

Selected
Works of
Korean
Buddhism

Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea

Treaties and
Memorials
by Joseon Period
Monks

Works by

Hamheo Gihwa
Baekgok Cheoneung
Yeondam Yuil

Annotated Translation
and Introduction by

Sung-Eun Thomas Kim



Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

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The Samboryun (Three-Jewel-Wheeled) symbolizes the ideas of Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism: this symbol indicates faith in the Three Jewels of Buddhism; the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha and Two Traditions of Seon (Meditation) and Gyo (Doctrine). It also symbolizes the harmonization of all the clergy and laypeople and the realization of the Pure Land of Buddha by way of religious propagation.

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Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

Foreword

Buddhism's impact on the spirit and culture of the Korean people has been deeply rooted. Its presence had significant effect from the very beginning of history on the Korean peninsula, through the Joseon period, a time of state suppression of Buddhism, and past the early stages of modernity up to the modern era.

On the occasion of publishing this new series, there is a sense of regret for not having introduced Buddhism widely to foreign countries due to the language barrier and the uniqueness of the Buddhist tradition and thought found only in Korean Buddhism that has accumulated in its long history. The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism with the intention of sharing with the rest of the world the treasures of the Korean Buddhist culture, has published the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* and the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* series in thirteen and ten volumes respectively. We are now embarking on the translation project of the *Selected Works of Korean Buddhism* in ten volumes.

The representative texts of Korean Buddhism that are published for this project are the result of a careful selection of important Buddhist texts that extend historically from the Unified Silla all the way up to the early part of the modern era. It includes a wide range of texts including on the philosophy of Hwaeom, Seon (Zen), and on the Buddhist culture, and even on the lives of eminent monks and their thoughts, texts that can be considered to be representative of Korean Buddhism.

In particular, the *Ganpye Seokgyo* so 諫廢釋教疏 (Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism) is a memorial of

8,150 characters in length submitted to the throne during the 500 years of the Joseon period when Buddhism was direly suppressed. It is included in the *Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea: Treaties and Memorials by Joseon Period Monks*, which is one of the first translations to be published in the current series. As an important piece of historical literature, it argues for a dialogue between Buddhism and Confucianism by emphasizing the role of each tradition like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart.

Another historically significant composition, the *Seonmun jeongno* 禪門正路 (The Orthodox Path of Seon) by Ven. Seongcheol, brings to light the importance of Korean Seon and has left an enduring legacy of early period of modern Korean Seon. The *Seonmun jeongno* is a controversial book which stimulated a discourse that was not previously seen in the history of East Asian Seon. Moreover, Koh Hyeonggon's writing, *Seon ui segye* (The Ontology of Seon), is a highly respected work which reveals the meaning of existence through a comparative analysis of Seon with Heidegger's thoughts, a prominent German philosopher of existentialism.

Other representative texts included in the current series are by authors who have emphasized cultural dialogue with prominent thought of the times. This is fitting for the modern era which can be recognized to be a heightened period of dialogue and communication. Even among traditions of great thought there is needed dialogue and exchange and discussions of co-existence, and through such dialogue, Buddhism will prove to be a system of thought that can lead humanity in the twenty-first century. By publishing ten volumes of representative texts of Korean Buddhism, and stimulating communication between the thought and culture of Korean Buddhism with the world, it will be an opportunity to write the many ideas and hopes into humanity's history of thought.

Lastly, I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the scholars who have participated in this translation project for their effort and for joining this meaningful project. I would like to also extend my deep gratitude to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea

and its representatives who have given support to this project for the globalization of Korean Buddhism.

With the Palms of My Hands Joined in Reverence

Byeoksan Wonhaeng 碧山 圓行

The 36th President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

President, Publication Committee of the *Selected Works of Korean Buddhism*

Editor's Preface

Buddhism which originated in India some 2,500 year ago and spread throughout East Asia has now become a global religion. Through the people of the Arian ancestry, Indian Buddhism came to be recorded in the ancient Indo-European language of Sanskrit and the Indo-Aryan language of Pali. Chinese Buddhism was then communicated through its long history using the ideograph sinoscript of the Han people. The differences of language and ethnic-culture led to diverse methods of practice of Indian and Chinese Buddhism. In Indian Buddhism, becoming a buddha was pursued by awakening to the Dharma through the repetition of practices in the cycle of samsara. The transcendent aims of Indian Buddhism were accepted by the Chinese after transformations that were fitting to their own ways. Different from the Indian method and despite the gap in time and space, the most effective means were to believe that everyone was born with the inherent nature that allowed, whoever it may be, to become a buddha. That is why, in Chinese Buddhism enlightenment was transformed from the aim of becoming a buddha to realizing the “nature of the Buddha,” of “inherently enlightened” human nature. After having gone through this transformation into this unique doctrine of original nature, there emerged two phenomena; in theory—Tientai and Huayan schools of thought—and in practice—Pure Land and Chan Buddhism.

Chinese Buddhism that became established into individual schools of thought based on this doctrine of original nature were accepted into Korea and Japan who shared the same culture that was based on the system of sinoscript. However, in Korea there developed a unique

pattern in the acceptance of Chinese Buddhism. It is characterized by the tendency towards synthesis by finding what commonly permeates, leading to a realization of harmony, for example, among the theories unique to the individual schools and its diverging claims. Though the establishment of the individual schools of thought based on the doctrine of original nature is the achievement of Chinese Buddhism, the attempt at creative synthesis through finding what commonly permeates has been consistent on the Korean peninsula, a uniqueness of Korean Buddhism.

It has been several years that the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* (2012) was published by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, which consists of representative Korean Buddhist literature selected from the *Complete Works of Korean Buddhism*, a compilation of 323 fascicles into a compositional archive that contains literature from the Silla all the way to the Joseon period. This was done as part of the effort to globalize Korean Buddhism with the generous support of the Korean government. With the intent to continue and to further develop this tradition, modern representative Buddhist compositions were selected, translated into English and published, again with generous government funding. It was with the aim of sharing with the world the intellectual legacy left behind by modern Korean Buddhism, which lead to the publication of the *Collected Works of Modern Korean Buddhism* in 2017.

However, these two series do not contain all of Korea's pre-modern and modern Buddhist literature and it was suggested that translations of additional representative Korean Buddhist classics among the traditional and modern Buddhist literature be introduced for the purpose of globalizing Korean Buddhism. That is why starting from 2018 the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism proceeded to publish English translations of selected Buddhist literature that can be considered to be the core of pre-modern and modern Korean Buddhism in a series titled "Project for the Translation of Representative Korean Buddhist Literature," once again with the generous support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea.

For the operation of this project, the Jogye Order established the

Compilation Committee for the Translation of Representative Korean Buddhist Texts (President: Ven. Wonhaeng), a steering committee (President: Ven. Seobong), and an editorial committee (Director: Prof. Kim Jong-Wook). In particular, the editorial committee that is in charge of the management of translations and publishing operations, adopted the recommendations of over fifty experts of Korean Buddhism and selected five representative literature from the premodern era, including Silla to late Joseon, and five representative literature from the modern era—post-liberation from Japanese colonialism.

The first among the five compositions from the premodern era is titled *Questions and Answers on the Avataṃsaka-sūtra: An Early Korean Hwaeom Text* which is a compilation of the lectures of Uisang recorded by his students. It is exemplary of the Korean Hwaeom studies that has had a long tradition and has had far-reaching influences on the formation of Kegon studies early in Japanese history. The second, *The Moon Reflected in a Thousand Rivers* by the Great King Sejong, the life story of the Buddha composed in poetic form, is the highlight of Buddhist literature that harmonized religious and literary forms. The third is titled *Biographies of Eminent Monks of Korea*, which is a collection of three separate texts, *Haedong goseung jeon* by Gakhun, *Dongsa yeoljeon* by Gagan, and the *Jogye goseung jeon*, by Bojeong. Through this English translation, the international audience can gain a firm understanding of the important monks who appear in the history of Korean Buddhism. The fourth text is titled *Seon Thought in Korean Buddhism*, which consists of *Seonmun bojang nok* and *Seonmun gangyo jip* by the monk Cheonchaek, where the first of the two is a compilation of extracted sayings of various Seon masters and the latter is a summary of core Seon teachings. *Seon Thought in Korean Buddhism* will provide to the readers a comprehensive summary of the essential teachings in Korean Seon tradition. The fifth translation is titled *Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea: Treaties and Memorials by Joseon Period Monks*, which is a translation of three Buddhist compositions, the *Hyeonjeong non* by Hamheo Gihwa, *Ganpye Seokgyo so* by Baekgok Cheoneung, and “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” by Yeondam Yuil. These are

apologetic texts that have refuted Confucian charges against Buddhism and argued for the legitimacy of Buddhism. Through this literature we can gather the tension that existed between politics and religion during the Joseon period.

The first among the five modern Buddhist literature is Toeong Seongcheol's *The Orthodox Path of Seon* where he critiqued Jinul's soteriological system of sudden awakening–gradual practice, which is often referred to as an important characteristics of Korean Seon Buddhism. In its place, Seongcheol claimed a system of sudden awakening–sudden practice, and by doing so he was intent on establishing a uniquely Korean method of *ganhwa* Seon. The second is Beopjeong's *The Pure and Fragrant: The Prose Anthology of Korean Buddhist Master Beopjeong*, which consists of fifty compositions that he selected from among all his writings and published in a book form. This translation opens up the world of simple and pure philosophy of Beopjeong who is much loved by modern Koreans.

The third translation is Koh Ikjin's *Buddhist Thought of Korea*. This book is a masterpiece in the history of thought where the author adopted an independent approach to history and has brought to light Korean Buddhism from psychological historical perspective. The fourth translation is Koh Hyeonggon's *The Ontology of Seon*. Although this is a portion of his original voluminous *Seon ui segye* (The world of Seon), it is the more exemplary of his intellectual thought of Seon. In this composition, he compares the main passages from Yongjia Xuanjue's *Chanzong Yongjia ji* (Yongjia's Collected Works of the Chan Tradition) with the phenomenology of Husserl and existentialism of Heidegger and investigates the existentialism of Seon thought. The fifth text is Chin Hongsup's *Korean Buddhist Sculptures*. Here, he discusses the origins and forms of Buddhist statues, the tradition of Korean Buddhist statues and its stylistic transformations. With regard to studies of Korean Buddhist statues, the text *Korean Buddhist Sculptures* is one of the most informative and historically comprehensive.

Through these ten translations, it was the intent of the editorial committee that the various faces of Korean Buddhism, including

philosophy, literature, history, politics, and art, will be brought to light for the global audience.

In the work of translating these texts, world-renowned experts and specialists in the field of Korea Buddhism were invited, who were familiar with original sinoscript, and in doing so created a group of Korean and international scholars who combined their efforts in publishing the most authentic translations. Furthermore, based on the expertise of a team of translation editors, the translations were reviewed and the most precise expressions were ensured. In this way the editorial committee made sure that the translations most accurately reflected the deeper intentions of the original sinoscript compositions.

The highly esteemed translators include Richard D. McBride II, Thorsten Traulsen, Marek Zemanek, Henrik Sorensen, John Jorgensen, Sung-Eun Thomas Kim, Juhn Young Ahn, Matty Wegehaupt, Koh Seunghak, Kim Seong-Uk, and Ha Jungmin. The translation editors include Robert M. Gimello, Park Boram, Kim Kijong, Sem Vermeersch, Jin Y. Park, Yun Woncheol, Daniel Kane, Sumi Lee, Kim Jong-Wook, Rhi Juhjung, Kim Sunkyung. Furthermore, Kim Ryunseon was the administrative assistant who overlooked the entire process of translations and editing.

Yi Deokyeol worked tirelessly in copyediting the translated texts, and the entire publication was carried out by Bulkwang Media Co. It was due to the passionate efforts and contributions of these people that this project has come to fruition.

Above all, the endless initiatives and support from Ven. Wonhaeng, the president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the hosting organization of this project, and Ven. Jinwoo, the director of the Educational Bureau of the Jogye Order, cannot be forgotten. Ven. Wonhaeng, as the president of the Compilation Committee, has presided over the entirety of the project with much enthusiasm and interest. Ven. Jinwoo provided invaluable guidance and encouragement, especially from the planning stages of the project up to the final publishing stage. Moreover, the president of the steering committee, Ven. Seobong, and the director of the Research Institute of Buddhist

Studies, Ven. Bomun, both gave generous and helpful advice for the smooth completion of the project from planning, to operations, and to the final stages of publication. Furthermore, the promotional efforts of Ji Jeonghak, the deputy director of the Department of Education of the Jogye Order, have contributed tremendously to maintaining a relationship of cooperation with the government agency, and Ko Myoungsuk from the Educational Bureau has been most dependable for resolving difficult administrative issues when they arose.

This project would not have been possible without the participation and contributing efforts of these people. In this process, it reminds us once again of the Buddha's law of dependent arising where all things come to fruition depending on the harmonization of innumerable conditions. Lastly, as the director of the editorial committee, it is my sincere hope that through the publication of the current series, the 1,700 years of the Korean Buddhist tradition consisting of the multifaceted aspects of philosophy, history, literature, and art will be brought to light. And as a result, it is hoped that Korean Buddhist culture will be held up in esteem on the global stage and assist in furthering the transmission of the Dharma to every corner of the world.

Kim Jong-Wook

Professor, Department of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University

Series Editor & Chair of the Editorial Board,

Selected Works of Korean Buddhism

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Sung-Eun Thomas Kim
Dongguk University, Seoul

Conventions

- H: *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Complete Works of Korean Buddhism). 14 vols. Dongguk daehakgyo *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. Seoul: Dongguk University, 1979–. https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/list?itemId=ABC_BJ.
- K: *Tonghap daejanggyeong* 통합대장경 (Entire compendium of the Korean Tripitaka). 14 vols. Dongguk daehakgyo *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo* pyeonchan wiwonhoe, ed. Seoul: Dongguk University, 1979–. https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/list?itemId=ABC_IT.
- T: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Edited by Takakasu Junjirō et al. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1935.
- X: *Xuzang jing* 續藏經 (Hong Kong reprint of the Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經 [Kyoto Supplement to the Canon. Kyoto, 1905–1912]). 150 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1967. (Sequential numbers of texts established according to listing in *Shōwa hōbō sōmoku roku* 昭和法寶總目錄, vol. 2.).
- Ch.: Chinese, Jp.: Japanese, Kr.: Korean, Skt.: Sanskrit

Selected Works of Korean Buddhism series uses the standard Romanization systems for the transcription of East Asian Languages: Pinyin for Chinese, Revised Hepburn for Japanese, and Revised Romanization for Korean, with slight elaboration in some cases.

Proper names of persons, sites, and other cultural practices or institutions are transcribed according to its provenance, but translators may transcribe and translate the terms considering specific contexts they are dealt with. (Translators may have their own transcribing conventions specific to their translations in each volume.)

Citations from the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are listed as follows:

title (with Sanskrit title, if relevant, in parentheses), T[aishō], Taishō serial number, Taishō volume number, page number, register (a, b, or c), and, if applicable, line number(s)—e.g., *Shoulengyan jing* (*Śūramgama-sūtra*), T 945.19.110a1. In citations from the *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo*, the Romanized title will be mentioned first and then volume number, page number, register (a, b, c, d), and if applicable, line number(s) such as the *Seon'ga gwigam*, H 7.637a21–22.

As of the Romanization of Korean terms and names, this series has some exceptions for its application as far as the Revised Romanization system allows. Firstly, in cases where the persons' names mentioned in any part of the book have their own English transcription, they are spelled as they are regardless of the Revised Romanization System. Secondly, to avoid phonetic confusions, hyphens and apostrophes are used in some cases: an apostrophe is usually placed in between letters not to join and make a phoneme, but a hyphen is specifically used in a person's name. Lastly, sir names, Kang, Noh, Shin and Yi are alternatively transcribed as such in order to avoid phonetic or symantical confusions.

The original texts used in the translations for this *Selected Works of Korea Buddhism* series may contain minor misprints and typos originating from their early twentieth century printed copies. The translators carried out corrections and revisions in the course of translation, with the editorial board's support and consultation. The translators usually noted significant changes in translation from the original texts, but might have left minor revisions and corrections without noting them.

Lastly, take note that the translations of the three apologetic compositions include in-text numbering marked by square brackets that correspond to the original sinoscript text in order to facilitate referencing of the original text from the translations.

Buddhist Apologetics in Early Modern Korea

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Translator's Introduction

1. The Tradition of Apologia in East Asia

Confucianism and Buddhism were teachings of different visions of an ideal world. Determining which of the two teachings would be recognized as the legitimate or the true teaching will indeed hinge on the ability of its promoters, its clergypersons, to successfully convince the rulers of the land to accept their tradition. This competition to be recognized and to appear as the superior teaching has been a narrative of ups and downs in the history of the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism in East Asia. Within the dialogue between these two traditions, the polemical attacks and the apologetic defences comprise the history of the interaction, a significance of which is often ignored in understanding the process by which these traditions have been greatly shaped and transformed.

When Buddhism first arrived into China, it was certainly a late-comer;¹ Daoism and Confucianism had already taken root and were well established ahead of Buddhism. It was similar in Silla Korea where shamanism and indigenous cultic practices were widely spread and became an integral part of the people's lives—a similar situation to Japan where Buddhism was met by the local beliefs and practices related to the *kami* (gods). Despite Buddhist interactions with Daoism and Confucianism in China, shamanism in Korea, and *kami* beliefs in Japan, Confucianism will eventually prove to be the arch rival to Buddhism in the three regions.

Confucianism was a well established tradition of governance and social ideology in China at the time Buddhism arrived, but in Korea, Confucian arrived at the same time as Buddhism and did not present a challenge from the beginning. Needless to say, there were similar confrontational receptions of Buddhism in China and Korea with

Daoism and shamanism, respectively. Magical abilities were one sign of its powers and once Buddhism arrived in China it faced competition, at times literal, to show itself as more powerful in bringing about fortune and effectively dealing with the mysterious forces and the nether world. Such scenes of competition are described in the apologetic composition, *Yu Seok jirui-ron*.² It was on the eighth day and the tenth month of the fourteenth year of Emperor Ming's rule (74 CE) that the envoy returned to Luoyang with Buddhist sutras and two Buddhist monks.³ Once it was heard that Emperor Ming had the newly arrived sutras translated and chanted and Baima Temple (白馬寺) built for the monks, the Daoists of the Five Great Mountains including over six hundred disciples gathered and a Daoist master amongst them drafted and sent a memorial admonishing the emperor. It questioned,

[Why does the emperor] reject our Daoist tradition and seek the barbarian teachings far away? Such teachings of the barbarian spirit are mostly devilish lies, damaging the nation, and ruining the family. Without respect to the Chinese [traditions, their monastic adherents] cut off human posterity, shave their heads, and dye their clothes [gray]. They translate and transmit [their teachings] across the sands to teach and convert [our people].⁴

On receiving this dispatch the emperor decided to hold a contest between the Daoists and the Buddhist monks to display their magical powers to decide whose teachings were more superior. At the contest, the monks realized they could not compete with the Daoist masters, so they changed the contest to see whose books of teachings would not burn in fire and proclaimed that this will surely prove which of the teachings are true or false. Although the Daoist and Confucian books burned, the Buddhist books did not and miraculous rays of light emanated from the books. Thereupon, the Daoist master who wrote the memorial and the other Daoists fell to their knees and died. On this occasion, Daoist masters numbering 630 shaved their hair and joined the monkhood.⁵

In Japan there does not appear to have been a strong opposition in the initial establishment of Buddhism where support and acceptance of Buddhism came from powerful aristocratic families (*ujizoku*) while the imperial family was apprehensive about accepting Buddhism.⁶ Anti-Buddhist polemic attacks came later from the Confucian scholars and became more frequent and intense in the late Tokugawa period (1603–1868). In previous times, there seems to have been a relatively harmonious relationship between the Confucian scholars and the Buddhist monks.⁷

Competing encounters have been discussed in scholarship as having taken place also when Buddhism first arrived on the Korean peninsula in the Silla kingdom. Buddhism had to prove its powers if the monks were to receive patronage from the people and the rulers. According to the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)⁸ opposition to the Buddhist monks came from the traditional nobility who were closely associated with the indigenous mountain spirit cult,⁹ and who checked the powers of the royal ruler such as King Beopheung (法興王, r. 514–540). It appears that the members of the nobility opposed the adoption of Buddhism by the royal family as the state cult which would disrupt the traditional power structure that was based on the indigenous spirit cult and put in jeopardy the powers of those traditional nobles. It was only after the miraculous martyrdom of a court official Ichadon 異次頓 (d. 527/528) in 527, that King Beopheung was able to have Buddhism officially accepted as the state religion at about 535. Thereafter, King Beopheung used the legitimating power of Buddhism to expand his powers over the region.¹⁰

Despite regional variations in the relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism, the initial polemic relationship that was played out in China has shaped what eventually took place in the other regions. In this sense the history of Chinese Buddhist apologetic literature will prove to be most helpful in providing context for understanding what took place elsewhere. As noted, starting from early in the history of Chinese Buddhism, polemical compositions were written to attack

and also to defend against these attacks launched by both Confucians and Daoists. An example of an early polemical defence was not by a monk but a Buddhist convert by the name of Mouzi 牟子 (fl. 3rd cen.) whose work, *Mouzi Lihuo lun* 牟子理惑論 (Master Mou's Treatise on Settling Doubts), is dated to the early part of the third century.¹¹ The content is written in the format of question and answer, and addressed questions including the meaning of "Buddha," why the early sages did not practice Buddhism, monks being unfilial to their ancestors, and the Buddhist notion of reincarnation.¹²

Another example of notable apologetic literature during the Tang period (618–907) is the *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論 (Treatise on Revealing the Correct), a refutation of Daoist attacks on Buddhism, by a Tang monk Xuanyi 玄奘 (fl. 7th cen.) who was originally a Daoist monk but who later converted to Buddhism. Some of the argued points of contention included questions on such matters as which religion was more ancient, the efficacy of Daoist rituals, and the claim that Buddhism was the teaching of Laozi, otherwise known as the theory of *huahu* 化胡 (teaching the barbarians).¹³

Among numerous memorials presented against Buddhism during the Tang, none has had more influence on the later generations of anti-Buddhist than the memorial presented to the emperor in 819 by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824),¹⁴ *Lun Fogu biao* 論佛骨表 (Memorial on the Bone of the Buddha). Han Yu's intention was to restore Confucianism to its former position of pre-eminence. His attacks on Buddhism was mainly focused on the fact that the Buddha was from the barbarian region and that there has been negative impact on the dynasties that have accepted Buddhism manifest in the shortness of their reign.¹⁵ These polemical claims will be repeated in the later anti-Buddhist memorials and, moreover, defence against these claims will be continually made by the future Buddhist apologists.

Moving beyond the Tang period, anti-Buddhist polemics further developed in China through the works of Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077) and Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073), however, it lacked the clarity and the systemization that will come later with new advancements in

Confucian thought. Noticeable developments in the philosophical sophistication was brought on by the Cheng brothers, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107). These developments include polemical attacks against Buddhism becoming incorporated into and taking up a significant part of the Confucian discourse. Eventually, with the systemization of Neo-Confucian thought by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), critique of Buddhism becomes more refined and pointed.¹⁶

Despite such forays by the Neo-Confucians, other than the responses by the Buddhist monks such as Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) or Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) that were earlier responses dating to before the Neo-Confucian developments, the Buddhist responses did not advance at the same pace and its responses are judged to be lagging and not “commensurate” to the Confucian attacks.¹⁷ It appears that later developments in the Buddhist apologetic literature occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which at times attempted to emphasize the similarities rather than differences and conflict. The constant need to defend Buddhism indicates a continuing polemical attacks on Buddhism that repeated the critiques laid out by Han Yu but based on a new foundation of Neo-Confucianism.¹⁸

Similar critiques of Buddhism can be witnessed in Japan starting from the sixteenth century from the leading Confucian scholars who have noted Zhu Xi’s thoughts and other Neo-Confucians such as the Cheng brothers, to support their polemics on Buddhism. These attacks included claims that Buddhism was “other-worldly” rendering Buddhism unpractical for governing the country. Buddhist are also accused of being useless in contributing to the productiveness of the society by pointing to the monks who are argued to be living off the hard work of others. Moreover, towards the latter part of the Tokugawa period, Buddhist notions such as hell, paradise, and transmigration were challenged calling them fabrications of imagination.¹⁹

In Korea, such polemical relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism developed later in Korean history. After about a thousand years from the time Buddhism first arrived on the peninsula, there

occurred a tremendous societal shift that occurred in tandem with the founding of a new dynasty in 1392. In conjunction with the overthrow of the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392) rulers and the founding of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), Neo-Confucian thought was adopted as the ideological foundation on which the new society was constructed. It was in fact towards the end of the Goryeo period that the Neo-Confucian literati and scholars came to the conclusion that Buddhism needed to be discredited and abolished. With this aim, the Neo-Confucians presented memorials to the throne on the evils and ills that Buddhism caused in society.

One of the most critical memorials was composed in the closing days of the dynasty by a group of National Academy students that was penned by a certain Bak Cho (1367–1454). It argued that Buddhism brought about the destruction of marriage causing curtailment in the number of people who can work and which subverted the authority of the monarch. Bak denounced Buddhism as a barbarian creed that undermined the moral standards and the imperial authority of China. He went on to charge that Buddhism as a means of gaining long life and fortune was a false claim. He proposed that the books of Buddhism should be burned, the statues and the paraphernalia melted down to make weapons for the army, and the wealth and property of temples confiscated by the state.²⁰ Although the memorial did not make it to the king, such memorials give a flavor of the polemical attacks that took place prior to the eventual overturning of the dynastic rule.

An interesting point with regard to the Buddhist response was that the monks were relatively silent and muted. It was not at all that there was a lack of monastics who were able to compose a polemic defense matching such critical attacks. Rather, it appears there was not the urgent need to respond mainly because such critical views were not the prevailing thoughts among all the literati nor the officials and there does not seem to be any sign that Buddhism was in an imminent and real threat. Additionally, no different from the start of the Goryeo dynasty, Buddhism had been accepted by the monarchs and their families, where on some occasions Buddhism was even defended by the kings.²¹

2. Apologetic Literature in the Context of Confucianized Joseon Society

The Socio-Political Context

In Korea, the polemical attacks on Buddhism in fact began before the start of the Joseon period and the dialogue with Confucianism undoubtedly was related to the historical circumstances. It was towards the end of the Goryeo dynasty that the polemical attacks on Buddhism became more intense with the apparent corruption of the monarch by Buddhism evidenced by the squandering of state funds on temple works by the kings and the royal family. Up to that time, Confucianism had provided the system of ethics and ideals for the state bureaucracy and Buddhism provided the legitimating ideology for the monarch. But in the closing days of the Goryeo dynasty, with the greater acceptance of Neo-Confucianism among the bureaucrats and scholars, the Confucians felt emboldened to tackle the socio-political problem of monarchical corruption which intimately involved the saṃgha. It was evident that towards the end of the Goryeo period, Buddhist temples were a significant part of the economic problems that the state faced and a significant contributor to the greater socio-political issues.

The confrontational relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism that ensued at the start of Joseon period has been discussed mostly at the level of polemical exchanges, but this interaction involved much more than disagreements on doctrine and teachings; it involved matters of political power and state finances. As noted in the above, Buddhist temples were a significant drain to the state funds depleting the state of these resources.²² This included the problem of large numbers of monks who were attempting to climb the social ladder by means of rising through the ranks of the monastic office, plus as a way to escape corvée labor and tax labor. This added pressure on the state by compounding the problem of shortage of labour power in the hands of the government when labour was needed for public works. This led to the state adopting laws such as limiting families whose sons were eligible to become monks to families with three sons or more.²³

In addition to the economic issues, with the turning of tide for

Buddhism, it was important that the traditional power base that Buddhism was part of had to be dismantled. Buddhism had been the foundation of the ruling ideology of the traditional political power but Buddhism was nonetheless intimately incorporated into the governing structure such as the office of the royal and state preceptorship, the highest monastic posts, which were not abolished for another thirty years after the start of the Joseon period.²⁴

Thus Buddhism was clearly recognized by the newly appointed officials as an organization and an ideological tradition that had to be contained if not eradicated for the good of the newly founded dynasty. This need was made clear from the start of the Joseon dynasty when in the very first year of King Taejo's rule just three days after ascending the throne, the Office of the Inspector General submitted a memorial to remind the king of the ten most important duties of a ruler. In the ninth item, the king was advised of the dangers of Buddhism:

The ninth is to distinguish [the corrupt] monks and nuns. They say the Buddha's laws are those of the barbarians They [the monks] have forgotten their practices and now live among the people. They dazzle and deceive the literati with lofty words and sophisticated ideas They intimidate the ignorant people The severely corrupt [monks] ride fattened horses and wear fair clothes. They increase their wealth and desire women—there is nothing they have not done. They eat away and ruin the state and cause sickness [of the mind] among the people. There is none worse than this.²⁵

Such reminders were felt to be necessary since Buddhism continued to be relied on heavily by the king and by the royal family, not to mention the masses, for matters regarding the afterlife and other supramundane matters. It appears that the scholar-officials led the way in the new movement to discredit and dismantle Buddhism through their anti-Buddhist polemics, one in particular caught the attention of the eminent monk Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和 (1376–1433) who responded with a apologetic defence of Buddhism, the first of the

Joseon period. The notable Neo-Confucian scholar-official who wrote the anti-Buddhist attack was Jeong Dojeon (1342–1398), also the mastermind in the founding of the new dynasty. Some of his well-known polemical writings of anti-Buddhism include, the familiar *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨 (Array of Critiques of Buddhism, 1398) and the *Simmun cheondap* 心問天答 (The Mind Asks, Heaven Answers, 1375) and also the *Simgiri pyeon* 心氣理篇 (On the Mind, Material Force and Principle, 1394).²⁶ Among these, Jeong provides the most comprehensive attack on Buddhism in his *Bulssi japbyeon* which reiterates and outlines the dangers of Buddhism and the need to censor it. In the last chapter “Byeok idan ji byeon” 闢異端之辨 (Critique to Expose Heterodox Teachings), Jeong reiterates:

The Buddha's words are sophisticated and profound that it transverses the essence of life and resides in merit. It will deceive the people severely much more than Yang and Mo Not desiring to accept and transmit the mind of the Six Sages [of the Confucian tradition] and the one worthy (Zhu Xi), the people will be deceived by the teachings [of the Buddha] and together will fall into a trap. I fear that the [righteous] path of the people will become eradicated. Indeed! The treacherous subjects and the disloyal disciples (monks) should be recognized and censored by everyone.²⁷

Some characteristics of the polemical interaction that stood out at the beginning of the Joseon period are: (1) The polemics was closely tied to the political struggle in that the Confucian attacks are aimed to discredit Buddhism both as a legitimate teaching and also as a legitimating ideology of rulership. (2) Furthermore, the polemics leveled on Buddhism was for the purpose of displacing Buddhism from its position of power with regard to its close connection with the ruling class including the royal family where Buddhism had been a quasi-cult of the royal family.

(1) In order to discredit Buddhism, it seems to be best done by proving it to be a false or even heretical teaching, one that deludes and

misguides the people. The idea underlying the notion of teachings was that these traditions were the teachings of Confucius and the Buddha,²⁸ both of which are guidelines for attaining an ideal world, a world attained when the actions of the ruler and the people accord with the Way. The polemic debates are about which of the teachings best brings this result and is judged on whether a teaching is a true teaching or a false teaching—whether a teaching can realize the Way or disrupts the realization of the Way and leads the people to evil ways.

(2) With the start of the new dynasty, the Neo-Confucians, to some extent, were successful in their campaign to discredit and displace Buddhism from its seat of power previously supported by the Goryeo regime. This displacement is evident when the monastic government offices were discontinued in the state bureaucracy in the new Joseon dynasty and, furthermore, when the office of the royal and state preceptorships were abolished in 1424. The campaign by the Neo-Confucian scholar-officials and the literati to discredit Buddhism was prevalent in the early Joseon period because the power of Buddhism was not fully dismantled. The polemical attacks were specifically aimed at removing Buddhism from having any sway over what can be described as the official and political sphere.²⁹

The Tradition of the Buddhist Apologia within the Historical Setting

The way Joseon Buddhism has been mostly examined in the Korean history is as an object of discussion amongst the Confucians or between the ministers and the king. It has rarely been the case that Buddhism was given a voice as an equal in a dialogue. Rather, Buddhism has mostly been the silent object of Neo-Confucian attacks and anti-Buddhist state policies. In this sense, the apologetic writings of the Joseon monks present a fresh point of view wherein the monastics are representing themselves and explain from a first person point-of-view, which will better reveal the characteristics of Joseon Buddhism.

The intent of the current translations of the Joseon apologetic literature is to bring to light, firstly, what the monks themselves

have experienced during a time that is generally known to be one of Confucian domination. By reading into the writings of the monks, the state of Buddhism and its community can be better assessed. In other words apologetic literature is a valuable source that can reveal the nature of Joseon Buddhism, especially in relation to the other, the collective Confucian scholar-officials. Invariably, the tradition of apologia is focused on making arguments to the Confucian scholar-officials and therefore will be defending arguments about Buddhism against Confucian rhetoric.

Below are some prominent monks who authored a defence of Buddhism in response to the polemical attacks. These are some of the apologetic writings by the Joseon period monks in an attempt to defend Buddhism in response to the Confucian polemical rhetoric and the anti-Buddhist policies.

1. Hamheo Gihwa,
Hyeonjeong non 顯正論 (Exposition of the Orthodox, 1526)³⁰
2. Seoljam 雪岑 (1435–1493, better known as Gim Siseup),
Jodong owi yohae 曹洞五位要解 (Essential Explanations on the *Five Positions of the Jodong* [Lineage])³¹
3. Author and date unknown,
Yu Seok jirui-ron 儒釋質疑論 (Probing the Doubts and Concerns Between Buddhism and Confucianism)³²
4. Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛休靜 (1520–1604),
Samga gwigam 三家龜鑑 (Paragon of the Three Teachings)³³
5. Unbong Daeji 雲峰 大智 (ca. 1606–ca. 1690),
Simseong non 心性論 (Treatise on the Nature of the Mind)³⁴
6. Baekgok Cheoneung 白谷處能 (1617–1680),
Ganpye Seokgyo so 諫廢釋教疏 (Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism)³⁵
7. Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一 (1720–1799),
“Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” 上韓綾州必壽長書 (A Long Letter Addressed to Pilsu of Neungju District)³⁶
8. Gyeongam Eungyun 鏡巖應允 (1743–1803),

Gyeongam jip 鏡巖集 (Collected Works of Gyeongam). Compiled are several short apologetic writings such as the “Non samgyo dongi” 論三教同異 (Discourse on the Similarities and Differences of the Three Teachings).³⁷

The above seven compositions of apologetic literature are listed in general order to give a sense of the evolution that extended from the start of the Joseon period almost to the end. Upon closer examination of the content, it will be noticed that they represent specific historical context, as will be demonstrated by the three writings translated below, each published at three distinct times in the history of the Joseon Buddhism.

The Three Historical Times of the Three Apologetic Literature

The three works translated below were published at three distinct times in the history of the Joseon Buddhism: (1) *Hyeonjeong non* is an early sixteenth century composition at a time when anti-Buddhist state policies began to have impact on the Buddhist community and painfully noticed by the monastics; (2) *Ganpye Seokgyo so*, an early seventeenth century piece published in a period of revival of the sangha and when new identities are formed and claimed; and (3) “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo,”³⁸ a latter eighteenth century composition published at a time marked by increased activity of the Joseon Buddhist community representative of an established Buddhism.

The first period marked by *Hyeonjeong non* represents a continuation of the Neo-Confucian polemics that continued from the end of the previous Goryeo dynasty. The start of the Joseon period represents the beginning of Confucian domination that sets the stage for the establishment of the influence of the Neo-Confucian ideology in the socio-political sphere. On account of this, the polemical attacks were consistent and pointed.

In spite of the active Neo-Confucian offensives, early Joseon Buddhist apologetic writings began to emerge relatively late and do

not seem to be a direct response to the late-Goryeo and early-Joseon anti-Buddhist polemics. Although Gihwa may have composed his *Hyeonjeong non* in response to Jeong Dojeon's *Bulssi japbyeon*, it was late in the sixteenth century between 1520 and 1540 that his writings were published and distributed. This was a time when the newly arisen Neo-Confucians held political sway in the royal court. In 1512, about a decade before the publication of the *Hyeonjeong non*, the system of governance of Buddhism (*seungjeong* 僧政),³⁹ structured on the basis of the two schools meditational (Seon) and doctrinal (Gyo), was suspended. Following this, in 1516 the section "Doseung" 度僧 in the *Gyeongguk daejeon* 經國大典 (National Code), which determined the criteria of a monk and outlined the monastic examinations, was deleted.⁴⁰ This measure was an indication that the sangha was no longer under the auspices of the state and therefore not under the protection of the state. The greater implication was that Buddhism lost its legal status within the Joseon state laws, and also its official recognition.

In such times, the perception of crisis among the monks would have inevitably been heightened, after which the publication and distribution of the Buddhist apologetic writings took place.⁴¹ The *Hyeonjeong non* together with the *Yu Seok jirui-ron*,⁴² have become the representative Buddhist apologetic writings of the early Joseon period. For instance, the *Hyeonjeong non* was first published in 1526 at Chocheonsa 招川寺 Temple and another publication of the same copy took place in 1537 at Yeon'gisa 煙起寺 Temple, both located in the Jeolla-do province. It was in 1544 that newly carved printing boards were used for the Seokdusa 石頭寺 Temple publication, an indication of the extent of the printing and thus the popularity of the *Hyeonjeong non* in the mid-sixteenth century.

The second period in which *Ganpye Seokgyo so* was published is during a time of revival of the various levels of Buddhism such as its educational curriculum, rebuilding of temples, and the publication of collected works of eminent monks (*munjip* 文集). It is also noticeably marked by formation of new identities and the establishment of a Buddhist community that was relatively independent from the state,

unlike in previous times when monks and temples were heavily dependent on the state for patronage, administration and legitimacy.⁴³

The third period when the last apologetic literature translated here, “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo,” was written can be roughly dated to the late-eighteenth century, when communities of monks may have reached the peak level of institutional stability and activity.⁴⁴ It was also a time of high degree of adoption of Confucian virtues into Buddhist thought and practice.⁴⁵ The three periods are distinct and reflect socio-historical situations in which the saṃgha was in different phases of development. Thus, as will be noticed, these works represent different responses and positions of the monastic community during the most contested time between Confucianism and Buddhism in Korean history.

3. The Authors and the Three Apologetic Writings

A. *Hyeonjeong non* by Hamheo Gihwa

The author of the *Hyeonjeong non* 顯正論, Hamheo Gihwa,⁴⁶ also commonly referred to by his dharma name Deuktong 得通, can be said to be one of the representative scholar-monks and an eminent monk of the early Joseon period. As alluded to earlier, Gihwa lived during a time when the power and prestige of the Buddhist world had been sustained but started to become unraveled by Confucian polemic attacks. It nevertheless was a time when the saṃgha had recently lost its high standing that it previously enjoyed under the patronage of the over-thrown Goryeo dynasty. Though not having completely lost its standing with the ruling royal family, it was a time when the newly emerging Confucian scholar-officials maintained their polemics against Buddhism as part of an effort to expand the influence of the ideology of Neo-Confucianism. It was an effort to sustain a campaign of polemical attacks against Buddhism in order to discredit it and to legitimate its replacement as a ruling ideology with Neo-Confucianism.

Gihwa was a direct disciple of Muhak Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405), the first royal preceptor of the Joseon dynasty, through whom Gihwa received the lineage of Naong Hyegeun 懶翁惠勤 (1320–1376), an eminent monk and royal preceptor of the late-Goryeo period. At a young age, Gihwa was a student at the National Confucian Academy (Seonggyun'gwan 成均館) where he progressed through the formal Confucian curriculum. After the age of twenty he entered monkhood at Uisangam 義湘庵 Hermitage and later received his tonsure from Muhak at Hoeamsa 檜巖寺 Temple in Gyeonggi-do province, also where he began his rigorous practice and study. In his later years, he travelled throughout the peninsula to teach at various temples and in 1421, at the request of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450), he travelled to the old capital of the Goryeo dynasty, Gaeseong, where he took up residence at Daejasa 大慈寺 Temple. Later in his remaining years, he took-up residence at Bongamsa Temple in Gyeongsang-do province starting from 1431 but passed away only two years later.⁴⁷

An important characteristic of monks, also evidenced in the Chinese monastics, was that they were well versed in Confucian and Daoist teachings and thought and did not limit their boundaries of interest to only within the Buddhist tradition. Gihwa was trained in a broad manner such that, although he was a Seon monk of the meditational school of the Jogye jong 曹溪宗, he studied the teachings of the doctrinal school of thought and he himself wrote extensively and left behind exegetical writings related to doctrinal issues. Further to Gihwa's syncretic approach, he emphasized that the three teachings, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, are in essence a single teaching that is manifest in different forms.

This perspective can be noticed in his various works that include the *Hyeonjeong non* and the *Hamheodang Deuktong Hwasang eorok* 涵虛堂得通和尚語錄 (Recorded Sayings of Reverend Hamheo), which included the core of his thoughts on Seon Buddhism. His commentaries on the *Diamond Sutra* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經), the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Bore jing* 般若經), and the *Chanjong Yongjia ji* 禪宗永嘉集, are works regarding

scriptures categorized as matters of the meditational school. In his writings, Confucian and Daoist texts are referenced and various other Buddhist sutras are cited.

The *Hyeonjeong non*, translated here, is written in the question-answer format in order to compare Buddhism with Confucianism and to explain the benefits and the misunderstandings of Buddhism. Its aim is mostly to defend Buddhism against wrongful criticisms by the Confucian scholar-officials, especially those that appeared in Jeong Dojeon's attacks.⁴⁸ A common theme of the *Hyeonjeong non* is that the two teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism are in essence corresponding teachings that are expressed differently. However, Gihwa inevitably points out the superiority of the Buddhist teachings over Confucianism.

The *Hyeonjeong non* can be divided into the following thematic arguments: First, Buddhism helps in cultivating the confused minds of deluded beings so that the original enlightened nature of people can emerge. Through this process benevolence is cultivated, which adds to improving the world. Second, Buddhism allows for the enactment of great filial piety not only in the present life but also in the next life. Third, Buddhism helps rulers to purify the mind of mental defilements and thus makes the mind pure, which helps in governing the people. By constantly praying for the wellbeing of the kings and the country, Buddhism manifests the virtue of loyalty.

Fourth, the teaching of not to kill living beings is not only the practice of the Confucian virtue of humaneness, but is also part of the Buddhist precepts and helps in the reign of rulers through virtue (*deokchi* 德治).⁴⁹ Fifth, the Buddhist concepts such as paradise and hell have the effect of preventing people from engaging in evil acts and encourages benevolent acts, and in this sense Buddhism is effective in edifying the people.

Sixth, Buddhism is charged as being a barbarian teaching and is rejected, an argument which is merely based on the claim that Buddhism originated from a different region and not on any basis of the Buddhist teachings. Seventh, if it is the case that the Buddhist clerics

teach benevolent dharma and thus cause the sentient beings to realize their original nature of goodness, it is perfectly fine for monastics to receive support from the laity. If there is any fault in individual monks, it is justifiable to punish those monks but is not justifiable to eradicate the whole of the teaching. Eighth, Buddhism is misunderstood if its teachings are rejected based on the claim that its doctrine is far removed from reality and is nothing but empty and nihilistic. Ninth, the three teachings, Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, are the same because the fundamental aim of the three traditions is the mind.⁵⁰

Starting from the introductory section, Gihwa emphasizes the correspondence between the two traditions and argues that the Buddhist doctrine does not differ from Confucian doctrine and that it also has the effect of edifying the people. For instance, Gihwa explains that the Buddhist teachings of the five precepts are in essence no different from the Confucian teachings of the five virtues,⁵¹ the foundation of the Way. It is explained that both teachings can be paired as in the following: “The so called five precepts of the Buddhists is what the Confucians refer to as the five virtues—Not to kill is humanity, not to steal is righteousness, abstaining from sexual indulgence is propriety, not drinking alcohol is wisdom, and not lying is trust.”⁵² Furthermore, just as the teachings of Confucianism edify and lead the people through the method of reward and punishment, Buddhism on the other hand makes the people follow the teachings of Buddhism with their hearts using the teaching of “cause and effect are accordingly enacted” (*in’gwa eungbo* 因果應報).⁵³ Thus, people are not forced but are led to do goodness out of their own will—a proof that Buddhism is the superior teaching, although the aims are no different from Confucianism.⁵⁴

In arguing that Confucianism and Buddhism are in essence the same, he takes a two-pronged approach: (1) Buddhist doctrine addresses and corresponds with basic principles of nature, no different from the nature of humans, (2) Buddhist doctrine corresponds with Confucian virtues and is thus mundanely significant. Firstly, the laws that Buddhism sets are regarding commonly shared nature, such that these laws are consistent with people’s innate nature. For instance,

the Buddhist precept against killing corresponds to the basic desire of sentient beings to live, which in turn accords with the very real and universal fear of dying. Gihwa asserts,

What had been unresolved became clear in my mind and I say, “[Not to kill living beings] is the action of a person of humaneness and the words of someone who has deeply realized the way of humaneness . . . In this way the myriad living things have received much mysterious brilliance. In having the desire to live and disliking death, what difference is there from humans?”⁵⁵

This serves as further evidence for the congruence between Buddhism and Confucianism where although Buddhism recognizes universal laws, they are often consistent with Confucian virtues and thought. Gihwa uses this synchronicity to emphasize the relevance of Buddhism in the mundane human world, namely for edifying the people and governing the kingdom, two aspects that are the foci of attention in Confucian thought.

Other examples of Gihwa’s argument that Buddhist doctrine is consistent with the Confucian virtues is regarding filial piety and loyalty, two of the most important virtues. Despite the teachings of Buddhism for enlightenment, Gihwa agrees that people should,

“Establish yourself [on a foundation of ethical life] (立身) for enacting the Way so that your name becomes known to the later generations and by doing so, your parents will also come to be known. This is filial piety to the end.”⁵⁶ The Buddha led all the following generations under heaven through the means of the Way.⁵⁷

In addition to this, Gihwa goes on to explain that Buddhist monks pray to ensure the wellness of the king and the prosperity and peace of the kingdom. Buddhist monks have been doing this through history, which is a proof of the loyalty of Buddhism to the throne.

A fundamental and important defence of the *Hyeonjeong non*

was against a long-held criticism of Buddhism that it was a barbarian tradition, also commonly used in Chinese anti-Buddhist polemics. In order to do this, the civilized and barbarian discourse (Kr. *hwairon*, Ch. *huayilun* 華夷論), which differentiates Chinese from the non-Chinese cultures, was challenged. Gihwa argues that to reject Buddhism based on the claim that it was a barbarian tradition is to make judgement based on an arbitrary geographical designation. He instead asserts that “The place where the Way is preserved is where the people have come to depend,” meaning that the criteria for deciding if a teaching should be accepted must be based on whether it came from the same place as where the true Way was preserved.

Gihwa also defended Buddhism against the criticism that Buddhism was the cause of the demise of kingdoms by arguing that the prosperity or decline of states was due to the waxing and waning of fortune and the cycles of eras. To assert that the decline of kingdoms was caused by the adoption of Buddhism was nothing but a gross refusal to figure out the reason for the decline in a responsible manner. To Gihwa, it was indeed Buddhism that edified the people, and its doctrine allowed for the cultivation of the people which in turn helped in the governing of the people. In this way, Gihwa emphasizes the commonalities in the principles and teachings of both Buddhism and Confucianism, and in doing so stressed the role and the contributions of Buddhism in the history and the social mundane realm of the Joseon society, underlying the imperative for the existence of Buddhism.

Although the *Hyeonjeong non* was completed before 1433, the year that Gihwa passed away, it was almost a hundred years later in 1526 that it was first published; after which it was often referenced in the discussions of Buddhist-Confucian conflict in the early Joseon period. The content of the *Hyeonjeong non* reflects the time of early Joseon during King Taejong (r. 1400–1418) and King Sejong's reign when anti-Buddhist policies began to be fully implemented. It was also during this time in the early half of the fifteenth century that the Buddhist apologists advanced critiques and counter arguments against the anti-Buddhist policies. For example a different composition also

titled *Hyeonjeong non* 顯正論 written by a Donggo Eunbu 東吳隱夫 (d.u.), and the *Yu Seok jirui-ron* seem to be composed at about the same time when there appears to have been efforts to counter Confucian polemical attacks and to argue against the implementation of anti-Buddhist state policies of kings Taejong and Sejong.

B. Ganpye Seokgyo so by Baekgok Cheoneung

Baekgok Cheoneung 白谷處能 (1617–1680) was a supreme supervisor of the eight provinces (*paldo dochongseop* 八道都摠攝)⁵⁸ and a lineal descendent of the great Buhyu Seonsu 浮休善修 (1543–1615). Baekgok was initially trained in the regular Confucian education at an early age, but after chancing upon a Buddhist scripture he felt that Buddhism was a true teaching and offered deeper insight which led him to pursue its teachings as a monastic. Despite entering the monastery he did not give-up learning about Confucianism and kept in touch with some well-known Confucian scholars, such as Shin Ikseong 申翊聖 (1588–1644). Baekgok was later recognized for his skills in poetry and literary composition by fellow monks and even by King Injo (r. 1623–1649) as being among a handful of recognized literary monks in the late-Joseon period (Hwang 2018, 279).

After entering monkhood, Baekgok went to seek instruction from the famed Byeogam Gakseong 碧巖覺性 (1575–1660) at Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺 Temple. Under his guidance Baekgok started meditational practices while also entrenching himself in doctrinal studies becoming Byeogam's disciple to eventually receive tonsure under him. In 1674, Baekgok was recognized as an eminent monk by King Hyeonjong (r. 1659–1674), who presented him with the title of supreme supervisor of the eight provinces. Despite the lofty title, Baekgok soon after retired from the post to devote himself to spiritual cultivation and establishing dharma assemblies for meditation and doctrinal study. He is known to have been active around the mountains Songnisan and Gyeryongsan in Chungcheong-do province. Throughout his life Baekgok travelled and resided at many temples located in various regions. He spent the most

time in residence at Daedunsa 大菴寺 Temple and Ansimam 安心庵 Hermitage. He passed away during this residence at Geumsansa 金山寺 Temple in 1680 after having formed a dharma assembly where many had gathered.⁵⁹

Takahashi Tōru (1877–1966), a scholar during the Japanese colonial period, also recognized the importance of Baekgok's *Ganpye Seokgyo so*. Takahashi makes specific reference to this text in his *Joseon Dynasty Buddhism (Richō bukkyō 李朝佛教)* and highly praises the work as follows:

Baekgok, a representative of the monastics of the entire kingdom, submitted the *Ganpye Seokgyo so* of 8,000 characters. It may be one of the longest and most extensive among the memorials of the Joseon period. From start to finish the power of the brush strokes do not lose intensity and is confidently composed. Despite the constant censure of Buddhism for 500 years of the Joseon period, it was a bold admonition from a monastic, which up to that time was not seen. Baekgok Cheoneung was skilled in literary and poetry composition that early on his name was well-known to the Confucian scholars. It was most likely because he was under the protection of a powerful family that such clear and admirable act was carried out. This memorial is an important material in the history of Joseon Buddhism.⁶⁰

Oppressive policies increased during the time of King Hyeonjong's reign, which lead Baekgok to compose the memorial. Such oppressive policies were adopted after an incident in 1660 when a female monastic slave became a nun, an opportunity used by the state as a pretext for prohibiting women from entering the monastic order, and for adopting the measure of forcefully disrobing nuns. It followed that in 1661 the two cloisters Jasuwon 慈壽院⁶¹ and Insuwon 仁壽院⁶² located inside the city walls but outside the palace grounds, were shut down.⁶³ In 1663, other than those temples that were exempted, harsh measures were applied where the harvesting fields, previously free from taxation and monastic slaves were confiscated by the state. Moreover, the royal votive

shrines (Naewondang 內願堂) located in the separate residences of the royal family members were forcibly shutdown.⁶⁴

The background to the implementation of these oppressive measures during King Hyeonjong's reign can be said to be related to the fact that the political faction that held sway in the royal court were stridently anti-Buddhist and enforced a Neo-Confucian mandate of rejecting heterodoxy. For instance, Song Jun-gil 宋俊吉 (1606–1672) who lead the public discourse expressed the thinking of the day and argued for the closing of nunneries. Song's thoughts were adopted when in the end the nunneries within the capital were dismantled and rebuilt for use as an examination hall on the grounds of the National Confucian Academy.⁶⁵

Baekgok, through the *Ganpye Seokgyo so*, expressed his grievances and attempted to explain Confucian misunderstandings and misperceptions of Buddhism. He explained and defended against six main criticisms of Buddhism as follows: (1) Because Buddhism originated in a foreign land, it is considered to be a barbarian tradition. This point is argued to be invalid given that universal principle transcends arbitrary designation of east and west, and thus, barbarian and non-barbarian. (2) Though the time of the Buddha is different, principle is constant and therefore, Buddhism is relevant at different times. (3) The third regards the Buddhist teachings of reincarnation, which is defended by comparing it to a seed that comes from a dead plant but germinates the following year. (4) Buddhism is criticized as being a burden on society, but Baekgok argues that if virtuous people are considered to be treasures, then through these virtuous people the people of the country will become comfortable and at peace. (5) Although Buddhism is accused of interrupting the administration of the country, if it is the individual monk who is violating the state law then only that individual monk should be punished and not condemn the whole of Buddhism. (6) Buddhist monks are accused of evading military labor. Baekgok argues that monks are the ones who supply the paper given as tribute to China, guard the Namhan sanseong fortress, and fought at battles to protect the country during the Imjin wars.

In other words, Baekgok argued against accusations that Buddhism deludes the world and deceives the people with false notions and as a result disrupts social morality. Buddhism is accused of not only burdening the economy of the kingdom but creating social problems. In response, Baekgok argues that despite the geographic and periodic differences, the principles of sagehood and the Way that was emulated by the Buddha are not different from Confucian ideals. In this way, just as virtue is the foundation to the ruler, cultivation to become a benevolent person is just as important as providing labor for the state. Baekgok also argued that punishing the monastics is a separate matter from the abolishment of Buddhism in general. Moreover, he argued that it is unjustifiable that Buddhism is suppressed and discriminated as a heterodox tradition given the essential functions of Buddhism in society. These included praying for the afterlife comfort of the earlier kings and queens, praying for peace for the kingdom, and not to mention the contributions of the soldier monks to the military labor and the goods that temples provide to the state.

Moreover, Baekgok contends that when considering history, there was not a country that did not have Buddhism, and given that Buddhism had a long history through the period of the Three Kingdoms and Goryeo period, it is obvious that Buddhism did not interfere in the ruling of the kingdoms. Taking the example of State Preceptor Doseon 道詵 (827–898)⁶⁶ and *bibo* temples,⁶⁷ Baekgok argues that temples and monks have been beneficial to the kingdom and emphasized that demolishing temples and disrobing monks will lead the kingdom away from peace and prosperity.

Lastly, Baekgok pointed out that to evict nuns from the votive shrines Jasuwon and Insuwon⁶⁸ and the confiscation of monastic slaves are actions that would have dire consequences. Baekgok mentions as a warning that continuous years of draught and failed crops occurred after the ancestral tablets of the earlier kings and queens were buried, and he called for the immediate cessation of such practices including the state policies of closing of temples and the demolition of votive temples. In this manner, Baekgok strongly argued against the anti-

Buddhist policies of Hyeonjong's time and highlighted that Buddhism has been the cause of benefits to the kingdom and society.⁶⁹

C. "Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo" by Yeondam Yuil

Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一 (1720–1799) was a doctrinal monk who was active from the mid to late eighteenth century at Daedunsa Monastery, and the surrounding area in the Jeolla-do province. Yuil is one of the most well-known monks in the lineage of Pyeongyang Eon'gi 鞭羊彦機 (1581–1645), recognized as the main lineage of Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛休靜 (1520–1604) line. Being a lecturer at the monastery, Yuil left behind many writings, referred to as *sagi* 私記. They are in essence commentaries on the sutras and treatises that were used as his personal lecture notes for the monastic curriculum (*iryeok gwajeong* 履歷課程), and came to have great influence on the development of the teachings of the lecture hall curriculum.⁷⁰

Despite being a Buddhist monk Yuil was recognized as an intellectual in a Confucian dominated society, based on his writings that drew not only on Buddhist ideas but also on the Confucian moral imperatives. Furthermore, in his later years Yuil held the position of the twelfth abbot of Daedunsa, and contributed to the development of Joseon Buddhism such as through the construction and raising the name and standing of the Seon and Gyo headquarters of the eight provinces, Pyochungsa 表忠祠 Shrine.⁷¹

Yuil was born in Jeolla-do and from the age of five started to study books of history and the Confucian classics such as the *Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the *Great Learning*. At an early age Yuil lost both of his parents and became a monk when he was eighteen years old at Beopcheonsa 法泉寺 Temple located in the region of Muan of Jeolla-do. At age twenty, Yuil eagerly searched out and visited the most well-known masters of his time seeking their wisdom. Yuil eventually meets Seon master Hoam Chejeong 虎巖體淨 (1687–1748) of the Cheongheo–Pyeongyang lineal clan. In 1750 Yuil started to lecture at Borimsa Temple of the Jangheung region and continued as a lecturer

for almost thirty years and became especially conversant in Hwaeom thought, and eventually held the role of the twelfth abbot at Daedunsa.

