

這樣的老子傳實在僅係據佛教資料加以修飾而成。與神通遊戲經十分相像，僅到處改換專有名詞而已。

在建立了他們文獻之後，如衆所知，道家倣效佛教三藏將其文獻組織成經典形式。因此，道教經典包括三部份，每部份又分爲十二類目。

一些佛教觀念也被道教所採用，佛陀有二身的觀念即是一例。南北朝時代，道家就已完全發展出爲了廣渡衆生，道時時以人身現身說法的觀念。歷史上的老子僅是這許多化身之一而已。道家這個觀念乃是築基於佛教裏佛陀兩身的教義而來的。一者是法身，這是佛陀唯一真實的實體；一者是化身，這是法身在世上的現身。道家倣效慈悲菩薩的觀念而產生了天尊爲教師與救世主的階級。天尊中的一個被認爲自有生民以來即教化人民。佛教中業力與輪迴的觀念也同樣被接受，如下文所說：

自過去無數紀以來，道家的聖者就以其前生之
業績定今生之得道；他們皆以前世業績之積累
而得現在果。……

這與早期道家的業果遺傳的教義實大相逕庭。這個觀念就是個人的功過不在其來世體顯，而是落於其後代身上。最後佛教三界的觀念——欲界，色界，無色界——亦爲道家完全接受。

上面的簡述將足以表示道家在其宇宙論、泛神論、文獻、教義上所受於佛教的影響有多深。道家並未如漢末所憂慮地吞噬了佛教，其本身反而爲佛教所征服。

的早期階段裡，建立自己的文獻尚稱容易，他們只須將諸如煉丹術、占卜術、養生術、運氣法等之被儒家視為異端邪說的文獻聚集在一塊，並歸之於道教的始創者老子名下就可。但是這類文獻的產生頗有其限制，而且如無新資料加入，道家便有苦旱之虞了。在此同時，佛教的經典以沛然無止之勢湧入中國，其種類、範疇與想像力使道家大為欣羨。對道家而言，這是可供他們借取與摹倣的無盡藏——自第五世紀起，道家即早已行之。因這全盤的抄襲甚是倉促，亦不够嚴謹，以致於使他們的醜行留下了許多的痕跡。一般言之，道家所做的似乎就是取佛教經典，將其中佛陀二字代以老子之名，但抄襲者常因不够精細而未能將之全部改頭換面。結果，在一些號稱道家的典籍裏，我們卻可發現如下的記載：

一切教中，佛為先。（西昇經）

吾主曰佛，授予無上教諭。（文始傳）

聖人與長生者皆了通佛陀之道。（洞玄真一經）

這類轉借最明顯的例子莫過於出現於宋代的諸老子傳。在這些傳記之一的猶龍傳裏，老子就生於聖母的左肋，聖母當時靠在李樹枝下。老子降世，步行九步，步步生蓮。生時，萬鶴翔空，九龍吐水，以沐嬰兒。降世之後，左手指天，右手指地，並言天上地下，惟道最尊。其生九天之後，身上有七十二大點與八十一小點。聖母產下老子後，即登上玉輦白晝升天而去。

項觀念與華嚴宗一即一切、一切即一的因陀羅網境界甚是接近。邵雍（一〇一一——一〇七七）的宇宙論中就以十二萬九千六百年為一元之終始，天地亦始於復而終於坤，這個觀念就與中國的不同，顯然係深受眾所皆知的印度之世界成住壞空觀念的影響。

指出佛學對理學家的這些影響時，我們不可高估這些影響。雖然理學家研究佛學，欣賞佛家思想，但他們所建構的體系則顯然是中國的，他們強調現象界的實體、個體的重要性，與社會關係、社會責任的價值。因此，較公平的歷史論斷應是，在這項運動中，宋儒係在賞玩佛家境界之後回歸到中土的儒家傳統。

