

The Anti-Buddhism Movement and The Respect-Han Yu Movement

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Abstract: During the reign of Emperor Renzong (r.1022-1063) in the Northern Song (960-1127) Dynasty, the government had met with relatively tense relationships with the neighboring countries, as well as some domestic political, economic and social problems. Many people attributed these problems to Buddhism and appealed for the exclusion of Buddhism and a political reform leading by Confucianism. At the same time, in the field of literature, a new round of the Ancient-style Learning Movement (*guwen yundong* 古文运动) arose. With the goal of making a better interpretation of the Confucian's Dao, the Ancient-style experts claimed to replace the Xikun-style (西昆体) prose with the Ancient-style prose. Because Han Yu was the warrior of Anti-Buddhism Movement in the Tang dynasty, he was also the initiator of Ancient-style Learning Movement and the founder of the Confucian Orthodoxy doctrines, the Respect-Han Yu Movement was prevalent at that time, which closely interacts with the Anti-Buddhism Movement, and then further developed into a four-in-one historical thought trend, which included "Anti-Buddhism Movement", "Respect-Han Yu Movement", "Revival of Confucianism Movement" and "Ancient-style Learning Movement", which had a profound impact during the Emperor Renzong's reign.

Key Words: Emperor Renzong's reign, Anti-Buddhism Movement, Respec-Han Yu Movement, Revival of Confucianism Movement, Ancient-style Learning Movement

I. Introduction: The Early North Song Government's Policies

In the early Northern Song Dynasty (北宋, 960-1127), with the political consideration that "Both of Buddhism and Daoism sects are benefiting moral education in the realm",^① the first three emperors all promoted the concept that Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism are equally important. Therefore, they provided with positive supports to Buddhism in many ways.^② With the support from Emperor Taizu (宋太祖, 960-976), Emperor Taizong (宋太宗, 976-997) and Emperor Zhenzong (宋真宗, 997-1022), Buddhism came out from the darkness of the Great Anti-Buddhist Persecution in Huichang" by Tang Emperor Wuzong (唐武宗, 840-846) and the great destruction of the Buddha temples by the Later Zhou Dynasty's Emperor Shizong (周世宗, 954-959), then began to recover its prosperity. The official support for Buddhism in the early Northern Song Dynasty was mainly in the following areas.

Firstly, regarding the official attitude to Buddhism, the Emperor Taizu abolished Emperor Shizong's Anti-Buddhist edicts at the beginning of his reign (960), which laid a good foundation for the government to provide supports to Buddhism. In addition, it was not rare for the emperors

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① (Song) Li Tao 李焘, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 续资治通鉴长编, Volume 63, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004, p. 1419.

② Around the establishment of the Northern Song Dynasty, some Buddhists offered lucky prophecies to support the legitimacy of Northern Song government, which may be another reason that the government gave Buddhism policy supports.

to praise Buddhism with the writings by themselves. For example, Emperor Taizong wrote Magic Wisdom Set (*miao jue ji* 妙觉集) and The Prefaces For the New Translation of Buddhism Classics (*xinyi sanzang shengjiao xu* 新译三藏圣教序), Emperor Zhenzong wrote Worshipping the Buddha (*chong shi lun* 崇释论) which claimed that though Buddhism and Confucianism travel on different paths but they finally lead to the same Dao. The imperial powerful supports to Buddhism also gave a positive sign for the court officials. Therefore in the early Northern Song Dynasty, even if there was few voices to exclude Buddhism, they led no serious damages to Buddhism.

Secondly, regarding the government supports of disseminating Buddhist classics, in the fourth year of Kaibao period (开宝, 971), Emperor Taizu ordered official Zhang Congxin (张从信) to supervise the production of China's first Chinese version of the Tripitaka. The work lasted thirteen years, and finally was completed in the eighth year of Taiping Xingguo period (太平兴国, 983). It was an enormous project in its day, with more than 130,000 blocks, containing 1076 classics, 5048 volumes. This version Tripitaka was called The Kaibao Tripitaka (开宝藏) or The Shuben Tripitak (蜀本藏). With the application of block printing technology, the transmission of Buddhist classics was greatly promoted.

Emperor Taizong founded the imperial Buddhist Mission Institute (传法院) in Taiping Xingguo Temple in the seventh year of Taiping Xingguo (982). The court consisted of two parts: the Classics Translation Institute and the Classics Printing Institute. The work division of the Classics Translation Institute was meticulous, and some influential officials were appointed as the translation polishing officials (*runwen guan* 润文官) of the court. When it came to the Emperor Zhenzong's reign, Emperor Zhenzong added Translation Polishing Governor (*yijing runwen shi* 译经润文使) to the Classics Translation Institute, which was undertaken by prime minister, to show the holy status of the Buddhist Classics translation. According to the The New Recension of Buddhist Classics in Jingyou Period (*jingyou xinxiu fabao lu* 景佑新修法宝录), the Northern Song Dynasty's Prime Minister such as Wang Qinruo (王钦若, 962-1025), Ding Wei (丁谓, 966-1037), Lü Yijian (吕夷简, 978-1044), Zhang Dexiang (章得象, 978-1048), Pang Ji (庞籍, 988-1063), Chen Zhizhong (陈执中, 990-1059), Zeng Gongliang (曾公亮, 999-1078), Wen Yanbo (文彦博, 1006-1097), Fu Bi (富弼, 1004-1083) all have done some classic polishing works.^①

Appointing the prime ministers to work for the religion on such large scale is unique in Chinese history. From the seventh year of Taiping Xingguo period (982) to the first year of Tianxi period (天禧, 1017), the Classics Translation Institute translated 252 Classics, totally 480 volumes, averaging 7.1 classics, 13.52 volumes per year.^② These data indicate that the Buddhist classics translation was reliable in quality and considerable in speed at that time. The Classics Printing Institute, which cooperated with the Classics Translation Institute, could make the translated classics printed and disseminated directly. The establishment of the Buddhist Mission Institute revived the Buddhist classics translation that has been depressed since Tang Yuanhe period (元和, 806-820). The Buddhist Mission Institute extensively promoted the development and

^① Yang Zengwen 杨曾文, *The Zen history of Song and Yuan Dynasties* 宋元禅宗史, Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2006, p. 3.