In 1768, Yuil takes residence at Mihwangsa 美黃寺 Temple in the Haenam region at which time he was able to focus on doctrinal studies and produced many annotations to sutras during this time. In 1777, Yuil was named the general over-seer of the Pyochungsa, located at Daedunsa, where memorial rituals were performed at the state level for Cheongheo Hyujeong and Samyeong Yujeong 四溟惟政 (1544–1610), the generals of the monastic righteous army who were recognized as having contributed to defending the Joseon kingdom during the Imjin wars. Yuil was eighty years old when he passed away in 1799 at Borimsa where he initially became a lecturer. Yuil's disciples and lineal descendants carried-on Yuil's tradition of the doctrinal school.⁷²

Yuil can be considered as one of the Joseon period eminent monks of the doctrinal tradition of Korean Buddhism. Other than his collected works, *Imharok* 林下錄 (Records of Imha), he has left behind other important compositions such as a compilation of scriptural abstracts, the *Jegyeong hoeyo* 諸經會要, and a dictionary of Buddhist terms, *Seokjeon yuhae* 釋典類解.

An important characteristic of his works is that there are numerous personal notes with appended commentaries containing his insights on the scriptures that have been included in the monastic curriculum of the late-Joseon period.⁷³ Also noteworthy of Yuil's many writings is his commentary the *Hwaeom yumanggi* 華嚴遺忘記, which is an interpretation of the notions in Hwaeom philosophy. Later these personal writings of Yuil came to be used as a general guidebook for scholastic studies and monastic education at the lecture halls. It is no surprise that late in the eighteenth century, Yuil came to be well-known as a master of scholasticism in the Hwaeom tradition.

Yuil placed heavy importance on human moral imperatives, no different than the Neo-Confucian scholar-officials. In this sense, Yuil accepted the same social values as the Confucian intellectuals of the eighteenth century and perhaps even transcended the Confucianism-Buddhism divide. Yuil's acceptance of the ideology of Sino-centric

orthodoxy (中華) can be easily noticed in his writings.⁷⁴

A general characteristic of Yuil's thought, and specifically in the "Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo," is references to China and comparisons of Joseon with the situations in Chinese history. One of the aims is to contrast the relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism in the Joseon period in comparison with the case of China. An argument that Yuil makes is that although Confucian scholars may have argued against Buddhism in China, they nevertheless accepted the similarities between Buddhism and Confucianism. However in Joseon, Yuil indicates that Confucian scholars have all argued against Buddhism even without much grounds to support their argument. For example, Yuil points out that although Buddhism provided the philosophical foundation from which Song Neo-Confucianism developed, as evidenced by Zhu Xi and other Confucian scholars who ardently examined Buddhism, the Joseon Confucian scholars stubbornly refused to study Buddhism and instead denigrated Buddhism and only entered into polemical bickering.

To give some specific cases, the notions of principle–pneuma (*i-gi* 理–氣) and nature of the mind of Neo-Confucianism as systematized by Zhu Xi were the outcome of the effects of Buddhism, yet Joseon Confucians were ignorant of this fact and simply criticized Buddhism as an heretical teaching. Yuil further argued that although Confucians criticized the Buddhist teachings of cause and effect and corresponding retribution, such ideas are also found in the Confucian classics. Nonetheless, Yuil asserts that these Buddhist notions make more sense when the glaring inequalities that are ever present in people's lives are explained as the result of accumulated karmic effects from past lives rather than based on the Neo-Confucian idea of Heaven's imbued differences.

Furthermore, Yuil, in the "Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo," attempts to clarify Buddhists notions that were often misunderstood by Confucians. One often misunderstood notion is the idea of transmigration and the transmission of karmic energy. Of course, in Neo-Confucianism, the afterlife was explained such that at the time of

death the *yin* and *yang* elements of the body disperse, “*yang* pneuma (*yanggi* 陽氣) rises and returns to heaven while physical substance of *yin* (*eumjil* 陰質) descends and becomes part of earth.”⁷⁵ Yuil explains that in Buddhism, the consciousness-mind (*siksim* 識心) functions as the main agent that transmigrates and carries the karmic energy to be transmitted from one life to the next life.

Another doctrine of Buddhism that is often misunderstood, according to Yuil, were the western Pure Lands (Skt. *Sukhāvātī*). Yuil argues that just because they are not visible does not prove that they do not exist, and that despite the evil that one has committed in one's life, this person is able to be saved if he or she chants the name of Amitābha Buddha. Yuil also recognized the value of the Confucian virtues agreeing that “Those with a heart who is extremely loyal to their sovereign, filial to their parents, and extremely humane, righteous, compassionate, and kind will be reborn there [in the western Pure Lands].”⁷⁶ In this way, Yuil emphasizes that not only by way of chanting the name of Amitābha Buddha but also through the Confucian virtues, a person is able to reach the Western Paradise of Buddhism.

4. Concluding Reflections

One of the common strategies employed by the Joseon Buddhist is harmonization and this was noticed also in the stance adopted by the fifteenth century Korean monk, Gihwa. This position was adopted early in the Joseon period by claiming that Buddhism also helped in edifying the people, and moreover, in the governing of the people. In this way, commonalities were emphasized that were also backed by the commonalities in the underlying principles and teachings of both traditions. This is what is referred to as “matching concepts” that was emblematic of the Sinification of Buddhism where the Buddhist teachings were reconceptualised into concepts and literary idioms that

were familiar to the Chinese, but in this case to the Joseonites.

An important characteristic of Joseon monks, like their Chinese and Japanese counterparts, was that they were well versed in Confucian and Daoist texts and doctrine and did not limit their boundaries of interest and study to only within the Buddhist tradition. For instance, Gihwa, although he was a Seon monk of the meditational school, had formal Confucian training at a young age, and later as an ordained monk took interest in the doctrinal school of thought while also leaving behind extensive exegetical writings related to doctrinal issues. Furthermore, Gihwa's syncretic approach is evident in his emphasis that the three teachings, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, are in essence a single teaching that is manifest in different forms.

The second Joseon period monk, Baekgok, is noted for his references to the relational history of Buddhism in Chinese history when Buddhism was patronized or suppressed by Chinese rulers. He comes to conclude that Buddhism assisted in the governing of society and, as a result, to suppress Buddhism is to bring about possible danger to the Joseon state and angering the ancestral kings. Baekgok added, in an effort to remind the scholar-officials, that great Chinese Confucian scholars such as Zhu Xi enjoyed reading Buddhist scriptures and argued for merely the state rejection of Buddhism but not a total abolishment of Buddhism from society. It is not a surprise that the time when Baekgok was active, some notable anti-Buddhist policies had been implemented and Baekgok's reaction represented the reaction that was evoked in the Joseon Buddhist community.

Similarly, the eighteenth century monk, Yuil's deep acceptance of values that are based on Confucian virtues, such as moral imperatives and integrity, are readily noticeable characteristics of the Joseon monks, especially of the later periods of the Joseon dynasty. For example, in one of his poems Yuil implies that the Chinese dynasties have lost the moral mandate but this mandate was continued by Joseon.⁷⁷ In another poem Yuil claims that with the taking over of the Middle Kingdom by the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), the orthodoxy of Sino-centrism has been transferred to the Joseon kingdom.⁷⁸ In view of Yuil's full acceptance of

the ideology of Sino-centrism, it is a significantly new development in comparison to the earlier time of Joseon.

By adopting such virtues that were current during the time and amalgamating them with Buddhist doctrine, Yuil was in a position to be rigorously critical of the actions of contemporary Confucian scholars. In the “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo,” Yuil charges that, contemporary Confucian scholars were so overly focused on the state examination that they have lost the original spirit of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Their minds have become preoccupied with learning secondary passages that they are negligent in studying the ways of putting to practice the teachings of the sages.⁷⁹ This brings to light the ills of the social conditions at the time when only fame and gain are pursued and the tradition of scholarship became corrupted.

Not only does Yuil argue that Buddhism was the fundamental teaching behind the development of Song Neo-Confucianism, which was stubbornly denied by the Joseon Confucians, Yuil, as a representative of a highly regarded monk of the later Joseon period, has managed to place himself in a position that afforded him to lay criticism on the Confucian scholars. It appears that towards the end of the later Joseon period there may have occurred a shift that monks were able to lay claim to moral authority such that the monks were able to lay criticism on the Confucian scholars.

Notes

- 1 Buddhism as “a way to salvation,” and “a way of life,” according to Zürcher, encroached on what traditionally was the territory of Daoism and Confucianism and so it is no surprise that there ensued some form of direct confrontation and conflict and eventually syncretism amongst the three traditions. Zürcher (2007, 1) claims, “Buddhism is not and has not pretended to be a ‘theory’, an explanation of the universe; it is a way to salvation, a way of life. Its introduction into China means not only the propagation of certain religious notions, but also the introduction of new form of social organisation: the monastic community, the *saṅgha*.”
- 2 The Buddha’s teachings were sought by Emperor Ming who sent imperial envoys to the west to seek and return with the teachings of the Buddha, an event spurred by the emperor’s dream of a golden man who appeared in his dream and proclaimed, “Now it is the right time for the great teachings to disseminate to the eastern lands” (*Yu Seok jirui-ron* vol. 1 儒釋質疑論卷上, H 7.263a09). This is also translated by Kaplan (Kaplan 2019, 167).
- 3 The historicity of the early introduction of Buddhism into China is discussed by Erik Zürcher in his book *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (2007, 22). It seems generally accepted that Baima Temple was built by the Emperor Ming on the return of the envoy with the Buddhist sacred books and monks. Some modern historians claim that the “official” introduction of Buddhism is a fictional story created in the 3th century. See Zürcher (2007, 22).
- 4 *Yu Seok jirui-ron* vol. 1, H 7.263b16–b19 (recited from Kaplan 2019, 168).
- 5 H 7.264a16–a17. Also, see translation into English by Kaplan (2019, 170).
- 6 Buddhism was introduced into Japan in the mid-6th century, although the exact date is contentious since the claimed dates are from historical records that were compiled much later than the claimed dates of the official introduction in Japan. See Yoshida (2003, 2–4).
- 7 See for example Sawada (1994) who takes a sample of the late Tokugawa Buddhist–Confucian polemical strife played out between a Renzai Zen master, Imakita Kosen 今北洪川 (1816–1892), and the Confucian scholar, Higashi Takusha 東澤瀉 (1832–1891).
- 8 *Samguk yusa* is a collection of legends, folktales, and accounts of history mostly

regarding the times of the Three Kingdoms in Korean history, and was written by a Goryeo monk, Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289). What was noted about the Buddhist missionary monks at that time were their supernatural powers in proselytizing the people of Silla. The first Buddhist missionary monks, Ado 阿道 (his historicity is questionable) and his fellow monks in Silla in the 3th century, came to be known for their supernatural powers—an often repeated way of proving the superior powers of Buddhism (Kim 2017, 314). For example when King Nulji's (r. 417–457) daughter become seriously ill, the monk Mukhoja was summoned who was able to cure the princess' illness. See McBride for a fully discussion on the arrival of Buddhism into Silla (2008, 14–15).

- 9 The traditional council of the Silla consisted of high ranking local noblemen who gathered in the mountain such as Geumgangsán and discussed affairs. The traditional power base was closely tied to religiously charged sites on the peninsula. See Bak (1997).
- 10 McBride also describes this opposition to the adoption of Buddhism by the “conservative aristocrats” as recorded in the *Samguk yusa*. Accordingly, McBride relays that this is the conventional understanding and rightfully challenges the underlying top-down adoption model of Buddhism and convincingly argues that Buddhism would have been popularly accepted before its official adoption in the three kingdoms of the peninsula at the time (2008, 215–216).
- 11 Kenneth Ch'en reasons that the extant text is a combination of early parts in the text that date to the end of the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220) while later accretions date to 4th and 5th centuries. See Ch'en (1973, 37–38). For a translation of this text, see ECH (s.v. “Mouzi lihuo lun”).
- 12 Ch'en (1973, 38).
- 13 The *Zhenzheng lun* 甄正論 (T 2112) is an apologetic treatise defending Buddhism against Daoist attacks and also refuting Daoist claims. It is a late 7th century text that is organized as a dialogue between a Daoist and Buddhist master by which arguments are made. The theory of *huahu* was based on the legend that Laozi went to India to spread his teachings of Daoism. See Jülch's (2019, 4–6).

Many Chinese Buddhist apologetic works prior to the *Zhenzheng lun* are preserved in the *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (Collection for Propagating and Elucidating Buddhism) (T 2102) compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) between 502 and 518, and *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded Collection for Propagating and Elucidating Buddhism) (T 2103) compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in 664.

- 14 Han Yu is a scholar and a poet and one of the Eight Giants of Literature of the Tang and Song Dynasties (唐宋八大家). He is well-known as one of the developers and precursor of Neo-Confucianism and is known for his anti-

Buddhist treatise (排佛論).

- 15 See Ch'en (1973, 225–226).
- 16 Muller (2019, 288–289).
- 17 Muller emphasizes the point that the Buddhist responses were relatively unrefined despite the increased Neo-Confucian rhetoric. See Muller (2019, 289). There were, however, Buddhist responses in the time from Zongmi and closely up to Qisong, such as by Zanning (919–1001), “Seng shilüe” 僧史略 (Topical Compendium of the Buddhist Clergy) and by Zhiyuan (976–1022), “Bosi Yu shuo” 駁嗣禹說 (Refuting the Discourse on Continuing Yu) and another by Zhang Shangying (1043–1121), *Hufa lun* 護法論 (In Defense of the Dharma). See Kaplan (2019, 22–24).
- 18 Kaplan provides a succinct summary of the Buddhist apologetic works of the Yuan and Ming Chinese periods (2019, 32–33, 37–39).
- 19 Ketelaar (1990, 19).
- 20 See Goulde (1985, 200–205) for a more complete description of this memorial penned by Bak Cho.
- 21 The neo-Confucian literati and scholar-officials were treading on possibly fatal grounds when they were harshly critical of Buddhism. That is because Buddhism was the legitimating ideology and closely identified with the rule of the monarch. Being critical of Buddhism and the Buddhist works (佛事) the monarch may sponsor can be interpreted as an attack on the monarch himself. In 1391, a memorial was presented to the king by a certain Gim Cho, a doctor in the National Academy, which advised King Gongyang to only worship his ancestors and not Buddhism, to laicize all the monks, to destroy the Buddhist schools of thought, and to confiscate the temples and their land and slaves. The king considered this memorial as a veiled attack on the ruling house and ordered Gim arrested and put in prison intending to find a way to have him executed (Goulde 1985, 197–198).
- 22 By the beginning of the Joseon period, the large powerful families had been successfully contained whereas the Buddhist temples were not so easily controlled. The power of the Buddhist institutions lay not only over large pieces of land and many slaves but extended over the masses through their power over otherworldly matters (Han 1983, 43).
- 23 Government edicts were promulgated in order to resolve this issue stating that only when there are three sons or more in a single family will a son be allowed to become a monk. (KS, vol. 112, “Baek Munbo yeoljeon” 白文寶列傳 [Biographical Record of Baek Munbo]).
- 24 The very last monk to hold this offices was the famous royal preceptor Muhak

- Jacho 無學自超 (1327–1405) and this office was not abolished until 1424. Muhak Jacho was a close advisor to King Taejo even before King Taejo became the founding king. After taking the throne, it was under the advice of Muhak that the capital was moved from the previous city of Gaeseong to Hanyang (Seoul).
- 25 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, *Taejo sillok* 1.40a [1392/7/20] (recited from Kim 2019, 294).
- 26 Muller (2015) provides the translations of both Jeong's attack and the Buddhist response by Gihwa, the *Hyeonjong non* 顯正論, and provides an insightful explanation of the Confucian-Buddhist polemics.
- 27 *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨, "Byeok idan ji byeon" 闢異端之辨 (*Sambong jip* 三峯集 9:26b–27b, recited from Kim 2019, 294).
- 28 This is referring to the teachings on the Way where the Way, within the context of the Joseon period, is an ideal description on how the people should live and how the society should be ruled to attain harmony and peace in society. A similar discussion on the descriptions of "religions" such as Buddhism and Confucianism as the "Way," "law," and "teachings" was done by Campany (2003, 300–307). I give a simple definition with a realization that the question of what is the Way, is not and easy one which has been grappled with by scholars of Asian thought for decades.
- 29 In other words, Buddhism needed to be removed from the realm ruled by the sovereign (*gunju* 君主) and is related to the affairs of heaven, principle, and benevolence. See Kim (2019, 301) for a discussion on the need to remove Buddhism from the public (*gong* 公) sphere but permitted to be active in the private (*sa* 私) realm.
- 30 An extensive annotated translation is done by Charles Muller (2015).
- 31 For a short discussion of the *Jodong owi yohae*, see Plassen's (2012) "From Apologetics to Subversion: Some Initial Observations on Sŏlcham's 雪岑 *Jodong owi yohae* 曹洞五位要解."
- 32 An English annotated translation is done by Kaplan (2019).
- 33 As the title itself indicates, *Samga gwigam* 三家龜鑑, this apologetic writing claims that the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism are each a paragon of teaching, are in essence not different but all lead the people to the Way (Kim 2012, 45–46). Though the *Samga gwigam* was written by Hyujeong, a Buddhist monk, he expresses a recognition of the other two teachings, Confucianism and Daoism as equally valuable as paragons in the teachings of the Way. Other translations of the title are *Axiom Mirror of the Three Teachings* or *Paragon of the Three Teachings*. See Jorgensen's (2015) translation.
- 34 For an in-depth discussion, see Kim (2021).

- 35 For a discussion on the *Ganpye Seokgyo so*, see Oh (2009).
- 36 This is found in *Imharok* (H 10.213c–287a). A full translation in Korean of the *Imharok* is available in Ha (2020).
- 37 A translation of the *Gyeongam jip* is done by Kim J. (2019).
- 38 The district chief Han Pilsu was an imperial censor, to whom Yuil sent the letter, was successful in his state official examination in 1756 and was appointed as a remonstrance official (*eon'gwan* 言官), whereupon he raised impassioned public debates regarding corrupt district official who did not fulfill their roles and on the incapable central government officials who were not able to operate the central government properly. Among other government posts Han held high official posts such as royal secretary (承旨) or inspector general who oversaw the Office of the Inspector General (Saheonbu 司憲府). The Imperial Censor, otherwise known as remonstrance official, remonstrated the king for any wrong actions and oversaw and condemned the wrong doings of offices.
- 39 A system of governance of Buddhism was a system of administration that included regulations for appointing abbots and granting temple lands. It was a continuation from the Goryeo period. It was also through this system that the state monastic examinations were administered, monastic ranks (*seunggye* 僧階) determined and monastic title (*seungjik* 僧職) appointed. See Son (2019, 83–85; 2019a, 240–241).
- 40 The *Gyeongguk daejeon* states in the section “Doseung” 度僧 in the chapter “Yejeon” 禮典, “The Seon and Gyo schools should conduct triennial monk examinations. The Seon school will give examinations on the *Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄 (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp) and the *Seonmun yeomson* 禪門拈頌 (Enlightened Verses of the Seon School). The Gyo school will give examinations on the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經), and the *Treatise on the Ten Stages* (Skt. *Daśabhūmika*, Ch. *Shidi lun* 十地論). Each school will choose 30 people through these examinations.” See Yang (2020).
- 41 Kim Y. (2009, 49).
- 42 The *Yu Seok jirui-ron* is an apologetic treatise written during the early Joseon period defending Buddhism from Neo-Confucian criticisms based on the argument of the harmonization of the three teachings (三教). Though the author is unknown some have attributed it to Gihwa 己和, since the arguments are similar to those of the *Hyeonjong non*. However, in view of stylistic differences between this and Gihwa’s other works, this attribution must be treated with caution. (It is available in H 7.252b–278c). An English translation and its examination is done by Kaplan (2019).
- 43 Kim S. (2020, 204–218) and Kim Y. (2020).

- 44 This is based on the argument that the number of eminent monk steles that are indicative of the high levels of institutional development and monastic wealth drastically increased to 51 steles in the early 17th century and increased even more in the 18th century. This argument is presented in Kim (2019, 226–230).
- 45 Walraven (2012) examines the Buddhist accommodation and appropriation of Confucian values and virtues such as filial piety. See also Kim S. (2014) who argues similarly that Buddhism has adopted Confucian funerary concepts and practices in the late Joseon period.
- 46 The translated original is available in H vol. 7, published in 1526.
- 47 *Hamheodang Deuktong Hwasang eorok* 涵虛堂得通和尚語錄, “Hamheodang Deuktong Hwasang haengjang” 涵虛堂得通和尚行狀 (H 7.250–252).
- 48 Gihwa’s *Hyeonjeong non* seems to be a response to Jeong’s criticism of Buddhism, especially to those contained in *Simgiri pyeon* 心氣理篇 and *Bulssi japbyeon* 佛氏雜辨 (Muller 2019, 18).
- 49 Rule by virtue is a method of governing the people by leading them through exemplary virtues, which can be compared to the heavy-handed method of the legalist who propounded the method of governing through enforcement of rules by punishment.
- 50 H 7.222–225.
- 51 The five virtues consist of humaneness (仁), righteousness (義), propriety (禮), wisdom (智), and trust (信).
- 52 H 7.217b2–c02.
- 53 *In’gwa eungbo* in the DDB is explained as “Cause and effect are suitably balanced. A good cause has a good effect, and a bad cause, a bad effect” (DDB, s.v. “因果應報”).
- 54 H 7.219–222.
- 55 H 7.220a.
- 56 *Xiao Jing* 孝經, “The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise,” 開宗明義. 立身行道, 揚名於後世, 以現(顯)父母, 孝之終也 (CTP, s.v. “Xiao Jing, The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise”).
- 57 H 7.219a.
- 58 This monastic title is sometimes shortened as *dochongseop* 都摠攝 but which is in full, *paldo Seon-Gyo sibyukjong dochongseop* 八道禪教十六宗都摠攝 (commander of the meditative and scholastic schools and the sixteen lineal schools of the eight provinces).
- 59 For more on the life and accomplishments of Baekgok, see Hwang (2018, esp. 276–284)
- 60 Tōru (2020, 629).

- 61 Jasuwon was originally known as Jasugung Palace where on the death of the king the queens were ordained and were able to live as nuns on the palace grounds.
- 62 Insuwon was a temple which was originally called Insugung Palace that was located on the palatial grounds where the queens who joined the monkhood in the later years lived.
- 63 In the first month of the second year of King Hyeonjong's rule (1661), the king ordered that the votive temples Jasuwon and Insuwon be demolished (*Joseon wangjo sillok*, *Hyeonjong sillok* vol. 1, "Haengjang" 行狀).
- 64 Tōru (2020, 633–634).
- 65 Gwon (1917, 212–213).
- 66 State Preceptor Doseon was a late-Silla Seon monk who was widely known for his "doctrine of protectorate temples and stupas" or *bibo satap seol* 裨補寺塔說. Because most of the materials regarding Doseon are not contemporaneous but are dated to a later time, information on Doseon is unreliable such that even the dates of his birth and death, while generally accepted, remain unverified. For more on Doseon see, Seo Yun-gil (1997, 132–139).
- 67 Seon master Doseon is known to have systemized *bibo satap seol* 裨補寺塔說 or the doctrine of protectorate temples and stupas which is the result of incorporating the ideas of *pungsu* 風水 with placing Buddhist temples and stupas at geomatically charged locations. This doctrine claims that using temples and stupas energy flow in the geographical features can be channeled so as to bring about auspicious events, to ensure the wellbeing of the people and stability of the state. See Choe (2009, 81–82).
- 68 There is a record in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* indicating that in the first month of 1661 King Hyeonjong ordered that Jasuwon and Insuwon be demolished (*Hyeonjong sillok* vol. 1, "Haengjang" 行狀).
- 69 *Daegak Deunggye jip* 大覺登階集 vol. 2, *Ganpye Seokgyo so* 諫廢釋教疏 (H 8.335–343).
- 70 The monastic curriculum (*iryeok gwajeong* 履歷課程) was introduced relatively late in the Joseon period, in the mid-17th century, as indicated in Yeongwol Cheonghak's 詠月清學 (1570–1654) collected works. From his works it can be gathered that the monastic curriculum at the time consisted of three stages: the fourfold-texts course (*sajip gwa* 四集科), fourfold-teachings course (*sagyo gwa* 四教科), and the final level of the great-teaching course (*daegyo gwa* 大教科). See Kim Y. (2020, esp. 116).
- 71 Kim Y. (2007, 27).
- 72 *Imharok*, "Jabo haengeop" 自譜行業 (H 10.283–286).
- 73 The monastic curriculum may have been established at the latest, by the early-

17th century. Historical records indicate that monastic education was first systemized through the monastic curriculum introduced in the mid-17th century, as noted in the collected works of Yeongwol Cheonghak. See Kim Y. (2020).

- 74 He was deeply invested in the pre-eminence of Sinitic culture, such as “the great righteous of the Spring and Autumn period” (春秋大義) and “the doctrine of honoring [the legitimacy of] the Zhou dynasty” (尊周論), that are based on the civilized and barbarian discourse that differentiated between the Chinese center and barbarian periphery. In another instance, his poetic phrasing, “*daemyeong irwol*” 大明日月, is a allusion to the greatness of the Ming dynasty that is compared to the bright sun and moon, a clear expression of his high regard for Ming and the underlying Sino-centric orthodoxy. *Imharok* vol. 1, “Chasa wonilsong yeokseon” 次謝元日送曆扇, (H 10.224).
- 75 *Imharok* vol. 4 (H 10.281c15–c16).
- 76 *Imharok* vol. 4 (H 10.283a14–a15).
- 77 *Imharok* vol. 1, “Sangdangyeong” 上棠營 (H 10.230).
- 78 *Imharok* vol. 2, “Ueum gujajeung daehui sangin” 又吟丘字贈大稀上人 (H 10.240).
- 79 *Imharok* vol. 4, “Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” 上韓綾州必壽長書 (H 10.281).

Exposition of the Orthodox

Hyeonjeong non 顯正論
by Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和

Hyeonjeong non 顯正論 is available at https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/view?itemId=ABC_BJ&cate=bookName&depth=3&upPath=Z&dataId=ABC_BJ_H0118_T_001&rt=R.

Introduction

[A1] Its essence¹ neither exists nor does not exist but pervades existence and non-existence. Fundamentally,² it is not of the past or the present, but permeates the past and the present. Thus is the Way.³ Existence and non-existence are caused by [original] nature⁴ and the dispositions of the mind,⁵ whereas past and present are caused by the cycles of birth and death. The nature of the mind is originally empty of any dispositions, but it is the deluded nature of the mind that gives rise to dispositions. In turn, it is the dispositions that give rise to gaps in wisdom, and when conceptual thoughts change, the essence of the mind also changes. Thus, all phenomena in effect become manifest and the cycle of birth and death begins.⁶ In the dispositions of the mind there exist defilements and purity, and good and evil. But it is through purity and benevolence that sages emerge and it is by way of defilements and evil that ordinary persons come to be. Therefore, know that if dispositions do not arise, neither ordinary people nor sages will come to be.

[A2] As for bodhisattvas, although the nature of their minds is already enlightened, the dispositions are not fully dissipated. That is why it is said, “enlightened, but still possess emotions of compassion.”⁷ The bodhisattva is thus, and it is all the more so in the case of [adherents to] the two vehicles.⁸ [Adherents of] the three vehicles⁹ are also the same, how much more so for humans and for gods, who are of two different classes of beings like humans and gods?

The Buddha is indeed awakened to the innumerable things and there is nothing that his wisdom does not reach. He is of utmost purity and the afflictions of his emotions have become exhausted. Therefore, what is said to be afflictions of emotions cannot be applied to the Buddha. That is why, aside from the Buddha, all other [beings] are referred to as having dispositions of the mind.

[A3] It is through the three vehicles and the five vehicles¹⁰ by which emotions are subdued and the human vehicle and the deva vehicle are by which defilements are eliminated. Through the three vehicles, purity and defilements are regulated. Whether it is purity that has become polluted, only after the defilements have been completely cleared can one enter the realm of great awakening.

The five precepts are the means by which one is reborn as human,¹¹ and through the practice of the ten benevolent acts¹² one is reborn as a deva. And, by way of the four noble truths and the twelve links of dependent arising¹³ one rises to the level of the two vehicles [of *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*] and then becomes a bodhisattva through the practice of the six perfections.¹⁴

If we examine the tripitaka,¹⁵ the message is simply that by eliminating the dispositions of the mind, the original nature of the mind will manifest. The dispositions that arise from the nature of the mind are like clouds forming in the vast emptiness. Eliminating the dispositions, the original nature of the mind becomes manifest, where the clouds dissipate and great purity [of the original mind] appears. The fact that the dispositions are light or heavy is like the clouds being clear or thick. Clouds being thick or clear are different but if light from the sky is blocked there is no difference. In this way, there is difference between emotions being light or heavy but if the brightness from the nature of the mind is obstructed then there is no difference. If clouds arise, the brightness of the sun and the moon is blocked and therefore there is darkness under the sky. If clouds disperse, light covers the great chiliocosm and the universe becomes visible.

[A4] If we compare the Buddha's teachings to this, it is like a fresh wind that blows away the clouds. Those who want to see the vastness but dislike the fresh wind are deluded; and those who want for oneself and others the clear vastness, but dislike our Way to enlightenment, are misguided. If every person is edified that they depend on this path and practice, then the mind can become rectified and the body cultivated. Through these means, households will be guided, the state will be well administered, and there will be peace under heaven. Those

whose faculties are superior can become bodhisattvas, *śrāvakas*, or *pratyekabuddhas*. Even those with inferior faculties can be reborn in heaven, and become a benevolent person.

If it were truly like this, then the world can always be governed. How is it so? If one is averse to retributions for evil acts then surely all evil deeds would stop. But, if not all evil acts are ceased, then at the least one evil deed will be avoided. If one evil deed is avoided then one punishment would be averted. If in a home one punishment is averted, then in a state, ten thousand punishments would be prevented. If fortuity is desired then one must practice all benevolences. However, although not all benevolences can be practiced, at least one benevolent act can be performed. Performing one benevolent act will bring about a felicitous outcome and if one such outcome occurs at home, then in a state ten thousand felicities would occur.

[A5] It is within the teachings that there are the five precepts and the ten benevolent acts for the people of the least spiritual capacity. Originally these were for the people of the lowest faculty, as aids for edification. If these can be fully practiced in earnest, then others will also benefit. Would this not be all the more so for the four noble truths and the twelve links of dependent arising, and even for the six perfections?

Confucians consider the five virtues¹⁶ to be the foundation of the Way. The so called five precepts among the Buddhists are what the Confucians refer to as the five virtues; not to kill is humaneness, not to steal is righteousness, abstaining from sexual indulgence is propriety, not drinking alcohol is wisdom, and not lying is confidence.

Edifying the People, with Cause and Effect

[A6] Confucians, in edifying the people, claim simply that besides virtuous actions of the ruler, governance and penal methods need to be used. The reason is said to be, “If the people are ruled by administering and controlled through punishments then the people will merely avoid punishment, and without any shame. However, if the people are led by virtue and regulated through propriety then people will learn to have shame and there will again be decorum.”¹⁷ However, leading the people by virtue and regulating them through propriety will not be possible if one is not a sage. The reason is, “Being silent but effecting results and giving rise to faith but with no words, this is due to virtuous actions.”¹⁸ However, when the people are led by administering and controlled using punishment, the system of reward and punishment cannot be avoided. That is why it is said, “Reward and punishment are important tools of the state.”¹⁹

[A7] To accomplish in silence and to trust without words have been a teaching of the Buddha since long ago. Thus it shows that it came down through the process of cause and effect. If it is accomplished by reward and punishment, it will be nothing more than superficial adherence but if it is accomplished by cause and effect, it will be from the heart. This can be witnessed in similar instances in the world today. How is that so? If encouragement is given using rewards and prohibition is enforced by punishments then people who stop their evil deeds have done so because they fear the danger of being punished. And, those acting benevolent are because of the benefit of the reward for being good. Because following the teachings like this is merely pursuing the superficial it is not sincere and is not heart-felt submission.

For instance, if people wish to know the reasons for their being poor or wealthy, uncover the seeds that were sowed long before, and if people desire to know whether their next life will be of misfortune or

fortune, then examine the present causes. The wealthy will be happy that they sowed benevolence in the previous lifetime, and the goodness will all the more give inclination. Those who are poor will regret that in the previous life they did not cultivate or give effort. If a person wants to come upon fortune in the next life, they need to be sincerely benevolent, then they will avoid misfortune in the next life and will surely avoid being evil. If people refuse to yield, then it will be so. However, to yield means to be sincere and yielding in one's heart, and not to merely abide superficially.

[A8] However, how would it be possible to have all people yield in their hearts? For those who are not able to yield in their hearts, if they are led for a short while by using rewards and punishments, their hearts can gradually be made to be happy and truly come to accept. That is why, other than the method of showing cause and effect, there is again a way to edify by using the method of reward and punishment. It is like saying, "Those who will readily accept with an open heart will do so, while those who will accept gradually will do so," as in the Confucian tradition. That is why the ways of Confucius and the Buddha [are useful and] both cannot be discarded.

When the Buddha was about to enter nirvana, he gave [a teaching on the] Way of enlightenment to the kings and ministers to lead all under heaven with this method—to be of great help in governing the world and for all to cultivate the true path. Our Buddha's teachings do not espouse being either a householder or a monk, but merely prevent people from deviating from the Way. It is not necessary to shave one's hair or don a monastic robe. That is why it is said, "Following expedient methods to escape the tethers is temporarily named *samādhi*,"²⁰ and further, that "Not having a pre-set dharma is called perfect enlightenment."²¹ The Buddha's mind is like this, so how can it be said to be a minor path?

However, if a person does not have the power of patience then it would be difficult not to be tainted while living in a defiled world or reaching enlightenment as a householder. That is why for such people, they are taught that becoming a monastic to cultivate is to distance oneself far away.

In Defence of Joining the Monastics and the Filiality of Monks

[A9] Confucians say that, a man has a wife and a woman has a husband by which family affairs are maintained and ancestor veneration rituals continued; this can be described as filial piety. These days Buddhist monks cease to marry, leave society, live in the mountains and forests, and put an end to posterity; how can this be called filial piety? One should arrange one's parents' bedding at night, greet them in the morning, and act on the physical needs of the parents. Also, one must give word to parents when departing and on returning home. These days monks, without letting their parents know, join the monkhood on their own. After becoming monks, they do not return home and are unable to offer even a nice meal while the parents are alive. Even on their passing, monks do not arrange a respectable funeral; how is this filial?

It is argued that, principle and expedient means are the great key points of the Way. If it is not principle, the constant Way cannot be protected, and if it is not expedient means then there will be no adaptation to change. Principle will protect the constant Way and expedient means will adapt to change and thereafter the great fulfillment of the Way will be attained. There will be nowhere that this is not possible. If it is not known how to protect the constant Way, then people's minds will not be corrected. If it is not known how to adapt to change, then great work will not be accomplished.

[A10] As humans, we depend on parents and inherit life, and we depend on the kings and the state to live-out our lives. When we enter our homes we are filial and when outside we are loyal to the king. These are what must be done as sincere subjects and children. Furthermore, marriage and ancestor memorial rituals are again the great duties of humans. If we do not marry, the principle that life is born from life

will cease, and if we do not perform ancestor memorial rituals then the custom of cherishing the merits of the ancestors will be lost.

Nonetheless, as subjects and children, it is difficult to be fully loyal and filial. To marry and to guard correctness until the end of life and to continue the rituals with regularity to the utmost is again difficult. However, one must be fully loyal and filial and guard this duty with earnest persistence and guard correctness constantly without stopping until the end of one's life. It is after this that while living, one's reputation will not be stained and after dying one will be reborn as a human. This is the effect of guarding the constant Way with principle.

However, this is no more than obtaining a good reputation while alive. What is indeed rare is being able to cease attachments and desires. Also it is no more than being reborn a human; the difficulty is escaping the cycle of samsara. Attachment is the root of samsara and having desires brings about rebirth. [A11] Being human, one is not able to avoid the ties of being a husband or a wife or a child. Then, how will attachment and desire be ceased? If attachments and desires have not been terminated, then how will samsara be escaped?

If samsara is to be severed, then first, attachments and desires must be cut-off. If attachments and desires are to be cut-off, then first having a spouse or a child must be avoided, and if a spouse or a child are to be avoided then one must depart the defiled world. Unless assisted by the compassion and great expedients of a great sage, would it be possible for a normal person to cut-off attachments and desires and escape samsara while not leaving the defiled world and not leaving spouse and child? It would be difficult to meet such a person in a trillion generations or even among a hundred million people. The effects of attachment are like a magnetized rock and iron encountering each other where if a person does not have patience, it would be difficult to escape the force while living in the defiled world. It is like Śākyamuni, the original teacher, who while residing in Tuṣita²² was the light-protecting bodhisattva and who descended and was born in the royal palace and named Siddhārtha. How could this have come about if Śākyamuni did not have the power of patience?

[A12] It can be said that the mysterious light, an envy of even the heavenly realms,²³ shines far and is able to melt away causal conditions. Although the causal conditions of attachment were circumvented, there were defilements from the causal effects of attachment. Although the Buddha was the son of the first wife of the golden wheel-turning king,²⁴ he wanted to be a model for the future world and entered the snowy mountains²⁵ without telling his parents.

Considering life lightly and with determination, the Buddha was steadfast and did not move. He waited for the defilements of his emotions to become exhausted and to emit a truly brilliant and clear light. Thereafter, he returned to his hometown to meet his father, and then ascended to heaven to give a teaching on the Dharma to his mother. This was an effort to help all reach nirvana. Like this the sage brought the people back to be one with the Way, by using the expedient means of adapting to changes.

The Buddha was a person who possessed all of the three insights²⁶ and the six magical powers.²⁷ His four wisdoms²⁸ and the eight forms of liberation²⁹ were complete. His merits permeated throughout under heaven and to the future generations. All the people under heaven and the later generations called the parents [of the Buddha] the great sage parents, and their surname is [the same for] all who join the monkhood—all are referred to as children of Śākyamuni. How can you not call this great filial piety? [A13] Did not Confucius say, “Establish yourself [on a foundation of ethical life]³⁰ for enacting the Way so that your name becomes known to later generations; and by doing so, your parents will also come to be known. This is filial piety to the end.”³¹

The Buddha led all the following generations under heaven by means of the Way. They heard the teachings and became edified, and according to the capacity of the person, the Dharma was bestowed in order to attain enlightenment. How can this not be called great compassion? Did not Confucius say, “If for one day you can overcome yourself and return to propriety, then humaneness will be restored in the world?”³²

Arguing the Loyalty of Monks to the King

[A14] [Confucians] say: People who are born in this world must give full allegiance to the king and with dedication protect the kingdom. These days monks do not inquire on the wellness of the Son of Heaven and do not serve kings and queens. They live comfortably far removed, idly observing the vicissitudes of life. How can this be called loyalty?

I respond: In the teachings it is said, to become a noble person one must first accept the precepts and purify the body and mind, and thereafter can ascend to kingship. Also, monastics light incense in the morning and candles at night, and offer prayers for the ruler and the state. Can this not be called loyalty?

Moreover, as a noble ruler, benevolence is encouraged through the reward of government office and evil is prevented through punishment. However, our Buddha has shown that being benevolent brings fortune and being evil brings misfortune. People who hear this will naturally abandon their evil thoughts and give rise to benevolent thoughts. Our Buddha's teachings do not use the power of rewards of government office and the threat of punishment but lead the people to be disciplined and naturally edified. How can it be said that this does not help the ruler of the state?

In Defence of not Killing Life

[A15] [Confucians] say: People consume food, and goods provide for the necessities of life. It is a natural process since ancient times. Especially for an aged person, meals that are served with meat are fulfilling. That is why when taking care of the aged, meat should be provided in meals. Furthermore, there is a custom of hunting for every season.³³ Because the ancient kings have led the people by averting what is harmful and establishing laws fitting to the seasons, it should not be changed. Moreover, in giving sacrificial offerings, pains have been taken and so rituals have continued up to now with meat offerings, which must be continued all the more. These days although monks are benevolent to the aged, they provide unpleasant meals without meat. Their teachings to the people moreover bring an end to the customs of the preceding kings and also the sacrificial rituals. How is this not misguided?

I respond: Viciously killing what Heaven has provided is not agreeable to the sages. Even more, Heaven's Way is immensely kind, then how is it that people are told to kill life to nurture life. In the *Book of Documents* it is said, "It is none other than heaven and earth that are the parents of all things. Humans alone are divine among all things. Among the humans the brightest become the leaders, and the leaders are the ones who become the parents of the people."³⁴

If it were that heaven and earth were the parents of all things then the life that is born between heaven and earth are all the children. The relationship between heaven and earth to all things is like parents to its children. There being differences between those who are foolish and wise among the children is similar to there being bright and dull among humans and all things.

[A16] Yet, although children are foolish and ignorant, regardless, parents nonetheless love and care for them and worry for their children

to be properly nurtured. How could they ever hurt them? Killing a life to raise another life is like killing one's child to sustain one's own life. Killing one's child to continue one's own life, could this be in the hearts of the parents? Indeed, to kill a child cannot be in the hearts of parents. Destroying each other, between human and living things, how can this be the intention of heaven?

Humans and all living things have received heaven and earth's vital energy and principle, and together they live in-between heaven and earth. Thus they have become one in vital energy and in principle. Then, how can there be logic in killing life to nurture life? It is like saying, "Heaven and earth and I are of the same foundation, and all things and I are of one essence," are the words of Buddhism. "A person of humaneness becomes one with the myriad of things of heaven and earth," are Confucians' words.

When actions concur with these words, the way of humaneness will be fully realized. In the medical manuscripts, paralyzed hands and feet are referred to as "numb."³⁵ Admittedly, hands and feet are small parts of the body but even when small parts are ailing, vital energy does not circulate well through the body. Humaneness is when the myriad living things between heaven and earth are integrated and become one so that not the slightest gap will exist. If a person has deeply appreciated this, it is only when even the tiny living creatures are not harmed that the person can be said to have attained the way of humaneness. Ezhu and Caoji are such people.³⁶

[A17] If it is not like this, then the energy between people and the myriads of things will be severed and there will be disharmony. Principle will be hindered and will not permeate all things, which is no different from the paralysis of the hands and feet. What is described in medical manuscripts reveals well the aspects of humaneness. The *Book of Odes* notes, "Having shot once, five hogs were killed."³⁷ The *Analects* says, "The Master angled, but did not use a net. He shot, but not at birds perching."³⁸ The *Mencius* says, "The noble person puts distance to the butcher's shop, because if the sounds [of butchering] were heard, then meat will not be consumable."³⁹ It is also said, "If fine

nets are not cast in the river then fish and terrapins will be too many to eat.”⁴⁰ All these [examples] do not yet exhaust the Way with respect to humaneness. Why are there not oneness in body [with myriads of things], as it has been mentioned?

The *Doctrine of the Mean* says, “Words reflect actions and actions reflect words. How can the noble person not be committed?”⁴¹ How is it that we are in the present situation? Although the humaneness that the Confucians have spoken of has been well enacted, it has not been carried out well. [For instance,] if it were desired from the beginning that only a few [animals] were to be killed, then why use arrows? And although they were pitied, why were animals shot that were not perching? Also, the butchering shop is located far away but then why is meat still enjoyed? And, although small animals are pitied why are bigger animals intended to be butchered?

[A18] The Buddha has set as the foremost precept not to kill living things. Based on the mind of compassion and the law of karma, one should not consume meat. The scriptures say, “As the Buddha has said, people who consume meat are not being fully compassionate. Always, their lives will be short and their bodies with many illnesses. They will be deluded and fall into the cycle of rebirth and death and will not attain enlightenment.”⁴²

The reason that the Buddha carried a small filter [for drinking water] is because of fear that small living creatures would be killed [inadvertently]. During the time of the Buddha, two monks on their way to see the Buddha became thirsty and, while passing a large empty field, they happened upon [a pool of] water with insects. The one monk said, “If we see the Buddha that is all that matters, so how can there be wrong-doing in drinking the water?” and drank the water. The other said, “The Buddha’s precepts say not to kill living things. If the Buddha’s precepts are violated in seeing the Buddha, how is there benefit?” He held back from his desire and did not drink the water. This monk, after he died was reborn in heaven and received praise when he met the Buddha. His actions were the manifestation of the true words, which is fitting for a humane person, and correspond to the teachings

of “[All things] are one with oneself” and “One must be devoted.”

[A19] Before I left the householder way of life and became a monk, there was a monk named Haewol. He read *The Analects* to me and he reached the passage that said, “Dedicating oneself and saving sentient beings were considered difficult even by Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun.” The annotation reads, “Humaneness is to consider all things under heaven to be one with oneself.” Coming upon this line Haewol put the book down and inquired, “Was Mencius a humane person?” “Yes,” I responded. Haewol then asked me, “If that is so, are fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine ‘all things?’” To which, I responded, “Yes.”

He then asked, “‘Humaneness is to accept that the self is one with all things of heaven and earth.’ These are words that accord with principle. Mencius is sincerely a person of humaneness but referring to the fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, how can he agree that although these animals are raised by people, it is okay for people who are seventy years old to consume them?” At the time I pondered over this but could not answer. I examined many scriptures but there was no argument that claimed killing of living things accords with principle. I inquired after senior scholars but no one was able to resolve this issue clearly. For a long time, I have been unable to come to a resolution although the issue has been with me.

In the *byeongja* year (1396), I travelled to Samgaksan Mountain and came upon Seunggasa Temple where I spent the night talking with an elder Seon master. As we conversed, the Seon master explained that, “In Buddhism there are ten important precepts but the very first is not to kill living beings.” What had been unresolved became clear in my mind and I said, “[Not to kill living beings] is the action of a person of humaneness and the words of someone who has deeply realized the way of humaneness.”

From then on I did not doubt the [close] relationship between Confucianism and Buddhism. [Upon this realization] I composed a poem.

[A20] Having always heard the classics and the histories, and the critiques

of the Cheng (brothers) and Zhu Xi,
 Not realizing the Buddha's [words of] what is right and wrong,
 Having reflected over the years and thinking for long,
 Finally I came to know the truth and have come to rely on it.

[Animals] that live in nests know when the wind will blow and those that live in burrows know when it will rain. Spiders know how to spin webs and tumblebugs know how to roll [balls of] horse dung. In this way the myriad living things have received much mysterious brilliance. In having the desire to live and disliking death, what difference is there from humans? Being afraid of the sound of knives scraping bones and hiding, shaking [in fear] when about to be killed, with eyes staring wide and whimpering—how can they not resent and direct rancor at their attackers? People do not know; people have not realized that humans and the myriads of living things are interconnected, and so even while effecting each other, people continue to kill animals. How is it that a wise person, while realizing this continues to kill animals? On weighing my taste pleasures with the endured suffering, the lightness and heaviness of pleasure and suffering can be clearly fathomed.

If it is considered that the teachings of cause and effect that one's actions bring about an outcome are absurd, then [one can only] resign to the eventual effects of the person's karma. However, if those teachings are true, then how difficult it would be to accept the coming suffering. How can one not be wary?

[A21] Even though the seasonal hunting was legislated by the ancient kings, there are places in the great mountains and the islands of the ocean where hunting has not reached. People and animals flourish and live-out their lives, separately and safely in their places. On recognizing this, how can people claim that it is absolutely by way of hunting that they can manage the animals? The people of ancient times taught, "Do not besiege the animals and do not capture them all at once."⁴³ This was said because it was unavoidable despite knowing that killing is wrong. In most cases, the unavoidable may be justifiable, however it will not necessarily accord with principle. If it does not

accord with principle how can it be a conventional practice?

In the *Book of Changes* it is said, “The ancient people were bright and wise and had divine martial power, but the people who did not kill [the animals] were these people.”⁴⁴ In most cases, hunting during the four seasons was a way for the saintly people to exhibit their divine martial power. Other than that, these skills were only for the purposes of deterring foreign bandits. How can it be that killing living beings was the intention? This was merely a great expedient for these people. We can see that hunting is the same as saving one’s sister-in-law who has fallen into water by holding her hand. Holding the hand of one’s sister-in-law who has fallen into the water to save her would be merely a temporary expedient. How can it be a normal practice?⁴⁵

[A22] Moreover, for ritual sacrifices, if a person enjoyed meat while alive, it was justified to prepare meat for memorial ceremonies. However, like adding water drops to ice which increases the ice, [ritual sacrifices] will add to the accumulation of transgressions.

In the days of the old, there was a person who killed a lamb for a memorial ritual for his ancestors. In his dream the ancestors appeared and prevented him from doing this—this was a sign. From this viewpoint, a sacrificial rite may be said to be a customary ritual but it is correct to discontinue it.

On the Critique of not Drinking Wine

[A23] [Confucians] say: Alcohol is medicine that people can enjoy together. It brings about balance in the blood circulation that will stop debilitating illness. Also, at memorial rituals, it is with wine that the spirits are invited to descend, and so it cannot be discarded. Currently, the Buddha's precepts prohibit [wine], and it cannot be bought or consumed [by monks]. How is this not unfortunate?

I respond: Alcohol causes confusion in one's spirit and the loss of virtue and, moreover, it is harmful to the Way. For this reason the vinaya points out thirty-six transgressions. Even Confucians have highlighted the dangers, "Internally the convictions of the mind are weakened, and externally one loses dignity in action."⁴⁶ This reveals the severity of the transgressions. Internally, by weakening the convictions of the mind, it interferes in self-cultivation, and externally, because of the loss of dignity, it interferes in edification of the Way.

Not only that, there is no benefit to oneself and others, there is no end to bringing disaster and misfortune. That is why Yi Di,⁴⁷ after offering wine to Yu the Great,⁴⁸ was banished by Yu and it is the reason why an arhat after drinking wine was scolded by the Buddha. The reason Yu distanced Yi Di and the reason why the Buddha scolded the arhat is because wine makes people licentious, crude, and fall into temptations, and thus brings about disorder. It also harms the body, distorts the Way, leads kingdoms to perish, and [societies] to lose order.

[A24] The *Book of Rites* instructs that when making an offering to the spirits of heaven and earth, the person must initially perform several days of purification and then perform the rituals for a day. In the purification process, wine with fragrance is not drunk and by practicing devotion, purity is attained. If devotion and purity are not utmost, the spirits will not partake in the ritual meal.

In the Buddhist purification process, one's devotion is expressed

by being fully sincere and without distractions, and to become pure, one must avoid impurity throughout one's life. [However], if this was performed for merely several days, then how much closer would heaven and earth be? If it is known that purification is effective then why should it be performed only for several days and ceased? And, several days after when there is no ritual to perform, is it fine to be careless? This is the difference between Confucianism and Buddhism.

Reply to the Criticism of Alms-Giving

[A25] [Confucians] say: Valuables and wealth are what people depend on for livelihood. Indeed, it must be used with moderation to preserve it and to not squander it. By doing so it can be passed down to descendants so that ancestor rituals will not cease or fall into degeneration. Currently the Buddha's followers, different from the four classes of people,⁴⁹ do not contribute towards matters of the kingdom. Moreover they overemphasize to the people the rewards of alms-giving so that they will donate all their wealth to support Buddhism and in the end drive them to poverty and starvation and to shiver in the cold. How is this not excessive?

I respond: If valuables and wealth are coveted for a long time then they become instruments of misfortune. To give alms purifies the mind and is a way for attaining fortune. Does not Confucianism teach or say, "If wealth is concentrated then the people become scattered, but if wealth is spread then people come together?"⁵⁰ The reason why the Buddha advised the people to give alms is not so that the people will gain fortune. It is merely to make their minds pure by making the people abstain from coveting wealth.

The Buddha admonished the monks regarding the three constants that need to be made inadequate. These three are clothing, food, and sleep. Early on, this was taught to the disciples. Then, how could it be [said] that the Buddha suggested to the people to give alms in order to collect clothing and food from them. If the intentions were for clothing and food then how could his teachings have continued to today. Especially, with regard to the teachings on reward, how could it be only in our teachings?

[A26] The *Book of Changes* says, "If virtue is accrued then one will enjoy good fortune, and if evil is accrued then one will face misfortune."⁵¹ Again, in "The Great Plan"⁵² it is said, "If humans are one with

the August standard⁵³ then Heaven will reward with the five forms of fortune⁵⁴ but if humans transgress from it then Heaven will punish with six forms of calamity.”⁵⁵ This is indeed retribution. This is the retribution for the living whereas after death the body will transform but the mind will exist as is. The retribution for good and evil is such. The Buddha has said, “Though hundreds and thousands of kalpas may pass, accrued karmic energy does not disappear and when the right conditions come together the retributions for those karmic energies will be received.” How can it be said that Buddhism deceives the people?

Teachings about Transmigration and Retribution

[A27] [Confucians] say: When a person is born, it is through *yin* that his or her qualities are received and it is through *yang* that vital energy is received. One portion of *yin* and one portion of *yang* combine to become the celestial and the terrestrial spirits, [respectively],⁵⁶ that form the human body. When the body dies, the celestial spirit ascends whereas the terrestrial spirit descends into the soil in separate forms. In general, the reason that people have discriminating understanding⁵⁷ is because of the mind. The mind resides over the body which formed from combining the celestial and the terrestrial elements. Upon death the vital energy together dissipates and once again there is no form and the spirit resides in a far and empty place. Who is there to receive the fortune or misfortune.

Now, the monks make heaven to be a place of happiness and hell to be feared and have mislead the people. Heaven is deep blue within which merely the sun, moon, and the stars exist. On earth exist soil and the rocks together with humans and all the other sentient beings. To say, “There is something that continues [in humans] so heaven and hell should not be forgotten.” How is this not deceptive?

[A28] I respond: Truly, it is *yin* and *yang* that the people depend on to be born—*yin-yang* come together for life to be imbued and when *yin-yang* disperses, it is death. If it is true wisdom⁵⁸ that existed from the time of birth then this wisdom has arisen not based on the body, and its absence is not due to the body. Though the body may change a thousand or ten-thousand times, wisdom exists independently.

Generally, the mind has two aspects: the true mind and the corporeal mind. The corporeal mind is the original source⁵⁹ of the celestial and terrestrial elements of the spirit and the true mind is referring to true wisdom, and this mind that is true wisdom is unlike the corporeal mind. The mind is the presider over the body, and the body is directed

by the mind.

Matters that are good and evil are resolved by the mind, as the ruler, whereas the body, as the vassal, carries out the orders. Regarding retributions, although life is obtained equally by the ruler and the vassal, at death the vassal, as the body, is free from the retributions but the ruler, as the mind, will receive them solely.

[A29] The *Book of Odes* claims, “King Wen⁶⁰ ascends and descends and resides on the left and the right of the Lord-on-High.”⁶¹ What ascends and descends is the numen that resides in heaven. In ancient times there was a brilliant mind called Wang Huaizhi.⁶² From a young age, he did not believe in the Buddhist teachings. One day he died but came back to life. He explained, “Before, I used to say that the body and the spirit would perished together. Now, I have come to realize what the Buddha has said, that the body expires but the spirit continues. I now believe that this was not a lie.”⁶³

Moreover, a person of the Song era, Li Yuan, was friends with a monastic named Yuanze. They made a promise that life after life they will continue their friendship. One day when they were together, Yuanze saw a housewife fetching water and said, “That woman’s surname is Wang and I will surely become her son [in my next life]. After twelve years let’s meet outside of Temple Tianzhu in Hangzhou and affirm our fidelity.” Upon getting old Yuanze eventually died. On reaching the twelfth year, Li Yuan as promised, went out to the [promised] place. At the edge of the Gehong River he heard a shepherd boy playing on a cow horn and singing:

For three lives, dwelling on rocks as an old spirit,
Under the moon reciting [poems] in the breeze,⁶⁴ there is no need
for debate.
It is embarrassing since a close friend has come from afar to visit,
This body is although different, the [inner] nature has long remained
the same.

