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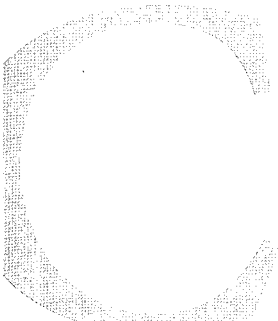
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# Scholar-monks (*ruseng*): An Aspect of Buddhist-Confucian Intersection in Chinese History

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## Abstract

*This article focuses on a special group of eminent monks, who were Confucian scholars before receiving tonsure. In the long history of interaction between Buddhism and Confucianism, which is mingled with integration and collision, numerous Confucian scholars showed compassion and understanding toward Buddhism but few of them converted to it. Nevertheless, the importance of these rare persons, scholar-monks (ruseng 儒僧) should not be ignored. Instead, this article argues that the role they played in the history should be considered as a good case to analyze the power shift in the field of ideology between Buddhism and Confucianism. For example, the attitude towards these scholar-monks by secular people changed from the Six Dynasties period to the Qing dynasty. The attitude of the public towards them was initially one of respect, which turned to contempt; however, neither of these implies the view towards the monks personally, but instead to the two teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. Therefore, this article compares the stories of some outstanding figures of scholar-monks, such as Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416) and Sengfan 僧范 (476–555) in the Six Dynasties period, Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) in the Tang dynasty, Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) and Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022) in the Song dynasty, Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–1274) in the Yuan dynasty, and Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 (1335–1418) in the Ming dynasty, in order to indicate the power shift mentioned above.*

**Key words:** Scholar-monk, Confucianism, Buddhist-Confucian, Three Teachings

## Introduction

The following dialogue between the Song Confucian scholars and officials Zhang Fangping 張方平 (1007–1091) and Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) on the rise and fall of Buddhism and Confucianism is well-known.

According to a story circulating in the world, Wang Anshi asked Zhang Fangping: “A hundred years after Confucius’ death, Mencius was born. But after Mencius, there had been no great men. How was it so?” Zhang Fangping answered: “Why was there no one? There were men who exceeded Confucius.” Wang Anshi asked: “Who were they?” Zhang Fangping answered: “They were Great Master Ma 馬大師 (Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一) of Jiangxi 江西, the Chan monk Wuye 無業 of Fenyang 汾陽, as well as those Chan monks such as Xuefeng 雪峰, Yantou 岩頭, Danxia 丹霞, and Yunmen 雲門.” Since Wang Anshi did not understand Zhang Fangping’s answer, he asked after a short while: “How come you gave me such an answer?” Zhang Fangping answered: “Confucianism was in decline and could not afford to embrace them. So, they all converted to Buddhism.” Wang Anshi was impressed by that answer.<sup>1</sup>

The dialogue between Zhang Fangping and Wang Anshi reflects Confucians’ slight disappointment of the situation in which Confucianism was in decline within the intellectual world of the time. The same awareness appears in writings of modern and contemporary philosophical and historical research concerning that period. It is said that only Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) and Li Ao 李翱 (772–841) appeared in Confucianism for over two hundred years of the Tang dynasty (618–907) (Ge 2004, 57–58). However, even these two scholars were connected to Buddhism. There was nothing to discuss in Confucianism for about seven hundred years from the mid and late Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589) to the late Tang and early Song (960–1127) because Confucianism produced few outstanding figures during that time span, even though it claimed to be orthodox and the ruling ideology. On the contrary, it can be said that Buddhism alone led that historical period because there appeared several prominent Buddhist figures who enriched the history of Chinese thought, such as Daoan 道安 (312–385), Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–414), Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–434), Zhiyi 智顛 (538–597), Fazang 法藏 (643–712), Zhanran 湛然 (711–782), Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839),

Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), Huineng 慧能 (638–713), and Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788).

As a matter of course, although Buddhism was successful in the elite intellectual world, it cannot be simply concluded that this fact meant that the religion all of a sudden replaced Confucianism as a dominant socio-cultural force. This topic is too big to be discussed in this short paper. This paper instead focuses on a group of Buddhist monks who used to be Confucians and analyzes the process and background of their conversions.

From ancient times, there are two types of becoming a Buddhist monk: (1) someone becomes a monk/nun because of his/her family and social situation in his/her youth; or (2) one becomes a renunciant after following a secular career path. Most of the renowned monks whose biographies were recorded belong to the former case. For the latter case, however, there were still several monks who used to be Confucian scholars.<sup>2</sup> However, there are reasons for this case. Countless numbers of Confucian literati converted to Buddhism in the history of China. The renowned Confucian and poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) is one such convert to the extent that he was said to “cultivate his body with Confucianism while governing his nature with Buddhism.”<sup>3</sup> However, most of these figures did not become monks by abandoning the secular world entirely. The main reason is that it was simply too difficult to sever their relationships in the secular world without lingering attachments. On the other hand, from a Buddhist perspective, it was never ideal in most cases to become a monk, abandoning Confucianism, after following a secular career path.

A unique story of the sixth patriarch of the Tiantai School, Zhiwei 智威 (d. 680) becoming a monk, is one such example. His secular surname was Jiang 蔣. He came from Jinyun 縉云, Chuzhou 處州. His family was Confucian for generations. At 18, he already became a *tangzhang* 堂長, a position in his own county school (*junue* 郡學), but returned to his hometown to marry on his parents' command. On his way, Zhiwei happened to meet a monk who told him that, in his previous life, he had studied under the great Tiantai master Zhiyi, had profound understanding of Buddhadharma, and vowed to be reborn as a monk. After listening to the monk's words, Zhiwei, instead of returning home, went to Guoqingsi 國清寺 on Mt. Tiantai, and served Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) as his teacher. What we need to pay attention to is Zhiwei's vow which goes as follows: “First, I want to cultivate until death with right mindfulness (*zhengnian* 正念); second, I do not want to fall into the three

evil realms (*sanè dao* 三惡道); third, I want to be reborn as a human; fourth, I want to leave secular life with virginity; fifth, I don't want to be a vulgar monk."<sup>4</sup> In particular, his fourth vow says that he wanted "leave secular life with virginity" (*tongzhen chujia* 童真出家). This is probably for the purpose of avoiding the danger of violating Buddhist precepts. This also might be the hidden reason why a number of monastic biographies emphasize "leaving home in boyhood," instead of converting in his adulthood.