^② Liang Tianxi 梁天锡, *The North Song Dynasty's Buddhist Mission Institute and its translation system* 北宋传法院及其译经制度, Hong Kong: Zhilian jingyuan Press, 2003, p. 157.

dissemination of Buddhism, and was of great significance to the development of Buddhism as well.

At that time, a few officials submitted memorials to the emperor to suspend the institute; however, few memorials was accepted. For example, The History of Song Dynasty(宋史) records that high-ranking official Chen Shu(陈恕, 945-1004)^①once asked for the abolition of the Classics Translation Institute, which can be described as "extremely indignant in his words (辞甚激切)", but Emperor Zhenzong replied. "The prosperity of the three religions has been around for a long time. The previous generations destroyed them a lot, however we should just keep them and ignored them."^②

Thirdly, regarding the government's supports to the construction of temples, the first three emperors of the Northern Song Dynasty spent a large sum of money. It was mainly in granting land to famous temples, funding for building or refurbishing temples, and funding for the construction of Buddha statues. For example, in the first year of the reign(960), Emperor Taizu Jianlong ordered to build the Jianlong Temple(建隆寺) at the former battlefield of Guangling (广陵), granting 40 hectares of land.^③ Later the government granted 65 hectares of land to the Lingyin Temple(灵隐寺) at the third year of Tiansheng(天圣, 1025),^④ granted Xijin's (西津) land and mountains to the Dantu Youlong Temple(丹徒游龙寺), with three million coins for the construction of Buddha statues, granted 120 hectares of land and 80 hectares mountains, including Honghe Mountain(鸿鹤山), Zhaoyin Mountain (招隐山), Huangxian Mountain(黄岘山), to the Dantu Helin Temple(丹徒鹤林寺).^⑤

Fourthly, regarding government's approval for more legal quotas for monks and nuns, Emperor Taizong and Emperor Zhenzong granted legal quotas for the monks and nuns several times, and the number of monks and nuns increased sharply at that time. In the fifth year of Tianxi (天禧, 1021), the total number of monks has reached 397,615 nationwide and the number of nuns had reached 61,239, accounting for about 2.3% of the population at that time,^⑥ reaching the highest number of monks and nuns recorded in the Song Dynasty.

^① Chen Shu 陈恕(945-1004), an important minister during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong. In the second year of Chunhua 淳化 (991), he served as an assistant administrator(canzhi zhengshi 参知政事). In the fifth year of Chunhua (994), he served as the Salt and Iron controller (Yantie shi 盐铁使). When it came to the reign of Emperor Zhenzong in the third year of Zhidao 至道 (997), Chen Shu was reappointed as the Grand Councilors of the Revenue (hubu shilang 户部侍郎). As of the fourth year of 至道 (998), when Emperor Zhenzong toured the north part of the country, he personally appointed Chen Shu as the Transport Commissioner (zhuanyun shi 转运使). Then he was reappointed as the Grand Councilors of the Ministry of Personnel(libu shilang 吏部侍郎), who was also in charge of the inspection and promotion of the officials in the capital. He was in charge of the national finance for about ten years, and was highly valued by Emperor Taizong and Emperor Zhenzong. *The History of Song Dynasty* praised him as the ' head of competent officials'能吏之首.

^② (Yuan) Tuotuo 脱脱 et al, *The Song history · biography of Chen Shu 宋史 陈恕传*, Volume 267, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, p. 9203.

^③ See Lai Yonghai 赖永海, *General history of Chinese Buddhism 中国佛教通史*, Volume 11, Nanjing : Jiangsu People 's Press, 2010, p. 149.

^④ Huang Minzhi 黄敏枝, *Collections on the social and economic history of Buddhism in the Song Dynasty 宋代佛教社会经济史论集*, Taipei: Taiwan Student Bookstore, 1989, p. 54.

^⑤ Ibid., p. 58.

^⑥ See Yang Zengwen 杨曾文, *The Zen history of Song and Yuan Dynasties*, Beijing: China Social Science Press, 2006, pages 3-4.

From the above aspects, we can find that during the reign of the first three emperors in the Northern Song Dynasty, Buddhism came out of the dark and turned to prosperity with the strong support of the imperial power for Buddhism.

II: The Anti-Buddhism Movement during Emperor Renzong's Reign

2.1 The reasons of Anti-Buddhism Movement

Firstly, other ethnics invaded frequently, and the distinction between Yi(夷) and Xia(夏) became obvious. During Emperor Renzong's reign, the government was gravely harassed by Liao 辽(辽, 907-1125) and Western Xia (西夏, 1038-1227), the two aggressive neighboring states. Although during Emperor Zhenzong's reign, the Northern Song government and Liao government had signed the "Chan Yuan Alliance(澶渊之盟)" in the first year of Jingde (景德, 1004),^① but the Song-Liao border harassments had not been entirely stopped. When it came to the Emperor Renzong's reign, in the second year of Qingli (庆历, 1042), the Liao extorted the Guannan(关南) land from the Northern Song government,^② when the Northern Song was involved in the war with Western Xia. The Emperor Renzong's government had no choice but to sign another document called the "Guannan Oath" (*guannan shishu* 关南誓书) with the Liao government. The main content of this document is that the Song government needs to pay more annual tributes to the Liao government. In exchange, the Liao government gives up the extortion for the land of Guannan.

The Western Xia's invasion also disturbed Emperor Renzong government for a long time. From the second year of Baoyuan (宝元, 1039) to the second year of Qingli (庆历, 1042), Western Xia launched three large-scale military wars against the Northern Song Dynasty, and the Song army suffered heavy losses each time.^③

Compared with the Han and Tang dynasties, with the repeated failures of the war, Northern Song government lost her ability and chance to keep administrative unity in ethnic diversity and her national self-confidence. At that time, many officials and scholars emphasized the differences between Yi(foreigners)and Xia(Chinese) and claimed for promoting the theory of respecting the King and resisting the Yi(*zunwang rangyi*, 尊王攘夷). The voice of Anti-Buddhism mixed with

^① The people of the Song Dynasty had always regarded themselves as the heirs of the Five Generations 五代, and they had a grudge against the Later Jin's 后晋 (936-947) first Emperor Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭(r.936-942) ceded the Youyun Sixteen Prefectures(youyun shiliu zhou 幽云十六州) to Khitan. After the signing of "Chan Yuan Alliance", the Song people had to send money to the Liao every year, and it was even more difficult to recover the Youyun Sixteen Prefectures, which was a shame in many Song people's hearts.

