

(185) Admiration for things external: In the present, what is learned for civil service examinations leads to nothing but admiration for external things. From childhood, the student learns only composition as a means to achieve a degree and fame, and so he goes without stop until old age. Not the least attention is paid to moral principles relevant to oneself. Those who by chance obtain degrees early devote themselves completely to miscellaneous essays for the purpose of seeking promotion and transfer. Thus their learning throughout life is entirely empty. "In ancient times, men learned for their own improvement. Nowadays, men learn for the sake of others' approbation."<sup>36</sup> Being for oneself means one does not admire anything external but being for others means admiring something external. Here lies the distinction between righteousness and profit. One must be very clear about the distinction between righteousness and profit. If they are not clearly distinguished, there will be cases of righteousness looking like profit and vice versa and thus their difference is blurred. In that case, there will be no solution but to fall<sup>37</sup> into profit and there will no longer be any righteousness left.

*Category 25. Kuei-shen (positive and negative cosmic forces, spiritual beings; including hun-p'o, heavenly and earthly components of the soul)*<sup>1</sup>

(186) The subject of *kuei-shen* is a very long story. The basic ideas of what the Classics of the sages talk about as *kuei-shen* should be discussed as one item. The religious sacrifices of the ancients should be discussed as another item. The wanton sacrifices of later ages should be discussed as another item. And the belief in demons of later ages should be discussed as still another item.<sup>2</sup>

36. *Analects*, 14:25.

37. Read *hsü* (to follow) as *chui* (to fall) according to the 1668 Japanese edition.

1. As generally understood, *hün* is the spirit of man's vital force, which is expressed in man's intelligence and power of breathing, whereas *p'o* is the spirit of man's physical nature, which is expressed in bodily movements.

2. In the 1668 Japanese edition, this section is treated as an introduction.

(187) Master Ch'eng (Ch'eng I) said, "Positive and negative spiritual forces are traces of creation."<sup>3</sup> Master Chang (Chang Tsai) said, "The negative and positive spiritual forces are the spontaneous activity of the two material forces (*ch'i*, i.e., yin and yang, or passive and active cosmic forces)."<sup>4</sup> What they said is all excellent and to the point. Traces of creation refer to the operations of yin and yang that are manifest in the universe, and spontaneous activity means that the two material forces can naturally come and go. Generally speaking, negative and positive spiritual forces are but the contraction and expansion, or coming and going, of the two material forces of yin and yang. "In terms of material force as two, the positive spiritual force is the spirit (*ling*) of yang and the negative spiritual force is the spirit of yin. By spirit is meant simply the liveliness of spontaneous expansion and contraction or coming and going. In terms of material force as one, the material force that is in the process of expanding and coming belongs to yang and constitutes the positive spiritual force, while the material force that has already contracted and gone belongs to yin and constitutes the negative spiritual force."<sup>5</sup> For example, spring and summer are material force that is in the process of growing; they belong to yang and constitute the positive spiritual force. Autumn and winter are material force that has already receded; they belong to yin and constitute the negative spiritual force. In reality, the two material forces are only one.

(188) In the universe there is nothing that is not provided with yin and yang. As yin and yang are everywhere, negative and positive spiritual forces are also everywhere. Generally, *shen* (positive spiritual force) means to expand (*shen*), and expansion is material force in the process of growing. *Kuei* (negative spiritual force) means to return (*kuei*), and returning means the material force has already receded. In terms

3. Ch'eng I, *I chuan* (Commentary on the *Book of Changes*), 1:7b, comment on the first hexagram, *ch'ien* (Heaven, Male), in the *Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu* (Complete works of the two Ch'engs) (SPPY ed.).

4. Chang Tsai, *Cheng-meng* (Correcting youthful ignorance), ch. 1, in the *Chang Tzu ch'üan-shu* (Complete works of Master Chang) (SPPY ed.), 2:4a. The term *liang-neng* (spontaneous activity) comes from the *Book of Mencius*, 7A:15, where it is better rendered "innate ability." Basically it means "natural ability." It is good because human nature, according to Mencius, is originally good. The spontaneous activity of yin and yang is also good, since it follows the Principle of Heaven, which is good.

5. Tai-p'o yang Chu Hsi's commentary on ch. 16 in his *Chang ming chang chü* (Commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*).

of heaven and earth, heaven belongs to yang and is positive spiritual force, while earth belongs to yin and is negative spiritual force. In terms of the four seasons, spring and summer are material force expanding and belong to positive spiritual force, while autumn and winter are material force contracting and belong to negative spiritual force. To differentiate morning and evening, morning belongs to positive spiritual force and evening belongs to negative spiritual force. In terms of sun and moon, the sun belongs to positive spiritual force and the moon belongs to negative spiritual force. "Arousing things with thunder and lightning and enriching things with wind and rain"<sup>6</sup> are the expansion of material force and belong to positive spiritual force. When they have withdrawn and quietly disappeared, that means the material force has returned and belongs to negative spiritual force. In terms of the day, as the sun rises, it belongs to positive spiritual force and when it goes down after noon, it belongs to negative spiritual force. In terms of the month, the brightness [of the moon] grows after the third day and belongs to positive spiritual force. From the fifteenth day it belongs to negative spiritual force. In the cases of grass and trees, when branches and leaves are growing, they belong to positive spiritual force, and when the branches and leaves decline and fall, they belong to negative spiritual force. The advance of the tide belongs to positive spiritual force while the recession of the tide belongs to negative spiritual force. Whenever material force expands, it constitutes yang and belongs to positive spiritual force, and whenever it contracts, it constitutes yin and belongs to negative spiritual force. This is generally how the ancients discussed *kuei-shen*. One must probe into it oneself.

(189) The "Evolution of Rites" says, "Man . . . is the interaction of yin and yang and the convergence of negative and positive spiritual forces".<sup>7</sup> These words are to the point. These are truly the words of sages and worthies left to us that cannot have been uttered by Confucians of the Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 220). A person receives the two material forces of yin and yang to be born. Every thing of the body is yin and yang. For example, his breath is yang and his blood is yin. His veins are yang and his physical nature is yin. His head is yang and his feet are yin. The upper part of his body is yang and the

6. *Books of Changes*, "Appended Remarks," pt. 1, ch. 1.

7. *Book of Rites*, ch. 9, "Evolution of Rites," sec. 24.

lower part is yin. As to speech or silence of the mouth, sleep or wakefulness of the eye, inhaling and exhaling of the nose, stretching and folding of the hands and feet, all belong differently to yin and yang. This is not limited to man; it is the same with all things. The *Doctrine of the Mean* says, "They form the substance of all things, and nothing can be without them."<sup>8</sup> It means that the two material forces of yin and yang form the substance of things and are everywhere. As there is nothing in the universe that is not yin and yang, it follows that there is nothing which is not provided with negative and positive spiritual forces.

(190) The paragraph in the "Meaning of Sacrifice" in which Tsai Wo<sup>9</sup> (c. 520—c. 481 B.C.) asked about *kuei-shen* is very long and says something extremely well. For instance, it says, "The vital power (*ch'i*) is positive spiritual force in abundance and the earthly component of the soul (*p'o*) is the negative spiritual force in abundance," etc.<sup>10</sup> In his annotation, Cheng Hsüan (127—200) said that the inhaling and exhaling of the mouth and nose are heavenly components of the soul (*hun*) and quickness of apprehension and intelligence of the ears and eyes are the negative components of the soul. His explanation is both clear and to the point.<sup>11</sup> Tzu-ch'an<sup>12</sup> said, "The initial transformation of a person is called the earthly component of the soul. It having been generated, the positive cosmic force (yang) is called the heavenly component of the soul."<sup>13</sup> These words truly get the idea handed down to us in the learning of the sages. By initial transformation is meant that a figure is roughly formed in the womb. When a person first receives some material force, it forms something in the shape of an embryo. Thus the earthly component of the soul is generated. It will

8. *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. 16. *Ti-wu* can mean forming the substance of all things or entering into things. Here we have followed Chu Hsi's interpretation in his *Chung-yung chang-chü*.