### Betrayers of Confucianism

When Buddhism was first introduced to China, the impact of its thought and perspectives on the elite literati class was so tremendous that "there was no one who did not turn pale with fear as kings, ministers, and aristocrats came to know about the doctrines of transmigration and karma."<sup>5</sup> There were even such aristocrats as Prince Ying of Chu 楚王英 (d. 71), Ze Rong 笮融 (d. 195), and He Chong 何充 (fl. 343–361) who "enjoyed Buddhist scriptures by nature, led temple constructions, made offerings to hundreds of monks, and spent huge sums of money profusely"<sup>6</sup> or Xi Chao 郗超 (336–377) who composed several writings to defend Buddhism. Thus, it may seem unnecessary to talk about ordinary literati of the time in detail. They were immersed in the new and subtle speculations of Buddhist doctrine, and "there was no one who was not fully content with the religion among the people of all directions," and "there was also no one who did not dance joyfully among general public."<sup>7</sup> In this way, Buddhism, transmitted from a foreign land, dominated China as a new knowledge and culture.

In this milieu, scholar-monks who used to be Confucian scholars before becoming monks came on the scene. All of the early Chinese clerics, with the exception the Indian and Central Asian monks that transmitted the dharma, were descendants of foreign immigrants. There is no clear record of when Chinese people were allowed to become monks, receiving the tonsure,<sup>8</sup> but it can be guessed that the practice began rather later in the history of Buddhism in China. The status of scholar-monks stood out exceptionally in the early Buddhist ecclesia. Among such "Confucian" monks, who were equipped with the cultural education and social status of the literati, there were people such as Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–366), who came from a family that followed Buddhism



for generations and Huiyuan (334–416) who converted to Buddhism after pursuing a secular career. Let us analyze Huiyuan's case as an example.

Huiyuan's becoming a monk was inseparably connected to his master Daoan. Daoan (312–385) was born in Fulü 扶柳, Changshan 常山. His secular surname was Wei 衛, and he came from a family which produced great Confucians for generations. When he was young, he lost his parents. He was adopted into the Kong lineage 孔氏, his mother's family. At age seven, he read books and could memorize all by reading them just twice. People in his village praised his genius. At twelve, he left home, becoming a monk. Because at age twelve he was still young, strictly speaking, he was not qualified to be a fully-fledged "Confucian." However, because of his family's Confucian background, he was educated at home from his early childhood. He was versed in Confucian and Daoist scriptures to the extent that he showed his knowledge against warlord Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) and famous Confucian Scholar Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 (d. 384). At the same time, because of his Confucian background, he favored Huiyuan 慧遠, who used to be a Confucian, among his disciples. Huiyuan's family name was Jia 賈 and came from Loufan 婁煩, Yanmen 雁門. He enjoyed reading books from his youth and had a noble character and excellent gift. At age thirteen, at the command of his uncle, he studied travelling around Xu 許 and Luo 洛. He became a scholar preparing for the examinations (*shengyuan* 生員), when still young. "He read all six Confucian classics (*liujing* 六經), in particular being versed in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 and the *Laozi* 老子."<sup>9</sup> There was no one among the senior Confucians and bright scholars, who did not admire his profound level of knowledge. When he was twenty-one, a rebellion occurred at the death of emperor Shi Hu 石虎 (295–349), he became a fugitive. At that time, hearing that Daoan taught the Buddhadharma on Mt. Taihang 太行山 and Mt. Heng 恒山, Huiyuan eventually went there and became a monk. It is said that he had utmost respect for Daoan at first sight and thought that Daoan was his true teacher. After listening to Daoan lecture on the Perfection of Wisdom scriptures, Huiyuan had a great awakening and thought that "the nine streams of thought" (*rudao jiuliu* 儒道九流), such as Confucianism and Daoism, were trivial and useless. Then, he became a monk with firm determination.

Although Huiyuan became a monk, greatly admiring Daoan's personal charm and the vastness and profundity of the Buddhadharma, he never fully abandoned the teachings of Confucianism and Daoism and used them rather proficiently. Under Daoan, he showed outstanding talent, lecturing at

only age twenty-four. When someone did not understand his lecture on the “True Original Nature” (*shishang* 實相), Huiyuan immediately connected it to the meanings from the *Zhuangzi* and resolved the student’s doubts clearly.<sup>10</sup> Daoan did not criticize Huiyuan’s method. Daoan rather praised it from a broader perspective and allowed him alone not to throw out his secular books. Of course, nothing, whether “elucidating meaning by matched terms” (*geyi* 格義) or “connected classifications” (*lianlei* 連類), meant either agitation of their faith or retrogression in their recognition. As the followers and transmitters of “new knowledge” (i.e. Buddhism), they dismissed “old knowledge” (i.e. Confucianism) as useless and worthless. Nonetheless, they could not but use it as a temporary measure.

Huiyuan was a typical intellectual convert who became a monk, listening to the subtle meanings of Perfection of Wisdom scriptures while there were not a few Confucians who became monks to pray for rewards in the next life (*laibao* 來報, i.e., for the welfare in the other shore [*bi'an* 彼岸], *nirvāṇa*). The lives of Sengfan 僧範 (476–555) and Daochong 道寵 (d.u.), representative of the southern and northern branches of the Dilun school, respectively, are examples of this case.

Sengfan’s secular surname was Li 李. He came from Pingxiang 平鄉. “From his youth, he read various books proficiently. At age twenty-three, he became versed in the nine streams and seven summaries (*qilue* 七略).”<sup>11</sup> He became an influential leader in Confucianism to the extent that he had about a thousand students. At age twenty-nine, listening to a lecture on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Niepan jing* 涅槃經), he realized the numinous in his mind, where principle and thought penetrate each other, and thereby understood the secret essence of the Buddhist scriptures. With this experience, he became a monk. He followed Huiguang 慧光 (468–537) as his teacher and became a renowned monk himself who represented his time. Whenever he delivered a lecture on the dharma, a thousand of people gathered. People of the time said as follows, mentioning Daochong who, just like Sengfan, became a monk as a Confucian scholar: “Li Hongfan 李洪範 of Xiangzhou 相州 fully understands the profound meaning while Zhang Binsheng 張賓生 of Yexia 鄴下 realized thoroughly.” The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* records Sengfan’s activities and, in particular, describes his devout faith, after “turning his back on Confucianism and entering Buddhism” (*beiru rusi* 背儒入釋), as follows:

