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NATURAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICS AND
METAPHYSICS IN THE DISCOURSE OF TAN SITONG:
THE CONCEPTS OF QI AND YITAI

Tan Sitong 諚嗣同 (1864–1898) is well known as one of the six reformers who died after the failure of the ‘Hundred Days Reform’ in 1898 by the sword of the executioner. Furthermore he is known as the author of the politico-philosophical treatise Renxue 仁學 (A study on ren). Perhaps less known is the fact that he advocated political reform only during the last four years of his life. Tan himself describes this change as a kind of incision that was not restricted to the field of political ideas but was also reflected in his philosophical thought:

After the thirtieth year of my life I began my new studies; this sudden change ripped up the former and the latter as if I were two different persons.¹

I will examine how this incision is reflected in Tan’s explication of the phenomena of nature. The problems will be centered on the relationship between the concept of qi 氣 in Tan’s ‘old studies’ and the concept of yitai in the Renxue and the “Yitai shuo” 以太說 (On yitai).

1. QI, THE ‘GENERATING FORCES’,
AND A ‘WESTERN DISCUSSION ON QI’

I draw the remarks on qi from a text classified by Tan as ‘old studies’. The Shijuying lu bishi 石菊影廬筆識 (Notes from the Studio of the Chrysanthemum-Inklab’s Shadow) was written during the first half of the 1890s; it is a collection of notes standing in the tradition of the biji 筆記 genre that was kept alive by many Qing scholars.² The notes are divided into two main parts, the “Xuepian” 學篇 (Studies) and the


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“Sipian” 思篇 (Thoughts), and contain comments and considerations on Chinese philology, poetry, history, music, military science, etc. Some touch upon problems of ‘Western’ learning (geography, astronomy, calendar science).

The notes of the Shijuying lu bishi neither offer a coherent presentation of the qi problematic nor do they apply a standardized terminology, but the different terms can be connected by their common references to Chinese natural philosophy.

In “Thoughts”, note no. 8, the term yuanqi 元気 ‘primal pneuma’ belonging to the filiation of Chinese natural philosophy is applied to denote an all-comprehending substance. The substance of ‘primal qi’ comprises yinyun 関元, ‘generating forces’, which generate the ‘ten thousand things’ through their ‘motion’ and motivate their changes. The absoluteness of motion is described by a paradigmatic series composed of yinyun, primal qi, the motion of the globe, the motion within the space of the earth, the motions of man and the motions of the ‘mind-heart’ (xin 心, i.e. affection and perception). ‘Motion’ seems to have a second centre in the ‘mind-heart’, the place where the ‘motions’ of the outside world are perceived and interpreted:

The generating forces of the primal qi cause changes and the motions [of qi] produce [all things]. The globe is also moving within the original qi. Ships and vehicles are moving within the space of the earth, man is moving within ships and vehicles. The mind-heart is moving within the human body. The motion of the primal qi sets everything in motion. If the mind-heart of man did not move, then he could look but would not see anything, he would listen but could not hear anything. The motion would stop. Therefore I know that heaven, earth and the ten thousand things constitute a unity. If the mind-heart is corrected, everything is correct, if the mind-heart is spoiled, everything goes wrong.  

The terms ‘primal qi’ and yinyun are not applied in other notes of the Shijuying lu bishi, but the theme is continued by using terms like qi, liangyi 兩儀, yinyang 陰陽, which are connected by the discourse of natural philosophy with the terms ‘primal qi’ and yinyun. These connections can be proved by a commentary to the Yijing 易經 written by Kong Yingda 孔顏達 (574–648). Kong identifies ‘primal qi’ with the

term taiji 太極, i.e. the state of non-differentiation or primal chaos (equated to the notion of ‘unformed qi’). Taiji produces the liangyi, the ‘two [contradicting/complimentary] aspects’. The term liangyi, which can be used as an equivalent for yinyun in texts of Chinese natural philosophy, connects “Thoughts”, note no. 8, to other notes of the Shijuying lu bishi. Note no. 1 states that the change of the ‘ten thousand things’ is determined by the specific relationship of the liangyi.

A motion once performed is not reversible:

As soon as the liangyi are activated all the different things and affairs are predetermined. As soon as they begin to operate [the original state] cannot be restored. Even heaven and earth, the guī 鬼 and shén 神 ghosts could not change it. The unfolding of regularity is equal to the coordinate motion of the wheels of a machine; it is transmitted from this to that. In the revolving motion, the liangyi need each other; one cannot exist without the other.