9. Also called Tsai Yü. He was involved in a rebellion and Confucius was ashamed of him. For his question about the three-year mourning, see *Analects*, 17:21.

10. *Book of Rites*, ch. 24, "Meaning of Sacrifice," sec. 24.

11. Cheng Hsüan's annotations are in the *Shih-san-ching chu-shu* (Annotations and commentaries on the Thirteen Classics.)

12. Tzu-ch'an (d. 496 B.C.) was prime minister of the state of Cheng.

13. *Tso chuan*, (Tso's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), Duke Chao, 7th year, sec. 7.

gradually be able to move. As such it belongs to yang and is called the heavenly component of the soul. When the physical body is born, the spirit develops and is aware of things. Therefore the consciousness of a person belongs to the heavenly component of the soul and his physical form and nature belong to the earthly component of the soul. Yang is the heavenly component of the soul and yin is the earthly component of the soul. The heavenly component of the soul is the spirit (*ling*) of yang and the brilliance (*ying*) of the vital power. The earthly component of the soul is the intelligence of yin and the refinement (*ching*) of the body. For example, the inhaling and exhaling of the mouth and the nose is vital power; wherein they are spirited and lively is the heavenly component of the soul. The seeing of the ear and the hearing of the eye are functions of the body; wherein they are intelligent is the earthly component of the soul.

(191) The *Tso chuan* (Tso's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) says, "The mind in its refinement and liveliness is called *hun p'o*."<sup>14</sup> In the *Huai-nan Tzu*, it is said, "The spirit of yang is the heavenly component of the soul and the spirit of yin is the earthly component of the soul."<sup>15</sup> The two words of *hun p'o* are equivalent to *ching-shen* (spirit). Spirit is *hun* while spiritual refinement is *p'o*. *Hun* belongs to yang and is positive spiritual force while *p'o* belongs to yin and is negative spiritual force.

(192) Speaking in detail about the human body, generally the two material forces of yin and yang converge in the body to constitute negative and positive forces. In terms of sleep and waking, waking belongs to yang and sleep belongs to yin. In terms of speech and silence, speech belongs to yang and silence belongs to yin. Motion and rest, advance and withdrawal, walking and stopping all respectively belong to yin and yang. All those belonging to yang are the heavenly component of the soul and positive spiritual forces, and all those belonging to yin are the earthly components of the soul and negative spiritual forces.

(193) A person from childhood to adulthood is the expansion of the material force and belongs to positive spiritual force. After middle age,

14. *Ibid.*, 25th year, sec. 1.

15. This is Kao Yu's (fl. 205) commentary in ch. 7, "Explanation of the Spirit" (SPPY ed.), 7:6a.

one gradually declines and gets old. That is the contraction of the material force and belongs to negative spiritual force. In terms of life and death, life is the expansion of the material force and death is the contraction of the material force. With reference to death, the heavenly component of the soul that rises is positive spiritual force and the earthly component of the soul that descends is negative spiritual force. The vital power of the heavenly component of the soul is based on heaven and therefore rises. The physical body of the earthly component of the soul is based on earth and therefore descends. The saying in the *Book of History*, "The Lord rises and descends,"<sup>16</sup> means precisely this. To rise means that the heavenly component of the soul goes up and to descend means that the earthly component of the soul goes down.

(194) The *Book of Changes* says, "The refined material force [integrates] to become things. [As it disintegrates], the wandering way of its spirit (force) becomes change. From this we know the characteristics and conditions of *kuei-shen*."<sup>17</sup> That means the refinement of yin and the vital power of yang integrate to become things. That is the expansion of positive spiritual force, which belongs to yang. As the heavenly component of the soul wanders away, the earthly component descends, and things disintegrate and become change. That is the return of negative spiritual force, which belongs to yin. The characteristics and conditions of *kuei-shen* are roughly nothing but this.

*The above is a discussion of the basic ideas of kuei-shen.*

(195) In religious sacrifices, the ancients believed the force of the heavenly component of the soul returned to heaven and the physical nature of the earthly component of the soul returned to earth. Therefore they sought (the spirit of ancestors) in either yin or yang. The "Meaning of Sacrifice" says, "When meat is burned over straws, there are flames and odor. That was to inform the force of the heavenly component of the soul."<sup>18</sup> To offer grains and various organs of an animal, plus two bottles of wine in addition to fragrant grass was to inform the earthly component of the soul of ancestors."<sup>19</sup> In the

16. *Book of History*, ch. 1, "Canon of Shun," sec. 13.

17. *Book of Changes*, "Appended Remarks," pt. 1, ch. 4.

18. *Book of Rites*, ch. 24, "Meaning of Sacrifice," sec. 29.

19. *Ibid.*

"Sacrifice to Heaven with Special Animals," it is said, "The people of Chou (1111–249 B.C.) highly valued odor. They poured wine for its smell. Together with the odor of fragrant grass, the yin of the odor would reach deep down below. After pouring the wine, special sacrificial animals would then be brought in. That was to entreat spiritual beings in the yin level. Then fragrant grass and stalks would be burned so the yang of the odor would rise to fill the house. After pouring the wine in front of the person representing an ancestor, fat was used to burn the grass for its special odor. Such was the care taken in the sacrifice."<sup>20</sup> It is also said, "When grains were offered, an animal's lung was added, and when wine was offered, dew was added. This was to inform (the spirits of ancestors) on the yin level. Intestines and stalks were burned and then the head of the animal was offered. That was to inform the yang level."<sup>21</sup> This in general is the meaning of inviting the spirits.

(196) In the "Record of Music" it is said, "Manifest there are rites and music; hidden there are negative and positive spiritual forces."<sup>22</sup> *Kuei-shen* are principles of rites and music. Music is used in the sacrifice to spiritual beings (*shen*). Its sound is stirring and belongs to yang. Rites are performed in sacrificing to spiritual beings (*kuei*). Rites are definite things and belong to yin. Therefore the "Record of Music" says, "Music is cordial and peaceful. It leads spiritual beings (*shen*) and follows Heaven. Rites discriminate what is proper. They lie in spiritual beings (*kuei*) and follow Earth."<sup>23</sup> In discussing the imperial sacrifices in the spring and autumn, the "Meaning of Sacrifice" says, "When the ground is already wet with spring rain and dew, as the superior man treads on it (in performing sacrifices), he will surely have the feeling of being startled, as if he were seeing (departed persons). When frost and dew have descended in the autumn, as the superior man treads on them, he will surely have a feeling of sadness, but it is not due to the cold."<sup>24</sup> Therefore joy is to welcome and sorrow is to bid farewell. For this reason, music is employed in the spring im-

20. *Ibid.*, ch. 11, "Offering of Special Animals in the Sacrifice to Heaven," sec. 26.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Book of Rites*, ch. 19, "Record of Music," sec. 19.

23. *Ibid.*, sec. 29.

24. *Ibid.*, ch. 24, "Meaning of Sacrifice," sec. 1. The feeling of sadness arises because autumn and winter were the times to send the departed away.

perial sacrifice but not in the autumn imperial sacrifice. The idea is the same.

(197) Confucius said, "If I do not participate in the sacrifice, it is as if I did not sacrifice at all."<sup>25</sup> The reason is that if sincerity fails to make the contact, there cannot be intercourse between the manifest (people) and the hidden (spiritual beings).

(198) Fan said, "If one has sincerity, there will be a spiritual being for him. If he has no sincerity, there will not be a spiritual being for him."<sup>26</sup> The theory is excellent. Sincerity is simple truth without error. Although this refers to principle, it also refers to the mind. There must be the concrete true principle before one can extend his sincerity and reverence and couple them with his true heart. Wouldn't spiritual beings come to accept and enjoy the sacrifice? In the case of the head of the Chi family sacrificing to Mount T'ai, it was incorrect for him to do so but he did it presumptuously.<sup>27</sup> That means there was no concrete principle in it. Even if one could be excused and one showed his sincerity and reverence to the highest degree, the spiritual being would not have anything to do with him. The spirit of Mount T'ai would not accept the sacrifice of Chi. In general, for the ancients to perform religious sacrifice, there first had to be the concrete principle to make the connection. They would refrain from meat for three days and abstain from pleasure for seven days to concentrate their spirit.<sup>28</sup> As their spirit was concentrated, the spirit of their object of sacrifice was also concentrated. According to principle, it would come and reach the sacrifice.

