

JIANG WU



LEAVING FOR THE  
RISING SUN

*Chinese Zen Master Yinyuan & the  
Authenticity Crisis in Early Modern East Asia*

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## *Preface*

FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE passed since I first took on this project. When I was thinking about a dissertation topic for my PhD degree in 1999, I was fascinated by the breadth and depth of the sources left by the Chan/Zen monks during the seventeenth century, especially those in the immediate lineage of Miyun Yuanwu, Feiyin Tongrong, and Yinyuan Longqi. Many rare sources were preserved in Manpukuji, Kyoto, as the result of Yinyuan's migration to Japan in 1654 and the founding of Manpukuji in 1661.

I focused on the three Chan teachers in my dissertation, including Yinyuan's success in Japan. Entitled "Orthodoxy, Controversy, and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China," my thesis was successfully defended in 2002 under the tutelage of Tu Weiming and Robert Gimello. In the process of revising the thesis for publication, I decided to leave out the part on Yinyuan and focused entirely on the Chan revival on the continent. This completely rewritten work was published as *Enlightenment in Dispute: the Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* in 2008. However, I did not forget about Yinyuan. I continued to do research on him, planning to write a sequel.

However, in this long process, the project changed its course several times. Initially, I simply wanted to write a biography about him due to the large amount of available information. After I completed the draft and experienced several failed submissions, I realized the problem of my first manuscript was the absence of an argument, which I had initially resisted from including. I thought that Yinyuan's adventurous life was interesting enough to sustain the book. I soon realized, however, that it was going to be difficult to publish my work without a coherent argument and a compelling narrative.

I forced myself to think hard about the significance of Yinyuan until it eventually appeared to me that to be able to fully understand him and his success, I could not limit myself to a narrow China-centered perspective



and a religion-only approach. Because he achieved success in Japan as well, he needed to be situated in the context of Edo Japan in association with the transformation in East Asian culture. This meant I would have to cross the boundary and pay more attention to the studies of Edo religion and culture. The task was enormous. During the process of rewriting, I almost gave up the entire project because Japan study is not part of my training.

The crucial support came near the end of this project. Japan Foundation generously awarded me a short-term fellowship to study at Manpukuji Archive in the summer of 2013 and Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation provided me necessary funds to release me from teaching for fall of 2013 and spring of 2014 so that I could finish the manuscript. Their support enabled me to collect a large number of rare sources and incorporate them in the book. In the summer of 2013, not only did I conduct archival research at Manpukuji, Nichibunken, Kyoto University, and Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, but I also traveled to numerous sites related to Yinyuan and Chinese monks in Kyoto, Hirado, Isahaya, Ōmura, Nagasaki, and Osaka. In a previous trip to Tokyo in March 2011, I also visited sites related to Yinyuan in the Tokyo area.

During my lengthy period of research, I received assistance from a number of scholars and friends. Unfortunately, there is only space to name a few of them: my advisors Tu Weiming and Robert Gimello, Sueki Fumihiko, Liu Yuebing, Qin Zhaoxiong, Helen Baroni, Yokote Yutaka, James Baskind, Lin Guanchao, William Bodiford, Paul Groner, Joshua Fogel, Lynn Struve, Kajiura Susumu, Matsunaga Chikai, Iioka Naoko, Benjamin Elman, Robert Borge, Chen Jinhua, and my colleagues at University of Arizona Noel Pinnington and Albert Welter. Prof. Umezawa Fumiko of Sophia University kindly shared with me her teaching materials about reading Sōrōbun. Eiji Suhara helped me check Japanese and Korean romanization and I deeply appreciated it. My friend Bill Porter (Red Pine) helped polish some of my translations of Yinyuan's poems in this book. He did a marvelous job and completely retranslated the verses in some of the poems. I deeply appreciate their encouragement and support. Special thanks to CBETA and SAT Buddhist canon databases, which enable more efficient searches. Some information of Chinese person names and place names were retrieved through DDBC Person Authority Database, China Biographical Database (CBDB), and China Historical GIS (CHGIS). For my knowledge of the Nagasaki trade, I also benefited from a series of conferences on "Monies, Markets and Finance in

China and East Asia, 1600–1900” organized by Hans Vogel at Tübingen University in Germany.

In particular, I want to thank all of the Japanese friends who helped me during my stay in Japan. My previous colleague Kamata Hitoshi, now a professor at Notre Dame Tokyo University, put me in contact with Ven. Tanaka Chisei, the chief person in charge of the Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive. Mr. Tanaka received me warmly. I learned a lot from our conversation during the tea break and lunch time. He allowed me unlimited access to the archive as well as to photocopy essential texts and use prints of art works for publication. In the same office, I had the fond memory of deciphering classical Chinese poems together with Ven. Murata Nobutake. Ms. Moto always prepared the best tea and Japanese candy for the study break and helped me identify the right sources from their catalogues. In addition, I want to thank Mr. Saiki Nobutaka, director of Japan Foundation Kyoto Office; Yamamoto Chie, also from the same office; librarian of Ishahaya Local History Archive Oda Takenaga; staff at Nagasaki Museum of Culture and History; Ven. Okuda Keichi at Kyūtōin in Osaka; and Ven. Furuichi Gishin at Zuishōji in Tokyo. There are also many more whom I had spoken to but whose names I do not know. I thank them sincerely for helping me survive the hot summer of 2013.

Finally, I want to thank my longtime friend Su Wukang for supporting my research. Wukang’s father and my father were classmates in Shanghai Jiaotong University and worked in the same research institute in Luoyang where we grew up together. We were classmates in both primary school and junior high, then remained in the same senior high, though in different classes. We both went to Nankai University in Tianjin and completed graduate studies there. Although we chose different career paths and live in different hemispheres, we have been connected throughout these years. During the final stage of research for this book, he and his Su Wukang Research Fund for East Asian Civilization helped me tremendously for covering the research cost. Early versions of chapters 2 and 4 were published in *Journal of East Asian History*, issues 31 (2006) and 38 (2014), respectively. An early version of chapter 3 was published in *Asia Major* (Third Series) vol. 17, part 2 (2004). I want to thank both journals for permission to reprint the articles.

During the process of research that lasted for such a long time, I am glad about the fact that this book did not start with a premeditated argument but ends with a point of view that is meaningful in understanding the transformation of East Asian society in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries. It was the enormous body of primary sources that first attracted me. These sources may appear to be trivial, marginal, and fragmented, but I believe that a world of meaning lies behind these sources and awaits further exploration. We should never blame our sources for lack of usefulness. The failure to understand them is purely the scholars' responsibility. At the end, I must apologize for the mistakes I made in this book. Although I have done my best, I realize that it is hard to avoid errors in an ambitious and challenging book like this one.

J. W.  
Tucson, Arizona  
February 17, 2014

## *Conventions*

1. All Chinese transliterations follow the pinyin system, Japanese ones the revised Hepburn, and Korean ones the revised standard Korean romanization, except in citations and quotations where the original authors adopted a different spelling system. Essential Chinese characters will be provided in Index. Unfamiliar transliterations are italicized throughout the text while proper names and familiar words such as dharma, shogun, and bakufu are set in roman type.
2. Chinese titles with ambiguous origins will be either transcribed in Chinese or Japanese romanization depending on the author's national origin and the content of the works but will remain consistent throughout the work. Zen is used for general reference and Chan will be used when discussing the tradition in the Chinese context.
3. Monks names' will be commonly addressed by their "first" names, which are their courtesy or literary names and usually the first two characters. Premodern Japanese persons will be addressed by their given names. Years of life span are provided if known.
4. Months and days are given according to lunar calendar, while the years are converted to the approximate years according to Western calendar.
5. Common names such as sutra, Tokyo, Kyoto, daimyo, and Ryukyu will be spelled without diacritics unless in cases of technical discussion.
6. In translated texts, supplemented contents in brackets should be read together with the whole translation for consistency and contents in parenthesis are notes added for clarification.
7. Abbreviations:  
*Correspondence, Riben Huangboshan Wanfusi cang lüri gaoseng Yinyuan zhongtu laiwang shuxin ji*

*IGZS, Shinsan kōtei Ingen zenshū*

*JXZ, Mingban Jiaxing zang*

*Nenpu, Ingen zenji nenpu*

*OBJ, Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten*

*T, Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*

*X, Shinsan dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō*

## *Chronology*

- 1571 The port of Nagasaki opened to foreign trade.
- 1587 Hideyoshi Toyotomi issued a decree to prohibit Christianity.
- 1592 Yinyuan was born in Fuqing. Hideyoshi invaded Korea. The first magistrate of Nagasaki was appointed by Hideyoshi and Japanese vessels engaged in trade began to be licensed.
- 1603 Ieyasu was appointed the shogun and the era of Edo bakufu began.
- 1607 The first Korean envoy arrived in Edo to congratulate Hidetada's accession.
- 1609 Satsuma troops invaded Ryukyu.
- 1613 Yinyuan visited Eastern Zhejiang and Putou Island on the excuse of finding his father.
- 1620 Yinyuan was ordained at Huangbo monastery. Chinese temple Kōfukuji was built in Nagasaki.
- 1624 Yinyuan went to study with Miyun Yuanwu in Jinsu monastery in Haiyan county.
- 1626 Yinyuan had a major enlightenment experience.
- 1630 Miyun Yuanwu was invited to be the abbot of Huangbo monastery in Fuqing.
- 1631 Yinyuan retreated to Lion Cliff in Fuqing. Zheng Chenggong returned to China from Hirado.
- 1633 Feiyin Tongrong succeeded as the abbot of Huangbo monastery.
- 1634 Ryukyu envoys arrived in Edo to congratulate Iemitsu's inauguration.
- 1635 The *Sakoku* laws were issued to restrict foreign trade to Nagasaki.
- 1637 Yinyuan Longqi received Feiyin's dharma transmission and became the abbot of Huangbo monastery.
- 1644 Beijing fell to the Manchus.
- 1646 Zheng Chenggong became a leader of the resistance movement after his father surrendered to the Manchus.
- 1651 Daozhe Chaoyuan arrived in Japan. Dokuan Genkō studied with Daozhe.
- 1652 Chinese abbot Yiran at Kōfukuji sent two invitation letters to Yinyuan and asked him to come to Japan.

- 1653 Yiran sent the third and fourth invitation letters to Yinyuan. The Kangxi Emperor of the Qing dynasty offered investiture to the Ryukyu King. Ryukyu envoys arrived in Edo to congratulate Ietsuna's inauguration.
- 1654 Yinyuan Longqi arrived at Nagasagi with the help of Zheng Chenggong. The controversy arose about Feiyin's work *The Strict Transmission of Five Chan Lamps* (*Wudeng yantong*), which ended with a lawsuit and the original wood-blocks burnt.
- 1655 Yinyuan moved to Fumonji and arrived at Osaka the same day as the Korean envoys did.
- 1657 Mukai Genshō wrote *Chapters on Realizing One's Shame* (*Chishihen*) to criticize Yinyuan.
- 1658 Zheng Chenggong sent a "state letter" to Japan. Yinyuan was summoned to Edo for audience with Ietsuna. Yamaga Sokō met Yinyuan in Edo.
- 1659 Chinese Chan monks Yulin Tongxiu and Muchen Daomin were summoned to Beijing for audiences with the Shunzhi Emperor.
- 1660 Yinyuan was granted the land by the bakufu government to build Manpukuji in Japan. Zheng Chenggong's envoy Zhang Guangqi arrived in Nagasaki.
- 1662 Zheng Chenggong occupied Taiwan.
- 1664 Yinyuan retired from abbotship at Manpukuji.
- 1670 Yamaga Sokō wrote *Facts about the Central Dynasty* (*Chūchō jijitsu*), which was published in 1681.
- 1673 Yinyuan passed away.
- 1681 Dokuan Genkō's *Senseless Talk* (*Sengo*) was published.
- 1683 The Kangxi Emperor conquered Taiwan. The ban on maritime trade was lifted.
- 1695 Chinese Caodong monk Shilian Dashan arrived in Vietnam.
- 1709 Ogyū Sorai disputed Yinyuan's epitaph written by the Qing official Du Lide.
- 1715 The bakufu issued Shōtoku new regulations to control the Nagasaki trade.
- 1723 New rules for recruiting Chinese monks were promulgated and efforts had been made to invite senior Chinese monks with authentic transmissions.
- 1728 A group of Chinese monks invited by Manpukuji was arrested in Putou Island.
- 1740 The bakufu appointed the first Japanese abbot at Manpukuji.
- 1784 The last Chinese abbot at Manpukuji, Dacheng Zhaohan, passed away.

*Leaving for the Rising Sun*





# *Introduction*

## YINYUAN AS A SYMBOL OF AUTHENTICITY

ALTHOUGH PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP has greatly enhanced our understanding of the intellectual and social transformation in early modern China, conspicuously missing in these studies are an East Asian perspective and the consideration of the role that religion, especially Buddhism, played in this historical process, which has been often categorized as the “seventeenth-century crisis” in the works of William Atwell and Frederic Wakeman.<sup>1</sup> Both of them characterized such a crisis as primarily economic and political as the result of fiscal disaster, climate change, famine, and the fall of the Ming to the Manchu Qing empire. It was less known how the intellectual and religious changes would have fitted into this pattern of crisis.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, an East Asian perspective and the attention to religion are much needed because in early modern East Asia, a Sinosphere, as Joshua Fogel puts it,<sup>3</sup> had been even more closely knitted together through the robust maritime trade, frequent diplomatic exchanges among China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and Ryukyu (now Okinawa), and intensive cultural exchanges such as the Nagasaki book trade.<sup>4</sup> In recent years, Benjamin Elman, Lynn Struve, and Chun-chieh Huang have shown us how fruitful our research could be if we consider the intellectual and political changes in the early modern period from an East Asian perspective.<sup>5</sup> Ge Zhaoguang’s work, in particular, provides a new way to reconsider the notion of China in relation to its surrounding neighbors in East Asia. His approach calls for new methods and paradigms in understanding China’s role in East Asian history.<sup>6</sup>

Religion should be included in this general picture of crisis, for despite the fact that it was usually situated at the margin of East Asian society, Buddhism often showed exponential growth in China and other parts of East Asia during times of turmoil. It has been largely neglected and only revealed through recent scholarship that Chan/Zen Buddhism underwent significant transformations during the seventeenth century, as Chinese Chan monks became regular travelers through East Asia.<sup>7</sup> Notable among them was Yinyuan Longqi (1592–1673), the central subject of this study, who migrated to Japan in 1654 and founded the Ōbaku school of Japanese Zen Buddhism in 1661.

### *Yinyuan and His Travel to Japan*

Yinyuan Longqi, known as Ingen in Japan, was a remarkable Zen monk, who claimed to have inherited the “Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect” (Ch. *Linji zhengzong*, Jn. *Rinzai shōshū*) and was able to persuade the shogun to build Manpukuji, a new Ming-style monastery, for the establishment of his tradition. His departure led to the founding of the Ōbaku school in Japan, which was considered a mark of Chinese cultural identity for Chinese emigrants there. Under an interdiction that no new temples be built, the bakufu government made an exception to grant land in Uji, Kyoto, to Yinyuan Longqi. In 1661 Manpukuji, named after Yinyuan Longqi’s home monastery at Mount Huangbo (Ōbaku) in China, was erected. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, based in this new monastery at Uji, the Ōbaku school spread its influence throughout Japan. For a long time, this de facto new sect used the name “the Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect.” The name “Ōbakushū” was not utilized until 1876, when the Meiji government employed the term to distinguish Ōbaku from other Zen sects.

More important, Yinyuan’s arrival in Japan coincided with a series of historical events such as the Ming-Qing transition, the rise of Zheng Chenggong (1624–1662) in southern Fujian, the consolidation of the early Tokugawa power, the thriving Nagasaki trade, and the growing Japanese interests in Chinese learning and artistic pursuits. Although his travel has been noted in historical studies, the significance of his journey in the broader context of early modern East Asian history has not yet been fully explored. Therefore, a thorough study of Zen master Yinyuan and his journey to Japan provides a unique East Asian perspective to reexamine the crisis in the continent and the responses from other parts of East Asia.

Yinyuan grew up amid the crisis and turmoil of early modern East Asia. He was born the same year as Toyotomi Hideyoshi's first invasion of Korea in 1592. He received his Chan training in eastern Zhejiang, the homeland of Wang Yangming's (1472–1529) school of thought, and was deeply immersed in the literati culture of the time. Together with his two famous teachers Miyun Yuanwu (1566–1642) and Feiyin Tongrong (1593–1661), he had participated actively in the Chan disputes concerning the meaning of enlightenment and the authentication of dharma transmission. His career was interrupted by the Manchu invasion in 1644 and a loyalist sentiment prompted him to become a supporter of the resistance movement led by Zheng Chenggong, who gave Yinyuan permission to sail to Japan from his base in Xiamen.

Yinyuan arrived in Nagasaki in 1654 to join the thriving Chinese community there as the result of a bustling Sino-Japanese trade around that time. After just one year's residence in Nagasaki, Yinyuan was able to secure invitations from Japanese monks and authorities to move to a Japanese monastery called Fumonji, close to Osaka and Kyoto, despite the bakufu's ruling against Chinese residents living outside Nagasaki. After staying in Fumonji for a few years, Yinyuan was allowed to have two audiences with the fourth shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641–1680) in Edo (today's Tokyo) during the winter of 1658. He thus became the first Chinese individual of religious and cultural significance to have such an honor after the founding of the Tokugawa regime. Two years later, in 1660, the bakufu made an exception to allow him to build the new temple Manpukuji in Kyoto. Moreover, for the next hundred years, only Chinese monks were appointed as abbots at Manpukuji, and these Chinese abbots had to travel to Edo to congratulate the bakufu on the succession of a new shogun, just like the Korean and Ryukyu embassies did for the same purpose. From 1661 to 1784, eleven Chinese abbots made twenty-one visits to the Edo castle and each time they were well received by the bakufu and intellectuals in Edo such as Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), who was eager to seize the opportunity to practice his colloquial Chinese.<sup>8</sup> However, in the eighteenth century, Yinyuan's influence quickly declined amid the fall of the Nagasaki trade and the rise of Nativism in Japan.

Yinyuan's Ōbaku tradition left clear marks on modern Japanese Buddhism. Because of the changes Ōbaku Zen brought to Japan, Yanagida Seizan, a leading scholar in the field of Chan/Zen history, coined the term "Ōbaku-ization" (Ōbakuka) to describe the Ōbaku impact. In an article evaluating these influences, Yanagida regards Manpukuji, the base temple

of the Ōbaku school, as the “new Tōdaiji of modern Japan” because reforms within Japanese Zen Buddhism originated from there.<sup>9</sup> Yanagida Seizan believes that Ōbaku culture has penetrated all aspects of Japanese culture. He comments on the Ōbaku influence on Japanese culture as follows:

The eastward transmission of Chinese culture, which is symbolized by the establishment of Mount Ōbaku, not only remains in the realm of Buddhism. In a broader sense, it begins to reform the Japanese intellectual culture represented by the Learning of Wang Yangming (Yōmeigaku) and the Learning of Mito Domain (Mitogaku). Its influence also reaches areas such as ancient philosophy and rhetorics, the National Learning, Western Learning, Chinese medicine, social education and the expansion of welfare. Moreover, based on the popular taste of the literati, it also influences the Japanese diet such as the preparation of tea. In all these areas, [the eastward transmission of Chinese culture] has triggered tremendous changes. There is also one of the most obvious examples: in previous times, the publication of the Ōbaku Buddhist canon and the disaster-relief carried out by the Ōbaku monk Tetsugen Dōkō took up one page of our history textbook stipulated by the government. The name of “Yinyuan Bean” (*Ingen mame*), together with “Takuan Pickle” (*Takuanzuke*), are loved in Japanese daily life.<sup>10</sup>

In relation to the formation and development of Hakuin Zen, [something else] must be considered especially. Sōtō Zen was also reformed during this time. The new compilation and publication of Dōgen’s *Treasures of True Dharma Eyes* (*Shōbōgensō*) is not only a major event for the Sōtō school but also opens up a way for modern Japanese society to re-discover the philosophy of Dōgen. No matter which orientation of modern Japanese society one considers, without the impact of Ōbaku culture, there is no way to explain it.<sup>11</sup>

To a certain extent, the Ōbaku impact on Japanese Buddhism and Japanese culture is hard to gauge in the contemporary era because the distinctness of the Ōbaku school within Japanese Buddhism has faded since the eighteenth century. When Hakuin Zen emerged, the once influential Ōbaku tradition was chastised as a syncretic practice of Pure Land and Chan, rather than an authentic and pure Zen tradition. Yinyuan and his tradition were thus relegated to a marginal status in Japanese Buddhism. This diminution of the Ōbaku influence was especially evident when

Ryōchū Nyoryū (1793–1868), who had studied with Hakuin’s descendent Takujū Kosen (1760–1833), became the thirty-third abbot of Manpukuji in 1851. (*OBJ* 388) After the conscious Hakuinian purification of the allegedly “adulterated” Ōbaku influence, the remaining Ōbaku impact can be difficult to see in contemporary Japanese Zen monasticism.<sup>12</sup> However, careful observers can still discern the unconscious assimilation of Ōbaku monastic practices in various Buddhist institutions. There are many reasons to explain such a decline. But the Authenticity Crisis in early modern East Asia certainly contributed to the fall of the Ōbaku tradition in the late Tokugawa period.

### *The Meaning of Authenticity*

It is no doubt that Yinyuan, and the Ōbaku tradition he established in Edo Japan, was a huge success. However, its decline in modern times gave people a false impression that it was not a mainstream teaching, and exerted little impact. Many factors explain the success and the decline. In my opinion, one of the essential factors was that Yinyuan was able to establish himself as a symbol of authenticity, with the tradition he had created continuing to represent and embody this authenticity.