[A30] When the two met [the shepherd boy] said, “Respectable Li is a

truly trustworthy scholar.” Again he sang;

Before and after life, those matters are closely connected,
 Wanting to talk about [our] past affinities,⁶⁵ the fear feels like
 [it is] cutting-up my entrails,
 Having already visited the mountains and streams of Wuyue,⁶⁶
 [I will] turn the boat’s bow into the fog to return to Qutang.⁶⁷

Similarly, Yang Hu became the son of the Li family, and the son of the Wang family became the grandson of the Cai family. When I saw this record before, I composed a verse for Yang Hu and the Li family as follows:

Yang Hu and Li are merely one person,
 Going and returning are not different paths.
 Who could have known that a seven-year-old son
 After dying will return within five years.

[A31] [I wrote] a verse for the Wang and Cai families as follows:

Long ago he was the son of the Wang family,
 Now, he is the grandson of the Cai family.
 If not for a mark of ink,
 The discussion of similarities and differences become muddled
 and confused.

If several of these cases are observed then you will clearly understand that spiritual luminosity does not accord with changes in the body. How can saying that, “People die and the body and the spirit together perish,” not be ignorant?

Regarding heaven and hell, they do not originally exist but are caused by people’s karmic effects—the two have naturally come about this way. Confucius has once said, “It has been long since I saw the Duke of Zhou⁶⁸ in my dreams.”⁶⁹ Generally, dreams are the workings of

people's spirits and not what the body has produced. That Confucius met the Duke of Zhou in his dreams was because the way of the Duke of Zhou was in the mind of Confucius everyday and has merely followed the same way.

That is why the spirits naturally responded to each other in that way. Indeed, people are like this such that if everyday either good or evil are acted out then those who are benevolent will see glorious things in their dreams, and those who are evil will suffer disgrace in their dreams. The reason is that those who are benevolent, on account of their efforts, only righteousness follows. Those who are evil, on account of their greed, only seek profit.

[A32] Benevolent people only follow what is righteous, that is why they do what is proper in all situations, but because evil people only pursue profit, they do what is wrong in all circumstances. Because matters of the benevolent people are proper, other people indeed regard them as benevolent. Because matters of the evil people are contrary to righteousness, other people indeed consider them to be evil. In the case of the benevolent people, because other people consider them to be benevolent, when they rise in ranks they increase positions of office and wages [for others]. As for the evil persons, because other people consider them evil, when they rise in ranks they give more penalties and punishments. Because of this, benevolent people with many others gladly work to attain prosperity, while evil people are anxious of their wrongdoings and scheme to cover-up their faults.

The habits of good and evil and the emotions of joy and disdain are all accumulated in the mind.⁷⁰ That is why glorious things or disgrace can be experienced in dreams. Spirits can travel forward but cannot return, which is what happens with the afterlife. This is what the benevolent person experiences as heaven, and the evil person experiences as hell. Even if we consider that heaven and hell do not exist, people who hear of them will yearn for heaven and pursue benevolence or disdain hell and stop being evil. With words of heaven and hell, the people are edified and the benefits will be immense.

[A33] Given that heaven and hell exist, benevolent people will

surely ascend to heaven and evil people will fall into hell. That is why having the people hear this, the benevolent people will strive and come to enjoy heaven, and evil people will cease their evil ways and avoid entering into hell. Then, why say that heaven and hell should be done away with and claim that they are misleading?

Response to the Criticism of the Buddhist Custom of Cremation

[A34] [Confucians] say: In the human world, sending off the dead is an important event. That is why to those who have suffered the death of a parent, it cannot be considered to be trivial. The sage's teaching to "perform funerals with firm dedication, and commemorate the merits of the ancestors with vigor," was to show its importance. The reason for performing funerals with dedication can be compared to a deeply rooted tree whose branches and leaves flourish and bears many fruits, but on a tree with shallow roots the branches and leaves are constrained and there is no fruit. The parents of a son are like the trees where fruits will bear and the sons are the fruits of the tree. That is why it is said, "The father's transmission through his son is like the tree's transmission through its fruit."

Therefore, upon the death of a parent, one must search and obtain a proper site, dig a deep pit and perform a sincere funeral; Plant many trees around it and have water gather near-by [the grave]; and make sure the *yin* energy is deeply grounded to store the energy. The soil should be thick and heavy and ensure that water does not seep into the grave. This way, sons and grandsons will propagate and ancestor veneration ceremonies will not cease. These days the disciples of the Buddha do not reflect on this principle and foolishly preach the ways of cremation and lead the people to have no descendants and stop their lineage. How is this not a grave mistake? At the funeral during the cremation, if they had the heart of a son, how can they watch this happen? Consequently they delude the people and their transgressions fill the heaven.

[A35] I respond: Generally what is considered a person possesses a body and spirit. If we are to make a comparison then the body is like the house and the spirit is like the owner. When the body dies, the spirit leaves just as when the house is destroyed, the owner can no

longer dwell in it and leave. The house is built using dirt and wood and it is ornamented with a mixture of trifle things. People regard it as themselves, and are attached to it, yet they are unaware of its coarseness. Although they see its flaws it is quickly forgotten and are not able to depart far from it.

With respect to the body, its form is made from a mixture of water and earth while fire and wind maintain its qualities. Inside it various foul elements are stored and impure fluids overflow but the people protect it as if it were more valuable than gold or jade. How would they make the mind dislike and to depart from it. When death comes, fire and wind first depart but soil and water remain. That is because soil and water were attached to [the body] and protected it. Therefore, it is not possible to suddenly forget and leave it without any inhibition. The wise have set fire on soil and water and pointed out the path [for the spirit] being reborn in the Western Paradise. Such a spirit would again have no thought of attachment like glue or arrowroot, and like transcendent purity will be clear and ascend.

Therefore, our Buddha, the World Honored One, when he suffered the death of his father, he carried the brazier [to light the funeral bier] while the four heavenly kings⁷¹ carried the casket and the arhats⁷² gathered firewood and the body was cremated. This allowed his father's spirit to become clear and ascend to become reborn in heaven.

[A36] When Huangbo Yungong⁷³ was sending off this mother [to the next world], he confided in the Buddha and called out to him. Then he threw the flame [into the bier] from across the river. His mother who was inside the fire transformed and became a man and the body rode a great bright light and ascended to the heavenly palace. On both sides on the hills, all the people saw this and they all considered it as fantastical. The name of the river had been Fortune Stream (Fuchuan) but the state office changed the name to the Great Righteous Crossing (Dayidu). From this it can be seen that the method of cremation allows the people to leave what is foul and go to a pure place. The spirit will become purified and travel far which is a way to help in going to heaven and being reborn in paradise. It is a widespread method that is bestowed onto the

world.

If you cannot bear to perform a cremation then how can you stand to bury the body in a pit in the ground? Currently, there is at the foot of big mountains many old graves on hills in large fields, but the places are mostly tilled by farmers and skulls are scattered about like the stars. They bake in the sun and roll around in the wind but there is no one to tend to them and to store them. In the beginning, grave stones were raised and trees were planted which beautified the land. The descendants flourished and the ancestor veneration rituals never ceased. How did this current situation come about?

[A37] Before birth, the five aggregates⁷⁴ are all empty and the six sense organs⁷⁵ are pure. If not even a single thought arises, then although the spirit resides in the world abiding in form, the spirit dwelles outside of this realm. Clear and transparent it merges with the empty expanse. Deep and profound like water, and just like existing bodies, is an apparition. Therefore, its transformation [cremation—burning of the body] is like bursting of a cyst or washing away dirt, or it is like being released from being tied or escaping from shackles. It is like a bird leaving its cage or a horse leaving the corral. It is like traveling the great seas, self-sufficient and traveling as one wishes, or living life freely departing or residing without hindrance. What attachments would the mind have to the soil and water?

People distinguish [burials] as, exposed [to the elements] burials, cave burials of entombing [the body], digging a hole in the earth and burying the [body] in a pit, and cremation. [In all these cases] bugs can feed on the body or there may be no place to give offerings, and all are possible. That is why Bodhidharma's burial at Xiong'er Mountain and the whole body of the Sixth Patriarch remain in the world [mummified]. Master Puhua passing with the tinkling of bells, and Master Qingliang instructed that his body be fed to the animals in the woods. All these outstanding people left behind highly regarded stories, victorious stories of forgetting the self. Apart from this, one should not forget that form is not the self. Hence one must pass through cremation, and thereafter one's spirit will be pure and rise with no obstruction.

[A38] When a person dies distant from one's home village, and this person's bones are gathered and cremated, his [or her] subsequent moral prestige will be high in the world and great expectations will return to this person. His [or her] descendants will flourish and ancestor memorial rituals will continue uninterrupted. Those who say that the merits of cremation do not reach one's descendants are being overly concerned about their own personal profit and are highly calculating. Do not wrongly make claims about retributions [from good or evil deeds] given by the spirits of heaven and earth⁷⁶ based on unfounded words.

Defending the Discourse on the Cause and Effect of the Three Worlds

[A39] [Confucians] say: The birth and death of people is non other than their start and their end. That is why Confucius only talked about birth and death and did not talk about before [birth] and after [death]. However, the Buddhists talk about before and after birth and death and also the interval between death and rebirth and call it the three worlds.⁷⁷ Generally, these worlds before birth and after death have never been experienced through hearing or sight. Who would have ever actually seen it? By such means people are seduced. How is this not deceitful?

I respond: Birth and death are rather like the alternation of night and day where if there is alternation then there naturally arises what comes before and what follows. Day comes when the night passes and the day proceeds, and night returns after. Similarly, previous to the night, day has passed and the coming day follows after. Combining day and night naturally forms into the three time periods. Days and nights being this way, the seasons will also be so, and the seasons being thus, life and death will be so. Therefore, the past without beginning and the future without end can be known.

The *Book of Changes* says, “[Changes] enlighten the past and survey the future.” And “[Words] elucidate the retributions of gain and loss.” With respect to the words, “going” and “coming,” how could they not refer to “before and after [life]?” To say that the discourse on the three worlds is deceitful is the result of not having fully thought of this.

Countering the Critique against Buddhism as a Barbarian Tradition

[A40] [Confucians] say: The only Way in the world that we need to comply with is the Way of the five emperors⁷⁸ and the three kings.⁷⁹ That is why saints such as Confucius transmitted the Way of the ancestors and many wise people have mutually passed on the Way that have come to be written down in many books of which numerous kingdoms have all followed. This Way can be obtained in the Middle Kingdom but is unobtainable in the barbarian territories. The Buddha was a person of the western barbarian region. How is it that his teachings became popular in the Middle Kingdom? Emperor Ming⁸⁰ of the Later Han dynasty sought this dharma from the western region which was a foolish act and unwise.

I respond: He who embodies the Way is the one whom people take refuge in. The five emperors and the three kings have preserved the Way and because the people have depended on them they became the rulers in China. It is the same as becoming the dharma wheel king when Buddhism was thriving in India. Just as one goes west from China when pointing to India, it is east when pointing to China from India. If the center [whether China or India] were to be chosen, it would be the place where there would be no shadows [just as when the sun is directly above], and India would be that place. Since the Buddha was born there, why not regard it as the “great center under heaven?”

[A41] So-called “east” and “west” are relative indicators that are dependent on the customs of the times. It is not [simply] by marking a middle point and determining east and west. If indeed the Buddha was deemed a barbarian and his tradition is not to be followed, then Emperor Shun who was born in the eastern barbarian region and King Wen who was born in the western barbarian region can be barbarians. Does this mean their ways should not be followed? The place of birth

is merely a place and what is enacted is merely a tradition. One should only examine the tradition and then one can decide whether to follow or not to follow the tradition—the place from where it originated should not matter.

Was not this said earlier? He who embodies the Way is the one whom people will take refuge in. It is said in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*,⁸¹ when the Xu kingdom invaded the Ju kingdom, Xu was considered to be a barbarian, and when the northern barbarians made a pact with the Qi people in the Xing kingdom, the barbarians were considered to be Chinese.

Although the Xu kingdom was a Chinese kingdom it was called barbarian because the Xu people were unprincipled, and the northern barbarians were called Chinese because they were principled. In order to praise or disapprove a person, simply examine the person's wisdom or foolishness and whether his or her deeds are proper or improper. How can you judge a person based on the place of their birth?

[A42] If it is not the place but the enactment of the Way that is sought, then even the five precepts⁸² and the ten benevolent acts of the Way would not be any less than the Way of the five emperors and the three kings. Indeed, the four noble truths, the twelve fold chain of causality⁸³ and the six perfections⁸⁴ are undoubtedly much more so. If the five emperors and the three kings would have met the Buddha then they would surely have put their hands together and knelt on their knees and listened [to the Dharma]. That the wise emperors would seek [the Dharma], would not this be expected?

[A43] [Confucians] say: After the Buddhist teachings entered China, the world slowly became more cruel, famine occurred often, and many people lost their homes. Diseases became increasingly severe by the day. Was not the harm caused by Buddhism heavy?

I respond: The rulers Yao, Shun, Yu, and Tang⁸⁵ are the great sages under heaven but they did not always escape the calamities of water and draught. The rulers Jie, Zhou, You, and Li were the leaders of the people under heaven but became tyrants. When the Zhou dynasty declined, the people had already been exhausted. Though Confucius was the

great sage, he could not avoid hunger, and Yan Hui⁸⁶ was a succeeding sage but he could not evade early death. Yuan Xian⁸⁷ was highly wise but he also could not prevent the poverty of his family. Was this also because of Buddhism?

When Buddhism appeared in India, it was during the time of King Zhao of the Zhou kingdom. It was at the start of the reign of Emperor Ming of the Later Han when the dharma flowed to the eastern soil. Before the time of the three dynasties,⁸⁸ Buddhism had not yet arisen and during the time of Confucius and Yan Hui, the name [of the Buddha] had not even been heard. At that time there should have been no catastrophe and no famine, then how did Yao have nine years of flooding and how did Tang have seven years of draught, and how did Confucius and Yan Hui suffer hunger and how did Yuan Xian suffer poverty?

[A44] Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, Wei Zheng and Li Chunfeng and others harmonized their minds and combined their virtues and become one under heaven. All the people were joyous and foreigners from many lands came to pay homage. Queen Jindeok of Silla composed a “Song of Great Peace,” which she embroidered on silk brocade and presented it. In brief, it says,

The Great Tang produced a great enterprise,
The most high of the emperor’s deeds are commended,
Wars have ceased and dignity and calm abound.
The act of cultivating culture links the hundred kings,
His deep humaneness harmonizes with the sun and the moon,
His nurturing of the people surpasses that of Yao and Shun.

And it is said,

Only from sacred mountains descend able ministers,
It is those who are loyal and virtuous that the emperor appoints.
Just as the five emperors and the three kings, complete virtue is
accomplished,

Brilliant are the emperors of our Tang dynasty.

[A45] Also, Duke [Gim] Chunchu, the future King Taejong of Silla, together with Gim Yusin were one in mind and combined their power and united the three Han states to establish great merit for the kingdom.⁸⁹ During that time, there were bountiful harvests year after year such that the crops were plentiful and the people were satisfied without worries. Many have called it the era of the sages. However, if it were a period of Buddhадharma then it should not have been a time of great peace, but that time was indeed when the Buddhадharma was flourishing. How did that time come to be of such great peace?

Chan Master of the Zhaozhou Ren lived for seven hundred of sixty-year cycles (42,000 years) and the Dharma Master Kai of the Wutai Mountain, lived for about three hundred years. If it was Buddhадharma that caused the people to die early, how did these followers of the Buddha have such long lives? In the past and the present, order and chaos, long and short lives, pain and pleasures are strongly dependent on the rise and fall of the fortunes of the times and retributions received by the sentient beings. When the world is not at peace and the people live unpleasant lives, it is blamed on the Buddhадharma, but such cannot even be imagined.

Countering the Critique That Monks Do not Work and Live off the People

[A46] [Confucians] say: Your community of monks have become people of leisure and do not work making silk or tilling fields but depend on the people for sustenance. That is why the burden on the people has led to their harsh poverty. Is their laziness not taxing?

I respond: The work of the monks is to widely spread the dharma and to assist sentient beings. Widely spreading the dharma ensures that wisdom and life do not cease, and by assisting sentient beings, each person become naturally benevolent. This is the responsibility of monks. Being sincere in doing this, there will be no shame for [accepting] people's support. If this is not done, then it is the person's fault. How is it the fault of the Buddhism?

Mencius said, "Here is a person who, when at home, is filial [to his parents] and, when outside, is courteous. He is steadfast in keeping the Way of the ancient kings in order to instruct the scholars of later generations. He does not receive any sustenance [from the people]. Why do people respect woodworkers and cart makers but look down on those who are humane and righteous?"⁹⁰ Why is it not permissible to depend on the people for clothes and food if those monks keep to the Way and benefit the people?

[A47] Poor and rich, each person has his or her allotted destiny. If a person in a previous [life] had auspicious karmic seeds, then there would be plenty even if he spends money everyday. If a person had no auspicious seeds from a previous life, then even if he saves everyday, there will not be enough. In this world there are people who on meeting the Buddha will not pay homage or when meeting monks will exhort them and not offer any alms all their lives. Their clothes are not enough to cover their bodies and their food does not satisfy their hunger. Is it also due to the monks that such people suffer?

[A48] [Confucians] say: Being pure and desiring little, forgetting the body for the sake of the dharma, listening [to the teachings] and memorizing [the scriptures], and guiding the neophytes—these are what the Buddhist monks must do. These days, the communities of monks do not practice as such and instead they degrade their master's teachings. When people ask about the Way, they act as if they are facing the wall [unresponsive]. They sell the Buddha to feed their bodies and preserve their lives. They turn their temples into a regular houses to act as part of the regular four social classes of people and assist rulers in governing the country. How is this permissible for rulers and states?

[A49] I respond: The *girin* and phoenix do not live in herds and large beautiful jewelry and pearls are not sold at a market. Confucius had three thousand followers but only ten could be called outstanding. In the Buddha's⁹¹ assembly of monks and nuns⁹² those who could be called distinguished was also not more than ten people. Furthermore, it has been all the more a long time since those sages passed away. How can we, each and every person whose spiritual abilities are lacking carryout the pure actions of Kāśyapa⁹³ or possess broad learning like Ānanda?⁹⁴

[A50] Since Confucius and Yan Hui have passed away it has been more than a thousand years; however the likes of Yan Hui or Min Sun⁹⁵ have not been heard of. Mostly, for a monk to be a true monastic, they need to fulfill the five virtues⁹⁶ and attain the six ways of harmonization,⁹⁷ then can they be called such. However, it is difficult to find people whose title and actual actions correspond. In the woods there are trees that cannot be used for lumber and in the fields there are husks that do not yield grain. Though there are those who are not able to follow the dharma, we should not be overly worried. All one can do is prevent departures from the path by depending on the mind-set and [dedication to the] robe, such that these people will gradually attain the true nature [of a monastic]. How can the dharma be discarded on the account of having deviated from the path?

Defending the Usefulness of Buddhism

[A51] [Confucians] say: If you examine their [Buddhist] scriptures, they strive for voidness, and revere annihilation. Although the effort is twice that of the *Elementary Learning*,⁹⁸ these scriptures do not have use. Though [the teachings of] these scriptures are of high level and surpass that of the *Great Learning*, it has no actual benefit. What is contained in these scriptures cannot be a method for cultivating oneself or ruling over the people.

I respond: Texts are vehicles that contain the Way, and a means of dissemination and edification. In looking at the scriptures one will know if the Way should be followed or not followed, or if the rituals should be emulated. If the Way can be followed and if the rituals should be emulated, how can I abandon something I have not practiced? Have you, noble ones, not heard? “Under heaven there are no two Ways, and the sage does not have two thoughts.”⁹⁹

[A52] The sages, though between them there is a distance of a thousand *ri* and ten-thousand years of time difference, have not the slightest taste of difference in their minds. Our honorable Confucius has said, “Do not speculate, do not insist on certainty, do not be inflexible, and do not be self-centered.”¹⁰⁰ The *Book of Changes* says, “Keeping his back still there is no self; going out to his courtyard there is no person. Since there is no self and no person, how can there be any defilement?”¹⁰¹ The elder Śākyamuni said, “If without self and no person, one cultivates all the virtuous dharmas, this is none other than attaining bodhi.” This is [an example of] sages of different ages, but being of the same mind.

[A53] The so-called “voidness” and “annihilation” said to be discussed in the twelve divisions of the sutras in the tripitika,¹⁰² how are these words used? The Mahayana vinaya says, “Filial obedience is the utmost dharma of the Way, and filial piety can be called a ‘moral

discipline' and it also means 'restraint.'"¹⁰³ Can this, in a sense, be referred to as "voidness"? The *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* says, "The mind flower emits brilliant radiance which illuminates the realm of the ten directions." Can this be regarded as "annihilation"? If you would determine whether it is true or false, you must first examine its texts. If the scriptures are not examined and it is rejected then indeed you will be jeered at by accomplished scholars.

[A54] Have you, noble ones, not heard the saying, "If you have not read all the writings of the world, you cannot malign the past and the present"? Confucius said, "Filial piety is a law of Heaven, it is the righteousness of the earth and the proper behavior of the people." How can this not be what is referred to as the utmost Way? That is because [the changes] reach out and penetrate the realm (all under heaven). How could this not be what is referred to as "brilliant illumination?"

What the Confucians refer to as "illustrious virtue," the Buddha calls the "subtle, pristine, luminous mind," and what is referred to as "tranquil non-moving, realization and insightful knowledge," is referred to in Buddhism as "silent illumination." Also, "Only after possessing virtue [oneself] can the virtues of others be criticized. After having no evil can the evil of others be corrected." The teaching of our Buddha is, "Sever evil and cultivate benevolence and one can provide abundantly to benefit sentient beings." How is there a difference between Confucianism and Buddhism? If the principle of the words is the same, then why are the manifestations of the teachings different?

[A55] Doing as one wishes but inhibiting others, and saying this is correct and that is incorrect is inherent human nature. People of penetrating knowledge and advanced scholars solely pursue righteousness. How can they distinguish between right and wrong, between self and others, or between this and that? Among the three teachings [of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism], it has been Buddhism that has led people to forgo privileges and officialdom and for all to follow the teachings. This has been the result of the deep insights of the great compassion of the great sage, our Buddha.

[In a similar way,] Emperor Shun enjoyed questioning and talking

with others. He aptly covered-up the impiety of others and revealed their benevolences.¹⁰⁴ Emperor Yu bowed when he heard incredible words [of wisdom]. If the emperors Shun and Yu encountered the Buddha's teachings, would they not take refuge in its beauty? That is why it is mistaken to think that Buddhism cannot be a method of cultivating oneself and guiding others.

Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism

[A56] [People may] say: With respect to Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, how are they similar or different, and what are their strengths and weaknesses?

I respond: Laozi said, “In not-doing, nothing is left undone; and in doing there is nothing done.”¹⁰⁵ The Buddhist said, “tranquil and yet constantly luminous; and radiant and yet constantly tranquil.”¹⁰⁶ Confucius said, “In the changes, there is no thought and no activity. Tranquil and unmoving they resonate with and subsequently penetrate [the world].”¹⁰⁷ Now, tranquility has been without resonance but rather tranquility is constant radiance. “Resonating penetration” is not being non-tranquil but instead radiance is constant tranquility.

Not-doing while nothing is left undone is precisely being tranquil and yet constantly resonating. When there is doing while nothing is being done, it is resonance that is constantly tranquil. Based on this, the discussions of three traditions silently fit together like a stamp or a tally, as if they came from the same mouth.

[A57] However, if one would demonstrate the high and low [of these teachings] and express the similarities and differences of function, one needs to wash off all your mind’s defilements and make your eye of wisdom clear. After doing so read the tripitaka and all the Confucian and Daoist scriptures. When you participate in the everyday activities, at the times of birth and death and misfortune and fortune, then without having to wait for a teaching you will naturally nod with understanding. How strong do I need to make my arguments to awaken you, noble ones, into listening?

Notes

- 1 “Essence” is the translation of *che* 體. It is at times translated as substance or body.
- 2 *Bon* 本 refers to the original nature of humans, as in the doctrine of *bonyeon jiseong* 本然之性.
- 3 The Way (Do 道) in this passage is referring to the Way of all teachings in general, and not only to the Daoist.
- 4 *Seong* 性 (original nature) in Buddhist thought is the original nature of the mind, also indicating the Buddha nature of the human mind, which is an essential doctrinal of Seon (Ch. Chan, Jp. Zen 禪) Buddhism.
- 5 *Jeong* 情 translated as the dispositions of the mind, also indicate a person’s desires and emotions. Humans or sentient beings are also referred to as “having emotions” (有情), which is used as an epithet for sentient beings. It should be noted that *jeong* denotes the meaning of “afflictions” of the mind that distract people from seeing the true Buddha nature of the self.
- 6 This is the basic principle of the two aspects of the mind espoused in the *Awakening of the Mahayana Faith* which had great influence on the tradition of East Asian Buddhism. These two aspects are the true thusness aspect and the arising and ceasing aspect of the mind, which gives rise to phenomena. See Cho (2017).
- 7 *Gagyujeong* 覺有情 literally means, “enlightened but having emotions.”
- 8 The two vehicles (二乘) is referring to means of the hearers (*seongmun* 聲聞, Skt. *śrāvakas*) and the self-realizers (*byeokji bul* 辟支佛, Skt. *pratyekabuddhas*).
- 9 The three vehicles include, in addition to the two vehicles, the Mahayana vehicle of bodhisattvahood.
- 10 This is referring to two vehicles, the human vehicle (人乘) and the deva vehicle (天乘), in addition to the above mentioned three vehicles. The human vehicle is the five precepts that will lead one to be reborn as human and the deva vehicle is referring to the ten forms of good action by which one will be reborn among the devas.
- 11 This is one among the six rebirths: in hell (*jiok do* 地獄道, Skt. *naraka-gati*), as a hungry ghost (*agwi do* 餓鬼道, Skt. *preta-gati*), as an animal (*chuksaeng do* 畜生道, Skt. *tiryagyoni-gati*), as an asura (*sura do* 修羅道, Skt. *asura-gati*), as a human (*in’gan do* 人間道, Skt. *manuṣya-gati*) and as a god (*cheon do* 天道, Skt. *deva-gati*).
- 12 The ten benevolent acts (十善) are a basic set of rules for the lay practitioners.

- They include not killing, not stealing, no debauchery, no lying, not speaking harshly, not speaking divisively, no idle talk, not being greedy, not being angry, and having correct views.
- 13 The twelve links of dependent arising (十二因緣) is the twelve phases of conditioned existence that give rise to human suffering.
 - 14 The six perfections (六度 or 六波羅蜜), otherwise referred to as the six *pāramitās* are the six practices that can ferry one across the sea of mortality to nirvana. It is also known as the pure practices of the bodhisattvas.
 - 15 Tripitaka is the Buddhist canon categorized into the three baskets—*sūtra* (teachings of the Buddha), *vinaya* (monastic regulations), *abhidharma* (treaties).
 - 16 Although there are several types of “the five virtues,” here it is referring to humaneness (仁), righteousness (義), propriety (禮), wisdom (智), and trust (信).
 - 17 This line is from *The Analects* (論語), in the chapter “Weizheng” 為政. See online reference and translation at, *Chinese Text Project* (hereafter CTP), available at <https://ctext.org/analects/wei-zheng>.
 - 18 This is from the *Book of Changes* (周易) in the chapter “Jici 1” 繫辭上, (CTP, s.v. “繫辭”).
 - 19 The method of punishment and reward is usually recognized to be the core teaching of the Legalist and not the Confucians who traditionally emphasized governance by virtue (德治).
 - 20 Samādhi is a state of high concentration of the mind, sometimes referred to as “perfect absorption.”
 - 21 Perfect enlightenment is the term used by Muller (2015, 86) as the translation for the Sanskrit term *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi*.
 - 22 This is the Pure Land heaven of Maitreya.
 - 23 The upper realms (上界) is referring to the realms of form (色界) and formlessness (無色界), but excluding the realm of desire (欲界).
 - 24 This is the ruler Jambudvīpa (Kr. Yeombu, Ch. Yanfu 閻浮), one among the four wheel-turning sage kings.
 - 25 The snowy mountains are referring to the Himalayan Mountains.
 - 26 The three insights transliterated as *sammyeong* 三明 applies to the arhats. When describing the three insights of the Buddha, it is termed *samdal* 三達, which include: (1) “insight into the mortal conditions of self and others in previous lives” (宿命明); (2) “supernatural insight into future mortal conditions” (天眼明); (3) “nirvana insight” (漏盡明), insight “into present mortal sufferings so as to overcome all passions or temptations.” See Soothill and Hodous (2003) available at, <http://mahajana.net/texts/soothill-hodous.html>, s.v. “三明.”
 - 27 The six magical powers are acquired by the Buddha or by an arhat through the

fourth stage dhyāna. Soothill and Hodous, s.v. “六通.”

- 28 The four forms of wisdom of a Buddha, according to the Dharmalakṣaṇa school, include: (1) the great mirror wisdom, (2) the universal wisdom, (3) the profound observing wisdom, and (4) the perfecting wisdom. For a more detailed description, see Soothill and Hodous, s.v. “四智.”
- 29 The eight liberations (八解脫) are the eight stages of mental concentration.
- 30 *Ipsin* 立身 can be described as to establishing oneself on a foundation of an ethical life.
- 31 This is cited from the chapter “The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise” (開宗明義) in the *Book of Filial Piety* (孝經), (CTP, s.v. “孝經”).
- 32 This is from the chapter “Yan Yuan” 顏淵 in *The Analects*, (CTP, s.v. “顏淵”).
- 33 The customary hunting practices are according to the four seasons: spring hunting (春蒐), summer hunting (夏苗), fall hunting (秋獮), and winter hunting (冬狩).
- 34 This is from the chapter “Great Declaration 1” 泰誓上 in the “Documents of Zhou” (周書). A translation is available on-line at *Chinese Text Project*, (CTP, s.v. “泰誓上”).
- 35 Interestingly the term “not humane” (*burin* 不仁) also has a medical meaning of the limbs being numb. The analogy is that each person being insensitive to others will make heaven and earth sick and not function well, like a body in sickness.
- 36 Ezhu 鵝珠 is known as the monk who was accused of stealing pearls when in fact a goose had swallowed the pearls. Ezhu did not reveal this fact in order to save the life of the goose, although he was accused of stealing the pearls. In a similar way, but in this case to save plants, a monk named Caoji 草繫 is said to not have tried to free himself even after bandits had robbed him and tied him up using grass. The reason was that if he struggled to free himself he would damage the grass that was used to bind him. These monks are introduced in the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (T 1736.36.470c13–471a1).
- 37 *Book of Odes* (詩經), “Zou Yu” 騶虞. The *Chinese Text Project* version has a slightly different sinoscript but the same meaning, “壹發五豝.” See CTP, s.v. “騶虞.”
- 38 This is James Legge’s translation found in the *Chinese Text Project*, (CTP, s.v. “述而”).
- 39 *Mencius*, “Liang Hui Wang I” 梁惠王上, (CTP, s.v. “梁惠王上”).
- 40 *Mencius*, “Liang Hui Wang I” 梁惠王上, (CTP, s.v. “梁惠王上”).
- 41 *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸), chap. 13, (CTP, s.v. “中庸”).
- 42 *Yiqiezhhi guangming xianren cixin yinyuan bushirou jing* (K 14.37a12–14).
- 43 This passage from the *Book of Rites* (禮記), “Royal Regulations” 王制, (CTP, s.v. “王制”).

- 44 Legg translates this as, “(Only our) ancient sages, quick in apprehension and clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, and with a majesty, going spirit-like to its objects; - it was only they who could do so.” See Legge’s translation, (CTP, s.v. “繫辭上”).
- 45 According to Confucian social norms, there is a strict restriction on the social interaction between people of the opposite gender, especially with regard to physical contact. Contact between, for example, a male and his sister-in-law would have been highly inappropriate.
- 46 Though it is described here the ills of drinking wine, in the chapter “Jiugao” 酒誥 from the *Book of Documents* (*Shujing* 書經, also known as *Shang Shu* 尚書), this quotation cannot be found. Its scriptural source cannot be located. The same is claimed in Muller (2015, 164 n. 55).
- 47 Yi Di 儀狄 is a legendary person who was a wife or consort of Yu the Great. Yi Di is known to be the first person to make wine and is a figure of the Xia dynasty period (17th–15th cen. BCE).
- 48 Yu the Great (大禹, c. 2123–2025 BCE) was the legendary king who founded the Xia dynasty.
- 49 The four classes here refer to the scholars (士), farmers (農), artisans (工), and merchants (商).
- 50 *Great Learning* (大學), chap. 13, (CTP, s.v. “大學”).
- 51 The *Book of Changes*, “Kun” 坤, “wenyan” 文言. In this chapter the phrasing is slightly different: “積善之家 必有餘慶 積不善之家 必有餘殃.” See, <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/kun6?filter=82940>.
- 52 Although this chapter, “The Great Plan” (Hongfan 洪範), is in the *Book of Documents*, the quotation must be a paraphrase since the exact quotation cannot be found.
- 53 August standard is the translation of the Confucian concept of *zhongdao* 中道, meaning the norm or the standard for an emperor’s way of governing the realm, described in the chapter “The Great Plan.”
- 54 The five fortunes are, long life, wealth, health, merit, and a life of good repute.
- 55 The six calamities are short life, sickness, a life full of worries, poverty, being evil, and having a weak body.
- 56 *Hou* 魂 is translated as the celestial spirit, and *baek* 魄 as the terrestrial spirit of the human numen.
- 57 *Jigak* 知覺 is the state of being aware or having the ability of perception.
- 58 True wisdom is the translation for *jinmyeong* 眞明.
- 59 This is the original energy from which life emerges.
- 60 King Wen (1152–1056 BCE) was the count of Zhou during the late Shang

dynasty in ancient China. He is considered to be the founder of Zhou.

- 61 This phrase is also found in *Mozi* 墨子, Book 8 (卷八), “On Ghosts 3” (明鬼下). Legge translates this verse as “King Wen ascends and descends. On the left and the right of God.” See CTP, s.v. “明鬼下.”
- 62 Wang Huaizhi is a figure from the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).
- 63 *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 vol. 96, “Shie” 十惡.
- 64 I translate the phrase “賞月吟風” as “Enjoying the company of others by writing poems under a bright moon in a warm breeze.”
- 65 I translate the term 因緣 as “affinities from past lives that tie people into relations in this life.” I have not translated this as the technical Buddhist concept of “causes and conditions” that bring about a certain outcome or effect.
- 66 Wuyue 吳越 (907–978) was an independent coastal kingdom.
- 67 Qutang 瞿塘 is the area famous for the Qutang gorge that the Yangtze River passes through. This poem is from the *Seng Yuanze chuan* 僧圓澤傳 (Tale of the Monk Yuanze) written by the Northern Song period (960–1126) scholar Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) whose penname is Zizhan 子瞻 and is often called Su Dongpo 蘇東坡.
- 68 The Duke of Zhou (11th cen. BCE), was the son of King Wen of Zhou (周文王), and has played an important role in founding the Western Zhou (西周, 1046–771 BCE).
- 69 *The Analects*, “Shu Er” 述而, (CTP, s.v. “述而”).
- 70 Here I have translated the term *jeongsin* 情神 as “mind” since it is described as having the capacity to store habits and emotions. However, this term can be translated as spirit but because the concept of spirit usually does not have the qualities of a vessel that can hold karmic energy, it was not used.
- 71 The four heavenly kings (四天王) are the four guardian gods who protect the four quarters of the universe.
- 72 Arhat (Kr. *arahan*, Ch. *aluohan* 阿羅漢 or Kr. *nahan*, Ch. *luohan* 羅漢) is a Sanskrit term referring to the initial disciples of the Śākyamuni, but later developed into heavenly figures of Buddhism.
- 73 Huangnie Yungong 黃蘗運公 (d. 850) is a Tang dynasty Chan master otherwise known as Xiyun 希運 who joined the monastic community located at the Huangnie Mountain in Hangzhou, hence his name, Huangnie (Kim 2003, 95).
- 74 The five aggregates is referring to the five *skandhas* or the *oon* 五蘊, the five “accumulations” on which human existence and experiences are based. It consists of form of body, sensations or feelings, perception or cognition, conditioning factors, and consciousness (Buswell and Lopez 2013, 828).
- 75 It is also referred to as the six faculties (六根), the eyes, nose, ears, tongue, body,

and the mind which corresponds to the senses of sight, smell, sound, taste, touch, and mental processes, respectively (DDB, s.v. “六根”).

- 76 This is the translation of *myeonggu* 冥龜, also termed *sinmyeong* 神明, as the gods of heaven and earth.
- 77 The three worlds are referring to the world before birth, the present world, and the world after death.
- 78 This is referring to the five legendary emperors of ancient China that include Huang Di 黃帝 (Yellow Emperor), Zhuan Xu 顓頊, Emperor Ku 帝嚳, Emperor Yao 堯, and Emperor Shun 舜. See *An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art* (hereafter ECH), s.v. “三皇五帝.”
- 79 The three kings is a reference to the sage kings, King Yu (禹王) of Xia 夏 dynasty (17th–15th cen. BCE), King Tang (湯王) of the Shang 商 dynasty (17th–11th cent. BCE), and King Wen (文王, 1152–1056 BCE), or King Wu (武王, 1045–1043 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty (ECH, s.v. “三皇五帝”).
- 80 Emperor Ming (r. 58–75) was the ruler of the Later (Eastern) Han (25–220 CE) period and is known to be the first emperor to have adopted Buddhism.
- 81 *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋) is an ancient Chinese chronicle, and a Chinese classic.
- 82 The five precepts (五戒) are the most basic set of moral rules that needs to be observed, usually by lay practitioners. They include not killing, not stealing, no debauchery, no lying, and no drinking of alcohol.
- 83 The twelve fold chain of causality otherwise known as the twelve dependent arising (十二緣起), sometime referred to as the twelve links of dependent arising is described as the twelve links in the chain of existence. They are ignorance, action, consciousness, name and form, six sense organs, touch, feelings, craving, grasping, existing, birth, and old age and death.
- 84 The six perfections (六度) is described in the above note no. 14.
- 85 Tang 湯 (c. 17th cen. BCE) was the first king of the Shang dynasty (17th–11th cen. BCE), the first dynasty in Chinese history, which lasted from about seventeenth to the mid-eleventh century BCE.
- 86 Yan Hui 顏回 (521–490 BCE) was known to be one of the most trusted disciples of Confucius.
- 87 Yuan Xian 原憲 was also a disciple of Confucius who is known to have strictly followed the teachings of Confucius but lived in poverty.
- 88 The three dynasties are Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周 dynasties.
- 89 *Sajik* 社稷 is referring to regional gods and the god of crops, which has also come to mean the state or the kingdom.
- 90 *Mencius*, “Teng Wen Gong II” 滕文公下, (CTP, s.v. “滕文公下”).

- 91 The Buddha is referred to as the Tathāgata 如來, which is one of the ten epithets for the Buddha.
- 92 The assembly of monks and nuns is sometimes referred to as the ocean-assembly (海會).
- 93 Kāśyapa, known also as Mahākāśyapa, is one of the ten disciples of the Buddha who is known for his dedication to cultivation and became the saṃgha leader when the Buddha passed away.
- 94 Ānanda as one among the ten disciples of the Buddha who is known to have listened to the most teachings of the Buddha.
- 95 Min Sun 閔損 (536–c. 487 BCE), also known as Zijian, was one of Confucius' disciple who was a native to the state of Liu and is known for his filial acts.
- 96 There are various sets of the five virtues (五德). One set includes, (1) leaving home to be a monk, (2) maintaining poise and donning the robe, (3) severing oneself from the world and from likes and dislikes, (4) setting one's life to observe and honor the path, and (5) pursuing the Mahāyāna to save the people (DDB, s.v. “五德”).
- 97 This is referring to the six ways to attain harmony or unity with other monastics. They are, “身 bodily unity in form of worship, 口 oral unity in chanting, 意 mental unity in faith, 戒 moral unity in observing the commandments, 見 doctrinal unity in views and explanations, and 利, . . . economic unity . . .” (Soothill and Hodous [2003], s.v. “六和”).
- 98 *Elementary Learning* (小學) is a Confucian primer for boys before moving on to the *Great Learning* (大學).
- 99 *Xunzi* 荀子, “Xiebi” 解蔽, chap. 1, (CTP, s.v. “解蔽”).
- 100 *The Analects*, “Zi Han” 子罕, chap. 4. The translation by Legg is, “He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.” <https://ctext.org/analects/zi-han>.
- 101 This is taken from the *Book of Changes*, chapter “Gen,” in a paraphrased form. The entire quote translated by Legge's is as follows: “When one's resting is like that of the back, and he loses all consciousness of self; when he walks in his courtyard, and does not see any (of the persons) in it, there will be no error” (艮其背, 不獲其身, 行其庭, 不見其人, 无咎). <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/gen>.
- 102 Here the *samjang* 三藏, is referring to the tripitaka. The “twelve divisions” (十二部) is referring to the twelve categories of the Buddhist sutra (*sibibu-gyeong* 十二部經, Skt. *dvādaśāṅga*).
- 103 *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (K 14. 324a2–3).
- 104 *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸), chap. 6, (CTP, s.v. “中庸”).

- 105** The first phrase is the iconic verse from the *Laozi*, chapter 48. See *Chinese Text Project* at <https://ctext.org/heshanggong/48>. However, the second phrase from the current text, “[I]n doing there is nothing done” (當有爲而無爲) cannot be located and so must be a paraphrase.
- 106** *Commentary on the Flower Ornament Sutra* (大方廣佛華嚴經疏, T 1735.35.705b23–b24).
- 107** *Book of Changes*, “Jici” vol. 1 繫辭上, chap. 10, (CTP, s.v. “繫辭上”).

Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism

Ganpye Seokgyo so 諫廢釋教疏
by Baekgok Cheoneung 白谷處能

Ganpye Seokgyo so is found in Baekgok's collected works, *Daegak Deunggye Baeokgok jip*
大覺登階白谷集 vol. 2, which is available at [https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/view?
itemId=ABC_BJ&cate=bookName&depth=4&upPath=Z&dataId=ABC_BJ_H0165
_T_004%5E025T&rt=R](https://kabc.dongguk.edu/content/view?itemId=ABC_BJ&cate=bookName&depth=4&upPath=Z&dataId=ABC_BJ_H0165_T_004%5E025T&rt=R).

Introduction

[B1] I, your servant, have heard that Confucius has said, “If you can speak but do not speak, you will lose the people. If you speak when you should not speak, then words will be lost.”¹ If in the words there was logic, listening will be done without sincerity. That is why Emperor Yao² sought advice from Yinshou³ and Emperor Shun searched for Wucheng⁴ and considered him as a resource of utmost sagacity. [That is why] although all [the emperors] resided in high noble positions, it was not necessary to appoint people from the outer provincial areas and listen to the words of people from humble backgrounds. That they [the emperors] were sincere in doing this was because there was general benefit for them. The reason was that you will surely come across wise people when appointing people, and when listening to advice, there will surely be sound advice.

Words do not necessarily have to be those of Mencius or Confucius,⁵ because even Confucius learnt from Laozi.⁶ People do not necessarily have to be like those of emperors Yao and Shun, because even King Wen of the Zhou state considered Lu Wang⁷ as his teacher. Therefore, if a region is considered unfavorable and its language is discarded, then that language will be lost. If the times are considered doubtful and the people [of that generation] are disregarded then the people [and their skills] will be wasted. Why would it not be incumbent to examine and reveal [the truth].

[B2] Normally, when the world is governed [well], those who have moved away from society desire to return. That is why the Han dynasty [rulers] respected the four elders who lived in seclusion.⁸ At times when society is wholesome, respectable people emerge. That is why during the time of the Jin state (266–420) the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove⁹ were upheld. However, how is it that all these seven sages are outstanding ministers such as Yi Yin,¹⁰ Fu Yue,¹¹ the Duke of Zhou, and

the Duke of Shao?¹² How is it that all four elders are as resourceful as the generals, Han Xin, Peng Yue, Wei Qing, and Huo Qubing? Yet, all of them have been made into feudal lords and considered as ministers. That is because they helped the humane king in edifying the people and even assisted the sage ruler in his governance.

[B3] Therefore the skill of ensuring the safety of the people was certainly depended on the ten [skilled] vassals,¹³ but the wisdom for saving the world, it had to wait [as long as it takes] for the three foolish¹⁴ to gain wisdom. It is like an enormous bell that cannot be made from a single piece, or how can a building with an area of a thousand units¹⁵ be built in a short period of time?

I humbly consider that Your Highness (King Hyeonjong [r. 1660–1674]) has been entrusted with the Mandate of Heaven and have continued the great throne. During the days of being a crown prince, [your] filial piety was so sincere that [you] went out when the rooster crowed to give morning greetings [to your parents]. As a king you are wary of uprisings and have taken pains [to prevent them]. You have lightened the corvée labor and reduced the taxes that all the people are pleased. Widows were saved and the orphaned were pitied and the people looked [to you for their needs], that over two to three years increasing number of people were edified and by [your] grace [people's] riches have increased [even for those who lived] beyond several thousand *ri*.

[B4] Though the three kings¹⁶ may not be humane, regarding humaneness, surely Your Highness is not [like them]. The five emperors¹⁷ may not be sagacious, but indeed Your Highness is sagacious. These days you have [secluded wise sages] such as Chao Fu and Xuyou, but how would you meet the sages of the old such as emperors Yao and Shun? Since antiquity, the administration of the enlightened rulers and the sagacious kings was enlightened and their governance was humane, and in carrying out all their work they were cautious of even making a single mistake. That is why in the *Book of Documents* there is a teaching for the guidance of the ruler and in the *Book of Odes* there is a poem admonishing the king. That is why taking heart towards those of lowly

status and listening to advice by lowering oneself are the humaneness of a ruler and a father, and to speak righteously and chance insulting the majesty is the loyalty of a minister and a son.

[B5] Hence the “Charge to Yue” says, “If a plant follows the string it will grow straight. A king who follows advice will become a sage.”¹⁸ Rulers and fathers need to adopt this as an axiom. The *Commentary of Zuo on the Spring and Autumn Annals* says, “In the ruler’s words there can be error. The minister, by speaking what is right, error will be eliminated.”¹⁹ This [dictum] needs to be adopted as ministers and sons.

Discussion on the Monastics

[B6] I, your servant, am from extremely humble origins and audaciously became a monk. I am absurdly unworthy of Buddhism, and am [like] a lump of cyst in the human world. [I, like] lonely and wretched beings wander among the rivers and clouds, and have not kept to the righteousness between ruler–subject and father–son, and everyday my mind has been occupied with gains or loses, and power and unruliness—how can I dare speak. Presently, I dare call myself a subject, and I firmly know that this is an exaggeration.

However, the monk Faguo in the past was appointed as Marquis of Ancheng, and Dharma Master Amoghavajra (705–774) was appointed as the Duke of Suguo. All these, because of their ministerial rank, received king’s grace. That is why it is stated in the *Book of Odes*, “There is no one who is not a subject of the king.”²⁰ And it is said in the *Book of Documents*, “We wait for our king to come,”²¹ which means that originally there is no [distinctions of] this-or-that [among all who are subjects of the king]. Therefore no matter how wretched those who have become the subjects, even if there are foolish thoughts, the king and father must surely be told.

[B7] Based on the announced edict from the court, the conveyed intent of the king was to have all monks and nuns to be disrobed and the nuns to be [all] forced back to lay life and the discontinuation of monkhood, which had been discussed. I, your subject, am unable to understand what you, O king, intend. Is the king thinking that because Buddhism came from there, the Western Regions and entered into China that because it is a different region it is so? Otherwise, is the thought that because Buddhism came after the three eras (Xia, Yin, and Zhou) that it is not of the ancient traditions but of a different [newer] era?

Is it perhaps an attempt to claim that cause and effect are untrue

and that corresponding retribution is fabricated [by the monastics] and using the principles of karma [the people] are deceived? Moreover, is it an attempt to claim that [the monastics] do not till fields nor work with silkworms but live a leisurely life and merely consume resources. Otherwise, is it an attempt to claim that [the monastics] foolishly shave their heads and are always violating the precepts and are causing damage to governing and teachings? Is it an attempt to claim that [the monastics are], by calling [themselves] monks, trying to evade corvée duties and avoid conscription for military labor?

Your subject has firstly described the history of the rise of Buddhism. Some of the issues alluded to above will be explained in the following. Humbly I present to you some concerns and I ask for your consideration of this appeal.

The History of Buddhism in China

[B8] Your subject has before read about the past history and have studied in detail the eras. In the *Record of Wonders in the Book of Zhou*, it states, “The Buddha has come into this world in the *jiayin* year, on the twenty-fourth year of King Zhao’s reign (1027 BCE).²² At night there appeared a five-colored light that formed into a blue and red color. The king asked the grand scribe named Su You how this was auspicious, and he answered, ‘In the west a great sage was born.’”²³

[B9] On King Mu’s (d.u.)²⁴ fifty-third year of rule (949 BCE), the year of *renshen*, the Buddha entered nirvana. At that time there was a white rainbow of eleven strips that connected between south and north. The King asked the grand scribe named Hu Duo, “How can you explain this?” The scribe replied, “The great sage of the west has passed away.” Also, the grand councillor of the Wu state²⁵ asked Confucius, “Is the master (Confucius) a sage?” Confucius responded, “I have broad knowledge and good memory but I am not a sage.” [The councillor asked] then, who is a sage? Confucius faced [the councillor] and responded, “In the west there is a sage. He does not speak but [the people] naturally believe [him] and he does not teach but [the teachings] have been carried out.”²⁶ Also, Zhuangzi has said, “After ten thousand years, when at last having met the great sage, [and you] come to know and realize [the Way], it will be like having met [the sage] in the morning or the evening.”²⁷ All this is referring to the Buddha.

[B10] At the time of the Emperor Qin Shihuang (r. 221–210 BCE), the monastic Shi Lifang²⁸ and others came from the Western Regions. The emperor considered the extraordinary cults as evil and imprisoned the monastic. All of a sudden a ghost appeared and destroyed the prison door and the imprisoned [monk] was able to leave. The emperor, being afraid, generously rewarded Shi Lifang and sent him back. During the time of Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141–87 BCE), Huo Qubing²⁹ captured

King Kunye³⁰ and obtained a golden statue that was more than a *zhang* in height, and the emperor made this into a great god and safely placed it at the Ganquan Palace. Moreover, Marquis of Bowang Zhang Qian³¹ was sent west to India and he obtained the teachings of Buddhism.

[B11] During the time of the Emperor Yuan [of Han] (r. 75–33 BCE) the Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments (Counsellor of the Palace) Liu Xiang (77–6 BCE),³² was able to obtain twenty volumes of the original scriptures in the Pali script, and edited it into his work, *Biographies of the Immortals* (*Liexian zhuan*). During the Emperor Ai's reign (r. 7–1 BCE), Jing Xian was sent as an envoy to the Yuezhi kingdom whose king gave Buddhist scriptures. At the time of Emperor Ming's rule (r. 58–75 CE) in the Later Han, [the emperor] had a vision in a dream and sent Commander of the Palace Guards Cai Yin, and others to find out about the Way who met two monks Kāśyapa Mātāṅga (d. 73 CE) and Gobharana (fl. 50–80), and together [with the monks] they returned.³³

[B12] From then on the teachings of the dharma started to become widely popular, and gradually during the Han and Wei times and then flourished at about the time of Tang (618–907) and Song dynasties (960–1279). The sagacious monarchs and the wise ministers have all come to depend [on Buddhism] and governed kingdoms and brought harmony to families. This is a summary of the flourishing of Buddhism from its beginnings up to its decline.

First Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

If Your Majesty is claiming that [Buddhism] is from a different territory and therefore will suppress it; the teachings of Confucius the sage stopped at the Lu state (c. 1042–249 BCE) and did not go beyond to the state of Chen (c. 1045–479 BCE) or the state of Cai (11th cen.–447 BCE). The tongue of Mencius the wise, was cherished only within the state of Zou³⁴ and was indeed not cherished either in the state of Qi or Liang. This is rather like the ball of jade of Zhao, which was not worthy enough to be exchanged for the 15 fortresses of the Qin state.³⁵ Nor was the pearl of the marquis of Sui considered a pride because it was not able to reflect the carriage of Wei state.

[B13] How is it that because Emperor Shun was born in the eastern barbarian area and Emperor Yu came from the western tribe region that they are not sages but consider [the vicious kings] Jie and Zhou as sages because they were born in the Middle Kingdom (China)? How is it that Youyu, who was born among the Rong, and Jizha, who was born among the Man, not be considered wise but Dao Zhi and Zhuang Qiao of the Middle Kingdom as wise? That is why Confucius aspired to live among the Jiuyi tribes but the Chinese desire to be born in the Samhan region.³⁶

Moreover, boats and carts are similar [as vehicles], or rain and mist are [in essence] the same. Barbarians and Chinese are interconnected by borders, and whether inside or outside, what makes a sage is not different. That is why Liu Yuancheng³⁷ said, “The words of Confucius and the Buddha in relation to each other are the beginning and end.” Li Pingshan³⁸ states, “The three sages³⁹ all emerged at the time of the Zhou dynasty. It is as if the sun, moon, and the stars have all gathered above Mount Fusang,⁴⁰ or as if the waters of Yangzi River, Huanghe River, Huai River, and Hanjiang River have gathered into the water of Weilu.”⁴¹

[B14] If we see it this way, the *Doctrine of the Mean* says, “The Way will proceed in parallel and will not contradict with each other.”⁴² and in the chapter “Xici,” [of the *Book of Changes*] it is said, “The path is different but return to the same place.”⁴³ That the sages are not different [from each other] is just as the arrow and the knife [are in essence not different], and that the Way is not different is like putting together two pieces from a broken jade insignia [to become the one Way]. It cannot be that because there is difference in the territory, [Buddhism] can be suppressed—this is the first reason.

Second Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

Is Your Majesty saying that it is of different time and so Buddhism should be suppressed? [It was said in the past] written books were not needed to replace the governing organization that was based on the twine system,⁴⁴ and there was no need for safer houses in place of precarious houses. This is [the same as] eating the grains [used as seeds] for the spring fields because food in the winter is not enough, or waiting in the house starting from daytime because at night it is difficult to fall asleep.

[B15] How is it that the three wise men⁴⁵ who appeared [to give assistance] when the Yin dynasty (c. 1600–1046 BCE) was about to collapse are not considered to be loyal but rather the Jiuli tribes in ancient China are considered loyal? How is it that the ten disciples of Confucius cannot be considered as exemplary because they were born when the Zhou state was declining, but [if that is the case] then can the four evil-doers [of ancient times] be considered as exemplary.⁴⁶ For this reason Fu Xi⁴⁷ drew the eight trigrams and [based on this] the principle of the *Book of Changes* was revealed by King Wen. King Yu of the Xia dynasty⁴⁸ explained the Nine Great Laws on How to Govern (Hongfan jiuchou) and so Jizi was able to complete the *Luo River Scrolls* (*Luo shu*).

[B16] [That is why] all the more, the position of heaven and earth and the places on which the sun and the moon shine have been the same from the ancient times to now, and the principles of the past and the future are one [and the same]. That is why Zhao Meng⁴⁹ has said, “At one time it is that and at another time it is this. Then, how is there consistency?”⁵⁰ Mouzi has responded, “That is of one time and this is of another time.”⁵¹ If we see it this way, if Emperor Shun and Emperor Yu were reborn, they would surely say, “There is no difference between us and the Buddha.”

And if King Tang and King Wu were to reappear, they would sure-

ly say about the Buddha, “What more can I say?” Therefore, Confucius in *The Analects* has said, “[I] worry for those born later.” In the *Commentary of Zuo on the Spring and Autumn Annals*,⁵² “What is far away is considered to be the same as what is near.” This can be understood as saying, time may be different but the events are the same; where the period of time may be different, the principle is the same. This means that it cannot be that because the time period is different, [Buddhism] is to be suppressed—this is the second reason.

Third Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B17] Your Majesty, if you are saying that the cycle of rebirth and deaths is false and so [Buddhism] must be abolished, then the Tang dynasty jade pan-pipe of the Son of Heaven will surely not have been passed-on by an awakened monk. Also, the golden ring of the Jin commander-in-chief would surely not have been obtained through an old woman who lived close-by. [If the cycle of rebirths is false], then the sun setting over the river will surely not repeat [its cycle] and continue the next day, and the flower that drops over a cliff indeed will not bloom from a seed next spring.

If you do not believe that Pei Xiu⁵³ was reincarnation of Xu Xuandu,⁵⁴ then can it be believed that the bow above the main hall [entrance] was once a snake? Or, if it is not true that Wei Gao⁵⁵ is the [reborn person of the] previous ghost of Zhuge Liang,⁵⁶ how can [it be believed] that the stone tiger on the road was once a real tiger? That is why Zhenzong laughed on awakening to the birth of the Buddha and Renzong⁵⁷ stopped weeping on verifying that a great sage had descended and was born.