After Sengfan first turned his back on Confucianism and converted to

Buddhism, his belief grew by day. He thought only about the Buddhadharmā and never thought about secular affairs. He never spoke of the “nine streams [schools] of thought” (*jiuliu* 九流) and “seven summaries” (*qilue* 七略) and ceased association with secular persons. When he happened to obtain money, he gave it to his disciples. He never complained of his clothes and meals, simply accepting them whether good or not. He never revealed his pleasure and anger while consistently washing the filth and practicing asceticism. He made merit for the reward in next life, paying attention to the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing*), and regarded as his constant fortune for his whole life bowing down to a thousand buddhas at night. In his later years even when he had a hard time moving, he still bowed down his head on his pillow, following the daily worship schedule.<sup>12</sup>

What is important here is in the statements “he made merit for the reward of the next life, paying attention to the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, and regarded as his constant fortune for his whole life bowing down to a thousand Buddhas at night.”<sup>13</sup> Through these statements, we can see that the reason Sengfan converted to Buddhism was that he believed the doctrines of karma and the next life. For the same reason, he remained faithful to the religion until death.

Daochong’s secular surname was Zhang 張 and his first name was Bin 賓. He was a contemporary of Sengfan. At that time, the great Confucian Xiong Ansheng 雄安生 was teaching at the National University (Guoxue 國學) and received the respect from neighboring kingdoms. Both Daochong and Sengfan studied under Xiong Ansheng before they became monks, and they were the best students of Xiong. When he was young, Daochong already led thousands of disciples. On his way to the temple Yanjiaosi 堰角寺 (Yingjuesi 應覺寺) in Yuanshi district 元氏縣, Zhaozhou 趙州, he happened to meet a novice monk. In this encounter, he had some awakening experience and became a monk. Afterwards, he followed Bodhiruci (Putiliuzhi 菩提流支, fl. 508–527), who was revered as the founder of the Northern Branch of the Dilun school. What is interesting here is that, after becoming a monk, when Daochong lectured Buddhism in Ye 鄴, he was held in such high repute that such high ranking officials and renowned scholars as Wei Shou 魏收 (506–572), Xing Zicai 邢子才 (b. 496), and Yang Xiu 楊休 (fl. sixth century) came to listen to his lecture. However, even though they were Daochong’s Confucian students when he was a lay person, they never realized that he was their old teacher. Thus, Daochong

intentionally asked them, “Why do you come even though you have already enjoyed prosperity and studied a lot?” His old students answered, “Our old teacher, Zhang, did not like the secular world and became a monk.” Daochong sighed unconsciously, saying, “my sin is too deep!”<sup>14</sup> With this episode, we can see that he totally abandoned Confucianism, clearly recognizing that his past was wrong while his present was right.

### Confucians who wear Buddhist Robes

During the Sui and Tang periods when Buddhism thrived, even though Confucianism still occupied a dominant position in society, the three religions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism existed together. The huge scale of lecture sites (*jiangxi* 講席), the thorough and systematic translation bureau (*yichang* 譯場), the palace chapel (*neidaochang* 內道場), and the welcoming and farewell rites for śāriira in which tens of thousands of people participated tinted Buddhism densely with the overtones of China’s ruling elite. With these, Buddhism became a part of the ruling ideology. However, because of the large-scale persecution of Buddhism in the late Tang period (845) and socio-political disruption in the Five Dynasties period (907–960), the religion drifted away from the center of the political power with the leading monks scattered and Buddhist records and materials lost. After the Song dynasty reunified China, it adopted a two-dimensional policy for using and controlling Buddhism.<sup>15</sup> Rejection of the religion by the Confucian literati became a social trend: “the literati of the entire world studied ancient-style prose (*guwen* 古文), admired Han Yu 韓愈, rejected Buddhism, and revered Confucius.”<sup>16</sup> Under such circumstances, the social status and position of Confucians and Buddhist clerics were switched. I will explain this aspect, taking Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) and Zhiyuan 智圓 (976–1022) as examples.

Qisong became a monk at age seven, led by his mother. From youth, he grew up in the temple. At age thirteen, he received the tonsure and became a novice monk. At fourteen, receiving the Buddhist precepts, he became a fully-ordained monk. Afterward, he intensively read the *Book of Poetry* (*Shi jing* 詩經) and the *Book of Documents* (*Shu jing* 書經), learning both Buddhist and secular texts. Nonetheless, he always referred to himself as a Chan practitioner and was devoted to defending Buddhism. His life had a lot in common with

that of Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) who was active the mid- and late-Tang and Yanshou 延壽 (904–975) who lived in kingdom of Wuyue 吳越國 in the Five Dynasties period. As a matter of fact, these two earlier masters paved the way for the unity of Chan and doctrinal teachings (*chanjiao yizhi* 禪教一致) and the reconciliation of three teachings (*sanjiao huitong* 三教會通) and, consequently, had a huge impact on Chinese Buddhism.

Zongmi's secular name was He Jiong 何炯. Because he resided in the *aranya* (*lanruo* 蘭若) [monastery] in Guifeng 圭峰, people called him Chan master Guifeng. He originally came from Xichong 西充, Guozhou 果州. His family was rich. From youth, he studied Confucianism, learned from several Confucian scholars, and reached a significant level of understanding. At age twenty-seven, on his way to the capital to take a civil service exam, he happened to meet the Chan master Daoyuan 道圓禪師 (fl. 807) in Suizhou 遂州. After exchanging a few words and understanding each other's minds, Zongmi decided to become a monk, giving up the exam. He became a patriarch of two Buddhist schools, the Heze school 荷澤宗 of Chan and the Huayan school 華嚴宗, and made his name with the writings that unified Chan and doctrinal teachings, as well as Buddhism and Confucianism, such as the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji* 禪源諸詮集 (Collected Writings on the Source of Chan), the *Yuanren lun* 原人論 (Treatise on the Origins of Humanity), and the *Yulanpenjing shu* 孟蘭盆經疏 (Commentary on the *Ullambana Sūtra*).

