

THE BUDDHIST THEME IN LATE CH'ING POLITICAL THOUGHT:

1890-1911

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO T'AN SSU-T'UNG

by

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ABSTRACT

In the present work the writer attempts a study of the religious, cultural and political significance of Buddhism in late Ch'ing intellectual thought through an examination of the writings of influential figures like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang Yu-wei, Chang Ping-lin, and particularly T'an Ssu-t'ung.

That Buddhism came to play a part in the reformers' thought was a result of several factors: the rekindled interest in Buddhism brought about through the efforts of laymen such as Yang Jen-shan, the need to find a counter-balance to Christianity, the search for a new unifying ideology for China as Confucianism crumbled before the challenge from the West, and the immense potentiality of Buddhism to cater for the intellectuals' diverse cultural and political purposes.

T'an Ssu-t'ung's Jen-hsüeh 仁學 is chosen here to exemplify the use of Buddhism in late Ch'ing political thought. Buddhism not only served as the all-embracing school of his eclectic synthesis, it also formed the foundation of the major concepts in the treatise, and was closely related to his radical thinking. To T'an and other like-minded Buddhist intellectuals, Buddhism was not world-abnegating or pessimistic, but indigenous, 'this-worldly' and 'other-regarding'. As their writings show, Buddhism could be used to invalidate Christianity, to suggest that science and western philosophies had their roots in Chinese cultural tradition, to provide unity of thought, cultivate revolutionary character, uplift morality and dismantle deep-seated erroneous concepts and parochial views. This multifarious application of Buddhist doctrines in political thought was phenomenal, and it shows that while the search for wealth and power was of paramount importance to China, there were concerns which transcended the material level. The Buddhist theme in the late Ch'ing period thus manifests itself in many facets of the complex process of the cultural transformation from traditional to modern China.

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Introduction

This study attempts to explore the political and cultural implications of Buddhism during the crucial transitional period between 1890-1911 by examining the Buddhist thought of a few but influential thinkers, particularly T'an Ssu-t'ung. It makes no claim for being an exhaustive treatment of this rather complex and virtually untouched subject and should be seen as no more than a pioneer effort to draw into focus the role one of the non-Confucian philosophies played in the intellectual history of modern China.

Despite the voluminous literature on the late Ch'ing period, the place of Buddhism in political thought has not received sufficient appreciation from historians. Students of intellectual history have tended to believe that a scrutiny of the reaction of Confucianism to the Western influences can suffice to explain the cultural changes that took place in modern China. But this is to oversimplify a complex picture. To understand the late Ch'ing cultural transformation entails an examination of the development which led to an intellectual crisis in the 1890's and, under this circumstance, the intention of Chinese intellectuals to prop up the Chinese tradition with ideas culled from non-Confucian schools.

The intellectual crisis in the late Ch'ing was engendered chiefly by the collapse of Confucianism. Before the nineteenth century, although Confucianism faced periods of crisis and challenge, its resilience had successfully resisted them, and through such a process, the philosophy had acquired enormous strength to provide solutions for a wide variety of problems. Yet the Confucian tradition, unfortunately, appeared inadequate when measured against the somewhat unique problems emergent in the late nineteenth century. Within a few decades the Confucian system suffered damaging assault from several directions which engendered serious erosion of its very foundation and eventually led to its collapse. As the internal and external assault escalated in intensity and its ramifications became more obvious, scholars purporting to defend the sacred tradition and the integrity of China itself grew in numbers, culminating in K'ang Yu-wei's effort to establish Confucianism as a state religion. Thus the break-up of the Confucian tradition, so to speak, did not result from lack of defenders or from insufficient response to immediate pressing dangers. That it crumbled down was due largely, perhaps, to the lack of concerted efforts to sustain its system and the incompatibility of Confucianism with modernity.¹ As Mary C. Wright points out, "the obstacles to successful adaptation

to the modern world were not imperialist aggression, Manchu rule, mandarin stupidity, or the accidents of history, but nothing less than the constituent elements of the Confucian system itself".²

That Confucianism would not be able to stand up to new challenges was not even conceived of before the West encroached upon China. The intellectual world of the mid-Ch'ing, to begin with, was dominated by the "school of empirical research" (k'ao-cheng p'ai 考證派), a school which emerged in the late Ming in revolt against the idealistic and abstract approach of Wang Yang-ming and his followers.³ The main figures of this school, Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-1682), the founder, and Tai Chen 戴震 (1723-1777), the doctrinarian, maintained that objective truth had to be sought in the concrete facts (shih-shih ch'iu-shih 實事求是). These concrete facts, they believed, were to be found from the Confucian Classics of the Han Dynasty. It was through a study of these texts that the truths of Confucianism could be grasped. This intellectual endeavour, moreover, should be directed towards practical ends, or what they called "to master the tao of Confucius for the sake of saving the world" (ming-tao chiu-shih 明道救世).

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, intellectual degeneration began to spread among the Confucian scholars.⁴ Meticulous investigations based on evidence became concerns over minutiae. Accumulated writings on the Han materials developed into uncritical reverence of orthodoxy. A reaction thus set in against the sterile scholasticism of empirical research. The reaction took several forms of expression. Some fell back on the moral philosophy of Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianism. Others turned their attention to social, political and administrative reforms. Still others looked to a re-interpretation of the teaching of Confucius as sanction for change.

The rise of the "school of statecraft" could be ascribed to an awareness among the literati of the need to tackle some of the urgent issues of their times. Scholars of this school were concerned with the solution of the problems of the secular order of state and society through institutional means. Underlying their assumption was the belief that self-cultivation in the moral realm must be supplemented by administrative involvement.⁵ The compilation of the Huang-ch'ao ching-shih wen-pien 皇朝經世文編 (Writings on statecraft under the reigning dynasty) in 1827 demonstrated the

particular attention paid by the scholars of this school to the financial, managerial and organisational problems of the state. From this work, it can be seen that most of the problems it touched on were problems characteristic of Chinese society and the solutions proposed were also well within the Confucian tradition.

The revival of the New Text School was another intellectual development responding to the decline of the school of empirical research.⁶ This school regarded Confucius as an "uncrowned king" whose mission was to reform the world and the Classics as containing "esoteric language and subtle meanings" (wei-yen ta-i 微言大義) to support his reforms. But there was no immediate connection between New Text Confucianism and reformism when it was revived under the efforts of Kung Tzu-chen and Wei Yuan. Their reformist (kai ko 改革) thought, though based mainly on orthodox Confucianism, was not lacking in ideas culled from other schools like Legalism, Mohism and Buddhism. By and large, Confucianism in the early period of nineteenth-century China remained very much intact.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Ch'ing government was suffering from a wide variety of disruptive conditions.

Western powers had forced their way into a number of coastal ports and cities. Traditional military forces had proved inadequate to defend the nation from foreign invasion and were riddled with weaknesses born of corruption and sinecure. The nation had been plagued with floods and natural disasters which signified, at least in part, deterioration in administration of river conservancy. The bureaucracy had become unresponsive to new challenges, a situation caused by complacency, corruption and over-concern with ceremonious formalities. The examination system was suffering from its paralysing attachment to out-moded standards. The intellectual community was numbed by its preoccupation with pedantic research and preservation of the new Ch'ing-produced orthodoxy. Financial chaos and widespread social unrest were yet further factors contributing to the troubled scene. While the stage was fully set for the drama which would extinguish the Ch'ing mandate, there was as yet no indication that Manchu collapse might also result in the disintegration of the more basic Confucian system.

More perceptive Chinese were prepared for an almost immediate upheaval, which indeed did take place in the 1850's. But none could have been anticipating the peculiar nature of this upheaval

and the shock it caused the total fabric of their way of life. The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), under the name of Christianity, was a massive anti-dynastic peasant movement which almost succeeded in crushing Manchu control. The Manchu government, with its fortunes at low ebb, sustained yet another foreign attack -- the Arrow War (1856-1860). Dynastic decline, peasant rebellion, and foreign invasion were certainly nothing new to Chinese experience. But this rebellion and the foreign embroilment both presented aspects entirely new in the annals of Chinese history.

In the three decades following the settlement of the Arrow War and the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (roughly from 1864-1890) two distinct and somewhat related trends were at work within the Ch'ing empire. On one hand there was the attempt to strengthen the empire by cautious selective institutional, technological and educational borrowings from the western world. On the other hand there was the attempt to strengthen the empire by a dedicated reaffirmation and restitution of traditional Chinese civilisation. These two movements were prompted by the realisation of the need to make accommodation with Western ideas, while the inclination to make such an adaptation lay within the confines of the large orthodox Confucian framework. Yet China did not really welcome change.

She granted concessions with reluctance and remained unresponsive to innovation. There were, to be sure, outcries against such stubbornness, but Ch'ing officials turned a deaf ear to their opinions. On the one hand, while Chinese intellectuals of exceptional perception appreciated the practical benefits of Western technology and weaponry, they conspicuously failed to show much awareness of the potential of Western technology. Moreover, scholars who expressed prophetic warnings about the future and the need to institute drastic reforms to prevent what they analysed as predictable calamities, remained unheeded voices which only later became important from the vantage point of historical retrospect.

The decade of the 1890's, however, witnessed drastic intellectual transformation. It was in this period that new ideas and a new type of intellectual began to dominate Chinese intellectual life. The whole movement began with a period of "intellectual innovation". The underlying assumptions of the bulk of literature of this period were still the vitality of the Chinese world-order and the conceptualisation of a strong and healthy China in the family of nations. Writers of this period, including Wang T'ao, Cheng Kuan-ying, and others, stressed the need to rectify the examination system, undo the barriers between the rulers and the ruled,

emphasise the importance of economic development, and the implementation of a parliamentary system.

China's humiliating defeat by Japan in 1894-1895 signalled the end of the innovational period and the beginning of an effort to carry out extensive reform programmes. The prime mover of the 1898 Reform was K'ang Yu-wei whose intellectual and political ideas are ably described by many historians.⁷ What needs to be pointed out here is that K'ang's new text version of Confucianism was basically an effort to dig out what he regarded as orthodox Confucian ideas in order to remedy the disillusionment Chinese intellectuals had with Confucianism. In other words, the viability of Confucianism by K'ang's time was gradually called into question, and it was K'ang's intention to employ a religiously-tinged Confucianism to contain deviation and anchor faith.

But his contemporaries, including some of his disciples, had strong doubts about such an experiment. The loss of hold of Confucianism on intellectuals' minds became more conspicuous. This trend is exemplified by Cheng Kuan-ying's reservations over

the Confucian criteria of class-division,⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's departure from the Confucian ideal of personality in favour of the concept of "new citizenship",⁹ and T'an Ssu-t'ung's vehement assault on the evils of the three bonds and five relations.¹⁰ Their opinions heralded the dawn of a long process of political and intellectual revolution.

Does the collapse of Confucianism signify the end of the Chinese cultural tradition as a whole? Viewed from the vantage point of historical development, it seems that the iconoclasts of the May Fourth era had already suggested that Confucianism, along with other schools of Chinese thought, was deleterious to China's quest for political unity and economic autarky. But to many late Ch'ing reformers, the answer was not so obvious. As a matter of fact, many intellectuals who were politically influential in China did not confine their intellectual perspectives to Confucianism; nor did they slavishly accept the viability of Confucian doctrines in their totality. When they looked into the Chinese cultural tradition for elements useful to legitimise reform and the adoption of Western ideas, they drew from some other schools like Buddhism, Taoism and Mohism. Except in tendentious imperial edicts, the demarcation of what was often regarded as the "orthodox" and the "heterodox" schools was never absolute in the mind of the Chinese

intellectuals. The use of the Chinese cultural heritage worked according to the rule of contingency rather than of orthodoxy. When Confucianism seemed to have lost its grip on the Chinese intelligentsia, the choices left to them were not exclusively western, or westernisation, but diversely indigenous. Thus while many reformers and revolutionaries were admirers of the West, they were at the same time defenders of their culture. They did not lament over the impracticability of Confucianism, but constructively sought alternatives to bolster up the Chinese tradition. Thus the disintegration of Confucianism did not result in cultural disorientation, but in cultural re-orientation. They made an examination of a host of fresh possibilities that could become the props of a new Chinese civilisation.

The spectrum of intellectual choices was enormous. Most of the reformers, to be sure, were well versed in the major Chinese classics. Their cultural heritage, therefore, was more diversified than the contemporary orthodoxy which found its expression either in the ethical values of Neo-Confucianism or in the academic fashion of textual criticism. To a certain extent, they were dissatisfied with the domination of Confucianism in the realm of thought; to a

large extent, they adapted diverse streams of thought to their intellectual needs, and thus committed themselves to a sort of philosophical syncretism. While some intellectuals like K'ang Yu-wei still clung to a re-interpreted Confucianism as the basis of eclecticism, others like T'an Ssu-t'ung, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Chang Ping-lin, preferred Buddhism and other schools.

Viewing the whole process of cultural encounter between China and the West, Confucianism seemed to have been quite unable to cope with problems that Christianity and science imposed on it. Confucianism was basically this-worldly and never possessed the ingredients of a religion. It seldom, if ever, touched on problems of scientific interest. In both of these aspects, Buddhism proved itself to be capable of elaboration and thus filled up the gap. As a religion, Buddhism was native while Christianity was alien. As far as religious doctrines were concerned, Buddhism in the mind of Chinese intellectuals seemed to be much more abstruse than Christianity. Science posed no serious problems to Buddhism either. Many intellectuals believed that the intricate 'mere-ideation' philosophy could well match and surpass Western scientific concepts. The introduction, through translation, of Western philosophers like

Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer and Jeremy Bentham, could only serve to buttress, and not to refute, the universality of Buddhist doctrines. Perhaps these parallels and analogies were too romantic, too culturally defensive. But the rise of this tendency and the workability of such analogising surely need examining. This study intends, among other things, to look at how Buddhism was employed in this way.

The efforts to defend Chinese culture show that there were concerns lying beyond the search for wealth and power. Chinese reformers were intellectuals who intended to strengthen China materially; but they were also thinkers and theorists who were concerned with other problems like national essence, religious ideology and ultimate happiness which were extremely important. Westernisation could help China to build a nation strong enough to stand on her own feet, but her greatness, they believed, owed very much to her cultural and spiritual heritage. Westernisation or modernisation could only solve some of the problems China faced, not, and never, all. Thus it was not strange that while a reformer actively advocated and implemented westernisation, he could also be a cultural conservative who sought the solution of great unity and eternal bliss from the indigenous schools of thought.¹¹ This is not to say that the proclivity to commitment to Chinese culture was conservative

and that championing Western ideas was progressive. Ideas in Chinese culture could have conservative or radical implications, depending on how they were interpreted. Sometimes, indeed, it is tempting to wonder whether intellectuals were using Western ideas under the guise of Chinese concepts, or vice versa.

The relationship between Buddhism and political thought remains unexplored for other reasons. One reason, for instance, is the Marxian interpretation of history. Marxian historians, believing that religion is little more than the opiate of the people which prevents class struggle, spreads poison and benumbs people, view Buddhism negatively. Such a world-abnegating religion as Buddhism, they say, is unlikely to have played a positive role in the political thought of modern China.¹² Thus Buddhism is to a large extent underestimated. It should first be noted that Buddhism in the late Ch'ing was vastly different from Buddhism in the T'ang Dynasty. While T'ang Buddhism catered for intellectual curiosity and religious zest, late Ch'ing Buddhism developed a highly utilitarian and politically-oriented attitude. In other words, only those Buddhist ideas culturally and politically useful were given attention. Buddhism was affirmed as this-worldly rather than other-worldly, and other-regarding as well as self-regarding. In the cultivation of revolutionary

character, intellectuals believed that Buddhism could nourish courage, hope, unifying faith, and fearlessness. When viewed as a counterpart to Christianity, it could invalidate the basis of the Western religion and thus re-assert China's confidence in the spiritual realm. Buddhism to late Ch'ing intellectuals was no longer confined to monasteries in the remote mountains, but was part of the political thought of their time which could help the cause of national salvation. That this total transformation of the Buddhist doctrines in the modern political arena has unfortunately been clouded in obscurity is due, in part at least, to a deep-seated and erroneous conception of Buddhist pessimism. It is the purpose of this study to shed light on the various ways Buddhism infiltrated into the political thought of modern China.

The attempt to explore these issues begins with a study of the thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung. T'an, a reformer and martyr, was a colourful figure in modern China whose life, thought exceedingly short, was remarkably significant. T'an was recognised as a leading figure both in the Reform Movement in Hunan, his native province, and in the Hundred Days Reform in 1898.¹³ But he is better remembered as a thinker. Thanks to his major political treatise the Jen-hsüeh 仁學, he has been called by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao

a meteor in the late Ch'ing intellectual world,¹⁴ by Ch'en Po-ta a forerunner of the May Fourth iconoclasm¹⁵ and by various other historians as a respected enlightenment thinker of modern China.¹⁶

T'an's life spanned the thirty years when China was experiencing great changes. As a young Chinese intellectual T'an witnessed the shrinking strength of China and vigorously sought remedies for the disastrous situation she faced in the nineteenth century. The vicissitudes T'an experienced mirror the frustration of his contemporaries. The writings of T'an Ssu-t'ung reflected the opinions and attitudes of many of the outstanding figures of his time. During his brief and dramatic life, T'an was first, an "ethnocentrist", then the earliest advocate of total westernisation, and finally the first Buddhist-reformer -- as evinced by his major work, the Jen-hsüeh.

The Jen-hsüeh is in fact a work of comparative politics, comparative religion and comparative learning. By juxtaposing China with the West, T'an intended to show the weaknesses that China should admit and correct, and the strengths she could sustain and develop. The criteria for his judgement were grounded in a few

major concepts which formed the basis of his work. In his formulation of these concepts, he attempted to synthesize different schools of thought from China and the West, using Buddhism as the philosophy encompassing them all. An examination of the content of the Jen-hsüeh shows the complex mentality of an intellectual who clung to total westernisation while affirming the superiority of Chinese culture -- represented by Buddhism.

T'an's propensity was no mere idiosyncrasy. It was a trend which some of his illustrious contemporaries, such as K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Chang Ping-lin, shared. As Liang Ch'i-ch'ao remarked, Buddhism was an undercurrent of the late Ch'ing scholarly world, a vogue of intellectual interest.¹⁷ Their writings indicate a more sophisticated use of the Buddhist doctrines than those of the short-lived martyr. Taken as a whole, their attitudes towards the cultural and political implications of Buddhism provide ample material for a discussion of the role of Buddhism in late Ch'ing intellectual thought.

Part I

Buddhism and the Late Ch'ing Intellectuals

Chapter 1: Buddhism in Nineteenth-century China

Nineteenth-century China was a period of change, secular and religious alike. The development of Buddhism in the Ch'ing period bore witness to the tempo of foreign intrusion, the disintegration of the Chinese cultural heritage and the need to shape religious means to terrestrial ends. The changes in modern Chinese Buddhism -- from monastic to lay leadership, from other-worldliness to this-worldliness, from the Hinayana self-cultivation to the Mahayana other-regarding ideal, to mention but a few -- may seem to be extremely confusing, but they reflect the process of transition in China at large.¹

Buddhism in the early Ch'ing dynasty remained stagnant but intact. It was under imperial patronage, based mainly on the hope of winning over the conquered Chinese people.² Not surprisingly, all early Ch'ing emperors seemed to pay high tribute to Buddhism. The Shun Chih Emperor, for instance, revered the Ch'an Master T'ung Hsiu 通秀 and invited some Ch'an monks to be imperial spiritual guides.³ Under imperial sponsorship, Buddhism maintained its strength. In 1668, according to one source, there were 79,622 Buddhist temples in the Manchu empire, among which 12,482 were

founded by imperial order and the rest by the people.⁴

The Yung Cheng Emperor was no exception. He received religious instructions from a Tibetan Lama and assumed a Buddhist name, "Yüan-ming chü-shih" 圓明居士, meaning literally "the perfectly-enlightened layman." He was particularly interested in Ch'an Buddhism and compiled nineteen volumes of the important sayings of the ancient Ch'an masters into a book entitled Yü-hsuan yü-lu 御選語錄 (The selected sayings from Ch'an masters made by the emperor). He advocated the combination of Ch'an doctrines with the practices of the Pure Land school. His stress on Buddhist scriptures and discipline largely resulted from two factors. First, his commitment to the thought of Wang Yang-ming made him an advocate of the unity of knowledge and action, which could be regarded respectively, from the Buddhist view, as the equivalents of scripture and discipline. His ideas were prompted by the fact that during his time, many Ch'an monks read no scriptures and followed no discipline. Second, he had a passion for ideological and behavioural conformity, which he deemed important to imperial authority.

Buddhism continued to enjoy the patronage of the long-lived

Emperor Ch'ien Lung who succeeded Yung Cheng. The Emperor, apart from editing such grand works as Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書 (The four libraries), also issued an imperial order to select works of Buddhist monks to be added to the Ming edition of the Ta-tsang ching 大藏經, the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka, which was enlarged to 7,174 volumes and known as the lung-pan 龍版, the dragon edition. Other works of similar nature include the Kuo-yü tsang-ching 國語藏經 (The Chinese Tripitaka in national language) which contained 2,466 chüan.

These achievements, however, do not hide the fact that almost all religious activities were under strong state control. The Board of Rites, one of the six boards of the central administration, was endowed with full power to control all religious activities and handle all affairs concerning the erection of new temples, the licensing of priests and the conduct of the clergy. Viewed in historical perspective, the adherence to Buddhism by the Manchu emperors was more an act to enlist support from converts of the most widely accepted religion, and enhance the legitimacy of their rule, than a genuine acceptance of the Buddhist religion as such.

The primary concerns of the Ch'ing rulers were the maintenance

of the imperial order, which involved, among other things, the restriction of intellectual freedom and uniformity of ideology. This was done in two ways: one was indoctrination with orthodox ideology, the other was the implementation of the literary inquisition.⁶ Both were aimed at an ideological control that would internalise a pattern of thought and externalise a standard of behaviour according to the ruler's will. Consequently, ideological control was the key policy of the imperial house. During the rule of the Shun Chih, Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung emperors, all other considerations radiated from and returned to it.

Under intense pressure, scholars during the early Ch'ing had to follow the beaten track carefully and even new interpretations within the accepted pattern of ideology were discouraged. Intellectual stagnation was thus apparent in academic studies. One way in which this was achieved was the imperial promotion of the compilation of literary works and translation of Buddhist scriptures. The best brains in the country were directed to editorial work and textual research in the hope that these monotonous and unending tasks would precipitate no deviation from orthodoxy; at the same time the emperors would appear as patrons of Chinese culture. The dragon edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, for instance, involved prodigal manpower and

money and took more than fifty-five years to complete. The work started under imperial auspices in 1683 and was completed in 1738. In its final form, the dragon edition, consisting of 724 volumes of Buddhist works, was grander in scope than any of the previous editions of the Chinese Tripitaka.

In reality, however, benevolent patronage was far from being the motive behind official policy. In fact, the Ch'ing government, in order to maintain the established political order, strongly guarded against the tendency of the "heterodox" school to create disorder and confusion in the public mind.⁷ To inculcate orthodox thought in the people's minds, a sermon was composed by the Yung Cheng Emperor, taking as its text part of the so-called Sacred Edict (sheng-yü 聖諭). It consisted originally of sixteen brief maxims set down by the K'ang Hsi Emperor in 1670. Later the Yung Cheng Emperor amplified and published it in 1725 for popular edification under the title Sheng-yü kuang-hsin 聖諭廣訓, which served as a guiding spirit for government policy and laws on the control of heresy throughout the Ch'ing period.⁸ The content of this imperial pronouncement shows that the main reason for the official antagonism towards heterodox schools was not philosophical or theological but practical and political. It was based on the view that the heterodoxy was politically dangerous.

Buddhism could be easily used for rebels for its salvationist appeal, which, once it gained momentum, could develop into a powerful revolutionary force.⁹

The second reason for the control of Buddhism was political antagonism against the rise of an economically unproductive class of monks.¹⁰ This objection to a large sangha community was exemplified in the official commentary on the law requiring official permission for the building of new temples and monasteries. It was clearly stated in Ch'ing law that private erection of temples and convents was prohibited; violation of this law would result in severe punishment.¹¹ In insisting on official permission for the building of temples, the state sought first to control the heretical sects and, second, to limit the size of the clergy.

There were also restrictions regarding the licensing of the priesthood and its size. This was considered as essential because once a person became a Buddhist or Taoist monk, he was exempted from military conscription, conscript labour and police surveillance. Thus the ordinand had to obtain the government approval first.¹² Clearly implied in this law was the intention to keep down the size of the clergy.



In this way, religious freedom was very much restricted and neither institutional nor theoretical development was possible. Buddhism remained at best at a level of stagnation. Even this situation could not continue for long; it soon gave way to deterioration due to several "catastrophes" which included the destruction of the Buddhist properties by the Taipings, and the movement to expropriate temple property for the promotion of education (miao-ch'an hsing-hsüeh 廟產興學).

The most serious blow to Buddhism in the mid-nineteenth century came from the Taipings. With their brand of Christianity, they savagely attacked Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Their assault on Buddhism, in its popular forms and not in its philosophical aspects, was largely directed towards what they regarded as idolatry. Wherever they went, they wrought great damage to the Buddhist sangha by their wholesale destruction of Buddhist images, libraries, and temples in all the areas which they overran. However, not only Buddhist temples suffered from their destruction, Confucian and Taoist temples faced the same fate.¹³

The movement to expropriate temple property for the promotion of education was the second disastrous blow that Buddhism received.

This movement can be traced to the educational reform ideas proposed by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao during the 1898 Reform¹⁴. They urged the abolition of the eight-legged essay which they held chiefly responsible for much of the ignorance and bigotry of the average literatus. To serve as the basis of new learning, K'ang agreed with some of his contemporaries that the development of a new school system was an essential and urgent task. There existed before 1898 a number of Western-style schools¹⁵, but in the eyes of K'ang Yu-wei and his friends, they were far from adequate both in number and in quality. There was only a small number of schools in the eighteen provinces, far too few to answer the needs of the situation.¹⁶ K'ang, while emphasising the need to found a university in the capital, urged that the traditional academies be converted into high schools, and deserted shrines be used to house primary schools.¹⁷ K'ang said that there were many such shrines all over China, and every one of them possessed property. Shrines could be converted into schools, and their property could be used to finance them. With these readily convertible shrines and with compulsory education such as had been implemented in Germany, China would produce many talented men in the fields of agriculture, industry, commerce and others. The Emperor's response was overwhelmingly enthusiastic.¹⁸ To what extent this policy was implemented is uncertain because the 1898 Reform lasted for only a hundred days; but the end was inevitable,

for not long after the Reform Movement, Chang Chih-tung emerged as the strongest advocate for the expropriation of temple property to promote education.

In his work Exhortation to study (Ch'üan-hstieh p'ien ) , Chang proposed to start a new system of schools.¹⁹ The Buddhist and Taoist temples and their land, Chang said, could be expropriated for school buildings and financial support. Seventy percent of the religious properties should be confiscated, leaving thirty percent for the Buddhist and Taoist monks. Chang also suggested that awards and official positions be offered to monks or their relatives to encourage voluntary action. He maintained, quite speciously, that such an expropriation would only redound to the benefit of Buddhism and Taoism, both of which were in a state of decline.²⁰ If Confucianism could regain its vitality through educational reform, Buddhism and Taoism would naturally receive the protection from Confucianism and would prosper again themselves. Chang believed that on the basis of these Buddhist and Taoist temples and property, many thousands of schools could be set up.

But in spite of all these catastrophes, Buddhism had not succumbed; instead, a revival gradually occurred through the efforts

of Yang Jen-shan, the "father of revival in modern Chinese Buddhism."²¹

Yang Jen-shan 楊仁山, better known by his courtesy name, Wen-hui 文會, was born in Shih-tai 石埭 in southern Anhwei in 1837 and died in 1910.²² In his youth, he received training in traditional Chinese Classics and had no apparent proclivity towards Buddhism. His fortuitous encounter with Buddhism came when Yang was twenty-six years of age. One day in 1863, he casually bought a copy of Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 (The awakening of faith in Mahayana Buddhism) from a bookstore.²³ He later read this sutra during an illness and became so absorbed that he could not put it down until he finished it. Throughout his writings, he held that Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun was the best among all Buddhist books.²⁴ Since then, Buddhism became almost his main preoccupation.

In 1864, his father's death made it necessary for Yang to take up family responsibilities. In order to support his family, Yang accepted Tseng Kuo-fan's offer to supervise the construction of the Viceregal Yamen in Nanking. His work did not take up all his time and attention. "Everyday I did my office work," Yang said, "everyday I read Buddhism too. These two I did not neglect."²⁵ Although Yang

did not learn directly from the two prominent Ming monks, Lien Ch'ih 蓮池 and Han Shan 憨山, he proclaimed himself to be their student through reading their works. And he paid high tribute to Asvaghosha 鳩摩 and Nagarjuna 龍樹.²⁶ When he settled permanently in Nanking two years later, he was glad to find friends who shared his interest in Buddhism. They all believed that a wider circulation of Buddhist works would result in improvement in social morale and the decaying Buddhist sangha.²⁷ Their intention came to fruition with the setting up of the Chin-ling Scriptural Press.

In 1878, Tseng Chi-tse, Tseng Kuo-fan's son, appointed Minister for China to Great Britain,²⁸ requested Yang to be one of his retinue. In London, Yang met Dr. Bunyiu Nanjio, a Japanese Buddhist scholar who studied Sanskrit under Professor Max Muller at Oxford. They soon became close friends. Prior to this, the Japanese Prince Iwakura had presented the Ta Ming san-tsang sheng-chiao mu-lu 大明三藏聖教目錄 (A catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka of the Ming Dynasty) to the British government when he visited Europe. Since none of the British scholars was able to translate the contents, the task was entrusted by Professor Max Muller to Dr. Nanjio who undertook the work with the help of Yang. When Yang returned to China, Dr. Nanjio helped him in return to collect many

valuable Buddhist canons from Japan.

In 1907, Yang established a Buddhist institute at Nanking called Chih-huan ching-she 祇園精舍 (Jetavana vihara) where thirty students enrolled for a course of higher education in Buddhism. In 1909, the Association of Buddhist Studies was formed in Nanking and Yang was elected as its president. The following year in August, he passed away at the age of seventy-five years.

The place of Yang Jen-shan in modern Buddhist restoration has been generally recognised. His Chin-ling Scriptural Press printed millions of copies of Buddhist books which were not previously available in China. The destruction of the Buddhist properties by the Taipings, and the lack of mastery of the intricate Buddhist doctrines by monks and laymen underlined the importance of Yang's efforts. Yang obtained from Nanjio two or three hundred volumes that were not in the Chinese Tripitaka.²⁹ He selected and published the best of them. Most of these were scriptures belonging to the Wei-shih school. There were at that time two other monasteries that did scriptural printing, the Fa-tsang Monastery of Yangchou 揚州法藏寺 and the T'ien-ning Monastery at Changchou 常州天寧寺, but their publications were

far smaller in scale than the Chin-ling Scriptural Press. Together, however, they had the effect of making Buddhist books easily accessible to the public. Yang actually aimed at publishing all the books contained in the Chinese Tripitaka in separate volumes to be sold at a reasonably cheap price. With this aim in mind, he had planned to re-edit the content of the Chinese Tripitaka into Ta tsang chi yao 大藏集要 (Epitome of the Chinese Tripitaka).³⁰ However, he was only able to print one to two thousand copies.³¹ Although it is true, as one historian states, that the Chin-ling Scriptural Press was not the first one in the modern era to devote itself to the propagation of Buddhist literature, nonetheless, the efforts of predecessors like the two monks Miao K'ung 妙聖 and Yin Kuang 印光 could in no way diminish the contribution of Yang.³² Two important considerations that underline this judgement are the extremely difficult situation in which Yang undertook his work and the immense opportunity created for the general public to read the Buddhist sutras as a result of his efforts. His enterprise was therefore of great importance in modern Buddhist history.³³

Moreover, through Yang's propagation, the Chih-na nei-hsüeh yüan 支那內學院 (Chinese Buddhist College), headed by his pupil Ouyang Ching-wu 歐陽竟無, published a work entitled tsang-yao

藏要

(The gist of the Tripitaka) in 1929. The bloom of Buddhist literature, so to speak, brought forth a resurgence of interest in the study of Buddhism among intellectuals, and it also led to a change of thought among the Buddhists generally. All these can be ascribed largely to the efforts of Yang, who was the architect and forerunner of the whole enterprise.

Yang was also instrumental in promoting the lay movement in the Ch'ing period. The movement began in the latter part of the Ming Dynasty when the sangha was generally in decline and few intellectuals were apparently interested in becoming monks. In the early Ch'ing Dynasty, P'eng Shao-sheng (1740-1796) 彭紹升, a pious layman devoted to the Pure Land School, gave a prod to the lay movement by maintaining that invocation alone could bring the attainment of Buddhahood. This meant that celibacy and ordination in the Buddhist sangha were not necessary if one, while staying at home, was devoted to Buddhism.

But the movement did not reach its zenith until Yang took the leading role. He believed that the ultimate aim of Buddhism was to liberate all living beings from transmigration and attain Buddhahood.

People were troubled by their ephemeral existence. Only when they delved into Buddhism and mastered the way of bodhisattva would they be able to free themselves from transmigration and attain Buddhahood.³⁴ The value of Buddhism to the whole world was to maintain the peaceful order and good human nature. If everyone believed in the rule of causality, understanding that in the moral realm retribution held true, then one would follow the right and rectify the wrong. Universal peace depended on everyone being converted to right principles.³⁵ In order to get as many people involved in the study of Buddhism as possible so as to transform the world into a peaceful land, Yang deemed it important for converts to remain faithful to Buddhism and not be discouraged by the slow and rugged path to Buddhahood. Very few people, to be sure, could afford to cut themselves off from worldly entanglements to join the monastic community. Buddhahood could in fact be attained through one's effort in propagating dharma and bestowing benevolence on others, both of which were prerequisites to rebirth in the Pure Land of Amitabha.³⁶ The Buddha-mind (p'u-t'i hsin 菩提心) should be the guide of all one's actions. With it, all worldly involvements were but different ways leading to Buddhahood. Social commitments went hand in hand with the attainment of nirvana if one wholeheartedly repeated the name of Amitabha Buddha.

Another reason why Yang dissuaded people from becoming monks was that there were many monks who themselves knew very little about Buddhism. Moreover, one could very easily be confined by the parochialism and bias of one's mentor. Lay Buddhists in this respect had more freedom to pursue Buddhism than monks. Most of Yang's efforts, therefore, were devoted to the building up of a lay Buddhist community. Among his students, Ouyang Ching-wu was one who had a great influence upon the development of Buddhism in the following decade.

Yang must also be regarded as one of the few leading laymen who, seeing that Buddhism was in a serious state of decline, proposed reforms in Buddhist education with the intention of training young Buddhists who would be able to propagate the religion in the future. This was necessary because the intrusion of Christianity entailed changes in the Buddhist circles. Yang understood that students could be of different grades.³⁷ The first was that of 'supreme wisdom', consisting of those who could intuitively master the dharma. These students, however, were rare. Most students would have to learn Buddhism through a study of its literature. Yang suggested that they should begin with Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 (The awakening of faith in the Mahayana Buddhism)³⁸ and Lan-chia ching 楞伽經

(Scripture about the Buddha entering the Lanka),³⁹ the Miao-fa
lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經 (The wonderful law of lotus sutra),⁴⁰
the Chin-kang ching 金剛經 (The diamond sutra),⁴¹ the Hua-yen ching
華嚴經 (The flower-adornment sutra),⁴² the Nieh-p'an ching
涅槃經 (The nirvana sutra),⁴³ and finally the Yu-chia shih-ti lun
瑜伽師地論 (The Yogācāryabhūmi sastra)⁴⁴ and the Ta-chih tu-lun
大智度論 (Treatise on the great perfection of wisdom).⁴⁵ In
recommending this reading list, Yang gave priority to difficulty over
importance. A thorough mastery of these Buddhist books would enable
people to practise Buddhism until the teaching was naturally imprinted
on their minds. After this stage, complete concentration of the mind
on the Pure Land led eventually to the experience of Buddhahood.
Last were those who relied upon the supernatural power of Maitreya
of the Pure Land to attain enlightenment. Supplementary readings on
the Pure Land sutra could enhance enlightenment. But the length of
time needed to attain Buddhahood should not cause despair since every
convert would finally gain it if he remained faithful to his belief and
unremitting in his efforts.

Yang also broached problems concerning the reading of
Buddhist literature.⁴⁶ One difficulty involved the varied interpreta-
tions of the sutras. There were, Yang said, three interpretations:

the orthodox (cheng-chieh 正解), the vulgar (su chieh 俗解) and the erroneous (hsieh chieh 邪解). Learners should under no circumstances follow the last two because they were often misleading. In fact, a genuine appreciation of Buddhism needed three kinds of wisdom (prajñās).⁴⁷ It first entailed an intelligent study of the basic Buddhist works in the Chinese Tripitaka and a comprehensive mastery of the important texts of the various schools. Students would attain the right view and would not be led astray through such vigorous training. This was called the "wisdom attained through language" (wen-tsu po-jo 文字般若).⁴⁸ With the right view, the "wisdom of meditative enlightenment on reality" (kuan-chao po-jo 觀照般若) would be attained by seeing the void and the Middle Way.⁴⁹ The "wisdom on ultimate reality" (shih-hsiang po-jo 實相般若), lastly, could be achieved by realising the truth of all existence with the contemplative wisdom (Po-jo po-lo-mi-to 般若波羅密多), thus landing oneself on the other shore.⁵⁰ Yang made it plain that such difficulties could only be overcome with the establishment of schools devoted to Buddhist education.

Yang's plans on educational reform within the Buddhist circle were a reaction against proposals for expropriating temples for modern education put forward by Chang Chih-tung and others. Yang

urged that half of the Buddhist properties all over the country should be devoted to the establishment of schools for the education of people interested in Buddhism.⁵¹ Half of the students should be in the lay class (wai pan 外班), who would spend half of their time on general courses such as English, Chinese and science subjects, and the other half on Buddhist studies. The inner-learning class (nei pan 內班), which was chiefly designed for the education of monks, would spend most of their time on Buddhist studies, though general courses would not be neglected. In this way, Yang predicted, Buddhism would gradually re-emerge and the new learning flourish. Yang tried to realise his educational ideals with the setting up of the Jetavana Vihara in 1907, but it lasted for only a short time. Its closure was essentially due to a shortage of financial resources to support the running of the school.

The deeper concern of Yang behind all these undertakings was to establish Buddhism as a world religion. He spelt out in considerable detail this intention in an article entitled "Chih-na fo-chiao chen-hsing ts'e erh" 支那佛教復興案 (Second proposal on the restoration of Chinese Buddhism).⁵² Yang pointed out that a country could strengthen herself either by promoting international trade or by spreading the gospel of a religion. China's cultural superiority

could be regained by preaching Buddhism to the world, allowing people of all countries to see the profundity of the Eastern religion. The Westerners, Yang believed, were no match for the Chinese in the religious sphere. His aspiration came near to fruition in 1893. In that year, Yang, through the introduction of Timothy Richard, met the Indian monk Anagarika Dharmapala who came to China with the aim of winning over the support of the Chinese Buddhists in the formation of the Maha Bodhi Society in China.⁵³ The main objective of this society was to revive Buddhism in order to spread it throughout the world. Barred by various insuperable difficulties, the plan did not succeed. However, the setting up of the Jetavana Vihara was indicative of Yang's intention.

Another chance came in 1894. Yang collaborated with Timothy Richard on an English translation of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論, which was rendered as The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine. With the circulation of this work, Yang hoped that "Buddhism will eventually spread westward." Unfortunately, Timothy Richard's translation turned out, in the eyes of the Buddhist, to be a "Christian book," which suggested rather the possibility of spreading the Christian gospel among Chinese Buddhists. His view can be clearly seen in the "Introduction" to the book:

If it be, as it is more and more believed, that Mahayana Faith is not Buddhism, properly so-called, but an Asiatic form of the same Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Buddhist nomenclature, differing from the old Buddhism just as the new Testament differs from the Old, then it commands a world-wide interest, for in it we find an adaptation of Christianity to ancient thought in Asia, and the deepest bond of union between the different races of the East and the West, viz., the bond of a common religion..... The almost universal reception of the doctrines contained in this book by both the East and the West constitutes to my⁵⁴ mind its highest claim to our attention.

One thing, however, is clear: Yang sincerely believed that Buddhism could be a world religion, though his efforts to promote such an ideal were abortive.

Moreover, it was quite likely that Yang had a considerable influence on his students as to the compatibility of Buddhism and other main philosophical schools. Yang re-interpreted some Chinese Classics in the light of Buddhism. His works include Lun-yü fa-yin 論語發隱 (Exploring the subtlety of the Analect), Meng-tzu fa-yin 孟子發隱 (Exploring the subtlety of the Mencius), Ying-fu ching fa-yin 陰符經發隱 (Exploring the subtlety of the Ying-fu ching), Tao-te ching

fa-yin 道德經發隱 (Exploring the subtlety of the Book of Tao),
 Ch'ung-hsu ching fa-yin 冲虚經發隱 (Exploring the subtlety of the
Book of Lieh Tzu), and Nan-hua ching fa-yin 南華經發隱 (Exploring
 the subtlety of the Book of Chuang Tzu).⁵⁵ Yang's main intention was
 to draw parallels between Buddhism and the works of Confucius,
 Mencius, Chuang Tzu, Lao Tzu and Lieh Tzu. This tendency was
 followed by many other associated or contemporaneous with him. T'an
 Ssu-t'ung equated the teachings of the Great Learning with the Wei Shih
 and Hua-yen Schools in the Jen-hsüeh, while Chang Ping-lin wrote the
 article "Shih ch'i-wu lun" 釋齊物論, (An explanation of (the chapter)
 "the equality of things" (in Chuang Tzu)), attempting, as Yang did, to
 interpret the Taoist classic by means of Buddhism.⁵⁶ A good example
 of Yang's inclination is found in the Lun-yü fa-yin 論語發隱 where
 he construed Confucius' saying : " to subdue one's self and return to
 propriety, is perfect virtue," in terms of Wei, Shih Buddhism:

The self is (created by) the ego-
 holding (wo-chih 我執) of the seventh
 consciousness. Propriety is the
 wisdom of universal equality (p'ing-
teng hsing-chih 平等性智 samatājñāna).
 Benevolence is the undefiled essence
 of original enlightenment. When the
 seventh consciousness becomes the
 wisdom of universal equality, there
 will be no inequality under the heaven,
 and everything will ascribe to the
 undefiled essence of original enlighten-

ment. For the essence of benevolence is sufficiently inherent in all sentient beings. It is only the defilement of the seventh consciousness that creates differentiation and ego-holding and all sorts of obstacles in non-obstruction. If ego-holding is destroyed, the propriety of equality will re-emerge, and thus seeing the fact that all people under heaven are not different in respect to benevolence. 57

This line of interpretation seemed to have been taken up by his students, one of whom was T'an Ssu-t'ung. Like Yang, T'an equated the Confucian doctrines with Wei Shih Buddhism, the only difference being that while Yang selected the Analects, T'an used the Great Learning.

Chapter 2: Intellectuals and the Study of Buddhism

In the intellectual world of the late Ch'ing, there was an undercurrent; namely, Buddhism. During the early Ch'ing, Buddhism had been extremely weak; ... Later Kung Tzu-chen received instruction in Buddhism from P'eng Shao-sheng and accepted the Bodhi-sattva vows late in life. Wei Yuan, also, did so late in life, and changed his name to Ch'eng kuan; among his writings was the Wu-liang-shou-ching hui-i. Both Kung and Wei received acclaim from New Text Scholars, many of whom subsequently studied Buddhism also T'an Ssu-t'ung joined his [Yang Jen-shan's] circle for a year and drew upon what he learned there to write the Jen-hsüeh. T'an quite frequently urged his friend Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to study Buddhism also. The latter, though unable to learn very much about it, was nevertheless inclined towards it, and his writings often held Buddhism in esteem. K'ang Yu-wei had always been fond of discussing religion, and it was not unusual for him to twist Buddhist sayings to fit his own meaning; Chang Ping-lin also was interested in the Dharmalakṣaṇa Sect, and wrote about it. Thus, among the late Ch'ing "Scholars of New Learning," there were none who did not have some connection with Buddhism, and true believers in general clustered about Yang Wen-hui.

This account by Liang Ch'ih-ch'ao on the study of Buddhism among the literati suggests first, that it had become a vogue to read Buddhist books among scholars of the New Text School ; second, that

Buddhism was closely related with their political thought, either by injecting into it some Buddhist elements or by twisting the original meaning to suit their purposes; and third, that Yang Jen-shan had generated a circle of true followers of Buddhism.

Such short description is inevitably inadequate to allow a genuine appreciation of the role of Buddhism played in the thought of the intellectuals mentioned. The following pages seek to sketch briefly the role of Buddhism in the thought of Kung Tzu-chen, Wei Yuan, K'ang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Chang Ping-lin - leaving T'an Ssu-t'ung for a more detailed treatment in the ensuing three chapters. I intend to give a brief account of how each intellectual came to have an interest in Buddhism and how this interest was associated with their main intellectual schools and political concerns. It should be noted that the following discussion confines itself to the period before 1911. In most cases, intellectuals went through several phases in their thinking, and such changes were particularly discernable after the revolution of 1911. But it should be remembered that the primary concern of this study is to see how Buddhism was related to the thought of these men during the course of reform and revolution, it is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study to scrutinise the political thought of each intellectual in detail.

Kung Tzu-chen

Kung Tzu-chen 龍目珍 (1792-1841), scholar, social critic, reformer and poet, was an important figure in the early nineteenth-century.² His eccentricity gained him the reputation of being an irrational oddity.³ His importance, in brief, lies in his contribution to the awakening of the Chinese people to social evils. He blamed the Ch'ing government for the social, political and economic decadence of the time. He warned that if radical institutional reforms were not implemented, a great and drastic change would be imminent.⁴ His prophecy came true one year after his death -- the defeat of China in the First Opium War.

Kung belonged to what was usually called the New Text School. In fact, he was the forerunner of it in the Ch'ing period.⁵ One particular fact about Kung was that he never accepted tradition at face value. He divided his emphasis equally among Confucianism, representatives of other early schools of thought such as Mo Tzu, Yang Chu and Lieh Tzu, and Buddhism.⁶ Here, Kung's study of Buddhism is of greater concern.

