiéville, "Le Tch'an et la poésie chinoise," p.466; Kamata Shigeo, "Chūgoku Zenshisōshi ni awarareta mujō Bussho shisō," p.57 note 26; Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p.297.

81. *Li He*, p.xxxiv, cf. also p.xlix.

82. Graham, *Poems of the Late Tang*, pp.141-142.

83. *Zen Dust*, pp.55, 277 modified.

ephemeral and is a harbinger of death instead,⁸⁴ may point to a source for some of this similarity. But his position is very ambiguous. Li Ho was clearly aware of the theme of the emotion and Nature. One of his most famous lines, "If Heaven has emotion (is sentient), Heaven would also age," could be an illustration of the separation and alienation of Nature from man. This line was evidently a shocker, for it was mentioned by Ssu-ma Kuang as having been considered so strange as to be matchless.⁸⁵ But even where Li Ho does not mention the word emotionless, that theme is alluded to in his verse. So he is trying to reconcile man and Nature by making Nature an organism in the Romantic manner. For example, even the most inanimate bronze statues, the "Brazen Immortal" and the "Brazen Camel" lament and are saddened by the passage of time⁸⁶ just like man.

Elsewhere, the term *wu-ch'ing* is used by Li Ho with its usual ambiguity:

I peel off the green lustre to write the *Songs of Ch'u*,
On its cosmetic perfume and spring rouge the black (letters) twist.

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84. Frodsham, *New Perspectives in Chinese Literature*, pp.9-10, 12-13, note 25. But, p.10, he says Li Ho basically a Romantic.
85. Harada Kenyu, p.662. Note that Ssu-ma Kuang thought Shih Man-ch'ing (Yen-nien, 994-1041) matched it with the line, "The moon is as if without resentment, the moon is constantly round." See Harada, pp.271-272 for Li Ho's complete poem. The preceding line reads, "The faded orchid sends the stranger off on the Hsien-yang road." Cf Frodsham's translation, *Li He*, p.54. Perhaps this line reflects despair at Heaven's lack of emotion, that it is inhumane 不仁 as Tsung-mi suggests is a consequence of Confucian thought: "Now Heaven becomes the root of killing and harm and *ch'i*: the basis of calamity and turmoil" (Z14.830b16-17), and "If that mandate is a mandate of Heaven, the nature is a Heavenly mandate...and is it not then the inhumanity of tigers and leopards" (Z14.831a18-b1). Cf. Jan Yün-hua, "A Buddhist Critique to the Classical Chinese Tradition," p.305.
86. *Li He*, p.142; Harada, p.303. This could be a feature of Romanticism, "a concern for the reconciliation of...man and nature, consciousness and unconsciousness," a "philosophy of dynamic organism," Frodsham, *New Perspectives...*, p.5.

The emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*) is resentful, for who will see it?

Weighted down with dew, these millions of branches crying in the mist.⁸⁷

The insentient bamboos are compared to a beautiful young woman in her best makeup (probably a white-green powder). The bamboo, which apparently has no emotion, regrets the fact that no-one will appreciate it in all its finery, with the black-pencilled eyebrows or lashes the poet's poem. Although Liu Chih-chi (661-721) did remark on the propensity to anthropomorphism in early T'ang poetry,⁸⁸ this use of *wu-ching* clearly indicates the influence of the Buddhist theory. Thus Harada Kenyu thinks that this is not just straightforward anthropomorphism, but a case where when sentient beings lose that emotion, the emotionless or insentient on the contrary adopt and display human emotions, a transfer of emotion or sadness in Yoshikawa Kojiro's words.⁸⁹ If this is so, perhaps Li Ho thought that man was alienating himself from Nature and not the other way around.

Harada correctly traces this anthropomorphizing of a special kind to Buddhism, in particular to the T'ien-t'ai theories of Chih-i and Chan-jan, for rather than stressing emptiness they emphasised marvellous existence (*miao-yu*), something the *Lotus Sutra* propounded. Indeed, as we shall see, Kuan-hsiu was probably influenced by T'ien-t'ai and its favourite sutras (including the *Lotus*, *Amitāyus* and *Amida Pure Land* texts). This form of Buddhism was inescapable in intellectual circles. Even the anti-Buddhist Han Yü, Li Ho's teacher, came under its spell. More importantly perhaps, Li Ao, Li Ho's fellow-student under Han Yü, was not merely acquainted with its doctrines, he was learned in T'ien-t'ai texts. He would have known the *Lotus Sutra*, which maintained that by a fervent reading of it one could hear and see into all the hells and heavens.⁹⁰ If Li Ho also knew this, and was also instructed in the T'ien-

87. I have followed Harada, p.304 for my interpretation. Cf. Frodsham's translation, *Li He*, p.82 and p.248 note 2.

88. Harada, p.304.

89. *Ibid.*, pp.304-305.

90. Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, p.264ff.

t'ai theory that even the insentient could become Buddha, he may well have concluded that even bronze statues were sad and compassionate.⁹¹

In any case, Li Ho probably knew men like Chia Tao who should have been conversant with the doctrine of insentient Buddhahood, even if they did not approve of it or use it in poetry. Li Ho seems to have combined it with feminine images and the shamanistic *Ch'u Tz'u* genre or style to give a new dimension to this theory in poetry. We can perhaps list among his heirs Kuan-hsiu, Tu Mu and Li Shang-yin.

c) *The Heirs of Li Ho*

Tu Mu (803-852) was a much less tragic and more joyful figure than Li Ho. He delighted sensually both in landscapes and women.⁹² He used the pathetic fallacy to talk of love and passion.

Much emotion (passion) is just like a complete lack of emotion,
Only aware that before the goblet a smile will not even form.
The wax candles have a mind, even suffer at our separation,
And in place of we humans, cascades tears until the sky brightens.⁹³

On other occasions Tu Mu laments the past with a familiar ambiguity:

91. Harada, pp.306-309, and p.162 where he mentions the doctrine of a trichiliocosm in a moment's thought. Harada attempts to show that Li Ho's interest in these two works was due to respect for his ancestors (p.321) who were of a branch of the T'ang royal house. Ch'ü Yüan similarly sung of his royal ancestors (p.382), and the *Lankāvatāra* preached, via Rāvaṇa, that the position of royalty was unstable and even they needed Buddhist salvation. Moreover, Lanka itself was depicted as a hellish place inhabited by devils or raksas, yet in reality it was a paradise. Yet the place was illusory like the city of the Gandharvas (p.372). As the Bodhiruci translation contains these passages, Harada proposes that Li Ho read that text (p.393). Interesting but speculative.

92. Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, p.121.

93. *Ibid.*, p.134; Herdan, p.449; Yü Shou-chen, pp.312-313. Supposedly written for a Yang-chou singing girl.

The abundant flowers [glory] events are scattered, following the scented dust [sense-contaminants],

The flowing waters lack emotion, the grasses are their own spring [lust].⁹⁴

Other poets of this period used the term *wu-ch'ing* almost identically. Wei Chuang (836-910), an associate of Kuan-hsiu in Szechwan, wrote:

The most unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*) are the willows along the palace walls.⁹⁵

These fin de siècle poets, witnesses to the decline and fall of the T'ang empire, wrote with a heightened sensibility. Some tried to escape into a sensuality of love affairs, others into an almost Chuang-tzu style acceptance of the cycles of Nature, but all may be considered heirs of Chiao-jan and Li Ho, for they combined that peculiar interest in the lack of emotions and Buddhism in their poetry to create a special ambiguous tension.

d) *The Synthesis of Ssu-k'ung T'u: Ch'an in Taoist Aesthetics?*

One poet and critic who initially does not appear to belong to any of the above tendencies was Ssu-k'ung T'u (837-908). Tragically torn between public service and retreat during the collapse of the T'ang dynasty, he starved himself to death when it finally fell. Such a reaction was most unusual for a man whose critical work, the *Shih-p'in* 詩品, is crowded with references to Taoism, especially to *Chuang-tzu*, which philosophy is one of joyful acceptance of all eventualities, or at the very least, of stoic resignation. But Taoism may have only provided him with a critical aesthetic vocabulary.⁹⁶

94. "Gold Valley Garden," Herdan, p.450; Graham, *Poems of the Late T'ang*, p.136 also gives the context of the poem; Yü Shou-chen, p. 315. The waters are unfeeling because they continue despite the singing girl's suicide in them, the grasses have their own lust like the man who wanted to possess her, Sun Hsiu, and who brought about her death.

95. Herdan, p.461; Yü Shou-chen, p.324. The city walls are those of T'ai-ch'eng, a palace under the Chin.

96. See Tsu Pao-ch'üan, *Ssu-k'ung T'u Shih-p'in chu-shih chi shih-wen* (Hong Kong, 1966), passim in commentary to the text; Maureen Robertson, "...To Convey what is Precious': Ssu-k'ung T'u's Poetics and the *Erh-shih-ssu Shih P'in*" in *Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Chow Tse-tsung, p.348.

Ssu-k'ung T'u expressed his views on poetic excellence ironically through the sense of taste, and was pro-Northern in appetite.⁹⁷ Knowing that the poetic vision is not real but a mental creation which hides reality from direct perception rather like the conventional or worldly truth of Buddhism (*samvṛti*, "to cover over"), poetic experience had to be transcendent.⁹⁸ But if the poet could be direct, or fuse his thought with his setting or sense-data 思與境偕, the resultant poem could convey part of that seemingly ineffable experience.⁹⁹

Maureen Robertson considers that Ssu-k'ung T'u was stimulated both by Chiao-jan and Ssu-k'ung's contemporary, the monk-poet Ch'i-chi (c. 861-933),¹⁰⁰ and possibly by Chia Tao. Chia Tao is mentioned in one of Ssu-k'ung T'u's letters outlining some of his theory, as

truly having some disturbing lines. But if one reads his entire corpus, the intent (*i*) and thought are extremely starved, and for the most part are dependent on his astringency and harshness. In that one can recognise his talent.¹⁰¹

As Ssu-k'ung T'u loved paradox and was deeply affected by the idea of the spirit (*shen* 神) or daemon of a thing,¹⁰² he can perhaps be said to have elucidated some of the themes of a poet like Li Ho. There are shades of the shamanist spirit and the Taoist, but also the Ch'an daemon. Accordingly, he writes:

The creation of *chüeh-chü* (poems) has its basis in reaching the ultimate, which is beyond the thousands of changes and myriads of shapes (where) one does not know the reason for the spirit and yet the spirit is of itself. How can that be easy?¹⁰³

97. Robertson, p.326.

98. Ibid. Note that "transcendent" is often an English rendering of *chen*, the Taoist immortal.

99. Tsu, p.20; Robertson, pp.327, 329.

100. Robertson, pp.333-338.

101. Tsu, p.68.

102. Ibid., p.18 on "the refined spirit of the grasses and flowers" and *shen-ch'i* 神氣.

103. Ibid., p.69.

So when he writes of the category of "Refinement" (洗鍊 i.e. smelting), Ssu-k'ung T'u suggests that poetical creation can be like concentrating on the gold one gets from the ore; the dross must be forgotten, and the resulting purity is like

An ancient mirror [the Mind] that reflects 照 the spirit/soul,
 [Wherein] one embodies the common [SU 素 unadulterated everyday phenomena]
 and stores the pure,
 And riding on the moon to return to the True [state of Immortality].
 Then one (can) look up at the stars and planets,
 And can sing (with) the man of seclusion (recluse),
 And the flowing water today and the bright moon are your former bodies.¹⁰⁴

Here the spirit or soul appears in the mirror (of the mind) as in shamanist seances, and it is the spirit that goes to the lunar mansions of the immortals. It sees that the everyday world of simple purity was that of your former incarnation or body, and perhaps animistically, was even identical to your former self.

It is this spirit that can return to primeval chaos, and thus recreate the true realm (*shih-ching* 實境), name of one of Ssu-k'ung T'u's twenty-four poetic qualities) or sense-phenomena as one wishes. This is the title of the primal property or quality, the "Hero of Chaos" (*Hsiung-hun* 雄渾).

The Great Function is beyond decay,
 The True Substance 實體 [Body?] within is complete.
 Return to the Void and enter into chaos,
 And build up strength to become a Hero.
 Fully provided with the manifold things,
 Transverse all the huge emptiness,
 The vast expanse of roiling clouds,
 And the desolate silence of the never-ending winds.
 Transcend and go beyond images,
 And attain to the centre of that circle.
 Take it without force,
 And bring it without exhaustion.¹⁰⁵

104. Ibid., p.35. For quite a different translation, see Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, "The Twenty-four Modes of Poetry," *Chinese Literature* no. 7 (1963), p.68.

105. Tsu, p.22; Yang Hsien-yi, p.65.

Nothing could be more apposite as a shamanistic, Taoistic and *Chuang-tzu*-style expression of the basic and most creative plane of literary originality. The *hsiung* is the male bird, or soul in its virile aspect (a common shaman motif), which can bravely go beyond familiar images into the vortex of the seething chaos that constitutes the origins of the universe like some culture hero.

Yet this picture may also contain some Buddhistic, especially Ch'an, tints. Jao Tsung-i asserts that Ssu-k'ung T'u "was able to grasp the essence of Zen in poetic creation and yet not be bound by it. In poetry criticism, he also borrowed many ideas from Zen."¹⁰⁶ Jao adduces as evidence a poem Ssu-k'ung T'u wrote to Hsiang-yen Chih-hsien 香巖智閑 (?-898), a pupil of Wei-shan Ling-yu. Ssu-k'ung addressed Chih-hsien as his teacher, and not just as an empty gesture of formality.

I have long attained
Your tenets, Great Master,

and

Not a speck of dust [object of perception] afloat,
I see the power of the Great Teacher.¹⁰⁷

Jao believes that Ssu-k'ung T'u was paying tribute to his Ch'an teacher, with an intimation that Ssu-k'ung himself had some Ch'an realization.

Chih-hsien, a student of the sayings of various Ch'an masters was broadly learned in the scriptures and eloquent, but he was stumped by a simple question from Wei-shan Ling-yu. Consequently, he burned his books with the remark, "A painted cake cannot sate hunger." Chih-yen then left Wei-shan (the master and the place) and went to live on Mt. Hsiang-yen in the ruins of the former hermitage of Nan-yang Hui-chung (676-776). When he was clearing away the vegetation around the hermitage, he accidentally flicked up a stone which hit a bamboo. The sound awakened him. Thereafter the enlightened Chih-hsien wrote many Buddhist verses, for which he became famous. Moreover, this enlightenment story was popular among later artists

106. "Chung-kuo ku-tai wen-hsüeh chih pi-chiao yen-chiu," *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 32 (Oct. 1980), English summary p.vii, cf. Chinese text p.22.

107. *Ibid.*, p.24.

like Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636), a formulator of the theory of the Northern and Southern Schools of painting.¹⁰⁸

Although one might argue that the verse Ssu-k'ung T'u sent to Chih-hsien was merely a polite compliment, Ssu-k'ung T'u was known for his associations with monks of poetic talent at his villa on Mt Chung-t'iao. Chih-hsien is known to have visited Mt Chung-t'iao, so there was likely to have been a meeting between the two at the villa. Ssu-k'ung had a special hut in the grounds of his villa refurbished so these monks and his other friends could chant poetry there. Even in a poetical work he wrote in imitation of Po Chü-i's *Tsui-yin chuan* 南華吟傳, he poured out his worries over his reputation for writing (the only immortality granted a Confucian literatus). Written in 903, this text called *Hsiu-hsiu t'ing chi* 休亭記 contains Buddhist references.¹⁰⁹ After he had reconstructed this pavilion (*t'ing*) which had been razed by Huang Ch'ao rebels,¹¹⁰ he renamed it *Hsiu-hsiu*, with the sense of having resigned (*hsiu*) from officialdom, and that there is no beauty (*hsiu-mei*) in that.¹¹¹ He had three reasons for resigning, all of which amounted to the fact he could do nothing to save the dynasty from collapse. When he was pondering these issues, so he relates, he had a strange dream which prompted him to write this commemorative piece on the pavilion.

I was sleeping during the day, when I met two monks (in my dream). They said to me, "We were your teachers. In the past you had a pretence¹¹² to the Way, and were sharp (of

108. Ibid., p.25. For Chih-hsien's life, see SKSC T50.785a25-b5 and *Tsu-t'ang chi* 5.81-92. The details of his life were not well known: the *Tsu-t'ang chi* account is made up mostly of his gathas and dialogues with Ling-yu and Yang-shan, the compilers regretting that they "had not seen his *shih-lu*."

109. Kōzen Hiroshi in his annotated translation of Ssu-k'ung's biography in Ogawa Tamaki, ed., *Tōdai no shijin - sono denki*, p.604 note 43. Mt. Chung-t'iao is near the confluence of the Wei and Yellow rivers, an area around which Ssu-k'ung T'u spent much of his time. It is about 250 kms north of Mt. Pai-yai where Chih-hsien was enlightened.

110. Ibid., note 45.

111. Ibid., note 47.

112. Kōzen, "were mistaken about."

intellect) but not firm (in resolve), (and so) were bound by (thoughts of) profit and lust. Fortunately you have awakened to this (fact) and have repented, so just now follow us along this stream. But although you have retired now, there are still evil people who envy you. So you should endure the disgrace as a warning to yourself. In order that you can ensure your survival [in fame?], (make) your (writing) rank in quality with that of T'ao Ch'ien and the *Tsui-yin (chuan)* so that it will last at least 1,000 years. What more is there to seek?"

So I wrote this *Song of the Layman who Endures Disgrace* and attached it to the northeastern pillar.¹¹³

The very self-title of "layman" indicates his apprenticeship to Buddhism, even if only to monks in a dream (perhaps one of them was Chih-hsien who was dead by this time). Thus it is possible that Ssu-k'ung T'u was influenced by the Ch'an of Chih-hsien and Ling-yu, and through them by the special teaching of Nan-yang Hui-chung. Indeed, Jao Tsung-i thinks that Hui-chung's teaching of the "circle attribute" (*yüan-hsiang* 圓相 i.e. the symbol of perfection)¹¹⁴ may have influenced Ssu-k'ung T'u's treatise on poetics, especially the lines,

Transcend and go beyond images
And attain to the centre of that circle.

However, the term *huan-chung* or "centre of the circle" is derived from a metaphor in the *Chuang-tzu*.¹¹⁵ The *Chuang-tzu* passage reads:

Where neither It nor Other finds its opposite is called the axis of the Way. When once the axis is found at the centre of the circle there is no limit to responding with either, on the one

113. Ibid., pp.594-604; *Chiu Tang shu* 190B.5083-5084.

114. Jao, p.25. For Nan-yang Hui-chung's "circle teaching," see *Zengaku Daijiten* 112b. This teaching passed from Hui-chung via Ying-chen to Yang-shan and Ling-yu. See Nukariya Kaiten, *Zengaku shisōshi*, vol. 1, pp.552-555. Perhaps the earliest reference to Hui-chung and the circle diagram 圓相 is *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.118. For Yang-shan, heir to Ling-yu, and his use of this, 5.55 ff, and for his Korean pupil Sun-ji, 5.114 ff. See also *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* T51.258a22-23.

115. Tsu, pp.22-23 cites *Chuang-tzu*, as does Robertson, p.341.

hand no limit to what is *it*, on the other no limit to what is not. Therefore I say, "The best means is Illumination."¹¹⁶

This "centre of the circle" then is the central still-point around which whirl all the elements of discrimination, it is the transcendence of opinion,¹¹⁷ and also the centre of the potter's wheel where things are yet in the Great Clod of Chaos (*hun-tun*). Just as with the shaman, this centring (mentally or symbolically) brings one heroic (*hsiung*) powers according to Ssu-k'ung, for this chaos (*hun*), while it is emptiness or void, is also the inexhaustible source of all particular things, symbols and images 象. Therefore Ssu-k'ung says the hero can transcend images, attain the midst of their circle and grasp it without force, so that it will come automatically, being gently manipulated like the clay on the potter's wheel.

While Ssu-k'ung T'u is explicitly referring to the metaphor in the *Chuang-tzu*, he may simultaneously have adopted Ch'an doctrines about the meditation on the circle into his conception. In fact, Hui-chung's use of the circle as a teaching aid may in turn have been suggested in part by the *Chuang-tzu* metaphor, and Ssu-k'ung may have detected this.

116. A.C. Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p.53. For a differing translation, see Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 40: "...When the hinge is fitted into the socket..." Note that Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.15 cites Chan-jan's *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh* which quotes an old commentary as saying, "It takes the inside of the circle to be empty of substance 空骨豐 and without limits." Also, Liu Wu, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh nei-p'ien pu-cheng*, pp.46-47, says it is based on the *Huai-nan tzu* where it means to stand in the centre around which right and wrong circle endlessly.
117. Robertson, p.341, says it "stands for the sustaining or motive force which controls outward appearance and actions." However, the metaphor of the circle is also used in *Chuang-tzu* 27, "Yü Yen." Wang Hsien-ch'ien, p.246: "The myriad things are all of (their own) types, and through their differences in form yield to one another, beginning and end like a ring. No-one can understand its principle; it is like the Heavenly Equalizer." Cf. Burton Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp.304-305, and H.G. Creel, *What is Taoism?* (University of Chicago Press, 1970, reprint 1982), p.27, who comments, "These transformations compose a circle in which there is no break into which we can insert our intelligence, so as to form an immutable concept." Note that the Heavenly Equalizer 天均 could be the pottery wheel of Heaven 天鈞.

One other poetic realm Ssu-k'ung T'u was aiming for also shows signs of both Buddhist and Taoist influence. This is the "Realm of Reality" (*shih-ching*) or Buddhistically, "Sense-data Reality."

The apprehending words are very direct,
 But the calculating thoughts are not deep.
 Suddenly one comes across the secluded man,
 And it is as if seeing the mind of the Way.
 The bend of the clear mountain torrent,
 The shade of the jade-green pine,
 One stranger carries firewood,
 Another listens to the lute.
 Where the emotional nature (*ch'ing-hsing*) reaches,
 Is marvellous and is not sought on one's own.
 One meets it (coming) from Heaven,
 The rare sound distinct.¹¹⁸

Here man's emotional nature meets Nature halfway. This scene is most ambiguous doctrinally, a pastiche of Buddhism and Taoism. In this Ssu-k'ung was a man of his age who felt quite free to borrow at will from whatever religious doctrine or experience he felt appropriate. As syncretism was common in this period of upheaval,¹¹⁹ Ssu-k'ung drew upon all available sources to provide a vocabulary that hinted at the way of perceiving the poetic truth hidden behind the language and the images. That perception he was seeking had to be direct, spontaneous and sudden. This is related to his key terms of the "plain" (*su* 素) or commonplace and unadorned, the "true" (*chen* 真), "spirit," *ch'i* (pneuma/energy), "emptiness" (*k'ung* 空) and the Way:

The man of seclusion on the empty mountains
 Crosses the stream to pick duckweed.

118. Tsu, p.55; Yang Hsien-yi, p.74. Cf. the Buddhist goddess of music and eloquence 妙音天 Sarasvati.

119. Robertson, p.349.

Ah! Now an emotional awakening,
 Vast [or leisurely] indeed is Heaven's pottery wheel.¹²⁰

So the truth was conveyed in Ch'an fashion, via ordinary, everyday things such as taste, the "numinous ordinary" (*ling-su*) or "divine commonplace" (*shen-su* 神素), in which even grass has "refined spirit/soul" (*ching-shen* 精神), and lofty peaks and sea-waves "resemble the Great Way, and the Marvellous is matched [tallies] with the smoothed dust [sense-objects]"¹²¹ when that spirit is captured. And the language that describes that "refined spirit" as seen in vegetation and natural objects should be alive, just as Po-chang Huai-hai said that enlightenment can only be hinted at with live words. As Ssu-k'ung writes:

Live *ch'i* (energy) is produced afar,
 Do not be attached to dead ashes.
 Marvellous creation is natural (*tzu-jan*),
 Who can share in the composition?¹²²

Because these various and ambiguous themes, especially that of the spirit of inanimate vegetation, exist in Ssu-k'ung's descriptions of the twenty-four aspects of poetic creativity, one can see Ssu-k'ung T'u both as an heir to Chiao-jan in his seeing beyond ordinary images to the "truth" behind them¹²³ and also as an assayer at providing a vocabulary of criticism for the poets of his day. He may also have been attempting to provide in poetic form a characterization of the shaman-like feelings Li Ho experienced. Moreover, among his contemporaries there were two major monk-poets, Kuan-hsiu and Ch'i-chi, who shared some of his dream experiences and ideas.

120. Tsu, p.40. Cf. Robertson, p.344; Yang Hsien-yi, p.70.

121. Tsu, p.9. This last term comes from the *Lao-tzu*.

122. Tsu, p.46; Yang Hsien-yi, p.71.

123. Cf. Robertson, p.351.

9) Kuan-hsiu and the fin-de-siècle Poet-Monks: Insentient Dreams and Poetic Liberation

Kuan-hsiu (832-912), famed as an artist and a poet, was a native of Mu-chou in Chekiang. Although his family had produced Confucian scholars for generations, he became a Buddhist novice at an early age, probably out of poverty and despair of official appointments in such a troubled age.¹ His life was full of disappointments. Kuan-hsiu suffered the destruction of his home monastery during the Hui-ch'ang Persecution of Buddhism in 845, but within a few years had gained some fame as a poet.² He had memorized the *Lotus Sutra*, and at twenty *sui* (851) took full ordination as a monk. During this time he continued his Confucian studies, and as he lived in the region of Mt. T'ien-t'ai, headquarters of the school of Buddhism which took its name from the mountain, probably studied that doctrinal system also.³ He then studied Ch'an in Hunan under Shih-shuang Ch'ing-chu (807-888) of the Shih-t'ou lineage, and later he studied with a certain master Wu-hsiang in Chekiang.⁴ Kuan-hsiu was thus initiated into Southern Ch'an (a Ch'an that was in this region perhaps still influenced by Niu-t'ou, which was characterised as claiming that normal existence is dream-like), and he studied such Ch'an poetry as the *Han-shan* collection and the *Le-tao ko* series. But he also had an interest in immortal's Taoism and Confucianism, like some of his occasional patrons.⁵

Kuan-hsiu's life after this early period as a student of Ch'an and poetry was one of frequent movement: to Hung-chou where he studied Ch'an, lectured on the *Ta-*

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1. Kobayashi Taichirō, *Zengetsu Daishi no shōgai to geijustu* (Kyoto, 1974), pp.45-46. For biographical sources for Kuan-hsiu, see SKSC T50.897a10-b18, *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 820.3879a-b, and an annotated translation in Ogawa Tamaki, *Tōdai no shijin - sono denki*, pp.625-635. Cf. Edward Schafer's entry in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William Nienhauser, pp.509-510. I have followed Kobayashi here, for he has used all these sources.
 2. Kobayashi, pp.43-44.
 3. *Ibid.*, p.48.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.50.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp.53-54, 82.

sheng Ch'i-hsin lun (*Awakening of Faith*) and made friends with other poet-monks;⁶ back towards the lower Yangtze where he visited a portrait hall (*ying-t'ang* 影堂) for Hui-neng, mentioning incidents of the patriarch's life in a poem,⁷ visited his family home after his father's death (?), consulted Ch'an master Tao-kuang (n.d., pupil of Wei-shan Ling-yu) at Su-chou, possibly at the instigation of his friend Fang Kan (d. ca.874);⁸ travelled through Hang-chou and returned to Mt. Lu where he became friends with master Ta-yüan of Tung-lin Monastery (n.d.).⁹ There the poet Tu Hsün-hao (846-904, illegitimate son of Tu Mu?), friend of Ta-yüan, wrote to Kuan-hsiu chiding him for his love of poetry:

Many beings have awakened in awareness, never connected to the (Buddhist) Order.
One flame clear and bright is not in the (transmission) lamp.
I just say that the poet (you) lacks the Buddha-nature
For he has long taken the two *Ya* [of the *Book of Songs*] (as a means) to enter the
Three Vehicles.¹⁰

After this Kuan-hsiu returned home about 880 (?), but the area had been devastated by the Huang Ch'ao rebels, and he had to flee abandoning his paintings. He visited the future founder of the kingdom of Wu-Yueh, Ch'ien Liu (852-932) a pro-Buddhist and a sponsor of literary salons and poets despite his brigand background.¹¹ Then

6. Ibid., pp.87-93.

7. Ibid., p.104.

8. Ibid., pp.105, 112; For Tao-kuang, p.110 and *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* T51.281c6. For Fang Kan, CTS 648.7439, 879.9953, 885.10004.

9. Kobayashi, p.130.

10. Ibid., p.137. For Tu Hsün-hao, see Ogawa Tamaki, *Tōdai no shijin*, pp.606-611. Others date his death 907. Cf. also Herdan, pp.513-514; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.578; *The Indiana Companion*, pp.818-819.

11. SKSC T50.897a19-21. For background on Huang Ch'ao's⁵ rebellion, see Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China vol.3: Sui and T'ang China*, pp.723-724. For Ch'ien Liu, see Albert A. Dalia, "The 'Political Career' of the Buddhist Historian Tsan-ning" in *Buddhist and*

Kuan-hsiu went to Chiang-ling and toured the region, visiting the old home of Meng Hao-jan, of which another visitor, T'ang Yen-ch'ien (fl. 880) had written:

The mountain flowers do not speak, as if listening to a lecture,
The stream waters are without emotion, with self-recommended laments.¹²

This verse shows, incidentally, the contemporary popularity of anthropomorphizing even water as emotionless and uncaring.

It was on this trip that Kuan-hsiu probably met Ch'i-chi, another famous poet-monk who was likewise connected with Ch'ing-chu's assembly, but Kuan-hsiu farewelled the mid-Yangtze region to go to Szechwan in 903, where Wang Chien (847-918) was establishing the state of Former Shu with the aid of the poet Wei Chuang¹³ and the Taoist master Tu Kuang-t'ing (850-933) and several of Kuan-hsiu's old acquaintances.¹⁴ Kuan-hsiu went to visit Wei Chuang, who had bought Tu Fu's former residence in Ch'eng-tu. There he also met Li Tung, the admirer of Chia Tao, but most of Kuan-hsiu's life in Szechwan was rather lonely. He did engage in friendly poetry competitions with Tu Kuang-t'ing, Wang Ch'ien's Taoist teacher. As Wang Chien seems to have been pro-Taoist,¹⁵ perhaps there was more than a little rivalry. This can be seen in an anecdote about them both riding down the city streets, something rather unusual, as Kuan-hsiu, with his great bulk loved to walk and buy fruit from the stores, eating as he walked. Kuan-hsiu's horse was in front when it suddenly defecated:

Kuang-t'ing called out several times, "Great master, great master. A rosary [lit. several pearls] has dropped to the ground."

Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society (University of Hawaii Press, 1987), pp.157-161 and Suzuki Tetsuo, *Tō Godai Zenshū shi* (Tokyo, 1985), p.162.

12. Kobayashi, p.265. For T'ang, see *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.578-579; *Chiu T'ang shu* 190B.5063 and *Hsin T'ang shu* 89.3762.
13. For the establishment of this state, see Denis Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, pp.788-789. For Wei Chuang (836-910), see Herdan, p.516, *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.576-577, Ogawa, *Tōdai no shijin*, pp.574-581.
14. Kobayashi, pp.270-272. For Tu Kuang-t'ing, *The Indiana Companion*, pp.821-822.
15. For Tu Kuang-t'ing and his relationship with Wang Chien, see Kubo Noritada, *Dōkyōshi* (Tokyo, 1977), pp.249-252.

Kuan-hsiu replied, "It is not a rosary, but the cinnabar pills of great reversal."

Kuang-t'ing was very embarrassed.¹⁶

And no wonder Kuang-t'ing was embarrassed! While Tu was accusing Kuan-hsiu of handling the shit of Buddhism, Kuan-hsiu retorted that Tu was eating the shit of Taoist immortality pills.

Kuan-hsiu's life was one of great instability and he evidently saw extreme hardship. He was a short, fat man who had an insatiable appetite at a time when cannibalism was practised by marauding troops and brigands, and salted human corpses often formed part of military rations.¹⁷ This terrible milieu not only aroused in Kuan-hsiu great compassion and social concern, but also troubled him, causing him many doubts about Confucian doctrines in particular. He was pained by the rapacious nature of the warlords, their sumptuous life-style and the suffering of the common people. These military leaders,

Resentful they could not live on the bright moon [be immortal],
The great mountain of meat is consumed,
The east ocean of wine is drunk dry.
The beauty sings a drunken song,
Knocking a jade hairpin, breaks it.
How could they know of the ploughman and old water-carter,
Day after day after day their backs scorched as if to burst?¹⁸

Kuan-hsiu felt such desperation and hopelessness at the state of humanity and the cruelty of the world that he was tempted to wish it all destroyed.

The hunter zig-zags in pursuit across the wastelands,
Women accompanying him hold bows and arrows.
North, south, east and west, with a mind to kill all.
.
Falcons sweep the wild fields, rabbits become blood,
Poles beat the yellow rushes to scare out the pheasants,
And those who wreak such violence are also men!

16. Kobayashi, p.314. This rivalry was apparently friendly, SKSC T50.897b14.

17. Kobayashi., pp.204, 435, 438. The source of the physical description is SKSC T50.897b15-17.

18. Kobayashi, p.426.

I have made this my concern throughout my life.
 I have heard,
 That the great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called life.
 I have also heard that the manifold events are all Heaven's will.
 How could it send these men and still be (characterised) thus?
 I wish even further that the Lord of Heaven would (drop) ten feet of snow
 And completely freeze to death all the deer in the deep mountains.

This mixture of mental anguish over the origins of evil and the meaning of existence and compassion for all was extended beyond incorrigible humanity to all sentient beings.

The great ox painfully ploughs the fields,
 The milk-calf looking on as if crying.
 These myriad events are all Heaven's will,
 And yet the green grass tops are now edible.¹⁹

It may have been this perceived sorrow of the world, the contradictory actions of Nature (represented by Heaven) providing lush grass when the calf still cannot eat it, a hell on earth that was demonstrated both in fact and in Buddhist doctrine, that convinced Kuan-hsiu of the truth of insentience, the lack of emotion or insensibility. He had to question the Confucian doctrine that human nature is good, and wonder about the basis for evil.

The problem of evil was a core theme of T'ien-t'ai doctrine, where it is called "evil of the nature" or "natural evil" (*hsing-o* 性惡). This theory of the origin and basis for evil was first propounded by Chih-i, and forms a part of the doctrine of the Buddha-nature of the insentient, especially in Chan-jan's exposition of Chih-i's seminal ideas. Evil, or rather "desire" is considered by them to be identical with the Way, for in a non-dualist system one cannot seek enlightenment outside of desire or the emotions, just as one cannot attain nirvana by extinguishing the kleśas. This proposition had solid scriptural authority.²⁰ Desire here is the paradigm of and cause

19. Ibid., p.427. These complaints against Heaven are those of a disillusioned Confucian who has taken up Buddhism. Perhaps he had the same reservations about Heaven as Tsung-mi and Li Ho, cf. chapter 8 notes 85 and 27.

20. Neal Donner, "Chih-i's Meditation on Evil" in *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, ed. David W. Chappell, pp.58-59.

of all evils. Evil is present everywhere, even in the Buddhas themselves, for all levels of existence interpenetrate; even the hells contain Buddhas and the heavens evil. Evil or desire has to exist, otherwise there would be no Buddhism and no need for enlightenment. In fact, evil and enlightenment, even the state of Buddhahood, are mutually dependent and defining.²¹ This form of non-dualism was considered a pinnacle of Mahayana, and so Chih-i proposed a meditation on evil and its origins out of the emptiness of the Buddha-nature, thus seeing the oneness of good and evil.²²

That nature, or the *ālayavijñāna*, is the *āśraya* or support substratum for good and evil seeds. Chan-jan referred to the *Ch'i-hsin lun*, a text which Kuan-hsiu lectured on, to justify the theory. This Chinese treatise states that the mind of samsara (birth and extinction) and that of non-samsara or nirvana are jointly dependent on the Tathāgatagarbha, are one and not one, and that this combination is called the *ālayavijñāna*.²³ One cannot cut out evil or ignorance and become Buddha if the (Buddha-)nature itself in one aspect is the *ālayavijñāna*. The Buddha therefore must use evil to liberate beings, must go into the most evil hells and use evil as a goad to the quest for enlightenment.²⁴

This mutual dependence of good and evil means even the *icchantika* is not solely evil (even they have the Buddha-nature) and the Thus Come is not solely good; one cannot exist without the other. This condition of interpenetration and mutual dependence is also why a trichilocosm exists in a moment of thought. In other words, the realms of the Buddhas and sentient beings are made up of such a combination of both delusion and awakening, neither could exist without the other.²⁵ Chan-jan stated that according to the principles of Mahayana, "if the nature's evil

21. Donner, p.54. Note that habit still leaves its traces even in the arhats and bodhisattvas, making them behave as if they were subject to passion or evil. Even the Buddha can appear impassioned. Etienne Lamotte, "Passions and Impregnations of the Passions in Buddhism," pp.92-93, 97, 100.

22. Donner, p.63.

23. T32.575b7-9. For my translation, see chapter 6 note 50.

24. Andō Toshio, *Tendai shōgushisō ron*, p.82. Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten*, 2673a-b.

25. Andō, p.83; Mochizuki, 2673a-b.

(*hsing-o*) is cut out, from where would Samantabhadra's physical body come?"²⁶ After all, the material body must be part of evil and desire (all reincarnation is due to desire.)

Living in an age of horrors, Kuan-hsiu had the choice of abandoning himself to despair and conceiving of man and Nature as wholly evil, or had to see in the evil some hope for salvation. Kuan-hsiu came perilously close to the first position, almost falling into the antinomianism that Chih-i had warned of.²⁷ One had to at least act as if evil and good were separate states,²⁸ but at times such conscious self-delusion or play-acting may have failed to convince Kuan-hsiu, as for example on his return home after the death of his father:

"The Road I Travel is Hard"

The trees on the sides of the road send forth live branches,
 So verdant and dense, similarly [to man] they flourish and decay.
 The insentient things are still like this,
 Not equal to bear compassion for people.
 My father has just returned to his grave, alas not yet a day,
 And they have already divided his gold and are fighting over field and home.
 My old mother whose hair is like frost
 Has mentally made several payments, her tears continually fall.²⁹

Here the despair is such that even the living environment is perceived as not having the ability or strength to pity man such is the extent of his evil propensities. The environment may wish to be caring, but it seems to be incapable of bearing that burden. Yet Kuan-hsiu has to admit according to T'ien-t'ai (and Ch'an) theory that even the vegetation has sorrow and pain, which means it must also possess the Buddha-nature or potential for Buddhahood. Sorrow itself is the motivating factor for the quest, perhaps is a part of that very same potential, especially if one equates

26. Andō, p.139; Mochizuki, 2673b. Andō has 普現, Mochizuki, 普賢, in other words, "universal manifestation" of a Buddha or bodhisattva in a body, versus Samantabhadra or "universal wisdom," the assistant of the Buddha in the east who represents principle 理.

27. Donner, p.60.

28. Ibid., p.63.

29. CTS 827.9319; Kobayashi, p.105.

the ālayavijñāna with the Tathāgatagarbha. Therefore he writes in a poem titled "Thoughts on the Way" (*Tao-ch'ing*, or "The Way's Emotion"):

Grass and trees also have a nature,
 And are no different to me.
 If I were akin to grass and trees,
 There would be no (set) season in which to become Buddha.
 Worldly people do not understand the Way,
 And so abuse the Way while approaching it.
 For these people who wreak such violence,
 On the treasure mount they can't get the treasure.³⁰

Kuan-hsiu's despair though at times reached a point where he had doubts about the existence of this potential in both the insentient and even himself, for in 864 he wrote, "I cultivate the mind but have not yet reached the mind-ground,"³¹ and again, "I do not know what is the mind-ground."³² The mind-ground is the nature. But Kuan-hsiu provides a pervasive sensation that both Nature feels sorrow and so has to be pitied. When praying for rain he said,

The spring rains by chance were overdue,
 And yet the grass and trees still do not know.³³

Therefore, like Tu Fu, he wrote of the suffering caused to both man and Nature by the extravagant lifestyles and demands of officials.

Who believes that the mental fires are so much,
 So much that they can raze a great country?
 Who believes that the silk over the hair

30. CTS 828.9334; Kobayashi, p.428. Note that if this poem's first couplet is read as a conditional, the meaning would change completely: "If grass and trees also have a nature/ They would be no different to me./ If I were like grass and trees/ There would be no time in which I could perfect the Way."

31. CTS 837.9425.

32. CTS 835.9416.

33. CTS 828.9333; Kobayashi, p.141.

Every thread comes from a silkworm's guts?
 I have heard that the women who raise silkworms
 Are not aware of anything beyond the mulberry trees,
 Beneath the mulberry afraid the silkworms will starve,
 Even their babies' cries will not turn their heads.
 In a single spring the blood and fat all gone,
 How can they stop responding to the royal levies?³⁴

It seems that too much sorrow and hardship (evil) can hinder even thoughts of salvation. Some people made symbolic attempts to alleviate the suffering of men and animals by donating all their food and starving, but Kuan-hsiu thought this was probably in vain.

"The Monk who has given up Food"

Not eating, what further is there to be worried about?
 A freedom of freedoms!
 The body so light it hates the weight of the robe.
 Heaven's drought causes the people anguish.
 The begging-bowl, who will take it away?
 On the animal's food-stand even the ants do not play.
 If you understand you must transmit this art
 And share it with this old mountain monk.³⁵

Food was an all-consuming passion in this period, appearing in stories about Kuan-hsiu as a glutton or gourmand, and also in the aesthetic vocabulary of Ssu-k'ung T'u. Given Kuan-hsiu's addiction, he had to seek a method of concern other than self-starvation and asceticism, and this involved a serious consideration of the insentient/emotionless question in a way quite different to many of his lay contemporaries, who were seemingly only concerned with the limited sense of a lack of love or with frivolous anthropomorphisms. Only the rare individual like his friend

34. CTS 828.9329.

35. CTS 832.9382. The animals' food stand is a place prepared by devout Buddhists out of compassion in a quiet spot where food is placed for animals to eat. To go on a hunger-strike seems to be a variation on the Buddhist self-sacrifice of donating one's body to animals for food. For example, see the Silla monk Tao-yü, SKSC T50.858b.

Fang Kan came close to his level of sensibility. On passing Ch'an master Tao-kuang's old cloister, Fang Kan wrote of reincarnation and insentience:

The cries of the scattering valley birds are as if resentful.
 The flowers of the courtyard have smiles that are as if without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*).
 The change of name and transformation of features is hard to annull,
 Going and going, coming and coming, what is the number of the reincarnation?³⁶

There was another strand in Kuan-hsiu's Buddhism. Kobayashi Taichirō thinks that Kuan-hsiu used a T'ien-t'ai method of dream-contemplation as a means to salvation. It was this that gave significance to his understanding of the term insentient, for the doctrine Kobayashi cites is the T'ien-t'ai basis for the theory of insentient Buddhahood.

Kuan-hsiu's poems are full of dream qualities, and his famous paintings of the sixteen arhats in the strange contortions of the spiritual travail were said in Sung times to have been painted from a dream.³⁷ These paintings and some of his poems have a surrealistic vision in which immortals and sylphs are really stalactites and crystals³⁸ and "The silver ground is dustless, the golden chrysanthemums open." He also has strange, ghostly fantasies:

The mountains became a crystal palace
 And the mat of flowers lack any dust trace.
 Singing madly, the peaks appear to move,
 And my brush drops onto the sky-jasper.

36. Kobayashi, p.112.

37. Ibid., p.361. They were called "Response to Dream Arhats" (*Ying-meng Lo-han*) by Ou-yang Ch'iung (896-971), CTS 761.8638-8639. Cf. also Wu Chi-yu, "Le séjour de Kouan-hieou au Houa chan et le titre de recueil de se poèmes; 'Si-yo tsi'," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoise* 2 (1960), p.160, and *The Indiana Companion*, p.509. This story is also told in SKSC T50.897a25-26: "He said, 'Every time I paint one of the Venerables I must pray for a dream to get a response [in the form of a vision of his] true appearance, and then I complete it.' So they are not the same as the normal body."

38. Schafer, *The Divine Woman*, p.144. There is a more detailed study in his "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," *Asia Major* 10 (1963), pp.73-102. Cf. *The Indiana Companion*, pp.509-510.

At times ghosts laugh twice or thrice.

I wonder if

It is Hsieh the Greater (Ling-yün), Hsieh the Lesser (Hui-yün) and Li Po coming?³⁹

Kuan-hsiu dreamed of everything; of humans, souls, former lives and beasts; so much so that Kobayashi thinks that Kuan-hsiu made the world into a dream in which horrid "reality" is nought but the nightmares born of ignorance. Because Kuan-hsiu was a specialist on the *Ta-sheng Ch'i-hsin lun* and its mind-only theory, it is more than probable that he used it, and the T'ien-t'ai doctrine derived from it, for his dream-analysis.⁴⁰

The *Ch'i-hsin lun* states that reliance on non-awareness (*pu-chüeh*, not being awake) causes the mind to move in karmic ignorance, which in turn creates the perceiving ego through which the sense-data realms 境界 are falsely or distortedly manifested. The only way to return to the mind-ground, Buddha-nature or True Thusness which is Original Awareness, is to reverse the dream process. Kobayashi considers that the degree of attachment to these "dream" visions of habitualized percepts can be ranked Buddhistically into the gross or sense-realm of everyman where there is just passionate attachment, the intermediate or transitional "dream" realm of the bodhisattvas, and the subtle realm of the Buddhas where the process of discrimination begins and ends.⁴¹ The bodhisattva is in the realm of like and dislike, but is not attached to the objects of those states, for he knows they are dream-like. The Buddhas, in nirvana, are in a realm in which such agreeable and disagreeable states are not perceived. In comparison, the activist bodhisattva, by forgoing nirvana for the conceivable future, has to remain in this nightmarish world.

Therefore the *Ch'i-hsin lun* explains the practice of contemplation as follows:

You should contemplate all the worlds as created [*saṃskṛta*, compounded] dharmas.... You should contemplate dharmas thought of in the past as blurred as in a dream, the dharmas

39. Kobayashi, p.340.

40. Ibid., p.342.

41. Ibid., pp.343-344.

thought of in the present like lightning flashes, and the dharmas thought of in the future like clouds suddenly rising.⁴²

Memory was to be seen as a dream, and this epistemological foundation for a theory of salvation was expounded upon by Chih-i in his rationale for the "trichilocosm in a moment of thought," which is the concomitant of the T'ien-t'ai insentient Buddhahood theory.

Chih-i, and later Chan-jan, who set his whole *Diamond Scalpel* dialogue in a dream, gave a most Chinese cast to this *Ch'i-hsin lun* dream analysis (itself probably a Chinese creation) by referring to the famous butterfly dream of *Chuang-tzu*. Chih-i's *Mo-ho chih-kuan* subjects this analogy to Nāgārjuna's famous tetralemma of ontological analysis.

This trichilocosm in a moment of thought. If they (the three thousand worlds) are non-existent there would be only mind...Nāgārjuna said, "Dharmas are not produced of themselves, nor are they produced from another, nor in combination, nor without a cause." If we are to take a metaphor with which to test this, since it must be due to the mind, we shall adopt dream.

We have dreams due to sleep. When the dharma sleep combines with the mind we have dreams. Therefore there are dreams apart from mind and sleep. If we have dreams due to mind, then we should have dreams when we are not asleep. If we have dreams due to sleep, then dead men who are as if asleep should have dreams. If we have dreams because sleep and mind are combined, how can a sleeping person sometimes not dream? Furthermore, if sleep and mind independently lack dreams, but have dream when in combination, they cannot have them in combination because both lack dreams independently. If there are dreams apart from sleep and mind, they will be empty and divorced from these two, so we would constantly dream. One can search for dreams with the tetralemma but still they can't be obtained.

So how does one dream in sleep and see all events? The mind is a metaphor for the dharma-nature (*fa-hsing*), the dream for the ālaya-(vijñāna). How can one rely solely on the dharma-nature and the ālaya-(vijñāna) to produce all dharmas?

You should know that one cannot seek the mind through the tetralemma, nor can you seek the three thousand dharmas [the trichilocosm]...When the path of words is cut off, the site of mental action is extinguished. Therefore it is called the inconceivable realm [*ching*, sense-data inconceivable in that it is existent and yet non-existent]...Furthermore, it is like

42. *Ibid.*, p.344.

seeing millions of events dreaming in one's sleep. When you awake suddenly, there is not one, much less hundreds of thousands (of events). You do not dream when you are not yet asleep, and are not aware (of the events), so they are neither many nor one. The power of sleep therefore is considered much, the power of awareness therefore is slight.

Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, and fluttered around for one hundred years. When he awoke he knew he was not a butterfly, nor was it for many years. Ignorance becomes the model (*fa*) of the dharma-nature, and One Mind all minds, just like his confusing sleep. When one understands that ignorance is the dharma-nature, and all minds the One Mind, that is just like his arousal from sleep.

Moreover, if a man who practices the conduct-of-ease in his sleep dreams that he has first generated the mind (to become Buddha) and has even become Buddha, of sitting in the place of insight (bodhi-mandala) and turning the wheel of the Dharma, and of liberating sentient beings and entering into nirvana, when he is suddenly aroused, these (become) merely the events of a dream.⁴³

Kobayashi concludes therefore that dream is not simply a metaphor here, but is an actual practice of the contemplation of the trichilocosm or universe as the product of a moment's thought.⁴⁴ One should come to discern that our everyday perceptions are manufactured by us from these habitualized percepts that are created out of the desires of attachment, and the processes of nominalization and conceptualization. It does not mean that there is no reality on which these are based; that is True Thusness and Original Awareness.

Chan-jan, whose ideas were probably Kuan-hsiu's most proximate source for the T'ien-t'ai theory of dream-world analysis and the Buddhahood of the insentient, tried to further elucidate Chih-i's methods in his *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh*:

Next there are three dream metaphors. The first is the total presentation as dream events (in which) the dream events are like the trichilocosm. The sudden awakening is like the moment of thought. Not yet being asleep is like the dharma-nature; the dharma-nature not non-existent is like non-awareness (*pu-chüeh*); the dharma-nature not existent is like not dreaming. Because of not dreaming, there are not many [the trichilocosm]. Because of non-awareness, it is not one [moment of thought]. Ignorance is sleep, so it is considered to

43. Ibid., p.345, with the assistance of Sekiguchi Shindai, *Makashikan* (Tokyo, 1966), vol. 1, pp.287-288, 294. The butterfly-dream metaphor is taken from Kuo Hsiang's commentary on the *Chuang-tzu*.

44. Kobayashi, p.345.

be many. Contemplation is one moment of thought, so it is considered to be few. Ignorance and the moment of thought do not issue forth (from) the dharma-nature. Therefore it is neither many nor few.

The Chuang Chou dream metaphor is likewise. Ignorance is like the dream of the butterfly, and the trichiliocosm like the hundred years. The single moment of thought is non-existent, in fact just like the non-butterfly. The trichiliocosm is likewise non-existent like the non-accumulation of years....The ignorance modelled on the dharma-nature corresponds (*ho* 合) to the dream-butterfly, and the One Mind that is all minds corresponds to the hundred years. If one realizes that ignorance is the dharma-nature, that corresponds to the awakening that knows one is not a butterfly....Therefore take the mind-nature to be the realm of the inconceivable....One can know the next dream metaphor of the practitioner of the conduct-of-ease by comparison with the Chuang Chou dream.⁴⁵

Therefore one sees one's world as a dream, and at times, like Chuang-tzu, the distinction between the actual world and our perceived world is blurred and indistinct, and we see into the shady realms of other beings such as hungry-ghosts, the denizens of hells, the asuras and immortals or devas (gods).

Indeed, Kuan-hsiu may not have been the first poet-monk to have used dream in this way. Ch'ing-chiang 清江, a monk of the Vinaya tradition whose teacher was T'an-i (692-771),⁴⁶ the man who taught Vinaya to Chan-jan, and whose other teacher was Shou-chih (700-770), Chiao-jan's master, was also intensely interested in dreams. Later in life Ch'ing-chiang was initiated into the Ch'an tradition by Nan-yang Hui-chung in 773. Therefore Ch'ing-chiang, who was a native of Kuei-chi, a region where Ch'an, T'ien-t'ai, Vinaya and poetry combined in a productive mix, would have been privy to the theories of Chan-jan.⁴⁷ It is not surprising then to find many mentions of the dream world in his poetry,⁴⁸ especially Chuang-tzu's butterfly

45. Kobayashi, p.436. The use of *fa* as "model" and "dharma," and that of *ho* as "matches" and "in combination" here is troublesome.

46. For a discussion of T'an-i, see Kanai Noriyuki, "ō Shō-rei to Bukkyō," pp.150-151.

47. For Ch'ing-chiang's biography, see SKSC T50.802a1-21. For other materials and references, see Fu Hsüan-tsung, *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan chiao-chien*, vol. 1, pp.537-540.

48. CTS 812.9144: "10,000 *li* of lakes and rivers dream."; 812.9146: "Returning on a path of 10,000 *li* in a dream."

dream.⁴⁹ In fact, Ch'ing-chiang explicitly states his view in a poem about being ill while in Ch'ang-an:

The body of this world deserves to be pitied.
 In the empty room when I lay ill,
 The rolled blind, the rain dripping from flowers,
 The bamboos' shadows shift on the swept stones,
 I am already aware that life is like a dream.
 I can bear to sigh, I don't know my life span,
 And I am not yet able to comprehend the dharma-nature.
 How can I avoid disintegration?⁵⁰

But unlike Ch'ing-chiang, Kuan-hsiu took these ideas beyond himself and life to encompass the whole universe. Thus Kuan-hsiu wrote of dreaming of visits to immortals, reincarnation,⁵¹ and of trying to commune with the spirits of the dead. For example, after he read the *Li Sao*, he wrote this poem:

The banks of the Hsiang River, the banks of the Hsiang River,
 The orchids red and iris white, the waves like silver.
 At last I must go off to call the Hsiang Lord
 And ask the God of the Hsiang and the Lord in the clouds.
 I do not know how to communicate with Ling-chün (Ch'ü Yüan)
 And I fear alas that the Hsiang River fish
 Have all become men after dying.
 Alas! They have eaten Ling-chün's flesh,
 And each one of them has become a loyal minister.
 I also imagine, alas, that Ling-chün's bones
 Even after a thousand years have not been bent,
 And beneath the waves are coloured like jade [white].⁵²

49. CTS 812.9144: "Deep in spring, the flower-butterfly dream."; 812.9145: "I came across a butterfly that became Chuang in a dream."

50. CTS 812.9146.

51. CTS 828.9331.

52. Kobayashi, p.338. There is probably a political message here also.

Once the boundaries between spheres of existence are broken down by dreams and visions, there can finally be no reason to distinguish between the sentient and the insentient, and immortals can become crystals and vegetation can become Buddhas and have compassion on humanity.

Kuan-hsiu belongs to that combination of Taoistic shaman and Ch'an monk who figure so prominently in the later part of the T'ang. Despite his dislike of being called a *Sao* poet in the tradition of Po Chü-i or Li Ho, probably because of their celebrations of human emotionality and failure to properly seek the fundamentals of reality,⁵³ he was clearly influenced by Ch'ü Yüan⁵⁴ and Chia I.⁵⁵ His excursions into the spirit-world were both inspired by the Chinese *Sao* poetic tradition and by the Buddhist doctrine that said "the realm of the demons is thus, the realm of the Buddhas is thus; there is one thusness and not two,"⁵⁶ and by the advice of Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan who encouraged one to go and practice in the hells.⁵⁷

Kuan-hsiu, moreover, appreciated Tu Fu's poetry,⁵⁸ and he read the poetry of Chia Tao⁵⁹ and Chiao-jan.⁶⁰ Although Kuan-hsiu would appear to belong to the Chia Tao line for poetical expression, he was probably closer in theory to the ideas of Chiao-jan, despite his use of the many Buddhist clichés decried by Chiao-jan (he uses the words Tung-lin Monastery and frequently mentions Chih-tun, although in his defence we can say that one of his teachers, Ta-yüan, resided at Tung-lin Monastery).

53. Kobayashi, pp.325-326.

54. CTS 826.9302.

55. CTS 827.9332. Cf. Kobayashi, pp.235, 238.

56. *Mo-ho chih-kuan* in Sekiguchi Shindai's translation, *Makashikan*, vol. 1, p.267.

57. Kuan-hsiu cites Nan-ch'üan at CTS 837.9427. For Nan-ch'üan's theory, see chapter 8 note 65 for "You should practice among the beasts." Note the quote of the *Abhidharma kośa śāstra* on people in hell having their heads hanging downward, CTS 831.9377 (note).

58. CTS 829.9339, 9346.

59. CTS 829.9340; 833.9399.

60. CTS 833.9397.

In fact Kuan-hsiu does seem to advocate direct, immediate perception, despite his experimentation with dreams (which it could be argued are a direct form of perception as no object is involved except a mentally created one):

The mountain colours are in the garden;
 The poetry demons do not exist outside of images.
 The frosted crops, and chain of islands bare,
 The misted grasses lean on the bridge dry.
 Why must one after deep secrets pry
 (When) in front of the gate it's like a painting?⁶¹

All in all, dream perception was important to Kuan-hsiu. He wrote to Ta-yüan about his thought on the potential of literature after memories of their times together were triggered off by a sound:

At once I hear a profound sound coming down from the bamboo pavilion,
 And I retreated in thought of the snow on the window and the bag of fireflies.
 I would merely like to use purity with which to reply to your compassionate
 virtuosity
 And dare to believe that literature has its own innate numinosity.
 I dreamed I passed over mountain forms and heard the cranes' speech.
 I chant and think of the sea moon above the sandy spit,
 And cannot bear to turn my head towards the top of the Tsang River,
 The 80,000 foot Lu Pinnacle is (hidden) in a cloud of obscurity.⁶²

Kuan-hsiu was greatly appreciated in his own time by friends such as Ch'i-chi and Wu Jung (chin-shih 889),⁶³ who said he was an heir to Li Po and Po Chü-i. Others saw him as in a line from Li Po and Li Ho, and the writer of the preface to Ch'i-chi's collection of poems states that Kuan-hsiu was the best poet-monk of the late T'ang.⁶⁴ This judgement was undoubtedly made because of the daemonic and

61. CTS 832.9391.

62. CTS 837.9435.

63. *The Indiana Companion*, p.509. For Wu Jung, see *Hsin T'ang shu* 203.5795; *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 820.3876a; CTS 684.

64. Kobayashi, p.333; *The Indiana Companion*, p.510; SKSC T50.897b7.

shamanistic elements in his poems, his social concern, and his attempt to make literature a vehicle for salvation by describing the dream-condition of existence and the evils to be contemplated.

Kuan-hsiu, moreover, was a poet torn between his Buddhist ideals and the compulsion towards artistic creation. When celebrating a monk's calligraphy, he wrote:

A monk loving poetry creates his own bonds.
 A monk loving painting is likewise confined.
 Only the master's divine scrawl (*ts'ao*) is of a high level of art,
 In a handful mountains and springs, then the mind can relax.⁶⁵

Yet ultimately art was perhaps his means of temporary release, as it was later for Su Shih, from this most sorrowful world.

(Poetry) is a thing that passes through the heavens and transverses the earth,
 The motive/movement necessitates the talent of an immortal.
 If one cannot attain (poetic creation) anywhere at all,
 There will be a time when it will come of itself.
 The wind of Truth contains the white-haired, [Li Ho?]
 The autumn colours enter the numinous Tower/stand [the mind or tower of King Wen?]
 Chanting towards the frost neath the toad-moon,
 In the end there must be a spirit-ghost's lament.⁶⁶

b) *Kuan-hsiu's Influence*

Kuan-hsiu probably made his initial and most immediate impact upon his friend, the monk Ch'i-chi (c. 861-933).⁶⁷ Ch'i-chi had wanted to plant a tree in remembrance on Kuan-hsiu's tomb but was prevented from doing so by the King of Nan-p'ing (Chiang-ling), Kao Chi-ch'ang, who wanted to make Ch'i-chi his monk-

65. CTS 837.9436.

66. Kobayashi, p.334.

67. Biography in SKSC T50.897c11-898a3; Ogawa, *Tōdai no shijin*, pp.643-647; *The Indiana Companion*, pp.249-251.

administrator at his court in 921. Ch'i-chi subsequently became a good friend of T'an-yü, Kuan-hsiu's pupil.⁶⁸

Ch'i-chi, a native of Ch'ang-sha, was orphaned when young and became an ox-herd for a monastery on Mt Ta-wei (SSW of Lake Tung-t'ing). While herding he wrote or composed poems, which caught the attention of the senior monks who encouraged him and ordained him as a monk when he was older. Ch'i-chi travelled widely, even to Ch'ang-an, but he returned south where he was employed, often as a virtual captive, at the courts of petty, upstart warlords. Ch'i-chi wrote two treatises on poetry, both of which were discussions and notes on genre and techniques of composition.⁶⁹ His other work is the *Pai-lien chi* (*White Lotus Collection*), a collection of his poems.⁷⁰

Ch'i-chi was conscious of belonging to the Ch'an poet-monk tradition, for besides Kuan-hsiu⁷¹ he also mentioned Chiao-jan⁷² and Chia Tao.⁷³ He may also have seen himself as a member of the *Sao* tradition, for he mentions Chia I⁷⁴ and read

68. Kobayashi, pp.329-332; Fu Hsüan-tsung, vol. 1, p.551. T'an-yü wrote the preface to a collection of Kuan-hsiu's poems in 923 titled *Ch'an-yüeh chi*, and was an able seal-script calligrapher and poet.

69. Ogawa, *Tōdai no shijin*, pp.643-647 for a translation from the *T'ang ts' ai-tzu chuan*, and *The Indiana Companion*, p.250. The two works are the *Hsüan-chi fen-pieh yao-lan* ("Essential Survey of the Discriminated Elements of the Profound Mechanism [of Writing Poetry]") which is lost, and the *Feng-Sao chih-ko* (or *shih-ko*) which appears to be extant. The latter has lists under eight categories of poetic phenomena. See Maureen Robertson, "'...To Convey What is Precious'...", pp.335-336.

70. Extant in the CTS and *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*.

71. Mentioned in CTS 839.9464 where Kuan-hsiu is called Master; 844.9540; 845.9561.

72. CTS 845.9556; 844.9546; 846.9578.

73. CTS 839.9469 along with Wang Wei.

74. CTS 845.9552.

poems by Li Ho,⁷⁵ and he often uses the term *feng-sao*.⁷⁶ In addition, Ch'i-chi praises one man's poetry as

In poetry the equal of Li Ho, ethereally communicating with ghosts,
And in prose an imitation of Liu K'o 劉孝標 marvellously entering Ch'an.⁷⁷

On some occasions, Ch'i-chi even wrote of the activities of the shamans attempts to bring rain,⁷⁸ a very *Sao* topic.

Ch'i-chi's ideas about poetic creation seem similar at times to those of Chiao-jan, for he writes:

How can the poetic mentality be transmitted?
What is realized is itself the same as Ch'an.
The quest for the line is like seeking out a tiger,
And when you meet and know it, it is like becoming an immortal.⁷⁹

Not only was poetry for him similar to Ch'an in its transmission and mentality, but both required quiet for realization:

The Tao is raised by a restful opportunity,
Poetry is produced from a quietened realm (sense-data).⁸⁰

But that quietude is not unconnected with sensibility:

Ch'an's profundity is incomparable,
Poetry's marvel, with what can it be evaluated?

75. CTS 847.9584, 9588.

76. For one example, CTS 846.9578-9579.

77. CTS 846.9577. Liu K'o lived in the early T'ang.

78. CTS 847.9585.

79. CTS 840.9478.

80. CTS 842.9506.

Take care, and take a look again [punning on farewell],
 Forget the occasion and speak of the emotion.⁸¹

While emotion may be a hindrance to Buddhist practice, in a sense it is necessary in poetry. So in encouraging another poet-monk he wrote:

For a moment one who is blocked from knowing Buddha
 Understands the smile and loves the famous monk.
 The nature of the Way (Bodhi) is fitting like water;
 Emotion and poetry are combined like ice.
 Return and join the guests of the Lotus Society
 And join the chorus and revolve with the censer.⁸²

Yet despite the fact that poetry requires sensibility, the meaning of the poem is beyond form and imagery:

Sitting midst the cacophony of hundreds of insects,
 The night colours are all dim and dark
 I recall in the distance the pinnacles of peaks
 Where once I rested this innate-numinosity (*hsing-ling* 性靈).
 The moon and flowers clarify that there are images,
 But poetical thought lies in the formless.⁸³

Interestingly, Ch'i-chi seems to have advocated a Buddhist version of the poetry of Neo-Confucian *ko-wu*, the "investigation of things," for

Poetry comprehends the principles of things, and acts to arrange them,
 The Way matches the Natural opportunity, and one sits to copy it.
 Responding to this, the upright man possesses creativity...⁸⁴

81. CTS 842.9507.

82. CTS 840.9478. The famous monk is probably Buddha who smiled to Mahākāśyapa while twirling a flower in his fingers. The Lotus Society probably refers to that of Hui-yüan.

83. CTS 838.9442.

84. CTS 844.9550.

Not only that, Ch'i-chi was one of the earliest poets to have noted and appreciated the crab-apple (*hai-shang* 海棠) in his poetry, which indicates that he belonged in that group that participated in and hastened the rise of a new aesthetic sensibility at the end of the T'ang.⁸⁵ This may have been connected in turn with the doctrine of the Buddhahood of the insentient, for Ch'i-chi writes of the thirty-fourth gate (topic) of his *Feng-sao chih-ko* 風騫志略 (his treatise on genre and theme), "smashing and removing" 破除 that,

The great capital at times arrives here,
It is not that the world is without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*).⁸⁶

However, like Kuan-hsiu, Ch'i-chi was still obsessed with the demon of poetry, which could also be a threat to Ch'an as well as an expression of it:

Just as I can bear to quell my thoughts and shut the meditation (cell) door,
Again I have the poetry demon troubling the Indian gentleman [the Buddha].
By chance I lean on the window shutters, following the fading light.
I do not sleep, and wind and snow come for the remainder of the night
Chiao-jan was surely not misled by former customs [habit/*vāsanā*],
Chih-tun, how could he not be awakened to (his) later lives.⁸⁷

Kuan-hsiu and Ch'i-chi were friends with or followed by a host of minor monk-poets such as Shang-yen, Hsi-ch'an,⁸⁸ Kuan-hsiu's heir T'an-i,⁸⁹ Ch'u-mo, Hsi-yin,

85. CTS 844.9551. For the use of the crab-apple or aronia as a measure of the new sensibility, see Iwaki Hideo, "To Ho ni kaidō no shi no nai no wa naze-ka - Tō-Sō kan ni okeru bi-ishiki no henshen" in *Chūgoku shijin ron: Okamura Shigeru kyōju taikan kinen ronshū*. The flower on this bush was probably first noticed in 846, then later by Wen T'ing-yün (812?-870?) and Ch'i-chi (p.407), and again by Ch'eng Ku, an associate of Kuan-hsiu and Ch'i-chi (p.401). But it only became a popular subject of poetry in the Sung, and poets of that period could not understand why Tu Fu did not appreciate it.

86. *Feng-Sao chih-ko* 7a, in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*, comp. Ting Fu-pao.

87. CTS 844.9546.

88. See CTS 848.9603, 9609. For Shang-yen (fl. 870s-890s), see Fu Hsüan-tsung, pp.556-558. He knew Ch'i-chi, Fang Kan, Wu Jung, Li T'ung and Ssu-k'ung T'u. Has 34 poems in CTS 848. For Hsi-ch'an, Fu Hsüan-tsung, pp.558-559; 12 poems in CTS 848.

Hsiu-mu⁹⁰ and K'an-k'eng.⁹¹ All lived in the South at the end of the T'ang and into the Five Dynasties Period. But Kuan-hsiu left the most enduring reputation. His paintings in particular were appreciated by Su Shih in 1100,⁹² were possibly imitated by Mu-ch'i (c.1200-c. 1270)⁹³ and were compared with those by Yen Li-pen (c. 600-673). His calligraphy was fancied also, for it was compared to that of Huai-su.⁹⁴

Thus a tradition of monks who wrote poetry and criticism arose, especially from the late T'ang. This tendency spanned the Five Dynasties and continued on into the Northern Sung, when it was eventually to meet with some opposition from orthodox Neo-Confucians. Thus the poet-monk tradition either attenuated or had other rivals. But for a short period it was clearly very influential.

After Ch'i-chi we may cite as important the works of Hsü-chung, a friend of Ch'i-chi.⁹⁵ He wrote, besides his collection of poems called the *Pi-yün chi* 碧雲集, a work on the categories of subjects for poetry, listing fifty-five of them. In what appears to be a preface to this work, the *Liu-lei shou-chien* (*Handbook of Currents and Categories*), he wrote:

89. CTS 849.9612. Cf. note 68 above in this chapter.

90. CTS 848.9613, 9615, 9618. For Hsiu-mu, see Fu Hsüan-tsung, pp.544-545, has 20 poems in CTS 849 and 7 in CTS 888. For Ch'u-mo (832-c.912), see Fu Hsüan-tsung, p.547, 8 poems in CTS 849.

91. CTS 849.9620. A number of the poems by most of these minor monk-poets can be found in the selections made by Ch'en Hsiang.

92. Kobayashi, p.354. See below in the chapter on Su Shih for more details.

93. Kobayashi, pp.376-377. For his paintings, see also Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China* (Oxford, 1980), pp.54-59.

94. Kobayashi, p.356. Huai-su, a monk, was admired for his calligraphy by Li Po. See Ch'en Chih-mai, *Chinese Calligraphers and their Art* (Melbourne U.P., 1966), pp.92-96; Fu Hsüan-tsung, pp.553-554.

95. CTS 848.9604. Also in *T'ang ts'ai-tzu chuan* 8 ans *Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 76. Ch'en Hsiang, *Ch'an shih liu-pai shou*, p.221, and *Li-tai ming-seng shih-tz'u hsüan*, p.182.

Now the Way of poetry is mysterious and distant; its principle enters the abstruse subtlety which ordinary and worldly do not know, for they regard it as shallow and near. The true poet's mind corresponds to creation 造化, and his words contain a myriad images. That is, heaven and earth, the sun, moon, plants, trees, mist and clouds all comply with my use, and correspond with my percipient illumination. These then are the words of poets that respond to physical images. How can it be easy?⁹⁶

Here Hsü-chung attempts to counter the idea that poetic creativity is just a matter of word manipulation, and so superficially he seems to be opposing the concept that poetry comes naturally. In any case, his work, as well as those by Ch'i-chi and Chia Tao exerted an influence over many minor lay authors of treatises on poetry.

c) *Resurgence of an Interest in Poetic Genealogy*

One issue that this group of people promoted was the comparison of Ch'an lineages to poetic affinities. One of these minor poets, Hsü Yin⁹⁷ wrote of Ch'an and poetry in his *Ya-Tao Chi-yao (Essentials of the Opportunities/Mechanism of Ya Poetry)* 雅道機要 in the manner of Chia Tao, reintroducing the idea of *shih* 勢 or "deployment" that was probably borrowed from Wang Ch'ang-ling:

All these [forms of words, scenes, etc. in various combinations] have their own depository and tendency which are not identical. In the Southern School 南宗 then one can see the intent (*i*) in two lines, and in the Northern School in one line.⁹⁸

While this formulation is the direct opposite of Chia Tao's allocation of the poetical content of the verses with schools, the comparison with Ch'an lineages clearly derives from Chia Tao. Certainly, in many areas, Chiao-jan, Chia Tao, Ch'i-chi and Hsü-chung were not short of lay imitators.⁹⁹ Hsü-chung himself had written of this concept of Northern and Southern lineages in poetry:

96. Lo Ken-tse, pp.193-194.

97. *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 830.3925a; CTS 708.8139 and *Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu* 95.