The quest for authenticity is one of human beings’ basic intellectual and spiritual needs to define and redefine the fundamental value system of individual and society. Drawing on the European literary tradition, Lionel Trilling observes that the moral life in pre-Enlightenment Europe was dominated by the notion of sincerity and in recent centuries has given ways to a new mode of thinking on the basis of the virtue of authenticity. “To stay true to oneself,” rather than the rigid moral judgment of good and evil, became the standard in evaluating human life.<sup>13</sup> Trilling’s seminal thought on the value of authenticity behooves us to think harder on its role in the formation of human beings’ spiritual and moral life, and, more importantly, how the shift of the meaning of authenticity transformed culture and society. However, in modern times, as Charles Taylor points out, the concept of authenticity as a moral ideal has been eroded.<sup>14</sup> When the ideal of authenticity has been challenged, it is not an exaggeration to claim that human beings are faced with the Authenticity Crisis.

Epistemologically, authenticity simply means a relationship of correspondence between ideal and reality that engenders a consensus about what is real, essential, consistent, and unified. If a relationship of correspondence could be established, a state of authenticity would be

recognized. As anthropologist Charles Lindholm defines the meaning of authenticity, “[a]t minimum, it is the leading member of a set of values that includes sincere, essential, natural, original, and real.”<sup>15</sup> In his opinion, among a variety of human quests for authenticity in art, music, food, nation-state formation, and religious and tribal communities, human beings long for authenticity and even invent the sense of authenticity for their personal and collective well-being. When the sense of authenticity is lost, the society feels a spiritual, intellectual, and cultural crisis because of the danger of falling into the anomie of the unreal and false.

Here, drawing upon Western works on the philosophical and cultural significance of authenticity, I define authenticity as the foundation of a tradition and the source for forming a coherent and consistent value system. A sense of authenticity can be established in religion, culture, society, and politics if the reality conforms to the ideal value system upheld by the tradition. Otherwise, a tradition can be judged as “inauthentic,” with the sense of doubt and disbelief leading to the Authenticity Crisis.

In classical Chinese, the meaning of “authenticity” is often expressed through the discourse on what is original (*ben*), genuine (*zhen*), and true (*zheng*). The Chinese value system was based on the quest of authenticity to establish moral, political, and cultural norms to regulate human relations, communal activities, political structure, and international order. In the Chinese tradition, it has been presumed that the order of the human world is predicated on the original good nature of human beings and also reflects the natural order of the universe. The political order was derived from such a common foundation through constructing an elaborate bureaucratic hierarchy that truly embodied the Confucian moral principle. Such a human order constitutes the basis of civilization, which distinguished the Chinese from the others, often referred to as “barbarians” in Chinese sources. Such a notion of being civilized was reinforced by a formidable textual body of classics and their commentaries, which were considered as setting up the standards of the ideal of civilization. Although Chinese Civilization was interrupted by foreign invasions, Chinese dynasties were remarkable in keeping up these ideals. The founding of the Ming dynasty in particular restored the political and cultural authenticity of Chinese Civilization by abiding by the Confucian moral principles and developing a splendid culture that greatly influenced its East Asian neighbors.

In East Asia, a unique Sinosphere took shape based on the spread of Chinese Civilization and the formation of a tribute system centering

China. More importantly, the sense of authenticity of Chinese Civilization as being genuinely different from a “barbarian” way of life was the backbone for the integrity of such a Sinosphere. Thus, in this context, the Authenticity Crisis, most vividly seen when the authenticity of Chinese Civilization was challenged from outside China, refers to the gradual erosion of the perception of China as an authentic civilization, into a fragmented and inconsistent chaos that led to the collapse of the Sinosphere.

It is interesting to note that in the seventeenth century, Yinyuan, a Buddhist monk, became a symbol of authenticity. His representation of the ideal of authenticity was first of all manifested in the realm of religion. However, because of the special circumstance of the Ming-Qing transition, he also represented a sense of political authenticity because of his loyalty to the lost Ming empire. Meanwhile, his superb poetic and calligraphic talent enabled him to become an authentic representation of Chinese literati culture. Although other eminent Chinese who migrated to Japan, such as Zhu Shunshui (1600–1682) and Donggao Xinyue (1639–1695), can be regarded symbols of authenticity as well, none of their traditions achieved the institutional success as Yinyuan did.

### *Yinyuan as a Symbol of Religious Authenticity*

Yinyuan’s claim of the “Authentic Transmission of the Linji Lineage” (*Linji zhengzong*) helped him establish himself as the symbol of spiritual and religious authenticity. As I have revealed in my previous studies in *Enlightenment in Dispute*, such a claim of authenticity is a careful reinvention on the basis of the revived performance of encounter dialogue and a rigorous reexamination of dharma transmission in order to establish the authentic lines of spiritual inheritance. These two ways of authenticity building corresponded to two modes of “characterizing any entity as authentic” laid out by anthropologist Charles Lindholm. As he points out, by content, an object is authentic if its identity or correspondence between its essence and appearance is established; by origin, an object is authentic if a genealogy or history can be traced back to the source of authenticity.<sup>16</sup> These two modes require technical research of the style and pattern of the subject matter to establish correspondence and also demands tracing the genealogy just as an appraiser did to verify the authenticity of an art object.

When Yinyuan arrived in Japan in 1654, his claim of the authentic transmission appealed to Japanese Buddhists who were looking for the source of authority and legitimation from China. For many of them,



“China is a land where the true teaching is widespread, . . . and people are well acquainted with the Way,” as Suzuki Shōsan (1579–1655) claimed in his *Stories from the Sea (Kaijō monogatari)*.<sup>17</sup> Japanese monks looked toward China for spiritual inspiration and crowded the monasteries Yinyuan stayed in to learn what Yinyuan claimed to be the authentic Zen style. Many of them were converted to the newly founded Ōbaku tradition. Yinyuan’s claim of spiritual authenticity entails a strong sense of sectarian consciousness and no doubt paved the way to extending his influence in the broader Edo society. As Michel Mohr observes, the emergence of a strong sectarian consciousness in Tokugawa, Japan, can be traced back to the transmission of Ōbaku Zen to Japan, and such a sectarian consciousness served as a catalyst in the evolution of modern Buddhist sectarianism in Japan.<sup>18</sup>

Yinyuan and his Chinese disciples achieved the success of institutionalization in Japan by emphasizing their being both “authentic” and “orthodox” within the Linji school. Very often, a general observation of Ōbaku Buddhism leads to the conclusion that Yinyuan’s Ōbaku tradition was a mixture of Chan and Pure Land practices. Although the Buddhist practices that Chinese monks imported were indeed a syncretic combination of Chan, Pure Land, and even esotericism, their claim of “the Authentic Transmission” was not eclectic and ambiguous. This slogan demonstrates the power of their reclamation of religious purity and authenticity. For the purpose of claiming authenticity, Yinyuan Longqi’s master Feiyin Tongrong’s work *The Strict Transmission of the Five Chan Lamps (Wudeng yantong)* served as a powerful ideological weapon to establish the correct ways of dharma transmission.

Zen historian Yanagida Seizan considers the reprint of Feiyin Tongrong’s *Wudeng yantong* in 1657 in Japan significant in the spread of Ōbaku Buddhism because this book publicized the Ōbaku’s claim of “*Rinzai shōshū*.” According to Yanagida, this claim of authenticity as articulated in Feiyin Tongrong’s work *Wudeng yantong* was attractive to Ōbaku’s Japanese followers because it reflected the Japanese expectation of Chan Buddhism. He remarks as follows:

The Japanese people pursue authenticity and love purity and unity. This disposition of thinking conforms with Feiyin’s and Yinyuan’s claim. Sometimes, the Japanese people are more eccentric than the Chinese people and their habit of mind tends to slip into a narrow rigorism. This must have something to do with modern Japanese

Buddhism which began with Yinyuan. The Japanese preference for “one-line transmission” (*ichiryū sōshō*), reveals one of the secrets of the indigenization of Ōbaku culture in Japan.<sup>19</sup>

Yanagida’s observation attributes the success of Ōbaku to their religious claim of authenticity. According to my study, this claim was embodied in two principles Chinese monks inherited from Yinyuan Longqi’s two dharma masters, Miyun Yuanwu and Feiyin Tongrong,<sup>20</sup> who had contributed to Ōbaku’s ideological success. The first principle is to claim authenticity by reinventing the Chan tradition. Miyun Yuanwu, as a central figure in this reinvention, revitalized the encounter dialogue, a lively performance of spontaneous repartee between master and student characterized by beating and shouting, from the textualized description of this action in Chan literature. As I have pointed out, such reinvention is largely ritualized performance that appeared to be spontaneous. The essential issue here is to establish the aura of authenticity rather than the lack thereof.<sup>21</sup>

The second principle is the topic of Feiyin’s *Wudeng yantong*, which led to a notorious lawsuit against him. According to this principle, the authenticity of a Chan lineage relies on a strict definition of dharma transmission through personal encounters between master and disciple. As a result, this principle rationalized the process of dharma transmission and denied possible false claims and unwarranted practices such as “transmission by proxy” (*daifu*) and “remote inheritance” (*yaosi*). In the development of Chan Buddhism in China, the principle of authentic encounter dialogue created a sense of gravity for the Chan tradition and drew adherents from the broadest base; the principle of a rationalized dharma transmission organized monks and monasteries into a hierarchical structure that prepared for the subsequent step of institutionalization. These two principles not only played a role in the early development of the Ōbaku school but also exerted a visible impact on Japanese Buddhism in the Tokugawa period. Both Rinzai and Sōtō traditions were affected by Yinyuan’s ideal of authenticity.

### *Yinyuan as a Symbol of Political Authenticity*

Most Ōbaku scholars have focused on the religious significance of Yinyuan’s arrival in Japan. However, it should not be ignored that Yinyuan arrived in a particular juncture of East Asian history and carried with

him a special layer of political significance. As a monk who fled from the Manchu rule in China, Yinyuan positioned himself as a loyalist to the Great Ming, both politically and culturally. Despite its uneasy relationship with her East Asian neighbors, the Great Ming had been widely viewed as the legitimate political entity with the rightful claim of representing the “Civilized World.” During the early Tokugawa period, it was the consensus among Japanese thinkers that in relation to Chinese Civilization, Japan was situated at the periphery as a land of “civilized barbarians” who were able to participate in the civilized world through the spread of the Confucian way. As Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691) claimed,

China is the central nation of heaven and earth. Its climate endowed by heaven is clear and its soil received from earth is rich. It is for this reason that it has produced experts in a multiplicity of subjects and endeavors and has been the teacher of East, West, South, and North. For those of the East and West to learn from China is proper. One does not dislike one’s eyes because they do not perform the function of one’s ears. How should one be ashamed to accept what is the doing of the Way of heaven?<sup>22</sup>

However, Yinyuan’s arrival coincided with Japan’s attempts to establish a Japan-centered world order based on a rising consciousness of a Japanese type of “civilization versus barbarianism” relationship (*Nihongata ka’i ishiki*). Internationally, the newly founded Tokugawa bakufu quickly repaired its relationship with the Joseon Korea damaged by Hideyoshi’s invasion, and persuaded the Koreans to send regular envoys to attend shoguns’ inauguration ceremonies. Ryukyū was also forced to submit to Edo after Satsuma’s invasion of the kingdom in 1609. As Ronald Toby points out, a Japan-centered world order took form. “In this order, however reliant it was on Chinese traditions in the establishment of its norms and terms, Japan relied on no external agency, such as China, for its definition of itself or for its location of itself in the cosmos, except insofar as these agencies either recognized the bakufu as a peer, as Korea seemed to do, or as a suzerain, as Ryukyū did.”<sup>23</sup> While Koreans and Ryukyūans frequently paid visits to Edo, widely viewed by the Japanese as tribute missions, China remained as a formidable Other despite the robust Nagasaki trade, which engaged China in an economic way. There had therefore been a great need to establish a type of special relationship with China. In Sino-Japanese history, the best candidates for building such an ambiguous and symbolic diplomatic relation were Buddhist monks.

Under this circumstance, eminent Chinese monks such as Yinyuan were readily accepted as representing the authentic civilization from China. At the time of the Ming-Qing transition, Yinyuan demonstrated a close affinity with the resistance movement led by Zheng Chenggong and befriended his generals. Moreover, as a monk, he did not have to keep the Manchu hairstyle as most Chinese did after the conquest. In Japan, he was customarily referred to as a monk from the Great Ming, although the year he arrived was actually ten years after the fall of Beijing. Therefore, for the Japanese, Yinyuan could be considered a symbol of political authenticity. If we neglect this political situation, it would be difficult to understand why the bakufu provided official support to Yinyuan and made his Manpukuji a government-sponsored institution. Contrary to the accepted view that China had been ignored by the Edo bakufu, my study shows that the bakufu did not totally disregard China in its attempt to construct such a Japan-centered world order. Rather, Chinese Buddhist monks were exploited for political and diplomatic gains.

### *Yinyuan as a Symbol of Cultural Authenticity*

It is also noticeable that Yinyuan's literary skills in poetry and calligraphy helped him establish himself as a symbol of cultural authenticity. Growing up in the late-Ming literati culture, Yinyuan belonged to a group of elite monks who had been gentrified and well-versed in literary activities such as poetry making, calligraphy, seal-carving, painting, music, and the art of tea-drinking.

Calligraphy is one of the cultural legacies of Yinyuan's Ōbaku school. As Stephen Addiss observed, Ōbaku calligraphy, though "bold" and "masive," is "remarkably fluent" and "much more curvilinear and graceful, yet it does not sacrifice strength and power."<sup>24</sup> Yinyuan was an accomplished calligrapher and his works were sought after by many Japanese as precious cultural assets for display. His stroke is bold and strong with pressure and life. The beginning stroke is always forcefully executed: strong and saturated. What follows is a series of quick moves of the brush, as if motivated by the "vital force" (*qi*), as calligraphers always claimed. All parts of his work form an inseparable unity with skillful turns of the tip of the brush when making transitions. Yinyuan's works thus impressed people with their force, life, and speed.<sup>25</sup> Nowadays, together with his two disciples Jifei Ruyi (1616–1677) and Mu'an Xingtao (1611–1684), Yinyuan was acclaimed as one of "The Three Brushes of Ōbaku (*Ōbaku sanhitsu*)" for his calligraphic style.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to calligraphy, the Ōbaku is also considered as having a significant influence on Japanese portrait painting, largely through Chinese Ōbaku painter Yang Daozhen (active ca. 1656) and his two Japanese disciples in the Ōbaku school, Kita Sōun (active ca. 1657–1663) and Kita Genki (fl. 1664–1709).<sup>27</sup> In addition, Manpukuji's architecture and the sculpture modeling of Buddha statues inside the monastery were marveled at as a full demonstration of seventeenth-century Chinese architectonics and craftsmanship, which distinguished the Ōbaku style from all other Japanese temple structures modeled on earlier Chinese examples.

Yinyuan's mastery of literati conventions and artistic skills made him one of the highly respected eminent monks with elegant literary style and ascetic taste. Furthermore, he and his disciples brought the Ming material culture such as the tea ceremony to Japan as well. The Chinese style of tea-drinking was further developed by the former Ōbaku monk Baisao (1675–1763)<sup>28</sup> in the art of *sencha*. Many exotic Ming items such as furniture, dresses, and plants were named after Yinyuan because they were brought from China around the same time as he arrived.<sup>29</sup> The building of Manpukuji, much like a cultural museum, became a showcase of the richness of Chinese culture. All these aspects, more cultural than religious, are often regarded as the major characteristics of the so-called "Ōbaku culture" (*Ōbaku bunka*).

Yinyuan's cultural upbringing won him literary reputation in Japan, with his disciples of later generations continuing his literary tradition. Yinyuan and other Chinese monks came at the time when Japan was undergoing significant intellectual and cultural transformations. As Marius Jansen observes, "Mampukuji monks were welcome at the highest levels of Edo society. Their coming coincided with the religious and cultural enthusiasms of the court of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (the fifth shōgun, 1646–1709) with its efforts to cultivate manners by moralistic injunction."<sup>30</sup> All these pieces of evidence of Yinyuan's cultural influence attest to the image of cultural authenticity he had acquired.

After the death of Yinyuan, his Chinese successors, including Gaoquan Xingdun (1633–1695), Qiandai Xing'an (1636–1705), Yuefeng Daozhang (1655–1734), Zhu'an Jingyin (1696–1756), and Dapeng Zhengkun (1691–1774), frequently traveled among Nagasaki, Kyoto, and Edo and brought the Chinese cultural heritage to the political and cultural center of Japan. Their presence in mid-Edo Japan was welcomed by the Japanese literati class (*bunjin*). Lawrence Marceau considered the influx of Chinese culture,

especially the coming of Ōbaku monks, as the second most important factor that influenced the formation of the *bunjin* consciousness, in addition to the governmental promotion. According to him, Manpukuji serves as an ideal of eremitism for the Japanese *bunjin* :

Here Japanese could interact directly with native Chinese, and fantasize that they were experiencing first-hand just what cultured life in China must be like. Japanese Sinophiles of the early eighteenth century could absorb the latest currents in Chinese paintings, calligraphy, poetry composition, and other arts such as seal carving, and the preparation and serving of *sencha*, or brewed tea. Since Ōbaku temples had also served as havens for *émigrés* from the defunct Ming, it seems likely that political attitudes at the temples would tend toward rationalization of why one might not serve the state, but still live one's life with honor and integrity. Such attitudes would doubtless be welcomed by skeptical samurai looking for a *raison d'être* that went beyond blind loyalty to one's master.<sup>31</sup>

It is not an exaggeration to say that the cultural ideal imported from China and represented by Chinese monks had been interwoven into the Edo literati culture. During the mid-Edo period, two literary centers took form in Kyoto and Edo with extensive networks that connected intellectuals and learned monks. As Takahashi Hiromi pointed out, in Kyoto, such a literary network surrounds the former Ōbaku monk Baisao, who attracted painters such as Ike no Taiga (1723–1776)<sup>32</sup> and Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800), and literary monks such as Daiten Kenjō (1719–1801) and Rikunyo Jishū (1734–1801). In Edo, a group of scholars formed a network centering on Ogyū Sorai and his Ken'en Academy. Ōbaku monks such as Daichō Genkō (1678–1768), because of their frequent travels, connected these two centers, bringing the latest cultural information about China from Nagasaki.<sup>33</sup>

### *Yinyuan under Attack*

However, Yinyuan's success in creating the image of spiritual, political, and cultural authenticity does not mean that he was free from disputes and controversies. Rather, as I reveal in this book, at the time of a pan-East Asian Crisis, Yinyuan and his ideal of authenticity were under scrutiny. Within and outside Manpukuji, Yinyuan's religious teaching and practice

had been questioned and the political role of Chinese monks was being investigated and redefined by the bakufu. As both Helen Baroni and Richard Jaffe have demonstrated, Yinyuan and his Ōbaku tradition met with a strong and persistent resistance from the Myōshinji faction, from which Hakuin developed the Zen teaching that claimed to be faithful to the early Song tradition. Within the Ōbaku tradition itself, questions had been raised about the principle of dharma transmission concerning the retired Emperor Gomizunoo's (1596–1680) transmission, as I will explain in chapter 7. Ōbaku's opponent Keirin Sūshin (1625–1728), the author of *Essays on Corruptions in Zen Communities* (*Zenrin shūhei shū*), simply pointed out that these Chinese monks were not respectable monks coming from the Great Ming, but ones hailing from the “barbarian” land, who were defeated during a controversy about dharma transmission in mainland China. Their clothing, hats, and walking meditation practice were no longer the “authentic” practice as the Japanese monks such as Kūkai (774–835) introduced from China.<sup>34</sup> Upon his arrival, the bakufu kept an eye on Yinyuan with suspicion and restricted his travel during his stay in Fumonji. Yinyuan was also defamed as an arrogant and disingenuous monk who tried to deceive people. Moreover, he was accused of not understanding the proper decorum and even deliberately broke with it. For example, according to Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1745), author of *Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku* (*Ōbaku geki*), when Yinyuan visited Myōshinji in 1656, he did not pay respect to the senior abbot Gudō Toshoku (1577–1661). Yinyuan also pretended not to know Japanese when visitors came. In actuality, he spoke fluently with his Japanese students. During his audience with the shogun, he even attempted to step forward to approach him and was stopped only by the Japanese monks. Yinyuan's exotic Zen practice was also the target of criticism for not being authentic. Sōtō master Menzan Zuihō (1683–1769), for example, criticized walking rituals in Yinyuan's community.<sup>35</sup>

The attack on Yinyuan's spiritual authority was hardly a surprise, since Yinyuan's Chan teaching and practice were indeed syncretic. As I have systematically explored in my first book about the revival of Chinese Buddhism in seventeenth-century China, the rise of Chan Buddhism that Yinyuan inherited was a systematic reinvention of Zen ideals in the past, such as beating and shouting, to which Yinyuan's teachers Miyun and Feiyin held fast and Yinyuan continued. Such a lively reenactment enabled them to claim themselves as the “Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect,” which Yinyuan and his disciples labeled themselves in Japan as well. However, the reinvented Chinese Chan, as a form of monasticism

and a cumulative reformation from early stages of revival, was deeply syncretic in its monastic routines, which are often characterized by joint practice of Chan and Pure Land. These syncretic practices include chanting Buddha's name, following stringent ordination procedures such as Triple Platform Ordination Ceremony, and even esoteric elements such as Rite for Releasing Hungry Ghosts. In other words, the revived Chan in China integrated multiple monastic heritages in the Chinese tradition and created a hybrid form of Zen practice.

Meanwhile, Yinyuan's image as representing a civilized China was also under examination from a cultural perspective. Some Japanese intellectuals welcomed Chinese monks, working with them closely in the hope of revitalizing Japanese society and benefiting from their presence in Japan. However, this was also the time when the Japanese started to think seriously about Japan's national identity and questioned the world order set up around China as the center of the civilization. As I will reveal in chapter 6, the intellectual responses to the ideals that Yinyuan represented varied.