^② In the Northern Song Dynasty, it referred to the area south of the Waqiao Pass 瓦桥关, Yijin Pass 益津关, and Yukou Pass 淤口关.

^③ In the Battle of Sanchuankou 三川口 in 1040, Western Xia armies were victorious all the way, however, later they withdrawn due to the heavy snow. Although the Northern Song armies resisted the Western Xia's invasion, the losses were heavy. The Northern Song government's defense in Gansu 甘肃, Shaanxi 陕西, Qinghai 青海 and Ningxia 宁夏 also turned into a negative position. In the Battle of Haoshuichuan 好水川, the Northern Song armies were almost annihilated. In 1042, Western Xia armies branched out into two parts, the first part defeated the Song armies in Dingchuanzhai 定川砦, with the Song armies annihilated, then the Western Xia armies looted seven hundred miles of Song's land. The other one met the Song armies in Yuanzhou 原州, this time the Western Xia armies were annihilated.

national emotions made the Northern Song government, the scholars, and ordinary people in increasing awareness in their resistance to Buddhism.

Secondly, there was a sharp contrast between the national economic problems and the prosperous developments of Buddhism. The economic problems of the Northern Song Dynasty government began to emerge during Emperor Renzong's reign. In order to defend herself against the invasion of Liao and Western Xia, the Northern Song had to pay a considerable amount of property to Liao and Western Xia as agreed tribute. According to the agreement of the Chan Yuan Alliance, the Song government had to give the Liao government 200,000 pieces of silk and one hundred thousand ducats of silver each year.^①

When it came to the second year of Qingli (庆历, 1042), when the Song and Xia were at war, Liao government took the opportunity to extort the Northern Song government, therefore the Northern Song government had to increase the annual tributes for Liao to 200,000 ducats of silver and 300,000 pieces of silk.^② In the fourth year of Qingli (1044), after the "Song-Xia Peace Discussion", the Song government began to give Western Xia government 130,000 pieces of silk, 50,000 ducats of silver, and 20,000 *jins* of tea each year, and extra 20,000 silver, 2,000 ducats of silverwares, 20,000 pieces of silk, 23,000 pieces of silk, clothing, and 10,000 *jins* of tea as the Western Xia's King's birthday gifts and holidays gifts every year.^③

In addition, the problems such as redundant officials (*rong guan*,冗官) and redundant troops (*rong bin*,冗兵), which were accumulated since the previous emperors, reached its bankruptcy during Emperor Renzong's reign. As a result, the government's daily operation costs were staggering huge. Under this circumstances, in the second year of Baoyuan (宝元, 1039 AD), the Administrative Assistant of Revenue (*duzhi panguan*, 度支判官) Song Qi (宋祁, 998-1061) submitted a memorial called The Three Redundancies and The Three Expenses (*sanrong sanfei shu*, 三冗三费疏) to the emperor. At that time, the war between the Song and Western Xia had just begun, there were not yet a large-scale military expenditure for the war, nor the annual tributes for Western Xia and Liao had not yet increased. Thus it could be seen that Northern Song's national treasury was unable to make ends meet. Later, when the wars became frequent, the situation became worse and worse.

In contrast to the draining of the national treasury, Buddhism developed substantially at that time. Due to the favorable policies by the government, being a monk became a popular choice for young, which just ranking after joining the army. The number of monks and nuns increased sharply and it was difficult to find a legal quota. In the first year of Jingyou (景祐, 1034), the total number of monks in the country was 385,520 and the number of nuns was 48,740. In the second year of Qingli (庆历, 1042), there were totally 348,108 monks and 48,417 nuns.^④

^① Tao Jinsheng 陶晋生, *The Research on the history of Song-Liao relations* 宋辽关系史研究, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2008, p. 17.

^② Ibid., p.17.

^③ Bao Weimin 包伟民 and Wu Zhengqiang 吴铮强, *A brief history of the Song Dynasty* 宋朝简史, Fuzhou: Fujian People's Publishing House, 2006, p. 63.

^④ The data is from Chen Yangjiong 陈扬炯, *The general history of Chinese Pure-land School* 中国净土宗通史, Nanjing: Jiangsu Ancient Books Publishing House, 2000, p. 415.

The sharp increase in the number of monks and nuns inevitably led to a decrease in the labor force, resulted in serious awareness from the government. Meanwhile, the number of temples also increased significantly. For example, during Qingli (1041-1048) period, just in Fuzhou 福州, there were more than 1,600 temples in operation. ^①

Along with the rapid growth in the number of monks and nuns and the astonishing rise in number of temples, the temples' economy was highly developed. The temples had a lot of lands, however excepted "summer and autumn two taxes" (*xia qiu er shui*, 夏秋二税),^② few got the exemptions, the rest part of the taxes could be reduced or exempted to varying degrees. Before Wang Anshi's Reform (*wang anshi bianfa*, 王安石变法, 1069-1085), monks and nuns were not required to perform conscripted labors. At the same time, the temples annexed a large-scale of land which also annoyed the Northern Song government. Although Emperor Renzong prohibited temples from buying farmlands immediately after he succeeded to the throne, however in order to support the temple's economic development, many temples still buy farmland regardless of government decrees. In consequence, many farmers lost their lands and became the unregulated migrants. Moreover, it was even not uncommon for temples to own the official lands secretly.

With the above-mentioned situation, many people classified the development of Buddhism as one of the main reasons for the country's financial difficulties and believed that Buddhism severely restricted the country's economic development; meanwhile, it also disrupted the order of social production. Song Qi explained the reasons for the country's economic embarrassment to Renzong in his memorial:

The more significant problems are the Three Redundancies, and the smaller problems are the Three Expenses. These problems trapped the country's wealth, leading to the short of money and the lack of daily necessities...What is the Three Redundancies? The official positions in the country are settled, however, the actual numbers of the officials were more than openly registered, and this is the first redundancy. The warriors in the country are not qualified to fight the war except consuming food and clothing in vain, and this is the second redundancy. The number of monks, nuns and Taoist priests is increasing without limit to their growth, and this is the third redundancy...If we cannot get rid of these Three Redundancies, the country would not be the country anymore... What are the Three Expenses? Firstly, there is even not a day that ceremonies and fasts are not held... Secondly, the clothing and food provided in the capital temples is three times more than that of the other places...the monks don't participate in a corvee, they just eat up food without working like moths ...Thirdly, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Military Affairs and the Commissioner of Prefectures did not affiliate with the government. They grafted the public supplies for their own families. ^③

^① The data is from You Biao 游彪, *Researches on the economic history of temples in the Song Dynasty* 宋代寺院经济史稿, Baoding: Hebei University Press, 2003, p.110.