Having failed several times in civil examinations and disillusioned with current politics, Kung took up the study of Buddhism with Chiang Yuan 江沅 at the age of thirty-three. His serious study of Buddhist scriptures, especially T'ien-t'ai Buddhism, did not begin until he was forty-two years old.⁸ Though he also studied other sects of Buddhism, Kung concentrated on Ch'an Buddhism. His important works on Buddhism were generally of two main categories: that of textual criticism of Buddhist works and of detailed enunciation of some Buddhist concepts. Kung did an impressive amount of work on correcting translations in Buddhist literature and on clarifying some of the important Buddhist concepts. Exemplary of his effort was his work "Lung ts'ang k'ao-cheng" 龍藏考證 (Textual examination of the dragon edition of the Chinese Tripitaka).⁹ Works of this kind indicate clearly the depth of Kung's knowledge of Buddhism, especially of Ch'an. His interest in this school is explained by the prevalence of the Ch'an school in early nineteenth-century and by the influence of two laymen, Chiang Yuan 江沅, his first mentor in Buddhism, and Wu Hung-shen 吳虹生.¹⁰

The role of Kung Tzu-chen in the development of Ch'ing Buddhism had three important aspects: Firstly, Kung was instrumental in keeping alive T'ien-t'ai Buddhism by promoting its literature and

by contributing articles such as "Tsui lu liu-miao-men" 最錄六妙
 門, (The six T'ien-t'ai methods to attain enlightenment) and
 "Miao fa lien-hua ching szu-shih-erh wen" 妙法蓮華經四十二問
 (Forty-two questions and answers on the Lotus sutra). He ventured
 to bridge gaps between T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an sects, and tried to clarify
 to his readers ^{the distinction} between the true mind (chen-hsin 真心) and the
 defiled mind (wang-hsin 妄心). His effort constituted one of the
 most enthusiastic attempts to perpetuate T'ien-t'ai Buddhism in the
 late Ch'ing.

Secondly, Kung was not only an enthusiastic student of Buddhism,
 but also its keen critic. He launched an attack on the anti-intellectual
 lineage of one branch in Ch'an Buddhism. It was impossible, Kung
 asserted, to attain "keenness of comprehension" (chi-feng 熾鋒),
 "meditative enlightenment" (ts'an-wu 參悟), "perception of
 Buddhist instructions" (kung-an 公案) without first understanding
 the grammatical structure and terminology in Buddhist literature.¹¹

Thirdly, Kung initiated a trend for New Text scholars to study
 Buddhism. Kung himself accepted the Boddhisattva vow and adopted
 a Buddhist name "Kuan shih-hsiang che" 觀賢相荷, meaning

literally "the observer of reality."¹² His interest led to other New Text scholars taking up the study of Buddhism.

In conclusion, Kung's study of Buddhism in the early nineteenth-century did not concern itself as much with political reform as with the cultivation of peace within oneself. Although Kung was never able to rise above minor positions, he remained preoccupied with the Confucian ideal of practical statesmanship, concerning himself with the larger practical problems of his day. Buddhism to a frustrated activist like Kung was a pacifying salve for his vexations and disillusionments. However, the case of Kung serves as a yardstick for the changing role of Buddhism in the political reforms of the following several decades.

Wei Yuan

Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794-1857),¹³ a renowned Hunanese historian-geographer in mid-nineteenth century China, is presented here to show how a Chinese intellectual who, after having devoted much effort in encouraging his countrymen's acquisition of the superior skills of the barbarians, finally came to embrace Pure Land Buddhism.

Born in 1974 to a modest Hunanese gentry family, Wei Yuan early acquired a reputation as a bookish, often taciturn young man. He belonged to what was commonly called the School of Statecraft.¹⁴ He began his commitment to practical affairs and administrative reform about 1823 and continued until his retirement in 1854.¹⁵ In his early years, he failed several attempts in examinations: two before he received the chü-jen degree in 1822 and another two before he achieved the chin-shih degree in 1844. Only at fifty-one did Wei Yuan secure his first official post as hsien magistrate at Tunghai, Yangchou prefecture in Kiangsu. Unfortunately, his mother's death in the following year forced him into retirement from office. In late 1850, after showing strenuous effort in other posts, he was promoted to the post of magistrate of Kao-yu province in the same prefecture. He held this post until 1853 when, during the Taiping thrust into Kiangsu, accusation of delaying the official courier system brought dismissal pending investigation. After a brief staff position with one of the imperial forces fighting near Soochou, Wei retired, refusing reinstatement at Kao-yu. Advanced in years, disappointed in his ambitions and disillusioned by the Taipings' apparent success, he withdrew into religion, turning more and more to Buddhism for solace in increasing seclusion. He published late in his years the Ching-t'u szu-ching 淨土四經 (Four sutras of Pure Land Buddhism) with the intention of promoting Buddhism among the populace.

In his youth, Wei Yuan had an avid interest in the New Text scholasticism and Practical Statecraft.¹⁶ The main concern of the practical statecraft scholars always centred on the key administrative problems of the period. Thus rather than innovators on a grand scale, they were would-be eradicators of political corruption and administrative inefficiency. As one scholar puts it, the practical statecraft tradition in essence represents "a distinctively Confucian concept of vocation, at the core of which is a value commitment to involvement in the world."¹⁷ Throughout his life, Wei remained an ardent student and practitioner of this tradition. Even his interest in Buddhism and his propagation of its literature manifested his sincere intention to transform the world into a better place.

In 1854, when the Taiping movement was in progress, Wei edited four Pure Land books to form a volume entitled Ching-t'u ssu-ching 淨土四經.¹⁸ The Buddhist thought of Wei Yuan can be found scattered throughout the "Preface" to this book. According to him, the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion had resulted in a revival of evil passions and erroneous thought, a situation comparable to the Ch'in Dynasty in which the whole society was bowed under the weight of evil government. The dynasty was doomed. The way to clear this evil atmosphere and steer the course clear of certain destruction

depended as much on the Buddhist doctrines as on the New Text tradition. Pure Land Buddhism, Wei asserted, was an effective remedy for curing social ills. By following the principles of self-realisation and self-emancipation, everyone could attain Buddhahood. Wei Yuan thus enthusiastically encouraged officials and laymen to read the book Ching-t'u ssu ching until they could recite it by heart. It could help to foster the Buddha-mind, ferry countless sentient beings to Nirvana and give fulfilment to innumerable bodhisattvas. Wei Yuan then elaborated on the similarity between purifying one's heart and the management of world affairs:

It has often been said that the way of sovereignty is to manage world affairs, while the way of the Buddha is to abide beyond the world. Only those who are stubborn and unenlightened will see them as different; those who possess the potentiality of becoming fully enlightened, will see them as the same. As regards the way of transcending the mundane world, there is a difference between religion (tsung-chiao 宗教) ^{and Pure Land Buddhism}. By religion, it allows enlightenment on introspection and potentiality; Pure Land Buddhism entails externally worshipping the sage and internally using the power of mind to communicate with the mind of the Buddha. If one externally worships the sage while at the same time being inwardly rooted in Buddhism, with the potentiality of enlightenment, one's path to Buddhahood is shortened.¹⁹

This clearly shows how the Buddhist ethics can be used, like the Confucian Way of cultivating one's character, to promote social stability through an extension of individual effort. Wei Yuan in his last years resided in a monastery in Hangchou and died there, "seeking Nirvana in the Western Paradise."²⁰

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), one of the most important intellectuals in the late-nineteenth century, was an avid student of Buddhism throughout his whole life. A number of factors seemed to have nurtured his interest. Among these were the introduction of Buddhist thought to him by K'ang Yu-wei in 1881, the attraction of Buddhist philosophy itself, and his association with prominent laymen. But the most important stimulus seemed to have been the rekindled interest in Buddhism in a political context.

As has been explained in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, there was a resurgence of interest in Buddhism in intellectual circles in the late Ch'ing. Most of Liang's acquaintances in the 1890's seemed to share one or more of three interests: Western learning, New Text

doctrines and Buddhism. Among his friends, T'an Ssu-t'ung 譚嗣同, Yen Fu 嚴復, Hsia Tseng-yü 夏曾佑 and Wu Yen-chou 吳雁舟 were all enthusiastic followers of Buddhism. They inevitably influenced Liang to study Buddhist texts more seriously than he had done previously. But unfortunately, as he himself confessed, he was at that time still unable to understand the Buddhist books thoroughly.²¹ However, Liang sustained a serious effort to come to grips with the Buddhist literature by including in his daily schedule of study a period to read sutras and by constantly receiving instruction from Buddhists.²²

An examination of Liang's works on Buddhism reveals the fact that his expositions on Buddhism before 1911 were mainly concerned with the utilitarian function of the religion, while in the 1920's, they focussed mainly on the historical and textual issues of Buddhist literature. This shows not only the dwindling role of Buddhism in a political milieu when such Buddhist concepts as 'fearlessness,' 'benefitting oneself and benefitting others,' did not have the same appeal as they had before, but also indicates that Liang's knowledge of Buddhism had through the years advanced enormously. Buddhism in the 1920's was widely studied by many Chinese intellectuals. Chang Ping-lin

章炳麟, Chiang Wei-chao 蔣維喬, Ouyang Ching-wu

歐陽竟無, Tai-hsu 太虛 were a few who deserve mention.

Liang, living in an intellectual atmosphere when Buddhist study was in vogue, continued to pursue his reading of Buddhist literature and produced scholarly works on it. It explains why such a versatile mind as Liang, who was always ready to "challenge myself of yesterday with myself of today",²³ kept a life-long interest in Buddhism.

A scrutiny of Liang's Buddhist thought before 1911 reveals the fact that he strongly emphasised the utilitarian function of religion in the process of political struggle. Several basic assumptions underlined his exposition on the political implications of Buddhism. Firstly, he asserted that Buddhism in China was a purely indigenous Chinese product -- more correctly called "Chinese Buddhism".²⁴ This religion, if widely propagated, would become "China's new culture" (hsin wen-ming 新文明) in which she could take pride. For Buddhism in Liang's mind possessed the merits of both religion and philosophy. Far different from other religions, Buddhism emphasised the attainment of faith through intellectual enlightenment rather than human superstition, asserted the cultivation of Buddhahood through one's own power rather than by supernatural intervention.²⁵

Secondly, Buddhism could serve as the new unifying ideology for the spiritual vacuum of Chinese people in a tortured world. The most explicit exposition of Liang's ideas on the relationship between Buddhism and the cultivation of collective belief was in the article written in 1902, "Lun fo-chiao yü ch'ün-chih chih kuan-hsi" 論佛教與羣衆之關係 (On the relationship between Buddhism and social order).²⁶ In this article, Liang not only asserted the function of Buddhism in the spiritual direction of character, but succinctly stated that the Boddhisattva ideal also furnished a motivation for socio-political action. He believed that China's new belief (hsin hsin-yang 新信仰) would have to be found in Buddhism. In order to rectify people's misconceptions about Buddhism, Liang bluntly stated that Buddhism had four merits unmatched by all other religions: it generated faith by enlightenment and not superstition; it sought universal perfection and not individual perfection; it was this-worldly rather than other-worldly; it asserted limitless life of the soul as against its limited physical existence; it did not differentiate the potentiality of human beings to attain Buddhahood but stressed that every man had an equal opportunity of achieving it; and finally, it emphasised self-reliance in attaining salvation rather than dependence on the supernatural.

Furthermore, Buddhism was useful in fostering morality for

the cause of revolution.²⁷ In the past, religious spirit and activism had been responsible for such heroic figures as Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, Gladstone and others. Their lives were all examples of the motive power of religious faith. It was apparent that religious thought was more appropriate to the management of human affairs than philosophical thought, because the former nourished courage, hope, unified ideology, spiritual liberation, fearlessness, as well as audacity. Buddhist thought was considered as genuine Chinese religious thought, which could be utilised to cultivate morality for the cause of revolution, to serve as an unifying ideology and as a philosophy which could be paralleled with Western philosophy.

The case of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao shows that there was an increasing emphasis on the utilitarian aspect of religion as the political situation of China became more and more shattered. The same mentality can also be seen in the thought of K'ang Yu-wei.

K'ang Yu-wei

K'ang Yu-wei 康有為 (1858-1927) was born to a family of strong Neo-Confucianism tradition. His father K'ang Hui, his

grandfather K'ang Tsan-hsiu and his childhood mentor Chu T'zu-ch'i were devout students and practitioners of Neo-Confucianism. Under this strong family orientation, it was most likely that K'ang had early contact with Buddhism and studied such thinkers as Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, the latter being greatly influenced by Ch'an Buddhism.²⁸

As far as we can gather from his autobiography, K'ang's interest in Buddhism seemed to begin in 1877 when the death of his grandfather dealt him a severe blow and brought poignant sorrow to K'ang. This emotional tension, coupled with a restless desire for self-assertion, furnished the background of a sudden and complete revulsion against his past intellectual training. He broke away from Chu T'zu-ch'i and began to think of the suffering and hardships of all living beings.²⁹

He left home and practised meditation in the Pai-yuan Cave of Hsi-ch'iao Mountain, devoting much of his time to reading Buddhist and Taoist books.³⁰ He practised intense meditation and experienced successive stages of mystic enlightenment. He summed up his meditations at Hsi-ch'iao Mountain as : "I reflected upon the perils and hardship in the life of the people and upon how I might save them with the powers of wisdom and ability granted to me by Heaven. Out of commiseration for all living beings, and in anguish over the state of the world, I made it my purpose to set in order all under Heaven."³¹ It showed that K'ang at that time had a Buddhist-influenced motive of setting the world in order. "Buddhism," K'ang said, "is like medicine which cures people."³²

During the years 1879-1884, K'ang, in addition to reading extensively works on Han Learning and Neo-Confucianism, gave serious study to the literature of Buddhism. In the winter of 1885, he made his first attempt to systematise a wide variety of ideas from three major sources -- Confucianism, Buddhism and Western science. He asserted that his sole purpose was to save all living beings. It was for this reason, K'ang insisted, that he did not dwell in Heaven but entered into Hell, that he did not go to the Pure Land but came to the defiled world.³³ This shows how K'ang was deeply influenced by Mahayana Buddhism. His conception of himself as a saviour of the world closely resembled the Buddhist picture of a merciful bodhisattva, who, after receiving enlightenment, voluntarily renounced a life of bliss in order to deliver the rest of mankind from its suffering.

K'ang's views about Buddhism can be gathered from his work, "K'ang-tzu nei-wai p'ien" 康子內外篇 (The inner and outer books of the philosopher K'ang), written during 1886-1887. In this work, K'ang attempted to examine the main religious systems in China, India, Europe and Islam. He concluded that Christianity and Islam were inferior and unnecessary. The teaching of Confucius was the most comprehensive and beneficial in the world. Confucianism, complemented by Buddhism, was the perfect formula, not only for this world, but for

all other worlds, for all sentient beings in the universe. It is widely believed that prior to 1888 K'ang's universalist ideas were inspired by Mahayana Buddhism and a smattering of Western learning.³⁴

K'ang strongly rejected Hinayana Buddhism but highly regarded the universalistic notion of Mahayana Buddhism, particularly that which was propounded by the Hua-yen school.³⁵ He even asserted that "the teaching of Confucius was Hua-yen Buddhism."³⁶ For like Hua-yen Buddhism, Confucianism directed man's search to the present world and not to the one beyond. According to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang accepted the view that all living beings were part of the same all-embracing sea of nature and thus were all brothers and sisters. Through ignorance however, men had made a variety of distinctions and discriminations among themselves. The result was man's selfish love for his own person, his own family, his own group and his own country. In K'ang's view, this was how struggle and warfare between human beings arose and also why the world was full of suffering. To transform this world into a world of bliss, man-made distinctions of whatever variety must be eradicated. Only then would the age of universal brotherhood and harmony dawn.³⁷ In this way, the radical universalism of Buddhism finally gained ascendancy over the particularism of Confucianism and thereby made K'ang's ideal of great unity

something more than a mere growth of the Neo-Confucian ideal of jen.

Also in K'ang's mind, consciously or unconsciously, the images of the bodddhisattva and that of the Confucian sage were often merged into one, although different degrees of commitment may actually distinguished the two ideals. The typical image of the bodddhisattva which emerged from Mahayana literature was that of an enlightened being who had made a solemn and unshakeable resolve at the beginning of his career, not only to pity and help all mortal beings, but also to share their most intense sufferings.³⁸ Such an image was closely akin to the image of the suffering saviour in Christianity or in ancient Chinese Mohism, but rather different from that of the Confucian sage, who seemed always to convey an impression of moderation and poise. In view of the fact that K'ang often vowed to save the world in the fashion of a bodddhisattva, it is not too far-fetched to argue that in identifying the Confucian sage with the Mahayana bodddhisattva he channeled an intense religious motivation into Confucian statesmanship.

K'ang's emphasis on human suffering, moreover, was Buddhistic. But instead of the extinction of desire as the ultimate solution to

liberate oneself from this troubled world, K'ang perceived the abolishing of the "nine boundaries" as essential.³⁹ But the land of bliss could be created within the world and not ^{beyond} the world. Thus K'ang regarded Buddhism as this-worldly, and he intended to dwell constantly in hell to work for the salvation of his fellow beings.⁴⁰

It is obvious that from the 1880's to the 1910's, the main sources of K'ang's inspiration were Confucianism and Buddhism, although Western science and history had also considerable influence upon him.⁴¹ But K'ang did not follow the Mahayana doctrines completely. He did not believe, for instance, that all living beings could attain Buddhahood.⁴² And although K'ang owed much to Buddhism, his knowledge of the Buddhist religion and philosophy was only superficial. His preference for Mahayana Buddhism and his rejection of Hinayana were not the outcome of critical analysis.⁴³ However, one important influence of his study of Buddhism was that it helped K'ang to transcend traditional Confucianism and to see the classics in a new light. In so doing, K'ang imparted religious overtones to Confucianism.⁴⁴

Chang Ping-lin

Chang Ping-lin 章炳麟 (1869-1936) is well known as a major scholar in studies of Chinese Classics in modern China. He is also celebrated as a revolutionist in the 1911 Revolution. But in historical perspective, he may be better understood as a revolutionary scholar who not only introduced brilliant new approaches and ideas into China, but made use of the best of the Chinese intellectual legacy.⁴⁵

Carrying on the Ancient Text School tradition and adopting the methodology of the Buddhist Hetuvidya which he compared with the ideas of Kant and Schopenhauer, Chang became one of the first Chinese thinkers who paid particular attention to methodology, logic and epistemology.

Chang's writings covered a great variety of fields. Besides the Classics, which he treated mainly as historical materials, he also studied Chinese history, historiography, social and political institutions, law, literature, Buddhism, religion and Chinese medicine. He actually speculated on almost all basic philosophical problems and in each case advanced penetrating and creative views. In the field of

Buddhism, Chang again was one of its boldest pioneers.

Like many other intellectuals of his time, Chang was at first apathetic towards Buddhism. In his youth, Chang said, he studied Chinese Classics and works on current affairs and had no interest in Sung-Ming Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism. In 1894, he came to know Hsia Tseng-yü who persuaded him to read some Buddhist books like Saddharmapundarika-sutra 法華經, The Avatamsaka sutra 華嚴經 and the Nirvana sutra 涅槃經. Chang admitted that he was unable to understand them completely. Later, in 1897, Chang studied works of the Three Treatise School upon his friend's persuasion, but he still remained unenlightened. Accidentally, he obtained a copy of the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun 大乘起信論 and found it to be extremely interesting.⁴⁶

In June 1904, due to the Su-pao case, Chang was arrested by the Manchus and sentenced to imprisonment for three years. These three years were very important for his intellectual development because in prison he became a serious student of Buddhism. It was only at this time, he said, that he came to appreciate the truths of Mahayana doctrines. He proceeded to study the basic texts of the Wei-shih

school intensively, which included the Hetuvidya nyayapravesa-sastra 因明入正理論, the Yogacaryabhumi-sastra 瑜伽師地論 and the Cheng-wei-shih lun 成唯識論.⁴⁷ As Chang said, "when I was imprisoned in Shanghai, I pored over the work of Maitraya and Vasubandhu whose approach . . . resembled my life-long pursuit of sound learning and was therefore easy to accept."⁴⁸ According to his autobiography, he spent almost the whole of his last two years in prison studying the one hundred volumes of the Yogacaryabhumi-sastra. This voracious reading of erudite Buddhist philosophy inevitably contributed to Chang's deep comprehension of Buddhism, and it also had the effect of cultivating Chang's inclination to interfuse his essays with Buddhist vocabulary which render them difficult for ordinary readers.

When he later went to Japan, although he was busily occupied with the promotion of revolution, he kept up the habit of reading the Buddhist Tripitaka whenever he could spare time to do so. Japan was a place where Buddhist books were easily accessible and the study of Ch'an Buddhism was widespread. Chang consequently delved into the Ch'an school and read the fundamental work of this sect, the Lankavatara sutra 楞伽經.⁴⁹

That Chang had considerable scholarly interest in Buddhism is shown in several of his contributions to both the Min-pao 民報 (1905.11-1910.2) and the Kuo-ts'ui hsüeh-pao 國粹學報 (1905.2-1912). The more important articles which can provide us a glimpse of Chang's Buddhist thought include "Yen shuo lu," 「演說錄」, "Chü-fen chin-hua lun," 「俱分進化論」, "Wu-shen lun," 「無神論」, "Ko-ming chih tao-te," 「革命之道德」, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun" 「建立宗教論」, "Jen wu-wo lun," 「人無我論」, "Ta T'ieh-cheng," 「答鐵鐸」, and "Ta meng-an" 「答夢庵」. Apart from these articles, Chang wrote "Ch'i-wu-lun shih" 「齊物論釋」. These materials provide the essential sources for an understanding of Chang's Buddhist thought before 1911.

Chang's intensive interest in Buddhism had a great impact on his intellectual, religious and political outlook in the early phases of his academic and political career. One such influence can be seen in his attempt to reinterpret the teachings of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, whom he deeply admired, in the light of Buddhist philosophy. He reached conclusions in a manner never thought possible by earlier scholars. Drawing mainly from stanza thirty-six of the Yogacaryabhūmi-sastra 「瑜伽師地論」 三十一卷, the stanza of the "wu-hsing-p'ien" 「無性論」 of the Mahayana-samparigraha-sastra 「攝大乘論」, the Samdhinirmocana

sutra 解深密經^{of the Wei Shih school}, and the Lankavatara sutra 楞伽經 of the
 Ch'an school and Avatamsaka sutra 華嚴經 of the Hua-yen school,
 Chang was able to interpret section by section the whole chapter of
 the "equality of things" 齊物論, of the Chuang-tzu 莊子. Such
 an attempt was unprecedented in modern China. ⁵⁰

In the religious realm, Chang's deep commitment to Buddhism
 led him to launch a ruthless theoretical assault on the untenability of
 the Christian doctrines. He rejected the idea that Jesus was
 transcendental, omnipotent, omniscient, the absolute and all-embracing.
 He considered Christianity to be extremely unsuitable for China
 because it induced hypocrisy and stagnation of civilisation as it had done
 to the West. Buddhism was the religion to be promoted as a national
 ideology. These ideas were profusely enumerated in the two articles,
 "Wu-shen lun" and "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun," both of which will
 be dealt in greater detail later in this thesis. ⁵¹

Like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and T'an Ssu-t'ung, Chang did not take
 Buddhism as mere intellectual dabbling, but considered it to be
 useful in uplifting morality for the cause of revolution, and in with-
 standing the towering advancement of Western scientism. In Chang's

mind, the emphasis on self-reliance of the Ch'an school and the repeated message of the Wei Shih school that all existence is illusionary would foster the will of the Chinese people to give up their lives for the cause of national independence.⁵² Moreover, the intricate system of Buddhist logic and the subtlety of the analysis of mental functions developed in the Wei Shih school, particularly in the Hetuvidya - nyayapravesa-sastra 因明入正理論, which Chang read, could be used to parallel the philosophies of Kant and Schopenhauer.⁵³

Buddhism was also conducive to Chang's attachment to "nihilism." In his article "Wu-wo lun," Chang cherished the hope of a utopia where there would be no government, no tribes, no human beings, no sentient beings and finally no world at all. All these five should be eliminated because they were the sheer reflection of mind.⁵⁴ Chang's ideas of "nihilism" should not, of course, be ascribed solely to the influence of Buddhism. But Buddhism had nonetheless lent substantially to his keen appreciation of the current nihilistic thought in the mid-1900's.⁵⁵

It can be seen how Buddhism had transported Chang from the confines of Confucianism and Taoism to a higher intellectual horizon

and how he saw it as a religion that could well be used to retard and ultimately replace Christianity, and, most of all, how some elements in different Buddhist schools could be employed as possible sources of inspiration for the cause of revolution. This use of Buddhism will be more clearly shown when the Buddhist thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung is discussed later in depth.

On the basis of the above discussion, it can be seen that the motivation of these intellectuals in studying Buddhism and their attitudes and choices of different Buddhist schools, seem to have been influenced by several factors; first, by the emotional tension they experienced in their chequered political careers; second, by their association with laymen, who, as a result of the strict stipulations the government imposed on the monastic circle, came to play a more important role than monks in the late Ch'ing; third, by their intellectual predilection and their eclectic approach; fourth, by their growing awareness of the gravity of China's political situation but their different perception of the Buddhist ideas that could be used to alleviate the plight; and last, by their intention of establishing a "state religion" to counter-balance the intrusion of Christianity and to halt the rapid undermining of Confucianism under such pressure.

One common and yet exceptionally authentic consideration for their study of Buddhism lay in the fact that they were particularly receptive to Buddhist doctrines when they were in distress. Both Kung and Wei found solace in Buddhism when their aspirations in officialdom failed to materialise. Chang Ping-lin, too, came to grips with the Buddhist philosophy only when he was in prison for three years. K'ang Yu-wei read sutras after the death of his grandfather which had caused him deep sorrow. These sorts of mental or emotional pressures easily led them to look to Buddhism for spiritual refuge.

A second salient feature is the role of laymen in the introduction of Buddhism to the literati. Almost all of the reformers under study were in one way or another associated with Buddhist laymen. Among the Buddhist laymen, there were two in particular who had a great influence in bringing Buddhism to the reformers. One was P'eng Shao-sheng 彭紹升 of the mid-Ch'ing; the other was Yang Jen-shan 楊仁山 of the late Ch'ing. The former influenced, directly or indirectly, such intellectuals as Kung Tzu-chen and Wei Yuan, Yu Yueh -- who subsequently influenced Chang Ping-lin, while the latter induced T'an Ssu-t'ung, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Hsia Tseng-yu to study Buddhism.

P'eng Shao-sheng 彭紹升 (1740-1796), or commonly known by his courtesy names P'eng Chi-ch'ing 彭際清 and Chih Kuei-tzu 知歸子, was a native of Ch'angchou, Kiangsu.⁵⁶ His revelation of the worthlessness of officialdom, the inadequacy of Taoism and also his relationship with devoted students of Buddhism like Wang Chin 汪楫 (1725-1792) and Lo Yu-kao 羅有高, led him to Pure Land Buddhism. He spent most of his time in popularising Buddhism among the laity. Kung Tzu-chen received instructions on Buddhism from a student of P'eng, Chiang Yuan. Wei Yuan, on the other hand, studied Buddhism with the layman Ch'ien Tung-p'u 錢東甫 in 1828 when he travelled to Hangchou. One characteristic common to these two intellectuals was that they emphasised, like P'eng Shao-sheng, the importance of the Pure Land and Ch'an schools.

Yang Jen-shan was another layman who promoted the influence of Buddhism with the reformers.⁵⁷ A remarkable teacher of great calibre, Yang was not confined to any special sect among the Buddhist schools; nor was he selective with respect to the background of his students. He had thus fostered great monks like Ouyang Ching-wu 歐陽竟無, T'ai Hsu 太虛, and important laymen like Mei Chiang-hsi 梅光羲, and reformers like T'an Ssu-t'ung. A detailed narration is vividly described by Yang Buwei, his granddaughter.

He (Yang) made Yenling Hsiang a meeting ground for scholars ...- There were classical scholars like-Ch'en San-li, Ch'en Hs'ian and Cheng Hsiao-hsu, students of Buddhism like Mei Kuang-hsi, K'uai Jonui [sic], and Ouyang chien, revolutionaries like Sun Chao-hou and T'an Ssu-t'ung, and many more who came for shorter visits. Among foreigners who frequented Yenling-Hsiang were Li T'imot'ai, Li Chiao-po and Fu K'aisen, or in English, Timothy Richard, Gilbert Reid, and John C. Ferguson.⁵⁸

Such was the variety of Yang's followers and acquaintances. What was more, Yang taught his students how scholarship and revolution could be interwoven. His granddaughter went on to say:

The young men were inspired in finding how the universalism of Buddhism and the liberalism of western thought were integrated in the same catholic personality. Those who thought conservatively respected the teacher too much to cause him trouble. Those who were seeking direct action⁵⁹ found added courage for their convictions.

Many intellectuals seemed to have been motivated to read original Buddhist literature through their study of Neo-Confucianist works which were basic reading for the preparation for the civil

examinations. They wanted to find out why Ch'eng-Chu were so strongly anti-Buddhism while Lu-Wang were so immensely influenced by it. It was through such a bypath of Neo-Confucianism excursion that many of them came to develop an interest in Buddhism. And their initial attitudes towards it, for or against, were often influenced by the philosophers through whom Buddhism was introduced to them. Interest in Buddhism was further encouraged by the tradition of the particular school with which they associated. Liang in his account had pointed out the hereditary practice of New Text scholars to study Buddhism. Intellectual eclecticism oriented to the needs of national salvation and preservation of Chinese cultural heritage against Western impact, also generated the intention to transcend the confines of Confucian classics and looked for meaningful alternatives in other schools, particularly such a major school as Buddhism.

As the political situation in China became graver, the Chinese intellectuals' search for ideas became more desperate. For Kung and Wei, whose main concern was to eradicate inefficient administrations and corrupt officialdom, the methods of meditation of the Ch'an and Pure Land sects were adequate. For reformers and revolutionaries like K'ang Yu-wei and Chang Ping-lin, the salvation of the nation was more important than their own salvation. They dug from the Buddhist

books ideas which would be useful to the cause of political reform.

Thus the Buddhist ideas that were stressed were quite different from those used by Kung Tzu-chen and Wei Yuan. This use of Buddhist doctrines had never before been tried and it was a phenomenal advancement of the political implications of Buddhism in China.

Buddhism would not have been so enthusiastically studied had it not been for the presence of Christianity. The intrusion of Western religion, which the Chinese intellectuals deeply lamented, was greatly assisted by the supremacy of Western military strength and the treaties which resulted. In the 1860's and the 1870's, when the Chinese were relatively ignorant of the West due to a scarcity of translated works, Chinese opposition to Christianity was grounded on their ethnocentricity and ignorance. In the 1890's, Chinese intellectuals began to wonder if the driving force of the success of the West was their religious thought that would cultivate solidarity and unity of thought.⁶⁰ The idea of establishing a state religion began to take shape in the thought of K'ang Yu-wei who suggested that Confucianism should be elevated to the same position as that of Christianity in the West. But other scholars, among them his students Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and T'an Ssu-T'ung, thought otherwise, and they regarded Buddhism as a better counterpart of Christianity than Confucianism. It evoked

a new wave of interest in Buddhism which began to play an impressive part in late Ch'ing political thought, as shown, very noticeably, by the thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung.

Part II

The Buddhist Thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung

Chapter 3 : T'an Ssu-t'ung's Acceptance of Buddhism

T'an Ssu-t'ung was born to a scholar-gentry family in Peking in 1865.¹ Due to his family's outstanding social position, his personal attainment and extensiveness of his acquaintances, T'an was later known as one of the 'Four Scions of the Late Ch'ing Period' (Ch'ing mo szu kung-tzu 清末四公子).² His father T'an Ch'i-hsun 譚繼洵, at the age of thirty-seven, held the position of a second-class secretary in the Board of Revenue and resided with his family in an official lodging in the capital south of the Hsüan-wu Gate on Lan-mien Lane. With the arrival of T'an Ssu-t'ung, the family had six members: his parents T'an Ch'i-hsun and Hsu Wu-yuan 徐五緣, his eldest brother Ssu-i 嗣貽, elder brother Ssu-hsiang 嗣襄, eldest sister Ssu-huai 嗣懷 and his elder sister Ssu-shu 嗣淑.

At the age of five, T'an began to receive formal instruction from his tutor Pi Ch'un-chai 畢純齋 on traditional Chinese learning. He recalled in his "San-shih tzu-chi" 「三十身記」, an autobiography written in December 1894, that he was at that time able to distinguish the four tones and to compose parallel lines.³ Later, he continued his studies with a new tutor, Han Sun-nung 韓蓀農.

When T'an was ten years old, his family moved to the Liu-yang County Hall on K'u-tui Lane^{in Peking}. It was at this time that he began to study under Ouyang Pan-chiang 歐陽辨強, a scholar, a second degree holder, and also a native of Liu-yang.⁴ He proved more than a mere tutor for T'an Ssu-t'ung, for this relationship soon developed into a strong bond of personal relationship which was to remain significant throughout the rest of T'an's life.

The first twelve years of T'an's childhood, apart from boyhood adventures and studious endeavours in the locality of Peking, were overshadowed by the death of his beloved mother in 1876. It was the first great shock, which was to have an immense impact on the course of T'an's life. In 1876, no less than six relatives, three of them in the immediate family, died in a diphtheria epidemic.⁵ T'an also fell victim to the illness, but was miraculously cured after three days. His father on this account gave him the name of Fu-sheng 復生, or "restored to life."

His recovery was fortunate, but the loss of his mother, brother, and sister and the complete withdrawal of his father's affection towards him was a great mental wound to him.⁶ Biographies of T'an have

stressed the effect of this bitter period on T'an's development.⁷ He himself best summarised his reactions to conditions at home following his mother's death in the preface to the Jen-hsüeh:

I have from youth to maturity suffered every kind of hardship from the system of ethical and familial obligations. I have been immersed in their bitterness almost more than a living being can bear. I have been on the brink of death many times but in the end did not die. Since then I have looked even more lightly on my life, considering that, as a senseless corporeal shell, apart from serving others, what other value has it got? Thinking deeply and with lofty hopes I secretly cherish the altruistic purpose of Mo Tzu.⁸

Whether T'an developed from this experience the Buddhist propensity for "saving oneself and saving others" (tzu-li li-ta

身利利他), a concept similar to the altruistic love of Mohism, is uncertain. But it seems likely that having gone through a terrible ordeal within the span of a few days, T'an must have become more receptive to Buddhism when he later encountered it. This mentality is well put by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in his "Preface to the Jen-Hsüeh,"

One's existence, which lasts for only several tens of winters and summers, is of such a short duration One's body, which is made up of seventy-three elements, is so illusory. This being the case, what is there in one's own body worth showing partiality to, or valuing. Since there is nothing which we can be partial to, nothing which we can value, why do we not discard our body and sacrifice it for all human beings, thus practising what our heart finds satisfaction in . . . I have in the first place a heart which is not able to bear the sufferings of others. Since this is called 'not able to bear the sufferings of others,' and yet to try to stay aloof with no intention of saving others, this would in fact be 'able to bear the suffering of others.' Hence the Buddha says, 'If I do not venture into hell, who will do so?'

The year 1877 initiated a decade of viatic and intellectual enlightenment. His father in this year was promoted to the rank of second class official and received the appointment of Tao-t'ai for Kansu Province. He held this office until 1890 when he was appointed Governor of Hupei Province.

Before they left for Kansu in 1878, T'an's father requested leave to return to their native Liu-yang in order to repair the family graves. It was during this stay in Liu-yang that T'an Ssu-t'ung met and became fast friends with T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang 唐才常,¹⁰ who later became deeply involved in the reform movement and co-operated

with T'an in various projects designed to make Hunan a leading province of China.¹¹ For twenty years, they remained best friends.

From 1878 to 1890, all of T'an's peregrinations centred on Kansu. His tutorials in Liu-yang and his participation in the triennial provincial examinations necessitated frequent travelling between the remote Kansu Province and Hunan. Of the nine trips T'an made, two were for the purpose of participating in the examinations. He never stayed long in either Kansu or Lanchou. But it was during these years that T'an started to acquire a foundation in traditional Chinese learning.

In 1879, T'an, now aged fifteen, studied poetry.¹² A critical study of T'an's poetry is beyond the scope of this research; many critics, however, consider it excellent. Of all the poems preserved from years in Kansu, it can be discerned that T'an favoured seven character stanzas over the five character stanzas of the later years.¹³ The poems concern mostly with nature and make little references to human affairs and the social environment. They display a vivacity of spirit and a liking of rural life. No wonder T'an had a great admiration for T'ao Yuan-ming 陶淵明, whom he praised as 'a man of deep emotion and sad expression' whose poetry is "upright and unagitated."¹⁴

He listed T'ao in his recommended reading list at the beginning of
Jen-hsüeh.

T'an went through several stages of development in his poetic style. In a letter to Liu Shan-han, written in early spring 1894, T'an tells us:

In the field of poetry I began to
apply myself by following Li Ho 李賀
and Wen T'ing-yun 溫庭筠, then
changed and sought to follow Li Po 李白.
Next I changed and followed Han Yü 韓愈.
and then changed again and followed
the Six dynasties 六朝. Recently
I have changed again and desired to
emulate Li Shang-yin 李商隱. 15

There was yet another change two years after this letter was written. His preoccupation with Buddhism in 1896 soon evoked a change of tone in his poems. After that year, expressions of rustic pastoral serenity gave way to Buddhist terms such as "Mañjuśrī Vimalakīrtā" 文殊師利維摩詰 or "Karma," for instance in the poems "Chin-ling t'ing shuo-fa san shou" 金陵聽說法三首, (Receiving dharma in Nanking) and "Kan-huai ssu-p'ien" 感懷四篇.

(Four poems on emotion).¹⁶ This change will be dealt with greater detail later in this chapter.

T'an also delved into the disciplines of science and mathematics under the supervision of T'u Ta-wei 涂大衛 in Liu-yang.¹⁷ When he later rejoined his father in Kansu, he began exploring the writings of Mo Tzu and Chuang-tzu. He was deeply moved by the knight-errant activities of Mo Tzu and praised the free thought and action of the Hsiao-yao yu 逍遙遊 section.¹⁸ At this stage, such ideas as "universal love" and "chivalry" began to take shape.

T'an also studied essay writing, and practised the forms and styles of various schools from the Classical period to the Sung dynasty. At this time, he found challenge and stimulation from some of these schools, but later he revolted against the narrowness and constrictions of such formalistic confinements.¹⁹

In the summer of 1883, T'an was married to Li Jun 李潤, the daughter of Li Shou-jung 李壽容 of Ch'angsha.²⁰

The following year, at the age of nineteen, T'an returned to Hunan to participate for the first time in the Provincial Examinations. He failed, not only this time, but for the succeeding five other attempts too. "During the ten years between the ages of twenty-one and thirty," he wrote, "I six times went to the Provincial Examinations in the South and North and almost passed three times but in the end failed."²¹ For this reason, T'an harboured a deep hatred for the 'eight-legged essay' and the 'examination style.'²²

Despite his numerous failures in the examinations, T'an was accorded high recognition for his intellectual attainment by intellectuals of his time like Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Chang Ping-lin.²³ He was persistent in perfecting his essay form and his literary expression. At first he was fascinated by the T'ung-ch'eng 桐城 style, then by the writings of the Wei and Chin dynasties, and finally by the beauty of Yang Hsiung's 楊雄 writing.²⁴ However, T'an later felt ashamed of his preoccupation with literary style for its own sake, for it offered no solution to China's urgent problems.

T'an returned to Lanchou in 1886 and accepted a minor military post under Governor Liu Chin-t'ang 劉錦堂 of Sinkiang Province.²⁵

Liu was greatly impressed with his talents and was about to recommend him to a more deserving position, when, because of family obligations, he resigned his governorship and the recommendation never materialised.²⁶

The major indicator of T'an's intellectual temperament and political perspectives before 1890 is his first long political essay, "Chih yen" 治 言, or "Views on the management of world affairs."²⁷ This work is said to have been written after China's defeat in the Sino-French War in 1884.²⁸ In a prefatory note he appended later, T'an admitted bluntly that he wrote the essay when he was still relatively ignorant of world affairs.

The general tenor of this essay is explicit traditionalistic and ethnocentric. T'an viewed history in three major periods of change (san-pien 三 變) and the world with three different areas (san-chü 三 區). To put it briefly, the first change took place in the period of Yao and Shun and lasted until the end of the Chou dynasty, when it was characterised and sustained by the norms of virtue; the second change lasted from the Ch'in dynasty to T'an's own age, a period controlled by the norm of law; and the third change was in its commencement and would be governed by the norms of economics.

Geographically and culturally, T'an divided the world into three areas. First were the nations of the Chinese sphere, which were collectively called the "hua-hsia chih kuo" 「華夏之國」, which included China proper, Korea, Tibet, Vietnam, and Burma. Second were the "i-ti chih kuo," 「夷狄之國」, or the barbarian countries, which consisted of the Mediterranean countries, the Northern European countries and North America. Last were the "chin-shou chih kuo," 「禽獸之國」, or animal nations, which included Africa, South America and Australia.

The real purpose of the essay was to find a solution to China's confrontation with the Western powers. The way China could revitalise herself, T'an concluded, was not wholesale Westernisation or renunciation of traditional Chinese norms. The aim could only be achieved by recapturing her spiritual and material heritage and by adhering to the principles of government based on virtue and sincerity.

In the summer of 1889, T'an returned to Hunan for a second attempt at the examinations. His elder brother, T'an Ssu-hsiang, was also making another attempt there. Both failed. Disappointed with the result, T'an Ssu-hsiang accepted a position in distant Taiwan,

while T'an Ssu-t'ung directed his course west.²⁹ For the first time, the two brothers had to part with no promise of reunion in the near future.

Next year, T'an again set out for Peking to participate in special examinations to be held there. Here he met a scholar from his native district, Liu Jen-hsi 劉人熙,³⁰ whom he engaged as a tutor. Under Liu's tutelage, T'an gained more insight into the thought of the early Ch'ing philosophers Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 and Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲. He was also introduced to Liu's son-in-law, a young and promising intellectual, Pei Yüan-cheng 貝元徵. Here, T'an happily enjoyed the vibrant intellectual ferment created by the throngs of young men participating in the examination and the new acquaintances he made.

In the summer of 1889, his happiness was abruptly shattered by the news from Taiwan that T'an Ssu-hsiang had died.³¹ Overwhelmed by grief and close to a nervous breakdown, T'an withdrew from the examination and departed from the capital for Liu-yang. The depth of affection he felt for his elder brother was beyond description. For the next several years of his life, T'an was imbued with a sense of loss and despair which could not but affect his whole outlook. The

tragic loss first of his mother, and now of his elder brother undoubtedly influenced not only the ideas which he later expressed in Jen-hsüeh but ultimately his own acceptance of death at the end of the Reform Movement.³² Deaths of his beloved^{ones} reinforced T'an's view that the body itself was but a corporeal shell and that the demarcation of death and birth was thin indeed. With this proclivity already in existence, his sudden and total submergence in Buddhism later came as no surprise.

The "Kansu period" ended with his father's promotion to the governorship of Hupei in November 1889. In spring the following year, T'an moved to Wuchang to help his father. He had been in a spirit of depression and was very pessimistic in his outlook, expressing extreme frustration about external circumstances and deep disappointment with himself. He devoted himself exclusively to the study of Wang Fu-chih's Ch'uan-shan i-shu 船山遺書. He wrote an unpublished and nonextant piece entitled the "Wang chih" 王忠 and proclaimed himself "a disciple of Wang Fu-chih."³³ He was also interested in discussing rulership of the world.³⁴ However, he was at a loss to find his way. His state of mind can be seen from the preface to his "Hsiang hen tzu" 湘痕詞 (Recollections of Hunan):

During those ten years, time passed and events changed, and this has produced profound reaction on my part. In my youth I had experienced many hardships, with three deaths in five days. Relatives and friends yearly withered and fell. Turning about in all directions I became melancholy and sorrowful. Add to this unsympathetic customs and a foul atmosphere, a concealed calamity developed unnoticed. Very lonely and dissatisfied, I went my own way in out of the way studies. I beheld, within, my family being like this and without, society being like that. Therefore, in making sounds I seldom display even rhythm and my writing contains groans to dispel depression.... Having gained more and more experience of the world, I³⁵ had less and less spontaneity and interest left.

While in Hupei, T'an came under new influences which enriched and stimulated his maturing intellect. Such was probably that of Chang Chih-tung, Governor-general of Liang-Hu (Hunan and Hupei provinces), and other moderate reform-minded men. As the son of the governor of Hupei, T'an had the opportunity to fraternise with the intellectual elite of the province, some of whom had first-hand knowledge of the West. Judging from his writings during this period, T'an, while advocating similar domestic reforms, went further than Chang with a more progressive, comprehensive and fundamental approach.³⁶ It is obvious that Chang's various enterprises and activities provided T'an with frames of reference on which he constructed his own more elaborate and radical programmes for strengthening and modernising.

Another important influence on T'an during this period resulted from his association with Europeans. In the Jen-hsüeh, T'an repeatedly cited foreign attitudes towards China in such a manner as to imply first-hand knowledge gleaned from personal association with Europeans, especially missionaries. But not until 1893, when he travelled to Peking, did T'an enlarge his contacts with Westerners, whose influence brought him to a vastly different opinion of Western culture than that exhibited in the "Chih-yen" essay. Foremost among them was John Fryer whom T'an met in Shanghai in 1893.³⁷

John Fryer was an English missionary who came to China in 1861 and had spent many years propagating Western science. In 1893, Fryer was the head of the translation section of the Chiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai. T'an also purchased a large number of translations of Western scientific works from the Chiangnan Arsenal and Chiang-hsüeh-hui(強學會) translations of works on history, politics, geography, and religion.³⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao describes T'an's interest in these words, "He read all the so-called scientific works in translation and tried hard to apply the scientific knowledge available at that time."³⁹ While in Shanghai, T'an was able to witness the manifestation of Western economic expansion and began to formulate the economic theories that he later elaborated in the Jen-hsüeh.

While western studies opened up T'an's horizons, a great deal of his time was also spent in scholarly pursuits in traditional Chinese learning. He earnestly studied the works of Chang Tsai 張載, a Sung philosopher. He wrote an unpublished work entitled the "Chang-tzu cheng-meng ts'an liang-p'ien pu-chu" 張子正蒙參兩篇補注, (Additional annotation on the two essays of Cheng-meng ts'an by Chang Tsai) on what he called the "rule of Heaven."⁴⁰ T'an also began a broad study of the works of Ch'ing scholars, paying particular attention to Chiao Hsun's 焦循 writings on the I Ching 易經 (Book of Changes) and mathematics.⁴¹

The years 1894 to 1896 may be viewed as the most crucial years during which T'an Ssu-t'ung, deeply agitated by the bankruptcy of superficial reforms as demonstrated by China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, re-examined many of his previous opinions and attitudes and began to search for a new identity. It was during this period that T'an became convinced of the need for reform and made efforts to formulate solutions to the crisis of the nation. This process of change can be best understood from the several important writings of this period which include, in 1894, the "Shih-chü ying lu pi-shih" 石菊影廬筆識, (Random notes from the Shih-chu-yung Studio), "Szu-wei-yin-yun-t'ao tuan-shu -- pao Pei Yuang-cheng shu"

"鬼、蟬、壺、蟲、短書 -- 報貝元徵書 (A short discourse from the Szu-wei -yin-yun studio -- a reply to Pei Yuan-cheng), biographies of T'an Ssu-t'ung's ancestors in the genealogy of the T'an clan, in 1895, "San-shih tzu-chi" 「三十自紀」 (Autobiography written at the age of thirty), "Shang Ou-yang Pan-chiang shu erh -- hsing suan-hsueh i" 「上歐陽誠齋書 -- 興算學議」 (Letter to my teacher Ou-yang Pan-chiang, No.2 -- a proposal to promote the study of Mathematics), and in 1896, the Jen-hsueh 仁學 (A study of benevolence).