Yanshou's secular surname was Wang 王 with courtesy name Zhongxuan 仲玄 and literary name Baoyizi 抱一子. He came from Danyang 丹陽. Just like Zongmi, he became a monk while following a secular career. He used to work as a low-ranking revenue officer. However, influenced by Buddhism from youth, he stole government fund and released caught-fish. He was arrested, sentenced to death, and transferred to an execution place. The Wuyue king Qian Liu 錢鏐 (r. 907–932) sent a man to check him. Seeing his composure, the man was impressed by his outstanding ambition and intent and eventually released him. Afterwards, he became a Buddhist monk and was ordained at 30. Just like Zongmi, Yanshou studied extensively and focused on the reconciliation of the teachings. His magnum opus *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records on the Mirror of the Core Teaching), in 100 rolls, was accepted by the Song dynasty as a Buddhist encyclopedia. Inheriting Zongmi's thought of the unity between Chan and doctrinal teachings, he developed it further to the level of unifying Chan, doctrinal teachings, and Pure Land Buddhism. The similarity

between Qisong and these two monks lay in the fact that they all claimed Chan as the orthodox Buddhist teaching. Zongmi's most important works, except the apologetic writing *Fujiaobian* 輔教編, include the *Chuanfa zhengzong ji* 傳法正宗記, the *Chuanfa zhengzong lun* 傳法正宗論, and the *Chuanfa zhengzong dingzu tu* 傳法正宗定祖圖, all of which analyze Chan orthodoxy.

However, there was also a difference between Zongmi and Qisong. Zongmi believed that Buddhism was the ultimate Way while Confucianism was a trivial teaching of human and heavenly beings. Qisong, on the other hand, considering the ascendant position of Confucianism in early Song society, inevitably could not but lower himself. Zongmi said in the *Yuanren lun* concerning the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism:

Although all are the intentions of sages, there is the "expedient" (*quan* 權) and the "true" (*shi* 實). Heterodox teachings (Confucianism and Daoism) are just expedient while Buddhism is both expedient and true. All three teachings can govern [people] through the idea of the good over the evil, coming up with myriads of ways. However, to fully manifest one's nature and return to the source, thinking of myriads of ways and fully considering the principle, is the only thing that Buddhism can do.<sup>17</sup>

Qisong's *Wanyanshu shang Renzong huangdi* 萬言書上仁宗皇帝 (Ten-thousand word memorial submitted to Emperor Renzong [1058]) at first glance looks similar with Zongmi's statement. However, it is not.

As for the Kingly Way, it refers to the august zenith (*huangji* 皇極) which refers to the Middle Way (*zhongdao* 中道). Since Buddhist Way is also the middle way, how come it is not the same with the Kingly Way? However, in that Buddhism does not fall into partiality 偏 and perversity 邪 in accord with the middle (*zhong* 中) and correctness (*zheng* 正), it is the same with Confucianism. But, in that Buddhism explores the principle of things and knows the mysterious, it is totally different from the secular studies.<sup>18</sup>

After comparing the three teachings in terms of edification (the social function) and theoretical depth, Zongmi just admits that the three religions are the same in the former aspect while they are innately different in the latter. He clearly states that Confucianism and Daoism are expedient (relative truth)

while Buddhism is true (ultimate truth). However, although Qisong emphasizes the aspect of “knowing the mysterious,” unlike Zongmi, he never shows the attitude to uphold Buddhism as supreme, as shown in his words, “[they] are roughly the same,” when he comments on the Buddhist middle way and the Confucian Golden Mean (*zhongyong* 中庸).

Although Qisong received the tonsure, having been led by his mother (i.e. not of his own will) [to become a monk], he was really eager to defend Buddhism. Thus, “whenever he happened to meet a Confucian who slandered the Buddhism, Zhongling 仲靈 (i.e. Qisong) discussed with him very seriously.”<sup>19</sup> However, the acts of Zhiyuan, an earlier figure who had a similar career, were unexpectedly different. Zhiyuan’s secular surname was Xu 徐 and came from Qiantang 錢塘 (Hangzhou). His courtesy name was Wuwai 無外 and literary name was Zhongyongzi 中庸子 or Qianfu 潛夫. He was a renowned scholar-monk in early Song and had a huge impact on the idea of the unity of Buddhism and Confucianism, as well as the reconciliation of the three religions during the Song dynasty. Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) assesses him as follows: “Zhiyuan of Northern Song promoted the Golden Mean. Although he was a Buddhist monk, he made his literary name ‘Zhongyongzi’ (a man of the Golden Mean). He was probably a pioneer of Song Neo-Confucianism” (Chen 1980, 284). Qian Mu 錢穆 (1895–1990) said, “From Li Ao of Tang, there was probably no one exceeding Zhiyuan among the Song figures in promoting the Golden Mean” (Qian 1984, 30). Zhiyuan portrayed himself as “enjoying reading the *Zhouyi* 周易 (Book of Changes) and the books of Confucius, Yang Zhu 楊朱, and Mencius, in addition to reciting Buddhist scriptures.”<sup>20</sup> His friend Wu Zunlu 吳遵路,<sup>21</sup> who composed the preface to the *Xianju bian* 閑居編, praised him, saying, “Whether Zhiyuan was with people or alone, his virtue was always the same, and he studied both Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings.” Zhiyuan read the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi* and was also versed in Confucianism and Mohism. Even Zhiyuan’s rival Siming Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028) spoke highly of Zhiyuan’s extensive reading of the Confucian classics in front of his students and said that felt ashamed of himself for being inferior to Zhiyuan in that matter.<sup>22</sup> Through this example, we can see that Zhiyuan was a figure who had significant knowledge of both Buddhism and Confucianism, and was recognized by Buddhist and non-Buddhist people of the past and present.

Although Zhiyuan was tonsured in his childhood—at eight years of

age—at his parents' command, he really liked Confucianism. He recalled, At age fifteen, he came to know the famous poem *Li Sao* 離騷 (Encountering Sorrow) and the *Erya* 爾雅 (Approaching the Refined) and enjoyed composing Tang-style poetry 唐詩 in regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩). At age twenty-one, following the lead of his master, he studied the writings of the Duke of Zhou 周公 and Confucius, adopted their Way as his tenet, and learned how to teach people through writing.<sup>23</sup> Due to an unexpected incident, he abandoned his aspiration to become a Confucian scholar. After recovering from a serious illness, he reflected and reproached himself, saying, “As a Buddhist, you were tonsured and have deformed your body. Nonetheless, you do not exert yourself to studying Buddhism, instead admiring Confucianism from the heart. Since you have already forgotten the root and betrayed the cause, how could you understand the intent of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius? You should first devote yourself to Buddhist studies and learn Confucianism later. You should try to do so.”<sup>24</sup> Through these words, we can see that it was because he relied on the Confucian principle of “establishing the fundamentals” (*liben* 立本) that he finally could decide to become a true Buddhist monk. As shown in his self-designation, “Zhongyongzi,” Zhiyuan's acts reflect the spirit of a Confucian who wore a Buddhist robe. His words of unifying Buddhism and Confucianism were nothing new, not deviating from such expressions as “cultivating your body with Confucianism and governing your mind with Buddhism” (*xiushen yi ru chixin yi shi* 修身以儒 治心以釋), “how could you be close to the Golden Mean if you slander Buddhism since you like Confucianism; and if you ignore the latter since you promote the former?”<sup>25</sup> and “Although the words of Buddhism and Confucianism are different from each other, both edify people and try to make them turn to good, keeping away from evil.”<sup>26</sup>