^② Means the land taxes collected during the summer and autumn. Mostly in the summer people pay the taxes with the wheat, while in autumn with the rice.

^③ (Song) Song Qi 宋祁, *The Three Redundancies and the Three Expenses*, selected (Yuan) Tuotuo 脱脱 et al, *The Song history · biography of Song Qi* 宋史 宋祁传, Volume 284, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, p. 9595.

From Song Qi's words, we can see the severity of the draining of the national treasury during that time. Among the Three Redundancies and the Three Expenses, Buddhism actually accounted for the "one Redundant and two Expenses". From the economic considerations, the government decided to take some actions to solve the problems related to Buddhism.

Thirdly, the monks' misbehavior threatened national stability. The monks' previous identities were very complicated in the Northern Song dynasty. In order to avoid punishment, many criminals chose to convert themselves to monks. A large number of monks and nuns were convicted with destructive behaviors. Many monks and nuns disregarded the Buddhist rules and disrupted public orders. It is not uncommon for monks to get married and gave birth to children. Sometimes, they even had some offensive threads to the people. The most difficult thing for Emperor Renzong's government to tolerate was the monks participating in rebellious organizations. Although there were some cases of monks participating in uprisings in the early Northern Song Dynasty, for example, in the first year of Qiande (乾德, 963), monks participated in the rebellion led by Wang Duan (汪端, 963) in Langzhou (朗州). The government quickly put down the uprising, and it was not yet leading to the government's resistance to Buddhism. During the reign of Emperor Renzong, there were also many monks who participated in the uprisings and soldiers' riots. One of the most influential was that in the seventh year of the Qingli (庆历, 1047), Wang Ze (王则, ? -1048) made use of the Maitreya faith, claiming himself was the reincarnation of Maitreya. He established a regime in Beizhou (贝州), and proclaimed himself as Emperor Anyang Wulie (安阳武烈皇帝). Northern Song government responded quickly in appointing the assistant administrator (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事) Wen Yanbo (文彦博, 1006-1097) to quench the uprising. The uprising lasted more than sixty days, and finally got suppressed. When the country was in trouble, the participation of monks in the riots inevitably strengthened Emperor Renzong's and many officials' determinations to reject Buddhism.

2.2 The Confucian's Anti- Buddhism theories

Because many social problems were related to Buddhism at that time, many officials and non-official scholars in Emperor Renzong's period proposed to exclude Buddhism. Most of them were Confucianists. While proposing to reject Buddhism, these people also committed to the revival of Confucianism and advocated the political reforms guided by Confucianism.

There were traditions of rejecting Buddhism from the beginning of the North Song dynasty. Many famous officials claimed to reject Buddhism, such as Tian Xi (田锡, 940-1004), Liu Kai (柳开, 947-1000), Wang Yucheng (王禹偁, 954-1001) and Mu Xiu (穆修, 979-1032). However, due to the government's policy of equal emphasis on the three religions at that time, the Anti-Buddha theories had not yet been widely adopted. When it came to Emperor Renzong's reign, with the official's continuous demands for political reform, the relationship between the three religions no longer continued to be the harmonious coexistence as the early period of the Northern Song dynasty. Many officials and reputable non-official scholars rejected Buddhism. The officials included Ouyang Xiu (欧阳修, 1007-1072), Fan Zhongyan (范仲淹, 989-1052), Han Qi (韩琦, 1008-1075), Fu Bi (富弼, 1004-1083), Wen Yanbo (文彦博, 1006-1097), Sun Fu (孙复, 992-1057), Song Qi (宋祁, 998-1061), Shi Jie (石介, 1005-1045), Li Gou (李觏, 1009-1059), Cai Xiang (蔡襄, 1012-1067), Zeng Gong (曾巩, 1019-1083), Sima Guang (司马光, 1019-1086), etc. The non-official scholars included Wang Ling (王令, 1032-1059), Huang Xi (黄晞, ? -1057), etc.

At that time, the Confucians' exclusion against Buddhism was mainly from the perspectives of social life, and these theories had not yet developed to the later stage as the Neo-Confucianism which criticized Buddhism from the cosmology and ontology. During Emperor Renzong's reign, the criticism against Buddhism mainly comes from the following aspects.

Firstly, it accused Buddhism of its harms against the political stability. In the fourth year of Qingli (1044), the wooden pagoda in the Kaibao Temple was destroyed by thunderbolts. After the pagoda was totally burned down, Emperor Renzong suggested to transfer the pagoda's Buddha relic into the inner court. Cai Xiang clearly opposed the emperor's suggestion. He claimed the guys who broadcasted the auspicious signs of Buddhist relics were "misleading the public opinion",^① and they meant to get the money by undertaking the government project. Cai Xiang also believed that large-scale Buddhist construction projects would make the people resenting the government, he said.

the people in our country are tired of the numerous taxations and labor, and the people could not make a living. There was even the case that a whole family jumped into a well to commit suicide... (if make more Buddhism project) the people will become even more resentful towards the government.^②

In order to pursue a better governance, Zeng Gong (1019-1083) suggested letting farmers return to their farmlands, scholars refocus on their learning... To cause Buddhism and Taoism disappear, and people could thereof make their proper livings.^③

Fan Zhongyan, the host of the Qingli Reform (庆历新政, 1043-1045), requested that the shaved monks whose parents were still alive but did not have other close generations should not be allowed to travel far,^④ so that social ethics could be better maintained, and it would also be conducive to political stability.