All these changes were brought about by the cataclysm of the Sino-Japanese War. T'an's reaction to the war led to a self-appraisal which produced a resolve to discard some previous attitudes and habits. To mark this turning point, he adopted the new name of Chuang-fei^{壯飛} or "Soaring Flight". He noted in his "San-shih tzu-chih":

Tzu Yun (Yang Hsiung) had a phrase: 'The man in his prime does not carve insects and engrave seal characters.' To live in days when China and the outside are engaged in a fierce struggle, where literature and culture are out of place, and to be at the age between my prime and my decline, when my strength is at its height, I am ashamed of even what I was ashamed of doing and from this I shall take the name of Chuang Fei.⁴²

He judged his energies for the past thirty years to have been wasted on so-called textual criticism and ornate literary efforts which were not relevant to the real world.⁴³ Thus T'an saw this turning point in his life as occurring at a singularly propitious moment. In fact, rather fundamental changes in his intellectual perspectives and interests had already evolved in the years prior to 1894-1895.

This is a convenient moment to attempt some appraisal of his opinions and ideas before 1895. This is best documented in his "Shih-chu-ying lu pi-shih" (Random notes from the Shih-chu-ying Studio) which includes seventy-six "hsüen-p'ien" 學齋 (studies) and fifty-four "ssu-p'ien" 思齋 (thoughts).⁴⁴ The division of "studies" and "thoughts", however, is arbitrary. It is a record T'an kept of his personal observations, comments and researches in the realm of traditional studies and current issues in intellectual circles. Although hardly representing anything original or striking in either approach or content, these writings do depict, rather pointedly, the extreme diversification of T'an's educational experience, and intellectual curiosity. The "hsüeh-p'ien" contains critical notes on very specific problems that T'an uncovered in the Classics, history, historical writings, poetry, philology and epigraphy. While the "ssu-p'ien" offers a more subjective treatment of the topics considered in the

"hsieh-p'ien", it also furnishes random pieces of information about T'an's personal life and experiences. Although the "ssu-p'ien" have greater intrinsic value as mirrors of T'an's attitudes and opinions than do the "hsueh-p'ien", still the large number of them and the wide range of topics they cover forbids anything approaching a comprehensive analysis.

Unsystematic as they may be, these writings reflect T'an's interests and background before the re-orientation of his intellectual perspectives towards Buddhism and Western studies. While these "Random Notes" hardly merit individual consideration for the purposes of this study, they nonetheless demonstrate some characteristic features of T'an's intellectual and political outlook at that particular stage. One of these salient features is the diversity of topics covered in the notes. They include such topics as poetry, philology, divination, geography, astronomy, physics, calendar science, music, military science, current affairs, painting etc. An analysis of the content of this work reveals that, as T'an later frankly admitted, most of them are irrelevant to the betterment of society.⁴⁵ Of all the topics T'an touched on, poetry seems to stand out as the subject most discussed, accounting for one-sixth of the total p'ien. Next in emphasis are the Shuo-wen chieh-tzu 說文解字, the earliest dictionary in China, and the Shih-chi 史記, Erh-ya 爾雅, Kuo-yü 國語, music

and painting also figure prominently.

Another striking feature of these "Random Notes" is T'an's familiarity with translated works and his patriotic rejection of Western claims for scientific originality. T'an claimed that Chinese knew the principles of science long ago; it was merely a matter of exploring these topics from the Classics and other writings of antiquity. This view is shown, for instance, in his discussion of the spherical form of the earth. He admitted that the discovery of the earth's roundness was a great achievement in the West. But Chinese ancient scientist Chang Tsai knew about this long before Western people did.⁴⁶ Advanced geographical knowledge could also be found in the Nei-ching 內經, the Chou-li 周禮, and the Chou-pei Suan-ching 周髀算經. They proved that all these so-called new discoveries in the field of geography were not the discoveries of Western peoples.⁴⁷ The lack of modern scientific knowledge in nineteenth century China was because the learning of enlightened men in antiquity was lost. This shows that T'an still had the attitude of a traditional Chinese intellectual trying to defend the Chinese cultural superiority over the West, a reaction common to Chinese literati of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁸ What is unexpected is to find T'an Ssu-t'ung accepting such arguments with such tenacity. But it was as a consequence of

this conviction that T'an finally seized on Buddhism as a last cultural stand to ward off Western cultural imperialism, exemplarily manifested in its religion, Christianity.

The "Shih chu-ying lu pi-shih" provides one of the earliest of T'an's references to Buddhism. It is found in No.14 of the "Ssu-p'ien".⁴⁹ In this section, T'an used Western science as a means of attacking Buddhist beliefs. More specifically T'an rebuked Buddhists for believing that sound and light were illusionary, a fallacious concept which he blamed on their desire to deny the reality of the phenomenal world and to affirm their concept of the void. In a lengthy discussion T'an asserted that both sound and light were measurable phenomena and that knowledge of their properties was of great consequence to the welfare of mankind. T'an wrote in his "Random Notes,"

It is the current fashion of Buddhism to deny the existence of the world, comparing it with the unreality of sound and light, in seeking to associate it with the so-called nirvana. This ... shows lack of understanding of sound and light. The earth is not unreal and sound and light are also very real....⁵⁰

This reveals the fact that T'an's attitude towards Buddhism in 1894 was completely negative, which can be explained by two things: the influence of Wang Fu-chih and of Western science.

Wang Fu-chih was a Hunanese scholar of the early Ch'ing dynasty. He was opposed to Buddhism and especially struggled against Buddhist concepts of the illusory character of the physical world. Wang was a materialist and contended that the world was real and was composed of real objects. In denouncing Buddhism he revived the thought of Sung Neo-Confucianists, and elaborated on Chang Tsai's thought concerning the reality of the world. T'an also held that the Buddhist position was objectionable, and while he also admired Chang Tsai, he utilised freshly learned Western science as a means of attacking Buddhist beliefs.

His rejection of Buddhist metaphysics was grounded also on his frank acceptance of Western science on its own merits, irrespective of national origin. The exactitude, practicality and usefulness of science and mathematics was most appealing to him. The reason why China became weaker and inferior, while the Western peoples became stronger and superior lay in the fact that they were more advanced in science.⁵¹ Under these circumstances, it was necessary for the

Chinese people to discard poetry, books and the ideas that Westerners were barbarians in order to be able to challenge them. Buddhism, as a discipline of which T'an was still ignorant at that time, seemed to fall into the category of elimination.

The fact that the Sino-Japanese War evoked an intensive introspection in T'an Ssu-t'ung's internal development is evinced by his advocacy of total Westernisation in the letter he wrote to his friend Pei Yuan-cheng. This dramatic change in his intellectual and political outlook was a result of his growing awareness of the national crisis and his sudden realisation that China would no longer sustain herself if she did not adopt Westernisation. His feelings were expressed in the letter to Pei Yuan-cheng and in another, to his teacher Ou-yang Pan-chiang.

The "Szu-wei-yin-yun-t'ai tuan-shu -- pao Pei Yuan-cheng shu" (A short discourse from the Szu-wei-yin-yun platform -- a reply to Pei Yuan-cheng) was T'an's reply to a close friend whose conservative and obdurate political views he strongly opposed.⁵² Underlying the whole letter was a strong inclination for complete westernisation. That is unexpected because only a year earlier, T'an's major work "Shih-ying-chu-lu pi-shih" still showed little political concern. It

can be appreciated from this how the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War had totally converted T'an from a traditional intellectual to an ardent reformer. By rebutting the fallacious views of Pei Yuan-cheng, and indeed others who fell into that category, T'an put forth his new political proposal which, quite astonishingly, was for complete westernisation.

T'an began the letter with a reply to Pei Yuan-cheng's question as to whether China should proceed with reform (pien-fa 變法) and self-strengthening herself while knowledge of the West was still inadequate and whether in so doing, China would not be abandoning the tao of the ancient sages? T'an's answer to this began with an analysis of the relationship between tao and ch'i. He assured that the tao of the Sages could not be questioned, but that it was important to understand what it meant by tao. From the Book of Changes and the sayings of Wang Fu-chih, it could certainly be said that tao and ch'i were one. Tao was function and ch'i, essence. When the essence existed, then the function operated. As a theoretical basis for his advocacy of westernisation, T'an claimed that when ch'i changed, tao should change accordingly. What should be realised was the fact that tao was not the exclusive possession of the Sages nor the private monopoly of China. What was accepted as axiomatic of China was also accepted in the West. To adopt Westernisation in China was in fact to

practise universal truth. In the Western world, T'an found much that was praiseworthy, valuable and practical. He described the various Western political, social, economic and educational institutions and practices he admired with general detail. There is no hint of anti-Western sentiment or criticisms. But underlying his writing is a very basic patriotic fear of Western intentions towards China. Although he proposed some immature views on international relations, T'an clearly viewed China as being engaged in a life-and-death struggle for survival. All his plans outlined in the letter were designed to strengthen China for more effective resistance to Western imperialism.

Also of great interest is T'an's attitude towards religion as shown in this letter. It is difficult to see how T'an stood on Christianity but his attitude to Buddhism remained totally negative. Where he discussed the constituents of the teachings of Lao-tzu and the Buddha, T'an described them as "fanciful fairy tales of his rustic home town."⁵³ They were unnecessary as far as reform of the Chinese society was concerned. That is why T'an proposed the confiscation of the Buddhist properties and temples to raise funds essential to implement reform programmes.⁵⁴

T'an held that temples and shrines were superfluous, deserted

or improperly used. They also drained away wealth, wasting an incalculable amount of money on incense and candles, papers and fire-crackers. The wealth owned by the Buddhist communities was even more shocking. In Tibet, for instance, temples were ubiquitous. Donations that came from Buddhist converts were stored up without any thought of using it in a productive manner. Apart from this, there was always the danger of wealth being taken away by foreign invaders who might happen to occupy the province. With all these considerations, T'an proposed that the wealth of the temples should be confiscated and used to build schools or houses of parliament. This was in line with the prevalent opinion which advocated the confiscation of templelands for the establishment of schools (Miao-ch'an hsing-hst'ieh 廟產興學). This attitude is absent from the Jen-hst'ieh, where T'an took a no less firm stand on the necessity of reform but considerably more generous to all religions, and grounded all his arguments upon the philosophical basis of Buddhism. But in 1894, T'an was still hostile towards Buddhism.

There are no primary sources which allow one to peer into T'an's encounter with Christianity in early 1890's. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao remarks in "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan " (A biography of T'an Ssu-t'ung) that when they first met in Peking in 1895, T'an "esteemed very highly

the teaching of universal love of Jesus, but was completely oblivious of both the Buddha and Confucius."⁵⁵ Liang's description is perhaps slightly exaggerated. However, this remains the only basic source which makes any claim that T'an was deeply interested in Christianity. Certainly there is no evidence in any of T'an's preserved writings of this period that indicate this interest. Most probably, his interests in Christian doctrines was aroused by the Christian missionaries he met in Peking back in 1893 and after 1895.

In the spring of 1895, T'an was in Liu-yang engaged in a mining venture but because of the recent defeat by the Japanese and the disastrous treaty that followed, he reached the nadir of despair. In a letter to his teacher Ou-yang Pan-chiang, while a certain sense of impending doom pervaded, T'an gave a very detailed account of the current situation and made many concrete proposals in the cause of national salvation. T'an had by now come to appreciate the enormity of the problem as well as his own limitations.

It was around this time that K'ang Yu-wei and the Ch'iang-hsüeh hui 強學會 (Society for the encouragement of learning), established in Peking in August 1895,⁵⁶ began to attract considerable attention in

the capital. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, in his "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan " maintains that T'an went to Peking to meet K'ang but was unable to do so since K'ang had left for Kwangtung. T'an met Liang, who discussed with him K'ang's main ideas. T'an was very moved and pronounced himself a disciple of K'ang.⁵⁷ The authenticity of Liang's account has been seriously questioned by Chang Te-chun.⁵⁸ It would be fair to say that T'an apparently did not meet Liang until the following year and that at no time was he ever anything like a slavish disciple of K'ang.

When the Chiang-hsueh-hui was dissolved later in 1895, T'an felt very bitterly about the unequal treatment of the Confucianism and Christianity. This is clearly revealed in his letter to Ou-yang Pan-chiang, No.25, written on the twelfth of February, 1896.⁵⁹ In this letter, T'an said that K'ang Yu-wei promoted the Ch'iang-hsüeh-hui which, with the support of Weng T'ung-ho from within and Chang Chih-tung from without, had gathered membership of over a thousand and donations amounting to several tens of thousand taels. However, this development was suddenly interrupted by a certain Imperial Censor who impeached the society and asked for a mandate to seize the leaders. In the end, the Ch'iang-hsüeh-hui in Peking was closed. T'an regretted that "those who preach Christianity are protected, but those who preach Confucianism are prohibited."⁶⁰ He protested that the

Manchus were in this way "cruelly treated their people in order to offer them as fish and meat to the Foreigners." In view of such an unreasonable and unjust decision, T'an decided that he should go forth and think of a solution. His idea was to form a subsidiary of the Ch'iang-hsueh-hui in Hunan under the cloak of the name of the Jesus but really to practise Confucian doctrines, and invited the British consular in Hankow to act as president of the society. The plan, however, never materialised, but it can be inferred from this incident that T'an, frustrated by the harsh and unfair hostility towards Confucianism by the Manchus, may consequently have been inclined to use another Chinese philosophical and religious system, Buddhism, to counteract the privileged position of Christianity.

The year 1896 is the watershed in the religious development of T'an Ssu-t'ung. During this year, T'an changed from an anti-Buddhist intellectual to a Buddhist convert. Before tracing the reasons which account for his somewhat abrupt and total acceptance of the Buddhist philosophy, it is necessary to describe his activities during this year.

In the spring of 1896, T'an accompanied his father to the capital and from there made a trip to Tientsin. The intellectual fruits of this

pilgrimage were many. He met John Fryer, who introduced him to fossils, adding machines, x-ray and a device for measuring brain waves, all of which had far-reaching philosophical implications for T'an, as can be seen from the Jen-hsüeh. In his letter to Ou-yang Pan-chiang, which T'an subtitled as the "Pei-yu fang-hsüeh chi" 北遊新學記, (Record of the Journey north in search of learning),⁶¹ he recorded that he next visited a number of Catholic and Protestant missionaries and read all of their literature; but only after reading a work translated into Chinese by John Fryer and entitled the Chih-hsin mien-ping fa 止心免病法 (The method of avoiding illness by controlling the mind) did he begin to understand the source of the Western teachings.

In Tientsin, he took note of both the factories, steamers, railroads, and steel bridges built by the Westerners and the great suffering of the refugees from the recent floods in the area. T'an felt deeply for humanity and regarded what he had studied up until then as utterly irrelevant to China's situation. His conclusion was that only mind or psychic energy, the source and most powerful instrument of creative change, was capable of curing the world's ills. He wrote that if the Chinese Classics and Buddhists texts were considered in the light of the science of mind, unlimited progress may be achieved. He next devoted himself day and night to Buddhist meditation, believing that the power of positive thought vibrations would dispel disharmony in

the world and avert impending calamity. Very noticeably, T'an began on the basis of Christian, Buddhist, Chinese and scientific concepts to formulate his theory of soul and the continuity of existence.

His interest in religion even led him to join a popular sect called the "Tsai-li chiao" 在理教. It is interesting to note how T'an reflected on this sect when he later wrote in the Jen-hsüeh:

In Tientsin there are those who belong to the Tsai-li chiao, the newest and also the smallest. Their books are shallow and completely with insignificant meaning, being made up of Confucianism and Buddhism, appropriated from the more commonplace ideas of Christianity and Islam. In addition, they have a secret doctrine which they swear not to reveal to outsiders. I did become a member of their faith in order to learn of this. They had simply stolen Buddhism's six characters for Om Mani Padme Hum, using it as an incantation. There is no other mysterious marvel. The followers of this religion are, however, to be found nearly in all parts of the province of Chih-li. It is not due to the power of their leader, but due to such doctrines as karma and reincarnation which ignorant men and women find easy to subscribe to. They also strictly forbid tobacco and alcohol which also helps the poor to save unnecessary expenses without realising it. Therefore, no matter what their religious doctrines are like, they are able to be of benefit to the people's lives, which in sum is better than putting the ignorant and lowly

beyond the pale of religion as is the case in China, or even to the point⁶² of their being no religious teaching at all.

In this year, at his father's insistence T'an accepted an official position as Expectant Prefect (hou-pu chih-fu 候補知府) in Nanking. It was the darkness of officialdom, among other things, which drove T'an to study Buddhism with Yang Wen-hui. This is clearly revealed in his letter to his teacher Ou-yang Chung-ku (No.22).⁶³ In this letter, T'an exposed the deplorable position of being an Expectant Prefect. As a junior official, he had not been granted permission to see Prefectural and County officials; nor had he been able to call on local scholars of note. This drove him almost to desperation. Fortunately, T'an said, he found a great teacher in Yang Wen-hui, "who is renowned for both Buddhist and Western studies."⁶⁴ They frequently spent time together and this was almost sufficient comfort for T'an. He confessed that after he met Yang, he found out that all this "suffering and humiliation can be borne by means of the power of abstraction and contemplation."⁶⁵ Yet his disillusionment with the Nanking officialdom remained. Instead of being submerged by the corrupt atmosphere, he made up his mind to be strong and brave. His decision was to lock himself up in his study to read and cultivate his mind. He delved into the subtleties of Confucius and the Buddha, and it was under very strong Buddhist influence that he started to

write his most important political treatise, the Jen-hsüeh. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao summarises the scope of T'an's intellectual and spiritual sources in 1896 in these words:

He also devoted himself to religion. When I first met him he revered greatly the teaching of universal love by Jesus and was oblivious to the teaching of the Buddha and Confucius. Later, when he heard of the ideas the Book of Changes and the Spring and Autumn Annals developed by K'ang Yu-wei, which fully exhausted the principles of the Great Harmony and the Great Peace and embodied the subtle action of the ruling of Heaven by yuan 元 of the first hexagram ch'ien, he was greatly persuaded. He further heard the Hua-yen School's theory of the sea of natures and realised that there are infinite worlds, that the Buddha manifests infinitely, that distinctions of other and the self are nonexistent, that there is no departing and no remaining, no filth and no purity, and that apart from saving others there cannot be any other pursuit. When he heard the Wei Shih School's theory of the waves of consciousness and realised that the root of all living beings is infinite and that, therefore, the giving of the dharma is infinite, and the principles of all kinds of distinctions, perfect nature and un-obstructedness, he was even more greatly persuaded. From then he was suddenly enlightened and able to extend one thing to all without any obstacles, and he showed undaunted courage in taking on the responsibility of action. During the year that he served as an official in Chinling he day and night immersed himself in Confucian and Buddhist books. There was a secluded scholar in Chinling

named Yang Wen-hui who was broadly versed in the religious vehicles and intimately familiar with Buddhism, and took the propagation of the Buddhist sutras as his own responsibility. T'an often spent time in his company and as a result became acquainted with the entire Chinese Tripitaka. His learning was daily more subtle and profound. The central ideas of his thought is to be found in his Jen-hsüeh and is also to be found scattered in letters to friends discussing matters of learning. 66

That T'an began to change his attitude towards Buddhism is explicitly shown in the Jen-hsüeh, which will be fully discussed in the following chapter. Suffice it to say that Buddhism had become his main cultural concern during the crucial year of intellectual maturity in 1896. From the long list of reading sources which T'an recommended at the beginning of the Jen-hsüeh, one can see how he employed different, and sometimes contradictory doctrines to build up his own tenets of thought. However, if one tries to detect the salient features of T'an's synthesis, then it is apparent that his overriding concern was to propound the thought of Buddhism to back up the need for political reform, and in searching for a common basis for his philosophy, to regard it as one that embraces nearly all the basic elements of the main schools of Chinese philosophy like Confucianism, Taoism and Western science and Christianity.⁶⁷ The all-embracing position of Buddhism, to give but a glimpse of it, is illustrated by the following

paragraph from the Jen-hsüeh:

Wherever Buddhism goes, it takes in everything:
all religions, all Chinese Classics and all
philosophies of hundred schools -- both what is
as abstract as logic and as concrete as physics.
Even that which can neither be seen nor heard,
and that which can or cannot be reached by human
mind, Buddhism absorbs all of them and
accommodates into one system. ⁶⁸

T'an's poems written during the year also serve to
reinforce the impression that T'an was extremely fervent towards
Buddhism. These include "Li yin shih" 史隱詩, (On an official
who intends to retreat), ⁶⁹ "Tseng Wu Ying-chou" 贈吳雁舟,
(Dedicated to Wu Ying-chou), ⁷⁰ "Kan-huai ssu-p'ien" 感懷四篇,
(Four poems on emotion), ⁷¹ and "Chin-ling ting shuo-fa ssu-shou"
金陵聽說法四首, (Receiving dharma in Nanking). ⁷² Taken as a
whole, they express T'an's preference for Buddhist philosophy.

T'an's acceptance of Buddhism in 1896 had been chiefly promoted
by his association with some enthusiastic students of Buddhism. Among
them, three stand out as most influential: Yang Wen-hui, Hsia
Tseng-yu and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Of these, Yang Wen-hui was probably the most influential. T'an wrote, "Mr. Wu Ying-chou, Cha-shui is my first teacher in Buddhism, Mr. Yan Jen-shan, Wen-hui, is the second."⁷³ However, the latter had shown a greater influence on him than the former. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao put it bluntly: "After he (T'an) met Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, his scholarly interests underwent a change, and after studying Buddhism with Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911) his interests underwent yet another change."⁷⁴

An examination of the contents of Yang's Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu 等不尋觀集錄 and T'an's Jen-hsüeh suggests that T'an drew very much from his mentor in Buddhism in the writing of the Jen-hsüeh. There are revealing similarities which help to determine what ideas Yang had implanted in T'an. It must also be borne in mind that T'an saw in Yang both a profound Buddhist and a reform-minded scholar who had first hand knowledge of the West.

There are several ideas which seem to have been shared by T'an and Yang. Like other intellectuals of his time, Yang strongly advocated reform as a means to save the nation from foreign domination.⁷⁵ But unlike most of them, Yang perceived the future solution

in a rectification of people's thinking.⁷⁶ China should embark on reforming herself in order to match and emulate her foreign rivals. In Yang's mind, the nation which prospered earliest would also decline first, and vice versa.⁷⁷ Improvements brought prosperity, but this carried with it concomitant shortcomings. The ultimate solution lay not so much in material progress as in a change of thinking. These views were enthusiastically shared by T'an. In the Jen-hsüeh, apart from confirming the need to reform, he shared, and indeed strongly stressed, the evolutionary process in the prosperity and decline of a nation and a religion. He also viewed the solution in the light of the power of mind, which bears resemblance to Yan's ideas about the rectification of mind. Religion played the role of sustaining and constantly edifying the morality of the people. In the last section of the Jen-hsüeh, T'an stressed the important of the Buddhist concept of rectifying the erroneous thought of the people and ferrying all sentient beings to the land of bliss.

T'an Ssu-t'ung also shared with Yang Jen-shan a recognition of the vital and all-embracing role of Buddhism. Being a devoted Buddhist layman, Yang obviously regarded Buddhism as the highest religion. He believed that only the highest principles in Confucianism and Taoism were compatible with the Buddhist philosophy.⁷⁸ Buddhism was the only religion which could find its way unobstructed in the world,

and be widely revered. As can be seen from a more thorough analysis of the Buddhist elements in Jen-hsüeh in the following chapter, T'an agreed that Buddhism was the most praiseworthy religion on earth. And it was with this conviction that T'an set out to write his Jen-hsüeh.

Hsia Tseng-yu also played a part in fostering T'an's zeal in Buddhism. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in his "Wang-yu Hsia Wei-ch'ing hsien-sheng" 亡友復魏卿先生 (My lost friend Mr. Hsia Tseng-yu) praised Hsia as the forerunner of the intellectual revolution in late Ch'ing, the mentor of his own youthful intellectual foundation and most of all, a profound student of Buddhism who was the first to realise the value of the Wei Shih school in the modern age.⁷⁹ Liang's description is in certain respects grossly exaggerated; nonetheless it provides a crude guideline to the thought of Hsia who had written no more than a few articles in the Hsin-min ts'ung-pao 新民叢報 and Tung-fang tsa-chih 東方雜誌 under the penname of 'Pieh-shih' 別士, and a textbook on the history of China.

T'an came to know Hsia through Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's introduction.⁸⁰ Having the same concerns and interests, they soon became very close friends. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao used the term "the opinions of the T'an-Liang-Hsia coterie" to describe how closely they shared

each other's ideas. They almost met everyday when they were in Nanking, and on every such occasion, they raised questions and argued over them, and finally settled them through 'subjective contemplation.'⁸¹ This sort of romantic cultural dialogue formed the basis of their friendship and outlook. Liang summarised their cultural interest in the following words:

In short, we at that time thought that all learning after the Han Dynasty was worthless and that all foreign learning yielded good results. With such a belief, we concentrated on reading the original texts of the Classics and a few translated books put out by the missionary societies as we could not read Western languages. We supplemented it with our subjective ideals -- strange and immatured ideals, which resembled both religion and non-religion, philosophy and non-philosophy, science and non-science, literature and non-literature. What we upheld as the 'new learning' was in fact the mixture of these three elements.⁸²

Moreover, they were enthusiastic students of Buddhism :

"We all learn Buddhism," as Liang put it. It appears that Hsia, and Liang too, gained their Buddhist training from Yang Wen-hui. A glimpse of Hsia's knowledge of Buddhism is made possible by a study of a letter he sent to Yang and a remark Liang Ch'i-ch'ao made in

the article "Wang-yu Hsia Tseng-yu hsien-shen ."

The letter, which is difficult to date, reveals how Hsia viewed the value of Buddhism in the political arena.⁸³ He began the letter by expressing the conviction that Buddhism was the king of all fa 法, a belief he came to hold after ten year's study of the religion. The decline of Buddhism he attributed to the rise of the Ch'an School. To re-kindle people's interest in Buddhism, it was necessary to publish sutras, especially lost editions of sutras from Japan. Hsia made it clear that the present calamities of the nation arose from the fact that a large sector of the population had not yet understood the Buddhist doctrines. Only when Buddhism should be widely disseminated and accepted could peace and tranquillity pervade. Although nowhere in the Jen-hsüeh did T'an suggest that Buddhism should be learned by all Chinese people, he did see the Buddhist philosophy as one which could bring great harmony and peace to the world. In this aspect, it can be said that T'an and Hsia were in agreement.

Moreover, both of them highly esteemed the Wei Shih School. Hsia regarded it as the only school representative of the profundity and richness of Buddhist philosophy.⁸⁴ Coupled with his deep

contempt for the illiterate tradition of the Ch'an School, Hsia also claimed that the Surangama-sutra (Leng-yen ching 楞嚴經) was a forgery.⁸⁵ It is difficult to determine to what extent T'an accepted or rejected Hsia's views on Ch'an Buddhism, but clearly T'an drew enormously on the Wei Shih School to buttress his arguments for political reforms in the Jen-hsüeh.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao was also instrumental in urging T'an towards a more intensive study of Buddhism. Both of them perceived the necessity of recasting Buddhism in a new context so as to make it adaptable to the needs of modern society. Liang expressed the view that the Buddhist philosophy was the most precious cultural heritage of China. Its deterioration in later ages owed very much to its over-development.⁸⁶ Nowadays, he claimed, excessive material development made the quest for spiritual orientation urgently felt. Like T'an, Liang regarded Buddhist philosophy as the most effective remedy for social ills. The national personality was formerly dependent upon Buddhism and China's future destiny was also dependent upon a rediscovery of the values of this cultural heritage. The achievement of T'ang Buddhism was a result of the transformation of Indian Buddhism. What China needed now was also a "reformed-Buddhism" which would answer the needs of society. Liang quoted Chiang Fung-cheng to support his views:

Chiang Fung-cheng says, ".... The destiny and opportunity of our country from now on should be developed from two aspects: one is of our sentiments, on which (we should) develop new literature and new arts; the other is of our rationality, that depends on new Buddhism." I (Liang) deeply believe his words. China in having Buddhism, though there are people who hate it but it can never be terminated; because it is the important elements of the social thought. Whether Buddhism will be beneficial to society, or on the contrary, harmful to society, all depends on whether there is any emergence of converts of Neo-Buddhism.

T'an agreed wholeheartedly with Liang that the Buddhist idea of salvation was an important concept to bring about Great Unity.

These three persons were influential in T'an's acceptance of Buddhism. However, without the profundity and usefulness that are inherent in the Buddhist philosophy, it is difficult to see how T'an would have been drawn to the religion. What makes T'an particularly significant, viewed in historical hindsight, is his keen study and lively application of Buddhist theories in his political treatise.

Early in 1897, T'an was active in the formation of various societies and study associations. These include the Tse-liang hsüeh-hui

測量學會 (Society for the study of scientific measurement), the Chieh ch'an-tsu hui 戒纏足會 (Anti-footbinding society), the Hunan pu ch'an-tzu hui 湖南不纏足會 (The Hunan society against footbinding), the Chun-meng hsüeh-hui 群萌學會 (The Chun-meng study association), and the Yen-nien hui 延年會 (Longevity society). His political involvement, however, did not begin with his participation in the Hunan Reform Movement.

The Reform Movement in Hunan started with changes in the substance of the civil examinations made by Chiang Piao 江標, who was appointed the Provincial Director of Education in August 1894, and carried on and expanded by Ch'en Pao-ch'en 陳寶箴, Hsu Jen-chu 徐仁鑄, and others.⁸⁸ They established in April 1897 the periodical Hsiang-hsüeh hsün-pao 湘學新報 (New review of Hunan learning) and established a new academy Shih-wu hsüeh-t'ang 時務學堂 (Academy of current affairs) to promote the new learning. With the invitation of the Governor of Hunan Ch'en Pao-ch'en, T'an returned to Hunan from Nanking at the end of November 1897 to participate in the reform programmes of the province. Despite the briefness of his participation, T'an was generally recognised as a leading figure of the Hunan movement. Being a Hunanese himself, he had much wider and more deep-rooted social relations than his fellow

non-provincial reformers, and his influence carried more weight in the province. Apart from that, T'an had injected the important idea of regional self-government into the Reform Movement.⁸⁹ He helped to establish and edit ^{the} newspaper called Hsiang-hsüeh hsin-pao, and also chaired the Nan-hsüeh hui 南學會 (Reform society of South China). However, his participation in the reform movement lasted for only six months; for then in June 1898, he was recommended to the Emperor K'ang-hsu by Hsu Chih-ching 徐致靖 for service at court.

His zealous involvement in the Hunan Reform Movement did not deter T'an from studying Buddhism. In fact, as his knowledge of Buddhism gradually gained depth, he not only became more conversant with its philosophy, but also perceived in it the theoretical foundation of his activities. In a letter to Wang K'ang-nien 汪康年 written in early 1897, T'an said that a Buddhist layman by the name of Han Wu-shou 韓無首 had asked him "to elaborate freely on the tradition of the religion and to set forth the main tenets of Buddhism" in the Min-pao of Hong Kong, which was still in the preparatory stage.⁹⁰ T'an did not take up the task because of lack of time. But this indicates that T'an's mastery of Buddhism was proficient enough for him to be thought of as a preacher of the Buddhist gospel.

The Hundred Days Reform was short-lived,⁹¹ and with it ended T'an's life.⁹² He died as a martyr, the first one in modern China who shed his blood for the cause of reform. More than that, he was a thinker who propounded many radical ideas in his political treatise, the Jen-hsüeh.

Chapter 4: The Buddhist Foundation of the Major
Concepts in the Jen-Hsüeh

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, a poor biographer but a reliable interpreter of T'an Ssu-t'ung, used the term 'Applied Buddhism' (ying-yung fo-hsüeh 應用佛學)¹ to describe the whole body of thought expressed in the Jen-hsüeh. Again in the Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun, he made the following remarks: "He [T'an] also studied the Mere-consciousness and the Hua-yen schools of Buddhism, taking them as the foundation of his thinking and correlating them with science".²

But the role of Buddhism in T'an's political thought is not so obvious as it seems. Historians are puzzled by the 'bibliography' that T'an provided for a better understanding of his work.

Among the Buddhist scriptures, one must master the writings of the Hua-yen, Ch'an and the Wei-shih schools. Among Western books one must master the New Testament together with works on mathematics, natural science and the social sciences. Among Chinese works one must master the Book of Changes, the Kung-yang Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals, the Analects, the Book of Rites, the Mencius, the Chuang-tzu, the Moh-tzu, and the Historian's Records as well as the writings

of T'ao Yuan-ming, Chou Mao-shu,
Lu Tzu-ching, Wang Yang-ming, Wang
Ch'uan-shan and Huang Li-chou. ³

This long list of sources, coupled with what seems to be the extremely obscure major concepts jen, i-t'ai, t'ung and hsin-li and some 'internal contradictions', as some put it, in T'an's presentation, lead to different interpretations of the major schools T'an used to formulate his political thought. Some think that Mohism and Wang Fu-chih are the chief influences;⁴ others regard Western science and Huang Li-chou as his major philosophical inspiration.⁵ Still others believe that Christianity is the main source.⁶ A close scrutiny of the Jen-hsüeh reveals that T'an did not simply lump together different schools of thought to construct his treatise. He was an intellectual eclectic who tried to draw the best from different schools to form a synthesis which is based very significantly upon the Buddhist philosophy. In other words, Buddhism serves an all-embracing function in his thought.

The following study, however, does not limit itself to proving that Buddhism serves such a function, but also shows how and why this philosophy is related to his radical political thought. Although the emphasis here is to explore the Buddhist influence upon its author, this study has not excluded the infiltration and impact of other schools.

Sometimes, indeed, there are shifts of theoretical ground when some particular issues are touched upon. These will be mentioned wherever such impact is traceable.

The Jen-hsüeh is in fact a work of comparative study of China and the West. T'an was able to make such an approach with his newly acquired knowledge of Buddhism, his avid reading of books and magazines published by the missionary societies and his profound understanding of the strength and weakness of Confucianism. In the treatise, he intended to propose ideas which would be common to the best of all strains of thought and would prove to be viable for China. It is thus apparent that non-Confucian elements came to play an important part in the final formulation of his work. By using Buddhism, Christianity and science, T'an hoped to show the Chinese people that China for the past several thousand years had been under the yoke of the Confucianism of Hsun Tzu. Reform was necessary. More so was the need to alter the parochial view of the Chinese people so that they could understand the idea of interpenetration, or t'ung, between different entities or levels, the principle of which could best be illustrated by Buddhism. This quest for liberation from parochialism is evident from his own remarks:

With tears, wailing and unremitting exhortation, I am determined to hasten the breaking out of the webs in which we are entangled, and to leave this [Jen-hsüeh] behind as a testament and antidote. The webs are void and infinite. First, one must break through the web of profit and official emoluments. Next, one must break through the web of vulgar studies such as textual criticism and ornate literary essays. Next, one must break out of the web of all confining disciplines of the world. Next, one must break through the web of monarchy. Next, one must break through the web of moral relations. Next, one must break through the web of Heaven. 7

This in brief is the spirit of the Jen-hsüeh. Such iconoclasm, fostered partly by his determination to take 'Soaring flight' (chuang-fei 飛), is unprecedented in modern Chinese intellectual thought. It was vital in the breaking down of the old traditional boundaries to permit the building of a viable one. T'an was successful in the former; as to the latter, he looked to Buddhism as a final solution.

The Jen-hsüeh,⁸ written under the pen-name of "Mr. Lotus Form of All Sentient Beings" (hua-hsiang chu'ng-sheng 華相衆生),⁹ was completed during the summer of 1896 and the spring of 1897, but was published, after T'an's execution, in the Ch'ing-i pao 清議報 (The China Discussion) in thirteen instalments between 1898 and 1901.¹⁰ Often described as a "book", the Jen-hsüeh is in reality a "treatise"

or a long "essay" of roughly forty-five thousand characters, and was published in two chüan of fifty p'ien, including a section on definitions of axioms at the beginning of the work. These axioms provide the basic principles and criteria that underline his arguments and observations. The division into two chüan, however, is somewhat arbitrary. For while the second chüan appears to be devoted to a critical analysis of China's temporal problems and T'an's suggestions for remedial action, actually these points are taken up in the first chüan too.

The content of the Jen-hsüeh can be conveniently grouped in three sections: first, a description and elaboration of the principal concepts jen, i-t'ai (Ether), t'ung, and hsin-li (the power of mind) which are the metaphysical cornerstones of the whole work; second, a critical examination of the main issues of the Chinese political and social problems at stake; and third, a comparative approach to the role and function of the three main religious systems - Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity.

In its presentation, the Jen-hsüeh begins with twenty-seven definitions. To understand all of them actually involves a lengthy elaboration from the text of the treatise. The first chüan, leaving

aside some critical remarks that T'an made on current affairs, is primarily concerned with an explanation of the meanings of the concepts of jen, t'ung and i-t'ai. It is therefore logical and convenient to take up these points as they are presented in the work. Axioms stated in the 'definition' section will be brought in wherever relevant to shed light on the general frame of argument.

The first two definitions state the essence of T'an's metaphysics and their relationship. "The fundamental meaning of jen", T'an states, "is penetration. Ether, electricity and the power of mind are instruments to point out why penetration is possible". The second definition continues by saying: "Ether, electricity are coarse media whose names are used to lend substance to the power of mind".¹¹ It is clear from two statements that jen is regarded as the highest source, the essence of which is 'penetration' or 'communication'. The means through which the principle of communication is manifested are Ether, electricity and the power of mind.

Of these four concepts, t'ung is very important and problematic. It is a flexible Chinese term which bears different shades of meaning in different intellectual contexts. It can be translated as

communication, penetration, all-pervasiveness, openness or unobstructedness.¹² The crux of the problem simply lies in the quality of these English equivalents. In this study, t'ung is translated differently as the texts vary. One of the meanings of t'ung is a characteristic of jen. Definition 3 states: "The concept of t'ung takes 'The tao pervades all as one' as most inclusive".¹³ Tao in T'an's vocabulary is an equivalent of jen. That t'ung is a feature and a determinant of the degree of jen can be illustrated from the following passage:

The presence or absence of jen depends upon the degree to which it penetrates (t'ung) or is obstructed, for these qualities basically determine whether there is jen or lack of jen. When it penetrates, it is like the wires of electricity which stretch in all directions, no matter how far, thus bringing together different regions as if there were a single body. This is why the Book of Changes, after first speaking of yüan then goes on to speak of heng. This yüan is jen, while heng is penetration (t'ung). If there is jen, there must be penetration. Likewise, only through penetration can the strength of jen be completely developed.¹⁴

Another meaning of t'ung can be rendered as communication. This is most succinctly stated in Definition 4 where T'an described four different levels where such 'communication' should be effected:

The concept of communication (t'ung) involves four concepts. The communication of internal and external is derived chiefly from the Spring and Autumn Annals, for during periods of Great Peace, distant and far, large and small are as one. The communication of above and below, of male and female, and of inside and outside the family is derived largely from the Book of Changes for when yang 陽 is below yin 陰 then there is good fortune and when yin is below yang, then there is disaster this kind of positive-negative argument. The communication between the self and others derived largely from the Buddhist scriptures, for others and the self have no form. 15

But T'an states elsewhere that the concept of 'communication of the self and others', a concept he owed to Buddhism, is one that is inclusive of the meanings of the other three. To put it in T'an's own words: "That which includes the meaning of all the above three communications is the 'communication of the self and others'." This is the universal principle of the three religious teachings - Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, and the essence of the benevolence of a benevolent man. ¹⁶ The quotation T'an used is suggestive of its possible source from the Diamond Sutra (Chin-kang ching 金剛經 Vijracchedika prajñāpāramitā sūtra) in which there is a saying that "there is no characterisation of man, and of the self". ¹⁷ The doctrine of no-self, however, is common to all Buddhist schools. As can be seen later in the text of the Jen-hsüeh, the denial

of the self and others is used to support the Buddhist reading of reincarnation.¹⁸

The concept of t'ung, viewed in the general framework of Buddhism, can be equated with the idea of wu-ai 無礙 of the Hua-yen school. The essential teaching of this school is its totalistic principle based on the theory of universal causation by the realm of principles (li-fa chieh 理法界 dharma-dhatu). According to this, all the dharms arise simultaneously. However, it should be noted that all these dharms are void. This voidness has two aspects - the static aspect as noumenon, and the dynamic aspect as phenomenon. From this the school proceeds to its basic positions: first, that the noumenon and phenomenon are blended unobstructedly with each other, and second, that all phenomena are mutually identified with one another. In such a situation every phenomenon is a manifestation of the noumenon. However, each phenomenon remains in its own position, distinct and dissimilar from the noumenon. The important concept is that all phenomena are manifestations of one noumenon, they are in perfect harmony with each other, like the different waves of the same water.¹⁹ What T'an derived from Hua-yen Buddhism is that the most important principle of jen is the interpenetration and mutual compatibility of different phenomena which he used the concept

of t'ung, or unobstructedness to illustrate. Like Hua-yen Buddhism, T'an also talked about four levels of communication; the difference being that t'ung in Hua-yen is metaphysical, while t'ung in the Jen-hsüeh is primarily socio-political.

T'an next touches on the concept of Ether. He states the substance of Ether with the following words:

Throughout the realms of physical phenomena, empty space and sentient beings, there is a substance supremely great and supremely subtle which adheres to, penetrates, connects and permeates all. The eyes cannot see its colour, the ears cannot hear its sound, and the mouth and nose cannot taste or smell its flavour or odour. Though there is no name for it, we shall call it 'Ether'. As manifested in function Confucius called it at different times 'love' (jen 仁), 'the ultimate source' (yüan 元) or 'nature' (hsing 性). Moh-tzu called it 'universal love' (chieh-ai 兼愛). The Buddha called it 'the sea of natures' (hsing-hai 性海), 'kindness and commiseration' (tz'u-pei 慈悲). Jesus called it 'soul', 'loving others as oneself', and 'seeing one's enemies as friends'. Scientists call it 'attraction' or 'gravity'. All of these are this one substance. From it the realm of physical phenomena is born; upon it the realm of empty space is established, and from it issues all sentient beings. 20

Next T'an uses seven examples to illustrate the function of Ether. Basically Ether is here portrayed as an equivalent to power, which adheres and penetrates all spaces and beings. Interestingly but not surprisingly, T'an constructs an elaborate model of the macrocosm when illustrating the function of Ether:

Take any particle and divide it, even to the point of nothingness. Examine of what substance it is composed. It is only Ether. Closest to the Earth is the moon. The moon and Earth mutually attract each other and do not drift apart. The moon is under the influence of the Earth which together with Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune form the eight planets. There are also innumerable asteroids and innumerable comets which mutually attract each other and do not drift apart. Venus, and Mercury, and all the planets each have moons revolving about them and these planets and their moons mutually attract each other and do not drift apart. The eight planets with their moons, together with the asteroids and comets, revolve around the sun rapidly. They mutually attract each other and do not drift apart. This is one world. The sun of this world, controlling all the planets and moons, orbits about the Pleiades, revolves rapidly. Altogether they are as numerous as the sands of the Ganges and form the star clusters of the Milky Way. They mutually attract each other and do not drift apart. This is one major chiliocosmos (ta-ch'ien shih-chieh 大千世界). There is also something which the Pleiades of this chiliocosmos, with the sun, the planets, their moons and the star clusters of the Milky Way under it also goes round

revolving rapidly. Altogether they are
 as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.
 All of the star clusters, galaxies,
 nebulae and gases mutually attract each
 other and do not drift apart. This is
 one sea of worlds (shih-chieh-hai 世界海).
 As many sea of worlds as the sands of
 the Ganges comprise one nature of worlds
 (shih-chieh hsing 世界性). As many
 nature of worlds as the sands of the Ganges
 comprise one seed of worlds (shih-chieh
 chung 世界種). As many seeds of worlds
 as the sands of the Ganges comprise one
 lotus world (hua-ts'ang shih-chieh 華藏世界).
 Beyond the lotus world we can begin to
 speak of one yüan, and the yüan are innu-
 merable and there is no end to them in time.
 They all mutually attract each other and do
 not drift apart and it is all Ether. 21

Although this description of the macrocosm, largely drawn
 from the Buddhist cosmological theories and indeed fully augmented
 with Buddhist vocabulary, may seem to be hardly convincing in the
 light of modern astronomical findings, it helps, like the concept of
t'ung, to liberate the Chinese people from ethnocentrism and the
 notion that the earth or the world is the centre of the universe. 22

The manifestation of the most subtle function of Ether, T'an
 continues, is the brain in the human body and electricity in the realm
 of empty spaces. But, T'an explains, the brain is in fact electricity
 in its tangible form and likewise, electricity is the intangible form

of brain. The brain nerves pervade and organise the whole body as one just as electricity pervades Heaven, earth, all creation, the self and others as a whole. This being the case, T'an argues, there should not be any distinction between different entities. To have distinction between the self and others is to be "not-jen" (p'u-jen 不仁). For this reason the distinction between jen and not-jen lies in the degree of communication. When jen prevails, there is communication; and only communication allows the fulfilment of jen. T'an concludes that jen, after all, is the function of Ether, and Heaven, earth and all creation are born from it and inter-related with it.²³

Here then emerges the problem of the exact relationship between jen and Ether, which is never spelled out with consistent clarity by T'an. At one point in the treatise, he suggests that jen is the function of Ether.²⁴ And as stated in the proceeding paragraph, T'an repeats several times that "within Heaven and earth there is only jen".²⁵ Furthermore, T'an states that "scholars must first recognise clearly the substance and function of Ether before they can speak about jen".²⁶

The relationship between jen and Ether makes some sense

when viewed from the context of Buddhist metaphysics. It should be noted clearly that T'an in Definition 10 states that: "Jen is the source of Heaven and earth and myriad things; it is thus mere-ideation, it is thus mere-consciousness".²⁷ Again in Definition 13 T'an writes: "Not created and not destroyed is the essence of jen".²⁸ It can be seen that jen essentially equals the eighth consciousness (alayavijnana) or 'mind' in Wei-shih Buddhism. The three schools of Buddhism that are mentioned in the 'bibliography', moreover, are all idealistic schools. The power of mind, used as a means for communication and serving a more utilitarian function than Ether and electricity in the realisation of an idealised condition of perfect harmony, is the power of jen. This is evident from Definition 12: "Jen is tranquil and does not move; for its senses can penetrate the whole universe".²⁹ All these sources on jen are indicative of the fact that it is something like the body of essence (chen-jü 眞, 眞) in Buddhism. It is the ultimate and only reality, or pure consciousness. It can manifest itself in the phenomenal world. Compared to jen, then Ether, being of the phenomenal world, is indeed a coarse medium and perhaps ultimately untrue. But in terms of the phenomenal world Ether is indeed "supremely great" and "supremely subtle" and becomes a sort of basic substance or element of elements. T'an says, "The 'element of elements' [i.e. Ether] is nothing else but the single Ether. Being single, it is neither produced (from something else) nor destroyed. Since it is not created, one cannot

say that it 'exists', and since it is not destroyed, one cannot say that it does 'not exist'."³⁰ But T'an has retained the original function of Ether as discovered in Western science, that of adhesive and penetrative force in different realms.