## Buddhist-Confucians

The rise of the “Principle Learning” (*lixue* 理學), what is known as Neo-Confucianism in Anglophone scholarship, in the Song 宋 (960–1279) and Ming 明 (1368–1644) periods meant that Confucianism completed its transformation by accepting Buddhism and occupied again the position of the leading discourse in the elite intellectual community. From the early Song, there were few Buddhists who could debate against Confucians and the



awareness that Confucianism was orthodox while Buddhism was secondary became dominant. Chinese Buddhism during Yuan 元 (1279–1368) and Ming, inheriting the Song trend, argued for the reconciliation of the three teachings. This was a universal phenomenon in the Buddhist ecclesia of the time. The following four great Buddhist masters from the late Ming promoted the same. Yunqi Zhuhong 云栖祿宏 (1535–1615) passed a classics licentiate examination; Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623) studied for the civil service exam in his youth; Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655), admiring Confucianism from his youth, vowed that he would destroy Buddhism and Daoism; Zibai Zhenke 紫柏真可 (1543–1603) frequently crossed the line between Buddhism and Confucianism. Although they changed their identities from that of Confucian scholars to Buddhist monks, they never completely cut their ties to Confucian studies, and all of their arguments were confined within the range of what has been termed a “Buddhist-Confucian.”

Zhuhong’s secular surname was Shen 沈 and came from Renhuo 仁和. At age seventeen, he passed the classics licentiate exam and became known for his scholarship. When he was young, listening to a neighbor’s words that if one recited the name of the Buddha, he could live his life without illness, Zhuhong was impressed with the sublimity of the Buddhadharmā. From that moment, he had Pure Land in his mind and wrote the four words, “Life and death are great matters” (*shengsi shida* 生死事大) on the edge of the desk, keeping them in his thoughts. Afterwards, he lost his father, son, wife, and mother one after another. He deeply realized the impermanence of human life and thus, at age thirty-two, he became a monk, receiving the tonsure.

Deqing’s secular surname was Cai 蔡. His courtesy name was Chengyin 澄印 and literary name was Quanjiao 全椒. From youth, he studied the classics (*jing* 經), histories (*shi* 史), philosophers (*zi* 子), and collected works (*ji* 集),<sup>27</sup> in addition to scriptures (*jingzang* 經藏). He was influenced by Zhuhong. Deqing was a close friend of Zhenke. He also argued that the three teachings had the same source and that Chan and Pure Land should be cultivated simultaneously. The famous words that show his scholarship are as follows: “There are three points in learning: (1) if one does not know the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋), he cannot communicate with the secular world; (2) if one does not know the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*, he cannot live, forgetting about the secular world; (3) if one does not do Chan practice, he cannot escape from the secular world.”<sup>28</sup> Zhixu’s secular surname was Zhong 鍾 and came from Wuxian

吳縣. At 12, he himself read non-Buddhist books. As soon as he knew about sages' teachings, he swore to destroy Buddhism and Daoism forever. Setting up the table of meat and alcoholic drink and composing scores of writings, he criticized heterodox teachings. He met Confucius and Yanhui 顏回 in his dreams. At age seventeen, on reading Zhuhong's *Zizhi lu xu* 自知錄序 (Preface to the *Record of Self-Knowledge*) and the *Zhu Chuang Suibi* 竹窗隨筆 (Bamboo-Window Jottings), he realized the truth and immediately burned all of his writings criticizing Buddhism. At twenty-two, he was devoted to the texts of reciting the name of the Buddha. At twenty-four, he went to follow Deqing's student, and became a monk, receiving the tonsure. In his practice he focused solely on reciting the name of the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛). Academically, he was a scholar-monk, studying extensively all types of Chinese philosophy. His *Yuecang zhibin* 閱藏知津 (Knowing the Ferry for Examining the Canon) was an introduction to the Buddhist canon, serving as an introduction to Buddhism.

The four great masters' argument for the mutual harmony between Buddhism and Confucianism was prompted partly by the sense of disappointment and renunciation of the reality of both the Buddhist and secular world, and it was also steeped with a sense of crisis in a degenerate age. Zhenke said, "If one does not save the mundane dharma with the supra-mundane dharma when the former is in extreme disorder, the disorder will not end. If one does not save the supra-mundane dharma with the mundane dharma when the former is in extreme disorder, this disorder will not end, either."<sup>29</sup> Zhixu said, "[The late Ming] is in great upheaval. The time is degenerate and the Way is disappearing. The teachings of the sages are concealed. Their intent becomes confused because of profit. If heroes do not reverse the decline, I am afraid that hope will disappear and the true lineage of Confucius and Yanzi 顏子 will fall to the ground."<sup>30</sup> Such a circular argument is not easy to understand. Confucians who hid themselves behind Buddhism did not have courage to criticize social reality. Rather they, consciously or unconsciously, pursued Buddhism to protect their belief under the teaching of the harmony among the three religions. They used to be Confucians, but in fact were escapees from Confucianism. Their social statuses and positions were totally marginalized in Confucian society. Zhixu said, "When there was Confucianism, Chan, Vinaya, and doctrinal teachings (*Jiao* 教), a religious practitioner (daoren 道人; i.e. Zhixu himself) felt uneasy and could not treat them inattentively; now, although there are Confucianism, Chan, Vinaya,

and doctrinal teachings, a practitioner gets mad and ignores them. Because of this, [I] call [myself] ‘eight negations’ (*babu* 八不).<sup>31</sup> Zhixu’s self-confession that he “could not treat them inattentively” and “ignore them” shows their inner contradiction and tension.