In the lexicon of Chinese natural philosophy the term liangyi is replaceable by the term yinyang. In “Thoughts”, note no. 6, the semantic series yinyun, liangyi, yinyang is related to the oppositions heaven/earth, formless/form-owning (wuxing 無形 / youxing 有形), emptiness/substantiality (xū 虛 / shí 實):

Earth is within heaven, and heaven is also within the earth. Within yāng there is yīn, within yīn there is yāng. That which is empty and formless is called heaven. That which is substantial and owns form is called earth. Heaven is yāng but is never without yīn, as the earth is yīn but is never without yāng; yīn and yāng are united in qi. How could heaven and earth be separated and constitute [thereby] a duality?

The qualification of heaven as ‘formless’ and earth as ‘form-owning’ refers to “Qian gua” 乾卦 (Hexagram qian), the first chapter of the Yijing, where earth and heaven are described as opposites, and by analogy ‘emptiness’ is opposed to ‘substantiality’. However ‘emptiness’ does not signify the disappearance of qi. Note no. 10 describes ‘formless’ and ‘form-owning’ as different conditions of qi-condensation. The ‘formless qi’ condenses to ‘form’ which shapes the concrete things. Besides ‘motion’ or condensation/dissolution respectively, ‘penetration’ is introduced as another important property of qi.

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5 Shijuying lu bishi, TQJ, p. 122
6 Ibid., p. 125.
Heaven fills space with undifferentiated, all-pervading \textit{qi}, condenses and becomes stuff (\textit{zhi} 性) that develops into man and things.\footnote{Shijuying lu bishi, \textit{TQJ}, p. 127.}

\textit{Qi} is formed by the activity of the contradicting forces into physical objects. Simultaneously \textit{qi} functions as psychic and moral energy by motivating human perception and actions. Tan connects his explanation of the material \textit{qi} with Mengzi’s 孟子 concept of \textit{haoran zhi qi} 浩然之氣 ‘flood-like \textit{qi}’ in which \textit{qi} denotes moral virtue.

The flood-like \textit{qi} of Mengzi is no other \textit{qi} than the \textit{qi} that is breathed in and out through the nose. … \textit{Qi} affects the five senses and the hundred bones. It takes forms and is sight, hearing, speech and action. It manifests itself and is joy and anger, sorrow and gladness.\footnote{David Wright. 1994. “Tan Sitong and the Ether Reconsidered”, \textit{Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies} 57.3, pp. 551–575; 569.}

The ideas on \textit{qi} outlined in the \textit{Shijuying lu bishi} are referring to the traditional discourse of natural philosophy (Tan’s reading of the \textit{Yijing}, Zhang Zai 張載 [1020–1077], etc.). They do not show new elements that could be related to modern scientific thought. Only in one note is this nexus drawn. There, Tan refers to what he calls a ‘Western discussion on \textit{qi}’. Hypothesis no. 1 of this ‘discussion’ states that \textit{qi} only extends above the earth to a distance of 200 \textit{li}. This is proven by the fact that there are no living beings on high mountains etc.:

> The higher, the thinner the density of \textit{qi}, to the point of non-existence. Thus if you ascend in a balloon you have to store \textit{qi} in tanks so that you can breathe, as there is no \textit{qi} up there.\footnote{Shijuying lu bishi, \textit{TQJ}, p. 123.}

In this passage \textit{qi} obviously denotes ‘air/atmosphere/biosphere’ — which, by the way, is close to the etymological sense of the Chinese grapheme.

The ‘Western discussion’ is indicated by featuring the phenomenon of the motion of an air-balloon, the storing of \textit{qi} in tanks in combination with the specification of numerical data (‘distance of 200 \textit{li}’).