T'an's interpretation of jen is significant in two aspects as far as the development of this philosophical concept is concerned. First, T'an has advanced the meaning of jen by relating it to the indestructable element of all elements of existence, Ether. This attempt, thorough and sophisticated as it was, nevertheless had a precedent: a passing mention of it had been made by K'ang Yu-wei.³¹ Historically speaking, the meaning of jen had advanced from being the specific virtue of benevolence to a universal virtue and the basis of all goodness. In the treatise, T'an also recognises these traditional meanings of jen. This is evident when he says "between heaven and earth, all is jen and nothing else". Such terms like knowledge (chih 智), courage (yung 勇), propriety (li 禮), bear meanings only in the context of jen.³² In other words, jen means a general virtue which is universal and fundamental from which all particular virtues ensue. However, it is clear that T'an made a departure from traditional interpretations when he related jen with Ether, thus giving a novel scientific connotation to the concept.

The second contribution of T'an is his attempt towards a re-interpretation of jen by equating it with ideation of the Mere-consciousness school and the notion of mutual interpenetration and interdependence of the Hua-yen school in Buddhism. One of the definitions T'an gives is: "Jen is the source of Heaven and earth and all things: it is thus only mind, it is thus mere-consciousness". This shows how the idea of the eighth consciousness is linked up with the creative source jen in the treatise. Moreover, penetration (t'ung), being the first basic principle of jen and a concept derived from interpenetration of the Hua-yen philosophy, gives jen a Buddhist colouring which the concept has never before received.

Jen, however, can be confused by names (ming 名). Names are originally without substance and therefore easily confused. The confusion of jen, fortunately, results neither in the destruction of jen nor Ether. One that cannot be caused to perish, after all, cannot perish.³³ T'an draws in a Buddhist concept of "neither creation nor destruction" (pu-sheng pu-mieh 不生不滅) to explain this phenomenon. He says, "not increasing is the result of non-creation; not decreasing is the result of non-destruction". The distortion of names is what the Buddha says as: "From the non-beginning of time, there has been distortion arising from defilement of mind and erroneous thinking, thus holding false as true".³⁴

Proofs of non-creation and non-destruction are many. One of the examples T'an gives is that of water and steam. When water is heated, it dries up. It is not that the water is destroyed, but that it is transformed into hydrogen and oxygen. If one collects the hydrogen and oxygen the weight will still equal that of the water. Moreover, when the heat is withdrawn, it will again be transformed into water without the slightest loss.³⁵ This example, T'an says, serves to prove that the Buddhist principle of "neither creation nor destruction" finds its ready support from Western science. Science, T'an believes, can be used to buttress the validity and universality of the Buddhist philosophy.³⁶ Examples are so numerous that even "every Buddha has innumerable bodies, and every body has innumerable mouths",³⁷ they can still never be told.

When T'an traces the beginning of non-creation and non-destruction, he put it clearly with strong Buddhist colouring:

Where does non-creation and non-destruction come from? We say that it comes from the minute process of creation and destruction. This is not the minute process of creation and destruction of the bodhisattva stage spoken of by the Buddha, but rather the natural process of creation and destruction of the Ether. Non-creation and non-destruction to the point of the Buddha's entering nirvana cannot be

excelled, thus the Buddha has said that without leaving the lion throne he would manifest himself in all places. All enters one, and one enters all, thus it must be the case that the Buddha is constantly descending from the Heavenly Palace, constantly being reborn into another state of existence, constantly dwelling in the womb, constantly being born, constantly leaving the home and take vows, constantly perfecting the dharma, constantly driving out demons, constantly preaching the Law, and constantly enjoying nirvana. In the shortest moment of time there are already infinite Buddha creations and destructions, already infinite beings being created and destroyed, already infinite worlds and dharma realms being created and destroyed. If we seek it in the past, creation and destruction are without beginning; if we seek it in the future, creation and destruction are without end; if we seek it in the present, creation and destruction are ceaseless. They are constantly parading before us without even stopping. Therefore, it is not only when there is birth and death that we have reincarnation. For this is only the great cycle of reincarnation. As at no time is there not birth and death, so that at no time is there no reincarnation. Where there is departing and remaining, moving and resting, speaking and silence, thinking and vacant, listening and seeing, eating and drinking, dreaming and waking, a thread of breath, a circulation of blood, we find that that goes, and this comes; this connects and that is broken. That which goes dies, that which comes is born; that which connects is born, and that which is broken dies. For what reason is there birth? For what reason is there death? It is that we can never escape from birth, death and reincarnation. Is this not pathetic? From the continual sequence

it is created and caused to come into being. Based on this, then the great cycle of reincarnation is necessarily continuously created and becoming. The Buddha therefore said that the three realms are all mind. Whether a man will be able to escape from the great cycle of reincarnation or not can be known from the way he fares with the lesser cycle of reincarnation. If the lesser cycle of reincarnation does not cease, then life and death will never cease and Ether's minute process of creation and destruction will also never cease. 38

T'an further attempts to use the Buddhist concepts 'past, present and future are one time' (san-shih i-shih 三世一時) and 'one contains the many' (i-to hsiang-jung 一多相容) and relate them to the concept of non-creation and non-destruction in order to dismantle all conventional thinking about time and the self and others. T'an first takes up the analysis of time.³⁹ For a person, the realization of the existence of today is achieved through a comparison with the past and future. However, what is past is already past and what is to come has not yet come, it is therefore impossible to know that there is a today. To sum up the lengthy argument T'an presents with numerous illustrations, it can be said that since today is not created, nor is it destroyed, It buttresses the view that creation and destruction is non-creation and non-destruction.

The line of argument is also applicable to the conventional definition of the self.⁴⁰ T'an explains that when blood and breath are functioning they do not permit the least instant halt. To point definitely to one expiration or one inspiration or one cycle of the blood circulation as the self, is simply impossible. If we consider that creation is the self, suddenly the self is destroyed. And by the same token, if we consider that destruction is the self, then the self can be said to exist in creation and also in destruction. In this case, no creation and destruction can be spoken of. The principle is readily understandable when considering the relationship between thinking and the brain. The brain is tangible and of a fixed quantity while the quantity of thinking is unlimited. How can the limitless be contained by the limited? The explanation lies in the Buddhist theory of 'one contains the many'.

The two concepts, 'one contains the many' and 'the past, present and future are one time', clearly have their origin from the Hua-yen Buddhism. They can be traced directly to the principle of the harmonious emergence of the six forms (lu-hsiang yuan-jung 六相圓融).⁴¹ This is used to explain the basic principles of interpenetration and mutual identification underlying the concept of perfect harmony of the Hua-yen school. The three pairs of antitheses - wholeness (tsung hsiang 總相) and diversity (pieh hsiang 別相),

universality (t'ung hsiang 同相) and particularity (i-hsiang 異相), integration (ch'eng-hsiang 成相) and disintegration (huai-hsiang 壞相), make up the so-called six forms (lu-hsiang 六相). But these six forms do not possess any independent existence (svabhāva). If they exist in diversities, particularities and disintegration, there would be no wholeness, universality and integration. Such components of the antithesis depend upon the others for its meaning and existence. They should be observed from an organic and totalistic orientation exemplified in the Hua-yen concept of perfect harmony.

On the relationship between 'one' and 'many', the Hua-yen philosophy first builds up a foundation by pointing out the dialectical link of 'one is embodied in many and many in one' to arrive at the conclusion that 'one is all, all is one'.⁴² Such idea is abundantly enumerated in the Hua-yen ching 華嚴經 (Garland Sutra) and other scriptures of this school like the Hua-yen i-sheng chiao-i feng-chi chang 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 (The doctrines of Hua-yen one vehicle in sections)⁴³ and Hua-yen i-hai pai-men 華嚴義海百門 (Hundred theories to the sea of ideas of the Garland Sutra).⁴⁴ In accounting for the principle of 'one contains many', the Hua-yen philosophy says that without establishing 'one', 'many' is meaningless. "When one sees the dust as round and small", writes the

Hua-yen i-hai pai-men, "it is one's mind that manifests it as small; there is no smallness distinct from it. Thus when we see this dust, it is entirely the dust manifested by the mind which sees the mountains as high and wide. Therefore, the large is contained right in the small".⁴⁵ This principle can again be grasped through one of the 'ten mysterious gates' (shih hsuan men 十玄門) in Fa Tsang's essay Chih-shih-tzu chang 金獅子章 (An essay on the golden lion). It is called i-to hsiang-jung pu-t'ung men 一多相容不同門 (the gate of mutual compatibility and difference between the one and the many).

The abnegation of the objectivity of time is also another principle that T'an used under the term 'the three times are but one time' (san-shih i-shih 三世一時). In the Hua-yen ching, there is a saying that 'any instant (ksana) is the same as hundreds and thousands of aeons and hundreds and thousands of aeons are the same as a single instant'.⁴⁶ The concept of time pivots on the 'round' view of Hua-yen philosophy. Again from the Hua-yen ching, there is a saying that "in the past there is the future, and in the future, the present The infinite kalpas are but one moment, and that moment is the infinite kalpas".⁴⁷

Yet obscured by the karmic force of successive kalpas,

T'an continues, not everybody can understand the truth of 'one contains the many' and 'past, present and future are one time'. They are blinded by relativity.⁴⁸ Relativity arises from the belief in the existence of the self (wo-chih 我執 ātma-grāha). People get their conception of smallness and largeness by comparison with their own sizes. In this way, there is only perception from the viewpoint of the self, and the world is truly without the difference of great or small. This erroneous holding of relativity can be rectified most efficiently by Western science, in which "the expanded is shrunk, the minute is exposed, the lost is preserved and the exhausted is amplified".⁴⁹ Thus to destroy relativity it is first essential to understand science; however, desiring to understand science it is again necessary to distinguish relatives. Distinguishing relatives is called by Westerners as 'dialectics' which T'an regards as the foundation of any learning. From dialectics one progresses to mathematics, which is really dialectics expressed in form. From mathematics one proceeds to science, which T'an holds as the practical application of dialectics and mathematics. This is the intermediate stage of one's study. When science is understood and relativity is destroyed, this is the ultimate achievement of those who study.⁵⁰ From this standpoint, T'an explicitly states his opinion on the relationship between Buddhism and science: "Western studies all have their source in Buddhism; after all, it is only with Western studies that Buddhism can once again be revealed to the

world".⁵¹ The reason why some do not, or cannot, understand this principle is because they only use the function of the five senses, the eyes, the ears, the nose, tongue and body to sense colour, sound, scent, flavour and touch, but no more. Considering the measurelessness and boundlessness of the phenomenal world, the world of empty spaces, of sentient beings and everything in them, T'an says, it is clear that it cannot end with five. T'an gives an example with the eyes. He uses the material from the Ta-chih tu-lun 大智度論 (mahaprajnaparamitasastra),⁵² the monumental Madhyamika treatise attributed to Nagarjuna, the idea of the five kinds of eyes:⁵³ the fleshy or human eyes 肉眼, the Heavenly or deva eyes 天眼, the eyes of intelligence or Hinayana wisdom 慧眼, the eyes of dharma or bodhisattva truth 法眼 and the Buddha eyes 佛眼. What the fleshy eyes see as land and empty space, the Heavenly eyes perhaps see as the sea and Hell. There is nothing that is seen that is not different. The eyes of Hinayana wisdom and above, also each are different.⁵⁴

When T'an pursues his line of reasoning and traces the beginning of the minute process of birth and destruction, he immediately plunges into the abstruse philosophical system of the Mere-consciousness school. The minute process of creation and destruction, to

begin with, is different from its origin; or at most, only the Buddha can know where it begins.⁵⁵ But the most important concept one needs to know is that things now created are now destroyed; it is the process of incessant creation and destruction. In reality - and enlightened people know it - there has never been creation and destruction. The perception of creation and destruction is mere-consciousness.⁵⁶ Even the eighth consciousness (ālayavijñāna) itself is without creation or destruction. The Buddha together with all living things never ceases. The conception of the self comes into being as a result of the functioning of the seventh consciousness. This adhesion produces sense-consciousness (the sixth consciousness, or manovijñāna) and what is perceived are external forms (hsiang 相 lakṣaṇa). External forms in turn perfume the seeds (bījas) in the eighth consciousness which becomes the karma of future lives. Meticulously enumerating the Buddhist epistemology, T'an comes to the conclusion that the location of one's cerebrum is the location of the storehouse-consciousness.⁵⁷ Their relationship is like a mirror and the images it reflects. The 'circular pool' in the cerebrum resembles a mirror, it reflects all creations. And taking all creations as mirror, then the image of oneself is reflected on it. The mirrors contain each other and are each other's content. These images or reflections are multifarious; neither can be said as internal nor external.

From the above exposition, T'an makes explicit the role of Ether in relationship to his main Buddhist school the Mere-consciousness school, by saying that "Ether, after all, is also the external form of Mere-ideation".⁵⁸ Since only consciousness exists, form can be discarded. This is why T'an says that it is permissible to say that there is no Ether. The term is used as a sign or convention which, seen from the higher plane of Buddhist wisdom, cannot be said as having a beginning or an ending. Consciousness, however, does have an ending though not a beginning. When karma consciousness (yeh-shih 業識, or the defiled eighth consciousness) becomes wisdom (chih-hui 智慧), this is the end of consciousness. What T'an here refers to is in fact the final stage of the holy path of attainment, or ultimate realisation (chiu-ching-wei 究竟位 nisthārastha). This is the attainment of Buddhahood.⁵⁹

In the same p'ien, T'an makes an elaborate analogy between the Great Learning of Confucianism and the Mere-consciousness School and the Hua-yen school of Buddhism. The following is a full translation of the section in this p'ien :

I [T'an] have heard XXX [Yang Jen-shan?] lecture on the Great Learning. The Great Learning is in fact the Wei Shih School in Buddhism. The first five consciousnesses

(ch'ien wu-shih 前五識) of the Wei Shih School cannot exist independently, for it is necessary first to evolve the ālayavijñāna, or the eighth consciousness (ti-pa-shih 第八識). The eighth consciousness cannot evolve itself, for it is necessary first to evolve mānas, or the seventh consciousness (ti-ch'i-shih 第七識). The seventh consciousness is not able to suddenly evolve, it is necessary first to evolve the sixth consciousness (ti-liu-shih 第六識). The sixth consciousness evolves and becomes the wisdom of profound contemplation (miao kuan-ch'a chih 妙觀察智 pratyaveksanajñāna) or what the Great Learning calls extending knowledge and knowledge will be successfully extended. The Buddha's saying that only when the sense-consciousness (chih i-shih 知覺識) evolves can holding-consciousness evolve. It is thus said [in the Great Learning]: "Desiring to make the thoughts sincere, it is essential first to extend knowledge." Extending knowledge relies on investigation of things. Investigating things and extending knowledge are the mother of all works. Confucius said, 'To start, in one's studies, with what is below and progress to what is above'. Chu Hsi's Reconstitution of the commentary on the investigation of things (pu ko-chi ch'uan 補格致傳) in fact applies the 'five teachings' (wu-chiao 五教) of the Hua-yen School. 'The teaching of the small vehicle' (hsiao-chiao 小教) of Hua-yen is Elementary Learning which is not suitable for the Great Learning.⁶⁰ Of the other four teachings which constitute the initial stage of the Great Learning, one must make scholars approach all things in the world and in every case to rely upon principles already known and to further exhaust them is 'the elementary teaching of the great vehicle' (shih chiao 始教) in Hua-yen.⁶¹ While [the following sentence] 'in order to pursue them to their ultimate' is 'the final teaching of the great vehicle' (chung

chiao 終教). 'When efforts have been employed for a long time one day, there is an enlightening and penetrating comprehension' is 'the abrupt teaching of the great vehicle' (tun-chiao 頓教). 'Then one will have reaching the surface and interior, the subtle and the gross of all things and the entire function of our minds will be clear', is 'the round teaching of the great vehicle' (yüan-chiao 圓教). No matter what task is concerned it is imperative to begin with investigation of things and the extension of knowledge. This is called the wisdom of profound contemplation. The seventh consciousness evolves and becomes the wisdom of universal equality (p'ing-teng hsing-chih 平等性智 samatājñāna) or what the Great Learning means by the making sincere of one's thought and the success in making one's thought sincere. What the Buddha referred to as 'holding' Confucius called 'thought'. Only when the seventh consciousness evolves will storehouse-consciousness evolve. It is thus said: 'Desiring to rectify the mind it is first necessary to make sincere the thoughts'. Holding is holding the self as existent, and the reason why thoughts are insincere is also because of the belief of the real or existent self. Only with equality can one rid oneself of the self. Being selfless there is then nothing one holds on to and this can be called sincerity. 'Making sincere the thoughts' means 'not deceiving oneself', in other words, to deceive the self with the self. 'Small men ordinarily do what is not good and will stop at nothing, but only when they see the superior man will they try to conceal their un-goodness and display goodness. This is a case of not only having a self but of having two selves. 'When others look at us it is as if they see through us'. Clearly, they see the existence of a self in us. To get rid of the concept of the self, it is necessary to practise meditation. 'The superior man must be

careful of himself when alone'. This is the method of meditation of the Confucian school. Tseng Tzu's 'Being looked at by ten eyes and pointed to by ten hands is this not a daunting situation?' is the observation of the Confucian school. The ten hands and ten eyes are what the Buddha called a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. What is the difference between a thousand and ten? Similarly, we can see here the view that where others can do ten we ought to be able to do a thousand. This is called the wisdom of universal equality. The eighth consciousness evolves and becomes the wisdom of great mirror (ta-yüan ching chih 大圓鏡智 mahādarśana-jñāna) or what the Great Learning calls 'rectifying the mind, the mind is rectified'. What the Buddha calls the 'storehouse-consciousness' Confucius calls the 'mind'. When the storehouse-consciousness evolves then the first five consciousnesses will evolve of themselves. Thus it is said; 'Desiring to cultivate one's person it is necessary first to rectify one's mind'. As soon as the mind centres on something, it cannot be proper, for after all, there is something on which it is not centred. This is how the storehouse-consciousness is non-defiled-and-non-defined. The rectified mind is without the mind and also without thoughts; it centres on nothing and so nowhere is it not centred. This is called the wisdom of great mirror. The first five consciousnesses evolve and become the wisdom of perfect achievement (ch'eng so-tso chih 成所作智 krtyānusthāna-jñāna) or what the Great Learning calls 'cultivate one's person and one's person is cultivated'. What the Buddha referred to as eyes, ears, nose, tongue and body, Confucius together called the person. Confucius in telling Yen Yuan of the four "don't's" (ssu wu 四勿) had in mind only of seeing, hearing, speaking and acting. From the directness of the remark we may know that Yen's storehouse-consciousness has already evolved. Only when the storehouse-consciousness has evolved can

one be worthy of being jen ... When the first five consciousnesses have all evolved, then everywhere is jen to be found. Regulating the family, governing the state and pacifying the world would not be worthy of being mentioned, therefore these all take cultivating oneself as the root.¹ This is what is called the wisdom of perfect achievement. Confucius was a great Sage, and he is such that when he directed his mind it immediately produced the correct result, for fundamentally there was no sequence of achievement to speak of. As for manifesting his person and preaching the law, he set things forth in great detail, and does not admit of distortion. At fifteen having a will to learn was the same as beginning the task with a sincere mind. At thirty being firmly established was the mind's being unified and not confused but still confused. At forty there being no perplexity means that the mind had really evolved into the wisdom of profound contemplation. At fifty he knew the mandate of Heaven, thus the self-adhesion was broken but as the notion of Heavenly mandate still persisted, the dharma-adhesion was not yet broken. At sixty, his ears were obedient, the dharma-adhesion was broken and became the wisdom of universal equality. At seventy when he followed what his heart desired without overstepping the proper limits, the storehouse-consciousness had become the wisdom of great mirror. Evolving the consciousness into wisdom is what all sages and the ordinary people have in common. Wisdom is called by Confucius the tao mind, karma-consciousness, the human mind. If apart from the human mind there is no tao mind, that is, there is no karma-consciousness, then after all there is no means of evolving into wisdom. Wang Fu-chih said, 'The Heavenly principles may be found in human desires'. Without human desires the Heavenly principles would have no means of manifesting. This most nearly corresponds to the Great Learning's sequence

of achievement. This is not Chu Hsi's error of separation, on the one hand, viz., trying to purge oneself totally of human desires. Nor is it like Wang Yang-ming's error of confusion, on the other, viz., saying that the streets are full of sages. Moreover, the Great Learning also corresponds to the four dharma-realms of the Hua-yen school. The investigation of things refers to the phenomenal realm; extending knowledge refers to the noumenal realm; making sincere one's thought, rectifying the mind, and cultivating one's person means that phenomenal realm and the noumenal realm are un-obstructed; regulating the family, governing the state, and pacifying the world means that all phenomena are also interdependent. If only one devotes oneself to learning and deep thought, one will realise that the Six Classics tally with the Buddhist sutras and that nothing goes beyond that can be found what is already expressed in the Buddhist sutras. 62

Here T'an seems to draw parallels between the moral cultivation doctrines of the Great Learning and the attainment of the four transcendental wisdoms of Buddhahood, through a transformation of the eight consciousnesses of the Mere-consciousness school and the four dharma-realms of the Hua-yen school. What he intends to prove is that Buddhism contains all the principles enumerated in the Confucian Classics. He tries to show that the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge are the wisdom of profound contemplation attained and belong separately to the realm of acts and the realm of principles. The sincerity of thought, the rectification of

The Great Learning

The More-Consciousness School

Eight Consciousnesses

Four transcendental wisdoms

The Hsue-yen School

Four dharmas-realms

The investigation of things

格物

The extension of knowledge

致知

The sincerity of thought

誠意

The rectification of mind

正心

The cultivation of the person

修身

The regulation of the family

齊家

The government of the state

治國

The pacification of the world

平天下

manovijnana
sense-centre
consciousnesses

前二識

laksyaśakti
reflexive wisdom

manas
thought-centre
consciousnesses

前七識

Samantibhava
universal equality
wisdom

alaya-vijnana
store-consciousness

第八識

Mahadansheng
great mirror
wisdom

the first five
senses

前五識

Kṛtyakṛtya
perfect achievement
wisdom

仁

initial teaching

初教

final teaching

終教

intermediate teaching

中教

round teaching

圓教

the realm of non-observation of facts and principles

理事無礙法界

the realm of non-observation of all facts

事事無礙法界

mind and the cultivation of the person, furthermore, are respectively the parallels of the wisdom of universal equality, the wisdom of great mirror and the wisdom of perfect achievement. They together correspond to 'the realm of non-obstruction of facts and principles'. The wisdom of perfect achievement precipitates jen, which is the embodiment of the 'regulation of the family', 'the government of the state' and 'the pacification of the world', while it is also the equivalent of the 'realm of non-obstruction of all facts'.

This attempt to trace and equate the evolution of consciousness (in a broad sense) and the attainment of wisdom in both Confucian and Buddhist systems carries with it unavoidable mistakes. In the passage, for instance, T'an says that each sentence in the paragraph concerning the 'extension of knowledge' in the Great Learning matches with the 'five teachings' of the Hua-yen school. This identification, if not far-fetched, is untenable. The 'five teachings' is primarily intended to classify critically all Buddhist scriptures or schools into different stages or periods in order to show that Hua-yen teaching is the most profound and perfect in Buddhism. That is why it is often called as 'the round doctrine of the great vehicle' (ta-ch'eng yüan-chiao 大乘圓教).⁶³ This classification arose partly from the encyclopaedic proclivity of the Chinese intellectual tradition. The T'ien-tai school, which T'an never mentions in any

of his work, also has such classification but with a different criterion and terminology. If T'an could make such an analogy with Hua-yen, he could have applied it to T'ien-tai too. But the main issues of the problem lies in the inadequacy of such parallelism. The fallacy, in a nutshell, is that the passage concerning 'the extension of knowledge' is the process of acquisition of knowledge, while the 'five teachings' is basically a classification of Buddhist schools.

When the broad comparison of the main tenets of the Great Learning, the transformation of the eight consciousnesses into four transcendental wisdoms and the four dharma-realms is considered, one can see that again T'an was muddling what should be the stages of Confucian moral cultivation with the ontological conception of 'the theory of universal causation of dharma-realm' (fa-chieh yuan-che 法界緣起) and the attainment of wisdoms developed from the eight consciousnesses.⁶⁴ But T'an truly perceives from this analysis the universalistic element of these three systems which, in his treatise, is the idea of jen. It can be seen from this why T'an regards jen as mere-ideation and mere-consciousness and how it is related with the concept of t'ung, or unobstructedness, in the realm of all facts. Definition 13 states: "Non-creation and non-destruction is the body of jen".⁶⁵ Other descriptions of jen, like Definition 1: "The first and most fundamental principle of jen is unobstructedness"⁶⁶

and Definition 17: "Jen is oneness; all terms of relativity should be demolished"⁶⁷, become immediately clear in the light of the Hua-yen Buddhism. The foregoing discussion exposes the use as well as the errors when making parallels between Confucian and Buddhist philosophies. This will become even clearer when T'an later tries yet another equation, that of Buddhism and science.

The last of the four major concepts is hsin-li 心 理, or the power of mind⁶⁸, which begins to emerge late in the second chüan of the treatise when T'an discusses the proper way of setting the world back to normalcy and universality. When one considers the destiny of China, T'an laments, one cannot help to think that a great kalpa is imminent. The reason being the ubiquity of wickedness in people's minds. He says that while the Westerners use external machines to manufacture goods, the Chinese use internal machines to produce kalpa destiny. Cunning mind is engendered by suspicion and jealousy. These have to be swept away in order to save China from disorder. T'an proposes that "there is no technique to save us but mind alone can resolve it. Since kalpa destiny was originally created by mind, it naturally can be solved by mind".⁶⁹

Indeed, when the power of mind is at its greatest there is

nothing it cannot do. Unlimited in its potential, however, the power of mind has its negative aspects. If it is used according to one's sheer feelings and passions, then the power of mind, originally intended for quelling the cunning mind, can itself turn around and become cunning mind. The solution lies in the realisation of the essence of the power of mind which is 'kindness and commiseration' (tz'u-pei 慈悲). "With kindness and commiseration", T'an continues, "I see others as equal and I am without fear. Others see me as equal and are also without fear. Without fear then there is no chance for cunning".⁷⁰ The power of mind can be used for the salvation of China as well as all human beings. T'an says: "To use mind to save disasters from happening, we must not resolve to save only our own nation, but also those exceedingly strong and prosperous Western nations and indeed all sentient beings".⁷¹ Taking this cosmopolitan stand as a starting point, we may speak of jen 仁, reciprocity 恕, honesty 誠 and other virtues. The power of mind can be contagious. T'an cherishes his hope of world salvation in that "by moving one or two men, one or two are transformed, thus, by moving the world, the disaster can be prevented".⁷² The use of the power of mind depends upon total concentration; so too should be China's effort in self-strengthening. The value of concentration and singularity can be witnessed by the Secret Sect (mi-chung 密宗) of Buddhism. Its great power of chanting is nothing more than the concentrated use of the mind. They do not bother to translate Sanskrit

chants; for as soon as we begin to seek their meanings, our concentration would be lost.⁷³

T'an regards the power of mind as one which men rely upon to perform tasks. He finds it extremely difficult to represent it so he uses terms of elasticity (wa-t'u li 凹凸力) in dynamics to describe them. He devises eighteen kinds of power which include the 'power of persistence' (yung-li 永力), the 'power of rebound' (fan-li 反力), the 'power of attraction' (she-li 攝力), the 'power of resistance' (chü-li 拒力), the 'focal power' (tsung-li 總力), the 'bending power' (che-li 折力), the 'revolving power' (chuan-li 轉力), the 'sharpening power' (jui-li 銳力), the 'power of acceleration' (su-li 速力), the 'power of locomotion' (tung-li 動力), the 'power of twisting' (ning-li 撓力), the 'superseding power' (ch'ao-li 超力), the 'hooking power' (kou-li 鉤力), the 'aggravating power' (chi-li 激力), the 'power of resilience' (tan-li 彈力), the 'power of tendency' (chueh-li 浹力), the 'leaning power' (pien-li 偏力), the 'power of balance' (ping-li 平力).⁷⁴ These eighteen kinds of power immediately draw one's attention to the idea of the ten-power (shih-li 十力) of the Buddha which is mentioned in the Ta-chih tu lun.⁷⁵ But elsewhere in the Hua-yen ching 華嚴經 the term ten-powers is widely used. It is quite likely that when T'an uses scientific terms to illustrate his idealistic concept of the power of mind, he draws

examples he can find from the Hua-yen ching.

As has been explained in the previous pages, T'an maintains that the power of mind, or its equivalents in elasticity, has to be oriented towards the fulfilment of jen. Otherwise these powers, which T'an parallels with the unstable 'birth-destruction mind' (sheng-mieh hsin 生滅心) in Buddhism, will create disasters rather than quelling them.⁷⁶ Thus it is essential to employ elasticity for the sake of jen. The most explicit characteristic of jen, repeating what he said in the 'definitions' section, is the communication between Heaven and earth, China and the rest of the world, male and female, internal and external, and finally the self and others. This, T'an proclaims, is the universal principle of the three religions - Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, and the essence of the benevolence of a benevolent man. His propensity to relate Buddhism with science is again shown by his way of explaining the incommunication between the self and others. He accounts for this by the difference in the movement of the brain force (nao-ch'i 腦氣). The following is a translation of the relevant section:

The movement of the brain force
presumably is of a similar kind. That
which moves is the sense-consciousness
which is the function of the cerebrum.

That which constitutes the body of the cerebrum is the storehouse-consciousness. And that which makes regular movement of the brain force is the holding-consciousness which forms the body of the cerebellum. The function of the cerebellum depends upon the first five senses. However, in dreams and madness, the movement is irregular. This is due to the fact that while one's sense-consciousness is still unbroken, one's holding-consciousness has already stopped functioning. In fact, one's holding-consciousness might not be totally broken off, but that while one's self-adhesion lingers, one's holding of the phenomenal world being existent (dharma-graha) has already terminated. In this case, the cerebrum is still conscious, but the cerebellum is semi-conscious. That is what the Ch'eng Wei-shih lun states that when one is in low-spiritedness one raises the seventh consciousness; and that is only a temporary halt. For there is originally an order in the termination of consciousness. It begins with the sense-consciousness and then the holding-consciousness; it begins first with the holding of oneself as existent and then with the holding of the phenomenal world as existent. Now the whole order has been reversed, and this produces an irregular movement. Dreams result from the colouring of daily experiences of the first five senses. The shapes and forms of what they hold are deeply engraved on to the storehouse-consciousness of the cerebrum. The cerebellum operates the opening and shutting of (perception), making them well-arranged and neatly-organised. If dharma-adhesion terminates, it stops only half of the cerebellum from functioning. Thus in dreams one still senses oneself because the self-adhesion exists. The sense-consciousness gradually reveals itself from the storehouse-consciousness, manifesting one by one what have infected from the first five senses as if the first five senses rejoin

with it. It is in this way that dreams are formed. In fact, the first five senses are the function of the cerebellum; when it stops functioning, so too do the first five senses. But in the confused and irrational state, almost another world is created. This is the work of the unsystematic dharma-adhesion. Thus a child has no dreams because his wisdom has not yet developed. A fool has no dreams because his storehouse-consciousness is not functioning properly. A perfect man has no dreams too since his first five senses cannot be infected. This is the pattern of the movement of the brain force in dreams. Extending the application of this to idiots, we should find the case to be similar; only that their first five senses have not yet terminated. Since the brain force movement has such complex irregularities, then the sense-consciousness being consequent upon it is also very different. Thus arise differences between one man and another, between man in one place, one time and man in another place and another time, and between what one man does and what another does. How can the communication between the self and others be possible? The harm of elasticity is precisely the harm of sense-consciousness. Now in order to make them communicate, the sense-consciousness has first to be terminated; but to do this, it needs to change first the way the brain force moves. By cutting it off from external influences and making it become internally simple - so simple that there is no longer anything, then the sense-consciousness can be terminated. With the termination of the sense-consciousness the holding of the self as existent will be destroyed. When the holding of the self as existent is destroyed, the (conception of) differences will be eliminated. With such elimination, equality will emerge. Then there will be a thorough understanding, as what separates this from that no longer exists; not even the slightest obstacle like one ^{speck of} dust. This is the highest communication between the self and others. In such a situation, it fits

the saying of the Buddha: 'What are mountains, what are rivers and what is the earth?' And the saying of the Confucius that: "What is there to think of and worry about?" This is their subtle way of terminating their sense-consciousness, by which the brain force will no longer make any wild moves, and the power of mind will be manifested. This is truly jen! 77

This is yet another example of arbitrary identification of the eight consciousnesses of the Mere-consciousness school with the operation of the cerebrum and cerebellum. The eighth consciousness and the sense-consciousness are respectively the body and the function of the cerebrum; while the thought-consciousness and the first five senses are respectively the body and the function of the cerebellum. Based on this assumption, T'an continues to describe how the reception of images resembles the functioning of the eight consciousnesses and how the termination of the sense-consciousness will lead to the manifestation of the power of mind and ultimately the attainment of jen. Jen, in other words, is achieved through discarding the erroneous belief of the existence of the self (atman-adhesion) and the phenomenal world (dharma-graha). In the passage, T'an was in fact drawing in the idea of 'mental functions' (hsin so-yu fa 心所有法 caitasika-dharma) to attempt an explanation of the formation of dreams.⁷⁸ One can see from this instance that the concept of mind has both the Buddhist as well as the Western inspiration. The power of mind is

identified with the eighth-consciousness (alayavijnana) in the Wei-shih school. It is also drawn from the book Chih-hsin mien-ping fa 清心免癩法 (The prevention of disease through mental healing) which is John Fryer's translation of Henry Wood's work Ideal Suggestion Through Mental Photography.⁷⁹

In the Chih-hsin mien-ping-fa, there are several concepts that prove to be central to the thought of T'an. Mind in this book is omnipotent and invincible when in accord with the Heavenly will and is the link between one person and other persons.⁸⁰ As in the case of Ether, hsin 心 is a conglomerate of Buddhist and scientific concepts. But T'an makes it clear that his interpretation of the 'mind' should be rendered as storehouse-consciousness in Buddhism and mind in Confucianism.⁸¹

Historians, however, are widely divided on the interpretation of the nature and relationship of the concepts of jen, i-t'ai, hsin-li and t'ung. Marxian historians in Mainland China consider it vital to clarify these issues before they can label T'an either as a materialist or an idealist. Non-Marxian Chinese historians, mostly in Taiwan and Hong Kong, are not so much concerned with such problems as with the role of T'an in the political and intellectual development in

modern China. An overall view of most Marxian publications on T'an Ssu-t'ung reveals that in the years between 1954 and 1963 there was enormous interest in the study of the reformer. In 1954, the publication of the T'an Ssu-t'ung chüan-chi (The complete works of T'an Ssu-t'ung) resulted in a large number of articles devoted to the study of the political and intellectual thought of T'an and to discussing the issue of whether T'an was a materialist or an idealist according to the orthodox Marxian view. Interest was increased in 1958, the sixtieth anniversary of the Hundred Days Reform, with the publication of the hitherto unpublished writings of T'an Ssu-t'ung in the Hunan li-shih tzu-liao (Historical materials of Hunan) in six issues.⁸² Thus the study of T'an before 1960 was characterised by a lively discussion between two camps of Marxian historians who held different views of the nature of the major concepts in the Jen-hsueh.

The year 1959-1960 witnessed a relatively quieter period as new materials on T'an were in the process of publication in the Hunan li-shih tzu-liao. It was then followed by an interest in dating the extant materials and in re-defining the issues brought out in the late 1950's in the light of the newly found sources.

For such a colourful and heroic figure like T'an, writings on him immediately followed his death in 1898. The earliest and most reliable interpreter of T'an's works was Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who was not only a contemporary but a comrade and fellow aspirant to martyrdom. Liang's "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan" (A biography of T'an Ssu-t'ung), written in Japan several months after T'an's execution, remains the most frequently quoted biographical source.⁸³ However, both Chang Te-chun and Huang Chang-chien have proved that Liang is wrong in some instances.⁸⁴ One should also be aware of the fact that Liang, being a member of the Pao-huang hui (Society for protecting the emperor Kuang-hsu) in Japan, inclined to depict T'an as a 'sage' of the Society so as to draw the support of the loyalists. In this case, he tended to relate T'an's political thought to that of K'ang Yu-wei. Moreover, Liang's account serves more as a panegyric, a personal impression, than as a critical analysis of T'an's political ideas.

Among all publications of pre-1954 on T'an Ssu-t'ung which include the works of Hsiao Jun-lin (1913) 蕭汝霖, Yu Mu-jen (1928) 余牧仁, Hu Yuan-chun (1930) 胡遠濬, Lin I-hsin (1935) 林一新, Hsiang Lin-ping (1940) 向林冰, Ho Kan-chih (1937) 何幹之, Ch'en Po-ta (1939) 陳伯達 and Ts'ai Shang-ssu (1947) 蔡尚思, the last three stand out as most substantial.⁸⁵

Ch'en Po-ta's article on T'an, though published in 1939, was originally written in 1933.⁸⁶ It traces how the impact of imperialism had driven the Chinese reformers to resort to the idea of 'change' (pien 變). T'an, part of this current change, was the first and indeed the last boldest one of the bourgeois class to criticise ruthlessly the traditional Confucian ethics and the hypocrisy of the ruling class. Although T'an was less sophisticated philosophically compared with Western enlightenment thinkers like Spinoza and Voltaire, his ideas nonetheless paved the way for the breaking down of Chinese feudalism and despotism. Basically, Ch'en Po-ta regarded T'an as a materialist, though idealistic elements are mingled in his body of thought. The concept of jen is here interpreted as the ultimate source of the universe, it resembles the concept of the 'God' in Spinoza's philosophy. Ch'en also believed that jen is equivalent to Ether. But jen is not the prime mover of the universe; it exists simultaneously with all creations and is the internal cause of all creation.

Ch'en Po-ta's view was echoed by Ho Kan-chih who maintained that T'an was basically a 'mechanist' as far as his ethical doctrines are concerned, and a 'conceptualist' in metaphysical expositions.⁸⁷

The publication of the T'an Ssu-t'ung chüan-chi in 1954 witnessed a mushroom growth of articles devoted to the study of the various aspects of the reformer. Cheng Ho-sheng 鄭鶴聲 first published in Wen-shih-che 文史哲 an article on T'an's ideas about political reform and their historical significance.⁸⁸ Despite the tremendous effort its author put in to assess T'an's thought, the article is full of errors. One main mistake the author made is his over-emphasis of the influences of Huang Tsung-hsi and Wang Fu-chih.⁸⁹ Moreover, it has not placed T'an's thought in the proper context of the late Ch'ing intellectual milieu as the title promises.

One of the earliest attempts to systematically analyse the thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung was made by Yang Cheng-tien. He published an article in the Kuang-ming jih-pao entitled "T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang yen-chiu" (A study of the thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung) (3.11.1954) which was later expanded and revised to become a short book under the title of T'an Ssu-t'ung -- chin-tai chung-kuo ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia (T'an Ssu-t'ung, an enlightenment thinker in modern China) (1955)⁹⁰. Unfortunately, the contents of these two articles are not much different from that of Ch'en Po-ta's.

The year 1955 saw the beginning of the heated debate on the

issue whether T'an should be classified as a materialist or an idealist. It started off with Li Tze-hou's 李澤厚 article in Hsin chien-che 新建設 in July 1955,⁹¹ which was later seriously challenged by Sun Ch'ang-chiang 孫長江 in Chiao-hsüeh yü yen-chiu 教學與研究 in the two issues in October 1955 and December 1956.⁹²

The main point of their argument lies in the concept of Ether, whether it is a materialistic or idealistic idea. Li Tse-hou believed that T'an was a materialist and Sun Ch'ang-chiang pointed out that Li was wrong because Ether is essentially an idealistic concept. Sun grounded his argument on four points: first, all phenomena and their existence are explicable from the functioning of Ether; second, Ether is superior to the phenomenal world; Ether is not substance but it controls the functioning of all objective existence; third, Ether is formless, it cannot be materialistic; and finally, Ether is but the equivalent of jen, the idealistic concept. Li Tse-hou was dissatisfied with Sun's criticism and wrote a reply in the Che-hsüeh yen-chiu 哲學研究 (January 1957).⁹³ Still maintaining that Ether is defined by T'an as a molecular substance, Li further pointed out that Sun's view that Ether is jen and that the difference between the two lies only in their 'name and origin' was fallacious. Ether and jen, Li bluntly stated, are two concepts which cannot be equated. The relationship between Ether and jen is precisely the same as the relationship between 'ch'i' and 'tao'. Ether, on the other hand, is used as a kind of pure 'exceedingly subtle' and minute material

substance, and in this sense is different from jen. However, it possesses a kind of so-called 'exceedingly great' metaphysical abstract essential nature and function, and in this sense, Ether and jen are the same. This similarity also causes the concept of Ether to acquire a pantheistic character and colour. Sun, Li pointed out, had failed to see the logical connection of the Ether-jen relationship in the light of 'ch'i-tao' relationship. He had thus ignored the sharp internal contradiction in the whole of T'an's philosophy. As to the relationship between Ether and the power of mind, although it is true that T'an states that Ether and electricity are crude means whose names are used to denote the quality of mental energy, then T'an, if he is an idealist, should have used the power of mind in place of Ether. Moreover, the text of the Jen-hsüeh and his other article 'I-t'ai shu' (On Ether) clearly show that Ether is far more fundamental than mental power.⁹⁴ This did not settle the argument between them. Sun later replied to Li's accusation in the Chiao-hsüeh yü yen-chiu 教學與研究 (October 1957).⁹⁵ While still holding that Ether is the subtle force which governs the coherence and harmony of all creation, Sun also re-asserted that the power of mind in T'an's thought is far superior to the scientific concept of Ether. Li, moreover, was never able to give a satisfactory reason as to why T'an states that "jen is the source of Heaven, earth and all creation; it is thus idealistic, it is thus mere-consciousness", and that "Ether is the external form of mere-ideation". Sun maintained that

T'an was an all-and-all idealist, Buddhism being the most important inspiration for all his philosophical expositions.

Other participants who joined the debate included Chang Yu-tien 張玉田, Ch'en Chu-chia 陳諸家, Ch'en Hsu-lu 陳旭麓, Yang Jung-kuo 楊榮國, Chang Ch'i-chih 張豈之, Chu Jui-sheng 祝瑞升 and others.⁹⁶ An examination of two of them is exemplary of the nature of ^{this} controversy. Yang Jung-kuo represents the materialistic interpretation of the Jen-hsüeh while Chang Yu-tien, the idealistic. Yang held that Ether is the substance of jen, jen is the function of Ether. Basically, what T'an holds is the concepts of 'pan-jenism' (fan-jen lun 泛仁論) and 'pantheism', both of which in the final analysis is materialism. Chang Yu-tien, however, thought otherwise. Arguing somewhat in line with Sun Ch'ang-chiang, Chang maintained that T'an must be classified as an idealist because his whole body of thought is built upon a concept of mind which originated very clearly from Buddhism.

After the publication of the six issues of the Hunan li-shih tzu-liao on new materials on T'an Ssu-t'ung, historians turned their attention not only to the nature of T'an's thought, but to other matters like dating the works of T'an. Scholars like Huang Chang-

chien 黃彰健, Chang Te-chun 張德鈞 and Tang Chi-chun 湯志鈞 devoted much effort to dating and examining the texts in order to place T'an's work in a proper chronological order and intellectual perspective.⁹⁷ Other students of intellectual history were still engrossed in interpreting and re-defining the nature of T'an's thought in the light of new materials.

The availability of new sources produced two significant results. First, efforts to date T'an's work have altered some misconceptions of T'an's intellectual development and filled some of the gaps in his biography. Second, historians were more inclined to the idealistic interpretation of the thought of the reformer. Foremost among them were Chang Te-chun, Yen Pei-ming 嚴北鳴.⁹⁸ They strongly believed that Buddhism was the principal source of T'an's thought and that his knowledge of science and Christianity gave much ground for his comparative approach and inspiration. Even P'ang P'u 龐朴, who held that T'an was basically a materialist, had to concede that sometimes both materialistic and idealistic elements were present.⁹⁹ When T'an used the universalistic and objective nature of Ether to explain the formation of the universe, P'ang said, T'an was a materialist; and when he used mental power to explain society, he was a historical idealist.

To clinch the argument, it should be realised that T'an was extremely selective and bold in his formulation of the major philosophical concepts. The meaning of jen, for instance, transcended the traditional interpretation by the infiltration of scientific and Buddhist connotations. So did the concepts of Ether, the power of mind and t'ung. T'an's inclination, however, was not to extol the value of Western science, but to show his readers that there were principles universal to all living beings. Buddhism, in particular, was not only compatible with science but emulated the latter in several aspects. T'an freely used the alayavijnana to identify with jen, Ether with the 'seeds' (bija) embedded in the alayavijnana and the power of mind with Western concept of mind as he perceived from the book Chih-hsin mien-ping fa. To classify T'an either as a materialist or an idealist inevitably commits the error of failing to see the double nature of his main concepts. To criticise the 'negative idealistic elements' or to praise the 'progressive materialistic ingredients' of his thought is in fact discussing the nature of Buddhism and science as two major systems of thought. T'an was an intellectual eclectic. In the choice of his concepts, he was only thinking in terms of their utilitarian functions without the slightest awareness of their materialistic or idealistic nature. To label T'an with Marxian categories may shed light on one aspect of his thought, but inevitably leaves many others untouched.

Chapter 5: Buddhism and T'an Ssu-t'ung's Political

Thought

The political thought of T'an is based on his major philosophical concepts discussed in the preceding chapter. It begins with a frontal assault on "nominalism" which, T'an believes, confuses the idea of jen.¹ Names are without substance. Naming is a name and not naming is also a name. But what is extremely unfortunate, he suggests, is people's irrational adherence to nominalism. People should realise, T'an warns, that names are the fabrications of men. They invented names because they can be used to control people. For the past several thousand years, T'an regrets that the 'pestilence and poison' of the three bonds (san-kang 三綱) and five relationships (wu-lun 五倫) has produced enormous injustice. "Rulers use names to cuff their ministers, officials use names to fetter the people, fathers use names to oppress their sons, husbands use names to abuse their wives, elder brothers, young brothers and friends each grasp a name to oppose each other".² This indeed is a natural tendency. In order to establish firm control over 'inferiors', 'superiors' have to devise names such as filiality (hsiao 孝), modesty (lien 廉), loyalty (chung 忠) and faithfulness (chieh 節). T'an's iconoclastic attack on names was extremely radical and was probably unprecedented in Chinese history.³ It also shows the fact

that T'an was highly selective in his intellectual choice, for although he listed Lu Chiu-yuan as one source of his inspiration, T'an's attack on nominalism clearly ran contrary to Lu's belief that names would under no circumstances be questioned.⁴

T'an presses on his attack on "nominalism" with a discussion of intrinsic human nature.⁵ His views on human nature are again based on his concept of "non-creation and non-destruction". Human nature is the function of Ether. Ether, which is eternally existent and indestructable, has the power to create mutual growth and love. Human nature, therefore, is good. Evil, people maintain, arises from having passions, but the definition of evil is relative. Licentiousness is evil, but in the case of husband and wife, it is good. Killing is bad, but when applied to murderers, it is righteous.⁶ Evil gets its name when what are considered to be normal principles of good are not followed. It is customary, T'an continues, to regard the principles of Heaven as good and human desires as evil. But without human desires, there cannot be any principles of Heaven. T'an's line of argument has its source in Wang Fu-chih who says that wherever human desires are present, the principle of Heaven is found.⁷ Buddhism, always the main strand of his thought, also serves to sanction T'an's belief. It is said in the Buddhist scripture that "the Buddha is the same as all other sentient beings, for implicit in the

blindness of all unenlightened sentient beings is dharma-nature".⁸

T'an continues that names, after all, are names and not reality.