We can more deeply explore the difficult situation in which people of such a status faced through the case of Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), another Confucian-monk of the time. There is still a controversy regarding whether Li Zhi was actually a Buddhist monk in a strict sense because even Li Zhi himself did not identify himself as a monk. He received the tonsure and became a monk to clearly show his stance to separate himself from mainstream society. On the other hand, his exploits that rejected and criticized a number of Buddhist rules and regulations also show that he despised Buddhist society as much, if not more.<sup>32</sup>

In his *Fenshu* 焚書 (Burning Books), he clearly stated, “If I abandon my governmental position and return home, I will be directly under the jurisdiction of the local magistrates of the prefecture (*fu* 府) and district (*xian* 縣) where I was born. . . . If I am careless any bit, pleasure will disappear and instead misfortune will befall [me].”<sup>33</sup> He also wrote “Since the mundane affairs restrain me, I just showed my adamancy by receiving the tonsure. Since the mundane affairs are just predictable, I do not want to be involved.”<sup>34</sup> Although Li Zhi clearly pursued the Buddhist ideal, he ignored Buddhist monks as the being same as secular people. He became a monk because he did not have any other options. He just escaped from political persecution, avoiding his duty to secular society.

With the qualifications of the Buddhist monks lowered, social recognition changed accordingly, as Li Zhi said: “If one receives the tonsure, deforming his body, not only Confucians but also common people will hate him.”<sup>35</sup> Confucians of the time already were reluctant to speak about a Confucian student becoming a monk by being tonsured. At the time of Qisong in the early Song, when Han Qi 韓琦 showed Qisong’s *Fujiaobian* to Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), Ouyang said, “To my surprise, there is such a person among Buddhist monks. I would like to see him in person tomorrow.”<sup>36</sup> The following day, Han Qi introduced Qisong to Ouyang Xiu. Ouyang Xiu spoke with Qisong all day long and was greatly pleased. From the upper scholars such as Han Qi and Ouyang Xiu to ordinary people were all overwhelmed by Qisong and his fame spread all over China. Qisong became an outstanding figure among Buddhist monks. Ouyang Xiu and Han Qi spoke highly of him

because Qisong was different from other monks, having skill in writing and also an eye for good writing, not because they highly appreciated and praised his Buddhist studies. Confucians of the time did not attempt to properly evaluate ordinary monks and even had little respect for them. How different the situation was from that of Wei-Jin 魏晉 period (220–420) or the Sui and Tang period.

### Cases of Escaping to the Buddhist Samgha

A number of people became monks for various reasons or purposes. For example, there were people who escaped to Buddhism, losing hope in secular reality. Because of these people, the composition of the Buddhist samgha became extremely complex and, at the same time, this situation prompted the reversal of Buddhism and Confucianism in terms of social status. Consequently, most monks were demoted to the lower class of the society.

At the early stage of the introduction of Buddhism in the period of Later Han and Wei 漢魏 (25–265) and Jin dynasties 晉 (265–420), there were a number of people who claimed to be Buddhist clerics, behaving recklessly and without proper ability. Most of them were commoners who escaped from taxation and forced labor. This became a leading reason that Chinese governments persecuted Buddhist clerics and harassed Buddhism as a whole. However, the social composition of the people who entered Buddhist community after the Song period became much more complex. For example, ill-fated people who could not fulfill their potential or Confucian students who intentionally concealed their identity also joined the samgha. These people, in particular, were the ones who originally did not believe in Buddhism, temporarily hid in Buddhist temples, and went back to the secular world when the opportunity arose. These rather legendary figures constituted another group of scholar-monks. Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 of the Yuan dyansty and Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 of the Ming dynasty were representative of such figures.

Liu Bingzhong's (1216–1274) original given name was Kan 侃. After becoming a monk, he received the dharma-name Zicong 子聰. Later, he returned to lay life, obtained a post in the court, and thereafter called himself Bingzhong. He came from a family who served the court for generations. For example, some of his ancestors served the Khitan Liao 遼 (907–1125) and the

Jurchen Jin 金 (1115–1234). Bingzhong, “from his birth, had a good appearance, and his disposition was free and energetic. From age 8, he began to study, memorizing hundreds of words daily.”<sup>37</sup> At age seventeen, in order to serve his parents, he obtained a lower position in the local government, which made him always unpleasant for not fulfilling his potential. One day, he lamented, writing “My family has been Confucian, serving the court for generations. Now I have fallen to a lowly government position. If a man cannot meet his time, he should retreat and fulfill his intent.”<sup>38</sup> So, he retreated to the mountains and became a monk, entrusting himself to the Buddhist community. Yuan Shizu 元世祖, better known as Kublai Khan (1215–1294), on his way to see the Chan master Haiyun 海云禪師 (1201–1256) in person before he rose to the throne, happened to know Liu Bingzhong. Impressed with his talent and knowledge, the would-be emperor invited Liu Bingzhong to go with him. After meeting Kublai Khan, Liu Bingzhong obtained his huge favor. Afterwards, he served the emperor for about thirty years as a senior statesman, playing an important role in establishing several government systems in early Yuan.

Even after Kublai Khan rose to the throne, Liu Bingzhong still maintained his monastic status. In the first year of Zhiyuan 至元 reign period (1264), the Hanlin scholar 翰林學士 Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273) submitted a memorial to the court: “Bingzhong served Your Highness for years. As time went on, he played the role of advisor in important matters, stabilized the country (*sheji* 社稷), and accumulated merit, working loyally and diligently. Thus, it is suitable that he will receive rewards. Thanks to the great wisdom of Your Highness, things are renewed and rejuvenated while Bingzhong alone still wore his monastic clothes and hold monastic name without any specific post in the court. Because of this, I am profoundly uncomfortable. It is suitable that he receive proper attire and rank.”<sup>39</sup> The emperor read the memorial and immediately granted a government position. Then Liu Bingzhong officially returned to lay life.

Through examining Liu Bingzhong’s life, we can see that he actually did not have a firm belief in Buddhism and just hid in the temple for a future opportunity. He was very knowledgeable. “He read all types of books. Among them, he deeply studied the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易) and Shao Yong’s 邵雍 (1011–1077) *Huangji jingshi shu* 皇極經世書 (Book of Supreme World Ordering Principles). There was nothing he was not versed in, including anthropology, geology, calendrics, the three divinations (*sanshi* 三式), including *liuren* 六壬 and *dunjia* 遁甲 (a type of astrology).”<sup>40</sup> He mostly belonged to a group of worldly

diviners and tacticians, and was totally different from orthodox Confucian scholars who adhered to the Confucian classics until old age.