Hypothesis no. 2 of this ‘discussion’ supposes that \textit{qi} does not cease at 200 \textit{li} which is proven by the fact that the sun’s warmth reaches the earth, which can only be done through \textit{qi}:

> The \textit{qi} [which extends up to] 200 \textit{li} is the \textit{qi} of living things, whereas the \textit{qi} in which there is intercourse between heaven and earth certainly has no end. The [light of the] sun is transmitted through this \textit{qi} to the
earth and the [light of the] moon and the stars is all transmitted through this qi to the earth. ... When people raise their eyes to look at the moon and the stars, it is the earthly qi which transmits [their gaze] to the moon and stars.10

In this passage, qi is given a new denotation. The description of qi as a transmitting medium of light can be read as a reference to the modern scientific idea of ether.11 The same goes for Tan’s explication that the sun and the moon attract the seas of the earth through the mediation of qi. This is reminiscent of Newton’s explanation of gravity. Worthy of a note is that in another passage of the Shijuying lu bishi Tan mentions Zhang Zai’s explanation of the tides in using the traditional concept of qi and puts it on one level with modern scientific findings in the ‘West’.12 Thus Tan equates the discourse of traditional Chinese natural philosophy with ideas derived from the discourse of ‘Western’ science.

2. YITAI AND THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION/DESTRUCTION

The qi discourse and its combination with the ‘Western discussion on qi’ constitutes the background against which the concept of yitai is developed in the Renxue (written during the second half of the year 1896 and the first half of 1897) and in the short essay “Yitai shuo” (written in May 1898). The term yitai does not appear in the Shijuying lu bishi. Its application may be motivated by Tan’s attentive reading of John Fryer’s (Fu Lanya, 1839–1928) Zhixin mianbing fa (治心免病法, A method for healing the mind and avoiding sickness), a translation of Henry Wood’s Ideal suggestion through mental photography, which he acquired in 1896.13 Tan did not use competing equivalents for the English term ‘ether’, such as chuanguangqi 使用光气 used

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This distinction of the traditional qi-concept stands in analogous ratio to Tan’s political incision, namely his call for ‘wholesale Westernization’ pronounced in a letter to Ouyang Zhonggu (written in the middle of the year 1895) — the first text written by Tan expressing reformist ideas. The incision is tempered in so far as Chinese natural philosophy and the ‘regulations’ of China’s ancient society are considered by Tan as precursors of ‘Western’ science and the political ‘norms’ of the ‘West’ (so that the adoption of scientific and political ideas and institutions of the ‘West’ can be construed in the logic of a negated negation).

Yitai is presented as the primal building material of the ‘phenomenal world’. It is defined as formless, dimensionless, both “supremely vast and supremely subtle”.

It is the fundamental ‘stuff’ (zhi) of sixty-four different basic (chemical) ‘elements’ (zhidian), which enter into combination with each other.

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14 Cf. Carl T. Kreyer (Jin Kaili 金楷理) and Zhao Yuanyi 趙元益 (trs.). 1876. Guangxue 光學 (Optics). Shanghai: Jiangnan zhizaoju.
I say that, when I speak of the origin of things, they really do lack an [innate] nature; this is obvious. For if one considers the differences between animals and plants, is it really true that they have their own natures? Or is it just that their constituent atoms differ in their spatial arrangements and relative proportions? For all the atoms derive from sixty-four elements, and the nature of the substance arises from the combination of one element with another. When a compound is analyzed and one element is combined with another one, or when the [proportion] of one atom is increased or decreased, then a substance with a new nature is produced. Even if equal numbers of two elements are combined, depending on the extent to which one element dominates the other, substances of different natures are generated.\(^19\)

Although this passage explicitly speaks of sixty-four different elements, the *Renxue* denies that things produced by the special combination of elements are qualitatively defined and thus possess a specific ‘nature’. ‘Difference’ has to be read as quantitative difference within the identity represented by the term *yitai*:

There still is a difference between the sixty-four elements but the primal source of the elements is the one *yitai*. [It is] one, therefore it is not produced and [can] not be destructed. Since it is not produced, it cannot be said to be existent. Since it is indestructible, it cannot be said to be non-existent. *Yitai* may be called ‘nature’, [but] there is no nature that can be spoken of.\(^20\)

The infinite combinations of elements produce the physical objects that constitute the universe. The consistency of a definite agglomeration of elements is relative, i.e. any physical object is subjected to a constant process of production and decomposition, while *yitai* as stuff is not augmented or diminished.\(^21\)

In explaining the nexus between *yitai* as a kind of indestructible building ‘stuff’ and the relative identity of physical objects combined by elements based on *yitai*, Tan does not refer to the scientific discourse but to the Buddhist concepts of ‘production/destruction’ (*sheng* 生 / *mie* 滅) and ‘non-production/non-destruction’ (*bu sheng* 不生 / *bu mie* 不滅). These concepts are structurally analogous with the concepts of ‘motion’, ‘condensation/dissolution’ of *qi* as described in the *Shijuying lu bishi*.\(^22\)

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., ch. 12, *TQJ*, pp. 306–7.
The process of sheng/mie takes place within the physical object, i.e. the product of yitai. Its changes are explained as effects of chemical processes and do not signify an increase or decrease of the yitai-substance.