To define names in terms of other names, or to modify names with names, creates the condition which he calls names within names.

He notes that sexual intercourse has been called yin 淫, meaning lewd, licentious, lust and so forth. This, however, is a misconception of entrenched custom. He stretches his discussion to condemn such custom-sanctioned matters like concubinage, footbinding, male chauvinism and the deplorable status of women in Chinese society. He says that if women, sex and its related myths were conceived in a different social context, then it would not have the same stigma. To achieve this sex education should be introduced into China.⁹

Again, people's judgement on killing is a matter of custom. Why is it that when man kills animal it is considered as right while the reverse is not? In fact, evil, or the naming of evil, is a matter of convention and not an inherent property. Evil then is a name of human invention. That is why there is a saying of the Buddha that "from the very no-beginning, all sentient beings have been turning things upside down, confused and misguided, and holding false as true".¹⁰

His concept of "neither creation nor destruction" precipitates the notion of "fearlessness".¹¹ T'an lays the blame for people coveting life and despising death on ignorance and miscomprehension. It is precisely because of the inability to transcend the fear of death that people shrink and do not dare to act. People in the medical field understand thoroughly that a man is formed of miscellaneous chemical particles. When a man dies, these particles disperse and again re-combine to form new man. Creation, then, is not creation, and destruction is not destruction. This is the idea of reincarnation which can be found not only in Buddhism, but also from the sayings of Chang Tsai, Wang Fu-chih, Jesus, as well as the Book of Changes.

The theory of 'neither creation nor destruction' is explicable by the idea of 'soul' (ling-hun 靈魂).¹² When the notion of 'soul' is understood, T'an says, people will not be obsessed with the fear of death and devote their effort to gain merits. Knowing that the body itself is an undying entity, people would willingly sacrifice themselves for great causes and would have no fear in their minds. Since soul exists, what is not accomplished in this life may surely be achieved in the next. Only when this is understood can the stupidity of coveting life and despising death be eliminated. Man is always bound by the force of karma. The more he dies, the more he is born, and if he tries forcibly to shake off the pain of this life, it will certainly be

even more severe in the next.

This discussion of T'an's idea of reincarnation brings us back to the unsettled question of T'an's martyrdom. His self-sacrifice in the 1898 Reform has been described by scholars as the most grievous tragedy of the event.¹³ T'an, who, in the light of his beliefs, ought to have been a revolutionary and a nationalist, died a royalist, an adherent to a Manchu emperor.¹⁴ This criticism is based upon Liang's claim that T'an died for the cause of the emperor.¹⁵ This interpretation is contrary to T'an's conviction and is thus untenable. The main consideration seems to be that T'an, deeply convinced of the Buddhist concept of fearlessness engendered by the notion of non-creation and non-destruction, died as a martyr with his deep commitment to the cause of reform and his love for China. His martyrdom was also partly due to his idealistic character and partly to his determination to arouse his countrymen's sense of national consciousness. That is why T'an said the following words just before his execution:

Reform in all nations has never been achieved without bloodshed. But China today has never heard of anyone willing to shed his blood for the cause of reform, and that is why this nation is not prosperous. To bring about this, let me, T'an Ssu-t'ung, lead the way. 16

T'an believes, however, that the concept of 'soul' is wrongly interpreted by Christianity because they think that only man possesses a soul while animals and non-sentient beings do not.¹⁷ He holds the Buddhist concept that men, animals, plants and metals alike obtain natural endowment by each receiving a small portion from the same 'great sea of nature' (ta-yüan hsing-hai 大圓性海) as indisputable. There is a hierarchy of transmigration depending on karma. If men do not care for their soul, they can fall to the level of animals, and vice versa. By the same token, sentient beings and non-sentient beings alike possess knowledge; it is only a matter of degree. And T'an emphasizes 'soul' as the knowledge possessed by Ether which is not born or destroyed.

One must also be aware of the difference between soul and body. While body is an aggregate of substance, the individual soul creates and bears its own karma. It is from this standpoint that T'an rejects the Christian notion of 'original sin'. Every man is an absolutely unique composition of an old soul and a new vehicle. No two vehicles are identical, much less souls. Westerners are surely wrong to assert the influence of 'original sin'. T'an also criticises the falsehoods and deceptions which arise in China from being mired in the body. The worship of idols made of clay and wood, is one good example. Geomancy, astrology, the various divinations, super-

stitutions and so on, are all practised for the sake of fortune, wealth, honour and profit and look no further than the body.

T'an next takes up the subject of 'daily renovation' (jih-hsin 日新). This idea, in sum, represents a positive affirmation of the progressive aspect of creation and destruction, or the positive view of change. T'an advances this concept in the hope of changing the strong anti-reform attitude of the gentry. Daily renovation, he asserts, is not only a moral doctrine common to all religious teachers, but finds its perfect model in nature itself. "If Heaven did not renovate itself, how could it create? If the earth did not renovate itself, how could it revolve?"¹⁸ As for those conservative scholars, who stubbornly rejected the idea of reform, they were in fact holding on to their vile and degenerate selfishness to obstruct Heaven's creativity. Renovation, in reality, means progress. But before an orientation to progress and perpetual change could be accepted, all old assumptions regarding past and present need to be annihilated. T'an makes the audacious statement that if anything old is worth valuing, then why is it necessary to be a man of today?¹⁹

In the social realm, the idea of change is endorsed by the Confucian classic, the Book of Changes. The inactivity of China is

caused by the teachings of Lao-tzu who speaks of tranquillity. In the end the philosophy of Lao-tzu caused 'the past several thousand years to be one of false modesty and purity, creating a hypocritical world devoid of stimulation and contradiction.'²⁰ With the whole nation dedicated to such a firm and immutable hypocritical style, China and its religions can hardly be preserved. This passivity will in the end destroy the nation. T'an urges China to learn from the Westerner's love of activity. Their steadfastness and uprightness are caused by Christianity's spirit of saving the world. But Christianity is not the only religion which excels in this; Confucianism does, and particularly Buddhism. In Buddhism, they speak of 'awe-inspiring power' (wei-li 威力), 'applying swift effort' (fen-hsun 奮迅), 'bravery and courage' (yung-meng 勇猛), 'great fearlessness' (ta wu-wei 大無畏) and 'great heroism' (ta-hsiung 大雄).²¹ The lion is the symbol of these qualities. Buddhism has often been unjustly identified with Taoism as perverse, empty and destructive. In fact, these negative aspects are exactly what the Buddha criticises as the ninety-six heterodox ways.²² Buddhism values activity and salvation of all living beings. T'an says that those who are conversant with Buddhist studies have never been other than rousinglly active, determined, heroic, strong, tenacious and fierce.²³

T'an also regards Lao'tzu's exhortation to 'frugality' (ch'ien 儉)²⁴ as fatally inimical to the progress of the Chinese people and the nation.²⁵ Frugality, in contrast to extravagance, is relative. T'an illustrates his case by referring to the Buddha whom he regards as an example of extreme extravagance. The emergence of the distinction between frugality and extravagance was primarily due to people's erroneous perception. The situation was worsened by the exhortation of Lao-tzu to degrade extravagance and revere frugality. Frugality, in the final analysis, is inimical to the national economic development.²⁶ T'an notes that the effect of restricting the flow of goods virtually insures the deprivation of the great masses of people. As being 'frugal' amounts to hoarding money, goods and commodities, this only serves to impede a reasonable and healthy interchange of these things in society and thus cause poverty. He suggests that 'extravagance' is really a virtue, for by more freely spending money and exchanging commodities, the whole economy would be stimulated, more jobs will be created and poverty will cease to exist.

T'an further reflects on the need to increase man's productivity.²⁷ In somewhat rhapsodic terms he extols the benefits of machines and advocates immediate application of machinery in all fields of human enterprise, from agriculture and mining to the manufacture of consumer products. He brushes aside those who claim that

machines serve to decrease profits and impair the livelihood of the people as ignorant and illogical. By utilising machines, T'an maintains, man's productivity can be magnified a hundredfold and everyone can derive benefits from this circumstance. T'an also argues that unless China makes serious efforts to industrialise and instead holds fast to outmoded concepts of 'frugality', the day will not be distant when the industrialised powers in Europe and America will simply move in and take over.

In the area of international trade and international relations, T'an makes strong efforts to link his concern for economic development with his conception of jen. He first affirms that international trade is of great importance and that all parties can benefit from a free exchange of goods and commodities. He therefore strongly opposes tariffs and other taxes which tend to create barriers and inhibit optimal exchange. The various Western nations engage in trade so that a mutual exchange of goods and commodities produces mutual benefits. T'an conceives of this mutual exchange as a manifestation of jen, or an aspect of jen. He criticises China for failing to conform to the spirit of jen because she does not exchange goods and commodities with the Western nations. T'an laments China's rich natural resources not being developed for the growth of modern industry, which will end in disaster for China.²⁸ T'an urges that

modern means of communication like steamships, railways, electricity and telephones will have to be acquired to enhance China's communication with other peoples on a basis of jen. The remainder of T'an's arguments are devoted to extolling the benefits of technological progress already achieved in the West and the practicality of Western ways of doing things.

The main core of T'an's political ideas lies in the first p'ien of the second chüan where he discusses the development of the imperial government. T'an regrets that ever since the rise of autocratic rule after the period of Yao and Shun, there has been no government worth seeing and that since the Three Dynasties, there has been no books worth reading.²⁹ Only the two books, Ming-i tai-fang lu 明夷待訪錄 (A plan for the prince) of Huang Li-chou and the Ch'üan-shan i-shu 船山遺書 (The preserved writings of Wang Fu-chih) of Wang Fu-chih, both of which explore the grievances of the people, can be said to be nearer to the original teachings of Confucius. Ku Yen-wu and like-minded scholars were but advocates of monarchy and were blameworthy for making a distinction between power of the state and power of the people. When men were first created, T'an argues, there was essentially no ruler and subject; all were people (min 民). Later, when they were not able and had no time to govern each other, they elected one man and made him ruler. But one must

not forget the fact that it was the people who selected the ruler and not the ruler who selected the people. The position of a ruler should not be superior to that of the people. In other words, the ruler is the branch (mo 末) and the people the root (pen 本). If the ruler mis-manages people's affairs, he can, in theory, be disposed of. But in practice the ruler, having the country under his control, not only uses his privileged position to maltreat the people, but also employs whatever means suitable to maintain his authority permanently. Forgetting what should originally be their right to change leadership, the people simply subserviently accept maltreatment. Even more absurd is that people regard dying for the ruler as dying for the cause of loyalty. To destroy this erroneous conviction, T'an proposes that it is only right for one to die for a cause, but never for a ruler because he happens to be a ruler.³⁰ At the present time when the Manchus are enslaving the whole empire, this principle is more appropriate. T'an was amazed to see that the four hundred million wise, courageous and strong Chinese people, whom the Manchus treated like low prostitutes, were so apathetic. When the ruler is a tyrant and a looter of the people, serving him with loyalty is tantamount to helping Chieh (桀) and aiding Chou (紂).

The crimes of the Manchus are numerous. The Manchus race that snatched China by a lucky chance, T'an angrily says, is an

uncivilised barbarian people who came from the infertile remote regions.³¹ In order to have a stringent control over the Chinese people, the Manchus 'restrain their ears and eyes, yoke their hands and feet, suppress their venting of resentment, terminate their financial sources, harass their livelihood, stupify their wisdom, complicate the rituals of kneeling and bowing' so as to suppress their loyalty to the former dynasty.³² The Manchus imposed such measures as the literary inquisition and at the same time tried to legitimise their orthodoxy with Confucianism. Another manifestation of their wicked motivation was their prohibition against historians revealing true facts. In the Ming Dynasty, glimpses of the suffering of the Chinese people can still be gathered from works like Yang-chou shih-jih chi 揚州十日記 (A brief record of the ten days of disasters in Yang-chou) and the Chia-ting tu-cheng chih-lueh 嘉定屠城紀略 (The slaughtering of the inhabitants of the Chia-ting City). In the Ch'ing Dynasty, no such records of the untold sufferings of the people can be found. The traditionalists say that "people are living on the royal soil and are fed by its products". T'an refutes them ruthlessly by asking "who, in fact, has been fed by whose soil?"³³ T'an earnestly begs the Chinese people not to have the misconception that the Manchus and the Chinese people are of the same race. Westerners have already realised this fact and intend to overthrow the Manchus regime and rescue the Chinese people. However, T'an warns, the

intention of the Western nations should be realised. What they hope to do is to gain spoils for themselves under the cloak of a righteous crusade. If the Chinese people do not accomplish the overthrow of the Manchus themselves, T'an believes that their misfortunes would be too grave for words.

T'an continues his discussion of the political issues with an assertion for reform. He says that while countries like France, whose scholarship is the most excellent on earth, and Korea, the most benighted country of the world, understand how irrational and obstructive monarchy is and advocate democratic reform, China is still very much behind as far as this realisation is concerned. The crimes of past monarchs may be overlooked, though this would be undesirable. But here and now when only reform can save China from total national disintegration, monarchs stand as the main obstacle to such an urgent task. The Manchus know that reform will make the Chinese people, whom they want to stupify, impoverish, weaken and die, wise, rich, strong and alive. Confucian books like the Book of Odes and the Book of Changes have ample sources for the legitimisation of revolt against the Manchus. But T'an urges that any person undertaking such a task should not do so for his own benefit alone, but also for that of the nation. That is why Chinese patriots should not always aim at only being a George Washington or

a Napoleon Bonaparte, but seek to be another Chen She 陳涉 or another Yang Hsuan-kan 楊玄感, both leaders of unsuccessful rebellions whose role in history were to clear the way for the sages.³⁴ If no opportunity arises for such an undertaking, T'an urges people to practise chivalry, which is a way of expressing people's grievances and encouraging the spirit of audacity.

T'an next turns to the corrupted state and management of the Chinese army.³⁵ Armies in China are used only for the benefit of the monarch to control the people and not to defend the nation from foreign invasion. Ironically, it is lucky that the Chinese army is not strong at all; for the stronger they were, the more miserable the Chinese people would be. The encroachment of the West upon China is a warning from Heaven that China should open herself to the world so as to hear of new principles and new methods. If China is still so obdurate as to refuse any external influences, T'an predicts that in two thousand years' time, Chinese culture will be relegated from the level attained in the Three Dynasties to tribal culture. In another two thousand years' time, it will sink from tribal culture to the cultural level of gibbons, of dogs and pigs until finally it is no better than the culture of frogs and clams.³⁶ Then the spring of fertility will cease and all that will be left is simply a bare desert. This can

be averted, T'an says, if China accepts the kindness of the Heaven that secretly makes the communication between China and the foreign countries, saves the yellow race from extinction and frees them from the yoke of the tyrant.

T'an next devotes some space to the Taiping Rebellion. He condemns the tactics of the Hunan Army in subduing the Taipings, whom he thinks were thoroughly justified in defying the dynasty.³⁷ In the West, T'an says, treason is considered a minor crime since it is not the work of individuals alone but represents the resentment of the society as a whole. T'an says that the Westerners were averse to give the ruler the authority to exercise personal vengeance in a matter likely to be symptomatic of something rotten in the realm. The Hunan Army so wasted the provinces that by T'an's time they had not yet recovered their former vigour. Though T'an himself was a Hunanese he expresses great shame that his fellow provincials took pride in the accomplishments of the Hunan Army. He says that foreigners were tolerated in China until recently, and the new wave of intolerance coincided with the activities of the Hunan Army. The English, who too realised what they had done, must bear partial responsibility for they gave aid to the dynasty in crushing the rebellion.

The following p'ien is a compassionate dissection of the elaborate system of traps which China's rulers employed to fool the people.³⁸ Peasants were pressed into military service, sent into battle untrained and undernourished, to be abandoned and left to die when they fell. Those who survived but were without the means of returning to their home and occupations were hunted as bandits, and the hunters were rewarded with bounty. When such oppressed individuals banded together for mutual support they were branded as secret societies and harshly suppressed. This is compounded when the system of guilt by association is carried to the greatest possible extreme. T'an concludes with a note on corvee, saying that it represents the same kind of total cynicism as does military service. The people are so oppressed that they accept without resistance. Even officials, T'an says, cannot escape the deadly trap. The tyranny of a ruler is extremely severe. Such steadfast tyranny inevitably invites the use of names to condition the relationship between the 'superior' and the 'inferior'. This is all the harm done by the names of the three bonds and five relationships. Proliferation of names results in restraining people's mind and action.³⁹

T'an continues his attacks on the evils of the three bonds which restrain Chinese social relationship. It is thought, for instance, that the father-son relationship is decreed by Heaven's mandate, and

that the father's position is inviolate and incontestable. No son is the equal of his father. Because of the dreadful constraint of the three bonds, daughters-in-law are so tyrannised by their mothers-in-law that the enslavement and the whippings leave no alternative but suicide for the poor village girls so victimised. Nor is there anything to relieve the silent suffering resulting from the relationship between children and parents and between younger and elder brothers. Where there is no blood relationship, as in the case of the relationship between the step-mother and the step-son, between the concubine and son of the husband's wife, or between the lord of the house and the servants, the evils are much greater. The institution of three bonds is dreadful enough to break one's courage and destroy one's soul. This is the extent to which its harms go.⁴⁰

The evils in the institution of marriage, too, are so great that the result has been to embitter the relationship between husband and wife. The harm of the principle of the three bonds lies in the forced wedding of strangers to each other who then must live together without love and in mutual suffering, so that the bedchamber becomes a jail. The husband does not consider his wife to be a human being. The great wrong lies in the ideal of the Sung scholars who propounded the erroneous saying of 'dying of hunger is trivial, but faith in loyalty is vital'.

The inequality between the ruler and the ruled is even worse. The ruler corrupts the ethical relationship between husband and wife by having numerous concubines and takes wives from their husbands for his own pleasure. But the cruelty beyond human reason and far beyond that of the beasts is the practice of castration to make a corps of palace guardians. Sycophants justify the institution of concubinage on the basis of ensuring the continuation of the royal lineage and thus, in effect, are justifying the indulgences and licentious excesses of the ruler. On the other hand, no attempt is made to ensure the perpetuation of ordinary people in future generations. For them there is no education and no nourishment. The three bonds exist merely for the convenience and enjoyment of the ruler.⁴¹

Having criticised severely the unfair relationship between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, younger and elder brothers, T'an wholeheartedly advocates friendship which he thinks is most advantageous and beneficial to one.⁴² In friendship there is equality, freedom and the opportunity for spontaneous and free association. Friendship is not only more precious than the other four relationships, it should in fact be that by which they are measured. When the other four are permeated with the principles of friendship they can be dispensed with. If ruler and subject become friends they would no longer be ruler and subject. As to the rest,

father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, all should be friends. Today many talk about reform, but unless the five relationships are altered, T'an concludes, it will not even be possible to begin the task.⁴³ T'an uses the authority of the three religions - Confucianism, Christianity and Buddhism, - to support his view. As to Buddhism, he says that the Buddha is truly one who regards friendship as most laudable and discards the other four relationships. T'an quotes from the Hua-yen ching, which says that "although temporarily remaining in the womb, the Buddha is still going and coming, meeting bodhisattvas and preaching the dharma as before", to illustrate how the Buddha treats other buddhas and bodhisattvas as friends and how he values this relationship.

That T'an was a genuine student of comparative religions is evinced by the fact that almost one-third of the Jen-hsueh is devoted to a detailed examination of the teachings and developments, as he understands it, of the three religious teachings, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity. Although T'an often quotes from different schools of thought or individual scholars to give weight to his views, he explicitly tells us that he recognises only Confucius, Jesus and the Buddha as divine incarnations or the highest representatives of jen. Before plunging directly into a scrutiny of the relationship

between these three religious systems, it will be of interest to see first, why religion is worth discussing in his explanation of the doctrine of jen; and then, to examine his perception of the main ingredients of a religion.

T'an regards the subject of religion as a vital one closely related to his idea of jen and to China's deplorable lack of a unifying ideology. Religion is an indispensable part of people's lives because there is originally a natural tendency for movement to produce weariness, which in turn produces the thought of rest. Men, even the most barbaric and violent, when seeing the fading of the past and the illusionary nature of life, look for strong psychological attachments to support themselves.⁴⁴ China, to be more specific, really needs a religion for her people to cling to, otherwise, T'an warns, they will simply follow any teaching preached by anyone. T'an drew on his experience with the T'sai-li Chiao 在理教 in Tientsin. The teachings of this religion, the newest and the smallest sect recently formed, were extremely insubstantial and shallow, completely devoid of any spiritual meanings. They borrowed from Christianity and Islam, and adopted the Buddhist secret chants Om mani padme hum 唵嘛呢叭咪吽 as an incantation.⁴⁵ The leader of the religion did not possess any mysterious power and relied only on such doctrines as karma and reincarnation. Yet many common people in Chih-li

followed the religion. It is thus apparent that there are psychological reasons for man's need of religion.

The need to discuss the issue of religion is prompted, moreover, by the intrusion of Christianity. Originally, T'an explains, names are given to religions in accordance with their content. As time passes, the real essence of a religious teaching is lost and there is an empty appeal to names. People are intimidated by names and finally do not dare to speak of religious teachings. Under these circumstances, the Westerners have religious teachings while the Chinese do not. All those who follow Christian teachings are called religious people, while the teachings of Confucius have no worshippers among the masses. It can be seen from the imperial edicts and memorials that the name 'religious teachings' is given exclusively for the use of the foreign people.⁴⁶ T'an reminds us that names can fall into oblivion, but not the essence of religious teachings. He emphasizes the fact that China is in need of a religion, one that can be found from within and not from without.

The third aspect of the need for a religious system springs from the different treatment that the Manchus were meting out to

Christianity and Confucianism.⁴⁷ This is clearly shown by the prohibition of the Ch'iang-hsüeh hui 強學會. Christianity, which the Manchus lacked the strength to handle, was tolerated and, in fact, protected. But the weak and tractable Confucianism was prohibited and strictly restrained. Confucianism at first was used to pacify feelings of alienation. But when the Manchus had accumulated enough power to suppress any resistance from the people, they simply swept Confucianism aside. In the Jen-hsüeh, T'an tries to make an elaborate comparison of the three main religious systems with the intention of finding a viable one for the Chinese people.

T'an seems to perceive several principles universal to all religions. He does not state in a clear way what he considers to be the basic constituents of a religion, but mentions sporadically in his treatise his views on some general doctrines concerning religion. First, the principles of 'kindness and commiseration' (tz'u-pei 慈悲) and 'soul' (ling-hun 靈魂).⁴⁸ Without touching upon these two ideas, T'an maintains, no religion can hope to spread far and wide. To mention only 'kindness and commiseration', not together with 'soul', would greatly hamper the dissemination of the religious doctrines, particularly in remote and uncivilised places. Such an impression T'an probably got from the English clergyman Alexander Williamson's

book A Compendium of Ancient Religions which T'an regarded as extremely complicated and abstruse, touching on all religions of East and West, past and present.

Second, the concept of 'daily renovation'.⁴⁹ T'an says, 'renovation is also a common principle of all the religions'. In Confucianism, this idea is expressed as ke 革, to rid the old, and ting 鼎, to make anew. In Christianity, they have the saying of 'confessing one's sin'. And in Buddhism, there is the saying of 'repent and turn away from error'. Thus concludes that the notion of 'daily renovation' is universal to all religions.

Third, the idea of 'equality'.⁵⁰ All religions are the same in respect to their changing teachings of inequality to equality. To speak of Heaven in terms of equality means that all are equally oppressed by Heaven.⁵¹ When Heaven and man are not equal, then man and man are increasingly unequal. Confucius in China, Jesus in the West and the Buddha in India all emerged and changed this unequal relationship.

Last is the principle of the communication between the self and others.⁵² T'an simply states that this communication is the universal principle of the three religions and the reason for a benevolent person to be benevolent. All these principles, though too indiscriminately stated above, will be better understood in the ensuing pages where a more detailed examination of T'an's religious ideas is made.

T'an's exposition on comparative religion is closely related to his main metaphysical cornerstones and his criteria for discussing current political issues. The first reference to religion is found towards the end of the first chüan. Here, T'an examines the evolutionary process of the three religions which he compares to the orbits of planets.⁵³ As to their birth, the Buddha was earliest, Confucius second and Jesus last. At present, Christianity already enjoys great glory, Confucianism is next in popularity, and Buddhism is still little known. It might seem strange, T'an says, that the teachings of the earliest founded religion should enjoy popularity last. This can be readily explained by the knowledge that orbits can be of different dimensions and journeys of different lengths. This implies that Buddhism encompasses greater dimension and length than the other two religious schools. T'an makes it absolutely clear that "Buddhism

is greatest, Confucianism is second, and Christianity is least".⁵⁴

The least is the first to be popularly practised, just like planets whose orbits are of shorter length finish their journeys first. The next ought to be Confucianism, and finally Buddhism will be universally preached. T'an thinks that this is going to be their order. He quotes from Yang Jen-shan that "the Buddha is great because he enumerated the six paths of metempsychosis in the world and the levels above them. Confucius is also great since he established yüan 泉 (the source) in order to control Heaven. Jesus, on the other hand, simply proclaimed himself as Heaven. He is less great by taking himself".⁵⁵

T'an then discusses how the emergence of these three religious teachers had changed the inequality between Heaven and man, and between man and man. In China, it was assumed that only emperors could make sacrifices to Heaven. They held on to Heaven in order to oppress and control the world, and the world then looked upon them with awe as Heaven.⁵⁶ This created extreme inequality. Confucius, then, emerged and changed this. He compiled several Books and placed his authority in the Spring and Autumn Annals, using it to express his dislike of the autocracy of the ruler and call upon Heaven to control him. And he again loathed the autonomy of

Heaven by calling upon yüan to control it. This is the way Confucius had changed the teachings. From this T'an relates the original teaching of Confucius to people's fear of rebellions. He says that if the ruler is not properly performing his duties, the people can dismiss him for there was originally no such things as rebellion. 'Rebel', T'an says, is a name created by the ruler to intimidate the world. In fact, T'an argues quite convincingly, there never was a first ruler who did not himself come from rebellion. Before they were rulers, they were cursed as rebels; when by chance they became rulers they wanted to be praised as divine rulers.

The same kind of inequality was also found in the West.⁵⁷ Moses created the Ten Commandments which was based on ranks and distinctions. In speaking of Heaven he selfishly called it the God of Israel, as if to reject the rest of the world as unworthy. Jesus emerged and proclaimed that all men are the children of the Heavenly Father. This is the way Jesus changed the teachings.

Buddhism experienced the same transformation.⁵⁸ The caste system divided men into four ranks: custom rulers, ministers, gentry, and commoners and slaves. This is extreme inequality.

The Buddha emerged and changed this. On the level of this world he spoke of equality; beyond this world he surpassed even Heaven. This is the Buddha's way of changing teachings. The three religions, T'an concludes, are different but the same in respect to change and equality.

However, it is unnecessary to rank these three religious teachers.⁵⁹ They are equal incarnations of the divine and their advents equally authentic, but they were subject to the limiting factors of the general karmic condition of the age in which they appeared as reflected in the social and political systems. T'an briefly outlines his version of the Modern Text interpretation of the periods of history, and applies this to the appearance of religious teachers and their apparent differences. Judging from the theory of the three ages of the Kung-yang commentary, Confucius was most unfortunate.⁶⁰ He lived in an age when sophisticated moral obligations and nominalism had already saturated the people's mind. In this time of chaos, Confucius was only able to convey his subtle ideas in obscure expressions. His refined words had therefore been confined by autocratic control and were only able to orient them toward maintaining peace and order in the country. This resulted in the misinterpretation of his meaning by later scholars. Jesus was next in

order of misfortune. His time was a period of the ruler's unbridled wantonness. However, the society showed some signs of incipient peace. Jesus was therefore able to disseminate the doctrine of Heavenly control. Judging it from the present, Jesus' proclaiming Elohim the Lord of Heaven is tantamount to the Buddhist school of idealism's holding a great freedom or holding to Heaven as real. His proclaiming the eternal life of soul is close to the religious teachings of the heretical paths.

The Buddha alone was most fortunate.⁶¹ His nation was without traditional divine masters like Moses or Yu, T'an and Wen-wu, and being a man who had left society and family, he himself had nothing to avoid or fear. Therefore, he was able to fully express his doctrine of the great unity during an age of great peace, and established the rule of yüan 元. Father and son, under the rule of yüan, are equal. Moreover, the names made by dictatorial men to control and restrain the people had not yet been applied. Thus the Buddha alone was able to remain above all of the other religions. But T'an reminds us, it was only the environmental factors that had created such marked differences. All the three religious founders, to be sure, should be equally respected.

T'an traces with commiseration the twists and turns of fate which served to conceal the true nature and the force of Confucius' teachings for more than two thousand years.⁶² He begins by stating that not only the true doctrines of Confucius were not transmitted intact but that others, notably Hsun Tzu, advanced their own methods under his banner. The teachings of Confucius spread into two great branches: the Tseng Tzu - Tzu Ssu - Mencius branch and the Tzu Hsia - T'ien Tzu-fang - Chuang Tzu branch. Both followed the teachings of Confucius of advocating democracy and attacking autocracy. Unfortunately, these two branches later died out and were not transmitted. Hsun Tzu then filled this gap and assumed Confucius' name in order to defeat the tao of Confucius. It was Hsun Tzu who provided the theoretical rationale for absolute monarchy. T'an traces chronologically through the various dynasties those who, as emperor or sycophant, mastered the method of Hsun Tzu, either to rule or ingratiate, in order to preserve their power at the expense of the people. In the Sung Dynasty, when this mentality reached its zenith, China was truly subjugated. T'an regrets that 'the last two thousand years of government have been Ch'in government, being all thievery; that the past two thousand years of learning have been of Hsun Tzu, being all hypocrisy'.⁶³ It is therefore necessary to be more aware of the disastrous effect on the Chinese people of the corruption of Confucius' teaching than on Confucius himself. T'an is not then merely making a sentimental plea for proper respect for the sage,

but is expressing deep concern for the suffering of the Chinese people, who were denied the authentic and humane wisdom of Confucius by those who betrayed him.⁶⁴

T'an continues in the same line of reasoning and laments for Confucius. He blames the unholy marriage of monarchy and academy and especially the inequalities inherent in the three bonds and five relationships. From this, T'an makes an unprecedented attack on the Manchu regime:

If (those who) appropriated (the nation) were themselves Chinese and followers of the Confucian teachings, it would be difficult but still possible to say something in its defence. But what of those worthless races of Kiyan (of the Yuan Dynasty) and Aisin Gioro (of the Ch'ing Dynasty) who seized China by relying upon their barbarian and rapacious nature and who never understood the teachings of Confucius. Then after having seized her, they used the system belonging to the Chinese to control the Chinese who were in fact their host, and were able freely and with a bashful countenance to wield the teachings of Confucius which they had never heard of in order to oppress the China that they never knew before. (Alas!) Still China treated them like gods without realising their crime. ⁶⁵

This is by far the most outspoken piece of anti-Manchu writing

in pre-1896 China. T'an compares the fate of Confucianism with that of Christianity which languished in the hands of the Pope. Luther returned the teachings and person of Jesus to the people. T'an notes that wars were fought in the name of religion and that the Popes were even feared by temporal rulers. He concludes with a wish that China be granted a Luther to rediscover and re-establish the true teachings of China's greatest teacher, Confucius.

When T'an examines the five relationships and finds friendship to be most praiseworthy, he shows that this relationship is also the basis of the organisation of early religious communities, or the disciple groups surrounding religious teachers. Since the time of Confucius and Jesus, the way in which early scholars and ministers approached learning was that none failed to advocate study associations, uniting the masses, rousing and bringing together several millions of men as friends.⁶⁶ Without this, T'an claims, there could be no religion, no learning, no nation and no mankind. Those who followed Confucius left their former lives, and when they were weak in their faith Confucius upbraided them and lamented the dissolution of their will. Followers of Jesus cast away their former relationships to become his disciples. Yet these are worldly ways (shih-fa 世法). The supreme is shown in the Buddha. He regarded the four other

relationships as totally non-existent. T'an says that when the Buddha preached the Law, it was necessary for all other Buddhas and bodhisattvas from all directions and spaces to attend. The Buddha revealed himself in various manifestations and thoroughly communicated with the boundless, infinite galaxy world and the numerous buddhas without rest. Such vitality that the Buddha placed on friendship is manifested, T'an quotes, in the Hua-yen ching where it says: "Although the Buddha lives temporarily in an embryo, he communicates with and preaches to others as usual".⁶⁷

T'an continues to assert that if the other four relationships are penetrated by friendship, then the four can be discarded.⁶⁸ He again turns to the three religious teachers for support. Confucianism, T'an says, can be interpreted to imply equality among roles and even to tolerate divorce. He tacitly concedes that this attitude is not blunt in Confucianism but says it is explicit in Christianity where men are enjoined to love enemies as friends. Thus he finds the notion of the Kingdom of Heaven to be essentially the model for democracy, where ruler and subject are friends, father and son are independent, husband and wife free to unite or to separate. Most radical is Buddhism which asks all men to leave their families and take vows, literally transforming all relations into friendship and annihilating nation,

family and individual. In a final remark, T'an says that without a radical change of social relations it is futile to even discuss reform, no matter how sound the reasoning is.

Thinking that Heaven is the exclusive possession of Christianity, T'an says, Westerners exhorted China to acknowledge Heaven, let it control men and make ordinary laws equal, thus producing the right of self-determination and eliminating the evils of the three bonds.⁶⁹ T'an maintained that such an idea is groundless. He cited from the Book of Changes the clairvoyant warning against the unbalanced use of might and claiming the supremacy of Heaven in all matters.

T'an goes on to assess the three religions. If these religions are to be united, then followers of the Confucian teachings would deprecate Christianity for being impure, while Christians would ridicule the parochial vision of the Confucian teachings. Because these two are not in accord, thus the highest authority in religious teachings in the end must necessarily be Buddhism.⁷⁰ T'an puts his admiration on Buddhism in the following words:

In Buddhism that which is pure is extremely pure, and that which is broad is very broad; they therefore cannot be taken as the essential truth. Only that wherever Buddhism goes, it takes in everything; all religions, all Chinese Classics, and all philosophies of hundred schools - both what is as abstract as logic and as concrete as physics. Even that which can neither be seen nor heard, and that which can or cannot be reached by human mind, Buddhism absorbs all of them and accommodates into one system. 71

T'an dismisses any relationship between the extinction of India and Buddhism. For ever since the flowering of Buddhism in India, its development had been cramped by Brahmanism and Mohammedanism. Therefore, Buddhism was prevented from spreading far and wide.

His conviction that Buddhism is the highest religion on earth, T'an says, was echoed by people in different parts of the world.⁷² In the United Kingdom the Reverend Alexander Williamson decried all religions except Christianity, but he praised the Buddha as a genuine sage. Timothy Richard, a renowned British missionary in China, translated into English the Chinese Buddhist scripture The Doctrine of Awakening of Faith in Mahayana, for circulation in his country. The American missionary Algate (?) 阿爾格特 tried to gather

together comrades and established the Buddhist Studies Society in India. This resulted in the growth of more than forty other branches in Europe and America within a few years' time. In Japan, Bunyiu Nanjio 南條文雄 made strenuous efforts to collect Buddhist sutras in Sanskrit and established the Sanskrit Society to study them. It can be seen that in Europe, America and Asia alike, the interest in Buddhism was very much in vogue. T'an even believes that the case with which the reform movement in Japan was carried out owed much to the influence of Buddhism. He emphasizes the importance of Buddhism with these words: "Buddhism in its totality can govern the innumerable, limitless, inexpressable world of the minute dust. It exhausts the whole realm of empty spaces; not to speak of this small earth! Therefore, when we talk of Buddhism, then all religions of the world can be united into one."⁷³

T'an then turns around and asks the question why the Confucian teachings cannot be employed to govern the whole world.⁷⁴ The teachings of Confucius can, but not the way it has been practised. The followers of any religion should all revere their founder in order to establish his supremacy, and capture the respect of his converts. The image of the religious teacher should be kept in people's minds as an anchor to prevent them from straying towards heterodoxy or

inconformity. The case of China is different. Worship at the Confucian temple to people is a market place for power and profit. This is contrary to the Westerners who credit everything to Jesus. The true teaching of Confucius has been concealed and usurped by those who claim themselves to be Confucian scholars. Finding nothing to base their thought on, intellectuals turn to nihilistic thought by declining to credit the achievement of others while commoners have to resort to idolatry. T'an blames those who practise Confucianism for not thinking of spreading their religion to the ordinary people. After the Han Dynasty, Buddhism replaced Confucianism as a religion; now Christianity is the substitute. In short, T'an believes that China is now badly in need of a unifying religious ideology which can anchor the thought of people. Confucianism cannot perform this task because it has been twisted by Hsun Tzu, tactically employed by the emperors for their own good and currently prohibited by the Manchu regime. To live during a time of no religion, people suffer and have nothing to cling to.

At this stage, T'an summarises his ideas by a discussion of the relationship between learning, politics and religion in a passage which underlines the main themes of thought in the Jen-hsüeh:

To sum up the various opinions they can be grouped under three aspects: 'learning', 'politics' and 'religion'. Learning is not all excellent, but science is most practical. Politics are not all beneficial, the rights of the people is most substantial. As for religion, it is most difficult to discuss since both the Chinese and Western religions each have their limitations and cannot compromise, only Buddhism can unite them all. Speaking of the order of learning, the study of science should be the first step in the foundation of lower things. Next is the study of politics. Only then can one peep at the subtlety of religion. In speaking of the decline of learning, it begins when religion is not practised, which makes politics deteriorate and that in turn causes learning to perish. Thus to speak of politics and learning without mentioning religion is useless; for then politics and learning might perhaps turn out to be weapons of killing. 75

This is indeed a compendium of the main theme of thought that T'an intends to convey in the Jen-hsüeh.

He continues to enumerate the importance of learning to the destiny of a nation, and uses the defeat of France by Prussia as an example.⁷⁶ Prussia did not dare to incorporate France into her territories because Bismarck well understood that the French were far superior to them in learning. The merging of France into Prussia would mean exposure of the shortcomings of the latter to the former thus placing Prussia in a vulnerable position. T'an draws from this

example confirmation that there is no surer way of safeguarding a country than by promoting learning. To protect themselves and be independent, T'an suggests that Chinese people should themselves promote learning; even emperors have no right to prevent them from doing so. He uses two terms, 'expanding power' (chang-li 漲力) in physics and 'wedging power' (chi-li 擠力) in geography, to describe the enormous strength of learning which can promote wisdom and ability, deepen one's power of contemplation, increase the communication between different places and enrich the livelihood of the people. Uniformity of learning can also facilitate the implementation of national policies. Deeply grounded in learning, even if a country is destroyed, it exists. Emperors will not dare to maltreat people, and the people can regard emperors as nonexistent. T'an says, "if we look upon the coming and going of emperors as the changing of slaves, does it do any harm to people?"⁷⁷ That is why in the West, they had what is called federal governments. In China, the implicit meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals is that an empire should be like one family, there is only the division of land but not the division of the people. T'an now unfolds his idea of Great Unity which is more overtly stated in the following p'ien.

T'an begins by putting the whole question of national salvation into perspective by declaring that nations themselves are artificial

entities; how much more so the notion of preserving them! But, he concedes, this idea cannot be realised in an instant, and in the meantime strenuous efforts must be made in the field of reform and renovation.⁷⁸ Disconcertingly for some, he states that in chaotic times, when there is no relief in sight, it is better to aggravate the situation to the point where perhaps someone, a political saviour, will emerge to restore order. The kalpa destiny of China, though caused essentially by the tyrant, was also the karmic accumulations of the people as a whole. Wickedness and calculation in people's mind, T'an holds, is the chief reason why China has brought a great catastrophe upon herself - not only on the nation and the people, but on the race itself. He finds that the Chinese in appearance and mentality are the very image of a condemned race. All of this is the result of mind, or thinking, and only the power of mind can rectify it.

Returning to the theme of Great Unity, T'an asserts that to use the power of mind in order to prevent disaster, one must not aspire only to save one's own country but also to save the Western nations though they now seem to be mighty and prosperous and ferry all sentient beings. T'an claims, "it is best to have no country",⁷⁹ People should look equally upon all countries as their country and all peoples as their own people. Laws should be enacted not only to benefit one's own country but all countries. A religion should be

established, not only to be practised in one country, but include in it the principles known to all countries, and the wise and the ignorant alike should accept its teachings. Great Unity would be achieved through the moral edification of individuals. "By moving one or two men", T'an writes, "one or two are transformed, thus, by moving the world, the disaster may be prevented".⁸⁰ One should aim at the totality of mankind and not individuals and nations. Self-interest can best be protected by concern for the interest of others. Sickness, he warns, is contagious. If the 'strong nations' do not help the 'sick nations', then by a subtle chain of interaction they will be infected by the sick ones and also participate in the general decline.

The global government, T'an asserts, is one in which only the world exists but not nations. As soon as countries no longer exist, national boundaries would melt away, wars would cease, the distinction between the self and others would be obliterated and equality would emerge.⁸¹ Although there still exists the world, it is as if there were no world at all.

T'an expects that some may reject all his ideas as too high-sounding and empty to be practicable. He makes it explicit that he values knowledge rather than action because knowledge belongs to

the spirit whereas action is only of the body.⁸² Knowledge has no limits while action has. Real knowledge, however, must be practicable. Religion, in particular, is the means of seeking for knowledge. Historical records show that all religious teachers - Confucius, Jesus, the Buddha - thought lightly of their own lives in order, through their prior knowledge, to enlighten those possessed of later knowledge, and through their earlier understanding to give the same understanding to those possessed of later understanding. One should not, T'an warns, weigh their teachings in terms of how successfully they are practised. He reminds people of the fact that no matter how hard they might try to be indifferent to the subjects of learning, politics and religion, all of which T'an discussed in depth, they cannot escape from them. One must also understand that religion can encompass politics and learning but not vice versa. Moreover, religion can also embrace no-religion but not the other way around. Those who disparage religion do not see the greatness of a religion which nobody can transcend. Thus what is expressed in the Jen-hsüeh T'an says, are not empty words which are of no concern to people.

The last few pages of the treatise contain T'an's conceptualisation of a grand age in the future when universal peace and perfect harmony prevail for all mankind. In this splendid utopian age, all

men essentially will have attained Buddhahood. At that point there will be no need for religion, political rulers and even governments. Buddhist doctrines so thoroughly pervade this section that it might be better to present a more direct version of T'an's ideas;

When the whole world is well-governed,
all sentient beings will attain Buddhahood.
Not only will there be no religious leaders,
but no religion either. Not only will there
be no monarchs, but no (need for) democracy.
Not only will there be a single
unified globe, but no globe either. Not
only will there be perfection and extreme
fulfilment, leaving nothing more to be
added.....

Is it possible to ferry all sentient
beings to the land of bliss (nirvana)? And
if so, when will they be all ferried? The
answer is: they can be completely ferried
and not be ferried at all. From the time
there were sentient beings, every being
had his own world of perception. This is due
to the different functioning of the sense-
consciousness, which in turn means that what
is perceived by one's first five senses is
different The triple world (the past
world, the present world and the future
world) is but the manifestation of one's mind,
and all phenomena are only the creation of
mere-consciousness. The phenomenal world
changes according to the change of perception
of the sentient beings, but the sentient beings
are not different according to the world.
It can be seen then that the question of
whether or not all sentient beings can be
ferried depends upon how their perception
functions. Moreover, in reality, the
Buddha and all sentient beings have the same
quantity which neither increases nor de-
creases. If we say that all sentient beings

cannot be completely ferried, then they will gradually increase. If we say that all sentient beings can be completely ferried then buddhas will increase. When there is an increase on one side there should be a simultaneous decrease on the other, but neither increase nor decrease is in accordance with reason. [In Buddhism,] there is no sentient being apart from the Buddha, and no Buddha apart from the sentient beings. Although the dharma-nature never moves, it manifests itself everywhere. Although it circulates in the world, it fills the dharma-realms. It goes forward and is not yet born, and it is born and has not yet gone forward. The body of the dharma-nature is immeasurable, and mind itself is also immeasurable. All in one and one in all. [This being the case,] how can there still be any question as to whether or not all sentient beings can be ferried completely? Thus the Buddha has said, "If there is ever one small sentient being who fails to be ferried, I swear I shall not become a Buddha". He further says that, "there is no sentient beings who will, in the end, be ferried". This is not: because they are both completely ferried and not completely ferried. 83

The Buddhist philosophy always puts strong emphasis on salvation by self-power (tzu-li 自力) instead of the other-power (ta-li 他力). In other words, it depends more on one's realisation of one's inherent Buddha-nature to attain Buddhahood than by seeking assistance from the power of the Buddha. This exposition reveals that it was the Mahayana doctrines and the Book of Changes which had greater influence on T'an than the Western theory of evolution and theological literature. 84

To conclude, it can be said that Buddhism not only serves as the chief source of inspiration in T'an's formulation of the major concepts in the treatise, it has also provided him with a theoretical weapon to rationalise the distorted and yet deep-seated doctrines of post-Hsun-tzu Confucianism. In promoting Buddhism as a possible new unifying ideology for China, T'an cherished the hope of counterbalancing intruding Christianity and gaining some of the ground in the spiritual realm that Confucianism had lost to Western religion during their encounter. T'an's whole undertaking was still basically a continuation of the idea heralded by Chang Chih-t'ung, that Chinese learnings be the substance and Western learnings be the function. The major difference between these two intellectuals is that to Chang, Chinese learnings were essentially the Confucian canons, but to T'an it meant Chinese Buddhism.