Secondly, it accuses Buddhism of its harms to the social economy. In the fifth chapter of the Enriching the Country (*fuguo ce* 富国策), Li Gou held the opinion that monks did not participate in social production, but still occupied a large amount of lands, and encouraged the people to carry out Buddhist construction projects all the time, to the consequence of country's economic depression. From various perspectives, he summarized the harm of Buddhism to the social economy, such as:

(the monks) escape from corvee and do not pay taxes...they tempted young people to put on robes and shave their heads as monks. They do not support their relatives and the elderly. Even if the family is poor, they will not pull the family out of the poverty...They ask to build Buddhist projects throughout the year, ask the poor to work for them, and occupy

^① (Song) Zhao Ruyu 赵汝愚 edited, *Memorials of the officials of the Song Dynasty, first part* 宋朝诸臣奏议 上 Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1999, p.903.

^② Ibid., p.904.

^③ (Song) Zeng Gong 曾巩, *Zeng Gong collected works*, 曾巩, Volume 15, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1984, p. 755.

^④ (Song) Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 wrote, Li Yongxian 李勇先, Wang Ronggui 王蓉贵 corrected and added points, *Fan Zhongyan complete works* 范仲淹全集, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2002, p. 217.

the farming time..They purchased woods and stones in large quantities, causing the market price of these materials to rise quickly. In contrast, the ordinary people even do not have a place to live...^①

And on this basis, Li Gou suggested to cancel Buddhism and Daoism, urging the monks and Taoists to return to their secular lives. In this way, it will achieve the goal that "people are satisfied with their work, and the country is prosperous and strong."^②

Ouyang Xiu (欧阳修,1007-1072) claimed that Buddhism is opposed to the agriculture-oriented value, and he defined the monks as the "Sitting in the luxurious houses and enjoying food without working."^③ He also criticized the monks for consuming a large amount of food, saying that "Monks provide their disciples food, and kept themselves to be well-fed. The food for one monk equals the food for five farmers."^④ The result of such situation would simply spoil our country in the years to come.

Fan Zhongyan also criticized Buddhism from the view of making a large number of buildings. He said: Every time a temple or a pagoda was built, it wasted people's money like a moth, often exceeding more than ten thousand ducats. Today, only unfinished buildings could be completed, and no more new Buddhist buildings should be allowed. He meant to stop the limitless waste of country's resources in building Buddhist temples for nothing except augmenting the laziness of those Buddhists.^⑤

Thirdly, it criticizes Buddhism for its alienation against Confucian ethics. Most of the officials and famous scholars who participated in the Anti-Buddhism movement were Confucians. They firmly believed that the continued development of society was due to the Dao of ancient Confucian sages. Only the Confucian sages' theories could ensure people's comfortable and happy life. However, with the development of Buddhism, monks' behavior derailed the values of ordinary people. Monks, disengaged from their original social relationships, abandoned loyalty and filial piety for both the country and family; they no longer participated in the reproduction of descendants, and such behavior violated Confucian ethics and rules. Furthermore, from a practical point of view, the issue of loyalty and filial piety was obviously related to the family and social relationships, and the human reproduction was directly associated with the country's future labor force and military strength.

2.3 Emperor Renzong's "Slightly Suppressed Buddhism" Policies

The involvement of political forces always had a decisive influence on the development of religion. Due to the practical crisis, and claims from officials and scholars, compared with the

^① Editor-in-chief Wang Yue 王粤, *Essence of Chinese Culture 2 中国文化精华全集 2*, Philosophical Volume 2. Beijing: China International Broadcasting Press, 1992, p. 795-796.

^② Ibid., p.795-796.

^③ (Song) Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 wrote, noted by Shen Nan 申楠, *Ouyang Xiu collected works 欧阳修文集*, Beijing: Lianhe Publishing Company, 2018, p46.

^④ Ibid., p.48.

^⑤ (Song)Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 wrote, Li Yongxian 李勇先, Wang Ronggui 王蓉贵 corrected and added points. *Fan Zhongyan complete works 范仲淹全集*, Chengdu: Sichuan University Press, 2002, p. 217.

political power giving Buddhism positive supports during the reign of Emperor Taizu, Emperor Taizong, and Emperor Zhenzong, Emperor Renzong's Buddhism policies could be described as "slightly suppressed Buddhism."

Emperor Renzong reigned from 1022 to 1063. During his reign, on the one hand, he continued favorable policies towards Buddhism from the former Emperors, such as standardizing the process of translating classics, strictly checking the quality of candidate articles for the Tripitaka, sending some people to India to take back the Buddhist scriptures, and even personally wrote prefaces for some Buddhist articles. On the other hand, although Emperor Renzong himself is relatively mentally close to Buddhism, however from political consideration Emperor Renzong adopted a series of measures to strengthen the control of Buddhism. Tang Yongtong(汤用彤, 1893-1964) once stated: "Emperor Renzong slightly suppressed Buddhism. He accepted Zhang Dong's(张洞) words and then reduced the number of monks by one-third (see the *History of Song Dynasty•Biography of Zhang Dong* 宋史•张洞传) and destroyed illegally issued temples (see the *History of Song Dynasty• imperial annals-biographies*, 宋史•本纪)."^①

In the first year of Jingyou (景祐,1034), Emperor Renzong ordered " the destruction of illegal temples without quota ." ^②In the first year of Kangding (康定,1040), he also ordered that " the statue of Buddha is forbidden to be decorated with gold foil."^③ At the beginning of Qingli period, the Emperor Renzong ordered that "During the war at western boarder, imperial temples with less than 30 chambers need to be destroyed."^④ In the seventh year of the Qingli period (1047), Emperor Renzong adopted the suggestion from Zhang Dong to reduce the number of monks on a large scale. The history of Song•Biography of Zhang Dong records that:

The population increased at that time, and lot of people chose to be monk. Official Zhang Dong reported "In the first year of Zhihe period(至和), the emperor increased the quota for monks... Currently, there are more than 300,000 monks on file in the Ministry of Sacrifices, if a reduction is not made, the consequences will be unbearable.The government accepted his words, and started with 1/3 deduction.

The large scale of reducing monks was undoubtedly a big setback for Buddhism.

^① Tang Yongtong 汤用彤, *History of Buddhism in Sui and Tang Dynasties* 隋唐佛教史稿, Nanjing: Jiangsu Education Press, 2007, p. 245-246.

^② (Song) Li Tao 李焘, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 续资治通鉴长编, Volume 114, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2004 , p. 2682. About the temples without quota: the temples in the Northern Song Dynasty were controlled by the Ministry of Rites. In the construction of the temples, it was generally permitted by the government and within the quota approved by the government. In the early Northern Song Dynasty, the implementation of this policy was very strict. During Emperor Zhenzong's reign, the policy began to relax. During Renzong's reign, when the first year of Jingyou 景祐元年(1034), the policy was suddenly became strict again. However, after the promulgation of the policy, for their own development considerations, the temples did not with the quota still had some development covertly.