佛學對道家的影響

理學家並非是惟一受到佛學沖激的思想體系；道家亦深受佛家普遍的影響。佛學在漢代藉與道家的結合並借取其觀念而深入中土，但其後數世紀，道家反而借助於佛學。

首先，道家並沒有把他們的思想體系當做是由教主所傳下的教義與信仰且存於文獻中的宗教的觀念。惟其在佛法東來而被廣為接受之後，道家才從佛家取得了宗教的觀念。一旦道家作了這項內在的調整，它就已完全倣效佛法了。

第一，道家本身從佛家接受了造像的方法。首幅道像出現於第五世紀中葉的北魏，神像兩側立了兩位道教聖人。

在文獻的領域內，佛學對道家的貢獻尤為顯著。在道教

張載把仁的意義擴展到與天地萬物一體。在此種意義的引申中，佛家對生命的普遍性與菩薩普渡有情衆生的慈悲觀念，就扮演了一個角色。

理學家的理想主義者陸象山雖然強調孟子與大學的心，但是吾人仍不能不懷疑其受佛教教義尤其是禪的影響。雖然陸象山曾於友人書中抨擊佛學的「自私觀與對生命的漠視」，但陸象山及其大弟子明代的王陽明（一四七二——一五二九）却被反對者攻訐為偽裝的佛教徒。「禪宗此心即是佛、心不緣外物當下即能明辨是非的主要教義，對於陸王思想顯有影響。頗饒興味的是，佛教的漸悟頓悟之辯亦可在理學家的論辯中找到相似的例子。朱熹代表理性的漸悟而陸象山則屬直覺的頓悟。

理學家標榜的定心工夫，亦受佛學的影響。佛家的修心特別強調禪定與寂靜。程頤在定性書中就強調這點。他認為定即是動靜皆寂，心動則妄，而不得其所。他強調定心於一；能如此，則其心即為其主人，不役於外物，也不會為敵所傷。

李翱至二程，所有的理學家皆論及人之所以為聖者的本質。李翱認為能制情者始為聖人。程頤也認為能控制其喜、怒、憂、懼、愛、憎、貪等感情，且行乎中庸者，即為聖人。理學家對聖人的看法很可能是佛家強調菩薩行的一種反應。

宋儒許多特殊觀點亦可見其所受佛學的影響。例如朱熹認為一切事物中具有太極，亦具有其自己之所以然之理。這

佛學對理學家

與道家的貢獻

□□□陳觀勝著

臺大黃俊傑譯

本文節譯自陳觀勝先生著 *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964) 471—476頁並省略若干註釋。

理學家

理學家的哲學思潮，使中國知識份子的注意力從佛學返回到儒家典籍上。但是，理學家的哲學却受到佛學多方面的影響。印度宗教已成為中國思想架式的核心部份，宋儒已不可能完全揚棄佛學。理學家使用儒家典籍的名詞時，已從內典的觀點加以詮釋。非精通當時盛行的佛學思想者，實無法瞭解理學的體系。

The Buddhist concepts of karma and rebirth were likewise appropriated, as indicated in the following passage:

The Taoist saints since countless aeons in the past.....have all depended on the merits of their past lives to attain to the Tao of the present; they have without exception reached their present state through the accumulation of merits derived from their former careers.....

This is in contrast with the earlier Taoist doctrine of the transmission of burden, according to which the merits and demerits accrued by an individual were manifested not in his future lives but were passed on to descendants of later generations. Finally, the Buddhist concept of the three worlds—the world of desires, the world of forms, and the formless world—was taken over *in toto* by the Taoists.

This brief summary will suffice to show how much the Taoists appropriated from the Buddhists in their views on cosmology, pantheon, literature, and doctrines. Instead of Taoism's swallowing up Buddhism, as was feared at the end of the Han Dynasty, the Taoists were themselves overwhelmed by the Buddhists.

Having built up their body of literature, the Taoists then organized it into a canon modeled, as one would expect, after the Buddhist Tripitaka. Consequently, the Taoist canon now consists of three sections, with each section then divided into twelve categories.