(199) Both man and the ten thousand things in the universe share a common material force. Descendants and ancestors also share a common material force. In addition, there is a natural relationship in it which makes it particularly intimate. Hsieh Shang-ts'ai (Hsieh Liang-tso, 1050–c. 1120) said, "The spirit of ancestors is one's own spirit."<sup>29</sup>

25. *Analec*s, 3:12.

26. Fan Tzu-yü's (1041–98) commentary on the *Analec*s is lost but the saying is quoted in Chu Hsi's *Lun-yü chi-chü* (Collected commentaries on the *Analec*s), commentary on 3:12.

27. *Analec*s, 3:6. Mount T'ai was not in the Chi family area.

28. According to the *Book of Rites*, ch. 30, "Prevention," sec. 11.

29. *Shang-ts'ai yü-tu* (Recorded sayings of Hsieh Liang-tso), pt. 1, p. 12b, in the *Chu Tzu-chü* (Surviving works of Master Chu) (Pao kao-fang [Hall of Precious Bestowment] ed.)

Therefore if descendants can extend their sincerity and reverence to the utmost, their own spirit will be concentrated and their ancestors' spirit will also be concentrated and come to reach their sacrifice. In sacrificing to their ancestors, people nowadays are careless precisely where they should be earnest. They worship other spiritual beings outside at random as they wish, and will surely extend their sincerity and reverence to the utmost. They don't realize that other spiritual beings have no relationship with them. Suppose they extend their sincerity and reverence to the utmost, with a complete offering of sacrificial meat. If the spiritual beings are upright, since they will not accept the offering of people not their kin,<sup>30</sup> they will not have any dealing with them. If the spiritual beings are obscene and perverted, they will simply come to have the food which they don't deserve. According to principle, they will not bestow any blessing.

(200) According to the regulations of lines of descent of the ancients, only descendants of the direct line should sacrifice to their ancestors. Descendants of the indirect line dared not perform the rites as their main worship. Aside from their ancestors, why should people invite many spiritual beings who are objects of wanton sacrifice to come in? At present every family worships such spiritual beings and Buddhist deities. What a large amount of wanton sacrifice! Confucius said, "For a man to sacrifice to a spirit that does not belong to him is flattery."<sup>31</sup> Nowadays people flatter and sacrifice to spiritual beings simply for the purpose of seeking blessing. How can there be any blessing?

(201) "Spiritual beings will not accept the sacrifice of people not their kin and people should not sacrifice to spiritual beings not their clan."<sup>32</sup> In the line of succession in ancient times, if there was no son in the main line, the line was to be continued by a son of the same clan, so that the same vital force of the different generations would be able to communicate and influence one another and the line would continue generation after generation without interruption. This is a correct and unbiased measure that was not shunned by the Sage. Later generations do not understand moral principles. Families consider having no son as taboo. They are not willing to adopt a son of the

30. *Tso chuan*, Duke Hsi, 10th year, sec. 3.

31. *Analects*, 2:24.

32. *Tso chuan*, Duke Hsi, 10th year, sec. 3.

same clan openly. In most cases, they secretly raise a child of a different family name. On the surface, there seems to be a succession but underneath it the line has been cut off. In the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 B.C.) the viscount of Tseng adopted a crown prince of Chü to continue the family line. Therefore the Sage wrote and said, "Historically the people of Chü destroyed Tseng."<sup>33</sup> But it is not really true that the people of Chü did the destruction, because to have a person of different family name to act as the chief worshiper of ancestors of the family is a sure way to destruction. Similarly, the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.) was terminated by Lü Cheng and the Chin (265–420) by Niu Chün.<sup>34</sup> In Tung Chung-shu's (176–104 B.C.) *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* (Luxuriant gems of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) it is recorded that in the Han dynasty there was someone who worshiped at home. He used invocation to have the spiritual being come down. After the sacrifice, he told people and said, "What I have just seen is very strange. There was a government official elaborately dressed in an official robe who hesitated and dared not come in. But a spiritual being (*kuei*) with disheveled hair and stripped to the waist, a butcher knife in hand, came forth bravely to accept the sacrifice. What was this spiritual being?" The master of the family did not understand the reason. An elder said that the family originally had no heir and adopted the son of a butcher from a different family as the heir who is now the master of the sacrifice. This was the reason why he could only influence and invite the ancestor of the butcher family to come.<sup>35</sup> The ancestors of the family which he continued were not of the same kind of material force and of course there was no possibility of their interaction or influence and response. Speaking in terms of the present age, one should not be indiscriminate in adopting

33. *Ibid.*, Duke Hsiang, 6th year, sec. 5.

34. According to the *Shih chi* (Historical records) (SPTK ed.), 6:1a, the First Emperor was the illegitimate son of Lü Pu-wei (d. 235 B.C.). Niu Chün was Emperor Yüan-ti (r. 317–22) of the Eastern Chin dynasty (317–420). He was called Niu Chün because his private name was Chün and his mother was a Niu. See the *Chin shu* (History of the Chin dynasty) (SPTK ed.), 6:8b.

35. The story is not found in the present *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*. It must have been in one of the Sung editions that Chen Chün saw. According to the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* (Essentials of the contents of the *Complete Collection of the Four Libraries*) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, ed. 1, p. 598), there were four different editions in the Sung period with varying contents. In the edition of 1121 on which the *Essentials* comments, at least three essays were missing.

someone from the same clan. Family names originated in antiquity. The sages created them primarily to differentiate how people were born into different groups. Later there were family names bestowed by the emperor and there were concealed names, so that many were mixed and confused. Therefore people wanting to establish the continued family line should not depend on the same family name as evidence. One must carefully select a near kin whose background is clear and put him in the line. In that case, there is only one material force to be communicated and the deceased father and grandfather will not be missed in the sacrifice. In the present age, many take the son of a daughter as heir, thinking that although the family names are different the kinship in material force is close and that is better than someone with a different family name who is more distant. However, Chia Ch'ung (fl. 260) of the Chin dynasty (265–420) adopted his daughter's son Han Mi as the heir. At that time Ch'in Hsiu, an erudite in the bureau of imperial sacrifices, already criticised him for being stupid and confused about the rules of institutions.<sup>36</sup> This being the case, although kinship in material force is close, the family names are really different. This theory (adopting a daughter's son) surely does not work.

(202) The Son of Heaven sacrificed to heaven and earth, the feudal lords sacrificed to the god of the crops and famous mountains and great rivers in their territory, great officers sacrificed to the Five Deities,<sup>37</sup> officers (*shih*) and the common people sacrificed to their ancestors.<sup>38</sup> In the regulations of sacrifice of the ancients, items and measures were definite and were not allowed to be confused. The feudal lords dared not usurp the role of the Son of Heaven to sacrifice to heaven and earth, and the great officers dared not usurp the role of the feudal lords to sacrifice to the god of the crops and the spirits of mountains and rivers either. When the head of the Chi family sacrificed to Mount T'ai, that was contrary to the rites.<sup>39</sup> In the "Summary of Ceremonies," it is said, "It is wanton sacrifice to worship a

36. *Chin shu*, 40:1a. "Biography of Chia Ch'ung."

37. The Five Deities were the spirits of the outer door, the inner door, the walk, the hearth, and the center of the room. In the Han dynasty, the walk was replaced by the well.

38. *Book of Rites*, ch. 2, "Summary of Ceremonies," pt. 2, sec. 20.