^③ (Yuan) Tuotuo 脱脱 et al, *The Song history • biographic sketches of Emperor Renzong* 宋史•仁宗本纪, Volume10, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, p. 208.

(Yuan) Tuotuo 脱脱 et al, *The Song history • biographic sketches of Emperor Renzong* 宋史•仁宗本纪, Volume10, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1985, p. 208.

^④ Cited from editor-in-chief Lai Yonghai 赖永海, *General history of Chinese Buddhism* 中国佛教通史, Volume 9, Nanjing: Jiangsu People ' s Publishing House, 2010, p. 231. About the above historical materials , this book explained that the temples to be destroyed were these without quota, but in accordance with practice should not be directed against those temples with quota.

III: The Respect-Han Yu Movement

The important character of the Anti-Buddhism movement during Emperor Renzong's reign was that it was closely connected with the Respect-Han Yu movement. At that time, officials and scholars' Anti-Buddhism theories were mainly influenced by Han Yu's analysis. Actually, the viewpoints held by those people is that Buddhism negatively impacted national policy, economy, and it was a toxic to Confucianism ethics; they believe that Buddhism is the theory from the foreign barbarians. All of these statements could be found in Han Yu's work.

3.1 The Anti-Buddhism theories Were Mainly Influenced by Han Yu

In Han Yu's memorial On Buddha Bones (论佛骨表), he pointed out that the Emperor's belief in Buddhism will result in bad fortune, and Buddhism affects the stability of the national political system. He thus said:

Buddhism was introduced in Emperor Ming reign in the Han Dynasty. Emperor Ming had stayed in power for only 18 years. Chaos and disasters followed afterwards, the control of the government was short. In the following Dynasties such as Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, Yuan, Wei etc., people became more devoted to Buddhism, and in consequence, all these dynasties had a short life. Emperor Wu of Liang Dynasty was in power for forty-eight years and he devoted himself to Buddhism for three times. He didn't allow to kill animals in the sacrifices for his ancestors and he had only one meal per day, totally depending on vegetables and fruits. Late on, he was even persecuted by his powerful courtier Hou Jing(侯景) and finally died of starvation in Tai Cheng(台城) and his country ended at the same time.^①

Then Han Yu drew a conclusion from this case that "Pray for fortune from Buddha but invited only disasters. Observing from this, (we could find that) it's not worthy believing in Buddha."^②

Regarding Buddhism impacting the economic development, Han Yu put forward his opinion in "On the Concept of Dao" (yuandao,原道), he said:

In ancient times, there were four professions. However, nowadays, there are six. In the past, there was just one School, there are three Schools right now. There is only one profession to plant, however, there are six professions to be fed. There is only one profession in making tools, however, there are totally six professions desiring to use the tools. There is only one profession in trade, however, there are totally six professions relying on the support from the trade. Under this situation, how can people survive in their desperate need of means of living without becoming thieves?

From the perspective of social labor division, he accused Buddhists and Taoists of not working and production, but simply increased the economic burden of a society.

Comparing these two major traditions in Confucianism and Buddhism/Taoism, Han Yu sincerely believed that Confucian ethics had created Chinese civilization. He was also convinced

^① (Tang) Han Yu 韩愈, *Han Yu's works* 韩愈集, Changsha: Yuelu Publishing House, 2000, p. 408.

^② *Ibid.*, p.408.

of Confucian ethics as indispensable in Chinese daily lives, forming the key to build a moral life for the whole society. On the contrary, other theories were not absolutely necessary and even would damage Confucian rituals and ethics. Han Yu pointed out that Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism could not coexist, and the relationship between the Confucianism and Buddhism/Taoism is that “to believe Buddhism/Taoism, it would inevitably result in the betrayal to Confucianism.”^① He suggested that people should return to Confucianism and then be guided by Confucian ethics.

At last, Han Yu also emphasized the difference between the Xia(夏) and the Yi(夷). Han Yu mentioned this issue in many articles. In *On the Concept of Dao (yuandao, 原道)*, he accused that the great prosperity of Buddhism led to the situation that placing the theories from Yi over Confucian theories. In order to expel Buddhism, in the work *On the Concept of Human Beings(yuanren 原人)*, Han Yu even excluded Yi and Di(狄) from the concept of "human being" in a radical way. From the perspective of modern values, this statement was very unreasonable, however, we should put it on its own situation at that time, and regard these words in terms of Han Yu's strategy of expelling Buddhism.

Han Yu's work to expel Buddhism was not highly theoretical, however, just because it was simple and easy to be understood, it had a significant influence at that time.^② Therefore, Han Yu's theories were widely accepted by the officials and scholars who aimed to expel Buddhism during Emperor Renzong's reign.

3.2 Officials and Scholars' Words about Respect-Han Yu

In the early Northern Song Dynasty, there were some official-scholars praised Han Yu, but it did not yet form a widespread movement. When it came to Emperor Renzong's reign, because the officials and scholars who devoted to expelling Buddhism strongly recommended Han Yu's anti-Buddhism theories, this also promoted the formation of Respect-Han Yu movement. In addition, Han Yu's words on Confucian orthodoxy and Ancient-style Learning movement were widely accepted. At that time, many officials and scholars praised Han Yu with their deep reverence.

^① (Tang) Han Yu wrote, annotated Notes by Tong Dide 童第德, *Selected works of Han Yu 韩愈文选*, Yuan Jiao 原教, Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 1980, p. 216.