98. Lo Ken-tse, p.196. For *shih* in Wang Ch'ang-ling, see Chou Wei-te, p.35ff.

99. Lo Ken-tse, p.196 on Wang Hsüan imitating Chiao-jan.

Poetry has two lineages (*tsung*). To see the title in the fourth line is that of the Southern School, to see the title in the eighth line is the Northern School.¹⁰⁰

While generally the application of these Ch'an genealogical concepts to poetry was related to the number of lines it took to express the idea behind the poem (and so was perhaps related to vague notions of gradual and sudden), Chia Tao probably also conceived of it aesthetically, for the *Erh-nan mi-chih* states,

I take the lines of the *Shao Nan* [in the *Book of Poetry*], "In the wood there is a clump of oaks./ And in the wilds a dead deer"¹⁰¹....and Ch'ien Ch'i's "The bamboos sympathize after the new rain./ The mountains love at the time of sunset" to be the Southern School, and I take the lines of the *Wei Feng*,¹⁰² "My mind is not a stone./ it cannot be rolled"....and Lu Lun's¹⁰³ "Who knows the woodcutter's path./ That can reach to Ko Hung's hearth" to be Northern School.¹⁰⁴

These monks were truly responsible for the creation of the ideas of the existence of lineages in poetry by transference from the field of Ch'an which was considered to be analogous in many respects, and these in turn were linked and opposed in the early Sung to Han Yü's theory of the *Tao-t'ung*, which itself was influenced by the propaganda of Shen-hui on the *tsung* of Ch'an, to create the *wen-t'ung* (lineage of prose). This prose-lineage was first mooted by Liu K'ai (fl.1020s), who imitated Han Yü's style and attacked the *shih-wen* or "current" style of prose and the Hsi-k'un school of poetry headed by the Buddhist Yang I.¹⁰⁵ Liu K'ai's lineage of literary

100. Ibid., p.205. The very popularity of these comparisons led Lo to conclude that the *Erh-nan mi-chih* was by Chia Tao.

101. Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (London, 1937), p.60, no. 63. Cf. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4., p.34.

102. Waley, no 75; Legge, vol. 4, p.39. *Wei Feng* is a mistake for *Pei Feng*.

103. For Lu Lun (737?-798?), see *The Indiana Companion*, pp.606-607; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.561. One of the Ten Talents of the Ta-li era.

104. Lo Ken-tse, p.205.

105. James T.C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh Century Neo-Confucianist* (Stanford U.P., 1967), p.142. Yu-shih Chen, "The Literary Theory and Practice of Ou-yang Hsiu" in *Chinese*

orthodoxy was Confucius, Mencius, Hsün-tzu, Yang Hsiung, Wang T'ung and Han Yü, and was an extension of Han Yü's *Tao-t'ung* theory.¹⁰⁶

Other monks also exerted influence on Sung dynasty literary theory. A monk of Kuei-lin, one Shun (n.d., possibly late 900s to c. 1000) wrote in his *Shih-p'ing* (*Evaluations of Poetry*) 詩評:

The essential tenet of poetry is that the intent (*i*) is covered due to emotion 緣情 ...The words of a poem are the husks of meaning, like the fruits in the human world....The husk is outside and the flesh inside...it cannot be seen, causing those people of the world who are ignorant of poetry to look only to the spent embers. If one only sees the words, and does not know the intent, this then is the marvel.¹⁰⁷

He is incredulous at the way people are deceived by the words and the emotion and so miss the point of the poem. But would he have advocated the cutting out of desire and emotion? This monk's works may have influenced Yen Yü, but unfortunately we know but a fragment of the original.

Yet another monk, Wen/Shen-yu 文彥 of the late Five Dynasties period with the style (*hao*) of Wen-pao Ta-shi ("Great Master Literary Treasure"), also maintained that poetry concealed a magnificent truth:

The utmost profundity and utmost marvel are not attainable by words. If one awakens to the Way of poetry, then one shall know its difficulty.¹⁰⁸

Later, in the early Sung, the monk Pao-hsien (fl. 1004-1008), a native of Chin-hua, and a minor poet (one of the Nine Monks) who became a member of the Chih-chao Literary Academy 直昭文館 at the Sung court, wrote a *Ch'u-nang chüeh* 處囊訣 which discussed the functions of poetry and the forgetting of emotion.

Now the functions of poetry are: free [放 liberated], then the moon is full and the mist over the river, restricted [收 restrained or gathered in], then the clouds empty the peaks and great rivers, and so the emotions are forgotten and the Tao is corresponded with

Approaches to Literature, ed. Adele Austin Rickett, p.67 gives dates 946?-1000? William Nienhauser in *The Indiana Companion*, p.496 gives 947-1000.

106. Huang Ch'i-fang, *Pei Sung wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing tzu-liao hui-pien* (Taipei, 1978), pp.22-23. He seems to have included Liu Tsung-yüan in this genealogy.

107. Lo Ken-tse, p.199.

108. *Ibid.*, pp.200-201.

情志道合, father and son succeed each other, light and dark are already divided, rulers and ministers are in their positions; the influence moves the ghosts and spirits, the mechanism of Heaven cannot be fathomed: This is the Great Function of poetry.

Now the function of poetry is to give birth to the common and foster the sage, and that proper to the past is encompassed in the present, and the vast and extensive is contained therein, and evolutions and contractions have a foundation; this is the marvellous function of poetry.

Poetry has five functions. One is that its quietude is as good as samādhi 定. Two, its movement is as good as emotion. Three, its emotion is as good as ease [逸 retirement?]. Four, its sound is as good as a combination [合 chorus?]. Five, its form is as good as the image.¹⁰⁹

The mention of the forgetting of emotion, even if it is but one part of the function of poetry, is reminiscent of Niu-t'ou. But like Chiao-jan, and Liu Mien of the Confucian tradition, emotion was conceded to be an integral part of poetry.

It is no accident that Ch'an was considered by many Sung dynasty critics to be comparable to the Way of poetic creativity, for monks had made this very comparison from the mid-T'ang, rising to a chorus of agreement by the early Sung. But these ideas could no longer remain the exclusive province of the monks; laymen again began to assert their dominance in the world of literary criticism as government service became less hazardous and more desirable and the public service examinations were revived and encouraged a literary education. This was especially so because of the concomitant rise of the Buddhist laymen, officials or candidates who practised Buddhism while operating in the Confucian environment of politics and bureaucracy. This occurred in the early Sung, and was partly a product of the initial protection given to Buddhism, especially Ch'an, by the first few Sung emperors.¹¹⁰ While the Sung rulers protected Buddhism to gain the allegiance of the newly-conquered population, the monks used their erudition in Confucianism and in literary pursuits to gain acceptance from the ruling groups.¹¹¹ Moreover, because of disputes between Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai, monks increasingly devoted their efforts to

109. Ibid., pp.201-202.

110. Abe Chōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi* (Tokyo, 1963), pp.179-180.

111. Albert Dalia, pp.164-165; Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi" in *Zen no rekishi - Chūgoku: Kōza Zen vol. 3* (Tokyo, 1967), pp.91-92.

religious history, that is genealogy,¹¹² and this is reflected in the laymen's propensity to describe literary movements and figures in terms of Ch'an genealogy.

112. Dalia, p.147. For a detailed account of these disputes over history, see Helwig Schmidt-Glitzer, *Die Identität der buddhistischen Schulen und der Kompilation buddhistischer Universalgeschichten in China* (Weisbaden, 1982), esp. pp.55ff.

10) The Early Sung: Yang I (974-1020) and the Neo-Confucian Reaction.

a) Background.

With the protection and promotion of Buddhism by the early Sung court as a measure of unification and popularity, Buddhism underwent a revival of scholasticism and sponsorship by lay society. The T'ien-t'ai School was recently revived under the aegis of the Wu-Yüeh court by the reimportation of texts and monks from the Korean Buddhist state of Koryŏ¹ and it subsequently engaged in a contest over the relative superiority in doctrine with Ch'an by means of "genealogical" histories.² Ch'an, in an attempt to foster more lay participation and widen its base of support, created new "Pure Land" practice societies and associations for lay people especially in the South around Hang-chou where there was a residual influence of the Wu-Yüeh court, while at the same time it expanded its economic base. This support bloomed as the numbers of scholar-gentry mounted with the broadening of social access to the civil service examinations. Also, in the early Sung, the Order expanded, but this simultaneously produced what appears to have been an increase in the secularization of the monkhood.³

In the meantime, Ch'an had come to increasingly dominate the Buddhist world in China because of its ability to withstand the various persecutions that occurred under the later T'ang and Emperor Shih-tsung of the Later Chou dynasty, whereas the scholastic schools barely survived, owing their tenuous survival to the patronage of the Wu-Yüeh kings. This was so because Ch'an did not need the set texts of the schoolmen or depend on metropolitan monasteries. But with increasing patronage and a secure life, there arose what has been dubbed "literati Ch'an" or wen-tzu

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1. For accounts of this, see David W. Chappell, ed., *T'ien-tai Buddhism: An Outline of the Fourfold Teachings* (Daiichi-Shobō: Tokyo, 1983), pp.25-30. A more detailed study can be found in I Yŏng-ja, "Ch'ŏn-t'ae sagyōi ūi sŏngnip paegyŏng gwa kŭ t'ŭkchŏng," *Pulgyo Hakbo* 23 (1986), esp. pp.111-123.
 2. See chapter 9 note 112.
 3. Abe Chōichi, pp.179-180 et. passim.; Nukariya Kaiten, *Zengaku shisōshi*, vol. 2, pp.3-6; Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, pp.390-394, 400-401, 403-404. For Ch'an Pure Land societies for laymen in Northern Sung, see Nagai Masashi, "Chūgoku Zen no minshū kyōka ni tsuite: Chōrō Sōsaku no ba'ai," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34.1, pp.291-298.

Ch'an, seemingly a direct contradiction of the Ch'an slogan "no dependence on literature" (pu-i wen-tzu). On one hand this was a response to the challenge of T'ien-t'ai, with Ch'an monks writing texts on their lineages and compiling the sayings of their masters into what came to be called *yü-lu* (a term taken from Confucianism)⁴, and on the other was possible due to the spread and increasing accessibility of printing.⁵

Furthermore, the first Sung emperor sponsored a new programme of literary compilation to demonstrate the primacy of literary and civil values, and to preserve texts. Under his aegis vast collections such as the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, T'ai-p'ing yü-lan, T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi and Wen-yüan ying-hua were compiled. This emperor also initiated a search for new scriptures from India in 966 and revived the translation of Buddhist texts as a state project. This work was continued by his successors until 1078 when the translation bureau was closed.⁶ It was during this period also that the first Tripitaka was printed, on Sung court orders in 972 in Szechwan,⁷ and the first Ch'an works included in that Tripitaka with imperial sanction.⁸ Moreover, the first two Sung emperors declared themselves restorers of Buddhism; then Chen-tsung (r.998-1023) enthusiastically sponsored Buddhism on the grounds that Buddhism and Confucianism were "different in outer

4. Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," p.222 on questions of priority, but p.230, where the name *yü-lu* is said to have been applied by outsiders as a general term for the works of famous people. It probably comes in part via the *Lun-yü* (pp.293-294, 298. See also the opinion of Nienhauser, *Indiana Companion*, p.99). This question is still not fully resolved.
5. For Buddhism and printing in the Sung, see Makita Tairyō, ed., *Ajia Bukkyōshi: Chūgoku hen 2: Minshū no Bukkyō* (Tokyo, 1976), pp.29-32, and for "literary Ch'an," pp.50-53.
6. Makita, pp.37-42. For printing and these compilations, and their role in Sung literature, see Kōjirō Yoshikawa, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*, trans. Burton Watson (Harvard U.P., 1967), p.59.
7. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.375.
8. Yanagida Seizan, "Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyuzō" in *Keitoku dentōroku: Zengaku sōsho 6*, ed. Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto, 1976), pp.725-728. Ch'an works included were the *Pao-lin chuan* in 983 in the Szechwan Tripitaka (?), the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* in 1011, the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* by Li Ts'un-hsü with T'ai-tsung's preface.

form but the same in the Tao," and Jen-tsung (r.1023-1064) stated that "the study of Ch'an is also naturally eminent and far-reaching."⁹

Thus Ch'an, in such a milieu, and at a time when it was trying to compromise with the newly-arisen "nationalistic" Confucianism, took on a much more literary guise.

In poetry, Buddhists were still predominant in the establishment period of the new dynasty. There were the so-called Nine Monks (Hsi-chou, Pao-hsien, Wen-chao, Hsing-chao, Chien-chang, Wei-feng, Hui-ch'ung, Yü-chao and Huai-ku) who were considered the representative of the Late T'ang style (also called the Chia Tao style) in contrast to the other Late T'ang style derived from Chang Chi and which included Ssu-k'ung T'u.¹⁰ These men wrote Nature poetry almost exclusively.

b) Yang I and his circle

Slightly after the Nine Monks, a new school of poetry and prose arose under the leadership of Yang I (972-1020). Yang was one of the earliest and most important of the new Sung Buddhist laymen to touch on literary theory, and he maintained the equality of Buddhism and Confucianism.¹¹ He was both the chief poet of the Hsi-k'un School which

9. Chou I-kan, "Pei Sung te Ch'an-tsung yü wen-hsüeh," *Wen-hsüeh I-ch'an* (1986.3), p.44.

10. Jonathan Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry* (Columbia U.P., 1976), pp.52-54 on the theories of Fang Hui (1227-1306) and Yang Shen (1488-1559), p.77; an anthology of 134 poems by these monks is extant, Yoshikawa, p.54. Ou-yang Hsiu in his *Liu-i shih-hua* 4b-5a (*Li-tai shih-hua*, vol. 5), says he knew that there had been a collection called *Chiu seng shih*, but it had not been transmitted and he only knew the name of one of them, Hui-ch'ung. He tells a story also of their poetical limitations. Note that Hui-ch'ung wrote a work of selected lines in antithesis (Wong Wai-leung, "Chinese Impressionistic Criticism: A Study of the Poetry-Talk [Shih-Hua Tz'u-Hua] Tradition," Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University, 1976, p.116). Further information can be found in Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi* (Shanghai, 1959), p.82, and in commentaries on his works such as Li Pi, *Wang Ching-kung shih chu* SKCS 1106, 10a-b, and Shen Ch'in-han, *Wang Ching-kung shih-wen Shen-shih chu* (Shanghai, 1959), p.3. Cf. also Ogawa Tamaki, *Sō shi sen* (Tokyo, 1967), p.307, who says Hui-ch'ung died in 1017.

11. Chou I-kan, p.45.

supposedly modelled itself on the elegance and erudition of the poetry of Li Shang-yin (813?-858)¹², and the main exponent of the shih-wen or "Current" style of prose, a highly elaborate parallel prose.¹³

The Hsi-k'un School was named after the collection of poems Yang I edited and contributed to between 1004 and 1007, called the Hsi-k'un ch'ou-ch'ang chi, which was mostly restricted in poetic topics to lonely women, flowering plants and nostalgic historical incidents, a pretty and romantic poetry full of allusions and intricate parallelism. The verse of this school is very sentimental, but perhaps an impersonal sentimentality, and it dominated the poetical arena until several decades after Yang I's death when it was attacked by Shih Chieh (1005-1045)¹⁴ and overcome by the new styles of Mei Yao-ch'en (1002-1060) and Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072). Hsi-k'un poetry was a display of virtuosity, and became even more mannered and superficial with its lesser followers.¹⁵ In style it is said to be "full of charm; delicate and subtle feelings are conveyed by carefully chosen matched expressions. However, this style does tend toward 'preciosity, over-defined techniques, elaborate allusions, and stereotyped themes,' and is characteristically lacking in breadth and

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12. Yoshikawa, p.51. For some doubts about the basis for this assertion, see Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.66, 74-77, and Michael A. Fuller, review of Ronald C. Egan, *The literary works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)*, in *Bulletin of Sung-Yüan Studies* 19 (1987), pp.65-66.
13. See Yu-shih Chen, "The Literary Theory and Practice of Ou-yang Hsiu," p.70.
14. Fuller, p.65 note 17 suggests that this was either in the late 1030s or in the period 1043-1045. For the emotionality of their verse, see Ch'ien Chung-shu, *T'an-i lu*, p.437.
15. For these views of Hsi-k'un poetry, see Ronald Egan, *The literary works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)* (Cambridge U.P.: Great Britain, 1984), pp.78-80; Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.65-68; Yu-shih Chen, p.70.

boldness."¹⁶ Its weak point is generally agreed to have been artificiality¹⁷ and a lack of moral purpose.¹⁸

Yang I was an extraordinarily rapid and prolific prose writer, an ideal academician and archivist. His "current" prose style was famed mostly for its surface texture and "euphonic niceties," resulting in an ornate parallel prose,¹⁹ and was widely regarded by its later critics as anti-Confucian and anti-ku-wen.

Yang I was from Fukien, the old Min domain, and happened to meet a monk in Ju-chou in Honan from his home province. This monk, Kuang-hui Yüan-lien 元璉 (951-1036), was a member of the newly-powerful Lin-chi lineage and a pupil of the influential Shou-shan Sheng-nien 省念 (926-993). Sheng-nien's line was productive of some of the most able monks and laymen of Ch'an. This fortuitous contact introduced the sceptical Yang I to the Vajracchedikā Sūtra, and after initially scoffing, when he had read several pages, he was so intrigued that he became a pupil of Yüan-lien.²⁰

When Yang I became important at court, he was employed to polish up and correct Wang Ch'in-jo's massive Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, systematizing it and adding a preface. More importantly for Ch'an, he did similar work on Tao-yüan's (n.d.) draft for the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, which was initially titled Fo-tsu T'ung-ts'an chi 佛祖同參記.²¹ This "genealogical" history advocated the unity of Ch'an, and Yang I recommended to the throne that it be

16. James T.C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.131, quoting James Hightower.

17. *Ibid.*, p.132; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.583.

18. Yu-shih Chen, p.67. Perhaps Ogawa, *Sō shi sen*, p.308 is correct to suggest that the style was that of a peaceful age, self-satisfied.

19. Egan, pp.13, 15, 24.

20. Chu Shih-en, *Chü-shih fen-teng lu* Z147.882b-885b2, and Lei-an Cheng-shou, *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu* Z137.314a-315b. The former work, from the Ming period, may not be fully reliable.

21. For Yang's preface to the original text, see "Fo-tsu T'ung-ts'an chi hsü" in Yang I's *Wu-i hsün-chi* SKCS 1086 (hereafter WIHC) 437a-438b, which is different to that attached to the Sung and Koryō printings of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (in Yanagida Seizan, *Keitoku dentōroku*, pp.1 and 319 respectively), and to that of the Taisho Tripitaka, T51.196bff.

included in the Tripitaka. Approval was granted and Yang I was ordered to edit the text, which he finalised in 1008. It was included in the Tripitaka in 1011. But Yang I did more than merely edit the work, for he added about fifty names of monks of the Hsüeh-feng lineage of Ch'an, thereby weighting the history even more in favour of the Fa-yen lineage, a branch of the former. Tao-yüan of course was a member of the Fa-yen lineage, which was especially noted for its philosophic and literary proclivities, but why a Lin-chi lineage layman would aid a Fa-yen lineage monk is not clear.²²

Moreover, Yang I was involved in helping several monks regather the Buddhist texts lost or scattered during the wars preceding the Sung unification and in the translation of the new sutras brought from India. He was also active in the formation of the layman-based societies that promoted the practice of Pure Land nien-fo in a Ch'an context.²³ Much of Yang I's concern may have been with the mind-only theory that Ch'an used to justify Pure Land nien-fo practice and clarify the relations between the mind and the environment.²⁴ Thus Yang asked whether the Chao-lun's "the myriad things merge with me" was meant to be applicable only to this age, and also whether the present "mountains, rivers, great earth, trees and humans are equal or separate."²⁵

This joint Ch'an Pure Land involvement is suggested in the conclusion to a series of sixty-four lines of verse he wrote for a Teacher Su-hsüan who was returning to Chin-yün to mourn a late ācārya when he writes,

We should continue the patriarchs' lamp-light
And not let the Society of the Lotus die.²⁶

22. Shiina Kōyū, "Sō Gen ban Zenseki kenkyū (8): Keitoku dentōroku: Bansō mondo keitoku dentōroku," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 35.1, pp.122-125.

23. Abe, pp.267-269.

24. For this practice, cf. Nagai Masashi, op. cit., pp.291-298.

25. Nukariya Kaiten, vol. 2, p.28.

26. WIHC 394c6-7.

The same set of verses reveal some of his responses to the Buddhist teaching and his knowledge of Chinese Buddhist history and legend, especially that of Ch'an.²⁷ Yang says that he received a line of verse from the teacher of the azure clouds²⁸ to ponder and that

In the snap of the fingers I knew sorrow was empty
 And contemplated the mind to get (Buddha) to descend and reside (in me).
 The storehouse consciousness was ashamed of past perfuming;²⁹
 The wheel of turning (samsara), its a pity I awoke to it tardily.
 I sent a letter to ask of the Southern Lineage (nan-tsung),
 Conveying my words, filling the pale yellow silk.
 I cut off my thoughts to tally with True Thusness,
 Forgot the trap and transcended the written word.³⁰

So while Yang I had very close associations with Southern Ch'an,³¹ mentioning the literary-inclined Ch'an monks Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908)³², Kuei-feng Tsung-mi³³

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27. For example, "spread the ground with Niu-t'ou flowers," WIHC 394b3, a reference to the legend of the Niu-t'ou patriarch Fa-jung.
28. Is this a reference to the *Pi-yün chi* by Ch'i-chi?
29. "Past perfuming" is a reference to *vāsanā*, the impregnations of the seeds (*bija*) of the ālayavijñāna, which are activated by deeds past and present. This doctrine appears widely, but especially in Vijñānavādin texts and the *Ta-sheng Ch'i-hsin lun*. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 721a-722b; Wei Tat, *Ch'eng Wei-shih lun*, pp.109-135.
30. WIHC 394b5-7.
31. Southern Ch'an is mentioned also in "Great Teacher Wen-hui Returns to Szechwan," WIHC 385d; "Elder Brother Sixteen goes to Shao-chou as Gentleman for Attendance," 400b-c which is on visiting Ts'ao-ch'i; "Sending off a Monk Returning to Yüeh," 401b where he says that the heirs of Ts'ao-ch'i are numerous, and "Elder Ling-yin Returns to his Former Mountain," 401d which says "a drop of Ts'ao Stream (ch'i) ferries one across the ford of delusion."
32. "The Most Senior Great Teacher Sheng goes to the Western Capital to Serve as Administrator of Religion," WIHC 375b.

and Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980-1052),³⁴ and remained critical of Northern Ch'an,³⁵ he mentioned the layman's faith in the saving powers of the Buddhas, for he confessed his weaknesses³⁶ and mentions the need to study the Leng-yen ching and maintain the precepts to get a better rebirth.³⁷ In a letter of reply, Yang writes about reincarnation and its cause in the habitualization of man through the seeds (bīja) of the ālayavijñāna or storehouse consciousness, and the necessity for gradual cultivation after sudden awakening.³⁸ He also declared that "I have cultivated the chih-kuan [śamatha-vipaśyanā, cessation and contemplation] of T'ien-t'ai and concentrated on the non-thought (*wu-nien*) of Ts'ao-ch'i."³⁹ Thus Yang I

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33. A native of Szechwan, Tsung-mi, who later lived on Mt. Chung-nan, is mentioned in "Ch'eng-tu's Man of the Way travels to Mt. Chung-nan to visit Lord Chung-wei," WIHC 376a1-2.
34. Hsüeh-tou was the author of 100 hymns to *kung-an* cases he selected and compiled in 1026 which formed the basis of the *Pi-yen lu* (Yanagida Seizan, *Zenseki kaidai* no. 148; Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, pp.12-13). He was a member of the Yün-men lineage (*Zen Dust*, pp.159-160). Mentioned by Yang I in "Sent to Ping-chou's Supervising Secretary Chang," WIHC 402c.
35. Northern Ch'an had long disappeared as a movement, remaining only in literary remnants, but Yang's "I sent a meditation couch with Assistant Director Wang of the Palace Secretariat" says, "The Northern Patriarch seated in meditation, only looking an purity....," WIHC 403b-c.
36. For example, drinking, as in "A Vow Text presented to the Resident Śramana Yüan-an," WIHC 586c.
37. "Letter of Reply to Ch'ien I," WIHC 584a-585a.
38. "Letter of Reply to the Exhorter of the History Office Ch'a," WIHC 581b-c. This was a doctrine spread by Tsung-mi. See Park Sung Bae, *Buddhist Faith and Sudden Enlightenment* (SUNY Press, 1983), pp.105, 107-108; Broughton, p. 20. For a detailed discussion, see Peter N. Gregory, "Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation: Tsung-mi's Analysis of Mind" in *Sudden and Gradual*, ed. Peter N. Gregory.
39. WIHC 581d4.

studied the T'ien-t'ai system, as is confirmed by his poems of farewell to several monks from the headquarters of that school.⁴⁰

But for all this, Yang I never uses the term wu-ch'ing that was so crucial to Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai in his works, and his theory of literature seems to be grounded in the general Ch'an axiom that while letters and words are empty, they are expedient means of indication and should be discarded once the idea is understood:

Although written words are empty by nature and spoken words are divorced from them, yet they are pointing fingers for seeing the moon, so that principle and events are concurrently comprehended. Once one has the fish one forgets the trap, and for the first time are aware of the total elimination of reflection.⁴¹

Thus Yang's view of Nature is still largely traditional, partly Confucian⁴² and partly that of established poetic theory.⁴³ He did not consider the insentient theory. Therefore the reason that his style was later so vehemently attacked by the Confucians was probably not so much concerned with the Buddhist content of his writings or with any theory of literature or literary techniques he might have proposed, but rather with his influence as a Buddhist "poet-laureate" at court, where he wrote many pieces for formal occasions that had either a Buddhist slant or were Buddhist encomia written on commission for members of the imperial family and

40. WIHC 386d, 394a.

41. "Record of the Stupa of the Late Monk Ch'ung-hsüan, Recipient of the Purple and Chief of the Platform of K'ai-yüan Monastery in Ho-chuang fu," WIHC 419a1-3. Similar ideas are voiced in a "Record of the Tripitaka Library Newly Erected in K'ai-yüan Monastery in Mu-chou," 419d5. These ideas are a mixture of themes from the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and *Chuang-tzu* via Wang Pi or Seng-chao.

42. "Record of Chien-an Commandery's Chai-san Pavilion," WIHC 422b-c: "The love of excellence is not one, the humane and the wise have the difference of mountains and rivers [in the objects of their enjoyment], different benefits from residing in different places, the contrasts of heights and breadth of yin and yang. Therefore...the *Book of Songs* celebrates this." The reference is of course to *Lun-yü* vi.21.

43. "Preface to the 'Hsüeh-t'ang chi' of the Gentleman for Attendance Nieh of Wen-chou," WIHC 425d4: "or the mind takes the transformations to urge the mergence/meeting 會 of idea and sense-data 境."

leading members of the bureaucracy.⁴⁴ Envy and fear of Buddhist political power were the probable motivations.

Another member of his circle was Li Tsun-hsü (d.1038), who treated Yang I as his teacher and friend. Married to a princess, he wrote the T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu in 1029, to which Emperor Jen-tsung personally added a preface, ordering the work accepted into the Tripitaka. The T'ien sheng kuang-teng lu was meant to be a continuation of the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu.⁴⁵ Li Tsun-hsü was a pupil of Yü-yin Yün-ts'ung (965-1032), who was an heir to Sheng-nien. A conversation is recorded between he and another second-generation monk from Sheng-nien, Shih-shuang Ch'u-yüan (986-1039) in 1038, when Li was summoned to bring Ch'un-yüan to court as a friend of the late Yang I.⁴⁶ This demonstrates the close connection between the leading writers of the day, the court, and Lin-chi Ch'an. For example, Wang Sui (?-ca.1035) who compiled the Ch'uan-teng yü-ying chi in 1034 from the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu as a digest for lay readers, was also a pupil of Sheng-nien.⁴⁷ This work too was incorporated into the Chinese Buddhist Canon.

The prominence of these people, Wang Sui being a prime minister, and their introduction of and advocacy of Ch'an at court made them targets for hard-line Confucians, who attacked Buddhism's association with the court and literature. The first protests were made earlier by Liu K'ai (946-999) who was seen to be in a line from Han Yü.⁴⁸ Liu K'ai took up the catchcry of "respecting the ruler and expelling

44. He wrote quite a number of Buddhist encomia for deceased empress' anniversaries (WIHC 610bff.), works on new Tripitaka copies (598d-589c), and poems commissioned by the emperor and court (355a-357b).
45. Yanagida, "Daizōkyō to Zenroku no nyuzō," pp.727-728.
46. Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.72-73. For the connections between Li and Ch'u-yüan, see *Chü-shih fen-teng lu* (hereafter CSFTL) Z147.885b17-887a, and for Yang I and Ch'u-yüan, see *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu* (hereafter CTPIL) Z137.314b12ff.
47. Yanagida, "Daizōkyō...," p.727. For Wang Sui, see CSFTL Z147.882a.
48. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.74; Egan, *The literary works of Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.14-16. For his "redefinition" of *ku-wen*, see Yu-shih Chen, pp.71-72. Because Buddhism flourished at a time when literature was "ornate," that literature was discredited (Yoshikawa, p.61).

the barbarians," which included Buddhist adherents (and Taoists). Confucian values could not be maintained if this barbarian religion was allowed to poison China and turn the people into savages.⁴⁹

But an even more vicious attack was launched later by Sun Fu's (992-1057) pupil Shih Chieh (1004-1045). Teacher and pupil were specialists on the Ch' un-ch' iu and zealous reformers who prided themselves as being heirs to Han Yü. Such was their overbearing attitude that even their friend Ou-yang Hsiu accused them of arrogance.⁵⁰ They called for a persecution or proscription of Buddhism,⁵¹ and it is clear that they deeply resented Yang I's influence and his style of poetry,⁵² and the political power of some of the Hsi-k'un style's contemporary exponents.⁵³

Shih Chieh was determined to promote the Confucian ku-wen as a replacement for the Buddhistic (and Taoistic) "Current Prose" style and Hsi-k'un poetry style. For Shih, these were "aberrations" (*k'uai*) from the orthodoxy or norm of Confucianism which had destroyed the values that Han Yü had so valiantly re-

49. Chou I-kan, p.45.

50. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.89.

51. *Ibid.*, p.163.

52. Kuo Shao-yü, pp.304-305; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.583; Ogawa Tamaki, *Sō shi sen*, p.308, thinks that Yen Shu, a leading *tz'u* poet and friend of Ou-yang Hsiu, can be seen as participating in the Hsi-k'un style. Yen was an important political figure also. See Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.41-42, 148-149, and Egan, the chapter "Songs" et. passim.

53. Michael Fuller, review of Egan, p.66, speculates on the poetry style of the important officials Lü I-chien, an opponent of Fan Chung-yen's reforms, and Ch'ien Wei-yen, a patron of Ou-yang Hsiu. This may explain some of Ou-yang's mixed reaction to the Hsi-k'un style in poetry. However, he did attack Yang I's prose style, probably because it had become a requirement for the examinations and so blocked the *ku-wen* style of Han Yü. See Ch'en Hsin and Tu Wei-shu, *Ou-yang Hsiu hsüan-chi* (Shanghai, 1986), p.408, and introduction p.7, where the editors identify the "Current Style" with parallel prose, something Fan Chung-yen also opposed. Ou-yang belonged to Fan's reform party (Yoshikawa, p.63), but in poetry he may have been influenced by the Hsi-k'un style (Yoshikawa, p.81).

established, and Shih desperately wanted to restore Han Yü's Confucianism.⁵⁴ Shih Chieh thus attacked Yang I for mere prettiness and frivolity, for using only the beautiful objects of Nature, while Shih tried to create a new bizarre prose (pien-t'i) that was a mirror image of the cautious "Current Prose."⁵⁵ This "Unorthodox Style" was made in imitation of that of Han Yü,⁵⁶ with an evident didactic intent.

Shih Chieh's polemic was contained in his K'uai Shuo ("Discourse on Abberations"),⁵⁷ and it concentrated on castigating Yang I personally for "smashing to smithereens the words of the Sage (Confucius), breaking away from his ideas and corrupting his Way."⁵⁸ He wrote most scathingly, showing a complete intolerance and contempt for Yang I, a scholar who after all was not anti-Confucian, but who rather preferred a tolerant co-existence or synthesis of Buddhism and Confucianism:

In the past Han-lin (Academician) Yang wished his writings (wen-chang) made the tsung (school/theme)⁵⁹ of the empire, but he was anxious that the empire would not fully believe in his Way, so he blinded the eyes of the empire's people and deafened their ears. He made them blind so that they could not see that the Way of the Duke of Chou, Confucius, Mencius, Yang Hsiung, Wen-chung tzu (Wang T'ung) and the Personnel Bureau's (Han Yü) was being extinguished. So he induced their blindness and deafened them to make the people see only his Way, and be ignorant of any other. But the empire has had Yang I's Way for forty years. Now the people want to counteract the blindness of the eyes of the empire and the deafness of their ears, and not listen to the Way of Yang I, hoping that Yang I's Way will be extinguished... and they will only see the Way [of the Confucians].⁶⁰

54. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.71-73; Egan, p.17.

55. Fuller, p.55.

56. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.73; Egan, pp.16-19.

57. Chaves' translation of the title, p.71.

58. Huang Ch'i-fang, p.24.

59. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.72 translates this as "model."

60. Lo Ken-tse, p.311.

Shih Chieh then accuses Yang I of being a poet of mere superficial prettiness, clever artifice and posturing who could only "play around" with images of the moon and flowers, thereby corrupting the doctrines of Confucius with smooth elegance and glib, contentless words.⁶¹

This reaction was an attempt to remove both the influence of Buddhism and the styles of Yang I in poetry as forms of moral decadence and replace it with the deadening hands of radical Confucian didacticism. To this end Sun Fu, and later Shih Chieh, announced a wen-t'ung (orthodox lineage of literature) that added Tung Chung-shu, the Duke of Chou and Wang T'ung to Liu K'ai's list.⁶²

c) Ou-yang Hsiu and Ch'i-sung

However, Shih Chieh's friend and fellow anti-Buddhist, Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) thought Shih Chieh's reaction far too extreme, and recommended moderation in both emotion and literary style. This was most important for the course of Northern Sung literature, as Ou-yang Hsiu was the teacher or associate of a number of great writers, men such as Mei Yao-ch'en (1002-1060), Wang An-shih (1021-1086), Su Shih (1037-1101), Su Hsün (1009-1066) and Tseng Kung (1019-1083).⁶³ Ou-yang Hsiu consequently became the leader of the Sung ku-wen prose movement with its "emphasis on inner moral cultivation as a prerequisite to good writing,"⁶⁴ enunciating the fundamental principles, or at least intimations of them, in his letters

61. Ibid.; Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.72; Egan, p.17.

62. Huang Ch'i-fang, p.24.

63. Egan, p.27.

64. Ibid., p.23. Note that Ch'en Hsin and Tu Wei-shu, *Ou-yang Hsiu hsüan-chi*, introduction pp.7-10, state that Ou-yang's public *ku-wen* advocacy was made only later in his life, but it made him the most influential writer of his day because he was a prolific author whose writings were fluid yet structured, that he gave his writing theoretical bases (brevity, opposing literature for literature's sake, emphasis on reliability of content, that literature is various but the Way is one), and that he held a higher political post than other *ku-wen* advocates.

and debates with Shih Chieh.⁶⁵ He was also the first writer of the new genre of poetics, the *shih-shua*, writing his *Liu-i shih-hua* ca. 1071.⁶⁶

While Ou-yang Hsiu admired Shih Chieh for his polemic against Buddhism and had a high opinion of him in general, he categorically refutes Shih Chieh's stance that he, Shih Chieh, alone was the bulwark against Buddhist decadence and heartily disapproves of his "eccentricity" of style.⁶⁷ Ou-yang Hsiu was more open-minded and not so simplistic. He realized that Buddhism was a force and philosophy to be reckoned with, and that it could not be rooted out by a simple decree. It would take a long, gradual process of Confucian self-strengthening before the influence of Buddhism could be eliminated.⁶⁸ Ou-yang Hsiu certainly despised the popular, emotional aspects of Buddhist piety⁶⁹ and Buddhist political influence, but he clearly understood the reasons for its popularity, that being the weakness of Confucian ideas in philosophy and religion. Confucianism had to be returned to its original vitality. One unstated method of revitalising Confucianism was to take over elements of Buddhist practice and philosophy that could be subtly interwoven with largely forgotten elements of Confucianism. So, for example, the way to cultivate one's moral character, the aim of Neo-Confucianism, was through *ching* (quietude), something borrowed from Buddhism.⁷⁰

Ou-yang undoubtedly learnt from Buddhism, especially Ch'an, for in his private life he was friends with many learned Ch'an monks and poet-monks, writing prefaces

65. Egan, pp.18-24.

66. Wong Wai-leung, "Chinese Impressionistic Criticism....," pp.5, 16.

67. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.74-75; Egan, pp.18-19; Yu-shih Chen, p.78.

68. Egan, p.70.

69. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.159. He was also worried by Buddhism's economic and political dangers to the state, as monks consumed food but were unproductive, and with their dependents, "one monk usually consumes the food of five farmers" (Ch'en and Tu, p.284).

70. Egan, pp.23-24, does not think that *ching* is Buddhist in content. But as it had been neglected in Confucianism previously, it can best be seen in my opinion as a conscious attempt to borrow from Buddhism for Confucian ends. Sourcing it in the Confucian Classics was a necessity, even when it was only an insignificant aspect or term in the classics.

for the literary works of Wei-yen and Pi-yen,⁷¹ and he was very intimate with the monks Hui-ch'in,⁷² Wen-ying and T'an-ying.⁷³ Ou-yang magnanimously regarded these monks as talents lost to Confucianism, for most of the monks were learned in the secular teaching also,⁷⁴ or he thought of them more as poets.⁷⁵ It is likewise evident that Ou-yang Hsiu learnt from his confrontations with the ideas of the Ch'an monk Ch'i-sung (1011-1072)⁷⁶ who tried to combine Confucianism and Buddhism, and was one of the most learned scholars of his day.

These associations with Ch'an monks may explain Ou-yang Hsiu's evaluation of Yang I, which was quite different to that of the intemperate Shih Chieh. He admired Yang I and praised him as "a great literary hero of his time,"⁷⁷ discerning that Yang I's reputation was besmirched as a poet because of his emulators, who had fallen into a trap of over-ornamentation, too many allusions, and frivolity.⁷⁸ But this was exactly the reason why Ou-yang Hsiu and Mei Yao-ch'en wanted ku-wen poetry to be plain and pointed, even prosaic.⁷⁹

Ou-yang Hsiu's attitudes towards poetry and the problem of the insentient were bound to be complex, even contradictory. Firstly, he did not want to be thought of as

71. Cyril Birch, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, pp.371-372 for translations.

72. Chou I-kan, p.46, quoting Su Shih. See CSFTL Z147.896a10-b10 for the story of his dream when ill and interest in Buddhism, as well as that of his death-bed reading of the *Hua-yen ching*, which supposedly overcame all his hostility to Buddhism.

73. Egan, p.168; Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.178.

74. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.163-166.

75. Chou I-kan, p.46: Ou-yang praises Wei-yen as "although learned in Buddhism and versed in the Confucian arts, his delight is in literature." See the editors' note in Ch'en and Tu, p.67.

76. Abe, pp.200-206.

77. *Liu-i shih-hua* 10b (in *Li-tai shih-hua*).

78. *Ibid.*, 10a; Egan, p.80; Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.75-76; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.583.

79. Egan, pp.82-83.

a poet, but rather a prose writer.⁸⁰ Secondly, he put more than one perspective into his poems, which tended to be joyful and serene,⁸¹ and thirdly, he took delight in the fleeting moment, not regretting the passage of time.⁸² Moreover, through his friendship with Ch'an monks, he must have had an inkling of the doctrine of the Buddha-nature of the insentient, which was a major topic in both Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai during this period.⁸³ Thus even his friend and like-minded Confucian idealist, Fan Chung-yen (989-1052), leader of the failed Minor Reform,⁸⁴ who was politically anti-Buddhist in an attempt to strengthen the nation, still had faith personally in Buddhism, writing in a preface to some verses on the causation/[history of the Sixteen Arhats sometime after the failure of his reform in 1048, that:

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80. Egan, pp.81, 107. But Fuller in his review, p.71, thinks that this is a misconception.
81. Egan, p.84. Cf. Yoshikawa, p.64, whose main thesis is that Ou-yang was a pioneer of the Sung rejection of the sorrow that so permeates T'ang poetry, though he may have derived this partly from Han Yü. For this, see also pp.29, 24-27. Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, p.161, says that this is a self-image made by Sung poets that was more a hope than a reality. He thus counters Yoshikawa's view as superficial.
82. Egan, p.85. Perhaps this was because he felt man had access to a form of immortality when they became sages or wise men. They could then participate in the Tao, the principle of immortality, by leaving their realization in writing. Therefore he clearly distinguished saints from vegetation, animals and ordinary humanity (cf. Yu-shih Chen, p.76; Ch'en and Tu, pp.387-388). Immortality here is literally "not perishing." This cannot be immortality in the Taoist sense, for he denied that immortals existed. Moreover, the Way is that of the self-so 自然, which includes the principle that "if there is life there must be death....The length of life (*ming*) is received from Heaven, it is not something human power can affect." (Ch'en and Tu, p.393).
83. The T'ien-t'ai master Chih-li (960-1028) was an exponent of the insentient Buddha-nature, and dependent and proper requital even in the Pure Lands. See Andō Toshio, *passim*; Nakayama Shoko, "Jō Sō Tendai to Jōdokyō: sono jissenmen ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34.1, pp.206-211, and Omatsu Hironori, "Sōdai Tendaigaku ni okeru busshō," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 33.2, pp.585-588 for Ku-shan Chih-yüan (976-1022) of T'ien-t'ai.
84. For his reform, see Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.29-38, 40-51. Fan inspired Ou-yang to write his famous work on factions (pp.53-56).

I have read through the Buddhist Tripitaka, and discovered a number of principles of good; and have seen that the Buddhas and bodhisattvas spread broadly their great power of compassion, opening up gates of expedient means for the benefit (of others), from the Heaven and earth and mountains and rivers down to the most trivial insects, grasses and trees, (using) all sorts of excellent illustrations to open up enlightenment for the deluded.⁸⁵

This seems to imply that the Buddhas save even vegetation and earth (although it may mean that the illustrations are drawn from these), and perhaps Ou-yang Hsiu shared this opinion. Indeed, Ou-yang Hsiu's poetry and songs make extensive use of the pathetic fallacy and there are mentions of *wu-ch'ing* scattered throughout his poetic collection, though some of these were taken from earlier poets. For example, he took the famous personifications from Tu Mu of the candle shedding tears at the parting of lovers and intense emotion being like no emotion, as well as the line from Li Ho on Heaven growing old if it had emotion (or love).⁸⁶

Ou-yang writes:

Even if green spring could be detained-
Empty-wish
Passionless flowers face passionate men.⁸⁷

This last contrast, even if derived from earlier poets, has Buddhist overtones of the insentient. However, the pathetic fallacy may have been conventional, as in,

Then I befriend both blossoms and birds.
Blossoms can turn towards me coyly and smile,
Birds tell me to drink - they're not indifferent,

85. Chou I-kan, pp.45-46. The text he wrote the preface to is the *Shih-liu Ta Lo-han yin-kuo shih-chien sung*, Z3.833 (cf. Ono Gemmyo, *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten*, vol. 5, pp.210d-211b). For Fan Chung-yen's relations with Ch'an, see CSFTL Z147.888a.

86. Egan, pp.154-155. I have counted 8 cases of the use of *wu-ch'ing* in his poetry (*shih*, *tz'u* and *fu*), and this is only from his selected works (Ch'en and Tu, pp.69, 103, 118, 179, 185, 213, 245, 398).

87. Egan, pp.141, 154. The last line literally is "*wu-ch'ing* flowers face *yu-ch'ing* men." Possibly this can be interpreted as heartless young women face their lovers?

for this is an argument against Ch'ü Yüan's desperation and suicide.⁸⁸

There is then both joy and a self-centred indulgence in his poems, but also a Neo-Confucian theme that a person's moral fortitude may be steeled by duress, demonstrating his transcendence of worldly problems. Ou-yang castigates those who in disgrace turned to Buddhism, for this was considered by him a surrender to sorrow and a denial of the joy of the enlightened Confucian.⁸⁹ Frustration or emotional outbursts should not be the stimulus of poetry, for that is not the calm emotion of the proper Confucian which may be reflected in his literary work.⁹⁰

Man is superior to insentient, emotionless Nature according to Ou-yang precisely because he is conscious, surviving in an uncaring environment. Indeed, in two famous wen-fu or prose poems, the topic of the insentience or insensibility of Nature is contrasted to the emotionality or sentience of man. Man knows his mortality⁹¹ which is part of insentient Nature's processes, and the Confucian should calmly accept this.⁹² This was a personal experience:

88. Egan, p.88; Ch'en and Tu, p.103. The last line literally is "Birds urge me to drink, they are not *wu-ch'ing*." But contrast the poem on the topic of Wang Chao-chün, Egan, p.115, which has the line, "The winds and sands are unfeeling [*wu-ch'ing*], her face was like jade." (Ch'en and Tu, p.185, written to harmonize with a poem by Wang An-shih). Nature not only has no sympathy for man, it would laugh at man for sympathizing with it. Thus Ou-yang writes: "The spring wind itself is an insentient/unfeeling thing./ How could it permit you to pity the insentient flowers?/ .../ If you could make flowers understand speech/ They would laugh at the man pitying the flowers." (Ch'en and Tu, p.213.) Of course flowers such as peonies were a great love of Ou-yang's, but at the same time their seasonal passing made him realize his own mortality (cf. notes 94, 107 in Ch'en and Tu, p.213).

89. Egan, p.95.

90. *Ibid.*, p.96.

91. Yu-shih Chen, pp.76-77. Cf. note 82 this chapter.

92. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.139-140, translates two *fu*, "The Sound of Autumn" and "The Cicada"; also in Cyril Birch, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, pp.372-374; Egan, p.125. The former in Ch'en and Tu, pp.397-398.

I restricted my eyes and ears to cleanse my mind,
 And purified my heart to make my supplication
 Through stillness I sought to comprehend movement,
 I saw into the true nature of the myriad things.

.....
 Such rain and scattering
 Is the awesome issue of this majestic force.

Now,
 Autumn is the Minister of Punishments,

.....
 Severity and death lie at its heart.
 Nature's plan for living things
 Is that spring brings birth and autumn maturity.

.....
 When things pass their prime they must be killed.

Alas!
 Grasses and trees have no feelings,
 In time their leaves and blossoms fall.
 Man is a creature of sentiments,
 The supreme intelligence of all living things.

.....
 The stirring of his emotions
 Is enough to agitate his spirit

.....
 With a body that is neither metal or stone,
 Could he hope to compete with the luxuriousness of grasses and trees?
 Remembering who it is that so ravages him,
 Why should he resent the sounds of autumn?⁹³

This is a Confucian answer to the Buddhist position that the insentience has Buddha-nature and hopefully a potential for compassion for man (as in Kuan-hsiu's poems), and that one's environment is due to one's (and others') dependent requital or collective karma. It is the acceptance of the finality of death as part of Nature's

93. Translation by Egan, pp.127-129.

plan.⁹⁴ This viewpoint may derive from the *Lun-yü*, in which Confucius attacks clever words, linking plain expression, or preferably, no expression at all, to Nature.

The Master said, "I would like to be without words."
 Tzu-kung said, "If our Master did not speak, what would we, his disciples, have to tell (later generations) about him?"
 The Master said, "What does heaven say? And yet the four seasons run their courses, the various beings are born and grow. What does Heaven say?"⁹⁵

This would be quite apposite to Ou-yang's *ku-wen* stance. There would seem to be no room in Ou-yang Hsiu's poetry for an emotion in the insentient. But he did allow that poetry was expressive of the emotions, especially grievance and frustration, and thus a vehicle for the Confucian Way.⁹⁶ However, these had to be clear emotions, not unbalanced.

Despite this, Ou-yang Hsiu was a passionate, sensual man, painted at times by his enemies as a lewd lothario.⁹⁷ This more frivolous side of Ou-yang appears in his songs (*tz'u*), expressed frequently with personification and the pathetic fallacy, in which flowers and butterflies become lovers, and the butterflies'

Deep passion seems like no passion at all,
 And makes a myriad flowers wildly jealous.⁹⁸

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94. Egan, p.130. Cf. Ch'en and Tu, p.179 on peonies: "Up till now I have not realized how short the span of thirty years has been. Heartlessly (*wu-ch'ing*) grass and trees do not change colour, the many-troubled human life itself is simply destroyed," which realization prompts him to drink, which is not exactly equanimous acceptance.
95. Donald Holzman, "Confucius and Ancient Chinese Literary Criticism" in *Chinese Approaches to Literature...*, ed. Adele Austin Rickett, p.27. For *Lun-yü* xvii.19, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p.326.
96. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.129.
97. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.97-98; Egan, chapter "Songs" on *tz'u* and scurrilous allegations about Ou-yang and young girls.
98. Egan, p.149.

In another poem, there is a play on the words hsin (mind or shoot) for the lotus seed and the person:

Lotus seeds and I always share this fate:
 Knowing no pleasure
 Year after our hearts are bitter.⁹⁹

Egan thinks that these simple analogies lack multiple meanings and that "the comparison is between an element of the human world and one of the natural world, that is, between the animate realm of sentiments and the inanimate realm where there are no sentiments. Ou-yang Hsiu's songs are, of course, primarily about the human sentimental realm; unfeeling nature acts as a foil to it. Human sentiments may be highlighted by a contrast with the lack of sentiment in nature, or the lack of feelings in a particular person, who ought to have them, may be criticized by the assertion that inanimate nature is more feeling than [sic, than] he is." These tropes then are didactic, making a point, unlike the personifications of his friend Yen Shu (991-1055) who "attributes feelings to the natural world which are very often the very feelings experienced by people in the songs," as for example in

The east wind quickly opens the willows' green eyebrows,
 It silently exposes the crab-apple's rouged face,

or

Slender grasses are grieved by the mist,
 Secluded flowers are frightened by the dew.¹⁰⁰

Yen Shu thus makes Nature sentient and feminine,¹⁰¹ unlike Ou-yang.

But this is perhaps an oversimplification, for emotion was a key aspect of all literature, including the Classics. One had to know the intentions of the sages and poets, which was to express their emotions and "the constancy of the human affective nature."¹⁰² The way was based on an understanding of human emotions as a norm, in

99. Ibid., p.150.

100. Ibid., p.151.

101. Ibid., p.152.

102. Fuller, p.53.

other words the emotional response had to have a moral quality or regulation that accorded with reason.¹⁰³ But while the Way had to be expressed through the constant pattern of human emotions in literature, the writer had to be disinterested, that is speak without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*)¹⁰⁴, for the emotion expressed was "a response to particular circumstances."¹⁰⁵ Thus a poet could express his resentments and frustrations, but had to do so within the "constant patterns of human experience,"¹⁰⁶ that is, on a broader and less individual level. In this sense the poet is "without emotion," just as Nature acts spontaneously and without exclusive individualism or selectivity. Thus he writes of drinking at a pavilion that

Creation is without emotion; it does not single out:
Spring colors also come to the deep mountains.
The mountain peaches and glen apricots give little thought:
Naturally following the season, they open to the spring wind.¹⁰⁷

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103. Ibid., p.54. Cf. p.57 on the zither which "regulates those emotions as it embodies them."
104. Ibid., p.61.
105. Ibid., p.64.
106. Ibid., p.68. Cf. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.129, and Yu-shih Chen, pp.77-80 for the passages Fuller used.
107. Fuller, p.69. Yu-shih Chen thinks Ou-yang was alienated from the human world (p.88), only having feelings for the animals (有情於山禽與野麋). Fuller on the other hand says that Ou-yang, thinking Nature to be spontaneous, thought it needed no observer. But this feeling seems dependent on his state of inebriation (Fuller, p.90). Thus Ou-yang writes: "Insentient wood and stone still must age;/ If there is wine, why shouldn't human life be enjoyable?" (Ch'en and Tu, p.118). See also Yoshikawa, p.69, who thinks Ou-yang was merely accepting his fate and enjoying what he could of it. A similar line to the first one above occurs in a poem on a "Picture of Peonies in Lo-yang," which grew specially well in Lo-yang, so: "The creator is *wu-ch'ing*, so the benefit should be equal./ To be partial to this [place] and make known an intent, how can there be this unfairness?/ The more the doubt in men's minds, the more artful and false (it is)/ For Heaven desires to contest in artfulness to the ultimate degree." (Ch'en and Tu, p.69). So Ou-yang is not sure of insentience or the lack of partiality of Heaven or Nature after all, for it can be devious and difficult to fathom.

This is similar to Confucius' position about Heaven not speaking and yet the seasons run their courses. Heaven acts impartially, automatically and erratically, without announced plans. It also resembles Kuan-hsiu's statement that he is no different from vegetation: it likewise has the Buddha-nature. The author, in Ou-yang's view, must approach the condition of Nature, and be impartial, but without losing his humanity,¹⁰⁸ for man cannot be human without emotion.¹⁰⁹ The author simply projects his particular, personal experience into the eternal verities of human nature as manifested in the universal psychological reactions of mankind.

This was, moreover, part of an epistemological problem of the limits to knowledge created by subjectivity and the attempts to overcome these limits via detachment. But Ou-yang Hsiu did not fully escape this dilemma, for his problem was that "if the purpose of literature is to both manifest and structure particular responses based on the constant patterns of human emotion, this ability to shape these reactions into literary texts presumes either that the author knows the inner logic of his own responses and can compensate accordingly, or that he can trust to the spontaneity of those responses. Ouyang Xiu in fact makes both arguments for the basis of his writing qing 情, and he often makes them both at the same time."¹¹⁰ This dilemma required a change of mind, a relaxation or approach to Ch'an wu-

108. "The Sound of Autumn": "What use is it for man, who is not of the substance of metal and stone, to wish to vie for glory with the grass and trees [which are forever renewed, thus eternal]? But remembering who it is who commits this violence against us, why should we complain against the sound of autumn?" (Cyril Birch, *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, p.374; Ch'en and Tu, p.398). In his discussion of human nature, which is in effect a tabula rasa decreed by Heaven, he says that "'He moves affected by things, which are the desires of Nature,' which shows that there is no end to which man is affected by things" (Ch'en and Tu, p.328). As he is quoting the *Li Chi*, he must have had in mind the preceding line, "Man is calm (*ching*) at birth, which is Heaven's nature." With the discriminations produced by his desires and knowledge, and the development of like and dislike, he deviates from Heaven and loses his accord with Nature (see, Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites*, p.96). Ou-yang would thus be advocating a calm acceptance to accord with Nature. This then is not a question of good or evil or theories of morality.

109. Note the line in the poem cited by Yu-shih Chen (in Chinese notes), pp.86-87: "When a man has a mind, he cannot lack emotion!"

110. Fuller, p.70.

hsin (No-Mind) on the part of the poet. As Ou-yang Hsiu was not a practitioner of meditation as far as we can ascertain, his only recourse was to the mind-altering drug of alcohol. Thus he "constantly tries to coax speech out of Nature, but succeeds only when he is drunk."¹¹¹ But surely he must have known Confucius' denial of this possibility, however.

Buddhist epistemology, it appears, had forced the Confucians into creating their own solutions on the relation of man to his environment, but had not yet gained a solution completely satisfying to Ou-yang Hsiu. This was because he had failed to see the world except as an adjunct to man: *i* or "intent" (was he cognizant here of Wang Ch'ang-ling?) was a purely human mental activity, it did not inhere in what some Confucians described as the "mind of Heaven and earth." Thus "what matters are not objects in themselves, but the human implications of these objects."¹¹² This does not mean that Ou-yang Hsiu's theory of poetry did not attempt a description of the attitude of a sage in his poetry. As Fuller states: "Poetry, with its emphasis on the personal and the occasional, also heightens the aesthetic problem in a theory of composition based on qing of how to stand outside of one's own particular responses - to be wuqing 無情 - in order to turn those responses into the material from which to fashion the text."¹¹³ This is indeed a Confucian approximation of some of the Ch'an theories, especially Niu-t'ou "forgetting emotion" (but not eliminating it). It bespeaks some reaction at least to Buddhist doctrines of the insentient.

So while Ou-yang Hsiu felt that all the current discussions of human nature were useless verbiage,¹¹⁴ he allowed that principle may be found in emotion.¹¹⁵ It has been

111. Ibid., p.73. Cf. the interpretation by Yu-shih Chen, p.86, that wine is "the only means by which the Old Tippler [Ou-yang] can combat the oppressive burden of things, his feeling of world weariness..." It was also the knowledge of human mortality as highlighted by Nature, and Nature's own unpredictability or unfairness that probably tested Ou-yang's resolve and led him to drink.

112. Fuller, p.72.

113. Ibid., p.71.

114. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.96; Ch'en and Tu, pp.327-329. One reason for this view is that "the nature lacks a constant" for it is mandated by Heaven, and has to be followed. This idea is based on a line from the *Chung Yung* (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p.383).

suggested, indeed, that he and his friends Mei Yao-ch'en and Su Shun-ch'in rejected the Hsi-k'un school because they wanted "more freedom to develop techniques for expressing strong feelings." They thus called themselves the Ch'ang-li School, modelling themselves on Han Yü.¹¹⁶ In any case, whatever Ou-yang's ideas about dispassionate observations of the verities of human emotion, he himself expressed much emotion in his poetry, although in his defence some critics have described his five songs as allegorical,¹¹⁷ a position Egan evidently rejects.

This substitution of the emotions for human nature as the core of the literature that manifests the Way of the sages was rejected by Ou-yang's contemporary, the monk Ch'i-sung. Ch'i-sung responded to Ou-yang's attacks on Buddhism, in particular the Pen-lun which attacked Buddhism as a religion that thrived only in times of weakness when the rites and righteousness had declined. This became the Neo-Confucian manifesto for the Confucian restoration, which was to be achieved through education and inculcation in the rites and social ethics of Confucianism.¹¹⁸ The thrust of Ch'i-sung's counter-polemic was to assert the superiority of hsing (nature), the Buddhist concern, to ch'ing (human emotion), the Confucian (i.e. Ou-yang Hsiu's) concern. To Ch'i-sung, Confucianism is only for the present world, it does not deal with the three ages of past, present and future, and so Confucianism has neither explanation of present injustice nor threat of future retribution as a goad to ethical conduct. In this, Buddhism is superior, for it has a great moral suasion consequent on those theories.¹¹⁹ Emotion is what ties us to rebirth, and the according with human emotions to govern the world, as Ou-yang was suggesting in his ideas on literature as a Confucian gentleman's vehicle, limits Confucianism to a secondary form of understanding and governance, for emotions drive from the nature. A Buddhist therefore practices emotion without being involved in the emotion, and the

115. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.97.

116. *Ibid.*, pp.131-132.

117. *Ibid.*, pp.137-138.

118. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, pp.163-165. See also Koichi Shinohara, "Buddhism and Confucianism in Ch'i-sung's Essay on Teaching (Yüan-Tao)," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. 9 no. 4 (dec. 1982), p.419 note 28 for references.

119. Shinohara, p.403.

emotion practiced is compassion for and aid of all beings.¹²⁰ Buddhism is far more fundamental, and thus in the history of government, Buddhist universal compassion is superior to Confucian reward and punishment as a correction of emotional disorder in humanity.¹²¹

Ch'i-sung engaged then in lengthy arguments with Ou-yang Hsiu's Lu-ling School of Neo-Confucianism.¹²² He was a member of the Yün-men lineage of Ch'an which tried to see the principle behind the universe, so much also that they were criticised as deficient in the Buddha-Dharma to the extent of being pseudo Hsüan-hsüeh Taoists.¹²³ Because of his input into the current debates over the relationship of the nature and the emotions, Ch'i-sung is often seen as a contributor to the development of Sung Neo-Confucianism, in particular the mentalist branch of Lu Hsiang-shan, in that he claimed that "mind is the principle."¹²⁴ As we have seen in his rebuttal of Ou-yang Hsiu, he had to contend especially with the conservative national-purists among the Neo-Confucians, and so he introduced rather more pragmatic social concerns into his Buddhist treatises by equating the Buddhist precepts with the Confucian constants.¹²⁵ But he did equate Ch'an with the quiet nature and Confucianism with the movement of emotion. This nature in Buddhism was that spoken of in the Chung Yung and I Ching; it was "integrity" itself, which was that state before emotion had burst forth, the nature being the basis of all existence.¹²⁶

120. Ibid., pp.406-407.

121. Ibid., pp.409-410.

122. Abe Chōichi, p.207.

123. Ibid., pp.184-185.

124. Yoshida Kenko, "Kai-su" in *Chūgoku no shisōka*, vol. 2, Tokyo Daigaku Chūgoku tetsugaku kenkyūshitsu, ed. (Tokyo, 1963), p.458.

125. Abe, p.191.

126. Ibid., p.193.

In fact, Ch'i-sung both learned from and criticised the Lu-ling School, and the Lu-ling School itself was connected to Ch'an,¹²⁷ so Ou-yang Hsiu and Ch'i-sung probably learned much from each other. But Ch'i-sung did not develop any real Buddhist theory of literature because of this need to respond to Confucian attacks. Thus Fuller sees his ideas as ku-wen in outlook, literature being merely human patterns based on the patterns of the proper emotions of the Confucian five constants of humaneness, righteousness, ritual, wisdom and trustworthiness.¹²⁸ His ideas on literature were pragmatic and didactic, largely based on Confucian tradition. He saw worldly literature not as patterns bestowed by Heaven but as human patterns, citing the I Ching's "contemplate the human pattern and the empire will be completely civilized."¹²⁹ This pattern was virtue, not punishment. "Therefore the human pattern is what preserves the Way of the empire. The verbal patterns are where the aspirations of the sages and saints are lodged."¹³⁰ This is the function of literature. Thus, despite the fact that Ch'i-sung had the highest praise for the T'ang monk-poets Chiao-jan, Ling-ch'e and Tao-p'iao,¹³¹ and wrote his own poetry, there is no evidence that he was concerned with the insentient, or with the lack of emotion in poetry that Ou-yang Hsiu referred to.

d) Mei Yao-ch'en and T'an-ying

One of Ou-yang Hsiu's closest friends was the poet Mei Yao-ch'en (1002-1060), whom some later critics saw as the founder of the new style of Sung poetry. Thus Liu K'o-chuang (1187-1260) wrote:

It is Wan-ling (Mei Yao-ch'en) who is the mountain-opening patriarch [i.e. founder of a Ch'an lineage or monastery] of the poetry of this dynasty.¹³²

127. Ibid., pp.199-200.

128. Fuller, pp.59-60. Cf. *Hsin-chin wen-chi* T52.681b.

129. T52.674a29-b1, 681b28.

130. T52.674b21-22.

131. T52.738b.

132. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.132.

Wei held similar views to Ou-yang, wanting a revival of Confucian-style poetry and rejecting the Hsi-k'un style,¹³³ advocating a quiet understatement of emotion rather than the artificial emotional extravagances of Hsi-k'un poetry.¹³⁴ This meant that ordinary, everyday scenes were not glorified or made poetic, the emotional response was not to be intensified.¹³⁵ This led to a form of realism in which ordinary and even trivial objects became topics,¹³⁶ for

Beauty and ugliness are never innate
The nature must be clearly understood.¹³⁷

But personal tragedy brought Mei to see Nature as uncomprehending and unjust. This is illustrated in a poem about a dream he had of his first wife in 1048:

Last night I saw her face again,
Midnight was a painful hour.
The dark lamp glowed with a feeble light,
Silently glimmering on the rafters.
* And the unfeeling snow that beat against my window
Was whirled to a frenzy by the wind.

Chaves comments that "Mei has realized here the perfect correspondence between external object and internal emotion which is perhaps the supreme achievement of Chinese poetry."¹³⁸ Thus the snow is cold and unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*), illustrating both the cruelty of Nature and his own disturbed passions. The images of Nature

133. Ibid., p.80.

134. Ibid., p.124; Yoshikawa, p.75.

135. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.134.

136. Ibid., p.203 on painting, p.191 on "low" subject matter, even mosquitoes and lice. Cf. Yoshikawa, pp.76-78.

137. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.195.

138. Ibid., p.159.

though, were not to dominate, for poetry was more about human intent than description.¹³⁹

While there is no overt Buddhist content in this, Mei being against the popular forms of Buddhism, he had respect for the Ch'an master T'an-ying (989-1060) who had taught Ou-yang Hsiu and written on the relations of Confucianism and Buddhism, in particular on the emotions and the nature. T'an-ying was famed for his study of the Confucian Classics and for his poetry, and it seems he and Mei were close friends.¹⁴⁰

139. Fuller, p.67.

140. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.177-178. Ou-yang wrote a poem "Sending T'an-ying back to Mt. Lu," whom he describes as an old associate (Ch'en and Tu, pp.66-67). Note T'an-ying's *Hsing-pien*, which deals with the relationship of the nature and emotions, has a number of passages reminiscent of Ou-yang Hsiu: "Even though Heaven and earth are without emotion, the wind and clouds and four seasons change their climate, the mountains and rivers and myriad things confuse their forms, but only man lives in their midst." He claims that emotions and consciousness are based on the nature, and that sages are not misled by emotion." Preserved in *Yün-wo chi-t'an* by Hsiao-ying Chung-wen (1116?-?), a pupil of Ta-hui Tsung-kao, Z148.42a, and quoted by Nukariya, vol. 2, p.125.

11) The Middle Northern Sung Generation I: Wang An-shih

The next generation of poets were mostly heirs to Ou-yang Hsiu and Mei Yao-ch'ên. The two older men sponsored Su Shih, were his examiners, and taught him poetry and prose. All these men, including Su Ch'e, Tseng Kung and Huang T'ing-chien, met and corresponded,¹ thus creating a poetic fellowship between them and a continuity between the generations.

Wang An-shih (1021-1086)

Wang An-shih, a reformer who has typically received much bad press from traditional Chinese historians,² has been often neglected as a poet because of his political activities. These left an unfortunate legacy of factionalism in the Sung bureaucracy and among the intellectuals between supporters and opponents, some of the latter even unfairly accused him of causing the downfall of Northern Sung, something he was earnestly attempting to prevent.³

Wang An-shih was born in Lin-ch'uan county, in the same district of which Ou-yang Hsiu, Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) and Tseng Kung (1019-1083), a relative by marriage, were natives. Tseng Kung introduced Wang's poetry to Ou-yang Hsiu in 1044, and Ou-yang and Wang met each other in 1055.⁴ All these younger men, including Wang, Huang T'ing-chien, Tseng Kung and Su Shih are thought to have been followers of the Lu-ling School of Confucianism,⁵ which promoted reform in the area of Chiang-hsi, a stronghold also of laymen Ch'an.⁶ Ou-yang Hsiu

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1. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'ên*, pp.38-42; Shimizu Shigeru, *ô An-seki* (Tokyo, 1962), preface p.13.
 2. For the *Sung shih* biography, see H.R. Williamson, *Wang An Shih: a Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty* (London, 1937), vol. 2, pp.27-58. It contains much slander which Williamson discusses, pp.59-70. Cf. Yoshikawa, p.85, and James T.C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China* (Harvard U.P., 1959), pp.11-13.
 3. Williamson, pp.72-73, 86, citing Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who thought the factions went back to Fan Chung-yen and Lü I-chien, and pp.87-89, 98, on the subsequent history of the factional disputes. See James Liu, *Reform*, pp.66-67 for how Wang's personality and dislike of criticism had made this already existing factionalism worse.
 4. *Ibid.*, p.100; Shimizu, preface p.13.
 5. Abe Chōichi, p.231, chart on p.245 note 27.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp.282-283.

subsequently recommended Wang's promotion in 1055 and 1056.⁷ Both Ou-yang and Mei Yao-ch'en were in sympathy with the younger Wang's desire to reform local government and help the common people. Thus Mei wrote expressing his admiration of Wang's ideals in 1057,⁸ and sent Wang a copy of his commentary on the Book of Poetry. Wang evidently admired Mei, for he wrote a poem in mourning on Mei's death in 1060.⁹

Wang loved the writing of both Mei¹⁰ and Ou-yang Hsiu, praising the latter as even superior to Li Po as a poet.¹¹ Ou-yang Hsiu and Wang An-shih maintained their friendship despite their political differences until Ou-yang's death in 1072, with Wang the author of Ou-yang's obituary.¹² It was probably their poetry that kept them in communion, for not long before Ou-yang died he visited Wang at his residence near Nanking.¹³

The impression of a group, albeit one with internal political differences, that cohered due to regional or poetic affinities, is strengthened by Wang An-shih's relations with Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien. Su Shih (1036-1101), in about 1050/1051, wrote poems to which Wang wrote rejoinders, so their association began quite early. Although Su at first strongly opposed Wang's New Law Reform around 1074,¹⁴ Su later seems to have gone over to Wang's side, making at least a temporary

7. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.153.

8. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, pp.40-41.

9. Shimizu, preface p.13.

10. Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.42.

11. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, p.132.

12. *Ibid.*, pp.153-154.

13. Takahashi Moritaka, "ō An-seki" in *Chūgoku no shisōka* (Uno Tetsuto Commemorative Volume), vol. 2, p.503.

14. Shimizu, preface p.13.

compromise.¹⁵ Furthermore, it was Wang An-shih's brother An-li who intervened in 1079 to lighten Su Shih's sentence and have him released from prison and sent to Huang-chou as a minor military functionary.¹⁶ So in 1084, when Su Shih was returning from exile in Huang-chou to his new posting at Ju-chou, Su visited Wang An-shih in Chiang-ling (Nanking), enjoying the composition of poems together.¹⁷ Similarly, Huang T'ing-chien must have known of Wang in his youth, and later in life Huang visited Wang in Nanking to discuss poetry.¹⁸

It was perhaps this regional association and membership of the Lu-ling School of Confucianism that united these men, as well as a fascination with the Huang-lung branch of Ch'an in Chiang-hsi,¹⁹ a branch of Lin-chi Ch'an founded by Huang-lung Hui-nan (1002-1069). Sub-lineages of this branch were to be important for Wang An-shih's group, as well as for Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien.²⁰ This connection also may explain the continuing personal friendships even when differences arose over Wang's reforms, which ideals many of his associates shared, but perhaps not the means. They probably felt that the reform posed a threat to their livelihood and

15. Williamson, p.205. Yoshikawa, pp.86-87, thinks that Wang An-shih thought the Confucian policies of Ou-yang Hsiu and his associates were impractical, leading to hardship for the people. Perhaps this convinced Su Shih for a while, but he concluded that Wang's laws were too inflexible, and he hated Wang's removal of poetry from the examinations (p.99).