39. *Analects*, 3:6, Mount T'ai is one of the Five Sacred Mountains, with Mount T'ai in the east (Shantung), Mount Hua in the west (Shensi), Mount Heng in the south (Hunan), Mount Heng in the north (Shansi), and Mount Sung in the center (Honan).

deity that should not be worshiped. Wanton sacrifice brings no blessing."<sup>40</sup> The object of wanton sacrifice is not necessarily a perverse spirit. If one sacrifices to a spirit when one should not, it is wanton sacrifice even if the spirit is appropriate. Cases like the feudal lords worshiping heaven and earth, the great officers worshiping the god of the crops, and the head of the Chi family worshiping Mount T'ai are all wanton sacrifices.

(203) In religious sacrifices, the ancients all proceeded according to their lot and function. The Son of Heaven is stationed in the center of heaven and earth and is the master of heaven, earth, man, and things. For this reason he can worship heaven and earth. The feudal lords are the heads of the state and therefore can worship the god of crops and the spirits of mountains and rivers of that state. Take the case of King Chuang (r. 613–589 B.C.) of Ch'u in the Spring and Autumn period. He dared not worship the River (Yellow River) because the river was not part of the fief of Ch'u.<sup>41</sup> That happened because at that time moral principles were still prominent. Officers and the common people could worship their ancestors only. Spiritual beings other than their ancestors had nothing to do with them and there was no reason why they should worship them. When the son of a concubine who should not worship his grandfather but worships him, and when one's uncles have their own descendants but one worships them, their worship is all inappropriate and therefore cannot but be considered wanton sacrifices.

(204) When the ancients worshiped heaven, earth, the spirits of mountains and rivers, they always put up an impersonation of the dead. For heaven, earth, mountains, and rivers are but the two material forces of yin and yang. The employment of an impersonation was to enable the two material forces to come and concentrate in him. The purpose was not only for the spiritual being to come and enjoy the sacrifice. That is why wine was poured, a torch was lit, meat was presented, and money was offered, essentially to demonstrate to the fullest degree their sincerity and reverence. When one's sincerity and

40. *Book of Rites*, ch. 2, "Summary of Ceremonies," pt. 2, sec. 21.

41. In the chronicle of King Chuang in the *Shih chi*, ch. 40, it is not recorded that he dared not sacrifice to the river but in the *Tso chuan*, Duke Ai, 6th year, sec. 4, it is said that King Chao dared not worship the river.

reverence reach the highest degree, the material force of heaven, earth, mountains, and rivers will naturally close in and concentrate.

(205) The Son of Heaven was the master of heaven and earth. The great force of heaven and earth was related to this person. When his sincerity and reverence reached the highest degree, the force of heaven and earth would close in and concentrate in him and there would be influence and response. A feudal lord was but the master of one state and only sacrificed to the spirits of famous mountains and great rivers in his territory. When his sincerity and reverence reached the highest degree, the force of the mountains and rivers would concentrate in him and there would be influence and response. All this was in accordance with each person's lot, whether great or little.

(206) Mountains, forests, rivers, valleys, and mounds all can produce force to become clouds and rain. All of them are positive spiritual forces. The sun, moon, and stars to which people look up are all also positive spiritual forces. With respect to a person, if he has applied political measures for the benefits of the people, there will be sacrifice for him. If he was dedicated and sacrificed his life, there will be sacrifice for him. If he has worked hard to stabilize the state, there will be sacrifice to him. If he has averted a great calamity, there will be sacrifice to him. If he has warded off a great disaster, there will be sacrifice to him. To the ancients, if [these people] did not belong to the group, they would not be included in their canon of sacrifice. This is discussed in detail in "Regulations of Sacrifice."<sup>42</sup> In the sacrifice of later ages, this has not been understood.

(207) Great officers worshiped the Five Deities, which were the outer door, the inner door, the hearth, the walk, and the center of the room. Since the Han dynasty, the well has replaced the walk. In ancient times, people lived in pits. The opening was on top. The center of the room got its name because it was the brightest spot. It is simply the deity of ground. Officers were not supposed to sacrifice to the Five Deities along with ancestors but occasionally there were such instances. In the "Funeral Rites of Officers" there are statements about prayers to the Five Deities to heal the sick but there is no mention of sacrifice to them.<sup>43</sup>

42. Ch. 23 in the *Book of Rites*.

43. *Ibid.*, ch. 13, "Funeral Rites of Officers, pt. 2," also called "Ceremonies at the End of the Day," sec. 3.

(208) In his annotation of "Monthly Order," Cheng K'ang-ch'eng (Cheng Hsüan) explained the statement, "In the spring the sacrifice is to the spirit of the inner door," and said, "The material force of yang emerges (in the spring). If the spirit of the inner door is sacrificed to, there will be yang." He explained the statement, "In the summer the sacrifice is to the spirit of the hearth," and said, "the force of yang is exceedingly hot outside. To sacrifice to the spirit of the hearth is to follow the heat in kind." He explained the statement, "In the autumn the sacrifice is to the outer door," and said, "The force of yin emerges (in the autumn). If the spirit of the outer door is sacrificed to, there will be yin." He explained the statement, "In the winter the sacrifice is to the walk," and said, "The force of yin is exceedingly cold outside. To sacrifice to the spirit of the walk is to follow sweeping in kind." He explained the statement, "In the center of the sacrifice is to the spirit of the center of the room," and said, "The ground is the master of the center and the spirit is in the room."<sup>44</sup> From this it can be seen that in the time of Han, moral principles were still understood. The discussion of *kuei-shen* at the time was still based on the interpretation of yin and yang and had not lost the inherited ideas of the ancient kings.

(209) In the regulations of sacrifice of the ancients, aside from those mentioned in the "Regulations of Sacrifice," there were also people of wisdom and virtue. When they died they were worshiped in the music building<sup>45</sup> and were honored as music masters.<sup>46</sup> This and the like are all correct shrines. In later ages, there were loyal ministers and patriots who plunged into naked blades to avert disaster, like Chang Hsün (709–51) and Hsü Yüan, who died for the defense of Chü-yang. Twin temples have been established for them.<sup>47</sup> Su Chung-yung Kung

44. *Ibid.*, ch. 6.

45. The music building was on the right of the National University.

46. *Chou li*, "Office of Spring," "Great Master of Music."

47. According to the biographies of Hsü Yüan and Chang Hsün in the *T'ang shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty), ch. 187, pt. 2, during the rebellion of An Lu-shan (d. 757), Hsü Yüan was magistrate of Chü-yang (now Shang-ch'ü County in Honan). In 757, he and Chang Hsün defended the city for a year and were defeated. Chang was immediately executed and Hsü was taken to Lo-yang and later executed. When there was no food, Hsü ordered cannibalism, including sacrificing his own concubines. He was severely criticized but was finally praised for his patriotism. The twin temple is recorded in the *Liu Ho-tung ch'üan-chi* (Complete works of Liu Tsung-yüan, 773–819) (SPPY ed.) 5:14a, "Inscription for the temple of Nan Chü-yün at Chü-yang," and the *Shang-ch'ü hsien-chih* (Accounts of Shang-ch'ü County) (1932 ed.), 4:4b, where the name of the temple is given as Hsieh-chung (cooperative loyalty).

(Su Chien, d. 1076) died in Yung-chou a heroic death and it is fitting that a temple was built for him in Yung-chou.<sup>48</sup> Now prefect Chen<sup>49</sup> has properly established a shrine in this prefecture. In the case of the King of Manifest Spirit (Ling-chu Wang) of Chang-chou, he sacrificed his life to defend his people and the people of Chang-chou built a temple and sacrificed to him.<sup>50</sup> All these shrines for loyal ministers and patriots are correct. However, their buildings must be closely supervised so they are opened and closed at regular hours and people are not allowed to desecrate them. Only then will it be in accordance with rules of propriety. The ordinary people should only burn incense to extend their reverence and should not go beyond their roles in worship.