Chinese Buddhism in the hands of T'an was freely used and indeed garbled to suit his own intellectual and political purposes. In order to prove that Buddhism was the all-embracing philosophy, T'an never hesitated to stretch its original meaning so as to match or encompass ideas from other schools of thought. His choice of the three Mahayana schools - Hua-yen, Ch'an and Wei-shih - was based primarily on the belief that they could well serve his purposes.⁸⁵

Seeing that modern means of communication had made the world increasingly unified, T'an was quick to put forth the idea of "unobstructedness" in the Hua-yen school to cope with the development. Knowing that many of the misconceptions of the Chinese people arose from their parochial vision, T'an employed the notion of "mere-consciousness" to exhort his fellow countrymen to change their way of thinking so that ethnocentrism and reactionary opposition to reform would be swept away. Sensing that the growing influence of Christianity could be deleterious to the Chinese cultural identity, he used Buddhism to brake the acceleration of the Western religious intrusion. Maybe this is why in the Jen-hsüeh, T'an was totally uncritical of Buddhism. It is difficult to know whether he did not intend or was unable to criticise some of the theoretical aspects of Buddhist philosophy.⁸⁶ From the citations T'an made, it seems that his use of the Buddhist literature was confined to the Hua-yen ching, the Cheng Wei-shih lun and the Wei-mo ching.⁸⁷ And it is amazing that these few Buddhist scriptures should have served such a great function in T'an's political thought.

It has often been said that Buddhism constitutes the negative elements of T'an's political thought.⁸⁸ Without Buddhism, some contend, his views would have been more audacious, more revolutionary and more dialectical. But it can easily be seen that Buddhism was

an integral part of the Jen-hsüeh and was in fact the mainspring of T'an's radical thinking, the starting point for his attack on some deep-rooted conventional beliefs and the chief source of his attitude to death. Buddhism naturally played an important part in his formulation of the vision of a utopian great unity, ta-tung 大同]. But he was not idiosyncratic in this respect. Nor should he be blamed by Marxian historians for failing to see the force of the masses.⁸⁹ For ta-tung was an ideal known to the main Chinese philosophical schools like Confucianism and Taoism and all literati.⁹⁰ This concept was long suppressed until the mid-nineteenth century when the peace and order of the empire was seriously disrupted. Although the chief architect for the resurgence of the idea of ta-tung was K'ang Yu-wei,⁹¹ the concept was not unfamiliar to early Chinese reformers. The 'Ping-chun p'ien' 平均篇 (On equality of wealth) of Kung Tzu-ch'en⁹² and the 'T'ien-ch'ao t'ien-mu chih-tu' 天朝田畝制度 (The land system in the Heavenly Dynasty) of the Taipings are examples.⁹³ In the 1890's, the quest for universal peace seemed to open many gates to all kinds of "heterodox" ideas. To some traditionalists this was seen as a deplorable erosion of Confucianism. But to students of Chinese intellectual history, it is part of the iconoclastic quest for liberation from the traditional cultural framework, and the search for a new, viable, intellectual synthesis. T'an was the first reformer in modern China to employ Buddhism so extensively in the formation of his political ideals.

Part III

Buddhism in China's Transitional Period

Chapter 6: Chinese Intellectuals' Perception of Buddhism

During the Transitional Period: 1890-1911

Buddhism was not only utilised by T'an Ssu-t'ung but also by many of his peers and revolutionaries of the late Ch'ing period. However multifarious their use of Buddhism might have been, their concerns focused mainly on the religious, the cultural and the political aspects. Apart from this, it seems that there were some basic assumptions generally held among them as to the nature of Chinese Buddhism in general and their Buddhist interest in particular. The following discussion of the intellectuals' perception of Buddhism during 1890 and 1911 is based on the writings of the few but important intellectuals of the period, including Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, K'ang Yu-wei and Chang Ping-lin. It intends to convey, as far as possible, a general impression of how Buddhism was related to the crucial issues of their time.

Intellectuals' study of Buddhism, to begin with, was underlined by two assertions. First, they made it plain that they were basically interested in the philosophical and not the religious aspect of Buddhism.¹ They saw Chinese Buddhism as having the name and form of a religion and yet displaying extreme profundity in its

philosophy. Although Chinese intellectuals studied, admired and appropriated Buddhism, they baulked at the superstitious elements which attached to some of its schools.² Those who subscribed to the teaching of the Pure Land School because they thought it might give them longevity and wealth, for instance, were viewed with contempt.³ Intellectuals found it essential to strip Buddhism of the mystical crust before any revitalisation of Buddhist philosophy could be attempted.

Secondly, they claimed Buddhism for China. Although recognising the fact that Buddhism originated in India, Chinese intellectuals believed that it was an indigenous philosophy since it was developed, transformed and survived in China. China was also the only country where Mahayana Buddhism was widely practised, and no counterparts could be found in India. Even the Wei Shih School, more Indian than Chinese, had its vogue only in China.⁴ In this way, Chinese intellectuals legitimatised Buddhism as a native cultural tradition.

Buddhism began to attract considerable attention as the fear of losing Chinese indigenous religion loomed large in the mind of the reformers. In searching for answers for the strength of the Western nations, Chinese intellectuals came to the conclusion that the success

of the West owed very much to their "religious reformation" which resulted in the restoration of ancient teachings.⁵ Religion, they believed, was a requisite for modern civilisation. Motivated by the Christian example, they turned their attention to the possibility of establishing a state religion. They carefully weighed the pros and cons of both Buddhism and Confucianism for this purpose, but they never regarded Christianity as worth considering.

Most Chinese intellectuals believed that Christianity was doctrinally inferior to both Buddhism and Confucianism. K'ang Yu-wei maintained that the Christian teaching came entirely from Buddhism. In an article written in 1904, he wrote,

[The Christian] doctrines concerning the soul, the love of mankind, miracles, confession, redemption, paradise and purgatory, appeal to men's conscience. All these are no different from Buddhist [doctrines]. The doctrines concerning creation by one god, the trinity, omnipotence of God, are all found in the tenets of the non-Buddhist sects [of India]. The doctrine of the day of Last Judgement... is less likely to rouse men than the [Buddhist] doctrine of the Wheel of Transmigration. The doctrine concerning spiritual care is extremely crude and shallow, and comes only to the level of sakradagamiphala, falling short of arhat-phala.⁶

Other similarities between Christian and Buddhist rites and practices, including celibacy, renunciation of mundane life, and worship of the image of Christ, K'ang said, proved that Christianity had its roots in Indian religion.⁷

As compared with Confucianism, Christian doctrines appeared trite too. All could be found in the ancient Chinese teachings, particularly in Confucianism. In the Confucian books, as in the Christian books, there were detailed doctrines concerning Heaven, the soul and mending evil ways and doing good.⁸ The Christian religion was therefore unnecessary for China. For K'ang Yu-wei, the only religion that could answer the need of China was the "Confucian religion" which contained all the truths imperfectly revealed in Buddhism and Christianity and possessed merits denied to them.⁹

Intellectuals also looked to other means of decrying the contribution of Christianity to the strength and wealth of the modern West. They distinguished the secular culture of ancient Greece and Rome from Christianity, and argued that the power and wealth of the modern West stemmed solely from the former and had little to do with the latter. In the same vein, they argued that the expansion of Christianity as a world religion was not due to its own merits but

was dependent on the power of the Western nations.¹⁰

In the early 1900's, reformers turned their spearheads against the theoretical validity of Christianity. Exemplary of this effort was Chang Ping-lin's article "On atheism" (wu-sheng lun 無神論).¹¹ The main intention of this was to undermine the belief that God was immortal, omnipotent, omniscient, absolute and all-embracing. According to Chang, God was not without beginning or ending, because there were the first days of his seven days of creation and the final day of the Last Day Judgement. Neither was he omnipotent and omniscient, for he created Satan who could defy His orders and induce people to wrong-doing. By using the Taoist idea of creation by itself, Chang further attacked the belief that God was the absolute, the prime mover, and the all-embracing. Chang explained that the existence of God was in fact groundless. Christianity erected God to be the ultimate, which in Chang's opinion was simply an image created by the "nature of mere-imagination" 衛計所執性.¹² Chang reinforced his argument by pointing out that Francis Bacon also believed in the non-existence of God.¹³ But Chang rejected Kant's idea that God was beyond one's cognisance, one could not say whether he was existent or non-existent. For it would be ludicrous, to say the least, to assume anything not recognisable by the human mind as existent.

Chang Ping-lin's other article, "On establishing a religion" (Chien li tsung-chiao lun 建立宗教論) again questioned the validity of Christianity.¹⁴ Throughout this essay he used the three natures (svabhāvas) 三性 of the Wei-shih school, namely, the nature of mere-
imagination (parikalpitasvabhāva), the nature of dependence on others (paratantrasvabhāva), and the nature of ultimate reality (parinispanna-svabhāva), to refute the basis of theism and polytheism. Both were the projection of the eighth consciousness. The Christians claimed that their God was limitless. This, Chang reminded them, was but an illusion. So were the self, the material world, gods and the universe. Religion must be established upon the nature of ultimate reality; or in other words, upon Buddhism.

That Christianity was inapplicable to China was also shown by the fact that it was not properly understood by her people, and this produced evil effects.¹⁵ Christianity in China was only a sham. Some adhered to it because it allowed them to put on sophisticated and pretentious airs. Others relied on it for their livelihood. Still others, and these were the most abominable, used the name of Christianity and its accompanying privileges to bully their fellow countrymen. Even the "real" Christianity would not do much good to China. It was instrumental in introducing civilisation to barbarian

societies, but to culturally advanced societies it produced irrationality and dogmatism - as witnessed by the Roman Empire. Clearly Christianity was unsuitable for China.

The question remained: which of the two indigenous philosophies was better qualified for state religion? Among late Ch'ing intellectuals, K'ang Yu-wei firmly advocated Confucianism while some of his contemporaries praised Buddhism as capable of counterbalancing the predominance of Christianity in the religious realms as well as upholding the Chinese cultural tradition when Confucianism was suffering erosion.

K'ang Yu-wei's advocacy of Confucianism as a state religion was overwhelmingly positive. He intended to be the Martin Luther of the Confucian religion, restoring Confucianism to its original state and transforming it from a moral philosophy into a religion.¹⁶ He selected some suitable ideas he found in Confucianism and borrowed from Buddhism and Christianity notions that could serve his purpose. Although K'ang acknowledged the "equality" of all religions, he insisted on the doctrinal and practical superiority of Confucianism over Buddhism and Christianity. He came to the conclusion that owing to its intrinsic superiority, the "Confucian religion" was

theoretically suitable for all mankind, and that it was the only "religion" suitable for China under the existing conditions.¹⁷

But K'ang's suggestion did not go unchallenged. Some of the intellectuals maintained that Buddhism would be the religion that governed the world in the future. T'an compared the Christian, Confucian and Buddhist doctrines with the orbits of planets and discussed the environmental factors that shaped the emergence of the three religious teachers Jesus, Confucius and the Buddha. His conclusion was that Buddhism was the most laudable and the highest religion on earth.¹⁸ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao bluntly expressed the view that Buddhism was the most rational and useful religion.¹⁹ Both of them held the opinion that the teaching of Confucius was impeccable and could be the guiding ideology for modern China, but for its corruption by Hsun Tzu, and consequently the notorious marriage of "Confucianism" with autocracy. Chang Ping-lin, too, considered that the religion which would replace Christianity in the West and Confucianism in China would surely be Buddhism.²⁰ They agreed, however, that only a remoulded Buddhism, or "neo-Buddhism", could be the basis of a new faith, of a new Chinese civilisation.

In an attempt to halt the cultural flood from the west, late

Ch'ing intellectuals fought hard to restore the Chinese heritage by dredging up useful ideas from Buddhism. They aimed at bolstering up the Confucian ideals which were called into question under the Western impact, and at proving the viability of Chinese culture.

The two most philosophically inclined Buddhist schools - the Hua-yen and Wei Shih - seemed to have been most frequently used for this purpose. They were like a reservoir of ideas which could be drawn to use for almost any purpose.

First, intellectuals sought to emphasize that Confucianism was in many ways similar to Buddhism. T'an Ssu-t'ung showed in the Jen-hsüeh how the Great Learning could be paralleled with the four transcendental wisdoms in the Wei Shih school and the four dharma realms of the Hua-yen school. From this, he concluded that Buddhism embraced all the principles expounded in the Confucian classics.²¹ K'ang Yu-wei, too, explicitly stated that "the teaching of Confucius was Hua-yen Buddhism"²², for like Hua-yen Buddhism, Confucianism directed men's search for the happiness of this world and not of the other world. This explains K'ang's intention to build dharma in this world while projecting his utopian vision to the future.²³

He saw that both Confucianism and Hua-yen Buddhism were 'other-regarding' as well as 'self-regarding'. Thus it was necessary for him to abide in hell and ferry people to Nirvana. This in Confucianism was jen, or benevolence. K'ang also perceived that the 'realm of non-obstruction of facts and principles' and the 'realm of the non-obstruction of all facts' of the Hua-yen school were equivalent to the teaching of universalism in Confucianism. Both were the realm of mutuality. K'ang's exposition on the differences between great unity (ta-t'ung 大同) and small peace (hsiao-k'ang 小康) bore close resemblance to the Buddhist way of differentiating Mahayana and Hinayana doctrines.²⁴

Intellectuals were not content with equating Buddhism and Confucianism, but felt strongly that the former could be utilised to challenge Western culture. From the writings of T'an Ssu-t'ung, it has been shown that he affirmed that all Western learning had its origin in Buddhism and that the function of the cerebrum and cerebellum were respectively the functions of the ālayavijñāna and māna in the Wei Shih philosophy.²⁵ When we look at other intellectuals of T'an's time, this trend was more apparent and the comparisons of Buddhist and Western ideas were more sophisticated. Some looked into Buddhism in search for counterparts of Western philosophy. Others used Buddhist doctrines to invalidate Western concepts.

This mentality can be illustrated by an examination of their opinions about one of the Western philosophers most of them enthusiastically studied and admired, Immanuel Kant. Both Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Chang Ping-lin devoted numerous pages to Kant, and saw in the Kantian philosophy some elements common to Buddhism.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao believed that the philosophy of Kant was close to the ideas expressed in the Wei-shih and Hua-yen schools.²⁶ He eulogised Kant's major work, The Critique of Pure Reason, as one which ushered in a new epoch in European intellectual history, namely, the foundation of the critical school. But Liang asserted that what Kant regarded as the two functions of mind, theoretical and practical reasoning, were the equivalent of mental functions of the ālayavijñāna. Kant grouped all existent beings into two: appearances and things-in-themselves, or phenomena and noumena. Phenomena referred to manifestations grasped through sense faculties while noumena were those which could not. This Liang regarded as corresponding to the five senses often mentioned in the Lankavatava sutra and the six-consciousnesses.

Liang continued his enunciation of Kantian philosophy by discussing the functions of mind: sensibility, transcendental deduction

and judgement. Like Buddhist philosophy, Kant maintained that the rise of sensibility had to depend on the prerequisites of 'space' and 'time'. But to form real knowledge, transcendental deduction was essential. The principles of judgement were three: the principle of sufficient reason, the principle of coherence and the principle of conservation of energy. These principles explained how manifold were integrated as a web which was dependent on each other. Liang immediately perceived similarities between Kantian and Hua-yen philosophies. The principle of sufficient reason could be seen as one of the ten mysteries mentioned in the Hua-yen sutra, namely "the mystery of the perfect illuminating host and guests". The principle of coherence corresponded to 'the realm of non-obstruction of fact and principle.' Lastly, the principle of conservation of energy was simply another way of expressing the idea of neither increase nor decrease in the self-sufficient sea of nature in Buddhism. Hua-yen Buddhism used the net of Indra (Indra-jāla) to mean the realm of dharma and Kant used the web to depict the co-existence of all appearances. Liang further pointed out that Kant's concept of phenomena being the synthesis of appearances, or the co-existence and interdependence of all beings, was echoed by Buddhism, which maintained, in an ethical sense, that converting others was as important as converting oneself; for one could not remain clean when others were defiled, happy when others were suffering. The third function of reason was the ability of deduction which was the means of

transcendental apperception. Transcendental apperception had three aspects: first, the soul; second, the world; and third, God. Liang compared them with the cosmological ideas expounded in Buddhism. He went on to equate 'Thusness' in Buddhism with Kant's idea of the real self, and 'Blindness' of 'the Wheel of Life' with the idea of manifested-self in Kant.

Chang Ping-lin also believed that the Twelve Categories of Kant were simply the principle of perceived division manifested.²⁷ He further asserted that Kant's idea that morality had value only within and not without was close to pure wisdom in Buddhism.²⁸ For a bodhisattva who intended to ferry all sentient beings to Nirvana, he did not differentiate the external differences between himself and other beings because their intrinsic nature was in fact the same. Being equal, there should only be morality within and should be no difference in private and public morality.

Chinese intellectuals were not only interested in Kant, but in many other Western philosophers. Many studied them for inspiration, while at the same time they pondered on Chinese alternatives to Western ideas. The utilitarian doctrines of Jeremy Bentham, for

instance, were not only introduced but commented on.²⁹ Bentham's ideas were good but imperfect when compared with Buddhism. The highest stage of happiness was the realm of Hua-yen. The Buddha knew that happiness was impermanent, for it was always followed by pain or suffering. The ultimate liberation was to cut oneself off from the root of moral affliction, enduring a moment's pain to attain eternal happiness. Thus Bentham was the one who invented the method of measuring happiness, the Buddha was a great user of it.

The sayings of Thomas Henry Huxley received the same treatment. It was believed that his idea that the universe was formed upon blind motion was a replica of the Twelve Causes (hetu) in Buddhism.³⁰ Blindness was inaction and motion was action. The Twelve Causes also shed light on Arthur Schopenhauer's idea that the universe was formed upon free will.³¹ Moreover, Chinese intellectuals saw that the concept of Idea in Plato's philosophy was the 'nature of ultimate reality' 圓成實性 in the Wei Shih school.³²

Darwinism being one of the most prevalent currents of thought in modern China was also related to Buddhism in different ways. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao believed that the concept of reincarnation, or karma, were supplementary to Darwinism, while Chang Ping-lin used

Buddhist ideas to subvert the idea of progress altogether.

Liang Ch'i-ch'ao believed that the doctrines of karma taught that the physical existence of everything in the world was only evanescent. What was left behind was a karma that would stay eternally. The karma of an individual being was the aggregate of all the deeds and actions of one's life, while the karma of a society would be the collective spiritual heritage which would condition the fate of later generations.³³ He found a close parallel to this collectivistic view of karma when he pondered on the Darwinian belief which stated that improvements in human adaptability could be transmitted from one generation to another through hereditary transmission. This collective heredity Liang called national psychology or social psychology, the formation of which every member of the nation shared and contributed a part.³⁴

The same school of Buddhism, however, produced a totally different attitude to Darwinism. Believing that Herbert Spencer's theory of "progress as differentiation" was close to the Buddhist concept of change, Chang Ping-lin drew Buddhist conclusions.³⁵ He maintained that both good and evil evolved from consciousness as the world evolved. The capacity of consciousness was commen-

surate with the extent of joy and pain. China as a weak country had less power and tendency to do harm than the imperialistic Western nations. While remaining neutral regarding the value of progress of differentiation, Chang kept the Buddhist-oriented view that the multiplication of consciousness and the products of its activity in itself enmeshed human beings deeper in the illusory world of phenomena. All phenomena were projection of mind. In this way, Chang rejected Darwinism.

Undoubtedly, the Wei-shih school recieved much more attention than any other school of Buddhism. Intellectuals ascribed this to the fact that Wei-shih Buddhism was in general accord with modern studies, which had gradually become more and more pragmatic and analytical.³⁶ In this respect the Han learning was not comparable with Ming Neo-Confucianism. But the latter was again incapable of coping with modern advances in science and psychology. Apparently Wei-shih Buddhism was not suited to Ming China, but was suited to modern China.³⁷ For intellectuals found in Buddhism that sort of attitude which corresponded with what was often regarded as the Western scientific and analytical attitude. The Buddhist assertion that both the self and the dharma were unreal because they were but the evolution of mere ideation, resembled pragmatism in the West,

which maintained that the self and all phenomena were without real nature. The Buddhist idea that ālayavijñāna had both perceiving and perceived divisions (chien-fen 見分 and hsiang-fen 相分) struck a responsive chord with Western epistemology which differentiated subjectivity and objectivity. Moreover, the Western concept that subjectivity had three syllogisms - sense inference, logical inference and transcendental inference - which was also central to the Wei-shih school, was similar to the idea of relating knowledge to truth with intuitive, inferential and transcendental knowledge.³⁸

Buddhism was not only useful as a religious and cultural counterweight to the West, but was extremely essential as a moral uplifting force which was needed for the cause of reform and revolution. To claim Buddhism as a useful school of thought, Chinese intellectuals attempted to de-mystify Buddhism and deny that it was a pessimistic, negativistic and self-centred philosophy.

In the mind of the 'Buddhist' intellectuals, Buddhism was not a simple world-abnegating religion.³⁹ Contrary to what most Sung Neo-Confucianists maintained, the attitude of quiescence and world-negation was directly at odds with the central spirit of Mahayana

Buddhism. They held that Christianity was like Hinayana Buddhism because it projected a paradise unattainable by man, tantalising him with an empty hope. This would be regarded by Buddhists as falling into the second wheel of transmigration. The heaven which the Buddha spoke of was formless and was not lying beyond this world, but within one's mind. Therefore, Buddhism regarded both hell and heaven as pure land. In fact, intellectuals emphasised, Buddhism featured a strong this-worldly activism which was expressed at its clearest in Buddha's reply to his disciples' question as to who should descend into hell to save people: "Buddha should descend into hell; not only descend into hell but also stay constantly in hell, but also always enjoy hell; not only always enjoy hell, but also to make hell perfect and dignified". With bodhisattva's zeal to venture into hell and make it over to a habitat, a good number of dedicated souls could save not only a country but even the whole world.

Others more subtly dismissed the fact that Buddhism was pessimistic or world-abnegating. According to the Buddha's view, the world was but an illusory existence. But viewed in worldly truth, what was called the world should be divided into two: first, the 'vessel world' 器世間,⁴⁰ where there were no sentient beings in the three realms - realms of sensuous desire, of form and of pure spirit;⁴¹ and second, the world of sentient beings (yu-ching shih-

chien 有情世間)。 Buddhism was world-abnegating - but the world it negated was the vessel world and not the world of sentient beings. Buddhism lamented over the descent of the world of sentient beings to the vessel world, and thus it strived to save all sentient beings from the three realms. It was like a sinking boat in a rough sea which would soon submerge. All people on the boat naturally loathed the suffering caused by the boat and they desperately looked for buoys and wooden planks to keep them afloat. It was clear that what they disliked was the sinking boat and not the people on it. To criticise Buddhism as world-abnegating was not to realise the division of these two worlds and was like a blind man trying to discern the shape of an elephant by feeling one part of it.

Many intellectuals seemed to have been inspired by Buddhism in order to save the nation. They affirmed that the world was basically a sea of moral affliction. What they should do was to ferry people to the land of bliss. They regarded themselves as bodhisattvas willing to dwell in this defiled world for the sake of saving all sentient beings from sinking into hell. In the last few pages of the Jen-hsüeh, such intention was expressed at length.⁴² In K'ang Yu'wei's Ta-t'ung-shu, it was asserted that the suffering of the world should be alleviated and finally abolished by the advent of a blissful utopia.

If Buddhism provided Chinese intellectuals with an end to pursue, it also furnished them with the means of achieving it. Religion in general had the effect of fostering the morality essential for great undertakings on the national level. Philosophical wisdom might help men understand things better; for action, however, religion was far more important. Almost all the outstanding personalities of the past had been motivated more by religious zeal than by philosophical wisdom. These included such heroic figures like Oliver Cromwell and Gladstone of Great Britain, Joan of Arc of France, William Penn, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln of the United States of America, Mazzini and Cavour of Italy and Saigo Takamori of Japan.⁴³

The religious means by which morality could be generated for national salvation were several.⁴⁴ First, religion could provide unity of thought. Human beings at the present stage had not attained Buddhahood; and thus were still unable to live without a unifying ideology. Religion could unite them when tempted by selfish desires. The religious spirit was like a military spirit that bound an army together. Until the world had achieved the zenith of civilisation religion was still a necessity for ideological unification.

The second reason for the need of a religion was that it provided an unfailing source of hope. Hope was the pabulum of life. Man lived in the present and yet looked to the future. The present belonged to the real, the future built upon hope. Hope spurred man to undertake all kinds of projects. But when men hoped, there was often the risk of being disappointed and becoming disheartened. With religious belief in the existence of soul and the other world, men could never lose hope, never be disheartened, but remain always dedicated to their work.

Another strength of religion lay in its disentanglement of worldly vexations. That which prevented people from embarking on grand undertakings were mostly worldly distractions. What they regarded as morally obligatory to them was not implemented because of selfish considerations of status, vested interests and privileges. Religion would make people transcend their worldly entanglements. They would know that this vessel world was formed by "the screen of past karma" (yeh-chang 業障 karmāvarana),⁴⁵ and that the body itself was made up of the four elements (mahādhūta) of earth, water, fire and wind. Understanding this, they would not cling to any external illusionary existence, but remain carefree and ready to give up their lives for great causes.

Fourthly, religion could free people from recklessness. It became almost fashionable among intellectuals to coin a few new terms to reject traditional morality and yet remain totally ignorant of the meaning of "new morality" propounded by modern Western scholars. They must understand that in the West, the errors resulting from misinterpreting their classics was rectified by Christianity which, though doctrinally shallow, nevertheless served as a moral sanction for all ranks of people. Christianity, with its incongruity with science, would not sustain itself long on earth. The ideas of reincarnation and law of causation in Buddhism, however, would enable it to exist eternally. With such knowledge, people would not be so reckless. There were rules (chieh 戒) in all religions which served to edify public morality.

Lastly, religion could foster audacity. Buddhism spoke of 'great heroism', 'great fearlessness', 'applying swift effort', 'bravery and courage', and 'awe-inspiring power', which were manifested by the symbol of the lion.⁴⁶ The greatest fear of man was death. Buddhism taught that men were neither created nor destroyed but lived in the wheel of life; in this way, the fear of death was dismantled. All true followers of Buddhism would be active, determined, heroic and strong. As compared with philosophers who meticulously

calculated advantages and disadvantages of any simple undertaking and ended up doing nothing, Buddhism bred audacity to undertake great deeds.

The above assertions explain why in 1906, when the anti-Manchus movement was fast getting momentum, Chang Ping-lin talked of employing religion (Buddhism) to promote faith (hsin-hsin 信心) and the morality of people.⁴⁷ Citing Bentham and Spencer, he first condemned those who worshipped utility and considered religion to be of no consequence. For without religion, morality would not advance, and each would pursue his own interests in a struggle for existence. Christianity, though contributing enormously to the Western civilisation, would not be useful for China. Confucianism was also impotent in this respect for it had become inextricably linked with ideas of status and privilege which would be noxious like germs to the whole movement of carrying out a revolution and promoting democracy. As far as the purpose of revolution was concerned, Chang said, the most desirable religion was Buddhism.

What then were the ideas of different Buddhist schools most frequently used in the political thought of the late Ch'ing? A general

impression is that the Wei Shih, Hua-yen and Ch'an schools were widely employed for different purposes. Though Buddhist doctrines were common to all schools, differences of emphasis and presentation were very marked in the various schools. It is this assumption and the expressions intellectuals actually used to present their ideas that determine the placing of different ideas under different schools.

The Hua-yen school provided enormous inspiration to late Ch'ing intellectuals. One of its ideas often used was "one contains the many" which was one manifestation of the notion of the interpenetration and mutual compatibility of different phenomena. T'an Ssu-t'ung used this concept to refute and dismantle the conventional thinking of relativity and thus affirmed the necessity to communicate between different personal and national levels. K'ang Yu-wei also asserted that there was no gap between morality and Nirvana; thus Nirvana need not be sought beyond the realm of mortality. The world was not dualistic but monoistic; the realm of phenomena and the realm of noumena were merged into one. Thus K'ang sought to build a paradise in this world, and not in the world lying beyond it.⁴⁸ The idea of salvation therefore found its way in late Ch'ing political thought.

As a branch of Mahayana Buddhism, the Hua-yen school naturally put strong stress on the ideal of a compassionate Buddha. Thus the Buddha was seen by the Hua-yen school as possessing not only supreme wisdom but also immense compassion. T'an Ssu-t'ung believed that the idea of compassion was central to all religions, but most strongly emphasised in Buddhism. The idea of the power of mind, hsin-li, had its basis in compassion and was motivated by it to seek universal perfection. Thus the concept of bodddhisattva came to play a part in late nineteenth-century thought. In the mind of the Buddhist intellectuals, a bodddhisattva was one who cared for the sufferings of the world and vowed to save others before saving himself. For the sake of saving others, a bodddhisattva was even willing to sacrifice his highest aspiration. Nothing could better illustrate how highly the ideal of universal salvation was prized in Mahayana Buddhism. What the Chinese intellectuals thought was that the same spirit of selfless devotion to the welfare of others, the ideal which the bodddhisattva inspired, could be utilised to foster patriotic feelings and a sense of social responsibility.

The Hua-yen idea of ferrying all human beings to Nirvana, they believed, was most useful to revolutionary morality. It taught people that in order to save the country, even beheading would be gladly accepted.⁴⁹ Like Confucianism, Hua-yen Buddhism was

'other-regarding' as well as 'self-regarding', seeking the perfection of the universe as its ultimate goal.⁵⁰ Only when this stage was reached could there be complete happiness.⁵¹

Another school, the Wei Shih, was also widely used. The main doctrine of this school was that all existence is illusory because it is the creation of mind. Everything therefore was neither created nor destroyed. It generated a very important Buddhist concept, "fearlessness". With it, people would not covet life and despise death but willingly sacrifice themselves for the cause they believed in.⁵² Buddhism bred audacity, heroism and martyrdom.

Wei Shih Buddhism also helped to promote the idea of equality. It was because of a parochial view that differences between sexes and ranks were created. These were in fact the projection of ideation. All, in fact, were equal. Even the Buddha and all living beings were the same. Through a realisation of one's Buddha-nature, one could become Buddha oneself. Buddhism condemned the unfair relationship between the "superior" and "inferior", particularly between the ruler and the ruled.⁵³ The way Manchus maltreated the Chinese people was ten times more severe than the way the ksatriya, the warrior class, had tortured the sudra, the peasants, in India. According to

Buddhism, to get rid of the Manchus was righteous.⁵⁴ Moreover, Buddhism disliked monarchism. It was evident from the rules of the Mahayana branch, which stated that if monarchs maltreated people, bodhisattvas possessed the right to dispense with them and that to kill one person for the good of the people was the way of bodhisattva which was to benefit oneself and to benefit others. This was in harmony with the concept of people's power (min-chuan 民權). Thus the Wei Shih Buddhism, owing to its positive attitude towards the elimination of injustice and unfair political relationship, was wedded harmoniously to modern Chinese nationalism.⁵⁵

Ch'an Buddhism also contributed greatly to fermenting revolutionary morality. The simple but immensely influential concept of the Ch'an sect was "to depend upon oneself and not upon others" (i-tzu p'u i-ta 依自不依他). It meant that nothing but one's own efforts could help one attain salvation. This emphasis on self-reliance could be clearly seen in the law of karma. The ineluctable cause-and-effect relationship between one's moral deeds and one's fortune meant that national economic and political recovery could only come by China's own efforts and fortitude and not by depending upon foreign help.⁵⁶

The Ch'an school's dictum of "relying on oneself" was also useful in heightening the Chinese people's "self-awareness" in revolutionary times. Viewed historically, its emphasis upon the individual human mind as opposed to reliance on the supernatural flowed directly into the mainstream of Chinese thought. For despite the important issues that divided Mencius and Hsun Tzu or the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang schools, they all had as their common point of origin the phrase "depend upon oneself and not upon others". This saying had instilled in the Chinese people the courage and confidence to act, and to act with an awareness of their identity and destiny. It was in this way that Buddhism was made to serve the cause of national reform.⁵⁷

The above discussion shows how a curious variety of Buddhist ideas found expression in the revolutionary movement. It was the utilitarian, motivational and spiritual functions of Buddhism that the Chinese intellectuals found to be most beneficial to foster morality for revolution. This mentality was well underlined by Chang Ping-lin in the following passage:

The present age is not the age of Chou, Ch'in, Han and Wei. In those times things were far simpler, and even the commonplace sayings of Confucius and Lao Tzu

were adequate for teaching the people and perfecting customs. Today, however, conditions are different. Even theories of transmigration are inadequate. If we do not explain immortality, we shall be unable to eliminate the fear of death. If we do not eradicate the idea of personal possession (wo-so 我所), we shall be unable to eliminate the worship of wealth. If we do not speak in terms of equality, we shall be unable to eliminate the slave mentality. If we do not make it clear that all living things are [potential] Buddhas, we shall be unable to eliminate the sense of inferiority that leads men to yield in the face of adversity. If we do not exalt the three wheels [Buddha's deeds, words, and ideas] and the purity of [the Buddha], we shall be unable to eliminate the belief that one deserves credit for good deeds.⁵⁸

Intellectuals anticipated that they would be asked to explain why Buddhism which had been practised in China for more than two thousand years had not produced any significantly good political influences on her, and why India, the original home of Buddhism, had fallen under foreign rule. In promoting Buddhism, was there not the danger of following the way of India? Chang Ping-lin replied that all religions could be grouped into three: polytheism, monotheism and atheism - just as in polity, there were the division of aristocracy, monarchy and democracy. Democracy had to be attained via the stage of monarchy.⁵⁹ If it was achieved directly from aristocracy, it would be adulterated with remnants of the latter. In religion, to arrive at atheism from polytheism without going through monotheism

would likewise yield bad results. Taoism in China was polytheistic and Buddhism was atheistic. The introduction of Buddhism to China amidst the prevalence of Taoism meant that China had not gone through the necessary stage of monotheism. Thus in China, Buddhism was mixed with superstition and the sect which popularised such practices, such as the Pure Land, was widely followed. That was why Buddhism did not produce good results for China. Now, with the presence of monotheistic Christianity, the remnants of polytheism could be removed and it was the right moment to preach atheistic Buddhism. To revitalise the Buddhist religion and disseminate its doctrines among Chinese people would produce a completely different result for China.

As to the relationship between Buddhism and the "fall" of India, two main explanations were offered. First, contrary to what people thought, intellectuals believed that it was the underdevelopment of Buddhism, and not its flowering, which had brought India to the brink of extinction. A decade after the death of the Buddha, Buddhism was virtually absent in India because its growth had been cramped by Brahmanism and Islam.⁶⁰ The second explanation pointed to the fact that religion could not save a country that did not itself possess highly developed political and legal institutions. China already had

sophisticated political and legal institutions and so would not go the way of India.⁶¹ Japan was a good example to show that the propagation of Buddhism would not hamper the prosperity of the nation but on the contrary help the course of national rehabilitation. China, in adopting Buddhism, would achieve the same level of attainment. The crux of the whole problem, they believed, lay in the method of application only.⁶²

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The study of the Buddhist theme in the intellectual history of modern China is in fact an examination of the role of one major non-Confucian philosophy in the cultural interaction between China and the West. The influence of Buddhism on many late Ch'ing religious reformers, critics of Confucianism, and sceptics of scienticism, may have been greater than any other school of thought. As the writings of T'an Ssu-t'ung and his peers indicate, Buddhism not only provided them with a theoretical tool with which they could legitimise and defend Chinese culture under the Western impact, but also nourished them with audacity to act, a faith to attach to in the course of their struggle for national causes. The variety of functions which Buddhism served indicates to some extent the inadequacy of the conceptual framework of "China's response to the West" and the futility of trying to explain the cultural transition of modern China solely in terms of the fate of Confucianism.

John K. Fairbank's main theory of "Western impact and China's response" is that the transition of modern China can be studied only within the context of a century of Western influence.¹ Recent studies, however, show that it is necessary to draw into focus the different

kinds of responses which developed in a rather complicated situation. The Chinese circumstances upon which the West made its impact did not constitute a vacuum; and the complicated indigenous factors may well have distorted the "Western impact".² In fact, neither the West nor the Chinese cultural heritage is a completely known quantity.³ "The West" did not simply arrive in China - Western influence was introduced piecemeal by individuals and was further selectively perceived by various Chinese. Thus China's responses were dictated by many internal factors and initiated by a wide variety of stimuli, only some of them were specifically Western. Moreover, traditional Chinese culture did not only respond to its situation with stimulation from the West; the tradition itself possessed the inner variety and dynamics which always generated solutions to a particular set of concerns and problems.⁴ Clearly, late Ch'ing reformers responded not only to the West, but also to their own cultural tradition in the manner in which they re-thought, re-examined and re-evaluated it. It was this "response within the tradition" that had led Chinese intellectuals to embrace a greater dimension of thought extending beyond Confucianism. As a result, they had recourse to Buddhism, which was thus revitalised as a major Chinese school in the Sino-Western cultural contest.

A significant attempt to interpret the intellectual continuity of

modern China was made by the "Mozartian historian", Joseph Levenson. He devised a dichotomy of "history" and "value", by which he meant that the influx of Western ideas had the effect of alienating intellectuals from a cultural tradition to which they remained emotionally tied.⁵ However, as Benjamin Schwartz aptly remarks, the cultural tradition cannot be equated with Confucianism: rather, the tradition the Chinese intellectuals referred to was "a complex of many contending and even contradictory tendencies".⁶ To identify Confucianism with Chinese culture not only lacks intellectual sophistication, but entirely overlooks a second parallel tradition - Buddhism, which had its revival when Confucianism crumbled before the challenge from the West. Naturally Confucianism has contributed significantly to the formation of basic Chinese cultural traits, but Confucian philosophy itself does not constitute one massive whole, exhibiting solid uniformity. Moreover, Confucianism involves a highly complex process of integration, enveloping many divergent currents over a very long period of time.⁷ The spiritual orientation of pre-Ch'in Confucianism was significantly different from the institutionalised Confucian value system of the Han; the appropriation of Confucian ideas in the T'ang central bureaucracy did not at all resemble the Confucian concerns as reflected in the ethos of Sung-Ming scholar-officialdom. The survival of Confucianism through the ages, ironically, depended rather on its ecumenical nature which helped it to co-exist with all kinds of alien thought and on the other, to

assimilate much of their strength.⁸

But the intellectual platform was not occupied by Confucianism alone: Buddhism and Taoism had their share in the limelight. Confucianism should in fact be seen only as one of the several major traditions in China. In the late Ch'ing period, Buddhism was emancipated from the confines of monasteries and from the homes of laymen and in the hands of the intellectuals, reasserted itself as a formidable cultural counterbalance to the West. This was due to the effort of the late Ch'ing intellectuals to delve into an important strand in the Chinese cultural heritage in order to find a workable formula for national salvation and cultural regeneration and to test that formula in practical action.

As a result, they dug out not only antitheses, but also affinities, similarities and compatibilities between specific elements of Buddhist thought and specific varieties of modern Western thought. Some of this was, to be sure, disingenuous and even puerile. Much of it was no doubt simply wrong. Yet this may reflect the fact that Chinese intellectuals were inevitably forced to use the categories of thought and language available to them to assimilate the new ideas of the West.

They had thus transcended the divide of culturalism and made novel ideas more acceptable to the Chinese.

Paradoxically, such intellectuals had mixed feelings about accommodating to Western ideas on the one hand and preserving their cultural identity on the other. Thus we find that while T'an Ssu-t'ung enthusiastically urged the adoption of Western ideas, he also held that Buddhism encompassed all the fundamental doctrines of science and Christianity. To the Chinese intellectuals, identification with Buddhism was almost tantamount to identification with 'Chinese-ness'. And by claiming that Buddhism emulated Western learning, 'Chinese-ness' brought satisfaction. That is why they repeatedly asserted that Buddhism was indigenous and that it could be the basis of a new Chinese civilisation if properly renovated.

In the course of utilising Buddhism in late Ch'ing intellectual thought, Chinese intellectuals brought forth some significant changes in its sectarian development and doctrinal capacity. Their emphasis on the scientific character of Buddhism heralded the predominance of the Wei-shih school in the early republican period. As exemplified by the works of Tai-hsu, this school was continuously equated with modern ideas, with modern science and with Western religious thought.⁹

New dimensions, moreover, were added to Buddhist doctrinal development. It is true that some folk Buddhist elements had provided inspiration for rebellions and revolts in traditional China, but Buddhist philosophy had never been used for refuting the validity of Christianity, arousing anti-Manchu feelings, serving the cause of nationalism, rationalising the dogmatism of Confucianism, and undermining the viability of science. Buddhism, in short, served as a theoretical weapon for the intellectuals to tackle the problems of their time.

But the question remains: Was Buddhism a workable formula for alleviating the plight of China or was it simply a psychological salve used to soothe the pain generated by the cultural imperialism of the West? The answer seems to be the latter. Naturally, it was gratifying to know that Buddhist doctrines were compatible with science, or that Christianity was inferior to Buddhism. But this feeling could contribute virtually nothing substantial or concrete towards the betterment of society or to the strength of China as a nation. In other words, the inefficacy of Buddhism lies in the fact that it provided no prescriptions for the overriding concerns of here-and-now. Some late Ch'ing intellectuals like Li Chao-hsing and Meng-an raised serious questions about the usefulness of Buddhism in a time of utmost urgency.

The issues Meng-an raised in the Tung-ya yüeh-pao 東亞月報 (East Asia Monthly) and the reply Chang Ping-lin gave in the Min-pao 民報 (The people's journal) in 1908 typify in many ways the underlying differences between the opinions of the Buddhist-minded intellectuals and their opponents. Their argument also provides ample ground for examining the problems inherent in the use of Buddhism and summing up the role of Buddhism in late Ch'ing political context.¹⁰ Chang Ping-lin began the article "Ta Meng-an" 答夢庵 (A reply to Meng-an) by maintaining that Buddhism had contributed enormously to the morality of China. Before the Sung Dynasty, Buddhism and Taoism were chiefly responsible for the edification of public morality. As the rigidity of ruler-subject relationship gained vitality in Neo-Confucian thought, non-commitment to sovereignty was regarded as undutiful. In this climate of thought, hermits were rare. In recent times, intellectuals craved fame and wealth and regarded constitutionalism as a stepping-stone to such aspirations. Chang doubted, not improperly, how many revolutionaries were impeccably upright. For many of them owned luxurious cars and fat horses, engrossing themselves in the triviality of clothing and hair-styling. They deserted the pure and the simple in pursuit of the sophisticated and the unsubstantial. The success of the revolution certainly could not rest on them. Hermitage was neither suitable for them nor for the nation which was deep in trouble. To a certain extent, Christianity could

help to change the trend from sophistication to simplicity, but the religion was disliked by most thoughtful Chinese and was diametrically contradictory to Taoism. To re-edify public morality, there could be no other school better than Buddhism. This, Chang frankly admitted, he had concluded a long time ago, and it was often spelt out in detail in the various articles published in the Min-pao.

Was Buddhism compatible with the cause of revolution? This was a question not only Meng-an, but many of his contemporaries, wanted to ask. Meng-an put forth his opinions by pointing out how Buddhism collided with the "six principles" of the Min-pao:

Is this (article) on origination in Mahayana Buddhism sufficient to change the bad government into doing good? Is it sufficient to establish a republic? The democratic thought of Buddhism had been defunct for more than a thousand years. How can the corpse of Buddhism be still held as an instrument to maintain new democracy in this new world? Besides, there is the call for the nationalisation of land. Can this be achieved by mendicants? To use Buddhism to seek for the alignment of Japan and China, and to ask the strong nations of the world for their approval of China's reform activities is to fall far short of our aim. Nothing (in Buddhism) can help to contribute towards this goal. And yet the Min-pao establishes itself as though it is a Buddhist paper. What is the real intention? The Min-pao should serve as the channel for airing people's opinions,

not as the voice of Buddhism. For if all several millions of Chinese are followers of Buddhism, China will become a replica of India. If several tens of thousands of people are monks, who are to grow rice? Who are to lead soldiers to defend against enemies? The practice of Buddhism was the reason why India finally lost her nationhood.¹¹

Chang Ping-lin replied by saying that Buddhism, contrary to what Meng-an said, was important to the implementation of the six principles the Min-pao propounded. These principles were not empty words but needed to be practised by men. Obviously, cowards, the bumptious, the vulgar and the hypocrites could not put these principles into practice. They had to be remedied by Buddhism. Audacity and fearlessness could cure cowardice. Disentanglement with the trials of life and observation of ascetic practice could overcome vanity. Confidence in the self could correct vulgarity. Strenuously avoiding empty talk could rectify hypocrisy. All these were mentioned sporadically in other religions, but only Buddhism went smoothly with Chinese traditions and customs. All his efforts, Chang stated, were not spent on changing the Min-pao to the voice of Buddhism, but on urging people to practise the six principles.

As to the question of whether or not Buddhism could be the instrument to maintain the peaceful order of the world, Chang admitted

that he was not so naive as to think that the four functions of cognition of the Wei Shih School and the ^{Vinaya rules in the Shih-sung li 十誡} could be directly codified as international laws. But without Buddhism, public morality could hardly be sustained. People usually said that Buddhism was of no immediate relevance to the present world. This was not to see and trace the source of the school of thought which was currently influential. In Japan, Wang Yang-ming was highly revered. Wang's ideas chiefly originated from Lu Hsiang-shan who in turn was strongly influenced by Buddhism. To employ Buddhism under the disguise of Confucianism, Chang believed, was to make the latter subservient to the former. The Japanese, revering the thought of Wang Yang-ming and yet disparaging Buddhism, were in fact wholly oblivious to the source of Wang's thought. In the West, philosophy was widely studied as a subject in higher education; it included the teachings of Plato and Socrates which, to most of us, must be seen as the dried corpse of more than a thousand years old, bearing no relevance to the present. But the ideas of these ancient philosophers in fact formed the backbone of modern civilisation. Likewise, Buddhism could be extremely useful if converts could think lightly of the vicissitudes of life and obviate the difference of life and death. Buddhism should not drive people to the meditation hall. In fact, to use propriety to change the world was not as reliable as using Buddhism. For propriety was not as rigid as Buddhist rules and the teaching of Wang Yang-ming was not as precise and erudite as Mahayana Buddhism.

Chang Ping-lin further asserted that there was no likelihood that most Chinese people would become monks since the customs of China and India were so vastly different. The T'ang and Sui dynasties were exemplary of the fact that military predominance went hand in hand with the prosperity of Buddhism. It showed that promotion of Buddhism did not result in the neglect of military affairs. In the West, monks were not subject to conscription, and yet it never happened that a country lost a war because of the noncommitment on the part of the monks. To compare China with India and thus conclude that Buddhism was harmful to national strength was not to realise the different social, political and economic milieu that existed between them. The extinction of India, so to speak, was only temporary. At present, with the rising tide of nationalism, it would not be long before India could be independent and strong. Meng-an, in relating Buddhism with the plight of India, did injustice to the religion.

This exchange of ideas between Chang Ping-lin and Meng-an shows that there are still many problems left unknotted. Leaving aside the question of whether or not Chang's argument is tenable, and assuming that Buddhism could have worked the way Chinese intellectuals wished it to, it still remains dubious if Buddhist intellectuals could overcome the limitations which would surely militate against

its success. The promotion of Buddhism was basically elitist. It was directed towards solving the common blemishes of the educated class. The problems of the masses - poverty, illiteracy and others - were not attended to. It thus created a gulf between Chinese intelligentsia and the masses, which was highly undesirable in a struggle to attain an integrated society based on common interests.