However, he clearly recognized the edifying functions of the kingly way of Confucianism deep in his mind. His passion for Confucianism was larger than that of his revering Buddhism. Among the many memorials he submitted to Kublai Khan, one said, “The teachings of the three bonds and five moral relationships (*sangang wulun* 三綱五倫), institutions (*dianzhang* 典章), the rites and music (*liyue* 禮樂), and laws and ordinances (*fadu* 法度) existed already in age of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 (ca. 2333–2184 BCE) . . . Confucius was a teacher of all kings, establishing the law for tens of thousands of generations. . . [Your Highness] should make provincial and county magistrates perform a memorial ritual [for Confucius], follow the ancient custom . . . seek for advice from renowned Confucians and follow the old rituals.”<sup>41</sup>

Yao Guangxiao (1335–1418) was born in Changzhou 長洲. His family came from Wuxing 吳興. At 17, he left home and became a monk. His dharma-name was Daoyan 道衍. His courtesy names were Sidao 斯道 and Taoxuzi 逃虛子. He was skilled in poetry, prose, calligraphy, drawing, as well as Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Yin-yang divination 陰陽, and military tactics 兵家. One day, a person who read physiognomy saw him and asserted, “since he looks like a sick tiger with triangular eyes, his disposition enjoys killing” and he is “a type of Liu Bingzhong.” Yao Guangxiao claimed to be the Liu Bingzhong of his time, but deplored for a long time that he could not meet a wise monarch. In the fifteenth year of Hongwu 洪武 reign period (1382), Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398, r. 1368–1398) selected renowned monks to assist all imperial princes. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Yao Guangxiao became an important staff member for Zhu Di 朱棣, Prince of Yan 燕王 (1360–1424). He provided his plot for the “succession struggle of 1402” (*jingnan zhi yi* 靖難之役), contributed in Zhu Di’s ascent to the throne, and became a meritorious subject of the first degree. After Zhu Di rose to the throne, he granted Yao Guangxiao a position according to his merit, along with the name “Guangxiao.” However, because Yao Guangxiao knew well that Ming emperor Chengzu 成祖 (r. 1402–1424) was cruel and suspicious, he never returned to lay life. So, after his death, he had a Buddhist funeral. Even though Yao Guangxiao practiced meditation earlier in Jingshan 徑山 Temple, having close relationships with Confucian-monks, as well as experiencing awakening, his major interest was in politics. He became one of the renowned monks who rose to the highest governmental

position to the extent that people called him the “Grand Councilor in Black Monastic Robes” (Heiyi zaixiang 黑衣宰相).

Because people such as Liu Bingzhong and Yao Guangxiao were politicians hidden in the Buddhist community, they were not very interested in Buddhism itself and thus had little influence on the development of orthodox or institutional Buddhism. However, the stereotypical image of eccentric monks and ascetics (*daoshi* 道士), represented by these figures, spread among people and came to be imprinted on their minds. Considering this aspect, they played a distinctive role in the process of the popularization and secularization of Buddhism. In other words, the appearance of this type of Confucian-monk further weakened the sacredness of the religion and degraded the image of Buddhist monks to that of charlatans who wandered around the world. In short, the quest of personal success rather brought about the downfall of the community.

### **Brief Conclusion**

According to the foregoing treatment of scholar-monk biographies, there were powers shifts between Buddhism and Confucianism in Chinese history. The Song dynasty could be considered to be the watershed period. Before that time, especially during the Tang dynasty, an abundant number of the brightest intellectual elites had been attracted to Buddhism and became Buddhists. Among them, the most distinct group was scholar-monks. These scholar-monks were initially Confucian scholars or students of Confucianism and obtained respect in their social communities. Later on, they abandoned their original social identities by pursuing Buddhist enlightenment and gradually grew to become eminent monks. By becoming monks they eventually gained more respect from the public rather than losing face for forsaking the secular world. Therefore, the well-known Confucian scholars and officials of the Song dynasty, Zhang Fangping and Wang Anshi, both pointed out in their conversations that there were no outstanding talents holding Confucianism after Mencius (Mengzi). The critical reason was that most talented individuals were attracted to Buddhism. Such a situation lasted until the Song dynasty when a new intellectual consciousness awoke, sparking a Confucian renaissance, and alien religions such as Buddhism were suppressed. In these

circumstances, elites regathered back into the intellectual community of Confucianism. Most of the famous scholar-monks in and after the Song dynasty, however, became monks for more passive reasons. The images of scholar-monks in eyes of the masses changed from their being esteemed one to that being mysterious, weird, and even contemptable. From this specific aspect, we can see the decline of Buddhism in China since the Song dynasty.