*The above are discussions of religious sacrifice and their regulations.*

(210) Any worship that is improper is called a wanton sacrifice. It brings no blessing, for there is no natural relationship. Because of the arrival of Buddhism and the existence of Taoism the regulations of sacrifice in later ages have been out of order. Take the Taoist institution of religious service in which ordinary people worship heaven. What kind of relationship is that? The Buddha is a foreign deity. What relation does he have with the Chinese? If they were loyal ministers and patriots, they should be honored and be enshrined with deities of great achievements. However, if they should not be worshiped, they are outside deities and have no connection with us. Since the learning of the Sage has been obscured in the world, the characteristics and conditions of spiritual beings have not been understood. Take the drawings of stars. They are all drawn as people and regarded as Lords of Stars. Mount T'ai is called T'ien-ch'i Jen Sheng-ti (Sacred Lord of

48. *Sung shih* (History of the Sung dynasty) (SP1K ed.), 446:9b-10b. He was defeated by the invader from what is now Vietnam and burned himself. People of Yung-chou established a temple for him. Yung-chou is now Yung-ning County in Kwangsi. The memorial temple was called *Huai-chung* (thinking of his loyalty) *Tz'u*.

49. Read *kung* as *chen* according to the 1688 Japanese edition. The prefect was Chen Te-hsiu (1178-1235), who established the temple in 1219.

50. *Min shu* (Book of Fukien), 28:5b-6a. The deity was Ch'en Yian-kuang at the end of the Tang dynasty. After he pacified the barbarians, he was made prefect. As a deity, he often showed the power of his spirit, causing any offender to die immediately. According to tradition, there were rocks nearby for him to sharpen his sword. For an account of the temple, see the *Chang-chou fu-chih* (Accounts of Chang-chou Prefecture) (1877 ed.), 8:18a.

Benevolence Matching Heaven). In the Tang dynasty the title of T'ien-ch'i Wang (King Matching Heaven) was conferred on him. When it came to this dynasty, he was made the master of the eastern direction and, with the arbitrary addition of the two words "benevolence" and "sacred," the title of *ti* was conferred on him. Speaking of *ti*, there is only one *Shang-ti* (Lord on High). How can there be Five Lords?<sup>51</sup> Isn't that usurpation? Furthermore, Mount T'ai is only a mountain. How can it have the feature of a person? Now a temple is built for him, sitting solemnly with jade strings dangling from a beautiful crown and dressed in robes. Behind the temple there is an altar for the queen. What mountain is that which is qualified to match Mount T'ai as husband and wife? Such is the extent to which people's minds have been deluded. I understand that Mount T'ai is included in the fief of Lu and only the Duke of Lu could worship it. But now Mount T'ai is separated from the southern region by the Yangtze and the Huai River and has no dealing with the region at all and yet there are in various prefectures and counties of the region "temporal shrines" of the Eastern Mountain (Mount T'ai). This is because the rites officials of the court have failed to instruct and enlighten the people and the prefectures and counties have neglected to prohibit them. We do not blame these ignorant people who fundamentally do not understand.

(211) The Nan-yüeh<sup>52</sup> Temple was destroyed by fire. The imperial regional military commandant<sup>53</sup> wanted to rebuild it and consulted Master Wu-feng (Hu Hung 1106-61). The Master replied that "the Way of Heaven and human affairs are basically governed by the same

51. The Five Lords are the deities of the Five Sacred Mountains mentioned above, n. 39.

52. Nan-yüeh, literally the south peak, refers to the peak of Heng Shan in Hunan, thirty *li* northwest of the seat of Heng-shan County. In the Southern Sung (1127-1279), the Taoist Temples of the East, West, North, and Central Peaks had fallen to the Chin invaders, with only the South Peak Temple remaining under the jurisdiction of the Sung Court. In 1158 Chu Hsi was appointed superintendent of the temple, a sinecure with no duty and requiring no residence, an honor usually awarded to a senior scholar, or a senior retired official, although Chu Hsi was then only twenty-nine. During his tenure from the twelfth month of 1158 to the fifth month of 1162, he remained in his village of Ch'ung-an in Fukien to teach. According to the *Hunan tung-chih* (General accounts of Hunan) (1820 ed.), 186:10b, the temple was burned down in the 25th year of Shao-hsing (1155).

53. The *t'ai-wei* was a military commandant of the highest degree in military rank. He had authority over a large region and was superior to the imperial commissioner (*chieh-tu-shih*) of the region.



principle. In Heaven there is the Huang-t'ien Shang-ti (Lord on High of August Heaven), and in the human world there is the Son of Heaven. [Can there be two?] If there were two Sons of Heaven, human affairs would be in chaos. The Five Peaks (Five Mountains) were regarded as of equal rank to the Three Lords<sup>54</sup> [in the system of the Three Dynasties and cannot be changed]. But if they are ranked with the Huang-t'ien Shang-ti as lords, the Way of Heaven would be in chaos. But vulgar society makes images for them, arranges their marriage, and builds houses for males and females to keep them. This is blasphemy to the extreme."<sup>55</sup> Later Nan-hsüan (Chang Shih, 1133–80) explained fully and said, "It is the physical form for rivers to run and mountains to stand. Why turn them into human beings? As their material force flows and penetrates, they can come in contact. Why confine them in buildings?"<sup>56</sup> Both are just and fair statements. They greatly enlightened the ignorant and stupid people and removed their deafness and blindness.

In a previous section (see. 204) it is said that in the worship of heaven, earth, mountains, and rivers, an impersonator was put in place. The chief purpose was to have the material force gather in the impersonator. According to this theory, in the worship of mountains and rivers, I believe having them in human form is the same idea as putting up an impersonator in ancient times. Unfortunately it was too late to ask the Teacher.<sup>57</sup>

54. The grand tutor as the Lord of Heaven, the grand preceptor as the Lord of the Earth, and the grand protector as the Lord of Man. The Three Dynasties were Hsia (2183–1752 B.C.), Shang (c. 1751–1112 B.C.), and Chou (1111–249 B.C.).

55. Hu Hung, *Wu-feng chi* (Collected works of Hu Hung) (*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen* [Precious books of the Four Libraries] ed.), 2:49a–b, fourth letter to Liu Hsin-shu, the *t'ai-wei* who asked Hu Hung about rebuilding the temple. The latter part of the passage is a paraphrase. In the Japanese edition of 1670, the text reads "Liu T'ai-wei," obviously adding the name Liu on the basis of the letter. The letter must have been written shortly before Hu Hung died, because he died in 1161, several years after the temple burned down.

56. Chang Shih, *Nan-hsüan Hsien-sheng wen-chi* (Collection of literary works of Chang Shih) (Taipei: Kuang-wen Book Co., photographic reprint of the Japanese edition of 1669), 10:3a, "Accounts of Two Altars of Yao Mountain and Li River." Chang was speaking in general terms and was not commenting on the Nan-yüeh Temple.

57. This indented paragraph is a comment by Wang Chün, the compiler, and the teacher refers to Ch'en Ch'un. It cannot be Ch'en Ch'un's comment because he was strongly opposed to making human images for mountains and rivers.

(212) According to vulgar social custom, the twenty-eighth day of the third month is the birthday of Tung-yüeh Sheng-ti (Sacred Lord of Mount T'ai). Men and women of the whole prefecture will worship in thoroughfare throughout the day and night beforehand and then gather in the temple dedicated to the mountain. This is called pilgrimage to the mountain. They want to redeem the sins of their parents and other deceased persons. On that day, they will present incense and candles to felicitate the happy birthday of the deity of the mountain. That is not all. All temples have this ceremony of pilgrimage on the birthdays of the deities. When the day comes, officers and common folk all present incense and candles and respectfully offer wine to felicitate the happy birthday. I have found that in the ancient classics there is no such ceremony for a deity's birthday. I-ch'uan (Ch'eng I) has exposed the matter. He said, "When the parents are gone, one should be doubly sad on their birthday. How can one bear spreading food and making music for enjoyment? It would be all right to do so if all (including the living parents) were able to enjoy."<sup>58</sup> Even Li Shih-min (Emperor T'ai Tsung, r. 627–49), who was cruel, was affected enough to shed tears on his deceased mother's birthday and thought of and admired her.<sup>59</sup> This shows that it is impossible for the Principle of Heaven to disappear. Therefore, in terms of ceremonies for humans, this rite (pilgrimage) is not in accord with the rules of propriety. It is reasonable to felicitate one's birthday when the person is still alive. But the spiritual being is a dead person. Why bother to pay pilgrimage on his birthday and offer felicitation?