[B18] What is more, life and death are connected as fortune and misfortune are brought about. Longevity or early death are separate but determined [the same way that] fortune or calamity is preceded by omens. That is why Jia Yi (200–168 BCE)⁵⁸ said, “The thousand transitions and ten-thousand changes starting from the beginning [continue] without an end.” And Li Shiqian⁵⁹ remarked, “Deng Ai⁶⁰ will become a cow, Xu Bai⁶¹ a fish, the ruler a swan and the commoner will become a monkey.”⁶² Based on this it is said in the *Book of Rites*, “A rat will transform and become a button-quail.”

The *Zhuangzi* says, “A *kun* will change and become a *peng*, a fabulous bird of an enormous size.” It can be said that phenomena arise differently but lead to one [principle], as words may be different but the meaning the same. It cannot be that because cycle of rebirth and death is untrue, [Buddhism] can be abolished—this is the third reason.

Fourth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B19] If Your Majesty says that [because Buddhism] accumulates wealth it should be abolished then Emperor Shun⁶³ could have taken a plow to Mount Li [to start farming] and did not need to face the south [the world] and become an emperor. Yi Yin could have [farmed] swinging a sickle in the field of grain and did not have to face the north [the throne] and become a subject. This is rather like the food of the Lu state being unfitting to the pallet of the men of the Qi state or the cooked meat of the Yue state not satisfying to the taste of the people of the Qin state.

How is it that Confucius, not being like an old farmer, is considered as not having realized [the Way], but that Fan Xu⁶⁴ who [merely] asks about planting is said to have attained [the Way]. How is it that [because] Mencius is provided sustenance by farmers that he is considered not to be thrifty? Then, is Xu Xing⁶⁵ who makes his own straw sandals considered thrifty? That is why although having left the city walls, one does not have to pull weeds to feed oneself, and the [women] living in the inner quarters do not all have to weave cloth in order to cover their bodies with clothes.

[B20] Even more, rulers who govern and are the leaders of states consider virtue as foundational and wealth as secondary. That is why Duke of Shao said, “That which is treasured are merely the wise, so the people who are near are comfortable.”⁶⁶ Hu Yan has said, “There is nothing that can be considered as treasures but only humane people and friendship.”

If we see it this way, the scriptures have said that having land is to have wealth. The “Wucheng” chapter [of the *Book of Documents*] says, “Great things will be given to the [worlds within the] four seas,” which is to say that by having land, wealth will accumulate and there will be no worries of riches. Wealth will be distributed, so people will gather

and there will be no desire to horde. This is to say that it cannot be that [because Buddhism] accumulates wealth it should be abolished—this is the forth reason.

Fifth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B21] Your Majesty, if you say, “Governance and edification [of the people] are damaged by [Buddhism], so it needs to be abolished?” then it was not that there was no teaching given [to the son] but Emperor Yao had a son like Danzhou [who needed teachings], and it was not that there was no rebuke [to the father] but Emperor Shun had a father such as Gosuo (Blind Elder) [who needed to be rebuked]. It is that the weeds are mixed with the orchids and angelica herbs, or that the mandarin ducks are entangled with the group of phoenixes. How can Houyi and Han Zhuo⁶⁷ on account of being not loyal be put to death or their road to becoming royal subjects be blocked?

The *Guixin zashi*⁶⁸ is not clear in its meaning and thus it can be brushed aside but can the principle of upholding the ruler be cut-off? Based on this reasoning, a monastic who contravenes the laws of the royal court can have his face marked as a convict or put to death. If a nun commits a civil offence then her nose can be cut-off or she can be put to death. However, how can Buddhism be criticized as evil and be abolished entirely? It is only that its nature may not have progressed toward virtue, but it is not that its teachings and the dharmas have become stained with evil.

[B22] That is why Zi Chan (d. 522 BCE)⁶⁹ said, “What is considered virtuous in people, I argue, should be put to action. What I consider evil in people, I argue, should be rectified.”⁷⁰ Li Shizheng⁷¹ argued, “When students of Confucianism commit violations, it is not the wrong doings of Confucius.”⁷² Then, if a monk commits an offense, how is this the flaw of the Buddha? If we see it this way, the great *Book of Changes* states that transgressions should be forgiven and pardons granted for committed violations. The chapter “Duofang” [of the *Book of Documents*] explains, “[A ruler] must illustrate virtue and be careful with punishments.”⁷³ This is to say that among the people

there are those who are deserving of punishment but it is to highlight that the laws should not be abolished. Thus, it cannot be that because governance and edification are damaged by [Buddhism] that it needs to be abolished—this is the fifth reason.

Sixth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B23] If Your Majesty is saying that, “Because military labor [by the monastics] is lost [by the state] and so [Buddhism] needs to be abolished.” Then, based on the pretext of living in the capital city, families that do not pay taxes are numerous. Also, by falsely claiming residence in the countryside through family records, those who avoid being summoned for corvée or military labor,⁷⁴ how numerous they are! But Buddhism is weakening and the monastic labor [exacted by the state] is harsh and [its numbers] are the same as those according to the family records, and no different from the common people. In the two western provinces⁷⁵ the monastics enlisted into the military is significant, and in the three southern provinces⁷⁶ the monastics who are participating in the state enlisted military service are many.

[B24][Furthermore], the paper that is sent to China [as tribute] is all produced by monks and the various objects offered to the upper government officials are provided by monastics. The array of other enforced work is numerous and various taxes and requests [are burdened onto the monastics], which are from the local districts but orders from the royal court are on-going. If the orders are late because of being overburdened, then the monastic may be jailed or if the orders are unexpected that the monks are unable to fulfill [the order], they may be punished. [Monks are used in] the exchanges of goods and even the delivery of supplies over a distance of a hundred *ri* to the fortresses such as the Namhan sanseong Mountain Fortress, and every year they are made to guard it. Their status is the same as the castle guards and the places they inhabit are the same as soldiers in war.

[B25] Their hair is dirty but [they have] clear eyes, their hair is shaped by the wind and they wash only when it rains; their white socks and monastic clothes are covered in mud and dust. When there is an urgent situation they are gathered like a swarm of bees and moved

like an army of ants and on the battle field they charge ahead [loud] like thunder. They form a troop numbering tens of thousands and are organized into units fifteen men strong; [those] having bows and arrows pull the bow string with the left hand while holding [the bow and] arrows with the right, [while those] with long spears and swords advance [in attack] or retreat in defence.

In using swords, they [could] challenge the strength of the Jin and Chu states.⁷⁷ When in battle the monastic soldiers put to practice the techniques of the glorious state of Yue. In this way it is stated in the “Tunes from the States,”⁷⁸ “Due to the work of the state, there is no resting.” And the “Smaller Odes”⁷⁹ says, “From dawn to evening there is no chance [to rest].” It can be said that those who have given-up benevolence are few but those who have upheld principle are many. Therefore, it cannot be that Buddhism should be abolished arguing that military labor is lost [by the state]—this is the sixth reason.

Critiquing the Argument That Buddhism Has No Societal Benefits

[B26] This is a summary of the previous discussion. Your subject's knowledge is deficient and his devotion is lacking but other than the six points [discussed], there does not seem to be other harm [caused by Buddhism]. Then because [Buddhism] has no use in governing for a peaceful [state], should it be [abolished]? Your subject expresses in sincerity that there were previous rulers who praised, and subjects who protected Buddhism. If we speak of such rulers, those who have praised [Buddhism] are countless but for brevity sake only a few will be discussed.

In practicing and revealing the tradition of [Confucian] rites and music, who can compare to Emperor Ming of Han (r. 57–75 CE)?⁸⁰ When advancing and spreading the refined culture of Confucianism, who can compare to the filial Emperor Xiaozhang (r. 75–88)? In combining and perfecting the art of scholarship and swordsmanship, who can come close to Emperor Wu of Liang?⁸¹ Bringing together the worlds of the four seas, does anyone come close to Emperor Gaozu (r. 581–604)⁸² of the Sui dynasty (589–618)? In establishing the uniformity of the width of [cart] wheel track and writing,⁸³ who can be compared to Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649) of the Tang dynasty?

[B27] In the reign of Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty, there was elegance and majesty, and also propriety and simplicity. There was no excess or lewdness, was competent in governing a state, upheld Confucian scholars while encouraging the virtuous, and the reign became illustrious. At that time when [people] met elders in the alley they would bow and while holding scriptures [people] would discuss its meanings. The virtuous Confucian scholars and the literati were numerous and their numbers increased, and notes written about “Odes of Zhou and South”⁸⁴ was endless as the ocean.

Since the three dynasties (Xia, Yin, and Zhou), the flourishing of the Confucian tradition had never been as great. Through the Emperor Ming's [command], a jeweled statue of the Śākya was placed at the Xianjie-ling Tomb and the Qingliang-tai Terrace, and Ban Gu and Fu Yi composed hymns lauding its merits as the most magnificent during the Han dynasty. But it was only Zhong Liyi who thought that this was a peculiarity of Emperor Ming, [described in a] published book titled the *Chronicles of a Monarch*. How is this person an outstanding historian?

[B28] When Emperor Zhang ruled, the gentle and the virtuous were selected and employed, and a way [of governance] that was determined by the sincere advice [of counselors] was established. The foundations of governance were illuminated and put to practice such that [rule by] severe and cruel punishments were eliminated. [The emperor] appreciated and enjoyed the beauty of literary composition that he sponsored [the publications of] books by Confucian scholars. At the time, there was a mystical sparrow and a divine phoenix that came as a pair and there also appeared the auspicious animals of a white bird and a white deer. Also, Wang Jing, the magistrate of Xuzhou, presented [to the emperor] a hymn on the Buddha statue,⁸⁵ and glorified the merits of the Buddha that were obtained by the previous emperors, which was recorded in the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*.⁸⁶ However, it is only the historians who claimed that [Emperor Zhang] deposed the crown prince and ruled using harmful [methods]. How can the work [of the historians] be considered to be true?

[B29] When the Emperor Wu (r. 502–557) of the Liang dynasty ruled, letters and military skills were sincerely pursued and the works of Confucians became widespread. There were many diversely skilled people, shields and spears were gathered and put away, and merit was abundant and [people] were humane so that the blessings spread far to the regions. At this time five-colored clouds filled [the sky over] the royal court and six dragons protected the pillars and in the garden a three-legged crow⁸⁷ lived and two peacocks lived by the stairs. Since the start of civilization, the appearance of divinity has never been wondrous

as this.

That is why from morning to night [Emperor Wu] kept to the purification rules and stringently practiced it even at old age. The court recorder Wei Zheng remarked that, “Emperor Wu of the Liang, sincere to the Way of Heaven, came to know [his] three lives.⁸⁸ He can be called a humane person under Heaven.” It was only Han Yu,⁸⁹ who did not examine carefully and wrote that [Emperor Wu] died of starvation. How can this be an accurate record?

[B30] When the forefathers of the Sui dynasty ruled, they were the rulers over countless states and set a structure of governance using auspicious designations. They abolished the six ministries of the Zhou dynasty and for the first time established rites and music, and based on the three departments of the Han dynasty laws were established.⁹⁰ At this time, Heaven gave prophecies, the waters gave five colors, sweat water springs formed, and the mountains exclaimed “ten thousand years (of rule)!”

After the periods of Wei and Jin, the merits from opening and settling [on new lands] had previously not been this vast, and temples and stupas were raised on thirty different locations including in the Qizhou province. It is said in the *Shishi lun*,⁹¹ “Emperor Wen (r. 581–604) of the Sui dynasty became unified [with the Way] and this body reached great peace and has indeed been the great sovereign of the world.” However, it was only Du Mu (803–852) who in particular claimed that [Emperor Wen] acted as and was called a thief and that he died before his time. How are these insightful words?

[B31] When Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty was in power, he overcame disaster and mitigated chaos and revived the declining social customs. He eliminated the grasshoppers and insects and saved the year of crop disaster. And by raising an army he was able to have powerful barbarians in far distant [lands] to surrender. At the time the five spirit animals⁹² and the one-horned animal played about indicating auspicious signs, and a white fox and a red wild goose gave off a bright light revealing an auspicious sign. Since the Han dynasty, the extent of the established foundation [of society] has not been greater.

That is why tears were shed [in grief], a posthumous title was bestowed, and a temple was built [in honor] of the late Empress Dowager Mu. In the *New Book of Tang*⁹³ it was exclaimed, “The merits of Emperor Taizong is magnificent! [He] is comparable to Emperor Tang and King Wu, and similar to King Cheng and King Kang.” However, it was only Ouyang Xiu⁹⁴ who in particular noted that [Emperor Taizong] preferred having work done by using the military, and recorded it as a flaw. How is this a well examined account? These emperors are all rare and exceptional rulers of the world.

[B32] To speak as your subject, there are others who protect and practice [Buddhism] that number more than thousands and tens of thousands but to be brief, only a few will be mentioned. During the time of the Jin dynasty there are: Xi Chao, Sun Chao, Xu Xun, Tao Qian,⁹⁵ Wang Dao,⁹⁶ Zhou Kai, Yu Liang, Wang Men, Wang Gong, Wang Mi, Guo Wen, Xie Shang, and Dai Kui.

During the time of the Liang dynasty there are: Ren Fang, He Dian, He Yin, Shen Yue,⁹⁷ Liu Xie, Fu Xi, Fu Wang, Xiao Zong, Li Shi, Li Yinzhi, and Ruan Xiaoxu.

During the Tang dynasty there are: Liu Xuan, Song Jing, Zhang Shui, Wang Wei,⁹⁸ Wang Jin, Liang Su, Li Shen, Liu Ke, Lu Yu,⁹⁹ Li Ao, Cui An, Wei Zhou, Du Hongjian, Bai Juyi¹⁰⁰

At the time of the Song dynasty, there are: Qian Chu,¹⁰¹ Wang Dan, Yang Jie,¹⁰² Yang Yi,¹⁰³ Wei Qi, Li Gou, Su Shi,¹⁰⁴ Su Zhe, Li Bing, Zeng Kai, Li Zunxun, and Zhang Deyuan.

[B33] Some of these people contributed to the planning of the royal court and gave counsel with knowledge, and some resided in deep forests living hidden in a place of trees and water. Some have mastered literary skills and have travelled freely, composed poems, dedicating their life to finding truth and sacrificing their bodily needs in order to receive teachings of whom are without equal as ministers. Among the many emperors and ministers, many can be said to have with greater effort supported Buddhism, and I have not heard that [Buddhism] gave harm in governing for peace.

Your subject would like to explain, after examining the emperors

of the previous periods who abolished Buddhism and the ministers who banned and criticised Buddhism. If we are talking about emperors, those who abolished and oppressed Buddhism are only a few. Among even those, Emperor Taiwu (r. 423–452) of the Northern Wei slandered and oppressed Buddhism and wasted [the labor of] the people and resources in building the Pure Wheel Heavenly Palace¹⁰⁵ and in the end the emperor acquired a sickness. Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou¹⁰⁶ indiscriminately killed monks and donned a yellow robe but, while in Jinyang, he had a high fever and lost his voice after which he died.

[B34] Emperor Wuzong of Tang dynasty destroyed and eradicated temples and statues. He had taken the golden elixir [to become an immortal] but during the reigning period of Huichang¹⁰⁷ and not fulfilling the entirety of this rule, he suffered an early death. Emperor Shizong¹⁰⁸ of the Later Zhou, destroyed Buddha statues and yearly made a roster of monks. Raising an army he attacked the northern region but died of a debilitating sickness. These are all the rulers from the declining periods.

Speaking as your subject, there have been ministers who have castigated and spoken ill of Buddhism, but they number only a few. It was only Fu Yi¹⁰⁹ who curried favor from Zhang Daoyuan and, with his help, was able to submit an appeal to Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty, asking for the eradication of Buddhism. The chancellor Xiao Yu rejected the appeal claiming misdeed of slandering Buddhism and Emperor Taizong disliked the irrational words of Fu Yi and in the end personally did not accept [the request].

[B35] Furthermore, Cui Hao,¹¹⁰ trusting Kou Qianzhi's¹¹¹ contriving skills, composed an appeal to Emperor Wu of the Northern Wei dynasty to execute the monastics. Duke Sima Wen¹¹² criticized the foolishness of their planned contriving methods. On the streets people criticized Cui Hao as being highly evil and even splattered urine on his face. Moreover, Zhang Bin [of the Northern Zhou dynasty] together with Wei Xiaokuan's¹¹³ associates brought false charges [against Buddhism] to Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou criticising and slandering it, when the second level minister Zhen Luan maintained the

integrity of Buddhism. Furthermore, Imperial Secretariate¹¹⁴ Tang Lin driven by such purging [of Buddhism] composed the *Minbao ji* (Tales of Miraculous Retribution). Also, Zhao Guizhen led by Liu Xuanjing's flattery secretly brought false accusations to Emperor Wuzong of the Tang dynasty and burned and destroyed [temples] to clear the village [of Buddhism].

[B36] The Reminder Wang Zhe¹¹⁵ warned the emperor that the people with faith [in Buddhism] are too many. Even the court historians who have discussed abolishing [Buddhism based on] what is virtuous or evil are not the same. All these were the ministers during the time of turmoil. Although the numerous rulers and subjects can be said to have assailed Buddhism all the more harshly, it has never been heard that there was any harm to ruling for peace. Speaking broadly, what the rulers of the past era have done did not come from their own doing but have come from the repeated lies that come to be true and become passed on. This maxim comes from the story of a mother at a loom who threw the shuttle.¹¹⁶

As a scholar whose vocation is Confucianism there is none as wise as the Masters Cheng (the Cheng brothers)¹¹⁷ and Zhu Xi. However, Cheng Mingdao did not eradicate Buddha statues and Zhu Xi¹¹⁸ enjoyed reading Buddhist texts. But debating done was through criticizing and questioning and was done with no more than words. They said, "It seems refined but does not have substance, or it appears to be a close [reflection of] principle but is an imitation of the truth." However, arguments for abolishing of Buddhism was not seen.

[B37] Han Tuizhi (Han Yu)¹¹⁹ submitted an anti-Buddhist petition [to the emperor] when Master Long of the Western Shu region was enraged and considered the words to be indigent where upon he wrote a criticism of Han Yu. Thereafter when Han Yu had exchanges with [a monk] Taidian, Imperial Secretariate Meng Jian wrote a letter to Han Yu admiring the rectification of his [previous] aberration. That is why Huang Luzhi noted that, "After when Han Yu met with Taidian the anti-Buddhist discourse had decreased somewhat." Ouyang Xiu had admired Han Yu as a person and was in favor of anti-Buddhist [ideas].

When he was visiting Mount Chong on leisure, he met a monk and had a discussion when without realizing, he knelt down and naturally bowed [to the wise monk]. That is why Xie Xishen wrote it down to record the incident.

[B38] Sima Guang continued the traditions of Xunzi 荀子¹²⁰ and Mencius in setting plans of abolishing [Buddhism] but on account of having met [the monastic] Yuantong, suddenly realized his long held wish. Finally having lost the veiling effect of objectives [towards Buddhism] said publically, “The subtle but detailed [wisdom of Buddhism] has not yet left our [Confucian] books.” [In another case], Zhang Shangying,¹²¹ holding to high esteem the Way of Confucius desired to formulate a treatise on the non-existence of the Buddha. He went to visit [an eminent monk] Congyue¹²² when his mind-ground¹²³ became unimpeded and luminous after which he wrote the *Treatise on Protecting the Dharma*.

Some time after, he attained the position of the right vice director of the Imperial Secretariat, at which time it rained after a long drought, of which Tang Geng¹²⁴ composed the “Xifu Poem” where Zhang Shangying’s merits were extolled. These are the heroic scholars and they have only critically spoken [of Buddhism] but I have not seen any arguments for the eradication of Buddhism. That is because in fully appreciating [the dharma], there was a shared unspoken understanding [amongst these scholars].

[B39] Based on this, we can say the following: The rulers and their ministers who supported [Buddhism] would not be only in the thousands and tens of thousands [but more]. Then, if [by saying that] Buddhism was of no benefit, would the rulers and ministers at that time be all wrong? [Instead], the rulers and ministers who suppressed and abolished [Buddhism] were not more than a few. Then, if [by saying that] Buddhism was harmful, would that make all the rulers and ministers correct? Indeed, if supporting Buddhism was wrong, then all the rulers of the Han and Ming dynasties would be inferior compared to Emperor Wu of the Northern Wei, and Song Jing¹²⁵ would be deficient compared to Zhang Bin’s officials.

Surely, if abolishing [Buddhism] was correct, Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou and all its rulers would have been better than Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty and Cui Hao would be wiser than Fu Yi's¹²⁶ associates. However, if we are discussing well-governed times then surely it is the Han and the Tang dynasties. It was never heard that Fu Yi and Song Jing's minds were cunning and biased. If we speak of unruly times we must mention Wei and Zhou dynasties when it was never heard that Cui Hao and Zhang Bin had proper governing skills.

[B40] [I urge that] Your Majesty must indeed gather the [books] of pivotal history and come to decide on the discourse of non-existence of the Buddha, and I, your servant, will reveal some histories and their characteristics. In ancient times Confucius asked about propriety to Laozi, learnt to play the zither from Master Xiang, asked about music to Chang Hong, and learnt about government office from Tanzi. All had something to offer and based on this Confucius was able to compile the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Although Tanzi is included in the writing of this composition, he was recorded using his official title and the other three masters were not written into the composition but the compiler recorded them by the skill of their craft. However, these three including Master Xiang and Chang Hong cannot be said to be less wise than Tanzi.

[B41] Generally, the office title is related to the person of worldly teachings and the skills of craft are unrelated to governing a state. That is why when Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi compiled the *New Book of Tang*,¹²⁷ Ouyang Xiu deleted the life records of [monks] such as Huijing and others but only left remaining Yixing's¹²⁸ composition, the *Taiyanli*,¹²⁹ and Song Qi deleted the biographies of [monks] such as Xuanzang¹³⁰ and others but only mentioned Daohong's teachings on geography. [Regarding] Huijing and Xuanzang and all other masters, how can it be said that they were of lesser importance compared to Yixing and Daohong? In brief, the *Taiyanli* synthesizes the astronomical times while teachings on geography is regarding people's affairs. It is indeed appropriate that the arising events were described by historians.

[B42] Sima Guang in writing the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in*

Government, recorded the various performances of incantations by Fu Yi who was mentioned in the “Annals of Emperor Taizong” of the Tang dynasty. However, the discussions on the Way and comparable works by Xuanwan¹³¹ were suppressed and not recorded. How is it that the performances of incantations are considered worthy and the discussions of the Way considered not worthy? Generally, attempting incantations is performed by those who in aiming for desirable results claim outrageous abilities, and because of this, it is used [by people] to besmirch and castigate Buddhism.

However, [as a tradition that] discusses the Way and examines the pervading principles, [Buddhism] has been with determination and courage establishing [its foundation]. That is why [there is an effort to] abolish it, by hiding and eliminating the truth about Buddhism. Therefore, the suppression of Buddhism, was modelled on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in their revision by the three historians (Ouyang Xiu, Song Qi and Sima Guang). However, although within the *Spring and Autumn Annals* there is no imbued personal intentions, amongst the three historians there was a biased enmity.

The concealment of [the truth about] Buddhism was intended for eliminating and hiding it. Empty accusations are brought forth and Buddhism was slandered. How can this be [compared to] Dong Hu’s¹³² writings. It is based on such reason that stories of Buddhism have not been entered into the books of history.

In Defence against the Argument That Buddhism Brought Misfortune

[B43] Your Majesty says, previously when there was no Buddhism the country was governed and there was peace and prosperity but after the monastics appeared people died early and fortune was scarce. I, however, will bring to light the previous era when there was disarray and ruin and its characteristics. The world of disarray and ruin could not all be recorded but briefly I will highlight some periods. Among the evil and those who killed many people how can there be anyone like King Jie of the Xia dynasty? In killing the righteous and harming the benevolent, is there anyone like King Zhou of the Yin dynasty? In coveting power and desiring praise, is there anyone like Emperor Shihuang of the Qin dynasty?

When Emperor Jie of the Xia dynasty was the sovereign, he was indeed greedy and acted out viciously as he pleased. He was strong and his power expanded and grew. The women and consorts at the pearl terraces and jade palaces¹³³ were pleased while the people and [the country's] wealth were all squandered for lavish banquets and orgies. Streams of wine were made that a thousand people bent down to drink from it. The by-product [of such quantity] of wine was used in building a wall that it added a length of ten *li*.¹³⁴ These [acts] destroyed merits and created dangers; [the people were] not able to endure the poison and they also accepted lewd and violent ways such that all fell into a life of hardship and suffering.

[B44] Therefore, Heaven gave punishment to the Xia clan for their transgressions and the people had deep seated resentment [thinking], "When will the sun (emperor) set?"¹³⁵ In following, King Tang gave an oath to the people to invade, and Zhong Hui¹³⁶ composed the "Zhong Huizhi gao" to incite King Tang. At last, the Yellow River (Huanghe) and the Ji River were made to lose their strength [as a defence] of

a moat of hot water.¹³⁷ Mount Tai and Mount Hua that were once sturdy foundations were conquered, and the harsh region of Yique that blocked the south was subjugated. Mount Yangchang, which completely fortified the northern region, was conquered and Emperor Jie was forced into exile in Nanchao and after escaping to Mingtiao he died and his kingdom also perished. Therefore in the chapter “Tangshi” of the *Book of Documents* it is said, “Heaven commanded Emperor Jia’s death.”

[B45] When King Zhou of the Yin dynasty¹³⁸ became the ruler, his eloquence was able to explain away his wrong doings and he cleverly rejected any admonitions. His extravagance led to having jade wine bowls and ivory chopsticks. Harsh punishments were exacted on the metal pillar over burning coal and heavy taxes were imposed which added to the treasures of the Deer Terrace.¹³⁹ Furthermore, through brutal actions a large storage was overfilled with the five grains. The loyal and benevolent [ministers] were punished with scalding hot metal. For interfering with the court, [a minister’s] shins were slashed and [flesh] was cut away exposing the bone, and for admonishing [the king, the minister’s heart was cut out to verify] the seven openings in Bi Gan’s [heart].¹⁴⁰

[B46] Therefore, Heaven was displeased with the Shang dynasty’s¹⁴¹ transgressions that spread to every part of its kingdom. The people through generations did not forget their resentment as if it were for an enemy. As a result, King Wu¹⁴² gathered [fierce] men like bears and Qi Taigong¹⁴³ helped in forming a cavalry. In the end, Dijiao became a place of whistling [war] arrows and the fields of flowers became a place where spears were strewn. Mount Mengmen was where the dust from the Mount Taihang blew and at Mount Heng, great rivers overflowed. The gathered army officers were [many] like forest [trees] and weapons became soaked with the blood [of the dead]. Treasures and jade were all burnt and the emperor and the state were together ruined. Therefore, the “Taishi” chapter of the *Book of Documents* says, “He [King Zhou] was executed by the Mandate of Heaven.”

[B47] When Emperor Shihuang of the Qin dynasty (221–206

BCE) became the ruler, he was naturally of strong and fierce character. Otherwise he was normally greedy and cruel in heart. He killed those who were humane and righteous, buried [alive] Confucian scholars, and burned books. He encouraged enterprises [that increased his] merit and performed rituals at mountain shrines. Being weary of the nomadic tribes, he had general Meng Tian¹⁴⁴ build the Great Wall in the north. [He also] wanted to be a divine immortal and so sent the envoy Xu Fu east into the three sacred mountains.¹⁴⁵ He gathered the peasants and forced the wealthy families to move to the capital city Xianyang. The hearts and [physical] strength of the people were exhausted in building Efang Palace south of the Wei River.

After having flourished, the dynasty declined at the time of Huhai (second emperor of the Qin dynasty).¹⁴⁶ Lewdness circulated and spread widely and was rampant at the time of Ziyang,¹⁴⁷ at which time the dynastic blood line ended. In consequence, the jade ball was returned to the ruler Hao Chi, and the body in the funerary carriage (of Emperor Qin Shihuang) disintegrated away. Liu Bang¹⁴⁸ lurked in the west of Pei District like a dragon and Xiang Ji¹⁴⁹ resided in Shandong with his tiger-like teeth. War eventually broke out in the Guanzhong region which decided the supremacy of the contenders. A surrender with a sacrificial lamb was sent from Bashang (Liu Bang was able to overtake Bashang).

[B48] From the Xiaohan region sounds of killing reverberated and at Longshu the stench of blood exuded. [Huhai] was slain at the Wangyi Palace and the severed head [of Ziyang] was hung at Zhidao. The “ten thousand years” [the Qin dynasty was supposed to reign], in summary, came to an end by the second generation.¹⁵⁰ That is why Jia Yi stated, “Humaneness and righteousness were not put into effect.”¹⁵¹ During the time of the many generations of the rulers it can be said that though there was no Buddhism, the dynasty continuously perished through wars and the fortune of the dynasty was short-lived. Even though there were no Buddhist monks, it is clear that this happened.

Support of Buddhism in the History of the Eastern Kingdom

[B49] Ah! How extraordinary! If we examine our past history of Joseon, it was the Liang dynasty (502–557) that sent Buddha relics to the Silla kingdom (57 BCE–935 CE) and all the officials went out of the palace to greet its arrival. From then on, temples were grand and the statues of the Buddha were magnificent. Amongst this, divine monks were born and extraordinary monks continuously appeared. In search of the Way, people travelled west and large seafaring ships were set out to the ocean. When the dharma was obtained and returned to the east, it was adopted in the Goguryeo kingdom (37 BCE–668 CE) and thereafter in the Baekje kingdom (18 BCE–660 CE).

In the three kingdoms, there was not a case that the kings and officials did not ride out on horses to receive [the monks transmitting the dharma] and were overjoyed and praised the dharma. [The people] cut their beards and hair [to become monks and nuns] and [performed rituals] burning their fingers and bodies¹⁵² and so the kingdoms continued for a long time while the fortunes of the families improved. **[B50]** Silla's history lasted 992 years, Goguryeo's history lasted for 705, and Baekje's history lasted 618¹⁵³ years, and during these times I have not heard of Buddhism having been a harm in the governing of the Way. As the Wang clan [of the Goryeo dynasty] united [the three kingdoms], the mysterious ways [of Buddhism] was widely accepted and the saṃgha increased in number.

Among the high level officials who were models of morality, there were none whose hearts did not come to depend on Buddhism and wished that it will prosper. There are even cases of members of the royal family who became nuns and monks, [a tradition] that continued for a long time. It was hoped that evil will be blocked and that the source of benevolence will spread. The span of the Wang clan was 475 years and

at that time, surely, the harm of Buddhism in the governing of the Way was never heard of.

[B51] Humbly my thoughts are that His Majesty Great King Taejo came to be in harmony with Heaven and have opened the [gates of] fortune of the state, evil has been dispelled and dangerous events were avoided. Indeed, his distinguished moniker is of a talisman [that indicates the] founding of a dynasty¹⁵⁴ and the ascension to the throne.¹⁵⁵ The Majesty's wisdom and thoughts in his writings are outstanding beyond that of a hundred kings. The depth and brilliance [of his knowledge] and the warmth and deference [of his personality] can captivate and command a thousand sages. It was difficult times at the start [of the dynasty] but after laying the foundation, his mind turned to the Vulture Peak¹⁵⁶ and led to Buddhist temples and eventually sought out Muhak¹⁵⁷ and came to decide on Hanyang [as the capital].

[B52] Great King Taejong sincerely held fast to the mean and fully embodied virtue. He earned the benefits of wise statecraft and also realized humaneness from helping the aged and guiding the weak. He abolished killing and overcame vicious ways similar to the compassionate actions of King Tang.¹⁵⁸ Crimes were harshly punished and those with minor offences were forgiven, even on meeting a convict on the road he would stop his cart [out of compassion] and ask about the convict's crimes. [Getting up early to] greet his parents and when there was extra time after state affairs, King Taejong sought temples deep in the mountains and searched for the hidden [wisdoms] of the Buddha. Even during the time of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450) and King Munjong (r. 1450–1452), they were vigilant from the beginning and were devout in contributing much [to Buddhism].

[B53] It was Great King Sejo who revealed his literary plans and promoted efforts to improve the military capabilities. He inherited a tradition that revered those who were of higher virtue and wise. He established the tradition of dignity in studying the Way in managing the country. With sagacious and divine brilliance he attempted to create splendid merit. Being gentle but [deserving] respectful aura, he helped

in beautifying [the country] and thus emerged like a gracious sun and established a tradition of genuine edification.

At the time of kings Seongjong (r. 1469–1494) and Jungjong (r. 1506–1544), they continued on [from the past kings] the splendid Mandate of Heaven and transmitted such customs and law. These [kings] in particular enacted the monastic examinations, as being equal to the state examinations. At the time of kings Myeongjong (r. 1545–1567) and Seonjo (r. 1567–1608),¹⁵⁹ they strove to enact the teachings [of the past kings] and focused on following their aims.

[B54] With Brilliant wisdom and virtue His Majesty Great King Injo (r. 1623–1649) gathered the great works [of past kings] and examined these shinn-ing mandates, and was able to enact the Way that alleviated disasters and uprooted cruelty. [He] searched for expedient ways of adapting to the circumstances and when sprouts of crisis arose, it was severed and the four transgressors¹⁶⁰ were ably punished. Indeed [King Injo] took interest in agriculture and applied the Six Requirements¹⁶¹ fully on himself. In reality, [King Injo] was a true sovereign whose equal cannot be found since the ancient times. [He] transcends the present and will forever be the only sage ruler of his kind.

However the wisdom of the Lotus Storehouse Realm¹⁶² and the Way of enlightenment were preserved and unaltered, supported and not destroyed. It was continued by the magnificent descendants who as individuals were able to appreciate the auspiciousness and transmit it for ten thousand years. During such time, it was never heard that in Buddhism there was harm in the governing of the state. **[B55]** It is said in the “Sacrificial Odes of Zhou” chapter,¹⁶³ “Remember the ancestors of the kings.”¹⁶⁴ The “Praise-Odes of Lu” chapter advises, “Illuminate and imitate the illustrious ancestors.”¹⁶⁵ I humbly wish that Your Highness remembers the illustrious ancestors. It is also instructed in the “Counsel of Great Yu” (Dayumo) chapter [of the *Book of Documents*], “Remember and be together with [the illustrious ancestors].”¹⁶⁶ The chapter, “Lord Chen”¹⁶⁷ [of the *Book of Documents*], cautions, “The memory of the ancestors should not be disgraced.”¹⁶⁸ [In this way] I humbly pray that Your Highness remembers his ancestors.

[B56] Generally, under heaven there has not been a country without Buddhism. Even in the country of [people who] mark their foreheads and stain their teeth, in the region where they drink like animals and have a custom of loosening their topknot, where they wear clothes made from straw but eat fur, the region where they tattoo their bodies and grow their hair long, the region outside of the nine eastern barbarian tribes and the southern eight barbarian tribes, and in the region between the western five and northern six tribes of barbarians, in all of these places there were monks. This allows for the edification of the monarchs and heads [of tribes] and makes stable the integrity of following one's beliefs and principles. Even more, Your Majesty's brilliant virtues have reached the animals and your exceeding humaneness has even spread to the plants. Nevertheless, how is the [killing] stopped by exchanging cows with lambs or changing [the animals] that will live? Or, how can it be that because of prejudices on the differences between trees and fowls that some are easily destroyed [and not others]?

[B57] If we examine the biography of the monks, the State Preceptor Doseon (827–898)¹⁶⁹ is our eminent monk of the east who went to Tang China and received the dharma from Yixing (683–727). Yixing was a monk who has been referred to as a sagacious person by Yin Yin.¹⁷⁰ [Yixing is known to have] determined the Great Expansion¹⁷¹ number and have rectified the mistakes of the [past] diviners, based on the *tuchen shuo*¹⁷² tradition, which has been a 600 year tradition [of divination] explained by Luoxiahong (d.u.).

The mysterious teachings were entirely passed on to Doseon which then was returned to the east. He has put in place order to heaven and earth and has even uncovered the deeply hidden [geographical places]. Therefore after surveying all the low and high mountains, temples were raised totalling 1,500 at the sites that needed [geomantic] corrective measures.¹⁷³ By corrective measures, it is meant for the improvement and protection of the country. Being placed at the places that is of utmost geomantic power, [Doseon] indeed divined that, "If the temples flourish, then the country will flourish." If his words are false and futile,

there is no more to say. However, if his methods are supernatural and portentous then building temples will have benefit for the country and there will be no harm in governing through the Way, and this is clearly evident.

[B58] These days are extreme times and many famous and large temples have caught on fire or have been confiscated by the powerful and so the original energy have become destroyed and the mountain energy channels have become weakened. Does this mean that Buddhism will decline, or that the state will thrive? If we consider this through [Doseon's] divination [ideas], the rise or fall of the temples is related to the prosperity or failure of the country. [That is why I], your subject, am grief-stricken and worried always for the betterment of the country.

Additionally, if we examine the historical records of the monks, at times when the kings were flourishing, they certainly visited eminent monks and conferred the title of state preceptor. The state preceptor is said to be a master who assists the state and the ruler. Their Way and reputation are of the utmost such that the records have explained, "If the state is about to prosper, a divine monk will appear." [That is why] according to the Chinese records it indicates, "During the [Later] Han of the Emperor Ming times, it was Moteng (d.u.);¹⁷⁴ during the time of Emperor Wu of the Liang, it was Bao Zhi (418–514); during the time of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, it was Zhiyi (538–597); during the Emperor Taizong of the Tang period, it was Xuanzang (600–664); and during the time of Emperor Taizu of the Song dynasty, it was Mayi (d.u.)."

[B59] In our Eastern Country we can refer to Mukhoja of Silla, Sundo of Goguryeo, Marananta of Baekje, Doseon of [the Goryeo capital city] Songak, Muhak of [Joseon capital city of] Hanyang. If these monks were cunning and deceptive then it is of no avail. However, their Way is broad and has spread far. With the appearance of these divine monks it brought benefit to the country and it is clear that there has been no harm in the governing of the country. The current times are chaotic and monks of high merit have disappeared like smoke. [The

tradition of] eminent monks has subsided like froth and has ended. The dharma lineages have been severed and the assembly of Seon monks has become degenerate. Does this mean that Buddhism will shortly be extinguished and the state will shortly flourish? Based on records if we examine [history], the appearance of divine monks have been connected to the rise and [not the] fall of states. Your subject laments for the state and has always been worried about the state.

[B60] Yes! If we gather [the records] and examine all this, there were benefits when temples existed. When there were no monks, there were cases of losses, and in this respect there were benefits. Why is it said that the monks need to be eliminated and the temples destroyed and thereafter peace can be brought about? Your subject is not deceiving Your Highness with unsustained lies. Your Highness has inspected many history books and are well familiar with the past and current events. How many rulers are there who destroyed temples and suddenly flourished? How many rulers are there who allowed monks to thrive and suddenly became ruined?

[B61] Moreover, it was starting from the time of the Han dynasty that the community of nuns existed within the monastic community when at the time of Lady Jieyu,¹⁷⁵ together with more than 230 palatial women, she felt displeasure with the world and took to Buddhism. Also, Lu Huiqing¹⁷⁶ along with Daoist priests numbering 628, discarded his Daoist robes and donned monastic robes. Emperor Ming of the Later Han period¹⁷⁷ established temples in ten places with three temples built inside the palace grounds where the nuns such as Lady Jieyu resided and seven other temples were established outside the palace where the monastics such as Lu Huiqing took residence.¹⁷⁸ The inner and outer were distinguished because of the difference between female and male [respectively].

[B62] In our Eastern Country this tradition was continued; two cloisters Jasuwon¹⁷⁹ and Insuwon¹⁸⁰ are located outside of the palace. They were the “inner” votive temples for the ancestral queens.¹⁸¹ The two temples Bongeunsa and Bongseonsa were located inside the royal burial grounds and were the “outer” votive temples for the ancestral

kings. The inner and outer distinctions are because of the male–female distinction. This [tradition] was not created on some day but an actual system from the early kings and queens. The temples have thrived together with the state, or have declined with the state and to have temples rise is a boon for the state while to have temples deteriorate is a tragedy. That is why the “Major Odes” [of the *Book of Odes*] states, “People have said [the state] will be ruined. It is a worry of the mind.”¹⁸² If both the inner votive temples are closed then it is a worry for His Highness. It is also said in the “Minor Odes” “When the [small] bottle of wine is empty it is a bad reflection on [the condition of] the large wine jar,”¹⁸³ such that if the two outer votive temples [Bongseunsa and Bongseonsa] deteriorate, it is a disparaging reflection on Your Highness.

[B63] At present the votive temples Jasuwon and Insuwon are closed and the nuns have been evicted from both temples¹⁸⁴ and the monastic slaves were confiscated. Once soaring temples now resemble a horrid spectacle, like the destruction by the Yin dynasty; the pure undefiled monastics suffered tragedy like the people of the Chu state who were made prisoners. The portrayed scenes and the carved faces are of the disheartened [once] palatial ladies, who were the upright merits of the dharma with shaved heads and [cared for] and wiped the tears of children.

What was it that Your Highness, who has a generous heart, disliked that you forced the nuns from the inner votive temples which have existed from the past? What was lacking from the wealth of Your Highness, that you confiscated all of the slaves of the outer votive temples? Muzi¹⁸⁵ stated, “It is inauspicious to discard past [traditions].”¹⁸⁶ Yet, in current times what can be more inauspicious than the closing of the temples and cloisters? Yuji claimed, “I have nowhere to return.”¹⁸⁷ Now days, not having anywhere to return, what can be more true than for the nuns who have been removed [from their temples]?

[B64] According to Heaven’s principle, pursuing the dharma by the earlier kings and queens corresponds with principle, but even based on human affairs, pursuing the opinions of the everyday [as in the current

situation] is turning one's back on principle. That is why in volume one of the "Tai Jia" it is stated, "Follow the ways of my ancestors."¹⁸⁸ And the "Announcement Concerning Luo," states, "Be faithful to the achievements of your predecessors."¹⁸⁹ If you follow these ways, you will be in harmony with the Heaven's principle. The *Zuozhuan* says, "Do not forget preceding rulers."¹⁹⁰ The *Book of Rites* claims, "Accept the mandate of the ancestors."¹⁹¹ And if this is not done, it is to turn against the affairs of the people.

[B65] Briefly, to explain the [relationship between the] ruler and the people, if there is a ruler there must be people. That is why the *Book of Odes* says, "If I am alone the people cannot be," and the *Book of Documents* states, "Is it not the ruler who should love [his people]?" How is it that the nuns are not the people of Your Highness and how is it that Your Highness is not the ruler of the nuns? The people uphold the ruler and the ruler commands the people. Therefore, as loyal people, they must be sincere and respectful; as a ruler who loves [his people], he must be generous and humane. This is the moral obligation of the ruler and the people and a way for peace for all, the high and the low.

[B66] If in the end it was just to evict the nuns, then the spirits of the ancestors will be ashamed in your presence but if closing the temples was ultimately unjust, then Your Highness will be disgraced in the presence of the spirits of the ancestors. If we consider it this way, [the nuns] staying at the cloisters corresponds with principle while evicting the nuns is turning away from principle. The essence of governing that corresponds with or turns against [principle] is related to whether or not [it was just]. But how is it claimed that after temples are closed and the nuns are evicted it is humane governance. Your subject is not claiming untruths and trying to deceive His Highness. [The power of] your filiality moves the heart of Heaven and you are insightful of the ways of the people. But if you are mindful of the ancestral queens' precedents, how could the nuns be victed and if you remember the ancestral kings' laws, how could the slaves be confiscated?

[B67] Furthermore, [the practice of] temples housing ancestral tablets was started from the time of the Tang dynasty when the Chan

Master Doui¹⁹² established the Jin'ge Temple that Emperor Daizong (r. 762–779) assisted with the two forms of taxes. At this temple, tablets for emperors Gaozu (r. 618–626) and Taizong (r. 626–649) and thereafter seven others were housed and on each the posthumous emperor titles were inscribed on the top. All the bureaucrats stood at the Guangshun Gate and then entered the temple and performed memorial rituals successively and from then on it has continuously been performed. At the time, *lingzhi* mushrooms grew at the royal ancestral shrines of the two palaces, about the beauty of which the emperor composed a poem.

[B68] In our East Country the system was adopted and all the ancestral tablets were housed at the inner and outer votive temples for hundreds of years. That is why this cannot be said to be right or wrong but is a custom that must be respected and valued. But these days they are buried under dirt while the tradition is destroyed and the memorial rituals have now been terminated. Does Your Highness feel sure that the place is not appropriate to house the ancestral tablets? Or has time passed so much that there is no need to continue the tradition?

If it is claimed that the temples are not appropriate then it is because the understanding of the [ministers] is lacking and not the fault of His Highness. If it is said that much time has passed then there are evidences in the scriptures [showing] that they were not buried away in dirt.

[B69] There are the [mausoleums for the] three wise kings of the Yin dynasty¹⁹³ and seven royal ancestral shrines in the Zhou dynasty and these are referred to as the *zongmiao* (ancestral shrine). According to the rules of the ancestral shrines, the ancient subsidiary lineage tablets were housed in the auxiliary shrines located north or south of the shrine for the grand ancestor, but it has not been heard that [tablets] were buried in dirt.

At the time of the Zhou dynasty, the *zhao* tablets¹⁹⁴ were moved and placed at the ancestral temple of King Wu and again have not heard that they were buried in dirt. Even though it has been a hundred generations from the first patriarch, there has not been a change in the

principles of moving [the tablets].

[B70] The present votive temples were originally called Buddhist houses. Though the location may have been unsure, if it had been where the emperor's tablets were housed then indeed it was the same as an ancestral hall. In the ancient times, Zi Chan (d. 522 BCE) did not demolish the provincial schools and Confucius considered him wise. When Li Rong argued that the tablets of the ancestral shrines need to be destroyed, Han Yu opposed him. Furthermore, how important are the spirits of our King Taejo [of Joseon] and the kings after him? How could the tablets with the posthumous names of the kings be buried in the mud?

Cai Mo (of the Spring and Autumn period) said, "Ancient vestiges should not be destroyed."¹⁹⁵ What more can be important as the state's vestiges than the places where the ancestor memorial rituals have been performed? Zi Yu (of the Spring and Autumn period) claimed, "Follow the traditional system."¹⁹⁶ What can be more important than the traditional system through which the ancestor memorial rituals are performed for all the ancestral kings? Regarding Heaven's principle, if the respectable and important traditions are followed, it is beneficial. With regard to human affairs, raising disagreements about right and wrong, it is adverse.

[B71] That is why it is said in the "Documents of Shang," "Carefully examine the laws of the former kings."¹⁹⁷ And the "Documents of Zhou" states, "Reverently follow the achievements of the former kings."¹⁹⁸ If you sincerely follow this way, you will attain heavenly principle. The explanation of the solid third line of the *xu* (hexagram)¹⁹⁹ states, "With respect and appreciation there will be no mishaps."²⁰⁰ The explanation of the solid fifth line of the *kun* (hexagram) states, "Performing ancestor memorial rituals is beneficial."²⁰¹ Thus, if this is not followed, human affairs are forgone.

Your subject through the years and months has examined the drought and poor harvest that started the year the ancestral tablets were buried and for four years crops have been far from the sickle, pots were empty of food, boys were traded (as slaves) for millet and so married

couples wept together, children were sold to survive, parent couples separated, vagabonds littered the streets, and people starving to death filled the streets.

[B72] Liu Xia explained, “The spirits are angry and did not accept the memorial ritual.”²⁰² Perhaps, the spirits of the preceding kings were angry and are refusing to accept the memorial rituals and so that is what has happened. Yanzi (b. 506 BCE)²⁰³ (of the Spring and Autumn period) added that when the spirits are angry they do not take interest in the [well-being of the] country. Perhaps the spirits were angry and they did not take interest in the country and that is the reason why that has happened. If it is not so, how can there be droughts for continuous years during the time of rule by the present emperor who is full of merit? This must be the reason and there is no doubt! If we inspect the past based on the current situation, then there were more mistakes.

Wooden figurines are powerless and the great sage knows wooden figurines [are buried by those who] have no descendants. The buried [ancestor] stone is small but [because it was buried] the divine Buddha foretold that Master Shi²⁰⁴ will be ruined. If now the ancestor tablets are wooden and if they are buried in a pit, what would happen?

[B73] Briefly, in speaking of ancestors and descendants, if ancestors exist then surely there must be descendants. That is why the *Book of Documents* states, “Model yourself after your illustrious ancestors.”²⁰⁵ And the *Book of Odes* says, “The brilliant descendants of Emperor Tang.”²⁰⁶ How are the royal ancestral tablets not the ancestors of Your Highness? And how is Your Highness not the descendant of the royal ancestor tablets. The descendants have come from the ancestors and the ancestors will continue [to exist] through the descendants.

That is why the descendants must commemorate [the ancestors] through filial piety and the ancestors through their spirits obscurely assist [the descendants]. This is the constant principle of the next world and the present world and is the original relationship between life and death. If in the end burying the tablets is right, then the spirits of the preceding kings would not have anger towards Your Highness but if stopping the memorial rituals is ultimately wrong then Your Highness

cannot recompense the spirits of the preceding kings.

[B74] Indeed, if we reconsider it from the opposite side, there is benefit in housing the tablets but misfortune in stopping the memorial rituals. Edification and its benefits and losses will surely be had but why is it necessary to argue for destroying the tablets and stopping memorial rituals and thereafter carryout edification of virtue? Your subject is not following untruths and being presumptuous to Your Highness. The Way of Your Highness permeates Heaven and human but learning reaches mysterious places. If you feel regret for the destruction of an altar then how can the tablets be buried? If [Your Highness] is sad at the cessation of the *che*²⁰⁷ and *hyeop*²⁰⁸ memorial ritual [performed for all former kings] then how can offering ancestor memorial rituals be stopped.

[B75] To explain in detail, the two temples should not be allowed to go to ruins and the two cloisters should not be allowed to be demolished. If both cases cannot be prevented and although the two, [both the two temples and the two cloisters], may be closed, the nuns should not be evicted out [onto the streets] and the ancestor tablets should not be buried. However if both cannot be prevented, then let the nuns be evicted [and prevent the burial of the tablets]. However, this is said without any choice over the matter.

If we consider this based on the truth, all this should not be allowed to happen. The reason is because, from the year the tablets were buried to the current year when the nuns were chased out, have the winds and the rain come at the right time? [No, they have not!] Have the *yin* and *yang* kept their balance? Have all the grains come to ripen? Have the people been pleased? Last year's draught was worse than the previous year and this year's draught has been worse than last year and so how will we know if next year's draught will not be worse than this year?

[B76] I beseech Your Highness to comfort the preceding kings and to be in accord with principle, and to grace your subject who is foolish, who merely dares to remonstrate with sincerity. I urge that Your Highness thinks deeply about the past affairs and do not refuse to resolve the matter right away. In doing this, the spirits of the former

kings will without hesitation protect and help [you]. If Your Highness does not close and abolish the temples, the spirits of the people will all be delighted and even the ghosts will be pleased. The five regulations²⁰⁹ will be followed by the people and all the officials will contribute in a timely and orderly manner.

If the seven planets are arranged according to the heavenly seasons, extended families will be harmonious among the people and from place to place there will be songs sung with the beating of [full] stomachs. People will not make grimacing expressions on their faces, peaceful times will be attained, and great fortuity will be continued. I, your subject, being presumptuous, claim that I have come to know the previous king [Hyojong]²¹⁰ and hope that he will not look to today when I may have my head severed off. However, I do not know what to do and not being able to tame my fearing heart, kneel before death and offer this appeal.

The end

Notes

- 1 *The Analects* (論語), “Weiling gong” 衛靈公, 8.
- 2 Emperor Yao 堯 is one the five legendary emperors (*wudi* 五帝).
- 3 Yinshou 尹壽 is known to have been Emperor Yao’s teacher.
- 4 Wucheng 務成 is known as a teacher to Emperor Shun who is one of the five legendary emperors.
- 5 The sinographs Zou 鄒 and Lu 魯 indicate Mencius and Confucius, respectively. That is because the Zou state is Mencius’ place of birth and the Lu state is where Confucius was born.
- 6 This is based on a chapter “Kongzi shijia” 孔子世家 (Biography of Confucius) which appears in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記). It can be accessed online at *Chinese Text Project* (hereafter CTP), <https://ctext.org/shiji>.
- 7 Lu Wang 呂望 who is generally known as Qi Taigong 齊太公 was the founder of the first dynasty of the Qi 齊 state, during the Zhou 周 period (11th cen.–221 BCE). See *An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art* (hereafter ECH), s.v. “Qi Taigong 齊太公.”
- 8 Otherwise referred to as the four elders (四皓), they were the four intellectuals of the Qin 秦 state (c. 900–206 BCE) who lived secluded at Mount Shang (商山) in order to avoid the social upheavals but returned to society with the founding of the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE).
- 9 The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (Zhulin qixian 竹林七賢) are a distinguished group of scholars of the Wei 魏 (220–265) and Jin 晉 (265–420) periods. See ECH, s.v. “Zhulin qixian.”
- 10 Yi Yin 伊尹, also known as Governor Yi, was well-known for his role as a counsellor to the early kings of the Shang 商 dynasty (17th–11th cen. BCE) (ECH, s.v. “Yi Yin 伊尹”).
- 11 Fu Yue 傅說 was a humble person who was appointed as the counsellor-in-chief (相) by King Wuding 武丁, of the Shang dynasty (ECH, s.v. “Fu Yue 傅說”).
- 12 The Duke of Shao (召公, d. c. 1000 BCE) was a brother to King Wu (武王) who is known to be the founder of the Zhou 周 dynasty (11 cen.–221 BCE) (ECH, s.v. “Shao Gong Shi 召公奭”).
- 13 Here the ten vassals are the ten ministers during the reign of King Wu (武王, 1045–1043 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty who were recognized for their skills in

governance.

- 14 The three foolish (三愚) is a reference to the idea that even the foolish can attain wisdom.
- 15 *Gan* 間 is a unit of measure between two pillars in a hall, used to specify the size of a building.
- 16 The three kings is a reference to the sage kings Yu Wang 禹王 of the Xia 夏 dynasty (17th–15th cen. BCE), Tang the Perfect (成湯) of the Shang 商 dynasty (17th–11th cen. BCE), and Wen Wang 文王 (1152–1056 BCE) or Wu Wang 武王 (1045–1043 BCE) of the Zhou dynasty (ECH, s.v. “Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝”).
- 17 The “Five Emperors” or the “Five Sovereigns” (Wudi 五帝) are the five legendary emperors that include Huangdi 黃帝 (Yellow Emperor), Zhuanxu 顓頊, Emperor Yao 堯, and Emperor Shun 舜. This in one combination among other combinations of the legendary emperors. See ECH, s.v. “Sanhuang wudi 三皇五帝.”
- 18 *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書 or *Shujing* 書經), “Documents of Shang” (商書), “Charge to Yue 1” 說命上, chap. 4.
- 19 *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳), “Zhaogong” 昭公, “Zhaogong ershi nian” 昭公二十年, chap. 2.
- 20 *Book of Odes* (詩經), “Minor Odes of the Kingdom” (小雅), “Beishan” 北山, chap. 2.
- 21 *Book of Documents*, “Documents of Shang,” “Tai Jia 2” 太甲中, chap. 7.
- 22 King Zhao 昭 (d.u.) was the fourth king of Western Zhou (西周, 1046–771 BCE).
- 23 The *Record of Wonders in the Book of Zhou* (*Zhoushu yiji* 周書異記) is a Chinese text that is currently not extant but is often cited as a source of information on Buddhism.
- 24 King Mu was the son of King Zhao and the fifth king of Western Zhou.
- 25 The grand councillor (太宰) of the Wu 吳 state had a personal name of Bai Pi 白駝 (d.u.).
- 26 This is from the Tang period Chinese monk Daoxuan’s 道宣 (596–667) composition, *Guang hongmingji* 廣弘明集, which discusses the relationship between Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. The original text of Daoxuan is slightly different from the current text, which includes the phrase, “Without governing, there is no disorder.” “丘聞西方有聖者焉, 不治而不亂, 不言而自信, 不化而自行” (T 2103.52.0098b23–b24).
- 27 *Zhuangzi* 莊子, “The Adjustment of Controversies” (齊物論), chap. 12: “一遇大型知其解者, 是旦暮遇之也.”