Certain concepts of the Buddhists were also taken over by the Taoists. An example of this was the concept of the bodies of the Buddha. During the Period of Disunity the Taoists had already developed the idea that the supreme Tao, in order to instruct deities and men in the world, from time to time would assume a human form to perform this function. The historic Lao-tzu was but one of these incarnations. Such a Taoist idea was undoubtedly based on the Buddhist doctrine of the two bodies of the Buddha, the *dharmakāya* or the body of essence, which is the only true and real body of the Lord, and the *nirmānakāya* or body of transformation, which is the manifestation of the *dharmakāya* on earth. In imitation of the bodhisattva, the all-loving and compassionate being, the Taoists brought forth a class of transcendent beings called *t'ien-tsun*, venerable celestials, conceived of chiefly as instructors and saviors. One of these celestials was said to have been eternally teaching and converting people since the beginning of time.

Unity Which Penetrates Mystery).

The most obvious of such borrowings may be seen in the biographies of Lao-tzu that appeared during the Sung Dynasty. In one of these biographies, the *Yu-lung-chuan* (*Biography of the One Who Resembles a Dragon*), we read that Lao-tzu was born by issuing forth from the left rib of the Holy Mother, who was clinging to the branches of the plum tree at the time. As soon as he was born, he took nine steps and from each footprint lotus flowers sprang forth. At the time of his birth ten thousand cranes hovered above in the skies, while nine dragons spat forth water to bathe the newborn baby. After he was born, with his left hand pointing to heaven and his right hand to earth, he uttered the cry that in heaven and earth only the Tao was supreme. Nine days after birth his body become endowed with the seventy-two major and eighty-one minor characteristics. The Holy Mother, after giving birth to Lao-tzu, then mounted a jade chariot and in broad daylight ascended to heaven.

It is perfectly clear that such a biography of Lao-tzu was nothing more than a retouching of a Buddhist source, very likely the *Lalitavistara*, with some changes in proper names here and there.

the Taoists would have faced a prolonged drought if no other sources had been forthcoming. Meanwhile, the Buddhist sutras were flowing into China in a never-ending stream, inciting the envy of the Taoists with their variety, scope, and imagination. To the latter this was an inexhaustible supply from which they could borrow and copy—exactly what the Taoists did from the fifth century on. So hasty and slipshod was this wholesale copying that the Taoists left behind numerous traces of their unethical practice. In general it seemed that what the Taoist did was to take over a Buddhist sutra and then substitute Lao-tzu for the word Buddha whenever it appeared, but very often the copyist was not attentive enough to make all the changes. Consequently, in some of the so-called Taoist works, we find such passages as the following:

Of all the teachings in the world, the Buddha's teaching is foremost (*Hsi-sheng ching, Sutra on the Western Ascent*).

Our master is called the Buddha, who follows the incomparable teaching (*Wen-shih-chuan, Biography of Wen-shih*).

The host of saints and immortals have already realized the way of the Buddha (*Tung-hsüan chen-i ching, Sutra on the True*

was the Taoist turn to borrow from Buddhism.

To begin with, the Taoists never had any idea of their system as a religion consisting of a body of doctrines and beliefs left behind by a master and preserved in a corpus of literature. It was only after Buddhism had come in and gained widespread acceptance that the Taoists took over from the Buddhists the idea of a religion. Once having made this initial appropriation, the Taoists decided that they might just as well go all the way in imitating the foreign model.

First, the Taoists themselves admitted that they borrowed the practice of making statues and images from the Buddhists. The first Taoist images of their deities appeared about the middle of the fifth century under the Northern Wei Dynasty, with the deities flanked on both sides by Taoist saints.

It is in the field of literature that the Buddhist contribution to Taoism is most obvious. In the early stages of Taoism as a religion it was a relatively simple matter for the Taoists to build up a body of literature of their own. All they had to do was to group together those works branded as heterodox by the Confucians—works on alchemy, divination, hygiene, breathing exercises, and so forth—and attribute these to the founder of their religion, Lao-tzu. However, there was a limit to the supply of such literature and

interpenetration and intermutuality, the all in one and the one in all. Shao Yung (1011—1077) in his cosmological speculations had a theory that at the end of an epoch, which he said spanned 129,600 years, the present world system would come to an end, to be replaced by another. Chu Hsi also shared in this view. Such an idea was alien to the Chinese and was undoubtedly influenced by the well-known Indian concept of aeons and recurring world systems.