(213) I-ch'uan demolished Heng-ch'ü's (Chang Tsai) decision that the attire of the Daughter of the Dragon King should follow the rank of a noble lady, saying, "The dragon is an animal. How can it wear the clothing of a human being? Furthermore, the stoppage of flooding of the great river (Yellow River) is the blessing of Heaven and Earth, our ancestors, and the state, and also the effort of officials and sol-

58. *I-shu*, (Surviving works), 6:7b, in the *Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu*.

59. *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* (General mirror for the aid of government), ch. 186, "Chronicle of the T'ang dynasty," 14, 12th month of the 20th year of Chen-kuan (646). Also *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (Grand tortoise of the libraries and archives) (Taipei: Chung-hua Book Co. ed.), ch. 27, p. 296.

diets. What contribution has the dragon made?"<sup>60</sup> His words are most correct. From this we can also see the difference in the degree of their scholarship. Common folks worship the deity Chen-wu, calling him Chen-sheng (true sage). He is merely god of Hsüan-wu, (the seven stars in the constellation) of the north. Emperor Chen Tsung (r. 998–1022) highly regarded the Taoist religion. Because of the taboo of an ancestor of his, he changed *hsüan* to *chen*.<sup>61</sup> The *hsüan-wu* of the north corresponds to the tortoise and snake (in the Chinese constellation system). People of later ages do not understand the meaning and have portrayed Chen-wu as a human being, with disheveled hair, holding a sword, and planting his feet on a tortoise and a snake. There is even the tradition that in the Taoist religion, such and such persons practiced in this way.

(214) South of the Yangtze and Huai Rivers (Chekiang and Anhui), from ancient times there have been many wanton sacrifices. Because they took place in the barbarian area, they were not influenced by Chinese moral and social customs. 'Ti Jen-chieh (630–700) abolished wanton temples in 1,700 localities in the Yangtze and Huai Rivers area, leaving only two temples for the Great Yü of the Hsia dynasty (2183–1752 B.C.?) and Wu 'Tzu-hsü (fl. 480 B.C.).<sup>62</sup> Master I-ch'uan

60. *I-shu*, 21A:3a. In 1077 Chang Tsai was on his way home after resigning the directorship of the board of imperial sacrifices and passed through Lo-yang where Ch'eng I lived. When Ch'eng I asked him about decisions he had made, he said that the title of Lady Shanchi (skillful in saving people) was conferred on the Dragon Lady and therefore she should be dressed according to that rank. Ch'eng I also argued that since there were fifty-three Dragon Daughter temples, there must have been fifty-three dragons, which was absurd. The story is also recorded in *I-shu*, 18:12b, where it is said that Chang Tsai agreed, whereas here it is said that Chang Tsai was silent.

61. In 1012, Emperor Chen-tsung dreamed of a heavenly supreme deity, who was believed to be the progenitor of the Chao family, the family to which the emperor belonged. Since he believed this deity to be his "sacred ancestor," and because the first part of the god's name is *hsüan*, he issued an edict to change *hsüan* in titles, that of *hsüan-wu* to *chen-wu* and that of *hsüan-sheng* (mysterious sage) to *chih-sheng* (perfect sage). See Li T'au, *Hsi Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-p'ien* (Supplement to the Extended General Mirror for the Aid of Government) (Beijing: Chung-hua Book Co., 1980), ch. 79, pp. 1797, 1798, 1801, 1808.

62. *T'ang shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) (SPTK ed.), 89:2a–b. The account says four temples were left instead of two. The four were those dedicated to Chi-cha (see sec. 174) and T'ai-po of Wu in addition to the two mentioned here. 'Ti Jen-chieh was a high official who recruited many talented and good scholars (including Chang Chien-chih, sec. 174) to the government and was instrumental in restoring the T'ang dynasty. T'ai-po ("great chief") was uncle of King Wen. Knowing that his father intended to hand over the principality of Chou to his

even considered sparing the temple for Wu 'Tzu-hsü as incorrect.<sup>63</sup> Wu 'Tzu-hsü was entitled to sacrifice in the state of Wu but not in Ch'u. It has not been too long since the time of Gentleman 'Ti but there are many wanton temples. All this is due to the ignorance of people and their fondness for strange things. At first the temples were promoted by local people who had titles but were ignorant. Later a gang of wealthy people who were powerful in the community followed suit. The worst were those impoverished and nonproductive in the community who took advantage of the situation to amass money for their livelihood. As a result, prefectural and county capitals above and hamlets and villages below all have temples. Rites officials at Court were ignorant. Many common folks negotiated with them to confer titles on the deities. Consequently titles have been conferred on many who were unqualified, and those who already had titles were promoted year after year. If you wanted to inquire if the titles were correct or not, they would not pay any attention.

(215) Later generations do not clearly understand principle. When they see any supernatural response in the temple, they think they are shrines of brilliant, mysterious, and sacred deities who were in their lifetime intelligent and upright. They don't realize that such matters are quite complicated. One kind of temple is dedicated to people of wealth, position, and power like Po-yu, who did violence. These people were described by Tzu-ch'an as those who "have utilized things in vast amount and drew much essence from them and therefore the heavenly and earthly components of their souls were strong."<sup>64</sup> Another kind of temple is for people who plunged into naked swords in their prime to sacrifice their lives and their heroic souls have not dissipated. Another kind of temple is for those who were endowed at

younger brother, King Wen's father, he retired south to the barbarian land of Wu. After King Wen and King Wu founded the Chou dynasty, King Wu conferred posthumously the title of T'ai-po of Wu on his uncle. Wu 'Tzu-hsü was from the state of Ch'u. After his father was murdered by the king of Ch'u, he escaped to Wu and later helped Wu to attack Ch'u. Wu also defeated Yüeh. When Yüeh sued for peace, Wu objected, declaring that Yüeh would be a potential danger. Eventually Yüeh annihilated Wu.

63. *I-shu*, 22A:13b.

64. *Tso chuan*, Duke Chao, 7th year, sec. 7. In this year (535 B.C.) the people of Cheng were frightened by the ghost of Po-yu who was a drunkard and threatened to kill people, thus creating a reign of terror.

birth with rich material force and were strong and brilliant. Their spirits do not readily dissipate after death. Another kind of temple is one where at the time of making the image of the deity, a live ferocious bird like hawk or a creature like a monkey or a crow was caught and put in the stomach of the image. Because the creature was caught alive and died in this way, the heavenly and earthly components of its soul do not disintegrate. As the masses daily burn incense and pray to it, it acquires a spiritual power. The spiritual power is that of the creature and has nothing to do with spiritual beings. Another kind of temple is one where people believe the images to have spiritual power and concentrate their own spirit on them. As a result they naturally acquire spiritual power, like the Great King of Abalone. Another kind of temple is one where some stagnant souls attached themselves to the building material when the shrines were built and secretly subsist in them. Another kind of temple is one where the spiritual power of the temple is derived from the mountains and rivers, which are situated in strong and powerful localities. Their material force causes them to be spiritual. There are also cases where the main altar of the temple itself is not very spiritual but the side buildings are. They are spiritual because they are situated on the correct course of rivers and mountains. Then there are cases which have nothing to do with the temples and the spiritual power comes only from people's own minds. As they extend their sincerity and reverence to the highest degree, their spirits are concentrated (in the deities). In whatever they divine, there is a natural connection and therefore there is a natural influence and response without the slightest error in bringing fortune and misfortune. This is true because there is only one principle and one material force. This is the meaning of the saying, "To abstain from meat and pleasure is to make one's virtue clear and spiritual."<sup>65</sup>

(216) In Hunan society, wanton sacrifices are particularly rampant. In many cases human beings are used as a sacrifice to spiritual beings. Sometimes people in the village collect money to buy a person to sacrifice. Sometimes a passerby is kidnapped for the sacrifice. I have heard that a poor scholar was caught and bound to a column in the temple. At midnight a large snake opened its mouth and wanted to eat him. That person knew an incantation which he kept on reciting.