The continuous process of ‘production/destruction’ in the infinite series of physical objects is considered as proof of the ‘indestructibility’ of the yitai substance. The ‘decomposition’ and the ‘manifestation’ of ‘things’ are explained by the dialectic interrelation between the ‘hidden’ and the ‘visible’ as cited in Wang Fuzhi’s (1619–1692) commentary to the Yijing:

Being and non-being signify condensation and dispersion, but not production and destruction. … In explaining the Yijing, Wang Fuzhi said: ‘Each hexagram has twelve lines, one half is hidden, the other is visible.’ Correspondingly, the Yijing does not speak of being and non-being, but only of concealment and visibility.23

This explication can be linked up with the concept of ‘formless/form-owning’ (being isotopic to ‘hidden/destructed/non-being’ or ‘visible/produced/being’) described in the Shijuicing lu bishi as different conditions of qi-condensation.

The ensuing passage in the Renxue describes its main relations: the discernable ‘production/destruction’ of physical objects corresponds to the ‘great transmigration’ (da lunhui 大輪廻). ‘Production/destruction’ or, respectively, the ‘great transmigration’ are based upon operations proceeding under the surface of the perceptible in the form of ‘sublime production and destruction’ (wei shengmie 微生滅) or ‘sublime transmigration’ (wei lunhui 微輪廻).

The delineation of the relations in question is combined with the central epistemological conception of the Renxue which says that the apparently objective operations are traced back to the imaginary projections of ‘thought’ (I will revert to this subjective idealist perspective later):

22 In Buddhist discourse the term busheng bumie (Sanskrit: an-uppana an-uppada) describes the level of nirvāna (in the explication of Mahayanaism: the experience of the ‘inner Buddha nature’). Shengmie (Sanskrit: utpanna utpada) describes the level of samsāra, the sphere of flux, transmigration (lunhui 輪廻), the cycle of rebirth. The identity of busheng bumie and shengmie as stated in the Renxue points to the Mahayanistic explication that nirvāna and samsāra constitute two complementary sides of one reality.

Within one moment of time infinite Buddhas are produced and destructed, infinite living beings are produced and destructed, infinite worlds and worlds of phenomena are produced and destructed. In the past, production and destruction had no beginning; in the future, production and destruction will have no end. At the present time, production and destruction succeed each other, pass by, never stop. Therefore transmigration does not begin with the [evident cycle of] production and destruction, for this is the great transmigration only. Production and destruction are performed at the same moment, thus there is no moment without transformation. Naturally there is *stepping forward* and *withdrawing*, motion and rest, utterance and silence, thinking and loafing, hearing and seeing, drinking and eating, dreaming and waking, breathing and the circulation of blood. That goes and this comes, that is connected and this broken off. That which goes, vanishes, this which comes, is produced again. That which is connected, is produced, this which is broken, dies. Is it not sad that all things produced and destructed cannot transgress the cycle of transmigration? [Things] are produced and formed through the continuity of thoughts. Correspondingly the great transformation is also created through thought. That is why the Buddha said: ‘The three worlds [of phenomena, of the void and of living beings] are all mind-heart.’ And again: ‘All is produced by the mind-heart.’ Whether man is able to transcend the great transmigration can be known [by analyzing] the sublime transmigration. If sublime transmigration never stops, the [sublime] production and destruction will not stand still. Not to speak of [the evident cycle of] production and destruction of *yitai*.24

‘Sublime production and destruction’ is performed on a level of physical change that is not accessible to sense perception. On this micro-level the processes of ‘production/destruction’ are performed in such a ‘dense’ succession that the two opposites constantly shift into each other, until the point is reached when the difference is no longer measurable and ‘sublime production and destruction’ dissolves into ‘non-production and non-destruction’, signifying the sphere of the primal substance *yitai* which is not defined by space and time (that which is not created cannot pass away and occupies no place):