Yinyuan's tradition was able to sustain itself largely because of the bakufu's continuous support out of political consideration. To maintain the Chinese presence in Kyoto and Edo, the bakufu supported the effort to recruit Chinese monks from China to fill the abbot position in Chinese temples in Nagasaki and Manpukuji in Kyoto. However, even the bakufu started to question whether these Chinese monks could represent the ideal of authenticity. During the 1720s the bakufu demanded that only monks who could prove their spiritual authenticity by bringing their published *Recorded Sayings* (*yulu*) and credentials of dharma transmission from Yinyuan's line be invited. As I will reveal in chapter 7, this renewed effort to search for genuine Zen masters from China resulted in a disaster. Manpukuji failed to recruit their desired candidates, who were arrested by Chinese authorities on the day of their departure. Even the Yongzheng Emperor (1678–1735) was involved in the trial of these monks. The termination of the efforts to recruit Chinese monks was significant because in their absence, Manpukuji could no longer be regarded as a living symbol of authenticity.

### *Primary Sources and Chapter Outline*

This book focuses on Yinyuan's life in China and Japan with a broader view on the intellectual, political, and cultural transformations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not a hagiographical account



of Yinyuan's life. Rather, my focus is on the religious, political, and cultural ideals Yinyuan represented and how Edo Japan reacted to them. To a large extent, this book is an interpretation of a series of events related to Yinyuan. Because Chinese monks within Yinyuan's tradition based on Manpukuji continued to influence Japan until 1784 when the last Chinese abbot passed away, the time range of this study spans from the early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. In this study, the time period of early modern is loosely defined as the range from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The term "East Asia" used in this study as a cultural concept includes the areas that had greater contacts with imperial China. Therefore, Korea, Vietnam, and Ryukyu were included in the discussion as well.

This book is based on research on a variety of sources in Chinese and Japanese. First, Yinyuan's own writings and biographical sources, published in his *Complete Works*, have been examined critically. Second, with the help of Japan Foundation, I had the opportunity to study a number of rare sources preserved in Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive, which includes literary collections of lesser known Chinese and Japanese monks, genealogies of dharma transmission within the Ōbaku tradition, polemical texts concerning dharma transmission, divination manuals as practiced by Ōbaku monks and attributed to Yinyuan, and so on. Third, in addition to Ōbaku related sources, I have also consulted a large number of Japanese sources, such as bakufu documents, literary collections by Japanese intellectuals during Yinyuan's time, materials related to Sino-Japanese trade, sources related to Korean embassies, and various miscellaneous notes (*zuihitsu*) in the Edo period. These sources help me situate Yinyuan and his tradition in the context of Edo Japan and reconstruct him as a real historical person.

For secondary sources, I relied on the published works of a great number of Japanese Ōbaku scholars, such as Ōtsuki Mikio, Hirakubo Akira, and Kimura Tokugen, many of which were featured in the journal *Ōbaku bunka*. Their meticulous research is indispensable for my study. Outside Japan, my research is built on the scholarship of Helen Baroni, James Baskind, and Lin Guanchao. Because my focus is not entirely religious but also cultural and political, I have benefited from many excellent works in the field of Sino-Japanese Studies by scholars such as Joshua Fogel, Ōba Osamu, and Wang Yong. Due to the special role of Nagasaki in Sino-Japanese trade and the immigration of Chinese monks, I also

consulted sources concerning Nagasaki in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Following a chronological order, this book is divided into seven chapters plus an introduction and conclusion. For those who are not familiar with the general background of early modern East Asia, a perusal of the introduction and conclusion might be helpful to orient the reading experience. The first chapter focuses on the relationship between Yinyuan and the late-Ming Buddhist culture. Based on a close reading of his chronological biography (*nianpu*), I reconstruct the process of the Buddhist revival through Yinyuan's spiritual journey in his youth and reveal the fact that the emergence of Chan was largely a reinvention of the ancient tradition. This chapter examines the religious and intellectual heritage Yinyuan inherited from China. Not only was he immersed in Chan Buddhism and received the "authentic transmission," he was also deeply influenced by the syncretic Ming Buddhist culture. This helps to explain the multifaceted teaching and practice he brought to Japan and why the Japanese perception of his teaching varied.

Chapter 2 continues to explore the importance of dharma transmission but also focuses on the institution-building process of Huangbo monastery that Yinyuan presided over. In seventeenth-century China, dharma transmission had become the essential principle for institution building. Drawing upon various local sources, I describe how Yinyuan reformed Huangbo monastery where he had been the abbot for sixteen years by emphasizing the authenticity of dharma transmission. It is clear that he adopted, even further developed, this model for building Manpukuji in Japan to accentuate the authenticity of his teaching and practice.

Chapter 3 moves to the crucial juncture of the Ming-Qing transition and explores the political and social factors that facilitated Yinyuan's departure to Japan. It has been often mentioned that Yinyuan's leaving for Japan was because of religious reasons such as spreading Chan teaching or for political reasons such as evading the Manchu invasion. Rather than accepting these conventional explanations, I believe that his departure had to do, more specifically, with the local circumstances. In this chapter, I discuss how Yinyuan coped with the Manchu conquest and the background of his move to Japan, such as his relation with Zheng Chenggong's resistance movement and his connection with the Nagasaki Chinese merchant community.

Chapter 4 is a crucial part of this book. This chapter focuses on Yinyuan's first six years in Japan before the founding of Manpukuji in 1661, and situates Yinyuan in the bakufu's attempt to establish a Japan-centered world order by utilizing Yinyuan and the Chinese-style Manpukuji as representations of China's symbolic presence in such a new order. My study, based on sources from Japan such as *Dairy of Edo Bakufu* (*Edo bakufu nikki*) and *Veritable Records of Tokugawa* (*Tokugawa jikki*), reveals the crucial process of Yinyuan's success, including his travel to Edo, his audience with the shogun, relations with bakufu's senior officials, and his "accidental" encounter with the 1658 Korean embassy in Osaka.

Chapter 5 reveals Yinyuan's multiple lives in Japan as a Zen teacher, a poet, and, oddly, a thaumaturge, as the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) referred to him in his Japan travelogue. This chapter points out that contrary to his rhetoric of "Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect," his practice was highly syncretic and was often mistaken by the Japanese as similar to the Pure Land practice. His artistic achievement in poetry and calligraphy, on the other hand, representing the most popular aspect of Chinese culture, enabled him to become a symbol of the authentic Chinese Civilization. This chapter will expand current scholarship by including several of my discoveries in the Japanese "miscellaneous notes" (*zuihitsu*) literature, such as *Nightly Chats since the Kasshi Day* (*Kasshi yawa*). These new sources reveal that in contrast to his image as a representative of the authentic Chinese culture, he was also seen in Edo society as a wonder-maker who was skillful in divination, rain-making, and supernatural power. This chapter will show that the sense of authenticity Yinyuan embodied was questioned among the Japanese when new sources other than his standard *Recorded Sayings* indicated otherwise.

Chapter 6 examines the various responses toward the ideal of authenticity that Yinyuan represented. It has been pointed out by many scholars that Yinyuan's arrival and his founding of Manpukuji met with various oppositions from established religious orders such as Myōshinji. Because the poignant criticisms from Zen scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū and, later, Keirin Sūshin have been studied by other scholars, I will not try to duplicate previous research. Rather, I focus on how Japanese intellectuals responded to Yinyuan, or, more importantly, to the ideals he represented. I choose four such intellectuals: Mukai Genshō (1609–1677), Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), Dokuan Genkō (1630–1698), and Ogyū Sorai

(1666–1728). Not all of them met Yinyuan in person, but all of them were connected to Yinyuan and the tradition he founded.

Chapter 7 highlights the bakufu's eagerness to recruit "authentic" Zen monks from China and examines the events that led to the gradual decline of Yinyuan's influence in Japan after its peak in the early eighteenth century. Combing through a series of historical sources such as *Changing Situations Between Chinese and Barbarians (Ka'i hentai)*, *Translated Documents from Japanese and Chinese (Wakan kimon)*, *Daily Records of Office of Chinese Interpreters (Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku)*, and *Compendium of Oceanic Communication (Tsūkō ichiran)*, I studied how a drastic policy change after the ascendance of the eighth shogun Yoshimune (1684–1751) in 1716 precipitated such a decline. This policy change, reiterating the principle of "authenticity," required all future Chinese monks coming to Japan to be in Yinyuan's genuine dharma transmission line and have published *Recorded Sayings (yulu)* to prove their authentic spiritual attainment. However, due to the decline of Chan Buddhism in the mid-eighteenth century, it was increasingly difficult for Manpukuji to meet the bakufu's new requirement despite the bakufu's repeated efforts to send invitations to China. In addition, the tightening of the Sino-Japanese trade also contributed to the decline of Yinyuan's tradition and led to the eventual termination of the presence of Chinese monks in Japan by the late eighteenth century.

In the book's conclusion, I attempt to situate Yinyuan in the context of early modern East Asia and explore the nature of the Authenticity Crisis in light of the historical events that have been studied in this book. As I elaborate, the Authenticity Crisis is not simply concerned with the fall of China as the genuine representation of the ideals of a coherent and consistent civilization. Such a crisis also manifested in the intellectual, political, and cultural realms. All East Asian countries struggled to search for their own claims of authenticity. This urge for new modes of authenticity also motivated East Asian intellectuals to communicate with each other in order to find consensus regarding their understanding of authenticity. This helps to explain why intensive literary exchanges happened during the visits of Korean envoys to China and Japan and among foreign envoys visiting China. Yinyuan's travel should be considered as one of such consensus-building activities. The coming of Yinyuan and other Chinese monks in Edo Japan provides a constant presence of "resident aliens" for the Japanese to adjust their own identity in relation to the other.

As I have laid out in this introduction, my approach to Yinyuan and his travel to Japan does not narrowly focus on his religious achievement. Rather, I have tried to situate him in a unique historical juncture when the entire East Asia was undergoing a fundamental transformation. Without a broader East Asian perspective, it is difficult to fully appreciate Yinyuan's significance during the time of major religious, cultural, and political transformations in early modern East Asia. For me, Yinyuan was not simply an individual or an extraordinary man. Representing a group of Chinese, he and his tradition actively participated in history and was made into a symbol of authenticity. When such a representation of authenticity was challenged, it becomes understandable that the decline of his tradition was simply a result of the Authenticity Crisis in early modern East Asia.

## *In Search of Enlightenment*

### YINYUAN AND THE REINVENTION OF THE “AUTHENTIC TRANSMISSION” IN LATE MING BUDDHIST REVIVAL

DURING THE SIX decades from the 1590s to 1650s, Chinese Buddhism had undergone significant transformations. The revived Buddhism was thriving even during the turbulent Ming-Qing transition. However, this does not mean that such a revival, or “reinvention” as I tend to call it, was not without its own problems. Rather, as the fierce debates and controversies in Buddhist communities indicate, such a reinvention was full of tension. One of the essential issues was how to redefine a revived Chan tradition and resume its continuity with the past. Here, the issue of authenticity looms large, as the success of such a reinvention largely relies on how authentic the new tradition appeared to be.

In my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, I gave the following definition of the reinvented Chan tradition:

[b]y “reinvention,” I mean the historical process by which a largely defunct religious ideal was intentionally revitalized and transformed into something real and practical for a religious community. This reinvented Chan tradition, appearing and claiming to be a historical continuation of the Chan school in antiquity, in fact originated in the seventeenth century. Its proponents claimed that their own Chan teaching and practice were deeply rooted in the past and that the Chan tradition was a coherent unity without disruptions. However, “traditions” that claim to be descended from antiquity are often reinvented by applying old forms in response to new situations.<sup>1</sup>

Yinyuan lived during this time of great reinventions and his life bore clear marks of the achievement of this profound transformation. In this chapter, I will discuss the various issues surrounding the reinvention of the notion of “authentic transmission” through examining Yinyuan’s early life in China, which coincided with the Buddhist revival. His early life was typical of those monks who lived during his time: as a young man, he was drawn to Buddhism because of his devotion to the Buddha and the popular Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) cult; after becoming a monk, he immersed himself in monastic learning and literary training. In his adult life, the rise of Chan Buddhism appealed greatly to Yinyuan. Under the tutelage of Miyun Yuanwu, he claimed to have attained the enlightenment experience. Based on this experience, he later received dharma transmission from Feiyin Tongrong. Judging from his early life, the issue of authenticity centers on two crucial aspects of teaching and practice in revived Chan Buddhism: the enlightenment experience and dharma transmission. As I have shown in my previous book, both of them need authentication and verification: one’s enlightenment experience needs to be authenticated by a qualified teacher (*yinke*) through personal encounter and the claim of dharma transmission has to be verifiable through establishing textual evidence and receiving certificates (*yuanliu*) from one’s spiritual teacher.

In the following sections, I shall track Yinyuan’s journey in search of genuine enlightenment. I will first outline some essential characteristics of the late Ming Buddhism based on recent scholarship and then examine the prevalent Buddhist culture in the late Ming as seen from Yinyuan’s early life, especially a popular culture that centered on devotion and the bodhisattva cult. In addition, I will focus on Yinyuan’s enlightenment experience and how the lively use of encounter dialogue became the hallmark for attaining the authentic Zen experience. Finally, I turn to the issue of dharma transmission, highlighting its role in authenticating Yinyuan’s enlightenment experience.

### *Characteristics of the Late Ming Buddhist Culture*

#### Current Scholarship on Late Ming Buddhism

In recent years, one of the major advances in the study of the history of Chinese Buddhism is the in-depth analysis of Buddhism in late imperial China. While Tang and Song Buddhism as the foundation of Chinese Buddhism continues to be the focus of Buddhist scholars, the vast number

of sources in Ming and Qing Buddhism attracted a group of scholars to study this period, which was often regarded as lacking original contributions to Buddhist teaching and practice. In the past, Japanese scholars such as Araki Kengo, Hasebe Yūkei, and Noguchi Yoshitaka have conducted significant research in the field. In the English world, Chün-fang Yü's study on Yunqi Zhuhong (1535–1615) and her introduction to Ming Buddhism in *The Cambridge History of China* remain foundational. In addition, Charles Jones and Daniel Overmeyer are also interested in this period and the interaction among Buddhism, culture, and society. My book *Enlightenment in Dispute* (2008), building on Chen Yuan's scholarship, focuses on the Chan Buddhist controversies over the enlightenment experience and dharma transmission and explores the transformation of Chinese Buddhism during the seventeenth century. Recently, Jimmy Yu, largely focusing on the late periods, helps us understand Buddhist ascetic practices (what he calls "self-inflicted violence") such as blood writing as an important aspect of Buddhist culture. In addition, Dewei Zhang and Jennifer Eichman, in their recent dissertations, help to clarify the royal patronage of Buddhism before the Buddhist revival and the close interaction between Confucian literati and Buddhist clergy.

The plethora of primary sources during the Ming and Qing also attracted social historians such as Timothy Brook, Susan Naquin, and Lynn Struve to work on the role of Buddhism in society and culture. In particular, Timothy Brook's work on temple-building activity and the rise of localism made use of a large number of sources in monastic gazetteers compiled during the late Ming and early Qing period.

A series of new studies on Buddhism in later periods emerges from the Chinese scholarly world as well. Jiang Canteng, Chen Yunü, and He Xiaorong are leading scholars in this field. All of them emphasized the political role of Buddhism in the Ming era. In her work, Chen Yunü also paid attention to the popular dimension of Buddhism and the formation of the Jiaxing Canon. Jiang Chanteng, in particular, was interested in late Ming scholarly debate and monastic reform. In addition, Chen Yongge adopts an intellectual history approach to studying the interaction between Wang Yangming's thought and the Buddhist revival. Cao Ganghua examined Buddhist historiography during the Ming and Qing periods—specifically the monastic gazetteer. Liao Zhaocheng, focusing on the literary outputs of Buddhist clergy, explores the relationship between clergy and the literati. Lin Guanchao, an expert on Yinyuan and late Ming Buddhism, has published monographs on Yinyuan and his overseas connections.<sup>2</sup>



All of these studies show that Buddhism continued to be an indispensable aspect of Chinese culture and society in later periods and became extremely active during the time of political and social transformation. It is also evident that Buddhist communities underwent significant changes as well. However, the nature and scope of these changes still awaits further study. Based on available scholarship and drawing upon the conclusions from my previous studies, I will outline some salient characteristics of Buddhism during Yinyuan's time and hope to establish a framework for discussing Yinyuan and the impact he brought to Japan.<sup>3</sup>

### Formation of a Syncretic Buddhist Culture

Although Yinyuan was a Zen teacher and claimed to belong to an authentic Linji lineage, it has to be noted that his sectarian identity was always deeply rooted in a syncretic Buddhist culture characterized by mixed monastic practices and devotion to popular cults. The intermingling of religious thoughts and practices was largely fostered by the robust social mobility and the increased social interactions between Buddhism and other parts of Chinese society. First, popular cults such as the veneration of Guanyin were prevalent in late Ming Buddhism, and pilgrimages to centers of the Guanyin cult such as Putuo Island were popular and active. These cultic practices united all walks of society and were participated in by both elite and commoners. Second, popular religious practices such as divination and fortune-telling became main activities in temple fairs and means of making money for Buddhist monasteries, especially in the Jiangnan region. Third, in the monastic world, although the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang designed a tripartite system that designated monks into three monastic groups—Chan, Doctrinal Studies (*jiang*), and Yoga Ritual Services (*jiao*)—these rigid lines became blurred in the late Ming. Monastic ceremonial services thus became increasingly syncretic, including elements from all Buddhist traditions. The late Ming saw a movement to standardize monastic practices by compiling various kinds of liturgical and monastic manuals such as Zhuhong's *Daily Chanting Liturgy from Various Scriptures* (*Zhujing risong*) and, later, the popular *Chanting Liturgy of Chan Monasteries* (*Chanmen risong*). Even in the so-called Chan monasteries, newly compiled *Pure Regulations* (*Qinggui*) reflected a tendency to incorporate elements from Chan, Pure Land, esoteric, and Vinaya traditions. The syncretic nature of monastic practice became the norm in the late imperial period. Throughout this study, we can see clearly that

such a synthesis of Buddhist practices helped Yinyuan to spread Chinese Buddhism, but also aroused various doubts about its authenticity when it was brought to Japan. Despite Yinyuan's attempt to portray himself and his tradition as representing a pure Zen, his practices frequently showed a clear hybrid characteristic that he inherited from the general Ming Buddhist culture.

### Buddhist Textual Revival and the Rise of Chan Buddhism

In studies of the late Ming Buddhist revival, many scholars focused on the rise of the so-called “Four Eminent Monks” of the late Ming as the yardstick to measure the development of this revival. [It should be noted that Ouyi Zhixu was a later addition to the rank of four. During the Ming, only Zibo Zhenke (1543–1603), Yunqi Zhuhong, and Hanshan Deqing (1546–1623) were grouped together as the “Three Great Eminent Monks.”] In my previous study, I suggest that a significant index we can use to gauge the scope and depth of this revival was the number of textual outputs generated by a flourishing Buddhist publishing industry. Judging from the exuberant literary production, I tend to refer to the late-Ming Buddhist revival as basically a “textual revival” characterized by the spread of print shops, the distribution of printed Buddhist texts, and an expanding readership. During the seventeenth century, one of the major events was the printing of the private edition of the Jiaxing Canon, which changed the binding from an accordion folding style to the commonly used string bound style. This change greatly facilitated the circulation and reading of Buddhist texts.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the easy availability of Buddhist texts and canons spurred the intensive reading and reinterpretation of Buddhist doctrine and practice motivated by the quest for authentic teaching. The collective reinterpretation of ancient texts helped to form consensus among Buddhists about how to become genuine disciples of the Buddha. Within this print culture, Buddhists formed various kinds of “textual communities,” to borrow European medievalist Brian Stock's phrase.<sup>5</sup>

The recovery of textual production and reproduction gave rise to the flourishing of Buddhist scholarship on doctrinal issues. One of the major discoveries in my previous research is that doctrinal studies on Tiantai, Huayan, and Yogācāra were revived before the rise of Chan Buddhism. Characterized by the publication of numerous commentaries of popular scriptures such as the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (*Lengyan jing*), this exegetic

revival aimed to seek new understanding of Buddha's teaching by reexamining Buddhist scriptures. Chan Buddhism, however, gained momentum during the 1630s and was similarly characterized by the proliferation of Chan publications of *Recorded Sayings* (*yulu*).

### Gentrification of Buddhist Clergy

The textual nature of the late Ming Buddhist revival and the extensive connection between Buddhist clergy and Confucian literati required Buddhist monks to obtain a high level of reading and writing skills that would enable them to participate in the thriving textual culture and to communicate effectively with the literati. During the late Ming, monks joined the literary circles and became highly trained in literary compositions and artistic expressions such as essay and letter writing, calligraphy, music, and painting. Monks with exceptional literary skills would soon emerge as eminent monks and became invited guests in literati gatherings.

Monks' writings were soon collected and published through commercial print shops and shared within a regional, even national, literary circle. Some monks, especially Chan masters, because of their lack of sufficient education, often recruited capable literary monks, many of them Confucian students before joining the Buddhist order, to be their secretaries and to assist them with drafting letters and essays, as well as compiling literary collections and *Recorded Sayings*. I tend to call the collaboration between eminent monks and their literary assistants a circle of "collective literacy," as these assistants helped enhance monastic literacy level. Moreover, during the Ming-Qing transition, a significant number of Ming literati and officials refused to serve the new Manchu dynasty and joined Buddhist communities. Commonly referred to as "Remnant monks" (*yiminseng*), these Confucian elite preferred to be ordained as Buddhist monks in order to evade the dreadful situation of shaving their head by following the Manchu "barbarian" dress codes. In fact, some rather famous intellectuals and artists such as Fang Yizhi (1611–1671) and Kuncan (1612–1673) became Buddhist monks. In this sense, Buddhist monks were gentrified elite during the seventeenth century.

Because of such a close link with the literati, Buddhist clergy was deeply influenced by the pro-Buddhist literati culture in the late Ming and reflected the literati's religious concerns. For example, the strong presence of Chan Buddhism, as I have revealed previously, was largely the result of the continuous influence from Wang Yangming's Learning of the Mind.

Wang Yangming (1472–1529) and his followers promoted Chan teaching as a legitimate tool of Confucian self-cultivation.