16. Williamson, p.258; see the chronology in Shimizu, p.195. Note Wang's other brother, An-kuo, did not agree with An-shih's policies (Ch'en and Tu, p.183).

17. Shimizu, preface p.14. Yoshikawa, pp.100-101.

18. Shimizu, preface p.13.

19. Abe, p.356.

20. Ibid., p.432.

class,²¹ and there might have been some jealousy from the more conservative members like Ou-yang Hsiu.²²

Wang rose in the bureaucracy gradually at first, but when Emperor Shen-tsung (r.1067-1085) came to power, Wang was discovered to share Shen-tsung's programme for revitalising the nation which had been financially straightened and devastated in morale by the policy of buying off the attacks of the Khitan and the Tangut.²³ Wang subsequently rose rapidly from administrative secretary of Chiang-ning to Han-lin academician, in which post he could advise the emperor. By 1070 Wang was prime minister, enabling him to initiate his sweeping changes in the administration of the state, ranging from the content of the civil-service examinations to taxation and military organisation.²⁴ As this reform was based on the principles of the *Chou Li*, a text favoured by idealists and radical reforms throughout Chinese history, this helped create a split with the more conservative members of the Lu-ling School such as Ou-yang Hsiu, and at least initially, Su Shih. Because of the opposition, Wang resigned the prime ministership in 1074 and returned to Chiang-ning, but he was persuaded to resume his post in 1075.²⁵

But in 1076 his son and aide Wang Fang died, and Wang returned to Nanking in grief. This event prompted him to donate his lands for T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo Monastery near Mt. Chung (also called Mt. Chiang) for the merit he believed his son would accrue.²⁶ This tragedy turned Wang increasingly towards Buddhism. Finally,

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21. Williamson, pp.139-140. See Lames Liu, *Reform*, pp.23-24 on the different kinds of Confucian officials.
 22. Shimizu, preface p.15. Perhaps these restorers of Confucianism resented someone who pointed to faults in their social programmes.
 23. Williamson, p.144, quoting Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.
 24. Outlined in Williamson, *passim*; Shimizu, preface p.15; Takahashi, pp.495-502.
 25. Shimizu, preface p.15.
 26. Andō Tomonobu, "ō An-seki to Bukkyō: Shōsan indonki o chūshin toshite," *Tōhō Shūkyō* 28 (Nov. 1966), p.23; Takahashi, p.494. For the petitions to the emperor to allow him to donate his residence as T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo Monastery, see *Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi* (hereafter LCWC), (Shanghai, 1959), pp.461, 648.

in 1079, Wang retired to his monastery near Mt. Chung,²⁷ where he remained in retreat until his death. He came under savage attack from the conservatives, among them Su Shih, who reversed his reforms²⁸ immediately Shen-tsung died in 1085, something he stoically accepted in one of his last poems, "New Flowers";

The flowing fragrance is but momentary,
How can I still remain for so long?
The new flowers and the old me
Are finished! Both can be forgotten.²⁹

Wang was deeply concerned with social justice throughout his life.³⁰ This may be an aspect of Buddhist compassion, for in his formative years he wrote a poem in veneration of the Hsin-hsin ming that was attributed to Seng-ts'an, the Third Patriarch of Ch'an.³¹ Shimizu Shigeru has divided Wang's poems into five classes, one of which relates to social issues and another to Buddhism (the others are poems of friendship, seclusion and ideals). His concern for the plight of the people is shown in poems of pity for the poor.³² He was a universalist, thinking of humanity (including the barbarians) as one, even suggesting that the much lamented concubine of the Han, Wang Chao-chün, whom earlier poets had all described as tragically lonely and dejected, was probably happier and better treated among the barbarian Hsiung-nu than among the Han.³³ This may have been based on his conceptions that

27. Takahashi, p.494.

28. Ibid.; Yoshikawa, p.101; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.588.

29. Shimizu, p.180.

30. Yoshikawa, pp.87, 93; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.588.

31. Chou I-kan, p.147. Liu, *Reform*, pp.35-36 thinks that Buddhist influences on Wang's life went back to his parents.

32. Shimizu, preface pp.2-3. He sympathized with the poor who were mistreated by officials and with farmers whose sons were drafted as soldiers or sent to serve the barbarians.

33. Shimizu, p.4; translated in *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.338-339. This is the complete reverse to the poem by Ou-yang Hsiu harmonizing with Wang on the same topic (Ch'en and Tu, pp.185-186).

all beings have the Buddha-nature, are Buddha, and that even evil things are ultimately without sin ("The Buddha is sentient beings"), and that there should be no class divisions within a society³⁴:

Actors in the playhouse
 Are one time noble and once base.
 The mind knows basically they are the same,
 So there is no joy or anger.³⁵

There was yet another dimension to Wang. He was a great scholar and poet, being one of the most widely-read men of his era,³⁶ from embroidery and medicine to Confucian Classics and Buddhist sutras. As part of his political and educational programme, he wrote commentaries on the Chou Li, the Shang Shu and the Shih Ching, all of which have been destroyed, only fragments surviving.³⁷ Liang

34. Shimizu, preface p.7.

35. Ibid., p.174. Translated in *Sunflower Splendor*, p.174.

36. Williamson, p.264, gives the range of his reading. Shimizu, preface p.9.

37. Williamson, pp.266-286. There are several studies of these works and others by Wang. Chiang I-pin, "Sung-tai Ju-Shih t'iao-ho lun chi p'ai-Fo lun chih yen-chin: Wang An-shih chih yung-t'ung Ju-Shih chi Ch'eng-Chu hsüeh-p'ai chih p'ai-Fo fan-Wang," Ph.D. thesis, Chung-kuo wen-hua Ta-hsüeh, Taipei, 1984, pp.39-43. (I sighted this work briefly at National Central Library, Taipei.) Besides these three commentaries and his collected works, he also wrote a *Huai-nan tsa-shuo*, *Tzu-shuo*, *Lao-tzu chu* (some quotes, partly restored by Yen Ling-feng), *Lun-yü chieh*, *Hsiao-ching chieh*, *Meng-tzu chieh*, and *Wang-shih jih-lu*. Chiang also notes his commentary on the *Shou Leng-yen ching*. A reconstruction of some of Wang's commentary on the *Shih Ching* has been made by Ch'iu Han-sheng, *Shih-i kou-ch'en* (Peking, 1982), from citations in other works such as those by Lü Tsu-chien. Ch'iu says it is not purely a philological commentary, but a textbook of government and morality, that is, didactic. He applied his ideas about it to Northern Sung conditions (Ch'iu, pp.6-7). Wang also applied the thought of the *Chou Li* to the *Shih Ching's* praise and blame (p.10). The commentaries on the three classics were ordered by the government in 1073, for there had been a demand ever since Ou-yang Hsiu and Sun Fu wanted a revision of the early T'ang *Wu-ching cheng-i* and a reversion to earlier works to create a more unified interpretation. They were written by Wang and Lü Hui-ch'ing, with Wang Fang as editor, but An-shih was the theorist. The *Chou-kuan i*

Ch'i-ch'ao ranks Wang An-shih as a classical scholar and prose writer with Han Yü, Ou-yang Hsiu and Su Shih, declaring him the deepest and most cogent thinker of them all. Ou-yang Hsiu himself praised Wang as the potential equal of Han Yü.³⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao also states that Wang's exposition of the Classics was superior in that he sought the meaning behind the textual surface, desiring a pragmatic interpretation of the Classics, making them relevant to government.³⁹ But eventually his exegetical works were destroyed, probably because they were tainted with Buddhism,⁴⁰ though this may be an anachronistic judgement.

Of all his facets, it is as a poet and a lay Buddhist that Wang has been most slighted, with the exception of Ch'an Buddhists and Li Pi (1159-1222).⁴¹ Wang not only wrote poetry, he also selected what he thought were the best T'ang poems in 1060 to form a model anthology.⁴² He especially loved the poetry of Li Po, but his real favourite was Tu Fu, some two hundred of whose poems he resurrected from

in particular was Wang's work in which he aimed at providing an ideological basis for his reforms and to attack his detractors (pp.2-3).

38. Williamson, pp.287-288; Ogawa, *Sō shi sen*, p.311, thinks Wang An-shih's poems and prose even simpler and more concise than that of Ou-yang Hsiu. Yoshikawa, p.91, sees Wang as intensifying Ou-yang Hsiu's tendencies in poems with philosophical content, but wary of the danger that presented to lyricism.
39. Williamson, p.297.
40. Ibid., p.304 note 3; Andō Tomonobu, p.30. The three commentaries were used until 1085, and intermittently thereafter, banned for public use in Southern Sung, some surviving into the Ming, but were lost by Ch'ing times (Ch'iu Han-sheng, p.5). His philological work, the *Tzu-shuo* in particular was attacked for mixing Buddhist references with Confucianism (Chiang I-pin, p.40).
41. Shimizu, preface pp.1, 8. For Buddhist references, see CSFTL Z147.861b-862a3, which quotes his poems in imitation of Han-shan, 892b18-893a, and CTPTL Z137.317a-b. Li Pi wrote the commentary, *Wang Ching-kung shih-chu* (hereafter Li Pi) SKCS vol. 1106.
42. Williamson, p.264; Yoshikawa, p.94. He also compiled the *Ssu-chia shih-hsüan*, an anthology of the poems of Tu Fu, Ou-yang Hsiu, Han Yü, and Li Po (Yoshikawa, p.93). The first anthology, the *T'ang pai-chia shih-hsüan*, has been published in 1983 as *Wang Ching-kung T'ang pai-chia shih-hsüan* by Ta-li ch'u-p'an she, Taipei.

obscurity, thus extending Tu's popularity.⁴³ In his old-style poems (ku-shih) he imitated Tu Fu and Han Yü, and he has left over 1,500 poems. In fact, Yang Wan-li (1124-1206) described him as the best chüeh-chü poet of the Northern Sung⁴⁴ and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao considers Wang the true founder of the Chiang-hsi School of poetry and not Huang T'ing -chien as is usually claimed, for Liang believes that Wang made the greatest improvement in the style that succeeded to the Hsi-k'un poetry style. He thinks Wang was a far more direct writer and a greater innovator than Mei Yao-ch'en, Ou-yang Hsiu or Su Shih.⁴⁵ However, to avoid the problems generated by political factionalism, the Chiang-hsi School claimed Huang as their founder. The other reason was that Huang drew up a programme of poetic principles for poets to follow,⁴⁶ something Wang did not do.

Wang An-shih, as a Confucian philosopher, considered the problem of the relationship of human nature to the emotions, disagreeing with Han Yü, Mencius and Hsün-tzu. Wang claimed that the five constants are not the nature. Furthermore, unlike these other philosophers, he claimed that human nature is neither good nor evil. The reason that Mencius and Hsün-tzu took their positions was that they did not understand that there was a distinction between human nature and emotion; it is only the emotions that are good or evil. Cultivation or practice of these emotions make a person good or evil. The emotions are born from the nature, and the possession or existence of emotions (yu-ch'ing) is the determinant of good or evil through practice. This he believes is the true sense of Confucius' statement that "(men) are

43. Williamson, p.290; Shimizu, preface p.8, who notes he also liked Po Chü-i and T'ao Ch'ien. Yoshikawa, pp.92-94, says he thought Tu Fu best, Ou-yang Hsiu next, but there is some difficulty over his ranking of Li Po, ^{fact} for he was critical of Han Yü.

44. Shimizu, preface p.8.

45. Williamson, pp.290-291. Note here the word Hsi Ching is used.

46. Ogawa, *Sō shi sen*, p.321, says Wang was not made the founder of the school because of the reaction against the New Law Reform party in early Southern Sung when the Chiang-hsi School was first publicised, and Huang T'ing-chien opposed Wang's policies. The basis of the school lies in an admiration of Tu Fu and fondness for Ch'an. Tiang Seng-yong, "Huang T'ing-chien and the Chiang-hsi School of Poetry," *Chinese Culture*, vol. 8 no. 3 (Sept. 1977), pp.80, 82-83, quoting James Hightower, concludes that Wang's lack of a guide to poetry practice was another reason Wang was not appointed founder.

akin by nature, but are distanced from one another by practice."⁴⁷ This line from Confucius is also made in the opening of his "Theory of Human Nature" (Hsing-shuo), wherein Wang disagreed with Han Yü that people have innate tendencies (hsing) to good and evil and so can be graded into three classes of superior, middling and inferior. This, Wang avers, is only the consequence of practice, which applies to the emotions.⁴⁸ Thus class differences should not be due to birth, but to education, for there are no inherent differences between men.

Wang states in his Hsing Ch'ing ("Human Nature and the Emotions") that human nature and the emotions are one, and that those who would describe human nature as either good or bad only know the names "nature" and "emotion" and not their reality. The seven emotions are the manifestations in conduct of the latent tendencies innate (hsing) in the mind 未發於外而存於心^性. The nature is the basis of the emotions; the emotions are the function of the nature. Therefore I say the nature and emotions are one." The seven "instincts" or potentials that are manifest as the emotions become active through contact with things. If that activity or emotional response is appropriate to the principle 理, one becomes a sage or wise man, but if not one becomes a base man. One must cultivate the good part of one's nature so that the emotions manifested are good. "Therefore the reason that a chün-tzu (gentleman) is a chün-tzu is none other than his emotion, and the reason that a mean man is a mean man is none other than his emotion." One should not declare that the epithet chün-tzu is a reference to his human nature, and the mean man is in reference to his emotions, for

if the emotions are disregarded [lit. abolished 廢], even though the nature is good, how can that be made self-evident? Truly that would be like the theories of those who now think

47. LCWC 726-727; Williamson, pp.319-321 for a translation. Chiang I-pin, p.67, thinks that the early Sung Confucian-Buddhist synthesis is basically centred around the relation of *hsing* and *ch'ing*, with the stimulus from the *Li Chi*, especially the "Yüeh-chi" chapter lines cited chapter 10, note 108 (Chiang, p.57).
48. LCWC 727-728; Williamson, pp.322-323. Chiang I-pin thinks that these divisions into grades of human nature had been occasioned by political requirements, and later to respond to the Buddhist idea of the universality and equality of the Buddha-nature (p.58). These ideas were presumably a development of those of Ou-yang Hsiu, for Ou-yang used the same quotes from the *Chung Yung* and *Li Chi*, denying that the nature was good or evil (cf. Ch'en and Tu, pp.328-329, for Ou-yang's theories).

that to be emotionless (wu-ch'ing) is good, which is to esteem that which is like wood and stone. Therefore I know that the nature and the emotions are necessary to each other, just as a bow and arrow are mutually dependent in order to function.⁴⁹

This is an unequivocal statement that Wang was opposed to any theory that would have man become emotionless, or that the insentient can have a Buddha-nature. A nature, whether of man or Buddha, clearly must be expressed in terms of emotion. This is the reasoning behind his poem:

Originally there was no thing to cause men doubts,
But still they consult Ch'an, buying into stupidity...
I have heard that the insentient can preach the Dharma,
So I face the wall all day and falsely seek out thoughts.⁵⁰

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49. LCWC 715; cf. Williamson, pp.325-326. Chiang I-pin, p.56, notes that the *Chung Yung* mentions four emotions and the *Li Chi* "Li Yün" chapter has seven. He also thinks that the question of "internally a sage and externally a king," a Confucian ideal, when confronted with the Buddhist "enlightenment to the Way," revived debates on the relationship of the nature and emotions. In other words, does the "internal sage" 內聖 have emotion, and if so, how is it used. This he relates to the *Chuang-tzu* passage which says a "perfected man's use of his mind is like a mirror...he responds but does not store," which Kuo Hsiang glossed as "he reflects things without emotion" (Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.75). Chiang thinks this is a revival of the debate between Ho Yen and Wang Pi. He claims that Ch'eng Hao's use of the passage (translated in chapter 3, cf. note 133), and ~~that~~ the term *wu-ch'ing* is not the same as with Ho Yen and Wang Pi (p.57). Chiang also thinks that the emphasis placed on the emotions may be derived from the Buddhist theories of the *Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* where we can only reach the nature by transcending emotions. As practice only refers to the emotions, this is just like the good or evil or *vāsana* 薰習 in Buddhism. Though derived from the nature, it is only by their transcendence that the nature is revealed, and yet, as the ultimate source of good and evil, Wang's idea of the nature most closely resembles those of Yang Hsiung, and may have been influenced by T'ien-t'ai's *hsing-chū* or *fo-hsing chū-o* theories, or Hua-yen's interpenetration of the various dharma-realms (pp.57, 59-62).

50. LCWC 375.

But the comments of the earliest and the best annotator on Wang⁹ An-shih's poetry, Li Pi,⁵¹ who cited a vast array of literature from the Confucian Classics, Chuang-tzu, earlier poets and a panoply of Buddhist text to elucidate the poems,⁵² gives a reference to Nan-yang Hui-chung's thesis. The idea that there is "originally no thing" he states comes from Hui-neng (in fact it is from the *Platform Sutra*), and for the insentient preaching the Dharma he refers the reader to the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu:

Master Liang-chieh [Tung-shan, 807-869] once asked Wei-shan (Ling-yu), "Recently I have heard that National Teacher (Nan-yang Hui-chung) had it that the insentient preach the Dharma. I have not discerned its subtleties." Wei-shan said, ("I also have it here. It is just that it is difficult to get that person ...") Liang-chieh also asked Yün-yen, "What person can hear the insentient preach the Dharma?" (Yün-yen said, "The insentient preaches the Dharma, the insentient can hear it." Liang-chieh said, "Master, can you hear it or not?") Yün-yen said, "If I hear it you would not be able to hear my preaching the Dharma." "If so then I do not hear your preaching of the Dharma." Yün-yen said, "(Since you still do not hear when I preach the Dharma, how much less the insentient preaching the Dharma.)" Liang-chieh then composed a gatha and presented it to Yü-yen. It said,

"Stranger and even stranger
The insentient preaching the Dharma is inconceivable!
If you listen to it with the ears, the sound will not be manifest.
If you hear the sound via the eyes, then you can know it."⁵³

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51. Shimizu, preface pp.18-19, says that Li Pi's comments are rather too all-inclusive, at times not even relevant.
52. I have noticed in passing the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, *Shou Leng-yen*, *Yüan-chüeh*, *Fa-hua*, *Hua-yen*, *A-mi-t'o*, *Heart*, *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, *Chung A-han* and *Ching-t'u* sutras, as well as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, various *Kao-seng chuan*, Hui-hung's *Seng-pao chuan* and works by the monk Hui-lin, plus quotes from Chao-chou, Layman P'ang, and even the *Ssu-fen lu*.
53. Li Pi 375d2-5. Where Li Pi has summarised, I have restored the full story from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* T51.321b28-c11 in parentheses.

Despite Li Pi's reference, Wang does not believe that the insentient or emotionless can preach, or that one can discover the Dharma by facing a wall, in other words, by meditation. There are no thoughts in the insentient, and to attempt to find thought is contrary to the object of meditation. As there was no thing, why practice meditation or consult Ch'an?

The above poem, when examined in conjunction with its preceding parallel poem, has a bearing on Wang's epistemology and doubts about Ch'an doctrine:

The Supreme Vacuity has no reality to be pursued.
 The leaves that fall and the pine branches boast of past and present.
 If you see the plum blossoms and produce a saintly understanding,
 There is no doubt that still one has a doubting mind.⁵⁴

All things then are ultimately empty or *sūnya*, but Nature, the insentient, conveys the passing of time. This understanding is confirmed by Li Pi, who cites a poem by Chang An-tao, "In Harmony with Chao Shu-p'ing":

View the body as without reality, originally a frothy illusion;
 Contemplate the world as all empty, diffused through past and present.⁵⁵

The sagely understanding that arises from the contemplation of Nature is that there is a mind: I have doubt, therefore I or mind exists. Li Pi gives two entries in explanation. The first is to the words of Yang Chieh, a follower of Su Shih who is listed as a pupil of the Ch'an monk T'ien-i I-huai by the *Chü-shih fen-teng lu*.⁵⁶ Yang Chieh declares that,

the plucking of the flower and display of it to the assembly with a subtle smile (by Buddha to Mahākāśyapa) is to have already fallen into the pit of delusion; (Hui-k'o's) standing in the snow up to his waist as an encouragement to seeking (the quest) is to throw himself down the drain of doubt.

The second entry is a poem by Hsieh Ling-yün:

54. LCWC 374; Li Pi 375c4-7.

55. Li Pi 375c5-6. Note this text and the poem cited both use 漫 instead of 漫.

56. Z147.890a-b.

Only after a single look at the plum blossom

Does one arrive directly to the present and have no further doubt.⁵⁷

Here Wang is turning the problem around. The lack of doubt does not obscure the fact that one still has the faculty that doubts. This then is the ball of doubt that is necessary before the breakthrough of awakening in *kung-an* practice.⁵⁸ Doubt is the difference between sentient man and the insentient, and between pious, unquestioning believers and the true practitioner of meditation. Doubt is a precondition for the realization of the Buddha-nature. Therefore Wang An-shih thought that the Buddha-nature of the insentient was a mistaken doctrine.

Most of the treatises (*lun*) by Wang An-shih that survive intact were probably written during his period of governmental service and so are exclusively Confucian, even anti-Buddhist, or rather, anti-clerical. In his opinion of this period, Confucianism is superior as it develops personal character and encourages social involvement, whereas Buddhism emphasises moral rectification in a poor isolation, and so is impractical.⁵⁹ Confucius, he declared, was the purest of sages or saints. The nature that Confucius and his followers referred to is the constitution of life 性者生之質. As human life is possessed of the five constants, life is what Confucius wanted people to know. That is the mind that everyone shares with Yao and Shun, in other words, we can all be sages by understanding life through the verities of the five constants.⁶⁰

This does not mean that one ignores the environment, for the sage is versed in the principle that underlies all things, and that principle is unified: "If one attains this

57. Li Pi 375c7.

58. Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p.247, quotes a poem by Lo-han Kuei-ch'en (867-928). Compare the Japanese teacher Hakuin on "the great feeling of doubt" 大疑情, p.246.

59. Williamson, p.364. See especially Wang's "Treatise on Ritual and Music," LCWC 705. Chiang I-pin thinks that this treatise was not so much concerned to oppose Buddhism but to harmonize the three teachings or religions. However, Wang here ranked Buddhism and Taoism at lower stages of achievement, for although all had humaneness, the Buddhist practice of retreat did not allow humaneness to be put into operation, although as with Confucians, there were times that were inappropriate and it was best to make a principled retreat (pp.51-53).

60. LCWC 1064.

unity, then the things of the world can be attained by not thinking." All thoughts and concerns refer to this unity according to the Book of Changes. This unity is achieved

at a time of no thought, non-action (wu-wei), when one is quiet and not moving. Although this is so, the events of the world originally have that which should 可 be thought and done, so how can one not comprehend their reason? This is why the sage is valued for being able to make (them) function.⁶¹

What this means is that the sage needs to be active in government and to be an exemplar for others. The events of the world, that is social activity, require thought and activity, which is why Confucius taught.⁶²

Furthermore, Wang An-shih's Confucian literary theory, when it is not purely didactic as in his commentary on the Book of Poetry, appears to be based on the Yüeh-chi chapter of the Li Chi,⁶³ and is revealing, for it discusses perception in a way that has similarities to passages in Wang's favourite sutra, the Shou Leng-yen ching (pseudo-Sūraṅgama), and yet is anti-Buddhist. He states that sincerity or integrity (cheng 誠) allows one to comprehend the mind that is part of ch'i that has received the mandate (ming, life). This integrity is unfathomable because it is of the nature. Thus it is necessary to look 見 to see that mind, and to perceive 得 to think of it, (and so with the other senses). But mind itself can be illumined without seeing and can perceive without thinking etcetera, because it shares in the original potential of the nature (hsing) and the autonomous arisal 自生 out of the spirit (shen). Thus there is a hierarchy or chain of human being beginning with the basis of life, the body or form, from which is produced ch'i (vital energy), then mind, then integrity, then the nature, and finally the spirit. By perfecting each level one arrives at one's full potential 盡性.

Life and the nature are claimed to be mutually causing and dependent, aspiration ← and ch'i are aspects of one another. Hence if one aspect is faulty, the other is

61. LCWC 707. He thought natural phenomena had laws of change that could be grasped, which is the principle or Heavenly Way (Ch'iu Han-sheng, p.25).

62. Cf. Williamson, pp.344-345.

63. For his use of the Li Chi, see Chiang I-pin, p.57, and Ch'iu Han-sheng, p.10. He used it to interpret the Shih Ching. For a translation of these passages, James Legge, Li Chi, vol. 2, pp.92-93, 96-97.

harmed. To keep the nature pure by regulating life (ming), the sages created ritual, and to keep life and ritual in harmony they created music. This was their original intention 本意.

Thus the only difference between the emotions of the sage and the common man is that the former uses music to direct himself inward to his nature, the latter outwards to his desires (i.e. the objects of the desires). As desires are easily generated and the nature difficult to know, one should remove emotions and reject desire

去情却欲 so that one can perfect the nature of the world and cultivate the spirit to enlighten it 明 and become a sage. But this does not mean one should cut oneself off from the world, since the powers or potentials for all forms of perception exist not in the physical organs, but in the spirit as potential (hsing 性 ?). As "scriptural" authority he quotes the Hsi-tz'u section of the Book of Changes:

"To be of the spirit and illumined to it inheres in that person; to be silent and complete it, not speaking and being believed, inheres in virtuous conduct." Remove the emotions and reject desire, and the spiritual light 神明 will be engendered.⁶⁴

Thus the potentials of perception exist in the spirit which can only be manifested when the emotions are removed.⁶⁵

This latter thesis is difficult to reconcile with Wang's condemnation of those who would remove emotion (be wu-ch'ing) so that the nature can be made manifest. Perhaps this is a political programme which may account for the anti-Buddhist passages in the treatise where he declares that Buddhism and Taoism have misunderstood the true significance of ritual and music, yielding to convention, not understanding that it is for the cultivation of human nature. Wang condemns those who talk of cultivating the nature by recourse to Buddhism, citing examples of the loss of government and the misfortunes of the Liang and Ch'i dynasties of the Period

64. Cf. the translation of the *Hsi-tz'u* quote in Richard Wilhelm, *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, p.324, no. 7.

65. LCWC 702-704; cf. Williamson, pp.357-362.

of Division because of the Buddhistic misuse of elaborate rituals and music.⁶⁶ This thesis undoubtedly belongs to his period of active political service when he was trying to use the Classics and literature to prove and inculcate the ideals of his New Law Reform.

Some of these theories are related to Wang's conceptions of the aesthetic appreciation of landscape. He quotes the *Lun-yü*, "The humane 仁 delights in mountains, the wise delight in the waters," the reason being that "the humane is quiescent, the wise active." (*Analects* vi.21). Wang elaborates that the mountains are likewise quiescent (unmoving) and yet are beneficial, while water moves and benefits people. These two states are preconditions for sagehood; one must be wise before one can be humane, and be humane before one can be a sage.⁶⁷ Hence the appreciation of the landscape (mountains and rivers 山水) is a reflection of the state of one's moral and spiritual development; they are evidence of one's stage of saintliness. Not surprisingly, poets often wrote of the landscape, including Wang An-shih.

However, Wang's best landscape poetry comes from his Buddhist period after his retirement in 1076.⁶⁸ Despite hints of an association with Ch'an before this time (as in the poem on the *Hsin-hsin ming*), his firm faith in Buddhism came with the death of his son. He was undoubtedly disillusioned with the limits of Confucianism, as it provided little comfort for the bereaved. He may have repudiated his anti-Buddhist opinions on aesthetics, but it is possible that he saw no conflict

66. LCWC 705; Williamson, pp.363-364. This view is based on the early T'ang historians' Confucian bias in their accounts of these dynasties. Cf. Jorgensen, "The 'Imperial' Lineage of Ch'an Buddhism," pp.115-116, for sources cf. note 116.

67. LCWC 716-717; cf. Williamson, pp.351-352.

68. Shimizu, preface p.16; cf. Yoshikawa, pp.94-95. Chiang I-pin says that Wang An-shih became interested in Buddhism after reading Ch'i-sung's works (citing Tokiwa, *Shina ni okeru Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō*, p.200). Ch'i-sung's major work, the *Fu-chiao p'ien* (now the first part of his *Hsin-chin wen-chi* T52.648c-664c), which deals with nature and emotions, Confucianism, government, and counters to anti-Buddhist arguments, was completed between 1056 and 1063. Thus Buddhism belongs to the mature life of Wang An-shih (p.67). Tsung-mi, who used the relevant *Li Chi* passage, was a possible source for Wang's Buddhio-Confucian theories (pp.63-64), and T'an-ying's *Hsing pien* (preserved in part in *Yün-wo chi-i'an* Z148.42a), though quite Buddhistic, closely resembles Wang's *Hsing-ch'ing lun* (p.66).

between these two views, Confucianism being for one active in society, Buddhism for one who like himself was now in retreat due to the forces of circumstance.

From 1076, his life was intimately intertwined with the Chiang-ning (Nanking) region which had been a stronghold of the poet-monks of earlier times. The connection with Chiang-ning went back to 1063 when his mother died and was buried there. Wang mourned her there till 1065, and after a short period in the capital, returned there to recuperate from illness in 1066, soon after which he was posted as administrative secretary there (1067). He had developed a deep affection for the area.⁶⁹ Finally, in 1084, he donated his residence as a monastery and requested an imperial plaque for it. On the plaque was inscribed Pao-ning Ch'an Cloister.⁷⁰ Wang recruited the Lin-chi monk Chen-ching K'o-wen 真淨克文 (1025-1102) of the Huang-lung lineage as its abbot.⁷¹ This monk's answer to a question Wang posed about the Yüan-chüeh ching was the occasion that prompted the donation, and at the installation K'o-wen gave a sermon about the primacy of the Buddha-nature, saying that

Today Prime Minister Wang has especially erected this great monastery to do the Buddha's work, and to save 出 the sentient beings of the great earth from the sorrows of the flow of birth and death, and clearly reveal the originally broad and vast quiescent, marvellous mind.⁷²

Wang had evidently taken his concerns with human-nature and the potential of all forms of perception that are to be found in his Confucian treatises over into Buddhism. But there were ineluctable changes occasioned by his shift of spiritual allegiance. In a letter in reply to one Chiang Ying-shu 蔣穎叔, who is mentioned in another poem,⁷³ Wang outlines his understanding of the nature in its

69. Shimizu, preface p.14 and chronological table; Williamson, biographical table, pp.404-406; Andō Tomonobu, pp.20-21.

70. Andō Tomonobu, p.23.

71. Ibid., pp.24-25; Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.198-203.

72. Andō Tomonobu, p.25 quoting the *Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu*.

73. LCWC 328, "Playfully presented to Chiang Ying-shu": "...The lamp-flame is like a star that flows filling the earth./ Just fear that the transmitting shout will kill the prospect./ For how

Buddhist context. Chiang was an adherent of Ch'an, for Shen Ch'in-han (1775-1831) quotes a story of his sitting in meditation and experiencing the troubles from heavenly demon kings (temptation), commenting that the letter is a discussion of Ch'an.⁷⁴ After the opening pleasantries, Wang wrote:

What I have heard is that but for the spirit there could not be change, and change is attended upon by influence [感, empathy?], especially spiritual proficiency [神足 ? = 身如意足通 or 神足通]. That which is called the nature is like that of the four elements (mahābhūtas). What is called the non-existent nature 無性 is like the Tathāgatagarbha. Although it is the non-existent nature, it cannot be cut off and eliminated. Therefore it is said that the one nature 一性 is what is called the non-existent nature. If one says that, then its reality is neither existent nor non-existent. This can be comprehended through the intent; it is difficult to realize through words.

Only due to the non-existent nature can there be change. If it is an existent nature 有性, then fire could not become water, and water could not become earth, and earth could not become wind [in the four elements system]. Length brings with it the contrast of short, and movement stillness. This alone can stop man from attachment to them. If you realise the intent of these words, then despite not being attached to either extreme, one is yet attached to the middle extreme, which is still attachment. Therefore a sutra says, "Not this shore, not that shore, not the current in the middle." For

would one know of the Ch'an guest joining us at night?" This poem includes a reference to one by Li Shang-yin and to an incident in Wang's life. See Li Pi 321b3-d1 which has a detailed discussion on Buddha-nature and non-existence.

74. Wang Ching-kung *shih-wen Shen-shih chu* (Shanghai, 1959), p.103. Cf. Li Pi 321b.

Dirgha-nakha the Brahmācārin,⁷⁵ no dharmas change, but the Buddha told him by means of perception (sensation), and with non-perception and yet perceiving, all would be in dispute. If you know that one should generate 生 the mind that resides nowhere, you still have attachment to something, which is to be totally in what is ridiculed (as non-comprehension). Although you are not involved with the two extremes, still you have not transcended the (last) three lines (of Nāgārjuna's tetralemma). If you lack this fault then you are in the (realm) where the thirty-six oppositions do not operate.

The *Miao-fa-lien hua ching* preaches the real aspect dharmas 實相法, but what it preaches is likewise conduct (saṃskāra 行) and that is all.

Therefore Master (Shan-) tao [613-681] said, "The conduct of standing firm 安立, pure conduct, conduct without extreme and superior conduct."⁷⁶ The reason it is called pundarika is that the apprehended artha 義 are extremely numerous, and not just as the present Dharma teachers interpret it. The Buddha preached that the existent nature 有性 is totally the primal truth. If it is the primal truth, existence is non-existence, and non-existence is existence. As there is a lack of images or the arisal of calculating words, the Buddha is yet (preaching) a non-dual Dharma. Divorced from all calculating words, it is called non-dual Dharma, yet this is still merely an

75. 長爪梵志. Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 3175b-c and his reference to the *Ch'ang-chao fan-chih ch'ing-wen ching*. One of the arhats.

76. These four practices are derived from names of the bodhisattvas in the *Lotus Sutra*. Cf. Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, pp.226-227.

expedient teaching. This can be dimly (subconsciously) understood 冥會, it is difficult to realize in words.⁷⁷

This letter bespeaks considerable reflection and extensive study of Buddhism. The idea of the non-existent nature is a theory from the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra,⁷⁸ and the "mind that resides nowhere" comes from the Vajracchedikā Sūtra and was a favourite Southern Ch'an refrain. If this nature were an existent, then it would lose the prime quality required, that of being a potential. A static state does not permit change, only a potential which is devoid of set content. Attachment negates the potential, it has become fixated. The nature cannot be existent or non-existent in the ultimate sense, for that would be to calculate and discriminate which is to fall into the realm of words. The comprehension is ineffable. This is a definitive Ch'an conclusion.

Although Wang's "Treatise on the Rites and Music" may have been influenced by the Buddhist conception of the Buddha-nature or the Tathāgatagarbha/ālayavijñāna complex, the anti-Buddhist statements therein indicate if anything he was trying to refute Buddhist theories. But when Wang retired, he wrote letters such as that to Chiang and commentaries on the Shou Leng-yen ching, the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa and Vajracchedikā sutras, of which we have quotes extant only from the first sutra. The Shou Leng-yen ching seems to have been his favourite text, and he finished his commentary, the Shou Leng-yen ching i-chieh not long before he died. The reason for his fascination with this sutra I think lies in its similarities to his own earlier conceptions of the nature, perceptions, and the question of the emotions and insentience.⁷⁹

77. LCWC 827-828.

78. T12.580c23ff.

79. Andō Tomonobu, pp.22, 28. Chiang I-pin, pp.41-42, says that the text survived into the late Ming (on evidence of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i?), and he notes several other quotations from it. Hui-hung, who also wrote a commentary on this sutra, says it is a brief summary of various detailed opinions, and an elaboration of where others are brief. He says it was written after Wang returned to Mt. Chung. Wang expressed some doubt about this sutra's mind-only creation theories, especially on the question of the container world arising from one's mind: "I doubted this myself. I roamed throughout all the present mountains and rivers of Mt. Chung without thoughts for thousands of people. How could there be within these thousand people a mind

For example, the sutra takes the instance of a man who hears while asleep. Even if he is mistaken about the origin of the sound, that man will realize the correct source when he wakes. So "although his body is asleep, his hearing-nature is not obscured."⁸⁰ Thus there is a potential or nature for perception even after death, for "even though your body has been destroyed and the spark of life has departed or transferred, how can this nature be obliterated because of you?"⁸¹ Although no quote from Wang's commentary is extant on these lines, other sections of his commentary agree with this viewpoint. The sutra has the Buddha declare:

Ananda, your nature is submerged and you are not awake (to the fact that) your seeing, hearing, awareness and knowing are fundamentally the Tathāgatagarbha Since you do not know that in the Tathāgatagarbha the nature is a seeing aware enlightenment and the awareness is an essential [精 refined?] enlightened 見 seeing, (they are) pure fundamentally and omnipresent in the realm of dharmas (dharmadhātu), and are known and manifested in accordance with the response of the minds of sentient beings, just as the one seeing faculty sees throughout the realms of the dharmas, and likewise hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, aware-feeling and aware-knowing.⁸²

Wang An-shih commented:

The six faculties all receive their nature 受性 from awareness. Therefore for seeing it says "the nature is a seeing aware enlightenment and the awareness is an essential enlightened seeing." The faculties of the ear that listens, nose that smells, the tongue that

sharing this one external sense-realm? If one of the thousand people suddenly died, how could these mountains and rivers have consequently disappeared? The person departs but the sense-data remains. So the sutra's principle of the arising of the rivers and great earth is not correct. How can I rationalize this with the Buddha's original intent?" (*Lin-chien lu* Z148.646b16-647a5). This shows that Wang An-shih's motif for studying the sutra was related to one of the core doctrines that contributed to the insentient Buddha-nature thesis.

80. Ssu-t'an, *Leng-yen ching-chu* Z17.245.15-16. Cf. Charles Luk, *The Surangama Sutra* (London, 1966), p.114. All sutra citations here are from Ssu-t'an's text. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult Tomoaki Tsuchida's "Mind and Reality: A Study of the *Shouleng yanjing*," Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1986.
81. Z17.246.4; Luk, *Surangama*, p.114. Note this seems similar to a heresy condemned by Hui-chung, for which see Jorgensen, "Nan-yang Hui-chung and the Heresies of the *Platform Sutra*."
82. Z17.173.10-12. Cf. Luk, *Surangama*, p.79.

tastes, the body that feels and the *manas* that knows, all receive their awareness and nature [aware nature?] in the same way as (with) seeing. Where it says "aware-feeling" it is the body-faculty that is nature-awareness, and when it says "aware-knowing" it is the *manas* together with the tongues's nature and awareness... aware enlightenment is an enlightenment that has arisen from awareness, and the essential awareness is the existence of awareness combined with the spirit 神.⁸³

Thus awareness or perception is the ground or matrix of the various potentials or natures of each of the senses, and that awareness is in the matrix (garbha) of the Tathāgata. This is elsewhere confirmed by Wang when he comments on the line,

I now contemplate that this insubstantial sense organ (the eyes) and the four sense-data objects[四塵, colour, smell, taste, touch] are only in my face [exterior], and thus my conscious mind 識心 is in reality in my body.⁸⁴

Wang An-shih comments:

The head 首 is the origin, the basis is the ming (life). The origin is the nature, the faculty is the attribute 相. As to the faculty, if it is the so-called insubstantial faculty and the four sense-data objects, because (it is) divorced from the sense-data objects it lacks an attribute: the faculty is the attribute. The origin, if it is the so-called faculty origin that is pure and the four elements, and the nature of the four elements is empty, pure and basic 本然, therefore the origin is the nature-basis 性本, which is the Tathāgatagarbha, and nirvana all comes forth from the Tathāgatagarbha. The basis is one and that is all. The faculties then are not one. Nirvana receives its nature from the basis, therefore the basis is the ming.⁸⁵

The use of the term ming (life/mandate) here has a Confucian taint, for in Buddhism ming means simply "Life," and the ālayavijñāna is the "faculty" that can form the basis of rebirth 命根. It does not appear to mean that here, and may be related to the Confucian "mandate" as "fate." As Wang wrote in his earlier "Hsing ming lun" ("Treatise on the nature and ming"):

83. Z17.173.17-174.2.

84. Z17.42.4; Luk, p.4.

85. Z17.42.11-15.

What Heaven provides men with is called ming, and what men receive from Heaven is called the nature.⁸⁶

Here ming seems to mean one's allotted life span and status. In his Buddhist commentary, ming has the appearance of a given also, while it is also the life that is the basis of nirvana. Moreover, awareness provides the nature to the faculties, is the equivalent of the Buddha-nature, the matrix of the Tathāgata. Therefore, life (ming) and awareness are essential to enlightenment, are its preconditions, and are the Tathāgatagarbha.

The status of things 物 in Wang's system is rather obscure, but it is the union with things that causes evil karma, and the division or separation from things that produces sin, both being related to the apprehension of an ego. Since these are all representations of the mind, there is no need to look to external things for a Buddha-nature, for "If one realizes mind-only, then there will be none of this apprehension and attachment."⁸⁷

Consequently, Wang could not affirm the Buddhahood of the insentient, nor, as we have seen in one of his poems, the insentient preaching the Dharma. Life or sentience is fundamental to Wang. This is also evident from this commentary on the Leng-yen ching.

The Shou Leng-yen ching chi-chu compiled by Ssu-t'an, a Southern Sung monk of Hang-chou, included in his collected commentaries (chi-chu) those by the Hua-yen scholar Tzu-hsüan 子璿 (?-1038), the T'ien-t'ai scholars Ku-Shan Chih-yüan (976-1022), Jen-yüeh (992-1064), and Chu-yüan K'o-kuan 竹庵 (1091-1182),⁸⁸ together with those by Wang An-shih and others. These commentaries prove that many of the authors took up the topic of the insentient and the sentient, but Wang in the seventy-odd quotations extant makes no mention of it. For example, Chu-yüan comments on the following passage in the sutra which Wang probably approved.

If towards what is known, knowing 知 (is taken to be) universal, and therefore due to knowing one postulates the understanding that the grass and trees of all directions are all to

86. LCWC 1065.

87. Z17.475.11-13.

88. Chu-yüan was a T'ien-t'ai monk according to Ch'ien Ch'ien-i. For this monk's biography see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 421a-b.

be called sentient, being no different to men, and that grass and trees become men (for) after death men in turn become grass and trees of all directions, there is no selection (in) universal knowing.⁸⁹

These are described as the heresies of Vasiṣṭha and Śrenika Vatsagotra wherein that which does not know is grasped as knowing. Chu-yüan says:

Due to contemplating the mind one emerges ~~發~~ with the knowledge and understanding of it to be universal and all. This is what is meant by grass and trees being the same as sentient beings. The origin of this speculation is totally due to a prejudiced understanding of the sutras and śāstras.... How can the calculation that grass and trees have life ~~生~~ not be due to not hearing of the Nirvana (sutra's theory) of the tiles and stones and Buddha-nature? Grass and trees have a nature, and the perfect, sudden correct principle that investigates the basic substance of the true source, (finds) that its principle can be comprehensive. In reference to the last matters, (i.e.) the falling into perverted views, how can a man die and then become grass and trees?⁹⁰

But Chih-yüan's comments are at variance with those of Chu-yüan:

Those who grasp knowing to be non-knowing, forcibly consider non-knowing grass and trees to be knowing ~~知~~. Now the constantly present true mind is of one substance and is not two. If one uses the imaginations (false concepts), then there is a division between dependent and proper (requital). Therefore sentient beings, and grasses and trees are all like flowers in the sky [spots before the eyes/illusions]. All are sentient in that they are transformations (wrought by) one's own mind. If one grasps emotion and does not realize, regarding each and every grass and tree to have knowing, and consequently preach that trees die and become men and men die and becomes trees, that is to be ignorant of the one substance/substratum, and the erring calculation of universality (These heretics) regard

89. Z17.529.3-4; cf. Luk, p.228.

90. Z17.529.4-8.

all to be aware and knowing, so they say that grass and trees have life (ming). The opinion that is advanced here (in the sutra) is in complete agreement with my own.⁹¹

It would appear that Wang agreed with the sutra that the insentient had no Buddha-nature or any awareness or feelings, even though some of his T'ien-t'ai (and Ch'an) contemporaries may have thought otherwise.

This opposition to insentient numinosity or sensibility appears in one of his poems, but one can also see the traditional usage of wu-ch'ing as in his poem "Pien River":

The Pien River without emotion flows day and night,
Not allowing for me even the slightest delay.
The old friend I met left last night
And I don't know which district he'll arrive in today.⁹²

Occasionally wu-ch'ing is applied to Nature, at other times to himself.⁹³ In some poems, Nature, in this case giant pines, have no feeling 無情 for the world, for

The Heavenly mechanism is automatic, how can it be connected with emotion?⁹⁴

Nature is mindless, as in "Fragrant Grasses":

Fragrant grasses, who knows who planted them!
Along the edge of the steps, already several clumps.
Mindless they raced with the seasons,
So why be sorrowful the green is so bright?⁹⁵

91. Z17.529.11-15.

92. LCWC 149. The same idea appears in a poem, "Sung River," LCWC 368.

93. As in the poem, "At Dawn," LCWC 217.

94. LCWC 279, the first two poems. Another in the series is translated in *Sunflower Splendor*, p.336.

95. LCWC 304; translated in Yoshikawa, p.97. Li Pi 294d6-8 quotes a poem by Li Po: "Long and short, the spring grasses green,/ Following the stairs as if they had emotion," and another by Chang Chiu-ling for Tu Fu titled "Sea Swallows": "mindless I race with things."

Man too can be mindless, in the usual sense of "Lying alone, I mindlessly arose,"⁹⁶ or can refer to Ch'an practice, as a poem by his brother An-kuo (P'ing-fu) in response to one by Wang An-shih says of a monk:

He sits in meditation and can forget his old age.
His vegetarian meal is not taken after midday,
And with No Mind does the Buddha's work.⁹⁷

But this does not mean Wang had no sensitivity to Nature, for as Shimizu claims, he tended to match his scenes and human affairs with a new perspective.⁹⁸ This can be seen in his poem "Autumn Day," where he attributes some sensation to Nature:

Do not say that grass and trees do not know the autumn.
Today the wind and clouds are themselves grieving.
Alone, accompanied by yellow dust, I ride a horse;
Travelling, I see its desolation and hear (the wind) sighing.⁹⁹

This is perhaps but a following of a well-established poetic convention. At other times it may be playful.

"Two Poems for Monk Tao-sheng"
When you first saw me
Your skin was rich and still pure white.
Now how sorrowful and old,
Hands and feet chapped so they are black.
I have heard that there is a man of the Way
Who now is titled the elder of Ch'an.
I dally with you for a verse.
Returning from the west as gaunt as a word edge
You contemplate the ever green branches,

96. LCWC 304.

97. LCWC 207; Li Pi 157d4-158a7, who quotes in explanation the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the deeds of Pao-chih and Tan-hsia, probably from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

98. Shimizu, preface pp.11-12.

99. LCWC 368.

The year is cold but they have a good complexion.
 This pine also has a heart (mind),
 So why ask of the cypress in front of the courtyard?¹⁰⁰

This poem is a play on a famous reply by Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen (?- 897) to the question, "What is the intent of the patriarchal teacher coming from the West?" The reply was, "The cypress tree in front of the courtyard." The student persisted, "Master, do not take sense-data to instruct people." Chao-chou said, "I do not take sense-data to instruct people." "What is the intent of the patriarchal teacher coming from the west?" The master replied, "The cypress tree in front of the courtyard."¹⁰¹

Wang is chiding Tao-sheng that while Natural things like the trees are old, they keep their youth and complexion, unlike Tao-sheng who has sought out Ch'an and become aged and emaciated in so doing. The pine and the cypress have minds, something that is mentioned in the *Li Chi*: "The pine and cypress have mind, for throughout the four seasons they do not alter their branches or change their leaves."¹⁰² This implies that the monk is discriminating between the adjacent pine and the more distant cypress, and is using sense-data discrimination at that. But the reference to the *Li Chi* is here a veiled criticism of the monk for not following the etiquette or ritual (*li*) of Confucianism. Wang here is using "mind" in a different sense to the Buddhists.

However, Wang did think that vegetation had a nature of some sort, which demonstrates once again the ambiguity or transformations in his philosophy. An example occurs in a poem on chrysanthemums:

Round, round, the sun above the city walls.
 Autumn has come and there is less light.

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100. LCWC 95; Li Pi 28d1-2, says that "Returning home from the west gaunt" is a reference to Śākya Muni's asceticism and the troubles created by non-believers who tried to distract him from his austerities.
101. Suzuki Daisetsu, ed., and Akizuki Ryūmin, trans., *Jōshū Zenji Goroku* (Tokyo, 1966), p.4, with comparisons with the texts of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and *Ku-ts'un shu yü-lu*. After Wang An-shih's time, this was included as case 37 in the *Wu-men kuan*. See also K'o-wen's poem in *Ku-ts'un shu yü-lu* Z118.749a3-6, which may have influenced Wang.
102. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 14516 explanation and 14516.176. Cf. Legge, *Li Chi*, vol. 1, p.394.

The gathering shadows are about to engulf the sky,
 How much more than the grass and trees slight?
 The yellow chrysanthemum has a superior nature
 Alone it's fragrance withstands the many powers.
 Brilliant among the frost and dew
 It also can soothe the morning's hunger.¹⁰³

There is an inherent nature in things, but here it is almost in the sense of superiority, that of a natural object such as the chrysanthemum that is brilliant while all else is dull, and not anything like the Buddha-nature.

There is yet another aspect to Wang's interest in Ch'an that is revealed by the attention he paid to the Leng-yen ching, which he interpreted with the help of the Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra, Hua-yen ching and a number of Esoteric texts.¹⁰⁴ This combination suggests the dream-like quality Kuan-hsiu sought, the marvel behind the illusion of the dream. Wang An-shih was conscious of this, for he wrote in a poem:

The autumn lamp shines on its gauze cover.
 I love to read the Leng-yen, unmindful of my family.
 I can discern that conditions 緣 are like dream events,
 The world only being the marvellous lotus flower.¹⁰⁵

This last may be a reference to the "Lotus Flower Matrix World" of the Hua-yen ching and the Esoteric (tantric) texts. It is the world that is purified by the vow of Vairocana Buddha. It exists in the midst of a great lotus rising above the pollutants of sense-data. It is the marvel or vision behind the dream of illusion, and is the world of Vairocana Buddha.¹⁰⁶

However, Li Pi thinks that this is a reference to a passage in the Leng-yen-ching which he quotes:

103. LCWC 141. Translated in Yoshikawa, p.88.

104. Andō Tomonobu, pp.28-29.

105. LCWC 341; Andō Tomonobu, p.27.

106. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 5040cff.; Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 1440b-d.

One's own mind apprehending one's own mind
 Is non-illusion forming an illusory dharma,
 Not apprehending there is non-illusion.

(If) non-illusion still does not arise,
 How then is the illusory dharma established?

This is called the marvellous Lotus Flower.¹⁰⁷

Here the marvellous Lotus Flower is contrasted with the Sky/Empty^空 Flowers, symbols of illusions that are "spots before the eyes" that appear earlier in the sutra.¹⁰⁸ But this is not a chance-allusion: it appears in a poem treating another facet of Wang's Buddhism, doubt:

"Do Not Doubt"

Do not doubt that the Ch'an elder does not know Ch'an.

Do not laugh at the old immortality-seeker for not studying immortality.

The numinous bones (śarira) allow the transmission of Huang-po's ashes,

The true mind itself releases Red Pine's fumes.

How does the Lotus Flower World concern you?

The paper-mulberry leaves technique dissipates many years.¹⁰⁹

107. Li Pi 339a2-3; Z17.255 (sutra lines); Luk, *Surangama*, pp.117-118.

108. Z17.250. The commentators on these passages (Z17.255) say that the first line refers to the question of that which can understand being like illusion. One commentator averts the Madhyamika criticism that mind cannot see or apprehend just as the eye cannot see itself or the sword cut itself by stating that the first "own mind" is the *ādāna* false or provisional mind (which perpetuates sentient existence by grasping), while the latter indicates the Tathāgatagarbha mind. He also says that "non-illusion forming illusory dharmas" indicates the apprehended six sense-data (*viśaya*) contaminants and the six data-contaminants themselves. Ku-shan says that just as the Middle Way's marvellous Dharma is not polluted by either extreme, so the worldly Lotus Flower is not stained by muddy water. Cf. chapter 3 note 173 on Chu Hsi's thoughts on this problem.

109. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 15172.3, says it is a reference to a story in the *Lieh-tzu* ("Shuo-fu") where it took a man three years to make leaves look like jade, but they were of no use to his ruler.

Midst the sound of the wild crane, the river moon white,
 Sleeping midst one's books, a single lamp isolated, quiet.¹¹⁰

Here again Li Pi refers us to another sutra, the Kuan-yin ching, "which has a Buddha-world that is pure Lotus Flowers."¹¹¹ This poem may be a dream scene. The use of all the ambiguities of the names of trees that are also Buddhist monks or Taoist immortals¹¹² shows that Nature contains these themes which the detractor doubts, so why concern yourself with this Pure Land, the Lotus Flower World? This may be the revelation of the dream.

Dream and illusion frequent Wang's poems; at times it seems like every tenth poem. There are dreams of his brothers,¹¹³ friends and monks,¹¹⁴ and poems on dream itself.¹¹⁵ Some are Buddhistic analyses of human existence:

"Dream"

Know that the world is like a dream with nought to be sought,
 That with nought to be sought is vast, empty and quiescent.

110. LCWC 230.

111. Li Pi 189c7-8. This sutra is the popular title of chapter 25 of the Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra*, but I have not located the passage Li Pi cites.

112. Shen Ch'in-han, p.67, says that Huang-po is named after a tree called Nieh from which a yellow dye is produced, and the Buddhist monk Hsi-yün also has this locality name. Red Pine, according to Morohashi 36993.183, 185, is the name of a Taoist immortal able to burn himself in a fire, and a tree.

113. LCWC 81: "At Night I dreamt of parting with Ho-fu on my way to the Northern Capital..."

114. LCWC 91, "Dream of Huang Chi-fu" ; 169, "19th of the 8th month at the Examination Hall Dreaming of Ch'ung-ch'ing"; 261, "Dream of Chang Chien-chou"; 267, "In response to Elder Ch'ing-yin's line 'Seen in the Pavilion...'"

115. LCWC 128, "Written in a Dream"; 218, "Late Spring" in which he writes of "looking on a land in a dream"; p.308 "Dream": "How can a butterfly know of dream events?"; 327, "Record of a Dream."

Yet it seems within a dream we pursue dream sense-data,
And accomplish dream merits (as numerous) as Ganges' sands.¹¹⁶

Sometimes that existence is personal or corporeal, as in:

"I stayed at Pei-shan, and showed this to his Eminence Hsing-hsiang"
Who beneath the lone peak
Still comes to meditate alongside?
This body is like a dream illusion,
So what thing is there to depend on?¹¹⁷

Other times, the poem indicates nostalgia and the realization that such longing is a delusory activity. Hence, in the poem, "Thinking of Chung-shan," Wang introduced the story of Lü Sheng who had one of those lives in a dream so common in Chinese stories, waking up to find that the millet for his pre-slumber supper wasn't even cooked after an eight-year long dream:

The dust defilements,
I will not again see Mt. Chung.
Why must one still wait for the yellow millet to be cooked,
For one first to be aware that human life is in a dream?¹¹⁸

In Buddhist terminology dust is defilements of the senses and "first aware" is also a term from the Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun, "incipient awareness."

Dreams are a proof of emptiness in Buddhism, as Wang demonstrates in the third of "Twenty Poems Written in Imitation of Han-shan and Shih-te":

Ordinary men when they dream,
Their eyes see various colours.
This is not the creation of a past existence,
Nor the seeking of a past possession.
They do not know that the present is a dream

116. LCWC 104. Translated by Liu, *Reform*, p.37

117. LCWC 119; Li Pi 150b7-8, refers to the famous *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* passage on the body being like a dream, as well as to the *Leng-yen* and *Hua-yen* sutras.

118. LCWC 343; for an examination of these themes, see Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, pp.264-265.

And say "Now I can store and accumulate it."
 Craving and seeking, then protecting and hoarding,
 Fearing water, fire, and thieves.
 Once they wake they are enlightened
 That (it) is basically empty, nought to be attained.
 Life and death are like being awake and in a dream.
 This principle is most clear and evident.¹¹⁹

This dream-existence is a thing of the present and is related to one's surroundings and habits. Li Pi aptly sums up the message of this poem when he declares that of the preceding poem in the series to be "the bonds of habit easily taint one. Even though it was something that one liked in a past life, in the present life one still loves and is attached to it."¹²⁰ He then quotes the Yüan-chüeh ching to explain this poem: "... this ignorance is not a real substance, like a person in a dream. When one dreams, he is not non-existent. But when one wakes up one realizes that there was nothing to be had." The last two lines of the poem are also interpreted in the light of the Yüan-chüeh ching which says:

Birth death (samsara) and nirvana are just like yesterday's dream. O good sons, because (they) are like yesterday's dream, one should know that samsara and nirvana lack arising and cessation. When worldly people wake from a dream they first know its emptiness but do not know that all the conditions of the world are likewise a dream.¹²¹

Li Pi probably did not have access to Wang An-shih's commentary to the Leng-yen ching, for although he refers to the sutra, he never quotes Wang's commentary. In fact Wang may have had this sutra in mind when he wrote this poem, for the Leng-yen ching in its discussion of karmic habits or vāsanā of sentient beings, describes sexual desire as a mutually caused heat that is like a hot iron-bed or bronze candle (hellish instruments of torture) which Buddhas and bodhisattvas regard as fiery pits. Wang An-shih says in his commentary:

119. LCWC 99.

120. Li Pi 33a2.

121. Li Pi 33a7.

The habit of carnal lust produces fire through friction, so the habit of craving produces water through contact [as in slaving]. This is (like) the common (experience) of dreaming of fire when in the sun and dreaming of water in the shade.¹²²

Wang further elucidates:

The Thus Come realizes that dharmas are equanimous^m and so obtains release from all thought of gain or loss, but for sentient beings his physical eye sees the practice of lust as the fire of desire! Bodhisattvas, although they still have the residues of the passions (kleśa-vāsanā), therefore see desire like a fiery pit to be avoided.¹²³

This is consistent with normative Buddhist doctrine,¹²⁴ but it might imply that bodhisattvas at least cannot be totally emotionless (wu-ch'ing) and unresponsive.

Dream was an important topic in Buddhism, being relevant to the existence or non-existence of the residue of passions, the differences between states of proper trance and trance-delusion, and the differentiation between arhats (or bodhisattvas?) and Buddhas. The Leng-yen ching says of the state of samādhi in which the skandha or aggregate of conception 陰想 is eliminated, that

(such a) person's usual dream conceptions are extinguished, waking and sleeping are constantly one, and his aware-enlightenment is as empty and quiet as a clear sky, with no further shadow-events of sense-contaminants (dust) before him of a coarse nature. He contemplates the worlds' great earth, mountains and rivers just as if they come to a bright mirror without anything to adhere to in passing, without letting loose traces, emptily receiving (the object) and reflecting in response, finally not manifesting habits, there being only one refined truth.¹²⁵

The T'ien-t'ai commentator Jen-yüeh points out that "according to the (Ta) chih-tu lun, arhats sleep without dreaming," which also means there is no sign of the residues of the passions. Tzu-hsüan says that if one has the aggregate of conception,

122. Z17.429.10. Note that Chu-an mentions "requit" here. Cf. Luk, *Surangama*, p.179 for a translation of the sutra passage. My reason for mentioning hell is that this passage is in the context of the six planes of existence.

123. Z17.430.1-2.

124. Lamotte, "Passions and the Impregnations of the Passions in Buddhism," pp.91, 97.

125. Z17.507.10-12; cf. Luk, *Surangama*, p.218.

one apprehends images when awake and forms dreams when asleep, so if this aggregate is eliminated, there will be neither dreams nor conceptions whether one is asleep or awake.¹²⁶ Chu-an also cites Chih-i's Fa-hua wen-chu which says, "Only Buddhas do not dream," to show that there is no doubt and no residues of the passions in this condition.¹²⁷

As Wang An-shih mentioned that the bodhisattvas still have the residues of the passions, he probably agreed with Chu-an. This problem is mentioned in a poem, "For Ch'an Master Ta-chüeh of Yü-wang (Monastery)". Ta-chüeh is an honorific title conferred on Huai-lien (1009-1090) in 1050 after he had been summoned to the capital K'ai-feng on imperial orders to live in Ching-yin Cloister. This was after his master Chü-na, for whom Huai-lien had been a secretary, took ill and could not respond to the invitation which had been issued on the recommendation of Ou-yang Hsiu to create a chair of Ch'an in this monastery which had been famous for its T'ien-t'ai studies.¹²⁸ On 14 March 1050, Huai-lien was summoned to an audience with the emperor to answer questions on Buddhism, at which time he was given the title Ta-chüeh. He returned to live in Yü-wang Monastery in Ming-chou sometime between 1064 and 1058,¹²⁹ where he was probably abbot.

Huai-lien was clearly a close friend of Wang's for he (or Ching-yin Cloister) are mentioned in at least six poems,¹³⁰ and they wrote poems together.¹³¹ Wang praises Huai-lien as a Buddhist sage with whom he often associated, a monk who has escaped worldly pollution, was perspicacious and eloquent, and with whom he loved to converse, forgetting the passage of time.¹³²

126. Z17.507.13-17.

127. Z17.508.2.

128. Shen Ch'in-han, p.54.

129. Ibid., p.79.

130. LCWC 212, 257, 267, 369, 371.

131. LCWC 371.

132. LCWC 875. Huai-lien and another monk even got Wang to write a record of the Tripitaka collection of Lien-shui in the capital which reportedly held some 5,418 scrolls.

Thus Wang could in friendly jest link Huai-lien with the lack of dreams and the passions' residue, and the composition of poetry:

The mountain woods pityingly cry, the water does angrily flow.
 Hundreds of insects, alone at night I think of high autumn.
 The man of the Way (in his) cell should be without dream,
 Conceiving again a long chant in imitation of Hui-hsiu.¹³³

Although it is not certain whether Wang is addressing the abbot Ta-chüeh who is conceiving of the poem and so is not sleeping, or whether he is saying that Huai-lien is like a Buddha and yet still has conceptions of poetry in the manner of Hui-hsiu (i.e. T'ang Hui-hsiu who was first a monk but was ordered to revert to the laity as prefect of Yang-chou by Emperor Hsiao-wu of the Liu Sung: a reknowned poet often compared with Pao Chao),¹³⁴ I think the poet is cognizant here of the question of dream and what it reveals of the stage of religious development.

Dream then, as with Kuan-hsiu, was a significant marker of the religious condition and the understanding of the world. It appears again in the fifth of Wang's poems in imitation of Han-shan and Shih-te:

If you say that dream is empty,
 Then after waking you should have no memory.
 If you say that dream is not empty,
 You should have real solid events.
 Burning furiously, yang incites itself.
 Sunken and drowning, yin creates itself.
 It causes you to experience frightening nightmares.
 How can you know a peaceful and easy sleep?¹³⁵

Thus changes in the outer world induce nightmares in the sleep of everyday life. That life is neither empty nor not-empty; it is like illusion. And illusion was an all important theme of the Buddhist texts Wang commented on, from the Vimalakīrti to the Leng-yen ching. In another poem to Tao-sheng, Wang writes of a teacher called Bhadra:

133. LCWC 369.

134. Ting Fu-pao, *Ch'üan Han San-kuo Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih*, vol. 1, p.723.

135. LCWC 99; Li Pi 33c3-5 quotes *Lieh-tzu*, but claims it has a different sense.

Teacher Bhadra could create illusory things.
 Illusory pollutants made pure to support an illusory
 Buddha.

The Buddha-delusion was sported with by the gods.
 Flags and fragrant fruits aided the donation.
 Suddenly he regretted, wishing to remove the
 illusion

.
 The Buddhas and gods are basically no different to
 you.

What do you revere now, in the past what despise?
 The worlds in all directions originally are empty,
 Receiving the prediction (of Buddhahood) you will
 not meet the Buddha-illusion.¹³⁶

Here Wang is again toying with Tao-sheng, saying that the Buddha is an illusion, a very Ch'an theme. Wang was not above using humour to make a point, even if it was only chiding friends. He wrote in a song:

Alas! I see the people of the world
 Just take the slightest thing to be a sense-contaminant,
 Not dwelling in the past which lacks appearances:
 (They) will perish.
 Due only to the pre-existing cognizing spirit
 How can there be near or far?
 I myself suppressed the demons and turned the Wheel of the Dharma
 It is not the control of the mind that removes false concepts.
 Seek the true!
 The delusory transformation empty body is the Dharma-body.¹³⁷

Daring to take on the persona of the Buddha, in these poems Wang illustrates two aspects of illusion and dream; dream recognized for what it is, without cutting off the

136. LCWC 96. Li Pi 28d5 tries to identify Bhadra with Bhadrāpāla, probably the bodhisattva of that name (Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 946c), but it could also be the arhat Bhadra (Mochizuki 4235b).

137. LCWC 401.

kleśas by mind control is the Dharma-body, but unrecognized it is a nightmare. This first aspect is considered by Wang in his commentary on the Leng-yen ching:

True aware nature is empty, an emptiness that is universal throughout the Dharma-realms. What has been falsely postulated is that the principle of enlightenment does not pass (through the realms). So then this vijñāna-skandha 識陰 (consciousness) is produced, just like the bottle that is full of emptiness (air) which has a differentiating 罍 (stopper). But in fact there is no differentiation 罍罍; it is falsely discriminated.¹³⁸

There^{is} is a comment on aggregate (skandha) consciousness which the Leng-yen ching considers to be neither real nor unreal, existent or non-existent.¹³⁹

The other aspect is the nightmare of being sunk in delusion. The Leng-yen ching says of a meditator affected by the aggregate of conception who is still in a state of dhyāna that he so enjoys he considers he has reached nirvana, that such a meditator is vulnerable to possession by 精附人 a god-demon 天魔, who will declare himself to be the Buddha, with his body the Dharma-body which is as if inherited and transmitted (genetically) for eternity, and that the environment around the meditator is his (the demon's) Buddha-land. The meditator will then be led into sexual licence and believe and preach that the sexual organs are the sites of Bodhi and nirvana. The succubus who inculcates this antinomianism is called the Poisonous Nightmare 毒魔, an evil ghost who becomes a demon with age.¹⁴⁰ These then are the dangers of delusions created by one such as Bhadra, the nightmare that disturbs our sleep.

Therefore, from the evidence of dream and meditation, the idea of the insentient having Buddhahood could appear to be a dangerous delusion. Although there is no definitive statement on his question by Wang An-shih, his favourite Leng-yen ching contains several cautions. For example, when the meditator overcomes the aggregate of *rūpa* (matter/colour), and

(his) mind perfectly enters and merges with the void, his four limbs suddenly become the same as grass and trees, and will have no awareness/feeling when burned by fire or cut with a blade. Moreover, the fire bright cannot burn one, and even though the flesh is sliced, it is

138. Z17.137.4-6.

139. Cf. Luk, *Surangama*, p.58.

140. Z17.498.17-499.5; Luk, p.212.

just like the paring of a tree. This is called sense-objects 塵 combining (with mind) to exclude the four elements....This is not the saint's realization.¹⁴¹

This is akin to the condition of complete insentience as described earlier by the sutra, which says, "If there is no knower, ultimately one is like grass and trees."¹⁴² Later, Ananda asks the Buddha a question that has a bearing on whether the insentient can have Buddha-nature and whether practitioners should be without emotion:

If this marvellous, enlightened, true, pure, wonderful mind ab-origin was universally perfect, then even the great earth, grass, trees and wriggling things that possess the life spark are basically and originally True Thusness, which is the Thus Come's and Perfected Buddha's true substratum 骨體 (body). The Buddha's substratum is true and real, so why are there also the paths of hell, starving ghosts, beasts, asuras, men and gods?¹⁴³

The Buddha replies that all these states are due to false conceptions or imagination and habits; the internal are false emotions 妄情 leading to the lower paths (gatis) of existence, the external are vain conceptions 虛想 leading to higher rebirths. The latter conceptions include dreams of flying to heaven or visualization of Pure Lands.¹⁴⁴ Thus even the wonderful Lotus World that Wang celebrates can be a delusion in the mind of the meditator who has overcome *rūpa*; it is merely a temporary vision due to progress towards enlightenment 心魂靈悟所染¹⁴⁵

All the above militates against consideration of Nature and the insentient as in any way numinous. In fact, as a projection of the mind it is delusory and dream-like, sometimes even nightmarish to do so. Of course, some sections of the landscape may be inhabited by various spirits and demons, which the last passages of the Leng-yen ching describe as enemies of the meditator. Thus in one poem "Inscribed on Yü-kuang Pavilion," Wang says:

141. Z17.485.2-3; Luk, p.203.

142. Z17.153.3; Luk, p.67.

143. Z17.420.18-421.1.

144. Z17.422-423; Luk, pp.176-177.

145. Z17.484.2-3; Luk, p.202.

I have heard that a Heavenly jade is buried in the barrow,
 (But in) the long past who could divide false from right?
 Everytime I face the small garden on a windy moonlit night,
 I yet wonder if mountains and waters contain a sprite 精神 146

These spirits and local deities are mentioned in the Leng-yen ching in respect of the aggregate of conception in which the meditator in his dhyāna can become a magician possessed by the elementals 精 of mountains, seas, winds and rivers that dwell in all grasses and plants.¹⁴⁷

While Wang may have recognized the maleficent powers of these spirits and shades, here he seems to be speaking of a more benign if not beneficial genius, for Wang delighted in Nature's beauties, as we can see in a poem of "Miscellaneous Celebration":

Light rain sighs through the Jun River Pavilion,
 Flowers blown about in the wind, breaking up the floating duckweed.
 I see the flowers and hear the bamboos, my mind without concerns,
 For in the sound of the bamboos in the wind I have been aroused from my stupor.¹⁴⁸

Occasionally Wang may have subscribed to the union with Nature, but he had many grounds for disowning such an idea. When it is mooted by Wang, there is a sense of doubt and non-Buddhist content. For example, in one of his miscellaneous poems he writes:

The myriad things and I are one,
 The Nine Provinces (of China) are my one family

 If you forget the mind you will attain the Way,
 (But) the Way does not reject gaiety and elegance.
 If one contemplates it through nearby traces,
 Yao and Shun are likewise mud and sand.

146. LCWC 370; cf. Shen Ch'in-han, p.110.

147. Z17.502.10-11; Luk, p.215.

148. LCWC 353.

Chuang Chou regarded it like this,
And yet the world regards this as bragging.¹⁴⁹

What Wang really thought about this is uncertain, but I suspect he sided with the "world" in his assessment.

In any case, Wang probably reflected some of the ideas of his Buddhist teacher K'o-wen, one of whose pupils was the famous Chüeh-fan Hui-hung (1071-1128), later to be a famous poetry critic. Wang's practice of Ch'an was probably that of natural response, for as potential Buddhas we are living in a purified world when our senses are not disturbed by preconceived notions born of habit. He wrote in his poem "Inscribed on the wall of P'an-shan Monastery":

When cold I sit in the warmth,
When hot I walk in the cool.
Sentient beings are no different to Buddha,
The Buddha is sentient beings.¹⁵⁰

This is a standard Ch'an attitude as seen in Ma-tsu Tao-i's line of Ch'an which advocates according with conditions and acting naturally. This is summed up in the axiom "This mind is Buddha." Thus Chao-chao^u told pupils, "When hot wear clothes, when thirsty drink,"¹⁵¹ and P'ang Yün's daughter Ling-chao said:

My study is neither difficult nor easy.
When I am hungry I eat,
When I am tired I rest.¹⁵²

149. LCWC 109. Wang may have subscribed to universalism for humanity, but he thought the idea of a correspondence between man and Heaven to be superstition. See Ch'iu Han-sheng, p.24.