65. *Book of Changes*, "Appended Remarks," pt. 1, ch. 11.

The snake dared not eat him and gradually withdrew. The next morning the scholar was released and he complained to an official. People thought it was the spiritual power of the incantation that caused what happened, but that was not the case. Animals like tigers devour people because in many cases they are provoked. If people's expressions change, the animals will eat them. If their expressions do not change, they will not eat them. In the case of this person, he thought he would surely die without any hope of escape and therefore no longer had any fear of death. He merely depended on the incantation, kept reciting it with his whole heart on it, and no longer changed his expression in any way. Therefore the snake did not devour him. This is similar to the case where the tiger did not devour the baby at the edge of a mountain stream.<sup>66</sup> It has nothing to do with the spiritual efficacy of the incantation.

(217) I have heard that Nan-hsüan (Chang Shih) once sent an officer in charge of population to destroy a temple dedicated to a great king. As soon as the officer received the dispatch, both his feet became feeble. He went lying down in the sedan chair. When he arrived at the temple, he took the image of the deity and cut the belly open. There were several layers of trays, one of which contained a box with a large white worm which was alive and crawled. He quickly threw everything into boiling oil. As soon as he opened the box and saw it was a worm, his feet immediately regained their strength.<sup>67</sup> From this, all other cases can be seen by inference.

*The above discussions are of wanton sacrifices.*

(218) There are in the world stagnant souls of people who did not die according to their correct fate. These souls cannot dissipate and sometimes can do monstrous things. However, in time they will naturally dissipate. There are also those who have grudges that have not been avenged. They will do monstrous things repeatedly. However, when the matter is exposed, everything is quiet. Examples are the female ghost in the case of Wang Ch'ün of Eastern Han (25–220) in a

66. Su Shih (1037–1101), *Tung-p'o chi* (Collected works of Su Shih) (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu [Basic Sinological studies series] ed.), ch. 23, p. 23.

67. Probably an oral tradition. For a Great King, see above, sec. 215.

courier station,<sup>68</sup> and Chu Wen Kung's (Chu Hsi) sentencing the woman of Lung-yen who murdered her husband.<sup>69</sup>

(219) Generally, "Monsters arise because of man."<sup>70</sup> All kinds of spiritual beings thrive because they arise from the human mind. If people consider them to have spiritual power, they do have spiritual power. If people do not consider them to have spiritual power, they do not have spiritual power. If people consider them to be monstrous, they are monstrous. If people do not consider them monstrous, they are not monstrous. There were many monstrous instances in the official residence of I-ch'uan's parents. Once someone reported to his mother that a ghost was beating the drum. She said to give the ghost the drum stick. On another occasion someone reported to her that a ghost was waving the fan. She said the ghost was simply hot. After that there were no more monstrous instances. The truth is simply that because the mistress of the house was not disturbed, there were naturally no more monstrous instances.<sup>71</sup> When we carefully examine Tso's statement that "Monsters arise because of man," we find it is most revealing. Ming-tao's (Ch'eng Hao) story about a stone Buddha emitting light<sup>72</sup> is the same.

68. *Hou-Han shu* (History of the Eastern Han dynasty) (SPTK ed.), 81:1a-b. According to the story, Wang Ch'in wanted to stop over at a courier station. The stationmaster told him that there was a ghost in the station who killed many guests. At night Wang heard a woman complaining of an injustice. When he inquired, the woman said that she was nude and could not present herself. Wang threw her some clothing. She came and told him that her husband once passed through the station and a former stationmaster robbed and killed him along with many attendants. He asked why the woman killed guests. She replied that the guests refused to hear her story. Wang learned from her the name of the former stationmaster, promised to bring justice, and told her not to kill people any more. Thereupon she threw the clothing on the ground and disappeared. After the former stationmaster and accomplice were executed, the station became tranquil again.

69. Chu Hsi's story is told in the *Chu Tzu yü-wei* (Classified conversations of Master Chu), ch. 3, sec. 43 (Taipei: Cheng-chung Book Co. ed., 1970, p. 69). The ghost of the murdered husband did much damage, but after the wife and her lover were both executed, there was no more trouble. Lung-yen is a county in Fukien.

70. *Tso chuan*, Duke Chuang, 14th year, sec. 2.

71. *I-ch'uan wen-chi* (Collection of literary works of Ch'eng I), 8:7a, "Shang-ku chün-chün chia-chuan" (Biography of I-ch'uan's mother), in the *Fih-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu*.

72. *Ibid.*, 7:1b, "Biographical account of Master Ming-tao (Ch'eng Hao)." According to the account, the head of the stone Buddha emitted light, thus attracting many men and women who mingled together day and night. Government officials dared not stop them. When Ch'eng Hao took office and was told about the miracle, he asked for the head of the stone Buddha. Ever since then, it emitted no more light.

(220) There was a monk who went into the room and was about to retire. In the dark he stepped on and crushed an eggplant by mistake. He suspected that it was something like a toad. Lying in bed he regretted very much to have killed a living creature. At midnight suddenly someone knocked at the door to beg for life. The monk promised to perform service the next day for his salvation. When daylight came, he found it was an eggplant. The matter was simply that the monk himself had the suspicion, and his suspicion influenced and invited a wandering soul to close in and come to him. There was another case in the *I-shu* (Surviving works). It is recorded there that a government official was performing a service in the Chin-shan Temple for the salvation of his wife who had drowned. Suddenly his servant and concubine were possessed<sup>73</sup> and said the deceased had a great grudge to complain about. Several days later, a fisherman who had rescued the woman from drowning returned his wife to him.<sup>74</sup> There are many stories like these. All are cases where "monsters arise because of man." If man does not create the fuss, monsters will not arise by themselves.

(221) In Lai Sheng-kan's method of divination, there was a ghost who spoke in his ear. When a person came to divine, he would ask the person the number of strokes in his family name and private name. As the person facing him counted in silence, he would give the answer. However, if the person had remembered the number of strokes and needed not to count but immediately proceeded to answer when asked, Lai was not able to give the answer.<sup>75</sup> "If one's thoughts have

73. Read *hu* (wild) as *fu* (possessed) as in the 1668 Japanese edition.

74. *I-shu*, 2A:25a-b. The *I-shu* does not mention the concubine or being possessed but says only that the servant thought the wife was somewhere doing something.

75. The 1670 Japanese edition says that the story is found in the *Shuo-t'ieh* (Brief accounts), ch. 16, "Sung P'ang Yüan-ying 'an-t'ung" (Series of stories told by P'ang Yüan-ying of the Sung dynasty). However, I have not found such work in the *Chin-ling ts'ung-shu* (Chin-ling [Nanking] series) edition, fourth collection. In 14:16a-17b, there is a section on palmistry but none on divination. According to the account in the Japanese edition, Lai was from Fukien and could perform witchcraft. Sometimes he killed people to sacrifice to spiritual beings. Often he got teenage girls in Chekiang and raised them for this purpose. Once a girl saw a shining object descending from the skylight at midnight. She cited a Buddhist incantation and light emitted from her mouth. The strange object hesitated and then began to withdraw. The light from the girl's mouth grew stronger and finally hit the object which fell to the ground making a loud noise. It happened that a security guard came by. The girl cried "murder." The guard

not arisen, spiritual beings will not know.”<sup>76</sup> From these words of K’ang-chieh (Shao Yung), we can see thoroughly the subtle point.