Yinyuan grew up in such a literary milieu and acquired exceptional literary skills. Many of his disciples such as Mu'an, Jifei, and Gaoquan were also highly accomplished literary elite. For example, Jifei's family derived from the Song Confucian scholar Lin Xiyi (1193–1271).<sup>6</sup> When Yinyuan arrived in Japan, the literatus Dai Li became his disciple and took the name Duli Xingyi (1596–1672). Their gentrified status and superb skills in communicating with cultural elites helped them establish Ōbaku as a distinctive cultural tradition in Japan.

### The Reinvention of Encounter Dialogue and Dharma Transmission

In the seventeenth century, one of the profound changes was the consolidation of monastic communities around the revived Chan Buddhism. Many great Buddhist institutions were transformed into the so-called “Dharma Transmission Monasteries” (*chuanfa conglin*), which boasted their authentic Zen training and genuine dharma transmission from antiquity. The essential characteristics were their use of encounter dialogue and emphasis of strict rules on dharma transmission. According to this reinvented version of Chan Buddhism, the spiritual attainment of a Chan student had to be attested through spontaneous encounters between teacher and disciple. These encounter dialogues were largely performances that were ritualized in monastic settings, such as the ceremony of “ascending the hall” (*shangtang*).<sup>7</sup> After such a rigorous attestation, the monk was offered the credentials of dharma transmission and his name would be listed in the Chan genealogies that were published and widely available. To avoid false claims, two common practices, “transmission by proxy” (*daiifu*) and “remote inheritance (*yaosi*),” were prohibited as corruptions of dharma transmission. As I have revealed in my previous study, such a strict emphasis on Chan teaching and practice was largely an imagination of a lost ideal of the past. Yinyuan belonged to such a reinvented tradition represented by his teachers Miyun and Feiyin. Because of their active efforts in reviving the performance of the encounter dialogue and enforcing the strict principle of dharma transmission, they had been involved in numerous disputes with other monks in China. As their student, Yinyuan inherited their training style and the practice of dharma transmission.

The remainder of this chapter will focus on Yinyuan's early life, during which he absorbed much of the Ming Buddhist culture. Most of Yinyuan's biographical details about his early life were based on his own autobiography (*xingshi*), later expanded into a chronological biography (*nianpu*) that arranged his activities in the yearly fashion. The first part, including his activities before his arrival in Japan in 1654, was compiled by his disciple Duwang Xingyou (1614–1654) and was later enlarged to include his last twenty years in Japan by his disciple Nanyuan Xingpai (1631–1692). As recorded in these sources, his early experience explains the characteristics of the late-Ming Buddhism that I discussed earlier. Because of his immersion in such a Buddhist culture, his teaching and practice were tainted with all these elements that were further developed during his long career in both China and Japan.

### *Yinyuan's Early Life*

#### Self-Awakening of an Individual

Yinyuan was born on the fourth day of the eleventh month in 1592, in a small village called Donglin, which was located at Lingde town (today's Shangjingzhen) of Fuqing. Yinyuan's secular name was Lin Zengbing and he gave himself the courtesy name Zhifang. He had two brothers before him. One of them, néé Lin Zichun, also became a monk and was apparently a poet as well.<sup>8</sup> We don't have his mother's full name, but know her surname: Gong. Yinyuan's chronological biography provides little about his family background. However, the newly discovered genealogy of Yinyuan's clan (*Donglincun Linshi zupu*) shows that Yinyuan's lineage can be traced back to a certain Lin Mou in the late Tang dynasty who joined the Min ruler Wang Shenzhi's (862–925) army and moved to Fujian from Henan. In the early Ming, one of Lin Mou's descendants, Lin Guan (1349–1382), led a branch clan to move to Fuqing.<sup>9</sup>

According to the chronological biography, the young man Yinyuan developed spiritually at a very young age. He was often puzzled by the mystery of the universe. An event in his youth, probably his first religious experience, shows a vague awareness of the transcendental power. This event must have triggered Yinyuan's spiritual quest and his later conversion to Buddhism, as Yinyuan remembered it so well that he told his disciples to put the story in his biography. This event happened when Yinyuan was only sixteen (1607). One night, he and his friends, after a day's work,

reclined under a pine tree, watching the magnificent Milky Way in the starry sky. Unlike other kids, Yinyuan became curious about the origin of the universe. He imagined that the world must have been predestinated by an almighty lord, who arranged the order for the human world and the universe. “How can such a vast universe run and follow a pattern without mistakes and deviations?” he asked. “And who is controlling the universe?” The natural answer that occurred to his mind was of the power of gods, immortals, and Buddhas—the transcendental beings populating the Chinese mind. Accounts of these supernatural beings were abundant in popular culture and Yinyuan, though not inclined to any faith at this time, must have been exposed to such knowledge. The Buddha was only one among the many supernatural beings.

It appears that Yinyuan indeed changed as a result of this experience. As his chronological biography indicates, since then, he was not very interested in secular affairs. Rather, he showed his interests in religion. In the next few years, Yinyuan became increasingly idiosyncratic. He was often absent-minded about his work, lacking concern toward family business. Even his daily behaviors were strange in others’ eyes. However, his interest in Buddhism increased tremendously.

It seems that Yinyuan also experienced a psychological crisis in his adolescence, probably due to the missing of his father in his early ages. His biography insinuated vaguely that his father disappeared during a business trip to Hubei area when he was little. The lack of a father figure in his youth must have left a vacuum in Yinyuan’s mind and had its toll when he grew up. At the age of twenty, he showed no interest in marriage on the excuse that he should first fulfill his filial duty toward his parents—which in his case meant finding his father. Without any information about his father’s whereabouts, Yinyuan thought it not the right time for him to marry. He insisted that he would marry only after finding his father, despite his mother’s pleas to the contrary. Yinyuan thus began to plan a trip to search for his missing father. This trip led him to Putuo Island and eventually brought him to the Buddhist faith.

### The Local Religious Culture of Divination and the Bodhisattva Cult of Guanyin

Among scholars of Chinese religion, it is still debatable if the nature of Chinese religion is unified or diverse because though in appearance sectarian divisions indeed exist, it is notable that all these traditions

shared a common base of popular practices such as divination, ancestor worship, burial ceremony, and shamanism. Many have noted that Chinese religion is remarkably diffused in practice rather than highly institutionalized yet a clear “family resemblance” of these practices can be identified. On the local scene, Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism seem to have intermingled together and configured freely all available religious elements to form a seamlessly united set of practice.<sup>10</sup> Yinyuan’s hometown Fuqing was a typical local area where the religious culture was in particular shaped by popular Buddhist practices and the Daoist divination tradition.

According to his biography, Yinyuan gained access to Buddhism first through popular gatherings of chanting Buddha’s name for rebirth in the Western Pure Land. In 1609 one of such gatherings was organized in Jingjiang, a place close to his home. Yinyuan became interested and attended the meeting. Apparently, Buddhist monks, who were sponsors and organizers of this kind of lay gatherings, also showed up. His biographer informs us that Yinyuan was immediately attracted to such a local gathering. After he met monks there, he often inquired about the basic requirements for becoming a monk.

In the vicinity of Fuqing, a Daoist Mount Shizhu emerged as a famed place of divination and attracted many local visitors. It was said that the Daoist spirit mediums were skillful in divination by using the spirit writing technique of planchette. Mount Shizhu was famous for the apparition of Daoist immortals as well. Legend says that the famous Daoist immortal Chen Tuan (?–989) descended in Shizhu as a spirit medium called Chen Bo. (As we will see in chapter 5, not only did Yinyuan consult this Daoist immortal for his departure to Japan, but such a legend was also further developed and brought to Japan by Yinyuan and his disciples, fostering a strong connection with the Japanese imperial house.) Divinations obtained there were considered particularly efficacious. People who stayed overnight often claimed to have dreams, which could be interpreted as oracles.<sup>11</sup> Although Yinyuan’s biography remains ambivalent about his early exposure to the popular Daoist culture, throughout his life, at critical moments of making decisions, Yinyuan often appealed to dreams and divination for guidance. (This explains why he was depicted in Japan as a diviner, as also seen in chapter 5.) Here, a few other examples from his early years in China inform us on how Yinyuan was deeply affected by the local divination tradition that often manifested through his dreams.<sup>12</sup>

When he was about to become a monk, he had a series of auspicious dreams in the Daoist Shizhu Mountain. One of such dreams occurred in 1618 when he visited Mount Shizhu, which was not far away from Mount Huangbo. Yinyuan reported that he had an auspicious dream one night during his tour. He dreamt that he was walking between steep cliffs in the mountain and arrived at a place where few people could reach. He saw three monks sitting on a big rock, eating a watermelon. Noticing Yinyuan, they cut the melon into four parts, offering Yinyuan a piece. Yinyuan ate the melon and then woke up. He was happy about the dream: he believed that it suggested he would soon become one of them as a monk. (*Nenpu* 101)

In 1637, when he was about to receive dharma transmission, Yinyuan had a dream at Lion Cliff (*Shiziyuan*), which was located in Mount Shizhu as well. In this auspicious dream, an old man with white eyebrows came into his house with a big bag. Yinyuan asked: “You are too old to hold so many things. Are you tired?” The old man, however, took out a long scroll of writing. When Yinyuan woke up, his attendant suggested that this was a good sign since the certificate of dharma transmission was written on a scroll. Soon after, his teacher Feiyin’s messenger came with the scroll of dharma transmission. Yinyuan immediately accepted it and wrote thirty-five verses to praise the patriarchs listed before him. (*IGZS* 12: 5142–5146)

New evidence shows that Yinyuan had consulted a Daoist diviner at Mount Shizhu before making the decision to go to Japan and even authored a few divination books that were popular in Edo Japan (see chapter 5 for details). In Japan he often watched clouds for auspicious signs before important events and even used coins for divinational purposes. All these practices could find their roots in the popular religious culture in Fujian.

In addition to the rich divination culture in Fuqing, the most popular Buddhist practice was the Guanyin cult, and Putou Island was famed among devotees as the popular pilgrimage destination for Bodhisattva Guanyin. It is believed to be the sacred pilgrim site where Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) reveals herself to the most devoted. The pilgrim site enjoyed great popularity among the Chinese and Japanese for centuries and large pilgrim groups were organized to pay homage to Avalokiteśvara. Yinyuan became such a pilgrim on the excuse of finding his missing father. In 1612 he was determined to embark on a journey to find his father, persuading his mother to allow him to spend his dowry savings for travel expenses.



In the spring of 1614, on his way searching for his father, Yinyuan visited Putuo Island.

Yinyuan wished that he would pray before Avalokiteśvara and rely on her power to bring his father's safe return. But upon his arrival, he was immediately enchanted by the beauty of the island and its Buddhist atmosphere. All of his mundane thoughts disappeared, including the one of finding his father. He decided to stay and devote himself to Avalokiteśvara. He then went to a monk who resided in the famed Cave of Tidal Sound (*Chaoyindong*), one of the most popular pilgrim sites on the island where Avalokiteśvara was believed to have appeared in response to prayers.

Many legends and myths were associated with this cave, which had a hole above it that allowed visitors to peek inside. As legend says, an Indian monk witnessed the appearance of Avalokiteśvara in 847 after he burnt all ten of his fingers, a practice of self-immolation to show piety and devotion. Some devotees would even throw themselves to the sea as offerings for the purpose of seeing the goddess. The cult of Avalokiteśvara had a special connection with Japanese visitors because most ships heading for Japan and arriving at Ningbo would pass Putou Island. A statue of Guanyin was left during the thirteenth century by the Japanese monk Egaku, who was trapped on his way returning to Japan and was only released when he prayed toward the Cave of Tidal Sound.<sup>13</sup> Yinyuan's visit to Putou Island had a decisive role in his decision to enter the monastic order. As Yinyuan recalled fifty years later, this was the time when he grew determined to become a monk.<sup>14</sup>

### Becoming a Monk in the Late Ming

After three years wandering around Eastern Zhejiang, in the spring of 1614, Yinyuan decided to go back home on a pilgrim ship to visit his mother. Nevertheless, he still had hopes of going back to Putuo Island and being ordained there. His mother did not allow this, however, worrying of her own future without Yinyuan's support. As part of his filial duty, Yinyuan had to obey and thus stayed at home. However, in his heart, he had already regarded himself a Buddhist monk. He decided to continue his cultivation at home and became especially interested in the practice of releasing animals—an act showing compassion that was greatly promoted by the eminent Buddhist monk Yunqi Zhuhong.<sup>15</sup> Whenever he saw animals sold in the market, he would buy them and release them. In a few

years, he used up all his family fortune, as his biographer claimed. In 1617, only three years after his return, he made up his mind again to go back to Putuo Island. He bid farewell to his mother with her reluctant consent. During the journey, however, he was robbed by bandits. Penniless, he had to return home again.

Yinyuan's wish was finally fulfilled the following year, after his mother's passing. Her death meant he no longer had to worry about his filial duty. Following the local custom, Yinyuan's family held a funeral ceremony and invited monks from the local Huangbo monastery to perform the mortuary service in Yinlin monastery, close to his village. This might have been the first time Yinyuan had any real contact with Huangbo monastery, which eventually became his home temple. (In chapter 2, we will discuss this monastery in more detail.)

Yinyuan's initial thought was to be ordained at Putuo Island. However, he was persuaded by the then Huangbo abbot Jianyuan Xingshou (?–1625), who administered the ceremony, to instead be ordained at Huangbo. On the nineteenth day of the second month in 1620, Yinyuan went to Huangbo and followed Jianyuan Xingshou as his ordination teacher. He was formally ordained as a novice at first and given the name “Longqi” with the generation character “long” to indicate his generation in the Huangbo lineage. This character, serving as a generation marker, was taken from a long poem written by the teacher who started the Buddhist lineage in the monastery. (I explain the use of generation characters for naming monks in chapter 2.)

After ordination, he was first drawn to scriptural studies. Like many young monks in the seventeenth century, he frequented lectures on Buddhist scriptures. These lectures were popular in the monastic world because Buddhist scholasticism was on rise during this century. Such lectures were often organized by monasteries and drew a considerable audience from laity and clergy. Yinyuan's first exposure to serious Buddhist learning was through reading the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra*, a popular scripture in China but controversial regarding its origin in India.<sup>16</sup> In 1621 he went to Yunmen monastery in Shaoxing, a monastery newly revived by Zhanran Yuancheng (1561–1626), a renowned Zen monk from the Caodong lineage but also a devoted teacher of doctrinal studies. There, he attended lectures on the *Nirvana Sutra* given by Zhanran. In the spring of 1622, he went to other neighboring monasteries to study the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Scripture of Golden Light* (*Jin Guangming jing*). The next year, he studied the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra* again.

Yinyuan's monastic education indicates that although more and more young monks were attracted to Chan Buddhism under the influence of the prevailing publishing culture and intellectual interest in Zen, the mainstream of the Buddhist world was still dominated by a traditional approach that balanced Pure Land devotion and scriptural studies. It is interesting to note that during the first several years of his monkhood, there was no place for Chan Buddhism that would have influenced Yinyuan. Rather, Yinyuan's exposure to the reinvented Chan occurred only after he visited East Zhejiang in 1621. More dramatic change and redefinition of Zen teaching and practice happened along with the rise of the Linji Zen style represented by Miyun Yuanwu, who began his career as a self-styled "authentic" Zen master in Eastern Zhejiang.<sup>17</sup>

### *Yinyuan's Exposure to Confucian Education and Literary Culture*

#### Literacy in the Making of a Zen Master

In late imperial China, the spread of literacy and the flourishing of book culture made learning accessible to an increasingly large number of Chinese people, including Buddhist monks. Although Buddhism had its own monastic education tradition, its curriculum and teaching methods were often influenced by the prevailing cultural and intellectual movement that shaped the interpretations of Buddhist literature. It is remarkable to note in the late Ming that the literacy level of Buddhist clergy rose to a unprecedented level, not only because a significant number of individuals with literati background joined the community, but also due to the popularity of secular learning of literary skills such as calligraphy, painting, and poetry writing in and outside the monastery. Very often, Buddhist teachers had to warn their disciples not to be indulged in such literary practice that may impede their spiritual cultivation.<sup>18</sup>

Although Yinyuan did not obtain the official recognition through the government school system, he received informal education and thus acquired all the literary skills essential for being a Zen teacher, such as calligraphy, poetry composition, and letter writing. It has been noted that Zen was essentially associated with the literati and the means of dissemination of Zen, such as *Recorded Sayings*, history of lamp transmission, collections of koan stories, and so on, was highly literary and textual. Zen is basically a literary tradition and a high level of literacy is necessary for

understating the meaning of Zen. In the seventeenth century, as I argued previously, Zen became an extension of literati culture and thus Zen monks became another kind of literati who often intermingled with professionally trained literary men through exchanging letters and writing essays and poetry. In addition, major monasteries also provided opportunities of education. Throughout Yinyuan's life, he had excelled not only as a Zen master but also as an excellent calligrapher and poet. Such achievements can be largely attributed to his education and his amateur pursuit of literati learning.

### Yinyuan's Confucian Education

Yinyuan's biography shows that young Yinyuan, though not receiving extensive formal education, belonged to a family of low-rank literati, which had a distinctive lineage and a tradition of Confucian learning. Members in this lineage, engaging in Confucian education, aimed at distinction through passing the civil service exam. However, due to the low passing rate of the exam, they could not manage to climb up the ladder of social mobility. Such a harsh reality created a large number of low-rank literati who suffered from examination fatigue and frustration. Many of them had to opt for other career alternatives such as being clerks in a magistrate's office, merchants, and doctors, or more "despised" professions such as becoming a monk.<sup>19</sup>

Yinyuan's lineage was culturally and socially distinguished in the neighborhood. In his extended family, one of his nephews passed the prestigious degree of "presented scholar" (*jinsi*) and later became his patron. But when Yinyuan was still young, his family had declined and did not do well in the village. However, they still kept the tradition of Confucian education and aspired to be culturally refined.

It is reasonable to believe that his father was a disappointed literary man with poetic talent. According to the newly discovered genealogy of Yinyuan's clan, his father and his family were famous for learning in the neighborhood. In 1600 his father and his father's nephew Lin Yunti went to Hangzhou to request a preface for a literary collection from the prefect of Hangzhou Chen Yiguan, who also hailed from Fuqing. This shows that his father was connected to a literary circle and committed to literary accomplishment. It must be through their father, therefore, that Yinyuan and his brothers inherited their poetic talents. But despite this talent—and due to his inability to gain more distinctive social status via passing

the civil service exam—Yinyuan's father had little choice but to become a farmer. However, he indicated in his name that he had the ambition of the "Virtuous Phoenix" (Deluan) in spite of having to succumb to the harsh condition of farming for a living. This was perhaps why in 1598, when Yinyuan was only six years old, his father left home for Hubei, a province several hundred miles away from Fuqing, for an unknown purpose, never to return.<sup>20</sup>

The Lin household must have suffered from further decline after Yinyuan's father disappeared. Despite the hardship, however, Yinyuan was still able to receive some early education. He entered a village school at nine.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, poverty led him to quit the school soon afterward, since—like most children from families that were not well-to-do—he had to assume farming and wood-picking responsibilities. In total, Yinyuan only received one year of elementary education. Once he grew up, he often regretted and lamented his lack of formal education and encouraged his disciples to study diligently. Despite the disruption of his early education, he might have continued learning at home by following his family tradition.

Yinyuan's literary education also benefited from his extensive travel, which allowed him to study with different teachers. For example, during his first travel to Eastern Zhejiang, Yinyuan, rather than wasting time, devoted his hours to learning with literati teachers in order to enrich himself. He took this as an opportunity to learn, since Eastern Zhejiang was culturally developed. In particular, he stayed for an extensive period in Shaoxing, which was perhaps one of the most famous cultural areas in China. Located in Eastern Zhejiang, Shaoxing had produced China's best intellectuals and literary men in centuries. The cultural tradition in the area was strong and prevalent. Its local literati excelled in almost all areas of cultural accomplishments, including history, painting, music, and literary composition. The famous Yunmen monastery headed by the Caodong master Zhanran Yuancheng was located there and was supported by the Qi family.<sup>22</sup> Yinyuan's temporary stay in the area must have greatly broadened his view of the elite cultural tradition. He took the opportunity to learn painting with a famous painter named Fang, with whom he had an unknown connection. To practice his painting skills, he traveled to the most scenic places in Shaoxing for his sketches. He must have also practiced calligraphy, an art often associated with painting, and something he ended up excelling at. This short time of training in Shaoxing may have contributed to the formation of his later calligraphic style.<sup>23</sup>

Yinyuan had extensive interaction with the literati in Zhejiang when he left Miyun in the spring of 1629. After the winter retreat in Jinsu monastery was over, to answer a friend's call, he was invited to spend the summer in Diqiu chapel in Jiashan county, where together with a fellow monk he organized ceremonies of animal releasing and chanting Buddha's name, two very popular Buddhist rituals during the late Ming. He was also able to become acquainted with a group of Confucian students since in the vicinity of the monastery he resided, there was a Confucian academy erected by the renowned Confucian literatus Qian Suyue (1606–1648), who later became the prime minister of one of the short-lived Southern Ming regimes. The students in the academy showed great interest in Yinyuan, often coming to him to discuss Confucian and Buddhist methods of cultivation. Yinyuan offered his understanding to them. (*Nenpu* 132) However, it seems that his short stay in Jiashan left a deep impression in Yinyuan's mind. Many years later, after the Manchu invasion in 1644, Qian Suyue became the prime minister for a South Ming regime, later dying as a martyr. Although Yinyuan never met Qian, he allowed Qian to be buried in Huangbo and wrote a passionate essay to commemorate him. (See chapter 3 for Yinyuan's effort to build a tomb for Qian at Huangbo.)