150. LCWC 97; cf. the translation in *Sunflower Splendor*, p.335.

151. Suzuki and Akizuki, *Jōshū Zenji Goroku*, p.16 no. 91; cf. Chang Chung-yuan, *Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism* (New York, 1971), p.140.

152. Chang Chung-yuan, op. cit., p.145.

Wang An-shih was conscious of being a follower of the poetical Ch'an tradition¹⁵³ for he wrote poetry imitating the arch-typical Ch'an poet and lay hermit Han-shan. In these poems he displays that spontaneous response and affirmation of reality, a reality that verges on the recognition of an all but sentient Nature:

"Poem Written in Imitation of Wan-shan and Shih-te No.2"

If I were truly myself
 I would just confirm profitably like this.
 If like and dislike are not settled
 You should know you will be the servant of things.
 Magnificent and lordly man!
 Do not consider things to be yourself.
 The wind blew from the roof a slate
 Which smashed me smack on my pate.
 The slate also was shattered,
 How was it my blood alone flowed?
 I finally did not get angry at the slate,
 For it did not do so of itself.
 Sentient beings create a crowd of hate.¹⁵⁴

Li Pi notes a reference in this to Chuang-tzu: "a man, no matter how hot-tempered, does not rail at the slate that happens to fall on him," adding the comment that "this is due to the slate being insentient."¹⁵⁵

Given such a dense Ch'an contribution to his poetry, James Liu's description of Wang An-shih as having "identified literature with the study of the Confucian

153. For Ch'an, see LCWC 201, "Staying with Pao-chüeh in a Monk Dormitory," where he writes of asking the meaning of the house of Ts'ao-ch'i, or 232, where he mentions Hui-k'o bearing the cold in the first poem and mentions Mahākāśyapa in another, or 245 in "Together with P'ing-fu I invite Dharma Teacher Tao-kuang" which says: "With ease speaking in reply to Vimalakirti/ Unexpectedly meeting a memory 持心? that matches with Hui-neng."

154. LCWC 99; Shimizu, pp.167-170; cf. translation in *Sunflower Splendor*, p.335. "Things" refer to possession of objects. Li Pi 33a3 for the last lines of that couplet cites the *Leng-yên ching*: "the ability to convert 轉 things (people?) is to be the same as the Thus Come."

155. Li Pi 33b3-4; Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.157; translated in Burton Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p.199. Li Pi adds the note that "this is due to the slate being insentient."

Scriptures and the application of their principles to statecraft"¹⁵⁶ is an overstatement, or rather one that applies only to his period of political activity. It is not applicable to his Nature poetry. After all, Wang believed that all the best thinkers, men such as Yang Hsiung, did not restrict their reading and study to Confucian texts. He wrote in a letter to Tseng Kung that "the confusions in customs are not due to Buddhism but due to the fact that the scholars and gentry immerse themselves in profit and desire, and use words to elevate this. (Their confusion) is simply due to not knowing how to govern themselves."¹⁵⁷

In summation, Wang An-shih's mature attitude to literature was that it was for personal self-control and refinement, and he found his own self-control in Ch'an Buddhism. His was a more conservative interpretation of Ch'an and his influence on poetry may well have been generally underestimated. I see similarities of some of his "Han-shan" series with the poems of Yang Wan-li; Liang Ch'i-ch'ao regarded Wang as the true founder of the Chiang-hsi School of poetry and he may have contributed to the motivations for the famous poet, critic and Buddhist, Ch'ien Ch'ien-i's (1582-1664) own commentary and compilation of commentaries on the Shou Leng-yen ching.

Wang An-shih's approach to the Buddhahood of the insentient was probably conditioned by a number of factors. Firstly, like Ou-yang Hsiu, he shared the conviction derived from Confucianism that life or sentience is a sine qua non for any form of enlightenment or potential for enlightenment. Secondly, he was undoubtedly influenced by his Ch'an monk associates in his reading of the Leng-yen ching which casts doubt upon the validity of any theory (heretical or otherwise) that maintained the Buddhahood of the insentient. This stance clearly differentiates the generation of

156. James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p.128.

157. LCWC 779, "Letter in Reply to Tseng Tzu-ku" ; Andō Tomonobu, p.30.

158. Ch'ien used Wang's commentary, describing it through the words of Hui-hung (see note 79 this chapter). He does not appear to rate Wang's commentary all that highly, but he did use it, possibly via Ssu-t'an's work. See *Ta-fo-ting Shou-leng-yen ching shu-chieh meng-ch'ao* Z21.83b under the heading, "Wang Wen-kung Chieh-fu Leng-yen ching chieh." Ch'ien's work is a massive selection from all previous commentaries, with the addition of many other sutra authorities and Ch'ien's personal comments. What its relation is to Ch'ien's theories of poetry is a subject for research. Ch'ien was an author-critic who turned to Buddhism late in life. See *Sunflower Splendor*, p.610.

Ou-yang Hsiu and Wang An shih from the next generation of poets associated with Chiang-hsi and the Lu-ling School of Confucianism that was adumbrated by Su Shih.

12) The Middle Northern Sung Generation II: Su Shih (1037-1101)

Su Shih was the lay writer who most unequivocally expressed the Buddhist insentient sensibility in his poetry. One of his poems was a constant inspiration for later poets who saw Ch'an in the landscape. Su's fascination for Ch'an and poetry was never forgotten by monk and lay poets alike.

Moreover, Su Shih's conception of the life of the sage as being artistic rather than moral, spontaneous like Nature itself, formed an example of aesthetic Neo-Confucianism for the literati. Both sage and the landscape are supposedly selfless, and so the selfless man or sage acts aesthetically just as the environment does.¹ This implied an automatic, sensual response to things, a rejection of deliberative thought and an affirmation of natural feelings.² Therefore Su concluded that perceptive art was superior to didactic morality.³ This model of the gentleman living in society, not shaken by life's vicissitudes, freed the aesthete from many of the constraints of contemporary conservative, moralistic Confucianism (*tao/li hsüeh*) and provided the literati with an alternative world-view.⁴

a) *Religion and Philosophy*

Three religious or philosophical strains have been detected in Su Shih's writings; Ch'an, Confucianism and Taoism. Their respective roles in his conceptions of artistic creation have plagued interpreters.⁵ It is not sufficient to merely call Su Shih an

1. Andrew Lee March, "Landscape in the thought of Su Shih (1036-1101)," pp.82, 85.

2. Ibid., p.87.

3. Ibid., p.91.

4. Ibid., p.116.

5. Burton Watson, *Su Tung-p'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (New York and London, 1965), pp.10-11. Wang Yü, "Su Shih te che-hsüeh yü tsung-chiao" in *Studies on T'ang and Sung History*, ed. Lin T'ien-wai and Joseph Wong (University of Hong Kong, 1987), describes Su's metaphysics through his work on the *I Ching* which was deeply influenced by Wang Pi and Kuo Hsiang and hence *Chuang-tzu*; his morality and political thought as a mixture of Confucianism, *Chuang-tzu*, and Buddhism, resembling the writings of Liu Tsung-yüan and Liu Yü-hsi which claims that literature can change government and reality as in the tradition of Tu Fu, Po Chü-i and Yüan Chen (pp.207-208); his religious proclivities as more Buddhist than Taoist (pp.209-210); and his aesthetics as a combination of philosophical Taoism and Ch'an

eclectic as traditional Neo-Confucian intellectual historians have done,⁶ for each element had a special role which must be considered.

i) *Taoism*

Su Shih's familiarity with Taoism, in particular the *Chuang-tzu* and *Lieh-tzu*, was a product of his early education in a private school run by a Taoist priest,⁷ and may explain his life-long friendship with the Taoist free-spirit Wu Fu-ku (Tzu-yeh).⁸ *Chuang-tzu* especially was seen by Su to be an aid or adjunct to the ideas of Confucius,⁹ perhaps even a foil. Moreover, no artist could ignore the *Chuang-tzu*, a never-ending source of inspiration and images. More problematic is Su's occasional dabbling in immortality Taoism, for he sometimes saw himself as a divine immortal¹⁰ and made desultory attempts to find immortality or at least longevity through alchemy, breathing exercises and Ch'an-style meditation.¹¹

From Su's "Wen yang-sheng" it would appear that while Wu Tzu-yeh was philosophically inclined,¹² Su was rather more interested in alchemy and the

(judging from the seven points Wang Yü describes pp.213-215). See also Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism*, p.45; Hou Wai-lu, *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang t'ung-shih*, vol. 4 part A (Peking, 1959), p.585; and for a most impressionistic view, Lin Yu-tang, *The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Tungpo* (William Heinemann Ltd., 1948), p.xi.

6. This is implied when they call his Confucian school "mixed" 雜 or tainted with Ch'an. See Ch'üan Tsu-wang's introduction to the schools of Wang An-shih and the Shu School of the three Sus in *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* XXIV 98.35. Cf. also XXIV 99.86. See also K'ung Fan-li's introduction p. 6 to Wang Wen-kao, *Su Shih shih chi* (hereafter SSSC) 8 vols (Peking, 1982), vol. 1.
7. Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.5.
8. See Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, pp.300-301.
9. Ling Ch'in-ju, *Su Shih ssu-hsiang t'an-t'ao* (Taipei, 1978), pp.24-25.
10. *Ibid.*, p.28.
11. K'ung Fan-li, ed., *Su Shih wen-chi* (hereafter SSWC) 6 vols (Peking, 1986), 2328-2329. Cf. Lin Yu-tang, *Gay Genius*, pp.205-207, 209-212, 313-315.
12. SSWC 1982-1983.

superiority of *nei-tan* to *wai-tan*, in other words he interpreted the five elements and the chemicals of *wai-tan* alchemy physiologically and psychologically (*nei-tan*). One must reverse the normal processes of emotionally caused enervation, which he explains via Confucius' saying about the *Shih Ching*, "Thoughts without depravity":

All that which has thought is depraved, but without thought one is (as) earth and wood. Who can create thought that is not depraved or a lack of thought that is not (as inert as) earth and wood? Thus there must be the thought of no-thought in them.

Su proceeds to give this a Buddhist interpretation, describing this state as being

like tortoise hair and hare's horn, because they are not created [i.e. are non-existent], they lack a basic nature. Because of their (depraved thoughts) non-existence, they come to be called precepts, which produce samādhi 定, and in samādhi one rests on the outgoing and incoming breaths.¹³

It is possible then that he saw the immortals as beings who had attained a long life but were still ultimately subject to transmigration, somewhat like the four lesser saints of Buddhism.¹⁴

This alchemy was probably more a hobby, a mere experimental curiosity, than a deeply held belief, for he occasionally publicly repudiated even philosophical Taoism in his role as a Confucian bureaucrat.¹⁵

13. "Hsü Yang-sheng lun," SSWC 1984. Note even here the concern with a form of insentience in the wood and earth analogy, which is also found in his "Ssu-wu-hsieh chai ming," SSWC 575-576, addressed to his brother Ch'e who talks of Buddhist "awareness."

14. Wang Yü, p.210. This understanding is dependent, however, on the reading of the text which says that the immortals of the mountains and marshes are emaciated, and that these are 殆四果人. But SSWC 2011 gives 殆今得道人, which changes the meaning entirely.

15. See SSWC 1556, for his discussion of the Legalist Shang Yang, where he excoriates Ssu-ma Ch'ien for making Huang-Lao primary and the six Confucian Classics secondary, and Ho Yen for taking stalactite or "cold food powder" in an attempt to gain immortality (for Ho Yen's practice, see Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, pp.20, 36). There is a text called "Kuang Ch'eng-tzu chieh" which deals with an interpretation of immortality in the *Chuang-tzu* ascribed to Su Shih, but that attribution is dubious and the text is doctrinally ambiguous. See SSWC

ii) *Confucianism*

Su Shih's public, academic and official personal was that of a career Confucian. He, his father Hsün (1009-1066), and younger brother Ch'e (1039-1112), like Wang An-shih, became pupils in Ou-yang Hsiu's Lu-ling School.¹⁶ The elder Su is considered to have formed his own school of Confucianism, the Su or Shu (Szechwan) school,¹⁷ and he mapped out a course of Confucian exegesis for his sons; with Su Shih completing his father's exegesis of the *I Ching* (易經 or 易解), as well as later writing on the *Lun-yü* (論語疏) and near the end of his life on the *Shu Ching* (書傳),¹⁸ and Su Ch'e commenting on the *Shih Ching* (詩傳), the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (春秋傳) and the *Lao-tzu*.¹⁹

The Su school has been called moderate, for members were more utilitarian than the conservative northerners, but could not approve fully the radical changes of Wang An-shih.²⁰ However, Su Hsün, if we can believe stories about him, could be overly moralistic, as in his refusal to befriend Wang An-shih when encouraged to do so by Ou-yang Hsiu,²¹ an attitude which is also displayed in his concerns over ritual²² and

176-179; Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, bibliography item 34. Note that the Neo-Confucians tended to assimilate Ch'an, not religious Taoism.

16. SYHA II 4.44-45, and XXIV 98.33, where Wang is called a pupil 門人 of Lu-ling, and XXIV 99.65 where Su Hsün is called an associate 學侶 of Lu-ling.
17. Fumoto Yasutaka, *Hoku Sō ni okeru Jugaku no tenkai* (Tokyo, 1967), p.284 suggests that he might have been more independent than is usually portrayed.
18. SYHA XXIV 99:79.
19. SYHA XXIV 99:98. For Su Shih's evaluation of the *Lao-tzu* commentary, see Su Shih's *Tung-p'o chih-lin* SKCS vol. 863, 48c4-6.
20. James T.Y. Liu, *Reform*, pp.28-29, cf. p.78.
21. Fumoto, pp.270-271; Yoshikawa, p.89. Liu, *Reform*, p.121 note 10, says that Hsün never wrote the *Pien-chien lun* as an attack on Wang as is usually claimed.
22. Fumoto, p.271. His emphasis was on frugality (pp.271-272) and posthumous titles and names (pp.274-275).

the abstractions of the *I Ching*.²³ Judging from his writings, Su Hsün's Confucianism seems to have been one of moral sternness. Hence Ou-yang Hsiu compared him to Hsün-tzu.²⁴

The sons adopted many of the ideas of their father,²⁵ but softened them, with Su Shih maintaining a friendship with his political "opponent" Wang An-shih until the end.²⁶

Su Shih had definite views on human nature and emotion. In his historical overview he stated that after Confucius died, his followers desired to transmit his ideas in writing, which led to contending theories, beginning with Mencius who claimed that human nature is good, prompting Hsün-tzu to counter with the theory that human nature is evil, leaving Yang Hsiung the only option of a compromise, the mixture of good and evil. But Confucius had not discussed human nature and his pupil Tzu-ssu's writings were misused by Mencius to create the theory of human nature by shifting the discussion of human nature from the sages to ordinary

23. Ibid., p.277, quotes Chu Hsi who says that Hsün's ideas on the *I Ching* were "completely distant from human feelings," and says that when Su Shih saw how crude and abrupt it was, he added Buddhist and Taoist elements to it, in particular Ch'an and the ideas of Wang Pi. The *Indiana Companion*, p.728 describes his use of the *I Ching* as a means to restrain human nature, and poetry as a means of catharsis to avoid improper conduct.
24. Fumoto, p.283. People also compared Wang An-shih to Mencius and Su Hsün to Hsün-tzu (Ch'ien Mu, *Sung Ming li-hsüeh kai-shu*, p.22). Su Hsün's main thesis seems to have been that people naturally lack the concept of social hierarchy, and so need no ritual, which must be instituted by the sage. Human emotions are most comfortable with regularity. If their customs are changed without reason, the force of their emotion will impel them to disregard the new customs. Therefore the emotions must be calmed and people emptied of thought so that they will be more pliable. See SYHA I 2:69-74. Tillman, p.50, notices the resemblances of some of these passages to the *Lao-tzu* (as interpreted by Han Fei-tzu?).
25. Especially in consideration of Chia I, Hsün-tzu and Yang Hsiung. See Fumoto, pp.282-283.
26. Thus Ch'ien Mu, p.22, remarks that Su Shih and Su Ch'e broadened their father's ideas via a combination of Lao-Chuang, Buddhism, an aggressive foreign policy, and the ideas of Chia I and Lu Chih. For Su Shih's views on the last two men, see Ling Ch'in-ju, pp.14-23.

humanity.²⁷ Hsün-tzu, out of a perverse stubbornness, claimed that human nature was proved evil by the vicious last emperors Chieh and Chou, and that the sage emperors Yao and Shun were false to that nature.²⁸

Han Yü, he continued, compromised even further, separating the nature into three grades, with the wise good and the stupid bad congenitally, and only the average man who has mixed status being capable of moving into one of the other grades. Su Shih laments that many follow Han Yü's theories, asserting that Han Yü had mistaken talent for the nature:

That which the sage and the petty man share and neither can escape from is truly what is known as the nature, but they can definitely be different in talent.

Su illustrates this by saying that all trees will grow in watered soil, which is their nature or potential, but their physical differences are not due to that potential. Thus Confucius was talking of talent when he said the average man could shift. He never mentioned the nature being good or evil. What Han Yü did was to divide the nature into emotions and combine them with talent to form what he considered the three grades of human nature.²⁹

Su Shih's own Confucian theory of human nature states:

All human life has the problems of starvation and cold, the desires of male and female, so can I now announce to people, "When hungry eat, when thirsty drink; the desires of the sexes do not emerge from the nature of man"? The world knows that this is impossible. If the sage lacks these (desires) there is no way to regard him as a sage, and there is no way to regard the petty man as evil. The sage takes the seven (emotions) of joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, hate and desire, controls them and arrives at goodness; the petty man takes these seven, controls them, but arrives at evil. Thus in such an examination, good and evil are something the nature can arrive at but not something the nature can possess.

27. "Tzu-ssu lun," SSWC 94-95; Lang Hua, ed., *Ching-chin Tung-p'o wen-chi shih-lüeh* 2 vols (Peking, 1957), pp.83-84; "Yang Hsiung lun," SSWC 110; Lang Hua, p.105. I have used Lang Hua here because he adds comments, giving sources for some of Su's ideas.

28. "Hsün Ch'ing lun," SSWC 101; Lang Hua, p.92.

29. "Yang Hsiung lun," SSWC 110; Lang Hua, pp.105-106.

According to Su, Yang Hsiung's theory comes closest to the truth, for by averring that the nature is a mixture of good and evil, that cultivation of the good part of the nature makes one good, Yang is almost claiming that the nature is merely a potential.

When the sage discusses the nature, he is using it to investigate the Heavenly principle of the myriad things together with that which is jointly known by the mass of men, to break the doubts of the world. But Han Yü wished to take one person's talent to fix the nature of the world, saying, "Those who now speak of the nature all mix it with Buddhism and Lao-tzu." Han Yü's theory regards the nature as irrelevant to emotion, that joy, anger, sadness and happiness are not the nature. This is where Han Yü entered into Buddhism and Lao-tzu without knowing it.³⁰

Hence Su castigates those Confucians from Mencius through to Han Yü and his Sung followers for misunderstanding the place of the emotions in relation to human nature:

The calamity for the Confucians lies in their discussion of the nature and in their regarding joy, anger, sadness and happiness to all emerge from the emotions and not be something that the nature possesses. First there is joy and anger, and only later humaneness and righteousness; first sadness and happiness, and only then ritual and music. To think that humaneness, righteousness, ritual and music all emerge from the emotions and are not of the nature is to be led astray and oppose the teaching of the sage. Lao-tzu said, "Can one be like a babe?" (To consider) joy, anger, sadness and happiness to emerge not from the nature but from the emotions is to be led astray and become Lao-tzu's "babe."³¹

Emotions are natural³² and must be the basis for all Confucian thinking; emotions are the only means for the teaching of morality and are the sole path to the human nature:

The Way of the sages, if examined from its basis, comes totally out of human emotion.

30. SSWC 111; Lang Hua, pp.107-108.

31. "Han Yü lun," SSWC 114-115; Lang Hua, p.112. This contradicts Ou-yang Hsiu, who emphasised the emotions and thought discussions of human nature were misleading (cf. chapter 10 note 114). It also contradicts the Ch'an idea that one should be child-like.

32. "Ch'ü tao shih-chi lun," SSWC 131; "Hsü Ch'u-yü lun," Lang Hua, p.143.

It is the satisfaction or enjoyment of the human emotions that leads to sincerity and the Way.³³ Thus there is no need for, rather a harm in, the discussion of the nature,³⁴ which must be seen merely as a potential or a tabula rasa. While Chu Hsi (and others) thought Su Shih was under Buddhist and Taoist influence in making this assertion,³⁵ this is not necessarily so. In his public pronouncements, in particular his Confucian documents, Su praises Confucianism and attacks Buddhism and Taoism for their deleterious effects on government and public morality.³⁶ Thus this

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33. "Chung Yung lun chung," SSWC 61; Lang Hua, p.52. Cf. comment of Yoshikawa, p.109, that Confucianism found it easy to visualize a society without sorrow. But Su, like a Buddhist, knew that sorrow was an inescapable part of human life, and can only be transcended.
34. See Ch'ien Chung-shu's "Foreword" p.xviii in Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, *The Prose Poetry of Su Tung-p'o*, 2nd edn (New York, 1964), and also Clark p. 25.
35. SYHA XXIV 99:82. Cf. J. Perry Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters* (London, 1923), p.198, for tabula rasa. See also Le Gros Clark, pp.28-29. For Su Ch'e, who used a verse attributed to Hui-neng, and equated (Confucian?) centrality 中 with the Buddha-nature, and Chu Hsi's condemnation, see SYHA XXIV 99:91: "The Sixth Patriarch's saying, 'Do not think of good and do not think of evil' is undeveloped 未發 [latent] joy, anger, sadness and happiness.' Chu Hsi said, 'Although the sages and wise men say it is undeveloped, yet that goodness was originally present there. But there simply was no evil. The Buddhists' words seem to be in agreement (with Confucian doctrine), but in reality are different.'... 'The Middle 中 is another name for the Buddha-nature'" This has been taken from Su Ch'e's *Su Huang-wen Lao-tzu chieh*.
36. In a proposal of 1071 (cf. SSWC 726 note 1) made in an attempt to counter Wang An-shih's reforms of the examination system, he claims that Wang Yen's (256-311 - for this man see Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, pp.596-597) love of Lao-Chuang led to the loss of North China, and that Wang Chin's (700-781 - brother of Wang Wei) love of Buddhism made his Ta-li era government a laughing stock. He continues; "Therefore Confucius rarely spoke of *ming*....Tzu-kung said, 'Now I could hear of Confucius' writings, but I could not hear of him speaking of the nature and the Way of Heaven.' Since Tzu-kung [Confucius' pupil] could not hear of the theories of nature and *ming*, and yet contemporary scholars are ashamed of not speaking of the nature and *ming*, how can they be trusted? So contemporary literati have come to regard Buddha and Lao-tzu as sages." ("I hsieh-chiao kung-chü chuang," SSWC 725; Lang Hua,

Confucianism of the earlier period of Su's career was probably not consciously Buddhist in tone, but arrived at by independent inquiry.

To conclude, emotions and their expression in literature were for Su Shih the fundamentals of Confucianism; cold metaphysics and talk of human nature, the latter a favourite Chinese Buddhist topic, were futile.

These attitudes provoked the conservative northern *Tao-hsüeh* scholars into attacks on Su School members as libertines tainted with Ch'an.³⁷ Although Ch'an was part of Su Shih's later personal religious and aesthetic life, I regard the allegations of Buddhist influence on his earlier Confucianism to be a form of disinformation. March opines that Su Shih, along with Ou-yang Hsiu, his examiner and early patron, enlarged Confucianism to an ideal that made Buddhism superfluous, and that Su Shih "is the originator of the conception that only the educated Confucian gentleman is capable of the artistic expression of a true understanding of the landscape."³⁸ This is possibly a confusion of the conceptions held at different stages of Su Shih's life.

iii) *Ch'an*

The Ch'an content of Su Shih's later life and work is such that some scholars consider him a foremost example of the lay Buddhist.³⁹ His lay Buddhist activity betrays signs of Ch'an and Pure Land. Of course, Su Shih did not completely agree with Ch'an in the theory of aesthetics, preserving the individual, for in his view of the mystical union of man and Nature "the mind could merge with the universe without losing itself in the process."⁴⁰

p.497). Note his negative evaluation of Yang I and Shih Chieh's writing for use in the examinations earlier in the passage, SSWC 724; Lang Hua, pp.495-496.

37. Tillman, pp.45-46; Ch'ien Chung-shu, p.xviii in Le Gros Clark, and Clark, p.25.

38. March, p.35.

39. For example, Abe Chōichi, pp.325-354; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, pp.148, 163. See also note 41 below for the *Chü-shih fen-teng lu*, and Chikusa Masaaki, "So Shoku to Bukkyō," *Tōhō Gakuhō* (Kyoto) 36 (Oct. 1964).

40. Le Gros Clark, p.37 note 4. Cf. Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry* (Princeton U.P., 1980), p.190, on Su not being a hidden observer, but announcing his presence, and p.206.

Even so, Ch'an claimed Su as one of their own,⁴¹ and it was not fortuitous that a collection of his poems and belles-lettres relating to Buddhism and his exchanges with the monk Fo-yin Liao-yüan (1032-1098) were compiled in 1590 by Hsü Chang-ju and titled *Tung-p'o Ch'an-hsi chi* ("Su Tung-p'o's Ch'an Delight Collection"),⁴² or that the story arose that he was a reincarnation of the Ch'an monk Wu-tsu Shih-chieh (n.d) of the Yün-men lineage.⁴³

Even the premodern editions of Su Shih's collected works such as the *Su Wen-chung kung ch'üan-chi* (popularly called "the seven collections") of 1468 seem to have had separate subsections for his Buddhistic works,⁴⁴ and such subject divisions (and not the genre divisions often used elsewhere) may go back as early as the Sung dynasty.⁴⁵ Indeed, perhaps the earliest extant commentary collection, that by Wang

41. See in biography in CSTFL Z147.901b-903b, especially the various opinions at the end praising him for his friendships with many Ch'an monks, his promotion of Buddhism, and the counter to the suggestion he was a non-Buddhist 門外漢 (see below, reference in note 123, an exclamation by Tz'u-an Ching-yüan, 1094-1146, as recorded in the *Wu-teng Hui-yüan*). It concludes: "Even though he is read for a thousand years, one (will still) know through his writings that he had the Buddha-Dharma. Nearly all his literature performs the work of Buddhism" (903b1-2). See also CTPTL Z137.318b.
42. For a study of this text, see Shoji Kakuitsu, "Tōba Zenki shū ni tsuite," *Zengaku kenkyū* 66 (1987), esp. pp.9-14. The text was first compiled by Hsü, but has been revised and added to in the Ming by Ling Meng-ch'u 凌濛初 and Feng Meng-chen 馮夢禎 ca. 1602. Shoji lists four editions; those of Ling, Ch'en Mei-kung (Chi-ju, 1558-1639), the Japanese 1700 text, and that of Mori Daikō (大狂?) which was based on the 1700 text and another brought from China. The last has been reissued by Taipei in 1982. According to Yanagida Seizan, the preface to the work is dated 1590, and it was revised in 1603 by Ling (*Zenseki kaidai* no. 239).
43. The earliest references to this are by Hui-hung in his *Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an* II 27.7a and *Leng-chai yeh-hua*. Also mentioned in CSFTL Z147.901b; *Tung-p'o Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:1, and the preface by Ch'en Chi-ju, p.2. See also Nukariya, vol. 2, p.163.
44. *Chüan* 40 in *Su Tung-p'o chi* 18 vols (Shanghai, 1930), vol. 6, pp.100-120, *chüans* 19 and 20 in the *hou-chi* (vol. 9, pp.57-80). This collection still preserves the earlier divisions.
45. For example, thirty *chüan* of a Sung printing of the *Tung-p'o chi* are extant, and three *chüan* of the *hou-chi* survive from the same period. See the editors' explanation, pp.1, 5-6, in SSWC,

Shih-p'eng (1112-1171), which gathered earlier comments on Su's poems together and arranged them by topic, has a *chüan* titled "Taoism and Buddhism" (《山釋chüan 19, most of which is Buddhist) and the first part of another titled "Ch'an Awakening" (*chüan* 21, 禪悟).⁴⁶ Despite these attempts at gathering Su's Ch'an-style poems, only a minor proportion of such poems have been included; the vast majority are scattered throughout these collections and commentaries.⁴⁷ Thus even the earliest commentators, some of them possibly students or followers of Su Shih himself⁴⁸

and that of SSSC vol. 1, pp.2-4. These are the best bibliographical references, though Lin Yu-t'ang's *Gay Genius*, "Bibliography and Sources" (Appendix B), and Ogawa Tamaki, *So Shoku* 2 vols (Tokyo, 1962), vol. 1, pp.18-19 are useful. For a list of recent publications on Su's poetry, see note 66 in Wang Yü and note 3 in Shoji Kakuitsu. The SSSC is the best for poetry (with a commentary by Wang Wen-kao which includes excerpts from all previous commentaries) and the SSWC the best for prose. Both contain notes on variants, dates, supplements of works missing from the "complete works" (*ch'üan-chü*), plus indexes. Also useful is Lang Hua's *Ching-chin Tung-p'o wen-chi shih-lüeh*, preface to the imperially commissioned printing 1173.

46. Wang Shih-p'eng, *Tung-p'o shih-chi chu* (hereafter TPSCC), SKSC vol. 1109, 417a-422a.
47. For example, I have counted approximately 44 explicit references to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (hereafter CTCTL) in Wang Shih-p'eng's commentary collection (this despite the fact that Wang is considered a member of the Chao-Chang Confucian School headed by Chao Ting, although Yang Wan-li was a student under the same master, SYHA XI 44:60, 73, 74-75), and approximately 70 in the *Shih chu Su shih*, ed. Shao Chang-heng, SKCS vol. 1110, by Shih Yüan-chih of the Southern Sung. The latter organizes the poems chronologically. The number of references to the "lamp history" are not surprising, for the CTCTL had become a popular source of witty anecdotes for Sung scholars just as the *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü* had been earlier. Besides these references, there are many other references in the poems and commentaries to Ch'an incidents and a number of Ch'an texts, as well as to a vast number of references to the sutras favoured by Ch'an.
48. Wang Shih-p'eng does not clearly identify the commentators he used. According to Shao Chang-heng, the commentators appear to be Ch'eng Yin 程纘, Chao Yao-ch'ing 趙堯頌, Li Hou 李厚, Sung Shou 宋綬. See *Shih chu Su shih* (hereafter ShCSS), pp.56-62. Added to these men is the last, Wang Shih-p'eng himself. But who is 師? Although 次公 is usually identified with Chao Tz'u-kung 趙次公, this was also a name

considered Su to have been keenly devoted to Ch'an, even though they also frequently refer in particular to the *Chuang-tzu* and some Confucian classics.

Ch'an was part of the Su family tradition. Su Hsün was associated with Ch'an masters from Szechwan, in particular Yüan-t'ung Chü-na (1010-1071),⁴⁹ who is listed as Su Hsün's teacher in the Ch'an histories. Su Shih's parents were Buddhists and they seemed to have had a special faith in the sixteen arhats,⁵⁰ something which may link their beliefs to those of Kuan-hsiu⁵¹ who spent his last years in Szechwan.

While Su Ch'e was a fervent Buddhist from the start,⁵² Su Shih's true interest in Buddhism and Ch'an is usually claimed to have only begun when he was posted to Hang-chou (1071-1074), probably because of the attractions of the many beautiful monasteries in the vicinity and the presence there of many intellectually able

of Chang Shih-hou, a reknowned lay scholar of Ch'an (Nukariya, vol. 2, p.130ff.) to whom Su sent poems (TPSCC 298a3).

49. Chü-na, who was from Szechwan, also had the patronage of Ou-yang Hsiu and was given the title Tsu-yin, *Zengaku Daijiten* 355b.
50. Chikusa Masaaki, "So Shoku to Bukkyō," p.458.
51. Su Shih frequently refers to the sixteen arhats and to Kuan-hsiu: TPSCC 143b6-8; ShCSS 241c1, 263c7-8; SSWC 392-394, 396-397, 568-592, 624-631, 1893, 1909, 2073, 2313; *Tung-p'o Ch'an-hsi chi* 1:4-10. In the last he states that his family had kept images of the sixteen arhats, and everytime they offered tea in worship, it changed to white milk. This piece was written when Su was in exile in Hai-nan near the end of his life (cf. SSWC 591). In "Kuan-yin tsan," (*Ch'an-hsi chi* 2:3; SSWC 620), Su says he saw a painting by Kuan-hsiu of the sixteen arhats, and that his family kept a painting of Kuan-yin for the merit of their ancestors. Even after Su returned from his Hai-nan exile he praised a painting of eighteen arhats in Pao-lin Monastery (*Ch'an-hsi chi* 2:12; SSWC 626). Indeed, Su gave away paintings of the arhats by Kuan-hsiu to Huai-lien (1009-1090), SSWC 1879, which were supposedly those kept by his father (Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., p.150).
52. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., pp.147-148, who mentions that "the four *chüan Lan-kāvatāra* was his life," and that studying Ch'an texts helped him gradually to "forget his emotions." His Ch'an biography is in CPTL Z137.318b-319a, and *Hsü ch'uan-teng lu* T51.587b. See Ch'e's "Letter after (Reading) the *Ch'uan-teng lu*" in which he discusses it and his love for the *Leng-yen ching* in Ishii Shūdo, "Sōdai Zenseki i-sho jo-batsu kō," *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronshū*, pp.99-100.

monks.⁵³ The earlier youthful period of disinterest was probably due to his education in the Confucian ideas of Ou-yang Hsiu, which may also have affected his father who believed in salvational Buddhism.⁵⁴ In fact, after his father died in 1066, Su Shih donated his father's favourite paintings of bodhisattvas to one of his father's Ch'an monk friends from his native district, Pao-yüeh Wei-chien, impolitely expressing his doubts about monks, describing them as shams who avoided the difficulties of Buddhism and life.⁵⁵

Because Su Shih, like his teacher Ou-yang Hsiu, was opposed to most of Wang An-shih's reforms, he wanted to be away from the capital, and so was posted as a minor official to Hang-chou. As relief from his odious official duties he took delight in the local scenery, visiting many famous monks in the process. Among those clerics mentioned in this period, some belonged to the T'ien-t'ai Order which created Pure Land societies for laymen (Hui-pien, 1014-1073, and Yüan-ch'ing Pien-ts'ai, 1011-1091, one of Su's best friends), while others were Ch'an monks, such as Ta-chüeh Huai-lien 懷蓮 (1009-1090), a pupil and heir to Chü-na, or Ch'i-sung who died soon after Su Shih arrived in Hang-chou.⁵⁶

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53. Chikusa, pp.464-474; SSSC introduction p.6; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., pp.148-149, who suggests that it began earlier around 1061 when he took an interest in Vimalakirti, whom he later often compared himself to and who appears frequently in his works.
54. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., p.147.
55. Chikusa, p.460; SSWC 384-386; Ogawa Tamaki, *So Shoku* 2 vols (Tokyo, 1962), vol. 1, p.3; Lang Hua, pp.870-871, 873-874. These paintings were supposedly by Wu Tao-tzu (ca. 689-ca. 758; for this artist see Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China*, pp.41-45 for his figure painting; for Su Shih's appreciation of his works, Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* 7 vols [London, 1956-1958], vol. 1, p.117), and were presented to his father by Su Shih. This monk was a distant relative, Su Shih writing his obituary, SSWC 467-468.
56. Huai-lien received his father's pictures of the arhats by Kuan-hsiu. They do not seem to have met at the time, but corresponded. See SSWC 1879-1880. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., pp.149-152. Hui-pien was the monk administrator of Hang-chou and a great lecturer. Pien-ts'ai was treated by Su as friend and teacher. Another T'ien-t'ai monk, pupil of the great theorist of insentient Buddhahood Chih-li, was Fan-chen. There were also a number of poet-monks,

As a measure of his respect, Su Shih gathered Ch'i-sung's writings together and forwarded them to the court. Su Shih and Ch'i-sung must have had affinities, both wrote on the problems of human nature and the emotions from Confucian and Buddhist perspectives.⁵⁷

Su Shih also knew a monk of the Yün-men lineage; another, Hui-ch'in was also a friend of Ou-yang Hsiu. Hui-ch'in, Ch'i-sung and several others, were poet-monks and must have had some impact on Su Shih's theory and practice of the arts.⁵⁸

As a poet and Confucian, Su Shih acknowledged that emotion had a place in Buddhism. Writing of the T'ien-t'ai monk Hui-pien who was calm and without emotional display⁵⁹ and Ch'i-sung who radiated a fierce combative spirit in his defence of Buddhism, Su wrote:

Ch'an master Ch'i-sung is always glaring, people have never seen him smile. Hui-pien of Hai-yueh is always happy, people have never seen him angry. When I was in Ch'ien-t'ang, I saw these two men pass away in the cross-legged posture. When Ch'i-sung was being cremated the fire would not destroy the body, so they added more fuel to the roaring flames till it was fivefold (?). When Hui-pien was about to be buried his face was as if alive, still subtly smiling. So we know that these two men used anger and happiness to do the work of Buddhism.⁶⁰

During his posting at Hang-chou, Su Shih became deeply involved, or perhaps reinvolved given his childhood in a Buddhist household, in the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai lay-oriented mind-only *nien-fo* 念佛 that recognised the Pure Land as the purification of the mind and included devotion to Amitabha and Kuan-yin, but in a Ch'an manner. Yet it also allowed for beliefs in Pure Land compassion for those in need of

including Tsung-pen, who taught *nien-fo*, and the mergence of Ch'an and Hua-yen, a very important Ch'an teacher (for Tsung-pen, see Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.152-159).

57. ShCS 214c5, where Su says he knew Ch'i-sung well.
58. Chikusa, pp.466-470; SSWC 565; for Su's postface to a poem Ou-yang sent to Hui-ch'in, SSWC 2127; for a poem sent to him, see "Winter Solstice," Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.34. Cf. also *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:1.
59. Chikusa, p.467.
60. SSWC 2053; Su Shih, *Tung-p'o chih-lin* SKCS vol. 863, 91c3-92a1; Chikusa, p.496.

succour.⁶¹ Buddhism for Su was a diverse system with many disciplines, including vegetarianism, precepts, vinaya, lecturing and reciting the scriptures, devotion to and decoration of stupas and shrines, just as Confucianism required varied forms of study and ritual. Therefore he decried those who in the Ch'an movement would reduce Buddhist discipline to No Mind, scriptures to silence, worship to inaction (*wu-wei*), and advocated merely satisfying hunger.⁶² Yet Su Shih's poetry and writing frequently refers to his practice of Ch'an and the calming of the mind, and especially to Hui-neng and his monastery of Nan-hua, often with parallel Confucian allusions.⁶³

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61. Su has numerous writings on Kuan-yin and Amitābha, see SSWC 387, 394-396, 585 (for his late mother's merit in the next life), 586 (dedicated to Śākya Muni for his late wife), 586 (to Kuan-yin), 619 (to Amitābha, for his late wife), 620 (to Bhaisajyaguru for sick children), 620 (dream of Kuan-yin), 620/621 (encomia for a painting, and one for an embroidery, both of Kuan-yin), 641-642 (a gatha for Kuan-yin), 1930 (on prayer to and thanks to Kuan-yen for fine weather), 1935 (thanks for rain to Kuan-yin). This list is far from complete, for it excludes poems or casual mentions in letters etc. See also Nukariya, vol. 2, p.163 for *nien-fo* Ch'an at Hang-chou.
62. "Record of [the Kuan-yin] Great Compassion of Yen-kuan," SSWC 387. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao...*, pp.154-155, which describes this criticism of some Ch'an adherents, and his occasional criticisms of Pure Land when it is taken too simplistically. Sun also outlines Su's synthesis of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, and of the various schools of Buddhism.
63. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao...*, p.153, on Nan-hua Monastery, pp.156-159 on calming the mind. See SSWC 622 (encomium for a painting of Hui-neng), 394 (monk Ming of Nan-hua), 566 (on Hui-neng), 1904 (the merits of Hui-neng's stupa), 2082 (on reading the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*), 2084 (on Liu Tsung-yüan's epitaph for Hui-neng, also mentioning the *Leng-yen ching* and Ch'ung-pien, an elder of Nan-hua who understood Confucianism and Ch'an, with a reference to Mencius), 2084 (on Bodhidharma). For poems with commentary: TPSCC 141a (on calming mind), 27b3-6 (Hui-neng), 459a-bff, 166b-c (on Nan-hua), 391d8-392a1 (poem titled "Night at Ts'ao-ch'i I was reading the *Ch'uan-teng lu* when a flower fell...": "The mountain hail at night calm and silent,/ Looking at the *Ch'uan-teng lu* beneath the lamp/ I was not aware that a lamp-flower [wick] had fallen/ And cremated a monk."), 418a4 (visit to Nan-hua). In ShCSS notes: 220a1-2 (quotes Hui-neng's verse in the *Platform Sutra*), 425b7 (on Wang Wei's epitaph for Hui-neng), 511c3 (reference to *Platform Sutra*), 567d3-568a1 (references to Hui-neng's verse and to CTCTL on Hui-neng), 595c3-4 (Nan-hua), 648c3ff. (reference to *Ts'ao-ch'i chih* on Indian monk predicting Hui-neng's coming to Nan-hua), 668a3

Yet for all this serious and respectful consideration of Ch'an, Su could also treat it playfully and with a light-hearted skepticism,⁶⁴ as he most definitely did in his dialogues with Fo-yin Liao-yüan (1032-1098). Perhaps this was part of the reason that Su Shih seems to have considered the life of the Buddhist layman superior to that of the religious, downgrading the clerics for their lack of discipline and study⁶⁵ or concentration on the No Mind and the ineffable. This was not an attack on Buddhism, just its abuse. From a Confucian literati stance, Su concluded that monks did not work for a living and often led an easy life. So the devoted layman was in fact more determined and disciplined in that he had little leisure to sit in meditation or study sutras.⁶⁶ Conversely, the layman in his self-discipline could leave room for levity and a teasing skepticism, for he had more choices⁶⁷ and was thus less often hypocritical than many of the supposedly committed monks who lived under a rule.

(poem at TPSCC 391d-392a). This is only a minute fraction of poems with Ch'an references. The above are restricted merely to Hui-neng and his monastery, not even including his pupils, other Ch'an monks, doctrines or practices. Ling Ch'in-ju, p.31, says he even worshipped Hui-neng for 30 years, from ca.1057-1087, for which see TPSCC 459a.

64. SSWC 595 "Ch'an-hsi sung" ("Ch'an teasing hymn"). Yoshikawa, p.102, says he loved a joke. Other examples include a poem full of Buddhist references written to tease his friends: "The man of the Way Ch'ien wrote a poem, 'One truly should recognise the Host,' so I wrote two *chüeh-chü* to tease him," which reads, "Because the head is cut off there is no cutter./ When ice melts who will know there was ice?/ If the host is pained I will recognise him./ Humans, finally who are they to recognise their host,/ For if there is a host there must be a guest?/ It is not like there being no mirror itself without dust." The first two lines allude to the *Yüan-chüeh ching*, the second to the CTCTL, and the last to Hui-neng's verse in the *Platform Sutra*. TPSCC 422a4ff.
65. See his comments to Pao-yüeh (note 55 above) and others (note 62).
66. Chikusa, pp.472-473.
67. Cf. Wang Yü, pp.209-210.

The layman then could take an unfettered delight in Ch'an, mix in a little alcohol and please his senses or emotions.⁶⁸ The whole world is childlike, is a product of play in which man should take part so as to enjoy himself.⁶⁹ This then was Ch'an at its best in his eyes; playful, humorous and pleasing to the senses. Samsara is nirvana, which has as one aspect "pleasure,"⁷⁰ and for Su

Hell and heaven
Are equally Pure Lands.
That having the nature and that lacking it,
Equally perfect the Buddha Path.⁷¹

This undoubtedly resonated with his Confucian theory that delight or pleasure in the Way or the nature is sincerity,⁷² which is self-confidence. The difference between the sage and the wise man is as Confucius said, "Those who know it are not as good as those who like it, and those who like it are not as good as those who delight in it." The knower is the wise man, the one who delights the sage.⁷³ Man cannot gain

68. Cf. Ogawa Tamaki, *So Shoku*, vol. 1, p.15, who observes that Su Shih felt that human life is but a temporary sojourn, so one must enjoy life to the full. This is elaborated on in Yoshikawa, pp.103-104, 111-114.

69. Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 1, p.16, says this comes from a Taoist world-view which brought him some disrepute among conservative Confucians. Cf. Yoshikawa, pp.106, 109, on *Chuang-tzu's* "Ch'i-wu lun" philosophy and the *I Ching's* theories of cycles in Su Shih. But perhaps this view is also Ch'an-derived.

70. See the "pleasure" of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra's* four-fold ^{characterisation} of nirvana 常樂我淨. Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 758c. Also called the "four virtues" they are applied also to the Dharmakāya. See Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 1967c-1968a. "Pleasure" here is the happiness of eliminating the causation of the intent-produced body.

71. SSWC 399, "Fang-chang chi."

72. Where he refers to the *Chung Yung* for example, SSWC 60: "the enlightenment 明 that comes from sincerity 誠 is deemed to be of the nature." Cf. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, pp.414-415.

73. "Chung Yung lun, shang," SSWC 60-61. Again *Lun-yü* vi.21 is quoted.

sincerity by ignoring "what human emotions enjoy."⁷⁴ One could infer that Ch'an's "seeing the nature" is likewise a pleasure.

This view of life may well have been mediated also by his reading of poetry, especially that of T'ao Ch'ien and perhaps Tu Fu, which suggested that retirement from political life did not mean abandoning either one's social obligations or sensual pleasures.⁷⁵ But it was possibly the monk Fo-yin Liao-yüan who confirmed Su Shih in this outlook. Liao-yüan was a most secularized monk as a tale told by the *Tung-p'o Ch'an-hsi chi* affirms. It relates that Liao-yüan was introduced to the emperor as a Buddhist believer by Su Shih. The emperor was so impressed he wanted to endow Liao-yüan with a monastery on the condition that Liao-yüan became a monk, and so he was pressed into the Ch'an Order.⁷⁶ This popular view appears even in anecdotes about Liao-yüan and Su Shih that were published as "novels" (*hsiao-shuo*).⁷⁷ It is summed up in one text as "Tung-p'o used the mundane Dharma to sport with the Buddha-Dharma, Fo-yin used the Buddha-Dharma to sport with the mundane Dharma."⁷⁸

74. "Chung Yung lun, chung," SSWC 61.

75. See SSSC 2307-2308, translated near the end of the chapter, "Harmonizing with T'ao on the Gods (Taoism) and Buddhism."

76. *Ch'an-hsi chi* 9:1; cf. Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, p.134. This story does not appear in the Ch'an histories that deal with Su Shih such as *Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu* T51.497c23-497a2 or *Chien-chung Ch'ing-kuo Hsü-teng lu* Z136.107b18-108a5, or Hui-hung's *Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan* Z137.558bff., which tell a different tale.

77. Shoji Kakuitsu, p.14 and note 19. For example, *Tsui-weng t'an-lun* ("Recorded Conversations of the Drunken Old Man") or *Yüan-chuang hsin-hua* ("New Tales from the Green Window"). Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, p.132, may have used the latter. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., p.267, mentions a *Wu-hsieh Ch'an-shih ssu hung-lien chi* ("Record of Ch'an Master Wu-hsieh's private/secret [affair with] Red Lotus") about the previous incarnations of Su Shih (Wu-hsieh) and Fo-yin (Ch'an Master Ming-wu). Wu-hsieh helps Ming-wu escape Buddhist punishments. A number of other "novels" about Ming-wu, Wu-hsieh and Fo-yin exist.

78. Shoji, p.22.

The following one-upmanship anecdote is typical of these "novels." It has Su Shih visit Liao-yüan's monastery. They both sat cross-legged discussing Ch'an, when Su Shih asked:

"Master, what do I look like to you?"

"A Buddha."

Liao-yüan in turn asked Su Shih, "Scholar, what do I look like to you?" Su looked at the obese monk wearing a black robe and said,

"A lump of cow shit."

Liao-yüan did not say a word. Su thought this a victory and was most pleased with himself. That evening when he returned home, he smirked, saying to his younger sister,

"Little sister. Up till now I have been engaged in a joust with Elder Yin and have not been able to overcome him. Today I did not know that the Master would lose and I would have the good fortune that Elder Yin would be rendered speechless with no way to reply."

Then he adopted a combative pose and detailed the contest. When his sister had heard all, she said,

"Huh! Brother, you clearly lost. I ask you, is the Buddha considered valuable or cow shit?"

Su Shih replied, "What! Naturally the Buddha is valued."

"But then the Buddha is what Elder Yin saw and cow shit is what you saw. Isn't that then a complete rout? Elder Yin sounded his victory. Why should I praise your blitherings?"

Su Shih, hearing this, knew that he had fallen into Liao-yüan's trap of silence and was ashamed.⁷⁹

iv) *Ch'an, the path to the numinous landscape, and the landscape as Buddha poem*

Su Shih's complex world-view had ramifications for his attitude towards the landscape and retreat, an attitude some Buddhists did not fully share:

Tall pines hum in the wind, evening rain slight.
 The eastern hermitage half shut, the western shut tight.
 Mountain walking all day, I met no one.
 Dripping damp the wild plum fragrance entered my sleeve.
 The resident monk laughs at my love of pure scene 景 ,
 Self-satisfied in the mountain depths, no plans to leave.

79. Jung-hsi, "Fu-lu: Su Tung-p'o tu-tzu li te Ch'an-tsung ku-tung" in *Ch'an-hsüeh lun-wen chi* 2, ed. Chang Man-t'ao (Taipei, 1977), pp.397-398. The *Ch'an-hsi chi* 9:23 gives a similar but much shorter exchange.

Tho' I love the mountains I also laugh at myself,
 Going alone my spirit is harmed, to continue would be hard.
 This is not as good as drinking delicious wine on West Lake
 With red apricot and green peach fragrance covered coiffures.
 I write a poem to convey my farewell to the elder picking ferns;
 Basically if you do not avoid people how can you avoid the world?⁸⁰

Thus for all of Su's love for the beauties of Nature, society had a greater allure, with its wine and women and political entanglements, than monastic retreat.

Su Shih's study of Ch'an, however, intensified after he left Hang-chou. In 1078, while posted at Hsu-chou, he met the poet monk Tao-ch'ien Ts'an-liao who came from Hang-chou to visit him.⁸¹ They shared a similar outlook on poetry and Su presented a long poem in praise of his poetry:

The water-mirror in the man of the Way's heart is pure.
 Myriad images arise and cease but cannot escape form.
 Alone along the monastery wall he planted autumn chrysanthemums
 And desires the company of a *sao* poet to eat the fallen petals.
 Where in the human world is there north or south?

 He produces many fine words which he can't stop polishing,
 Yet is obliging to the poet's emotion.

80. SSSC 434, written in 1073; Chikusa, p.474.

81. Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, p.134, thinks that they met at Hang-chou, but cf. p.164 where he says ca. 1078; Chikusa, p.475; Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., p.152, thinks it when he was posted to Hsü-chou 1076-1079. Su Shih wrote when he was on Hai-nan that he had known Ts'an-liao for over 20 years (*Tung-p'o chih-lin* 93a3-5), which means they had to have met before 1080. The earliest poem in the collected works of this monk, *Ts'an-liao tzu shih chi* SKCS vol. 1116, which appears to be arranged chronologically, that mentions Su Shih is when he visited Su at P'eng-men, probably through his association with Ch'in Kuan (25a3). The *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao* says that when Su Shih was governor of Hang-chou (1089-1091), Ts'an-liao came to live in Chih-kuo Cloister. One story has it that Ts'an-liao's original name was T'an-ch'ien, and that Su changed it to Tao-ch'ien. When Su was demoted, Ts'an-liao returned to his old monastery in Chien-chung. Ts'an-liao's collection was edited by his pupils, with an original preface by Ch'en Shih-tao (*Ts'an-liao tzu shih chi* 1a-b).

The apes call and crane's cry basically lacks intent,
Ignorant that below a traveller is walking

I beg to obtain the mani jewel to illumine the muddied water (of my mind)
So together we can look at the setting moon inclined like a gold tray.⁸²

These two remained firm friends thereafter, corresponding until death separated them.⁸³

From the time of this initial meeting, Su Shih began to realize the Buddhist axiom that existence is like a dream and he started to conceive of human life as a temporary sojourn that occurs due to the attachments and bonds of love, in other words, emotion.⁸⁴ Su Shih subsequently became more concerned with issues such as dream, emotions and the insentient. Some of these were evident in Su's writing not long before he met Ts'an-liao. For example, earlier in 1078 he wrote of acquiring a painting of a Buddha by Wu Tao-tzu (ca. 689-ca. 758) that had been restored and sent to him by a wealthy art-collector friend:

Master Wu's painting of Buddha is fundamentally due to a divine gift. He was transformed in a dream into a sky-flying immortal. When he woke he applied his brush, not controlling its intent. And the divine marvel alone came on his finest (brush) tip.⁸⁵

Thus creative inspiration occurs in those liminal states like dream where the divine can irrupt into the mundane. Such inspiration is spontaneous and unconscious.

82. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih shih-hsüan*, pp.137-138. The last couplet refers to lines by Tu Fu. The 4th line refers to the *Li Sao*, the 5th to Hui-neng's initial dialogue with Hung-jen according to the *Platform Sutra*. Cf. also ShCSS 318b6-319a2.

83. Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, p.326, says Ts'an-liao sent a novice (for whom see *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 93d8-94a3) to see Su in exile in Hai-nan ca. 1098-1099. Perhaps this is referred to in letter 18 written from Hui-chou (SSWC 1865). The last letter was written after Su left Hai-nan on his final return north when he was very ill and close to death (SSWC 1868).

84. Chikusa, pp.475-476. For his seeing of life as like a dream, see Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao...*, pp.159-160.

85. ShCSS 301d3-8; Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih shih-hsüan*, p.139. Cf. Le Gros Clark, p.15.

However, I believe that it may have been Ts'an-liao who introduced Su Shih to the purely Buddhist idea of the insentient, for before their meeting, Ts'an-liao wrote a poem on separation in which he asks,

(If the universe) is emotionless, how is it that the West Tower moon
Night after night shines with a light without wane?⁸⁶

Although this is not specially Buddhist, Ts'an-liao later wrote a number of other poems in this vein but with clear references to Nature and insentience.⁸⁷

Soon after, in 1079, when Su Shih was at Hu-chou, the first evidence of the Ch'an idea of the lack of emotion or insentience surfaced in his poetry. Su Shih, his son, and a friend walked around the city wall looking at the lotus blooms, climbed a mountain terrace and went to a monastery. One of the four poems he wrote on the occasion read:

The cool breeze, just what is it?
It can be loved yet not named.
Like a *chün-tzu*, wherever it goes
The grass and trees will produce admirable sounds.
My walk is basically aimless,
And we let the lone boat cross obliquely.
In the middle of the current I lie on my back and look up
Amused by the welcome from the wind.
I raise my glass and dedicate it to the vastness (of the sky).
I enjoy these, both emotionless (*wu-ch'ing*),
And I came back between the two streams.
Clouds and water at night are self-luminated.⁸⁸

86. *Ts'an-liao tzu shih chi* 15d2-3. The dating is dependent on the assumption of a reliable chronological sequence in this collection.

87. For example, lines such as "The east wind, although it is an insentient thing," (*Ts'an-liao...* 37c8), and later, "...creek flows in the gully, basically without emotion" (61d7).

88. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih shih-hsüan*, p.160; SSSC 985-986; TPSCC 48a5-7; ShCSS 346d6-8. None have comments on this. Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 1, pp.134-135, thinks that "both emotionless" indicates the sky and Su, but it could be wine and the sky, or wind and the sky. For a different translation, see Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.70.

Su takes delight in the insentient sky and wind, for such things are enlightened by themselves, naturally, and he wishes to be like them, without emotion. Nature in that sense is already Buddha, the Enlightened. The references are not all Buddhist: Su alludes to the *Lun-yü* (vii.19) where the *chün-tzu*'s virtue is compared to the wind and the lesser man's virtue to the grass which bends in the wind. Here is a basis for claiming that the insentient wind even preaches the Dharma (the admirable sounds), for this may also be an allusion to the *Wu-liang-shou ching* in which "naturally the virtuous wind gives rise to subtle movement,"⁸⁹ a wind that in the trees of paradise of the Pure Land expounds the Law of Buddhism.⁹⁰ Did Su Shih then have a vision of this world as a Pure Land where he too could see the truth of Buddhism in the insentient environment?

In 1079 Su Shih was sent into exile to Huang-chou for his opposition to the policies of Wang An-shih's government, barely escaping imprisonment due to the intercession of Wang An-li. As a result, Su's Buddhist faith was sharpened and this period of banishment manifests a further elaboration on the relation of man, emotions and the landscape:

The Yangtze and Han Rivers come from the west.
 Beneath the lofty tower
 The grape vines are deep emerald,
 Just as if they were wearing
 The snow waves of Mounts Min and O-(mei)
 And the spring hues of the Chin (Brocade) River.
 You are leaving a legacy of love in the Southern Hills for me to keep.
 I am in outer Chien-(nan) thinking of the returning traveller.
 How can there be no emotion towards the intervening prospect?⁹¹

89. T12.272a13-14.

90. T12.271a7-8.

91. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih tz'u-hsüan* (Peking, 1959), p.37. Line 6 refers to a Tu Fu verse; line 7 遺愛, which Ch'en, p.38, thinks to be a record of one's merit left behind in the area of the office. See also "I-ai t'ing chi," SSWC 399 and the story of Ho Wu who was not famous where he was an official, but after he left he was always remembered fondly (Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 511.185). Thus it may be read, "You are a prefect who has left a legacy of love (among the people) of the Southern Hills."

The emotion here is that on parting, of memory and of having a feeling for the messages of one's environment.

At Huang-chou Su realized that to gain contentment or paradise he had to transcend the mere effusion of emotion and negate his social self. Staying in An-kuo Monastery, he thought he might purify himself by becoming a monk, but he retained his lay status and became a frequent visitor instead, sitting in meditation and

investigating myself deeply, so that things and my ego were forgotten, and body and mind were both empty. I sought whence the pollution of sin arose but could not find it. A moment of thought was pure and the taint itself fell away; internally and externally I was suddenly without any attachments or ties. I privately and secretly delighted in this. I left in the morning and returned in the evening for five years.⁹²

This was a case of sudden awakening (*tun-wu*) in which for a moment the poet's ego and concerns with his surroundings were forgotten, or rather were no longer objects of attachment. He continued his practice for five years, clearly following the Ch'an advice of gradual cultivation after the initial sudden breakthrough.⁹³ Su Shih had realized that his self was a social fiction,⁹⁴ and so it seems that the veil of his habitual ways of viewing the world had been lifted and he saw things afresh and with a new delight. This probably induced him to widen his circle of Ch'an confidants.

Sometime between 1080 and 1082, Su renewed his contacts with Fo-yin Liao-yüan who was travelling from Mt. Lu to Yang-chou.⁹⁵ Liao-yüan, who had studied Confucianism, became a monk in 1046 through inspiration from the *Leng-yen ching*⁹⁶ and four years later became a pupil of Chü-na on Mt. Lu. He later succeeded to K'ai-hsien Shan-hsien,⁹⁷ also of the Yün-men lineage. This was a circle learned in

92. SSWC 392; Lang Hua, p.872; cf. March, p.106.

93. See chapter 10 note 38 for this theory of practice.

94. March, p.106.

95. Abe, p.324.

96. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.166.

97. Fo-kuo Wei-pai, *Chien-chung Ch'ing-kuo Hsü-teng lu* (completed 1101) Z136.108a5-6.

Confucianism. Shan-hsien may have known Chou Tun-i, as both Liao-yüan and Ch'ang-tsung, another Ch'an acquaintance of Su Shih, definitely did.⁹⁸

Su Shih, who had now adopted the appellation of Layman of Tung-p'o (1082), became even closer to Liao-yüan who was attempting to synthesize Ch'an, Confucianism and Taoism.⁹⁹ Su was also intrigued by the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Leng-yen ching*.¹⁰⁰ This latter sutra, as for Wang An-shih, was most significant for Su Shih, for he clearly read it with relish¹⁰¹ and alluded to it in his poetry more frequently than any other sutra with the exception of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, the sutra supreme for lay Buddhists.¹⁰² The *Leng-yen* was clearly an intellectual stimulus

98. Abe, pp.223-227; Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.169-170. In the CSFTL Z147.908a14-b16, Ch'ang-tsung is credited with input into Chou Tun-i's famous *T'ai-chi t'u*. However, Chou Tun-i is listed as a Dharma-heir to Liao-yüan. Note that this text lists as Buddhist laymen most of the major Neo-Confucian thinkers, and is quite late, probably compiled by Chu Shih-en between 1610 and 1631 (*Zenseki kaidai* no. 276) as a counter to Neo-Confucian "histories."
99. Abe's opinion, pp.233, 326. The name Tung-p'o, according to Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao*..., p.152, is derived from a poem by Po Chü-i, whom Su greatly admired and compared himself to.
100. Abe, p.235; SSWC 2085-2086, "After Reading the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*," which also mentions Chang An-tao and Liao-yüan. See also Su's preface to a 1085 edition of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, translated in Suzuki Daisetz, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, p.56. See also the story in the *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:2 from the *Shuo-fu* of Chang An-tao giving a copy of the *Lankāvatāra* to Su Shih, Liao-yüan's comment, and its subsequent printing. It also gives the postface by Chang to this printing (6:4-6).
101. SSSC 2303, "Following the Rhyme of Tzu-yu, After his Bath." Cf. Chou I-kan, pp.48-49. Su mentions that the *Leng-yen* was the best of Mahayana sutras, being "tortuous and indirect, most detailed, superior in its marvel and independent because Fang Jung was the amanuensis" (SSWC 2084, "Postface to copying out Liu Tsung-yüan's epitaph for Ch'an Master Ta-chien [Hui-neng]"). He also says in "Postface to Liu Hung's *Leng-yen ching*," (SSWC 2065) that "the *Leng-yen* was written down by Fang Jung; its style is elegant and beautiful, and is a most suitable book for students to learn Buddhism from."
102. Wang Shih-p'eng's commentaries (TPSCC) refer to the *Leng-yen* about 32 times, including the earliest commentator, Chao Tz'u-kung, at 117c in the poem in SSSC 2303; in the ShCSS about 56 times. Commentators also refer to the *Yüan-chüeh ching*, a related text popular in Ch'an and

to those Confucians who were privately Buddhists; it was the theoretical support for their practice of Ch'an in a Confucian environment for it was in large measure the theoretical basis of Fa-yen Ch'an.¹⁰³

But Buddhism had a very personal message for Su Shih also, for it appears in his discussions with Liao-yüan that he was interested in karma and reincarnation¹⁰⁴ as much as in the complex doctrines of mind-only and the Tathāgatagarbha of the *Laṅkāvatāra* and *Leng-yen* sutras.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Liao-yüan also had an appealing sense of humour in his Ch'an as the following apocryphal tale suggests:

One day Su Shih wrote a gatha of which he was inordinately proud, so he sent his servant with it to Liao-yüan who lived on the opposite bank of the Yangtze River (at Huang-chou), with high expectations of approval. He wrote:

Hua-yen circles. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao...*, p.153, also notes that Su studied Hua-yen works, and pp.151-152, that he read Tsung-mi's *Chu Hua-yen fa-kuan men*. The *Fa-kuan men* by Tu-shun, which is what Tsung-mi commented on, has been studied by Robert Gimello, "Chih-yen (602-668) and the Foundation of Hua-yen Buddhism."

103. Abe, p.235, concludes that Su's Ch'an was a mixture of Confucianism and Pure Land elements. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao...*, p.154, emphasises the mixture of Confucianism and Buddhism, and p.162, that he tended towards intellectual theory rather than faith. This agrees with his use of this sutra, which has both Hua-yen and Ch'an elements.
104. For reincarnation stories, see that of Fang Kuan (son of Fang Jung) as an incarnation of Meditation teacher (Chih)-yung, the famous calligrapher (SSSC 1769, *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:14); for his feeling that he had a previous life at Hang-chou ("Reply to the Letter of Registrar Ch'en Shih-chung," SSWC 1428-1429; Lang Hua, pp.775-776); a number of stories about retribution (for example, "Letter to Chu of O-chou," SSWC 1416-1417). Cf. also references to his past life in a poem and connection with Fang Kuan in TPSCC 232a6-8, 531c8-d4, 468a3-5, something which seems to have been an obsession, for Su wrote a "Postface to the *Ch'ien-wen* [a primer of characters] by Meditation teacher [Chih]-yung kept by Yeh Chih-yüan" (SSWC 2176). See also Lin Yu-t'ang, *Gay Genius*, pp.127-128 on Su's previous life, and the stories of Chang Fang-p'ing and Huang T'ing-chien's previous incarnation (also see ShCSS 495d5ff.).
105. Abe, pp.237-238. Note that Hasegawa Masahiro, "Sōdai no shoka to Zen," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 34.1 (Dec. 1985), p.279, thinks that such discussions took place in 1091.

"I bow my head to the god of gods (Buddha)
Whose forehead light shines on the great chiliocosm.
The eight winds blow and cannot move him/me
Sitting upright on the purple-gold lotus."

These eight winds are the Buddhist emotions, the tendencies or sense-influences that move the mind.¹⁰⁶ Su's servant received the reply:

"A dogs fart!"¹⁰⁷

After a long pause the servant asked, "Master, do you have a letter of reply for my boss?"

"No."

"Do you have some instructions for me to take back?"

Liao-yūan was angered and said, "You deaf brat, didn't you hear me say, 'Dog fart'?"

The servant boy couldn't take any more of this and rowed back with his report. When the boy said, "I have presented the gatha to the Master," Su Shih felt something was amiss. He asked, "Didn't the Master have a letter of reply?"

"No. (Even) if there was one I would not be game to give it to you."

"But, did the Master have anything to say when he saw my gatha?"

"He had nothing to say."

"Fart 放屁 [nonsense], how can such a good gatha not even be mentioned?"

The boy said, "There was a mention of a fart. After looking at the gatha the Master said, 'Dog fart' and then left it at that."

Su Shih was furious and kept saying that the Master was a senile old fart and had not really read such a faultless verse. He immediately prepared his skiff and raced across the river. As soon as he saw Liao-yūan he shouted,

"Old Yūan! The gatha I presented just now; how come there was no reply? Tell me, tell me."

Liao-yūan very calmly replied in a low voice,

"(If) the eight winds blow and do not move (you, how come) a dog's fart carried you across the river?"

At this Su broke up in a gale of laughter saying, "After all, you do have eyes."

106. Yanagida, "Kifū - Zenshisōshi no hitotsu no kadai," p.160.

107. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 20345.82; a derogatory word for a person.

They became firmer friends after this.¹⁰⁸

Quite clearly, if this tale has any factual basis, Su Shih had not yet attained the condition of detachment or no-emotion (*wu-ch'ing*) that he considered a saint should have.¹⁰⁹

However, not long after this in 1084, he met Tung-lin Ch'ang-tsung (1025-1091), a monk who was versed in the insentient sermon theory.¹¹⁰ Ordered to leave Huang-chou for Ju-chou, Su Shih visited Mt. Lu's Tung-lin Monastery on route and

108. Story adapted from Jung-hsi, "Fu-lu: Su Tung-p'o tu-tzu li te Ch'an-tsung ku-tung," pp.395-397. See also Garma C.C. Chang, *The Practice of Zen* (New York, 1959), pp.31-32, for a shorter version. Neither list their source, probably a popular *hsiao-shuo*.
109. Su Shih's ideas on this topic are blurred. In his "Encomium for the Portrait of Ch'an Master Kuang-hui, 1st generation of Tung-li [Monastery]," he says of this man, "Did he not realize that the myriad dharmas do not arise, age, become ill or die [the 4 states that prompted Śākya Muni to seek release]? And he responded to things without emotion 無情." This appears to be dedicated to Tung-lin Ch'ang-tsung (1025-1091), for the verse reads, "Dignified is Lord Tsung, a dragon among monks" (SSWC 623; cf. *Ch'an-hsi chi* 2:19), which means it is a mature view. In "Encomium for Elder Shih's Portrait," i.e. for Ch'ing-ying Wei-shih (*Chien-chung Ch'ing-kuo Hsü-teng lu* Z136.135b), he wrote, "The Way gave him a face, Heaven gave him a body. Although (the portrait) is similar (to the man), in reality he/it is insentient. The portrait is clear and latent, how different from red and blue (paint)?" (SSWC 637; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 2:22. Note resemblances to passage from *Chuang-tzu* cited in chapter 3 on *wu-ch'ing*). The passage is ambiguous, playing on the portrait and the man. In contrast, his "Inscription on Thought Without Perversion Studio," which judging from the similar name, "Encomium for the Thought Without Perversion Cinnabar (Pill)" which is dated 1095 (SSWC 607) is from late in his life, says, "To have thoughts that are all perverted, or to lack thoughts which is to be (like) earth and wood, how can I get the Way? Is it only to think without an object of thought? Thereupon on a mat I sat upright all day, not speaking, bright-eyed looking directly with nothing to be seen, controlling the mind to correct my thoughts, and yet there is nothing to be aware of. Thereupon I attained the Way..." (SSWC 575). This also makes meditation a form of non-emotion.
110. Ch'ang-tsung once said, "The Buddhas and patriarchs are ill. They must be cured urgently. The insentient explains the inconceivable. Huh! What sort of idea is this?" *Chien-chung Ch'ing-kuo Hsü-teng lu* Z136.184b15-16.

discussed the insentient Buddhahood thesis with Ch'ang-tsung.¹¹¹ In response to their discussion of the insentient, Su wrote a poem that was to become a landmark in Ch'an circles throughout East Asia:

The sound of the stream is the broad, long tongue (of Buddha's sermon).

Are not the hues of the mountain those of the pure Body?

At nightfall the 84,000 gathas;

On another day how could I present them to someone?¹¹²

v) *Response and Interpretation*

Once this poem became known it elicited responses, either in imitation or elucidation. One of the earliest poems with a hint of this "echoing" was that by Ts'an-liao, but it is still rather conventional, indirect and ambiguous.¹¹³ However, Wang Shih-p'eng's selected commentaries shows that even before the mid-Southern Sung there were a number of glosses on this poem. In the introduction Chao Yao-ch'ing 趙堯卿 gives a history of Tung-lin Monastery and the life of Ch'ang-tsung

111. Ch'ang-tsung was a native of Szechwan and a fellow pupil together with Hui-t'ang Tsu-hsin and Pao-feng K'o-wen under Huang-lung Hui-nan, founder of one of the Lin-chi branches of Ch'an. See Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.159-161; Abe, p.311ff.