- 28 Shi Lifang 室利防 (室利房) is known as a missionary monk who was active in spreading Buddhism during the time of Qin Shihuang (221–210 BCE) (Jülch 2016, 45–46).
- 29 Huo Qubing 霍去病 (d. 117 BCE) was a respected and successful general of the Former Han period (前漢, 206 BCE–8 CE) who played an important role in the war campaigns against the northern barbarians (ECH, s.v. “Huo Qubing 霍去病”).
- 30 King Kunye (昆耶王) is referring to one of the princes of the army in the Xiongnu 匈奴 steppe federation, who was defeated by his enemy Huo Qubing.
- 31 Zhang Qian 張騫 (d. 114 BCE) was a court official who had extensive experiences in the western states during the Former- or Western Han (西漢) dynasty (206 BCE–8 CE). His efforts to open diplomatic and economic communication with the countries in the west made possible the development of the Silk Road (ECH, s.v. “Zhang Qian 張騫”).
- 32 The personal name of the grand master of imperial entertainments (光祿大夫) was Liu Xiang 劉向 and was a famous scholar of the Han period. He is the author of works such as the *Garden of Persuasions* (*Shuoyuan* 說苑) and the *Biographies of Immortals* (*Liexianzhuan* 列仙傳). See ECH, s.v. “Liu Xiang 劉向.”
- 33 For the modern debates on the historicity of the official introduction of Buddhism into China, see Zürcher (2007, 22).
- 34 Zou 鄒 was a minor state that existed during the ancient time of the Zhou dynasty.
- 35 This is a story in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, “Liao Po Lin Xiang rule zhuan” 廉頗藺相如列傳.
- 36 The “Samhan region” (Three Han) is an ancient reference to the present day region of the Korean peninsula.
- 37 Liu Yuancheng 劉元城 was a Song period scholar. He is also known as An Shi 安世.
- 38 Li Pingshan 李屏山 was a Jin period scholar.
- 39 The three sages here are King Wen (文王), Duke of Zhou (周公, fl. 1100 BCE) and Confucius.
- 40 Mount Fusang (扶桑山) is a site of the fantastic story of a “Jade Hen,” one of many mythical stories described in the collection of fantastic stories compiled in the *Shenyi jing* 神異經 (Classic of the Deities and the Extraordinary) attributed to the Former Han period (ECH, s.v. “Shenyijing 神異經”).
- 41 Weilu 尾閭 is a place in Chinese mythology describing a hole at the bottom of the ocean where water drains constantly without end.
- 42 The *Book of Rites* (禮記), *Zhong Yong* 中庸, chap. 31, (CTP, s.v. “Liji”).

- 43 This is a quotation from the *Book of Changes* (周易) in the chapter “Xici” 繫辭. According to the CTP, the original text is slightly different, although the semantics are the same. *Book of Changes*, “Xici 2” 繫辭下, chap. 5.
- 44 In ancient China before the invention of the writing system, a method of keeping records was possible through the system of using twine called *jiesheng* 結繩 (ECH, s.v. “Origin and Types of Chinese Characters”).
- 45 The three wise men of the Yin period are Jizi 箕子, Bigan 比干, and Weizi 微子.
- 46 The four malevolent beings (*sixiong* 四凶) refer to Chinese mythological beings, one of whom was Gun 鯀 that was extirpated by Emperor Shun 舜 (ECH, s.v. “Gun 鯀”).
- 47 Pao Xi 庖犧 is a Chinese legendary figure who is known to have created humankind with his sister, Nü Wa 女媧 (ECH, s.v. “Fu Xi 伏羲”).
- 48 Xiahou 夏后 is referring to the Xiahou clan (夏后氏) to which Yu the Great (Da Yu 大禹) belonged. He is a mythical king of ancient China who is famed for his control of floods and who was the founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty (17th–15th cen. BCE), the first dynasty in Chinese history (ECH, s.v. “Xia Dynasty Rulers”).
- 49 Zhao Meng 趙孟, also commonly known as Zhao Wu 趙武 (d. 541 BCE), is a Jin 晉 period nobleman who was known to have held several important government posts. See ECH, s.v. “Zhao Wu 趙武.”
- 50 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* 春秋左傳, “Zhaogong,” “Zhaogong yuannian” 昭公元年, chap. 2.
- 51 L’Haridon (2020, 7) emphasizes the importance of context by quoting from *Mouzi* wherein a misquotation of Confucius was corrected that was used to criticize Buddhism as follows: “That was one time, this is another. Confucius’ words raged against extravagance devoid of any ritual spirit [in his time]. . . Never did he prohibit giving [by the Buddhists].” (彼一時也, 此一時也. 仲尼之言, 疾奢而無禮. . . 非禁布施也.)
- 52 This commentary is abbreviated as *Zuoshi* 左史 but its full title is *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan* 春秋左氏傳. It is a commentary by Zuo Qiuming 左丘明 on the chronicle of the Lu state from 722 to 481 BCE. See the full translation of this text at, *Chinese-English dictionary for Modern and literary Chinese and digital library of literary Chinese classic and historic texts* (hereafter CED), available at <http://chinesenotes.com>.
- 53 Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870) is a Tang period Chinese monastic who is credited with compiling the *Huangbo shan Duanji chanshi chuanxin fayao* 黃檗山斷際禪師傳心法要 (T 2012A.48.0379c17–384a21).
- 54 Xu Xuandu 許玄度 is a literatus of the East Jin state.
- 55 Wei Gao 韋臯 (745–805), courtesy name Chengwu 城武, was an army general of

the Tang dynasty.

- 56 Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) was a military leader and prime minister of Shuhan 蜀漢 state during the Three Kingdoms period.
- 57 Renzong's 仁宗 (b. 1010) father was Zhenzong of the Song period.
- 58 Jia Yi 賈誼 was a literatus and a scholar in the Former Han period.
- 59 Li Shiqian 李士謙 was a Sui period (581–618) figure.
- 60 Deng Ai 鄧艾 was a military general of the Wei 魏 state (403–225 BCE), during the Warring States period (戰國時代, 481–221 BCE).
- 61 Xu Bai 徐伯 was a scholar during the Qi state period (1046–221 BCE) famous for his technical knowledge and skills in working with water issues, such as flooding.
- 62 This is found in the *Gujin shiwen leiju* 古今事文類聚 in the fifth fascicle.
- 63 Emperor Shun 舜 is one of the five legendary emperors and is the great-grandson of the Yellow Emperor (黃帝).
- 64 Fan Xu 樊須, also known as Fan Chi 樊遲, was a scholar who became a disciple of Confucius in the latter part of the sage's life.
- 65 Xu Xing 許行 was a philosopher who belonged to the school of “agriculturalists” (*nongjia* 農家) that flourished during the Warring States period. He stressed that everyone should take part in the production of food, even the nobility. See ECH, s.v. “Nongjia 農家.”
- 66 *Book of Documents*, “Hounds of Lu” 旅獒, chap. 2, (CTP, s.v. “旅獒”).
- 67 Han Zhuo 寒泥 is mythical hero who usurped Houyi as the leader of people near the Xia state.
- 68 The *Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識 (Miscellaneous News from Guixin Street) is a “notebook” (*biji* 筆記) collection of anecdotes, quotations, and random musings etc. written by the Southern Song period (1127–1279) scholar Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298) (ECH, s.v. “Guixin zashi”).
- 69 Zi Chan 子產 was a statesman and a philosopher during the Spring and Autumn period (c. 771–476 BCE).
- 70 A similar quote is found in the *Kongzi jiaiyu* 孔子家語 (School Sayings of Confucius). *Kongzi jiaiyu*, “Zhenlunxie” 正論解, chap. 10: “其所善者 吾則行之.” See CTP, s.v. “正論解.”
- 71 Li Shizheng 李師政 was a Tang dynasty Confucian scholar who later became a Buddhist monk and was credited with compiling the *Famen mingyi ji* 法門名義集.
- 72 This quotation cannot be located.
- 73 A similar phrase is found in the *Book of Documents* which states, “King Wen, illustrated his virtue and was careful in the use of punishments.” *Book of Documents*.

- ments, “Documents of Zhou,” “Announcement to the Prince of Kang” (康誥), chap. 2: “文王克明德慎罰.” See CTP, c.v. “康誥.”
- 74 *Jangjeong* 壯丁 refers to the summoning of men for corvée labor or military service.
- 75 The two western provinces are Hwanghae-do 黃海道 and Pyeongan-do 平安道.
- 76 The three southern provinces are Geongsang-do 慶尙道, Chungcheong-do 忠清道 and Jeolla-do 全羅道.
- 77 The state of Chu 楚 was a kingdom in what is now central and southern China during the time of the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States period.
- 78 “Tunes from the States” (Guofeng 國風) is a section in the *Book of Odes* (詩經), which is an early compilation of poems consisting of 305 Chinese poems from the era of about 1000 to 600 BCE, and is one of the Five Classics (五經). For more on the “Tunes from the States” see ECH, s.v. “Shijing 詩經 or Maoshi 毛詩.”
- 79 “Smaller Odes” (Xiaoya 小雅) is a section in the *Book of Odes*.
- 80 Emperor Ming of Han is also known as Mingdi 明帝 (r. 57–75 CE).
- 81 Emperor Wu of Liang is otherwise known as Liang Wudi (梁武帝).
- 82 Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (581–604) is also referred to as Emperor Wen (文帝).
- 83 Uniformity of the cart wheel track width and the writing system (*cheshu* 車書) is a reference from Qin Shihuang’s unification of the sinoscript which signifies an extension of order and uniformity.
- 84 “Odes of Zhou and South” (Zhounan 周南) is contained in the *Book of Odes*.
- 85 Here, the Buddha statue is referred to as a golden person, which is a commonly used moniker for the Buddha.
- 86 *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu* 漢書) was compiled by Ban Gu 班固 in the year 82 CE during the Later (Eastern) Han period (25–220 CE). For more on the *Hanshu* see ECH, s.v. “Hanshu 漢書.”
- 87 The three-legged crow (Ch. *sanzuwu* 三足鳥) lives on the sun according to Chinese mythology.
- 88 The three lives are of the past, the present and the future.
- 89 Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) is a scholar and a poet and one of the Eight Giants of Literature of the Tang and Song Dynasties (唐宋八大家). He is well-known as one of the developers and precursor of Neo-Confucianism and is known for his anti-Buddhist treatise (排佛論). For Han Yu’s anti-Buddhist polemics, see Ch’en (1973, 225–226).
- 90 The three departments of the central administration (*sansheng* 三省) consisted of the Chancellery (*menxiasheng* 門下省), the Palace Secretariat (*zhongshusheng* 中書省) and the Imperial Secretariat (*shangshusheng* 尚書省) (ECH, s.v.

“menxiasheng 門下省”).

- 91 It is unclear who is the author of the *Shishi lun* 石室論 (Rock Cavern Doctrine). It is referenced in the *Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (*Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載) composed by Nianchang 念常 (1282–1341).
- 92 *Wuling* 五靈 is referring to the five divine animals: giraffe, turtle, dragon, phoenix, and white fox.
- 93 The *New Book of Tang* (*Xintang shu* 新唐書) is a newly edited version of the *Book of Tang* and an official history of the Tang dynasty (618–907) that was completed in 1060. It was compiled by a team under the supervision of the historians Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061) (ECH, s.v. “Xintangshu 新唐書”).
- 94 Ouyang Xiu was a Song period politician, literatus, and scholar. He is considered one of the Eight Giants of Literature of the Tang and Song Dynasties.
- 95 Tao Qian 陶潛 or Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (c. 365–427) was a Jin period writer and poet.
- 96 Wang Dao 王導 (276–339) was an influential court official during the Jin dynasty and a brother to general Wang Dun 王敦, the regent of Jin from 325 (ECH, s.v. “Wang Dao 王導”).
- 97 Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) was a writer and a historian during Liang of Southern dynasties (南朝梁). He is famous for his compilation of the *History of Song of the Southern Dynasties* (*Song shu* 宋書) (ECH, s.v. “Songshu 宋書”).
- 98 Wang Wei 王維 (701–761) was a well-known poet of Tang period.
- 99 Lu Yu 陸羽 (733–804) was a writer from the Tang period known for his deep interest in the culture of tea. For more on Lu Yu, see ECH, s.v. “Chajing.”
- 100 Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) was a famous Tang dynasty poet.
- 101 Qian Chu 錢俶 was a king of Wuyue (r. 948–978).
- 102 Yang Jie 楊傑 was a pro-Buddhist scholar and friend of the famous Korean monk Uicheon (1055–1101).
- 103 Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020) was a writer and a poet of the Northern Song dynasty.
- 104 Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), also known as Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, was a Northern Song dynasty writer and calligrapher.
- 105 Pure Wheel Heavenly Palace or Jinglun tiangong 靜輪天宮 appears in the history of the Wei period where the Daoist heavenly ruler resided.
- 106 Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou (周武帝, 543–578) reigned between 561 and 578 CE.
- 107 This period between 841 to 846 was the reigning period of Emperor Wuzong 武宗 of Tang dynasty.

- 108 Emperor Shizong 世宗 (921–959) was the emperor of the Later Zhou and reigned only from 954 to 959.
- 109 Fu Yi 傅奕 (554–639) was a Sui official who became a historiographer during the early Tang period.
- 110 Cui Hao 崔浩 (d. 450) was a Confucian official.
- 111 Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–448) was a Daoist reformer.
- 112 Duke Sima Wen's (司馬溫公) personal name is Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086, courtesy name Junshi 君實) who was an official and a well-known historian during the Song period. He is most well known for having written the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) which is one of the most important traditional historiographies of China. For more on Sima Guang's works see ECH, s.v. "Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑."
- 113 Wei Xiaokuan 韋孝寬 during the time of Western Wei was an army general, and during the Northern Zhou period was the minister of land and water (大司空).
- 114 The Shangshu (Shangshusheng 尚書省, "Imperial Secretariat," was the head of the central government during the Tang period.
- 115 Wang Zhe 王哲 as a reminder (*shiyi* 拾遺, left/right reminder) was part of the staff of the chancellery of the Tang dynasty who was responsible for critical proof-reading of court recordings.
- 116 This is a story of a mother whose son was said to have killed a person. Even though the son, who was not the actual murderer, had the same name as the murderer and the people repeatedly told the mother who eventually came to believe her son was the murderer. At that point she threw down what she was doing and fled (Kim 2003, 196). This story appears in the *Stratagem of the Warring States* (*Zhanguoce* 戰國策, c. 8th cen. BCE).
- 117 The Cheng brothers—Cheng Hao (Mingdao) 程顥 (1032–1085) and Cheng Yi (Yichuan) 程頤 (1033–1107)—are known for having advanced the philosophical sophistication of the Neo-Confucian attacks against Buddhism. See Ch'en (1973, 396–397).
- 118 Zhu Huian 朱晦菴 is referring to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), who was a Song period scholar and the father of Neo-Confucianism.
- 119 Han Tuizhi 韓退之 (768–824, courtesy name Tuizhi), otherwise known as Han Yu 韓愈, was a Tang dynasty writer and poet as described in the above. He is well-known for his poems such as "Southern Mountains" (南山) and work of prose including the "Inquiry into the Way" (原道) (ECH, s.v. "Neo-Confucianism").
- 120 Master Xun's 荀 name is Xun Kuang 荀況 (trad. 313–238 BCE) and is the author of *Xunzi* 荀子 (Master Xun), a philosophical book of the late Warring States period. More information can be found in the ECH, s.v. "Xunzi 荀子."

- 121 Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1122) was a literatus and a state official during the Northern Song period. He is known for the composition the *Treatise on Protecting the Dharma* (*Hufa lun* 護法論). This treatise refutes the anti-Buddhist criticisms and views of such authors as Ouyang Xiu, Han Yu 韓愈, and Cheng Yichuan 程伊川. See DDB, s.v. “歐陽修.”
- 122 Congyue, or Doushuai Congyue 兜率 從悅 (d.u.), was an eminent monk of the Linji lineage.
- 123 Mind-ground is a metaphor for the true mind originally possessed by all sentient beings (DDB, s.v. “心地”).
- 124 Tang Geng 唐庚 (1071–1121) was a famous Song period poet and a scholar who wrote the *Miscellaneous Matters of the Three Kingdoms Period* (*Sanguo zashi* 三國雜事), which is an historical critique of the Three Kingdoms period (三國時代, 220–280). For more see ECH, s.v. “Historical critique.”
- 125 Song Jing 宋璟 (663–737) (宋景 in the original text of *Han'guk Bulgyo jeonseo*) was an abled minister of the Tang dynasty, known to have reduced the people's corvée labor and the severity of state punishments (Kim 2003, 201).
- 126 Fu Yi 傅毅 was a Later Han period literary figure and was a state cleric at one point (Kim 2003, 202).
- 127 See note no. 93.
- 128 Yixing 一行 (683–727) was a Buddhist scholar-monk who was active during the Tang dynasty.
- 129 Yixing's composition, the *Taiyanli* 太衍曆, was a work on astronomy that calculated the calendric dates. See ECH, s.v. “Technology, Inventions.”
- 130 Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664) was a Chinese monk, a pilgrim, and patriarch of the Chinese Yogācāra lineage. He is famous for this epic trip to India through the Silk Road and for bringing back over 600 Buddhist manuscripts. Xuanzang is known along with Kumārajīva (344–413) as one of the two most influential and prolific translators of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese. For more on Xuanzang see PDB (2014, 1015–1016).
- 131 Xuanwan 玄琬 (562–636) was an eminent monk of the early Tang period.
- 132 Dong Hu 董狐 is an ancient Chinese historian and a master writer who is used as a model to compare other master writers in order to demonstrate and compliment their outstanding literary skills. See ECH, s.v. “Chadong.”
- 133 As recorded in the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 (Genealogical Annals of the Emperors and Kings) it was Emperor Jie's consort Mo Xi 妹喜, for whom the emperor built the Qing Palace (傾宮) and the Yao Terrace (瑤臺) to indulge her in pleasures (ECH, s.v. “Jie 桀”).
- 134 One unit of *li* 里 is equivalent to about 500 meters.

- 135 This phrase is from the *Book of Documents*, in the chapter “Tangshi” 湯誓.
- 136 Zhong Hui 仲虺 was one of the two close advisors, the other being Yi Yin 伊尹, to King Tang who suggested that Tang invade and overthrow the Xia dynasty (ECH, s.v. “Tang the Perfect 成湯”).
- 137 A moat of hot water or *tangchi* 湯池 is an analogy for a strong military defense against attacks.
- 138 King Zhou 紂 (also Shou 受, posthumous title Di Xin 帝辛) was the last ruler of the Shang 商 dynasty (17th–11th cen. BCE). For more, see ECH, s.v. “Bi Gan 比干.”
- 139 Lavish terraces were built to satisfy the consort Da Ji 妲己 with whom King Zhou was enamoured and who may have been one of the reasons for the downfall of King Zhou. With the imminent fall of the Shang dynasty and as the enemy army was closing in, King Zhou committed suicide by burning himself and the consort killed herself at Deer Terrace (鹿臺) (ECH, s.v. “Di Xin 帝辛 King Zhou 紂”).
- 140 Bi Gan 比干 was a high government minister of the late Shang period who remonstrated King Zhou for which the enraged king removed his heart to see if Bi Gan as a paragon of virtue had seven openings in this heart (ECH, s.v. “Di Xin 帝辛 King Zhou 紂”).
- 141 In the original text of *Han’guk Bulgyo jeonse*, the sinograph *jeok* 商 appears to be a misprint for the character 商 for Shang dynasty.
- 142 King Wu (武王, 1045–1043 BCE) was the first ruler of the Zhou dynasty.
- 143 Qi Taigong 齊太公 was the founder of the first dynasty of the state of Qi 齊 (ECH, s.v. “Qi Taigong 齊太公”).
- 144 Meng Tian (d. 210 BCE) was a Qin general famous for being involved in building the Great Wall.
- 145 The three mountains are Fangzhangshan 方丈山, Penglaishan 蓬萊山, Yingzhou-shan 瀛洲山. They are the fabled mountain islands in the East Sea, known as the abodes of immortals (仙).
- 146 Huhai is the abbreviation of the personal name Ying Huhai 嬴胡亥 who was Emperor Qin Ershihuang 秦二世皇 (r. 209–207 BCE), the son of the first emperor Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (ECH, s.v. “Emperor Qin Ershihuang 秦二世皇 Ying Huhai 嬴胡亥”).
- 147 Ziyi 子嬰 (d. 206 BCE) was the last ruler of the Qin dynasty who ruled only for 46 days and surrendered when the rebel leader Liu Bang 劉邦 (d. 195 BCE) made this way to the capital. See ECH, s.v. “King of Qin 秦王子嬰.”
- 148 Liu Bang 劉邦, the personal name of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 206–195 BCE) of Han dynasty, was one of the central rebel leaders who defeated the Qin dynasty. He eventually defeated the powerful rival rebel Xiang Ji (Xiang Yu) and declared

- himself the founder of the Han 漢 dynasty (Former Han) (ECH, s.v. “Liu Bang 劉邦”).
- 149** Xiang Ji 項籍 (233–202 BCE), sometimes referred to as Xiang Yu 項羽, was one of the rebel leaders in defeating the Qin 秦 dynasty. After defeating the Qin forces, Xiang Ji called himself the Hegemonial King of Western Chu (西楚霸王) and became the most powerful warlord. He was finally defeated by his competitor Liu Bang 劉邦 (ECH, s.v. “Xiang Yu”).
- 150** Although Huhai was a son of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Ziying was not a direct descendent of Emperor Qin Shihuang but was either a brother to the first emperor or a cousin or a nephew of the second emperor.
- 151** This was quoted in the “Biography of Qin Shihuang.” This can be found in *Records of the Grand Historian*, in the chapter “Biography of Qin Shihuang” 秦始皇本紀, (CTP, s.v. “秦始皇本紀”).
- 152** This is the offering of one’s body to the Buddha by immolation (*sosin gongyang* 燒身供養). A reference to the burning of the body as an offering is found in the chapter on the Medicine King (藥王品) in the *Lotus Sutra* where the Medicine King Bodhisattva (藥王菩薩) offers his body to the Buddha by immolation. See Benn (2007), especially pages 58–65 regarding self-immolation and the *Lotus Sutra*.
- 153** Given that the kingdom of Baekje is traditionally recognized to have existed from 18 BCE to 661 CE, it lasted for 679 years and not 618 years.
- 154** The sinoscript “四七之符,” which means $4 \times 7 = 28$, is referencing the ancient prophesy of the Late Han dynasty which claimed that the dynasty will be established by Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 228 years after the initial founding of the Han dynasty in 202 BCE. Here the number 200 is omitted from the 228 year to only express the number 28.
- 155** “九五之位” literally means the position of 9-5, in the system of hexagrams which is comprised of a set of 6 solid and/or broken lines. The number 九 (9) indicates that the set consists of solid lines (“6” indicates broken lines) and each line from the bottom to the top represent the six social positions in society. Number 五 (5) from 九五 indicates the 5th line on the top, which means a ruler, while the bottom line means the lowest social position such as a slave and the highest 6th line indicates a retired king. As a result “九五之位” indicates the position of the reigning king.
- 156** Vulture Peak (鷲嶺 or 鷲山) is a highly significant place in Buddhism because it is recognized to be the place where important and iconic teachings were given by Śākyamuni Buddha.
- 157** Muhak 無學 (1327–1405) is well-known as a wise monk who advised King

- Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418), the first ruler of the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). It was on Muhak's advice that Hanyang was chosen to be the capital of the newly established dynasty.
- 158 King Tang 湯王 was known for his mercy for living animals and his effort to avoid killing and causing suffering to animals.
- 159 Given the chronology of the kings discussed, there appears to be an error in the original text “宣宗,” which indicates King Seongjo 宣祖.
- 160 The four transgressors (四罪) is a reference to the evil vassals during Emperor Shun's reign, who are Gong Gong 共工, Huan Dou 驩兜, San Miao 三苗, and Gun 鯀.
- 161 The Six Requirements are what the king was required to follow and apply to himself as it relates to the performance of ritual for rain (*giuje* 祈雨祭).
- 162 The lotus flower matrix provides a method which leads to rebirth in the Pure Land. See DDB, s.v. “蓮華藏.”
- 163 The “Sacrificial Odes of Zhou” (Zhousong 周頌) chapter is from the *Book of Odes*.
- 164 This quote is not found in the *Book of Odes*, but is found in the *Book of Histories* (史書), which is in *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (*Hou Han shu*, “Guangwu shi wang liezhuan” 光武十王列傳, chap. 7).
- 165 *Book of Odes*, “Praise-Odes Of Lu” (魯頌), “Pan Shui” 泮水, chap. 4.
- 166 This phrase is found in the *Kongzi Jiayu* 孔子家語 (School Sayings of Confucius). *Kongzi Jiayu*, “Yan Hui” 顏回, chap. 4: “念茲在茲，順事恕施。”
- 167 “Lord Chen” (Jun Chen 君陳) seems to be a misprint of “Junya” 君牙, a chapter in the *Book of Documents* (ECH, s.v. “Shujing 書經”).
- 168 *Book of Documents*, “Documents of Zhou,” “Junya” 君牙, chap. 1.
- 169 State Preceptor Doseon 道詵 was a late-Shilla Seon monk who was widely known for his “doctrine of protectorate temples and stupas” or *bibo satap seol* 裨補寺塔說. Because most of the materials regarding Doseon are not contemporaneous but are dated to a later time, information on Doseon is unreliable such that even the dates of his birth and death remain unverified. For more on Doseon, see Seo (1997, 132–139).
- 170 This description is found in the *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (宋高僧傳), vol. 5.
- 171 The number of Great Expansion (大衍數) is 50, of which 49 numbers are used for divination. For further explanation see ECH, s.v. “Zhou Period Philosophy and Thought.”
- 172 *Tuchen* (Kr. *docham*) 圖讖 is a method of divining the future based on the theory of *yin-yang* and the five agents (陰陽五行說). Jorgensen translates *tuchen* as

- “political propaganda/prognostications” (2018, 19). On *tuchen* theory (*tuchen shuo* 圖讖說), see Jorgensen (2018, 35).
- 173 Seon Master Doseon is known to have systemized *bibo satap seol* 裨補寺塔說 or the doctrine of protectorate temples and stupas which is the result of incorporating the ideas of *pungsu* 風水 with placing Buddhist temples and stupas at geomatically charged locations. This doctrine claims that by using temples and stupas, energy flow in the geographical features can be channeled so as to bring about fortune and to ensure the wellbeing of the people and the stability of the state. For more on protectorate temples, see Choe (2009, 81–82) and Vermeersch (2007; 2008, 108–112).
- 174 Moteng 摩騰 (d.u.), also known as Kāśyapa Mātāṅga (Jiaye Moteng 迦葉摩騰), was one of the first Indian monks to enter China, according to the *Biographies of Divine Monks* (*Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳), a collection of the biographies of 208 early Buddhist monks in China. See ECH, s.v. “Shensengzhuan.”
- 175 Lady Jieyu 婕妤 (c. 48–c. 2 BCE), also known as Ban Jieyu 班婕妤, was a consort of Emperor Cheng 成 (r. 33–7 BCE) during the Han dynasty.
- 176 Lu Huiqing 呂惠卿 (1032–1101) was a state official during the Northern Song period and was part of the reforms brought about under Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–1085) of the Song dynasty.
- 177 Han Xianzong 漢顯宗 is the burial shrine for Emperor Ming (r. 57–75 CE), the second emperor of the Later Han dynasty. Xianzong can also refer to Emperor Cheng (晉成帝, r. 325–342), a ruler of the Eastern Jin dynasty (東晉, 317–420), who received the dynastic title of Emperor Xianzong 顯宗 (ECH, s.v. “Liu Zhuang 劉莊”).
- 178 The lives of Lady Jieyu, Lu Huiqing and Emperor Xianzong of the Han dynasty do not correspond in time. This can simply be interpreted as Lu Huiqing and Lady Jieyu being mentioned as examples of males and females who later became a monk. In the case of Lady Jieyu, it was an example of a consort who later took a vow and resided in a temple within the palace grounds, and not a specific person during the life of Emperor Xianzong of the Han dynasty.
- 179 Jasuwon 慈壽院 was originally known as Jasugung Palace where on the death of the king, the queens were ordained and were able to live as nuns on the palace grounds but Baekgok’s refers to these cloisters as being outside of the palace grounds.
- 180 Insuwon 仁壽院 was a temple which was originally called Insugung Palace that was located on the palatial grounds and where the queens who joined the monkhood in their later years lived.
- 181 Naewondang 內願堂 is a Buddhist shrine where rituals are performed to pray for

the afterlife merit for the members of the royal family.

- 182 ECH, s.v. “Zhan Zhan’ang 瞻印.”
- 183 ECH, s.v. “Book of Odes, Liao E 蓼莪.”
- 184 There is a record in the *Joseon wangjo sillok* indicating that in the first month of 1661 King Hyeonjong ordered that Jasuwon and Insuwon be demolished (*Hyeonjong sillok* vol. 1, “Haengjang” 行狀).
- 185 Muzi appears as Zhonghang Muzi 中行穆子 in the genealogy of the House of the Zhonghang, which was a noble family whose members served as vassals to the Duke of Jin 晉 during the Spring and Autumn period (770–5th cen. BCE) (ECH, s.v. “The House of Zhonghang 中行”).
- 186 This is a quotation by Muzi found in the *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳).
- 187 ECH, s.v. “昭公十八年.”
- 188 ECH, s.v. “Tai Jia I 太甲上.”
- 189 ECH, s.v. “Announcement concerning Luo 洛誥.”
- 190 The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo commentary) is a commentary to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋). These two works provided the basis for the *Chunqiu Zuoshizhuan shilei shimo* 春秋左氏傳事類始末 (Historical Events from the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the Chronicle of Master Zuo in their Entirety), which is the history of the Spring and Autumn period.
- 191 *Book of Rites*, “Wang Zhi” 王制, chap. 20, (CTP, s.v. “Wang Zhi 王制”).
- 192 Doui 道義 (d. 825) was a Seon master of the Silla period who travelled to Tang China to study under the Chinese masters Zhizang 智藏 (735–814) and Baizhang 百丈 (749–814).
- 193 The three patriarchs (三宗) are the wise kings of the Yin 殷 dynasty; Zhongzong 中宗, Gaozong 高宗, and Zujia 祖甲.
- 194 According to the positioning of the ancestral tablets at a shrine, the center is the place of the tablet for the patriarch and *zhao* 昭 is the place of the tablets for the 2nd, 4th, and 6th generation ancestors and *mu* 穆 is where the tablets for the 5th and the 7th generation ancestors are placed.
- 195 There is a discrepancy between the phrase in the *Han’guk Bulgyo jeonseo*, “不廢舊績,” and the phrase in the CTP “不費舊績” where the meaning is the opposite; “Do not use ancient vestiges.” See *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, “Zhaogong,” “Zhaogongy yuannian” 昭公元年.
- 196 *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, “Zhaogong,” “Ding Gong simian” 定公四年.
- 197 *Book of Documents*, “Documents of Shang,” “Charge to Yue 3” (說命下), chap. 8.
- 198 This is found in the chapter “Charge to the Duke of Bi” (畢命) and is translated

by James Legge as “Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, . . .” (*Book of Documents*, “Documents of Zhou,” “Charge to the Duke of Bi” 畢命, chap. 4).

- 199 The divinatory cycle is based on a sixty-four stage cycle hexagram.
- 200 *Book of Changes*, “Xu” 需, (CTP, s.v. “Xu 需”). In the current sinoscript the phrase is “敬慎不敗” while in the CTP, it is “敬慎不敗.”
- 201 CTP, s.v. “Kun 困.”
- 202 *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, “Zhaogong” 昭公, “Zhaogong yuannian” 昭公元年.
- 203 Yanzi was a prominent disciple of Confucius. His regular name was Yan Yan 言偃.
- 204 This is referring to Shi Le 石勒 who rose in rebellion against the Jin 晉 dynasty (265–420) in 305 and founded the Later Zhao (後趙) empire (319–350), (ECH, s.v. “Jie 羯”).
- 205 *Book of Documents*, “Documents of Shang,” “Tai Jia 2” 太甲中, chap. 7.
- 206 *Book of Odes*, “Sacrificial Odes Of Shang” (商頌), “Na” 那, chap. 1.
- 207 *Che* 禘 is a grand sacrifice offered by the ruler triennially to the founding ancestor of the dynastic line.
- 208 *Hyeop* 祫 is a collective sacrifice to distant and near ancestors, carried out by the ruler or nobles triennially.
- 209 The five regulations (五典), is the Confucian principle of the Way that governs the five moral relationships (五倫): father and son, paternal love (親愛); king and subject, propriety (義理); husband and wife, social division (分別); older and younger brothers, order (次序); and between friends, trust (信義).
- 210 King Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659) was the preceding king and father to the current king, Hyeonjong (r. 1659–1674).

A Long Letter Addressed to Han Pilsu of Neungju District

“Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo”

上韓綾州必壽長書

by Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一

“Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” (A Long Letter Addressed to Han Pilsu of Neungju District) is found in the collected work of Master Yeondam, *Yeondam Daesa Imha rok* vol. 4 蓮潭大師林下錄卷之四 (H 10.280c06–283c15).

[C1] It is a day in the tenth month of the *byeongsul* year. I, Yuil of the Cheontaesan Mountain, once again prostrate and submit a petition to the illustrious regional superintendent.¹ Respectfully, when this monk² met the illustrious regional superintendent in the eastern building, you had doubts about cause and effect and corresponding retribution that are contained in the Buddhist books, and [questioned] whether or not after death [a person] ceases and extinguishes, whether or not Western Paradise exists, and if even this may be all a lie—you did not believe it. I was confused and was not able to respond to you, but [now] again, I would like to discuss a few [Buddhist] doctrines and even [try to] fully relay my thoughts.

[I thought that] it could be a transgression in decorum in front of respectable people, and so I kept to myself and stayed silent and withdrew myself. I returned [to my residence] and laid down in silence while [through] the window there appeared a mountain with a bright moon. In the middle of the night I sat up on my blanket, and all of a sudden I thought of your demeaning judgement [of Buddhism] on the day we met, and my mind was restless. I thought of this and searched for a resolution, which I [now] submit. Respectfully I beg you to not [overly] trouble yourself but give this a consideration.

The Usefulness of Buddhism

[C2] The Buddhadharma in the world is like emptiness that pervades [everywhere] such that its reach does not have an outer [limit] and its minuteness does not have an inner [limit]. Because [people] dislike seeing empty space, houses are enclosed and outer empty space is cut off with a gate. But [people] are unaware that despite stepping over the threshold [of the gate] and entering into [the house], [emptiness] is everywhere even in the ears, eyes, mouth, and nose of the body. If this is so, then ultimately, is [emptiness] cut off?

[C3] On careful consideration, [I think that] the scholar-officials by using their brilliant skills and wisdom in studies will come to appreciate that the Way is all owing to the power of the Buddhadharma. Through the numinous enlightenment of the *prajñāpāramitā*, [the Buddhadharma] makes heaven and earth tremble, and existing on its own, it is bright and clear. All that springs forth from heaven and earth and all that arises are in and of itself perfect; wide, narrow, short, or long—the ten thousand [things] that are not orderly—all develop and come to be in all things. It is not that there is some other law [that causes this].

Zizhan³ has said that, Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072)⁴ and Sima Guang (1019–1086)⁵ both truly did not seek the teachings of Buddhism, however, the illuminations of their intelligence and wisdom and the accomplishments from their meritorious deeds [have revealed] the true Buddhadharma. [C4] There is no reason why Zizhan would [lie to] deceive the world. It was simply that [Buddhist] texts did not appear in the society of the Han era. Because they were not seen in the early periods, they may have existed or possibly not; it was half doubted and half believable. When we reach Fang Guan (697–736)⁶ and Bai Juyi (772–846)⁷ of the Tang period (618 – 907), and Zizhan and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105)⁸ of the Song period (960–1279),

it is with exceptional and brilliant skills and outstanding discernment that Buddhism was believed and upheld. With the coming of the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) and the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), people were called the followers of the Buddha and families possessed Buddhist scriptures. This support and upholding of the [Buddha's] Way, how can this be considered only as a onetime flourishing.

[C5] The Lianxi⁹ and Luoxue Neo-Confucians¹⁰ claim the superiority of the scholarship of Confucius,¹¹ but are also aware that it has great similarities with Buddhism. [Such realizations] cannot be appreciated if the teachings of Buddhism are not examined. Lianxi (Zhou Dunyi, 1017–1073) had exchanges with Zhaojiao (fl. 11th cen.)¹² and deeply illuminated the discourses on principle, and Yichuan¹³ enquired Lingyuan and came to realize the meaning of self-nature. Kaoting¹⁴ was fond of Dahui's¹⁵ [teachings] and came to awaken to the essence of the dharma on the mind.

Written records can verify this and cannot be falsely claimed. Again, Zhu Xi while at home recited the Buddhist scriptures for about a year. Hence, a poem [he composed] reads,

Idle at home alone with nothing to do, I opened Buddha's scriptures
for leisure;
For a moment I was comforted as if accumulated dust has been cleared,
I escaped and joined the followers of the Way.
The gates had been concealing the secrets of the bamboo forest,
[where] birds sing in the mountains when rain [passes];
Having realized the dharma of not-doing, [my] body and mind have
indeed become calm and at ease.¹⁶

From examining this, we see what was gained from Buddhism was not superficial, and it was not simply a private and personal [matter].

[C6] However, it has been said that Buddhism coincides closely to principle, but brings forth confusion to truth. To Zhu Xi, Neo-Confucianism was familiar and was thus used in assisting and developing humanity. That is why when edifying people, it could

not be helped but to suppress Buddhism and uphold Confucianism. Again it is said, the Buddhadharma is like silk and jade, and the Way of Confucianism is like husk and grain. Although silk and jade are precious, they cannot be always used, while husk and grain are although common, they are needed everyday. That is why, despite that the Buddhadharma may not be known and [Confucianism] is needed daily, [Buddhism] is accepted and is highly precious.

[C7] Alas, there are Joseon Confucians who consider the teachings of the Buddha all empty and futile, and ask to what role is it able to return? The Joseon Confucians all claim, Buddha's teachings are all regarding [a world that] cannot be seen or heard, and therefore is difficult to believe. I would question, who saw and heard, and therefore believed, the works of emperors Yao, Shun, Yu and King Tang? Their accomplishments are also extremely far away and remote [in distance and time]; the geographical distance is more than thousands of *ri*, and in time, it is more than thousands of years ago, and so it cannot be seen or heard.

[C8] However, the words of the past have come [to us] contained in the scriptures and history and are always studied and recited. Being recited and included in life at home regularly like tea and meals, it is believed and not doubted. Regarding the Way of the Buddha, it is ten thousand [*ri*] in distance and time-wise it is three worlds ago and because it appeared during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE), it was considered heterodoxy, and so was not read or examined. Even if many [Buddhist] texts were read, only the mysterious words or recondite phrases were pointed out and used in compositions as references. The words of depth and its profound meaning are glossed over and have not been examined or explained, so then how can Buddhism become accepted and comprehended? Surely, [Buddhism] will not be understood and though it is comprehensible, many will not believe it.

[C9] The people of Hebei Province do not believe that in the Jiangnan region there is a 20,000 *hu*¹⁷ capacity ship and the people of Jiangnan do not believe that in Hebei Province there is a tent for a thousand people—it is just like this. In the end, if Confucians empty

and cultivate their minds, and when Buddhist texts are studied, they calm their minds and examine as if Confucian texts are studied using the same method of elucidation, then how can it be possible not to accept and believe [Buddhism]. In fact, this has not been done but [Confucians] have only raised polemical attacks as if fearing not being equal or not overcoming [Buddhism], which is a lamentable situation.

The Doctrine of Cause and Effect

[C10] The doctrine of cause and effect is not only found in Buddhist scriptures but is also discussed constantly in the book of Lu¹⁸—it merely did not appear written as *yin* (cause). In the *Book of Changes* it is said, “When benevolence is accumulated, there is good fortune. When malevolence is accumulated, there is misfortune.”¹⁹ Here, benevolence and malevolence are the causes, and fortune and misfortune are the effects. In the *Book of Documents*, it is stated, “In doing benevolence, there will be fortune.”²⁰ It is further stated, “The Way of Heaven gives fortune to the benevolent and misfortune to the lewd.”²¹ [Even] Confucius claimed, “Those who carry out benevolence, Heaven will reward them with fortune.”²² Like this, *The Analects* and its kind contain [the doctrine of cause and effect] but through the history of Confucianism, its adaptation is not plainly evident.

[C11] Again Master Zuo (c. 502–c. 422 BCE)²³ explained that, Luan Wuzi had virtue [and so Heaven] assisted his son. That is why, although his son Luan Yan was evil, he was able to escape misfortune, and although Luan Yan’s son Luan Ying was virtuous, he was affected by Luan Yan’s evil and met with difficulties. Moreover, people study diligently when they are young and succeed in the government examination when they are older, or [some] act mercifully spreading virtue and become recognized and recommended [for a government post], or [some] are crafty and commit crimes and receive punishment. This is an elucidation of cause and effect that is manifested through the [actions of the] body.

[C12] Just as Fu Bao was given a ring by a sparrow,²⁴ and the Marquis of the Sui dynasty (589–618) was given a pearl by a snake,²⁵ if it is like this with small animals, then would it not be all the more so for humans? In the “Liezhuan,”²⁶ it is claimed, “In one year, seeds will produce grain, and in ten years forests will produce lumber, and it will

take a hundred years to produce merits.”²⁷ These words surely show that [the laws of] cause and effect cannot be escaped.

How Cause and Effect Works: Permeation

[C13] Alas! The people of good fortune in current life do not think about what fortunate conditions in their previous life led them to experience good reward. [Future] fortunes are indeed established now, which will be experienced in the next life, just like the fortunes received in their current life. But the thinking that [everything] ceases and disappears after death²⁸ is all the more difficult to shatter. Confucians all espouse that people's births are formed through the coming together of *yin* and *yang* where *yang* is pneuma and celestial spirit, while *yin* is physical substance and terrestrial. [They claim] whether one lives a long or a short life and whether one is poor or rich are all determined by the Mandate of Heaven. When one dies, *yin* and *yang* disperse—*yang* pneuma rises and returns to heaven while physical substance of *yin* descends and becomes part of earth. [They] question, what aspects exist that is transmitted to become [part of] the body of next life? This is the immutable doctrine of the Confucians.

[C14] The teachings of our Buddha, is greatly different in comparison to this. Overall, there is no questioning whether you are a human or an animal; generally those that have vitality of life all have cognizance. It is the cognizance of hunger, thirst, cold, and hot; it is the cognizance of seeing and hearing, and of movement; and it is the cognizance of liking and disliking, and of pain and pleasure. These objects of cognition are the same for sages and general people, or for humans and animals.

What is empty and pervades or is numinous and bright, or what is prominent and exists of itself does not arise or extinguish. [It] continues from the past to the present, and like emptiness there was not a place where it did not exist, and not even for a brief moment did it cease.

[C15] Simply, because this mind will accord with conditions in forming consciousness, [one cannot help] but accept the arising and ceasing, or the going and coming. [People] must let go of [current

body] and commit to the body [of next life]. However, this perceptive-mind²⁹ can be compared to the nature of true knowledge—they are one while they are two, and they are two while also being one. Then, how can it be said that they will cease and become extinguished with nothing left? In true-nature, benevolence and evil are not the causes of effects, but correspond with the perceptive-mind, where permeation leads to differences. Just as there is benevolence, there is evil; just as there is impurity, there is purity which leads to [the differences between] a common person and an enlightened person—the outcomes of cause and effect.

[C16] Someone has asked: The perceptive-mind and true-nature are of the same essence but true-nature is devoid of good and bad. Then, how is it in the perceptive-mind? I answered: previously I explained that permeation affects differently? It is like entering a room of purple gromwell; if you stay awhile, can you not smell its fragrance? Or if you have entered a fish market for a while, can you not smell the odor? That is why a sage indeed chooses to reside in a place [full] of humaneness and are vigilant in cultivating [oneself] in that place.

Kaoting has also said, “When Heaven gave birth to the people, it was not that Heaven did not bestow original nature of humaneness, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom.”³⁰ It was simply that pneuma-physical substance³¹ were imbued and because it could not be balanced, what was possessed by the people could not be stabilized [causing the differences].

[C17] Generally all the people have this original nature [of humaneness, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom] and surely as a person, all are good. Simply, those who in their previous life were permeated with goodness, their pneuma will be clear and their physical substance will be pure. The nature they possess will be enduring, and will be like that of emperors Yao and Shun and that of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius.

As for those permeated with evil, their pneuma will be clouded and their physical substance will be tainted. Their original nature that Heaven had bestowed will be obscured or lost, like that of Emperor Jie

[of the Xia dynasty], King Zhou [of the Yin dynasty],³² and Dao Zhi.³³ Therefore, that people are wise or foolish, good or evil are due to causes and conditions of the permeation from the previous life. However, Confucians have argued that all are the natural occurrences of the Mandate of Heaven.

Problems with the Mandate of Heaven

[C18] Then, how is the Mandate of Heaven unfair? How close were the emperors Yao and Shun [to Heaven] that they were bestowed virtue and how far apart from [Heaven] were Emperor Jie and King Zhou that they were bestowed evil? Again, it is said, living a long or short life and being poor or rich are all determined by the Mandate of Heaven. [However], of the mandate that Heaven gives, why are the wealthy few and the poor many, or the humble many but the highborn few? A virtuous person such as Yan Yuan (Yan Hui, c. 521–481 BCE)³⁴ was poor and died an early death but an evil person such as a bandit lived a life of wealth and longevity. How is it that the Way of Heaven would give this [wealth] to such a wicked person but take away [wealth] from a virtuous man. Nevertheless, the teachings of a sage chided the people but did not rebuke Heaven, or blamed the people but did not find fault in the Mandate of Heaven—why is this so?

[C19] Moreover, [Confucians] claimed that all things arise naturally such as humaneness, righteousness, loyalty, and filial piety. Then why is it necessary to learn to act out [the virtues], such as through the written books or the six arts³⁵ and why is it necessary to cultivate [the virtues]? Because in our Buddha's teachings there is nothing that is not caused and conditioned by permeation. When Yan Yuan was permeated by his benevolent acts he received clear pneuma and pure physical substance which became the qualities of sagacity, but simply the causes of long life and wealth had not been formed. In the case of the bandit, he was permeated by evil deeds and therefore received turbid pneuma and physical substance and became a treasonous person. However, causes for long life and wealth had been formed [previously].

[C20] That is why in the scriptural commentary it is said, "Heaven responds to the deeds of the people."³⁶ The *Book of Odes* states, "The suffering of the people was not sent down by Heaven. It is merely

the thoughts that originated from the people.”³⁷ Then, we the people cannot depend on the Mandate of Heaven, put our hands together, and do nothing. There are causes and conditions and corresponding retributions which means that the doctrine of nihilism is, without difficulty, naturally discredited.

Have you not heard? Xu Xun³⁸ died and became Xiao Cha,³⁹ and Xiao Cha died and became Pei Xiu.⁴⁰ Qing Caotang⁴¹ became Duke Zeng Lu⁴² and the monastic Yangdang⁴³ became Qin Hui.⁴⁴ Not only did Zhiyong⁴⁵ become Fang Guan,⁴⁶ but the Chan Master Jie⁴⁷ became Su Dongpo.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Zhang Fangping in writing a book wrote of a sutra [that in his previous life left it] on top of a wall at Langye, and Xing Hepu was able to point out a Buddha statute that was left in a vase at Xiakou.⁴⁹

[C21] The principle of [the relationship between] the body of the previous and later life is clearly evident. All humans are like this, but the causes in the previous life are unclear and cloudy and so are not remembered. Confucians accept that such happenings can be possible but do not believe it and say that after death all cease and are extinguished forever.

Argument for the Existence of Sukhāvātī

It is like the discussions on Sukhāvātī in which it is not only Confucians who do not believe it, but even Buddhists do not apprehend the significance and many have doubts. I will briefly explain: generally, the world under heaven has originally depended on principle, and because the rise of principle is limitless and inexhaustible, and thus [the world] is unfathomable and the innumerable distinctions are also not possible to apprehend.

[C22] Our Joseon compared to foreign countries is small, but the rivers, mountains, and customs depending on each of the eight provinces are individually different. From the south there arose many literati and from the north many generals have been brought up. In the Yeongnam region⁵⁰ the characteristics of their customs are superior to their literature and learning, and in the Honam region⁵¹ the people's literature is superior to their customs. In the northern region, their clothing and foods are unlike the south in that they have only millet to eat and the clothing is made from dogskin. The cultivated grain of the southern people [was plenty that] not all was consumed and the cotton and ramie clothes were enough to the extent of being abundant. We can understand the [differences of] suffering and pleasures of life, the frugal and the lavish ways of living.

[C23] Moreover, there are countless things in the world under heaven, that are difficult to comprehend. But in that place [under heaven], would there not be extreme [differences] in happiness and suffering, and even between moderate suffering and happiness? Recently I have seen maps from western countries and found numerous kingdoms that were not mentioned in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*), and China was located in the eastern peripheral part. In the *Records of the Grand Historian*, Luoyang (the capital city of China then) was in the middle under heaven, but this is when discussing solely

about China.

In reality, the Western Regions⁵² are the center under heaven and even Zhu Xi also referred to the Kunlun Mountains as the center under heaven, and the Western Regions are below the Kunlun Mountains. Precisely, the designation of the Western Regions from China is the outcome of designating that region to be the Western Regions by the people who call themselves the center. For example, it is like a person from the Western Regions referring to the central region as the Eastern Region.⁵³

[C24] In the western region there was a country, Gomang, whose people did not wear clothes or eat but always slept and every fifty years they would awake. That is why their dreams were considered to be real and the time they were awake was considered to be an illusion. Again, there was a country with a madness-causing spring and the people of this country all drank this water and so there was no one who was not mad. The ruler alone had dug a separate well and drank from it and so he was not mad. The ministers and the people considered their ruler, who was not mad, to be insane and so was given acupuncture and was recommended medicine for the madness. The ruler could not endure suffering the pain [from the treatment] and finally joined in drinking the madness-causing spring water and became mad. The ministers and the people were pleased and regard the ruler to be cured.

[C25] Moreover, I heard that Emperor Yao's eyelashes were of eight colors and Emperor Shun had double eye pupils, and also that there was a country whose people had long eyelashes but only one eye. I heard Emperor Gaozu (r. 206–195 BCE)⁵⁴ of the Han dynasty had a large chest but that there was a country with people whose chests were empty inside. I heard that the Duke of Zhou,⁵⁵ had long ears that came down to his shoulders, but again there was a country whose people had ears that came down to their feet. How can the differing cases not be compared? As for Sukhāvātī, it is claimed as being the only case and is not believed—how can this be?

[C26] Recently there was a Confucian who heard that in Sukhāvātī there were only men and no women. He laughed and responded,

“The ten thousand things all have *yin* and *yang*. How can there be only *yang* amongst the humans? How is such falsity so severe?” I said, “In the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government (Zizhi tongjian)*⁵⁶ or according to the court historians, there have been women states where only women and no men [resided]. Just from seeing the reflection of oneself in the water leads to childbirth.” And I asked again on what principle [would this be], and the Confucian scholar could not respond, but he would have known that from the beginning it has never been that there has not been counterposing events under heaven; [just as] to heaven its counterpart is earth, and to the sun, the moon is the counterpart.

[C27] That country where dreams are considered real and being awake is considered an illusion is the counterpart to this [country] where being awake is considered reality and dreams are considered an illusion. That place where insanity is considered sane and being normal is considered a madness is the counterpart to this [place] where insanity is regarded as being insane and being not insane is regarded as being sane. That having one eye contrasts with having two eyes and that [a person with] an empty chest contrasts with another with a chest that is full. How is this strange? Although a purely men’s world is the counterpart to a purely women’s world, by believing the historical records contained in the books about purely women’s world, it is claimed that a purely men’s world does not exist, how is that acceptable?

[C28] Discussing this hypothetically; in the world of Sukhāvātī, purely benevolent people will be reborn there. Those with a heart that is extremely loyal to their sovereign, filial to their parents, and extremely humane, righteous, compassionate, and kind will be able to be reborn there—not merely by calling the name of Amitābha Buddha. Therefore, those who are not loyal, not filial, and wicked and treasonous will all enter hell of extreme suffering, not only those who slander Buddhism. That is why the people of the past have said, “If Heaven did not exist, there is no loss but if it existed a sage will surely enter it. If hell did not exist, there is no loss but if it existed the non-virtuous person will enter it.” This is the truth!

The Effectiveness of Reciting the Name of Amitābha Buddha

[C29] The sutras says, even those who commit the ten evil deeds,⁵⁷ if they recite the name of Amitābha Buddha ten time when they are about to die, they will be able to be reborn in Western Paradise.⁵⁸ You, the regional superintendent, have in the past said, if that is so, a person can throughout their life do all that one desires in all that one sees and hears and merely at the time of death chant the [name of the Buddha] ten times. Why should [anyone] endure restrictions and a harsh life for the whole of one's life? I humbly respond saying, that is found in the *Book of Documents*, which asserts the idea that "Surely, [even] a fool by thinking properly can become a sage."⁵⁹ [Here] the foolish are those who throughout their life carry out the ten evil deeds, and thinking properly is precisely the reciting [the Buddha's name] ten times at the time of death, and becoming a sage is precisely being reborn in Sukhāvātī.

[C30] [For instance] if people all throughout their lives perform evil deeds but did not know that those actions were bad, and they did everything and were about to die, but suddenly they were able to realize their previous wrongs, then their true nature will eventually become revealed. In comparison, it is like a dark room [that had been dark] for a thousand years without one bit of light and one night a bright lantern is hung high up and the whole room is brightly illuminated with not one bit of darkness. The thousand years of darkness in the room is like the ten evil deeds performed all throughout life, and the hanging of the lantern one night is like the single thought of sudden realization.

[C31] Again, it is like the Confucian law where a person with unimaginable crimes and transgressions amends past faults and becomes virtuous one morning, then the past transgressions are not recorded and only assumes having become virtuous. The meaning of this is that

chanting [the name of Amitābha Buddha] ten times for the ten evil deeds allows you to be reborn [in Western Paradise]. If like this, as the regional superintendent said, all throughout life [a person] performed bad deeds and at the time of death the chanting [of the name of Amitābha Buddha] ten times was done cunningly, this will strongly produce a deceiving mind—how then can the mind be pure for the person to be reborn in the Pure Land?

It is like Cao Cao who was all throughout life cunning and deceiving and at the time of death realized the pure nature [of the mind], but knowing that someone was secretly listening again made-up different words. This is what the deceiving mind has done, and that is why, like the attacks of ghosts, the deceiving mind cannot be escaped. Even though the true nature may have been realized, Cao Cao was not able to become fully awakened.

[C32] Though one may have committed evil deeds all throughout one's life, when at the time of death if the Buddha's name is chanted, one can be reborn in the Western Paradise. All the more, those who for thirty years and twenty years focused on chanting the name of Amitābha Buddha would more easily achieve [being reborn in paradise], then why would one not try? Dongpo, on the day that he was posted to Huangzhou was carrying a staff with a picture of Amitābha Buddha. Someone asked about it and he replied, "This is our respectable gentleman of the Western Regions." He then chanted a verse:

Chant the name of Amitābha Buddha! People living to seventy is rare.

Traversing the three realms of suffering; how many will awaken and
return with the knowledge?

Chant the name of Amitābha Buddha! Throughout your life [remember]
to rely only on the Buddha.

This mind, if it becomes pure, is a white lotus.

[C33] At the time of death, [Dongpo] was sitting [in meditation] as he departed. Chan Master Weilin of Jing Mountain,⁶⁰ who was born

at the same time as Dongpo, the year of *bingzi*, went and saw [him] having departed in a sitting position. [The Chan master] hit Dongpo's back and exclaimed, "I will give proper effort to correctly illuminate the teachings of the Western Paradise!" Dongpo opened his eyes and replied, "If you will give effort, then I will leave comfortably." Again he closed his eyes and passed away. This is [an example of], when at the time of death, how to correctly regulate one's mind and to not let it become unfocused to be reborn in Western Paradise—what else is there to do? Li Zhi⁶¹ composed an eulogy as follows:

If the Way is great, it is difficult to name it. If talent is refined, people
shun it.

The stars are in the sky while earth is below. He knew all his life the mind
of loyalty and righteousness.

To the famous mountains and the great rivers [he will] return in
a thousand years as a person of outstanding ability and vital energy.

[C34] The scholar-officials may have complimented this [memorial] as splendid writing. However, these days between the Confucians and the Buddhists in our country, it is rare to know of such events [of Dongpo], that is why I have included such records. I humbly request the regional superintendent, in between your governing and writing, that you try as an aside this practice [of chanting the Buddha's name] and accumulate [merit] over the many years. How would one know that at the time of one's death that there will be no problem, similar to Dongpo? During the Tang and the Song periods, many illustrious scholar-officials believed [in chanting the name of the Buddha] and have practiced it, and have not considered it a debased practice but considered it a fortune.