While pointing out these influences of Buddhism upon Neo-Confucianism, we must not make the mistake of overestimating the extent of such influences. Though the Neo-Confucianists studied Buddhism and appropriated Buddhist ideas, the system which they constructed was distinctly Chinese in its emphasis on the reality of the phenomenal world, the importance of the individual, and the value of social relations and responsibilities. A fair verdict of history would therefore be that in this movement the Sung philosophers returned to their native Confucian traditions via some excursions into the path of the Buddha.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE ON TAOISM

Neo-Confucianism was not the only system affected by Buddhism; Taoism was also subjected to its all-pervading influence. During the Han Dynasty Buddhism was able to gain a foothold on Chinese soil by allying itself closely with Taoism and borrowing from it, but in later centuries it

the Neo-Confucianists also appear to have been influenced by the Buddhists. Buddhist mental discipline emphasizes, among other things, mindfulness, meditation, and equanimity. Ch'eng Hao stressed these very things in his essay *Tranquility in Human Nature*. He wrote that tranquility means quietness in time of activity and inactivity, and that when the mind is excited, it becomes overactive and falls into uncertainty. He advocated concentrating the mind on one subject; when one does this, he said, the mind is its own master, will not fall prey to external influences, and cannot be harmed by any enemy.

From Li Ao to the Ch'eng brothers the Neo-Confucianists all had their say about what constituted sagehood. Li Ao wrote that a sage is enlightened when he is master of his emotions. Ch'eng Yi also wrote that the sage is one who controls his emotions of joy, anger, sorrow, fear, love, dislike, and greed, and adjusts his expression to the principle of the golden mean. This Confucian preoccupation with sagehood was probably a response to the Buddhist emphasis on the attainment of bodhisattvahood.

There were also particular views held by the Sung philosophers that might point to Buddhist influence. For instance, Chu Hsi held that any object contains within it the supreme undivided ultimate as well as the particularizing principle which gives the object its individual character. Such an idea is close to the Hua-yen doctrine of

An example of this may be seen in Chang Tsai's extension of the meaning of jen to embrace all under heaven. It is more than likely that in this extension the Buddhist conceptions of the universality of life and the all-compassionate bodhisattva, ever ready to save all sentient beings, played a role.

Although the Neo-Confucian idealist Lu Hsiang-shan based his emphasis on the mind on the *Book of Mencius* and the *Great Learning*, one cannot escape the suspicion that he was influenced by Buddhist, especially Ch'an, tenets. Indeed, Lu and his chief disciple, Wang Yang-ming (1472—1529), of the Ming Dynasty, were accused by their opponents of being Buddhists in disguise, this in spite of the fact that in a letter to a friend Lu criticized Buddhism severely for its selfishness and negation of life. The Ch'an School, with its cardinal tenet that this mind is the Buddha and that this mind intuitively and instantly knows what is right and wrong without depending upon external sources, very likely influenced the thinking of Lu and Wang. It is interesting to note that the controversy which raged within Buddhist circles—that of gradual versus instantaneous enlightenment—found its counterpart in the discussions of the Neo-Confucians, with Chu Hsi representing the gradual rational approach and Lu Hsiang-shan the intuitive instantaneous approach.

In their advocacy of concentration of mind

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THE BUDDHIST CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEO-CONFUCIANISM AND TAOISM

By Kenneth Ch'en

NEO-CONFUCIANISM

As an intellectual movement Neo-Confucianism drew the attention of the educated Chinese away from Buddhism back to the Confucian classics. However, this Neo-Confucianism was influenced by Buddhism in more ways than one. The Indian religion had become so intimate a part of the intellectual make-up of the Chinese that it was impossible for the Sung thinkers to give up Buddhism entirely. While the Neo-Confucianists used terms found in the Confucian classics, they interpreted those terms in the light of the dominant Buddhist atmosphere, and the Neo-Confucian system would be incomprehensible to one not familiar with the prevailing Buddhist ideas of the age.