### Yinyuan's Exposure to Zen Texts

Yinyuan was among those young monks who had been greatly influenced by Chan Buddhism through reading Chan literature. In his early life, prior to turning to Miyun for Zen training, he had been exposed to a number of popular Zen texts that had been reprinted during the late Ming. One of his favorites was Baizhang Huaihai's records originally collected in a Song anthology of four Chan teachers (*Sijia yulu*): Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji. This anthology was reprinted in the late Ming by Yixin Zhengchuan, commonly known as Huanyou Zhengchuan (1549–1614), who was Miyun Yuanwu's dharma teacher. The lineage of Yinyuan can be thus traced back to Huanyou. Around 1607, Huanyou Zhengchuan was a monk at Jingxi in Mount Tiantai and reprinted this work, which was prefaced by Tang Hezheng (1538–1619) in 1607 and postscripted by Xie Ning around 1589.<sup>24</sup>

Another popular reprinted Zen text was *Recorded Sayings of Ancient Chan Masters* (*Guzunsu yulu*) in forty-eight fascicles, compiled by Tripitaka master Ze (Ze Zangzhu) between 1131 to 1139. Originally, there were only four fascicles including twenty-two Zen teachers, but it was gradually

expanded in its 1267 reprint by monk Juexin. In early Ming, Jingjie of Linggu monastery supplemented this work again to cover the *Recorded Sayings* of about forty Zen teachers. This anthology was then added to the newly compiled Yongle Southern Canon. It is likely that Yinyuan had access to this edition, which was reprinted by Huacheng monastery at Jingshan in 1617 to be included in the Jiaxing Canon.<sup>25</sup>

Yinyuan was also fond of the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra*, which was perhaps one of the most popular scriptures during the late Ming because of Ming literati's promotion of the text. Its subtle teaching about the mind provides theoretical explanation for Zen practice and echoes Wang Yangming's teaching of the mind with added sophistication. Not only was it reprinted and circulated widely, many monastics and literati wrote commentaries on this text.<sup>26</sup>

### Yinyuan's Religious Reading of Zen Literature

In the study of religious experiences, the role of reading and writing in the formation of Buddhist spirituality has not yet been fully explored. Ven. Shengyan has studied the enlightenment experiences of many eminent monks in the late Ming and early Qing. He found that as highlighted in their spiritual biographies, many of the experiences were triggered by their reading of popular Chan texts. For example, Yungu Fahui (1500–1579) was enlightened through reading Yongming Yanzhou's *Record of Source-Mirror* (*Zongjing lu*); Tianyin Yuanxiu (1575–1635) had intuition when reading the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra* and records of Chan patriarchs in the past; Hanyue Fazang's (1573–1635) "great doubt" was aroused by reading Gaofeng Yuanmiao's (1238–1295) *Recorded Sayings* at the age of twenty-nine; In Yulin Tongxiu's (1614–1675) encounter with Tianyin Yuanxiu (1575–1635), the *Record of Stone House* (*Shiwu lu*) became a prop for asking questions; the Caodong master Wuming Huijing (1548–1618) first knew about Chan teachings through reading the entire Buddhist canon. He first had doubts about the four gathas in the *Diamond Sutra* and was further puzzled when reading *Compendium of Five Lamps* (*Wudeng huiyuan*) and *Records of Lamp Transmission during the Jingde Reign* (*Jingde chuandeng lu*). These examples show clearly that reading Chan texts had an important role in the formation of Chan monks' spirituality.<sup>27</sup>

Yinyuan's exposure to Zen Buddhism through reading reveals a typical pattern of spiritual conversion to Zen in a highly developed textual culture. His understanding of Zen was cultivated from his religious reading

of these Zen texts, where the antinomian spirit and anti-doctrine attitude influenced him. Yinyuan's reading of Zen literature led to actions. He started to feel the attraction of Zen but only had a vague idea about its teaching and practice. In his later years, he attributed his eventual conversion to Zen to a failed understanding of a phrase in Zen texts. In 1621 he was sent to Beijing to solicit donations. However, because the Manchu troops attacked Beijing, he was stuck when he arrived in Hangzhou. He had to stop and later moved to the nearby Shaoxing to study with the Caodong teacher Zhanran Yuancheng. In the early summer, a monk he knew well and referred to as Master Shiren came back from Beijing and was eager to share his experience with Yinyuan. Yinyuan thus went to Hangzhou to meet his friend. During their conversation, he came up a question he had during his study with Zhanran. He was struck by a sentence from the Zen patriarch Baizhang Huaihai's record, which says "If one interprets the meaning of the scripture by following its words, he is the enemy of the Buddha in three generations. However, if one speaks in a way that deviates from even one single word in the scripture, his teaching is the same as Demon's."<sup>28</sup>

This is apparently a paradox that challenges human intelligence: on the one hand, Baizhang despised the regurgitation of Buddha's words in scriptures without true understanding. On the other hand, he warned that scriptures are still the foundation of one's understanding. A Zen monk, though claiming to be antinomian, must be able to maintain balance in his view toward written words. This saying insinuated the subtle relationship between the literal meaning on the surface and the ultimate truth at the spiritual level. It suggests that merely studying the words of the scripture does not bring students anything. Rather, it leads people further away from Buddha's teaching. However, the ultimate truth is already contained in the scripture. If students totally abandon scripture, it is equally wrong. At this time, Yinyuan could not understand this sentence completely. It seems that Yinyuan was greatly perplexed by this paradox because he already had doubts about scriptural studies and puzzled over how such a pedantic method would lead one to enlightenment. Obviously, however, scriptures were still important, or Zen teachers such as Baizhang and Zhanran would not place such emphasis on them. (*Nenpu* 108)

His fellow monk Shiren, after listening to Yinyuan's concern, gave a Zen answer to Yinyuan's question. He simply replied, "Let me tell you thirty years later." This reply, which offered no solution at all, greatly



offended Yinyuan. Feeling humiliated, he could not understand why a simple sentence had to be that difficult to explain.

With this doubt in mind, he read the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra* again, finding that the gist of the scripture was not about learning and knowledge. Rather, it teaches how to practice Buddhism. He told fellow monk Ciran: “Walk then you will be back home. If not, it is useless if you listen to [the scripture lectures] till the year of donkey.” (*Nenpu* 114) Because there is no year of donkey in Chinese zodiac, it is clear that Yinyuan was simply complaining about the uselessness of doctrinal studies.

It appears that the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra* played a role in shaping Yinyuan’s spirituality. He often used quotes from the scripture freely in his conversations with fellow monks. When a monk asked him about the meaning of “seven inquiries about the mind” (*qichu zhengxin*) in the *Śuraṃgama Sūtra*, he replied in a typical Chan way, telling the monk, “Please sit down and bring the tea here. The explanation will run very long. Let me answer you tomorrow.” (*Nenpu* 115)

Yinyuan also practiced meditation and shows how closely reading Zen texts and meditation are connected. When Yinyuan first had this doubt about Baizhang’s sentence, he was actually at the beginning stage of Zen meditation by following Dahui Zonggao’s method of koan contemplation. According to Dahui, when a doubt emerged from koan studies, the Zen person should not try to solve it by means of his own intelligence. Rather, he should focus on the doubt day and night until the experience of sudden enlightenment occurred, ultimately solving all misgivings.<sup>29</sup> It seems that Yinyuan had not yet been able to attain such an experience and still had doubts. This was why he had to ask his friend about the meaning of Baizhang’s words and felt frustrated. However, many years later Yinyuan felt a great debt to this monk, since it was thanks to this reply that he was prompted to roam around the monasteries in Zhejiang and eventually found Miyun Yuanwu as his teacher.

## *Seeking the Authentic Zen Teacher*

### Encounter Dialogue with Miyun

Yinyuan realized from his Chan reading that he was no longer interested in scriptural studies. After several years of study, he became increasingly impatient with the “tedious” scholastic tradition. He felt that scriptural studies only showed people the way rather than leading them onto the way. In his

opinion, years of study were senseless for being released from the cycle of birth and death. At this time, Miyun Yuanwu resided in Tongxuan monastery at Mount Tiantai, a little-known small cloister located deep in the mountain. He was soon invited to Jinsu monastery. Yinyuan decided to go find him.

Miyun's primary teaching method was to use encounter dialogue as a spontaneous means to induce a sense of enlightenment among his students. Yinyuan's encounters with him demonstrated his teaching style. Yinyuan's first meeting with Miyun was impressive. When he arrived at Jinsu monastery, Yinyuan asked Miyun for guidance: "I just became a Zen Buddhist. But I don't know which direction I should go. Master, please give me some instructions." Miyun, however, gave him a negative answer by alluding to Linji's famous sayings: "There is no practice and cultivation here. Go if you want to! Stay if you want to! Sleep if you want to!" Here, Miyun demonstrated fully his antinomian Zen spirit, which defies conventional Buddhist practice. Yinyuan did not give up and continued to press for answers: "Mosquitoes are too many. What could I do if I can't sleep?" Miyun's reply was even more dramatic: "One slap!" Then he indeed slapped Yinyuan on his face as he often did to his students. (*Nenpu* 115)

This is a crucial point in their conversation. On the surface, it is an ordinary reply to Yinyuan's concern: you just kill mosquitoes with your slap and then go to sleep. However, as a Zen person, Miyun's words have a much deeper meaning. It is a complete negation of Yinyuan's conventional thinking and shows that Yinyuan was still bothered by mundane concerns. In other words, this slap should be applied to Yinyuan himself in order to awaken him from such an ordinary mode of thinking. If Yinyuan was truly enlightened, he would not even bother to ask the question. As Miyun suggested in the beginning, in his monastery, all people should act spontaneously as one wished. If a mosquito disturbs a good sleep, the right thing to do is to kill it with a slap immediately. This is the true Zen spirit. However, at that time, Yinyuan was not able to comprehend this deeper meaning.

At the end of his first encounter with Miyun, Yinyuan bowed to Miyun and left the room without a clue. For seven days and nights, Yinyuan could not get away from this puzzle. On the afternoon of the seventh day, he came across Miyun in front of the memorial hall built for Kang Senghui (?-280), who was the founder of the temple. Yinyuan suddenly felt touched upon by something and was urged by an impulse to interrupt Miyun. He bowed to Miyun and said: "Now I understand why you gave me a slap." Miyun seemed to have some interest in this, responding with "Please

speak!” (*Nenpu* 115) Without saying anything, Yinyuan gave a shout, as commonly read in Zen koans. Miyun again showed some interest: “Speak again and let me see!” Yinyuan again shouted. (*Nenpu* 117–118)

The shout did not seem to have impressed Miyun, since anyone could imitate a shout without a true understanding of it. He then commented: “What’s left if you shout three or four times?” Imitating Chan master Zhaozhou Congshen (778–897<sup>2</sup>), Yinyuan replied: “This year salt is more expensive than rice!”<sup>30</sup> Miyun answered, “Go away! Don’t block my way!” Here, Miyun was still not sure about Yinyuan’s understanding. Although Yinyuan showed his comprehension by using shouts spontaneously, he did not understand fully that shouts are only the means rather than the end. When Yinyuan was asked to think about what to do after three or four shouts, he was expected not to repeat shouts, since they were merely tools. Yinyuan understood this and quoted a phrase from a Zen koan. The phrase was unrelated to Miyun’s question, but seemed to have answered it nevertheless. However, the use of this phrase shows that Yinyuan might have fallen into another trap, that is, the obsession with written words. Because there are many koan stories, it is not difficult to pick one or two and memorize them as stock phrases to answer all questions. Many Zen practitioners at that time did pretend to have the enlightenment experience by showing off their memory of famous koan stories.<sup>31</sup> This is why Miyun criticized Yinyuan implicitly for his use of these stock phrases.

For Yinyuan, however, this encounter was a decisive moment. The doubt that Yinyuan had suddenly disappeared. As his chronological biography documents, he became another person after this encounter: he was now his own master and acted freely at his own will. He stopped following the routine Zen training, no longer requesting interviews, and claiming to have no further doubts. Under Miyun, Yinyuan indeed advanced quickly along the path toward Zen enlightenment: beating and shouting became his routine responses for questions and answers. He acted as if he were crazy. He was also diligent in practicing meditation, often sitting in the meditation hall for the whole night without sleep. When other monks were deep in sleep, he would wake up and go to the Buddha hall. He bowed to every statue of Buddha and Arhat on the two sides of the hall. (*Nenpu* 121)

## Experiencing Enlightenment

The enlightenment experience has been greatly mystified in Zen literature, as the penetration of the ultimate truth and the accounts of having

the enlightenment experience seem to be rhetorical in nature. However, a careful study of accounts of the enlightenment experience among Zen monks in seventeenth-century China shows that these are an expression of a special type of human experience achieved under extreme circumstances. The individual often claims to reach a mental stage of unity with the ultimate truth or nature, experiencing a loss of linguistic expression as well as physical reactions such as sweating. The special circumstance that these Zen masters underwent was a controlled and disciplined environment in which a clear suggestion of having such an experience as the goal of practice was given by the teacher. Moreover, the master would pressure the student to give up normal consciousness by exerting drastic verbal and physical abuses such as beating and shouting. The deep psychological frustration frequently led to a final burst of emotional reaction triggered by an ordinary happening in an unexpected occasion, such as being blown by a gust of wind (Yinyuan), hearing the cracking sound of bamboo (Hanyue Fazang), passing a scenic spot (Miyun), or receiving a heavy blow (Feiyin). Such an emotional and psychological breakthrough has thus been referred to by Zen Buddhists as the “enlightenment experience.”

Yinyuan’s moment of enlightenment came suddenly on a morning in 1626 when he was thirty-five years old. In that year, he was appointed as the guest master to entertain visitors. During that time, because there were more than five hundred monks studying with Miyun, Miyun divided the mass into East Hall and West Hall, which were charged by two of his leading disciples: Wufeng Ruxue and Poshan Haiming.<sup>32</sup> Yinyuan, under Wufeng Ruxue’s supervision, grew very frustrated during one of their interviews.

One day upon seeing Wufeng, Yinyuan immediately waved his fist, challenging him: “Knowing this, the world has peace. Knowing this, the world competes. How to solve this?” Wufeng, in response, asked, “Where did you learn all this?” Without reply, Yinyuan uttered a shout. Wufeng persisted in his inquiry, again saying: “Tell me where you learnt it!” Yinyuan proceeded to shout again. Wufeng then hit him. Yinyuan shouted twice in a row, to which Wufeng replied with two strikes. All of his fellow monks believed that in this encounter Yinyuan had been defeated: there was no positive result out of the interview. After the interview, Yinyuan was so frustrated that he began to behave strangely: he walked angrily without seeing anybody and without feeling the existence of his own body. He only came back to normal consciousness the next morning, after he heard the chiming sound of the bells during the morning chanting service. Finally,

on the third day, the enlightenment experience occurred. In the morning, when a gust of wind suddenly blew from outside the window,

his hair stood on end all of a sudden. His whole body began to sweat and he completely illuminated his ultimate origin. He thus knew that all Buddhas in the past, present, and future, all patriarchs in the previous generations, all eminent monks, sentient beings, and other beings, exist on a tiny tip of hair. [The truth] is crystal clear without duality and without distinction. This experience cannot be described to others with any possible examples. It can be only learnt through self-verification (*zizheng*). (*Nenpu* 122)

Yinyuan knew that he was enlightened but had no way to share this with others. Out of joy, he smiled to whomever he met. His smile must have looked so strange that his fellow monks suspected he was bewitched. Eventually, one of his study mates sensed that Yinyuan must have had an enlightenment experience, at once going to report this to Yinyuan's immediate teacher Wufeng. Wufeng then pressed Yinyuan to demonstrate his supreme understanding of truth in front of everyone. Yinyuan responded: "This is not difficult. But I am afraid that my answer will scare everyone." Wufeng said: "It doesn't matter to tell us." Yinyuan's answer indeed surprised everyone: he left the room by performing a somersault (*da jindou*)!

While Yinyuan's stunt was indeed surprising for some, those familiar with the voluminous koan stories could easily tell that Yinyuan was imitating a response recorded in Zen literature. For example, in one famous instance, a monk called Xingkong had an audience with a visiting monk. Upon seeing this monk, Xingkong spread his hands to show him what emptiness was. The monk came closer to have a look and then retreated. Master Xingkong said, "Your parents are dead, but you showed no remorse!" At this, the monk burst into laughter. Xingkong tried again, saying, "[Let me] hold a funeral ceremony for you later." Hearing this, the monk suddenly turned a somersault and left the room. In response, Xingkong cried, "Almighty Heaven (*cangtian*)! Almighty Heaven!"<sup>33</sup>

Probably because Wufeng recognized that Yinyuan was imitating this koan, he did not approve his enlightenment experience. Yinyuan was soon sent to work in the kitchen, probably as punishment for his bizarre behavior. He obviously wished to show his experience to Miyun and have

him acknowledge his enlightenment. But because he was still an ordinary monk in a big monastic community, he had fewer chances to meet Miyun. On the rare occasions when the two did meet, Yinyuan was eager to seize the opportunity and demonstrate his true Zen spirit.

One day, when Miyun was discussing Confucius's attitude toward ghosts and spirits with someone, Yinyuan happened to be standing outside waiting to attend him. When Miyun saw him, he asked Yinyuan to come in and offer his opinion. Yinyuan walked into the room with a fire poker, the tool he brought from the kitchen. He raised the poker and said: "I can't walk away from this thief and I can't get close to this thief." Here, Yinyuan referred to Miyun as an "old thief" whom he loved and hated at the same time. Clearly, he admired Miyun's Zen spirit, but regretted that he had not yet recognized Yinyuan's enlightenment. Miyun then hit him and asked, "Are you making us a gathering of thieves?" Yinyuan ran away with his poker, continuing to say, "Thief! Thief!" Once again, this was a strange encounter between the two but was supposed to demonstrate the spontaneous Zen spirit from both. However, Yinyuan's spiritual awakening remained unrecognized.

Yinyuan's enlightenment experience had a profound impact on his becoming a Zen master. Through rigorous Zen training, which served to internalize Zen teaching and practice, Yinyuan was able to undergo a psychological transformation to achieve an exceptional human experience. Such an experience functioned as an internal source for authenticating Yinyuan's understanding of Zen. In an intuitive way, one's true self was discovered and the Buddha nature (*foxing*) was present.

Yinyuan Longqi was just one among many young men who visited Miyun Yuanwu and was trained under his bitter style of Zen: beating and shouting. Eventually, he received dharma transmission from Miyun's heir Feiyin Tongrong. Such an experience gave him tremendous authority and legitimacy, which enabled him to revive the local monastery Huangbo in his hometown and claim to have the "Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect" in China and Japan.

## *Receiving Dharma Transmission*

### Returning to Huangbo

In the seventeenth century, two essential criteria defined a Zen master: the enlightenment experience and the acceptance of dharma

transmission. The first concerns a private experience that marks the spiritual growth of a student in his inner world and enables him to behave confidently as a teacher in the future; the latter, however, demands a public recognition that legitimizes an individual monk's patriarchal power, which would be established within a power structure. Under Miyun, Yinyuan believed he had an authentic enlightenment experience. However, to become a true Zen master, his experience had to be authenticated by a true Zen master with the conferral of dharma transmission, in the form of a certificate. It took Yinyuan several more years to finally receive such a certificate.

Despite attaining the enlightenment experience under Miyun, Yinyuan did not receive dharma transmission from him. He stayed at Jinsu monastery for five years, but eventually had to leave in dismay after failing to receive Miyun's recognition and the much-coveted certificate of dharma transmission. Throughout Miyun's life, he taught many students, but only offered his dharma transmission to twelve of them. Many talented students had to then seek dharma transmission from these twelve people.

Even though Yinyuan did not receive Miyun's dharma transmission, he was still considered a valuable member in Miyun's inner circle. At the end of the summer of 1629, Yinyuan heard that patrons from Fuqing, his hometown, had formally invited Miyun to come to Huangbo, where Yinyuan was ordained. Because of his connection with Fuqing, Yinyuan was invited to join Miyun's entourage composed of his disciples who would fill the major monastic offices in Huangbo. Among them were some of Miyun's leading students: Muchen Daomin (1596–1674), Shiqi Tongxian (1594–1663), Muyun Tongwen (1599–1671), and Feiyin Tongrong, who later became Yinyuan's master.

However, less than a year later, Miyun left Huangbo for Ayuwang monastery, a more prestigious institution close to Ningbo. At the time Miyun left, Yinyuan was dispatched for a fundraising mission and was not informed of Miyun's departure. Struck by the news, he felt disappointed and deserted because Miyun's entourage was disbanded and he was left behind. Miyun's close disciples, including Muchen Daomin, followed him back to Zhejiang. Feiyin, having recently received Miyun's dharma transmission, left for northern Fujian to head a small monastery. Miyun's sudden departure thus left Yinyuan in an awkward position in his home monastery. He then had to retreat to a remote sub-temple of Huangbo called Lion Cliff to spend the next eight years

there, save for a two-year period at Huangbo monastery upon Feiyin Tongrong's request.