^② In the *Notes of Yuewei Hermitage*(yuewei caotang biji 阅微草堂笔记), the Qing Dynasty famous official Ji Yun 纪昀(1724-1805) pointed out why Han Yu's Anti-Buddhist theories were more powerful than that of the Song Dynasty Neo-Confucianism scholars through the words of a monk in Wutai Mountain. As to the Anti-Buddhism theories, Song Dynasty Neo-Confucianism scholars' theories were more theoretical than that of Changli(Han Yu's style name). However, monks were afraid of Changli rather than Song Confucianism scholars, they beat back to Han Yu rather than Song Confucianism scholars. As far as I can see, Han Yu's Anti-Buddhism activities were against the Buddha in the real temple, meanwhile his words could be understood by the people who were not educated. Song Confucianism scholars' activities were practically aimed at the Buddha in the temperament theories, their words could only be understood by the scholar-officials. If Changli's theories succeed, neither the temples incense burner would not have any incense, nor temples would have any place to settle down...It (the way that Han Yu used) was just like cutting of the enemies' food supplement, later the enemies would be totally collapse without being attacked. Therefore monks were afraid of Changli rather than Song Confucianism scholars, they beat back to Han Yu rather than Song Confucianism scholars. 辟佛之说,宋儒深而昌黎浅,宋儒精而昌黎粗。然而披缁之徒,畏昌黎不畏宋儒,衒昌黎不衒宋儒也。盖昌黎所辟,檀施供养之佛也,为愚夫妇言之也。宋儒所辟,明心见性之佛也,为士大夫言之也。……使昌黎之说胜,则香积无烟,祇园无地。……此如用兵者先断粮道,不攻而自溃也。故畏昌黎甚,衒昌黎亦甚。 Selected from (Qing) Ji Yun, *Notes of Yuewei Hermitage*, Beijing : Chinese Book Company, 2013, p. 314.

Ouyang Xiu had described the prosperous period of respecting Han Yu in *The Postscript behind the Old Collections of Han Yu's Work*(*ji jiuben hanwen hou* 记旧本韩文后) :

It's been more than 30 years since Han Yu's theories are mandatory for every scholar, nothing else. This has been the most prosperous period...The articles from Han Yu, the theory from him should be well respected for ten thousand years and should be spread to the whole country.^①

The statement from Ouyang Xiu clearly showed that Han Yu's work had been prevalent for more than 30 years. It also showed the mental picture that every scholar desire to learn from Han Yu and adopt ancient-style writing.

Su Shi (苏轼,1037-1101), the disciple of Ouyang Xiu, also described Ouyang Xiu's overwhelming respect to Han Yu in the preface of *Liuyi Householder's Collection*(六一居士集):

Three hundred years after Han Yu, there is Ouyang. His theories recommend Han Yu, Mencius, and are directly connected with Confucian theory.^②

Song Qi, who coauthored the *New History of Tang Dynasty*(*xintangshu*, 新唐书) with Ouyang Xiu, said:

from Jin to Sui Dynasty, Buddhism and Taoism had been popular, The Dao of Confucianism was intermittently stopped over the time...In the past, Mencius against Yang Zhu's and Mo Di's theories, that was the situation merely 200 years after Confucius. Han Yu rose against Taoism and Buddhism and this happened after 1000 years after Confucius. He set things right, his achievement was comparable with Mencius, but his achievements were greater than his Confucian predecessors. Since Han Yu passed away, his theories were prevalent. Scholars admired Han Yu and treated him as the leading authority.^③

When talking about the writing style at that time, Li Gou thus commented :

Nowadays, is there any scholar who doesn't write essays? The way they write mostly copies the style of Mencius, or they model their style in writing after Changli (昌黎,Han Yu's style name).^④

^① (Song) Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修, *The postscript behind the old collection of Han Yu's work* 记旧本韩文后, selected from editor-in-chief Zeng Zaozhuang 曾枣庄, Liu Lin 刘琳, *The complete works of Song* • 34 全宋文第 34 册, Volume 718, Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2006, p. 86-87.

^② (Song) Su Shi 苏轼, *The preface of Householder Liuyi collected works* 六一居士集叙, selected from (Song) Ouyang Xiu , *The chronicle and annotations of Ouyang Xiu ' s Collection* 8 欧阳修集编年笺注 8 , Chengdu: Bashu Book Company, 2007 , p. 571.

^③ (Song) Song Qi 宋祁 : *New history of Tang Dynasty • Han Yu's biography* 新唐书 • 韩愈传, selected from “Twenty-four histories translations • *New history of Tang Dynasty*” 二十四史全译 • 新唐书 Volume 7, Shanghai : Century Publishing Group • Chinese Dictionary Press, p. 3871-3872.

^④ Selected from editor-in-chief Zeng Zaozhuang 曾枣庄, Liu Lin 刘琳, *The complete works of Song* 42 全宋文第 42 册, Volume 895, Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2006, p. 25.

From Li Gou's words, we can draw the conclusion that the scholar's writing style was deeply influenced by Han Yu and everybody tried to imitate Han Yu's writing style as much as possible.

Su Xun (苏洵,1009-1066), the father of famous essayist Su Shi, expressed his respects to Han Yu in the "The First Letter to the Hanlin Academician Ouyang Xiu(上欧阳内翰第一书)":

Han Yu's articles flow like a big river. I was not engaged in the study when I was young, and Only after 25 years, I started to learn to read... I sit upright every day and read the Analects of Confucius(《论语》), The Works of Mengzi(《孟子》), The Works of Hanzi(《韩愈书》), and works from other sages which deserve earnest reading for seven or eight years.^①

From Su Xun's words, we can learn that he ranked Han Yu's work as valuable as with *the Analects of Confucius* and *the Works of Mencius*; he also clearly stated that he was deeply influenced by Han Yu.

Also, Sun Fu expressed his respect in Records of Xindao Court (*xindao tang ji* 信道堂记):

The Dao that I acknowledge and follow is the Dao from Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, King Wen, King Wu, Duke Zhou and Confucius; and Dao from Mencius, Xun Zi, Yang Xiong, Wang Tong and Han Yu.^②

We can see that from his point of view, Han Yu is of the same importance as Mencius and Yang Xiong, and Han Yu is inherent successor of the Confucian orthodoxy.

Shi Jie once wrote an article called "Respecting Han Yu" (*zun han*, 尊韩), he said:

Among the Mencius, Xun Zi, Yang Xiong, Wang Tong and Han Yu these five sages, Han Yu is excellent of them. We do not know how many millions or billions of years will be needed to get another Confucius, nor do we know how many thousands or hundred years will be passed before we have another Han Yu.^③

Shi Jie unconditionally praised Han Yu, listing him as the leader of the five sages, and praised him only second to Confucius.