[C35] The various issues discussed so far have been brought from within and outside the Buddhist scriptures, and others are my own views. It is as if drumming in the noise of thunder or shinning with a torch under a bright sun; I realize that it is impudent to speak of my own thoughts. However, even Confucius asked his disciples on the one

thing they have learned among the many, [a custom] that the ancients practiced. Therefore I speak with foolish thoughts and share my narrow views. Respectfully, I ask the regional superintendent to discard or accept [from this writing] as he wishes.

It is with unbearable apologies [that I present this memorial].

Notes

- 1 *Hapha* 閣下 is the title of a regional superintendent of rank one, the highest level of government office during the Joseon dynasty.
- 2 “Mountain person” (*sanin* 山人) used to refer to himself, the author of this letter, is an epithet for persons associated with self cultivation, which in this case, is referring to Buddhist monks. Of course, there is the added fact that Buddhist temples were traditionally located in the mountains.
- 3 Zizhan 子瞻 is the courtesy name of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), often called Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, who was a well-known literatus of the Northern Song (北宋) period (960–1126). See *An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art*, hereafter abbreviated ECH, (ECH, s.v. “Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林”).
- 4 Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) is a famous Northern Song period writer and historian, one of the Eight Giants of Literature of the Tang and Song Dynasties (唐宋八大家). He is the author or supervisory author of many well-known books such as “The Sounds of Autumn” (Qiushengfu 秋聲賦) and the *New Book of Tang* (*Xintang shu* 新唐書), an official history of the Tang dynasty (618–907) that was completed in 1060. For more, see ECH, s.v. “Xintangshu 新唐書.”
- 5 Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086, courtesy name Junshi 君實) was a writer and politician during the Song period. He is most well-known for the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) which is one of the most important traditional historiographies of China. For more on Sima Guang’s works see ECH, s.v. “Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑.”
- 6 Fang Guan 房琯, courtesy name Cilu 次律, was a high state official during the Tang dynasty.
- 7 Bai Juyi 白居易 (courtesy name Letian 樂天), was a Tang period government official but also famous for his poetry compositions.
- 8 Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (courtesy name Luzhi 魯直) was a scholar recognized as a master calligrapher of his time.
- 9 The sinograph 濂 in the current text seems to be a misprint of 瀟 as in “Lianluo” 瀟洛.
- 10 The two Neo-Confucian schools of thought, Lianxi 濂溪 and Luoxue 洛學, that are centered on the teachings of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (penname Lianxi 濂溪) and the scholars of Luoyang 洛陽, respectively. In the case of Luoxue 洛學, the school

- of Luo River, its development of thought was centered in the city of Luoyang 洛陽, located on the banks of the Luo River (洛河), where many of the early Neo-Confucians were active and resided. Neo-Confucian schools of the Lian 濂 and Luo 洛 are just two schools described in the *Scholarly Annals of Song and Yuan Period* (*Song-Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案) (ECH, s.v. “Song-Yuan xue'an 宋元學案”).
- 11 The designation of “the school of Zhu-Si,” which refers to Confucian teachings originates from the association to the rivers Zhu shui 洙水 and Si shui 泗水 that joins together in Qufu 曲阜, where Confucius lived.
 - 12 On the exchange between Zhou Dunyi and Zhao Jiao, see Ahn (2009, 64).
 - 13 Yichuan 伊川 is the penname of Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), who was a Song Neo-Confucian scholar.
 - 14 Kaoting 考亭 is referring to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), the great Song period philosopher who is considered to be the systemizer of Neo-Confucian thought.
 - 15 Dahui 大慧 is referring to the great Song period Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163).
 - 16 This poem could not be located in Zhu Xi’s *Collection of Conversations of Master Zhu Xi* (*Zhuizi yulei* 朱子語類).
 - 17 A unit volume of *hu* is a measure equivalent to about fifty liters.
 - 18 Lu 魯 state, a regional state of the Zhou 周 period (11th cen.–221 BCE), was the home state of Confucius. Thus the “book of Lu state” is indicating Confucius’ composition, *The Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語).
 - 19 The author, Yuil, paraphrases from the *Book of Changes* as “積善有慶 積不善有殃,” whereas the full expression is “積善之家 必有餘慶; 積不善之家 必有餘殃.” See, *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易, also *Yijing* 易經) in the chapter “Kun” 坤, (CTP, s.v. “繫辭”).
 - 20 This seems to be a paraphrase of “In doing benevolence, [Heaven] will send much fortune” (作善降之百祥) from chapter one of “Instructions of Yi” 伊訓, in the “Documents of Shang” (商書). See CTP, c.v. “伊訓.”
 - 21 The exact quotation could not be located but in the “Yixun” 伊訓 (Instructions of Yi), a similar phrase states, “(The ways) of God are not invariable: on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries.” (惟上帝不常 作善降之百祥 作不善降之百殃 [translation by James Legge]). The “Yixun” is found in the “Documents of Shang.” See CTP, s.v. “Yixun 伊訓.”
 - 22 *Kongzi Jiayu* 孔子家語, “Zaie” 在厄, chapt. 1, (CTP, s.v. “Zaie 在厄”).
 - 23 Master Zuo (左氏) otherwise known as Zuo Qiuming 左丘明, is said to be the author of the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo) which is a commentary and a parallel version to the chronicle *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).

- 24 The story of Fu Bao's 父寶 ring comes from the "Yang Zhen zhuan" 楊震傳 in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書.
- 25 The Marquis of Sui's pearl is a Warring States folktale. It is retold in many sources such as *Mozi*, *Zhuangzi*, and *Records of the Grand Historian*.
- 26 Here *zhuan* 傳 is referring to the "Biographies" (列傳), which is found in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).
- 27 *Shiji* 史記, "Liezhuang" 列傳, "Huozhi Liezhuan" 貨殖列傳, chap. 28, (CTP, s.v. "Huozhi Liezhuan 貨殖列傳").
- 28 This is also translated as nihilism, which is a denial of the laws of cause and effect and therefore a non-Buddhist concept. See DDB, s.v. "斷滅".
- 29 This is the perceiving aspect of the mind that is needed in order to function in everyday life. The perceptive-mind is the sixth or the eighth consciousness depending on the school of thought within the mind-only tradition of Buddhism.
- 30 This appears to be a paraphrase since this quote cannot be located.
- 31 The pneuma (氣) and physical substance (質) are understood to comprise the human world and are activated through the five agents, and is contrasted with pure Heavenly principle, according to Song Neo-Confucianism. In a similar idea with the celestial spirit and terrestrial element, pneuma is associated with Heaven, and physical substance is associated with earth. See the *CJKV-English Dictionary of Confucian, Daoist, and Intellectual Historical Terms*, hereafter abbreviated CJKV. See CJKV, s.v. "氣質."
- 32 King Zhou 紂 (also Shou 受, posthumous title Di Xin 帝辛) was the last ruler of the Shang 商 dynasty, which is also often referred to as the Yin 殷 dynasty (17th–11th cen. BCE). See ECH, s.v. "bigan 比干".
- 33 Dao Zhi 盜跖 was a person of the Lu state during the Spring and Autumn period (c. 771–476 BCE).
- 34 Yan Hui 顏回 (courtesy name is Ziyuan 子淵) was the favorite disciple of Confucius and is venerated in Confucian temples as one of the four sages.
- 35 The six arts include; etiquette (禮), music (樂), archery (射), charioteering (御), calligraphy (書), and mathematics (數).
- 36 *Lunheng* 論衡, "Fuxu" 福虛, (CTP, s.v. "Fuxu 福虛").
- 37 *Book of Odes* (詩經), "Minor odes of the kingdom" (小雅), "Shi yue zi jiao" 十月之交. The cited line reads, 下民之孽 匪降自天 噂沓背憎 職競由人. As can be noted, the citation in the translated text is missing the line "噂沓背憎," which can be translated as "A multitude of [fair] words, and hatred behind the back," Translation is by Legge. See CTP, s.v. "Shi Yue Zi Jiao 十月之交."
- 38 Xu Xun 許詢 was famous as a literatus of the Eastern Jin (東晉, 317–420).

- 39 Xiao Cha 蕭簪 (519–562), reigned as Emperor Xuan (宣帝, r. 555–561) in the Later Liang dynasty (後梁, 555–587), and was a grandson of Emperor Wu (武帝) of Liang.
- 40 Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–870) was a high ranking Tang official who was deeply interested in the practice of Chan Buddhism.
- 41 Qingcaotang 青草堂 was a prominent Chan monk of the Song dynasty.
- 42 Duke Zeng Lu (曾魯公) was a famous official during the reign of Emperor Zhengtong (r. 1435–1449) of the Ming dynasty.
- 43 Yangdang 雁蕩 is the name of a mountain range in China.
- 44 Qin Hui 秦檜 (1091–1155) was a powerful counsellor to the throne during the Southern Song dynasty (南宋, 1127–1279).
- 45 Zhiyong 智永 was a monastic of the North and South dynasties period (698–926) who was recognized for his calligraphic skills.
- 46 Fang Guan 房琯 (697–736) was a Tang period high court official.
- 47 Chan Master Jie is also known as the Fifth Patriarch and Master of the Vinaya (Wuzu Shijie 五祖師戒), a monk of the Yunmen 雲門 lineage.
- 48 Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (also known as Master Su Shi 蘇軾, 1037–1101), was a Northern Song dynasty (北宋, 960–1126) writer and calligrapher. Dongpo is the author of the *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (A forest of records of Su Dongpo), a collection of Su Shi's notes which is a valuable source of information on the ancient books (ECH, s.v. “Dongpo zhilin 東坡志林”). On the past life of Su Dongpo see, Zhu and Zhao (2017).
- 49 Xiakou 夏口 is an area that is part of today's capital city of Wuhan 武漢 in Hubei Province.
- 50 Yeongnam 嶺南 indicates the region south of Joryeong 鳥嶺, or the area generally known as Gyeongsang-do province.
- 51 This is the area currently known as Jeolla-do province located in the south-west region of Korea.
- 52 The Western Regions (Xiyu 西域) of China corresponds with modern Autonomous Region of Xinjiang.
- 53 Dongzhen 東震 means eastern region and is a literary name for Korea, but it is also used for China.
- 54 Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 206–195 BCE) was the founder and ruler of the Former Han (前漢) dynasty (206 BCE–8 CE). His personal name was Liu Bang 劉邦. See ECH, s.v. “Liu Bang 劉邦.”
- 55 Zhou Gong 周公, or the Duke of Zhou (personal name Ji Dan 姬旦), was one of the sons of King Wen of Zhou (周文王). The other son and brother to Zhou Gong was King Wu of Zhou (周武王, fl. 11th cen. BCE), the founder of the

Zhou dynasty (11th cen.–221 BCE).

- 56 The *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑) which is one of the most important traditional historiographies of China was written by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), a writer and politician during the Song period. For more on Sima Guang's works see ECH, s.v. “Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑.”
- 57 The ten evil deeds include the following: (1) killing (殺生), (2) stealing (偷盜), (3) debauchery (邪淫), (4) lying (妄語), (5) flattery (綺語), (6) insult (惡口), (7) treachery (slander) (兩舌), (8) coveting (貪欲), (9) being angry (瞋恚), and (10) holding wicked views (邪見). See DDB, s.v. “十惡”.
- 58 *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經, (T 365.12.346a18–20).
- 59 *Book of Documents*, “Documents of Zhou” (周書), “Numerous Regions” (多方), chap. 4. James Legge translates the same passage as, “. . . the foolish, by thinking, become wise.” See CTP, s.v. “Zhou Shu, Numerous Regions.”
- 60 The Chan Master Weilin 維琳 was the abbot of Jingshan Temple (徑山寺) in the Huangzhou region.
- 61 Li Zhi 李多 is one of the disciples of Dongpu.

Appendix I: Original Texts

A 顯正論

Exposition of the Orthodox

Introduction

[A1] 體非有無，而通於有無。本無古今，而通於古今者，道也。有無因於性情也，古今因於生死也。性本無情，迷性生情。情生智隔，想變體殊。萬象所以形也，生死所以始也。夫情也，有染淨焉，有善惡焉。淨與善，聖之所以興也。染與惡，凡之所以作也。故知情若不生，則凡之與聖，悉無得而興焉。

[A2] 菩薩，性雖已覺，而情猶有所未盡，故稱之云覺有情也。菩薩尚爾，況餘二乘乎。三乘尚爾，況餘人天異類乎？

佛則覺滿而智無不周。淨極而情累已盡，故情之言，不可加於佛也。唯佛一人之外，皆稱有情者，以此。

[A3] 夫三乘五乘，皆所以治其情也。人天乘所以治其染垢。三乘所以治其淨垢也。染淨垢盡然後，方親造大覺之境矣。

五戒所以生人道也，十善所以生天道也。諦緣所以成二乘也，六度所以成菩薩也。

竊觀三藏指歸，只要令人去情顯性而已。情生於性，猶雲起於長空；去情顯性，猶雲開而現大清也。情有薄者焉，有厚者焉，猶雲有淡者焉，有濃者焉。雲有濃淡之異，而掩天光則一也；情有厚薄之殊，而碍性明則同也。雲起也，日月收照而天下暗然也。雲開也，光被大千而宇宙廓如也。

[A4] 佛教比之，則若清風之掃浮雲也。欲所見之廓如，而厭清風者，惑矣；欲自他之清泰，而厭吾道者，失矣。若教人人，依此而修之，則心可得而正矣，身可得而修矣。可以齊家，可以治國，可以平天下矣。機之利者，可以爲菩薩，可以爲聲聞，可以爲緣覺。機之劣者，可以生天，可以成善人矣。

苟如是而世不治，未之有也。何則？厭罪報則應斷諸惡，諸惡雖不斷盡，而足以去一惡矣。去一惡則息一刑，一刑息於家，萬刑息於國矣。忻福緣則應修諸善，諸善雖未盡修，而足以行一善矣。行一善則得一慶，一慶興於家，萬慶興於國矣。

[A5] 夫五戒十善，教中之最淺者也。本爲機之最下者而設也。苟能行之，則足以誠於身，利於人矣。況於諦緣乎，況於六度乎？

儒以五常而爲道樞。佛之所謂五戒，卽儒之所謂五常也：不殺，仁也；不盜，義也；不淫，禮也；不飲酒，智也；不妄語，信也。

Edifying the People, with Cause and Effect

[A6] 但儒之所以教人者，不以德行，卽以政刑也。故云，“導之以政，齊之以刑，民免而無恥。導之以德，齊之以禮，有恥且格。”夫導之以德，齊之以禮，非聖人不能。故云，“默而成之，不言而信，存乎德行。”導之以政，齊之以刑，則未免有賞罰。故云，“賞罰，國之大柄”也。

[A7] 夫默而成之，不言而信，固吾佛之化也，而兼以因果示之。示之以賞罰，則或不過面從而已；示之以因果，則服乃心服也。今於世上，目覩其然也。何則？若勸之以賞，禁之以罰，則止惡者，畏其威而止之；爲善者，利其賞而爲之。故其從化也，面從而已，非心服也。

若人欲知今之所以窮達者，則示之以宿種；欲知後之禍福者，則示之以現因。則達者忻前世之種善而益勸；窮者悔前世之不修而自勉。且邀福於後世者，則孜孜於爲善；避禍於後世者，則必慎於爲惡也。此則不服則已。服則心服，而未嘗有面從者也。

[A8] 雖然，安得使人人，皆可以心服也？其未能心服者，則姑以賞罰而導之，使駸駸然心悅而誠服也。故示之以因果之外，亦有賞罰之訓存焉。所謂，“應攝受者而攝受之，應折服者而折服之。”是也。此則近於儒也。所以儒與釋，皆不可廢也。

佛之將化也，以其法，付之君，付之臣，蓋欲以其道，導天下而爲治世之大助；而令共蹈乎修真之路也。吾佛之教，不論在家出家，只要令人不違道用而已，不必剪其髮異其服然後爲也。所以云，“隨方解縛，假名三昧，”又云，“無有定法名阿耨菩提。”佛之心如此，豈小通哉？

然若無忍力者，則居塵不染，在家成道，難矣。所以教人，出家令修，遠離行也。

In Defence of Joining the Monastics and the Filiality of Monks

[A9] 儒之言曰，男有室女有家，以嗣家業，不絕厥祀，可謂孝矣。今浮圖氏，絕婚姻，去人倫，長往山林，永絕後嗣，豈可謂孝乎？昏定晨省，承顏順色，出必告，反必面。今浮圖氏，不告父母，自許出家。一自出家，終身不返，生不奉甘旨，死不計厚葬，豈非不孝乎？

試嘗論之曰，經權爲道之大要也。非經，無以守常；非權，無以應變。經以守常，權以應變。然後得夫道之大全，而無所往而不可也。不知守常，無以

正人心；不知應變，無以成大事。

[A10] 夫人也，托父母而受生，寄君國以得存。入孝出忠，固臣子之所當爲也。又婚姻祭祀，亦人倫之大經也。非婚，生生之理絕；非祀，追遠之法廢。

然爲臣子而盡忠孝者，難矣。婚姻而終身守正，奉祀而盡心致齊者，又其難矣。盡忠盡孝，而謹守其職，守正致齊，而終身不輟。然後生不失善名，死得生人道。此經以守常之效也。

然生得善名而已，斷愛欲者幾希；死生人道而已，免輪迴者難矣。愛爲輪迴之本，欲爲受生之緣。**[A11]** 夫人者，既未免妻子之累。愛欲其可斷乎？苟未斷於愛欲，則輪迴其可免乎？

欲免輪迴，先斷愛欲；欲斷愛欲，先去妻子；欲去妻子，須出塵寰。不出塵寰，不去妻子，斷愛欲，免輪迴，大聖垂慈大權示迹之外，庸人凡俗，其可得乎？夫如是者，億億世而難遇，萬萬人而難得。夫愛緣，如磁石與鐵偶相似，無忍力者，居塵世而難免。如本師釋尊，居兜率而稱爲護明菩薩，降王宮而名曰悉達。此豈無忍力者哉？

[A12] 可謂玄曦慙其照遠，上界惡以緣銷者也。雖涉愛，應不爲愛緣所染也。欲爲後世垂範，以金輪之嫡子，不告父母而辭入雪山。

輕生苦節，安忍不動，待其情累蕩盡，眞明朗發然後，返鄉而覲父，登天而訪母，爲說法要，皆令度脫。此聖人之所以權以應變而反常合道者也。

且佛者，三明六通而悉備，四智八解而圓具。其德播天下後世，而使天下後世，稱其父母曰，大聖人之父母，以其姓，姓一切姓，使出家者，皆稱之曰釋子。豈不謂之大孝乎？

[A13] 孔不云乎？“立身行道，揚名於後世，以現父母孝之終也。”

以其道，導天下後世，而使天下後世，聞其風，感其化，隨其機之大小，稟其法而得度。豈不謂之大慈乎？孔不云乎？“一日克己復禮，天下歸仁。”

Arguing the Loyalty of Monks to the King

[A14] 曰，人生斯世，當盡忠於君，傾誠輔國。今浮圖氏，不朝天子，不事王侯。高棲遐舉，坐觀成敗。豈可謂忠乎？

曰，教中，使爲君者，先受戒品，潔淨身意，然後方登寶位。又令凡出家者，莫不朝焚夕點而祝君祝國。可不謂之忠乎？且君者，爵祿以勸善，刑罰以禁惡之外。吾佛，示之以爲善招慶，爲惡招殃。人之聞者，自然收其惡心，發其善意。吾佛之教，不假爵賞之勸，刑罰之威，令人靡然趨化。豈無輔於君國乎？

In Defence of not Killing Life

[A15] 曰，人食物，物給人，固其自然也。而七十者，非肉不飽故，養老者不可不以此供之。又春蒐夏苗秋獮冬狩，乃先王之所以爲民除害，順時立法，不可易也。且犧牲，從古于今，奉祀之禮物，尤不可廢也。今浮圖，親老而食不甘，不供之以肉。教人亦廢先王之制，犧牲之禮。豈非過歟？

曰，暴殄天物，聖人之所不與也。況天道至仁，豈令人殺生以養生哉？書云，“惟天地，萬物父母；惟人，萬物之靈。亶聰明作元后，元后作民父母。”

天地既爲萬物之父母，則生乎天地之間者，皆天地之息也。天地之於物也，猶父母之於子也；子有愚智之殊，猶人與萬物之有明昧也。

[A16] 父母之於子也，雖愚不肖，亦愛而愍之，猶恐不得其養焉，況其加害乎？殺生養生，

如殺同息以自養也。殺同息以自養，則於父母之心爲如何哉。子之相殺，非父母之心也；人物之相殘，豈天地之意乎？

人與萬物，既同得天地之氣，又同得天地之理，而同生於天地之間。既一氣一理之所賦，焉有殺生養生之理哉？如云，“天地與我同根，萬物與我一體。”此釋氏之言也。“仁者以天地萬物爲一己。”此儒者之言也。

爲行一如其言然後，方盡仁之道矣。醫書以手足痿痺爲不仁。蓋手足一身之微者也，雖微病焉則氣不通矣。仁也者，天地萬物，融爲一體，而無所間然之謂也。深體此理者，則雖微物，未嘗有所加害也，可謂得仁人之道矣。如鵝珠草繫，蓋其人矣。

[A17] 不如是則人與物，氣沴而不眈，理礙而不通，如手足之痹也。醫書所云，可謂善狀其仁矣。詩云，“一發五羖。”論語云，“釣而不綱，弋不射宿。”孟子云，“君子遠庖廚也。聞其聲，不忍食其肉。”又云，“數罟不入污池，魚鼈不可勝食。”此皆爲仁而未盡其道也。何不喫於一己之言乎？

中庸云，“言顧行行顧言，君子胡不慥慥爾。”今何至此乎？詩云，此儒者之所以善論爲，仁之道而未盡善也。既要殺少，何必發矢；既憐其宿，何射不宿；既遠庖廚，何必食肉；小既傷殘，何須害大。

[A18] 佛於大戒，以不殺居先，又慈心因緣不食肉。經云，“如佛所說食肉者，此人行慈不滿足，常受短命多病身，迷沒生死不成佛。”

又教中所以教持漚囊者，恐傷微命也。昔有二比丘，同欲見佛，行於曠野，渴遇蟲水。一人云，“但得見佛，飲之何罪？”卽飲。一人云，“佛戒殺生。若破佛戒，見佛何益？”忍渴不飲。死生天上，先見於佛，得佛讚嘆。此乃仁人之真語實行，而冥相契於一己之言，慥慥之訓也。

[A19] 余未出家，有釋曰海月者，讀論語於予。至“博施濟衆，堯舜其猶

病諸。”註云，“仁者，以天地萬物爲一己。”之言，置卷而問予曰，“孟子仁者乎？”曰，“然。”“雞豚狗彘萬物乎？”曰，“然。”

曰，“‘仁者，以天地萬物爲一己，’此真稱理之談也。孟子苟爲仁者，而雞豚狗彘，又爲萬物，則何以云，‘雞豚狗彘之畜，無失其時，七十者可以食肉’乎？”予於是，辭窮而未能答。考諸經傳，而無有殺生稱理之論；博問先知，而無有釋然決疑之者。常蘊此疑，久未能決。

越丙子許，游三角山，到僧伽寺，與一老禪夜話。話次，禪云，“佛有十重大戒，一不殺生。”

予於是，釋然心服，而自謂，“此真仁人之行也，而深體乎仁道之語也。”從此，不疑於儒釋之間。而遂有詩云，

[A20] 素聞經史程朱毀，未識浮圖是與非，
反復潛思年已遠，始知真實却歸依。

夫巢知風穴知雨，蜘蛛有布網之巧，蜣螂有轉圜之能。物皆如是，同稟靈明。至於好生惡殺之情，亦何嘗異於人哉？方其砉然奏刀，翹然就死之時，盼盼然視，喑喑然鳴，豈非含怨結恨之情狀也？而人自味耳；所以人與物，相作而不覺，相償而無休，安有仁人見其如是而忍爲之哉？以我之嗜味，較彼之忍痛，苦樂皎然，而輕重可忖。

報應之說，如其妄也，則一任其作，如其不妄，來苦難當，可不愼歟？

[A21] 夫春蒐夏苗秋獮冬狩，雖先王之法制，今有大山之中，海島之間，畋所不及之處。人與物，各遂其生，各安其所，而善終天年者。以此觀之，則夫民也，何必因其獵而遂其生也？古人教以“不合圍，不掩群。”此知其殺之不可而事出乎不得已也。大抵不得已底事，或中而不必合理也。既不合理，何以爲大經乎？

易云，“古之聰明睿智，神武而不殺夫。”蓋四時之畋，聖人托此，示之以神武。預防其外寇爾，豈以殺爲心哉？此乃爲天下者之大權者爾。以此觀之，則夫畋也，正同嫂溺，援之以手之義。嫂溺手援，暫時之用爾，何以爲人間之常法也？

[A22] 至於犧牲，則人居平日，以肉爲甘旨，則其死也，以其所嗜，祭之宜也。然潑水添水，罪必加矣。昔人有殺羊祭先，其先托夢而禁之，此其驗也。迹此觀之，則犧牲，雖曰盛禮，亦廢之可也。

On the Critique of not Drinking Wine

[A23] 曰，酒所以合歡之藥也。調和血脈，以却風冷。又於祭祀，酒令降神，不可無也。今浮圖，設戒以禁，不酤不飲，豈非過歟？

曰，酒爲亂神敗德之本，而尤害於道也。故律中指其過曰三十有六，儒傳亦明其失云，“內昏其心志，外喪其威儀。”斯言善明爲過之甚也。內昏其心志故，妨其自修也；外喪其威儀故，妨其化道也。

非惟無益於自他，亦乃招殃禍於無窮也。由是儀狄獻之而致疎於禹，羅漢飲之而見呵於佛。夫禹之所以疎儀狄，佛之所以責羅漢者，豈非以酒之爲害，當使人淫荒迷亂。至於滅身敗道亡國失位者乎？

[A24] 禮將有事於天地鬼神，必先數日齋然後，行一日祭。齋者，不茹薰酒，專誠而致潔也。以誠不專潔不至，則神不享矣。

佛之齋戒也，誠則長誠而無雜，潔則終身而不汙。若以數日比之，天地何遠？既知齋之爲是，何必數日而已哉？數日之外，無祭之時，其可放緩乎？此儒之所以與佛有間者也。

Reply to the Criticism of Alms-Giving

[A25] 曰，珍財，人之所賴以生，當用之有節，畜而不費。以遺夫子孫，令不墜其宗祀，不見其窮露。今浮圖，逃於四民之外，不事王事，亦已足矣，更誇人以布施報應，令人盡持奉佛，而終至於飢寒窮露，豈非過歟？

曰，珍財長食，取禍之具也；布施清心，致福之方也。儒傳豈不云乎？“財聚則民散，財散則民聚。”佛之所以勸人行施者，非爲自利而然也。只要令人，破除慳貪，以淨心田而已。

佛誡比丘，“三常不足。”三不足者，衣食睡眠，皆不足也。既以此誡其徒也，豈爲衣食於人而勸之以施乎？若以衣食爲心，則佛之教，豈到今日。至於報應之說，則豈獨吾教乎？

[A26] 易云，“積善有餘慶，積惡有餘殃。”又如洪範，“人合乎皇極，則天應之以五福，違則應之以六極。”此非報應歟？形存而其應已然，及其死也，形雖謝而神存，善惡之應，豈不然乎？佛之言曰，“假饒百千劫，所作業不亡。因緣會遇時，果報還自受。”豈欺人哉？

Teachings about Transmigration and Retribution

[A27] 曰，人之生也，陰以稟其質，陽以稟其氣。一陰一陽，配爲魂魄而成形。及其死也，魂昇魄降而就盡。夫人之所以有知覺者，以其心也。心也者，魂魄之合而一身之主也。其死也，與氣俱散，而更無有形神尙留於冥漠之中。誰更受福受殃？

今浮圖，忻之以天堂，怖之以地獄，令人致惑。天是蒼蒼，而所有者，日月星辰而已；地是土石，而所載者，人與萬物而已。謂之“不亡者存而感天堂

地獄”者，豈非妄乎？

[A28] 曰，陰陽，固人之所賴以生者也。陰陽合而受生，陰陽散而就死。若固有之眞明，則不隨形生，不隨形謝。雖千變萬化，而湛然獨存也。

夫心有二，曰堅實心，曰肉團心。肉團心者，魂魄之精也；堅實心者，眞明之謂也。今所謂心者，眞明也，非肉團也。夫心者，身之主也；形者，心之使也。善惡等事，心君命之，形臣作之。至於報應，生則君臣等受，死則形臣已謝，而心君獨受。

[A29] 詩云，“文王陟降，在帝左右。”陟降之者，豈非在天之靈乎？昔有秀才曰，王淮之，自小不信佛法。一日死而復蘇曰，“向者自謂形神俱滅。今始知佛之所謂形謝而神存，信不誣矣。”

又宋人李源，與僧圓澤交。相約世世無相棄。一日同遊，澤見夫人之汲者曰，“此婦姓王氏，吾當爲其子。十二年後，杭州天竺寺外，須公相見，以明交義。”至暮澤果死。源果十二年，赴其約，聞葛洪川畔，有牧童扣牛角而歌曰，

三生石上舊精魂，賞月吟風不要論。

慙愧情人遠相訪，此身雖異性長存。

[A30] 及相見曰，“李公眞信士也。”而又歌曰，

身前身後事茫茫，欲話因緣恐斷腸。

吳越山川尋已徧，却回煙棹上瞿塘。

至如羊祜爲李氏之子，王子爲蔡氏之孫。余曾觀此傳，爲羊李頌云，

羊李只一人，往復非異環。

誰知七歲子，滅已五年還。

[A31] 爲王蔡頌云，

昔日王家子，今爲蔡氏孫。

不因一點墨，同異議紛紛。

觀此數事，則足知靈明之不隨形變也。謂之“人死而形神俱滅。”豈非昧乎？

至於天獄，則非是實然固有，乃人之業感，自然如是也。孔子嘗曰，“吾不復夢見周公久矣。”蓋夢者，人之神游，非形之使然也。夫子之所以夢與周公見者，蓋平日心存周公之道，專而行之故，其精神自然，相感而然也。人亦如是，日於善惡，爲之既專，則善者夢見其榮，惡者夢見其辱。所以然者，善者亶亶然惟義是從。惡者忤忤然惟利是求。

[A32] 善者惟義是從故，事事而適宜；惡者惟利是求故，事事而違義。善者事事而適宜故，人必善之；惡者事事而違義故，人必惡之。善者人善之

故，自達於上，而加之以爵祿；惡者人惡之故，自達於上，而加之以刑罰。由是，善者與與，忻致其榮；惡者錯愕，謀避其殃。

善惡之習，忻厭之情，蘊在情神故，其於夢也。亦見榮見辱。其神往而不返，則便是來生。此善者之所以感天堂，惡者之所以感地獄者也。天堂地獄，設使無者，人之聞者，慕天堂而趨善，厭地獄而沮惡。則天獄之說之於化民，利莫大焉。

[A33] 果其有者，善者必昇天堂，惡者必陷地獄。故使之聞之，則善者自勉而當享天宮，惡者自止而免入地獄。何必斥於天獄之說，而以為妄耶？

Response to the Criticism of Buddhist Custom of Cremation

[A34] 曰，夫送死，人間世之大事者也。故丁父母之喪者，不可不以為重也。聖人垂“厚葬追遠”之訓，所以示其重也。所以令厚葬者，如木根深則枝葉扶疎而實多，根淺則枝葉夭闕而無實。夫父母之於子也，如木之於實也；子之於父母，猶實之於木也。故云，“父之傳於子，猶木之傳於實也。”

由是，遇其喪者，要須擇其地，得其宜；深其穴，厚其葬；茂其林，貯其水。令陰深而畜氣，土厚而不澆，致令子孫繁衍，而闕祀綿綿。今浮圖，不顧此理而妄設火化之法，令人無後而絕嗣，豈非過也？況方其火化之際，人子之心，其可忍視乎？以是惑人，過犯漫天。

[A35] 曰，夫人者，有形焉，有神焉。形比則如屋，神比則如主。形謝而其神往焉，猶屋倒而主不得住焉。夫屋也，成以土木，嚴以雜穢。人以為己有，貪涵其中而不知其陋也。雖見其倒，未能頓忘，而不能遠去也。

夫身也，水土以構其形，火風以持其質，中含雜穢，不淨流溢。人之護之，甚於金玉。何嘗有厭離之情也？及其死也，火風先去，而地水猶存。其為地水，前所愛護故，不能頓忘而隨往無碍也。智者，焚其地水，而指其往生之路。其神，更無稽滯之情，即同膠葛而清昇也。

由是，吾佛世尊，丁父之喪，躬自執爐，四天舉棺，羅漢採薪而闔維，令其父之神，清昇而生天。

[A36] 黃蘗運公之度母也，陳懷白佛，隔江擲炬。其母於火焰中，化為男子，身乘大光明，上昇天宮。兩岸皆見，咸以為奇。江名福川，官司改福川為大義渡。以是觀之，則火化之法，令人去穢而就淨。神清而遐舉，堪為薦往之助道，垂世之洪規。

若以火化為不忍，方其穴土而埋之，其可忍也。今有大山之麓，大野之原，多有古墳，盡為農者之所耕，頭骨星散。日煮風飄，無人顧護。其初莫不立石栽松以嚴其地。以圖子孫之繁衍，厥祀之綿綿，今何至此乎？

[A37] 但生前五蘊皆空, 六根清淨, 一念無生者, 則雖寓形宇內而常棲神於物表故. 澄澄合空, 湛湛如水, 猶以有身為幻也. 由是, 及其化也, 如決疣去垢, 如解懸脫枷, 如鳥出籠, 如馬出閑, 洋洋乎, 于于乎, 逍遙自適也, 去留無碍也. 其於地水, 安有稽滯之情哉.

此人分上, 沈之可也, 露之可也, 鑿石而藏之, 穴土而坑之, 以至為野火之所燒. 蟲蟻之所食, 無所施而不可也. 故達磨葬於熊耳, 六祖全身留世, 普化搖鈴騰去, 清涼命飴林獸. 此皆達人遺世之高蹤, 忘我之勝迹者也. 自餘, 則未能忘形無我故, 須經火化然後, 其神清昇而無滯也.

[A38] 有人客死他鄉, 收其骨而火之, 而其後德望高於世, 寵望歸於己, 子孫振振而厥祀綿綿. 謂之“火化而利不及後”者, 私憂過計之甚也. 毋以無稽之談, 枉招冥龜之報.

Defending the Discourse on the Cause and Effect of the Three Worlds

[A39] 曰, 人之生死, 即人之始終也. 故孔子只言生死而未嘗言其前後也. 今浮圖言其前後, 而并其死生之間, 謂之三世. 夫生前死後, 非耳目之所接, 孰親視之乎? 以之惑人, 豈非誕也?

曰, 人之生死, 猶晝夜之代謝. 既有代謝, 則自成前後. 晝則以去夜為前, 來夜為後; 夜則以去日為前, 來日為後; 并其晝夜, 自成三際. 晝夜既爾, 歲月亦然. 歲月既爾, 生死亦然. 已往之無始, 未來之無窮, 亦由是而可知也.

易云, “彰往而來.” 明失得之報, 往來之言, 豈非所謂前後乎? 以三世之說為誕者, 未之思也.

Countering the Critique against Buddhism as a Barbarian Tradition

[A40] 曰, 天下之可遵者, 五帝三王之道而已. 故孔聖祖述, 而群賢相傳, 載諸方策, 而列國皆遵. 此道可求之於中國, 不可求之於夷狄也. 佛西夷之人也, 豈以其道流行於中國也? 漢明帝, 求其法於西域, 昧也非明也.

曰, 道之所存, 是人之所歸也. 五帝三王, 既道之所存故, 為人之所歸而王於華夏也. 佛之興天竺, 而為法輪王, 亦復如是. 華夏之指天竺為西, 猶天竺之指華夏為東也. 若取天下之大中, 則當午無影為中, 天竺乃爾. 佛之所以示生於彼者, 豈非以其天下之大中也?

[A41] 所謂東西者, 蓋彼此時俗之相稱爾, 非占其中而定其東西也. 苟以佛為夷而不遵其道, 則舜生於東夷, 文王生於西夷, 可夷其人而不遵其道乎? 所出迹也, 所行道也. 但觀其道之可遵不可遵也, 不可拘其所出之迹也.

前不云乎？道之所存，是人之所歸也。春秋，“以徐伐莒而夷狄之，狄人與齊人盟于邢而中國之。”夫徐以中國而受夷狄之名，以其不義也；狄人受中國之稱，以其有義也。凡於褒貶之間，但觀人之明昧，事之當否。豈以其所出，而議其人乎？

[A42] 如不求其迹，而求其所行之道，則但五戒十善之道，可無愧於五帝三王之道矣。況諦緣六度等法乎？若使五帝三王遇之，則必合掌跪膝而聽受矣，明帝之求，不其宜乎？

[A43] 曰，自佛法入中國以來，世漸澆漓，飢饉荐臻，民多失所。為癘日甚，其為害也，不亦大哉？

曰，堯舜禹湯，以天下之大聖，而尚未免水旱之災；桀紂幽厲，以天下之人主，而未免為獨夫。周衰而人民已匱，秦作而天下大亂。以孔子之大聖，而未免於絕糧；顏回之亞聖，而未免於夭折；原憲之大賢，而未免於家貧。此亦以佛而然歟？

佛興天竺，正當周昭，至漢明帝，法流東土。三代以前，佛未之作，孔顏之時，名亦未聞。

彼時當無災孽，亦無飢饉，堯何有九年之水，湯何有七年之旱，孔顏何窮，而原憲何貧乎？

[A44] 唐太宗，與魏徵李淳風等，協心同德，混一天下。兆民咸熙，率土來賀。新羅真德王，自製太平歌，織錦為文而獻之。其略曰，

大唐開洪業，巍巍皇猷昌，止戈戎威定。

修文繼百王，深仁諧日月，撫群邁虞唐。

以至云，

維岳降宰輔，惟帝任忠良。

五三成一德，昭我唐家皇。

[A45] 又新羅太宗春秋公，與金庾信，同心勦力，一統三韓，有大功於社稷。彼時年豐穀賤，民樂無憂，皆謂之聖代。若是佛法，使不昇平，此當佛法盛行之時也，何其昇平，至於如是之極乎？

趙州稔禪師，生經七百甲子，五臺開法師，生存三百餘載。若是佛法，令人夭折，彼既佛子，何其命也，至於如是之壽乎？古今治亂脩短苦樂，大關時運之盛衰，亦是衆生之業感。以世不昇平，民不聊生，歸咎於佛法，亦未之思也。

Countering the Critique That Monks do not Work and Live off the People

[A46] 曰，爾浮圖輩，逸為遊民，不蠶不耕，而衣食於人，故民被其惱，屢至

於窮，其爲廢也，不亦大哉？

曰，僧之任在弘法利生，弘法而令慧命不斷，利生而使人人自善，是僧之務也。苟能如是，則可無愧於爲人之所奉矣。苟不能然，是其人之罪也，豈佛之過歟？

孟子曰，“於此有人焉，入則孝出則悌，守先王之道，以待後之學者，不得食於子。子何尊梓匠輪輿，而輕爲仁義者哉？”此豈非以守道利人而可衣食於人乎？

[A47] 夫人之貧富，各自有素分。宿有善種者，則雖日費而有餘；宿無善種者，則雖日聚而不足。世有人焉，見佛不禮，見僧呵毀，終身而不施一錢。衣不蔽形，食不充口，此亦因僧而致然歟？

[A48] 曰，清淨寡欲，爲法亡軀，多聞強記，接引後來，固釋子之行也。今浮圖輩，不修其行，反污師法。人問其道，如立面牆，裨販如來，資養身命。廬其居人其人，以充乎四民之數，而令輔弼乎君國，可也。

[A49] 曰，麒麟鸞鳳，族不成群，尺璧寸珠，市不可求。孔門三千，稱哲人者，十人而已。如來海會，稱第一者，亦不過十人而已。

況今去聖愈遠，根機微劣，安得使人人，如迦葉之淨行，阿難之多聞？

[A50] 孔顏之後，千載之下，如顏淵閔子騫，亦未之聞也。夫僧之爲僧，具五德備六和然後，方稱其名也。然名實相符者，蓋難其人矣。林有不材之木，田有不實之禾。縱有不能如法奉行者，不可疾之甚也。但令因其形服，漸薰成性，不失其道而已。豈得因其失而廢其法也？

Defending the Usefulness of Buddhism

[A51] 曰，考其爲書，務於虛遠，崇於寂滅；其功倍於小學而無用，其高過於大學而無實；不可以爲修己治人之方也矣。

曰，書者，載道之具也，弘化之方也。見其書則知其道之可遵不可遵，知其禮之可慕不可慕也。其道可遵，其禮可慕，則豈以非吾所習而可棄之也。君不聞乎？“天下無二道，聖人無兩心。”

[A52] 夫聖人者，雖千里之隔，萬世之遠，其心未嘗有異也。孔夫子之言曰，“毋意毋必毋固毋我。”易又云，“艮其背，無我也，行其庭，無人也。無我無人，何垢之有？”

釋迦老之言曰，“無我無人，修一切善法，卽得菩提。”此聖人之所以異世而同其心也。

[A53] 所謂“虛遠寂滅”之言，三藏十二部中，據何典而言歟？大戒云，“孝順至道之法，孝名爲戒，亦名制止。”一向謂之虛遠可乎？圓覺云，“心花

發明，照十方刹。”一向謂之寂滅可乎？若欲驗其真偽，必先審其書也。不審其書而妄排之，則必爲達者之所嗤矣。

[A54] 君不聞乎？“未盡天下文章，不得雌黃古今。”孔之言曰，“夫孝，天之經也，地之義也，民之行也。”豈非至道之謂乎。“感而遂通天下之故。”豈非明照之謂乎？

儒之所謂明德，卽佛之所謂妙精明心也。所謂“寂然不動，感而遂通”，卽佛之所謂寂照者也。所謂“有善於已然後，可以責人之善，無惡於已然後，可以正人之惡？”者，與吾教所謂“斷惡修善，饒益有情”者，何以異乎？所言之理既同，而所教之迹，何以異乎？

[A55] 專己略人，是此非彼，人之常情也。通人達士，唯義是從，豈以人我彼此而是非者乎？使人不待爵賞之勸而靡然從化者，三教之中，佛教能然也。蓋以吾佛大聖大慈之所感也。舜好問而好察邇言，隱惡而揚善，禹拜昌言。若使舜禹，遇佛之化，則豈不歸美乎？而以爲不可爲修己治人之方者，亦未之思也。

Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism

[A56] 曰，老與儒釋，同異優劣，如何？

曰，老之言曰，“無爲而無不爲，當有爲而無爲。”釋之言曰，“寂而常照，照而常寂。”孔之言曰，“夫易，無思也，無爲也，寂然不動，感而遂通。”夫寂然者，未嘗無感，卽寂而常照也；感通者，未嘗不寂，卽照而常寂也。

無爲而無不爲，卽寂而常感也；有爲而無所爲，卽感而常寂也。據此，則三家所言，冥相符契，而如出一口也。

[A57] 若履踐之高低，發用之同異，則洗盡心垢，廓清慧目然後，看盡大藏儒道諸書。參於日用之間，生死禍福之際，則不待言而自點頭矣，吾何強辨以駭君聽？

B 諫廢釋教疏

Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism

Introduction

[B1] 臣聞孔子曰，“可與言而不與言，失人；不可與言而與言，失言。”言或可以有中，聽不可以無誠。故堯咨尹壽，舜訪務成。彼以至聖之資，咸居極貴之位，則不必取蓬蒿之人，不必納蕝薮之言。然所以勤欵者，蓋益我者存焉。何則？取人則必見賢人，納言則必聞善言。

言不必鄒魯之言，故仲尼學於老聃；人不必堯舜之人，故西伯師於呂望。是故若以邦域，爲嫌而廢言，失言；若以時代，爲訝而棄人，失人。可不察哉，可不明哉！

[B2] 夫世治則逸人願從，故漢遼四皓；俗醇則清輩間出，故晉高七賢。七賢豈皆伊傅周召之相才乎；四皓寧盡韓彭衛霍之將略乎？然而咸在提封，得充臣妾者，或助仁后之隆化，或扶聖君之優治。

[B3] 故安民之才，必憑十亂；濟世之智，亦待三愚。其猶洪鍾萬鈞，非片鍤所鑄；大廈千間，豈一世所構哉。

伏惟，聖神文武，主上殿下，誕膺天命，續承丕位。儲宮之日，孝誠趨乎鷄鳴；君臨以來，恐思生乎雉肋。輕徭減賦，則蒼生怡顏；恤寡憐孤，則赤子延頸。二三載之間，化洽生靈；數千里之外，恩添品羣。

[B4] 三王不仁則已，仁則殿下是也；五帝不聖則已，聖則殿下是也。豈意今日之巢許復，遇昔時之堯舜乎？雖然自古明君聖王，政非不明也，治非不仁也，而躬臨萬機，慮有一失。故書有訓君之誥，詩存戒王之篇。是以矜憐鄙陋，枉屈從諫者，君父之仁也；冒黷尊嚴，唐突進言者，臣子之忠也。

[B5] 故說命曰，“木從繩則正，后從諫則聖。”此君父之所可鑑也。春秋傳曰，“君所謂可而有否焉，臣獻其可，以去其否。”此臣子之所可效也。

Discussion on the Monastics

[B6] 臣以至微至賤，猥叨桑門，謬忝竺教，人世上一贅物，水雲間隻枯容。其於君臣父子之義，素昧留心；得失治亂之談，寧能刺口，而今敢稱臣者，固知濫矣。

然昔法果沙門，拜安城候，不空法師，封肅國公，咸以臣例，紆荷主恩。則詩所謂，“莫非王臣。”，書所謂，“徯我后來”者，固無揀擇於彼此也。然則爲人臣者，雖甚無狀，凡有愚計，不得不稟於君父也。

[B7]謹因朝報，伏奉聖旨，遂令僧尼，並從沙汰，尼已還俗，僧亦議廢。臣實闇斷，未窺聖慮之何謂也。聖慮必以佛氏，生彼西方，入此華夏，有異邦域而然歟？抑出三代後，非上古法，有殊豈代而然歟？

抑僞啓因果，謬暢報應，有誣輪迴而然歟？抑不畊不蠶，遊手遊食，有耗財帛而然歟？抑妄爲剃落，每罹憲網，有傷政教而然歟？抑托號浮圖，苟避徭役，有失偏伍而然歟？

臣請先言佛興之始終，後陳右列之條目。仰懇宸襟，乞垂睿覽。

The History of Buddhism in China

[B8]臣逖覽前史，詳考歷代。周書曰，“佛昭王二十四年甲寅出世，夜有五色光氣作青紅色。王問太史蘇由曰，‘是何祥也？’對曰，‘西方有大聖人生也。’

[B9]至穆王五十三年壬申，佛入寂。時有白虹十一道貫通南北。王問太史扈多曰，‘是何徵也？’對曰，‘西方有大聖人滅也。’又吳太宰問孔子曰，“夫子聖者歟？”曰，“丘博識強記，非聖人也。”“然則孰爲聖者與？”夫子動容而對曰，“西方有大聖人。不言而自信，不化而自行。”又藏子曰，“萬歲之後，一遇大聖，知其解者，是朝暘遇之。”皆指佛而言也。

[B10]逮秦始皇時，沙門室利防等來自西域，帝惡其異俗，以付獄。俄有神碎獄門而出之，帝懼厚賜遣之。至漢武帝時，霍去病獲昆耶王，及金人率長丈餘，帝以爲大神，安于甘泉宮。又遣博望候張騫，西徃身毒，獲浮屠法。

[B11]元帝時，光祿大夫向，得梵本經二十餘卷，編入仙傳。哀帝時，景憲奉使月支國，其王投獻浮屠經。明帝時，感夢遣中郎將蔡愔等，西訪其道，獲迎摩騰法蘭二僧而還。

[B12]自是教法流行，漸於漢曹魏之間，盛於李唐趙宋之際。聖主賢臣，莫不憑賴，或治其國，或齊其家，此其佛興始終之大略也。

First Reason Buddhism should not Be Suppressed

殿下若曰，有異邦域而廢之，則孔聖之轍，止於魯而不必環於陳蔡；孟賢之舌，藏於鄒而不必棹於齊梁。其猶趙壁，不得連城於秦價，隋珠不能照乘於魏誇。

[B13]豈以舜生於東夷，禹出於西羌，爲不聖，而聖中國之桀紂乎？豈以

由余生於戎，季札出於蠻，爲不賢，而賢中國之跼蹐乎？是以，魯叟欲居九夷，華人願生三韓。

況舟車所通，雨露所同，夷夏之境相接，內外之聖不殊。故劉元城曰，“孔子佛之言，相爲終始。”李屏山曰，“三聖人者，同出於周。如日月星辰之合於扶桑之上，江河淮漢之匯於尾閭之涯。”

[B14]迹此觀之，中庸所謂“道并行而不相悖”，繫辭所謂“殊途而同歸”者，可謂聖之不殊，若柱箭鋒；道之不異，如合符節。此不可以有異邦域而廢者一也。

Second Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

殿下若曰，有殊時代而廢之，則書契之籍，不必代結繩之政；屋宇之安，不必易居巢之危。其猶冬食不宜春畊之粒，夜眠不合晝坐之堂。

[B15]豈以三仁，出於殷滅，爲不忠，而忠上古之九黎乎？豈以十哲，生於周衰，爲不法，而法上古之四凶乎？是以庖犧畫卦，易道顯乎文王；夏后叙疇，洛書成乎箕子。

[B16]況乾坤所位，日月所臨，古今之致同焉，前後之規一也。故趙孟曰，“一彼一此，何常之有。”牟子曰，“彼一時也，此一時也。”迹此觀之，如使舜禹復生必曰，“佛氏，吾無間然矣。”

湯武復出必曰，“佛氏，吾何言哉？”然則魯論所謂“後生可畏”，左史所謂“視遠如邇”者，可謂時異而事同，代殊而理一。此不可以有殊時代而廢者二也。

Third Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B17]殿下若曰，有誣輪回而廢之，則唐天子之玉簫，不必假道僧而傳；晉都督之金環，不必因隣媼而得。其猶落暉沉江，應無來日之再繼；殘花墜岸，必無明春之重敷。

豈以裴休是許玄度之奮身，爲不信，而信堂上之弓蛇乎？豈以韋臯是諸葛亮之前魂，爲不真，而真路中之石虎乎？是以，真宗開咲，悟斯天尊之降誕；仁宗止啼，驗是大仙之下生。

[B18]況死生所系，禍福所召，壽夭之分定矣，休咎之徵昭焉。故賈誼曰，“千變萬化，未始有極。”李士謙曰，“鄧艾爲牛，徐伯爲魚，君子爲鵠，小人爲猿。”迹此觀之，禮記所謂“鼠化爲鴛”，莊書所謂“鯤變爲鵬”者，可謂事殊而致一，言異而意同。此不可以有誣輪回而廢者三也。

Fourth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B19] 殿下若曰，有耗財帛而廢之，則舜虞操耒於歷山，而不必南面爲君；伊尹揮鋤於莘野，而不必北面爲臣。其猶魯食不適杞夫之肥，越灸不合秦人之嗜。

豈以孔丘不如老農爲不達，而達問稼之樊須乎？豈以孟軻養於野人爲不儉，而儉拊屨之許行乎？是以，出遊闡闡者，不必皆耘耔而餬口；深居閨室者，不必皆績紡而遮身。

[B20] 況經世之君，治國之主，以德爲本，以財爲末。故召公曰，“所寶惟賢，則邇人安。”，孤偃曰，“無以爲寶，仁親以爲寶。”

迹此觀之，經傳所謂“有土，此有財。”，武成所謂“大賁于四海。”者，可謂土有則財聚，不憂耗也；財散則民聚，不願畜也。此不可以有耗財帛而廢者四也。

Fifth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B21] 殿下若曰，有傷政教而廢之，則上非不教，而堯有丹朱之子；下非不諫，而舜有瞽瞍之父。其猶薰蕕雜乎蘭芷之叢，鸛鵲亂乎鳳凰之群。豈以羿浞之不忠爲可誅，而塞其爲臣之路乎？

豈以癸辛之不明爲可放，而絕其戴君之義乎？是以僧干朝憲，則黥之可也，殺之亦可也；尼犯俗刑，則劓之可也，誅之亦可也。寧咎釋而惡之，并與佛而廢哉。但以性品，或不遷於善，非是教法能使染於惡。

[B22] 故子產曰，“人之所善，吾則行之；人之所惡，吾則改之。”李師政曰，“青衿有罪，非關尼父之失；皂服爲非，豈是釋尊之咎？”迹此觀之，大易所謂，“赦過宥罪。”，多方所謂，“明德慎罰。”者，可謂人雖可罰者有矣，法不可廢者明焉。此不可以有傷政教而廢者五也。

Sixth Reason Buddhism Should not Be Suppressed

[B23] 殿下若曰，有失偏伍而廢之，則矯托於輦轂之下，而戶不出稅者，幾多；詐欺於蕃鎮之間，而名不添丁者，何限？而佛道陵遲，僧役浩穰，有同編戶，無異齊民。兩西則占軍籍者多，三南則應官徵者衆。

[B24] 紙楮之貢獻中國者，皆出於緇衣；雜物之進納上司者，盡備於白足。其餘百役，督索万般，衙門纔退，官令繼至。忙迫失期，則或遭囚繫；創卒罔措，則或被鞭朴。至於諸道郊壘，南漢山城，千里裹糧，每歲守堞，身同戍客，迹等征夫。

[B25] 紺髮青眸，櫛風沐雨；素襪白衲，蒙泥染塵。粵有警急，則蜂屯蟻

聚；爰臨戰伐，則電掣雷轟。千百爲群，什伍作隊，桃弧棘矢，左挽右抽，大戟長鉞，前驅後殿。

鋒爭晉楚之強，陣習羸越之法。迹此觀之，國風所謂“王事靡盬”，小雅所謂“朝夕不暇”者，可謂孤恩者寡矣，仗義者多焉。此不可以有失偏伍而廢者六也。

Critiquing the Argument That Buddhism Has No Societal Benefits

[B26]此其右列條目之大槩也。臣智不衛蔡，誠非橫草，莫是此六之外別有所害，無補於治平而然歟？臣誠言，前代崇奉之君，護持之臣而質之。以君言之，則崇奉之君，不赧千萬，而略舉數主焉。

修明禮樂，孰如漢明帝乎？隆興儒雅，孰如孝章帝乎？文武兼脩，孰如梁武帝乎？混同四海，孰如隋高祖乎？混一車書，孰如唐太宗乎？

[B27]漢明之治世也，有文雅威重，而恭儉兼焉；無奢靡淫麗，而經略能焉；有崇儒尚德，而政治明焉。于斯時也，臨壅拜老，執經問義。其宿儒文士之濟濟，猶周南麟趾之洋洋。

三代以來，儒風之盛，未有若是之偉，而詔以釋迦寶像，安顯節陵及清涼臺。班固傳毅，頌其勲德，於漢爲最，而惟鍾離意，特以帝性褊謇，書爲實錄，豈良史哉？

[B28]章帝之治世也，選用柔良，而開忠諫之路；明慎政軀，而除嚴刻之刑；雅好文章，而崇儒術之典。于斯時也，有神雀神，鳳之來儀，現白鳥白鹿之瑞祥。徐州刺史王景，上金人頌，美先帝致佛之功，載于漢書，而惟史氏，特以譖廢太子書，爲害政，豈篤論哉？

[B29]梁武之治世也，允文允武，而闡揚儒業。多藝多才，而載戢干戈；施德施仁，而澤周遐裔。于斯時也，殿有五色雲，六隻龍而守柱；庭有三足鳥，二孔雀而歷階。書契以來，靈異之應，未有若是之奇。

而日夕齋戒，到老不倦。史官魏徵曰，“梁武，固天攸縱，道亞生知，可謂天下仁人。”而惟韓愈，特以索蜜不至，書爲餓死，豈直筆哉？

[B30]隋祖之治世也，君臨萬國，而運啓嘉號。廢周六官，而翔置禮樂；依漢三省，而聿遵法度。于斯時也，天兆龜文，而水潤五色；地開醴泉，而山呼萬年。

魏晉以來，開拓之功，未有若是之廣，而岐州等三十，各建寺塔。石室論曰，“隋文開統，身及太平，固一世之英主。”而惟杜牧，特以偷竊位號，書爲不終，豈警辭哉？

[B31]唐宗之治世也，戡乏禍亂，而革季俗之衰；掇吞蝗虫，而救年穀之

災；肅振軍旅，而服遠夷之強。于斯時也，五靈一角，雜沓而呈祥；白狐朱鴈，昭彰而現瑞。兩漢以來，勦業之規，未有若是之宏。

而追崇穆太后，流涕而建寺。唐史贊曰，“盛哉！太宗之烈也。比迹湯武，庶幾成康。”而惟歐陽脩，特以好功勤兵，書爲病疵，豈諒言哉？是皆稀世之君也。

[B32]以臣言之，護持之臣，不遑千萬，而略舉數代焉。晉世，則有郗超，孫綽，許詢，陶潛，王導，周凱，庾亮，王蒙，王恭，王詵，郭文，謝尚，戴逵之徒。

梁世則有任昉，何點，何胤，沈約，劉勰，傅翕，傅晔，蕭宗，李寔，李胤之，阮孝緒之輩。

唐世有柳宣，宋景，張說，王維，王縉，梁肅，李旼，劉軻，陸羽，李翱，崔黯，韋宙，杜鴻漸，白居易之儔。

宋世則有錢俶，王旦，楊傑，楊億，魏杞，李觀，蘇軾，蘇轍，李邕，曾開，李遵勗，張德遠之類。

[B33]或翊亮朝猷，資諧廟筭；或杭迹烟霞，棲身林壑；或磅礴文章，馳騁詞句。咸誓死而耽玄，並忘形而稟教，是皆空匹之臣也。此數君諸公，可謂奉佛尤勤，而未聞有害於治平者也。