### A Recluse at Lion Cliff

Yinyuan spent six years in total in Lion Cliff until he returned to Huangbo as abbot. This period was a low point in Yinyuan's career. Already forty years old, he still did not establish himself as a successful Zen master: he had not yet received recognition from any teachers or become abbot of a major monastery. His spiritual teacher Miyun was far away from him and seemed to have deserted him. To some extent, he was also exiled out of Huangbo monastery and now lived in a barren and remote place. However, this period of solitude proved to be crucial for his future success. During the six years in Lion Cliff, he developed his talent of community building, sharpened his poetic skills, and befriended a group of local literati as well as a few Daoist recluses who resided in the nearby Mount Shizhu. Although he was not yet a Zen master, he started to ordain young monks as his disciples. He took several novices with him, including Liangzai Xingchang (1631–1694?), Liangye Xingle (1600–1664), and Liangzhe (later Damei) Xingshan (1616–1673), who followed him faithfully and later became his most trusted disciples.<sup>34</sup>

This period of hermitage was important for Yinyuan's spiritual growth as well. Because Lion Cliff, though small and remote, was the first place that Yinyuan managed independently, he developed deep affection for this place throughout his life, even feeling more nostalgic about it many years after he left for Japan. Sixteen years after he left Lion Cliff, he wrote eight poems to commemorate his experience in this period. In his memory, there was little to enjoy materially in Lion Cliff. He claimed, however, that he had true pleasure there and that the cliff gave him a second life (*IGZS* 3: 1543). He often sent his promising disciples such as Huimen Rupei (1615–1664) to live in Lion Cliff as a way of training them, eventually asking some of them to take care of the place and requesting that one disciple, Duwang Xingyou, compile a gazetteer for it.<sup>35</sup>

Before Yinyuan arrived, Lion Cliff was an abandoned cloister. It was not within the vicinity of Mount Huangbo but was surrounded by mountains. There was no road leading to Lion Cliff. Yinyuan and his disciples had to build and pave trails. The cliff was often shrouded in the mists, with the clouds frequently flowing below his hut. Above, one could see the summit of the mountain high up and hear the sound of flowing water



in creeks. To the south were thick woods, and birds could be heard all the time. To the west was the Daoist Mount Shizhu, where Daoist immortals were claimed to be seen and a few Daoist recluses lived. Lion Cliff was also particularly close to a Daoist cave in the mountain, called “The Cave of Purple Cloud” (*Ziyundong*).<sup>36</sup>

Living conditions here were rather austere. Yinyuan and his disciples had to build the hut and cultivated land by themselves. But Yinyuan loved this place because of its scenery and aloofness. “Building a thatched hut to the west of Mount Shizhu, shouting at the sky and beating the moon, I roam amid the misty cloud,” he chanted romantically. (*IGZS* 3:1117–18)

Such an isolated environment had no doubt contributed to Yinyuan’s spiritual and poetic life. As a Zen person, he felt that he had a special experience through his immersion into nature. He firmly believed that as a Zen monk, the mountains surrounding him had their own lives; he felt that he was part of the mountains and the mountains had been internalized within himself. When one of his disciples asked who was living in the mountain, Yinyuan immediately stood up. Without saying any words, Yinyuan demonstrated that he, the standing monk, was that person. Even in such a remote place, without any visitors and audience surrounding him, Yinyuan still lived up to the Zen ideal and kept a high spirit.

Yinyuan’s life at Lion Cliff was also poetic. He often had tea parties with two of the local elite, Xia Xiangjin and Gong Kuiyou, at the Meiyin Cave.<sup>37</sup> In his poems, he found the Zen meaning in nature and expressed them in verses. He had completely romanticized his experience in the harsh natural environment. “Wild birds teach me ancient rhymes,” he wrote happily. He described his life with his disciples in an upbeat spirit. “How poor are these monks of two and three! But they guard a cliff.” Because they lived in isolation from the main community, they dressed in causal cloth but did follow all the monastic routines as in a big monastery. “We are neither commoners nor sages; neither are we Buddhas nor demons,” he claimed. (*IGZS* 3: 1066)

### Receiving Dharma Transmission from Feiyin Tongrong

Yinyuan’s peaceful life in Lion Cliff was interrupted in the winter of 1631, when his future master Feiyin was invited back to Huangbo as abbot. Feiyin was obviously a suitable candidate for the abbot position because he was also a Fuqing native and had helped to bring Miyun to Huangbo.

He received Miyun's dharma transmission, which proved his qualification for the abbot position.

Feiyin Tongrong was a native of Fuqing county. His secular name was He Maozhi and he was born in Songgang village in Jiangyin. Feiyin Tongrong became a monk at the young age of fourteen, after his parents died and his relatives had to give him up to a small chapel called Three Treasures Hall (Sanbaodian or Sanbao yan), which was located at a small military garrison at Zhendong town. He took a local monk named Huishan as his ordination teacher,<sup>38</sup> later studying under the Caodong teacher Zhanran Yuancheng for about ten years and then switching to Miyun Yuanwu. After several years of study under Miyun, Feiyin finally received his transmission in Huangbo monastery during Miyun's brief residence there. When Miyun left Huangbo, Feiyin was invited to Mafeng cloister in northern Fujian.

Feiyin was one of the most important disciples of Miyun and held steadfast to his teacher's style of beating and shouting. He was also strict about dharma transmission, fearing that unwarranted claims of dharma transmission would eventually adulterate the purity of the Zen lineage. He was most famous for a notorious lawsuit waged against his monumental Zen genealogy *Wudeng yantong* for that purpose. Feiyin Tongrong's important role in the debate about dharma transmission has been thoroughly studied in my earlier book *Enlightenment in Dispute*. He seemed to be fond of debate and often provoked controversies with fellow monks, even with the Jesuits who were actively propagating their religion at that time.<sup>39</sup> This made him very unpopular among his fellow monks. However, through him, the dharma transmission of an authentic lineage was passed to Yinyuan and gave him tremendous authority and legitimacy for his future success at Mount Huangbo and, later, in Japan.

Feiyin and Yinyuan must have known each other for a long time. Both of them were born in Fuqing, though Yinyuan was one year older. But Feiyin entered monastic life much earlier. Both of them studied with the Caodong master Zhanran Yuancheng, although Feiyin stayed with Zhanran for about ten years and Yinyuan only studied very briefly. They also studied together with Miyun and accompanied him back to their hometown. Because Yinyuan accepted Feiyin's dharma later, Yinyuan treated Feiyin with utmost respect and even more so after he moved to Japan. For Feiyin, Yinyuan was his first dharma heir and the most accomplished one. He had seen Yinyuan's success in Japan and took pride in it for his lineage.

Feiyin held Yinyuan's talent in the highest regard. When Feiyin took over Huangbo monastery, he immediately appointed Yinyuan Longqi as the head of West Hall (*xitang*), the position next to the abbot and the most probable candidate to be the next abbot. During this period, he showed his appreciation of Yinyuan's verses and even posted them outside the dharma hall. The two had encounters that were full of the antinomian Zen spirit. In one such encounter, Yinyuan presented a verse to him, but Feiyin asked Yinyuan why he composed a verse to express himself. Yinyuan replied that he was afraid of Feiyin's beating. Feiyin responded by hitting him, leading Yinyuan to complain that he felt even more in pain. Feiyin then hit him again and again, leading Yinyuan to shout. After the shout, Feiyin asked Yinyuan what happened. Yinyuan, however, simply left. (*Nenpu* 146)

Because of their close relationship and Yinyuan's position as a senior monastic officer, it was clear that sooner or later Feiyin would offer dharma transmission to him. The question was whether Yinyuan would accept it. Obviously, for Yinyuan, the best hope was to receive dharma transmission directly from Miyun himself, after which he and Feiyin would be dharma brothers. Feiyin knew about this and wanted to test Yinyuan's thought first. In a ceremony of ascending the hall, Feiyin raised his whisk and turned to the assembly. "I have a whisk which was handed down a long time ago. It cannot be used." By saying this, Feiyin made clear that he was looking for someone to offer his dharma transmission. He then glanced at Yinyuan, obviously showing his favor, and asked "How will you uphold it?" Yinyuan immediately shouted, saying: "I will put it down." Here Yinyuan seemed to have suggested that the whisk, symbolizing the patriarchal power, was not important to him. Implicitly, he seemed to have rejected Feiyin's offer. Feiyin, not believing that his offer was rejected, said: "Please shout again." Yinyuan then left the room and went to the abbot chamber. This is a gesture showing that Yinyuan wanted the true essence of dharma transmission, which is symbolized by the abbot chamber, rather than the superficial token of transmission. Feiyin followed him to the chamber. Inside the chamber and without the presence of others, Yinyuan bowed to Feiyin and apologized: "I just offended you a moment ago." This is likely to have made Feiyin happy, since Yinyuan's words indicated his willingness to accept the dharma. Feiyin thus gave his approval by waving his whisk: "You go ahead and uphold the whisk." Yinyuan, however, accepted the whisk but immediately hit Feiyin with it. Feiyin was happy to see that Yinyuan was able to

uphold not only the whisk but the Linji Zen spirit of beating and shouting. However, he pretended to complain: "Is this the way you repay my kindness?" Yinyuan simply hit him again. He then returned to his dormitory, showing that he was still an ordinary monk despite his willingness to accept Feiyin's dharma transmission. Although he does not say so explicitly in this symbolic encounter, it is clear that Yinyuan was ready to receive Feiyin's offer. (*Nenpu* 149)

However, this process was not smooth and was delayed after Feiyin left Huangbo. For some unknown reason, after a year at Huangbo under Feiyin, in the spring of 1634, Yinyuan decided to return to Lion Cliff. Two more years passed. After Feiyin Tongrong finished his three-year tenure at Huangbo, gentry patrons decided to invite Yinyuan to succeed Feiyin. In the fifth month of the tenth year of the Chongzhen reign (1637), Yinyuan received the invitation from Huangbo. Several versions of his biography indicate that this event coincided with Yinyuan's reception of dharma transmission from Feiyin. The timing of the conferral was interesting and significant: initially, Yinyuan had refused the first invitation from Huangbo. His biographer suggested that the refusal was based on the excuse that Yinyuan had not received the certificate of dharma transmission.

Only after he received the certificate, Yinyuan finally accepted the invitation and was installed officially as the third abbot of Huangbo monastery after it was revived by Miyun Yuanwu. Since then, Yinyuan Longqi presided over Huangbo until he left China in 1654, except for a short leave in 1645. It was under Yinyuan that Huangbo monastery underwent the most significant transformation.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, we have investigated Yinyuan's life through to his acceptance of dharma transmission in his middle age. By tracking down Yinyuan's spiritual journey, I have revealed some of the most salient features of the late Ming Buddhist culture and the rise of Chan Buddhism. This chapter shows that initially, Chan was not a prominent tradition in the beginning stage of the Buddhist revival. Rather, devotional activities such as pilgrimage, vegetarianism, and cult of Guanyin remained strong in local culture. The syncretic Buddhist culture that Yinyuan was exposed to was locally based and often deeply influenced by various popular traditions such as Daoism. The cult of Guanyin triggered universal devotion,

which often led the pilgrims to Putuo Island. Within the monastic world, scholastic education was tremendously popular and Yinyuan was subsequently engaged in scriptural studies. However, Zen was on the rise with the publication of popular Zen texts and eventually dominated the monastic world through the reinvented Zen teaching of Miyun Yuanwu. The success of Miyun's Chan stemmed from his ability to demonstrate the true Zen spirit and to authenticate it with dharma transmission. He and his followers thus drastically redefined the meaning of authenticity in Zen Buddhism through the performance of encounter dialogue and the practice of dharma transmission. Such an authentic Zen style quickly conquered the Buddhist world and brought institutional changes to Buddhist monasteries.

Yinyuan's enlightenment experience embodied in iconoclastic practice such as beating and shouting and dharma transmission defined his status as a Zen master. The significance of these two practices lies in the fact that both reach the original source of one's true self and reveal the meaning of being an authentic Zen master. They continued to be the core of Yinyuan's understanding of Zen Buddhism even when he arrived in Japan. As I have argued, the enlightenment experience invested tremendous authority and dharma transmission provided a mechanism to construct an institution. Yinyuan had now become a genuine Chan teacher with dharma transmission. He was ready to carry out his principles of Chan teaching to lead as an abbot. In the next chapter, we will see that Yinyuan took up these endeavors after he became the abbot of Huangbo monastery and transformed it into a dharma transmission monastery.

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*Building a Dharma  
Transmission Monastery*

MOUNT HUANGBO IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA

RECENT STUDIES ON Buddhism in the late Ming dynasty have drawn our attention to the monastery-building process in this period, which saw intensive activity among local elites to rebuild society after the suppression of “Dwarf Bandit” (Wokou) piracy in the second half of the sixteenth century. Though scholars such as Timothy Brook have investigated how the gentry lavished their patronage upon monastery-building projects, it is still largely unknown how Buddhist institutions themselves were revived as the result of an internal transformation of Buddhism. This chapter explores how the rise of a newly reinvented Chan tradition transformed a local monastery through reorganizing monastic communities with the principle of authentic dharma transmission. For this purpose, I will focus on Huangbo monastery in Fujian province, which Yinyuan has presided over for sixteen years before his move to Japan.

During the seventeenth century three important Chan masters, Miyun Yuanwu, Feiyin Tongrong, and Yinyuan Longqi, referred to as the Huangbo masters in local sources, presided over this monastery in succession. These masters made a significant contribution to the revival of Chan Buddhism in this period. Huangbo monastery (renamed Wanfusi in the late Ming) is also significant in Chan history. It was the monastery where the Tang monk Huangbo Xiyun (?–850) was ordained. In addition, it was the monastery from where Yinyuan Longqi departed to Japan in 1654, where he would later build Manpukuji at Uji, Kyoto, modeling on Huangbo monastery, thus becoming the founder of the Japanese Ōbaku

school. Therefore, the principle of dharma transmission and administrative styles Yinyuan developed in Huangbo proved to be crucial for his success in Japan.

In this chapter, based on several editions of monastic gazetteers and some rare sources preserved in Japan,<sup>1</sup> I observe that the revival of Huangbo monastery represents a process that occurred in many Buddhist institutions during the seventeenth century: monasteries were first restored by members of local gentry but then were quickly incorporated into a broader regional monastic network in which the dharma transmission of the presiding abbots (who were invited by the gentry) fostered institutional connections with other monasteries occupied by their dharma “relatives.” This type of monastery, generally referred to as “dharma transmission monasteries” (*chuanfa conglin*), a new creation in the seventeenth century, was organized according to the principle of dharma transmission and limited the abbacy to members of a specific dharma lineage.<sup>2</sup> In the resulting transformation of Chan monasteries, the practice of dharma transmission was formalized and rationalized to avoid confusion and false claims. For example, as this chapter will outline, Chinese characters indicating a shared generation were used when monks were assigned their religious names, marking their sectarian identity; certificates were issued when the monks’ master bestowed dharma transmissions; and Chan histories of dharma transmission, called “lamp histories” (*dengshi*), were constantly updated in order to incorporate recently certified heirs to the lineage.

To investigate the various aspects of the institutionalization of dharma transmission monasteries, I will first explain how Huangbo monastery was initially revived as a local endeavor under the imperial auspice of Emperor Shenzong (reign title: Wanli, r. 1573–1620) of the Ming. I will then focus on how the three Huangbo masters changed the monastery from a local institution to a dharma transmission monastery. I will also explore the various means used by these monks to strengthen the ties of dharma transmission. Finally, in conclusion, I will evaluate the impact of such monastic reform on Japanese Buddhism when Yinyuan implemented them in Manpukuji.

### *The Tale of a Local Monastery*

Huangbo monastery was initially a local monastery. It had no clearly defined ownership but was controlled jointly by clergy and local gentry.

This was a common situation for Buddhist monasteries in Ming China, as noted by Timothy Brook in his study of gentry patronage in the rebuilding of local monasteries:

Ming Buddhism existed as a congeries of little institutions dispersed randomly across the country, without hierarchy, internal organization, or any regulatory body other than what the state supplied. With the exception of limited ties among sister monasteries and linked pilgrimage sites, Buddhist institutions did not participate in a larger institutional framework at any level. Unlike European Christianity, Ming Buddhism was not woven into the net of secular power.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, since the Song dynasty, Buddhist monasteries had become increasingly local; with the exception of a few big state-sponsored temples, they relied on local resources to sustain themselves; local patrons took control of them and monasteries served local interests, providing religious service to local devotees. Even though the Southern Song had attempted to formulate a system of “Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries” (*Wushan shicha*) designed to impose an official hierarchy on Buddhist institutions, this system disappeared without trace in China despite its huge success in Japan.<sup>4</sup> The revival of Huangbo monastery in the late Ming was therefore primarily a local effort in its initial phase. Before recounting the transformation of this monastery, let us first turn to the locality and examine Huangbo monastery as one of the many local monasteries in Fujian province, the so-called “Buddhist kingdom.”

### Huangbo Monastery and Its Environs

Huangbo monastery is located at the southwest of Fuqing county (also referred to as Futang), a coastal area belonging to the larger Fuzhou prefecture. Close to a small town named Yuxi, which is on the transportation route to southern Fujian cities such as Putian and Xiamen, Huangbo monastery rests on a foothill of Mount Huangbo. Mount Huangbo was so named because of the exuberant growth of Huangbo trees on the mountain.

Mount Huangbo is located in Yinyuan’s hometown of Fuqing. It was an important monastery in Chan history not only because it was the place where the famous Chan master Huangbo Xiyun (?–850) was ordained,



but also because a revived Huangbo monastery in the seventeenth century served as the model for the Japanese Manpukuji.

In the history of Chinese Buddhism, Fujian province gradually became significant after the eighth century, when the exploration of South China brought in thousands of immigrants and nourished a regional culture favorable to the growth of the religion.<sup>5</sup> From the West Jin dynasty (265–316), there had been scattered Buddhist establishments in Fujian. The substantial spread of Buddhism took place during the later Tang and the Five Dynasties, when Fujian became one of the most developed regions in China, characterized by maritime trade and new land cultivation. Under the patronage of the Min ruler Wang Shenzhi, Buddhism was the major religion in that area. According to Edward Schafer, the Min regime invested lavishly in Buddhism not only because of its rulers' devout belief in the religion but also for political motives to justify their rule.<sup>6</sup> Based on studies by Chikusa Masaaki, Edward Schafer, and Hugh Clark, it is clear that from the time of the Min State, the Fujian region was "notorious" for its overwhelming patronage of Buddhism.<sup>7</sup> Recently, Albert Welter's study of the development of Chan Buddhism there has noted that Chan lineage active in this region were instrumental in forming a national discourse of Chan dharma transmission in the early Song.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the Song, the domination of Buddhism in the Fujian area continued to impress many sojourning officials, and descriptions of remarkable Buddhist establishments can be found in numerous historical records. Kenneth Dean, a scholar of Chinese religion, in his study of popular religions in Fujian, was struck by the unusually significant presence of Buddhism in its history. He provides the following statistics based on the Song *Gazetteer of the Three Mountains* [of Fuzhou] in the *Chunxi Reign* (*Chunxi sanshan zhi*):

In the Greater Fuzhou area alone some 38 monasteries were established in the Southern and Northern Dynasties and another 80 were added in the Tang. The Min Empire saw the establishment of 267, and another 331 were added soon after. The Song dynasty saw the establishment of 1,406 monasteries. Some 1,523 monasteries were still active in the Shaoxing period. At a high point, earlier population registration records gave a figure of 51,233 monks and novices for the Northern Fujian area.<sup>9</sup>

As in most counties around Fuzhou, Buddhism flourished in Fuqing along with the growth in population. Several editions of local gazetteers

preserve information about Buddhist institutions in the locality. According to a local gazetteer compiled in 1672, the first dated Buddhist temple can be traced back to the year 528, under the rule of the pious Emperor Wu of the Liang state.<sup>10</sup> According to the *Gazetteer of Three Mountains (Fuzhou) during the Chunxi Reign (Chunxi sanshan zhi)*, there were 196 monasteries in Fuqing during the Southern Song.<sup>11</sup> In the seventeenth century, among sixty-seven existing religious institutions in the area, there were forty-four Buddhist monasteries, five Daoist temples, and eighteen institutions of popular religion. Of the Buddhist institutions, one was built in the Han, two were built in the Northern and Southern Dynasties, ten in the Tang, seven in the Five Dynasties, thirteen in the Song, and six in the Ming. Although the Ming dynasty built fewer temples, sixteen renovation projects were undertaken, especially in the mid- and late Ming. Among these Buddhist institutions, several monasteries (such as Huangbo) remained nationally significant.

### The Temple and Its History

Huangbo monastery stood out from the many local monasteries because its name was associated with the famous Chan master Huangbo Xiyun, who was the teacher of Linji Yixuan (?–867). The history of the monastery can be traced to the mid-Tang, in the eighth and ninth centuries, when Buddhism spread to remote areas in the south. Chan monks were particularly active in this process. Many of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng's (638–713) disciples, such as Nanyue Huairang (677–744) in Hunan and Qingyuan Xingsi (660–740) in Jiangxi, became leaders of Chan communities. Some of their followers brought Chan teaching to Fujian as well. Nanyue Huairang's disciple Mazu Daoyi (709–788), for example, was believed to have visited Jianning prefecture in northern Fujian in 741. In addition, the Chan masters Baizhang Huaihai (749–814), Dazhu Huihai, Weishan Lingyou (771–853), Caoshan Benji, and Yunmen Wenyan's (864–949) teacher Xuefeng Yicun (822–908) were all Fujian natives. Among the many Chan masters sojourning in Fujian, legend has it that one of Huineng's disciples visited Mount Huangbo and built a small cloister that later became the nucleus of Huangbo monastery. According to a monastic gazetteer of Mount Huangbo composed in the seventeenth century, in the fifth year of the Zhenyuan reign of the Tang (789), the Sixth Patriarch Huineng's disciple Zhenggan arrived here and erected a cloister called "the Terrace of Prajñā" (*Boretai*).<sup>12</sup> It was said that he once studied

with the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. “When he obtained the principle,” the record says, “he bade farewell to his master. The Sixth Patriarch saw him off and told him to stop when he experienced suffering (literally bitterness, *ku*).” As the bark of Huangbo trees tastes bitter, the word *ku* implies the assertion that Zhenggan will stay at Mount Huangbo.<sup>13</sup> However, no other records corroborate that the Sixth Patriarch had a disciple called Zhenggan. As Japanese scholar Tokiwa Daijō reasoned, if he had indeed studied with Huineng, his encounter with the master would have occurred when Huineng was very old because when Zhenggan built the cloister at Mount Huangbo, Huineng had been dead for seventy-six years.<sup>14</sup>

Although Zhenggan’s life is still a mystery, Huangbo Xiyun, who also came from Mount Huangbo, was much better known in Chan history. Having been ordained at Mount Huangbo, he left for the Jiangxi area to study with Mazu and became a distinguished Chan master. Later, he renamed the mountain he resided on in Jiangxi “Huangbo,” probably because Mount Huangbo in Fujian was his home monastery. Although the fame of Mount Huangbo in Jiangxi overshadowed the original Mount Huangbo in Fuqing, the latter was very prominent in its locality at least in the beginning of the Southern Song.<sup>15</sup> For example, the *Gazetteer of the Three Mountains in the Chunxi Reign* (*Chunxi sanshan zhi*) records that the revenue generated by Huangbo monastery amounted to five *guan* (strings of coins) and 558 *wen* (coins).<sup>16</sup> This figure indicates how much tax money (*chanqian*) Huangbo monastery had paid annually. The figure is greater than that for most other Buddhist monasteries in the county and is suggestive of the size of the monastery at that time. According to the ratio of money that land could produce per *mu* in Fuqing county (2.4 in this case), the total number of arable land (probably excluding orchard) owned by the monastery might have amounted to approximately 2,316 *mu*.<sup>17</sup>

### The Revival of Huangbo in the Late Ming

From the Song onward, as Chikusa Masaaki observes, Buddhist institutions had been in a state of steady economic decline.<sup>18</sup> Other studies of Fujian Buddhism in the late Ming support Chikusa’s conclusion. As T’ien Ju-K’ang notes, Buddhist monasteries in Fujian in the late Ming and early Qing were in a deplorable condition, in no way comparable to their glory in the Tang or early Song. T’ien regards the moral degeneration of Buddhism and the secularization of Buddhist monks as the main causes of Buddhism’s decline.<sup>19</sup>

In contrast to this pessimistic picture, Timothy Brook points to an extraordinary revival of Buddhist monasteries during the late Ming. Monasteries were rebuilt under the sponsorship of the local gentry, whose patronage to Buddhism symbolized the rise of another wave of local activism that further strengthened the power of local society while weakening state control. In particular, Brook documents the revival of four local monasteries including Tiantong and Ayuwang (Aśoka), which were occupied by Miyun Yuanwu and his dharma heirs.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Wolfram Eberhard's statistics of Buddhist monasteries in local gazetteers also indicates that in addition to the tenth century, the years between 1550 and 1700 constituted one of the most active time periods of temple-building activities.<sup>21</sup> Judging from the conclusions of these studies, there would seem to be little doubt that a national movement to revive local Buddhist monasteries was taking place at that time.