Intellectuals, moreover, were not so readily susceptible to Buddhism. When Chang Ping-lin published his article "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun" 「建立宗教論」 (On establishing a religion), the response from his readers was that Buddhist texts and Sanskrit were too abstruse for them to grasp.¹² Indeed, the voluminous Chinese Tripitaka not only baffled Chinese intellectuals completely, but was incomprehensible to the Chinese people in general. One wonders how many Chinese people in any period have been able to understand the intricate and erudite doctrines of Buddhism, and how many of them have read some of the common sutras and sastras as the reformers did.

Even if some did read and understand Buddhism, their interpretation of it might not necessarily conform to the views of the reformers. Perhaps this can also be captured by the same article

"Ta Meng-an" where such a divergence of view was manifested. Meng-an believed the teaching of Buddhism should be unified and should not have the division of Mahayana and Hinayana schools. Being and non-being, which were what Asvaghosa propounded, were all void and erroneous. In Buddhism, there should not be any difference in profundity. The division into Mahayana and Hinayana branches was simply the witty play of men. Meng-an made a reference to the concept of "selflessness" which Chang Ping-lin held to be the outdated idea of the Hinayana school, denied too by Asvaghosa as erroneous. Quoting from the Ta-sheng pai-fa ming-meng lun 大乘自法明門論 (Treatise on the door to the knowledge of universal phenomena) and the sayings of the Greek sophist and rhetorician Gorgias (?), Meng-an refuted Chang's idea by maintaining that the activities of "selflessness" merged into the universe. Those who were pessimistic resembled the degenerated srāvaka and pratyeka who aimed at personal salvation; while those who were optimistic corresponded to evolutionary bodhisattvas who strove after the salvation of the whole world. The Min-pao, devoted to airing people's views, should also be merged with the universe.

Chang Ping-lin replied that Buddhism was not theology which invited faith upon a concluded dogma. Buddhism did not have differences in doctrinal depth except in methods of communication. They

varied as the ability of the students and situations varied. Even the Lotus Sutra, which treated the three vehicles (san-sheng 三乘) as provisional and offered the Buddha vehicle (fo-sheng 佛乘) as the inclusive and final vehicle, was only expedient teaching. Even though Buddhism did not have the differences between old and new, pure and defiled, the opinions of some rotten scholars did have such a differentiation. Chang satirised Meng-an for demarcating the pessimistic self-centred srāvaka and pratyeka and the optimistic other-regarding bodhisattva while at the same time admitting that Buddhism should be theoretically consistent. In fact, "thusness" (tathāgatagarbha) as defined by Asvaghosa was different from "wisdom" (prajñā). What Asvaghosa regarded as the unreal existence of the self and non-self meant that if one held the self as true, one would commit the errors of the Samkhyas; and when one held "non-self" as true, one followed the wrong path of the Lokayatikas. Thus being and non-being were denied. But it did not mean that Buddhism was rootless. It was grounded, very firmly, on "thusness". Meng-an's quoting from the work of Gorgias that the transmigration of all beings suggested selflessness was correct. That which transmigrated, however, had to be ascribed to consciousness. Consciousness was that upon which Buddhism was grounded. Ta-sheng pai-fa ming-meng lun 大乘自法明門論 (Treatise on the door to the knowledge of universal phenomena) denied the selflessness of all beings. All other treatises of the Wei

Shih School regarded ālayavijñāna, or the eighth consciousness, as the origin of all phenomena. When ālayavijñāna was in the defiled state, it was called ālayavijñāna; when it was completely purified, it was called amalavijñāna (An-mo-lo-shih 庵摩羅識). In Asvaghosa's vocabulary, it was "thusness". Chang said that to criticise the concept of "selflessness" without thoroughly mastering the essence of Buddhism was irresponsible nonsense.

Chang attributed such confusion to some Japanese who compared the thought of Asvaghosa with Hegel. The error of Meng-an's idea that bodhisattva were optimistic was that he did not see that before the five fundamental conditions of the passions and delusions, nirvana was cherished and transmigration abhorred. To liberate oneself from the five conditions involved the germination of a bodhi's mind. That basically was pessimism. Only with this pessimistic outlook, however, could one be driven to ferry all beings to nirvana and to liberate them from transmigration, thus attaining the four transcendental realities - eternity (ch'ang 常), bliss (lo 樂), personality (wo 我) and purity (ching 淨) - in nirvana. Meng-an's idea of letting transmigration merge with the universe resembled the saying of the non-Buddhist school, Lokayatika, and was in sharp contradiction with Buddhism. If intelligent people like Meng-an and

Chang Ping-lin were so much in disagreement about their comprehension of Buddhism, a consensus of opinion among the intellectuals on the utility of Buddhism would seem almost impossible.

It should be added that in the mind of the late Ch'ing Buddhist intellectuals, only a "reformed Buddhism" could be useful for their cultural and political purposes. The core of the reformed Buddhism would be ideas culled from the Wei Shih, Hua-yen and Ch'an schools which were in their minds compatible with modern ideas. Time, therefore, was of the essence if the "useful" elements of Buddhism were to be dug out and revitalised. Time was needed to correct people's deep-seated conception of a pessimistic, egalitarian Buddhism and cultivate a totally different image of it. Time was also needed to disseminate such a renovated religious thought. And yet China of the nineteenth century did not have the time for all these undertakings, and the chance to put "reformed Buddhism" to a trial.

With hindsight, we may conclude that the Buddhist theme in late Ch'ing political thought was simply a romantic interlude. It played a role in modern China in the unforeseen concourse of circumstances; the collapse of Confucianism under the Western impact, the

intrusion of Christianity, the Buddhist revival in the late nineteenth century, the wedding of Buddhist interest with the New Text scholars who happened to play an influential part in modern China's political platform, and the immense potentiality of Buddhism to cater for their cultural and intellectual needs. But Buddhism to the Chinese intellectuals was no more than a means to an end - the end of establishing an independent China. Once such aspirations seemed to have been achieved with the establishment of a republican China, Buddhism, along with Confucianism and Christianity, soon found itself in a very unfriendly intellectual climate. Campaigns of anti-Confucianism and anti-religion emerged in the wake of the success of anti-Manchu movement.¹³ In the end, only two "Western" beliefs - scienticism and Marxism - took hold of China, both of which were hostile to Buddhism.¹⁴ Under such circumstances, the romantic interlude faded out. However, evanescence does not mean insignificance. On the contrary, the Buddhist theme in the late Ch'ing served to underline the complexity of the cultural transition from traditional to modern China, about which so much still remains unintelligible. Unless more strenuous effort is devoted to exploring the non-Confucian Chinese traditions, a genuine appreciation of modern Chinese thought will remain impossible for a long time to come.

NOTES

Abbreviations

- TSTCC T'an Ssu-t'ung, T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan chi (Complete Works of T'an Ssu-t'ung). Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1954.
- TSTNP Yang T'ing-fu, T'an Ssu-t'ung nien-p'u (Chronological biography of T'an Ssu-t'ung). Peking: Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957.
- YPSHC-WC Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Yin-ping-shih ho-chi, wen-chi (Collected works of the Ice-drinking Studio: articles). Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941.

Introduction

- 1 For the meaning of such problematic terms like "modernity" or "modernisation", see C.E. Black, The Dynamics of Modernisation: A Study in Comparative History (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). See also S.N. Eisenstadt, "Tradition, Change and Modernity: Reflections on the Chinese Experience" in Ho Ping-ti and Tang Tsou, ed., China in Crisis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), Vol.1, Book 2, pp. 753-774.
- 2 Mary C. Wright, The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-chih Restoration, 1862-1874 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), pp. 51-56.
- 3 Ch'ien Mu, Chung-kuo chin san-pai-nien hsüeh-shu shih (Shanghai: Shang-wu shu-chu, 1937), pp. 306-379.
- 4 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr. Immanuel C.Y. Hsu (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 83-84.
- 5 See Chang Hao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 26-29.
- 6 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, pp. 21-25.
- 7 One of them, and probably the best, is Hsiao Kung-chuan. His book on K'ang, A Modern China and A New World: K'ang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858-1927 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975) is the most thorough and penetrating analysis of the thought of K'ang Yu-wei. See also Ch'ien Mu, "K'ang Yu-wei ssu-hsiang shu-p'ing" in Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao, Vol.2, No.3 (July 1936), pp. 583-656; and the same author, "K'ang Yu-wei ssu-hsiang chih liang chi-tuan", in Pao Tsun-p'eng, Li Ting-i and Wu Hsiang-hsiang, ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai shih lun ts'ung, 1st. series, Vol.7, pp. 177-186; William F. Hummel, "K'ang Yu-wei, Historic Critic and Social Philosopher, 1858-1927", Pacific Historical Review, Vol.4, No.4 (Dec. 1935), pp. 343-355.

- ⁸ Hao Yen-p'ing, "Cheng Kuan-ying: The Comprador As Reformer", in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.29, No.1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 15-22.
- ⁹ Chang Hao, op.cit., pp. 149-219.
- ¹⁰ See Chapter 5, pp. 188 - 191.
- ¹¹ Benjamin Schwartz, "Notes on Conservatism in General and in China in Particular", in Charlotte Furth, ed., The Limits of Change (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 3-21; also Charlotte Furth, "Culture and Politics in Modern Chinese Conservatism", in Ibid., pp. 22-53.
- ¹² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, On Religion (New York: Schocken Books, 1964) pp. 147-149. Kenneth Ch'en, "Chinese Communist Attitudes Towards Buddhism in Chinese History", in Albert Feuerwerker, ed., History in Communist China (Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1968), pp. 158-174. It might be of interest to see also Chang Tung-sun, "Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih shang fo-chiao ssu-hsiang chih ti-wei", Yen-ching hsüeh-pao No.38 (1950), pp. 147-148.
- ¹³ Charlton M. Lewis, "The Hunanese Elite and the Reform Movement, 1895-1898", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.29, No.1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 35-42.
- ¹⁴ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, p.107.
- ¹⁵ Ch'en Po-ta, "Lun ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia T'an Ssu-t'ung", in Chen-li ti chui-ch'iu (Shanghai: Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1939), p.129.
- ¹⁶ Chang Nan and Wang Jen-shih, ed., Hsin-hai ko-ming ch'ien shih-nien chien shih-lun hsüeh-chi (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1962), Vol.1, Book 2, pp. 617-620.
- ¹⁷ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, p.116.

Chapter 1

- ¹ For a general survey of Buddhism in modern China, see: Shih Tung-ch'u, Chung-kuo fo-chiao chin-tai shih (Taipei: Chung-hua fo-chiao wen-hua kuan, 1974), pp. 26-90; Wei Huan, "Buddhism in Modern China", in T'ien Hsia Monthly, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Sept. 1939), pp. 140-155; Chan Wing-tsit, Religious Trends in Modern China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 54-92; Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1933), chüan 4, pp. 1-52; Holmes Welch, The Buddhist Revival in China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 1-22; T'an Hsuan, "Ch'ing-tai fo-chiao chi kai-lüeh", in Hai ch'ao yin, Vol. 17, No. 9 (Sept. 1936), pp. 1034-1053, and Vol. 17, No. 10 (Oct. 1936), pp. 1185-1194; Arthur Wright, Buddhism in Chinese History (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 108-127; and Arthur Wright, "Buddhism in Modern and Contemporary China", in Robert F. Spencer, ed., Religion and Change in Contemporary Asia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), pp. 14-26; Chang Wing-tsit, "Modern Trends in Chinese Philosophy and Religion", in Joseph M. Kitagawa ed., Modern Trends in World Religions (Chicago: Open Court, 1959), pp. 193-216.
- ² Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih, chüan 4, pp. 2-8.
- ³ Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period - (1644-1912) (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing, 1943-1944), p. 257; also Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih, chüan 4, p. 3.
- ⁴ Ch'ü Hsuan-ying, comp., Chung-kuo she-hui shih-liao t'sung ch'ao (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1937), Vol. 1, p. 233.
- ⁵ Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih, chüan 4, pp. 7-9.
- ⁶ For the literary inquisition of the Ch'ien Lung period, see Luther Carrington Goodrich, The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung, 2nd ed. (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corporation, 1966). The author lists eight reasons for the censorship of the Ch'ien-lung period, see pp. 44-53.

- 7 According to C.K. Yang, Religion in Chinese Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), p.192, "heterodoxy" is described as: "Any religious belief and activity divergent from the state orthodoxy of Confucianism might be regarded as heterodoxy".
- 8 English translation of these decrees can be found in William F. DeGroot, Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, Vol.1, pp. 137-140, 244-248. See also C.K. Yang, Religion in Chinese Society, pp. 194-196.
- 9 C.K. Yang, op.cit., pp. 299-300.
- 10 Informative sources can be found in Arthur F. Wright, "The Economic Role of Buddhism in China", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.16, No.3 (May 1957), pp. 408-414.
- 11 Jen P'eng-nien, comp., Ta-ch'ing lü-li tseng-hsiu t'ung-tsuan chi -ch'eng (N.p.1871), chüan 8, pp. 20-23.
- 12 Ibid., chüan 8, p.23.
- 13 See Tseng Kuo-fan, Tseng Wen-cheng kung ch'üan-chi (Reprinted by Taipeh: Shih-chieh shu-chu, 1965), pp. 147-149.
- 14 Shu Hsin-ch'eng, comp., Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yu shih tzu-liao (Peking: Jen-min chiao-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1962), pp. 80-82.
- 15 Knight Biggerstaff, The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 1-70.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 K'ang Yu-wei, "Ch'ing ch'ih ko sheng kai shu-yuan yin-tzu wei hsüeh-t'ang ch'e", in Chien Po-tsan, et al., comp, Wu-hsu pien-fa (Shanghai: Sheng-chou kuo-kuang she, 1953), Vol.2, pp. 219-222.

- 18 Shu Hsin-cheng, Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yu shih tzu-liao (Peking: Jen-min chiao-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1962), pp. 82-83.
- 19 Chang Chih-tung, Chang Wen-hsiang kung ch'uan-chi (Peiping: 1937), chüan 202, 203, particularly chüan 203, pp. 8-9a; see also William Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971) pp. 161-162.
- 20 Chang Chih-tung, Chang Wen-hsiang kung ch'uan-chi, chüan 203, p. 9a.
- 21 See Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 448, 454; and Yin Shun, T'ai-hsu ta-shih nien-p'u (T'aipei: Hai-ch'ao-yin tsa-chih she, 1967), p.37; also Holmes Welch, The Buddhist Revival in China, pp. 2-10.
- 22 A personal account of Yang Jen-shan is to be found in the writings of his granddaughter Buwei Yang who is the wife of Dr. Chao Yuan-jen, a renowned writer and composer in contemporary China. These writings include: Autobiography of A Chinese Woman (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 82-88; "Hsien-tsu Jen-shan kung chih sheng-p'ing" in P'u-ti shu, Vol.8, No.11 (Oct. 1960), pp. 6-9; and "Wo ti tsu-fu", in Chüan-chi wen-hsüeh, Vol.3, No.3 (Sept. 1963), pp. 17-20. An account of Yang's life is also written under the title of "Yang Jen-shan chu-shih shih-lüeh", which first appeared in Fo-hsüeh ts'ung-pao, Vol.1 (Oct. 1911), pp. 1-5. This article was later included in Yang Jen-shan chu-shih i-chu (Nanking: 1919), pp. 1-7. See also Holmes Welch, The Buddhist Revival in China, pp. 2-10.
- 23 Accounts differ as to which sutra Yang first received. "Yang Jen-shan chu-shih shih-lüeh", p.2, states that Yang received from an old nun the Diamond Sutra first while Chao Buwei Yang believes that The Awakening of Faith in Mahayana Buddhism was the first sutra that aroused Yang's genuine interest in Buddhism. The latter view seems to be more convincing and it has been confirmed in the "Preface" of Timothy Richard's translation of the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine (Shanghai: 1907) p.x.

- 24 Yang Jen-shan, Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu. (Reprinted in T'aipei: Hsin wen-feng ch'u-pan kung-szu, 1973), chüan 1, pp. 7b-8a.
- 25 Yang Jen-shan, "Yu Liao Ti-hsin shu", Ibid., chüan 6, p.27b.
- 26 Yang Jen-shan, "Yu Mou Chun shu", Ibid., chüan 6, p.28a.
- 27 See "Yang Jen-shan chu-shih shih-lüeh", Yang Jen-shan chu-shih i-chu, p.2b.
- 28 Chou Hsiang-kuang confuses Liu Chih-t'ien with Tseng Chi-tse, and wrongly gives the date of Yang's appointment as 1875 instead of 1878. See his A History of Chinese Buddhism (Allahabad: Chou Singpong, 1955), p.219.
- 29 Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih, chüan 4, pp. 17-19.
- 30 The content of this work was scheduled to be 460 chüan, totalling 3,320 ch'e. For details, see Chiang Wei-ch'iao, op.cit., chüan 4, p.18. Also Yang Jen-shan, "Ta-tseng chi-yao hsü-li" in Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 3, pp. 7-9.
- 31 Chiang Wei-ch'iao (Ibid) estimates that the already published Buddhist sutras amounted to two thousand ts'e. But "Yang chu-shih t'a-ming" (Yang Jen-shan chu-shih i-chu, chüan 1, p.2) estimates it to be of a thousand copies. Since these figures are rough estimations, it is safe to put it at somewhere between one to two thousand copies.
- 32 Holmes Welch, The Buddhist Revival in China, pp. 9-10.
- 33 Wei Huan, "Buddhism in Modern China", pp. 141-142.
- 34 See Yang Jen-shan, "Fo-fa ta chih" in Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 1, p.9a.

- 35 Yang Jen-shan, "Nan-yang ch'uan yeh-hui yuan-shui", in Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 1, pp. 27-28.
- 36 Yang Jen-shan, "Yu Liu T'i-hsin shu", Ibid., chüan 6, p.27.
- 37 Yang Jen-shan, "Hsüeh fo chin shu", Ibid., chüan 1, pp. 10-11.
- 38 Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun is Mahayana-araddhotpada sastra in Sanskrit. This work is attributed to Asvaghosa, and was translated by Paramartha in 553 and by Siksananda between 695 and 700. There were said to have been nineteen commentaries. This work is described as the foundation work of the Mahayana Buddhism, used by most of its major schools. Various articles have been written on the identity of its author. These include Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun k'ao cheng (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1923); T'ai-hsu, ed., Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun chen-wei pien (Wu-ch'ang: 1923). For a study of its text and its historical problems, see Walter Liebenthal, "New Light on the Mahayana-sraddhotpada sastra" in T'oung Pao, Vol. XLVI (1958), pp. 155-216. At present, there are four English translations of its text: D.T. Suzuki, tr., Asvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Buddhism (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1900); Timothy Richard, tr., The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine (Shanghai: 1907); Wai-tai and Dwight Goddard, ed., A Buddhist Bible (New York: 1952), pp. 357-404; and the most recent, and likely the best, translation by Yoshito S. Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).
- 39 Lankavatara Sutra in Sanskrit. This is a philosophical discourse attributed to Sakyamuni as delivered in the Lanka mountain in Ceylon. It may have been composed in the fourth or fifth century. It is one of the recognised texts of the Ch'an school. It is translated by D.T. Suzuki, Lankavatara sutra (London: Routledge 1932). See also D.T. Suzuki, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra (London: Routledge, 1930).
- 40 Saddharmapundarika-sutra in Sanskrit. This is the basic sutra for the T'ien-tai Sect. English translations include William E. Soothill, The Lotus of the Wonderful Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press

1930); H. Kern, tr., The Saddharmapundarik or the Lotus of the True Law in F. Max Muller, ed., The Sacred Books of the East (London: Oxford University Press, 1884), Vol.21; and Bunno Kato, et.al., tr., The Threefold Lotus Sutra (New York: Weatherhill Company, 1975). See also Chan Wing-tsit, "The Lotus Sutra" in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., Approaches to the Oriental Classics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 153-165.

- 41 Vajracchedika-sutra in Sanskrit. Perhaps one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in China. For English translations, see Edward Conze, Buddhist Wisdom Books (London: Allen and Unwin, 1955), pp. 21-71, and Lee Shao-chang, Popular Buddhism in China, pp. 27-52.

- 42 In Sanskrit, Avatamsaka sutra. There are three translations in China: the standard one is the version by Buddhahadra (359-429) in 60 chüan. For a glimpse of the content of the sutra, see Garma C.C. Chang, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality: The Philosophy of Hwa-yen Buddhism (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

- 43 Mahaparinirvana-sutra in Sanskrit. A complete translation of the sutra from Chinese into English was done recently by a Japanese scholar. See Kosho Yamamoto, tr., The Mahayana Mahaparinirvana-sutra (Tokyo: The Karinbunki, 1973).

- 44 Yogacaryabhumi-sastra. It is the work of Asanga, said to have dictated to him in or from the Tusita heaven by Maitreya. Translated by Hsun-tsang, it is regarded as the foundation text of the Tantric Sect.

- 45 This is the sutra ascribed to Nagarjuna on the greater Prajna-paramita Sutra. It was translated by Kumarajna (397-415) in 100 chüan.

- 46 Yang Jen-shan, "Yu Liu Ch'ui-yao shu" in Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 5, pp. 33a-33b.

- 47 Yang Jen-shan, "Pan-jo po-lo-mi-to hui yen-shuo", Ibid., chüan 1, pp. 25a-25b. For the meanings of the three prajnas, see Ting Fu-pao, ed., Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u tien (Shanghai: I-hsüeh shu-chu, 1925), chüan 10, pp. 1835-1836.
- 48 Ting Fu-pao, op.cit., chüan 4, p. 663.
- 49 For the meaning of the term "kuan-chao pan-jo", see William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous ed., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1937), p.490.
- 50 William Soothill, op.cit., p.338.
- 51 Yang Jen-shan, "Chih-na fo-chiao cheng-hsin ch'e i", in Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 1, pp. 16-17a.
- 52 Yang Jen-shan, Ibid., chüan 1, p.17.
- 53 Yin Shun, T'ai-hsu ta-shih nien-p'u, p.37.
- 54 Timothy Richard, tr., The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine, p.vi.
- 55 See Yang Jen-shan, Yang Jen-shan chu-shih i-chu, ch'e 1-3.
- 56 Yang Jen-shan, Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 3, p.22.
- 57 Ibid.

Chapter 2

- ¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr., Immanuel C.Y. Hsu (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 116-117. Here Liang is probably wrong to say that Kung Tzu-ch'en received Buddhist instructions from P'eng Shao-sheng: he actually learned Buddhism from Chiang Yuan. See Wang Shou-nan, "Kung Tzu-ch'en hsien-sheng nien-p'u" in Ta-lu tsa-chih, Vol.18, No.8 (Apr. 1959) pp. 27-28.
- ² See Lin Pin, "Kung Ting-an p'ing-ch'uan" in Chang-liu, Vol.37, No.10 (Jul. 1968), pp. 2-6. Also Hou Wai-lu, ed., Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang tung-shih (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), Vol.5, pp. 649-685.
- ³ Chu Chieh-ch'in, Kung Ting-an yen-chiu (T'aipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1966), pp. 9-33; the Ch'ing-shih ko, ch'uan 486 states that "his behaviour did not follow the regular pattern". Also Dorothy L. Borei, "Eccentricity and Dissent: The Case of Kung Tzu-ch'en" in Ch'ing-shih wen-ti, Vol.3, No.4 (Dec. 1975), pp. 50-62; also Fang Chao-ying, "Kung Tzu-ch'en" in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Vol.1, pp. 431-434.
- ⁴ Kung Ting-an, Kung Tzu-ch'en ch'üan-chi, ed., Wang P'ei-cheng (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1974), Vol.1, pp. 5-6.
- ⁵ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao attributed to Kung Tzu-ch'en and Wei Yuan the beginning of the tendency among nineteenth century New Text scholars to apply classical learning to practical affairs, see Liang Ch'i-ch'ao YPSHC-WC, No.34, pp. 55-56; Hu Pin, Chung-kuo chin-tai kai-liang chu-i ssu-hsiang (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1964), pp. 8-12.
- ⁶ Ho Yu-shen, "Kung Ting-an ti ssu-hsiang" in Ku-kung wen-hsien, Vol.1, No.1 (Dec. 1969), pp. 27-36. Also Shirleen S. Wong, Kung Tzu-ch'en (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), pp. 47-52.

- 7 Kung Ting-an, Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan-chi, Vol.2, chüan 6, notes 1 & 2 on pp. 396-397. See also Ch'ien Mu, "Kung Ting-an ssu fen-shih", Kuo-hsüeh chi-kan, Vol.5, No.3 (Jul. 1936), p.170.

- 8 Wang Shou-nan, "Kung Tzu-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u" in Ta-lu tsa-chih, Vol.18, No.8 (Apr. 1959), pp. 27-28. Kung also claimed himself to be very keen on Buddhism. This impression is furnished by Wei Yuan, "Ting-an wen chu-lu" in Wei Yuan, Wei Yuan chi (Reprinted in Peking: Chung-hua shu chu, 1976) Vol.1, p.239. Kung's works on Buddhism are collected in Kung Tzu-chen ch'uan-chi, Vol.2, No.6, pp.357-408.

- 9 See Wang Shou-nan, "Kung Tzu-chen hsien-sheng nien-p'u", p.27. See also Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan-chi, p.621. For textual criticisms on other Buddhist works, see Ibid. pp. 357-363, 400. Also Huang Kung-wei, "Kung-yang hsüeh-pei yü Kung Tzu-chen ssu-hsiang", in Jen-wen hsüeh-pao, Vol.3 (Dec. 1973), pp. 258-265.

- 10 Kung's impression on Chiang Yuan can be gathered from his article "Yu Kiang chu-shih chien" in Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan chi, p.345. For his impression on Wu Kung-sheng, see "Yu Wu Kung-sheng shu", Ibid., pp. 347-353.

- 11 Kung Tzu-chen, "Chih-na ku-te i-shu hsi", in Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan-chi, pp. 384-385. "Hua-t'ou" literally means the head of a word or a thought, ante-word or ante-thought, the mind before it is stirred by a thought. It is a technique devised by enlightened masters who taught their disciples to concentrate their attention on the mind for the purpose of stopping all thoughts to attain singleness of mind and thereby realise it for the perception of their self-nature. "Kung-an" means all instructions given by enlightened masters to their students. The meaning of "kung-an" is irrevocable for it is as valid as the law. See Chang Chung-yuan, "Ch'an Buddhism: Logical and Illogical", Philosophy East and West, Vol.17 (Jan/Oct. 1967), pp. 37-59; and Heinrich Dumoulin, The Development of Chinese Zen after the Sixth Patriarch, tr. Ruth Fuller Sasaki (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, 1953).

- 12 Ibid.

- 13 A full treatment of Wei Yuan's life in Chinese is Wang Chia-chien, Wei Yuan nien-p'u (Taipei: Academica Sinica, 1967) and a personal account by Wei Yuan's son Wei Ch'i, "Shao-yang Wei fu-chun shih-lüeh", in Chung-kuo shih-hsueh-hui, ed., Ya-p'ien chan-cheng (Shanghai: Chung-kuo chin-tai-shih tzu-liao ts'ung-k'an, 1954), Vol.1, Part 6, pp. 436-446. In English, see the unpublished doctoral thesis by Suzanne Wilson Barnett, Wei Yuan (1794-1857) and the Early Modernisation Movement in China and Japan (Indiana: Indiana University, 1970). Also the same author, "Wei Yuan and Westerners: Notes on the Sources of the Hai-kuo t'u-chih", Ch'ing-shih wen-ti, Vol.II, No.4 (Nov. 1970), pp. 1-20; Peter MacVicar Mitchell, "The Limits of Reformism: Wei Yuan's Reaction to Western Intrusion", in Modern Asian Studies, Vol.6, No.2 (Apr. 1972), pp. 175-204.

- 14 Wei Yuan's statecraft ideas are ably captured in Ch'i Ssu-ho, "Wei Yuan yu wan-ch'ing hsüeh-feng" in Yen-ching hsüeh-pao, Vol.39 (Dec. 1950), pp. 177-226. A general discussion of the idea of statecraft is found in Chang Hao, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Intellectual Changes in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.39, No.1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 25-30.

- 15 Wang Chia-chien, Wei Yuan nien-p'u, p.22.

- 16 See Feng Yu-lan, "Wei Yuan ti ssu-hsiang", in Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih lun-wen ch'u-chi (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1962), pp. 170-185; Feng Yu-lan, "Wei Yuan, shih-chiu shih-chi chung-ch'i ti Chung-kuo hsien-chin ssu-hsiang chia", in Lieh Tao, ed., Ya-p'ien chan-cheng shih lun-chuan-chi (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1958), pp. 325-332; Wu Tse, "Wei Yuan ti pien-i ssu-hsiang ho li-shih chin-hua kuan-tien", in Li-shih yen-chiu, Vol.9, No.5 (1962), pp. 33-59; and Yang Jung-kuo, "Wei Yuan ssu-hsiang ch'u-t'an", in Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih lun-wen erh-chi (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1965), pp. 1-21.

- 17 Chang Hao, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Changes in Late Nineteenth Century", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.39, No.1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 23-24.

- 18 Wei Yuan, Wei Yuan chi, pp. 246-253.
- 19 Ibid., p. 247.
- 20 Wang Chia-chien, Wei Yuan nien-p'u, p.171.
- 21 Ting Wen-chiang, Liang Jen-kung hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-p'ien chü-kao (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chu, 1959), p.34; also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, YPSHC-WC, t'se 1, pp. 111-112.
- 22 Ting Wen-chiang, Ibid., pp. 41, 311, 621-634.
- 23 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun, in YPSHCC-CC, t'se 34, p.65. For Liang's studies on Buddhism in the 1920's, see Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Fo-hsüeh yen-chiu shih-pa p'ien (Reprinted in T'aipei: Chung-hua shu-tien, 1971).
- 24 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang pien-chien chih ta-shih", in YPSHC-WC, t'se 3, No.7, pp. 62-77.
- 25 Ibid., t'se 3, No.7, p.76; t'se 4, No.9, pp. 44-80.
- 26 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yu chun-chih kuan-hsi", in YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.10, pp. 45-52; see also D.T. Huntington, "The Religious Writings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao", Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol. 38, No.9 (Sept. 1907), pp. 470-474.
- 27 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun tsung-chiao chia yü che-hsüeh chia ti ch'ang-tuan te-shih", in YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.9, pp. 44-50.
- 28 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chüan", p.70. See also Chang Wing-tsit, "How Buddhist is Wang Yang-ming?" Philosophy East and West, Vol.11 (1962), pp. 203-216.

- 29 K'ang Yu-wei, K'ang Nan-hai tzu-pien nien-p'u, in Chin-tai chung-kuo shih-liao ts'ung-k'an (Reprinted in T'aipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1966), No.11, part 1, pp. 12-13.
- 30 Lo Jung-pang ed., K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and A Symposium (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), p.34.
- 31 K'ang Yu-wei, K'ang Nan-hai tzu-pien nien-p'u, pp. 9-10.
Quoted from Chang Hao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907, p.37.
- 32 Quoted in Hsiao Kung-chuan, A Modern China and A New World, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), p.108.
- 33 K'ang Yu-wei, K'ang Nan-hai tzu-pien nien-p'u, p.15.
- 34 Li San-po, "K'ang-tzu Nei Wei P'ien chu-pu fen-hsi -- K'ang Nan-hai hsien-ts'un chu-tsao tso-p'in", in Tsing-hua hsüeh-pao, Vol.11, No.1 & 2 (Dec. 1975), pp. 213-247.
- 35 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr. C.Y. Hsu, p.116.
- 36 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chüan", in YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, p.84.
- 37 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ibid., pp. 74-85.
- 38 See William Theodore de Bary et.al ed., Sources of Indian Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 161-165.
- 39 For the "nine boundaries" K'ang mentioned, see Laurence G. Thompson, Ta T'ung Shu, The One World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958), pp. 61-277.

- 40 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chüan", YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, p.70. Lawrence G. Thompson suggests that "K'ang is completely Confucian, rather than Buddhistic, in his attitude towards the problem of suffering". This is highly speculative and fallacious. See his translation, Ta-t'ung Shu: The One-world Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei, p.43.
- 41 Hsiao Kung-chuan, "The Philosophical Thought of K'ang Yu-wei", Monumenta Serica (1962), pp. 129-193.
- 42 Hsiao Kung-chien, A Modern China and A New World, p.110.
- 43 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao mentions the inadequacy of K'ang's knowledge of Buddhism in Ting Wen-chiang, Liang Jen-kung hsien-sheng nien-p'u ch'ang-p'ien chü-kao, Vol.1, p.34.
- 44 Hsiao Kung-chüan, A Modern China and A New World, p.110.
- 45 For an account of Chang's life and his intellectual development, see his own account, Chang T'ai-yen hsien-sheng tzu-ting nien-p'u (reprinted in Hong Kong: Lung-meng shu-tien, 1965). For surveys of his thought, see Hou Wai-lu, Chin-tai chung-kuo ssu-hsiang hsüeh-shuo shih (Shanghai: Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1947), pp. 784-859; Jen Fang-chiu, "Chang T'ai-yen ti hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang yü ko-ming ching-sheng", in Hsin-chien-che, Vol.101 (Feb. 1957), pp. 17-22. In the Western language, see Charlotte Furth, "The Sage as Rebel: The Inner World of Chang Ping-lin", in Charlotte Furth ed., The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 113-150.
- 46 Chang Ping-lin, "T'ai-yen hsien-sheng tzu-shu hsueh-shu tz'u-ti" in T'ai-yen hsien-sheng tzu-ting nien-p'u, pp. 53-54.
- 47 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 48 Translation adopted with slight alteration from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr. Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, p.112.

- 49 Chang Ping-lin, T'ai-yen hsien-sheng tzu-ting nien-p'u, pp. 53-54.
- 50 Chang Ping-lin, "Chi-wu lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, Vol.1, pp. 347-416.
- 51 Chang Ping-lin, "Wu-sheng lun", Ibid., pp. 864-869. See also Hu Sheng-wu and Chin Ch'ung-chi, "Hsin-hai ko-ming shih-ch'i Chang Ping-lin ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang", Hsin-hai ko-ming wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lun-wen chi, Vol.1, pp. 323-353.
- 52 Chang Ping-lin, "Ta T'ieh-cheng", in Min-pao (June 1907), No.14, pp. 113-114. T'ieh-cheng was the pen-name used by Lei Chao-hsing 雷昭性, a contributor to Min-pao and a founding member of the Tung-meng Hui.
- 53 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu", Min-pao (Jan. 1907), No.6, p.7.
- 54 Chang Ping-lin, "Wu-wu lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, pp. 885-893, or Min-pao (Sept. 1907), pp. 1-22.
- 55 For Nihilism in post-Republican period, see Martin Bernal, "The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism, 1906-1907", in Mary C. Wright, ed., China in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913 (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 97-142.
- 56 For an account of P'eng's life, see Arthur W. Hummel, ed., Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, pp. 614-615. P'eng's most important writings included Erh-lin chu chi 二林居集 and I-hsing chu-chi 一行居集.
- 57 See also Chapter 1, p. 34.
- 58 Chao Yang Buwei, Autobiography of A Chinese Woman (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), p.88.
- 59 Ibid.

60 There were others who strongly objected to the presence of Christianity. See Lu Shih-chiang, Chung-kuo kuan-shen fan-chiao ti yuan-yin, 1860-1874 (T'aipei: Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu chu-tso chiang-chu wei-yuan-hui, 1966); also Paul A. Cohen, China and Christianity (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963); Lu Shih-chiang, "Wan-ch'ing chung-kuo chih-shih fen-tzu fan-chiao yuan-lun ti fen-hsi chih-i: fan-chiao fang-fa ti cheng-i", in Li-shih hsüeh-pao, Vol.2 (Feb. 1974), pp. 13-45.

Chapter 3

- ¹ In Chinese reckoning, it was the thirteenth day of the second month of the fourth year of the Tung-chih Reign. See T'an, "San-shih tzu-chi", in T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan-chi (cited hereafter as TSTCC) (Peking: San-lien chu-tien, 1954), p.205. See also Chao Erh-sun, K'o Shao-min et al., ed., "T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Ch'ing-shih kao (reprinted in Hong Kong: Hsiang-kang wen-hsüeh yen-chiu she, 1960), chüan 470.
- ² Yang T'ing-fu, T'an Ssu-t'ung nien-p'u (cited hereafter as TSTNP) (Peking: Peking jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 23-24.
- ³ T'an, TSTCC, p.205; also Yang, TSTNP, p.24, and T'an, "Yuan-i t'ang chi wai-wen ch'u-p'ien tzu-hsu", in TSTCC, p.151.
- ⁴ For T'an's impression of his teacher Ou-yang Pan-chiang, see T'an, "Chih Liu Sung-fu shu, erh" in TSTCC, p.380, and T'an, "Shih-chu-ying lu pi-shih", No.40, in Ibid., p.270.
- ⁵ The most vivid account of this incident can be found in T'an's own writing "Hsien-pi Hsu fu-jen i-shih chuang", in Ibid., p.198. See also "Hsiang-hen tz'u pa-p'ien ping-hsu" in Ibid., p.452. Reference is made in Yang, TSTNP, p.31.
- ⁶ Hsiao Ju-lin, Liu-yang lieh-shih chüan (N.p.1913), p.13; and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung chüan", in T'an, TSTCC, p.521.
- ⁷ Yang I-feng, T'an Ssu-t'ung (T'aipei: Chung-yang wen-wu kung-ying she, 1959), p.11 notes that in T'an's youthful psyche, a hatred of the feudal family and the oppression of the old order had begun to develop. Yang Cheng-tien, T'an Ssu-t'ung: Chin-tai chung-kuo ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia (Wuhan: Hupei jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1955), p.6 shares this view and states that the impact of the maltreatment of his father's concubine after his mother's death nourished the seeds of anti-feudal morality and anti-nominalist thought. Wen Ts'ao, the editor of T'an Ssu-t'ung chen-chi (Shanghai:

Shanghai ch'u-pan kung-ssu, 1955), p.2 observes that T'an had since then looked contemptuously on the 'eight-legged' essay style. See also Ch'en Chin-chih "T'an Ssu-t'ung", in Ch'ang-liu, Vol.27, No.12 (Aug. 1952), pp. 8-12, and Vol.28, No.4 (Oct. 1952), pp. 7-10.

8 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 3-4.

9 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung chüan", in Ibid., p.516.

10 T'an, "San-shih tzu-chi", in TSTCC, p.205. For a biography of T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang, see Hsiao Ju-lin, Liu-yang lieh-shih chüan (n.p.1913), p.9. A personal recollection of T'ang is written by his younger brother T'ang Ts'ai-chih, "T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang ho shih-wu hsüeh-t'ang", in Hunan li-shih tzu-liao (Sept. 1959), No.3, pp. 98-108. See also Li Shou-kung, "T'ang Ts'ai-ch'ang ssu-hsiang chi liang ch'i-tuan", in Ta-lu tza-chi, Vol.28 (June 1964), No.3, pp. 28-32.

11 Ou-yang Yu-ch'ien, ed., T'an Ssu-t'ung shu-chien (Shanghai: Wen-hua kung-ying she, 1948), p.3.

12 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 170-171.

13 This is revealed in the poems composed during 1882 and 1890, see Appendix, pp. 360-366.

14 T'an, "Chih Liu Fu-yun shu erh", in TSTCC, pp. 270, 380.

15 Ibid., p.380.

16 Ibid., pp. 484-485.

17 See "Ssu-p'ien" entry No.40 in TSTCC, p.270. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao says in Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun, p.67 that T'an "studied Mathematics and was very advanced".

- 18 Sun Ch'ang-chiang and Chang Li-wen, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung", in Chung-kuo chin-tai jen-wu lun-ts'ung (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1965), p.158. T'an also learned Chinese martial art with Ta-tao Huang-wu. See Ch'en Chang, "T'an Ssu-t'ung yü Ta-tao Huang-wu", Ch'ang-liu, Vol.35, No.7 (May 1956), p.12; Wu Liu-wu, "T'an Ssu-t'ung yü kiang-hu hsieh-shih", in Ch'ang-liu Vol.39, No.10 (Jul. 1958), pp. 16-17.

- 19 Yang, TSTNP, p.46.

- 20 See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan", in TSTCC, p.526; T'an Hsun-ts'ung, "T'an Ssu-t'ung fu-jen shih-lüeh", in I-wen-che, Vol.30 (Mar. 1958), pp. 21-22; and Lin Kuang-ying, "T'an Ssu-t'ung fu-jen ti hsun-chieh ku-shih", in I-wen-che, Vol.27 (Dec. 1967), p.13. See also T'an, "Wu-hsu pei-shang liu-pieh nei-tzu", in Chüan-chi, p.495. Some suspect that T'an's marriage was not a happy one, but there is no proof of that; see Ou-yang Yu-chien, T'an Ssu-t'ung shu-chien, p.4. Talbott in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis Intellectual Origins and Aspects of Political Thought: the Jen-hsueh of T'an Ssu-t'ung, Martyr of the 1898 Reform, p.3, certainly made a great mistake by saying that, "It is also known that he (T'an) never married". And he inferred from this wrong hypothesis that "a trained psychologist might be able to explain the relation these things have with the fact that in the Jen-hsueh T'an wished to destroy the family relationships which provided one of the bases of Chinese society.

- 21 T'an, "Chung-shu Ssu-shu i tzu-hsu", in TSTCC, pp. 156-157.

- 22 Yang Cheng-tien, T'an Ssu-t'ung chin-tai chung-kuo ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang-chia (Wuhan: Hupei jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1955), p.8.

- 23 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Wang-yu Hsia Sui-ch'ing hsien-sheng", in YPSHC-WC (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1947), Vol.XLIV, No.1, pp. 18-24. Chang Ping-lin, "Chih T'an Hsien hsu" in "Pa-chi" by Ch'ien Chi-po, Fu-t'ang jih-chi hsu-lu (1931), pp.1-2.

- 24 T'an, "San-shih tzu-chi", in TSTCC, p.204.

- 25 T'an's self-compiled chronology "San-shih tzu-chi" leaves a gap for the period between the spring of 1886 to the summer of 1888. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao provides the most substantial evidence that T'an at that time was in Sinkiang (see TSTCC, p.521). T'an's biographers, like Yang T'ing-fu and Ch'en Nai-chien (T'an Liu-yang ch'uan-chi, Shanghai: Shanghai wen-ming ch'u-pan-she, 1952), however, assert that T'an went to Sinkiang in 1884, while Yang I-feng suggests that it was 1889. Judging from Lin's tenure of office and T'an's recollections, it appears that the period between the spring of 1886 to the summer of 1888 is tenable.
- 26 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'uan" in T'an, TSTCC, p.521. See also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Wu-hsu cheng-pien chi (T'aipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1964), p.106.
- 27 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 103-109.
- 28 Chang Te-chun disagrees with Yang T'ing-fu that "Chih-yen" was written in 1884, and contends that T'an had himself committed an error in dating his own work after a long time. The correct date, Chang maintains, should be 1889. As Chang has not produced sufficient evidence to prove his point, and since there is no cause for supposing that T'an committed such a gross oversight, we contend that 1884 is the correct date. For this, see Chang Te-chun, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang shu-p'ing" in Li-shih yen-chiu, Vol.3 (1962), p.28 and Yang T'ing-fu, TSTNP, p.46.
- 29 "Hsien chung-hsiung hsing shu", TSTCC, p.202. See also Huang te-shih, "T'an Ssu-t'ung yu T'ai-wan", Ch'üan-chih wen-hsüeh, Vol.10, No.5 (May 1956), pp. 72-75.
- 30 T'an, "Chih Liu Sung-fu shu", TSTCC, p.376.
- 31 T'an, "Hsien chung-hsiung hsing shu", Ibid., pp. 202-203. See also Chi Lu-K'o, "T'an Ssu-t'ung yü T'ai-wan", in Chung-yang jih-pao, 6th June 1958, p.6.

- 32 For T'an's immediate philosophical response to the death of his elder brother, see T'an, "Shih-chu ying lu pi-shih", in "Ssu-p'ien", No.20, TSTCC, p.255.
- 33 T'an, "San-shih tzu-chi", Ibid., p.205.
- 34 T'an, "Ssu-p'ien", No.30, Ibid., p.261.
- 35 T'an, "Hsiang heng tz'u pa p'ien ping hsu", Ibid., p.452.
- 36 Yang, TSTNP, p.58. For the reform programmes of Chang Chih-tung, see Daniel H. Bays, Chang chih-tung and the Politics of Reform in China, 1895-1905. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1971); also the same author, The Nature of Provincial Political Authority in Late Ch'ing Times: Chang Chih-tung in Canton: 1884-1889 (Lawrence: International Studies Centre for East Asian Studies, University of Kansas, 1971).
- 37 It is still uncertain whether T'an did meet John Fryer in 1893 or not. Yang T'ing-fu (TSTNP, p.63) states in passing that T'an became acquainted with Fryer in Shanghai in 1893. Adrian A. Bennett also asserts this. At any rate, it seems that their meeting in 1890 is more important as far as T'an's intellectual and religious developments are concerned. See Adrian A. Bennett, John Fryer: the Introduction of Western Science and Technology into Nineteenth-Century China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), p.44.
- 38 Yang, TSTNP, p.63.
- 39 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'ing-tai hsüeh-shu kai-lun, p.67.
- 40 T'an, "San-shih tzu-chi", TSTCC, p.205.
- 41 Yang, TSTNP, p.61.

42 T'an, TSTCC, p.204.

43 Ibid., p.154.

44 Ibid., pp. 213-279.

45 Ibid.

46 T'an, TSTCC, p.242.

47 Ibid., p.243.

48 See Chüan Han-shang, "Ch'ing-mo ti 'Hsi-hsüeh yuan ch'u Chung-kuo' shuo". (T'aipei: Cheng-chung shu-chu, 1956), 1st series, Vol.5, pp. 216-258.

49 T'an, TSTCC, p.251.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., p.253.

52 Ibid., pp. 389-430. T'an Ssu-t'ung himself dated the letter "1894", and Yang T'ing-fu follows him in this, but as Chang Te-chun points out, the contents of the letter unmistakably indicate that the year was 1895. See Chang Te-chun, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao chi T'an Ssu-t'ung shih-shih shih-p'ien" in Wen-shih, Vol.1 (1962), p.82.

53 T'an, TSTCC, p.393.

54 Ibid., pp. 427-428.

- 55 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan" in Ibid., p.525.
Hidemi Onogawa, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti pien-ko lun", tr., Li
Yung-chi, in Ta-lu tsa-chih, Vol.38, No.10 (May 1969), pp.
23-32.
- 56 K'ang Yu-wei, "Ch'iang-hsüeh hui hsü" in Chang Ching-lu, ed.,
Chung-kuo chin-tai ch'u-pan shih-liao ch'u-p'ien (Shanghai:
Shang tsa ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 34-37.
- 57 See Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan" in T'an, TSTCC,
p.521.
- 58 Chang Te-chun, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao chi T'an Ssu-t'ung shih shih-
shih pien" in Wen-shih, Vol.1 (1962), pp. 81-85. See also
Huang Chang-chien, Wu-hsu pien-fa shih yen-chiu (T'aipei:
Chung-yang yen-chiu-yuan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so, 1970),
pp. 346, 390.
- 59 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 334-335.
- 60 Ibid., p.334.
- 61 Ibid., pp. 316-329.
- 62 Ibid., p.71.
- 63 Ibid., p.328. See also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung
ch'üan", in Ibid., p.521.
- 64 Ibid., p.525.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan", in Ibid., p.525.