112. "Presented to Elder Tsung of Tung-lin," SSSC 1218-1219. There are a number of translations: Frodsham, *New Perspectives...*, p.8 gives part; *Sunflower Splendor*, p.348; Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*, p.279; Yasuichi Awakawa, *Zen Painting*, p.24. The text is slightly different in Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* (Nakamura Sōichi, *Zen-yaku Shōbōgenzō*, vol. 1, p.438), where 山色豈非 becomes 山色豈非, and 他日如何 becomes 他日何如. Master Hsing-yün, "Keynote Speech of the Fo Kuang Shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism" (in Chinese and English) has 溪聲盡是 for 溪聲便是 and 昨夜 for 夜來. The poem is also cited by Hasegawa, p.279; Abe, p.343 note 18; Nukariya, vol. 2, p.164.

113. *Ts'an-liao tzu shih chi* 38c1-4, which reads, "Last year at Yün-men Marshes in the South lands/ To visit the Grand Scribe (Huang T'ing-chien) I had tarried./ Tung-p'o was a cold emerald, a most beautiful situation./ I regret that I could not go rambling with him./ This year Mt. Lu in its depths and seclusion,/ I enticed you to suddenly come to soothe the lonely hermit (me)./ The creek moon and cliff cloud also have emotion./ Last night for you they put on their best complexion..." The site is the same, but the transference of emotion onto the scenery traditional.

who was abbot there from 1080. Chao quotes the *Seng-pao chuan* by Hui-hung, who incidentally was perhaps the first to include this poem in poetics, which contains a prediction by the famous Hui-yüan of Mt. Lu who said that 700 years after his death a physical-bodied great Master would live there. Chao says that Ch'ang-tsung was the confirmation of that prophecy.

Li Hou cites the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* story of Ch'an Master Nan-yüan Tao-ming (a pupil of Ma-tsu) being asked, "What can you do with one word?" The Master poked out his tongue and said, "Wait till I have a broad long tongue and then I'll speak to you."¹¹⁴ This explanation of the first line by the attribute of the Buddha's tongue was taken up by Tzu-jen 子仁 (?), who noted that the *Saddharmapundarika* says, "The World-Honoured manifested a great divine power, put forth his broad, long tongue and the pure Dharma-body."¹¹⁵

For the next line on the colours of the mountain being those of the pure Body, Chao Tzu-kung 趙次公 the earliest commentator, says,

The Buddha is said to be of three bodies; the Dharma-body which is pure and attributeless, the Transformation-body which takes on life to manifest (the Buddha), and the Recompense-body which is the body of the adornment of virtues.¹¹⁶

Shih Yüan-chih's Southern Sung commentary also provides a description of Mt. Lu, Hui-yüan's residence there and the information that Dharma Teacher Chih-yung, the calligrapher monk friend of Wang Hsi-chih whom Fang Kuan was supposedly a reincarnation of, lived in Hsi-lin Monastery, as well as the story of Ch'ang-tsung. Shih correctly identifies the first line as a reference to the *A-mi-t'o ching*, a Pure Land sutra that Nan-yang Hui-chung referred his questioners to for proof of his insentient theory. The sutra reads:

Thus these Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges each produce in his own land the attribute of the broad, long tongue that universally covers the trichiliocosm and great trichiliocosm, producing the genuine words.¹¹⁷

114. T51.249a19-20.

115. Cf. Leon Hurvitz, *The Lotus Blossom...*, p.286 - not exact, especially the reference to the "pure Dharma-body."

116. TPSCC 389d5-390a8. Note the final couplet lacks a gloss.

117. T12.347b20-22. Shih Yüan-chih cites only the middle phrase from this.

Shih then cites the *Leng-yen ching* in explanation of the third line of the poem:

Equally 84,000 pure jewelled eyes, 84,000 cakras 火樂 heads and 84,000 mudrā arms all signify the number of the Buddha-Dharma gates.¹¹⁸

He then continues to cite the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* passage.¹¹⁹ However, the commentary by Wang Wen-kao (1764-?) published in 1822 cites Shih Yüan-chih as also quoting the *Ch'ien-fo-ming ching* 千佛名經 which equates the "pure Dharma-body" with Vairocana Buddha,¹²⁰ thereby hinting at a pan-en-Buddha.

In Ch'an circles too the poem was often cited.¹²¹ For example, Dharma Teacher Yüan-chih Ch'eng-wu of Lin-an was a student of T'ien-t'ai, and experiencing problems, he came to consult Hu-kuo Monastery's Tz'u-an Ching-yüan (1094-1146), a Lin-chi monk who was versed in T'ien-t'ai and a pupil of the illustrious Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in.¹²² They were talking at night when Ch'eng-wu raised the problem of Su Shih's verse and said,

"It's not easy to arrive at this field (of enlightenment)."

Ching-yüan said, "How can you talk of arriving when you haven't yet seen the path?"

"It is just like (Su) saying, 'The sound of the stream is the broad long tongue, Are not the hues of the mountain those of the pure Body?' If you have not arrived at this field, how can you have this information?"

Ching-yüan said, "This non-Buddhist 門外漢!"

"Master, do not be sparing in your refutation."

Ching-yüan said, It merely comes from him vigorously and brilliantly attempting to spy out and catch it. If you can do this and defeat it, then you can also know where your birth-sign star [lit.the original life at dawn] will fall."

118. Cf. T19.129c9-11; Luk, *Surangama*, p.141.

119. ShCSS 400a4-b5.

120. SSSC 1218. Otherwise the Ch'ing commentators add nothing new.

121. CTPTL by Lei-an Cheng-shou (1146-1208), published in 1204 (*Zenseki kaidai* no. 142) at Z137.318b7-8; the *Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu* by Yüan-chi Chu-t'ing (d.1404) (*Zenseki kaidai* no 250) at T51.601b14-15, and the CSTFTL Z147.901b14-15.

122. *Zengaku Daijiten* 258c.

Ch'eng-wu could not sleep all night when he was enlightened by the sound of the (dawn) bell. This removed his hidden expectation. He wrote a substitute for (Su Shih's) gatha:

"Layman Tung-p'o was too loquacious of tongue.
The sound and colour of Kuan-chung about to permeate his body.
If the stream is sound and the mountain is colour
There is no mountain or water to sadden people."¹²³

The *Tung-p'o Ch'an-hsi chi* quotes this poem twice, the first time with a citation from a "poetry talk," the *Shih-hua tsung-kuei* 詩話總編 which states, "Even the old monks of the past could not fault such an excellent verse."¹²⁴ The second inclusion makes it the first of two poems on Mt. Lu.¹²⁵ According to Hui-hung, Huang T'ing-chien supposedly commented, "This is the elder realizing no surplus words in the free preaching of prajñā.¹²⁶ It was not that his brush-tip had a mouth, for how could it spew forth this untransmittable marvel?"¹²⁷ Thus this poem was highly evaluated both by monks and poet critics, and was cited and imitated in Korea and Japan.¹²⁸

vi) *Su Shih's Sources for the Poem*

More relevant, however, are the sources of Su Shih's own ideas for this poem. His devotion to Amitābha and his association with Ch'ang-tsung explain references to the *A-mi-t'o ching* and to the insentient sermon theory. Moreover, Su Shih

123. Jung-hsi, "Fu-lu...", pp.393-394 from the *Wu-teng Hui-yūan* by Hui-ming Shou-tso, completed 1252 (*Zenseki kaidai* no. 144), at Z138.222b6-14. For the "birth-sign star," see note in Araki Kengo, *Daiesho: Zen no Goroku 17* (Tokyo, 1969), p.175.

124. *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:5.

125. Some claim it was originally one of three poems, it being the third, but this is incorrect. See Shoji Kakuitsu, pp.16-17. The second poem is translated by Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.101.

126. I.e. to establish various expedients and preach freely. Literally to preach vertically and horizontally. See Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 130b.

127. *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:8, amended from Shoji Kakuitsu, p.16. This is cited from Hui-hung's *Leng-chai yeh-hua*. Note SSSC 2447 cites a commentary by Ch'a Shen-hsing of the K'ang-hsi era that quotes Huang in respect of another poem saying "the brush tip had a tongue."

128. See Appendix A.

undoubtedly knew elements of this theory long before he met Ch'ang-tsung, for in a poem written in 1074 about "Hu-ch'iu Monastery,"¹²⁹ he refers to the famous tale of Tao-sheng preaching the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* doctrine of the icchantika to the rocks in the region of this monastery:

Entering the gate there is no flat ground
 The stone road narrowly penetrates the range.
 A *yin* (cold) wind arises in the torrent gorge.
 An old tree shades the clear well.
 Who will again see the Chan-lu blade?
 The autumn waters (of the sword-pond) glints bright,
 The iron flowers brocade the cliff wall.
 This killing atmosphere silences the frogs and toads.
 Dark and gloomy the hall of Lord Sheng,
 To the right and left stand the blocks of stone.
 In those years some did not believe
 This strange one who served with zeal.¹³⁰

Su Shih's understanding of the bodies of the Buddha came from the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* and the *Leng-yen ching*. In his "Discussion of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*" Su takes an unusual metaphor, one most appropriate for a poet of the numinous landscape to explain the Trikāya:

Recently I read the Sixth Patriarch's *Platform Sutra* which indicates and preaches the three bodies of Dharma, Recompense and Transformation to open men's minds and clear their eyes. So I shall present a simile for a moment. I will use the simile of the eye.

Seeing is the Dharma-body (Dharmakāya), the seer is the Recompense-body (Sambhogakāya) and the seen is the Transformation-body (Nirmāṇakāya). What is meant by "seeing is the Dharma-body"? The eye's seeing nature (*chien-hsing* 見性) is neither existent nor not existent, for an eyeless man cannot avoid seeing black, and (although) the eye is decayed and the pupil missing, the seeing-nature is not extinguished. So the seeing-nature is not conditioned by [dependent on] the existence or non-existence of the eye; there is no coming or going, arising or cessation. Therefore I say "seeing is the Dharma-body."

129. Dating based on ShCSS which is chronological.

130. SSSC 559. Wang Shih-p'eng noted the reference to Tao-sheng, as did Shih Yüan-chih, ShCSS 220c8-221a4, who mentions that there was a hell dedicated to Tao-sheng at this monastery.

What is meant by "the seer is the Recompense-body"? Although the seeing-nature is present, if the eye faculty is not present, one cannot see. If one could foster that faculty and not have it blocked by things, constantly making the light penetrate clearly, the seeing-nature would be complete. Therefore I say "the seer [ability of seeing] is the Recompense-body".

What is meant by "the seen is the Transformation-body"? Once the faculty and the nature are complete, in the space of a moment, the seen millions in all ways transform and change, all being marvellous function. Therefore I say "the seen is the Transformation-body."¹³¹

The passage of the *Platform Sutra* referred to is one where Hui-neng says that the three bodies of the Buddha can be seen in one's own physical body, for they are within one's own self-nature ~~自性~~ and are produced from one's own (Buddha-)nature. Significantly, the Dharma-body is here called the "pure Dharma-body Buddha."¹³²

Another clue to Su's interpretation comes from the peculiar usage of *chien-hsing* in the passage which is not the standard Ch'an "seeing the (Buddha-)nature" but the *Leng-yen ching*'s "nature of seeing":

If an eyeless man who totally sees black before him suddenly attains eyesight and can see all the various colours of the sense objects before him, and one says that the eyes see; then if a man (with eyes and sight) in a dark room who totally sees black before him suddenly obtains a lamp light and can likewise see the colours of the sense objects in front of him, one should then say that it is the lamp that sees. If a lamp sees, the lamp's ability to have

131. SSWC 2082; *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 84d1-8. "Faculty" here also includes the organ. Note the aptness of Ch'ien Chung-shu's quotes about "the despotism of the eye" and "the primacy of the sense of vision" for Chinese poetry, *T'an-i lu*, p.330.

132. See Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp.141-142 for a translation, Chinese text pp.8-9. Unfortunately we do not know which version of the sutra Su was using; the only texts we know of that date before his time are the Tun-huang which Yampolsky translated, the Hui-hsin of 967 (not extant but ancestor of the Kōshōji and Daijōji texts), and a no-longer extant text cited by Ch'i-sung in 1056 (it has been argued by Morten Schlütter of Yale University in a paper for the International Conference on Ch'an Studies at Fo Kuang Shan that this text is not the ancestor of the longer versions of the sutra as has been previously assumed; "Genealogy of the Platform Sutra," pp.25-26). For a comparison of passages from the various versions, see Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai, *Enō kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1978), p.301, and their genealogy of the text transmission, p.399.

sight 有見 (means) that it is not to be called a lamp.... Therefore you should know that a lamp can reveal forms but the nature of seeing in this way is of the mind and not of the eye.¹³³

This idea that the Buddha-nature is the substratum for all human existence, physical and mental, has long been a doctrine with many dangers for Ch'an. It can be seen in the ideas of Ma-tsu Tao-i (706-786)¹³⁴ and something similar was said by Nan-yang Hui-chung to be the source of the Śrenika heresy of the immortal soul in a "Platform Sutra."¹³⁵ The *Leng-yen ching* clearly conceives of this nature, or rather the Tathāgatagarbha, as being the source of all existence sentient and insentient:

If moreover, the world, and all faculties and sense-data, skandhas, āyatanas and realms etcetera are all the Tathāgatagarbha which is pure originally, why does it suddenly produce mountains, rivers and the great earth, and all created attributes....? Furthermore, the Thus Come has said, "Earth, water, fire and wind are in original nature perfectly merged, which is omnipresent in the realm of dharmas and is clearly and eternally present."¹³⁶

Finally, the "84,000 gathas" may also have been derived from the *Leng-yen ching* as Su mentions in an entry of 1100:

The ear is like bamboo, the mind like a lotus flower... as soon as they come they go; the 84,000, this meaning comes from the *Leng-yen*.¹³⁷

Therefore, given that the *Platform Sutra* and the *Leng-yen ching* were among Su's favourite Buddhist texts, it is clear that he was familiar with ideas conducive to

133. T19.109b21-27; Luk, *Surangama*, p.21.

134. Yanagida, *Shoki Zenshūshisho no kenkyū*, p.174, also described by Tsung-mi. Cf. Jorgensen, "Nan-yang Hui-chung and the Heresies of the Platform Sutra," p.19.

135. Jorgensen, "Nan-yang...", p.3. Su may have held similar notions. Cf. "Harmonizing after Tzu-yu's 'Combing his hair in the moonlight'" of 1094 (SSSC 2128-2129), and ShCSS 614c, TPSSC 93a8-b3, where Su himself refers to the CTCTL, and in the body of the poem says that the Dharma and Recompense bodies are non-dual, one.

136. T19.119c15-22.

137. *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 92c1-2.

the conclusion that the insentient preached the Dharma and that it had the Buddha-nature.

Moreover, his reading of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* would have introduced him to clear statements of these paired theses, a fact which the Sung commentators were aware of. Indeed, there appears to have been an upsurge in Su Shih's references to these ideas, especially as seen in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, from the time that he wrote this famous verse (1084). Perhaps he held discussions on the topic, for he was joined soon after this by Ts'an-liao on Mt. Lu¹³⁸ and they are said to have delighted in the Ch'an mind.¹³⁹ A little later Su visited Wang An-shih¹⁴⁰ and they had an enjoyable time chanting poetry and talking of Buddhism.¹⁴¹

vi) *Genre and the different senses of wu-ch'ing*

When we examine his career chronologically and with an eye to genre, we notice that 1084 marks a relatively clear demarcation between poems that explicitly express the Ch'an idea of the insentient and the earlier and vaguer idea of lack of emotion with all its ambiguities.

In a poem of 1059 about listening to the playing of a *ch'in* (lute) he discusses the *ch'in* as the lone survival of the ancient instruments, and the desire of people for new melodic tunes. He discusses the sound of the lute, its

Insentient dead wood, now is still surpassingly so.

How much more the ancient idea falling into the vast wastes.¹⁴²

In 1060 Su wrote about a spring in Ching-chou:

Men of Ch'u rarely have wells for drinking,

The earth's character usually does not divulge them.

They coax it to become Hui Spring,

138. ShCSS 402a8.

139. 真禪心 SSSC 1233; ShCSS 402b1.

140. ShCSS 407c-d.

141. "38th Letter to T'eng Ta-tao," SSWC 1487.

142. SSSC 13; TPSCC 105a8ff.

The earth dug as if it were broken.
 The spring source is originally without emotion (*wu-ch'ing*),
 How can one ask if it is muddied or clean?
 The two waters (springs) of T'an and Yu [in the South]
 Right from ancient times were ashamed that it did not snow.¹⁴³

Such a reference to *wu-ch'ing* is ambiguous and probably traditional, as was the usage in the following *yüeh-fu* "Song on the Bamboo Branches" that were stained by the tears of the two consorts of Shun who were known as the ladies of the Hsiang when Shun died. This tradition has associations as far back as Ch'ü Yüan and the use of *wu-ch'ing* in this context is a feature of T'ang poetry.¹⁴⁴ Su Shih wrote:

Riding a dragon he rises to heaven without a trace,
 The grass and trees without emotion vainly convey their tears.¹⁴⁵

Even in the 1070s the usage is still conventional and ambiguous¹⁴⁶ as in a poem on exchanging a bronze sword for two inkstones in 1084, where the emotional distress created by Pao Sheng (Yü) exchanging two singing girls or concubines for horses is

Not as good as emotionlessly giving these to you,
 Our everlasting friendship compared with peaches, plums and gems.¹⁴⁷

143. SSSC 69; TPSCC 267a.

144. See above, chapter 4, poem by Kuo Chen, and Edward Schafer, *The Divine Woman*, pp.81-88 for the story.

145. SSSC 24-25; TPSCC 617b. The bamboo branches convey the tears.

146. In a poem of 1074 for "Tiao T'ung-nien's Thatched Hall": "the water flows emotionlessly of itself into the pond" (SSSC 536; TPSCC 538a). In another of 1076, "Stream Water Pavilion" paralleling a poem by Wen T'ung, the line "Bursting through 决去 the lake waves, still there is emotion," is ambiguous as to whether it applies to the poet or the waters (SSSC 674; TPSCC 557c4-7).

147. SSSC 1237-1238; TPSCC 577c5-6; ShCSS 405d. The last line refers to a poem in the *Shih Ching*, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, pp.107-108.

However, after 1084 we find expressions of the insentient being considered as thinking entities, as in his well-known *tz'u* "Rhyme Following Chang Chih-fu's *tz'u* on Willow Catkins" to the tune "Water-Dragon Chant":

Seeming to be a flower and yet not a flower,
 Not even anybody to care that neglected it falls.
 Leaving home it sticks to the roadside.
 The consideration is nevertheless
 The insentient has longing
 That twists and injures its soft bowels,
 Tiring completely its alluring eyes
 That trying to open still close.
 Dreaming, it follows the wind over 10,000 *li*
 Seeking for where her lover had gone,
 But yet again by
 The oriole is woken.
 I do not resent that these flowers have all flown off,
 But I resent that the fallen red ones of the Western Garden are difficult to
 reassemble.
 Dawn comes and the rain has passed,
 Where are the remaining traces?
 (On) a pond (as) fragmented duckweed!
 These autumn colours are in three parts:
 Two parts dusty ground,
 One part flowing water.
 Look carefully, what comes are not willow catkins.
 Speck after speck
 The tears of parting people.¹⁴⁸

148. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih tz'u-hsüan*, pp.55-56; Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 2, pp.145-147; Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry* (Princeton U.P., 1980), pp.189-192; *Sunflower Splendor*, p. 349. Ch'en Erh-tung describes the whole poem as ambiguous, being a description of willow catkins falling, and being depicted anthropomorphically. Ogawa, p.147, thinks the "consideration" of line 4 to refer to the observer, although the subject is not clear.

The *tz'u*, which was traditionally a genre limited to expressing love and feminine emotions,¹⁴⁹ had long inverted sentience and insentience in illustration.¹⁵⁰ This form was expanded by Su Shih even into philosophical topics.¹⁵¹ The *tz'u* allowed Su Shih to stress his intimate feelings without sacrificing the universal philosophical questions that had heretofore usually appeared in the *shih* form.¹⁵² Thus in treating the willow catkins as feeling and longing as humans do,¹⁵³ Su Shih could demonstrate the empathy between man and his environment, that the sentient and insentient are equal. This poem of course had its ancestry in lines by Tu Fu, as was noticed by the critic Tseng Chi-li (ca. 1147):¹⁵⁴

The willow catkins and floating gossamer threads also have emotion;
Following the wind and reflecting in the sun, are lightly put in motion.

Tseng explains Su's *tz'u* at length, applying some of the critical terminology of the Chiang-hsi School to it.¹⁵⁵

Clear proof that Su Shih had adopted the theory of the insentient sermon into his world-view is found in a poem from 1091 and in the sources the commentators cited. In "Presented to Elder Yüeh," a monk from Ying-chou, he writes of him:

Ten years have passed here
Yet he is still a talented man.
He invited me to sit at the pit oven,
His words soft but meaning very true.

149. Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution....*, p.158.

150. *Ibid.*, p.52.

151. *Ibid.*, p.158.

152. *Ibid.*, pp.165, 170.

153. *Ibid.*, p.189.

154. Dates follow Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en*, p.76. Tseng Chi-li was a pupil of Lü Pen-chung, SYHA X 36:26, 40-41.

155. *T'ing-chai shih-hua* 17b (in Ting Fu-pao, *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*).

The white ashes are like drifts of snow,
 In their midst a red unicorn (alcohol warmer).
 Do not touch the red unicorn
 For that will make the ashes deacon glare.
 He folds his arms and just silently sits.
 The brick wall merely patiently reiterates (the teaching).¹⁵⁶

While conventional but ambiguous usages continued¹⁵⁷ and he sometimes made reference to the *Chuang-tzu*¹⁵⁸ or to the sage being emotionless,¹⁵⁹ the antithesis of

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156. SSSC 1803. For the final line, Shih Yüan-chih cites the CTCTL: "walls and tile shards can also preach the Dharma." Other references are to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and a Han-shan poem. Note an ambiguous use of *wu-ch'ing* in a poem witten on the rhyme of the words "snow" for Liu Ching-wen, the South-eastern military commander, to detain him for a while: "On the Myriad Pine Range thousands of yellow leaves/ Carrying wine, year after year treading the pines and snow./ Lord Liu, after he has gone, who will return?/ Under the flowers there is a man, mentally cut off/ In the Eastern Studio at night seeking out 'snow' verses./ Both hands chapped, frosted hair cracked/ The insentient (heartlessly), how could (the wind) still fear poking fun (at me)/ Penetrating the blinds, entering the door and blowing out the lamp?" (SSSC 1819-1820; ShCSS 539c).
157. For example, in a poem from 1092 about T'ang Lin-fu staying at Ling-ying Monastery: "I do not know whence the water comes/ Leaping waves rush through the ravine like lightning bolts./ The insentient has intent, neither fathomable" (SSSC 1894; TPSCC 132b6ff.; ShCSS 554d). Other instances occur in poems at TPSCC 375a6-8; SSSC 2392 of 1100 A.D.
158. In a particularly Taoistic poem of late 1096 to early 1097 when Su again took an interest in alchemy, "Presented to Ch'en Shih-tao," he wrote: "One breath mixed, it arises and again arises./[If you] have a body and a mind, then you have emotion" (TPSCC 394c7ff.; SSSC 2210). The citation is from *Chuang-tzu* chapter 5.
159. In "Following an old rhyme, presented to Elder Ch'ing-liang," written in early 1101 on his final trip north, he compares the monk with Nature: "Passing over the Huai and entering into Lo, the land is very dusty./ I raise my fan to the western wind that wants to soil humanity/ But I am amazed that the cloud mountain [Ch'ing-liang] has not changed hue./ How could I know that the river moon divides its body./ Calmed in mind he has attained the Way, his aged complexion

yu-ch'ing and *wu-ch'ing* was kept alive in a *tz'u* "Sent to Ts'an-liao" from K'ai-feng in 1091:

The feeling (*yu-ch'ing*) wind for 10,000 *li* rolls the tide in;
 Heartlessly (*wu-ch'ing*) it sends the tide away.
 I ask, "On the Ch'ien-t'ang River
 And the mouth of Hsi-hsing Bay,
 How many times have the slanting sun rays (set)?"
 No use considering past and present,
 In a flash the men of the past are no longer.
 Who resembles Tung-p'o in his dotage,
 White-haired and forgetting his mechanism?
 Remember the western banks of West Lake
 And the beautiful spots in the mid-spring hills;
 The sky azure and the mists light.
 I calculate that for poets to get each other
 Like you and me is rare,
 (So) I plan another year to return east by sea.¹⁶⁰

Although he may be alluding to his political fortunes,¹⁶¹ the understanding is that Nature is impartial; it can be loving and heartless, the heartlessness being the passage of time which matches the fickleness of human emotions.¹⁶² One has to accept the beauties of the moment, including those fortuitous meetings of like minds, and not try to retain them. This is true detachment, the delight of the sage.

fine;/ Meeting with things without emotion, his versification method new" (SSSC 2456; Wang, TPSCC 388d1-5 notes a reference in the 4th line to the CTCTL).

160. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih tz'u-hsüan*, p.60; Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 2, pp.151-153; Kang-i Sun Chang, *Evolution*, pp.162-163. The ninth line is a reference to *Chuang-tzu*.

161. This poem has often been interpreted as a political barb directed at the government for shunting Su to and from court to exile, and so is dated 1091 and not 1096. The poem in fact led to Ts'an-liao being laicized, but he was allowed to return to monk status in 1101. See Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 2, p.152.

162. Cf. Kang-i Sun Chang, *Evolution*, p.90.

Moreover, Nature itself provides us with the Way if we could but look and listen. In 1101, on his final trip north, as he explains in the poem's title, "(Liu) Ch'i-chih loved to talk about Ch'an, but did not like travelling to the mountains. In the mountains a bamboo shoot was produced and I teased Chi-chih by saying we could consult Elder Yü-p'an 玉版 together and wrote this poem." Wang Shih-p'eng quotes Hui-hung's account of this incident as contained in the *Leng-chai yeh-hua* as follows:

The teacher (Su Shih) invited Ch'i-chih to eat some bamboo shoot, and the taste being excellent, he asked "What is it called?" Tung-p'o said, "It is Master Yü-p'an, this elder who preaches the Dharma well." Ch'i-chih then realized he was being kidded. Tung-p'o laughed heartily and wrote the gatha (so that people will obtain the taste of Ch'an enjoyment).¹⁶³

The poem reads:

The clustered laura is truly Po-chang;
 The Dharma heirs have lateral branches.
 Don't be afraid of Shih-t'ou (Stone-head) road;
 Come and consult Master Yü-p'an.
 Depend and lean on a cypress
 And question the budding dragon child (bamboo shoot).
 The tiles and pebbles still can preach,
 How could you not know this?¹⁶⁴

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163. SSSC 2447; TPSCC 420d6ff. The comment in parentheses is that quoted by Ch'a Shen-hsing. This is the poem of which Huang T'ing-chien actually made the remark on the free preaching of prajñā. See note 126. For Liu Ch'i-chih, see chapter 3 and note 147, SYHA VII 20:35-36.
164. SSSC 2447-2448; TPSCC 420d6ff; ShCSS 657c-d. A clustered laura refers to the Ch'an monastery, or samgha, and Po-chang is the mountain on which Huai-hai established his monastery and the first rule of the Order, as Chao Tz'u-kung mentions, citing the CTCTL. As Su Shih's autocommentary says, Yü-p'an means a lateral branch of a bamboo shoot. Thus Su was punning on the monk's name. Chao Tz'u-kung adds that the Ch'an establishment 宇 is called the Dharma-heir (Wang Shih-p'eng uses 祠 rather than 祠, which is correct, in the sense that the Ch'an 宇 is called the Dharma-Ancestral Hall, i.e. lineage), and that a branch Ch'an family 家 is called a lateral branch, citing the CTCTL as evidence. Li Hou explains the third line, also from CTCTL, where Ma-tsu says to Teng Ying-feng, "the Shih-t'ou road is slippery." The fourth line according to Shih Yüan-chih refers to the *Ch'ien-yen lu* in which

Su Shih could not resist the pun that had presented itself with the Ch'an Master having a name that also meant bamboo shoot. It also gave him a chance to playfully use the Ch'an doctrine of the insentient sermon and demonstrate the instability of relations between sentient men and insentient Nature, objects such as ancient cypresses which regrew at Tz'u-fu Hall in a monastery at Tung-wan:

This cypress has no ego,
 Who is it that flourishes and decays?

 Each withering and flourishing
 Are all gates of expedience.
 No men hear
 The tiles and pebbles preaching the Dharma,
 (So) now listen to the cypress
 Clearly and constantly preaching.¹⁶⁵

vii) *Means to the Realization of the Buddhahood of the Insentient and Poetic Inspiration*

But how could a layman like Su Shih attain a realization of this interchangeability or ultimate reality? Certainly he had the doctrinal underpinning of the Buddhist theory and he did practice meditation and read the sutras:

Just able to wake within a dream

 The *Leng-yen* on the bed-head,
 Its marvellous gathas I occasionally read,
 Reverse the flow back to illuminate the nature

Shih Chi-lung sends a man to pick herbs on Mt. Hua, where he obtained a jade tablet 玉版 . Su's poem borrows this as a simile for bamboo shoot. Ch'eng Yen quotes the CTCTL where Chao-chou replies to the question on the intent of coming from the West with "the cypress tree in front of the courtyard." For the next line, Tzu-jen cites a Lü T'ung poem, "A myriad bud-sheaths cover the dragon child..." For the penultimate and most important line for us, Chao Tz'u-kung cites *Chuang-tzu*, "The Tao is in tiles and rubble," and also the CTCTL where a monk asks Wen-chu, "What is Buddha?", to which he replies, "Brick walls, tiles and rubble may yet preach (the meaning of the Dharma so that it is clear and bright)."

165. SSWC 637; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 2:25.

(So that) it stands alone, leaving that to be contemplated.

I do not yet know Yang-shan's Ch'an

I have calmed the mind and understand freedom;

Assist me and do not reprove me.¹⁶⁶

However, there was a measure of playfulness in his meditation practice which delighted in Nature. In "Drifting on the Ying (River)" he confesses:

It is my nature to delight in approaching water

I look down from the painted boat (into) the bright mirror;

Laughing I ask, "Who are you?"

I scaled armour (turtle) suddenly surfaces

And disturbs my beard and eyebrows,

Scattering them so there are a hundred Tung-p'os.

In an instant I am again present.

How can this be that the water gathers together

And gives me such amusement?

The sounds, colours, smells and tastes

Are inverted, confusing the giddy child.

Equal to children's playthings,

The few stone agates in the water.

Chao, Ch'en and the two Ou-yangs

Together consult the Teacher of men and gods

166. "Following the rhyme of Tzu-yu After his Bath," of 1098, SSSC 2302-2303, TPSCC 117c. This poem may be addressed to his brother, for he may be teasing him about losing his hair. The 4th line is according to Wang Shih-p'eng a reference to the *Leng-yen ching* in which 一源返根大根皆照(?). Cf. T19.131a20-21. The reference to Yang-shan is in the CTCTL where he says to Hsiang-yen, "You have only obtained the Thus Come Ch'an, and not yet obtained the Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an." The last lines according to the Ch'ing commentators refer to a poem by Tzu-yu (Ch'e), "Still I fear falling into (the state of a) ^śavaka/ And greatly vow to preserve and reprove myself."

And contemplate the marvel, each having attainment.

Together I presented them with this poem of drifting on the Ying.¹⁶⁷

Yet this object of contemplation is merely an expedient, is illusory, as the following poem written about the same date suggests. Titled "The Draft Writing of the Old Man of the Hall of the Six Contemplations," it deals with the six contemplations of the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra*, i.e. dream, illusion, bubbles, reflections 影多, dew and lightning:

Things arise and they have images, with images there is excitement.

Dream and illusion are without fundament, formed in a moment.

During that dream time realize that it is non-existent.

Bubbles and reflections as soon as lost in a flash are different.

The pure dew not yet dry, the lightning already went.

This ceased, cessation ended, that is the true me.

I say it is like dead ashes (the mind), in reality no decay.

At the jousting place I make a jest, samādhi is present...¹⁶⁸

167. Written in 1091 with the four men Chao Ching-k'uang, Ch'en Shih-tao, Ou-yang Shu-pi and Ou-yang Chi-mo (two sons of Ou-yang Hsiu). Wang Shih-p'eng cites the CTCTL to show that this is a contemplation of one's reflection in water as Tung-shan Liang-chieh did when passing a stream, thereby attaining enlightenment (cf. also *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:11). Ch'a Shen-hsing evaluated it as "deep in Ch'an principle." Chao Tz'u-kung refers to the love of playing with water as the wise man's enjoyment of its sounds, colours, taste, and smell. The "Teacher of men and gods" is the Buddha, and Wang Shih-p'eng says the penultimate line refers to the *Lao-tzu's* "constantly without desires in order to contemplate its marvel" (SSSC 1794-1795). The reference to non-dispersal is probably to the second of the sixteen visualization-contemplations in the *Kuan wu-liang-shou ching*, the water visualization, wherein "one visualizes the Western (Pure) Land as entirely being a great mass of water. One sees the water as pure and clear, and makes it bright 皎了, without any idea of division or dispersal. Once one has seen the water one visualizes ice...and lapis lazuli" (T12.342a6-9).

168. This poem was written for the hall of monk Liao-hsing. The first line according to Shih Yüan-chih is, ^{a reference} to the *Tso Chuan* (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, p.169 column A); "When things are produced, they have their figures; their figures go on to multiply," and the third to the *Yüan-chüeh ching's* "Like a man in a dream, when one is dreaming he is non-existent, but when one wakes one realizes there was nothing to be obtained." The sixth line according to Chao Tz'u-

Sleep was apparently one path to this realization, a marvellous realm that blurred all distinctions in unreality, a place where events occurred without overt emotions or desires. In a work titled "Record of the Sleep Country" Su describes this utopian state as bordering Ch'i-chou,

and yet the people of Ch'i-chou do not know it.... Its land is flat and broad, without east, west, or north and south; its people are at peace and are comfortable, without illness, pain, early death or ulcers. They are simple and do not produce the seven emotions; vague and do not relate to the myriad things... have no boats or carts....do not know of heat or cold... in other words, all of what they see with their eyes is false.

Su then says that Huang-ti reached this country, and as a result governed his state simply, but later rulers could not do this:

The rulers of the Warring States, Ch'in and Han pitifully harmed life, internally exhausting themselves in long nights of drinking, externally involved in the implements of war. Thus this was the start of the ruination of the Country of Sleep. But...Chuang Chou knew that the passing transformations were a butterfly and flitted in their midst, deceiving people who are not awake....Finally I could not get there; how can it not be distant?¹⁶⁹

kung is a reference to the *Nirvana Sutra's* "Arisal and cessation already extinguished, quiet cessation is delight." The reference to dead ashes is to *Chuang-tzu* (SSSC 1795-1796; TPSCC 525b2-525c). The jest and samādhi 作戲三昧俱 probably refer to "sporting samādhi" 遊戲三昧, to sport and play as with no-mind, the mind unimpeded, the mind in concentration (samādhi) on play, and so not distracted. The *Platform Sutra* says that this state is called "seeing one's nature" (*Zengaku Daijiten* 1246c). This not in the Tun-huang text. Ting Fu pao's commentary to the *Platform Sutra* (*Liu-tsu t'an ching chu-chieh! chien-chu*), p.125, says this term also appears in the *Yüan-chüeh ching* where it is compared to a group of animals playing. If they see a lion they are all afraid, but the lion/meditator plays freely. He also notes that the *Ta chih-tu lun* says, "The bodhisattva-mind produces various samādhi, enjoying entering and leaving them freely, which is called play...like a lion in the midst of deer, he is free and without fear, which is called play." Note also Su's "Encomium for the Hall of Six Contemplations" where he says, "I contemplate sentient beings moment by moment being a man. In the day I do not see the mind, at night I do not see the body. The Buddha said it is like a dream, neither visualized 相 nor caused. One is always aware in a dream which is body and which spirit" (SSWC 607).

169. SSWC 371.

But in sleep dream could be a problem for meditators. As Su wrote in a poem written after drinking, "At the Noon Window Sitting Dozing":

Body and mind, neither are seen,
 Breath by breath, at rest for a long time.
 The viper of sleep basically is also non-existent,
 So why use a hook in one's hands?
 The spirit concentrated, it seems to be night meditation.

 You say to me this is awareness.
 Things come and yet I do not perceive them.
 If you say to me now you are dreaming,
 This mind from the start is not polluted.
 Since it is neither dream nor awareness,
 Please ask old Hsi-i.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, dream was also connected to reincarnation, revealing one's previous lives, as Su mentioned in a letter to a student about his poetry, advising the student not to worry about whether his poems really probe humanity thoroughly, for:

Human life is like the morning dew; that which the will 竟 enjoys should be done. How can there be leisure time to calculate and debate a thorough understanding?...In one year I also generally dreamt four or five times that I had gone to West Lake, something that people

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170. The viper of sleep according to Li Hou is from the *Fo-i-chiao ching*: "The poisonous viper of kleśas sleeps in your mind, so you should use keeping the precepts as a hook to get rid of it as soon as possible. Once the viper is out, one can sleep in peace." He also states that the *Yao-shih ching* (*Bhaisajyaguru Sūtra*) says that "to generate the unpolluted mind, one should lack the anger that harms the mind." Hsi-i according to Chao Tz'u-kung refers to a story of Ch'en T'u-nan (Hsi-i) who was asked by a visitor, "I travelled to Hua, wishing to see you. You were sleeping and did not awake 未覺. Does sleep also have the Way?", to which Ch'en replied with a poem: "The normal man has nothing to value/ He only has sleep to value/.../When awareness comes, he has nothing to know/ And craves and seeks (something), his mind distracted even more./ Laughable that in this realm of dust/ He does not know that dream is dream." SSSC 2286; TPSCC 127d6-128a. Cf. the passage in *Chuang-tzu* "Ch'i-wu lun," in Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, pp.24-25; Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp.47-48; Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, pp.59-60. Here the "great awakening" is death, the "great dream" is life. We are in the dream but don't know it. Cf. Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism*, p.311.

customarily call a former connection 前緣. At Hang-chou I travelled to Shou-hsing Cloister, entered the gate and realized that I had already been there. I could talk about a hall and rocky mountain place behind the cloister. Therefore in my poems there are the words "in a previous life I had already been here."¹⁷¹

Indeed, Su Shih claimed that

Alert in my dream, wide awake in drunkenness,
It is only because (T'ao) Yüan-ming
Was my previous incarnation.¹⁷²

So as with Kuan-hsiu, dream could also be part of the artistic impulse, in a religious sense, an inspiration. Yet in a letter to Huai-lien, Su mentioned the painting by Kuan-hsiu of arhats that he possessed, writing:

Furthermore, this painting closely resembles a numinous prodigy, for I frequently have dreams in which I am conscious of it, of which I do not wish to talk in full, for I am loath to be concerned with aberrations 怪事. Because of this I also do not wish to keep it in a lay household.¹⁷³

Such inspiration then can be either harmful or beneficial to the average person untutored in these matters. When it is good (as in memories of former lives as an understanding of illusion), it can produce magnificent works of art, as Su mentions in a poem whose title tells much: "Wang Chin-ch'ing attained ink-splash samādhi, and he also heard of the primal meaning of the Patriarchal Teacher, so he painted a picture of Hsing Ho-p'u and Fang Tz'u-lu (Kuan) discussing their former lives....and I had written the poem 'Broken Lute' in order to record a strange dream":

The former dream and later dream truly are one.
That illusion and this delusion are not two.

171. SSWC 1428-1429.

172. Kang-i Sun Chang, *Evolution*, pp.163-164. See Su's comparison of someone with Tu Fu, TPSCC 372d1-3, and *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 22c4 for his dream of Tu Fu.

173. SSWC 1879. Note the Confucian avoidance here of concern with the occult and death which derives from *Lun-yü* xi.11.

Just love the elder pine midst the water and stones
And again remember the affairs of former and later lives.¹⁷⁴

However, dream was a sign of imperfection, of not yet attaining sagehood, for it was still of the world while seemingly not of it. In "Inscription on Dream Studio," he declared:

The perfected man lacks dreams. Someone asked, "Kao-tsung, King Wu and Confucius all dreamed, the Buddha also dreamed. Dream is not different to awareness, awareness is not different to dream, so dream is awareness and awareness is dream. Can this be the reason you regard them as lacking dream?" ... I said, "The mind of worldly men depends on sense-objects ^物 for its existence; it has never been independently established. The arising and cessation of sense-objects (means) they do not remain for even a thought-moment. Between dream and awareness, sense-objects are imparted. After several transferrals they lose their basis...(like) a man who herding sheep sleeps, and because of the sheep thinks of a horse, and because of the horse a cart...and that he is a prince..."...Tzu-yu (Ch'e) wrote an inscription for the (Dream Studio, T'an-hsiu's residence):

The Dharma-body is replete and perfect,
Everywhere it is all one.
The illusion-body is empty and false,
Wherever it goes it is unreal.
I contemplate worldly people,
Born into unreality,
They regard wakefulness to be correct
And sleep to be dream.
They disregard what is met with in sleep
And grasp what occurs in wakefulness.
An accumulation of attachments hardens
As high as hill or mountain.
If you see the Dharma-body,
Wakefulness and sleep are both wrong.
Knowing that they are both wrong

174. SSSC 2625; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 3:9. For Fang Kuan's former life, see note 104 of this chapter. Fang Kuan (697-763) was a friend of Tu Fu, and his father was Fang Jung, amanuensis supposedly for the *Leng-yen ching*. Biography in *Chiu Tang shu* 111.3320-3325.

Wakefulness and sleep are (rendered) inactive (nirvana),
 And one roams around in all directions.
 The studio then does not move
 (For) north, south, east and west,
 The Dharma-body is originally so.¹⁷⁵

Truth or the Dharma-body lies beyond mere dream sleep and awareness.¹⁷⁶ Dreams then must be eliminated for they are habit forces from both previous lives and the present; they are signs that one has not yet attained Buddhahood:

A bramble bed, vegetarian food and broken-robe clothes
 Sweep away the habit forces ^{習氣} and not chant poems.
 In the former life one was Practitioner Lu;
 As a later student surpassed Han Yü.¹⁷⁷

Dream is a form of memory, an attachment to the past and indirectly to the objects of the past. To be without dream is to be without emotion, for when asked whether he "alone was without emotion," Su Shih said, "Emotion arises due to memory. If you do not remember you are without emotion."¹⁷⁸

Dream is one evidence of the illusoriness of existence and the pervasive influence of false imaginings and emotional or habitual attachments. Once that understanding of illusion is reached one may hear the insentient preaching the

175. SSWC 575-576; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 4:10.

176. SSWC 389; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 5:5, for "Sheng-hsiang yüan Ching-tsang chi": "It is for example like a man in a dream, who does not yet know it is a dream. Once he knows, the dream has ended, and what was dreamt has been extinguished. To see oneself and not see the dream (occurs) because I regard myself as awake [aware] and so do not know true awareness, for awareness and dream are both non-existent."

177. SSSC 2151; TPSCC 259c5ff., for "Reply to Chou of Tun-chou." The first line is a reference to Lao-ts'an in the CTCTL. Also known as Ming-ts'an, this monk has biographies in the SKSC T50.834a7-b17, *T'ai-ping kuang-chi* 96.640, and other popular texts. Here Wang Shih-p'eng is referring to the lines of his song in CTCTL T51.461b21-25. Practitioner Lu is Hui-neng.

178. *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 86a6-7.

Dharma, as an unusual tale about Wang An-shih's interpretation of the *Hua-yen ching* concludes:

The supervisor of taxation, Sung Pao-kuo produced Wang An-shih's *Interpretation of the Hua-yen ching* which he had compiled and showed it to me saying, "Wang's attainments in the Way can be said to be complete!" I asked Pao-kuo, "The *Hua-yen* has eighty *chüan*. Why has he interpreted only one of them?"

Pao-kuo said, "Wang told me that this *chüan* is the Buddha's words that are profound and marvellous. The remainder are the words of the bodhisattvas." I said, "If I took several lines of the Buddha's words from the collection of sutras and placed them among the bodhisattvas' words, and likewise took the bodhisattvas' words and placed them among those of the Buddha, could you recognize which were which?"

"I could not."

"It is not only you who could not do this; Wang could not do so either. When I was at Chi-hsia [near Huang-chou] I heard that the pork of Ho-yang was extremely delicious, so I sent a man to purchase a pig. The messenger got drunk and the pig escaped at night, so he replaced it with a pig from another place, and I did not know. I bragged greatly to the guests, thinking that it was not a product of another area. But as the meat was bad, the guests were all mortified. Now Wang's pork isn't bad yet. The butcher has bought the meat. The singing girls are singing their tunes and you may be awakened because of this. If one is pure for a thought-moment, the walls, tiles and pebbles all preach the supreme Dharma. So to say that the Buddha's words are profound and marvellous, and that those of the bodhisattvas cannot match them, are these not words in a dream?"

Pao-kuo said, "Yes, yes."¹⁷⁹

Thus, as even insentient things preach the Dharma, how can one dismiss part of a sutra as not the Buddha's Dharma? As with Su's bad pork, the quality of the Dharma should be self-evident.

What is realized beyond sleep and dream is the Dharma-body, which is universal, even insentient tiles and gravel. As Su wrote in a "Hymn to the Eighteen Great Arhats" when in exile on Hainan;

The Buddha lacks cessation or arising,
The comprehension and the barriers are in man.

179. SSWC 2060; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 8:10; *Ch'iu-chih pi-chi*, SKCS vol. 863, 11b5-11c7.

Walls, tiles and gravel,
Which are not the Dharma-body?¹⁸⁰

Consequently Nature is already numinous, is the Buddha's truth or corpus of the Dharma; the real problem is for men to perceive it. Dream provides one entry point, and for a layman, another access was through consciousness-altering alcohol.

Su Shih loved alcohol, although he was no great drinker.¹⁸¹ But he did write a "Record of the Country of Drunkeness" in parallel to his "Record of the Country of Dream." It too is an utopia,

without villages, hamlets or human groupings; its people are very elemental 精, without love, hate, joy or anger. They breath the air and drink the dew, not eating the five grains. Their sleep is blank, their walking leisurely...

This ataraxic utopia is a Taoistic reflection of the world of sleep. After Huang-ti, rulers and others failed to reach it, but

Juan Chi, T'ao Yüan-ming and several scores of people travelled to the Country of Drunkeness, losing themselves there and not returning, being buried there on death, China regarding them as the wine immortals.¹⁸²

Drunkeness, and Su must have been a happy drunk, was a state without emotions. Thus around 1096/7 Su wrote a poem teasing his Taoist friend Wu Tzu-yeh who could not sleep after he gave up his immortality pills:

180. SSWC 587; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 1:5. "Comprehension and barriers" is a translation of 通塞 which *Zengaku Daijiten* 875a cites from Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* chapter "Mujō seppō" and which Nakamura Sōichi, p.282, says means free and unimpeded release as in "passing through the barriers." But Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 972a says it means "to advance in the Middle Way, and to be blocked to it."

181. Su frequently talked of being drunk. For example, "At Chin-shan Monastery I got very drunk with Liu Tzu-yü, and leant on Pao-chüeh's meditation chair. At daybreak I awoke and wrote this on the wall" (TPSCC 340a1ff., and most of *chüan* 17 is on being drunk. The poem is translated in Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.51.

182. SSWC 2419-2420. Some commentators think this a clumsy imitation of the "Country of Sleep," and so not by Su. The SSWC editors are uncertain. But the term appears in Huang T'ing-chien's works.

I pity your understanding the next man's dreams,
 So let me sometimes escape (into) drunkenness and then meditate
 And commune with rivers and mountains to perfect an exemplar 何故(?)事
 Not hindering poetry and wine, enjoying the new year.¹⁸³

Drunkenness then is related closely to meditation and to dream, so closely that they are difficult to distinguish. Once Su noticed the following lines on an inn wall and he loved to recite them:

Humanity has no wine immortal.
 I persistently am drunk on three cups.
 In the world there is no eye meditation 眼解.
 I am confused as soon as wakened from sleep.
 Even though there is no connection,
 How come they resemble each other?
 They resemble each other so much so
 How can one even (decide) which is the real one?¹⁸⁴

As these states are so similar, it would indeed be difficult for the layman to discriminate between them. Living in a more secularized environment where even "monks called alcohol the soup of prajñā"¹⁸⁵ and there were stories of sleep and "eating samādhi,"¹⁸⁶ and Ch'an monks such as Liao-yüan were great drinkers,¹⁸⁷ a

183. Su's own note to the first line refers to the "Dream Studio" that monk T'an-hsiu, who was present at this gathering, had, and for which Su wrote an inscription. The second line refers to Tu Fu's poem on the "Eight Immortals of Wine," in which Su Chin "In his drunkenness often loved to escape into Ch'an." (William Hung, *Tu Fu*, p.52 and vol. 2 p.37, tries to deny the historicity of this, claiming Su Chin not connected to Buddhism, but in fact he assisted with the translation of sutras T.11,2a7, and questioned Shen-hui ca. 726+. Cf. Toki Zenmaro, pp.263-275.) The exemplar is probably T'ao Ch'ien, as Wang Shih-p'eng says that the last line is a reference to one of his poems where he can't enjoy the New Year because of a lack of alcohol. SSSC 2214; TPSCC3-5.

184. *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 80d4-5.

185. *Ibid.*, 73a8.

186. *Ibid.*, 91a3-5.

layman like Su Shih who believed in taking pleasure in the moment would have found associating inebriation with Ch'an most satisfactory. He could have his Ch'an and drink it.

Su Shih evidently had a special outlook on the insentient, its appreciation, and the attainment of that empathy. He knew of the poetry of Kuan-hsiu and Tu Fu, and the philosophy of Ch'i-sung and other monks such as Ts'an-liao, Ch'ang-tsung and Liao-yüan on emotion and its absence. We might consider these the prime sources for his ideas, but perhaps these only consolidated the suggestions Su had received from other quarters.

During his first period of residence in Hang-chou, an area long dominated by the theories of Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai poet-monks, Su Shih seems to have been fascinated by the traces of Niu-t'ou Ch'an, the form of Ch'an that championed the Buddhahood of the insentient.

In 1072 and 1073 he visited Mt. Ch'ing and Hao-lin Monastery, sites with deep Niu-t'ou Ch'an associations. According to Tseng Chi-li (ca. 1147), one of the poems he wrote then he referred to a white chicken that the founder of the monastery, the Niu-t'ou leader Tao-ch'in (714/5-793), kept.¹⁸⁸ This monk, about whom many popular anecdotes survive,¹⁸⁹ maintained his reputation even into Su's age. Tseng says that Su Shih often used a book from Mt. Ch'ing called *Old Tales of the Mountain* (*Shan chung ku-shih* 山中故事) which must have been his source for much information, perhaps even the theory of the Buddhahood of the insentient.¹⁹⁰ This is partially confirmed by the commentators, with Wang Shih-p'eng explaining the poem with references to Li Chao's *Ch'ing-shan shan-men shih-chuang*

徑山山門事狀

187. See Abe, p.294; *Ch'an-hsi chi* 9:8; and see the story below in chapter on Huang T'ing-chien.

188. I.e., Fa-ch'in. According to SKSC T50.765a3-5, the fowl would not eat live things and a tomb was built for it.

189. *Yu-yang tsa-tsu* as quoted in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 96.641-642; *T'ang yü-lin* (Chou Hsün-ch'u, annotator, *T'ang yü-lin chiao-cheng*, 2 vols., Peking, 1987, vol. 1, p.26); *T'ang kuo-shih p'u* by Li Chao. See John McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Buddhism," p.245 note 55.

190. *T'ing-chai shih-hua* 16b-17a.

,¹⁹¹ and Chao Tz'u-kung referring to the story of a white chicken listening to Fa-ch'in's sermon.¹⁹²

This suggests that Su Shih's view of the world as a dream and his attempts to gain *wu-ch'ing* or appreciate the insentient were possibly derived ultimately from Niu-t'ou Ch'an. Tsung-mi (780-841) characterised Niu-t'ou as a group that

think that all dharmas are dream-like. Originally there is nothing. Both subjective and objective world are originally tranquil...one must accordingly discard one's ego and forget one's emotions (*wang-ch'ing*).¹⁹³

Hang-chou was the hub of past Niu-t'ou influence, and Su's feelings for both Kuan-hsiu and Chiao-jan may have attracted him to the Niu-t'ou theories of *wu-ch'ing*. Moreover, Ts'an-liao may also have been under the Niu-t'ou spell, for he wrote:

My experience of the world till now has been weak in execution.
Returning late, the hills and ravines, even more I forget emotion.
With sleep, how can passions (kleśas) have existed?
For without a tree of bodhi, originally they were not produced.¹⁹⁴

Furthermore, these Niu-t'ou theories may have contributed to Su's theory of poetics. For example, Ch'ao P'u-chih 晁補之 (1053-1110), one of the "Four Scholars of the Su School",¹⁹⁵ who had visited Su Shih during Su's first posting at Hang-chou, commented on Su's reaction to the famous poem by T'ao Ch'ien:

191. TPSCC 42a8-bff., 42b6 for Fa-ch'in's biography. Cf. ShCSS 169b4, SSSC 347-349.

192. TPSCC 45a4-6; ShCSS 209b5ff.; SSSC 501-502. For Hao-lin Monastery, see TPSCC 43b1; ShCSS 205a2; SSSC 537, and ShCSS 22b1; SSSC 488.

193. Translation from Shim Jae Ryong, *The Philosophical Foundations of Korean Zen Buddhism: The Integration of Sōn and Kyo by Chinul (1158-1210)* (Seoul, 1981), p.81. The text is that of Kamata Shigeo, *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p.313. Cf. also *Yüan-chüeh ching Ta-shu shih-i ch'ao* Z14.558a.

194. *Ts'an-liao tzu shih-chi* 86c6-8.

195. See Tiang Seng-yong, "Huang T'ing-chien and the Chiang-hsi School of Poetry," p.77; Abe, p.295.

I have seen where Tung-p'o said, "T'ao Yüan-ming's intent 意 is not in the poem; the poem is merely to convey his intent. 'Picking chrysanthemums 'neath the eastern hedgerow/Distantly I see the southern hills'; this is having picked the chrysanthemums to gaze at the hills. The intent is in this, there is no further accumulation. This is not Yüan-ming's intent. 'Picking chrysanthemums 'neath the eastern hedgerow/Distantly I see the southern hills' is originally he picking chrysanthemums personally without any intention of gazing at the hills. He just raised his head and saw them. Therefore he forgot emotion (*wang-ch'ing*), with an inclination to rest 趣閑 and yet was involved in the distance 累遠. This cannot be sought in the writing 文字, for it can be compared to the *wu-fu* stone which is not in the same category as beautiful jade."¹⁹⁶

The above is probably a reference to the remarks made by Su in his *Tung-p'o chih-lin*:

T'ao Ch'ien's poem, "Picking chrysanthemums 'neath the eastern hedgerow/Distantly I see the southern hills" (means) that after picking the chrysanthemums he by chance saw 偶然見 the hills. At first he did not use intent, scene and intent 景意會 Therefore he was joyful. Now people all write "gaze 望 at the southern hills." The change for such a word meant that the "divine atmosphere 神氣 is (made) flavourless [索然 exhausted, listless]."¹⁹⁷

Here Su Shih distinguishes between the volitional *wang* "to gaze" or "long for," and *chien*, "to see" or perceive without intent. Su therefore claims that T'ao had no intention to convey in the poem, not wanting to achieve anything thereby. T'ao, as Ch'ao depicts Su as claiming, merely "forgot emotion," and as T'ao had no intent, which according to *Chuang-tzu* is not a human emotion,¹⁹⁸ T'ao was most sagely, reacting spontaneously, which resulted in his "involvement" in the distant hills and their significance. These hills just presented themselves to him without mediation of intent or emotion. The feeling T'ao had then was ineffable, but the reader may still read between the lines if he has the requisite sensibility.

196. Huang Ch'i-fang, p.275.

197. *Tung-p'o chih-lin* 68a5-b1.

198. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.79, and Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, p.100. My interpretation here is rather like the Ch'an use of scripture. Most commentators take *i* here to be the verb "I wonder" or "I think that," and not part of a list such as "Intent, humaneness and righteousness."

vii) *Conclusion: Poetry, Ch'an and the Numinous Insentient*

Whatever the means, Su Shih's aesthetic end was the merger or identity of the sentient and the insentient, or as he would have it, "the meeting of scene and intent."¹⁹⁹ Traditional poetics later converted this into the fusion of the "scene" and the "emotion."²⁰⁰

In 1087, while in K'ai-feng, Su wrote three poems for a painting by Wen T'ung (Yü-k'o) kept by Ch'ao P'u-chih. This poem illustrates that the division between the true artist and the environment disappears, allowing sentient man to be sensible of the insensible:

When Yü-k'o painted bamboo
 He saw bamboo and did not see the man.
 How could he only not see the man?
 Trance-like he had left his body,
 And his body transformed into bamboo
 In exhaustively producing the pure and the new.
 With Chuang Chou no longer of the world
 Who knows of this concentration of the spirit?²⁰¹

199. See above at note 197.

200. For example, K'ung Fan-li in his introduction, p. 11, to SSSC, uses 情景交融. See Siu-kit Wong, "Ch'ing and Ching in the Critical Writings of Wang Fu-chih," p.123, and Cecile Sun, chapter 2, pp.2, 36-38.

201. Sung Shou, cited by Wang Shih-p'eng, says that the first couplet is about Wen T'ung's complete concentration, and that the trance of leaving the body of the next couplet is drawn from *Chuang-tzu* "Ch'i-wu lun." Ch'eng Hsüan-ying's *Chuang-tzu* commentary says it is a form of "body and mind both dissolved 遺, things and self both forgotten." Li Hou likewise locates "to concentrate one's spirit" in the *Chuang-tzu* "Ta-sheng" chapter (TPSCC 516d6-517a1), which Ch'eng explains as "using an undivided aspiration." More interestingly, Ch'eng compares this to *tso-wang* 坐忘, "sitting in forgetfulness," and to Nan-kuo Tzu-ch'i's "leaning on an armrest," which caused Tzu-yü to be "alarmed at his quiescence and lack of emotion 無情, and so issued his warnings and threats." This was a well-known passage, with its description of the body like dried wood and mind like dead ashes. (See Graham, *Chuang Tzu*, p.48. Ch'eng's comments are quoted in Huang Chin-hung, *Hsin-i Chuang-tzu tu-pen*, p.67 note 3, and on *tso-wang*, p.111.) However, another reading of this *Chuang-tzu* line

Here creativity ideally is participation; it does not mean the dissolution of the world or the observer, for who would see the painting?²⁰² Such participation brings freedom and a playfulness as Su mentions in a "Title for an ink-painting of bamboo by Wen Yu-k'o" written in 1086:

This man, exactly what sort of man is he,
 Playing and roaming, attaining freedom?
 The poem-singer and draft-script sage, and he the last
 All jointly enter the bamboo samādhi.²⁰³

This may be what is called "insentient samādhi."²⁰⁴ Playful samādhi leaves no room for desires, it is a state approaching if not identical with, *wu-ch'ing*. In 1090 Su wrote of an attractive location:

From now on things will be viewed from a distance
 And I shall let go the skids in this shadowy valley,

changes "gelling" or "concentration" 凝 to "to cause doubt" 疑. This was noticed by the Ch'ing commentators on Su Shih, who could also cite a Yüan dynasty source to this effect. See SSSC 1522-1523. Thus Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 2, p.24, reads this line as "Who would understand this unity of spirit (which seems to be divine)?" See also Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih shih-hsüan*, pp.206-207. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*, p.41 and Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, p.107, both translate the poem. See *Chuang-tzu chi-chieh*, p.163 for the text Bush refers to in her analysis, but see also p.164 on the "ling-t'ai" 靈臺 or mind as the residence of the spirit which is "gelled," allowing a forgetting of oneself.

202. See the opinions of Le Gros Clark, pp.14-15 on painting, pp.19, 23 on Taoism and Wen T'ung.
203. SSSC 1439. Chao Tz'u-kung says the Buddhist texts mention "playful samādhi" and those who understand it say it is freedom." Ch'eng Yin says that Han Yü claimed that Meng Chiao made poems sing, and Chang Chih was called the sage of draft-script. Shih Yüan-chih adds that the monk Huai-su said that he had attained "the brush method samādhi in draft-script." TPSCC 515c4-7.
204. *Zengaku Daijiten* 1208a, mujōzanmai 無情三昧. This is cited from Dōgen, but my texts use the homophone 無詩三昧, and I can find no other source for "insentient samādhi."

With pure play attain samādhi:

Supreme delight in rejecting the five desires.²⁰⁵

Once one has removed the desires and appetites for things, one can sport with them in an untrammelled play; they are no longer objects of desire and so are not separated from one by the veils and hindrances of longings and cravings.

This Buddhistic conception probably gave Su Shih suggestions for his own theories of poetic creation. For example, in a preface to his *Nan-hsing Collection* of 1059 when his theory was only nascent, he wrote:

The reason that in the past people were writers was not because they could write *I*, but because they could not but write. Mountains and rivers have clouds and mist, grass and trees have flowers and fruit; they are full and replete, copious and dense, and so they are manifested externally. Even if they wished not to have them, could that be possible?²⁰⁶

So the landscape is like the artist; it expresses itself playfully, of necessity. Even if the landscapes and poets do not wish to manifest their potentials, they have to. Su Shih later allied this poetic creativity with Ch'an, seeing its apotheosis in Tu Fu. Writing in appreciation of a man who had collected some ancient verses together, he wrote in 1083:

How many people of the world study Tu Fu?

Who attains his skin and who his bones?

Nobody skilfully understands the emotions of that time.

In a former life (Tu) Tzu-mei, only you are he.

205. Shih Yüan-chih says "let go the skids" comes from the *Li Sao* (cf. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u*, p.28 line 94), and Tu Fu wrote, "Let go the skids in the distant ravine." Chao Tz'u-kung cites the *Lotus Sutra*: "There are five desires; lust, sleep, food and drink, licence, and craving," and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: "Once you have put forth the intent for the Way, there is a Dharma-delight that can give satisfaction. There is no further need to delight in the delights of the five desires." TPSCC 250b6-8; SSSC 1701-1702.

206. SSWC 323; Lang Hua, p.922. Cf. March, p.77.

The hand of faith can pluck forth (the flower of poetry) and complete the Natural perfection.²⁰⁷

A natural, spontaneous mental outpouring of creation could be attained, as with Ouyang Hsiu and Tu Fu, through alcohol which approximated the meditative state,²⁰⁸ or through dream as with Kuan-hsiu and Wang An-shih, or through meditation as with Ch'an monk-poets.

With these concepts, Su Shih outlined his own history of poetical creation, listing T'ao Ch'ien, Hsieh Ling-yün, Li Po, Tu Fu, Wei Ying-wu, Liu Tsung-yüan and Ssu-k'ung T'u in a steady procession of pairs from the Natural perfection 天成 of Su Wu and Li Ling of the Han dynasty.²⁰⁹ Often unrecognized in their own day, these poets it would seem had some elective affinity with the truths of Ch'an and poetry that arise out of silence, as he wrote in a poem "Sent to Master Ts'an-liao":

Your Eminence learns that sorrow is empty,
 Hundreds of thoughts are already ash cold.

 New poems are like jade chips
 Producing words that are fresh and bold.
 In Han Yü's theory of draft script
 The myriad events were not to be ignored;
 Worries and sadness and unsettled tempers,
 As soon as met with the brush galloped ahead.
 He was intensely amazed at the Buddhist followers
 Who saw the body as a dry well,

207. Li Hou says the "skin" and the "bones" refers to the CTCTL biography of Bodhidharma, where his pupils' depths of understanding of his teaching are compared to skin, flesh, bones, and marrow. Chao Tz'u-kung finds an earlier story in the Chin history about the study of calligraphy, where the levels are compared to bone, flesh, and sinews. He says "hand of faith" is a Ch'an term (Susan Bush, p. 36 also gives a definition). TPSCC 372c5-d2; SSSC 1157. 俱天成 or "complete Natural perfection" is divine creation, see Morohashi 5833.895.

208. Cf. Le Gros Clark, pp.194-195 on the Tu Fu line and a poem quoted by Hui-hung.

209. SSWC 2124 (cf. 2084); Lang Hua, p.999; Huang Ch'i-fang, pp.190-191. For Su and Li, see Morohashi 32427.197.1.

And exhausted, conveyed an insipid plainness.
 Who among them will emit a robust vigour?
 If you think carefully, it is not so.
 True skill is not an illusion or shadow.
 If you wish to make a poem's words a marvel
 There should (be) no repression of calm and emptiness.
 Because of calm one realizes all activity;
 Because of emptiness one perceives myriad sense-data.
 Examine the world of fleeting humanity,
 Contemplate the body, lying on a clouded ridge.
 The confused masses love salt and vinegar,
 But in their midst the supreme flavour is forever.
 Poetry and the Dharma do not hinder each other,
 These words once more I request.²¹⁰

Thus Ch'an and poetry are of one essence, they transcend both illusion and the vulgar outpouring of emotion, and penetrate the superficial to the fundamental unity of existence. One should cling to neither Buddhism nor Taoism, but enjoy life without any attachments, for all life is fleeting:

Both philosophers (maintain we are) originally without ego:
 It begins because of attachment to things.
 How can one worry over aging and decay,
 For no thought-moment is like that gone before?
 I know you are not metal or stone,
 So how can one attain a long residence (here)?

210. For the discussion by Han Yü of the calligraphy of monk Kao-hsien which is quoted by Chao Tz'u-kung, see chapter 3 (at note 75). Han opposed the idea of lack of emotion in creativity, attacking Buddhist "impassiveness." The lines referred to here are, "Yet when stillness and impassivity occur together one is fallen and exhausted...And his calligraphy will be an expression of this also" (Hartman's trans.). Han Yü's ideal, the calligrapher Chang Hsü, let his emotions flow, but Su Shih counters this proposition to show that calm and emptiness reveal all activity and perceptions; that Buddhists can write with verve. The mention of salt and vinegar is a reference to the ideas of Ssu-k'ung T'u. This supreme favour, like that of Buddhism, lies hidden behind the vulgar tastes of the gaudy and outward. TPSCC 293d-294a4; SSSC 905-907. The dry well is the body as aged and useless, see Morohashi 33.60.3.

Do not follow the words of Lord Lao,
 Nor use the speeches of the Buddha.
 The mountains of the immortals and Buddha lands;
 I fear ultimately there are no such places.
 If you really want to follow Old Man T'ao (Ch'ien),
 Shift your home and live midst wine.
 Yet inebriation and arousal have to come to an end,
 And it is not easy to escape from these particulars.
 All my life I have followed children's games
 And everywhere made more toys for them 作具.

 If now one lights a flame,
 Like and dislike are all burned up.

 Confucius was awakened only late in life:
 "Why worry about the empire?"²¹¹

Freedom is attained by non-attachment and the lack of emotions, or in Confucian terms by an atavistic reversion to Taoistic primitivism, and as poetry properly belongs to the realm of primordial play one should gain this state by all means possible. This aesthetic realization was not Confucian, for in Su's earlier views all Confucian practice was founded on emotion. Confucianism was duty, not freedom, but if one could enjoy one's emotions one could possibly approach artistic and Ch'an *wu-ch'ing*.

Once this condition of *wu-ch'ing* and freedom is attained, insentience takes on its true life. This explains Su Shi's extensive use of personification or the pathetic fallacy in his poetry,²¹² especially as he gets older. It began with his first period of residency at Hang-chou when he discovered that Nature as non-emotion 非情 (Ogawa's term) was yet well-intentioned towards mankind. Although Ogawa thinks that this was possibly a consequence of a political strategy designed to induce those

211. TPSCC 601d4-602a2; SSSC 2307-2308; "Echoing T'ao (Ch'ien): On Immortals Taoism and Buddhism," written between 1098 and 1099.

212. K'ung Fan-li, SSSC introduction, p.11. Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol.1, pp.12-14; see also his *Sō shi sen*, p.296, where he claims the use of personification is typical of the Sung style as compared to that of the T'ang.

who did not recognize this innate cosmic kindness, in other words people like Wang An-shih who saw Nature as neutral and indifferent (Wang had a famous line, "Heavenly disasters are not worth fearing"), to change their "inhumane" policies,²¹³ I suspect it was rather due to Su Shih learning of the Buddhist theory of the Buddha-nature of the insentient. However, insentience is not a dead, boring state, but as a product of play, was something the man who was sensitive to it could enjoy and amuse himself with.²¹⁴ Nature was a source of human liberation and enlightenment, a spiritual companion.

Su Shih's theories dominated the lay literary scene for at least the next century. His famous poem on the insentient preaching the Dharma was often cited by monks of course, and so Su's combination of Ch'an with poetry, itself the product of a long evolution, became a focal point of comments on poetics. This owed much to his pupils, whose ideas can be seen in the many *shih-hua* written both by his lay pupils and by monks during the next one hundred years, culminating in the famous *Ts'ang-lang shih-hua* by Yen Yü (ca. 1180-1235).

213. Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol.1, pp.12-14; *Sō shi sen*, pp.296-297, on lifeless things expressing good intentions towards man; that good feelings between men extend to the insentient.