Huangbo monastery likewise experienced a revival during this period. The direct impetus for rebuilding the monastery was the destruction caused by the incursions of the "Japanese dwarf pirates" (Wokou, or commonly known as Wako in Japanese, which were made up of Chinese and Japanese bandits) during the Jiajing reign (1522–1566). From 1545, the year when they first attacked Fuqing, to 1564, when General Qi Jiguang (1528–1587) finally quelled them, pirates visited Fuqing almost every year. During an attack in 1555, the main buildings of Huangbo monastery were destroyed. Although pirate incursions further made the already declining situation of Buddhism in the region worse, a reconstruction of social life in the locality took place after their suppression. This included the rebuilding of Buddhist monasteries such as Huangbo.

### Bestowal of the Imperial Canon to Huangbo Monastery

While the rebuilding after the pirate incursions revived local Buddhism in Fuqing, the true resurrection of Huangbo monastery could not be realized without the sponsorship by Emperor Shenzong. The emperor's personal interests in accumulating merits for his mother and himself made him one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism in late imperial China. Under his auspice, Buddhist monasteries throughout the country were rebuilt, eminent monks were sponsored, and, most importantly, the Buddhist canon was reprinted and bestowed upon his favorite monasteries

as significant “symbolic capital.” It would be easier for those monasteries receiving imperial copies of the canon to attract further support from their local communities.<sup>22</sup>

This edition was the precious Yongle Northern Canon carved between 1419 and 1440. Its creation was directly related to the Ming usurper Zhu Di (r. 1402–1424), who took power from his nephew and moved the capital to Beijing in 1403. It was modeled on the southern edition created previously in Nanjing and clearly functioned as a political tool to legitimate his rule. As a royal canon, its printing quality was high and rarely distributed to common temples. In the late Ming, the canon was supplemented twice by Emperor Shenzong and was bestowed to famous temples as a way to promote Buddhism and to secure blessing for his mother. Many temples received the canon because of their connections with the royal family and the pious petitions from monks.<sup>23</sup>

The idea of receiving such a royal benediction became appealing to a monk named Zhongtian Zhengyuan (1537–1610), who was residing in the dilapidated Huangbo monastery. Lamenting the monastery’s destruction, he was determined to restore the Buddhist tradition there. In 1601, driven by the idea of glorifying Huangbo, he decided to go to Beijing to request a complete set of Chinese Tripitaka from Emperor Shenzong. After waiting in Beijing in vain for eight years, however, he died in Beijing without a response from the imperial house. In 1607, however, Fuqing native Ye Xianggao (1562–1627) became the grand chancellor of the court. Probably as a response to his petition, in 1614, the Shenzong emperor, in order to accumulate merits for his deceased mother Empress Dowager Cisheng (1546–1614), finally bestowed a complete set of the Buddhist canon upon the monastery. He subsequently changed the name of the monastery from Jiandesi to Wanfusi.

As a Fuqing native who had become prominent in the court, Grand Chancellor Ye Xianggao must have played a significant role in this process.<sup>24</sup> Though a weak politician, Ye was a significant patron of religion in his hometown because of his high social status.<sup>25</sup> As a witness of the rebuilding of Huangbo, he provided a detailed report of this event:

In the autumn of the Jiayin year (1614), because the emperor could not ease the deep mourning caused by his holy mother’s death, he distributed Buddhist canons to selected famous mountains and ancient monasteries in order to pray for his mother’s blessing. There were six such monasteries in the country, and Huangbo

monastery was among them. The eunuch Wang Ju was ordered to accompany the set of the Buddhist canon with 300 tales of gold granted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs as travel expenses. The imperial decree reads: “You are dispatched to guard [the Buddhist canon] to the monastery.”<sup>26</sup>

Under this royal decree, Huangbo monastery was successful in securing an important symbolic asset that had no doubt went on to attract more support from local communities.

### *The Transformation of Huangbo into a Dharma Transmission Monastery*

The installation of the imperial canon paved the way for Huangbo’s revival. Under the patronage of Ye Xianggao and the local gentry, the monastery was reconstructed. By 1629, almost all infrastructure was complete. At that time, Huangbo monastery included not only the main structure of the monastic compound with complete buildings such as the Buddha Hall, Tripitaka storehouse, kitchen, and dormitories for clerics, but also some other properties in its vicinity, including nine chapels (*an*), one cloister (*yuan*), 346 *mu* of arable land, and 25 *mu* of orchard.<sup>27</sup> No doubt, by the 1630s, with strong support from the imperial house and local gentry, Huangbo monastery was a well-established Buddhist institution in that area. It possessed all the prestige and economic resources a monastery could have. At this moment, however, the Huangbo abbots Longmi and Longrui, together with other gentry patrons, made an important decision: they would invite an “authentic” Chan master to restore the “ancestral way” and to transform Huangbo into “a monastery of ten directions” (*shifang conglin*, that is a public monastery) forever.

### Miyun’s Arrival

The candidate they chose was Miyun Yuanwu. Miyun Yuanwu had already gained fame as an heir of the Linji Chan teaching and claimed to have received the orthodox transmission as the dharma heir of the thirtieth generation in Linji’s lineage. Led by Ye Xianggao’s grandson Ye Yifan (1595–?), the monastery’s gentry patrons wrote several letters to Miyun Yuanwu expressing their wish to invite him as abbot.<sup>28</sup>

Mount Huangbo was among the six monasteries Miyun had presided over as abbot. In the eighth month of the second year of the Chongzhen reign (1629), Miyun received the invitation from Huangbo monastery and decided to accept the position. (His disciple Feiyin Tongrong, as a native of Fuqing, acted as the mediator.) On the twenty-seventh day of the third month, 1630, Miyun Yuanwu arrived at Huangbo and was officially installed as abbot. However, just over eight months later, he received an invitation from Ayuwang monastery in Ningbo, one of the five most prestigious monasteries in South China, and left Huangbo for his new position. For a big monastery like Huangbo with the intention of becoming a “public” monastery, if the abbacy was vacant, then another eminent monk should be invited from outside, regardless of sectarian considerations. What happened next, however, indicates a subtle change in the nature of the public monastery. A year after Miyun’s departure, his dharma heir Feiyin Tongrong, who had actually received dharma transmission during Miyun’s presence in Huangbo, was invited to be abbot.

### A Dharma Transmission Monastery in the Seventeenth Century

The system of succession at Huangbo is typical of the “dharma transmission monastery” as it took shape in the seventeenth century. With the rise of Chan Buddhism, many monasteries were converted to this popular type. The appointment of a new abbot was significant for both the monastery and the local community; the current abbot would step down, and the monks in the community would give up the opportunity of succeeding the position. Moreover, all monastic property would be subject to the will of the new abbot, who could be a complete stranger. For the local gentry, this meant that a social force foreign to the locality would intrude into their territory. As a study by Hasebe Yūkei observes, the dharma transmission model where candidates for the abbacy were selected from among its own dharma heirs became a popular form of Buddhist institution.

In the dharma transmission monasteries, the abbot and his successors belonged to a single dharma lineage. In principle they served a tenure of three years, the position rotating within the particular dharma family according to seniority.<sup>29</sup> Not all dharma heirs were available or willing to serve, however. Therefore, very often, the position would go to several of the most influential or active of the dharma heirs, one of whom would then pass the position to his own dharma

heirs; the abbacy would then remain within that lineage (an example from Huangbo monastery will be outlined in detail later). In his study of seventeenth-century monastic orders, Hasebe concludes that there was a movement to transform more and more Buddhist institutions into dharma transmission monasteries. As Hasebe points out, dharma transmission monasteries in the seventeenth century were different from public monasteries and private monasteries that had been institutionalized in the Song.

From the time of the Song dynasty, Chinese monasteries had been classified by the government into two basic forms: private monasteries (*jiayi*) and public monasteries (*shifang*, literally “ten directions”). According to the *Compendium of Song Administrative Laws during the Qingyuan Reign* (*Qingyuan tiaofa shilei*) compiled in 1203, the private monastery system allowed the position of abbot to be transmitted among the abbot’s disciples (not his dharma heirs). The public monastery system required that the new abbot be chosen from outside the monasteries rather than from among the ordained disciples of the previous abbot.<sup>30</sup> The dharma transmission monastery system took shape as an offshoot of the public monastery system. In the seventeenth century, dharma transmission became an increasingly important criterion for selecting the new abbot. Strictly speaking, a dharma transmission monastery was neither public nor private. When Huangbo became a “public” monastery, it was not a genuine “ten-direction” institution consistently following the abbot-selection principle of a public monastery. Instead, as outlined earlier, when the first abbot Miyun Yuanwu retired, the abbacy was restricted to his dharma heirs only; and thus Huangbo changed from a “public” monastery to a dharma transmission monastery.

In the *Compendium of Song Administrative Laws*, the Song government made the following stipulations regarding the monastic system:

If the position of abbot of a ten-direction Buddhist or Daoist monastery is vacant, the prefect should commission Buddhist and Daoist administrators to convene the abbots of ten-direction Buddhist and Daoist monasteries in order to elect Buddhist monks or Daoist clerics who are senior in age, learned, and who are admired and supported by all. Then [the selection] should be verified and reported to the prefect, who decides the appointment after examination. If no one is reported, the authority will elect a candidate from some other areas, who is admired and widely supported.<sup>31</sup>



As pointed out in a study by Huang Minzhi, the benefit of being a ten-direction institution was that a monastery could have a larger pool of candidates for the abbacy, and it was therefore easier to maintain the continuity of religious training. The drawback, however, was that the frequent changes of abbots often led to chaotic management and the loss of monastic property. For this reason, in the late Southern Song, many public monasteries petitioned the government to be allowed to change back to private monastery status.<sup>32</sup>

Dharma transmission monasteries had originally taken shape when the first Chan patriarch was invited to be abbot in a public monastery. After his tenure, the position of abbot was exclusively reserved for his dharma heirs, who either rotated the position of abbot among themselves or subsequently handed it down to their dharma heirs.<sup>33</sup>

Miyun Yuanwu, Feiyin Tongrong, and Yinyuan Longqi, the three masters who had been abbots of Huangbo, were active in building their “dharma transmission monasteries.” After Yinyuan Longqi left in 1654, its abbacy rotated among his dharma heirs. Table 2.1 lists the names of Huangbo abbots during the seventeenth century according to the monastic gazetteer of Huangbo.<sup>34</sup> (Please note that this list gives two alternative generation characters for later abbots because they came from both Miyun Yuanwu’s lineage, and the Huangbo lineage that

**Table 2.1 List of Huangbo Abbots and their Sectarian Affiliation**

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1.	1630, Miyun Yuanwu, Huangyou Zhengchuan’s dharma heir
2.	1633, Feiyin Tongrong, Miyun’s dharma heir
3.	1636, Yinyuan Longqi, Feiyin’s dharma heir
4.	1644, Genxin Xingmi (1603–1659), Feiyin’s dharma heir
5.	1646, Yinyuan resumed abbotship
6.	1654, Huimen Chao (Ru) pei, Yinyuan’s dharma heir
7.	1664, Xubai Chao (Xing)yuan, Yinyuan’s dharma heir
8.	1673, Guangchao Chao(Xing)xuan, Yinyuan’s dharma heir
9.	1677, Qingsi Ming(Zhen)jing, Huimen’s dharma heir
10.	1682, Tianchi Ming(Ji)cheng, Huimen’s dharma heir
11.	1688, Weiji Ming(Dao)qian, Liangye Xingle’s dharma heir
12.	1690, Hungu Ming(Pu)qia, Huimen’s dharam heir
13.	1693, Bili Ming(Ru)jing, Huimen’s dharma heir
14.	?, Zhongqi Shi(Dao)ren, Qingsi’s dharma heir
15.	1708, Liangzhun Ming(Zong)biao, Guangchao’s dharma heir

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Yinyuan belonged to used different transmission verses. The characters in parenthesis indicate the monks' generation characters in the Huangbo lineage. The next section provides more details on using these characters.)

It is clear from this list that Huangbo monastery was under the firm control of a lineage of dharma transmission started by Miyun Yuanwu. Following Yinyuan Longqi's departure in 1654, the position of abbot of Huangbo monastery rotated among several of his most important dharma heirs. After several decades, it became clear that the position belonged to Yinyuan Longqi's lineage. This institutional change initiated by Miyun Yuanwu was significant in several ways. First, monastic life was centered on a charismatic figure who had certified dharma transmission. Second, succession as abbot was restricted to that master's dharma heirs. Third, because these abbots, after their tenure, would most probably be invited to another monastery, these monasteries thus formed unofficial relationships of affiliation bonded by the dharma transmission of the presiding abbots.

### *The Rationalization of Dharma Transmission*

Huangbo monastery was built upon the ideal of the dharma transmission monastery. For such a monastery, the central issue is the rationalization of dharma transmission that governs monastic bureaucracy and organizes the clerical hierarchy among monks, as the abbot succession hinges upon a clearly defined line of transmission. Therefore, the Huangbo masters made every effort to justify, codify, and perpetuate the practice of dharma transmission. Their systematic endeavors included the following: regularly updating the genealogy of dharma transmission; regulating the naming practice of dharma heirs and disciples; issuing certificates and credentials of dharma transmission; and monopolizing the succession system of the abbacy. The following sections will discuss each of these practices.

#### Updating the Genealogy of Dharma Transmission

Just like any lineage organization in Chinese society, a Chan lineage maintains its continuity with the past through constantly updating its records, in this case the records of dharma transmission. Recording the transmission fulfills two functions that are crucial to the life of a lineage: the production

of new heirs is faithfully recorded, and this information is made available to the public. Through these practices a lineage, regardless of the fact that each individual member might be separated geographically, is bonded in a textualized relationship.

The production of Chan genealogies was phenomenal during the seventeenth century, when voluminous writings on Chan genealogy were composed and promoted. Monks devoted their energies to historical research in order to clarify obscure transmissions. The Huangbo masters were extremely active in compiling, modifying, and publishing new versions of genealogy, even when their effort met with discontents. The first systematic effort started when Miyun Yuanwu arrived in Huangbo. A local scholar named Wu Tong presented him with a version of the Chan genealogy he had composed. Miyun took the project and asked his disciple Muchen Daomin to complete it. The final version, entitled *Generational Genealogy of Chan Lamps* (*Chandeng shipu*) was published in 1632. In this book the Chan genealogy is organized into a chart and the names of Chan masters are listed according to their dharma transmission relationships. The most recent recipients of dharma transmission were updated. Those eminent monks who had no proof of their dharma transmission were relegated to the category “lineage unknown” (*sifa weixiang*).

The second major effort was Feiyin Tongrong’s genealogical work *Strict Transmission of the Five Chan Lamps* (*Wudeng yantong*), published in 1654. Like his master, Feiyin Tongrong maintained a strict definition of dharma transmission. He demanded the authentication of all Chan masters, even those who were widely respected, as proven spiritual leaders. In this work, every line of transmission without exception came under critical and rational scrutiny, and the ideal principle of face-to-face transmission was supposed to be upheld. For Feiyin, if a Chan master had not studied with a teacher in person, he was not qualified to claim that teacher’s dharma transmission. Feiyin Tongrong even deliberately changed the conventionally accepted genealogy on the basis of newly discovered inscriptions of ancient Chan masters. As a result, this “strict sense” of dharma transmission led to contestation and resentments in the Buddhist world. In 1654 a notorious lawsuit about Feiyin’s work *Strict Transmission* broke out and caused turmoil in Chan communities. Feiyin’s book was provocative because the issue of Tianhuang Daowu (748–807) and Tianwang Daowu (738–819) was brought to light. Both monks lived in Jingzhou, but in different monasteries. Tianwang Daowu was Mazu Daoyi’s dharma heir and Tianhuang Daowu was Shitou Xiqian’s (700–790). The debate concerns

the lineage affiliation of Longtan Chongxin. The official Chan transmission records put him under Tianhuang Daowu, while some contended that he should be the heir of Tianwang Daowu. The change of this lineage according to his master would affect the affiliations of two sub-lineages derived from him, namely Fayan and Yunmen.<sup>35</sup> Yinyuan upheld these ideas even after he arrived in Japan. Although he did not compile any of such comprehensive Chan genealogy, in 1657, Feiyin Tongrong's *Wudeng yantong* was reprinted in Japan by Yinyuan Longqi, symbolizing the beginning of a stricter dharma transmission practice.

In principle, Yinyuan stood with his teachers Miyun and Feiyin and emphasized the strict definition of dharma transmission lines to avoid false claims. He was familiar with the polemical essays Miyun and Feiyin wrote. For example, during his stay at Jinsu monastery, he read Miyun's "Judgment by Master Tiantong" (*Tiantong panyu*) and wrote a poem to praise his teacher's criticism.<sup>36</sup> He fully understood the reason his teacher Feiyin composed *Wudeng yantong*, saying in a letter to a disciple, Huilin (Duzhi), "Today, there are so many who usurp the title and position of Buddha and patriarch. Therefore, my teacher Feiyin was strict about this." (IGZS 4: 2058) In a letter to Wude Haining dated to 1656, he wrote: "In China right now, Buddhism was at its peak and also at its most confusing time. I know its restructure is necessary. This is why Master Jingshan (Feiyin) wants to rescue this situation and wrote *Wudeng yantong* and *Yuqiao ji* to rectify it."<sup>37</sup> He also composed a poem to praise his teacher after reading the *Wudeng yantong* again in 1666.

*With the advent of my teacher's true succession,  
Pretenders have no room to confuse our lineage.  
He thereby established our never-ending order,  
To spread its ancient light throughout the seas. (IGZS 9: 4040)*

### The Naming Practice of Dharma Heirs and Disciples

Huangbo masters' practice of naming newly initiated novices and dharma heirs also reflected the rationalization of dharma transmission. For example, characters contained in transmission poems were used in monks' names as markers of a common generation in order to construct a sectarian consciousness. The transmission poems, usually written by the founder of a lineage, provide hierarchical structures for the lineage in that each new member of a given generation will take the same word

from the poem (the next word in sequence after the word used by previous generation) as his generation character (*beizi*). All members of the same generation will have this identical generation character. As a result, even if a lineage develops into a multi-branched organization, its distant relatives can still identify each other through tracing their positions and ranks according to the transmission poem. In this sense, the significance of a transmission poem is not its literary merit; rather, it is a device for institution building. The key to writing such a poem is that no character can be used more than once; otherwise, members of different generations would have the same character as their identity marker and there would be confusion about their rank in the entire hierarchy. If the lineage develops to the extent that all the characters in the poem are used up, a new poem can be composed to supplement the original one. Although the use of generational names from transmission poems was not unique in Chinese Buddhism, the Huangbo masters greatly strengthened this practice, as is evident in their extant transmission poems.

Monastic communities in China are prototype lineage organizations based on a system of fictive reproduction that produces multiple layers of master-disciple relationships. At the bottom of this system is the ordination ceremony, which creates what Holmes Welch calls “tonsure family” (*tidu zongpai*): under a certain master a disciple’s hair is shaved and he is given a name carrying the generation character of the master’s tonsure lineage. The novice’s monastic identity is thus established as a member of this tonsure family, and he is accordingly woven into the relationship web of an ordination lineage. Beyond this, a fully ordained monk can acquire an additional identity through dharma transmission, whereby he is initiated into a more exclusive fellowship that grants him prestige and qualifies him to hold office in the monastic bureaucracy, even to become the abbot of a monastery.

A monk’s name matters, because the Chan dharma transmission closely mirrored the practice of lineage organizations in the secular world. Many secular naming practices were introduced into the Chan world. From the time of Master Dao’an (312?–385), *shi*, the first character of the Chinese transliteration of the name of Śākyamuni, had been accepted as the universal “surname” for all Chinese Buddhist monks.<sup>38</sup> This name was often used by officials and scholars to identify Buddhist clergy in historical sources. Besides their formal dharma names, monks also have “special names” (*biehao*). According to Buddhist historiography, this tradition was started by Huiyue, who named himself “the wise one” (*zhizhe*)

in 523.<sup>39</sup> Thus, a monk's conventional name is usually a four-character compound. For Chan masters, later generations began to add titles or the names of monasteries to their names. For example, Huineng was entitled "the Sixth Patriarch"; Xiyun was named after Huangbo mountain where he had resided; and the name of the founding father of the Linji school "Yixuan" was supplemented with the name of Linji monastery. In the Song, Chan monks also gave themselves courtesy names or style names (*zi*) in addition to the dharma names they received in their ordination ceremony. For example, the monk Huihong (1071–1128) named himself "Juefan"; the monk Keqin (1063–1135) called himself "Yuanwu."