臣又言，前代廢斥之君，排毀之臣而質之。以君言之，則廢斥之君，不過數三。而惟魏武帝，詆排釋教，建靜輪天宮，費竭人財，而終感疾。周武帝，殲戮沙門，身服黃衣，熱發晉陽，而失音抵死。

[B34]唐武宗，罷除寺像，餌金丹藥，會昌不滿，而早致崩亡。周世宗，毀仆鑄像，歲造僧帳，舉兵北伐，而疽遺殂落，是皆衰世之君也。

以臣言之，則排毀之臣，不過數三。而惟傅奕附張道源之助，奏疏於唐祖，請罷釋教。宰相蕭禹，斥其謗佛之罪科，而太宗惡奕言悖，終身不齒。

[B35]又崔浩信寇謙之之術，建白於魏武誅滅沙門。司馬溫公，譏其擇術之不智，而路人忿浩元惡，行溺其面。

又張賓構韋孝寬之黨，譎譖於周武，猜毀浮屠。大夫甄鸞，辨其佛法之正直，而尙書唐臨，因其抵排，述冥報記。又趙歸真，從劉玄靜之佞，暗訴于唐武，焚廢淨坊。

[B36]拾遺王哲，諫其信誣之太過，而史氏論其革罷，好惡不同，是皆季習之臣也。此數君諸公，可謂斥佛尤篤，而未聞有補於治平者也。

大抵前代君主之所爲，不出於自用，皆因市虎之傳言，致有機母之投杼也。

業儒之士，莫賢乎程朱，而程明道，不背塑像；朱晦菴，喜看佛書。爭戲

之間，只以文字斥之不過。曰，“似高而無實，近理而亂真。”廢佛之論，未之見焉。

[B37]韓退之上表排佛，西蜀龍先生，憤其言忤，著書攻之。愈後與太顛交遊，尚書孟簡寄書，嘉其改迷。故黃魯直謂，“韓愈見太顛之後，排佛之論少沮云。”歐陽脩，慕韓愈爲人，喜排釋氏。嘗遊廬山，遇僧談話，不覺膝之自屈。故謝希深，作文記其事云。

[B38]司馬光繼荀孟之志，方營汰去。因謁圓通，忽悟宿願。遂忘意之自銳故，公之言曰，“其精微，不出吾書云。”張尙英尊孔氏之道，欲作無佛論，尋叅從悅，豁省心地，乃著護法論。

後登右揆，久旱而雨故，唐子西賦詩，頌其美云。此皆豪傑之士，而只以文字斥之，廢佛之論，又未之見焉，則翫味之間，默契者存焉。

[B39]由是論之，崇奉君臣，不趨千萬，而佛若無補，則當時君臣，盡皆非乎？廢斥君臣，不過數三，而佛若有害，則當時君臣，盡皆是乎？果以崇奉爲非，則漢明諸君，劣乎魏武，而宋景短於張賓之儔也。

果以廢斥爲是，雖然論治日，則必曰漢唐，而未聞傳宋有邪僻之心也。語亂世則必稱魏周，而未聞崔張有經綸之手也，則周武諸君，拔乎唐宗，而崔浩賢於傅毅之徒也。

[B40]殿下必謂，綜核諸史，斷無佛說。臣亦舉數史而質之。昔孔子問禮於老子，學琴於師襄，問樂於萇弘，學官於郯子，皆有所取，而其修春秋也。則郯子得書乎經，而釋之者錄其官名之說。三子不書乎經，而編之者黜其方技之術，襄弘諸子，豈不若郯子賢哉？

[B41]蓋官名所以關於世教者也，方技所以脫於國經者也。是故歐陽脩宋祈修唐史也，則歐公偏削惠淨等迹，而唯存一行大衍之作；宋公並刪玄奘等傳，而獨著道弘地理之說。淨奘諸師，豈不及行弘輩哉？蓋大衍所以統天時者也，地理所以係人事者也，見取於史筆宜矣。

[B42]司馬光修通鑑也，則太宗紀所載，與傳奕試呪之類，揚而廝書；與玄琬談道之比，抑而不載，豈試呪爲優而談道爲劣哉？蓋試呪，好事者，孟浪所提故，引之而貶訕佛氏之虛也。

談道，探理者，曠堂所輯故，黜之而諱却佛氏之實也。然則抑此三史法彼春秋而作也。雖然彼春秋，則必無私挾，而此三史，則互有偏疾。

其於釋氏，案者，黜而諱之；虛者，引而貶之，豈皆董狐之筆哉？此所以佛說之不載於史氏者也。

In Defence against the Argument That Buddhism Brought Misfortune

[B43]殿下必謂，無佛之前，國治邦寧；有僧之後，年夭運促。臣亦舉前代亂亡之世而質之。亂亡之世，不可勝記，略舉數代焉。賊人多殺，孰如夏桀乎？殘義損善，孰如殷紂乎？貪權好功，孰如秦皇乎？

夏桀之爲君也，貪固肆虐，力能伸鉤，悅婦寵於瓊宮瑤臺，彈民財於肉山脯林。酒爲池則千人俯飲，糟築堤則十里延望。滅德作威，不忍其荼毒；耽姪縱暴，盡墜其塗炭。

[B44]是以天降夏氏有罪之罰，人懷“時日曷喪”之怨。於是成湯行誓衆之征，仲虺作論王之誥，遂使河濟失湯池之固，泰華摧盤石之堅；伊闕割南阻之險，羊腸崩北備之完；放之南巢，走於鳴條；身終遷死，國亦隨亡。故湯誓曰，“天命殛之。”

[B45]殷紂之爲君也，言能飾非，智足拒諫。窮奢侈於玉盃象箸，重刑辟於炭火銅柱；厚賦稅則財寶鹿臺，行殘害則粟盈鉅橋；炮烙忠良，斲朝涉之兩脛；剝剔諫輔，剖比干之七竅。

[B46]是以，天怒商罪貫盈之虐，民抱乃汝世讎之冤。於是武王勗如熊之夫，太公扶叩馬之士。遂使*商郊爲鳴鏑之場，牧野作倒戈之地。孟門騰太行之塵，恒山沸大河之浪。師會若林，血流標杵；寶玉俱焚，身國並滅。故秦誓曰，“天命誅之。”

[B47]秦皇之爲君也，天性剛戾，素心貪殘。剗仁義於坑儒焚書，崇事業於頌功封祀。患胡虜則蒙恬北築萬里，慕神仙則徐市東入三山。畜聚人民，徙豪富於咸陽；焦勞心力，作宮庭於渭南。

陵夷至於胡亥，姦回逞志；蔓衍及於子嬰，宗祀不血。是以壁返涪池之君，鮑濟輜輶之魄。於是劉邦虬據乎沛西，項籍虓噬乎山東，遂使關中迎爭鹿之戰，霸上送納羊之降。

[B48]殺涵轟伐戮之聲，隴蜀漲腥膻之氣；弑身望夷，繫頸軹道；萬歲之計，二世而亡。故賈誼曰，“仁義不施。”此數君之世，可謂無佛而敗亡相尋，年祚亦促。此非有僧而致然者歟矣。

Support of Buddhism in the History of the Eastern Kingdom

[B49]嗚呼異哉！若稽我東之前籙，則梁送佛舍利于新羅，百官郊迎。自爾梵宇崎嶇，尊容燦爛；神僧間生，異釋繼出。訪道西遊，則或舫渤桴溟；得法東還，則或居麗止濟。

三國王臣，莫不駿奔而遵，雀躍而奉。至於剪鬚落髮，灼指燃身，期爲壽國祐家之助。[B50]而新羅歷年九百九十二年，高麗歷季七百五年，百濟歷

季六百一十八年. 此時未聞佛之有害於治道也. 逮夫王氏之統合也, 玄綱振紐, 道樹增芽.

宰輔之冠冕, 人倫之羽儀, 靡不倒心而歸投, 翹首而佇仰. 或至於王族之爲尼爲僧者, 間常有之, 冀爲遏惡弘善之本. 而王氏曆季四百七十五年, 此豈亦未聞佛之有害於治道也.

[B51]恭惟我太祖大王殿下, 應天啓運, 剷惡除兇. 當鴻號四七之符, 禦龍飛九五之位; 欽明文思, 邁絕百王; 濬哲溫恭, 牢籠千聖; 草昧之初, 權輿之後; 栖神驚嶺, 致情鷄園; 訪得無學, 芝都漢陽.

[B52]太宗大王, 允執厥中, 克肖其德. 蘊東征西怨之慶, 貯扶老携幼之仁; 去殺勝殘, 輒解湯網; 寬刑赦罪, 爰停禹車; 問安之暇, 垂拱之餘; 鉤深覺苑, 索隱空宗. 至于世宗文宗, 克慎厥緒, 篤叙乃功.

[B53]世祖大王, 丕顯文謨, 維揚武烈. 承崇德尙賢之統, 立論道經邦之威; 聖神聰明, 用勸嘉績; 嚴恭寅畏, 允協英姿; 輪昇惠日, 鼓振眞風.

迄于成宗中宗, 嗣厥休命, 傳此風規, 特設僧科, 例同國試. 及乎明宗宣宗, 敢勤厥訓, 祇服斯猷.

[B54]睿聖仁祖大王殿下, 集厥大勳, 顧諟明命. 行救亂誅暴之道, 警臨危制變之權; 孽薶必鋤, 四罪能施; 稼穡必念, 六責自全; 實曠古難雙之眞主也, 亦超今永隻之聖君也.

然而蓮藏之詮, 菩提之道, 存而不革, 培而不剪, 文子文孫, 乃繼乃承, 享一人有慶之禎, 垂萬歲無疆之業. 此時亦未聞佛之有害於治道也. **[B55]**周頌曰, “念茲皇祖.” 魯頌曰, “昭假烈祖.” 伏願殿下, 念茲烈祖. 禹謨曰, “念茲在茲.” 君陳曰, “無忝祖考.” 伏願殿下, 念茲祖考.

[B56]凡天下未有無佛之國. 雖彫題漆齒之邦, 晷飲魑結之俗, 卉服毛茹之疆, 文身被髮之域, 九夷八蠻之外, 五戎六狄之間, 咸皆有僧. 蒙其君長之化, 全其操守之節. 況殿下之懿德涵於禽獸, 至仁浹於草管. 豈隘牛羊互易之生哉? 豈偏木鴈異喜之殺哉?

[B57]謹案釋譜, 國師道誥, 我東之聖僧也. 入唐受法於一行. 一行者, 尹愔所謂聖人者也. 膺洛下閎六百年之讖, 推大衍數, 糾其數家之繆. 誦盡傳其妙秘而東歸. 緼天地, 貫幽冥, 陟嶽登巒, 歷銓建寺, 爲一千五百裨補之所. 裨補者, 裨補國家之謂也. 其地勢寔靈, 則必讖云, “此寺興則此國興.” 其言恐誑狂妄則已, 其術神異徵驗, 則寺宇之剏, 有益於國家, 無損於治道者, 亦明矣.

[B58]近世澆離, 名監巨剎, 鞠爲火燼, 又爲勢奪, 元氣剝喪, 山脉凋零, 佛將亡耶, 國將興耶? 雖然以讖觀之, 寺宇之成毀有, 則國家之興亡繫焉.

臣常爲國痛之，爲國危之。

又勘僧史，帝王之興也，必訪尊宿，立國師之號。國師者，師補國君之謂也。其道望最高，則必記云，“國之將興，神僧出。”以中國言之，漢明之於摩騰，梁武之於寶誌，隋祖之於智顗，唐宗之於玄奘，宋祖之於麻衣是也。

[B59]以我東言之，新羅之於墨胡，高麗之於順道，百濟之於難陀，松嶽之於道詵，漢陽之於無學是也。其人點頑欺誑則已，其道恢弘廣達，則神僧之出有益於國家，無損於治道者，亦明矣。近世荒唐，碩德煙消，開士漚滅，又爲斗絕，道統墜塞，禪林蕪穢，佛將衰耶，國將盛耶？雖然以記觀之，神僧之出沒有則國家之盛衰係焉。臣常爲國慨然，爲國愀然。

[B60]噫！合而觀之，有寺則在所益矣，無僧則在所損矣，治道之益損，亦預乎其間。

而何必曰，除僧毀寺，然後爲治平者哉！臣非架空而誣罔於殿下也。殿下涉獵圖史，曉達古今，

廢寺而勃興者，有幾君乎？存僧而忽亡者，有幾主乎？

[B61]且僧有尼衆，始於漢世。當時，王婕妤等，與宮媛二百三十餘人，厭俗歸眞；呂惠卿等，與道士六百二十八人，投簪被衲。顯宗建寺十所，城內三寺安尼婕妤等住之，城外七寺安僧惠卿等住之。所以限內外者，男女有別故也。

[B62]至於我東，其揆亦行。夫慈壽仁壽兩院，在宮掖之外，即先后之內願堂也；奉恩奉先兩寺，在陵寢之內，即先王之外願堂也。所以限內外者，亦男女有別故也。此非一朝一夕之規，實是先王先后之制也。與國同興，與國同亡。有成則國之慶也；有毀則國之殃也。故大雅曰，“人之云亡，心之憂矣。”兩院廢則殿下之憂也。小雅曰，“瓶之罄矣，惟罍之恥。”兩寺衰則殿下之恥也。

[B63]今兩院盡廢，放黜尼衆；兩寺盡棄，削沒奴婢。岿嶢寺院，帶殷墟之慘；清淨僧尼，含楚囚之悲。繪像雕容，傷心於巷婦；方袍圓頂，拭淚於閭兒。

殿下之寬，有何所忌，而黜先后內願堂之尼衆乎？殿下之富，有何所乏，而削先王外願堂之奴婢乎？

穆子曰，“棄舊不祥。”今日之不祥，孰若寺院之廢棄哉。郈子曰，“余无歸矣。”今日之無歸，孰若尼衆之放逐哉。

[B64]以天理言之，循先王先后之法則順也；以人事言之，從一朝一夕之議則背也。故太甲曰，“率乃祖攸行。”洛誥曰，“篤前人成烈。”苟如是則順天理者也。左傳曰，“不忘先君。”禮記曰，“受命于祖。”不如是則背人事者也。

[B65]姑以君民語之，有君則必有民。故詩云，“我獨非民？”書云，“可愛非君？”尼衆豈非殿下之民，而殿下豈非尼衆之君哉。民以君戴，君以民使，故在民義當慤謹，在君愛宜寬仁。此尊卑之名分，上下之安寧也。

[B66]若放尼果是，則先靈有愧於殿下矣。若廢院果非，則殿下有負於先靈矣。噫！推而觀之，存院則在所順矣，放尼則在所背矣。政體之順背，亦與乎其間。而何必曰，罷院黜尼，然後爲仁政者哉。臣非鑿虛，而眩亂於殿下也。殿下孝感天心，明通人道，思先后之遺範，則忍黜其尼衆乎？念先王之舊模，則忍削其奴婢乎？

[B67]且寺設聖位，始於唐世。禪師道義，建金閣寺。代宗助以二稅，設高祖太宗已下七聖位，各以帝號標其上，立百僚於光順門，迎入寺內，以次致祀。自是歲爲常准。于時太廟二宮，生靈芝帝，賦詩美之。

[B68]至於我東，蓋取諸此，夫聖位之設於內外願堂者，數百季矣。此非曰可曰否之端，實是乃敬乃重之儀也。今一朝瘞於沙土之中，壇墀既崩，禘祫斯絕。聖慮必謂，處非其地，不宜設而然歟？抑世數久遠，不應存而然歟？

若曰，處非其地，則當時之識見未高，非殿下之失也。若曰，世數久遠，則前代之經典有據，非沙土之瘞也。

[B69]殷有三宗，周有七廟，是謂宗廟。宗廟之法，古者祧主，藏於太祖廟之東西夾室，未聞瘞於沙土之中也。至周則昭之遷主，藏於文王之廟也；穆之遷主，藏於武王之廟也。亦未聞瘞於沙土中也。況始祖百世，無遯遷之義。

[B70]今寺院本稱佛宇，則雖非其地，既設聖位，則實同宗廟。昔子產不毀鄉校，孔子仁之；李榮議毀廟主，韓愈非之。況我太祖已下列聖，是何等尊靈，而忍以泥塵瘞其標號之主哉。

蔡墨曰，“不廢舊績。”國之舊績，曷若壇墀之位乎？子魚曰，“以率舊職。”國之舊職，曷若禘祫之祀乎？以天理言之，遵迺敬迺重之蹟則得也；以人事言之，起曰可曰否之諍則失也。

[B71]故商書曰，“監于先王成憲。”周書曰，“欽若先王成烈。”苟如是則得天理者也。需之九三曰，“敬慎不敗。”困之九五曰，“利用祭祀。”不如是則失人事者也。

臣以年月考之，旱饉始於瘞主之歲，于今四載。秧穀退鎌，饘醢辭甗。持男易粟，則夫妻對泣，鬻子謀生，則父母相離。流亡者蔽路，餓孍者填衢。

[B72]劉夏曰，“神怒不歆其祀。”或者先靈怒，不歆祀而致此耶？晏子曰，“神怒不嚮其國。”或者先靈怒，不嚮國而至是耶？不然，豈今至德之治世，有此不雨之連年哉？此必然而無疑者也。

將今視古，尤有甚忒。作俑雖微，大聖知俑人之無後；埋石雖小，神釋諭石氏之致亡。矧今聖位，乃木子也，其於穿坎而故坑之，爲何如哉？

[B73]姑以祖孫語之，有祖則必有孫。故書云，“視乃烈祖。”詩云，“於赫湯孫。”聖位豈非殿下之祖，而殿下豈非聖位之孫乎？孫以祖承，祖以孫永。

故在孫孝，當追思；在祖靈，合陰隲。此幽明之常理，死生之本然也。若瘞主果是，則先靈無怒於殿下矣；若廢祀果非，則殿下無報於先靈矣。

[B74]噫！逆而觀之，設位則在所得也，停祀則在所失也。教化之得失，亦出乎其間，而何必曰，毀位廢祀，然後爲德教者哉？臣非踵訛而僭議於殿下也。殿下道貫天人，學臻深奧，撫壇墀頽崩，則忍瘞其標主乎？愴禘祫之停絕，則忍廢其享祀乎？

[B75]詳而論之，兩寺不可衰也，兩院不可廢也。二事不兼，則寧衰兩寺也，尼衆不可黜也，聖位不可瘞也。二事不兼，則寧黜尼衆也，雖然此不得已之說也。

據實而言之，皆不可也。何者？自瘞主之往年，至放尼之今年，則風雨時乎？陰陽調乎？五穀熟乎？百姓樂乎？前年之旱，甚於往年，而今年又甚於去年，則又安知明年之不甚於今年哉？

[B76]伏願殿下，上體祖宗獎順之意，下察臣愚敢諫之誠。深追既往，不塞將來，則先靈有眷顧之佑。殿下無廢革之，人靈咸悅，神鬼盡歡，五典克從，百揆時叙。

齊七政於天時，睦九族於民類，處處有鼓腹之歌，人人無蹙額之歎，太平可致矣，洪祚可延矣。臣於先朝，猥蒙知名故，敢於今日，不避隕命焉。不勝屏營惴慄之至，謹昧死以聞。

C 上韓綾州必壽長書

A Long Letter Addressed to Han Pilsu of Neungju District

【C1】丙戌十月日，天台山人有一，謹再拜，上書于明府閣下。伏以山人昨拜東閣時，閣下有疑於佛書中因果報應之說，死後斷滅不斷滅，西方極樂世界之有無，以爲子虛而不信。山人蒙昧，未能酌對，且欲論下一二而盡言。

尊前有失禮貌，含嘿自輸而退。歸臥禪窓，山月皎然。中夜起坐蒲團，忽思閣下昨日之貶剝，心不自安。轉側究索，畧有所陳，伏乞少垂察焉。

The Usefulness of Buddhism

【C2】夫佛法之在世間，如虛空之周徧，其大無外，其小無內。然厭見虛空者，填室塞戶以絕之。而不知越閭入奧，及自身之耳目口鼻，皆有虛空也。若是而其終絕之乎？

【C3】竊謂士大夫，聰明才智，學而知道，皆由佛法之力。以般若靈覺，振天地而獨存，亘古今而不昧。凡天地生生之物，無不圓具。洪纖短長，有萬不齊者，皆資之而植立，舍是無別法也。子瞻曰，“歐陽永叔司馬君，實皆不喜佛法。然其聰明之所照了，德行之所成就，眞佛法也。”【C4】子瞻豈欺世者哉。但其書出於漢世，曾所不見故，若存若亡，疑信相半。至於唐之房(瑄)白(樂天)，宋之蘇黃，以高明之才，超詣之見，篤信崇奉。至元明之時，人人稱瞿曇之徒，家家藏貝葉之書。其承奉之道，一何盛哉？

【C5】濂洛羣哲，主張洙泗之學，而亦知其大同，未嘗不究其說，而有得焉。濂溪之交照覺，而深明至理之論；伊川之問靈源，而妙達自性之旨；考亭之慕大惠，而契悟心法之要。載乎傳記，可徵不誣。又考亭末年，有齋居誦經，詩云，

閑居獨無事，聊披釋氏書，
暫息塵累牽，超然與道俱。
門掩竹林密，禽鳴山雨餘，
了此無爲法，身心政晏如。
觀此則其所得於佛者不淺，非獨私心嚮往而已。

【C6】然云，“彌近理而大亂眞”者，以身爲道學主盟，扶植人倫故，其誨

人之際，不得不抑揚彼此也。又云，“佛法如錦玉，儒道如布粟。”蓋謂錦玉雖貴，而不可常用；布粟雖淺，而切於日用。雖不知佛法，亦不離日用，而亦許其高貴也。

【C7】烏有東儒之以釋教，爲一向虛無，而歸之何有之鄉哉？東儒皆曰，“佛氏所說，皆不見不聞之事，難可信。”余曰，“堯舜禹湯之事，孰見而孰聞，乃能信也？”夫堯舜禹湯之事，亦甚綿邈，地之相去數千餘里，世之相後數千餘年，固非見聞之可及。

【C8】而前言往行，布在經史，常所學而習之。習而行之，爲家常茶飯，故信之不疑。至於釋氏之道，地隔十萬，時歷三世，其書出於漢時故，以爲異端，而不爲讀誦玩索。

雖或涉獵，而惟摘奇言妙句，以資鉛槧之用，其微言奧義，略不尋繹，安得而知之？既不能知，無怪夫不信也。

【C9】河北人不信江南有二萬斛船，江南人不信河北有千人攬帳，政謂此也。果使儒氏，虛己剖心，就於佛書，潛心玩繹，如服習儒書之時，則以如彼粹明之資，豈有不知不信之理乎？顧此不爲惟攻駁，如恐不及，可勝惜哉！

The Doctrine of Cause and Effect

【C10】夫因果之說，非特在於釋典，亦魯誥之常所談。但不顯言名因也。易曰，“積善有慶，積不善有殃。”善不善因也，慶與殃果也。書曰，“作善有祥。”又云，“天道，福善禍淫。”子曰，“爲善者，天報之以福，”如此語類布在子史，難以備舉。

【C11】又左氏謂，“欒武子有德，可以庇其子。”故其子驪，雖爲惡而能免禍，驪之子盈，雖善而驪之惡累之，而及於難。又世人幼而做工，壯而登科，或行恩布德，得蒙薦拔，或作奸犯科，以受刊戮。此則現身因果昭然也。

【C12】于寶之雀環，隋侯之蛇珠，微物尙然，而況人乎？傳曰，“一歲種之以穀，十歲樹之以木，百歲來之以德。”此語亦不出因果也。

How Cause and Effect Works: Permeation

【C13】噫！今之吉人，前世何福，感斯好報，而獨不思，今亦作福，則來世亦如今世耶？其死後斷滅之義，尤難劈破。儒氏皆云，“人之生也，陰陽合成。陽者，氣也魄也；陰者，質也魄也。壽夭貧富，皆繫於天命。及其死也，陰陽渙散。陽氣上而歸天，陰質下而爲地。更有何物，轉爲後身也？”此儒家不易之論也。

【C14】吾佛所說，與此大相不同。蓋不問人畜，凡有血氣之屬，皆有知。

知飢渴寒熱，知視聽動作，知愛惡苦樂。此之所知，聖凡人畜皆同。

虛微靈明，卓然獨存，不生不滅，亘古亘今。比如虛空，無處不在，無時間斷也。

【C15】但以此心，隨緣爲識故，受生滅去來；捨此托彼之身。然此識心，與真知之性，一而二，二而一。豈可謂斷滅無餘耶？則真性本非善惡因果，而隨識心熏習之不同。有善有惡，有染有淨，以致凡聖因果之升沈也。

【C16】問，識心既與真性同體，而真性無善惡，何以識心却有耶？答，前不云熏習之不同乎？如入芝蘭之室，久而不聞其香；入鮑魚之肆，久而不聞其臭。故君子擇必處仁，慎其所習也。

考亭亦曰，“天降生民，莫不與之以仁義禮智之性；而但氣質之稟，不能齊故，不能全其所有也。”

【C17】蓋人皆有是性，則應人人皆善。而但夙世熏習之善者，其氣清，其質粹，能全固有之性，堯舜周孔是也。

其熏習之惡者，其氣濁，其質駁。迷失天賦之本性，桀紂盜跖是也。然則人之智愚善惡，皆由前習之因緣。而儒氏所論，皆天命之自然也。

Problems with the Mandate of Heaven

【C18】天命何其不均？堯舜何親而與之善，桀紂何疎而與之惡耶？又云，“壽夭貧富，皆繫天命。”天之賦命，奚其富少貧多，賤多貴少乎？以顏淵之賢，而貧且夭；以盜跖之惡，而富且壽。天道何其惡者與之，賢者奪之乎？然而聖人設教，責人不責天，罪物不罪命，何哉？

【C19】又萬事皆出自然，則仁義忠孝。何必學而行之；文章六藝，何必教而習之乎？故吾佛設教，則莫非因緣熏習也。顏淵熏習善行故，受清粹之氣質，爲亞聖之資，而但壽富之因不作也；盜跖熏習惡行故，受渴駁之氣質，爲悖逆之人，而但壽富之因能作也。

【C20】故經疏云，“人作之，天應之。”詩云，“下民之孽，匪降自天，職意由人。”然則吾人不可恃天命，而拱手無爲也。既有因緣果報，則斷滅之論，不攻自破也。

豈不聞乎？許詢死爲蕭繇，蕭繇死爲裴休，青草堂爲曾魯公，鴈蕩僧爲秦檜。不但智永爲房琯，戒禪師爲東坡也，又張方平續書瑯琊壁上之經，邢和璞指夏口瓮中之像。

【C21】則前後身之理，分明可見。人皆如是，而但迷昧前因，故不能記。儒氏以爲或然而不信，以爲既死之後，永爲斷滅云云。

Argument for the existence of Sukhāvati

至如極樂世界之說，非但儒家不信，釋子之不得其意者，亦多疑之。今當略下。蓋天下之世界，本依理而成理。既無窮盡故，世界亦無窮盡，不可以數知也。其中差別萬殊，亦不可測知也。

【C22】吾東乃海外之蕞爾小邦，而水土風俗，隨八路而各異。南方多出文，北方多出武，嶺南之俗質勝文，湖南之人文勝質。北方之衣食，不如南方，或有純食粟，而衣狗皮者。南方之人，稻粱不可勝食，綿苧不可勝衣。其生道之苦樂儉奢可知也。

【C23】況天下之世界，無限難測，則其間豈無極樂極苦，或苦樂相均者哉？近觀西洋國地圖，史記中不載之國甚多，而中原僻在東邊。史記以洛陽為天下之中者，只約中國而言也。

其實西域為天下之中。朱子亦以崑崙為天下之中，而西域在崑崙之下。正是中國，而稱西域者，中原之人，自以為中故。指彼為西。例如西域之人，以中原為東震也。

【C24】西方有古莽國，其民不衣不食而常睡，五十年一覺故，以夢中為寢，以覺時為虛。又有一國，有狂泉，其國人皆飲此水，無不為狂，獨其君別鑿一井，而飲故不狂。其臣民以其君之不狂為狂，相與針灸，欲醫其狂。其君不勝痛楚，乃同飲狂泉而為狂。其臣民歡喜，以為其君狂歇。

【C25】又只聞堯眉八彩，舜幅重瞳，而又有長眉一目之國。只聞漢高斗筭，而又有筭虛之國。只聞周公反握重耳駢肩，而又有交趾之國。豈非差別異事，而獨不信極樂國，何哉？

【C26】近有一儒，聞極樂純男無女之說。笑曰，“萬物皆有陰陽，豈可以人而純陽乎？誕妄何甚？”余曰，“通鑑史斷，有女人國，純女無男。照水而生之，言此又何理？”儒士杜口，始知天下之事，無有不對。天者地之對，日者月之對。

【C27】彼以夢為寢以覺為虛之國，對此以覺為實以夢為虛也。彼以狂為不狂以不狂為狂者，對此以狂為狂以不狂為不狂也。一日為二日之對，筭虛為筭全之對，亦何怪純男為純女之對，而信純女而書之史，誕純男而謂之無，何哉？

【C28】試嘗論之。極樂之國，純善者，往生之。苟能忠君孝父仁義慈善之心至極，則可以往生，

非但念佛也。然則不忠不孝奸凶悖逆者，皆入地獄之極苦，非但謗佛也。故古人有曰，“天堂無則已，有則君子陞之；地獄無則已，有則小人入之。”定實際語也。

The Effectiveness of Reciting the Name of Amitabha Buddha

【C29】經云，“雖十惡之人，臨終十念彌陀，能得往之。”閻下曩曰，“然則人皆平生，窮耳目之所欲，但於死時，十念足矣。何必忍辱苦行，以送一生也？”汗愚對曰，“此乃書所謂，‘惟狂克念，作聖之義’也。”平生作十惡，惟狂也；臨終十念，即剋念也；往生極樂，即作聖也。

【C30】蓋斯人平生作惡，不知其非，無所不為，及其死也，能頓覺前非，真性獨露。比如千年暗室，無一點明，勿於一夜，高懸明燈，一室洞照，無一點暗。千年暗室，如平生十惡也；一夜懸燈，如一念頓覺也。

【C31】又如儒家之法，人有無狀罪過，一朝改過遷善，則不錄前過，惟取遷善。今十惡之十念往生，亦此義也。若如閻下之言，平生故意作惡，臨死故意十念，此乃強作機心也，烏得心淨而生淨土耶？

如曹操平生奸偽，死見真性，而知人竊聽，更作他言。此乃機心所作也。故不免如鬼之刺。蓋雖見真性，而未能頓覺也。

【C32】噫！平生作惡，臨終十念，猶能往生，況三十年二十年專意念佛者，尤易成就，可不勉旃。昔東坡迂黃州日，帶彌陀像一軸。或問之，則曰，此吾西方公據也。仍有頌曰，

念念彌陀佛，人生七十稀，
往來三界苦，幾介解知歸。
念念彌陀佛，平生只靠他，
此心清淨了，即是白蓮花。

【C33】臨終坐脫。徑山琳禪師，與之同生丙子。往見坐脫，拊其背曰，“端明西方之說，正好着力。”公開目曰，“着力便差。”還瞑目而逝。此乃臨終正念不散，其往生乎何有？李彥為文以吊曰，

道大難名，才高衆忌。
皇天后土，知平生忠義之心。
名山大川，還千載英靈之氣。

【C34】士大夫稱其辭該而美，今吾東儒釋間，罕知此事故，兼為錄之。伏願閣下，撫字之餘，旁行此事，積之多年，則安知臨終不亂，亦如坡翁耶？唐宋間高明士大夫，亦多依而行之。勿以為卑事幸甚。

【C35】右陳葛藤，或援引於內外典中，或間附迂愚左見。鳴！布鼓於雷門，照爝火於日下，誠知僭越，而各自言志，夫子推於門下，千慮一得，古人亦許。故竭愚覃思，以伸管見。伏惟閣下，特加去取，無任悚仄之至。

Appendix II : Photographic Reproduction of the Manuscripts

Hyeonjeong non 顯正論 (Exposition of the Orthodox), by Hamheo Gihwa 涵虛己和.
Published at Chocheonsa 招川寺 Temple located in the Jeollanam-do, in wooden
block print, 1526.

Ganpye Seokgyo so 諫廢釋教疏 (Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of
Buddhism), by Baekgok Cheoneung 白谷處能, from the *Daegak Deunggye jip*
大覺登階集卷二 (Collected Works of Daegak Deunggye vol. 2). Publication
location unknown, in wooden block print, 1682.

“Sang Han Neungju Pilsu jangseo” 上韓綾州必壽長書 (A Long Letter Addressed to
Han Pilsu of Neungju District), by Yeondam Yuil 蓮潭有一, from the *Yeondam
Daesa Imha rok* 蓮潭大師林下錄卷四 (Collected Works of Master Yeondam vol. 4).
Published at Mihwangsa 美黃寺 Temple in the Jeollanam-do, in wooden block
print, 1799.

Photo images provided by:

Archives of Buddhist Culture, Dongguk University (<https://kabc.dongguk.edu>).

A 顯正論

—

Exposition of the Orthodox

涵虛堂得通和尚顯正論

出
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涵虛堂得通和尙顯正論

體非有無而通於有無本無古今而通於古今者道
 也有無因於性情也古今因於生死也性本無情迷
 性生情情生智隔想變體殊萬象所以形也生死所
 以始也夫情也有染淨焉有善惡焉淨與善聖之所
 以與也染與惡凡之所以作也故知情若不生則凡
 之與聖悉無得而興焉菩薩性雖已覺而情猶有所
 未盡故稱之云覺有情也菩薩尚介況餘二乘乎三
 乘尚介況餘人天異類乎佛則覺滿而智無不周淨
 極而情累已盡故情之言不可加於佛也唯佛一人
 之外皆稱有情者以此夫三乘五乘皆所以治其情

也人天乘所以治其染垢三乘所以治其淨垢也染
淨垢盡然後方親造大覺之境矣五戒所以生人道
也十善所以生天道也諦緣所以成二乘也六度所
以成菩薩也竊觀三藏指歸只要令人去情顯性而
已情生於性猶雲起於長空去情顯性猶雲開而現
大清也情有薄者焉有厚者焉猶雲有淡者焉有濃
者焉雲有濃淡之異而掩天光則一也情有厚薄之
殊而礙性明則同也雲起也日月收照而天下暗然
也雲開也光被大千而宇宙廓如也佛教比之則若
清風之掃浮雲也欲所見之廓如而厭清風者惑矣
欲自他之清泰而厭吾道者失矣若教人人依此而

修之則心可得而正矣身可得而修矣可以齊家可以治國可以平天下矣機之利者可以爲菩薩可以爲聲聞可以爲緣覺機之劣者可以生天可以成善人矣苟如是而世不治夫之有也何則戢罪報則應斷諸惡諸惡雖不斷盡而足以去一惡矣去一惡則息一刑一刑息於家萬刑息於國矣忻福緣則應修諸善諸善雖未盡修而足以行一善矣行一善則得一慶一慶興於家萬慶興於國矣夫五戒十善教中之最淺者也本爲機之最下者而設也苟能行之則是誠於身利於人矣况於誦緣乎况於六度乎儒以五常而爲道樞佛之所謂正戒即儒之所謂五常

也不殺仁也不盜義也不媼禮也不飲酒智也不妄
語信也但儒之所以教人者不以德行即以政刑也故
云導之以政齊之以刑民免而無耻導之以德齊之以
禮有耻且格夫導之以德齊之以禮非聖人不能故
云默而成之不言而信存乎德行導之以政齊之以刑
則未免有賞罰故云賞罰國之大柄也夫默而成之不
言而信固吾佛之化也而兼以因果示之示之以賞罰
則或不過面從而已示之以因果則服乃心服也今
於世上目覩其然也何則若勸之以賞禁之以罰則止
惡者畏其威而止之爲善者利其賞而爲之故其從
化也面從而已非心服也若人欲知今之所以窮達者

則示之以宿種欲知後之禍福者則示之以現因則
達者忻前世之種善而益勤窮者悔前世之不修而
自勉且邀福於後世者則孜孜於爲善避禍於後世
者則必慎於爲惡也此則不服則已服則心服而未
嘗有面從者也雖然安得使人人皆可以心服也其
未能心服者則姑以賞罰而導之使駸駸然心悅而誠
服也故示之以因果之外亦有賞罰之訓存焉所謂應
攝受者而攝受之應折服者而折服之是也此則近
於儒也所以儒與釋皆不可廢也佛之將化也以其
法付之君付之臣蓋欲以其道導天下而爲治世之大
助而今共蹈乎修真之路也吾佛之教不論在家出

墨正論

家只要令人不違道用而已不必剪其髮異其服然後
爲也所以云隨方解縛假名三昧又云無有定法名阿
耨菩提佛之心如此豈小通哉然若無忍力者則呂
塵不染在家成道難矣所以教人出家令修遠離行也
儒之言曰男有室女有家以嗣家業不絕厥祀可謂
孝矣今浮圖氏絕婚姻去人倫長往山林永絕後嗣
豈可謂孝乎昏定晨省承顏順色出必告反必面今
浮圖氏不告父母自許出家一自出家終身不返生
不奉甘旨死不計厚葬豈非不孝乎

試嘗論之曰經權爲道之大要也非經無以守常非
權無以應變經以守常權以應變然後得夫道之大

全而無所往而不可也不知守常無以正人心不知應
變無以成大事夫人也托父母而受生寄君國以得
存入孝出忠固臣子之所當為也又婚姻祭祀亦人
倫之大經也非婚生生之理絕非祀追遠之法廢然
為臣子而尽忠孝者難矣婚姻而終身守正奉祀而
盡心致齊者又其難矣尽忠尽孝而謹守其職守
正致齊而終身不輟然後生不失善名死得生人道
此經以守常之效也然生得善名而已斷愛欲者樂
希死生人道而已免輪迴者難矣愛為輪迴之本欲
為受生之緣夫人者既未免妻子之累愛欲其可
斷乎苟未斷於愛欲則輪回其可免乎欲免輪回先斷

顯正論

愛欲欲斷愛欲先去妻子欲去妻子須出塵寰不出
塵寰不去妻子斷愛欲免輪回大聖垂慈大權示迹
之外庸人凡俗其可得乎夫如是者億億世而難遇
萬萬人而難得夫愛緣如礪石與鐵偶相似無忍力
者居塵世而難免如本師釋尊居梵率而稱為護明
菩薩降王宮而名曰悉達此豈無忍力者哉可謂玄
曦漸其照遠上果愿以緣銷者也雖涉愛緣應不為
愛緣所染也將欲為後世垂範以金輪之嫡子不告
父母而辭入雪山輕生苦節安忍不動待其情累蕩
盡真明朗發然後返鄉而覲父登天而訪母為說法
要皆令度脫此聖人之所以權以應變而反常合道

者也且佛者三明六通而悉備四智八解而圓具其德
播天下後世而使天下後世稱其父母曰大聖人之父母
以其姓姓一切姓使出家者皆稱之曰釋子豈不謂
之大孝乎孔不云乎立身行道揚名於後世以顯父母
孝之終也以其道導天下後世而使天下後世聞其風
感其化隨其機之大小稟其法而得度豈不謂之大
慈乎孔不云乎一日克己復禮天下歸仁

曰人生斯世當盡忠於君傾誠輔國今浮圖氏不朝天子
不事王侯高棲遐舉坐觀成敗豈可謂忠乎

曰教中使爲君者先受戒品潔淨身意然後方登寶
位又令凡出家者莫不朝焚香點而祝君祝國可不

謂之忠乎且君者爵祿以勸善刑罰以禁惡之外吾
佛示之以爲善招慶爲惡招殃人之聞者自然收其
惡心發其善意吾佛之教不假爵賞一勸刑罰之威
令人靡然趨化豈無輔於君國乎

曰人食物物給人固其自然也而七十者非肉不飽故
養老者不可不以此供之又春蒐夏苗秋獮冬狩乃
先王之所以爲民除害順時立法不可易也且犧牲
從古于今奉祀之禮物尤不可廢也今浮圖親老而
食不甘不供之以肉教人亦廢先王之制犧牲之禮
豈非過歟

曰暴殄天物聖人之所不與也况天道至仁豈令人

殺生以養生哉書云惟天地萬物父母惟人萬物之
靈亶聰明作元后元后作民父母天地既爲萬物之
父母則生乎天地之間者皆天地之息也天地之於
物也猶父母之於子也子有愚智之殊猶人與萬物
之有明昧也父母之於子也雖愚不肖亦愛而啓之
猶恐不得其養焉况其加害乎殺生養生如殺同息
以自養也殺同息以自養則於父母之心爲如何哉
子之相殺非父母之心也人物之相殘豈天地之意
乎人與萬物既同得天地之氣又同得天地之理而
同生於天地之間既一氣一理之所賦焉有殺生養
生之理哉如云天地與我同根萬物與我一體此釋

綱目

氏之言也仁者以天地萬物爲一己此儒者之言也
爲行一如其言然後方盡仁之道矣醫書以手足痿
痺爲不仁蓋手足一身之微者也雖微病焉則氣不
通矣仁也者天地萬物融爲一體而無所間然之謂
也深體此理者則雖微物未嘗有所加害也可謂得
仁人之道矣如鵝珠草繫蓋其人矣不如是則人與
物氣脣而不收理礙而不通如手足之痺也醫書所
云可謂善狀其仁矣詩云一發五紘論語云釣而不
綱弋不射宿孟子云君子遠庖厨也聞其聲不忍食
其肉又云數罟不入汚池魚鼈不可勝食此皆爲仁
而未盡其道也何不契於一己之言乎中庸云言顧

行行顧言君子胡不慙慙尔今何至此乎此儒者之
 所以善論爲仁之道而未盡善也既要殺少何必發
 矢旣憐其宿何射不宿旣遠庖厨何必食肉小旣傷
 殘何須害大佛於大戒以不殺居先又慈心因緣不
 食肉經云如佛所說食肉者此人行慈不滿足常受
 短命多病身遂沒生死不成佛又教中所以教持擔
 囊者恐傷微命也昔有二比丘同欲見佛行於曠野
 渴遇蠱水一人云但得見佛飲之何罪即飲一人云
 佛戒殺生若破佛戒見佛何益忍渴不飲死生天上
 先見於佛得佛讚嘆此乃仁人之真語實行而冥相
 契於一己之言慙慙之訓也余未出家有釋曰海月

者讀論語於予至博施濟衆堯舜其猶病諸註云仁者以天地萬物爲一己之言置卷而問予曰孟子仁者乎曰然雞豚狗彘萬物乎曰然曰仁者以天地萬物爲一己此真穢理之談也孟子苟爲仁者而雞豚狗彘又爲萬物則何以云雞豚狗彘之畜無失其時七十者可以食肉乎予於是辭窮而未能答考諸經傳而無有殺生稱理之論博問先知而無有釋然決疑之者常蘊此疑久未能決越丙子許游三角山到僧伽寺與一老禪夜話話次禪云佛有十重大戒一不殺生子於是釋然心服而自謂此真仁人之行也而深體乎仁道之語也從此不疑於儒釋之問而遂有

也

道也

六儒

明傳

以崇

蘭之

犧牲雖曰盛禮亦廢之可也

曰酒所以合歡之藥也調和血脈以却風冷又於祭祀酒令降神不可無也今浮圖設戒以禁不酤不飲豈非過歟

曰酒為亂神敗德之本而尤害於道也故律中指其過曰三十有六儒傳亦明其失云內昏其心志外喪其威儀斯言善明為過之甚也內昏其心志故妨其自修也外喪其威儀故妨其化道也非惟無益於自他亦乃招殃禍於無窮也由是儀狄獻之而致踈於禹羅漢飲之而見呵於佛夫禹之所以踈儀狄佛之所以責羅漢者豈非以酒之為害當使人嫖荒迷亂

至於滅身敗道亡國失位者乎禮將有事於天地鬼神必先數日齋然後行一日祭齋者不如薰酒專誠而致潔也以誠不專潔不至則神不享矣佛之齋戒也誠則長誠而無雜潔則終身而不汙若以數日比之天地何遠既知齋之爲是何必數日而已哉數日之外無祭之時其可放緩乎此儒之所以與佛有間者也

曰珍財人之所願以生當用之有節畜而不費以遺夫子孫令不墜其宗祀不見其窮露今浮圖逃於四民之外不事王事亦已足矣更誇人以布施報應令人盡持奉佛而終至於飢寒窮露豈非過歟

詩云素聞經史程朱毀未識淳圖是與非反復潛思
 年已遠始知真實却歸依夫樂知風穴知雨蛭蛛有
 布網之巧蟻窠有轉圜之能物皆如是同稟靈明至
 於好生惡殺之情亦何嘗異於人哉方其蠢然秦刀
 戇然就死之時眈眈視瞋瞋然鳴豈非含怨結恨
 之情狀也而人自昧耳所以人與物相作而不覺相
 償而無休安有仁人見其如是而忍爲之哉以我之
 嗜味較彼之忍痛苦樂較然而輕重可忖報應之說
 如其妄也則一任其作如其不妄來苦難當可不慎
 歟夫春蒐夏苗秋獮冬狩雖先王之法制今有大山
 之中海島之間畋所不及之處人與物各遂其生各

安其所而善終天年者以此觀之則夫民也何必因其獵而遂其生也古人教以不合圍不掩群此知其殺之不可而事出乎不得已也大抵不得已底事或中而不必合理也既不合理何以爲大經乎易云古之聰明睿智神武而不殺夫蓋四時之政聖人托此示之以神武預防其外寇衆豈以殺爲心哉此乃爲天下者之大權者亦以此觀之則夫政也正同嫂溺援之以手之義嫂溺手援暫時之用衆何以爲人間之常法也至於犧牲則人居車日以肉爲甘旨則其死也以其所嗜祭之宜也然潑水添冰罪必加矣昔人有殺羊祭先其先托夢而禁之此其驗也迹此觀之則

曰珍財長貪取禍之具也布施清心致福之方也儒傳豈不云乎財聚則民散財散則民聚佛之所以勸人行施者非爲自利而然也只要令人破除慳貪以淨心田而已佛誠比丘三常不足三不足者衣食睡眠皆不足也旣以此誠其徒也豈爲衣食於人而勸之以施乎若以衣食爲心則佛之教豈到今日至於報應之說則豈獨吾教乎易云積善有餘慶積惡有餘殃又如洪範人合乎皇極則天應之以五福違則應之以六殛此非報應歟形存而其應已然及其死也形雖謝而神存善惡之應豈不然乎佛之言曰假饒百千劫所作業不亡因緣會遇時果報還自受豈欺人哉

曰人之生也陰以稟其質陽以稟其氣一陰一陽配
為魂鳧而成形及其死也魂昇鳧降而就盡夫人之
所以有知覺者以其心也心也者魂鳧之合而一身
之主也其死也與氣俱散而更無有形神尚留於
冥漠之中誰更受福受殃今浮圖忻之以天堂怖之
以地獄令人致惑天是蒼蒼而所有者日月星辰而
已地是土石而所載者人與萬物而已謂之不亡者存
而感天堂地獄者豈非妄乎

曰陰陽固人之所賴以生者也陰陽合而受生陰陽
散而就死若固有之真明則不隨形生不隨形謝雖
千變萬化而湛然獨存也天心有二曰堅實心曰肉

團心肉團心者魂鬼之精也堅實心者真明之謂也
今所謂心者真明也非肉團也夫心者身之主也形
者心之使也善惡等事心君命之形臣作之至於報
應生則君臣等受死則形臣已謝而心君獨受詩云
文王陟降在帝左右陟降之者豈非在天之靈乎昔
有秀才曰王淮之自小不信佛法一日死而復蘇曰
向者自謂形神俱滅今始知佛之所謂形謝而神存
信不誣矣又宋人李源與僧圓澤交相約世世無相
棄一日同遊澤見夫人之汲者曰此婦姓王氏吾當
爲其子十二年後杭州天竺寺外須公相見以明交
義至暮澤果死源果十二年赴其約聞篇洪川畔有

牧童扣牛角而歌曰三生石上舊精魂賞月吟風不
要論慚愧情人遠相訪此身雖異性長存及相見曰
李公真信士也而又歌曰身前身後事茫茫欲話因
緣恐斷腸吳越山川尋已徧却回煙棹上瞿塘至如
羊姑爲李氏之子王子爲蔡氏之孫余曾觀此傳爲
羊李頌云羊李只一人往復非異環誰知七歲子滅
已五年還爲王蔡頌云昔日王家子今爲蔡氏孫不
因一點墨同異議紛紜觀此數事則足知靈明之不
隨形變也謂之人死而形神俱滅豈非昧乎至於天
獄則非是實然固有乃人之業感自然如是也孔子
嘗曰吾不復愛見周公矣蓋愛者人之神游非形

猶木之傳於實也由是遇其喪者要須擇其地得其
 宜深其穴厚其葬茂其林貯其水令陰深而畜氣土
 厚而不澆致令子孫繁衍而厥祀綿綿今浮圖不顧
 此理而妄設火化之法令人無後而絕嗣豈非過也
 况方其火化之際人子之心其可忍視乎以是惑人過
 祀漫天

曰夫人者有形焉有神焉形比則如屋神比則如主
 形謝而其神往焉猶屋倒而主不得住焉夫屋也成
 以土木嚴以雜穢人以爲已有貪陋其中而不知也
 陋也雖見其倒未能頓忘而不能遠去也夫身也水
 土以構其形火風以持其質中含雜穢不淨流溢人

之護之甚於金玉何嘗有厭離之情也及其死也火
風先去而地水猶存其為地水前所愛護故不能頓
忘而隨往無碍也智者焚其地水而指其往生之路
其神更無稽滯之情即同膠葛而清昇也由是吾佛
卅尊丁父之喪躬自執爨四天舉棺羅漢採薪而閤
維令其父之神清昇而生天黃蘗運公之度母也陳
懷白佛隔江擲炬其母於火焰中化為男子身乘大
光明上昇天宮兩岸皆見咸以為奇江名福川官司
改福川為大義渡以是觀之則火化之法令人去穢
而就淨神清而超舉堪為薦往之助道垂卅之洪規
若以火化為不忍方其穴土而埋之其可忍也今有

之使然也夫子之所以夢與周公見者蓋平日心存
周公之道專而行之故其精神自然相感而然也人
亦如是日於善惡爲之既專則善者夢見其榮惡者
夢見其辱所以然者善者疊疊然惟義是從惡者忤
忤然惟利是求善者惟義是從故事事而適宜惡者
惟利是求故事事而違義善者事事而適宜故人必
善之惡者事事而違義故人必惡之善者人善之故
自達於上而加以以爵祿惡者人惡之故自達於上
而加以以刑罰由是善者與與忤致其榮惡者錯愕
謀避其致善惡之習忤厭之情蘊在精神故其於夢
也亦見榮見辱其神往而不返則便是來生此善者

之所以感天堂惡者之所以感地獄者也天堂地獄
設使無者人之聞者慕天堂而趨善厭地獄而沮惡
則天獄之說之於化民利莫大焉果其有者善者必
昇天堂惡者必陷地獄故使之聞之則善者自勉而
當享天宮惡者自止而免入地獄何必斥於天獄之
說而以為妄耶

曰夫送死人間世之大事者也故丁父母之喪者不
可不以為重也聖人垂厚葬追遠之訓所以示其重
也所以令厚葬者如木根深則枝葉扶疎而實多根
淺則枝葉天闕而無實夫父母之於子也如木之於
實也子之於父母猶實之於木也故云父之傳於子

大山之麓大野之原多有古墳盡爲農者之所耕頭
骨星散日莫風飄無人顧護其初莫不立石栽松以
嚴其地以圖子孫之繁衍厥祀之綿綿今何至此乎
但生前五蘊皆空六根清淨一念無生者則雖寓形
宇內而常棲神於物表故澄澄合空湛湛如水猶以
有身爲幻也由是及其化也如決坑去垢如解懸脫
枷如鳥出籠如馬出閑洋洋乎于乎逍遙自適也
去留無碍也其於地水安有稽滯之情哉此人分上
沈之可也露之可也鑿石而藏之穴土而坑之以至爲
野火之所燒蟲蟻之所食無所施而不可也故達磨
葬於熊耳六祖全身留世普化搖鈴騰去清涼命館

林獸此皆達人遺世之高蹤忘我之勝迹若也自餘
 則未能忘形無我故須經火化然後其神清昇而無滯
 也有人客死他鄉收其骨而火之而其後德望高於
 世寵望歸於已子孫振振而厭祀綿綿謂之火化而
 利不及後者私憂過計之甚也毋以無稽之談枉炤
 冥龜之報

曰人之生死即人之始終也故孔子只言生死而未
 嘗言其前後也今浮圖言其前後而并其死生之間
 謂之三世夫生前死後非耳目之所接孰親視之乎
 以之惑人豈非誕也

曰人之生死猶晝夜之代謝既有代謝則自成前後

晝則以去夜爲前來夜爲後夜則以去日爲前來日
爲後并其晝夜自成三際晝夜既尔歲月亦然歲月
既尔生死亦然已往之無始未來之無窮亦由是而
可知也易云彰往而察來明失得之報往來之言豈非
所謂前後乎以三世之說爲誕者未之思也

曰天下之可遵者五帝三王之道而已故孔聖祖述
而羣賢相傳載諸方策而列國皆遵此道可求之於
中國不可求之於夷狄也佛西夷之人也豈以其道
流行於中國也漢明帝求其法於西域昧也非明也
曰道之所存是人之所歸也五帝三王既道之所存
故爲人之所歸而王於華夏也佛之興天竺而爲法

輪王亦復如是華夏之指天竺爲西猶天竺之指華夏爲東也若取天下之大中則當午無影爲中天竺乃尔佛之所以示生於彼者豈非以其天下之大中也所謂東西者蓋彼此時俗之相稱尔非占其中而定其東西也苟以佛爲夷而不遵其道則舜生於東夷文王生於西夷可夷其人而不遵其道乎所出迹也所行道也但觀其道之可遵不可遵也不可拘其所出之迹也前不云乎道之所存是人之所歸也春秋以徐伐莒而夷狄之狄人與齊人盟于邢而中國之夫徐以中國而受夷狄之名以其不義也狄人受中國之稱以其有義也凡於褒貶之間但觀人之

明昧事之當否豈以其所出而議其人乎如不求其迹而求其所行之道則但五戒十善之道可無愧於五帝三王之道矣况諦緣六度華法乎若使五帝三王遇之則必合掌跪膝而聽受矣明帝之求不其宜乎

曰自佛法入中國以來世漸澆漓飢饉荐臻民多失所爲癘日甚其爲害也不亦大哉

曰堯舜禹湯以天下之大聖而尚未免水旱之災桀紂幽厲以天下之人主而未免爲獨夫周衰而人民已匱秦作而天下大亂以孔子之大聖而未免於絕糧顏回之亞聖而未免於夭折原憲之大賢而未免

於家貧此亦以佛而然歟佛興天竺正當周昭至漢
 明帝法流東土三代以前佛未之作孔頴之時名亦
 未聞彼時當無災孽亦無飢饉堯何有九年之水湯
 何有七年之旱孔頴何窮而原憲何貧乎唐太宗與
 魏徵李淳風等協心同德混一天下兆民咸熙率土
 來賀新羅眞德王自製太平歌織錦爲文而獻之其
 略曰大唐開洪業巍巍皇猷昌止戈成威定修文契
 百王深仁諧日月撫羣邁虞唐以至云維岳降宰輔
 惟帝任忠良五三成一德昭我唐家皇又新羅太宗
 春秋公與金使信同心勳力一統三韓有大功於社
 稷彼時年豐穀賤一疋布價租三十碩民樂無憂皆謂之聖代