During Emperor Renzong's period, people who respected Han Yu had considerable influence upon intellectuals, especially Confucian official scholars at that time. The officials such as Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang, etc., were able to influence the national policy directly. Sun Fu and Shi Jie had not served in the government for a long time, however they were the academic representatives of the north part of the country and had significant social influence. The officials'

^① (Song) Su Xun 苏洵 wrote, corrected and added points by Zhang Yuxia 张玉霞, *Su Xun collected works* 苏洵全集 Volume 1, Changchun: Shidai wenyi Press, 2001, p. 136-137.

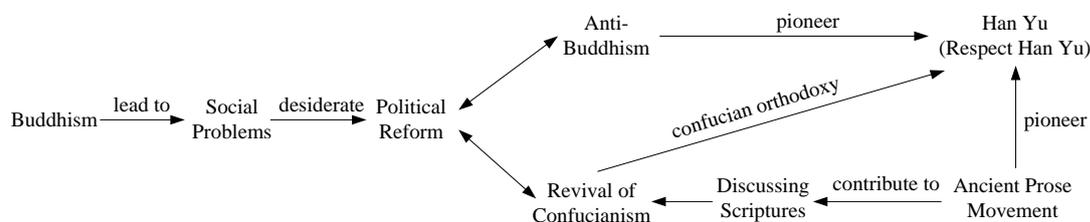
^② Selected from editor-in-chief Zeng Zaozhuang 曾枣庄, Liu Lin 刘琳, *The complete works of Song* 19 全宋文第 19 册, Volume 401, Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2006, p. 313.

^③ (Song) Shi Jie 石介, *Respecting Han Yu* 尊韩, selected from editor-in-chief Zeng Zaozhuang 曾枣庄, Liu Lin 刘琳, *The complete works of Song* • 29 全宋文第 29 册, Volume 627, Shanghai: Shanghai Dictionary Press, 2006, p. 305.

and scholars' clear-cut attitude of respecting Han Yu made the Anti-Buddhist movement more popular.

IV: The Connection between Anti-Buddhism and Respect-Han Yu Movements

An interesting phenomenon is that: in the Tang Dynasty, Li Ao (李翱,772-841), the Confucian official-scholar, had the same reputation as Han Yu in repudiating Buddhism. However, when it came to the Renzong's reign in the Northern Song Dynasty, most defending Buddhist monks were mainly against Han Yu, and they rarely mentioned Li Ao. In their essays, Li Ao was a person who learned the Buddha dharma from the Master Weiyao (惟俨,744-827), while Han Yu was their primary target to fight against. In fact, the situation reflects the contrast between the Anti-Buddhism movement and Respect-Hanyu movement. These two are deeply bound, and together with the revival of Confucianism and the Ancient-style Learning Movement, they further developed into a four-in-one historical and intellectual scenario.



At that time, Confucians believed that Buddhism caused many problems, and people appealed for a political reform to change this situation. On the one hand, this reform should expel Buddhism from the country, in the hope to eradicate the roots of many social problems. On the other hand, this reform should revive Confucianism, establishing it as the guiding ideology again. As the founder of Confucianism Orthodoxy, Han Yu's theories were thereof widely accepted.

In *Zhu Xi's Historical World--Song Literati Political Culture of the Study* (zhuxi de lishi shijie, 朱熹的历史世界, Yu Yingshi 余英时 pointed that Zhu Xi (朱熹,1130-1200) observed that the characteristics of Confucianism in the Northern Song Dynasty were classics interpretation and Confucianism promotion, meanwhile the Confucianism promotion was the goal of classics interpretation. Zhu Xi's conclusion about this was correct. In order to achieve Confucianism promotion, so Ouyang Xiu suggested the popular Xikun prose must be replaced by the ancient Chinese prose. In this way, classics interpretations would be more easily understood. During Emperor Renzong's reign, Ouyang Xiu set up a new round of the Ancient-style Learning movement, and its scope and influence was far more than that in the Tang Dynasty. Especially, during the Qingli Reform led by Fan Zhongyan, Ouyang Xiu was appointed as a major official. He vigorously promoted the young scholars who were good at ancient Chinese. As the initiator of Ancient-style Learning movement, Han Yu's work was highly respected at that time, and the trend of Respect-Han Yu movement reached its peak.

Ancient-style Learning movement built an excellent platform for the promotion of Confucianism. In order to revive the Dao of the ancient kings, the Confucians were actively involved in Anti-Buddhism movement. They were convinced that Confucianism was the only way to build good country. At the same time, Confucians also needed to improve their social status. Han Yu's Anti-Buddhism theories originated from people's daily life, therefore these theories were widely accepted by the officials and scholars during Emperor Renzong's reign.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, during the Emperor Renzong's reign, Anti-Buddhism movement and Respect-Han Yu movement were deeply bound with each other. The people who rejected Buddhism always respected Han Yu, and those who respected Han Yu would insist on Anti-Buddhism. On this basis, the above two movements combined with the Revival of Confucianism movement and the Ancient-style Learning movement, and the four thoughts were interrelated. They promoted each other, showing an unprecedented four-in-one intellectual trendy picture.

Later on, with the influence of the powerful trend of that time, Buddhism was in status that:

Official-scholars did not know the rationality of Buddhism. Many scholar-officials mocked Buddhism. (Because of these influential theories) Gentlemen looked down upon Buddhism and the ordinary people doubt about Buddhism.^①

The official-scholar and famous poet Chen Shunyu 陳舜俞(1026-1076) also recorded that:

At that time (Qingli Period, 1041-1048), scholars all over the country studied ancient-style Chinese. They respected Han Yu, rejected Buddhism and respected Confucius. In southeast China, Zhang Biaomin (章表民),Huang Aoyu(黄聳隅) and Li Taibo were the best, and the Other scholars regarded them as the masters.^②

It can be seen that the Confucian scholars' activities of respecting Han Yu and expelling Buddhism not only had a significant influence among the officials and scholars but also shook the ordinary people's belief in Buddhism, which had a profound impact during Emperor Renzong's reign.

^① (Song) Master Qisong 契嵩法师, *The letter to Han Qi* 上韩相公书, selected from *The Chinese Tripitaka* 中华大藏经 Beijing: Chinese Book Company, 1994, p. 849.

^② (Song) Chen sunyu 陈舜俞, *The trade record of Tanjin Mingjiao master* 谭津明教大师行业记, selected from *The Chinese Tripitaka* 中华大藏经, Chinese Book Company, 1994, p. 778.