214. Cf. Ogawa, *So Shoku*, vol. 1, p.16.

13) The Chiang-hsi School: Heirs to Su Shih and Wang An-shih

The two main followers of Su Shih who introduced the use of the numinous insentience into their poetry were Huang T'ing-chien (1045-1105) and Ch'en Shih-tao (1053-1101). Huang was by far the more important, for as the supposed founder of the Chiang-hsi school of poetry, his influence has been assessed as greater than even that of his teacher Su Shih, extending his dominance into the later Southern Sung. Ch'en's work on the other hand was considered too difficult, and so was rather neglected.¹ Yet the concept of the Chiang-hsi School is rather nebulous, being the creation of the minor poet and Confucian scholar Lü Pen-chung (1084-1145), partly out of a need to fabricate a lineage of imitators of Huang after these great models such as Su, Huang and Ch'en had died, out of the twenty-five minor poets who were associated with these figures or Lü himself. This was written when all these poets were threatened by political bans on their publication.²

a) *Huang T'ing-chien*

Huang T'ing-chien was born in Fen-ning County, Chiang-hsi, an area surrounded by many large Ch'an monasteries, including the famous ones on Mt. Huang-po. The main regional city, Hung-chou, had long been an important Ch'an centre.³ His father, Huang Ch'e was a poet who studied Tu Fu,⁴ but he died in Kuang-tung when T'ing-chien was only thirteen (1058), and so his later education in Confucianism and poetry was entrusted to his maternal uncle Li Ch'ang (1027-1090), a bibliophile who had

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1. Tiang Seng-yong, "Huang T'ing-chien and the Chiang-hsi School of Poetry," p.78. Arai Ken, *Kō Tei-ken* (Tokyo, 1963), p.13 note 15 says Huang's poems were considered so difficult as to need a commentary. The first commentary in the Sung was that on Su Shih's poetry which had been demanded, as with Huang, because of the breadth of their learning and the increase in the use of allusions, especially to the vocabulary of T'ang poems.
 2. Tiang, pp.80-82; Kurata Junnosuke, *Kō San-koku* (Tokyo, 1967), p.17. Cf. Hsieh Ssu-wei, "Lü Pen-chung yü 'Chiang-hsi tsung-p'ai t'u'," *Wen-hsüeh i-chan* (1985.3), pp.45-46, 49-51, and below for more details.
 3. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, "Huang T'ing-chien yü Ch'an-tsung," *Wen-hsüeh i-chan* (1986.1), p.33. He was conscious of this fact later in life. See "Inscription on the Stupa of Yün-yen Ch'an Cloister, Fen-ning County, Hung-chou." Huang T'ing-chien, *Shan-ku chi* (hereafter SKC), SKCS vol. 1113, 168a8-b3.
 4. Tiang, p.74; Kurata, p.18.

studied in a monastic library on Mt. Lu.⁵ Li had been influenced by Sun Chüeh (1028-1090), a pupil of the Neo-Confucian pioneer educator Hu Yüan. Li was a leader of the Fan-Lu School of Confucianism.⁶ Huang's first wife was Sun's daughter (married 1068), and with these two backers he began his official career (1067). However, despite Li and Sun's friendship with Wang An-shih, they opposed his policies and this dampened Huang's career prospects.⁷

Sun Chüeh and Li Ch'ang introduced Huang's works to Su Shih who regarded them highly. Huang then wrote to Su.⁸ They met a few years later.⁹ Huang's second wife died only nine years after his first wife,¹⁰ which may have prompted him to make a vow at the stupa of the popularist monk Seng-chia at Ssu-chou in 1084.¹¹

I repent that in the past I loved to drink alcohol and eat meat because of my stupidity, ever increasing my love and thirst. I entered the forest of perverse views and could not attain release. Now I will make a great vow and promise to the Buddha that from today until the

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5. Kurata, p.12; Tiang, pp.75-76. Note that the dates for events vary. Cf. also *Indiana Companion*, p.447.
 6. Abe, pp.291-292. For Sun Chüeh, see SYHA I 1: 19, 42. A *Ch'un-ch'iu* specialist. For Li Ch'ang, SYHA VII 19:1, biography 9-10. Older than Sun by one year, they were close friends.
 7. Kurata, p.12. Sun visited Wang at Mt. Chung, for example (SYHA I 1:42). For Li and Wang, see SYHA VII 19:9-10.
 8. Tiang, p.76, dates this ca. 1078 when Huang was thirty-three; Yoshikawa, p.123 and Kurata, p.13, Arai (the chronology at the end of his *Kō Tei-ken*) say 1078 when Huang about 28 *sui*; Ch'ien Chih-hsi, p.34, says 1080+.
 9. Tiang, p.76 says 1080+; Kurata, p.13, 1080.
 10. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, p.34, and Arai, say Sun's daughter died in 1070. Huang's second wife died in 1079.
 11. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, p.34, implies that he wrote to Su after this event, for Su's reply mentions his vows. Kurata dates it 1083 and Arai (p.149) in 1084, after he had taken the sobriquet Shan-ku from Shan-ku Monastery in 1080. The *nien-p'u* in SKC says he first wrote to Su in 1078 (843c848d), took the sobriquet in 1080 (855d), and made the vow in 1084 (877d). For Seng-chia, see the study by Makita Tairyō, *Chūgoku kinsei Bukkyōshi kenkyū* (Kyoto, 1957), p.2ff.

end of time I shall never again have lustful desires...drink alcohol...or eat meat. If I again should have lustful desires I shall fall into the burning furnace of hell and pass limitless eons there. All sentient beings are confused because of lust and so undergo the recompense of sorrow. I will undergo it all for them. If I again drink alcohol I shall fall into hell and drink an ocean of molten bronze.¹²

According to the evidence of popular tradition, the vow must have been made after his first meetings with Su Shih. An apocryphal tale records that he, Su and Fo-yin Liao-yüan often drank together and engaged in poetry contests:

They had drunk several glasses of alcohol when Fo-yin left for a piss. Tung-p'o said, "Where are you going?"

"I am busy."

A moment later he came back and sat down. Fo-yin (proposed a poetry contest) on the subject of "busy," the loser to drink extra. Tung-p'o said,

"I have one hundred *mou* of fields,

But there isn't a single leaf or shoot.

With summer about half gone,

I ask you, 'Am I busy or not?'"

Huang Lu-chih said,

"I have one hundred baskets of silkworms,

But haven't a single mulberry leaf.

With spring about half gone,

I ask you, 'Am I busy or not?'"

Fo-yin said

"I cultivated an old lady;

She leads me straight to her bed.

The abbot is standing outside the gate.

I ask you, 'Am I busy or not?'"¹³

12. SKC 204b2-c7.

13. *Ch'an-hsi chi* 9:7-8; Abe, p.294. The *Ch'an-hsi chi* 9:8 has another story of such a contest, with Fo-yin again using a scatological reference in contrast to the others: "Hurry, hurry, hurry, the girl is letting go a fart. The galloping horse goes to West Market, and has turned to come back. The hole is still not shut, a bit over three to five inches." The galloping horse is a witty

This carefree life was soon to end because of his vow, but during his years in the capital from 1085 until 1094 when the New Law faction was returned to power and Huang was exiled to the south-west, he intensified his serious study of Ch'an.¹⁴ It was also during this period that his mother died, Huang mourning for her for one year in a most exemplary fashion.¹⁵

During this pre-exile period, Huang came into contact with Ch'an monks who were less secularized than the worldly Liao-yüan. They influenced him to give up drink and carousing. These monks included Yüan-t'ung Fa-hsiu (1027-1090), the monk invited to stay at Chung-shan Monastery by Wang An-shih, and T'ou-tzu P'u-tsung, both of the Yün-men lineage, as well as Wu-tsu Fa-yen (1024?-1104) of the Yang-ch'i branch of Lin-chi.

When Huang was banished to Ch'ien-chou in Kuang-hsi in 1095, he wrote of this period:

I gave^{up} drink and women and read the Tripitaka for three years. I constantly said, "The eight winds of profit and decay, slander and flattery, praise and vilification, and suffering and happiness are never separate from me, being within my four departments. Although the original sages of antiquity and the great wise ones made their stand beyond these eight winds, one would not know this without studying the Way." So I wrote out a vow to sincerely give up drink and womanising.¹⁶

Therefore Huang began to distance himself, at least socially, from Su Shih's intimate group. Already in 1084 Fa-hsiu had warned him against the power voluptuous words had to move people, inclining him to a less spontaneous way of writing.¹⁷

reference to *Lao-tzu* 46; literally, "the galloping horse is turned back to be a manurer." See Morohashi 37034.71.

14. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, pp.34-35; Kurata, p.14. Yoshikawa, p.124, even says Huang was more interested in Ch'an than Su Shih.
15. Kurata, p.14, dates this ca. 1092; Arai Ken, *Kō Tei-ken*, says she died in 1091, and he mourned for her 1092-1093.
16. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.197 for a fuller text. For the background story, see Abe, p.294.
17. See *Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu* (hereafter HCTL) T51.615b19-25; *Wu-teng hui-yüan* Z138.671b15-17, which dates the warning to before the vow; CPTL Z137.316a17-b5; CSFTL Z147.903b17-904a5. There were no doubt also Confucian pressures to adopt this view.

The real impact on Huang was made by Hui-t'ang Tsu-hsin (1025-1100) of the Huang-lung branch of Lin-chi Ch'an. This monk was a fellow pupil together with both K'o-wen and Ch'ang-tsung. Before going to Ch'ien-chou, probably around 1093, Huang questioned Tsu-hsin about whether there is a "short-cut" to the Way. Tsu-hsin said:

"This is just as Confucius said, 'Do you think, my disciples, that I have any secrets? I have no secrets.'¹⁸ How would you ~~太~~ theorise about investigating the constant ~~常~~?"

Huang made as to answer when Tsu-hsin said, "That's not right, that's not right!"

Huang was confused. One day he went walking on the mountain with Tsu-hsin when the cassia flowers were in full bloom. Tsu-hsin said, "Do you sense the fragrance of the cassia flowers?"

"I do."

"I have no secrets."

Huang was awakened by these words, bowed and said, "How Master can you have such an old woman's kindness?"¹⁹

Thus it was that Huang came to realize that all things express the Buddhist truth as the T'ien-t'ai had suggested with the line, "There is not a single colour or fragrance that is not of the Middle Way." Tsu-hsin employed these ideas, for in an exchange with Hsia I

they came to discuss the *Chao-lun's* (thesis) that the myriad things are oneself, and (the thesis that) sentient and insentient are joined in a unity. At the time there was a dog lying beneath the incense table. Tsu-hsin used a paper-weight to hit the dog. He also struck the table saying, "The dog is sentient so it left. The incense table is insentient so it remained. How can the sentient and the insentient form a unity?" Hsia could not reply.²⁰

18. *Lun-yü* vii.23.

19. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.196; HCTL T51.615b25-c2; *Wu-teng hui-yüan* Z138.671b18-672a5; CSFTL Z147.904a5-13 gives a longer account, dating the incident to the Yüan-yü era; CPTL Z137.316b5-10.

20. HCTL T51.564b15-18.

Tsu-hsin must have instructed Huang with such words for Huang records the above story in his "Stupa Inscription for Ch'an Master Tsu-hsin of Huang-lung,"²¹ and he uses similar words in his encomia for the arhats²² and Amitābha,²³ as well as in his poetry.²⁴

However, the meaning of this did not fully dawn on Huang until after he held a dialogue with Tsu-hsin's pupil Ssu-hsin Wu-hsin 死心悟新 (1034-1114):

Wu-hsin asked, "I am dead, you are dead, and we are cremated making two piles of ashes. Where will we see each other?"

Huang had no reply, and Wu-hsin scolded him, "What you achieved by consulting Hui-t'ang (Tsu-hsin) still has not stuck!"

Later when Huang was at Ch'ien-chou (1095-98), he suddenly understood Wu-hsin's question, so he wrote to Wu-hsin saying;

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21. The correspondence is almost word for word, suggesting it was the HCTL's source. Cf. Jen Yüan (d.1144), *Shan-ku nei-chi shih-chu* (hereafter SKNC) SKCS vol. 1114, 250a7-b7.
22. "My Dharma has never troubled sentient beings, not allowing the...poisonous to produce fear, but simply is ab-origin the power of the vow of compassion, wherein sentient and insentient are joined together as one family." SKC 121c8-d1.
23. "Amitābha's vow fills the realm of sentient beings./ The realm of sentient beings is the ab-origin mind./ It is good through one's own mind to grasp one's own mind/ And to go to the Western Land of ultimate delight./ And for a moment gather one's mind, the gate is open/ And everywhere Mañjusri enters Samantabhadra./ To personally see that one's own self is the limitless life [Amitāyus]/ Sentient and insentient perfecting correct awareness." Shih Chi-wen (commentator, ?1232), *Shan-ku pieh chi shih-chu* (hereafter SKPC) SKCS vol. 1114, 553a7-b2.
24. "Autumn Sound Balcony": "Who lives in the space of the fanning bellows/ The sentient and insentient at the same time were created./ The sounds all come from the extreme of the faculties [or fundament]./ Do not again exactingly question Nan-kuo." SKC 58c2-4. Jen Yüan sources the first line in *Chuang-tzu* and *Lao-tzu*, and the second in a *Fa-chieh kuan sung* 法界觀頌 which says identically to Tsu-hsin, "Sentient and insentient form a unity." This text is either from the *Hua-yen ching* or something like the *Chu Hua-yen ching t'i fa-chieh kuan-men sung* by Pen-sung of the Sung dynasty, T45, which has some interesting passages. Jen Yüan refers the reader to the CTCTL and *Chuang-tzu* for the third line, SKNC.

"I have been stupid and deluded by verbal teaching, as if in a drunken dream, and my doubts and emotions had not ended. But suddenly I woke to this."²⁵

This enlightenment had an effect on his poetry, especially the strictures against the seduction of words and the need to transcend the emotions. It also introduced him to ideas of non-duality of life and death and an egalitarian view of society.²⁶ But above all he gained some insight into the numinosity of the insentient, which appears in his poetry, usually combined with themes from *Chuang-tzu*:

Look at Chang Chou (as) dead wood [a hermit/me]
 Who turns into a butterfly flitting lightly.
 People who see through flowers and into willows,
 Which of them knows they have a substance but lack emotion?²⁷

Huang now understood Nature and saw it as having the same status as humanity,²⁸ and maybe because of this he adopted a stoic attitude thereafter, even though he occasionally felt a justifiable loneliness, as he wrote in a poem to Wu-hsin:

The green stone ox of Mountain Valley (shan-ku)
 Bears a weight of a thousand tons.
 The eight winds blow it along,
 Everywhere that is the daily function.
 Again I bring sixteen mouths
 And go to dream in I-chou.
 I struggle to remember Elder (Wu)-hsin

25. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.196; Hasegawa, p.280; summarised in HCTL T51.615c4-11; *Wu-teng hui-yüan* Z138.672ab-13; CSFTL Z147.904a16-b4; CTPTL Z137.316b12-18. Cf. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, pp.33, 36.

26. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, pp.34-36 万物一家 .

27. SKC 94b8-c1; SKNC 173b5-7, where Jen Yüan refers of course to the *Chuang-tzu*, with Hsün-tzu's comments. The *Chuang-tzu* says, "It has human form but lacks human emotion. Because it has human form it is mobbed by people; because it lacks human emotion, it definitely cannot be in a body."

28. In a Ch'u style *tz'u* Huang wrote, "Grass and trees, even though without emotion,/ I contemplate them as if they were human." SKC 13b1.

Who is my Dharma pillar.
 The hand of faith cuts out square and round,
 The rules and measures each spot on.

 From far away I think of Old Man Ling-yüan
 And sit sharing his Dharma-chair.

 In Ling-nan the early-plum spring,
 The adjutant (I) is ashamed to play alone.²⁹

But even if he could not attain release himself, he had faith that a saviour such as Kuan-yin could help him.³⁰

Nature likewise revealed the Buddhist truth to him, either simply as the Dharma-body as in "Hymn for Ch'an Master Shou Awakening to the Way,"

The oak drops, its no other thing.
 Hither and thither, it is not a sense-contaminant.
 The mountains, rivers and great earth
 Completely reveal the Dharma-king's body.³¹

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29. SKNC 230c3-231a5. Jen Yüan notes that to the north of Shan-ku Monastery there is a "Stone Ox Cave" which looks like a reclining ox, from which Huang took his epithet after the painter Li Po-shih (Kung-lin, 1049-1105, see Max Loehr, pp.161-163, another "archaist") had depicted him there. He refers to a poem by Han-shan for the eight winds, and several other sources. "Daily function" he sources in a response to Shih-t'ou by P'ang Yün. Ling-yüan is Wei-ch'ing, another monk-pupil of Tsu-hsin. Finally, I-chou was where Huang was exiled in 1103, leaving his family behind in Yung-chou (see Kurata, p.15).
30. "Encomium for Kuan-shih-yin": "On the sea coast, alone and sheer, Potalaka Cliff/ There is a sentient being perfectly and correctly aware./ 84,000 clear, pure eyes see the turmoil of sense contaminants in the Flower Store Sea./ 84,000 mudrā arms attract the sentient to the other shore./ Nirvana and samsara are non-dual, to see that is to be called the Bestower of Fearlessness (Kuan-yin)./ The eight winds blow spreading old age, disease, and death./ There is not a single sentient being that can gain a pacific mind." SKC 118c3-7.
31. SKC 555a8-b1. Shou is Fo-shou Wei-ch'ing (-1117?), one of his friends and a pupil of Tsu-hsin. The last two lines can be found in the *Chu Hua-yen ching t'i fa-chieh kuan-men sung* T45.701c19. Note this poem quoted by Chu Hsi. See chapter 3, at note 194.

or through Nature preaching the Dharma to him:

The wind rises, the tall bamboos cool.
 The rain carries the new lotus' savour.
 The fish play and (I) awaken to the world's snare;
 The birds' voices enter (one) into the Ch'an flavour.³²

Thus Huang could contemplate Nature without it disturbing him, for he had no desires or demands of it:

Contemplating water and contemplating mountains, both attain the marvel.
 What other thing could there be to pollute the numinous stand (mind)?³³

A lack of desire implies a lack of selectivity, a pure acceptance of the wonders of Nature. Huang explained part of his view point on this and its relationship to learning in a letter to Wang Tzu-lung:

Men are originally born with happiness and anxiety. But if one chooses between them, the selection and rejection will bring one to the six bore holes [that ruined happy, primeval Chaos or unconscious participation] and on the days of contention one seeks for weapons. Therefore the ancients who studied the past deeply sought for its basis and used the samādhi of non-contention to govern it. Therefore (let) the myriad events accord with the conditions; this is the Dharma of ease 安樂法. If one reads 10,000 volumes and talks of the Way like a waterfall and yet do not know this, that is called a book seller talking of horse bells.³⁴

32. SKNC 160b1-4. Jen Yüan notes the *A-mi-t'o ching* passage about the water birds and forest trees all preaching the marvellous Dharma, and notes that the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Nirvana* sutras talk of meditation (Ch'an) as a "flavour." Cf. also Huang's "In Harmony with Chu Hung-fu's Hymn on the True and False": "Mt. Sumeru preaches to the Dharma, the great ocean listens." SKC 133d5-6.

33. "T'i Hu Mien-lao chih Hsü-an." The last line refers to *Lao-tzu*, "Constantly without desires in order to contemplate its marvel." The numinous stand is the mind. SKNC 196a8-b3. Note that Huang analysed this very line of *Lao-tzu* as follows: "The constant of contemplating the Way is to be fundamentally without desire; then it is a marvel." SKC 574b6-7.

34. SKC 460d5-8. The last line is a reference to the *Fa-yen*. Cf. Morohashi 14294.139.

The world is not to be selectively adopted because it is empty of absolute content, and being empty it displays its potential:

The bodhisattvas in the Ch'ing-liang (Mountain's) moon
 Play in the highest empyrean (emptiness).
 I contemplate all sense-data in total,
 My mind and that of the ancients identical.³⁵

Huang evidently knew of the possibility of enlightenment coming from seeing the delights of Nature through Ch'an as with the monk Ling-yün Chih-ch'uan:

Ling-yün at once smiled seeing the peach bloom;
 After thirty years he had not reached his home.
 Following this, after the spring wind and rain,
 He meandered, following the flowing water to the horizon.³⁶

But this does not mean he necessarily saw that Nature was kind to man; after all it was insentient. Huang's attitude to Nature has been seen as analytical and rather cold, as an attempt to discover principle rather than to describe.³⁷

35. Shih Yung (fl. 1201-1218), *Shan-ku wai-chi shih-chu* (hereafter SKWC) SKCS vol. 1114, 366c5-8, refers to the *Vimalakirti* and *Leng-yen* sutras for lines 2 and 3.
36. This poem, written in 1100 as a "title" 題 or superscript to a painting of peach and apricot flowers by Wang Yu, according to Shih Yung refers to the CTCTL, and the gatha Ling-yün wrote: "For thirty years the seeking swordsman.../Since seeing a peach flower/ He directly came as now to no further doubt." The second poem in Huang's series, says, "Ling-yün saw the peach and the myriad affairs were non-existent./ I see the apricot flower and my mind is likewise." SKWC 476c5-d3. Note that Huang also knew the tale of the rocks bowing to Tao-sheng as he reveals in a hymn to Wei-ch'ing about his ordination of two children as proof of the monk's oratorical sway.
37. Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.2, where Huang is said to have only described Nature in general, p.3, and was interested in the connections between individual items as an intellectual exercise. Cf. the comment by the Confucian Wei Liao-weng (1174-1234), p.4, on pattern and Huang not being a descriptive realist. Yoshikawa, p.126, says Huang avoided emotional expression because "he felt that it interfered with the careful observation of the minute and subtle changes in the world," calling his poetry cold and dry. Susan Bush, p.47, calls his insight an intellectual purity and not a visualization.

One sees past events in dream according to the (inclinations of the) mind.

The profuse flowers that confuse the eyes [spots] arise in drunkenness,

And have long been wind-currents, diseases troubling mankind.

But they are nothing like the nature of Heaven that is totally heartless 無情.³⁸

Ch'an also affected Huang's calligraphy for which he was famed.³⁹ He wrote:

In 1094 when I was on Mt. Huang-lung, I suddenly attained the draft calligraphy samādhi, aware that my previous writings were too obvious and angular.⁴⁰

Huang used the term "samādhi" of a number of other people's calligraphy,⁴¹ and he insisted that "in a written character there be the brush like the eye in a Ch'an verse."⁴² Such a condition seemingly could be reached through drink, which Huang took up again late in life, breaking his vow. In 1100 he wrote:

At night having bathed and drunk several cups in succession, I made a running-hand draft 行草 for Li Chih-yao of Ch'eng-tu, when my ears burned and my eyes blurred 花 .

38. SKWC 426a3-4.

39. Ch'en Chih-mai, *Chinese Calligraphers and their Art*, pp.112-114. Su Shih was also an accomplished calligrapher, pp.108-110.

40. SKC 306c1-3; Hasegawa, p.280.

41. For that of Su Shih, who played with ink and water, SKC 643b5; and for another calligrapher, SKC 515a7, 294c1-2.

42. SKC 306cb6-8, 293a8-11, for example in writing of Wang Hsi-chih, or 633c6-7 on that of Su Shih; 449c4-6. Susan Bush, pp.48-49, cites several other passages, such as "I used to say of writing that brushwork in characters is like insight in the sayings of the *Ch'an* masters." Of connoisseurship he wrote: "At first I could not appreciate painting, but then by practising mediation (*ch'an*) I came to understand the efficacy of effortlessness..." She thinks that this was not that connoisseurship was a "spiritual exercise but, rather, that Taoist attitudes and *Ch'an* technique could apply to it." I think it was more than just technique.

Suddenly a dragon-snake entered my brush and after forty years of calligraphy study, tonight's calligraphy is the so-called Mt. Ao awakening to the Way.⁴³

This suggests that alcohol was now a substitute for meditation as a method of obtaining that breakthrough into the divine creative state.

This fascination with calligraphy and Ch'an provides further clues to Huang's theories on poetry. Firstly, although the creation of a "school" separate from that of Su Shih was due in part to differing geographical and political affiliations,⁴⁴ it also owes much to Huang's almost equal respect for Wang An-shih even though Su Shih was his acknowledged teacher.⁴⁵

Huang's poetical axiom that one should know the pedigree or "genealogy" of each character one uses in a poem surely owes something to the etymological pursuits of Wang⁴⁶ and to Ch'an's single-character *kung-ans* such as Chao-chou's *wu*.⁴⁷ As

43. Hasegawa, pp.280-281. The awakening on Mt. Ao was when the three monks Chien-hsüan, I-ts'un, and Wen-sui were enlightened to the Way while travelling together on the mountain. See Morohashi 48301.7.3.
44. Abe, pp.292ff. et. passim. Cf. Tiang, p.83, with Su in the lower Yangtze and Huang's school in Chiang-hsi.
45. Tiang, p.79, on "rivalry" of Su and Huang. Cf. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, p.38, on sympathy for Wang. Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.5 says that the use of allusions or classicization taught by Wang was advanced and refined by Huang. Huang frequently referred to Wang's poetry and calligraphy: SKC 262c7, 264c8, 265c3ff, 268d2, 274c4, 279c6, et. passim. *chüans* 28-30, 301a1 and 315b3 on his calligraphy and Buddhism, 441d6-442b1, 459d2, 641b3, 682b1, 756c1. The three commentators to the poems above listed make too many references to Wang's poems to list. For example, SKNC 65b3ff.; SKWC 462c-464a, 455c; SKPC 484a2, 487a5, 487c6, 488a8, 490c7 etc.
46. See SKC 277a6, Kurata, p.19, says that one word was considered to be a catalyst to change a poem, that one must treat characters seriously, and each must have an illustrious precedent in poetry. It must have a pattern of classical usage. See also Adele Austin Rickett, "Method and Intuition: The Poetic Theories of Huang T'ing-chien," p.110, where the catalyst metaphor is taken from alchemy. Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.6, says that the use of classical allusions required thorough and wide reading. Huang's theory was concentrated on three points: 1) borrow words, 2) borrow stories or content, 3) borrow conceptions, which is to know the genealogy of

Huang's theory was a form of "archaism - the kind that substitutes ancient literature for Nature as the object of intuitive contemplation...meditating on ancient poetry in the same way as in spiritual exercises,"⁴⁸ it was really a conversion of the Lin-chi and Yün-men Ch'an *kung-an* into a poetic technique. This is suggested by the term, "Dharma-eye in the Ch'an verse," which means the keyword of a verse,⁴⁹ a term characteristic of Chiang-hsi School poetics.⁵⁰ Its origin may lie in the Ch'an term *chü-chung* 句中 that is used variously by Yün-men and Lin-chi, the first as the

the words. Ogawa, *Sō shū sen*, p.305, says that Huang thought that by examining the plants and animals, and comparing them with man, one could describe human life. He thinks Huang learnt from Wang An-shih's *Tzu-shuo*, itself part of the studies of the *Erh-ya* current in the period.

47. The use of *wu* in *k'an-hua* or *kung-an* was begun by Wu-tsu Fa-yen. It is called "one character barrier" 一字關 *kung-an* theory. Also called "one character Ch'an." See *Zengaku Daijiten* 30b and Miura and Sasaki, *Zen Dust*, p.161. Another monk, Ching-ch'i 景齊, head of Fa-yün Monastery and a pupil of Tsu-hsin, to whom Huang sent a poem, studied Wang's etymological work, the *Tzu-shuo*. This was noted by Shih Chi-wen, SKPC 506d7-507a2.
48. James J.Y. Liu, *Theories of Chinese Literature*, pp.36-37.
49. Tiang, pp.87-88, says it is the third character of a five-character line poem or the fifth of a seven character line, and is part of the *chü-fa* 句法 or skill in expression that probably derives from Tu Fu. For *chü-fa* as the larger unit, see Craig Fisk, "The Verse Eye and the Self-Animating Landscape in Chinese Poetry," *Tamkang Review*, vol. 8 no. 1 (April 1977), p.140. He discusses this "verse eye" 句眼, saying it is "the strategic or unexpected use of a word such that it dominates the reader's reaction to a line of verse," which supposedly "self-animates" the "natural scene," which Fisk relates to the "personification" of Western literature (p.123). The use of a pivotal word has a long history, going back at least in theoretical expression to Lu Chi (p.131), but it is especially apparent in the practice of Tu Fu, Wang An-shih, Huang T'ing-chien, and Ch'en Shih-tao (p.126). The term *chü-yen* incidentally seems to have been first used widely by Wang An-shih and was developed by Huang (p.137).
50. Fisk, pp.137-139, notes that it is used by Hui-hung (1071-1128), Fan Wen (ca. 1100), and in Lü Pen-chung (fl. ca. 1085-1119) as "live word" (the dates are those of Fisk).

realization of a "live verse apart from words," the second as a means of expressing an absolute meaning through parallel lines.⁵¹

The concept of "antiquity" in which one contemplates the verses and words of the past owes much to the Ch'an of Huang T'ing-chien's day, a form of Ch'an *fu-ku*. This is "literary Ch'an 文字禪," which Huang sourced in the layman Liu I-min (354-410), the pupil of Hui-yüan who wrote out the liturgy for the Lotus Society they formed on Mt. Lu,⁵² and who was an admirer of Seng-chao, whose works Huang also alluded to.⁵³

51. The example given in the dictionaries is from the *Pi-yen lu*; "There is only this Yün-men *chü-chung*, much passion invites 惹 a human emotional interpretation. If you make the emotional understanding, you will not escape killing my descendants." Lin-chi uses the "mystery in the verse" 詞中玄 as the realization of the hidden sense behind words (*Zengaku Daijiten* 250a), which is the second of Lin-chi I-hsüan's "three mysteries and three essentials." It prevents one from being trapped by words, real words that are not connected to discrimination (*Zengaku Daijiten* 392b).
52. In "Superscript to (Li) Po-shih's painting of Yüan-ming beneath the Pines," Huang wrote, "Mr. Yüan's Incense Burning Society/ I-min's literary Ch'an./ Although these are not the old fellow's affair/ He could still contemplate their mystery./ The pine breeze itself carries a tune./ My zither does not need to be played./ A guest comes and is about to talk./ But the (wine) cup has arrived and he cannot speak." Jen Yüan cites the *Kao-seng chuan* for Liu I-min and the establishment of the society. He also cites the CTCTL biography of Bodhidharma; "Tao-fu said, 'As I see it, if one does not grasp letters but are not divorced from letters, that is the function of the Way.'" SKNC 119d6-120a1. This poem relates also in part to T'ao Ch'ien's friendship with Hui-yüan. Note the rearrangement of verses by Shih Yung and his change of "contemplate" 觀 to "welcome" 歡, SKWC 461b1-2. For Liu I-min or "Liu the Recluse," see Erik Zürcher, p.217. Liu built a meditation hall on Mt. Lu. The text is Liu's liturgy which is translated by Zürcher, pp.244-245.
53. For a translation of some of Liu's correspondence with Seng-chao, see Walter Liebenthal, *Chao Lun: The Treatises of Seng-chao* (Hong Kong U.P., 1968), pp.81-100, in which he mentions Tao-sheng (p.83). Liu wrote songs akin to those of Juan Chi and the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (p.89), and Seng-chao accuses his friends (perhaps Liu) of "too much emphasis on words" (p.97). Liu also praised Seng-chao for his *Prajñā Has No Knowing* as another Ho Yen (Richard Robinson, *Early Madhyamika in India and China*, Madison, University of

Although "literary Ch'an" did not originate with Liu I-min, it was ultimately associated with "one character Ch'an" which began with Yün-men Wen-yen (d. 949). An enlightening example appears in the following exchange:

A monk asked, "What sort of thing is the pure Dharmakāya?"

Yün-men said, "A peony bed."⁵⁴

Such poetic expressions of Ch'an and everyday numinosity are typical of the Yün-men House which produced such writers as Ch'i-sung and Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien (980-1052) the author of the *Pai-tse sung-ku*, a collection of one hundred cases with accompanying hymns⁵⁵ and a text that Jen Yüan cited to elucidate Huang's sources.⁵⁶ The Yün-men lineage exerted a poetic or literary hold on Huang through associates and teachers such as Yüan-t'ung Fa-hsiu (1027-1090) and Fo-yin Liao-yüan.⁵⁷

A second literary Ch'an lineage that affected Huang was that of Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958), a philosopher of mind-only and Hua-yen who discussed Seng-chao's thesis that "Heaven, earth and I are of the same root, the myriad things and I are a unity,"⁵⁸ and who put the theory of the mental representation of the world 三界唯心 into poetic form:

Wisconsin, 1967, p.124). For Huang's use of Seng-chao's *Chao-lun*, see Jen Yüan who cites it four times (SKNC 92c1, 109b2-3, 160b5, 195c7), and Shih Yung once (SKWC 290d7-8).

54. Shou-chien (compiler), *Yün-men K'uang-chen Ch'an-shih kuang-lu* (*Zenseki kaidai* no. 125, ca. 1120) T45.552c; *Pi-yen lu* 39, T48.177b14; *Zen Dust*, p.48; Buswell, p.344.
55. Buswell, p.345; *Zen Dust*, pp.159-160, 362. This text was known as *Hsüeh-tou sung-ku*. Compiled in 1026 by one of his pupils, it formed the basis of the *Pi-yen lu*. See *Zenseki kaidai* no. 148.
56. SKNC 191b5.
57. Fa-hsiu is referred to by Shih Yung, SKWC 351a4; Liao-yüan in SKC 429a8 in a poem for him written in 1094 when they met: "When deluded, today it's like former days./ After awakening this year it still resembles past years./ Eat your fill, wear whatever one wishes and debate anything at will./ Who knows the Patriarch Teacher Ch'an of Fo-yin?" See SKPC 500a2-4.
58. Adachi Daishun, "Hōgen" in *Zen no rekishi - Chūgoku: Koza Zen*, vol. 13 (Tokyo, 1967), p.249; *Zen Dust*, p.185. Cf. *Chin-ling Ch'ing-liang yüan Wen-i Ch'an-shih yü-lu* compiled in the Ming, T47.588b5-9.

Principle at its utmost, one forgets emotional consideration 忘情謂
 How can a simile exist for comparison?
 Finally the frosted night moon
 Following its course sinks into the front ravine.
 The fruit ripe, the monkeys all value them.
 Like one who has lost his way the mountains continue on.
 I raise my head, the evening glow remaining,
 Originally it was to the west of my dwelling.⁵⁹

As Wen-i conceived of the appropriate word, monks frequently cited him.⁶⁰ The Fa-yen lineage produced a galaxy of literary and philosophical compilations such as the *Tsung-ching lu* by Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-976) and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* by Ch'eng-t'ien Tao-yüan, both of which were read by Huang.⁶¹ The *Tsung-ching lu* in 100 *chüan* attempts the union of Ch'an and Teaching or doctrine that had earlier been attempted by Tsung-mi,⁶² while the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* can be considered the decisive factor in the development of *kung-an* and "literary Ch'an," for the 1,701

59. T47.591a8-10; Adachi, p.257; Yanagida Seizan, "Chügoku Zenshüshi," p.88. Cited in explanation of Huang's poems by Jen Yüan, SKNC 78d6-7 for the lines, "I returned to sit in the empty room./ The evening sun is to my west," and by Shih Chi-wen, SKPC 490c8-d1 for the line, "The evening sun was originally to the west of the bamboo's shadow."

60. The "appropriate word" is my description of the practice of Wen-i as seen in the story in his *Chin-ling Ch'ing-liang yüan Wen-i Ch'an-shih yü-lu*. An elderly monk wrote the character "mind" on the doors, windows and walls of the hermitage. Wen-i said, "On the door just write the character 'door,' on the window 'window,' and on the wall 'wall'." T47.591c28-592a2. For citations of this by monks including Hui-hung, see Adachi, p.251.

61. Jen Yüan, SKNC 108c1-2, cites the *Tsung Ching-lu*. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, p.34, says Huang read the CTCTL and the *Platform Sutra*. The commentators cite the CTCTL for the source of Huang's words as follows: Jen Yüan approximately 62 times, Shih Yung 54 times, and Shih Chi-wen 4 times.

62. Tsung-mi is also cited by the commentators, SKNC 88b5, 167c7, 213a4.

names of Ch'an masters and patriarchs listed were the basis for the traditional number of *kung-an* cases.⁶³

The lineage that was most influential in Huang's time though was that of Lin-chi, which at least temporarily consummated the classicization of Ch'an. Lin-chi Ch'an was amenable to poetic theory because of Lin-chi I-hsüan's (d. 866) so-called "four selections 料簡" in which man and his sense-data or environment 境 are understood in four ways; either one present and the other absent, both absent, or both present. Each of these states is expressed poetically in the *Lin-chi lu*. Jen Yüan thus annotates Huang's verse,

Man and sense-data both need to be present;
Then I can attain the great function,

by citing this arrangement from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.⁶⁴ Later, the famous hundred versified cases of Yün-men's Ch'ung-hsien were rivalled by Fen-yang Shan-chao's (946-1023) selection of 100 cases from the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* with appended verses and evaluations and replies. Ch'ung-hsien's cases and verses, which were of a higher literary quality, were then commented on by Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in (1063-1135) of the Lin-chi lineage in his famous *Pi-yen lu*, an achievement of the Yang-ch'i branch encapsulating the fusion of Ch'an and poetry from the south of the

63. Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," pp.89-90. Yanagida notes that the CTCTL was one of the watersheds between T'ang and Sung Ch'an, and that it was composed in the old Wu-Yüeh area that produced Tsan-ning (921-1002), author of the SKSC, and was connected to Ch'i-sung, Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien, and Chu Hsi Confucianism.

64. SKNC 51d5-7. Jen cites Yang-shan as saying, "Po-chang attained great function." The *Lin-chi lu* passage for this final state reads: "What about when neither man nor sense-data are snatched away?" Lin-chi said, "The king ascends into the jewelled palace, the rustic elders are singing his praises." My translation from p.4 of the Chinese text in Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi*, cf. her translation, p.7.

Yang-tze, Huang's native land.⁶⁵ Begun around 1112-1113,⁶⁶ Huang could not have seen this text, although he may have known K'o-ch'in.⁶⁷

The majority of Huang's Ch'an teachers and associates were from the Lin-chi lineage, especially the Huang-lung branch. For example, Ch'ang-tsung with whom he frequently talked, his master Tsu-hsin, "assistant" enlightener Wu-hsin and fellow student Wei-ch'ing were all members of this branch.⁶⁸ But the most important member of the Huang-lung branch was undoubtedly Ch'ieh-fan Hui-hung (1071-1128), for this monk was a considerable poet and the most prolific Ch'an historian and commentator of the age. Not only was he a poetry critic, his collection of poems and belles-lettres was titled *Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an* (*The Literary Ch'an of Shih-men*).⁶⁹ However, he and Huang only met in 1102 or 1103, so it is doubtful that Hui-

65. Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," pp.93-94.

66. See Asahina Sōgen, *Hekigan roku* 3 vols (Tokyo, 1937, reprint), vol. 1, p.8.

67. Shih Yung, SKWC 479d6 says Huang may have met K'o-ch'in in Szechwan in 1102/3. Jen Yūan, SKNC 137c8, notes that K'o-ch'in used a certain saying often in his verses, just as Huang did.

68. For Ch'ang-tsung, see references in SKC 167b2, 169b7, and 165c5-7, where Huang calls him "a great Ch'an master of the empire, with students numbering in the hundreds up to a thousand," and 429d8, 500a2ff. For Tsu-hsin, SKC 168c1, 249a8ff., the stupa inscription for Tsu-hsin which says he was initially taught by Yün-feng Wen-yüeh (997-1062), attained the samādhi of play 游戲三昧, then became a pupil of Huang-lung Hui-nan (1002-1069), and was later made abbot of Mt. Huang-lung by Ts'ui-yen K'o-chen (?-1064). Huang lists himself as a pupil, and states that Tsu-hsin was to become a Confucian scholar, but lost his sight at 19 and became a monk when his sight was restored. He visited a Lo-t'an Hsiao-yüeh 訶譚曉月 who interestingly could "use all letters to enter into Ch'an" (250a4-5). See also 150d-151a where Tsu-hsin is mentioned in a preface to the *yü-lu* of Wen-yüeh. Wei-ch'ing and Tsu-hsin are discussed by Jen Yūan, SKNC 195c2-5, where Huang refers to them by name. Wei-ch'ing and Ssu-hsin are mentioned in SKPC 586b-d. See also the three letters Huang wrote to Ssu-hsin, SKC 738b5-739c.

69. Huang wrote a poem for Hui-hung Ch'ieh-fan, to "Title Yeh-tsu Studio," when Hui-hung planted bamboo at his studio in Cheng-te Monastery, SKNC 161d3-4 (information in Huang's own preface). A "Hymn on Master Ch'ieh-fan Planting Bamboo" is also found in SKC 131c8,

hung had much of an impact on Huang's theory or practice of poetry. Conversely, Huang definitely had an influence on Hui-hung.

This "literary Ch'an," in which the verses of enlightenment and *kung-an* with commentary, either in verse form or the most lyrical of prose, or the dialogues and bon-mots of awakening and repartee, became the dominant feature of Ch'an, was in fact led by the Ch'an associates of Huang T'ing-chien.⁷⁰ Huang himself wrote prefaces to many of their *yü-lu*⁷¹ and he frequently cited their favourite sutras, the *Leng-yen ching* and the *Yüan-chüeh ching*.⁷² Not surprisingly, Huang saw himself as

and a poem was "Presented to Hui-hung," with whom he said he had the "joy of discussing poetry" (SKC 225c4-5, some doubt as to authenticity). Jen Yüan quotes Hui-hung often for his knowledge of Huang's life, remarking that Huang often went to the stupa of Tsu-hsin for example (SKNC 195c3-4 quoting Hui-hung's *Seng-pao chuan*), using the *Seng-pao chuan* SKNC 141d7, 168b3-4 (in text by Huang also), 195c3, 197b1-2, 232c6; and his *Leng-chai yeh-hua* (a *shih-hua*) at 138b6; Shih Yung, SKWC, quotes the *Seng-pao chuan* at 344b7, 351a4, 383a7, and *Leng-chai yeh-hua* at 363b3, 480d2. Hui-hung wrote a poem of invitation to Huang, *Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an*, 2 vols (Taiwan, 1973) 3:3b.

70. For example, the *Hsüeh-tou sung-ku* (148) ("Hsüeh-tou's Versification of Old Cases") by Hsüeh-tou Ch'ung-hsien, the teacher of Fa-hsiu's master; the *Huang-lung Hui-t'ang Hsin Hoshang yü-lu* (170), a collection of the sayings, dialogues and discussions of old cases and verses of Tsu-hsin (compiled by an attendant, possibly in 1078); the *Pao-feng Yün-an Chen-ching Ch'an-shih yü-lu* (171), a compilation of sermons and verses of K'o-wen (1025-1102) with postfaces by Wang An-shih, Wang An-li and Su Ch'e (Z118.773); the *Ling-yüan pi-yü* (172) compiled by Ling-yüan Wei-ch'ing (?-1117) who sent a gatha to Huang (this is a collection of letters to laymen); the *Huang-lung Ssu-hsin Ch'an-shih yü-lu* (174) by Ssu-hsin Wu-hsin (1044-1115), which contains a number of verses; the *Wu-tsu Fa-yen Ch'an-shih yü-lu* (184) by Wu-tsu Fa-yen (1024?-1104), another of Huang's Ch'an confidants, which contains many verses and cases, compiled ca. 1096. (The numbers in parentheses refer to the *Zenseki kaidai* entry.)
71. For example, in SKC, for Yün-chu Yüan-yu (1030-1109), 149d-150b8; for Ts'ui-yen K'o-chen (?-1064) 149b-d; for Ts'ui-yen Wen-yüeh, 150d-151a; for Ta-wei Mu-che (?-1085) 150c-d; for Fu-chou Hsi-ch'an Tao-hsien 151a-c; a preface to a painting by Ching-yin Tao-ch'en (1014-1097), 148d-150b.
72. For the *Leng-yen ching*, Jen Yüan cites it 22 times, Shih Yung 24 times, and Shih Chi-wen about 4 times. For the *Yüan-chüeh ching*, Jen 13 times, Shih Yung twice, Shih Chi-wen once.

a reincarnation of Han-shan, whose poems he often referred to, along with those of several other Ch'an poets.⁷³

"Literary Ch'an" then was an inspiration for Huang T'ing-chien's poetics. It accounts for his usage of strange diction. His rearrangement of words in a couplet to create a new pattern may have been inspired by the substitute answers for *kung-ans*,⁷⁴ although this owed much to Tu Fu, Han Yü, and possibly T'ao Ch'ien.⁷⁵ Although Huang's system removed the supposed spontaneity of the Ch'an answers, his emphasis on format and the general meaning, on writing poetry as similar to dramatic performances or joke-telling, as well as his intellectualism,⁷⁶ has many features in common with *kung-an* Ch'an. It has been suggested indeed that the sudden and disturbing changes from rational discourse to psychological or emotional outbursts in some of his poems is a reflection of the logic of the *kung-an* in which perplexity is induced in the reader which has to be transcended by a sudden understanding.⁷⁷

73. This in a "Playful Caption to His Own Portrait," Huang wrote, "In a former life Han-shan tzu;/ In a later life Huang Lü-chih./ I often meet with troubles from vulgar men./ I think I would like to enter the stone wall." SKC 553a1-2. For the commentators sourcing his words in Han-shan's poetry, see SKNC 161d5, 230c7-8; SKWC 351d1-2, 429b1-2. There are also a number of references to Kuan-hsiu, SKNC 200c7-8, for example. He wrote a postface for Ch'i-chi's collection of poems, SKC 316d-317a1.
74. For Huang's poetics, see Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, pp.6-7; Tiang, pp.89-90; Kurata, p.19. For the alternative answers 代別, short appraisals 著語, substitutions 別語, and alternate versification (?拈句) in *kung-an* Ch'an, as in the *Pi-yen lu* for example, see Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," *Tōhō Gakuhō* 57 (1985), pp.244-246, and "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," pp.93-94.
75. See Kurata, pp.18-19, and Adele Rickett, "Method and Intuition....," pp.103-105 for Huang's study of these poets.
76. See Rickett, "Method....," p.100, for the format and drama, Kurata, pp.18-19, 21, for Huang's intellectual approach, Tu Fu's influence, and the general intellectual tendency of Sung poetry, and that Huang was more intellectual than Su Shih. See also Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.3 and Yoshikawa, pp.125-127.
77. Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.12.

Huang stressed the function of the mind in response to words in his Confucianism, where the reading of the Classics was to rediscover the true mind of Confucius and Mencius. He especially praised Chou Tun-i's ideal of the mind, which Huang said should be realized through sudden awakening and "counter-illumination."⁷⁸ This suggests that his understanding of the usage of words in poetry was similar to the realization of the meaning of a *kung-an* or *hua-t'ou*, for the term "counter-illumination" was important in the *kung-an* practice of the lineage from Fa-yen to K'o-ch'in. K'o-ch'in thought that *kung-an* were meant to be alive, pointing at the mind-nature of the meditator, and so if one understood one phrase (*hua-t'ou*) one could understand all.⁷⁹ It was no accident that Huang asked about a "short-cut" to the Way, for the word "short-cut" was a feature of the Ch'an of K'o-ch'in and his pupil Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163).⁸⁰ Nor is it coincidental that the term "changing the bones" that has been attached to Huang's poetics also occurs in K'o-ch'in's *Pi-yen lu*.⁸¹

The differing styles of Ch'an that Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien pursued may explain the varying lines their poetics, or rather that of their followers took. According to Wu Chiung 吳炯 (fl.1131);

The later students consequently split up. Those who modelled themselves on Su gathered in Che-yu (Chekiang), while those who modelled themselves on Huang gathered in Chiang-yu (Chiang-hsi). As I see it, for the most part Yün-men flourished in Wu and Lin-chi flourished in Ch'u. As Yün-men had an old woman's kindness, those attracted to him received easy (instruction), everyone getting it, thinking that they had obtained the Dharma/method (but few really did)... Lin-chi's blows and shouts were distinct and clear,

78. Ch'ien Chih-hsi, pp.35-36, though Huang emphasises that this was not the "child-(like) mind" of Ch'an in content: the method was Ch'an-like but the content not. Kurata, p.20, says Confucianism was the basis of Huang's thought and life, and p.18 notes his like of Chou Tun-i.

79. Robert Buswell, "The 'Short-cut' Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation...", pp.346-347.

80. Ibid., p.347 note 94, also used by Yüan-wu.

81. For this term in Huang's poetics, see Rickett, "Method...", pp.109-110. For the *Pi-yen lu*, see Asahina, *Hekigan roku*, vol. 1, p.28, preface by pupil P'u-chao (*Zengaku Daijiten* 178c-179a). The phrase is 至聖命月依, 列祖大機, 換骨靈方.

investigating and discriminating extremely sharply, and although few attained his Dharma/method (they distinguished themselves).⁸²

This comparison through Ch'an lineages may have some basis; Su Shih was probably more under the influence of the laxer and easier going Yün-men monks Liao-yüan, Chü-na and Huai-lien (although Ch'ang-tsung of Lin-chi has been enlisted as his Master, he was claimed to be a reincarnation of the Yün-men lineage monk Wu-tsu Shih-chieh); while Huang was more closely associated with the severer Lin-chi Ch'an of Tsu-hsin, Wei-ch'ing, Wu-hsin and others (though Fa-hsiu was of Yün-men). This surely formed an important precedent for the lineage theories of Yen Yü.

These differences were also signs of distinctive personalities. Su was a more romantic, spontaneous, devil-may-care author; Huang was colder, more clinical (he had thought of setting up a pharmacy before he became an official) and methodical. Huang, in contrast to Su's interests in reincarnation, karma and the Pure Land aspects of Ch'an, was more inclined to sudden enlightenment and maintenance of discipline. This was a reflection of the *kung-an* Ch'an where a long concentration and training leads to a sudden breakthrough. Thus in a poem in imitation of Kuan-hsiu, who was recalling the famed incident of T'ao Ch'ien, Hui-yüan and a Taoist drinking, and Hui-yüan breaking his vow by crossing Tiger Creek, Huang was rather critical, concluding, "All of human affairs are as drunk as mud." In fact there may be a hint of criticism of one of Su Shih's poems and of his Ch'an when he wrote:

The flat peach (of immortality) ripens once in three thousand years;
Do not compose the fading flowers of the apricot.⁸³

The opportunity for Ch'an enlightenment is rare, one should not pursue the fading and false promises of the lackadaisical Ch'an that Su Shih followed. The last line suggests this by echoing the first line of Su's *tz'u* "Butterfly Loves Flowers": "The flower's remaining red fades and the green apricot is small."⁸⁴

82. Chinese text cited Tiang, p.83, but I have made my own translation as Tiang glosses over the Ch'an references. See Huang Ching-chin, "Yen Yü chi ch'i shih-lun chih yen-chiu," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 28 (Dec. 1983), p.29.

83. Abe, p.304.

84. Ch'en Erh-tung, *Su Shih tz'u-hsüan*, pp.67-68: "The flower's remaining red fade and the green apricot is small./ When the swallows fly off./ The green waters surround peoples' homes/.../

Huang's poetry is concerned with the ever-present threat of death and the need for enlightenment now, of "detaching emotions from the artistic process," a true form of *wu-ch'ing*, and transforming the words of earlier poets into one's own opportunity for enlightenment.⁸⁵ This weights his poems more towards principles and knowledge and their expression than to emotion, something that accorded more with the severer forms of Neo-Confucianism or *li-hsüeh* of his time.⁸⁶ Because of this theoretical and scholarly dimension, Huang stressed wide and thorough reading, rules and techniques, and an emphasis on man rather than Nature. But that Nature in his poetry is not merely Nature itself, but an intellectually cold reflection of human affairs. It is not really the so-called T'ang poetic emergence of scene and emotion.⁸⁷

Moreover, Huang introduced further refinements into the Ch'an association with poetry. He made attempts to understand the status of reality and emotions through dream analysis. In a dedication to the naming of a youth with the *izu* 字 "Meng-chou", Huang claimed that dream analysis would eliminate emotions:

In the past Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly flitting about. His own simile 蝶夢 was appropriate to his purpose of not knowing whether Chou was dreaming he was a butterfly or whether the butterfly was dreaming it was Chou. Good students of this will (use it to) illuminate the origins of the myriad things and their transformations. Thus the dream of good fortune and high status is due to oneself 我, and the dream of poverty and meanness is due to oneself. As soon as one uses the dream to contemplate it there is no place for joy or anger to reside.⁸⁸

The traveller outside the wall,/ The beauty who laughs within./ The laughter gradually is no (longer) heard, the sound gradually falls silent/ Much emotion (lover) being troubled yet by a lack of emotion (heartlessness)." See the translation by Xu Zhongjie, *100 Chinese Ci Poems in English Verse* (Peking, 1986), p.55.

85. *Sunflower Splendor*, p.590.

86. Kurata, p.18; Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.8.

87. Kurata, p.20, on scholarship and reading, p.21 on "scene" 景 and emotion, and the characterisation of their relation and Nature, and Huang's intellectual coldness.

88. SKC 561a1-4.

At other times, alcohol may have provided such an understanding, that is, in those periods early and late in life when he did not abstain.⁸⁹ But dream was more apt, for it was topical in intellectual circles.

According to the *Yu-ku t'ang shih-hua* 優古堂詩話 by Wu Chien (fl. 1090s-1120s), Huang once

Appraised the truth of his poems, saying

"It seems as if the monk has hair,
And as if the worldly lack sense-contaminants.
I have created a dream within a dream
And see a self 身 beyond the self."

Then he got the poet-monk Yen-pai 諫白 to describe the true poem. Yen-pai said,

In order to awaken to the dream within the dream
And return to the same self beyond the self,
It is worthy of lamenting that you and I
Both are people who have not yet realized it.⁹⁰

Huang's intent was to present the apparently real as an illusion and the illusory as true, but that truth is still within illusion. However, Yen-pai chided him for not realizing that ideal.

Huang's concerns were thus more intellectual than experiential. Practical realization came more in his calligraphy. Here too his understanding of Ch'an was crucial. He wrote of one man's calligraphy that

89. Arai, *Kō Tei-ken*, p.149, says that after he vowed to give up alcohol in 1084 he kept that until 1098 when he was demoted to Jung-chou. Then he took one glass a day for his health, but gave even that up, only starting to drink again in 1100. For references to the "land of drunkenness," see SKC 748c5, 750b3, 751b3, 752d6 (in his *tz'u*); SKNC 193a3, 194c1, and "the true samādhi of non-contention in alcohol" 188b8; SKWC 265c5, 283a5, 343c2, and for poems on drink in general, 255c5-6, 282c, 435d-436c.

90. *Yu-ku t'ang shih-hua* 15b (in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*). Note that this text is only attributed to Wu Chien by tradition. Kuo Shao-yü has shown that the ascription is uncertain. See Jonathan Chaves, "'Not the Way of Poetry': The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 4 (1982), p.200.

I have appreciated that there is a brush (stroke) in the character, just as there is an eye in Ch'an verse. The best is in Wang Hsi-chih's calligraphy, it is as the *Nirvāna Sūtra* states, "The letter *i* 伊 is made up for three eyes 𠄎."91

Huang's appreciation of poetry demonstrates this intellectualism, the *li* or principle of Neo-Confucianism which may be partly sourced in Buddhism.⁹² As he wrote in a letter to Wang Kuan-fu:

Shen (Yüeh), Hsieh (Ling-yün) and their cliques were leaders of the Confucian (*ju*) scholars and their age loved the writing of unusual words....The love of creating such unusual words is itself a sickness of literature. But should you make principle the chief, the principle obtained the confusion will be ordered, and literature will naturally depart from the conventional and common. If you contemplate Tu Fu's poems written after he arrived at K'uei-chou or the prose of Han Yü after he returned to court from Ch'ao-chou, neither were troubled by following regulations, matching them naturally.⁹³

Elsewhere Huang wrote of T'ao Ch'ien in a piece that suggests that once "The idea is raised the poem can follow 題竟可詩後":

The best is in (T'ao) Yüan-ming, who can be said to have not been troubled by following regulations, matching them naturally....Yüan-ming's clumsiness [artlessness 拙] and freedom 放, how can it be regarded as the Way of one who does not know? A man of the Way said, "Just as I press down my finger, so does the Ocean-seal emit light. If you raise the mind for a moment, the sense-contaminant troubles arise first." The explanation says, "If you use the Dharma-eye to contemplate (with), there is nothing worldly (conventional)

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91. SKC 293a8-b1; Huang Ch'i-fang, p.220. The three eyes are a term for perfection and balance.
92. Miyuki Mokusen, "An Analysis of Buddhist Influence on the Formation of the Sung Confucian Concept of *Li-Ch'i*," Ph.D. thesis, Claremont University, 1965, p.26 note 25, pp.38-39, who sources Neo-Confucian *li* in Hua-yen, et. passim.
93. SKC 183d1-184a4; Huang Ch'i-fang, p.222. Cf. Rickett, "Method...", p.105. The last line is a quote from Han Yü, see Morohashi 27937.29. This is also the passage that records Su Shih's advice on prose which was to fully familiarise oneself with the "T'an-kung" chapter of the *Li Chi* and to study the poetry of Tu Fu from the K'uei-chou period and later. See Tiang, p.85.

that is not true; if you use the mundane eye to contemplate with, there is no truth that is not convention."⁹⁴

As the man of the Way was probably one of the Ch'an monks (or Li T'ung-hsüan) Huang admired, he is here suggesting that the greatest writers either were anticipating the Ch'an spirit or were influenced by it, as in the case of Han Yü at Ch'ao-chou and Tu Fu at K'uei-chou.

Good poetry then is the result of an unconscious communion or observance of Nature in which the truth is seen in conventional, everyday experience. But for Huang, as for his Ch'an mentors, this communion is mediated by a long and painstaking assimilation of the works of such past masters who learnt from their predecessors in turn.⁹⁵ This literary Ch'an required rules and techniques which were taught to apprentices by the master. Huang formulated such rules and techniques for students of poetry to follow, and this, plus his Ch'an connection, prompted Lü Pen-chung to describe the Chiang-hsi School in terms of a Lin-chi *kung-an* Ch'an lineage. Thus the influence of Su Shih, who left no rules, as a teacher of poetry faded while that of Huang thrived, although Su was still a major, if not the major, source of inspiration.⁹⁶

94. SKC 276d3-8; Huang Ch'i-fang, p.228.

95. Richard Lynn, "The Sudden and the Gradual in Chinese Poetry Criticism: An Examination of the Ch'an-Poetry Analogy" in *Sudden and Gradual*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, p.386.

96. See Tiang, pp.83-84, on "apprenticeship," for example. However, Rickett, "Method," p.109, does not think a systematic exposition existed.

14) *The Northern Sung Chiang-hsi Schoolmen*

From the early 1100s the friends and admirers of Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien began to evaluate the ideas of these two illustrious writers, gradually forming into cliques or schools, the Shu or Su school following Su and the Chiang-hsi School following Huang.

The Chiang-hsi School, although a later invention, had a number of linking features, and seems to have included at least one figure not listed by Lü Pen-chung in his genealogy, the monk Hui-hung (1071-1128). The common elements were an admiration for Huang T'ing-chien and an adoption of his methods, usually described in terms of alchemy and immortals Taoism, but with a Ch'an content.

i) *Ch'en Shih-tao (1053-1101)*

Most of the early generation of the Chiang-hsi School were minor figures completely overshadowed by Huang. For example, Ch'en Shih-tao (1053-1101) developed Huang's occasional Taoistic analogues to express the gradual refinement of the words and poems of antiquity by the modern poet, while also taking up Huang's ideas on Ch'an enlightenment and the arts, especially the idea of a wordless transmission as from the Buddha to Kaśyapa¹ and the "eye within a verse".²

Initially a follower of Su Shih to whom he was attracted because he could not agree with Wang An-shih's interpretations of the Classics,³ and a friend of Ts'an-liao,

1. Richard Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.388.

2. Ch'en Shih-tao, *Hou-shan chi* (hereafter HSC) SKCS vol. 1114, 799c5, "Ta Wei Yen Huang Yü mien-yu tso shih."

3. SYHA II 4:77; see also the "Letter to Mr. Su," HSC 597c4-598d3 and Ch'en Shih-tao, *Hou-shan Chü-shih wen-chi* (hereafter HSCSW) 2 vols (Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-p'an she reproduction of the Sung printing, 1984), 564ff.

he finally became a disciple of Huang.⁴ He used Huang's rules on how to appropriate Tu Fu's skill, stating that

Studying poetry is like studying to become an immortal.

When the time comes the bones naturally change.⁵

So completely did he transform himself into an image of Huang that he confessed to Ch'in Kou that

When I started poetry I had no teacher to model myself on, but when I was young I liked that, and when old I was not oppressed by it. When the number of my poems totalled 1,000 I happened to see (those) by Huang T'ing-chien and I burned all of (my poems as) straw and learnt from him....My poetry is Huang's poetry. Huang's learning is broad. He obtained his method 法 from Tu Fu. His was a study of Tu, but he could not be him.⁶

Perhaps this is why Huang supposedly said that Ch'en was the foremost contemporary poet,⁷ despite the fact that Ch'en was a most painstaking writer who

4. Rickett, "Method....," p.116. For general information on Ch'en, see Yoshikawa, pp.130-132 and *Indiana Companion*, pp.233-234. For his association with Ts'an-liao, see his "Preface Sent to Ts'an-liao" which praises Ts'an-liao's poetry, describes his love for the monk's poems, and a discussion they held on the T'ang monk-poets, and Kuan-hsiu and Ch'i-chi (HSC 620b1-c1; HSCSW 740); the poems "Sent to Ts'an-liao" (HSC 517b8-c5; HSCSW 161; Jen Yüan, *Hou-shan shih-chu* [hereafter HSSC] SKCS vol. 1114, 773a5-c2); "Two Poems Harmonizing with Ts'an-liao on setting out at light and seeing the neighbour's flowers" (HSCSW 406; HSC 592b1-5; HSSC 862d4-863a2); and mentions in "Presented to Chao Feng-i" (HSCSW 310; HSC 521d2; HSSC 821d7-8), "Reply to Huang Sheng" (HSCSW 313; HSC 535b1-2; HSSC 823d6-7). He also knew the novice Ying, pupil of Ts'an-liao, who visited Su Shih, "Preface to the *tz'u* for Master Ying" HSCSW 720-723.
5. "Tz'u-yün ta Ch'in Shao-chang," HSC 525b3; Rickett, "Method....," pp.117-118.
6. HSCSW 542; HSC 602b2-6. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.388. Cf. Rickett, "Method....," pp.117-118, where she says that Huang looked beyond Tu Fu to T'ao Ch'ien; Yoshikawa, p.131 on his open expression of sorrow. For the supposed occasional bad results this imitation of Tu Fu had, see *Indiana Companion*, p.234.
7. Reported in Hui-hung's *Leng-chai yeh-hua*, cited by Chaves, "Not the Way of Poetry'....," p.205.

according to Huang "closed the door and sought for verses."⁸ However, Ch'en admitted, despite the admiration of Huang and Su for the "verse method" 句法 of Tu Fu⁹ that

Huang's poetry and Han Yü's prose have intent and therefore have skill 工. Tu Fu lacks (visible) skill/crafting. But students put Huang first and Han later, and if they do not follow Huang and Han but follow Tu they will be misled by his simplicity and ease.¹⁰

Ch'en's poetic methodology incorporated sudden enlightenment. For example, he wrote in "Following a rhyme by Su Shih Pressing Wine (on the Ou-yang brothers) with a poem":

All one's life (a member of) the Western Land Society,
He put in all his effort to liberate himself.
Do not be worried by the tortoise with nine heads,
You may speak a wrong word.
Sudden enlightenment and gradual cultivation,
Through this there is a reason to depart the world.¹¹

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8. Ibid., pp.203-204. To close the door is to cut oneself off from the world and devote oneself to study just as a meditating monk does when searching for the mind-nature. See 法門 門 門 entry, *Zengaku Daijiten* 1108d.
9. Ch'en Shih-tao, *Hou-shan shih-hua* 3a (in *Li-tai shih-hua* 6). Note that this text has some insertions by someone else, see *Indiana Companion*, p.234.
10. *Hou-shan shih-hua* 5a.
11. HSCSW 159; HSC 517a5-8. In HSSC 771b7-db, Jen Yüan explains that this is a poem about Su pushing alcohol onto the Ou-yang brothers, who because their mother had died recently, declined to drink or versify. The reference to the Western Land Society is to that of Liu I-min and others, and the effort for liberation is to escape this ephemeral life. The nine-headed tortoise refers to a story in the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (by Tao-shih, published 668, in Taisho 53. An encyclopedia of Buddhism, see Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 4555.) of a man who died a violent death, and on meeting Yama, judge of the dead, was ordered to bring forth the poet Yü Hsin (513-581), who took the form of a tortoise that could speak human language. Yü Hsin was reborn in this form because he had falsely quoted a sutra and had abused Buddhism. He also explains the fourth line with reference to a story about Po-chang Huai-hai, who was asked by a

In other words, Ch'en is saying that one may have sudden enlightenment to the essence of poetry, but one still needs to gradually cultivate that realization through a technique of trial and error.

Ch'en called himself the Buddhist layman (*chü-shih*) Hou-shan.¹² He used Ch'an images often¹³ in his poems, including those on *wu-ch'ing* preaching the Dharma. Of course the usual ambiguous usages of *wu-ch'ing* are still present as in the poem "Chiang Hu Hall":

monk, "Does a good practitioner still fall into causation?" Po-chang said, "He does not; it is due to mistaken words that he falls into the wild-fox tendency." Asked again, he said, "I am not blinded by causation." For sudden and gradual Jen Yüan refers readers to the *Leng-yen ching* and the CTCTL biography of Tsung-mi for his theories.

12. For example, at the end of "Record of Facing the Wall Hermitage," an inscription for a hermitage dedicated to Bodhidharma, HSCSW 704ff; HSC 634c1-635b5.
13. HSCSW 168-169; HSSC 777a2-4 in "Ch'i Ch'ao Ts'ai-chih hsiung-ti" where he says, "One may further consult him on one flavour Ch'an," a reference to the CTCTL and Kuei-tsung's discussion of five-flavours of Ch'an; HSCSW "On the tenth of the eighth month I stayed at Mt. Po-chang's Ch'ing-shan Cloister. The next day I travelled to Sung-feng Hermitage to visit Ch'an Master Chen" (176-177), "Sending off Wang Yüan-chün on demotion to Heng-yeh with two poems to Yüan-lung" (304). HSSC 818a mentions Shih-t'ou's dialogue with Ma-tsu, and "Ho Ch'eng Hu-pu po-chi chang-shih," refers to Chao-chou's "cypress tree," Hui-k'o's pacification of the mind, incidents from the CTCTL, *Leng-yen ching*, and other sutras. It includes a gloss on the line "Facing the corner [of the wall] there is a knower of the voice." Jen Yüan takes this as a reference to Nan-yang Hui-chung's "walls, tiles and rubble vigorously and constantly preach," and refers to the last lines of a poem by Su Shih, "Presented to Elder Lao" (translated in chapter 12 at note 156). Jen Yüan comments that "Hou-shan used this idea to say that the insentient can also preach the Dharma. One cannot say that walls are without knowledge." HSSC 826a8-c7. For the *chih-yin* or "understander of the tone," the mortal witness of human nature who understood the inner person of another poet, see Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, pp.251, 59, 68. Taken from the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung*. Often used in Ch'an as the true knowing of other like minds, based on *Lieh-tzu*, see *Zengaku Daijiten* 842a. This is to know the Buddha's voice, and by extension, the voice of the universe preaching the Dharma, the tide of sound or voices 潮音, cf. Morohashi 18277.3, used of the joint chanting of monks, and 海潮音, the sound of Kuan-yin's sermon, Morohashi 17503.437.

Do not love the beauties of West Lake,
 Trickling away they do not return.
 Heartless (*wu-ch'ing*) is the Yangtze water;
 Still, understanding comes at the right time.¹⁴

or as in the *tz'u* "Butterfly Loves Flowers":

In front of Nine Li Mountain a 1,000 *li* way,
 The flowing waters heartless, they just send the traveller away.¹⁵

There is a sense in which the universe and the powers that be are heartless,¹⁶ but in general Ch'en concludes that the insentient must have some sympathy for man, as in the poem harmonizing with the work his teacher Tseng Kung (1019-1083) of the Lu-ling School, a famous prose writer, composed on leaving his mountain refuge:

On the side of the path lifting the basket, both eyes bright;
 Leaving the mountain still carrying bone-hair purity.
 The white clouds smile at me for still having many concerns;
 The flowing waters accompany people, joining the sentient 各有情
 But not as much as the birds flying casual and at ease.
 I am jealous of those monks living there for the rest of their lives.
 But I am unable to be completely without ideas about the world
 And rise up to attempt a cry on behalf of the masses.¹⁷

14. HSC 583c3-4; HSCSW 91.

15. HSC 736a1.

16. See "Letter to Huang Yü" on the loss of his child (HSC 603b8ff, esp. c5-6; HSCSW 548-550), in which those on high are heartless, but emotion concentrates in people, even the most ignorant, but especially in parents. See also the poem translated on Yoshikawa, p.131.

17. HSC 578b6-c1; HSCSW 413. Ch'en also wrote Tseng Kung's "spirit-way stele" (HSC 674a8-675b4; HSCSW 822). Cf. *Indiana Companion*, p.233. For biography of Tseng Kung, see Fumoto, pp.239ff.; SYHA II 4:73; for Ch'en Shih-tao II 4:77.

The beauties of Nature were such that made this deduction inevitable.¹⁸ Insentient things could convey the divine.¹⁹

Ch'an was evidently a means of understanding the insentient world and for realizing one's poetic potential, for in a poem relating to the levels of dhyāna, he wrote "Marvellous words come out of Ch'an silence."²⁰ In one of three other "Ch'an" poems about his uncle donating begging bowls to monks, he implies that Ch'an was a personal experience:

Midst sound I get a verse, the words already forgotten.
I stopped drinking and was vegetarian, for that is natural.
I greatly possess the true meaning of the coming from the West:
When starving eat and when full desist.²¹

However, Ch'en was still a Confucian who believed that emotions came from and were natural to man.²² Commenting on ideas in *Mencius*,²³ he stated that "the reason the eminent can be subjugated is due to one's non-ego; (the reason) the great can be overturned is one's non-(private possession of) things. The elimination of both (private) things and ego is the virtue of the *chün-tzu*."²⁴

18. "Ho Yen Sheng-t'ung yü Nan-shan" says, "Muscular energy can still bear to present this affair;/ Climbing (mountains) and approaching (waters), how can all be without emotion [insentient]?" HSC 566d; HSCSW 253-254; HSSC 805c4-6.
19. "On draft-script by the Beauty Yü,": "Profound grass-[script] silently communicates the divine,/ An old title by the beauty Yü/.../ The lü (pitch) and lü (notes) correspond,/ The clouds and dragons' *ch'i* themselves become familiar./ The insentient can still empathise and understand 感會 / It is not merely in the rulers and subjects." HSC 561b6-8; HSCSW 432.
20. "K'uei Ch'an-t'ing yün-chai" HSC 517d8; HSCSW 217-218; HSSC 785c7-786a4, especially the first lines with Jen Yüan's comments on the stages of dhyāna.
21. "Shu-fu hui-pen san-shou," the second. HSC 594c7-8; HSCSW 255.
22. See his "Ch'u Shou lun" HSC 637d2-3; HSCSW 448.
23. From chapter 1 "Liang Hui-wang," Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p.155.
24. HSC 645d2-5; HSCSW 484.

Thus Ch'an was his means, the Confucian *chün-tzu* his end, and poetry their expression.

ii) *Fan Wen*

Fan Wen, a pupil of Huang T'ing-chien who flourished in the 1120s,²⁵ wrote the *Ch'ien-ch'i shih-yen* ("Poetic Eye of the Hidden Stream"). He was under Neo-Confucian influence through his father, Fan Tsu-yu (1049-1100 or 1041-1098), a statesman and historian who helped Ssu-ma Kuang compile the *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien*.²⁶

Fan Wen's work on poetry was a significant precursor to Yen Yü's *Ts'ang-lang shih-hua*. Like both Huang T'ing-chien and Yen Yü, Fan wrote:

Students must first make consciousness 識 his master, which is similar to what Ch'an calls the eye of the correct Dharma. One must just be provided with this eye, for only then can one enter the Way.²⁷

Secondly, Fan said that one should study the poetry of the past, for

each (of the great writers) have something to be gained (by you). It is like the awakening-entry 悟入 of the Ch'an School. Huang T'ing-ch'ien's awakening-entry is via rhyme 韻, so he developed this marvel and formed a school 家 of study. Is it not good? Take the fast track 捷途 and short-cut, which is like the Buddhist single-leap and direct entry into the level (地 *bhūmi*) of the Thus Come.²⁸

Here the "short-cut" and "direct entry" refers to the *kung-an* or *hua-t'ou* Ch'an of K'o-ch'in and Tsung-kao (1089-1163) as used by Huang. The latter was akin to Yen Yü's "marvellous awakening" and "natural awakening-entry." Indeed, some of Yen Yü's lines were taken almost word for word from the *Ch'ien-ch'i shih-hua*.

25. Dates from Arai Ken, "*Sōrō shiwa to Senkei shigan* : Sōdai shigaku oboegaki," *Tōhō Gakuhō* 44 (Feb. 1973), p.127 (hereafter Arai TP).

26. Former set of dates from Arai TP, p.127; latter from Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.389.

27. Arai TP, p.128. Cf. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.389, who glosses *shih* 識 as "the power to discriminate" or "judgement." In Buddhism, it refers to the *vijñānas*, but it may have a Neo-Confucian import here.