若是佛法使不昇平此當佛法盛行之時也何其昇
平至於如是之極乎趙州稔禪師生經七百甲子五
臺開法師生存三百餘載若是佛法令人夭折彼既
佛子何其命也至於如是之壽乎古今治亂脩短苦
樂大關時運之盛衰亦是衆生之業感以世不昇平
民不聊生歸咎於佛法亦未之思也

曰尔浮圖輩逸爲遊民不蚕不耕而衣食於人故民
被其惱屢至於窮其爲廢也不亦大哉

曰僧之任在弘法利生弘法而令慧命不斷利生而
使人人自善是僧之務也苟能如是則可無愧於爲
人之所奉矣苟不能然是其人之罪也豈佛之過歟

孟子曰於此有人焉入則孝出則悌守先王之道以待後之學者不得食於子子何尊梓匠輪輿而輕爲仁義者哉此豈非以守道利人而可衣食於人乎夫人之貪富各自有素分宿有善種者則雖日費而有餘宿無善種者則雖日聚而不足世有人焉見佛不禮見僧呵毀終身而不施一錢衣不蔽形食不充口此亦因僧而致然歟

曰清淨寡欲爲法亡軀多聞強記接引後來固釋子之行也今浮圖輩不修其行反汚師法人問其道如立面墻裨販如來資養身命廬其居人其人以充乎四民之數而令輔弼乎

君國可也

曰騏驎鸞鳳族不成羣尺璧寸珠市不可求孔門三千稱捨人者十人而已如來海會稱第一者亦不過十人而已況今去聖愈遠根機微劣安得使人人如迦葉之淨行阿難之多聞乎孔顏之後千載之下如顏淵閔子襄者亦未之聞也夫僧之爲僧具五德備六和然後方稱其名也然名實相符者蓋難其人矣林有不材之木田有不實之禾縱有不能如法奉行者不可疾之甚也但今因其形服漸薰成性不失其道而已豈得因其失而廢其法也

曰考其爲書務於虛遠崇於寂滅其功倍於小學而

無用其高過於大學而無實不可以爲修己治人之方也矣

曰書者載道之具也弘化之方也見其書則知其道之可遵不可遵知其禮之可慕不可慕也其道可遵其禮可慕則豈以非吾所習而可棄之也君不聞乎天下無二道聖人無兩心夫聖人者雖千里之隔萬世之遠其心未嘗有異也孔夫子之言曰毋意毋必毋固毋我易又云艮其背無我也行其庭無人也無我無人何垢之有釋迦老之言曰無我無人修一切善法即得菩提此聖人之所以異世而同其心也所謂虛遠寂滅之言三藏十二部中據何典而言歟大戒云孝

順至道之法孝名為戒亦名制止一向謂之虛遠可乎
圓覺云心花發明照十方刹一向謂之寂滅可乎若欲
驗其真偽必先審其書也不審其書而安排之則必
為達者之所嗤矣君不聞乎未盡天下文章不得雖
黃古今孔之言曰夫孝天之經也地之義也民之行也
豈非至道之謂乎感而遂通天下之故豈非明照之
謂乎儒之所謂明德即佛之所謂妙精明心也所謂
寂然不動感而遂通即佛之所謂寂照者也所謂有
善於已然後可以責人之善無惡於已然後可以正
人之惡者與吾教所謂斷惡修善饒益有情者何以
異乎所言之理既同而所教之迹何以異乎專已

入是此非彼人之常情也通人達士唯義是從豈以人我彼此而是非者乎使人不待爵賞之勸而靡然從化者三教之中佛教能然也蓋以吾佛大聖大慈之所感也舜好問而好察邇言隱惡而揚善禹拜昌言若使舜禹遇佛之化則豈不歸美乎而以爲不可爲修己治人之方者亦未之思也

曰老與儒釋同異優劣如何

曰老之言曰無爲而無不爲當有爲而無爲釋之言曰寂而常照照而常寂孔之言曰夫易無思也無爲也寂然不動感而遂通夫寂然者未嘗無感即寂而常照也感通者未嘗不寂即照而常寂也無爲而無不

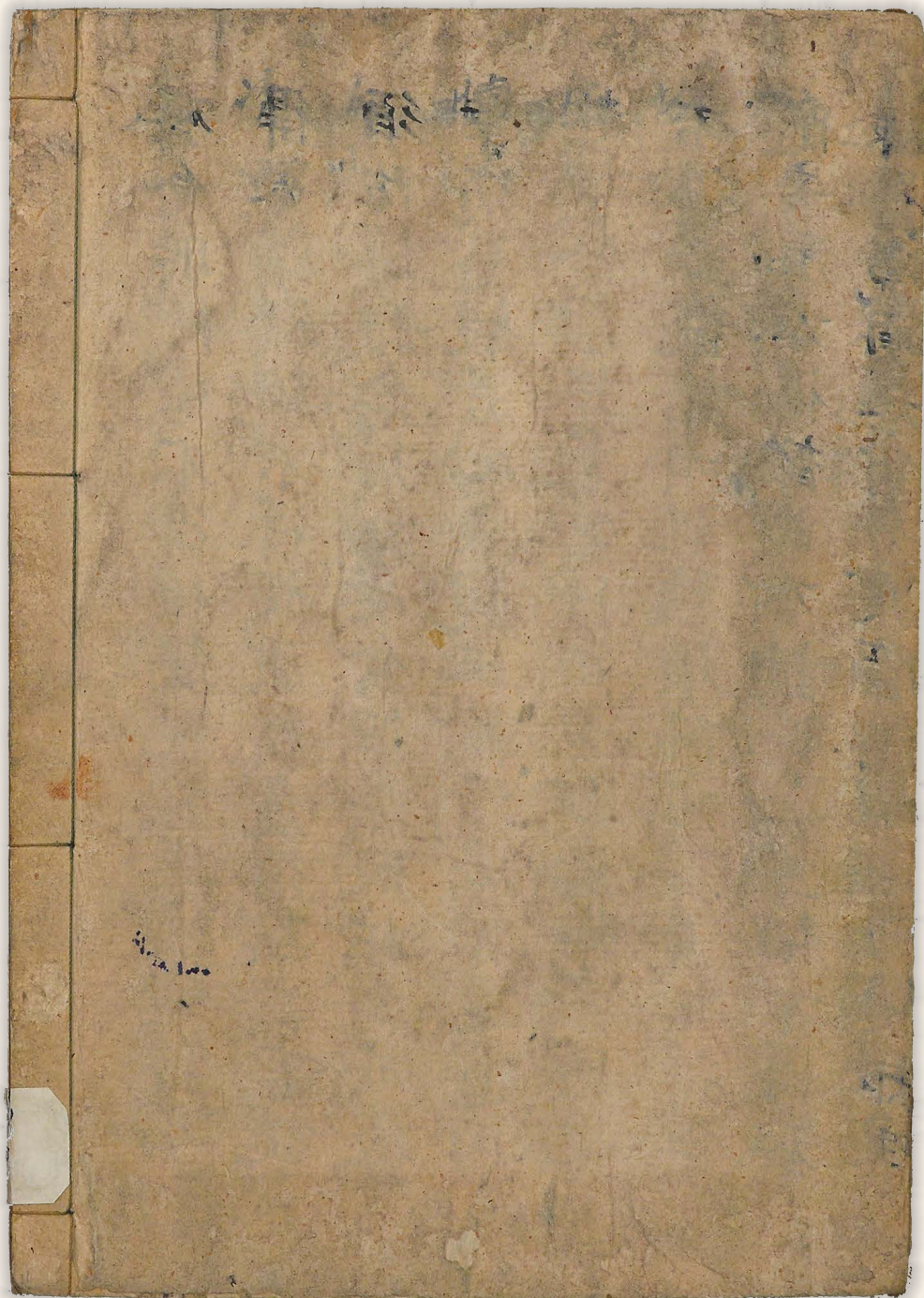
爲即寂而常感也有爲而無所爲即感而常寂也
此則三家所言冥相符契而如出一口也若履踐之
高低發用之同異則洗盡心垢廓清慧同然後著盡
大藏儒道諸書參於日用之間生死禍福之際則不
待言而自顯頭矣吾何強辨以駭君聽

顯正論 終

壬子歲五年丙戌七月日全羅道光陽地白

山招川寺開板

韓善山人子弘



B 諫廢釋教疏

—

Memorial Remonstrating Against the Suppression of Buddhism



○大覺登階白谷集

諫廢釋教疏

臣聞孔子曰可與言而不與言失人不可與言而與
言失言言或可以有中聽不可以無誠故堯咨尹壽
舜訪務成彼以至聖之賢咸居極貴之位則不必取
逢蒿之人不必納芻蕘之言然所以勤款者蓋蓋我
者存焉何則取人則必見賢人納言則必聞善言言
不必鄒魯之言故仲尼學於老聃人不必堯舜之人
故西伯師於呂望是故若以邦域為嫌而廢言失言
若以時代為訝而棄人失人可不察哉可不謂哉六

白谷集

世治則逸人願從故漢遵四皓俗醇則清軍間出故
晉高士賢七賢豈皆伊傅周召之相才乎四皓寧盡
韓彭衛霍之將略乎然而咸在提封得充巨妄者或
助仁后之陰化或扶聖君之優治故安民之士必憑
十紘濟世之智亦待三愚其猶洪鍾萬鈞非片鈔所
鑄大厦千間豈一卉所構哉伏惟 聖神文武主上
殿下詔膺天命續承丕位儲宮之日孝誠越乎鸛鳴
君臨以來恐懸生乎維劬輕徭減賦則蒼生怡顏恤
寡憐孤則赤子延頸二三載之間化洽生靈數千里
之外恩添品彙三王不仁則已仁則 殿下是也五

帝不聖則已聖則 陛下是也豈意今日之集許復
 遇昔時之堯舜乎雖然自古明君聖政非不明也治
 非不仁也而躬臨萬機慮有一失故書有訓君之誥
 詩存戒王之篇是以矜憐鄙陋枉屈從諫者君父之
 仁也冒黷尊嚴唐突進言者臣子之忠也故說命曰
 木從繩則正后從諫則聖此君父之所可鑑也春秋
 傳曰君所謂可而有否焉臣獻其可以去其否此臣
 子之所可效也臣以至微至賤猥叨桑門謬忝竺教
 人並上一贊物水雲間集枯密其於君臣父子之義
 素昧罔心得共治亂之談寧能刺口而令敢稱臣者

固知鑑矣然昔法果沙門拜安城候不空法師封肅
國公咸以臣例紆荷主恩則詩所謂莫非王臣言所
謂侯我后来者固無揀擇於彼此也然則為人臣者
雖甚無狀凡有愚計不得不稟於君父也謹曰朝
報伏奉 聖旨遂令僧尼並從沙汰尼已還俗僧亦
議廢臣實闇斷未窺 聖慮之何謂也 聖慮必以
佞氏生彼西方入此華夏有異邦域而然欲抑出三
代後非上古法有殊昔代而然欲抑偽啓曰果器暢
報應有誣輪迴而然欺抑不畊不蚕遊手遊食有耗
財帛而然欺抑妄為剝落毒羅憲綱有傷政教而然

歟抑托號浮屠為避徭役有失偏而然歟臣請先言
 佛與之始終後陳右列之條目仰懇宸襟乞垂 睿
 覽臣述覽前史詳考歷代周書曰佛昭王二十四年
 甲寅出世夜有五色光氣作青紅色王問太史蘇由
 曰是何祥也對曰西方有大聖人生也至穆五五十
 三年壬申佛乃寂時有白虹一十一道貫通南北王
 問太史扈多曰是何徵也對曰西方有大聖人滅也
 又吳太宰問孔子曰夫子聖者歟曰丘博識強記非
 聖人也然則孰為聖者與夫子動容而對曰西方有
 大聖人不言而自信不化而有行又歲子曰禹歲之

後一遇大聖知其解者是朝晚遇之皆指佛而言也
 逮秦始皇時以門室利防等來自西域帝惡其異俗
 以付獄俄有神碎獄門而出之帝懼厚賜遣之至漢
 武帝時霍去病獲昆耶王及金人率長丈餘帝以為
 大神安于甘泉宮又遣博望侯張騫西徃身毒獲摩
 屠法元帝時光祿大夫劉向得梵本經一十餘卷編
 一仙傳哀帝時景憲奉使月支國其王投獻經
 昭帝時感夢遣中郎將蔡愔等西訪其道獲迦摩騰
 法蘭二僧而還自是教法流行漸於劉漢曹魏之間
 盛於李唐趙宋之際聖主賢臣莫不憑賴或治其國

或齊其家此其佛與始終之大略也 殿下若曰有
 異邦域而廢之則孔聖之轍止於魯而不必環於陳
 蔡孟賢之舌藏於鄒而不必掉於齊梁其猶趙璧不
 得連城於秦價隋珠不能駿乘於魏誇豈以舜生於
 東夷禹出於西羌為不聖而聖中國之桀紂卒豈以
 湯生於我季孔出於蠻為不賢而賢中國之跖躋
 是以魯叟欲居九夷華人願生三韓况舟車所通
 雨露所同夷夏之境相接內外之聖不殊故劉元城
 曰孔子佛之言相為終始李屏山曰三聖人者同出
 於周知日月星辰之合於扶桑之上江河淮漢之匯

終尾閭之涯迹此觀之中庸所謂道并行而不相悖
 繫辭所謂殊途而同歸者可謂理之不殊若往箭鋒
 正之不異如合符節此不可以有異那域而廢者一
 一 殷下若曰有殊時代而廢之則書契之籍不必
 代結繩之政屋宇之安不必易居巢之危其猶冬食
 不夏春耕之粒夜眠不合晝坐之堂豈以三仁出於
 殷滅為不忠而忠上古之九黎乎豈以十哲生於周
 襄為不法而法上古之四凶乎是以庖犧書卦易道
 繫文王夏后叙疇洛書成字箕子况乾坤所位日
 月所臨古今之致同為前後之規一也故趙孟曰一

彼一此何常之有牟子曰彼一時也此一時也迹此
 觀之如使舜禹復生必曰佛氏吾無間然矣湯武復
 出必曰佛氏吾何言哉敗則魯論所謂後生可畏左
 史所謂視遠如邇者可謂時異而事同代殊而理一
 此不可以有殊時代而廢者二也 歿下若曰有誣
 輪回而廢之則唐天子之玉簫不必假道僧而傳晉
 都督之金環不必因隣媼而得其猶落暉沉江應無
 來日之再繼殘花墜岸必無明春之重敷豈以裴休
 是許玄度之舊身為不信而信堂上之弓蛇乎豈以
 豈草是諸葛亮之前魂為不真而真路中之石虎乎

是以真宗開天悟斯天事之降誕仁宗止帝驗是大
 仙之下生况死生所系禍福所名壽夭之分定矣休
 咎之發昭焉故賈誼曰千變万化未始有極李士謙
 曰鄧艾為牛徐伯為魚君子為鵠小人為猿迹此觀
 之禮記所謂鼠化為鴽怪書所謂鯢變為鵬者可謂
 事殊而致一言異而意同此不可以有誣輪囷而廢
 者三也 殿下若曰有耗財帛而廢之則彙虞操素
 於厯山而不必南面為君伊尹揮錢於華野而不必
 北面為臣其猶啗食不適杞夫之肥越矣不合蔡人
 之嗜豈以孔丘不如老農為不達而達問稼之樊須

乎豈以孟軻養於野人而不儉而儉捆屨之許行乎
是以出遊闕闡者不必皆耘耔而餬口深居閨室者
不必皆績紡而遮身况經世之君治國之主以德為
本以財為末故召公曰所密惟賢則邇人安孤偃曰
美以為密仁親以為密迹此觀之經傳所謂有土此
有財武成所謂六賚于四海者可謂土有則財聚不
憂耗也財散則民聚不願畜也此不可以有耗財帛
而廢者四也 殿下若曰有傷政教而廢之則上非
不教而堯有丹朱之子下非不諫而舜有瞽瞍之父
其猶薰蕕雜乎蘭芷之薰鷩鵠亂乎鳳凰之群豈以

罪惡之不忠為可誅而塞其為臣之路乎豈以癸辛
之不明為可放而絕其戴君之義乎是以僧于朝憲
則黥之可也殺之亦可也尼犯俗刑則剗之可也誅
之亦可也寧各釋而惡之并與佛而廢哉但以性品
或不一遷於善非是教法能使染於惡故子產曰人之
所善吾則行之人之所惡吾則改之李師政曰青於
有罪非閔尼父之失皂服為非豈是釋尊之咎迹此
觀之大易所謂赦過宥罪多方所謂明德慎罰者可
謂人雖可罰者有矣法不可廢者明為此不可以有
傷政教而廢者五也 殿下若曰有失偏伍而廢之

則矯托於釐穀之下而戶不出稅者絕多詐欺於番
 鎮之間而名不添丁者何限而佛道陵邊留役浩穰
 有同編戶無異齊民兩西則占軍籍者多三南則應
 官徵者衆抵楮之貢獻中國者皆出於細衣雜物之
 進納上司者盡脩於白足其餘百役督索万般衙門
 終退官令繼至忙迫失期則或遭囚繫創卒因_措或
 彼鞭朴至於諸道郊壘南漢山城千里累糧_守歲守
 堞身同戍客_述等征夫紺髮青眸柳風休雨素義白
 袖蒙泥染塵粵有_警急則蜂屯蟻聚爰臨戰伐則電
 掣雷轟千百為群什伍作隊挑弧棘矢左挽右抽大

戟長鉞前驅後殿鋒爭晉楚之強陣習穽越之法師
此觀之國風所謂王事靡盬小雅所謂朝夕不暇者
可謂孤恩者寡矣仗義者多爲此不可以有失偏任
而廢者六也此其右列條目之大槩也臣智不衛蔡
誠非橫草莫是此六之外別有所害要補於治平而
然欵臣誠言前代崇奉之君謹持之臣而實之以君
言之則崇奉之君不翅千萬而略舉幾主焉修明禮
樂孰如漢明帝乎隆興儒雅孰如孝章帝乎文武兼
脩孰如梁武帝乎混同四海孰如隋高祖乎混一車
書孰如唐太宗乎漢明之治世也有文雅威重而恭

儉無爲無奢靡陋麗而經略能爲有崇文尚德而改
 治明爲于斯時也臨雍拜老執經問義其宿儒文士
 之脩辭猶周南麟趾之洋洋三代以來文風盛未有
 若是之偉而詔以群幽像安顯節陵及清涼臺班
 固傳毅頌其勲德於漢爲最而惟鍾離意特以帝性
 褊訥善爲寶錄也良史哉章帝之治古也選用柔良
 而開忠諫之路明慎政躬而除苛刻之刑雅好文章
 而崇伎術之典于斯時也有神雀神鳳之來儀現白
 鳥白鹿之瑞祥徐州刺史王景上金人頌表先帝致
 佛之功載于漢書而惟史氏特以譖廢太子書爲害

政邑篤論武梁武之治立也允文允武而闡揚伎藝
多藝多才而載戰干戈施德施仁而澤周遐裔于斯
時也幾有五色雲六隻龍而守柱庭有三足鳥二孔
雀而應階書契以來靈異之應未有若是之奇而日
夕齋戒到老不倦史官魏徵曰梁武固天啟假道聖
生知可謂天下仁人而惟韓愈特以索窻不至書為
餓死豈直筆哉隋祖之治世也君臨萬國而運啓嘉
號廢周六官而初置七寮依漢三省而建運法度于
斯時也天地龜文而水潤五色地開醴泉而山呼萬
年魏晉以來開拓之功未有若是之廣而岐州等三

十名建寺塔石室論曰隋文開統身及太平固一在
 之英主而惟杜牧特以偷竊佐號書為不終豈警誅
 哉唐宗之治世也戡定禍亂而革季俗之衰撥吞蝗
 虫而救年穀之災肅振軍旅而服遠夷之強于斯時
 也五霸一用雞番而呈祥白狐朱鴈胎彰而現瑞兩
 漢以來勦業之視未有若是之完而追崇穆太后流
 涕而達寺唐史贊曰盛哉太宗之烈也比迹湯武處
 桀成康而惟歐陽脩特以好功勤兵善為病痼豈諫
 言哉是皆稀世之君也以臣言之剗護持之臣不翅
 千萬而略舉數代為晉世則有郗超孫綽許詢陶潛

卷四

九

王導、周凱、庾亮、王象、王恭、王詵、郭文、謝尚、戴逵之徒。
 梁世則有任昉、何遜、何胤、沈約、劉勰、傅翕、傅肱、蕭宗、
 季寔、季胤之阮孝緒之輩。唐世則有柳宣、宋景、張說、
 王維、王縉、梁甫、李詵、劉軻、陸羽、李翱、崔黯、韋宙、杜鴻、
 漸、白居易之儔。宋世則有錢俶、王旦、楊傑、楊億、魏杞、
 李觀、蘇軾、蘇轍、李邴、曾開、李遵勗、張洎、遠之、顗、或翊、
 亮、朝、猷、資、諧、宙、美、或杭、述、炯、震、棲、身、林、疑、或磻、磚、文、
 章、馳、騁、詞、句、咸、誓、死、而、耽、玄、並、忘、形、而、稟、教、是、皆、空、
 匹、之、臣、也。此、教、君、諸、公、可、謂、奉、佛、尤、勤、而、未、聞、有、害、
 於、治、平、者。止、臣、又、言、前、代、廢、斥、之、君、排、毀、之、臣、而、實、

之以君言之則殷介之君不過殺三而惟魏武帝詆
 排釋教達靜輪天宮費竭人財而終感勵疾周武帝
 殲戮沙門身服黃衣熱教晉陽而失喜抵死唐武宗
 罷除寺像餽金丹藥會昌不滿而早致崩亡周世宗
 毀仆鑄像歲造僧帳舉兵伐而疽潰殂落是皆素
 立之君也以臣言之則排毀臣不過殺三而惟傳奕
 附張道源之助奏疏於唐祖請罷釋教宰相蕭瑀亦
 其謗佛之罪科而太宗惡奕言慚終身不齒又崔浩
 信寇讎之之術達白於魏武誅滅沙門司馬溫公譏
 其擇術之不智而路人念浩元惡行溺其面尺張賓

樸韋孝寬之黨譎諸於周武猜毀浮面大夫甄鸞
 其佛法之正直而尚書唐臨曰其抵排述實記又
 趙歸真造刻玄靜之佞暗詆唐武焚廢淨坊捨道三
 哲諫其信諂之太過而史氏論其革罷好惡不同是
 皆季習之臣也此數君諸公可謂斥佛尤篤而未聞
 有補於治平者也夫抵前代君主之所為不出於自
 用皆因市虎之傳言致有梟母之投杼也葉衣之士
 莫賢乎程朱而程明道不肯塑像求晦菴喜看佛書
 爭戲之間只以文字斥之不過曰似高而實實近理
 而亂真廢佛之論未之見為韓退之上表排佛西蜀

標

龍先生憤其言忤普書攻之愈後與太顓交遊尚書
 孟簡寄書嘉其改迷故黃魯直謂韓愈見太顓之後
 排佛之論少沮云歐陽脩慕韓愈為人喜排釋氏嘗
 遊密山遇僧談話不覺膝之自屈故謝希深作文記
 其事云司馬光繼希孟之志方營汰去因謁圓通忽
 悟宿願遂忘意之自銳故公之言曰其精微不出吾
 言云張尚英尊孔氏之道欲作無佛論尋參從悅豁
 省心地乃著護法論後登君揆久旱而雨故唐子西
 賦詩頌其衷云此皆豪傑之士而只以文字斥之廢
 佛之論又未之見為則說味之間默契者存焉由是

論之崇奉君臣不翅千万而佛若無補則當時君臣
盡皆非乎廢斥君臣不過數三而佛若有害則當時
君臣盡皆是乎果以崇奉為非則漢明諸君劣乎魏
武而宋景短於張賓之儔也果以廢斥為是則周武
諸君技乎唐宗而崔浩賢於傅毅之徒也雖然論治
日則必曰漢唐而未聞傳宋有邪僻之心也語亂立
則必稱魏周而未聞崔張有經綸之手也 殿下必
謂綜核諸史斷棄佛說臣亦奉教史而質之音孔子
尚孔於老子學琴於師襄問樂於襄弘學官於鄭子
皆有取取而其修春秋也則鄭子得書乎經而釋之

者錄其官名之說三子不書字徑而徧之者黜其方
技之術襄弘諸子也不若鄒子賢哉蓋官名所以関
於世教者也方技所以脱於國經者也是故歐陽脩
宋祈修唐史也則歐公徧削惠準等迹而唯存一行
大衍之作宋公並刪玄奘等傳而獨著道弘地理之
說淨奘諸師豈不及行弘輩哉蓋大衍所以統天時
者也地理所以係人事者也見取於史筆宜矣司馬
光修通鑑也則太宗紀所載與傳奘說呪之類揚而
通書與玄琬談道之比抑而不載豈說呪為優而談
道為劣哉蓋說呪好事者孟浪所提故引之而貶訕

佛氏之虐也談道探理者願堂所輯故黜之而諱却
佛氏之實也然則抑此三史法彼春秋而作也雖然
彼春秋則必無私挾而此三史則必有偏疾其於程
氏宗旨者黜而諱之虐者引而貶之豈皆董狐之筆武
此所以佛說之不載於史氏者也 殿下必謂無佛
之前國治邦寧有僧之後年天運促臣亦舉前代亂
亡之去而質之亂亡之世不可勝記略舉殺伐為賊
人多殺孰如夏桀乎殘義損善孰如殷紂乎貪婪好
功孰如秦皇乎夏桀之為君也貪固肆虐力能伸鉤
悅婦寵於瓊宮瑤臺彈民財於內山脯林酒為他則

千人俯飲糟築堤則十里延望滅德作威不忍其荼
毒耽嫖猥黑隸其塗炭是以天降夏氏有罪之罰
人懷時日局喪之怨於是成湯行誓衆之征仲虺作
論王之誥遂使阿濟失湯池之固恭華摧盤石之堅
伊闕割南阻之險羊腸崩北脩之完放之南巢盡於
鳴條身終遷死國亦隨亡故湯誓曰天命殛之殷紂
之爲君也言能歸非智足拒諫窮奢侈於玉盃象箸
重刑辟於炭火銅柱厚賦稅則財實鹿臺行殘害則
粟盈鉅橋炮烙忠良斲朝涉之兩脰剗剔諫輔剖比
干之七竅是以天怒商罪貫盈之虐民抱乃汝立謹

之寃於是武王勗如熊之夫太公扶叩馬之士遂使
商郊為鳴鏑之場牧野作倒戈之地孟門騰太行之
塵恒山沸大河之浪師會若林血流標杵密玉俱焚
身國並滅故秦誓曰天命誅之秦皇之為君也天姓
剛戾素心貪殘刻仁義於坑儒焚書崇事墨於頌功
封祀患胡虜則蒙恬此築万里慕神仙則徐市東入
三山畜聚人民徙豪富於咸陽焦勞心力作宮建於
渭南陵夷至於胡亥姦回逞志募奸及於子嬰宗紀
不血是以壁返鴻池之君鮑潛輶轅之魄於是劉季
虬據乎沛西項籍翫鏃乎山東遂使關中迎爭鹿之

戰霸上送納罕之降散幽東伐戮之聲隴蜀漲腥膻
 之氣殺身望夷繫頸軹道萬歲之計二世而亡故賈
 誼曰仁義不施此斃君之世可謂无佛而敗亡相尋
 年祚亦促此非有僧而致然者剛矣嗚呼异哉若稽
 我東之前籙則梁遂佛舍利于新羅百官郊迎自爾
 梵宇崎嶇尊容燦爛神僧間生異釋繼出訪道西遊
 則或舫渤桴溟得法東還則或居麗止濟三國王臣
 莫不駭奔而遵雀躍而奉至於剪鬚落髮灼指燃身
 期為壽國祐家之助而新羅曆年九百九十二年高
 麗歷年七百五年百濟歷年六百一十八年此時未

聞佛之有害於治道也逮夫王氏之統合也玄綱振
紐道樹增茅宰輔之冠冕人倫之羽儀靡不倒心而
歸投翹首而佇仰或至於王族之為尼為僧者間常
有之異為過惡私善之本而王氏曆奉四百七十五
年此皆亦未聞佛之有害於治道也恭惟我太祖
大王殷下應天啓運制惡除兇當鴻號四七之符禦
龍飛九五之位欽明文思邁絕百王濬拓溫恭牢籠
千聖草昧之初權輿之後秘神驚類致情鷄園訪得
無學迄都漢陽太宗六王允執厥中克肖其德蘊
東征西怨之慶貯扶老携幼之仁去殺勝殘輒解湯

網寬刑赦罪爰停鼎車問安之暇垂拱之餘鉤深覺
 苑索隱空宗至于世宗文宗克慎厥緒篤叙乃功
 世祖大王玉璽文謨維揚武烈永崇德尚賢之統立
 論道經邦之威聖神聰明用勛嘉績四恭寅畏允協
 英姿輪景惠日鼓振真風迄于成宗中宗嗣厥休
 命傳此風規特設僧科例同國試及乎明宗宣宗
 敢勤厥訓祗服斯猷睿聖仁祖大王殿下集厥大
 勲顧謨明命行救孔誅暴之道嘗臨危制變之權鑒
 焉必鋤四罪能施獮穢必念六責自金宗曠古罕雙
 之真主也亦超今永集之聖君也然而蓮藏之詮善

掘之道存而不單培而不剪文子文孫乃繼乃承享
 一人有慶之禎垂萬歲無疆之業此時亦未聞佛之
 有害於治道也周頌曰念茲皇祖魯頌曰昭假烈祖
 伏軾 殿下念茲烈祖禹謨曰念茲在茲君陳曰無
 忝祖考伏願 殿下念茲祖考凡天下未有無佛之
 國雖彫題漆齒之邦莫飲雕結之俗卉服毛茹之疆
 文身被髮之域九夷八蠻之外五戎六狄之間咸皆
 有僧豪其君長之化全其操守之節况 殿下之懿
 德涵於禽獸至仁浹於草菅豈隘牛羊之易之生哉
 豈偏木鴈異喜之殺哉謹案釋譜國師道說我東之

聖僧也。八唐受法於一行。一行者尹惜所謂聖人者
 也。膺洛下閎六百年之識。推大衍數糾其數家之繆。
 說盡傳其妙秘。而東歸。經天地贊幽冥。陟嶽登齊。歷
 銓建寺為一千五百。裨補之所。裨補者。裨補國家之
 謂也。其地勢最靈。則必識云。此寺興則此國興。其言
 恐誅狂妄。則已其術神異徵驗。則寺宇之初有益於
 國家。無損於治道者。亦明矣。近世澆離。名藍巨剎。鞠
 為火燼。^{以火}又為勢奪。元氣剝喪。山脉凋零。佛將止耶。國
 將興耶。雖然。以識觀之。寺宇之成。毀有則。國家之興
 亡。繫焉。臣常為國痛之。為國危之。又勘僧史。帝王之

興也必訪尊宿立國師之號國師者師補國君之謂也其道望最高則必記云國之將興神僧出以中國言之漢明之於摩騰梁武之於宝誌隋祖之於智顗唐宗之於玄奘宋祖之於麻衣是也以我東言之新羅之於墨胡高麗之於順道百濟之於難陀松嶽之於道說漢陽之於無學是也其人黠頑欺誑則已其道恢弘廣達則神僧之出有益於國家無損於治道者亦明矣近世荒唐碩德煙消開土疆滅又為斗絕道統墮塞禪林蕪穢佛將衰耶國將盛耶雖然以記觀之神僧之出沒有則國家之盛衰係焉臣常為國

慨然為國愀然噫合而觀之有寺則在所益矣無僧則在所損矣治道之益損亦預乎其間而何必曰除僧毀寺然後為治平者哉臣非架空而誕罔於殿下也殿下涉獵圖史曉達古今廢寺而勃興者有幾君乎存僧而忽三者有幾主乎且僧有尼衆始於漢世當時王婕妤等與宮媛二百三十餘人厭俗歸真呂惠卿等與道士六百二十八人投簪被衲顯宗建寺十所城內三寺安尼婕妤等住之城外七寺安僧惠卿等住之所以限內外者男女有別故也至於我東其揆亦行夫慈壽仁壽兩院在宮掖之外即先

后之內願堂也奉恩奉先兩寺在陵寢之內即先王之外願堂也所以限內外者亦男女有別故也此非一朝一夕之制實是先王先后之制也與國同興與國同止有成則國之慶也有毀則國之殃也故大雅曰人之云亡心之憂矣兩院廢則殿下之憂也小雅曰瓶之罄矣惟罍之恥兩寺衰則殿下之恥也今兩院盡廢放黜尼衆兩寺盡棄削沒奴婢娼寮寺院帶殷墟之慘清淨僧尼含楚囚之悲繪像雕容傷心於蒼婦方袍圓頂拭淚於閭閻有何所忌而黜先后內願堂之尼衆乎殿下之

富有何所乏而削先王外廡堂之奴婢乎穆子曰
棄舊不祥今日之不祥孰若寺院之廢棄哉邨子曰
余无歸矣今日之無歸孰若尼衆之放逐哉以天理
言之循先王先后之法則順也以人事言之從一
朝一夕之議則背也故太甲曰率乃祖攸行洛誥曰
篤前人成烈苟如是則順天理者也左傳曰不忘先
君禮記曰受命于祖不如是則背人事者也姑以君
民語之有君則必有民故詩云我獨非民書云可愛
非君尼衆豈非殿下之民而殿下豈非尼衆之
君哉民以君戴君以民使故在民義當慈謹在君愛

登階集

十六

宜寬仁此尊卑之名分上下之安寧也若放尼果是則先靈有愧於殿下矣若廢院果非則殿下有負於先靈矣噫推而觀之存院則在所順矣放尼則在所背矣政體之順背亦與乎其間而何必曰罷院黜尼然後為仁政者哉臣非鑒虛而眩亂於殿下也殿下孝感天心明通人道思先后之遺範則忍黜其尼衆乎念先王之舊模則忍削其奴婢乎且寺設聖位始於唐世禪師道義建金闕寺代宗助以二稅設高祖太宗已下七聖位各以帝號標其上立百僚於光順門迎入寺內以次致祀自是

歲為常准于時太廟二宮生靈之帝賦詩義之至於
 我東蓋取諸此夫聖位之設於內外願堂者數百季
 矣此非曰可曰否之端實是乃敬乃重之儀也今一
 朝瘞於沙土之中壇墀既崩禘祫斯絕聖慮必謂
 處非其地不宜設而然歟抑世數久遠不應存而然
 歟若曰處非其地則當時之識見未高非殿下之
 失也若曰世數久遠則前代之經典有據非沙土之
 廢也殷有三宗周有七廟是謂宗廟宗廟之法古者
 祧主藏於太祖廟之東西夾室未聞瘞於沙土之中
 也至周則昭之遷主藏於文王之廟也穆之遷主藏

於武王之廟也亦未聞塵於沙土中也况始祖百世
無適遷之義今寺院本稱佛宇則雖非其地既設聖
位則實同宗廟昔子產不毀鄉校孔子仁之李榮議
毀廟主韓愈非之况我太祖已下列聖是何等尊
靈而忍以泥塵塵其標號之主哉蔡墨曰不廢舊績
國之舊績曷若壇墠之位乎子魚曰以率舊職國之
舊職曷若禘祫之祀乎以天理言之遵迺敬迺重之
蹟則得也以人事言之起曰可曰否之諄則失也故
商書曰監于先王成憲周書曰欽若先王成烈苟如
是則得天理者也需之九三曰敬慎不敗困之九五

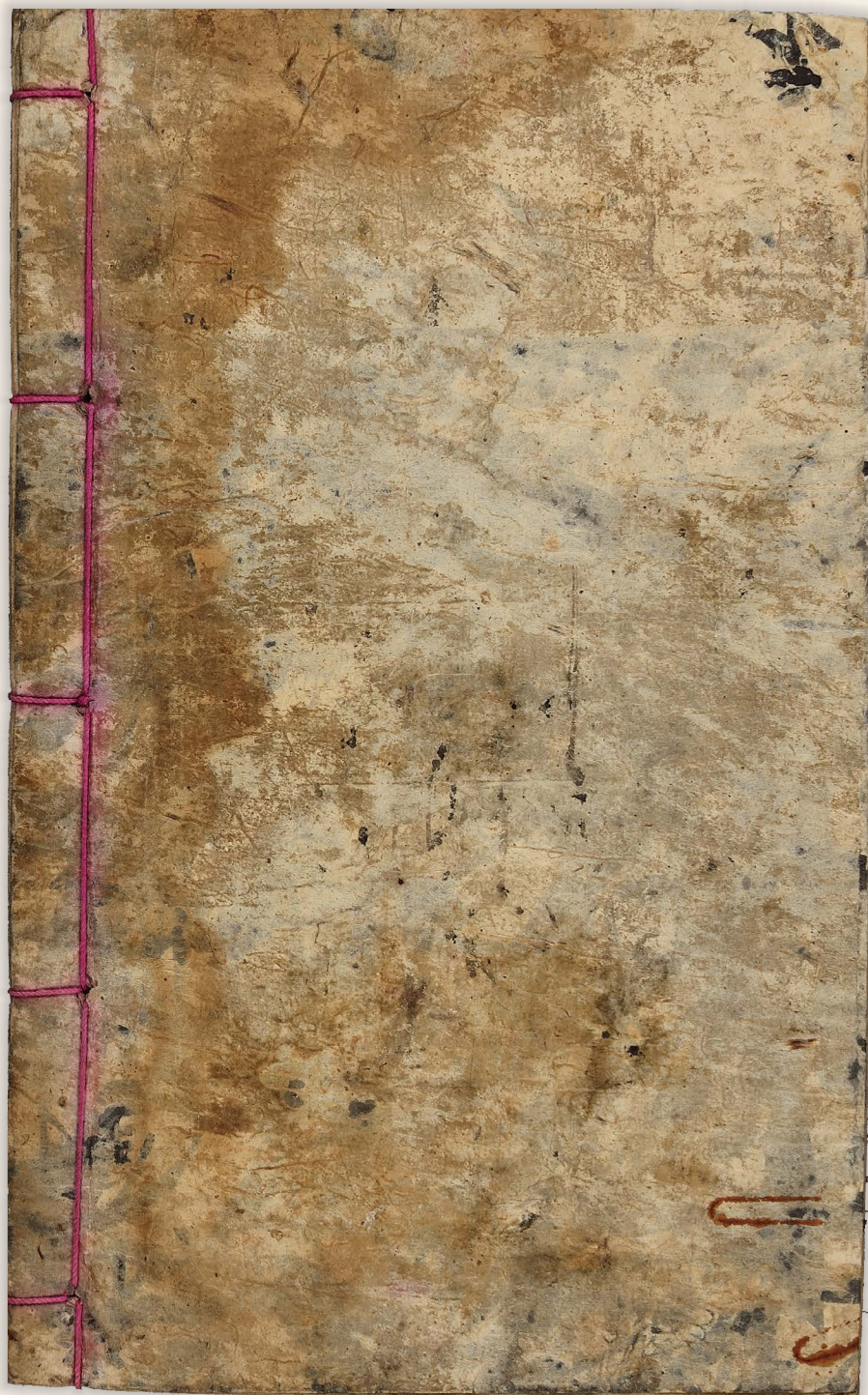
曰利用祭祀不如是則失人事者也臣以年月考之
 旱饉始於聖王之歲于今四載缺穀退鍾饘醢辭餉
 持男易粟則夫妻對泣鬻子謀生則父母相離流亡
 者蔽路殣等者填衢劉夏曰神怒不歆其祀或者
 先靈怒不歆祀而致此耶晏子曰神怒不嚮其國或
 者先靈怒不嚮國而至是耶不然豈今至德之治
 世有此不雨之連年哉此必然而無疑者也將今視
 古尤有甚或作俑雖微大聖知俑人之無後埋石雖
 小神釋諭石氏之致亡矧今聖位乃太子也其於
 穿坎而故坑之為何如哉姑以祖孫語之有祖則必

有孫故書云視乃烈祖詩云於赫湯孫 聖位豈非
 殿下之祖而 殿下豈非 聖位之孫乎孫以祖承
 祖以孫承故在孫孝當追思在祖靈合陰陽幽明
 之常理死生之本然也若瘞主果是則先靈無怒於
 殿下矣若廢祀果非則 殿下無報於 先靈矣噫
 逆而觀之設位則在所得也停祀則在所失也教化
 之得失亦出乎其間而何必曰毀位廢祀然後為德
 教者哉臣非踵訛而僭議於 殿下也 殿下道貫
 天人學臻深奧懽壇壝崩則忍瘞其標主乎愴締
 給之傳絕則忍廢其享祀乎詳而論之兩寺不可襄

也兩院不可廢也二事不兼則寧襄兩寺也尼衆不可黜也 聖位不可廢也二事不兼則寧黜尼衆也雖然此不得已之說也據實而言之皆不可也何者自座主之徃年至放尼之今年則風雨時乎陰陽調乎五穀熟乎百姓樂乎前年之旱甚於徃年而今年又甚於去年則又安知明年之不甚於今年哉伏願殿下上體 祖宗獎順之意下察臣愚敢諫之誠深追既往不塞將來則 先靈有眷顧之佑 殿下無廢革之憊人靈咸悅神鬼盡歡五典克從百揆時叙齊七政於天時睦九族於民類處處有鼓腹之歌人

人無厭頤之歎太平可致矣洪祚可延矣臣於先
朝猥蒙知名故敢於今日不避隕命焉不勝屏營惴
慄之至謹昧死以聞

登階集終



C 上韓綾州必壽長書

—

A Long Letter Addressed to Han Pilsu of Neungju District

蓮潭集文

梧

D
218.081
9690
V.2

紙

丙今年萬義二喪法運垂盡悲痛何堪遠地特賜旨
 問尤不任傷感也聞 朝家另下終身之俸 聖恩
 同極何以報荅古師有云受恩深處宜先退得意濃
 時便好休不可改也唾衣之下親奉 天顏帶得
 教旨之任勝國或有而八我 朝寂無所聞不知吾
 丈以何善緣而然耶功名立至矣盡矣知足知止
 自今急務願頻上乞骸之狀擺脫南故當為三十六
 策之第一思之密矣密矣思之意滿楮狹不盡所懷
 統惟諒照 上韓綾州必壽長書
 丙戌十月日天台山人有一謹再拜上書于明府閣
 下伏以山人昨拜東閣時閣下有疑於佛書中因果

林下文

四

二十二

報應之說死後斷滅不斷滅西方極樂世界之有無
 以為子虛而不信山人蒙昧未能斟酌對且欲論下一
 二而盡言尊前有失禮貌含黑自輸而退歸卧禪室
 山月皎然中夜起坐蒲團忽思閣下昨日之貶到心
 不自安轉側寃索畧有所陳伏乞少垂察焉夫佛法
 之在世間如虛空之周徧其大無外其小無內然履
 見虛空者填室塞戶以絕之而不知越閭入奧及自
 身之耳目口鼻皆有虛空也若是而其終絕之乎窮
 謂士大夫聰明才智學而知道皆由佛法之力以般
 若靈覺振天地而獨存亘古今而不昧凡天地庄仁
 之物無不圓具洪纖短長有萬不齊者皆資之而道

立舍是無別法也子瞻曰歐陽永叔司馬君實皆不
 喜佛法然其聰明之所照了德行之所成就真佛法
 也子瞻豈欺世者哉但其書出於漢世曾所不見故
 若存若亡疑信相半至於唐之房琯白璠宋之蘇黃
 以高明之才超詣之見篤信崇奉至元明之時人人
 稱瞿曇之徒家家藏見葉之書其承奉之道一何盛
 哉瀛洛羣哲主張洙泗之學而亦知其大同未嘗不
 究其說而有得焉瀛溪之交照覺而深明至理之論
 伊川之問靈源而妙達自性之旨考亭之慕大惠而
 契悟心法之要載乎傳記可徵不誣又考亭末年有
 齋居誦經詩云閑居獨無事聊披釋氏書暫息塵累

帝超然與道俱門掩竹林密禽鳴山雨餘了此無為
法身心政晏如觀此則其所得於佛者不淺非獨私
心嚮往而已然云彌近理而大亂真者以身為道學
主盟扶植人倫故其誨人之際不得不抑揚彼此也
又云佛法如錦玉儒道如布粟蓋謂錦玉雖貴而不
可常用布粟雖賤而切於日用雖不知佛法亦不離
日用而亦許其高貴也烏有東儒之以釋教為一向
虛無而歸之何有之鄉哉東汶皆曰佛氏所說皆不
見不聞之事難可信余曰堯舜禹湯之事孰見而孰
聞乃能信也夫堯舜禹湯之事亦甚綿邈地之相去
數千餘里世之相後數千餘年固非見聞之可及而

前言從行布在經史常取學而習之習而行之為家
 常茶飯故信之不疑至於釋氏之道地隔十萬時歷
 三世其書出於漢時故以為異端而不為讀誦玩索
 雖或涉獵而惟摘奇言妙句以資鑑勸之用其微言
 奧義畧不尋繹安得而知之既不能知無怪夫不信
 也河北人不信江南有二萬斛船江南人不信河北
 有千人糧帳政謂此也果使儒氏虛已剗心就於佛
 書潛心玩繹如服習儒書之時則以如彼粹明之資
 豈有不知不信之理乎顧此不為惟攻駁如恐不及
 可勝惜哉夫目果之說非特在於釋典亦曾誥之常
 所談但不顯言名目也易曰積善有慶積不善有殃

善不善目也慶輿殃果也書曰作善有祥又云天道
 福善禍淫子曰為善者天報之以福如此語類布在
 子史難以備舉又左氏謂蔡武子有德可以庇其子
 故其子鬻雖為惡而能免禍鬻之子盈雖善而鬻之
 惡累之而及於難又世人勿而做工仕而登科或行
 恩布德得蒙薦拔或作奸犯科以受刑戮此則現身
 因果昭然也于寶之崔環隋侯之蛇珠微物尚然而
 況人乎傳曰一歲種之以穀十歲樹之以木百歲來
 之以德此語亦不出因果也噫今之吉人前世何福
 感斯好報而獨不思今亦作福則來世亦如今世耶
 其死後漸滅之義尤難譬破儒氏皆云入之土也陰

陽合成陽者氣也魄也陰者質也魄也壽夭貧富皆
繫於天命及其死也陰陽渙散陽氣上而歸天陰質
下而為地更有何物轉為後身也此儒家不易之論
也吾佛所說與此大相不同蓋不問人畜凡有血氣
之屬皆有知知飢渴寒熱知視聽動作知愛惡苦樂
此之所知聖凡人畜皆同虛徹靈明卓然獨存不生
不滅亘古亘今比如虛空無處不在無時間斷也但
以此心隨緣為識故受生滅去來捨此托彼之身然
此識心與真知之性一而二而一豈可謂斷滅無
餘耶則真性本非善惡因果而隨識心薰習之不同
有善有惡有染有淨以致凡聖因果之升沈也問識

心既與真性同体而真性無善惡何以識心却有耶
荅前不云薰習之不同乎如入芝蘭之室久而不聞
其香入鮑魚之肆久而不聞其臭故君子擇必處仁
慎其所習也考亭亦曰天降生民莫不與之以仁義
禮智之性而但氣質之稟不能齊故不能全其所
有也蓋人皆有是性則應人人皆善而但夙世薰習之
善者其氣清其質粹能全固有之性堯舜周孔是也
其薰習之惡者其氣濁其質駁迷失天賦之本性桀
紂盜跖是也然則人之智愚善惡皆由前習之因緣
而攸氏所論皆天命之自然也天命何其不均堯舜
何親而與之善桀紂何疎而與之惡耶又云壽夭貧

富皆繫天命天之賦命矣其富少貧多賤多貴少
以顏淵之賢而貧且夭以盜跖之惡而富且壽天道
付其惡者與之賢者奪之乎然而聖人設教責人不
責天罪物不罪命何哉又萬事皆出自然則仁義忠
孝何必學而行之文章六藝何必教而習之乎故吾
佛設教則莫非目錄熏習也顏淵熏習善行故受清
粹之氣質為亞聖之資而但壽富之目不作也盜跖
熏習惡行故受濁駁之氣質為悖逆之人而但壽富
之目能作也故經疏云人作之天應之詩云下民之
孽匪降自天職竟由人然則吾人不可恃天命而拱
手無為也既有目錄果報則斷滅之論不攻自破也

豈不聞乎許詢死為蕭蒼蕭蒼

死為裴休青卓堂為

本下文四

二十六

曾魯公鴈蕩僧為秦檜不但智永為房琯或禪師為東坡也又張方平續書柳耶壁上之經邢和璞指夏口窰中之像則前後身之理分明可見人皆如是而但迷昧前目故不能記次以為或然而不信以為既死之後永為斷滅云云至如極樂世界之說非但儒家不信釋子之不得其意者亦多疑之今當畧卜蓋天下之世界本依理而成理既無窮盡故世界亦無窮盡不可以數知也其中差別萬殊亦不可測知也吾東乃海外之蕞爾小邦而水土風俗隨八路而各異南方多出文北方多出武嶺南之俗質勝文朔

南之人文勝質北方之衣食不如南方或有純食粟
而衣狗皮者南方之人稻粱不可勝食綿帛不可勝
衣其生道之苦樂儉奢可知也况天下之世界無限
難測則其間豈無極樂極苦或苦樂相均者哉近觀
西洋國地圖史記中不載之國甚多而中原僻在東
道史記以洛陽為天下之中者只約中國而言也其
實西域為天下之中朱子亦以崑崙為天下之中而
西域在崑崙之下正是中國而稱西域者中原之人
自以為中故指彼為西例如西域之人以中原為東
震也西方有古葦國其民不衣不食而常睡五十年
一覺故以夢中為案以覺時為雇又有一國有狂象

村下
四

其國人皆飲此水無不為狂獨其君別鑿一井而飲
故不狂其臣民以其君之不狂為狂相與針灸欲醫
其狂其君不勝痛楚乃同飲狂泉而為狂其臣民歡
喜以為其君狂歇又只聞堯眉八彩舜目重瞳而又
有長眉一目之國只聞漢高斗宵而又曾虛之國
只聞周公反握重耳駢肩而又交趾之國豈非差
別異事而獨不信極樂國何哉近有一伎聞極樂
男無女之說笑曰萬物皆有陰陽豈可以人而純陽
乎誕妄何甚余曰通鑑史斷有女人國純女無男照
水面生之言此又何理仗士杜口始知天下之事無
有不對天者地也對日者月之對彼以夢為寢以覺

而虛之國對此以覺為實以夢為虛也彼以狂為不
狂以不狂為狂者對此以狂為狂以不狂為不狂也
一目為二目之對宵虛為宵全之對亦何怪純男為
純女之對而信純女而書之史誕純男而謂之無何
哉試嘗論之極樂之國純善者往生之苟能忠君孝
父仁義慈善之心至極則可以往生非但念佛也然
則不忠不孝奸凶悖逆者皆入地獄之極苦非但謗
佛也故古人有曰天堂無則已有則君子陞之地獄
無則已有則小人入之之實際語也經云雖十惡之
人臨終十念彌陀能得往生之問下曩曰然則人皆平
生窮耳目之所欲但於死時十念足矣何必忍辱苦

行以送一生也迂愚對曰此乃書所謂惟狂克念作
 聖之義也平生作十惡惟狂也臨終十念即剋念也
 往生極樂即作聖也蓋斯人平生作惡不知其非無
 所不為及其死也僅頓覺前非真性獨露比如千年
 暗室無一點明忽於一夜高懸明灯一室洞照無一
 點暗千年暗室如平生十惡也一夜懸燈如一念頓
 覺也又如役家之法人有無狀罪過一朝改過遷善
 則不錄前過惟取遷善今十惡之十念往生亦此義
 也若如閻下之言平生故意作惡臨死故意十念此
 乃強作機心也烏得心淨而生淨土耶如曹操平生
 奸偽死見真性而知人竊聽更作他言此乃機心所

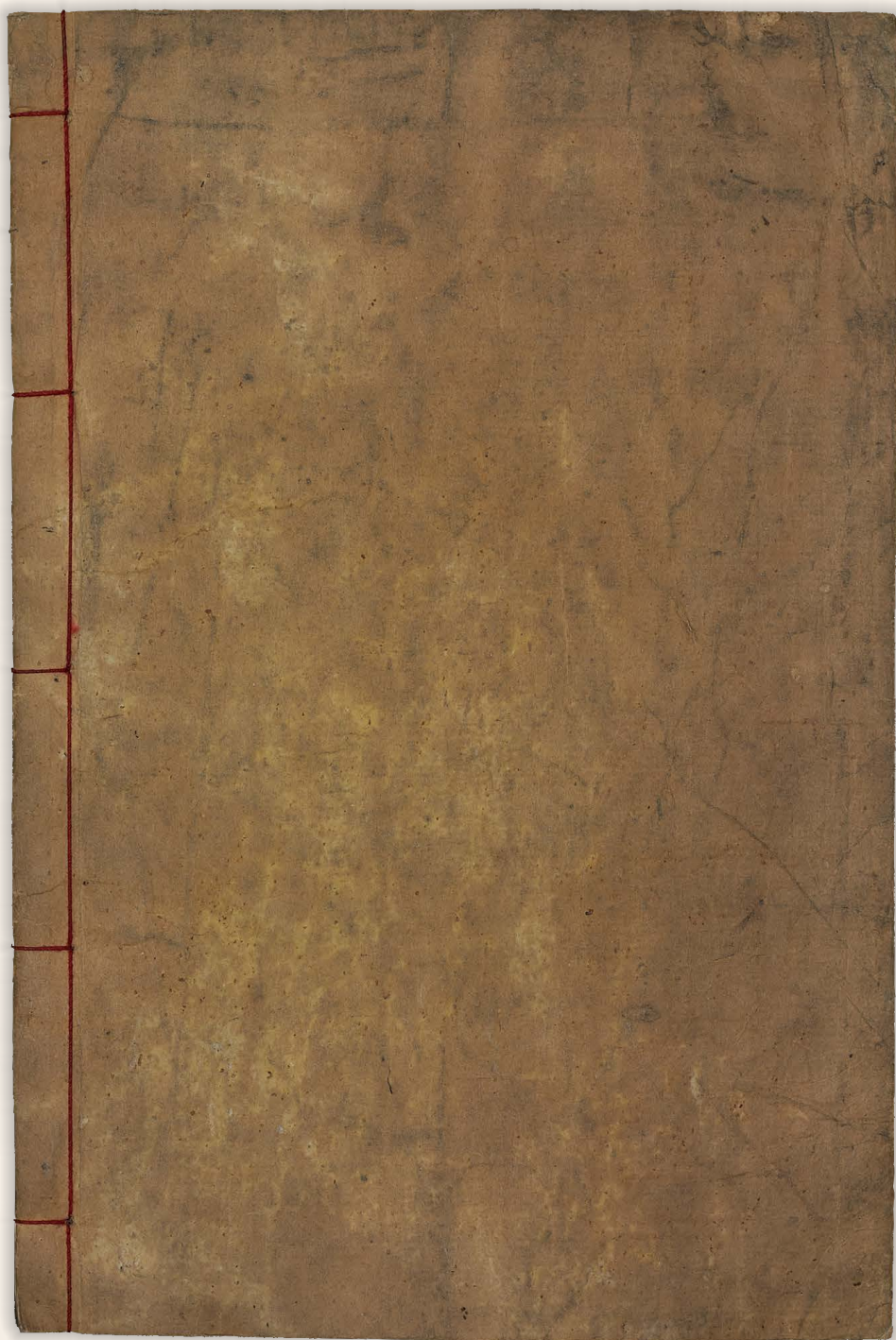
作也故不免如鬼之刺蓋雖見真性而未能頓覺也
意平生作惡臨終十念猶能往生況三十年二十年
專意念佛者尤易成就可不勉旃昔東坡迂黃州日
帶彌陀像一軸或問之則曰此吾西方公據也仍有
頌曰念念彌陀佛人生七十稀往來三界苦衆介鱗
知故念念彌陀佛平生只靠他此心清淨了即是白
蓮花臨終坐脫徃山琳禪師與之同生丙子推見坐
脫拊其背曰端明西方之說正好著力公聞目曰著
力便差還瞑目而逝此乃臨終正念不散其往生乎
何有李易為文以吊曰道大難名才高衆急皇天后
土知平生忠義之心名山大川還千載其靈之氣士

大夫稱其辭該而美今吾東儒釋間罕知此事故無
為錄之伏願閣下撫字之餘旁行此事積其多年則
安知臨終不亂亦如波翁耶唐宋間高明士大夫亦
多依而行之勿以為卑事幸甚右陳萬廉或援引於
內外典中或間附通鑑左見鳴布鼓於雷門照燭大
於日下誠知僭越而各自言志夫子推於門下千慮
一得古人亦許故竭愚軍思以伸管見伏惟閣下特
加去取無任悚仄之至

蓮潭大師林下錄卷四終

門人誠身官刊校正

朗岩示演書



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