The time and space of transition from production to destruction is so short that it can be shortened no more, it is so close that it cannot come any closer. Thus production and destruction merge into one another and become non-production and non-destruction. In this way sublime production and destruction is shaped.25

24 *Renxue*, ch. 15, TQJ, p. 313.
25 Ibid., TQJ, p. 314.
Apart from its indestructibility and its capacity to mould concrete things and develop sensitive beings, yitai possesses a variety of properties such as ‘interconnection’ or ‘communication’ (tong 通), ‘penetration’ (guanqia 黄洽) and ‘cohesion’ (jiaonian 胶粘). Yitai is connected with the force of gravity and thus conceived of as a power that holds together the solar systems and the entire universe. By homology it functions as an adhesive force for the ‘regions’ of the human body.

The world of phenomena is produced by yitai, the void is established upon it, and the living beings issue from it. Nothing is closer to man than his body. The bones of the body number over two hundred, it consists of a certain quantity of muscles, blood vessels, and internal organs. [The medium] that forms the body and holds it together, so that it does not disperse, is only yitai. … What enables the eye to see, the ear to hear, the nose to smell, the tongue to taste, the body to feel? It is only yitai. Nothing is closer to the body than the earth. The earth is composed of many atoms. What holds them together? It is only yitai. If we divide an atom until the point of nothingness is reached and examine that which holds [the particles] together, [we find that] it is only yitai.27

Yitai is not only understood as a passive medium but it is “manifested in function”28, namely as energetic force. A central ‘function’ of yitai is ‘electricity’. While the brain and the nervous system are considered as the ‘most intelligent’ products of yitai, ‘electricity’ transfers sensuous impressions via the nerves to the brain and integrates the human body as an organic system.29 Another function of ‘electricity’ is ‘psychic energy’ (xinli 心力) that enables the self to be connected with the other selves:

My psychic energy can affect others to share my thoughts. … The student of ren must realize that electricity is the brain; there is no place without electricity, i.e. there is no place without the self; a wrong distinction between the self and others will lead to non-ren.30

27 Renxue, ch. 1, TQJ, p. 294.
28 Ibid., TQJ, p. 293; “Yitai shuo”, TQJ, p. 434.
29 Renxue, ch. 3, TQJ, p. 295.
30 Ibid., ch. 2, TQJ, p. 295.
In the cosmos of the outside world ‘electricity’ functions as “brain without form and stuff”.

In a broad sense the yitai-concept constitutes the core of an atomistic theory. As to the properties of yitai there are correspondences with the qi-concept. Both concepts are based on a monistic view: qi and yitai are defined as indestructible substances with certain attributes such as motion, penetration, unobstructed interchange, etc. Herein both function as energetic force. Qi and yitai manifest themselves in different forms conceived of as ‘agglomeration’ or ‘condensation’ of yitai or qi. These forms are defined as limited objects subdued to constant change, which in their infinite totality constitute the universe. On the other hand, there are distinctions between the two concepts. The qi-concept of the Shijuying lu bishi belongs to the filiation of Chinese natural philosophy (even though it includes elements of a ‘Western discussion’ in one note). The yitai-concept as applied in the Renxue explicitly refers to the discourse of modern ‘Western’ science. It does not hint at the qi-concept—at least not on the discursive surface. I have considered this under the aspect of ‘incision’.

Apart from the references to the discourses of physics and chemistry (atom, gravitational force, centripetal force, electricity, wave nature of light, chemical elements), the Renxue bears upon the discourse of anatomy (nerve, brain), and even upon the discourse of astronomy (the orbits of planets, the structure of the cosmos). The latter is partly connected to the discourses of Chinese astronomy and Buddhist cosmology. The term ‘psychic energy’ is taken from the discourse of psychology but is basically used in a religious-metaphysical sense.