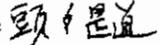
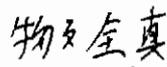
28. Arai TP, pp.128-129.

Examples such as "like the so-called hand of faith of Ch'an that plucks it up, everything  is the Way"²⁹ prove this Ch'an connection.

Thirdly, Fan says, and Yen Yü recapitulates, that poetry must have an element of spontaneity combined with technique, itself a *kung-an* Ch'an trait. Thus Fan disparages Li Ho for lacking such plain or "clumsy" elements, for being solely artifice.³⁰

Fan's work has adopted a *Chuang-tzu* or Ch'an form, for it is in a dialogue between himself and a fictitious adversary called *ting-kuan*.³¹ Fan praises that perennial favourite of pro-Ch'an poets, T'ao Ch'ien, but unlike Su Shih, Fan advocates the need for a prior "intent" , an idea probably learned from Huang. Thus when discussing Li Po's line about drinking, "A glass, a glass and yet another glass," he suggests that Li Po was trying to express the thought that:

Although he had no intention of drinking, he drank unable to help himself. Then he drank again until he had downed three cups and five *lou* ("litres"), falling down drunk and only then stopping. We cannot say this was so, for then we could not describe the marvellous state of the drinker. Li Po's intent was established first and so the seven characters violate

29. Ibid. Note the  of the last line comes from Ch'an, especially , , where it implies "the Dharma-dhātu where everything in it is true and real, an expression or manifestation of the Buddha-nature." Cited from *Pi-yen lu* 2 (*Zengaku Daijiten* 639a). Also used by Yen Yü, see Hu Chien, *Ts'ang-lang shih-hua chu*, collated Jen Shih-hsi (Taipei, 1972), p.138. In colloquial Chinese it means logically or clearly presented.

30. Arai TP, p.130.

31. Ibid., p.131. *Ting-kuan*, "Fixed View"? In Buddhism it means meditation, as in *śamatha-vipaśyanā*. See Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 747c. Examples of such prosopœic literature in Ch'an includes the Niu-t'ou *Chüeh-kuan lun*, a dialogue between *Ju-li*  and *Yüan-men* . Much of Ch'an literature on close examination may prove to be of this form, where historical names are used as convenient vehicles for doctrinal exposition in "reported dialogues." This is also the case with Mahayana sutras, such as the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Gandhavyūha*. See also Chan-jan's *Chin-kang pi*. *Chuang-tzu* includes dialogues between Confucius or Yen Hui and other figures, even "Shadow and Penumbra," or Lao-tzu. See Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, pp.54ff., 68ff., 82ff., 307.

the six forms 六相, but the power of the words are stronger and stronger and one reads it without being aware of the length.³²

The poet's intent had to be discerned by the reader³³ despite any rule violations. This was a widespread topic of the day; even Su Shih in his discussion of "Discerning the Intent" 達意 is reported by Ko Li-fang (?-1164) to have said:

The affairs of the Empire are scattered throughout the histories, classics and philosophers, and cannot be merely used. One must get one thing with which to control them and then one can use them oneself. That so-called one thing is the intent ... which is essential for creating literature.³⁴

But this is true of the use of other's words, not direct perception, just as we look for the intent in T'ao Ch'ien's poem. T'ao had no intent in his described actions. Most of Huang's followers believed in the need for an "ordering idea" (*ming-i* 命意); for example, Ch'en Shih-tao and Han Chü (ca. 1086-1135).³⁵

Once again it is in Fan's analysis of T'ao Ch'ien's poem that his theories on the relation of emotion and scenery to poetry are outlined. Fan cites the poem, of course using the verb *chien* as Su Shih had:

Now he has already seen the southern hills. Thereupon he describes the scenic objects 景物, saying,

"Now mountain air is beautiful as evening falls,
The flying birds flock together returning."

He chants and hums his emotional nature 情性, saying,

32. Arai TP, p.138. The "six forms" are problematic. It probably refers to a system of six faults in poetry. See Wang Meng-ou, *Ch'u T'ang shih-hsüeh chu-shu k'ao*, p.98.

33. See Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.389.

34. Arai TP, p.138. For Ko Li-fang and his interest in Buddhistic poetry, see Jonathan Chaves, "Ko Li-fang's Subtle Critiques on Poetry," *Bulletin of Sung and Yüan Studies* 14 (1979), pp.45-46. Ko Li-fang, *Yün-yü Yang-ch'iu* 3:12b (in *Li-tai shih-hua*).

35. Arai TP, p.138.

"In this there is a true meaning (意 intent),
But about to explain it, the words are already forgotten."

With this the work is complete.³⁶

Hence Fan apparently links the "true intent" or meaning to the poet's emotion, but *ch'ing-hsing* may also be related to Nature.³⁷ This differs from Su Shih's diagnosis that T'ao had "forgotten emotion" in a *Chuang-tzu* or Niu-t'ou fashion.

Fan Wen reports or reflects another difference between Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien, saying that Huang thought Tu Fu superior to Su Shih because Tu composed lines 句 out of two sentences or phrases, whereas Su made the line out of only one.³⁸ This has affinities with the distinction discerned between the Northern and Southern Ch'an analogues for poetry made earlier by Chia Tao and Hsü Yen. Hsü would have classified Tu's lines as Northern, while Chia would have made them Southern. Fan's implicit comparison was probably based on that of Chia Tao.

iii) *Hui-hung (1071-1128)*

An unlisted member of the Chiang-hsi School of poetry who knew both Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien, and had respect for Wang An-shih,³⁹ but used the

36. Ibid., p.39. For Su Shih, see "I-i kai shu" 以意改書, *Ch'iu-chih pi-chi* 5d2-3.

37. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.404, translates this term as in Yen Yü, as "original nature," and note 77, as two aspects of the human personality, emotion and nature. He takes it in earlier times to mean "moral indignation," "something other than self-centred personal emotion."

38. Arai TP, p.135. See Tu Fu, "A thousand cliffs, not a person, the myriad gullies quiet," and Su Shih, "When ploughing the fields they want rain; when harvesting they want clear weather."

39. For his acquaintance with Huang, see Hui-hung, *Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an* (two texts used, the SKCS vol. 1116 text and the two vol. T'ien-ning Monastery Sutra Printing House text reproduced in Taiwan, 1973, partly damaged. Hereafter SM, the former indicated by 1116, the latter by I or II plus *chüan* and page no.), SM II 27.8b, 1116.514d3, "Pa Shan-ku pi-chi" in which "Shan-ku said to me..." See also "Ch'an Master Wei-shan K'ung-yin, Su Shih and I climbed Mt. Fu-yung to visit the Elder..." (SM II 29.22a; 1116.553a7). For respect paid to Wang, see his appreciation of the calligraphy of Wang and Su (SM II 27.6b; 1116.513b4-5) and "Preface for the *tsu* of Marvellous Lineage," where he states, "I recently travelled to Ting-lin (Monastery) on Mt. Chung where I read the *Hsin-hsin ming* written on the walls by Wang An-shih" (SM II 24.15b; 1116.474b4-5).

terminology of the Chiang-hsi School⁴⁰ was the monk Hui-hung, also known as Te-hung. His master was Pao-feng (Chen-ch'ing) K'o-wen (1025-1102) of the Huang-lung branch of Lin-chi Ch'an. K'o-wen was one of Ch'ang-tsung's teachers and Huang T'ing-chien was closely associated with this lineage. However, despite his Lin-chi lineage membership, Hui-hung was a great exponent of the Fa-yen School Ch'an which was the summation of all that Chiang-hsi Ch'an stood for.⁴¹

Hui-hung led a most turbulent life. Orphaned in 1084 when thirteen, this native of Hsin-ch'ang in Chiang-hsi became an acolyte under the tutelage of a Ch'an monk who was known to his parents. In 1089 Hui-hung went to the capital at K'ai-feng where he was ordained and spent the next four years, studying sutras, the *Ch'eng wei-shih lun*, history and poetry in an atmosphere of Fa-yen and Yün-men Ch'an. In 1093 he returned south, visiting a number of masters before studying under K'o-wen, being enlightened under his guidance in 1099.

He then went travelling, but returned to be stupa-guardian for his master who died in 1102. Hui-hung was then made live in various monasteries, but at Chin-ling in 1105 he was accused on suspicion of complicity in false monk certificates and gaoled for a year in K'ai-feng before being returned to the monkhood by order of the prime minister, Chang Shang-ying (1043-1121).⁴² In 1107 he returned to Lin-ch'uan and there wrote the *Lin-chien lu*, but in K'ai-feng in 1109 he was again imprisoned for a year. This was because he loved to criticise people for their evils and was too outspoken in his poetry.

40. SM II 16.24a-b; 1116.357a5, an example of the "method of changing bones." In his *Shih-men Hung Chüeh-fan T'ien-ch'u chin-luan* (Chung-hua shu-chü: Shanghai, 1958 reproduction of a 1507 woodblock) he discusses the "stealing away the embryo verse method," using examples from Su and Wang, *chüan chung*: 4b, and the "changing the bones verse method" using examples of Huang and Ch'in Kuan, the latter's example being, "The emotional poetry restrain the autumn tears;/ The powerless rose lies on the dawn branch," *chung*: 5a.

41. Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Zenrin Söböden yaku-chu* (*Zen no bunka: shiryō hen* (Kyoto, 1988) (hereafter *Zenrin*), pp.93-95.

42. For this man see SM II 29.1a; 1116.540c4-d6, in "Letter to Layman Chang Wu-chin in Retirement at Ch'ung-ning (Monastery)." For his extensive connections with the Ch'an monks Ch'ang-tsung, Ts'ung-yüeh, K'o-ch'in and Tsung-kao, see Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.205-209; CPTL Z137.319b6-321a7; CSFTL Z147.898b4-901b3.

In 1111, when Chang Shang-ying fell from power, Hui-hung was also punished and exiled to the southernmost point of Hai-nan, which made him feel sympathy for the late Su Shih. It was in this enforced period of idleness that he wrote his massive commentary on the *Leng-yen ching*, which was the only book to be found in his monastic residence.

Pardoned in 1113, he took his favourite pupil, Hui-ying, a native of Hai-nan, north, but almost immediately on arrival in Chiang-hsi, Hui-hung was again imprisoned in T'ai-yüan to the north. Released, he went back to Hsin-ch'ang and spent the next four years writing commentaries and poetry until 1118 when he was investigated for suspected involvement with a faction purporting to support ex-prime minister Chang Shang-ying and imprisoned for one hundred days. He continued to write, finishing his draft history, the *Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan* in 1122/3.

In 1126 he went to K'ai-feng to have his monk registration and reputation restored, but because of the fall of Northern Sung he had to flee south, dying in his home district in 1128. His stupa inscription was written by another member of the so-called Chiang-hsi poetry school, Han Chü, who had been demoted to Hung-chou as a partisan of Su Shih's "faction" and who was a friend of Wei-ch'ing.

A most prolific Ch'an historian, commentator and poet, Hui-hung left eighteen works (eight extant), three of which deal with poetry; the *Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an* (a collection of his poetry and belles-lettres), the *Leng-chai yeh-hua* (a *shih-hua*), and the *Shih-men Hung Chüeh-fan t'ien-ch'u chin-luan* (a poetry manual, with examples of genres and techniques). Such a talented monk attracted many famous lay friends and patrons. The most important poet among them was Huang T'ing-chien whom he met sometime between 1102 and 1105. They reportedly talked poetry all day long, with Huang evaluating Hui-hung's poetry as belonging to the marvellous category. But Hui-hung always deeply regretted never meeting Su Shih,⁴³ only having written to him.

Hui-hung advocated *ku-wen* in a Buddhist guise,⁴⁴ restoring *ku-wen* to its original context before it was adopted by the Neo-Confucians. This is consistent with his form of Ch'an, a "literary Ch'an" which was a continuation of the Lin-chi revival through *kung-an*, using the Fa-yen style combination of doctrine and Ch'an that was

43. Summarized from Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.219-225; *Zenrin*, pp.25-26, 37-47, chronology pp.115-117.

44. Kuo Shao-yü, p.369.

dissatisfied with the pure "separate transmission outside the teachings."⁴⁵ "Literary Ch'an" also came to Hui-hung at the capital through the writings of Yün-men lineage monks such as Fo-kuo Wei-pai and his master Yüan-t'ung Fa-hsiu (1027-1090).⁴⁶ It was from this standpoint that he criticised Ou-yang Hsiu and praised Su Shih:

Ou-yang Hsiu was regarded as the literary *tsung* (ancestor/lineage/core) of a generation. I have read his books; their fault lies in the non-communication of principle 原理. Therefore (readers') minds cannot be put at rest... Tung-p'o was the reincarnation of Ch'an Master Wu-tsu (Shih)-chieh,⁴⁷ and as his principle is communicated, his writings are as expansive as the constitution of water, overflowing into a vast expanse so that their waves also naturally form literature 文.⁴⁸ They are not (merely) words and letters 文字 because they are all principle. If they did not emerge from prajñā, how could they attain this?

This literature comes from Mencius, Tso Ssu, Ssu-ma Ch'ien to only one person (Su Shih), so I resent it. I resent that he has spied out dream-illusions just as a mistily-seen moon. Even though they age and die, sages ancient and modern discerned the ineluctable. For example, if there is day there is night.

Tung-p'o delighted in studying the refinement of form; the Way of the cicada shedding its exoskeleton, waiting for a bright day to do so and fly away, finally sickening and dying. In this he is like Lü Chung-lien who did not accept positions of vast reward but let go of ambition and so was at peace. How could I still have any remaining resentment?⁴⁹

So although literature's prime purpose is the conveyance of principle in a seeming Neo-Confucian didactic fashion, this only arises as with Su Shih from an expansive

45. *Zenrin*, pp.11, 26.

46. *Zenrin*, pp.22-29 on their writings and histories. For example, Ch'i-sung also influenced Hui-hung, p.23.

47. See chapter 12 on Su Shih, at note 43.

48. See Su Shih's description of his own writing, "Tzu-p'ing wen," SSWC 2069; Susan Bush, p.35.

49. SM II 27.7a; 1116.513c4-d6; Huang Ch'i-fang, p.319; Kuo Shao-yü, p.344, "Postface to Tung-p'o's Record of Ch'ung Pond." Lü Chung-lien was a Warring States' figure who helped raise the siege of Han-tan by the Ch'in, but refused huge rewards for his service. See Morohashi 46013.184 citing *Shih chi* 83.

mind that naturally perceives the truth behind transient illusion. While using Taoistic symbols in the manner of Huang T'ing-chien, he approved Su Shih's theory of literary creation. Hui-hung knew that the Taoist religious quest is a chimera to be seen through, that ambition for literary immortality is the grand delusion the best writers no longer aspire to. Moreover, as a Ch'an historian, Hui-hung clearly had a lineage of writers in mind, even making Su a reincarnation of a Yün-men monk.

Despite this realization, Hui-hung uses the Taoist immortal's terminology supposedly developed by Huang T'ing-chien, applying it to the poems of his favourite contemporary authors, Su Shih, Huang T'ing-chien and Wang An-shih:

(Huang) Shan-ku said, "The intent of a poem is inexhaustible but human talent is limited. Even a (T'ao) Yüan-ming or a (Tu) Shao-ling (Fu) could not create an inexhaustible intent with limited talent. But if one does not change their intent but (re)-creates their words, this is called the method of changing the bones. If one spies out their intent and (re)-forms its shape, this is called the method of snatching away the embryo...."

Tseng Tzu-kung (Kung) said, "A poem must make a person look once completely at the words and yet there be intent remaining [beyond that]. This is what the ancients exercised their minds on." Therefore Wang An-shih's poem on chrysanthemums says:

"A thousand blooms and myriad plants, after withered and fallen,
First is seen the man of leisure holding a branch."

Tung-p'o then said,

"A myriad events coming to a head finally are dream.
Stop! Stop! Stop!
Tomorrow the yellow flowers, the butterflies yet sad".

(Huang) Shan-ku wrote a poem, "Climbing to Ta-kuan Belvedere," which says:

"Emaciated wisteria hung down over the wind and haze
Pleading with travellers to open the eye-realm.
Not knowing how broad the eye-realm is
A white bird flies off returning to the blue skies."

All these are of the category of the method of changed bones.⁵⁰

50. Hui-hung, *Leng-chai yeh-hua* (hereafter LCYH) SKCS vol. 863, 243a2-b6. The first half is translated in Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," pp.386-387. Cf. Rickett, "Method....," p.110.

Hui-hung has here used Huang's theories for poems that implicitly suggest insentient perceptivity, which is the change of bones, the shedding of the hardened exoskeleton of the preconceptions of a distinction between the sentient and the insentient. This is why he wrote of a fossil inkstone that seemed to produce vegetation when wet:

Don't you see?
 Master Fo-t'u-teng's pneuma 氣 has passed a myriad times.
 Opening his fist, mountains and rivers all within his palm.
 Heretofore the body and world were a non-dual dharma.
 Do not conceive of sentient and insentient.⁵¹

The poems Hui-hung cited as examples are *kung-an*, cases for the student to attempt to appropriate the embryo of the idea or the matrix-potential for Buddhahood (i.e., Tathāgatagarbha, "embryo of the Thus Come"). Hui-hung was trying to give a Ch'an cast to contemporary literary theory, thus creating a basis for Chiang-hsi School poetics. In a postface to Huang T'ing-ch'ien's poems he wrote:

(Huang) Shan-ku in his discussion of poetry regarded Han-shan to be a lesser rival of (T'ao) Yüan-ming. The world mostly did not agree, only the elder of Yün-men, Yüan-wu [元悟 = 圓悟?] regarded this as right. This man of the Way had an air of a villager and yet was a (high-level) celebrant, and was an acquaintance of Shan-ku and Ling-yüan [Wei-ch'ing, ?-1117]. What is most startling was that he could judge and evaluate theories of poetry, especially emerging beyond the intent 出意外. This is Han-shan's poetry. Shan-ku loved to write them out and so many of his school 林下 obtained (copies).⁵²

Thus Huang T'ing-chien, he stressed, was indebted to Ch'an poets and theories of poetry. The attempt to transcend the intent, to have no intent in writing, was Hui-hung's personal view and may be why he stated that Su Shih's poetry came out of *prajñā*, non-deliberative insight.

Hui-hung expressed what Kuo Shao-yü thinks was his own Ch'an theory of poetry:

51. SM II 2.19; 1116.168c6-d2, "Ho Chung-ju's family had a stone like an inkstone. When water was poured on it branches and leaves appeared in the rock with shapes like cliff-cassias. I wrote a poem for it." For Fo-t'u-teng (d.349), see Zürcher, pp.181-183 on his magical abilities.

52. SM II 27.13a-b; 1116.517b4-8; Huang Ch'i-fang, p.317.

At first I did not have an intent to manufacture poetry. Formerly I practiced purification, not declining approaching (water) and (climbing) high, gazing into the distance. I was not able to forget emotion 忘情, time after time playing at words. I destroyed whatever I wrote, (for) those who do not know excellent things record everything.⁵³

Although he admitted that "when young I was mad about words that are beautiful and do not forget emotion,"⁵⁴ he realized his folly and gave up. Again he said;

I never had an intent towards letters 文字. I just came across events and wrote; usually it is accidental. For example, it is like a rotten stump that produces numerous mushrooms and fungi without reason. Children love to struggle to collect them, but the rotten stump is neither harmed nor benefitted.⁵⁵

The prime ingredient for Hui-hung's poetics is a lack of intent and a putting aside of emotion à la Niu-t'ou, a detachment. The poem should have an accidental quality, the subject and the verse arising spontaneously from a seemingly lifeless or insentient mind which is yet ever so fecund.

The use of "playing at words" above is reminiscent of Buddhist *prapañca* 戲論 or "sophistry," the mere playing with words, itself linked in Buddhist vocabulary with one of the Heavens in which amusement or laughter brought about by words causes forgetfulness of what is correct 戲忘天. This is the counterpart of too much distress which blocks all thought of the possibility of enlightenment. Here the delight in words causes a discrimination that blinds one to inherent enlightenment.

However, as a poet-monk, Hui-hung knew that words or their substitutes such as gestures were ^{or} necessary evil. In the Ch'an mode he wrote:

If the mind is not transmitted by words there would be no means (of communicating it); using words to transmit it does not constitute a flaw.⁵⁶

But these words were not to be mere imitations; they had to come alive and fresh from the heart-mind, without premeditation. This is true for all the arts. Thus in a

53. "Titling My Own Poems," SM II 26.14b; 1116.504c4-6; Kuo Shao-yü, p.371.

54. "Titling My Own Poem for Venerable Lung," SM II 26.15a; 1116.505a1-3.

55. "Title for a *chüan* of poetry kept by Venerable Chu," SM II.15b; 1116.505b3-5; Kuo Shao-yü, p.371.

56. Kuo Shao-yü, p.370.

preface for his most revered protector and fellow Huang-lung branch member Wei-ch'ing 惟清, he wrote:

Li Pei-hai [Yung, 678-747] used the craft of character-painting and the world often modelled themselves on his calligraphy. He laughed saying, "Those who study me are stupid, those who imitate me are dead." His contemporaries did not know that his words had taste, but I have nourished a love of them. What students should value is only the knowledge of the intent. To follow in the traces of the marked out lines (描墨, rules) is not being a good student.

He continues to compare this with the master-pupil relationship of Ch'an monks such as Po-chang Huai-hai (749-814) and Huang-po Hsi-yün, Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908) and Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (835-908), or Pao-chüeh Tsu-hsin (1025-1100) and Wei-ch'ing (? -1117). One must transcend one's own teacher's understanding, for as Po-chang said to Huang-po;

If your views are the equal of your teacher's, you reduce your teacher's virtue by half; if your views go beyond those of your teacher you may then receive the transmission (be heir).⁵⁷

Imitation is death to art and Ch'an. One has to get the intent of the creator and not the superficial traces, whether opinions, words or ink lines. And yet that intent is not really there, in the sense that it is not a preconceived schema for a work: it is rather a sudden flash of inspiration. Therefore one must have courage and imagination to go beyond mere superficiality and convention, not fearing what is normally shunned:

Modern poems usually lack vitality 精 and brilliance, their energy is stolen away. What steals their energy away is that people have hundreds of prohibitions and avoidances in their poetry....Poetry is a marvellous contemplation 妙觀 where released [idle] thoughts dwell. How can it be limited by ink lines (rules)? It is like Wang Wei who made a painting of banana trees in snow. Using the Dharma-eye to contemplate it one knows its spirit, the emotion is conveyed and lodged in things. Conventional theorists abuse him for not knowing cold and hot.

57. SM II 23.10b-11a; 1116.456b4-c2; cf. Kuo Shao-yü, p.371. For relations with Wei-ch'ing, see *Zenrin*, p.32.

But even Wang An-shih and Su Shih both violated these conventions, something that Hui-hung approved of and practised.⁵⁸

The emotions should be forgotten in the composition of poetry. But emotion and the insentient are subjects for poetry. Hui-hung manipulated the ambiguity of the term *wu-ch'ing* as in his comments on Huang T'ing-chien's poetry:

My predecessors wrote poems about flowers, often using beautiful women as comparisons for their appearance. This is like saying, "If one permits it, the understanding words (flower, Yang Kuei-fei)⁵⁹ will overthrow the country. This is to allow the insentient to likewise move men." (This sense-contaminant is conventional indeed.) This is true indeed. (Huang) Shan-ku wrote a "Poem on Twice-Fermented Wine" that said,

"The dew-moistened courtier Ho tested the wheat-soup dumplings.

The sun-dried Hsün (Plant, Hsün Yü) makes the brazier incense-stick fragrant."⁶⁰

58. LCYH 255b4-7.

59. Morohashi 35067.91. When Hsüan-tsung and Yang Kuei-fei were sitting on the banks of a pond admiring the thousand-leaved lotus that was in flower, Hsüan-tsung pointed to her and said to his attendants, "What about this understanding-words flower?" By implication, even an insentient lotus can overthrow a nation through its affects on man just as a woman of great beauty did. Also there is the story of *Wu-hsieh Ch'an-shih ssu Hung-lien chi*, where Wu-hsieh was enlightened by a Red Lotus (a woman?). He understood some words or was enlightened by them, "the skin of his face turned red for a moment, then green, and he turned around and went to his bedroom." Morohashi 35067.90.2; cf. chapter 13 note 77.

60. The "dew-moistened" is often a trope for a flower, and courtier Ho is Ho Yen, who had so pale a face that Emperor Wen of the Wei suspected he used white powder. These words are used of something powdery white, especially plum blossoms (Morohashi 511.199-200. Also there is the story of Ho Sun, also associated with plum blossoms). The wheat-soup dumplings are those Emperor Wen had Ho Yen eat, hoping to make him perspire and the suspected powder run. See Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, pp.308-309. The food is a sort of udon, Morohashi 17874.120. Hsün here is Hsün Yü, an advisor to Ts'ao Ts'ao, whom Liu Chi says would impart a fragrance wherever he stayed for three days, Morohashi 30929.65.

This is using the elegant person as a metaphor for the (flower)...(and the flower is compared to the wife.)⁶¹

Here both lotus flowers and plum blossoms are anthropomorphized, have human counterparts, and through this diaphonous veil between the sentient and insentient, can do human things.

Thus while Hui-hung used the mundane sense of *wu-ch'ing*,⁶² I suspect that his use of the insentient to convey human emotion had a Ch'an dimension, as it did for Su Shih, and if we agree with Wang Jo-hsü (1174-1243), likewise for Huang T'ing-chien:

(Huang) Shan-ku's "Titling Yang-kuan's Map" says,

"The Wei fort willow colours - what are they concerned with?
The self-satisfied traveller who creates such considerable pity."

Men have intent and things lack emotion (*wu-ch'ing*). That is absolutely so, Thus (the poem) "At Night Leaving Fen-ning County" says,

I myself am as if drunk everyday,
The full streams, wind and moon promote man's grief."

What principle does this revert to?⁶³

The willow colours as insentient things are given life as prostitutes who feel emotion. In the second couplet these insentient things further man's sorrows, unlike in the first

61. LCYH 253c5-8. This text also found in a *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien* version, *chüan* 3.4a. The parentheses indicate the additional material of this version. Note that Yang Wan-li in his *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 9b (in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*) cites the verse on using "elegant men as comparisons for flowers."

62. For example, when Hsiao Hsien was leaving, he requested some words at a feast: "I await a person to glimpse an emotionless  thread of thought and write a passionate  exchange.' This work has the intent of resentment at separation. Therefore it takes emotion to be sorrow, and on the contrary covets a lack of emotion....The 'Emissary to Koryö *tz'u*' also says, 'Nothing compares to the emotional depth, seeing the heartless/insentient intervening vastness.'" LCYH *chüan* 3.6a in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*. The Koryö *tz'u* compares a wife to a flower and laments their separation.

63. Wang Jo-hsü, *Hu-nan shih-hua*, *chüan* 2.5a (in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*).

where they give pleasure without man's involvement. The double meaning of *wu-ch'ing* is linked to the presence or lack of sorrow and so was used broadly to convey feelings of friendship and love via natural objects.

However, Hui-hung used *wu-ch'ing* in the strict Buddhist sense, as in his "Encomium for P'o-tso to Ho-shang," a remarkable T'ang monk:

Prostrate on the ground I merely hear the sound of P'o-to. You look!
The oneness of the sentient and non-sentient,
Shining like the bright moon hanging in the blue sky.⁶⁴

Hui-hung understood the insentient to be active, as when he was writing of the light that emanated from a stupa built by Tsu-hsin. When Hui-hung claimed that the light transmits an intent without words and he was challenged, he replied:

The Buddha uses the light as a tongue to preach the Hua-yen Dharma-gate and he used the stupa to be an ear to listen to the marvellous meaning of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, thereby clarifying that the faculty and sense-object are of an identical source, that sentient and insentient are non-dual.⁶⁵

The reference to the *Hua-yen* and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* are to two of the works he wrote commentaries on.⁶⁶ The *Hua-yen ching* in particular connects him with Fa-yen Ch'an which used its theories extensively, and to Li T'ung-hsüan (635?-730) whom Hui-hung admired, writing a series of poems for him with hints of the insentient

64. SM II 18.24a; 1116.388b6-7. P'o-tso-to (n.d.) was a T'ang dynasty Ch'an exorcist who removed the spirit of the kitchen god used by a "shaman," probably a meditation teacher who combined spiritualism with Buddhism. His name means "Smash the Furnace To." See *Yüan-chüeh ching Ta-shu shih-i ch'ao* Z14.556b1; *Tsu-t'ang chi* 1.111; SKSC T50.828b8-21.

65. SM II 19.3b; 1116.392d7-393a3.

66. *Zenrin*, p.117.

doctrine complex⁶⁷ and an encomium for his portrait that makes explicit the insentient sermon :

With a wish that the tongue preaches 1,000 gathas,
Just as a flower preaches an unbounded spring
Or a drop of water preaches the taste of a great ocean.⁶⁸

As Hui-hung admired Su Shih, it was inevitable then that he quote Su Shih's famous poem on the topic and Huang T'ing-chien's comment on a related poem,⁶⁹ using them most appropriately to illustrate "The Versification Method of Residual Voice 遺音": 句法

"The sound of the stream is the broad, long tongue.
Are not the hues of the mountain those of the pure Body?
At nightfall the 84,000 gathas;
On another day how could I present them to someone?"

The former (poem) was written by Wang An-shih, the latter by Su Tung-p'o. These are the so-called (poems in which) having read them it makes people sing it once but sigh over it three times. It is for example like the red strings with holes far apart that have a residual sound.⁷⁰

67. "Six Poems on the Birthday of Great Scholar Tsao-pai, 28th day of the 3rd month," especially the first in which "Mentation 意 together with great-earth, mountains and rivers have disappeared./ The mind and sky flowers [spots before the eyes] dream delusions produce," or the seventh, "In a moment interval one enters correct perception (正覺, samādhi)/ Interpenetrating the three ages, marvellous and difficult thoughts./ The sentient dream sense-data relies on this to remain [exist]/ When for limitless eons the seas do not shift." SM II 13.16b-17b; 1116.309b5-8, d5-6. Li T'ung-hsüan was a lay writer on Hua-yen doctrine who was popular with Ch'an monks. See Shim Jae Ryong, *The Philosophical Foundations of Korean Zen Buddhism*, pp.22, 24, 27ff., and Yoshizu Yoshihide, *Kegon Zen no shisōteki kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1985).

68. SM II 18.21b; 1116.386b7.

69. LCYH 265d1-7. See above chapters 12 and 13.

70. The "red strings" comes from the *Li Chi*. See Legge, *Li Chi*, vol. 2, pp.95-96: "In the lutes for the *Khing Miao* the strings were of red (boiled) silk and the holes were wide apart, and (only)

Hui-hung then quotes a poem by Ch'in Kuan and adds a comment by Su Shih:

Tung-p'o said, "A good painter paints the intent and not the form. The good poet speaks of the idea and does not speak of the name."

Therefore his poem says:

"To discuss painting with form likeness
Is to see like the children next door.
If you write poetry so it must be like this
That is definitely not knowing the poet."

Supposing it is a *fu* on a realm within the mountains; the inhabitants are pure and neglected, but they do not talk of the mountain depths but on how long they have lived in the mountains. One talks of their life of ease, of their silence, of their eminence and distance, and then one can speak of its intent. One does not directly speak of its depth, but in the intent one can see its depth.⁷¹

The "residual voice" in Su Shih's poem is the continuing sounds of Nature now known as the sermon of the Buddha; it is not the description of the scene on Mt. Lu. Likewise, the gathas remain unspoken but inherent in Nature.

Not unexpectedly, shades of Su Shih's poem are cast in Hui-hung's own poems, usually in combination with allusions to the story of Tao-sheng as in "Two Poems following the Rhyme of Ch'en Ts'ui":

Dream delusions have the valued and despised:
For example silk and reeds.
Beauty and ugliness are both congenial:
It is not easy to contrast wise and fool.
When young I desired head hair [very little].
Immortals and Ch'an at once escape (into/from) Confucianism.
.
Worldly affairs, when shall they end?
Clouded mountains, where are they non-existent?
What is one doing in clustered towns

three others joined it; there was much melody not brought out." Note this also appears in the *Ts'ang-lang shih-hua*, see Huang Ching-chin, "Yen Yü chi ch'i shih-lun chih yen-chiu," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 28 (dec. 1983), p.19.

71. *Shih-men Hung Chüeh-fan T'ien-ch'u ch'in-luan*, chung 5b-6a 遺音可法 .

Staying on like a merchant barbarian?
 The stream sounds instead preach the Dharma,
 The gathered rocks become the lecture audience.
 I clap my hands and laugh at the "far-reaching ambition,"
 Why not happily make it "small grass"?...⁷²

In other poems the references are subtler:

Excellent dawns and beautiful scenery, from of old are hard to get together,
 And to take advantage of self-relaxation, paddy rice with rain clearing.
 The birds' speech and apes' song detain me here;
 The sound of the water and mountain hues increase man's purity.
 Attaining a mysterious poem line, I write it on the wall.
 Coming across lovely peaks and summits, I stop on my way.
 I turn my head on ten years in dusty (contaminating) affairs
 And with you today the dream soul is startled.⁷³

As the above poem hints, Nature's sermon is an inspiration for poets:

I have heard that the Eminence's power of vow was profound,
 Dwelling as a recluse, uprightly for the Dharma forming a laura.
 The wind, spring, pines and rain speak appropriately;
 The secret room and open-air belvedere share one voice.
 The intent marvellous therefore responds to people without recommendation.
 The land slopes, yet still enjoys me searching it out.
 Late at night I further enter into the samādhi of poetry,
 Dissolved completely my whole life, but not a dead mind.⁷⁴

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72. SM II 5.10a-b; 1116.204b1-4. "Far-reaching ambition" and "small grass" are the names of medicines, the first a symbol for a recluse, the latter for public life. The reference here is to Hsieh An who wished to remain a recluse, but was pressed into service by Huan Wen. See Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü*, pp.413-414, and Morohashi 7473.476. "Escape into/from Confucianism" is a play on Tu Fu's "escape into Ch'an," for which see chapter 12, note 183.
73. "Travelling to Shih Kung with Hsi-hsien," SM I 13.7b-8a; 1116.303d2-5.
74. "Following a rhyme on Fa-lin Ch'an Monastery," SM I 12.11a; 1116.292d6-293a1. The "one voice" is that of the Buddha whose preaching is always the same despite apparent differences and situations, from the *Lotus Sutra*.

The life of Nature teaches the realization of poetry, in which the mind may be *wu-ch'ing* and yet not dead. And so it is one sound, like Huang T'ing-chien's conception of the importance of individual words, that induce this samādhi:

Humanity, knowledgeable and not knowledgeable,
 For you reduce their intent, to dissolve your soul.
 Alone you entered the soundless samādhi
 Identical to listening to the Dharma-topic of the letter A.⁷⁵

This single Sanskrit letter A is variously called "the mother of all letters," is a means to insight into the non-arisal and emptiness of all dharmas (including sound), and is even equated with the Dharmakāya.⁷⁶ Through a concentration on one letter one can realize the source of all sound and one can see the Dharma-body. Perhaps this was a key to unlocking the sermons of Nature, just as the *Leng-yen ching* gave sound an important place in meditation.⁷⁷

Hui-hung was thus an exponent of the insentient sermon, which at times was preferable to human poetry:

I merely plan to shade my eyes from books.
 Why is it necessary that one should compile and title poems?
 One can yet look at the insentient preaching the Dharma,
 The crowded mountains' snow has gone and they are ever so green.⁷⁸

Hui-hung loved the story of Tao-sheng preaching to the rocks, for it confirmed his view of numinous Nature:

Resting in his room at the old temple, Ch'en Tsun-shu,
 Talking of the sutras to the rocks, Dharma Teacher Sheng.

75. "Grieving for (Huang) Shan-ku," SM I 14.18b; 1116.319b1-2.

76. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 1-2; Minoru Kiyota, *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles and Tokyo, 1978), pp.71-74. No preaching or sound can exist without A according to the Northern Ch'an-Tantric monk I-hsing's commentary on the *Ta-jih ching*, see *Zengaku Daijiten* 1a.

77. See chapter 11 at note 80.

78. "Four Poems Presented to His Eminence Cheng," no. 1, SM I 14.16a; 1116.324a1-2.

The myriad ravines, pine, wind and one belvedere moon.
 In the cold studio on a clear night I think of their rich beauty.⁷⁹

Moreover, Hui-hung knew the poetic tradition of *wu-ch'ing/yu-ch'ing*, citing lines from Li Ho and Li Po on the subject,⁸⁰ and he naturally put the conventional usage of heartlessness into poems on parting.⁸¹

While such a mixture may be derived from Su Shih, it also could have come from Fa-yen Wen-i, who like Hui-hung, was a *tz'u* poet. Wen-i in fact exchanged *tz'u* with Li Yü (937-978), the last ruler of the Southern T'ang. Hui-hung was self-consciously a member of this *tz'u* tradition, even using its romantic and voluptuous language with sexual overtones,⁸² something for which other monks, especially Ta-hui Tsung-kaio, criticised him.⁸³

79. "Reading the Lives of Ancient Worthies, 8 Poems," no. 1, SM I 15.1a; 1116.325c4-6. For Ch'en Tsun-shu (780?-877?), a pupil of Huang-po, and a teacher of Yün-men Wen-yen, see *Zen Dust*, p.15. See also "His Eminence Hsüan's T'ien-chen Hermitage" for lines such as, "The pine breeze instead preaches the Dharma/And the rocks incline their ears to listen," SM II 17.5a; 1116.361d5.
80. *Shih-men Hung Chüeh-fan T'ien-ch'u ch'in-luan*, hsia 14b, cites Li Ho's "If Heaven had emotion it also would age," (chapter 6 at note 85) and Li Po's "Let us ever be bound in this emotionless play," (chapter 6 at note 6), in a *tz'u* in SM II 20.18a; 1116.418d4, and "For the friend T'ai-po the Saha (world's) rivers and lakes/ Join with the bright moon to make an emotionless play," SM II 23.22a; 1116.463a7-8.
81. In "Parting from Ch'an Master Ling-yüan (Wei-ch'ing)," he wrote, "Clouds and springs conceal virtue, and unfeelingly move," SM I 10.15a; 1116.268d5, or in "Parting from Li Kung-ju": "One should believe that in 100 years finally we will part./ One cannot (for) one day then be without emotion./ When will I look at the peak's hues with you?/ On a later night the Hsiang fine, I walk alone....," SM I 11.10a-b; 1116.279b4-5.
82. *Zenrin*, pp.97-106, for this Fa-yen *tz'u* tradition, exchanges with Li Yü, and Hui-hung's own *tz'u*. LCYH 244b3-7. For Li Yü see *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.581-582.
83. *Zenrin*, pp.49, 54; for not transcending common emotion, see p.55.

Moreover, it was the dominance of the Ch'an world in early Southern Sung by Hui-hung's younger contemporary and acquaintance Tsung-kao (1089-1163),⁸⁴ that probably made Hui-hung the last great poet-monk in this Fa-yen influenced Huang-lung Lin-chi Ch'an tradition. This tradition found in lay poetry an elective affinity and a vehicle of expression most suitable to their Ch'an that was tolerant enough to give poetry, philosophy and *kung-an* a place. Hui-hung was the pinnacle of "literary Ch'an."

84. SM I 23.5b; 1116.453b4. "Invitation to Elder Kao to Live at T'ien-ning Monastery," SM II 28.1b-2a; 1116.525c3-d5.

15) *The Southern Sung Chiang-hsi Schoolmen: The Age of Tsung-kao's Ch'an*

After Northern Sung fell in 1026 there was a demand for a new form of Ch'an. The Lin-chi and Yün-men Ch'an that had flourished in the Northern Sung capital with royal patronage and the friendship of the great literary figures of late Northern Sung, and which had put much stress on the compilation of "histories" and records of exchanges,¹ had been largely destroyed or discredited. The Southern Sung in its early years felt it was in great peril, and hardline Confucians were looking at Buddhism for a scapegoat.

The monk who answered these criticisms and in so doing transformed Ch'an was Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089-1163).² He helped create a "patriotic" Ch'an which was largely responsible for the state-Ch'an of Southern Sung as typified by the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries" system wherein the state appointed the Ch'an abbots and the majority of recorded sermons were those of these imperial appointees.³ Tsung-kao achieved this by declaring that the mind of Ch'an or "bodhi-mind is the mind of loyalty and righteousness....Although I am a Buddhist, my mind of love of ruler and concern for the state is no different from that of the loyal and righteous gentry." In other words, the mundane law is the same as the Buddha Law.⁴

Moreover, in such perilous times one had to be an activist. Therefore Tsung-kao criticised "silent illumination Ch'an" (*mo-chao Ch'an*) for the heresy of quietism, or in social terms, pacifism.⁵ In 1134 he attacked the leading Ts'ao-tung Ch'an proponent of silent illumination Ch'an, Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh (1091-1157) at Yün-men Hermitage in Chiang-hsi. Such were the attractions of this "heresy" that two pupils of his own master Ko-ch'in had adopted this practice.⁶ Moreover, this was

1. *Zenrin*, pp.22-24.

2. For an outline biography, see *Zen Dust*, pp.163-165, and Miriam Levering, "Ta-hui and Lay Buddhists: Ch'an Sermons on Death" in *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, ed. David Chappell (1987), p.199 note 2.

3. Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," pp.95-97, and Araki Kengo, *Daiesho*, explanation p.254.

4. Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation p.263.

5. See Abe, pp.488-489.

6. Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation p.256, and Yanagida, "Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen," p.9.

similar to the "silent sitting" 靜坐 of the Confucians.⁷ Both of these practices had the inherent danger of reducing the meditator to satisfaction with being like an insentient or emotionless entity, something that Tsung-kao and his trenchant critic Chu Hsi understood and railed against.⁸

On the other hand, Tsung-kao was dissatisfied with the Fa-yen influenced Ch'an of the Huang-lung branch of Lin-chi that was represented by Hui-hung, so he successfully attempted to replace it with his own Yang-ch'i branch of Lin-chi. Hui-hung's "literary Ch'an" was too concerned with poetry, commentary and history, and it supposedly led Hui-hung to a misplaced self-confidence and pride, as well as a one-sided interpretation of the *kung-an*.⁹ "Literary Ch'an" was merely a reflection of the literary and examination-oriented world of the Confucians with its concentration on the classics and factional disputes, and concomitant lack of practical experience that had led to the fall of the Northern Sung. They had ignored the core of Confucianism, mind-cultivation, for its trappings, literature.¹⁰ This was the problem also with Hui-hung's "literary Ch'an" *kung-ans*; mere poetical cases that ignored the experience of everyday life and lacked any system.¹¹

Tsung-kao's solution was *k'an-hua*, which replaced faith with doubt in the study of the *kung-an*. The blind faith in the "literary Ch'an" *kung-an* study of "clever repartee and elegant verse" led him to burn the wood-blocks of the *Pi-yen lu* by his

7. Yanagida, "Bukkyō to Shushi no shūhen," p.12.
8. Ibid., pp.21, 27 for Chu Hsi's criticism of Li Ao for "extinguishing emotion and reverting to the nature," and pp.27-28 where Tsung-kao's *k'an-hua* is seen as an answer to this mistaken method which was also typical of "silent illumination" Ch'an. See also pp.19-20 for the influence the *Leng-yen ching* had on this debate over "silent sitting" and "silent illumination." See also Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation p.256, and Tsung-kao's discussion of this, pp.56-57.
9. *Zenrin*, pp.49, 54-56; Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," p.99; Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation p.255.
10. Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation pp.259-260; Huang Ching-chin, "Yen Yü chi ch'i shih-lun ch'ung-t'an," *Chung-hua hsüeh-yüan* 31 (June 1985), pp. 96-97.
11. See Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," p.26 et. passim., on the Confucian Classics read for Ch'an content, for "everyday mind as the Way."

teacher K'o-ch'in.¹² *K'an-hua* was to create doubt by concentration on a single word or phrase, especially Chao-chou's *wu* 無 or Yün-men's "dried shit-stick." He thought too much reading led to ignorance. If like the Confucians one read to become famous or to think oneself intelligent, "not even a single character of the books one had read all one's life will be of use."¹³ This single word must become a tool for enlightenment, not an end in itself.¹⁴

The *kung-an* had to be freed from the ossification of classicization; it had to rise above rationality and be experienced like the Damocles sword of the barbarian enemy.¹⁵ Thus individual words, as with Wang An-shih and Huang T'ing-chien, had great value, and "Ch'an discourse is co-extensive with Ch'an practice."¹⁶ That

12. This story was probably a legend. See Buswell, "The 'Short-cut' Approach of *K'an-hua* Meditation," pp.354, 345. The story is given in Yanagida, "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," p.98 from T48.1036b.
13. Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation p.260, text p.130.
14. Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," p.11; Buswell, pp.348-349.
15. See the explanation of *k'an-hua* method in Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," pp.16-18; "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," pp.99-102; Buswell, pp.346-356. The Damocles sword image is adapted from *Daiesho*, p.56, where the "broad-foreheaded butcher becomes Buddha at the laying down of the butcher's cleaver," and the need to understand life and death. See Araki's explanation, p.259. See also Christopher Cleary, *Swampland Flowers: The Letters and Lectures of Zen Master Ta Hui* (New York, 1977), p.viii for Tsung-kao's answer to a monk who asked, "How is it when the sword is hanging (right over you pointed) right between your eyes?" Ta-hui said, "The blood squirts up to heaven." I have not sourced this story. Later the *Wu-men kuan* by Wu-men Hui-k'ai (1183-1260), in commenting on Chao-chou's *wu* and doubt, says: "Startle the heavens and shake the earth as if one has stolen away the great sword of General Kuan Yü and taken it one's hand. If you meet the Buddha, kill him." Cited in "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," p.103, from T48.293a7-8. For an English translation, Sekida, *Two Zen Classics*, p.28. This was a symbol of the dangers of the quest and the need for determination, as Kao-feng Yüan-miao (1238-1295) says, "it is a temper like that when one comes across the bitter enemies of one's parents and tries to cut them down instantly with the long sword." Cited in "Chūgoku Zenshūshi," p.103.
16. Buswell, p.336.

language or word had to be alive *活*, however, producing the doubt that culminated in enlightenment.¹⁷ The practitioner had to find the intent behind the utterance, for that led both to his own fundamentally aware mind and to that of the author of the statement by "counter illumination" *反照*.¹⁸

This technique was a vehicle for preventing the intellectual conceptions and reification made about Ch'an by Tsung-kao's many literati associates. He warns that these people mistakenly thought they had grasped the truth by conceptualization of an utterance by a Ch'an teacher immediately they heard it. This was merely a conceit,¹⁹ probably of the same kind they had towards poetry. Tsung-kao's emphasis was on a technique that could be used midst everyday life with its temptations and sorrows,²⁰ for life is the inescapable milieu and ideal focus of Mahayana practice. Thus lay life in particular was a perfect medium for the creation of doubt; a layman who overcame his ubiquitous temptations and fears would be far superior to a cloistered monk.²¹

Tsung-kao consequently had relations with many of the literati leaders of his day, including the prime minister Chang Shang-ying, Chang Chiu-ch'eng, Lü Pen-chung and Han Chü,²² converting many from the quietist "silent illumination" Ch'an,²³ for his Ch'an met the needs of a crisis period more inclined to pragmatism. His influence clearly dominated the literary ideas of Southern Sung.

17. Ibid., p.348.

18. Ibid., p.347.

19. Ibid., p.350.

20. Ibid., p.351. Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," pp.22-24, on the functions of everyday life as the self-nature, and pp.26-28 on *p'ing-ch'ang*, the everyday.

21. Buswell, p.354.

22. Araki, *Daiesho*, explanation pp.245-246, and 252 where he says Tsung-kao's lay followers numbered around 40 literati. Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," p.2.

23. "Shushi no shūhen," pp.9-10.

Lü Pen-chung (1084-1145), a member of a great Confucian family and pupil of both Liu Ch'i-chih and Yang Shih (1053-1135),²⁴ wrote the *Chiang-hsi tsung-p'ai t'u* around 1111, partly in jest and partly to show that the followers of Huang T'ing-chien and his own friends were upright men who belonged to the "orthodox lineage" of the Yüan-yü era. These men all looked back to Su Shih and Huang T'ing-chien, and like these men had been restricted, exiled and their writings proscribed.²⁵ The idea of *tsung-p'ai* was based on Ch'an genealogy and the word *Chiang-hsi* conjured up the "literary Ch'an" of the region as well as the great writers of the period who were born or resident there.

However, because of the bans placed on the Yüan-yü scholars, this book could not be disseminated and the works of Huang T'ing-chien and his followers did not become popular or widely distributed until after 1127, when they dominated Southern Sung for generations despite several intermittent bans.²⁶ It was then that Lü Pen-chung probably came into contact with Tsung-kao.

Lü Pen-chung and his younger brother corresponded with Tsung-kao who warned them against the conceit that they could immediately understand Ch'an words. He had long tested Lü Pen-chung for Lü had said, "Are you not falling into emptiness?" which formed a barrier to Lü's enlightenment. Tsung-kao asked Lü to try a *kung-fu* (method of study).²⁷ Tsung-kao set the Lü brothers some *kung-an* problems, including Chao-chou's dog or *wu*, and some of Tsung-kao's most famous formulations on *hua-t'ou* appear in his replies to the brothers.²⁸

24. See chapter 3 section c at notes 147-151. SYHA VII 20:33, VIII 25:28. For his family, see Hsieh Ssu-wei, "Lü Pen-chung yü 'Chiang-hsi tsung-p'ai t'u'," pp.48-50. It included Lü Kung-chu and Lü Hsi-che. For Liu Ch'i-chih, see also Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.338-340; CSFTL Z147.921a13-16.

25. For dates, see Hsieh Ssu-wei, p.46; for the politics of the work, pp.49-51; as a youthful writing, p.45. See also James T.C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, p.69; Yoshikawa, pp.134-135, 138.

26. Hsieh Ssu-wei, pp.50-51.

27. *Daiesho*, pp.14-15.

28. *Ibid.*, p.127, including, "the old mouse entering an ox horn," the strictures against "consideration" or speculation 思量, and enlightenment through penetrating the one character set as a topic, especially *wu*.

The Lüs' doubts concerned everyday life and the possibility of extinction after death.²⁹ They were advised to look directly at what they saw without conceptualization but with doubt.³⁰ This led Tsung-kao to pose the question of the Buddhahood of the insentient in a letter to Lü Lung-li. He had apparently sent a letter with similar content already to Lü Pen-chung:

All sentient beings have two bodies, called the material body and the Dharma-body. The material body is non-eternal ~~無常~~ having arising and cessation. The Dharma-body is eternal, without knowing or awareness. The (*Nirvana*) sutra says, "Once birth and cessation are extinguished, quiet cessation is delight," so I don't know which body is quiet cessation and which experiences delight. If it is the material body, then when the material body is extinguished and the four elements dispersed, that is entirely sorrow. Sorrow cannot be called delight. If it is the Dharma-body, quiet cessation is the same as grass, trees, tiles and stones, so who would experience delight? Furthermore, the Dharma-nature is the substratum/substance ~~體~~ of arising and cessation; the five skandhas are the function of arising and cessation. Arising then is the generation of a function from the substance and cessation is the sublimation of function back into the substance. If you allow rebirth (further arising), that is the category of sentience (*yu-ch'ing*) and is not annihilation or cessation. If one does not allow rebirth, then one eternally reverts to quiet cessation, which is to be the same as insentient (*wu-ch'ing*) things. Thus all dharmas are confined by nirvana and still cannot be born. So what delight is there?³¹

Tsung-kao further warns the Lü brothers to be sceptical:

According to your understanding, there is another Dharma-body beyond this material body that is divorced from arising and cessation and is to be sought in quiet cessation. You should also postulate a nirvana of eternal delight and say that there is a body to experience this. This is to be firmly attached to birth-and-death (*samsara*) and to covet worldly delights.³²

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29. Ibid., pp.131-133, i.e. "falling into emptiness." Translated in Cleary, *Swampland Flowers*, p.64.
30. *Daiesho*, p.132.
31. Ibid., pp.134-135.
32. Ibid., pp.135-136. This is a reference to a question in the *Platform Sutra*. See the passage in Komazawa Daigaku Zenshūshi kenkyūkai, *Enō kenkyū*, pp.354-355. See also Jorgensen, "Nanyang Hui-chung and the Heresies of the *Platform Sutra*," pp.11-12 on this thesis which appears

Tsung-kao explains that the *Nirvāna Sūtra* doctrine on this question was only an expedient of the Buddha to overcome deluded man's nihilistic or pessimistic understanding of Buddhism, and that Lü Pen-chung in particular was guilty of misunderstanding the intent of the sutra. Thus external material images and sounds are all dream-like delusions; there is no Dharma-body beyond the physical realm. Consequently he advises:

When you (Chü-jen, i.e. Pen-chung) see this, if you say it is just as the sutras and śāstras preach, and moreover indicates a *kung-an* of the ancients; if you take such a view, you will enter hell in a shot.³³

Lü Pen-chung was intensely interested in the question of the Dharma-body and eternal life, and the related question of the insentient. It is conceivable that this Ch'an affected his poetics. In his later work, the *T'ung-meng shih-hsün*, Lü theorized that one should model oneself on Tu Fu whose rules could be learned by immersion so that eventually one could achieve his level of perfection spontaneously.

These methods are like Ch'an; he did advocate the use of *kung-fu* (工 功夫) and *huo-fa* 活法 ("live method").³⁴ The first in Tsung-kao's Ch'an is the vigorous practice of the *kung-an*³⁵ which by "counter illumination" brings one to the source of the utterance, "enlightenment," both that of one's own mind and the originator of the *kung-an* topic.³⁶ Thus the works of Tu Fu could be studied zealously (*kung-fu*) as *kung-an*. The second is like the "live verse" 活句 of Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in and Tsung-kao, for Lü defines *huo-fa* as follows:

in the 1290 Te-i and Tsung-pao editions. Could these editions have been conscious of Tsung-kao's theories and have changed the text in light of them? However, Hui-chung was alleging the existence of such a theory in mid-T'ang.

33. *Daiesho*, p.136.

34. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," pp.390-391.

35. *Zengaku Dijiten* 252b, also for sitting in meditation. See *Zen Dust*, p.257, which translates it "concentrated reflection."

36. Yanagida, "Shushi no shūhen," p.10; Buswell, p.347.

Although a poet is fully equipped with the rules, he still can transcend them....It both has a fixed method yet lacks one, has no fixed method and yet has one.³⁷

These echo the statements of Huai-hai and are parallel to the definition in Hui-hung's *Lin-chien lu*:

To have words among words is called a dead verse *死句*. To lack words among words is called a live verse.³⁸

It is entirely consistent with Lü's interest in Ch'an and the poetry of Huang T'ing-chien that his contemporary Tseng Chi (1084-1166) said of Lü's poetry and methods:

Studying poetry is like consulting Ch'an;

One must certainly be careful not to deal in dead utterances (*ssu-chü*)

It is also like studying how to become an immortal.³⁹

Tseng Chi-li (ca.1147) who became a pupil of Lü Pen-chung having visited many famous scholars after the fall of the Northern Sung,⁴⁰ states that Lü Pen-chung admired a poem by Su Shih titled "Presented to Eye Doctor Wang Yen-jo." Lü said it was "like a gatha of praise in a Buddhist sutra, a truly unusual work."⁴¹ Tseng himself frequently referred to Su Shih's poems, often adverting to *wu-ch'ing*:

T'ung-p'o's "tz'u Following the Rhyme of Chang Shih-fu on Willow Catkins" says:

The consideration is nevertheless

The insentient has longing."

Here he used Old Tu (Fu)'s "Following catkins flying threads also have thoughts."⁴²

37. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.392.

38. *Zengaku Daijiten* 163d.

39. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.392. I have altered the translation of the first line.

40. SYHA X 36:40.

41. *T'ing-chai shih-hua* 5b.

42. See chapter 12 at note 148.

Tseng continues to cite Su Shih's use and transformation of the lines from the T'ang poets as a demonstration of the Chiang-hsi School technique of "snatching away the embryo and changing the bones."⁴³

Elsewhere Tseng quotes a poem by his contemporary Han Chü (ca. 1086-1135) in which a concubine in a tower cries with tears of longing, and yet the water in front of the tower which is insentient 無情物 continues on unlike the sobbing.⁴⁴ His evident fascination with the relationship of insentient or unfeeling water and the tears of loneliness are taken up in another poem of his day:

On the day you my husband depart,
Do not say you will long be a stranger.
Why at Tung-lu [in Che-kiang] there is nowhere to see you;
At Hsi 会 I get the Kuang-chou news.
On the river a single magnolia-wood boat,
The wind and rain in front of the shrine of the Hsiang Consorts.
Dead, she resents the unfeeling (*wu-ch'ing*) river waters
That sent her man off once for three years.⁴⁵

Han Chü, whom Lü Pen-chung listed in the Chiang-hsi School, first studied under Su Shih.⁴⁶ He was demoted to Fen-ning county in Hung-chou for his association with Su's school and seems to have been inclined towards Su's poetry style. He knew many Ch'an monks including Lung-ch'ing Le-t'an and Ts'ao-t'ang Shan-ch'ing, a pupil of Tsu-hsin, Huang T'ing-chien's master. Shan-ch'ing taught Han the Ch'an philosophy on mind and literature.⁴⁷

43. *T'ing-chai shih-hua* 17b.

44. *Ibid.*, 21b.

45. *Ibid.*, 27a.

46. See Günther Debon, *Ts'ang-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p.126; Kuo Shao-yü, pp.412-413.

47. "Han Chü asked, 'Recently I read the (*Ching-te*) *ch'uan-teng lu* which says that the topic of comprehending the intent 通意科 almost totally corresponds to the mind 心, but that worldly conditioning is a myriad traces and emotional habituations with thousands of beginnings which are not easy to eliminate, and so one must have an absolutely clear 12/9 mind

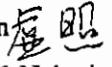
More importantly, however, Han Chü invited Tsung-kaio to stay with him for six months.⁴⁸ Hence Han Chü wrote a poem that provides another precedent for Yen Yü's classification of Ch'an and poetry according to the vehicles and lineages of Buddhism:

The Way of poetry is like the Buddha-Dharma.
They are divided into the Greater and Lesser Vehicles,
And the demoniacal and heretical paths.
Only those in the know can talk of this.⁴⁹

In a poem advising Chao Pu-yün on the arisal of the creative touch Han wrote:

The study of poetry is like the initial study of Ch'an;
When one is not yet awakened one still travels all around consulting.
One morning the awakening is done, one has the correct Dharma-eye,
And the hands of faith that pluck out (the flower of insight) can write.⁵⁰

The holding of the flower refers of course to the enlightenment of Mahākaśyapa by the Buddha simply twirling a flower in his fingers. This Sung dynasty Ch'an motif,

condition. Do not be stingy with your instructions.' Shan-ch'ing replied, 'If you wish to investigate this matter, neither of the two paths of good or evil should have sprouts in your mind, for they can inhibit man's insightful vision. Letters likewise must not be looked at (too) often, for they can block the gate of self-awakening.' Han Chü expressed this meaning as, 'The monastery of Mt. Chung-ting does not have two vehicles./ The intent  in the midst of leisure tends to the body midst the calm/ All making seeing and hearing [perception] revert to the [mirror of] empty illumination  / Cultivating the nature and preserving the mind, without concern for man.'" Cited Nukariya, vol. 2, p.338.

48. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.376. See also Nien-ch'ang, *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*, T49(.690a-b).
49. Kuo Shao-yü, p.414; Yu Söng-chun, *Chung-kuo Wang Wei : Li-ch'ao Shen Wei shih chih pi-chiao yen-chiu* (Seoul, 1980), p.172; cf. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.393.
50. Kuo Shao-yü, p.413; cf. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.394.

which probably first appeared in the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* of 1036,⁵¹ is a symbol of enlightenment via insentient objects, and had a poetical meaning.⁵²

Therefore, given the reference to faith, Han Chü was probably not fully converted to Tsung-kao's insistence on doubt as a replacement for faith in the study of *kung-ans*, nor to his aversion to "literary Ch'an." Moreover, because of his interest in the insentient conveying or taking on human emotion, he may not have been intrigued by Tsung-kao's stress on the necessity of simulating and overcoming a state of unconsciousness or insentience in the practice of *kung-fu* so that one can attain true awareness, as Tsung-kao told Lü Pen-chung.⁵³

Thus Han Chü cites the same poem quoted by Tseng Chi-li:

Although water is an insentient thing,
It still arrives in front of the palace, (the concubine's) sobs not flowing.

Here the rain and the waters are the tears of the woman:

The lord remained on the river bank and raised Poplar Tower.
The concubine dwelt in the ocean's reach, sending a tidal bore.

51. *Zen Dust*, p.152. It supposedly appeared in the *Ta-fan T'ien-wang wen Fo chüeh-i ching*, a Chinese forgery, which was supposedly seen by Wang An-shih ca. 1068+. Cf. also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 4155.

52. For example, see the title of the Korean *Sōn-mun chōng-song jip* 禪明站頌集 of 1226, a collection of hymns illustrating or plucking out 拈 the incidents of enlightenment. It is a poetical commentary on the mind-transmission compiled by Hye-shim (1178-1238) and his pupil Chin-k'un. See *Zenseki kaidai* no. 295.

53. For this, see Nukariya, vol. 2, p.378, and *Daiesho*, p.139, which says, "Kung-fu is to make the mind that considers the world and is troubled by sense-contaminants to revolve around the dried shit-stick so that emotion and consciousness does not operate and one resembles an earthen or wooden doll. When one becomes aware that one is not submerged in that unconsciousness...that is good news. Do not be afraid of falling into emptiness." Written ca. 1144 to Lü Pen-chung. Cf. Cleary, *Swampland Flowers*, p.64. On the need for sentience, see Buswell, p.339 and note 61 on p.365.

In the tide were the tears of loving of the concubine;
The flow reached the front of the tower and flowed no more.⁵⁴

These lines are quoted by another critic who used the terminology of Huang T'ing-chien, Wu Chien 吳玠 (active 1090s to 1120s), who said that

Studying poetry is like studying to be an immortal,
When perfection (is attained) the bones change themselves.⁵⁵

This topic of "the water comes to the front of the tower, in the midst there is a beauty's tears" was evidently popular, for Han Chü's lines were in harmony with those by Ch'ao Yüan-chung 晁元中 and Huang T'ing-chien, the former writing:

Human life is like the Kao-t'ang belvedere:
How can emotion (*yu-ch'ing*) end?⁵⁶

These are references to the goddess-shamans who could change into clouds and rain, specifically the goddess who was dreamt of by King Huai of Ch'u. After sleeping with her he woke up to see her as the morning clouds and evening rain.⁵⁷ This then was one more demonstration of the breakdown of barriers between the sentient and the insentient. Perhaps such an idea was prompted by Ch'an, for Wu also refers to the Ch'an mind by quoting Chiao-jan and Ts'an-liao,⁵⁸ and discusses the incident of Huang T'ing-chien's "dream within in a dream."⁵⁹

However, despite the popularity of the Chiang-hsi School and the ideas of Tsung-kao, there were reservations. One of the followers and imitators of Han Chü, Wu K'o (ca. 1126, sometimes death year given as 1174) in his *Tsang-hai shih-hua*

54. *Yu-ku t'ang shih-hua* 3a (in *Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*).

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Morohashi 45313.609-10, 8728.32; Owen, *Traditional Poetry and Poetics*, p.283. Also called "Goddess of Wu shan" or "Goddess of Shaman(ka) Mountain" by Edward Schafer, *The Divine Woman*.

58. *Yu-ku t'ang shih-hua* 14b.

59. Ibid., 15b. Cf. chapter 11 at note 90 and note 116.

which frequently quotes Han Chü, mentions that Han disliked being considered a member of the Chiang-hsi group. Wu K'o often discussed Su Shih's poems and Kuo Shao-yü regards Han and Wu as members of Su's "school."⁶⁰ Thus neither Han nor Wu use the Taoistic terminology of the Chiang-hsi School in their criticism. However, their descriptions of poetical enlightenment are similar to the shock-treatment methods of the new Lin-chi "activists," and likewise advocated set models, especially Tu Fu.⁶¹ Thus with Han Chü and Wu K'o there was a reaction to the Chiang-hsi School.

Other critics attacked Chiang-hsi poetics, including Kung Hsiang who disapproved of the alchemical smelting and conversion images, preferring to let Nature present itself.⁶² Another, Li Ch'u-ch'üan 李處全, seems quite close to Tsung-kao in his advocacy of practicing one's own poetry or Ch'an in the world, not in the cloister.⁶³

Despite such apparent monopoly by Lin-chi style interpretations, the Yün-men lineage, while attenuated, still retained some influence, especially as Tsung-kao felt some affinity with Yün-men Wen-yen.⁶⁴ Yeh Meng-te (1077-1148) was probably more a partisan of Wang An-shih⁶⁵ than of Su Shih or Huang T'ing-chien. Yeh (not to be confused with a member of the Kuei-t'ang Confucian school with the same

60. Kuo Shao-yü, pp.412-413.

61. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," pp.394-395 for quotes from Wu K'o. See his *Tsang-hai shih-hua* (*Li-tai shih-hua hsü-pien*).

62. "Studying poetry is just like studying how to realize the truth of Ch'an - / Only when you reach enlightenment do you realize it has taken as many years as this! / Touching iron and turning it into gold will then seem such a great waste of time / Since high mountains and running streams, as always, can manage on their own!" Translated by Richard Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.396.

63. *Ibid.*, p.397.

64. *Zen Dust*, p.163. Moreover, Wen-yen appears frequently in the *Pi-yen lu*.

65. Günther Debon, notes 171, 384; Arai TP, p.139.

name and style),⁶⁶ who quoted Yün-men Wen-yen (862/4-949), was looking back also to Su Shih who was friendly with a number of Yün-men monks:

The Ch'an Order says that Yün-men had three kinds of words: "Firstly, verses that accord with waves and follow billows, which means to follow things and respond to opportunities, not regarding the old cases 契 | as one's master [no imitation]; Secondly, verses that cut off the masses of currents, which means to rise beyond words where emotional cognition [or emotion and consciousness] will not reach [verses expressing the ineffable]; Thirdly, verses that encase and cover the firmament and earth, which means that in dissolution they match completely, there being no interval in which it can be spied [all things are dissolved into nothingness or unity]." Their depth and shallowness thus forms a sequence. I have toyed with enunciating this in respect of Tu Fu's poems for students. Tu Fu's poems also have three kinds of words, but their order is not the same (as those of Wen-yen):

"The water-oats adrift upon the waves, sink into the cloud's gloom,
The dew-cold lotus seed-pod falls into the pale-pink (bloom)"

is a verse in which the firmament and earth are encased and covered.

"The white peony's floating gossamer threads in the calm of the bright sun;
The cooing pigeons and nursing swallows in the green spring depths"

is a verse which accords with the waves and follows the billows [is seasonal].

"For 100 years the land secluded, the brushwood gate (of my home) remote,
In the fifth month the river is deep and the thatched pavilion cold."

is a verse that severs off the mass of currents (isolation). If you understand this, then consult [Ch'an/Tu Fu] together with me.⁶⁷

The insentient Buddhahood may be vaguely hinted at in these verses, for when a case concerning the emptiness of self and dharmas was raised, Wen-yen said:

66. SYHA XX 77:35.

67. Kuo Shao-yü, p.412; Ts'ai Meng-pi, *Tu Kung-pu ts'ao-i' ang shih-hua* 1:3b. Cf. Debon, pp.33-34. These verses by Wen-yen are appended to his *Yün-men K'uang-chen Ch'an-shih kuang-lu* (published 1076) with explanatory verses, T47.576b. See *Zen Dust*, p.433, and for Tsung-kao being inspired by this text, p.163. Tsung-kao quotes Wen-yen's *kung-an* in *Daiesho*, p.130, cf. also pp.187, 195.

If the body cannot be attained, how can all the dharmas exist? Therefore the ancients said, "The insentient have the Buddha-nature." They also said, "The insentient is not to be spoken of as 變作 the Dharma-body preaching the Dharma."⁶⁸

Wen-yen was even familiar with the ideas of Nan-yang Hui-chung,⁶⁹ as was Tsung-kao, who quoted the famous verse on green bamboo and yellow flowers.⁷⁰

Yeh Meng-te has ranked Wen-yen's lines in an ascending order: from non-imitation of past examples or cases and taking all opportunities as they arise; to transcendence of the mere words and emotional response to the case for a search within; and finally to see the emptiness of existence, that a single word or line can be the key to all experiences of enlightenment. Wen-yen's cases were prime examples of the interchangeability and equivalence of the sentient and insentient, as *Pi-yen lu* case 60 demonstrates. Yüan-wu commented in his introduction.

Buddhas and sentient beings ab-origin have no differentiation. Mountains, rivers and oneself, how can there be any distinction?

The case: Yün-men showed his staff to the assembly and said, "The staff has transformed itself into a dragon and swallowed up the firmament and earth. Where have the mountains, rivers and great earth come from?"⁷¹

Thus the dissolution of the barriers between these two dimensions also means that the world is dream-like; it is unreal as it is customarily perceived. And the doubts created by words, especially those of the *kung-an* or the lay substitute, the "enlightened" verse, should illustrate that same ambiguity by dissolving themselves into *sūnya*.

However, there was some resistance to this programme. Chang Chiu-ch'eng (Heng-fu, 1092-1159), a pupil of Yang Shih, headed the Heng-fu School of Neo-Confucianism together with Lo Ts'ung-yen. He mentioned various theories of human

68. T47.558a16-20.

69. See T47.556c passim.

70. Yün-wen (comp.), *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh Ch'an-shih yü-lu* (presented to court 1171), T47.873b-875a, for the verse, 875a3-4.

71. Asahina, *Hekigan roku*, vol. 2, pp.235-236. Cf. Sekida, *Two Zen Classics*, pp.311-312. Note the use of 境与神会 in the following evaluation.

nature, criticising the Buddhists, in particular Ch'an, for suppressing all feelings, including sympathy and compassion,⁷² and only looking then for the nature of man.⁷³

But even Chang was unable to escape the influence of the Ch'an and poetry metaphor of enlightenment. In his *Hsin-ch'uan lu* he wrote of both Tu Fu's and T'ao Ch'ien's poems, certainly under the influence of Tsung-kao whom he met in 1137. Although a devoted Confucian who was dux of the *chin-shih* examinations of 1132, he studied Ch'an under Ching-tz'u (Pao-yin) Ch'u-ming who gave him the story Chao-chou's cypress to ponder, but without success. After studying with this member of the Yün-men lineage, he consulted Shan-ch'üan Ch'ing. When he was told that everyone had the wherewithal for perfection, he asked why he had no access to it:

Ch'ing brought out a rosary from his sleeve and said, "Whose is this?" Chiu-ch'eng was non-plussed and had no answer. Ch'ing put it back in his sleeve and said, "If it were yours you would have snatched it away. Since you thought over the matter, it wasn't yours."

Chang was terror-struck.

Not long after, Chang was staying at Su-shih kuan. One night he went to the privy [廁, or 廁 shrine] with the story of (Chao-chou's) cypress on his mind. He heard a frog croak, understood it and entered (enlightenment). He (laughed aloud and broke into perspiration), writing a gatha:

In spring [Nukariya has autumn] shines the moon at night, the sound of a frog,
Colliding broke up the firmament and earth, all one family.