(222) After the noble lady of Chang Yüan<sup>77</sup> had died, she often returned to talk with Chang and told him what was in her mind. Once a Taoist priest was playing chess with Chang when his deceased wife came. The priest wrapped a number of pieces in paper and asked Chang to ask the woman the number. She did not know and couldn’t answer.<sup>78</sup> She said; “Hereafter I shall not come again.”<sup>79</sup> This woman may not really have been his wife but a stagnant soul came because it was affected by the invitation in Chang’s mind. Since her secret was exposed by the priest, it was no longer effective. This is the same with the practice of planchettes today.<sup>80</sup> Literate people can practice it but the illiterate cannot. When people good in composition practice it, the poetic language of the invoked spirit is fresh and clear. When people not good in composition practice it, the poetic language is crude and weak. When a question is asked about an event, if the practitioner has some idea of it, the invoked spirit can write the answer (on the sand). Otherwise, the spirit cannot. The invoked spirit can chant poems and write literary compositions and can do all of that, but if you ask him about future events, he will be at a loss to answer. From this, it is clear that it is not the practitioner’s own knowledge and that he depends on something else. Spiritual beings

called for reenforcement and broke through the wall to save the girl. When they looked at the foot of the wall, there was a big white python lying dead. Lai and his family were tried and expelled to an island.

76. Part of a poem by Shao Yung in his “Wu-ming Kung chuan” (Biography of an old gentleman without a name) in *Shuo-fu* (Encyclopedia of information) (Han-fen-lou ed.), 73:9a and in ch. 13 of *Hsing-li ta-ch’üan* (Great collection of Neo-Confucianism) compiled by Hu Kuang (1370–1418) and others in 1415. The poem in full is also quoted in the *Chu Tzu yü-wei*, ch. 100, sec. 61 (p. 4058).

77. Chün-chün was the title of a noble lady whose husband was in the fourth grade in the code of the Tang dynasty. Since the Sung, only women of royal blood could have this title. In the *Shang-ts’ai yü-lu*, the name is K’ang, probably a misprint, instead of Yüan.

78. In the text, Chang was the one who did not know the number. This is obviously a mistake.

79. *Shang-ts’ai yü-lu*, pt. 1, p. 12a.

80. In the superstitious practice of planchette, there is a sand table on which an invoked spirit is supposed to spell out the message. In the text, the practice literally means supporting the crane to invite an immortal to descend.

are hidden and abstruse, express themselves through the spirit of human beings, and follow the direction of people’s knowledge. Therefore we understand that monsters depend on man.

(223) In the past Wu San-ssu<sup>81</sup> had a concubine who was stunningly beautiful. Officials and scholars all came to visit her and have a look. Ti Liang Kung (Ti Jen-chieh)<sup>82</sup> also went. The concubine hid herself and would not see him. Wu San-ssu searched for her and found her in the crack of a wall. She said (to Wu), “I am a monster of flowers and the moon (beauty and romance). Heaven has sent me to chat with you. But Liang Kung is an upright man of the time. I cannot face him.”<sup>83</sup> Upright people are clear and brilliant in their spirit and spiritual beings and evil spirits dare not get near them. This is what is meant by the saying, “When virtue is rich, spiritual beings will have respect.”<sup>84</sup> Whenever spiritual beings can disturb people, it is because the spirit of people is deficient.

*The above discussions are of monsters and strange phenomena.*

(224) “Respect spiritual beings but keep them at a distance.”<sup>85</sup> This saying is perfect and leaves nothing unsaid. For instance, with respect to correct spiritual beings, one may know to be respectful but can easily err in not keeping a distance from them. With respect to perverse spiritual beings, one may know to keep a distance from them but can easily err in not respecting them. One must be both respectful while keeping a distance from them and keep a distance from them while being respectful. Only then can one understand thoroughly the meaning of what is manifest and what is hidden. Wen Kung (Chu Hsi) said in his *Explanations of the Analects* that “One should devote one’s effort to what is proper in the way of man and not be deluded in spiritual beings which are unknowable.”<sup>86</sup> This teaching is most to the point. “If we are not yet able to serve man, how can we serve

81. For him, see sec. 174.

82. For him, see above, sec. 214.

83. Lu Hsün, *Chi-i chih* (Records of the collection of strange stories).

84. The words of Ch’an Patriarch Lo-feng Ming-fa (fl. c. 890) in the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (The convergence of the essentials of the five lamps), (*Ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu chen-pen* ed.), 8:24a.

85. *Analects*, 6:20.

86. *Lun-yü chi-chu* (Collected commentaries on the *Analects*), commentary on *Analects*, 6:20.

spiritual beings?"<sup>87</sup> Certainly "when one fulfills the way of serving man one thereby fulfills the way of serving spiritual beings."<sup>88</sup> They are the same. The way Confucius enlightened Tzu-lu's mind was very profound.

### Category 26. Buddhism and Taoism

(225) The learning of the Buddhists and Taoists has flourished greatly in later ages, especially in the present age. The doctrines of the two schools resemble each other in essential outline but Buddhist doctrines are comparatively more mysterious and wondrous. The Taoists hold nonbeing (*wu*) as the cardinal concept while for the Buddhists it is emptiness (*k'ung*). Nonbeing and emptiness are about the same. In talking about nonbeing, the Taoists want nonbeing to produce being. All they want is to be pure and quiet and to engage themselves in things outside of the mundane world so as to improve their own being. They get tired of the fussiness of the conventional world and want to go to mountains and forests to refine their physical body and nourish their vital force, nurturing the true vital force to become an infant,<sup>1</sup> and eventually to shake off the physical body like a snake exuviating. They also want to ride on clouds and mount cranes to fly up to the Nine Heavens.<sup>2</sup> This simply means that the vital force is refined to such a degree of lightness as to enable them to ride on clouds. As such, the doctrines of Taoism have not deluded people too much.

87. *Analects*, 11:11. This was Confucius' answer to Tzu-lu (Chung Yu, c. 542-c. 480 B.C.), who asked about spiritual beings. The pupil, noted for courage, was only five years younger than the Master.

88. Ch'eng I, *I-shu*, 25:4b.

1. *Lao Tzu*, ch. 10, "Can you keep the spirit and embrace the One without departing from them? Can you concentrate your vital force and achieve the highest degree of weakness like an infant?"

2. According to the Taoist religion, there are nine heavens in the Realm of Jade Vacuity such as the Heaven of Meditative Goodness, Heaven of Lofly Vacuity, Heaven of No-thought, etc.

Buddhist doctrines, however, have deluded even housewives in far-off and isolated areas to the point that their bones and flesh have been contaminated beyond any remedy. As we inquire into the harm Buddhism inflicts, we find two kinds. One is the doctrine of sins and blessings in the cycles of life and death, which fools and deceives the ignorant. The other is their high-sounding theories of nature, destiny, and morality, which fool the educated. The doctrine of sins and blessings in cycles of life and death can only influence the unenlightened who don't read books and don't understand principles. Doctrines of nature, destiny, and morality, however, are more mysterious and wondrous. Even brilliant scholars have been misled by them. One must understand moral principles clearly and completely himself so he can have a fixed viewpoint. Only then will he not be moved by them.

(226) As ordinary people are deluded by the doctrine of sins and blessings in the cycles of life and death, they either fear that after death they will receive all kinds of sufferings from officials of Hades or pray to be reborn in the future world. For this reason they may readily do charity, perform religious ceremonies for merit, and work to improve their karma from one life to another, thinking officials in Hades will help them to escape various punishments. Or else they hope that in their next life they will be born good people and that their descendants will forever enjoy wealth and high position, and that they will not be born among the impoverished or animals. The Buddhists propagate this doctrine to deceive people and ignorant folks have all been deluded by them.

(227) Take the doctrine of transmigration; it is definitely absurd. Master I-ch'uan (Ch'eng I) said, "One should not take the material force (*ch'i*) that has already returned and reconvert it to the material force that is about to expand."<sup>3</sup> This theory is most correct. For in the operation of the great material force in the universe, the myriad things are produced and transformed. What comes before will pass away and what comes later will continue, and what comes earlier will disappear and what comes later will grow. It simply moves and circulates without stop. Certainly it is not the case that the material force will return to

3. *I-shu* (Surviving works), 15:18b, in the *Erh-Ch'eng ch'i'uan-shu* (Complete works of the two Ch'engs) (SPPY ed.).

# Neo-Confucian Terms Explained

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by Ch'en Ch'un, 1159–1223

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