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32 “Yitai shuo”, TQJ, p. 432; Renxue, ch. 11, TQJ, p. 306 and ch. 17, TQJ, p. 317.
33 Renxue, ch. 2, TQJ, p. 295.
34 Ibid., ch. 1, TQJ, p. 294.
3. The Religious-Metaphysical Explication of Yitai

By means of its properties, yitai is identified with certain ethico-religious ideas, such as the Buddhist cibei 慈悲 ‘compassion’, the Mohist jian’ai 兼愛 ‘all-embracing love’ and Christian ‘charity’. The main nexus in this sphere of the religious-metaphysical is the linking of yitai with ren, a central Confucian term (usually translated as ‘benevolence’, ‘goodness’, ‘altruism’, ‘humanity’, etc.). Deconstructed as an integral part of the hegemonial ideology, it is assembled anew in the Renxue as representative of ‘equality’ (pingdeng 平等): it becomes the agent of ‘people’s power’, ‘people’s rule’ and ‘autonomy’. Moreover, it is understood as the universal law of mutual responsiveness which governs the physical and the non-physical world. Defined as a ‘function of yitai’, ren is equipped with the properties attributed to yitai and is treated as a principle parallel to it. Thus, the distinction between yitai and ren, drawn on certain carefully defined levels (ren is in general not applied in the explication of material phenomena thought to be the object of natural science while yitai is not used to explicate phenomena belonging to the social realm), is eliminated in the last instance by a semantic overloading of the central terms yitai and ren.

The realm of phenomena, the realm of the void, and the realm of sentient beings are permeated by a thing which is supremely vast and supremely subtle, which adheres, penetrates, connects and fills all things. The eye cannot see its colour, the ear cannot hear its sound, the mouth and nose cannot realize its smell or taste. There is no [adequate] name for it, but we may call it yitai. Its manifestations in function are waves, energy, [chemical] elements, and nerves. The realm of phenomena is produced from it, the realm of the void is established by it and the realm of sentient beings issues from it. It has no form, but all forms depend upon it; it has no mind-heart, but it is felt by all mind-hearts. Strictly speaking, we can simply call it ren.

The strategy of linking elements of different discursive fields by means of the central concept yitai (or ren) is aimed at a presentation of an internal connection between scientific reasoning and the axioms

35 Renxue, ch. 1, TQJ, p. 293.
37 “Yitai shuo”, TQJ, p. 434.
underlying the religious-metaphysical doctrines of the new ‘three teachings’ (san jiao 三教), i.e. Confucian, Christian and Buddhist doctrines deconstructed and newly construed in the Renxue. This fusion of scientific and religious-metaphysical thought functions as the basic structure of the ideological setting of the Renxue discourse. Scientific reasoning is regarded as an instrument capable of proving the mutual dependence of the ‘ten thousand things’.38 This approach is a prerequisite to overcome thinking in ‘relative terms’39 and to recognize the differences between things as a game of imagination. In referring to the Mahayanistic epistemology of the Weishi 唯識 (‘mere ideation’) School, the external world and its transformations are now unveiled as a projection of the mind or, more accurately, the ‘storehouse of consciousness’ (cangshi 藏識).40 In this context, determined by the Mahayanistic discourse, the Renxue redefines yitai as xiangfen 相分, a ‘form’ of imagination. Yitai is an “object projected by mere ideation”, which “can be considered as non-existing”.41 The significant (‘name’) yitai does not possess a referent.

In this perspective, the concept of yitai reflects a fundamental contradiction that pervades the base construction of the Renxue discourse: A science-oriented approach (a materialistic view, as it were) is opposed to the idea that the differences received by the perceptive apparatus are nothing but the imaginations of this apparatus itself. The desire for scientific knowledge and for social cognition (politically aiming to overthrow autocratic power—a main topic of the Renxue) are opposed to the attempt of dissolving the referent into the emptiness of an all-encompassing unity. The Renxue does not intend to offer a solution to this aporia.42

38 Renxue, ch. 17, TQJ, p. 317.
39 Renxue, “Jieshuo” 界說 (Definitions), TQJ, p. 291; and ch. 17, TQJ, p. 317.
42 When Nagarjuna was asked how to handle the somewhat puzzling contradiction that the projections of the mind pose problems to the projecting subject (the so-called problems of real life, which—seen from the standpoint of the ‘Middle Path’—in the last instance are illusive problems in an imaginary world of an imaginary subject), he answered that in practical life one can deal with illusion by letting them pass for real just as one has to take for granted the effects of a chronic eye-disease. Cf. Klaus Mylius. 1983. Geschichte der Literatur im alten Indien. Leipzig: Reclam, p. 425.