72. de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and the Seventeenth Century 'Enlightenment'" in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, p.176.

73. SYHA X 40:102. Chang said that after Mencius the discussion of the nature was carried out mostly by Buddhists, who understood the substance or substratum (*'i*) and not the function: "The Buddhists properly know (that which) precedes joy, anger, sadness and happiness. But after joy, anger, sadness and happiness have developed, the Buddhists put them aside and do not discuss them....So then if you wish to understand the nature as good, it is wrong to do so after joy, anger, sadness and happiness. But then when it is quiescent and unmoving, whence (comes) good and evil?"

At just such a time, who will understand?

On top of the range, his feet sore, there is Hsüan-sha.⁷⁴

Chang was sympathetic to the people but hostile to the appeasement policy of Ch'in Kuei (1090-1155) which was formalised into a treaty with the Chin in 1134, ceding all territory in the North. Chang's governmental policy was based on Mencius, and when Ch'in Kuei took complete power, Chang was demoted to a lesser post.

In 1137 Chang Chiu-ch'eng saw an outline of some of the sermons given by Tsung-kao on Mt. Ch'ing and went to visit him. He asked Tsung-kao about one of the tenets of Neo-Confucianism, *ko-wu*, "the investigation of things" or perhaps "the measure of things,"⁷⁵ a topic related to the Buddhist doctrine of the insentient:

Tsung-kao said, "You only know the existence of *ko-wu* and do not know the existence of *wu-ko*."

Chang was confused and Tsung-kao laughed. Chang said, "Master, could you give me an illustration (of this)?"

Tsung-kao said, "Haven't you seen the *hsiao-shuo* in which there was a man of the T'ang who rebelled along with An Lu-shan and who had formerly been governor of Lang-(chou in Szechwan)? There was a painted statue of him there. When Hsüan-tung fled to Shu he saw it with anger and ordered an attendant strike off its head with a sword. At that time the prefect of Lang was in Shen-hsi and his head suddenly fell to the ground."

On hearing this Chang immediately understood the deep idea. He wrote on the wall of Unmoving Belvedere:

74. Story in Nukariya, vol. 2, p.366; HCTL T51.693a5-16; CTPTL Z137.323b18-324a9; *Liao-teng hui-yao* Z136.727b6-10 (Nukariya's source); CSFTL Z147.917a4-14. All mention his Confucian connections. Parentheses are for variants or elucidation. Hsüan-sha Shih-pei (835-908) has a very long entry in the CTCTL T51.343c-347b, but I don't know the source of this allusion. Possibly it is his story of the rosary being the entire universe (*Zengaku Daijiten* 284a), or another *kung-an* in which Shih-pei, on hearing a swallow cry, remarks that it preaches the Dharma well (285b-c).

75. Cf. de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation," pp.167, 176-178, 187-188, and J.D. Schmidt, *Yang Wan-li* (hereafter YWL) (Boston, 1976), p.109 on *ko-wu* as ethical. Note that Tsan-ning, the Buddhist historian, wrote a *Ko-wu ts'u-t'an* 格物廣說 ca. 980, according to Joseph Needham, *Science in Traditional China* (Harvard U.P., 1981), p.28.

"Tzu-shao (I) measure things (*ko-wu*),
 Miao-hsi (Tsong-kao), you things measure (*wu-ko*).
 If you wish to perceive a connection:
 Two sets of five hundred."⁷⁶

Here the investigation or measure is reversed; it is not humans who measure things but things which measure themselves and man. These two are equivalents (five hundred each) or two sides of the coin; it is only the totality that is connected as one thousand. (Chinese 500 is two characters 五百, 1,000 is one 千.) Both sides are required in this fusion of Ch'an and Confucianism, for things can be valuable in and of themselves; they can be standards against which humans are judged.

Chang and Tsung-kao were implicitly discussing the relationship between man the sentient and the insentient environment, for in Chang's question as to why it was necessary to understand the principle of Lin-chi I-hsüan's "Four Selections" or "Subtractions",⁷⁷ Tsung-kao replied:

With your views you can only enter Buddha(-hood), you cannot enter (the realm of the) demons. Why can't you follow it through the selections?⁷⁸

Chang then brought up a dialogue between I-hsüan and K'e-fu over the item of "both man and sense-data snatched away,"⁷⁹ and Tsung-kao expressed his opinion in a way sure to appeal to the patriotic reunification policies of Chang: "Smash the city of Ts'ai-chou and kill Wu Chi-yüan." This refers to T'ang Hsüan-tsung's campaign to

76. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.367; HCTL T51.693b7-15 uses 伍百 instead of 五百; *Liao-teng hui-yao* Z136.728b11-17 is slightly different; CTPTL Z137.324b8-14; CSFTL Z147.917a16-b2.

77. See above chapter 13 note 64; *Zen Dust*, p.157; Sasaki, *The Record of Lin-chi*, pp.6-7. "Sometimes I take away man and do not take away the sense-data; sometimes I take away the sense-data and do not take away man; sometimes I take away both man and sense-data; sometimes I take away neither man nor the sense-data."

78. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.367; *Liao-teng hui-yao* Z136.728b18-729a3.

79. Cf. *Zengaku Daijiten* 335c-d.

bring the rebel province of Huai-hsi back under imperial rule.⁸⁰ Chang was enlightened by this and given the sobriquet of Layman Wu-hou (No Pollution). He thus became an important pupil of Tsung-kao, and now he could see that existence was both pure and nirvanic and hellish and samsaric, the two really one.⁸¹

In 1142 Chang so criticised the policies of Ch'in Kuei that both he and Tsung-kao were accused of belonging to an anti-government clique. Tsung-kao was deprived of his monk certificate and confined in Heng-chou where he wrote and studied for the next decade, after which he was transferred to Mei-chou in Kuang-tung where he stayed until amnestied. Then he returned to Chekiang in 1156. In 1158 he was ordered to return to his old centre on Mt. Ch'ing, after which he received imperial patronage. Chang on the other hand was enrolled in the Nan-an Army in the far south. He shut himself away in his Heng-fu Library⁸² where he studied the classics, histories and sutras. He stayed there putting down uprisings for the next fourteen years until Ch'in Kuei died and he was appointed prefect of Wen-chou in 1156, meeting Tsung-kao soon after.⁸³

The reason for their punishment is said to have been a verse Chang wrote based on the metaphor of the Divine Arm Bow that Tsung-kao used for Ch'an. This weapon devised ca. 1068 was a giant cross-bow mounted in set positions.⁸⁴ Chang's verse was sarcastic:

With one bolt the Divine Arm Bow
Penetrates a thousand layers of armour.

80. In 817 the imperial army made a concerted attack on Ts'ai-chou, the capital of the rebel province, and Wu Yüan-chi, its defending commander, was killed. See Denis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, p.615.

81. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.367.

82. 橫蒲僧舍, literally Heng-fu Dormitory. This probably derived from *ch'ing-she* 精舍 which in pre-Buddhist times meant a library and not a monastic residence. See Ko Li-fang, *Yün-yü yang-ch'iu* 13:8a.

83. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.368; HCTL T51.693b15-18; CTPTL Z137.324b14-17; SYHA X 40:84-87, and for relations with Tsung-kao, p.98.

84. Morohashi 24673.576-577.

When one plucks it up and looks carefully
It stinks mightily of a bellows.⁸⁵

In other words, Ch'in Kuei's defence of diplomacy was all hot air. Ch'in exiled them for this mockery.

The two erstwhile exiles met again in 1158, and Chang asked:

"What about (the fact that) every time I dream I am certain to be chanting the *Lun-yü* and *Mencius*?"

Tsung-kao held up the *Yüan-chüeh ching* and said, "Due to the quiescent calm the worlds of the ten directions and the minds of the Tathāgatas are manifested in its midst just like images in a mirror."

Chang said, "Was is not you who would not listen to this theory (*lun*)?"⁸⁶

After this Chang wrote a number of Buddhist poems and gathas, dying in 1159.

Chang's writings include works on most of the Confucian Classics. His attitude towards them though reveals a Ch'an understanding.⁸⁷ When asked of the relation between the human mind and the Classics, he said:

Even if the six Classics were all burnt up, since they come from the human mind they are eternally present. So the Classics are not words on paper but the principles in men's minds.

Likewise, he interpreted Confucian virtues in a Buddhist sense:

Humaneness is awareness, and awareness is the mind. Since the mind produces awareness which causes humaneness, casting aside the body *身* is humaneness, for without awareness there is no mind.⁸⁸

85. CSFTL Z147.917b3-8; Nukariya, vol. 2, p.368.

86. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.368; HCTL T51.693c1-14; CTPTL Z137.325a9-11; CSFTL Z147.917b15-17; *Liao-teng hui-yao* Z136.729a4-7.

87. This is not just my conclusion but also that of Chu Hsi, who was particularly critical of his connections with Tsung-kao, saying he escaped *他* from Confucianism and reverted to Buddhism. Huang Tung-fa said, "Elder Kao taught Chang Chiu-ch'eng to change his head and replace his face, and borrow Confucianism to talk of Ch'an, and yet he still did not recognize this as being of Ch'an." SYHA X 40:100.

88. Nukariya, vol. 2, p.369, quoting SYHA.

Thus Huang Tung-fa points to the explicit example of Chang explicating the first lines of the *Chung Yung*,

What Heaven has conferred is called the nature,

Accordance with the nature is called the Way,

The cultivation of the Way is the teaching,⁸⁹

through the ideas of Tsung-kao in his *Hsin-ch'uan lu*. Chang explained the Heavenly-conferred nature as the "pure Dharma-body," "accordance with the nature" as "the perfect, replete Recompense-body," and the "cultivation of the Way" as "the billions of Transformation-bodies."⁹⁰

Chang Chiu-ch'eng was Tsung-kao's favourite lay pupil, for in Tsung-kao's letters to laymen, Chang is exempted from his criticisms of the laity; for example, on the understanding of the identity of Confucianism and Buddhism, monk and layman.⁹¹ He even quoted Chang:

"The Tao is in a mustard seed,

So a mustard seed is valuable.

The Tao is in the empire,

So the empire is valuable."

You have climbed up into Wu-hou's hall, but you have not entered his room [became Chang's disciple]. You see the outside and not the inside.⁹²

Most importantly, however, a letter in reply to Chang's criticisms of Tsung-kao's *Cheng-fa yen-tsang* 正法眼藏 reveals that Chang was unhappy about Tsung-kao's inclusion of the "theoretical and doctrinal Ch'an 義理" of Nan-yang Hui-chung and the exclusion of some of the barbed repartee 機鋒 of Lin-chi's lineage. He felt Hui-chung's ideas would delude students. Tsung-kao considered that Hui-chung was teaching a kind (old-woman) Ch'an and that Chang was intolerant of anything but

89. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p.383.

90. SYHA X 40:100; HCTL T51.693b25-27; CPTL Z137.325a5-7; CSFTL Z147.917b12-14.

91. *Daiesho*, pp.145-146.

92. *Ibid.*, p.150.

absolute purity and the instantaneous, explosive style of Ch'an, not allowing for the varieties of human abilities and the breadth of Buddhism.⁹³

This proves that Chang was familiar with Hui-chung's theory of insentient Buddha-nature, and it may have informed some of his views on poetry. For example, Ts'ai Meng-pi (fl. 1247) quotes Chang's *Hsin-ch'uan lu* in his *Tu Kung-pu ts'ao-t'ang shih-hua* on the comparison of the poems of Tu Fu and T'ao Ch'ien:

T'ao Yüan-ming's verse says:

"The clouds are mindless and yet emerge from the mountain peaks;
The birds are tired of flying yet know (they should) return."

Tu Tzu-mei said:

"The waters flow, my mind does not race them;
The clouds remain, my intent hesitates with them".

If the words of T'ao and Tu were exchanged, the cognoscenti would normally still say that Tu is not the equal of T'ao. If one observes the lines, "The clouds are mindless" and "The birds are tired of flying," one can know their original intent. When one comes to "The waters flow, my mind does not race them. The clouds remain, my intent hesitates with them," then at first there is no room for discrimination between things and the energy/atmosphere is further mixed. But it is difficult to consider them lightly.⁹⁴

Chang is defending Tu Fu, whose poem exhibits the *hun-tun* or primal chaos at the start of creation where the boundaries between sentient and insentient are unmarked. The insentient clouds and waters move but the sentient minds or intentions do not. Chang elucidates when he writes:

I read Tu's "The hues of the wilds, without an interrupting mountain, /The mountain light directly communes with the waters." I sighed and said, "This poem of Tu's is not special due to the mountain light and the hues of the wilds. It all lies in the fact that it is enlightened to the state where the one principle of the Way is transparent. Often the realm of sense-data is all like this (in his poems)."⁹⁵

93. Ibid., p.191; Nukariya, vol. 2, pp.370-371.

94. *Tu Kung-pu ts'ao-t'ang shih-hua* 2:1b.

95. Ibid., 2:1a. A translation of this can be found in Adele Austin Rickett, *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-Chien Tz'u-Hua* (Hong Kong U.P., 1977), p.24.

Hence Chang considers that it is the principle of the Way in the scene that is significant, not the description. The realm of the senses is but where the truth is revealed. This is probably his Ch'an concomitant of the Neo-Confucian *ko-wu* or what Tsung-kao called *wu-ko*. Chang was thus a leader in the application to poetry of the new synthesis of Ch'an and Confucianism wrought by he and Tsung-kao.

The summation of Chiang-hsi poetics was probably made by Ko Li-fang in his *Yün-yü yang-ch'iu* of 1163,⁹⁶ a work that interfuses Confucianism and Buddhism.⁹⁷ Ko was clearly a devotee of Buddhism in the mould of other Chiang-hsi School poets.⁹⁸ Ko cites all the techniques of the Chiang-hsi School, including "the method of changing the bones, which is to use the intent of the ancients and to alchemically transform them by the addition of technique 工," which he illustrated with examples from Wang An-shih and Huang T'ing-chien.⁹⁹ He mentions that Huang told Ch'en Shih-tao that "studying poetry is like studying the Way," and he defends Ch'en against charges that Ch'en merely transformed the words of Tu Fu.¹⁰⁰

Ko Li-fang's theories I believe were crucial in making the connection between emotion, insentience and the sense-data 境 or environment in poetical theory.

Firstly, Ko evidently knew of the ambiguous usages of *wu-ch'ing*. He quoted the common criticism of Tu Fu that he failed to mention the strange voluptuousness of the crab-apple blossom although he had lived in its stronghold of Szechwan for years. The critics said that Tu Fu was most unfeeling or *wu-ch'ing* for not noticing this flower.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Ko quoted Su Shih's famous poem presented to Ch'ang-tsung on the streams preaching the sermon of Buddhism and the mountain colours being the Dharma-body as an illustration of one of the poems Su Shih wrote in competition with Su Ch'e who had claimed to have no doubts about the doctrine of

96. Chaves, "Ko Li-fang's Subtle Critiques on Poetry," p.40.

97. *Ibid.*, p.42.

98. *Ibid.*, p.46.

99. *Yün-yü yang-ch'iu* 2:5b.

100. *Ibid.*, 2:6a-b.

101. *Ibid.*, 16:2b-3a. Note he also refers to Wang An-shih here. Cf. Iwaki Hideo, "To Ho ni kaidō no shi no nai no wa naze-ka..."

the *Leng-yen ching* on the dissolution of the operations of the six faculties. This verse, among others, "were ones that even the Ch'an monks could not humble."¹⁰²

Ko knew that there was a tradition of such ideas, quoting the poet Lo Yin's (833-909) poem "On the Peony":

Even though it cannot speak it should overturn a state;
I allow that even insentient things move men.¹⁰³

As Ko says in comment to the lines by Chung Chang-t'ung from the *Hou Han shu*:

"The descending mist forms a curtain,
The spreading night (sky) forms a tent,
The mist and fog become a feast
The sun is replaced by a candle",

This is taking an insentient thing and making it function as sentient. Ever since then we can detect very many who adopt this conceit .¹⁰⁴

Ko seems to have linked this use of the insentient with the poet's feeling of empathy for his environment and considered this a key element in Tu Fu's poetry. In a discussion of Tu's empathy or pity for things, where "flowers are splashed with tears," he notes that Tu often used the character *tzu*,  "self" or "naturally" in his poetry. For example, in a poem on "The Pavilion of the King of T'eng" he wrote:

"The ancient walls, still of the bamboo's hue;
The empty apartments, of itself the pine's sound."

He is speaking of man's emotion towards the sense-data  (surroundings), himself having pity for and delight in insentient things which at first he could not be involved with.¹⁰⁵

Later he elaborates on this theme:

102. *Yün-yü yang-ch'iu* 12:3b-4b.

103. *Ibid.*, 2:6b.

104. *Ibid.*, 3:116. See Morohashi 167.605.2 for the quote.

105. *Yün-yü yang-ch'iu* 1:2b-3a. Tentative translation of  here.

Although human pity and delight have their origin in the mind, yet it is also born in the sense-data 境. If the mind lacks any relation or involvement and it does not change in respect of the sense-data, then from where does pity and delight enter into it? (T'ao) Yüan-ming saw the shadows of the forest trees overlapping, the changing sounds of the beasts and birds, and joyfully took delight in them. People regard him as having penetrated the Way. I think that he still did not escape attachment towards sense-data....Now the mind has its core and externals, decay and prosperity (of growth) are not identical, so at the point of (relating) to sense-data 境, compassion and delight accompany it.¹⁰⁶

This condition of empathy for the insentient was predicated on the existence of emotion which had to be directed towards and involved with things, As Ko wrote of the Five Dynasties' poet Fan Kan:

He freed his emotion towards the life of a fisherman and seemed to be mindless towards serving as an official....How can one completely forget emotion 忘情?¹⁰⁷

But true Ch'an poetry, as he implied in his comments on T'ao Ch'ien, would have to forget emotion and approximate insentience, being detached. This insensibility is impossible for a poet.

Ko Li-fang then is the true originator of the "emotion" and "sense-data" dichotomy in poetics. However, unlike the later theorists whose ideas came to dominate poetics until the present, he did not maintain that there had to be a "fusion" or "merging" of emotion and the environment, merely that there was a relation.

With such positive evaluations of the all-pervasive truth to be seen in Nature by the Chiang-hsi School founders and the Neo-Confucian or Ch'an idea of *ko-wu* combined with the insentient thesis in Chiang-hsi poetics, it could be expected that a greater appreciation would be shown in poetry of even the most mundane and even despised items of the universe, no matter how insignificant. This appreciation had appeared in the words of *Chuang-tzu* and the Ch'an teachers who joked and punned on such trivia as turds and dried shit-sticks. However, it was far less evident in poetry where the standard fare was still pretty flowers, attractive prospects, and beautiful women. Even these were quite limited in scope, with only a few writers venturing into ghostly fantasies and visions of bizarre minutiae.

106. Ibid., 16:12b-13b.

107. Ibid., 11:14a.

Yang Wan-li (1124-1206), an erstwhile follower of the Chiang-hsi School, was the poet who epitomized its interest in the "bizarre" and the study of models. However, he soon transcended the Chiang-hsi School to create poetry about the neglected aspects of the world. He opted more for the theories of spontaneous and natural creation, as well as wit, of Su Shih, though not rejecting Chiang-hsi methodology.¹⁰⁸

Yang's achievement of this goal of natural expression came only after a protracted struggle with the models of the past. He claims to have had an experience akin to awakening when his official duties had distracted him from poetry writing for some time, just as Ch'an monks who had made intensive and frustrating studies of *kung-ans* or sutras were suddenly enlightened when their concentration or perplexity was broken by a minor unexpected incident, such as a blow or a sound. This enlightenment *enlivened* Yang to the poetic life of Nature itself:

The myriad phenomena of nature came and presented me with material for poetry - as much as I tried to wave them away they would not leave me alone,...I was no longer mindful of the difficulties in writing poetry - for there would soon come a day when my poet's illness would leave my body.¹⁰⁹

This realization had come, not coincidentally, not so long after he had been studying Ch'an.¹¹⁰

Yang subsequently dropped the comparison made by the Chiang-hsi School of poetry to Southern or Ts'ao-ch'i Ch'an, stating that one had to reject the authority of schools and lineages and develop one's own style.¹¹¹ However, in this rejection of "orthodoxy" he preferred the poetry of Wang An-shih and the late T'ang as his own

108. See Yoshikawa, pp.161-162; Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," pp.398-399. See also Jonathan Chaves, *Heaven My Blanket: Earth My Pillow: Poems by Yang Wan-li* (New York and Tokyo, 1975), p.19. See also Yang's uses of "snatching away the embryo and changing the bones" in his *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 9a.

109. Translated by Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.400. See also J.D. Schmidt, *Yang Wan-li* (hereafter YWL), pp.26, 41, and Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.18.

110. YWL, p.25.

111. YWL, p.44; Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.401; Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.19; Chou Ju-ch'ang, *Yang Wan-li hsüan-chi* (Shanghai, 1962), p.165.

kung-ans whose "mechanism" 機, in other words the spring or a key to a barrier, one had to pick or remove 挑 before poetry became easy.¹¹²

The move towards a Ch'an-style independence began as early as 1166, when he evaluates his poetic material positively:

The student of poetry must be thoroughly released,
 The hand of faith itself alone and eminent.
 The robe and bowl lack any antiquity,
 The hills and mountains are merely a hair (in weight).

 The dharma/method of lines 句法 are difficult for Heaven to keep secret.
 In *kung-fu* you simply add to this.
 When in consultation it's still a cypress tree,
 Once awakened are they not peach blossoms?¹¹³

This poem refers to incidents of Ch'an enlightenment or topics of *kung-an* which involve or are brought about by natural objects suddenly presenting their true aspects to the poet or monk who has removed his emotional habituation. This truth was expressed in terms of that indescribable flavour that Ssu-k'ung T'u had written of.

112. YWL, p.45, notes the comparison with the Ch'an "barrier." Cf. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," pp.400-401. Yang considered Wang An-shih and the late T'ang poets the best for *chüeh-chü*, it being the hardest form in his opinion. See *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 4b and Yoshikawa, p.162. Note his use in *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 4a of the term *kung-an*, especially in the sense of "overturning the *kung-an* (case) of Lu T'ung." For the "key to the barrier," see *Zengaku Daijiten* 191, 314b which cites Tsung-kao's *Ta-hui shu* where it means the key to something difficult to pass through. This is used by Tsung-kao in a letter to Lü Pen-chung about *kung-fu*: "When the *kung-fu* has matured one will bump into and discover the key." (*Daiesho*, pp.125, 139).

113. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.42. Cf. Lynn, "Sudden and Gradual," p.401; YWL, pp.41-42. "Thoroughly released" 秀脫 equals *mokṣa*, to be liberated, *Zengaku Daijiten* 934c. "Lack antiquity" means to have no models from the past, no transmission via a school, and "a hair" is a trifle (*Zengaku Daijiten* 35d). The cypress tree refers to Chao-chou's reply, the peach flowers to Ling-yün's enlightenment on seeing them (see chapter 13 at note 36 and *Zengaku Daijiten* 428c, 1301a). Note Yang's use of *kung-fu* and *ching* ("sense-data") in *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 11b.

This can only be transmitted to someone as Buddha transmitted the Dharma to Mahākāśyapa; the secret is that there is no secret.¹¹⁴

Yang believed the Ch'an axiom that everyday objects are subjects of contemplation. One can't be too concerned about second-rate writing (he burned many of his own) or the search for the right words. Therefore his poetry is a celebration of ordinary items such as a rustic inn, a freezing fly, ants and even bubbles.¹¹⁵ Nature does express itself and so he wrote in praise of the Fat Immortal Chang Lei (1052-1112):

Spring flowers, autumn moon, this winter's ice and snow;
I never hear stale words from him, I just hear nature.¹¹⁶

Because of the self-revelatory tendency of phenomena when seen properly, Heaven (Nature) finds it hard to keep its secrets. The live method or Dharma (*huo-fa*) which was probably taken from Ch'an¹¹⁷ was no method. Schmidt relates this to the non-dualism of the observer and the observed and the elimination of grasping.¹¹⁸

This method had ramifications for Yang's poetry, for Schmidt claims that the Ch'an themes of "iconoclasm, illusionistic and paradoxical language, surprise and sudden enlightenment, human, and colloquial language" are all ingredients of "live

114. YWL, pp.47-48. Cf. Huang T'ing-chien's enlightenment (chapter 13 at note 19). Note that Yang's mentor, Chang Chün, wrote a preface to the *Yüan-wu Fo-kuo Ch'an-shih yü-lu*. Cf. also Nukariya, vol. 2, p.448 for Chang Shih, Chün's son, who consulted a pupil of Tsung-kao, Tung-lin Tao-yen on "Hearing sounds and seeing colours is just like an eternity/constant 常." Source in CSFTL Z147.925a15. Chang Chün was accused by Ch'üan Tsu-wang of being confused by Ch'an. He included among his pupils Wang Shih-p'eng, the commentator on Su Shih's poetry, and Yang Wan-li. SYHA XI 44:59-61, 74-75.

115. YWL, pp.50-51, 130, 128, 83, respectively.

116. Ibid., p.52; Schmidt, "Ch'an, Illusion, and Sudden Enlightenment in the Poetry of Yang Wan-li," *T'oung Pao* LX, 4-5 (1974) (hereafter Schmidt TP), p.256.

117. Cf. 活法, a "live method" 活法 or 活法, *Zengaku Daijiten* 163d.

118. YWL, pp.56-59.

method."¹¹⁹ This "iconoclasm" for example, has the insentient speak and act once he has overturned the "public case" of past masters, so that he chides Li Po; "'The moon doesn't know how to drink' is really reckless talk."¹²⁰

Naturally these barriers between the insentient and sentient are discarded by the language of illusion, removing the preconceptions people usually have.¹²¹ Like Li Po, these illusions can be created by intoxication so that three mountain peaks gallop over to his window to befriend him:

I call for wine, and let them help themselves.
I am drunk, but the mountains are sober.
We forget, yet seek, for one another.¹²²

119. Ibid., p.59ff., where each element and its Ch'an connections are discussed.

120. Ibid., p.61. Note 翻案, Morohashi 28814.2, which is the re-examination or overturning of a case, to reverse the intent of an earlier work, to substitute names of places or people in the original works. This is similar to Ch'an's negation of what has just been said. Ma-tsu, for example, said, "This mind is Buddha." But when he heard his pupils parrot it, he said, "Not mind, not Buddha, not a thing." CTCTL T51.246a21-22. Yanagida Seizan, "Goroku no rekishi," p.491 relates other versions of the story. Ch'an was always very free with its interpretations, often reversing the literal meanings of things, as for example it does sometimes in 什別語(p.245) or 草語(Zengaku Daijiten 891b). Note *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 4a on overturning the *kung-an* of Lu T'ung's poem, and 4b on 翻字安法. This is undoubtedly what Yang means by "poets using the words of the ancients but not using their intent is the utmost of the marvellous method" (4a).

121. Cf. YWL, pp.64-65.

122. Ibid., p.67.

The awakening to this illusion can be brought about by Nature itself.¹²³ Likewise, poetry should shock one into awareness¹²⁴ by creating and smashing illusions and dreams.¹²⁵ Thus Yang wrote of bubbles:

Jumping here, racing there, as on a jasper platter,
They create dragon palace pearls an inch in diameter.
How can we ever get to know the greatest treasures completely?
These black dragon pearls float, then disappear in an instant.
Just as the ornament on the forehead of the Golden Immortal (Buddha),
They only let ordinary folk see one half of themselves.¹²⁶

As Schmidt comments, "the bubble becomes a symbol for the secrets of the universe, denied to the ordinary eye and reserved only for the enlightened. By making the ephemeral into a symbol for the eternal, Yang comes close to transcending the dualism between illusion and reality,"¹²⁷ So the universe, even inanimate objects, is alive, which is shown by anthropomorphism in tandem with illusion. We see the influence of Li Po in a Buddhist guise, with the illusory reflection and the reality reacting ambiguously with the observer:

This old fellow's really thirsty, but the moon's thirstier still;
As soon as the wine falls into my cup, the moon's already inside.
.
"The sky loves wine" has been handed down from ancient times,
But "the moon doesn't know how to drink" is really reckless talk.
I raise my cup and swallow the moon down with one gulp,
Yet when I raise my head I see the moon still in the sky.

123. Ibid., p.68.

124. Ibid., p.69.

125. Ibid., pp.69-70.

126. Ibid., p.83. Last half translated in Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.92.

127. YWL, p.83.

I pour out some wine and gulp down another moon.¹²⁸

But this does not mean Nature is kind and humane: it can be hostile, as demonstrated by Li Ho, seemingly without compassion for sentient creatures.¹²⁹ This is the Buddhist doctrine of the neutrality 無記 of Nature, its ruthlessness. One should also remember that one's environment is partly a creation of one's karma; it is a reflection of one's past deeds. Even then, Nature seems to have a deliberately provocative attitude, conspiring against man, yet rather playfully.¹³⁰ Nature's resistential activity is described by Yang as Nature hiding its secrets from the unenlightened (as with Buddhist *samvṛti*, the "covered over" or conventional truth), but it does hint at the truth if one comprehends the language. This is shown as the sermon of the insentient:

The tall pagoda isn't pointed, the small pagoda is;
 One wears a brocade cassock, the other a silver robe.
 I ask them why they don't ever talk,
 But they have the rapids speak for the Buddha.¹³¹

Nature can be seen as the anthropomorphized play of a deity for those lacking the fortitude to consider the universe without mediation. This deity may even be the Buddha, who laughs at deluded man who grasps for reality midst their self-created delusions. There is a shamanic quality to Yang's illusion:

Setting out at morning, I gazed at the far-off mountains;
 They were so clear, you could count them one by one.
 But as the desire to gaze at them springs up in this recluse,
 He incurs the jealousy of the mountain spirits.
 Retreating, they display their spiritual powers,

128. Ibid., p.80; Chou Ju-ch'ang, pp.218-219.

129. YWL, p.107. Note that Yang cited a poem by Li Shih-chung to illustrate the difficulty of using words from the Classics in poems: "...the year says it is late, Heaven is heartless (*wu-ch'ing*)," *Cheng-chai shih-hua* 9a.

130. YWL, pp.116-117.

131. Ibid., p.119. Cf. translation in Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.63.

Their transformations are startling, frightening.

As if I didn't think it strange enough,
Even weirder things begin to happen now.

Across the sky stretches a golden bridge;
A jade *stupa* looms from the ground.
My startled eyes have just gotten a close look,
When its rolled up from the ground and hidden away.
Dazed and in doubt, I rub my eyes,
I still see the old mountain road in front.
How can I know whether it is illusion or reality;
I can't determine whether I'm dreaming or awake.
The spirits wander on Mount E-mei,
Cheating the vulgar and laughing at old man Buddha.
You who cheat and laugh are laughed at, too,
For old man Buddha is laughing at you.¹³²

Nature promises, as in the *stupa*, enlightenment via illusion, but the goal of enlightenment is itself an illusion because it is sought for. Nature, like man, so perceived can be either the mountain god demons of illusion and temptation or the laughing Buddha of Ch'an (P'u-t'ai) who sees through it all, for both are equally aspects of the One Mind.¹³³ This theme was a Ch'an favourite, one derived from the *Ch'i-hsin lun* and the *Lañkāvatāra Sūtra*.

These propositions are bound up with the proposition of insentient Buddhahood, even though the term *wu-ch'ing* barely appears in Yang's works,¹³⁴ and even then it is not in the full Buddhist sense:

The plums so tart they eat away my ivories;
The banana shares its green with the window gauze.

132. YWL, p.120. For a rather different translation, see Chaves, *Heaven...*, pp.86-87.

133. YWL, pp.121-123. For Chaves's analysis, *Heaven...*, pp.25-27, on Mt. O-mei especially. Unlike Chaves, I think the poem is pure Ch'an playfulness underneath, not just "devotional religion" (p.25).

134. At least in Chou Ju-ch'ang's selection.

The day is old. I rise from sleep without emotional thoughts
And idly look at the boys grasping at willow catkins.¹³⁵

Yang is dispassionately viewing while the insentient plum and banana plant act independently. This detached view does not mean emotions or feelings are not aroused by the activities of Nature. For example, Yang wrote two poems in harmony with Hsiao Po-ho on hearing a frog:

One winter the cold did not reach the mountain depths.
How can spring have come and still we meet with such cold?
Happstance we have clear skies, the pilgrimage is good,
And yet I dislike the sand that has entered the cracks of the broken sandal.
Cuttingly the light wind, is yet not light,
For it still blows the petals to create a red sound.
All my life my emotion has seriously disliked the shallow (early) spring.
Now grown old I haven't iota of emotion for spring.¹³⁶

Yet Yang had passionate views on politics, especially the Jürchen occupation of north China.¹³⁷ He wrote with a conscious vitriol in a poem for an envoy to the Chin enemy:

The T'ai-hang Mountains border the sky for two hundred *li*
And on a clear morning leapt through the cold window.
The Yellow River moves the earth, a myriad valleys thunder
And still one is followed along by the T'ai-hang Mountains.
The blue cliffs are absolutely crazy, the white waves angry.
This old fellow is bowled over in fright and can't stand.
.
He vows to take a barbarian head and make it into a piss-pot
And finally cut off the top-knots of the remnant people.
The pity and hatred in a poem, whom does it accuse?
The river waters sob and the mountain wind laments.

135. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.41. Cf. Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.104.

136. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.40. The last line is ironic.

137. YWL, pp.31-32; Chaves, *Heaven...*, pp.2-3, 6.

The myriad images of the Central Plain obey the expelled envoy
And all follow the verse lines, the luggage of the returnee.¹³⁸

Even Nature resents this "barbarian" occupation. The Confucian conveyance of political, social and ethical emotion through landscape poetry is evident here, for this was the Confucian aspect of Yang Wan-li, a close friend of Chu Hsi who thought even Nature shared in the universal mind.¹³⁹ Perhaps the *ko-wu* of Chu Hsi and Ch'an, which had an ethical dimension in Chu Hsi,¹⁴⁰ had an influence on Yang's patriotic poetry. *Ko-wu*, as an analysis of natural phenomena through detailed observation, could imply a Ch'an spiritualization of the commonplace through the theory of insentient Buddhahood.¹⁴¹

These ideas made plants, animals and landscape itself Yang's constant companions with whom he occasionally bickered, drank,¹⁴² and sympathized. This was because even plants or the entirety of Nature "possess human emotions." Yang writes of the plum tree as if it were a human. It comes to visit him in the snow and sometimes scolded him.¹⁴³ Schmidt rightly ascribes this sympathy to the Buddhist theory of reincarnation, which the Chinese extended to all "creation," even the inanimate. All had the Buddha-nature, and so popular belief attributed transmigration to flowers which had "souls."¹⁴⁴ This is exactly consonant with the insentient Buddhahood thesis and the associated themes of joint karma or environmental requital.

Yang was aware of the communion between human emotion and insentient emotion via this dispassionate perception, a sensibility of the insentient. When he

138. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.185. "Piss-pot" is a chamber pot made of an enemy's skull to express absolute contempt (Chou, p.186).

139. Schmidt TP, p.235. Yang recommended Chu Hsi for an appointment.

140. YWL, p.106 on *ko-wu* and "the ethical structure of nature."

141. Ibid., pp.129-130.

142. Ibid., pp.116, 74, 132-133. Schmidt calls it a "close personal relationship" or "close identity."

143. Ibid., p.134.

144. Ibid., p.135.

was sick and worrying about the advent of death, he took a walk in a garden, when a wind blew up

And the cluster of pines suddenly sounded pitying.
 My sick bones couldn't bear to think of it.

 A little weary I sat on the mossy steps.
 In front of the studio there weren't many flowers,
 But there were two old plum trees
 That seemed to know I had arrived,
 And in an instant they suddenly all bloomed.
 With much emotion, the bamboo between the plums
 Bent in the wind in a bizarre way.
 Don't you know to delight in the wind's dance?
 Or do you fear the wind's return?
 The myriad images all welcome the spring.
 I alone am pressed by old age and illness.
 Tomorrow can I come or not?
 Still I'll return to poke the stove (of life's) embers.¹⁴⁵

The old plum trees sympathise with Yang's plight, but he was peeved by the churlish winds and the bamboo that reminded him of youth and rebirth. The idea may not have been solely Buddhist, for he quotes Confucian texts among his adages:

Yang-tzu (I) says, "The gentleman's (*chün-tzu*) mercy extends to the beasts, yet the Duke of Chou had to drive out the rhinoceros and elephant;¹⁴⁶ the sage's humaneness extends to grass and trees, yet Hou Chi had to clear away the thistle and smartweed."¹⁴⁷

But Yang's Confucianism had a Buddhist interpretation. He said,

145. Chou Ju-ch'ang, pp.221-222. Cf. Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.101.

146. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2, p.283.

147. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.330. The references are to the *Shih Ching*, Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, p.604. Cf. Waley, *The Book of Songs* no. 158.

I say, "Humaneness and righteousness are my left and right hands. I cannot have one alone, nor can I have one missing. Humaneness means awareness. Righteousness means appropriateness. When one is aware of what is appropriate, act...."¹⁴⁸

This syncretic philosophy is applied even to the works of Confucius. He commented on *Lun-yü IX, 4*:

I say, "If the head is dirty then you think of washing it. If your feet are dirty you think of bathing them. But if the mind is dirty then one does not think of washing or bathing it. Why?" I say, "Intent is to oppose that which has not yet come to be. Certainty is to expect that which one desires to be. Obstinacy is to rest on that which is not to be. These three illnesses have one source, ego."¹⁴⁹

Thus Yang introduces the Buddhist idea of awareness to Confucian ethics and ego is made the cause of all the faults.

But Yang remained a Confucian in public service because he had political ambition and believed that the life of a monk is not conducive to proper enlightenment, may even hinder it:

Alas! You copy sutras with your own dripping blood,
And after ten years you're still a mere ascetic (*dhūta*).
People worry about their problems before donning the monk's robe,
But after they've put the robe on, their problems are even worse!¹⁵⁰

This was a common reaction of lay literati who felt they could not abandon social and political commitments for eremitism;¹⁵¹ one had to achieve awakening in the course of everyday life. This Neo-Confucian attitude was described by Yang a few years before his death:

148. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.335.

149. Ibid., p.339. The translations of the *Lun-yü* passage vary. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1, p.217 gives the four items as "forgone conclusions , arbitrary predeterminations, obstinacy and egoism." Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York, 1938 edn), p.138, gives "to take for granted, over positive, obstinate and egotistic." D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* (Penguin Classics, 1979), p.96, has "entertain conjectures, certainty, inflexibility, egotistical."

150. Schmidt TP, p.234.

151. Cf. YWL, p.184.

It doesn't matter whether one stays home or goes out,
For you transcend the world while in its midst.¹⁵²

Yang was apparently searching for a Middle Way between Neo-Confucian public service and Ch'an monasticism by making his poetry a vehicle for his understanding and by seeing the truth of the non-duality of the sentient and insentient universe. That has its base in "emptiness," in the non-fixation of things. This can be seen in his description of poetry:

What is poetry? (Some say), "To esteem phrasing 詞 and that's all!" I say, "A good poet rejects (concerns over) phrasing." "But then you esteem the intent and that's all!" I say, "A good poet rejects (concerns with) intent." But if you reject phrasing and the intent, wherein does the poem exist?" I say, "Having rejected phrasing and intent the poem still exists." "Well then, where does the poem exist?" I say, "Have you eaten sweets and tea? At first they are sweet, but ultimately they are sour. When it comes to tea, people fault its bitterness, but before the bitterness has gone they can't bear its sweetness. Poetry is likewise."¹⁵³

Poetry for Yang, as for Ssu-k'ung T'u, resides in that all pervasive but non-isolatable flavour which is ever transforming, transcending any duality. Words are but creators of defusions and ideas or intent are a hindrance to enlightenment; they are what Buddhists call "name and attribute 名相."

In the continuation of the poem to the ambassador to the Jürchen, Yang hints that poetry goes beyond ordinary writing and concepts:

Don't you see, the T'ang man Tu Fu?
His line "myriad grasses and thousands of flowers." How pretty!
It is only transmitted by poetry and not by the letters,
But still he admired another man's clouds dropping onto paper.¹⁵⁴

Even though Tu Fu's poetry is expressed in words it does not reside in them but in the poetic taste. Despite such perfection, however, Tu Fu was still envious of the wild calligrapher Chang Hsü whose brush strokes conveyed a similar spirituality without

152. Ibid., p.37.

153. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.293. Cf. YWL, pp.47-48; Schmidt TP, p.248; first part in Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.22.

154. Chou Ju-ch'ang, pp.186-187.

relying on intent or meaning, as clouds on paper.¹⁵⁵ Poetry for Yang then has a quality of the ineffable and as such is like Ch'an enlightenment.

Furthermore, poetry surprises like the *kung-an*; it deals with illusions and the indications of non-duality that dreams present us with:

Daydreaming in the skiff beneath flowers,
Their fragrance filling West Lake's misty waters.
Suddenly the sound of rain hitting the sail,
Then I was first startled from the reverie.
In fact it is the pond lotus and leaping rain,
Scattering pearls
Which regroup,
Grouping to form a mercury bay
Pouring off as pure billows.¹⁵⁶

Here the dream of being in a boat is broken, yet even reality is magical, with its pearls and mercury bay.

Yang Wan-li was the epitome of the Confucian-Ch'an poet: he did not use *wu-ch'ing* blatantly yet it underlay much of his understanding of the environment. Possibly the keenest observer of Nature and human perceptions of all the poets considered here, equalling Tu Fu or Kuan-hsiu, Yang's sensibility was partly a product of the aesthetics of his time. Schmidt and Chaves inevitably link his poetry to the Southern Sung landscapes of the humane visions of the Ma-Hsia School of painting¹⁵⁷ and the detailed, finely wrought pictures of animals and flowers of the Southern Sung academic painters.¹⁵⁸

Indeed, one can point to earlier hints of this concern with the lesser objects of Nature rather than the grand vistas in the poems "titling" paintings. Lu Kuei-meng (d. ca. 881) wrote of a lotus in a painting:

155. For Chang Hsü, see Ch'en Chih-mai, *Chinese Calligraphers and their Art*, p.92.

156. Chou Ju-ch'ang, p.245. Cf. Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.62.

157. YWL, p.115; Chaves, *Heaven...*, pp.30-34.

158. YWL, pp.129-130.

This flower truly matches the jade pool.
 The insentient has resentment, who can see that?
 (For) the moon is bright, wind fresh, just as it's about to fall.¹⁵⁹

Lu's poetry, though heavily Taoist, closely observed Nature, but with a passionate regard and not a Ch'an detachment.¹⁶⁰ Later "title poems" are even more obvious, like that by the Ming poet Ch'eng Min-cheng which links the painting, poem, and insentient:

Beautiful, it is just like a Lo-yang Spring (peony),
 The water, ink and bright colours all the transformation-body.
 The flower, as if it had emotion should break into a smile,
 The painting inscription emptiness itself, produced by a poet.¹⁶¹

The painting is the *nirmāṇakāya* or docetic Transformation-body; the flower may be considered the Dharma-body, but the poem is in vain, pure emptiness. This hint of the Buddha behind phenomena is provided by the flower about to smile. Such a Buddhistic explanation arose from the Ch'an linkage of insentient Buddhahood to the Mahayana *trikāya* (three bodies) theory, reaching its full efflorescence in the Southern Sung.

Yang Wan-li and the "Ch'an painters" typified this Buddhist aesthetic atmosphere of the Southern Sung. All were inspired by Ch'an and Neo-Confucianism. James Cahill claims that these works are not "direct expressions of a Ch'an-illuminated state of mind... but rather that the paintings [and poems] present, through analyzable artistic means, a vision of nature and of natural phenomena that is consistent with the Ch'an mode of experience."¹⁶² These men, painters such as Mu Ch'i (ca. 1200-ca. 1270) who painted the barest monochrome landscapes or still-

159. Ch'en P'i-hua, *T'i-hua pao chi*, p.179. Note Yang admired Lu Kuei-meng's works, Yoshikawa, p.163.

160. See his "A Lone Wild Goose," *Sunflower Splendor*, pp.256-257, and biography p.575.

161. Ch'en P'i-hua, p.167.

162. James Cahill, "Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's 'Southern and Northern Schools' in the History and Theory of Painting: A Reconsideration" in *Sudden and Gradual*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, pp.438-439.

life,¹⁶³ were arguably though influenced especially by the insentient Buddhahood thesis, for it gave them the goal of presenting the numinosity of the most hum-drum of objects. Osvald Sirén, quoting Nukariya Kaiten's *The Religion of the Samurai*, writes:

But their love and comprehension of nature was intense, because there they found reflections of that same Buddha-nature they had discerned in themselves. The falling leaves and blooming flowers, nay, even so-called inanimate things like stone and mountains revealed to them "the holy law of Buddha." The greatest work to them "the so-called sutra which is written in characters of Heaven and man, of beasts and *asuras*, of blades of grass and thousands of trees."¹⁶⁴

This contains the seeds of truth and applies equally to Yang Wan-li, who was conscious of a debt to a Ch'an-Confucian poet tradition, applying Ch'an terms to Wang An-shih and the Chiang-hsi School.¹⁶⁵ No wonder Liu K'o-chuang (1187-1269) of the Chiang-Hu School equates Huang T'ing-chien with Bodhidharma and

163. R.H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Roma, 1958), p.196, cf. p.131.

164. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, vol. 2, *The Sung Period*, p.133. Note that such theories in art tended to become mechanical clichés. For example, the monk-painter Shih-t'ao (ca. 1640-ca.1720) when asked what is the Buddha, replied, "It is a turnip, produce of Chao-chou, which weighs three catties." Pierre Ryckmans, *Shitao: Les propos sur la peinture du moine Citrouille-amère* (Paris, 1984), p.45. The reply is simply a pastiche of two famous lines from the *Chao-chou yü-lu* 15: "Chao-chou said, 'Chao-chou produces large turnips,'" or the preface by Yüan-ch'ing, "Chen-chou turnips are praised everywhere with the words, 'This is received from the Master.'" (Suzuki Daisetsu and Akizuki Ryūmin, *Jōshū Zenji Goroku*, text pp.5, 107), and the line of Tung-shan Liang-chieh who replied to the question, "What is the Buddha?" by saying "Three catties of flax." (CTCTL T51.386c). Yet Shih-t'ao studied Ch'an under Pen-yüeh around 1680 and his paintings show a great love and contemplation of Nature. As the preface to the *yü-lu* says also, "Everytime he picked up a stalk of grass, he would call it the sixteen-foot Golden Body (of the Buddha)," perhaps Ryckmans is correct in saying of Shih-t'ao that "The absolute of the Buddha is discovered in the absolute of banal and immediate reality (phenomena) - and in what is also unique and singular," (ibid.) but Shih-t'ao's observation is hardly original.

165. See Chaves, *Heaven...*, p.21.

Yang Wan-li with Lin-chi I-hsüan (d.866), founder of the Lin-chi lineage, and Teshan Hsüan-chien (780/2-865), ancestor of the Yün-men and Fa-yen lineages.¹⁶⁶

166. Ibid., p.22 and *Hou-is' un shih-hua*.

Conclusion

The spate of words comparing Ch'an to poetry, usually couched in the traditional poetry critic's terminology of the identity or mergence of the emotion of the poet and the insentient scene, has its basis in the Buddha-nature. Classical poetics which made poetry the expression of emotions evoked by a scene could not provide a theory to adequately explain how this evocation and empathy occurred because it lacked an epistemological base.

Confucius had stated that the sages and wise men delighted in Nature, but gave no reasons why these paragons should do so other than suggesting that Nature provided moral exemplars. Even if man was the mind of Heaven and earth, or received his nature from Heaven, he was little more than a cipher or spokesman for an ultimately heartless universe which constantly highlighted his mortality. The only answer for the seeker after the meaning of life and death was a stoic acceptance of such "transformations" as advocated in the *Chuang-tzu*.

The Neo-Taoist attempts to relate the emotions to human nature in the sage also proved unsatisfactory, and the resulting metaphysical *hsüan-yen* poetry was dead and distant, lacking emotion. Only Juan Chi and T'ao Ch'ien provided that personal and emotional life necessary for poetry, the latter thus being posthumously made a precursor for Ch'an poetics.

Buddhism, however, provided an escape from the impasse, for in its search for reality and the nature of life, it overcame the Neo-Taoist dichotomy of existence and non-existence via negation and synthesis, unifying the two in the limitless potential of emptiness which ultimately affirmed the numinosity of reality.¹ Seng-chao created the theoretical framework in a *hsüan-hsüeh* terminology, and Tao-sheng discovered the means of its realization, the sudden enlightenment to the mind or Buddha-nature.

These ideas soon combined with the newly-introduced concept of the mental recreation or representation of the world.² A complex of ideas involving the Buddha-nature, creativity or poiesis of the mind, and the Dharmakāya, evolved in China into the theory of the Buddha-nature of the insentient, in which Nature could also enlighten man through its sermons.

1. Sun Ch'ang-wu, *Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh*, pp.324-326.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.330-333. Sun is about the only writer who sees the real importance of the Buddha-nature in the Ch'an-poetry equation.

At first this discovery of a universal substratum common to man and his environment, couched in the abstruse language of the Buddhist schoolmen, was not readily accessible to poets. It really became available when Ch'an added its lyrical and lively touch to these doctrines. The first inklings of the terminology of emotion and scene merging in poetics that had Buddhist overtones thus appeared around the time of the polemics of Shen-hui and Nan-yang Hui-chung over the Buddhahood of the insentient and the correct genealogy of Ch'an mind-transmission in the writings of Wang Ch'ang-ling, who seems to have been attempting a new synthesis. But soon monk-poets such as Chiao-jan made this connection explicit.

Ch'an humanized a technical Buddhist theory by expressing it lyrically, linking the emotional sentient and the emotionless insentient. By seeing the nature of the mind one saw the nature of everything. Conversely, if one saw the nature of the environment, one saw one's own nature. Thus the barriers between man and all other planes of existence were dissolved, and participation in other realms was now possible.

During the T'ang this philosophy was not overtly stated because the precedent of *hsüan-yen* poetry had shown that obvious metaphysical exposition was inimical to lyrical expression. Therefore it was hidden beneath the surface. There was also a sense that T'ang poets realized they had not escaped sorrow, that the Buddha-nature would remain remote from most of them.

With the reassertion of Confucianism in the Sung, a new optimism arose. This, plus the constant challenge of Buddhist theory, leant itself to more philosophical expression in poetry. Neo-Confucianism frequently asserted the necessity of emotion to life, and this hindered some from adopting the Buddhist theory. Others, on the contrary, found that Ch'an provided them with an inspiration, and like Su Shih, incorporated the sermons of the numinous landscape or Dharmakāya into their art and poetry.

Some of these Confucian-Buddhist gentlemen, however, were daunted by the disciplines of monastic meditation, and tried to discover other means such as dream-analysis, which was sanctioned by Buddhist scriptures, and alcohol, which was not, to realize this aesthetic enlightenment. The boundaries between man and Nature were breached through the illusions and hallucinations produced by these more congenial and convivial means, and so were attached to the lay tradition of the Ch'an poetic.

All of this was reflected in the impressionistic poetics of the *shih-hua* that grew up in the wake of a generation of great Sung poets, nearly all of whom were steeped in Ch'an. The analysis of language and the grading of poetry also reflected current disputations within Ch'an, leading to the formulation of lineages and genealogies in

poetry. But simultaneously the Ch'an inspiration for this poetic was undermined by the synthesis of Confucianism and Ch'an in a patriotic atmosphere combined with the superficial comparison of Ch'an and poetry in terms of technique. Both these tendencies detracted from the original heart of the association, the Buddhahood of the insentient.

Furthermore, with the strengthening of the more intolerant "orthodox" Neo-Confucianism, poets routinely did not wish to advertise their Buddhist sympathies, cloaking their feelings in poetry, although it may have been acceptable in patriotic contexts. Therefore patriotic reformers like T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865-1898) wrote verses like,

Birth and death stream on, never a correlation.
Heaven and earth when overturned, suddenly they meet,
Yet still I delight in the insentient attaining liberation,³

and a drafter of the March 1st 1919 declaration of Korean independence, the monk Han Yong-un, wrote in his *Your Silence* song cycle of the emotionless heroine of political liberation and the spiritual liberation of the emotionless mind.⁴

Poetry only accepts a philosophy amenable to human desires and everyday feelings. The autochthonous Chinese urge for participation in a hopefully sympathetic and numinous universe produced much use of the "sentimental fallacy"⁵ and was similar to that "mystical feeling of enlargement, union, and emancipation [which] has no specific intellectual content whatever of its own. It is capable of forming a matrimonial alliance with material furnished by the most diverse philosophies and theologies, provided only they can find a place in their framework

3. Quoted in Ch'ien Chih-hsi, "Huang T'ing-chien yü Ch'an-tsung," p.37.

4. See Appendix A.

5. The whole question of the pathetic fallacy and whether or not Chinese poetry has metaphor in the Western sense is too large a topic to be considered here. See for example, Pauline Yu, "Metaphor and Chinese Poetry," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, vol. 3 (1981), esp. pp.223-224, and Yeo Song-nian, "The Problem of 'Sentimental Fallacy' in Chinese Literary Criticism." Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, p. 245 writes on the dangers poets felt metaphor threatened, and see pp.292-293 note 1, p.52, 56-57.

for its peculiar emotional mood."⁶ This mood was best satisfied in East Asia by the Ch'an doctrine of the insentient Buddha-nature, for initially Confucianism had no theory to match it. But Neo-Confucian orthodoxy resisted, and so one of the sources of the poetics of the identity of scene and emotion was obscured or left unstated. The silent embodiment of the principle of this poetic made Wang Wei the "Poet Buddha" in later eyes, and explains why, as a late T'ang monk-poet wrote, "Poetry is the Ch'an of the Confucians."⁷

6. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Gifford Lectures 1901-1902 (Fontana; London, 1960), p.410, talking of "naturalistic pantheists" such as Edward Carpenter.

7. "On Reading Ch'i-chi's Poetry Collection," attributed both to Hsi-ch'an (CTS 848.9609) and Shang-yen (CTS 848.9602). For meagre biographical information, see Fu Hsüan-tsung, pp.556-559.

Appendix A. Su Shih's "Presented to Elder Tsung of Tung-lin" Poem and the Expression of the Numinous Insentient in East Asia

1) Modern Chinese Interpretations

Ho Ch'ien writes that the last couplet indicates that if one has attained the recognition spoken of in the poem, one has entered into the Ch'an realm. But if not, even if one chants 84,000 Ch'an verses and the Buddhas and bodhisattvas appear before one, how can one present words appropriate to the Buddha-Dharma to them? This Ho claims is but the surface meaning. The deeper significance is that the long tongue, one of the thirty-two attributes of the Buddha, is a metaphor for the universality of the Law which is not restricted to the created Dharma preached by sentient beings but extends even to the uncreate (*asamṣkrta*) Dharma preached by the insentient. The second line illustrates that the blue mountains are the Buddha's three pure bodies which can explain the truth to us; the Dharma-body being the pure Buddha-nature in humans, the Recompense-body the emanation of correct insight from Buddha-nature, and the millions of Transformation-bodies which demonstrate compassion for the world through the bodhisattva vow. The final couplet shows that the environment manifests the 84,000 Dharma-topics with variety, as in mountain colours or the sounds of the stream.¹

A contemporary Buddhist teacher in Taiwan, the Venerable Master Hsing-yün in his 1989 address to the International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism, divided the poem into two halves; the first couplet an evocation of internal samādhi 內定 or personal realization, and the second of external Ch'an or meditation 外禪, the description or evidence of that state for others. These two are ultimately one, which proves the universality in time and place of Ch'an.²

Note that not all the commentators were so full of praise. Chang Ting-ssu of the Ming dynasty quotes Hui-hai's assertions in his *Lang-ya tai-tsui pien* 32 when commenting on the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*:

Stupid people do not know that the Dharmakāya is imageless; its form is seen in response to people 物. So they say, "Green, green the emerald bamboo, all is the Dharma-body;/"

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1. Ho Ch'ien, "Ch'an-tsung ch'ing-shan yü Chung-kuo i-shu," Ph.D. thesis, Chung-kuo wen-hua University, 1984, pp.82-83.
 2. "Keynote Speech of the Fo Kuang Shan International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism," Kao-hsiung, 9th Jan. 1989.

Thick and bushy the yellow flowers, none lack prajñā." If a person eats bamboo shoots then he must be eating all of the Dharma-body.³

Here Chang is taking a swipe at both the Ch'an verse and Su Shih who wrote on eating bamboo in this context.

2) Korea

In Korea the doctrine of insentient Buddhahood was known almost from the time it was first promulgated in China. Nan-yang Hui-chung is a popular Ch'an teacher in Korean Buddhism, figuring in many collections of Ch'an sayings. But Su Shih's poem also attracted considerable attention from Sŏn poet-monks. For example, Paek-un Kyŏng-han (1299-1375) wrote:

The flowing waters in the cave are as if dyed indigo
 The blue mountains beyond the gate cannot be painted in toto.
 The mountain hues and stream's sounds manifest the entire body,
 In the midst of this, who is to awaken to the non-arisen?⁴

Other poems by this monk show an awareness of this long tradition, for he mentions the "yellow flowers and emerald bamboo,"⁵ and landscape as the Dharmakāya.⁶

Moreover, theoretically oriented expressions of this theory and poem appeared. In particular one should note the eminent "novelist" and poet Kim Si-sŭp (1435-1493) who later became a Buddhist monk (1455) named Sŏl-cham 雪岑. In his analysis of the *Tae Hwa-ŏm Il-sŭng pŏp-kye to* by the Korean Hua-yen scholar Ŭi-sang (625-702), he wrote in exposition of the line, "the dharma-nature is perfectly merged without the attribute of duality," that,

dharmas...are the sentient and the insentient. Perfect mergence is that all dharmas are all natures and all natures are all dharmas. The present blue hills and green waters are ab-origin the nature, and the ab-origin nature is the blue hills and green waters.⁷

3. Morohashi, *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* 28732.142. Cf. Hirano Sōjō, *Tongo Yōmon*, p.138.

4. I Wŏn-sŏp, translator, *Koryŏ Kŏsŭng Hansi sŏn* (Seoul, 1978), p.143.

5. *Ibid.*, p.145.

6. *Ibid.*, p.156.

7. Kim Chi-gyŏn, *Tae Hwa-ŏm Il-sŭng pŏp-kye to chu pyŏng sŏ* (Seoul, 1983), pp.50-51.

Even more significantly, Kim developed a theory of the three forms of insentience: ab-origin insentience which is not the same as that of the future or present and so is ineffable; insentience in all things 物々上無情, described as "the cool breeze brushing the emerald bamboo," which is to change or transform things just as the sage converts beings without converting, which is insentient wisdom; and future insentience, described as "white clouds lean on the tree-top twigs," which means from now on to attain non-thought 無念. Although white clouds appear to rest on the twigs they haven't an iota of thought for the tree, just as man corresponds with the Way with No Mind 無心.⁸

In later times Su Shih's poem still exerted an influence, for So-yo-tang T'aenŭng (1562-1649) wrote:

Cold and heat replace each other, releasing a great light
Do not say that the numinous peaks are illumined in the east.
A single stream's tongue carries the sermon,
Where in the rivers and mountains is not the bodhi-site?⁹

Even King Chŏng-jong (1752-1800), a Confucian scholar and founder of the Kyu-jang kak, wrote in an inscription dedicated to the portrait shrine for the patriotic Master Sŏ-san Hyu-jŏng (1520-1604) that,

He travelled mentally beyond the attributes of reality; (with) emerald bamboos and yellow flowers he compared his body to insentient things, and yet we Confucians still denigrate this as dessicated wood and dead ashes, but my Confucianism does not.¹⁰

Finally, mention should be made of the patriotic poet and monk educator Han Yong-un (Man-hae, 1879-1944), whose *Nim ūi ch'im-mok* ("Your Silence") made the Japanese colonial authorities ban what are ostensibly love poems almost immediately it was published in 1925. In one verse he writes of the heroine of the war against Hideyoshi's invasion, Kye-wŏl hyang, a singing girl who lulled an amorous Japanese general into drunken sleep and fetched a Korean officer to behead him, saying,

8. "Tae Hwa-ŏm pŏp-kye to," manuscript held in the Kyu-jang kak Library, Seoul (ko 1810.2).

9. I Chong-ch'an, translator, *Chosŏn Kosŭng Hansi sŏn* (Seoul, 1978), p.175.

10. *Sam-ga kui-gam* (Chosŏn Pulgyo chung-ang kyo-mu wŏn, Keijo/Seoul, 1928) appendix, p.3.

O Kye-wŏi hyang!

Your beautiful, fey and subtle smile not even wiped away, you slept in the bed of the great earth.

I am saddened at your passion, but love your heartlessness.¹¹

A contemporary commentator glosses this as "the power of awareness [awakening, the same word as Japanese *satori*] to historical circumstances is greatly discovered by passion 多情, that is, one can be compassionate. Therefore awakening itself is also heartlessness 無情 or No Mind."¹²

Such reasoning is not unexpected given that Han Yong-un in his "Sŏn oe Sŏn" ("Ch'an beyond Ch'an") preached:

As all sentient-beings share the one Buddha-mind, anybody can become a Ch'an person, and as the sentient and the insentient all have the Buddha-nature, when Ling-yŭn saw the peach blossoms, he not only saw the nature, but also when the peach blossoms saw Ling-yŭn they saw the nature. When Hsiang-yen heard the sound of the bamboo being struck he not only was enlightened to the Way, but the bamboo that was hit by Hsiang-yen's tile shard was enlightened to the Way. The past 千古 (masters) have regretted that until today there has been nobody who has known this. So did anyone hear that not only the lettuce-seller makes Ch'an conversation, but also that the lettuce too can sing the song of non-arisal (nirvana)?¹³

3) Japan

Dōgen (1200-1253), the founder of the Sōtō School in Japan, devoted part of a chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō* to the analysis of Su Shih's poem, and it is from this text that Nukariya Kaiten took the last half of his passage for the *Religion of the Samurai* that Osvald Sirén quotes above at the end of chapter 15. The very title of the *Shōbōgenzō* chapter, "Keisei sanshoku" ("Stream Sounds and Mountain Colours") is derived from Su's poem.¹⁴ Indeed, Dōgen was the most important exponent of the insentient Buddha-nature thesis in Japan. Thus other chapters of his *Shōbōgenzō* are

11. Song Uk, *Chŏn-p'yŏn hae-sŏl Han Yong-un si-jip: Nim ūi ch'im-mok* (Seoul, 1974), p.262.

12. Ibid., p.265.

13. Han Chong-man, *Pulgyo wa Yugyo ūi hyŏnsilgwan*, p.195.

14. Nakamura Sōichi, *Zen-yaku Shōbōgenzō*, vol. 1, p.438

titled "Sansuikyō" ("The Landscape Sutra") and "Mujōseppō" ("The Insentient Preaching the Dharma").

This theory passed into the literature of the Five Mountains Zen group (*Gozan bungaku*). While this was a monastic society, many of their poems are not religious,¹⁵ for these monasteries also taught non-Buddhist philosophy, history and poetry in order to resist Neo-Confucian attacks on Buddhism.¹⁶ One Chinese monk, Cheng-ch'eng 正澄 (1274-1339), a native of Fukien who was invited to Japan in 1326, became a spokesman for the Su Shih line of poetry when he wrote his "I-kei setsu" — 溪言說 in his *Sei-setsu (Tai-kan) Oshō Zengoshū*.¹⁷ This man, a member of the Yang-ch'i branch of Lin-chi Ch'an, was very influential in Japan, bringing the latest Ch'an and poetry trends from China. The "I-kei setsu" ("Preaching of One Stream") reads:

When I was taking my leave of Librarian Ch'ing-yen, I praised him saying, "One Stream." Ch'ing-yen inquired about this theory, and I said to him, "The Buddha uses one voice to preach the Dharma, and the sentient beings each according to their category can understand it [or, get release], and all declare that the World-Honoured has spoken the same words. Great indeed are sentient-beings, their types and categories complex and numerous, their words and voices each different. The Buddha's one voice causes them all to hear and to be released via enlightenment 解悟. What is the reason for this? I ask you to take a mirror as a metaphor for it. The light of the mirror is one, and the myriad images, pretty and ugly, are manifested in it, and in accordance with the size and shape, each corresponds to its original shape. The mirror does not think, 'I will manifest that.' It is simply that the One Way is equal, the basic light is empty, clear and luminous. It is naturally so. The Thus Come is likewise. It is simply one voice that is equal, proclaiming and expositing fluently, not thinking, 'I will get them to obtain release [understanding] according to their category.' Therefore it is naturally so. Now this One is the theme/essence of the myriad [categories of beings, voices, images]. Therefore when Heaven obtains it, it is pure, and when earth obtains it, it is

15. Marian Ury, *Poems of the Five Mountains: An Introduction to the Literature of the Zen Monasteries* (Mushinsha: Tokyo, 1977), p. xi.

16. *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

17. *Zengaku Daijiten* 647b says the preface to the printing was 1317, which means it was first printed in China, but now only survives in Japan.

tranquil; when the sage gets it, the empire is at peace. There is nothing supramundane or mundane that can operate having discarded this One. Now speaking of the stream, that (One) is where the myriad waters revert, (and its) proclamation of the marvellous voice is so great it flies into terrifying thunderclaps, and is so small that it spurts out pearls [water striking stones hard] and powders jade, so pure it breaks up ice and washes away snow....Hsüan-sha pointed to the mirror's purity, and due to the cessation of the sound of the stream's water he entered [into that purity, enlightenment]. Tung-p'o's saying, 'The sound of the stream is the broad, long tongue' is totally due to the attainment of the One via the stream. The stream likewise does not think, 'I shall cause him to hear and attain entry. There is nothing of my making a broad long tongue (so that) I can preach.' The Way that is in the empire likewise does not think, 'I will make him attain the Way, or make him not attain the Way.' There is nothing of this. Therefore it is said, 'Man can propagate the Way, not the Way propagate man.' On some other day you will be able with an equanimous One voice proclaim it to the people, just like that stream's sound. It preaches without preaching, so that those that can hear and enter will almost be not easily measured [ie. not many]."¹⁸

Thus, like the literature theorists who said that the best poetry was created without prior intention, so Nature proclaims the Buddhist doctrine without being mindful of it. It is the reason one can say that the insentient can preach. Moreover, the theory of non-dualism, of the One Voice or Way, is very similar to the Neo-Confucian cosmology of one primal *ch'i*, itself derived in part from Taoist metaphysics.

Other Gozan figures, including the Zen historian Gokan Shiren (1278-1346) seem to have subscribed to this theory also. In a poem titled, "Foam," he wrote:

The angry waves have set their footprints in sand-hollows;
Flowers falling do not fade, and snow does not melt;
The ever-existing Dharma-body of the Buddha is changeless,
In the gardens of the mirage-born city grow plaintains.¹⁹

Of course, this theory was not simply restricted to Zen literature. Kūkai, the Shingon master who was so interested in Chinese literature, especially poetry, that he compiled the *Bunkyō Hifuron* which has preserved much of T'ang poetical criticism, himself wrote poems in this vein. For example, before 834 he wrote the following poem when he was on Mt. Koya:

18. Kamimura Kankō, *Gozan Bungaku Zenshū* (Kyoto, 1973), vol. 1, p.498.

19. Ury, p.23.

Within the quiet forest,
Alone in the straw-thatched hut,
So early in the morning
I heard the sound of a bird.

It sings of the Triple Treasure,
The Bu-pō-sō [Buddha, Dharma, Sangha].

The bird has a voice for singing,
A man has a mind for thinking,
The voice and mind,
The cloud and stream,
Express the Buddha-wisdom.²⁰

20. Translated by Beatrice Lane Suzuki, "Poem by Kōbō-daishi," *The Eastern Buddhist* 5 (1931), p.312.

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- CSFTL : Chü-shih fen-teng lu by Chu Shih-en, Z147.
- CTCTL : Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu by Tao-yüan, T51 no.2076.
- CTPTL : Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu by Lei-an Cheng-shou, Z137.
- HCTL : Hsü Ch'uan-teng lu by Yüan-chi Chu-ting, T51 no. 2077.
- HSC : Hou-shan chi by Ch'en Shih-tao, SKCS vol. 1114.
- HSCSW : Hou-shan Chü-shih wen-chi by Ch'en Shih-tao, postface by Hsieh Tien-hsi, Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-p'an she, 1984.
- HSSC : Hou-shan shih-chu by Jen Yüan, SKCS vol. 1114.
- LCYH : Leng-chai yeh-hua by Hui-hung, SKCS vol. 863.
- LCWC : Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi by Wang An-shih, Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959.
- Li Pi : Wang Ching-kung shih-chu by Li Pi, SKCS vol.1106.
- ShCSS : Shih chu Su shih by Shih Yüan-chih, ed. by Shao Chang-heng, SKCS vol. 1110.
- SKC : Shan-ku chi by Huang T'ing-chien, SKCS vol. 1113.
- SKCS : Wen-yüan ko Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu compiled by Chi Yün et. al, 1782. Taipei: Taiwan Shang-wu yin-shu kuan reproduction, 1983. Volume numbers are consecutive through the series. Citations are to arabic page numbers, two folios per page each divided into a and b. These are given as a, b, c, d. The next number is that of the line. Thus for example, 512c6.
- SKNC : Shan-ku nei-chi shih-chu by Jen Yüan, SKCS vol. 1114.
- SKPC : Shan-ku pieh-chi shih-chu by Shih Chi-wen, SKCS vol. 1114.
- SKSC : Sung Kao-seng chuan by Tsan-ning, T50 no. 2061.
- SKWC : Shan-ku wai-chi shih chu by Shih Yung, SKCS vol. 1114.
- SM I/II: Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an by Hui-hung Chüeh-fan, 2 vols., Taiwan: Hsin-wen feng ch'u-p'an kung-ssu, 1973.
- SM 1116: Shih-men wen-tzu Ch'an by Hui-hung, compiled by Chüeh-tz'u, SKCS vol. 1116.

- SSSC : Su Shih shih-chi by Su Shih, edited by K'ung Fan-li, 8 vols, Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü ch'u-p'an, 1982.
- SSWC : Su Shih wen-chi by Su Shih, edited by K'ung Fan-li, 6 vols, Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü ch'u-p'an she, 1986.
- SYHA : Sung Yüan hsüeh-an by Huang Tsung-hsi, supplemented by Ch'üan Tsu-wang, 24 vols, Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1943. Volume number in Roman numerals, chüan number in arabic numerals, followed by page number in arabic numerals. Thus SYHA XI 40:26.
- T : Taishō shinshū daizōkyō, edited by Takakusu Junjirō et. al., Daizō shuppan-kai, 1922-1933. Volume number followed by page number. In three columns, given as a, b, and c. Followed by line number. Thus T51.33a16.
- TPSCC : Tung-p'o shih-chi chu by Wang Shih-p'eng, SKCS vol. 1109.
- WIHC : Wu-i hsin-chi by Yang I, SKCS vol. 1086.
- YWL : Yang Wan-li by J.D. Schmidt, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976.
- Z : ㄗ Hsü-tsang ching, 150 vols. Taipei: Hsin-wen feng ch'u-p'an she reprint of Dai Nihon zoku-zōkyō. Volume numbers consecutive. Page number that of the arabic numerals, each page (for most but not all works) divided into two columns, a and b, followed by line number. Thus Z137.215a8.

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