## Notes

- 1 世傳王荊公嘗問張文定公曰：“孔子去世百年，生孟子，亞聖後絕無人，何也？”文定公曰：“豈無？只有過孔子上者。”公曰：“誰？”文定曰：“江西馬大師，汾陽無業禪師，雪峰，岩頭，丹霞，云門是也。”公暫聞，意不甚解，乃問曰：“何謂也？”文定曰：“儒門淡薄，收拾不住，皆歸釋氏耳。”荊公欣然嘆服。 See Chen (1990, 3).
- 2 The conclusion is based on the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 series, as to the ordinary monks, because of the impossibility of the statistical analysis of them, are excluded here.
- 3 以儒修身，以釋治性。 See *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T 49, 284b).
- 4 一愿臨終正念，二愿不墮三途，三愿人中托生，四愿童真出家，五愿不為流俗之僧。 See *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T 49, 187b).
- 5 王公大人觀生死報應之際，莫不瞿然自失。 See *Hou Han ji* 後漢紀, quoted from *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T 52, 99b).
- 6 性好釋典，崇修佛寺，供給沙門以百數，靡費巨億而不吝。 See Fang (1974, 2030).
- 7 四座莫不厭心，衆人莫不忭舞。 See Liu (1983, 281).
- 8 Buddhist sources suggest that Chinese people started becoming monks started during the reign of Later Zhao emperor Shi Hu. See *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (T 50, 385c); and *Fayuan zbulin* 法苑珠林 (T 53, 416c).
- 9 博綜六經，尤善莊老。 See *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 351).
- 10 遠乃引莊子義為連類，於是惑者曉然。 See *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 351).
- 11 幼游學群書，年二十三備通流略。 See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 483).
- 12 See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 483).
- 13 留意華嚴，為來報之業，夜禮千佛，為一世常資。 See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 483).
- 14 See *Gaoseng zhuan* (T 50, 482b).
- 15 Song emperor Gaozong's 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) words are representative to indicate this sore of policy. See Xu (1957, 7885).
- 16 當是時，天下之士學為古文，慕韓退之排佛而尊孔子。 See *Tanjin wenji* (T 52, 648a).
- 17 雖皆聖意，而有權有實。二教惟權，佛兼權實。策萬行，懲惡勸善，同歸於治，則三教皆可遵行。推萬法，窮理盡性，至於本源，則佛教方為決了。 See *Yuanren lun* (T 45, 708c).
- 18 夫王者，皇極也。皇極者，中道之謂也。而佛之道亦曰中道，是豈不然哉？然而適中與正，不偏不邪，雖大略與儒同，及其推物理而窮神極妙，則與世相萬矣。 See *Wanyan shushang Renzong Huangdi*, in *Tanjin wenji* (T 52, 687a).
- 19 遇士大夫之惡佛者，仲靈無不懇懇為言之。 See *Tanjin wenji* (T 52, 648b).
- 20 於講佛經外，好讀周、孔、楊、孟書。 See *Xianju bian* (X 56, 865b).
- 21 Wu Zunlu's (988–1043) courtesy name was Andao 安道。 He was born in Danyang 丹陽, Jiangsu 江蘇, and came from a family that had been Confucian for generations. He was a son of a renowned scholar of the early Song named Wu Shu 吳淑。 He was promoted to the position of auxiliary academician (*zhixueshi* 直學士) of the Longtuge 龍圖閣 (Dragon Diagram Pavilion) in the court.
- 22 宜覽儒家文集，博究五經雅言。圖於筆削之間，不墮凡鄙之說。吾素乖此學，常所恨焉。

- 汝既少年，不宜守拙，當效圓闍梨之作也。至囑。 See Zongxiao (2010, 117).
- 23 十五微知騷雅，好爲唐律詩。二十一，將從師受周孔書。宗其道，學爲文以訓世。 See *Xianju bian* (X 56, 894c).
- 24 汝浮屠子，髮既祝矣，形且毀矣，而不習釋氏，志慕儒學，忘本背義，又豈稱周孔之旨乎？汝故習釋，後學儒爲副，汝其圖之。 See *Xianju bian* (X 56, 894c).
- 25 好儒以惡釋，貴釋以賤儒，豈能庶乎中庸乎？ See *Xianju bian* (X 56, 894c).
- 26 夫儒釋者，言異而理貫也，莫不化民，俾遷善遠惡也。 See *Xianju bian* (X 56, 894c).
- 27 As a youth, Deqing received the tonsure at Da Baoensi 大報恩寺 in Nanjing 南京. Yongning 永寧, the abbot of the temple, demanded that all junior monks should study the classics (*jing*), histories (*shi*), philosophers (*zi*), and collected works (*ji*), and designated it as “the course of exam candidates” (*juzi ye* 舉子業). See *Hanshan dashi nianpushu zheng* 憨山大師年譜疏證.
- 28 爲學有三要，所謂不知春秋，不能涉世。不精老莊，不能忘世。不參禪，不能出世。 See *Hanshan Laoren mengyou ji* (X 73, 746b).
- 29 蓋世法變極，不以出世法救之，則變終莫止。出世法變極，脫不以世法救之，則其變亦不止。 See *Zibai Zunzhe quanji* (X 73, 347c).
- 30 世衰道微，由聖學不明。聖學不明，由功利惑志。不由豪杰振其頽，吾恐孔顏真脉不墜地者，几稀也。 See *Lingfeng Ouyi Dashi zonglun* (J 36, 287a).
- 31 古者有儒有禪有律有教，道人既蹴然不敢。今亦有儒有禪有律有教，道人又艷然不屑，故名八不也。 See *Lingfeng Ouyi Dashi zonglun* (J 36, 253a).
- 32 Li Zhi still ate meat and drank alcoholic beverages. He never received the full Buddhist precepts.
- 33 弃官歸家，即屬本府本縣公祖公母管矣。... 一毫不謹，失其歡心，則禍患立至。 See Li (1961a, 50).
- 34 以俗事強我，故我剃髮以示不歸，俗事已決然不肯與理也。 See Li (1961a, 50).
- 35 若落髮毀貌，非但儒生惡之，雖衆人亦惡之矣。 See Li (1961b, 261).
- 36 不意僧中有此郎，黎明當一識之。 See *Rentian baojian* (X 87, 9c).
- 37 生而風骨秀異，志氣英爽不羈，八歲入學，日訟數百言。 See Song (1976, 3687).
- 38 吾家累世衣冠，乃汨沒爲刀筆吏乎！丈夫不遇於世，當隱居以求志耳。 See Song (1976, 3687).
- 39 秉忠久侍藩邸，積有歲年。參帷幄之密謀，定社稷之大計。忠勤勞績，宜被褒崇。聖明御極，萬物惟新，而秉忠猶仍其野服散號，深所未安。宜正其衣冠，崇以顯秩。 See Song (1976, 3687).
- 40 於書無所不讀。尤邃於易及邵氏經世書。至於天文·地理·律歷·三式六壬遁甲之屬，無不精通。 See Song (1976, 3687).
- 41 典章·禮樂·法度·三綱五常之教 備於堯·舜... 孔子爲百王師 立萬世法...宜令州郡祭祀釋奠如舊儀...宜訪名儒 循舊禮。 See Song (1976, 3687).

## Abbreviations

- J *Jiaxingzang* 嘉興藏  
T *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon), 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1935.  
X *Xuzangjing* 續藏經 (Hong Kong reprint of *The Kyoto Supplement to the Canon* [*Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經]), 150 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1967.

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*Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集. T 52, 2103.  
*Hanshan Laoren mengyou ji* 憨山老人夢遊集. X 73, no. 1456.  
*Lingfeng Ouyi Dashi zonglun* 靈峰藕益大師宗論. J 36, no. B348.  
*Rentian baozhuan* 入天寶鑑. X 87, 1612.  
*Tanjin wenji* 鐔津文集. T 52, 2115.  
*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳. T 50, 2060.  
*Xuanju bian* 閑居編. X 56, 949.  
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