- 67 See my article, Chan Sin Wai, "Wan-Ch'ing fo-hsüeh yü cheng-chih kai-ko -- lüeh-lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti fo-hsüeh ssu-hsiang" in Wah-kiu-yat-pao (or Hua-ch'iao jih-pao), 10th June 1974, p.3. Also Lin I-hsin, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti ssu-hsiang chi ch'i yu ju-fu chih kuan-hsi" in Wen-hua chien-she, Vol.1, No.12 (Sept. 1935), pp.39-48. Yu Mu-jen, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti tsung-chiao kuan" (The religious views of T'an Ssu-t'ung), in Wen-she yüeh-kan, Vol.3 (Feb. 1928), No.5, pp. 24-26.
- 68 T'an, TSTCC, p.68.
- 69 Ibid., p.478.
- 70 Ibid., p.479.
- 71 Ibid., p.484.
- 72 Ibid., p.485. See also T'an, "Chin-ling t'ing-fa shih-chu" in Hunan li-shih tzu-liao, Vol.1 (1960), pp. 97-98.
- 73 T'an, TSTCC, p.485.
- 74 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr. Hsu, p. 107.
- 75 Yang Jen-shan, Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi lu, chüan 1, pp. 14a-15b.
- 76 Ibid., chüan 1, p.27b.
- 77 Ibid., chüan 1, p.15b.
- 78 Ibid., chüan 5, p.33a; chüan 6, p.4a; chüan 6, p.29a and chüan 8, p.22b. See Yang Jen-shan, Yang Jen-shan chu-shih i-chu, chüan 5.

- 79 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, YPSHC-WC, No.44, pp. 19-24.
- 80 Refer to Yang Ting-fu, TSTNP, p.72.
- 81 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, YPSHC-WC, No.44, p.20.
- 82 Ibid., p.22.
- 83 Yang Jen-shan, Teng-pu-teng kuan-chi-lu, chüan 6, pp. 6-7.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, YPSHC-WC, No.44, p.23.
- 86 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends of the Ch'ing Period, tr., C.Y. Hsu, pp. 123-124.
- 87 Ibid., p.117.
- 88 Charlton M. Lewis, Prologue to the Chinese Revolution (Cambridge, Mass: East Asian Research Centre, Harvard University, 1976). Also Teng T'an-chou, "Shih-chiu shih-chi mo Hunan ti wei-hsin yun-tung" in Li-shih yen-chiu, Vol.1 (1959), pp. 17-34; and Lloyd E. Eastman, "Political Reformism in China before the Sino-Japanese War", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.17, No.4 (Aug. 1968), pp. 695-710.
- 89 See Charlton M. Lewis, Prologue to the Chinese Revolution, pp. 134-154.
- 90 T'an, TSTCC, p.343. The Buddhist foundation of his advocacy of study associations can be seen in "Chih-shih p'ien", No.9, in TSTCC, pp. 100-101. See also Ronald R. Robel, "T'an Ssu-t'ung

on Hsueh Hui or Study Associations" in Frederic Evans Wakeman, ed., Nothing Concealed: Essays in Honour of Liu Yu-yun (T'aipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Centre, 1970), pp. 161-176.

- 91 A comprehensive survey of the movement can be found in Meribeth E. Cameron, The Reform Movement in China, 1898-1912. (New York: Octagon Books, 1963). Various aspects of the 1898 Reform are thoroughly dealt with in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.29, No.1 (Nov. 1969). See Richard C. Howard, "The Chinese Reform Movement of the 1890's: A Symposium Introduction", pp. 7-14. See also Lu Tang-ping, "T'an Ssu-t'ung pai sha nei-mu chi ch'ing-te ts'ung shang-yu", in Hunan wen-hsien chi-kan, Vol.5 (Aug. 1971), pp. 62-63.
- 92 Before T'an died, he wrote a poem on the wall of the prison which expressed his intention of martyrdom, see T'an TSTCC, p.496. See also Hsiao Yu-ching, "Kan-tan K'un-lun -- wei chi-nien T'an Ssu-t'ung i-pai i-shih ming-tan chi Wu-hsu lu chun-tzu hsun-nan ch'i-shih-ch'i-shih-ch'i chou-nien erh tso", in Chüan-chi wen-hsüeh, Vol.27, No.6 (Dec. 1975), pp. 83-85; Ch'en Chin-chih, "Wei hsien-cheng erh hsi-sheng ti liang-ke Hu-nan ying-han", I-wen-chih, Vol.4 (Jan. 1955), pp. 23-26; and the same author, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti hsing-hsing, chih-chieh, ssu-hsiang ho hsüeh-shu", Hunan wen-hsien, Vol.4, No.1 (Jan. 1976), pp. 20-27.

Chapter 4

- 1 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yü ch'ün-chih chih kuan-hsi", in YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.10, p.49.
- 2 Slightly adapted from Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period, tr., Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, p.108.
- 3 T'an, TSTCC, p.9.
- 4 See for example Li Tse-hou, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ho she-hui cheng-chih kuan-tien", in Hsin chien-she, Vol. 7 (Jul. 1955), pp. 49-62.
- 5 One example is Yang Jung-kuo, T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang, (Peking: Peking jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957).
- 6 Richard H. Shek, "Some Western Influences on T'an Ssu-t'ung's Thought", in Paul A. Cohen and John E. Schrecker, ed., Reform In Nineteenth-Century China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, East Asian Research Centre, 1976), pp. 194-203.
- 7 T'an, TSTCC, p.4.
- 8 It is extremely difficult to render the idea of jen in English. Particularly so when T'an gives an amorphous conglomerate of concepts to this term. Western scholars have tried to render the title in English as "On the Study of Humanity" (William T. de Bary), "A Study of Benevolence" (Teng Ssu-yu and John K. Fairbank), "Philosophy of Humanity" (Chan Wing-tsit), etc. These, however, can at best be provisional and tentative, used to convey a rough idea of the context of the Jen-hsüeh. For the present study, the title is left untranslated. It is hoped that the reader will be able to grasp what the title suggests from an understanding of its content, which will be enumerated in this and the following chapters. For a discussion of the problematic term jen, see Chan Wing-tsit, tr. and comp., A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), Appendix, pp. 788-789.

- 9 T'an, TSTCC, p.5.
- 10 Ch'ing-i pao's thirteen instalments of the Jen-hsüeh started from No.2 on 2nd January 1899 and ended on No.100 on 21st December 1901. The Ya-t'ung shih-pao in Shanghai also published the treatise in fourteen instalments, but started on a later date, 31st January 1899 and ended on 28th February 1900. The differences of these two versions of the Jen-hsüeh are fully discussed by T'ang Chi-chun, "Jen-hsüeh pan-pen t'an-yüan" in Hsüeh-shu yüeh-kan, Vol.5 (May 1963).
- 11 T'an, TSTCC, p.6.
- 12 Talbott decided to use the word 'communication' for t'ung. See Nathan M. Talbott, Intellectual Origins and Aspects of Political Thought in the "Jen-hsueh" of T'an Ssu-t'ung, Martyr of the 1898 Reform (unpublished Ph.D. thesis) (Seattle: University of Washington, 1956), p.47. Chan Wing-tsit seems to suggest t'ung as penetration. See Chan Wing-tsit, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, pp. 737-742.
- 13 T'an, TSTCC, p.6.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 11-12. Also Takashi Oka, "The Philosophy of T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Papers on China, Vol.9 (Aug. 1955), pp. 10-11. Feng Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, tr. Derk Bodde. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952-1953), Vol.II, p.649.
- 15 T'an, TSTCC, p.6. Also Ch'ien Mu, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti Jen-hsüeh" in Pao Tsuan-p'eng et al., ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai shih lun-ts'ung, 1st series, No.7, pp. 138 - 147.
- 16 Ibid., p.81.
- 17 Full title of chin-kang ching should be chin-kang-pan-jo po-lo-mi ching 金剛般若波羅蜜經. See J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, revised, collated and edited, Taisho Shinshu dai-zokyo (hereafter

abbreviated as Taisho) (Tokyo: The Taisho Issai Kanko Kwai, 1914-1922), No.235, Vol.8, pp. 248-252. This translation is adopted from Lee Shao-chang, Popular Buddhism in China (Shanghai: Shanghai Commercial Press, 1939), pp. 38-40.

18 T'an, TSTCC, p.29.

19 For a comprehensive study of Hua-yen Buddhism, see Nan-t'ing, "Hua-yen tsung shih" in Chang Chia et al, ed., Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih lun-chi (T'aipei: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1956), Vol.2, pp. 347-384, Chiang Wei-ch'iao, Chung-kuo fo-chiao shih, chüan 2, pp. 56-62, T'ang Chun-i, Chung-kuo che-hsüeh yuan-lun, yuan tao p'ien (Hong Kong: Hsin-ya yen-chiu-so, 1973-1974), pp. 1244-1321. The most recent work in Western language is Chang Chen-chi, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality: The Philosophy of Hwa-yen Buddhism (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

20 T'an, TSTCC, p.9. See also Feng Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, tr. Derk Bodde (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1952-1953), Vol.II, p.692, and Chan Wing-tsit, A Source Book of Chinese Philosophy, p.738.

21 T'an, TSTCC, p.10.

22 Ch'en Po-ta, "Lun ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Chen-li ti chui-ch'iu (Shanghai: Sheng-hou shu-tien, 1939), p.220.

23 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 10-11.

24 Ibid., p.12.

25 Ibid., p.13. See also Nathan M. Talbott, "T'an Ssu-t'ung and the Ether" in Robert K. Sakai ed., Studies on Asia (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p.24.

- 26 T'an, TSTCC, p.10.
- 27 Ibid., p.7.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 31 Chan Wing-tsit, "K'ang Yu-wei and the Confucian Doctrine of Humanity (Jen)", in Lo Jung-pang ed., K'ang Yu-wei: A Biography and A Symposium (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967) pp. 368-371. See also the same author, "Chinese and Western Interpretations of Jen (Humanity)", in Journal of Chinese Philosophy, Vol.2, No.2 (Mar. 1975), pp. 107-129; the same author "The Evolution of the Confucian Concept of Jen", Philosophy East and West, Vol.4 (1955), pp. 295-319. .
- 32 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 12-13.
- 33 Ibid., p.15.
- 34 Ibid., p.18.
- 35 Ibid., p.22.
- 36 Ibid., p.33.
- 37 Ibid., p.23. T'an has possibly quoted this sentence from the Hua-yen ching, Taisho, No.278.
- 38 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 28-30.

- 39 Ibid., p.30.
- 40 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
- 41 For the original exposition of this concept by Fa Tsang, see Chin shih-tzu chang 金獅文章 in Taisho, No. 1881, p.670. Also Hua-yen i-sheng chiao-i feng-chi chang 華嚴一乘教義分齊章 in Taisho, No.1866, pp. 507-508. For a glimpse of the essential meanings of the 'six forms', see Chang Chen-chi, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality: The Philosophy of Hua-yen Buddhism, pp. 168-171. Also Junjiro Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1947), pp. 108-125.
- 42 See Jen Chi-yu, Han-T'ang fo-chiao ssu-hsiang lun-chi (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1974), pp. 95-112.
- 43 Taisho, No.1866, Vol.45, pp. 477-509.
- 44 Taisho, No.1875, Vol.45, pp. 627-637.
- 45 Quoted from Chan Wing-tsit, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, p.421.
- 46 Taisho, No.278.
- 47 Quoted in Ch'eng Kuang, Hua-yen ching sui shu yen-i ch'ao 華嚴經隨疏滿義鈔 (T'aipei: Hua-yen lien-she, 1966) Chap.5, pp. 56-58.
- 48 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 32-33.
- 49 Ibid., p.33.
- 50 Ibid.

- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Taisho, No.1509, Vol.25, pp. 57-757.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 T'an, TSTCC, p.33.
- 55 This refers to wu-ming 無明, or Blindness, of the Wheel of Life. See J. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 30-36.
- 56 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 47-48. See also Sun Ch'ang-chiang and Chang Li-wen, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung" in San-lien shu-t'ien ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai jen-wu lun-tsung (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1965), p.66.
- 57 T'an, TSTCC, p.48.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 See Hsüan Tsang, Ch'eng wei-shih lun, Taisho, No.1585. English translation by Wei Tat, Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun: Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness (Hong Kong: The Ch'eng Wei-shih lun Publication Committee, 1973), pp. 669-807.
- 60 This sentence has been mispunctuated in TSTCC, p.47. The sentence is printed as : "華嚴, 小教小學也. 非大學所用" which literally means: "The Hua-yen sutra is a minor teaching, a minor study, and not that which the Great Learning uses". This is not only contradictory to T'an's high esteem for the Hua-yen Buddhism, but has left 小教 of the 'five teachings' 五教 unmentioned. The sentence should in fact be punctuated as "華嚴小教, 小學也. 非大學所用."

- 61 This is another instance of wrong punctuation. It is printed as:
 "其回教者。大學始教：『必使學者即天个之物...."
 According to the original version of the Great Learning, the paragraph on the 'extension of knowledge' runs as : "是「以大學始教。必使學者即天个之物。」" Thus the logical re-punctuation of the sentence in the Jen-hsueh should be: "其回教者：大學始教。必使學者即天个之物。"
- 62 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 48-50.
- 63 J. Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 116-117.
- 64 Ibid., p. 95.
- 65 T'an, TSTCC, p. 7.
- 66 Ibid., p. 6.
- 67 Ibid., p. 7.
- 68 It can also be rendered as psychic energy or mental power.
- 69 T'an, TSTCC, p. 73.
- 70 Ibid., p. 74.
- 71 Ibid., p. 75.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 78-79.

- 74 Ibid., pp. 80-81.
- 75 Taisho, No.1509, Vol.25, pp. 270-276.
- 76 T'an, TSTCC, p.81.
- 77 Ibid., pp. 82-83.
- 78 T'an, TSTCC, p.317. Here T'an mentions that he was aware of the advancement in the West concerning the analysis of dreams.
- 79 Adrian Arthur Bennett, John Fryer: The Introduction of Western Science and Technology into Nineteenth-Century China (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), p.97.
- 80 Richard H. Shek, "Some Western Influences on T'an Ssu-t'ung's Thought", in Reform in Nineteenth-Century China, pp. 200-202.
- 81 T'an, TSTCC, p.82.
- 82 Hunan li-shih tzu-liao, Vol.1, 1958 to Vol.2, 1960.
- 83 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'an Ssu-t'ung chüan", in TSTCC, pp. 521-526.
- 84 See Chang Te-chun, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao chi T'an Ssu-t'ung shih shih-shih pien", in Wen-shih, Vol.1 (1962), pp. 81-85; and Huang Chang-chien, "Lun chin-chuan T'an Ssu-t'ung yu-chung t'i-pi-shih cheng-ching Liang Ch'i-ch'ao kai-i", in Huang Chang-chien, Wu-hsu pien-fa shih yen-chiu (T'aipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yuan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiu so, 1970), pp. 534-538.
- 85 Hsiao Jun-lin, Liu-yang lieh-shih chüan, 1913, n.p.; Yu Mu-jen, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti tsung-chiao kuan" in Wen-she yüeh-kan, Vol.3

(Feb. 1928), No.5, pp. 24-26; Hu Yuan-chun, "T'an Ssu-t'ung Jen-hsüeh chih p'i-p'ing", in Chung-yang ta-hsüeh pan-yüeh k'an, Vol.2, No.1 (Oct. 1930); Lin I-hsin, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti ssu-hsiang chi ch'i yu ju-fo chih kuan-hsi" in Wen-hua chien-she, Vol.1, No.12 (Sept. 1935), pp. 39-48; Hsiang Lin-ping, "T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ti tsai p'ing-chia" in Li-lun yu hsien-shih, Vol.2, No.2, (1940). Ho Kan-chih, Chung-kuo ch'i-meng yun-tung shih (Shanghai: Sheng huo shu-tien, 1947), pp. 63-76; Ch'en Po-ta, "Lun ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Chen-li ti chui-ch'iu (Shanghai: Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1939), pp. 163-220; Ts'ai Shang-ssu, "T'an Ssu-t'ung hsueh-shu ssu-hsiang ti-yao" in Chung-kuo chien-she, Vol.4, No.2 (May 1947), pp. 49-53; Chang Yu-tien, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsueh ssu-hsiang ti wei-hsin chu-i hsing-chih", Kuang-ming jih-pao, 16th May 1956.

86 Ch'en Po-ta, "Lun ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang chia T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Chen-li ti chui-ch'iu, pp. 163-220.

87 Ho Kan-shih, Chung-kuo ch'i-meng yun-tung shih (Shanghai: Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1947), pp. 63-76.

88 See Tung Ni, "Kuan yü T'an Ssu-t'ung pien-fa ssu-hsiang ti pu-ch'ung i-chien", in Kuang-ming jih-pao, 3rd March 1955.

89 Ibid.

90 Yang Cheng-tien, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang yen-chiu" in Kuang-ming jih-pao, 3rd November 1954 and T'an Ssu-t'ung -- chin-tai chung-kuo ch'i-meng ssu-hsiang-chia (Wuhan: Hupei jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1955).

91 Li Tse-hou, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ho she-hui cheng-chih kuan-tien", in Hsin chien-she, Vol.7 (Jul. 1955), pp. 49-62.

92 Sun Ch'ang-chiang, "Shih-lun T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Chiao-hsüeh yü yen-chiu, Vol.10 (Oct. 1955), pp. 16-25; and Sun Ch'ang-chiang,

"T'an Ssu-t'ung shih wei wu chu-i-che ma?: Ping Li Tse-hou tung-chih tui T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ti p'ing-chia" in Chiao-hsüeh yü yen-chiu, Vol.10 (Dec. 1956).

- 93 Li Tse-hou, "Kuan-yü T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ti yen-chiu -- tui Sun Ch'ang-chiang hsien-sheng liang p'ien wen-chang ti i-hsieh i-chien" in Che-hsüeh yen-chiu, Vol.3 (1957), pp. 68-86.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Sun Ch'ang-chiang, "Kuan-yü T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang yen-chiu ti chi-ko wen-t'i" in Chiao-hsüeh yü yen-chiu, Vol.10 (Oct. 1957), pp. 63-69.
- 96 Chang Yu-tien, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ti wei-hsin chu-i hsin-che" in Kuang-ming jih-pao, 16th May 1956; Ch'en Chu-chia, "T'an Ssu-t'ung shih wei-wu-chu-i-che ma?" in Pei-ching jih-pao, 11th Jan. 1957; Ch'en Hsu-lu, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti min-chu chu-i ssu-hsiang yu kai-liang chu-i cheng-chih shih-chien ti mao-tun" in Hsüeh-shu yüeh-k'an, Vol.1 (1958), pp. 59-68; Yang Jung-kuo, T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang (Peking: Peking jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957); Chang Ch'i-chih, "T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ti chi-ko wen-t'i" in Hou Wai-lu ed., Wu-hsu pien-fa liu-shih chou-nien chi-nien chi (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1958); and Chu Jui-sheng, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Hou Wai-lu, ed., Wu-hsu pien fa liu-shih chou-nien chi-nien-chi (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1958), pp. 24-30.
- 97 See for instance Huang Chang-chien, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan-chi shu-cha hsi-nien", in Huang Chang-chien, Wu-hsu pien-fa shih yen-chiu (Taipeh: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yuan li-shih yu-yen yen-chiu-so, 1970), pp. 627-660.
- 98 Chang Te-chun, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang shu-p'ing" in Li-shih yen-chiu, Vol.3 (1962), pp. 27-60; Yen Pei-ming, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti Jen-hsüeh ssu-hsiang" in Che-hsüeh yen-chiu, Vol.2 (1962), pp. 41-53.

- ⁹⁹ P'ang P'u, "Lüeh-lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang"
in Hsin chien-she, Vol.6 (1962), pp. 48-54.

Chapter 5

- 1 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 14-15. See also Feng Yu-lan, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung" in the same author, Chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih lun wen ch'u-chi (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1962), pp. 449-450.
- 2 T'an, TSTCC, p.14.
- 3 Ch'ien Mu, "K'ang Yu-wei hsüeh-shu shu-p'ing", in Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao, Vol.11, No.3 (July 1936), p.617.
- 4 See Yang Jung-kuo, T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang (Peking: Peking jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 12-13.
- 5 T'an, TSTCC, p.16. Sung Che, "T'an Ssu-t'ung ti cheng-chih ssu-hsiang", in Cheng-chih p'ing-lun, Vol.2, No.10 (May 1958) pp. 23-24.
- 6 Ibid., p.17.
- 7 Ibid., p.16.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid., pp. 18-21. Wei Cheng-t'ung thinks that T'an was probably the first in modern China to urge the abandonment of this unhealthy mentality regarding women. See Wei Cheng-t'ung, Chung-kuo che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang p'i-p'an (T'aipei: Shui Niu ch'u-pan-she, 1968), p.218.
- 10 T'an, TSTCC, p.18.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 23-25.

- ¹² Ibid., pp. 25-26.
- ¹³ Hsiao Kung-chuan, Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih (T'aipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan-shih-yeh wei-yuan-hui, 1954), Vol.II, pp. 354-362.
- ¹⁴ Sun Ch'ang-chiang and Chang Li-wen, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung", in San-lien shu-tien ed., Chung-kuo chin-tai jen-wu lun-tsung (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1965), p.176.
- ¹⁵ Ch'ing-i pao, Vol.1, 23rd December 1898.
- ¹⁶ T'an, TSTCC, p.524; Yang, TSTNP, p.117.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p.26.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., p.34.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p.35.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p.37.
- ²¹ Ibid., pp. 37-38.
- ²² For the meaning of the ninety-six heterodox ways, see Ting Fu-pao, comp., Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien (Shanghai: 1921), pp. 152 and 931.
- ²³ T'an, TSTCC, p.38.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p.39.

- 25 T'an's attack on 'frugality' as a virtue may have derived from Timothy Richard. See Takashi Oka, "The Philosophy of T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Papers on China, Vol.9 (Aug. 1955), p.17.
- 26 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 38-39.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 40-44.
- 28 Ibid., pp. 44-45.
- 29 Ibid., p.56.
- 30 Ibid., p.57.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 58-60.
- 32 Ibid., p.58.
- 33 Ibid., p. 59.
- 34 Ibid., p. 61.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 61-64.
- 36 Ibid., p.61.
- 37 Ibid., p.62.
- 38 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
- 39 Ibid., pp. 65-66.

- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., p.66.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
- 43 Ibid., p.68.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 70-71.
- 45 Ibid., p.71. See William E. Soothill and Lewis Hodous, comp., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (London: Kegan Paul & Co. Ltd. 1937), p.344. According to this dictionary, these six vocal words are said to be "a formula of the Lamaistic branch, said to be a prayer to Padmapani; each of the six syllables have mystic powers of salvation from the lower paths of transmigration, etc." By Lamaistic branch, it refers to that of the Tantric Buddhist schools.
- 46 T'an, TSTCC, p.15. Also Paul A. Cohen, China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism 1860-1870 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963).
- 47 T'an, TSTCC, p.70.
- 48 Ibid., p.24.
- 49 Ibid., p.35.
- 50 Ibid., p.52.
- 51 Ibid., p.51.
- 52 Ibid., p.81.

53 Ibid., pp. 50-51.

54 Ibid., p.50.

55 Ibid., pp. 50-51.

56 Ibid., p.51.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., pp. 51-52.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid., p.52.

62 Ibid., pp. 53-54.

63 Ibid., p.54.

64 Here it is clear that T'an was not simply paying lip-service to Confucius as one historian suggests; he sincerely believed that the tao of Confucius had been corrupted by Hsun Tzu and his disciples. See Ts'ai Shang-ssu, "T'an Ssu-t'ung hsueh-shu ssu-hsiang ti-yao" in *Chung-kuo chien-she*, Vol.4, No.2 (May 1947), p.51. Ts'ai believes that T'an was reverencing Confucianism as a mere pretext, a mere formality and was thus an enemy of Confucius. Takashi Oka strongly opposes this. See Takashi Oka, "The Philosophy of T'an Ssu-t'ung" in Papers on China, Vol.9 (Aug. 1955), pp. 38-39.

65 T'an, TSTCC, p.55.

66 Ibid., pp. 67-68.

67 Ibid., p. 67.

68 Ibid., pp. 68-69.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., p. 68.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., p. 69.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid., pp. 69-71.

75 Ibid., p. 71.

76 Ibid., p. 72.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., p. 73.

79 Ibid., p. 75.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid., p. 85.

- 82 Ibid., p.86. For a criticism of T'an's preference of knowledge to action, see Yang Jung-kuo, T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang, pp. 466-467.
- 83 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 88-90. See also Feng Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, pp. 700-702.
- 84 See Feng Yu-lan, op.cit., p.700, the footnote by Derk Bodde.
- 85 I strongly disagree with Shih Tung-ch'u, Chung-kuo fo-chiao chin-tai shih, pp. 558-559, who regards the Buddhist thought of T'an Ssu-t'ung, K'ang Yu-wei and Ch'ang Tai-yen as Hinayanistic, emphasising the necessity of self-salvation. Leaving aside K'ang and Ch'ang whose Buddhist thought is discussed in Chapters 2 and 6, the Buddhist thought of T'an is totally Mahayanistic. For a comprehensive survey of the differences of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism, see Tsukamoto Zenryu, "Buddhism in China and Korea", tr. Leon Hurvitz in Kenneth W. Morgan ed., The Path of the Buddha (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), pp. 377-389.
- 86 See, for instance, Ng Yu-kwan, "On the philosophical difficulty and its solution of the theory of 'transformation of consciousness' of the Yogacara school of Buddhism" (in Chinese) in Chung Chi Journal, Vol.11, No.2 (Oct. 1972), pp. 12-56.
- 87 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 23, 47-51, 67, 80, 81-82, 89-90.
- 88 See for example Sun Ch'ang-chiang, "Kuan-yü T'an Ssu-t'ung che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang yen-chiu ti chi-ko wen-t'i" in Chiao-hsüeh yu yen-chiu, Vol.10 (Oct. 1957), p.69.
- 89 Li Tse-hou, "Lun T'an Ssu-t'ung ti che-hsüeh ssu-hsiang ho she-hui cheng-chih kuan-tien" in K'ang Yu-wei T'an Ssu-t'ung ssu-hsiang yen-chiu (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), p.99.

- 90 See Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yuan che-hsüeh yen-chiu-so, chung-kuo che-hsüeh-shih tsu, ed., Chung-kuo ta-t'ung ssu-hsiang tzu-liao (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1959), pp. 90-98.
- 91 See Laurence G. Thompson, Ta-t'ung shu: The One-World Philosophy of K'ang Yu-wei (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1958) and T'ang Chih-chun, "Kuan-yü K'ang Yu-wei ti Ta-t'ung shu" in Wen-shih-che, No.1 (Jan. 1957), pp. 39-43.
- 92 Kung Tzu-chen, Kung Tzu-chen ch'üan-chi (reprinted in Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1974), pp. 77-80.
- 93 For an English translation of the document, see Franz Michael, The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents (London: University of Washington Press, 1971), Vol.2, pp. 312-320.

Chapter 6

- ¹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang p'ien-chin tzu ta-shih" in YPSHC-WC, t'se 3, No.7, pp. 76-77.
- ² For a general analysis of intellectuals' interests in Buddhism, see Shih Tung-chu, Chung-kuo fo-chiao chin-tai shih, p.549.
- ³ Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu" in Min-pao, No.6 (Jul. 1906), p.7; also Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun" in Chang-shih ts'ung-shu (Hong Kong: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1958; reduced facsimile of the Chekiang Library edition), pp. 877-878.
- ⁴ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang p'ien-chin tzu ta-shih" in YPSHC-WC, t'se 3, No.7, pp. 75-76.
- ⁵ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun Chih-na tsung-chiao kai-ko" in YPSHC-WC, t'se 1, No.3, p.55.
- ⁶ K'ang Yu-wei, "I-ta-li yu-chi", pp. 131-132. Quoted from Hsiao Kung-chuan, A Modern China and A New World, p.112.
- ⁷ Ibid., pp. 133-134.
- ⁸ Ibid., pp.132-133.
- ⁹ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "K'ang Nan-hai hsien-sheng ch'üan", in YPSHC-WC, No.6, p.70.
- ¹⁰ Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Tu hsin-hsüeh shu fa in Chih-hsüeh ts'ung-shu ch'u-chi (Chih-hsueh Hui, 1896), t'se 10, pp. 14b-16a.

- 11 Chang Ping-lin, "Wu-sheng lun" in Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, pp. 864-869.
- 12 Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun" , Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, p.872.
- 13 Ibid., p. 873.
- 14 Ibid., pp. 869-879. See also Hou Wai-lu, "Hsin-hai ko-ming ch'ien tsu-ch'an chieh-chi ko-ming p'ai wu-sheng lun ssu-hsiang ti li-shih t'e-tien" in Hsin-hai ko-ming wu-shih chou-nien chi-nien lun-wen chi (Hupei: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1962), pp. 278-298.
- 15 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu", in Min-pao, No.6 (Jul. 1906), pp. 5-6.
- 16 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chüan", p.67.
- 17 Hsiao Kung-chuan, A Modern China and A New World, p.118. For opinions objecting to the establishment of Confucianism as a state religion, see Chan Wing-tsit, Religious Trends in Modern China, pp.5, 12ff. Cf. D. Howard Smith, "The Significance of Confucius for Religion", History of Ideas, Vol.2, No.2 (Winter 1963), pp. 242-255.
- 18 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 50, 68-69.
- 19 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yü chün-shih ti kuan-hsi", YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.10, pp. 45-52. See also D.T. Huntington, "The Religious Writings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao", Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal, Vol.38, No.9 (Sept. 1907), pp. 470-474.
- 20 Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, p.878.

- 21 See Chapter 5, pp. 195 ff.
- 22 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng chüan," YPSHC-WC, t'se 6, p.83.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun chih-na tsung-chiao kai-ko", YPSHC-WC, t'se 3, pp. 59-60.
- 25 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 32-33, 48-49 and 82-83.
- 26 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Chin-shih ti-i ta che K'ang-te chih hsüeh-shuo", YPSHC-WC, t'se 5, No.13, pp. 47-66.
- 27 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu" in Min-pao, No.6 (Jul. 1906), p.7.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lo-li chu-i t'ai-tou Pien-hsin chih hsüeh-shuo", YPSHC-WC, t'se 5, No.13, pp. 30-47.
- 30 Chang Ping-lin, "Wu-sheng lun" in Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, p.868.
- 31 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu, " in Min-pao (Jul 1906), p.7.
- 32 Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, p. 869.
- 33 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Yü chih ssu-sheng kuan" , in YPSHC-WC, t'se 6, No.17, pp. 1-12, 2-3.

- 34 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
- 35 Chang Ping-lin, "Chü-fen chin-hua lun", Min-pao, No.7, pp. 1-13; also appear in Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, pp. 859-864.
- 36 Chang Ping-lin, "Ta T'ieh-cheng," in Min-pao, No.14, pp. 113-114.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Tang Chün-i, Chung-kuo che-hsüeh yuan-lun, chüan 3 (Hong Kong: Hsin-yan yen-chiu-so, 1974), pp. 1191-1192.
- 39 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yü-chün-chih ti kuan-hsi", YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.10, pp. 47-48.
- 40 For the meaning of this term, see William Soothill ed., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.446.
- 41 Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, pp. 876-877. For the meaning of the term, see William Soothill, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.70.
- 42 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 88-90.
- 43 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun tsung-chiao chia yü che-hsüeh chia chih ch'ang-tuan te-shih" in YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.9, pp. 44-50.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 See William Soothill ed., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, p.404.

- 46 The wording of this paragraph bears close resemblance to T'an Ssu-t'ung's Jen-hsüeh (see TSTCC, pp. 37-38). It should also be remembered that while the Jen-hsueh was written during late 1896 and early 1897, this article of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun tsung-chiao chia yu che-hsüeh chia chih ch'ang-tuan te-shih" was written in 1902.
- 47 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen shuo-lu" in Min-pao, No.6 (Jul. 1906), pp. 4-5.
- 48 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Nan-hai K'ang hsien-sheng ch'üan", YPSHC-WC, t'se 6, No.6, pp. 83-85.
- 49 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu", in Min-pao, No.6, p.7.
- 50 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Shih-chung te-hsing hsiang-fen hsiang-chen i" in YPSHC-WC, t'se 6, No.5, pp. 42-43.
- 51 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lo-li chu-ti t'ai-tou Pien-hsin chih hsüeh-shuo," YPSHC-WC, t'se 5, No.13, p.36.
- 52 T'an, TSTCC, pp. 23-26.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 57-60.
- 54 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu" in Min-pao, No.6, p.9.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yü chün-chih ti kuan-hsi", YPSHC-WC, No.10, p.50.
- 57 Chang Ping-lin, "Ta T'ieh-cheng", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, pp. 849-853.

- 58 Chang Ping-lin, "Chien-li tsung-chiao lun", Chang-shih ts'ung-shu, p.872. Quoted from Michael Gasster, Chinese Intellectuals and the Revolution of 1911 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), p.208.
- 59 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen-shuo lu" in Min-pao, No.6, p.8.
- 60 T'an, TS TCC, pp. 68-69. See also Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Lun fo-chiao yü chün-chih ti kuan-hsi", YPSHC-WC, t'se 4, No.10, pp. 51-52.
- 61 Chang Ping-lin, "Yen shuo-lu" in Min-pao, No.6, p.8.
- 62 See Hsu Kao-yuan ed., K'ang Yu-wei ti wu-chih li-ts'ai chiu-kuo lun (Hong Kong: Tien-hua shu-tien, 1970), pp. 20, 57.

Chapter 7

- ¹ See Teng Ssu-yü and John K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West (New York: Atheneum, 1967), p.2. This view is also seen in John K. Fairbank, E.O. Reischauer and A.M. Craig, East Asia: The Modern Transformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965).
- ² Paul Cohen, "Ch'ing China: Confrontation with the West, 1850-1900), in James B. Crawley ed., Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970), pp. 29-32, 60.
- ³ Benjamin Schwartz repeatedly makes this point in his writings. See his In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964), p.4; "Intellectual History of China: Preliminary Reflections" in John K. Fairbank, ed., Chinese Thought and Institutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 15-30; and also "The Limits of "Tradition Versus Modernity" as Categories of Explanation: The Case of the Chinese Intellectuals", in Daedalus, Vol. 101, No.2 (Spr. 1972), pp. 71-88.
- ⁴ See Chang Hao, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 1-6; also Chang Hao, "Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual changes in the Late Nineteenth Century", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.39, No.1 (Nov. 1969), pp. 23-34.
- ⁵ See Joseph R. Levenson, "'History' and 'Value': The Tensions of Intellectual Choice in Modern China," in Arthur F. Wright ed., Studies in Chinese Thought (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1953), pp. 146-194. Such interpretation is also profusely expressed in other writings of Levenson, which include Confucian China and Its Modern Fate (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958-1965); "The Intellectual Revolution in China", University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol.30, No.3 (Apr. 1964), pp. 258-272; and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China

(Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953). For a discussion of the "Levensonian approach", see Maurice Meisner and Rhoads Murphey, ed., The Mozartian Historian: Essays on the Works of Joseph Levenson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

- 6 Benjamin Schwartz, In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West, p.4.
- 7 See Arthur F. Wright, ed., The Confucian Persuasion (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 3-20.
- 8 Such inclination is shown in Kenneth Ch'en, The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 3-13.
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Appendix

A Chronology of the Works and Correspondence

of

T'an Ssu-t'ung

This compilation of a chronology of T'an's works arises from the need to incorporate the additional materials published by the Hu-nan li-shih tzu-liao between 1958 and 1960 into the vast amount of T'an's writings already printed in the T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'uan-chi in 1954. Most of the materials in these two sources are undated and misleadingly numbered. For the past ten years, historians have been making the painstaking effort to date these writings. The following chronological compilation of T'an's works is derived mainly from the results of their research, but I have, through my acquaintance with T'an's biography and thought, and careful reading of T'an's work, made my own judgement on the source I use. Through such an effort, it is hoped that the development of T'an thought can be put into a better perspective.

A word on abbreviations. The letters CC stand for the

T'an Ssu-t'ung ch'üan-chi, while the letters HN stand for the
Hu-nan li-shih tzu-liao. In the citation of dates, the abbreviation
(5.21) means, for example, the twenty-first of May of the year
concerned.

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A Chronology of the Works and Correspondence

of

T'an Ssu-t'ung

1877

- (12) Shang ta-po fu-mu shu erh 上大伯父
母書二 (Letter to my elder uncle and
aunt, No.2)

HN: 1959, V.1,
p.78

1878

1879

- (Autumn) Sung-pieh chung-hsiung Szu-sheng
fu Ch'in-lung sheng-fu 送別仲兄河
生赴秦隴省父 (Farewell to my elder
brother Ssu-sheng heading toward
Shensi to visit our father)

CC: p.487

1880

1881

1882

- (6) Shang ta-po fu-mu shu i 上大伯父
母書一 (Letter to my elder uncle
and aunt, No.1)

HN: 1959, V.1,
p.78

- (6) Shang ta-po fu-mu shu szu 上大伯
父母書四 (Letter to my elder uncle
and aunt, No.4)

HN: 1959, V.1,
pp.78-79

- (11) Shang ta-po fu-mu shu san 上大伯
父母書三 (Letter to my elder uncle
and aunt, No.3)

HN: 1959, V.1,
p.80

1882

- (11) Shu huai 述懷 (Expressing my emotion) CC: p.451
- Hstieh-yeh 雪夜 (Snowy night) CC: p.465
- Lan-chou Chuang-yen ssu 蘭州
莊嚴寺 (The Chuang-yen Temple in
Lan-chou) CC: p.465
- T'ung Kuan 潼關 (T'ung-shan Pass) CC: p.489
- Tao chia liang-p'ien 到家
二篇 (Two poems written on
arriving home) CC: p.492
- Yu ch'in-lung fu Kan-lan tao chung
chi shih 由秦隴赴甘肅道中即事
(A poem composed while travelling from
Ch'in-lung to Lan-chou in Kansu) CC: p.493
- Wang hai-ch'ao 望海潮
(Watching sea tide) CC: p.277

1883

- Hstü t'ien chia 宿田家
(Staying overnight at a rural hut) CC: p.451
- Lung shan 隴山 (the Lung Mountain) CC: p.462
- Ping ch'i 病起 (After illness) CC: p.465
- Chiu-jih chiao-wai 秋日郊外
(Country-side in autumn days) CC: p.466
- Tung yeh 冬夜 (Winter night) CC: p.466
- Lan-chou Wang-shih yüan-lin
蘭州王氏園林
(The garden of the Wang family in Lan-chou) CC: p.471
- Pai t'sao-yüan 白草原
(A white grassland) CC: p.471
- Ku i 古意 (Nostalgia) CC: p.492

1884

- Chih yen 治言 (Views on the management of world affairs) CC: pp.103-109
- Ho liang yin 河梁吟 (A chant of Ho Liang) CC: p.451
- Pieh i 別意 (Farewell feelings) CC: p.452
- Hsi-yü yin 西域引 (An introduction to the western territories) CC: p.457
- Tao-wu shan 道吾山 (The Tao-wu Mountain) CC: p.466
- Chüeh sheng 角聲 (Blare from a horn) CC: p.467
- Ma shang tso 馬上作 (A poem written while riding a horse) CC: p.468

1885

- Chiang hsing 江行 (Rowing on a river) CC: p.467
- Yeh po 夜泊 (Mooring a boat at night) CC: p.467
- Pieh Lan-chou 別蘭州 (Departing Lan-chou) CC: p.467
- Lao ma 老馬 (Old horse) CC: p.468
- Tung-ting yeh-po 洞庭夜泊 (Mooring a boat at night at the Tung-ting Lake) CC: p.468
- Teng shan kuan yü 登山觀雨 (Climbing up a mountain to watch rain) CC: p.479
- Hsü-hsi Shang-chou chi chung hsiung 除夕商州寄仲兄 (A poem sent to second eldest brother from the Shang Province at New Year Eve) CC: p.494

1886

1887

- Yt'eh-yt'an 燒園 (Exuviae Garden) CC: p.457
- Ts'an-yt'n ch'u 殘魂曲 (Song of a crippled soul) CC: p.457
- Ch'i-yt'an yt' san p'ien 憩園的三篇
(Three poems on rain at the Rest Garden) CC: p.473
- Tseng ju-sai jen 贈入塞人
(Dedicated to the man who goes beyond the northern borders). CC: p.480
- Ho Ching Ch'iu-ping shih-lang Kan-su
tsung-tu shu-fu-yt'n lan ssu liang-p'ien
和景欣平侍郎甘肅總督署拂雲樓詩二篇
(Two poems to match the poem written by the vice-president Ching Chiu-ping on the Fu-yun Tower in the Kansu Governor-general's official lodging) CC: p.480

1888

- Ch'in ling 泰嶺 (The mountain range of Ch'in) CC: p.457
- Er lan ch'uan hsing ping hsu
兒孺船行并轍
(A child who pull a boat with introduction) CC: p.461
- San yuan-yang p'ien 三鴛鴦篇
(Three mandarin ducks) CC: p.461
- Ying-su-mi nang yao 罌粟米囊謠
(Opium-bag song) CC: p.462
- Liu-pang-shan chuan shang yao
六盤山轉轆謠
(Song of rice-grinding at Lu-pang Mountain) CC: p.463
- Sui-i 隨意 (Leisure) CC: p.469

1888

- Ch'ih-han 浙漢 (Rivers of Ch'ih and Han) CC: p.469
- Sung Hui-tsung hua ying liang-p'ien
宋徽宗畫鷹二篇
(Two poems on a painting of an eagle by
Emperor Hui of the Sung Dynasty) CC: p.489
- K'u Wu-ling Ch'en Hsing-wu Huan-k'uei
san p'ien 哭武陵陳星五煥奎三篇
(Three stanzas mourning Ch'en Hsing-wu) CC: p.494

1889

- Chi chung-hsiung T'ai-wan 寄仲兄臺灣
(A poem sent to my elder brother in Taiwan) CC: p.469
- Chu T'ung-kuan tu-ho 出潼關渡河
(Out of the T'ung Pass and across the
river by ferry) CC: p.469
- Te chung-hsiung T'aiwan shu kan-fu liang
p'ien 得仲兄臺灣書感賦二篇
(Two 'fu' on receiving a letter from my
elder brother in Taiwan) CC: p.473
- Lu-kuo ch'iao 盧溝橋 (The Lu-kou
Bridge) CC: p.470
- Ching-ching kuan 井陘關
(The Ching-ching Pass) CC: p.490
- Li-shan wen-ch'uan 驪山溫泉
(A hot-spring at the Li Mountain) CC: p.490
- Ch'in-ling Wei Wen-kung tz'u 秦嶺
韓文公祠 (The shrine of Wei Wen-kung
at the Ch'in Mountain) CC: p.490
- Wu-kuan 武關 (The Wu Pass) CC: p.493
- Lan ch'iao 藍橋 (The Blue Bridge) CC: p.493

Hsien ts'ung-hsiung Fu-feng i-hsiang
tsan ping-hsu 先從兄馥峰遺像贊並敘
(On the photograph of my deceased
second eldest brother, Fu-feng,
with preface)

CC: p.508

K'ung tung 崑洞 (Mountain K'ung-tung
in Kansu)

CC: p.480

Tzu ping-liang liu-hu chih ch'in-
chou tao-chung 自平涼柳湖至涇州道上
(On the way from Lake Liu of Ping-
liang Province to Ch'in Province)

CC: p.480

1890

Kung yen 公燕, (A Public banquet)

CC: p.455

(4-5) Hsiang-heng tz'u pa p'ien ping hsu
湘浪詞八篇並敘
(Recollections of Hunan with preface)

CC: pp.452-454

Pi-t'ien tung 碧天洞 (Azure-sky Cave)

CC: p.456

Wen-hsin kuo jih-yueh hsing-Ch'en
yen-ko ping-hsu 文信國日月星辰硯
歌并敘 (A song with preface for Wen
T'ien-hsiang's ink slab of the Sun, the
moon, and the stars)

CC: p.464

Ku pieh-li 古別離 (Departing in ancient
times)

CC: p.463

T'ao-hua fu-jen miao shen hsien
ch'u san pien 桃花夫人廟神姦
曲三篇 (Three poems on the Madame
Peach-blossom's Temple)

CC: p.459

Hu-chang yeh-po 武昌夜泊
(Mooring a boat at night in Wuch'ang)

CC: p.470

An-ch'ing tai-kuan-t'ing 安慶大觀亭
(The Tai-kuan pavilion in Anhui)

CC: p.481

Ts'an hsieh 殘蟹 (Crippled crab)

CC: p.481

- (5) Shang Ou-yang Pan-chiang shih shu
shih-ch'e 上歐陽辨僊卿書十七
(Letter to my teacher Ou-yang
Pan-chiang, No.17) CC: pp.313-
314

Chi Hung-shan hsing-shih 記洪山形勢
(On the topography of the Hung
Mountain) CC: p.169

1891

Liu Yun-t'ien chuan 劉雲田傳
(Biography of Liu Yun-t'ien) CC: pp.170-
172

Tai ta-jen chuan tseng feng-cheng ta -
fu jen-chun mu-chi-ming ping-hsu 代大
人撰, 贈奉政大夫任君墓志銘並敘
(Composing for your Excellency the grave-
stone inscription on Mr. Jen, Minister of
Administration, with preface) CC: p.497

Chi tu ko ping-hsu 極惡歌並敘
(A song depredating the extremely corrupt
officialdom, with preface) CC: p.455

Hu-pei hsun-fu-shu Lu-hsu-ting wan-t'iao
tung Yao Hsing-ch'a tso 湖北巡撫署
虛亭晚眺同饒仙槎作 (A poem
composed with Yao Hsing-ch'a when gazing
at the twilight from the Lu-hsu pavilion in
the official lodging of the Governor-
general of Hupei) CC: p.456

Hsiao-hsiung wan ching t'u liang-p'ien
瀟湘晚景圖二篇 (Two
poems on the evening scene of the Hsiao-
hsiung River) CC: p.489

Lun i chueh-chü lu-p'ien 論藝絕句六篇
(A comment on modern essayists, six
stanzas on four lines) CC: p.490

Wu-ch'ang t'a-ch'ing tz'u 武昌踏青
詞 (Worshipping tombs in spring in
Wuchang) CC: p.482

- (12) Yuan-i-tang chi wai-wen ch'u-p'ien CC: p.151
 tzu-hsü 遠道堂集外文初編自敘
 (Preface to the first collection of my elder brother's works of the Yuan-i Studio)

1892

1893

- (2-3) Yuan-i-tang chi wai-wen hsu-p'ien tzu-hsu CC: p.152
 遠道堂集外文續編自敘
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