The names of Chan monks in the Ming also followed this tradition and because of the rising sectarian consciousness monks were inclined to record and publicize their naming practices. A common naming practice can be summarized as follows. First, a dharma name was given when a monk was ordained as a novice. This name was to be permanent although it could be altered if the monk decided to change his affiliation. The significance of dharma name, as we have seen, was that it carried a generation character as an identity marker, after the naming practice of secular lineage organizations. Similarly each master had his own transmission poem for his line of ordination, just as a lineage did. For example, Yinyuan Longqi had the style name "Yinyuan" and the dharma name "Longqi." The first character in his dharma name, *long*, indicates that he was ordained in Huangbo monastery, as this character was taken from that monastery's transmission poem which has been recorded in *Huangbo Monastic Gazetteer (shanzhi)*. Yinyuan's disciples in both China and Japan followed this poem. Most of them who were active in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries bore the characters of *xing, dao, yuan, jing*.<sup>40</sup>

Feiyin Tongrong bore the character *tong*, which indicates that he would have been ordained under Miyun Yuanwu, whose transmission poem designates the next generation character as *tong*. The transmission poem used by Miyun Yuanwu's lineage was believed to have been initiated by Xuefeng Zuding. Many active Chan monks during the seventeenth century bore the generation characters of *tong, xing, chao, ming*, which indicated they belonged to Miyun Yuanwu's lineage.<sup>41</sup>

In many cases, out of respect for the lineage, this character marking the master-disciple relationship was avoided and is simply omitted from official documents or Buddhist historical sources. Thus, "Miyun Yuanwu" becomes "Miyun Wu"; "Feiyin Tongrong" becomes "Feiyin Rong"; and "Yinyuan Longqi" becomes "Yinyuan Qi."

This naming system was based on the tonsure relationship formed between master and disciple regardless of dharma transmission. Like a newborn baby, a novice was given a name by his ordination master upon initiation. This name could later be changed according to the monk's personal wish, especially with the occurrence of dharma transmission, as dharma transmission could be regarded as a second initiation whereby a monk would be incorporated into another religious order in addition to his original tonsure family. When a dharma transmission was bestowed on a monk, he could choose to change his name according to his new master's transmission poems, or he could keep his original name. He might also decide to continue both his new master's tonsure transmission and dharma transmission. Feiyin Tongrong, for example, initially received the dharma name "Mingmi" from his Caodong teacher. This name was changed to "Tongrong" when he received dharma transmission from Miyun. Consequently, almost all of his immediate disciples were given the generation character *xing* in accordance with Miyun's transmission poem. Another famous example was the conversion of the Japanese monk Ryōkei Shōsen (1602–1670), a Zen master originally from Myōshinji. (See his ordination document in Fig. 2.1.) He was attracted to Yinyuan Longqi's teaching and changed his name (to Shōsen) in order to take on Yinyuan's transmission character. He was eventually rewarded with Yinyuan's dharma transmission in 1664; however, he was permanently removed from the transmission line of Myōshinji, his original sectarian affiliation.<sup>42</sup>

Usually monks would keep their original names and carry on their own tonsure tradition without interruption. Yinyuan Longqi, for instance, did not change his name upon receiving Feiyin's transmission. He remained in the Huangbo tonsure tradition, and his disciples in both China and Japan carried the Huangbo generation characters rather than those of his masters (Miyun and Feiyin). It was also possible for a newly initiated master to begin a new transmission line based on a new transmission poem starting with his own name. Miyun Yuanwu's dharma heir Muchen Daomin was one such ambitious monk who composed his own transmission poem and thus started a new transmission line.<sup>43</sup>

In short, for Chinese monks in the seventeenth century, the naming practice needed to remain consistent: any given name had to be traceable within the large lineage structures. In this way, a sense of "family" was created and reinforced.



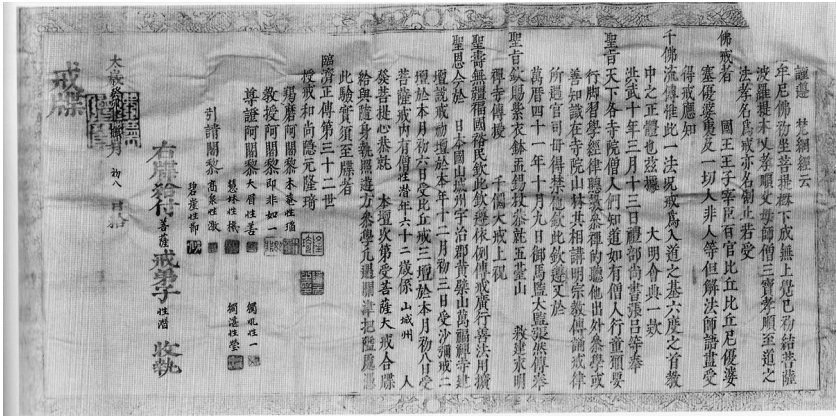


FIGURE 2.1 Ryōkei's Ordination Certificate. Reprint from *Shōnzan Keizuiji*, p. 124.

### The Use of Transmission Certificates

For the Huangbo masters, issuing transmission certificates was the most important practice for certifying dharma heirs and avoiding frauds. Certificates were widely used in Chan communities as a means of proving the authenticity of dharma transmission. Already in the Song dynasty, Chan masters were concerned with the authenticity of transmission and introduced certificates; such certificate can be traced back as early as the thirteenth century, when Dōgen visited China and observed their use. At that time, the certificate was called a “succession document” (*sishu*). During Dōgen’s visit to China from 1223 to 1227, he saw several documents of succession. One of them belonged to Chuanzangzhu of the Yangqi branch of the Linji school. According to Dōgen, this document lists all the patriarchs’ names starting from the Seven Buddhas of the past. The line passes through Linji (the forty-fifth patriarch), continues with names of Linji’s successors, and ends with the last successor before Chuanzangzhu. All these names form a circle. Dōgen also described in some detail the Linji master Wuji Liaopa’s document of succession, which he saw in 1224:

The lineage of the buddhas and patriarchs was written on a white silk scroll with a front cover made of red brocade and a roller made of jade. It was nine *ts’un* wide [approximately ten inches] and seven *ch’ih* long [approximately seven feet].<sup>44</sup>



This scroll was conferred upon Wuji Liaopai by Dahui Zonggao's disciple Fozhao Deguang (1121–1203). Dōgen recorded its format as follows:

Tripitaka Master Liaopai, a native Wuwei man, is now my son [disciple]. [Fozhao] Deguang served Master [Zong]gao of Mount Jingshan, Jingshan [Zonggao] was an heir of Jiashan [Ke]qing; [Ke]qing was an heir of Yangqi [Fa]yan.<sup>45</sup>

The text goes on until it traces the origin of transmission back to Linji.

During the seventeenth century, rather than being called *sishu*, transmission certificates were generally referred to as “*yanliu*” (origins and streams).<sup>46</sup> The earliest record about the use of *yanliu*, as Hasebe points out, indicates that Miyun Yuanwu's master Huanyou Zhengchuan first received such a certificate from his master Xiaoyan Debao (1512–1581).<sup>47</sup> Miyun Yuanwu continued this tradition, and through him and his disciples, *yanliu* was promoted and widely accepted as credentials for certified dharma transmission.

Fortunately, one such transmission certificate survives from the seventeenth century. The certificate belonging to Yinyuan Longqi, issued to him by Feiyin Tongrong in the tenth year of the Chongzhen reign (1637), was preserved in Manpukuji.<sup>48</sup> As noted earlier, according to Yinyuan Longqi's chronological biography, Feiyin had already left Huangbo for Lianfeng cloister in Jianyang. In that year Yinyuan was living in solitude in one of Huangbo monastery's sub-temples; later, when he received this document from Feiyin's messenger, he accepted the invitation to be abbot at Huangbo monastery.

This certificate takes the form of a long scroll, with all patriarchs' names listed as follows:

*From above lai yuan [origination] is inherited:*

*Under the Sixth Patriarch*

*Nanyue [Huai]rang: the first generation*

*Mazu [Dao]yi: the second generation*

*Baizhang [Huai]hai: the third generation*

*Huangbo [Xi]yun: the fourth generation*

*Linji [Yi]xuan: the fifth generation*

.....

*Yuanwu [Ke]qin: the fifteenth generation*

*Huqiu [Shao]long: the sixteenth generation*

.....

*Yuexin [De]bao: the thirty-second generation*

*Huangyou [Zheng]chuan: the thirty-three generation*

*Miyun [Yuan]wu: the thirty-fourth generation*

*In the tenth year of the Chongzhen reign, Feiyin Tongrong of Lianfeng Cloister writes by hand and confers [it] upon Chan person Yinyuan [Long] qi.<sup>49</sup>*

Although the name of this document and the actual wording of its contents are different from those of its earlier counterparts, the function of these credentials is the same: authenticating the transmission of the Buddhist dharma. In association with the issuance of a transmission certificate, the recipient is supposed to compose a eulogy to laud his predecessors. This genre of composition, often titled “Eulogy of the Origins and Streams” (*Yuanliu song*), usually consists of brief biographies of all previous masters, with the new recipient’s own encomium attached after each biography. These were often published and widely circulated as a public notice of the conferral and acceptance of dharma transmission.<sup>50</sup>

### Selecting a New Abbot

During the seventeenth century, when the dharma transmission system was taking shape, certain conventions regarding the abbot’s succession were followed. For example, after Miyun Yuanwu took over a monastery, the next abbot would be selected among his certified dharma heirs, who rotated the position among themselves by drawing lots. Feiyin Tongrong, in a dispute with his dharma brother Muchen Daomin about the succession in Tiantong monastery, revealed this practice as follows:

Our deceased great master [Miyun Yuanwu] had been abbot in six great monasteries during his lifetime. Every time he retired from the position and was about to propose a successor, he practiced divination at the Weitou hall and also drew lots before patrons and eminent monks. Later in Tiantong monastery, he often used this method in particular.<sup>51</sup>

The same practice was also followed in Huangbo monastery. After Yinyuan Longqi's long residence, the abbacy went to his dharma heirs and rotated among them. However, this unwritten convention was not codified until 1673, when the *Ōbaku Pure Rules* (*Ōbaku shingi*) were compiled in Japan. At the end of this version of monastic codes, Yinyuan's will (*Rōjin fushokugo*) was appended as part of the codified rules for all Ōbaku monasteries. It stipulates the procedure of abbot succession in Manpukuji that had been developed in China:

Select the third abbot and so on from among my Dharma heirs according to their rank. After they have served in turn, go on to the next generation of disciples (literally, Dharma grandchildren). By all means select virtuous monks already deserving of esteem who will successfully promote the Dharma style.<sup>52</sup>

Other parts of Yinyuan's will articulate the same exclusiveness of his lineage and the intention to monopolize a monastic network. For example, Yinyuan stipulated that "only dharma heirs under the Ōbaku lineage can be included in the Hall of Conjoining Lamps (*Liandeng tang*). If not in receipt of transmission, even those who are virtuous and eminent may not be intermingled."<sup>53</sup> These statements set clear rules for selecting abbots: the candidate pool was limited to Yinyuan's own certified dharma heirs. The abbot's succession in a dharma transmission monastery was thus formally institutionalized. Later, the codification of this system was achieved in Japan, but it had already been widely accepted and practiced in Huangbo and other monasteries in China.

### Yinyuan's Control over Dharma Transmission

Knowing the consequence of confused dharma transmissions, Yinyuan was strict about this matter. Even after Yinyuan decided to stay in Japan permanently, he still judged upon issues related to dharma transmission in the Chinese Huangbo monastery. He insisted upon the strict rule of excluding monks with dharma transmission other than his own, even those talented, from being included in his lineage.

One dispute occurred concerning one of his favorite disciples. When Yinyuan was in China, he had a talented disciple called Weifa Xingzhong

(1597–1663?) who hailed from Fuzhou. Weifa studied Confucianism and was skillful in writing poetry. He wanted to follow Yinyuan to Japan but was not successful. Because of the absence of his teacher, he received Feiyin's another dharma heir Baichi Xingyuan's transmission. Later, he was dispatched by Gaoquan to attend the celebration for Yinyuan's seventieth birthday. However, because he was not in Yinyuan's dharma transmission line, he was denied entry to Manpukuji and had to return to China (*OBJ* 342).

For Yinyuan, dharma transmission had serious implication in managing monastic properties. In a public note he wrote to the monastic community in Longquan monastery on the eleventh day of the tenth month in 1645, he expressed his principle of administration. He insisted that to rule a monastery, the key was to eliminate the mind of private interests. Otherwise, there would be no achievement for the public good. More dangerously, a community would be destroyed and the property of a united Zen community would be divided along the lines of private ordinations. He called this “dividing the household” (*fenfang liehu*).

Here, Yinyuan refers to a common practice in monastic communities in late imperial China in which monastic properties were distributed among several powerful “households” (*fang*) based on tonsure relationships rather than on dharma transmission.<sup>54</sup> The two problems Yinyuan worried about were “private saving” (*sixu*) of public property and “separate establishment” (*bieli*) of “households.” For example, he was strict about the rule in the case of his tonsure disciple Liangyi Xingxun. Liangyi was a native of Fuqing and a former disciple under Yinyuan in Huangbo. Eventually, however, he received Yinyuan's dharma brother Genxin Xingmi's dharma transmission. It seemed that he had a hard time attracting lay support for himself after studying with Genxin and thus had to return to his hometown Fuqing, temporarily residing in a place called Wengtang. He then sent a letter to Yinyuan in 1659. While greeting and congratulating Yinyuan on his success in Japan, he hoped Yinyuan might help him secure a piece of land in Huangbo to support himself. Yinyuan, however, rejected his request, saying, bluntly: “The redeemed land within the twelve peaks of Huangbo will not be allowed for the heirs of other lineages to intrude. This will eliminate the cause of dispute and construct the ancestor temple within one lineage.” He worried: “Those who were my disciples but received transmission from other lineages are many. I am

afraid they will follow suit and then Huangbo will be immediately divided into a hundred households.”<sup>55</sup>

Not only were his disciples with other dharma transmissions not allowed to have dwellings in Huangbo while they were alive, but even after they passed away, their memorial pagodas would not be permitted to be erected in Huangbo. For instance, when a senior Huangbo monk without dharma transmission requested to be buried in the cemetery Sitan Pagoda built for monks with dharma transmission, Yinyuan denied his request and insisted on burying his ash in Haihui Pagoda, built for regular monks (*IGZS* 4: 2311).

Another request came when his disciple and Genxin’s dharma heir Shixue Longbi happened to have passed away in Huangbo. His two dharma heirs Langxuan Yikong (1604–1664) and Yixi planned to build a pagoda to house their master’s relics, though others in Huangbo suggested that their teacher’s relics be put in the Sitan pagoda built for common monks. They sent a letter in 1659 to Japan about their idea and asked for Yinyuan’s permission. Yinyuan, however, immediately sensed the severity of this matter. Even though Shixue was his good friend and fellow student, he considered this a serious violation of the rule of strict dharma transmission. He pointed out directly that Shixue should be ceremonially buried by following the rituals in Genxin’s lineage. He further suggested that the pagoda should be built where he was abbot rather than in Huangbo, because this would confuse the dharma transmission in Huangbo. A compromise he proposed was placing Shixue in Sitan pagoda, meant for ordinary monks, which was located in the Huangbo patriarch Zhongtian Zhengyuan’s cloister. Yinyuan made it clear that he insisted on the strict order of dharma transmission. “This is what is called ‘You love the sheep and I love the ceremony.’” He had said, quoting from Confucius’s *Analects* to justify himself.<sup>56</sup>

### Impact on Japanese Buddhism

The principle of dharma transmission established in the Chinese Huangbo monastery had a significant impact on the Ōbaku tradition Yinyuan founded. After he retired from the abbot office in Manpukuji, he stopped offering dharma transmission but allowed his disciples such as Mu’an to spread his transmission further. Most of the Ōbaku dharma heirs were Japanese, and their naming practice followed the transmission

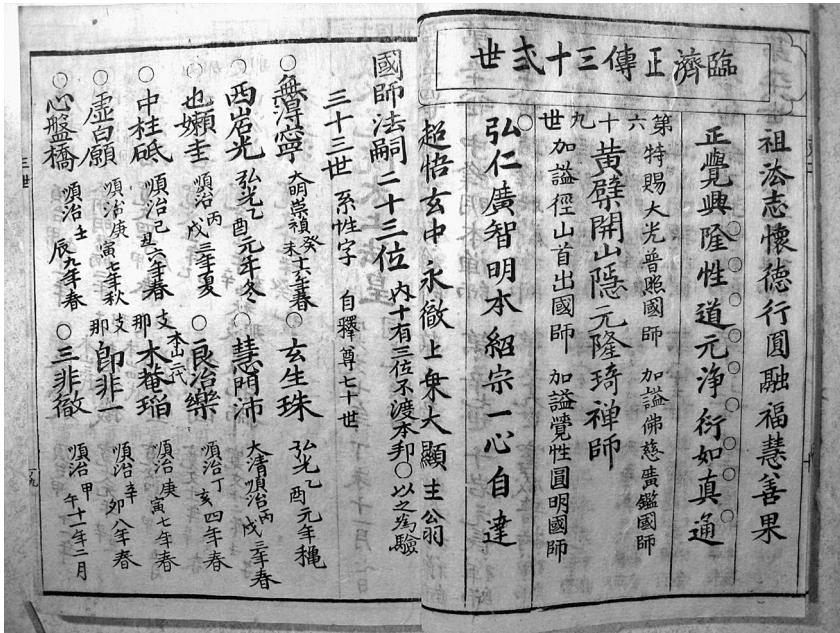


FIGURE 2.2 Page from *Ōbaku shūkanroku*. Photo by Jiang Wu from Manupukuji Bunkaden Archive, July 2013.

verse used in the Chinese Huangbo monastery. Genealogies of dharma transmission such as *Directory of Dharma Heirs in Ōbaku Lineage* (*Ōbaku shūkanroku*) were compiled to document new heirs as shown in Fig. 2.2.

The principle of dharma transmission fit perfectly within the Honji-matsuji system and was successfully interwoven with the institutional expansion during the Edo period. Its monastic hierarchy was further divided into thirteen “pagoda heads” (*tacchū*) developed by Yinyuan’s leading disciples. Each “pagoda head” was in charge of its own monastic network, with monasteries spreading throughout Japan.

According to the *Account Books of Ōbaku’s Root and Branch Temples* (*Honmatsu chō*) compiled in 1745, the total number of branch temples had amounted to 1,043 and all these temples were located in fifty-one prefectures in Japan.<sup>57</sup> During the process of expansion, thirteen sub-temple lineages were organized around the so-called “pagoda heads” led by Yinyuan’s major disciples, who had developed their own sub-temple throughout Japan. The management of this kind of trans-local and vertical structure was achieved by a hierarchical organization on the basis of root-branch relationship: Manpukuji was in charge of its “son branch temples” (*komatsuji*) and “grandson branch temples” (*sonmatsuji*), which

in turn took care of its own branch temples. Manpukuji also managed a loose temple system in which the participating temples, often called the “rootless temples” (*muhonji*), were free to join or leave the Ōbaku sect.<sup>58</sup>

The principle of a dharma transmission monastery also greatly influenced other sects of Japanese Zen Buddhism. In Rinzai Zen, for example, in response to some Myōshinji monks’ switching dharma transmission to Yinyuan’s line, the Myōshinji authority publicized new rules to strengthen its practice of dharma transmission by expelling the pro-Ōbaku monks from the Myōshinji line. These new rules were publicized on the eleventh day of the seventh month of 1665, shortly after Ryōkei’s becoming Yinyuan’s dharma heir in 1664. It declares clearly the principle of sectarian purity in the beginning:

It is an old temple rule that monks in our founder Kanzan’s lineage do not hang their staffs [i.e., enter to practice] at other temples. Recently, there have been several people who have gone to other temples to practice, have changed their robes, altered their appearance, or changed their Dharma names. These monks have forgotten their debt of gratitude to their [original] master and lost their sense of gratitude toward their home temple. Since this is not appropriate behavior for a monk, they will not be permitted to return to their home temple.<sup>59</sup>

Although this document relies on Myōshinji founder Kanzan’s rule as the ultimate authority, it is interesting to note that these new regulations teemed with references to the newly established Ōbaku tradition. It drew a sharp line between Myōshinji and Ōbaku by emphasizing exactly what Yinyuan had represented, the principle of dharma transmission. Through repudiating Yinyuan but accepting his ideal of authenticity, Myōshinji successfully restored its own identity and established the authenticity of their own dharma transmission.

The Sōtō reform movement, which is often characterized as a “restoration of the past” (*fukko undō*), was also inspired by Yinyuan. The remaking of the Sōtō Zen tradition in the Edo period consists of two parts: the first is the movement for the restoration of lineage orthodoxy (*shūtō fukko undō*); the second is the movement for the restoration of traditional pure regulations (*kogi fukko undō*). Both of these movements were deeply influenced by Ōbaku Buddhism in the seventeenth century. The first movement was initiated by Manzan Dōhaku (1636–1715) and Baihō Jikushin (1633–1707),



who were inspired by the notion of strict dharma transmission advocated by the Ōbaku masters.

Since the introduction of Zen Buddhism in Japan, the regulation of dharma transmission has been a heatedly debated issue, as is evident in Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*, especially his chapters on “document of succession” (*shishō*) and “face-to-face transmission” (*menju*). The actual practice of transmission, however, was complicated and obscure. In the Five Mountains (*gozan*) system of the Rinzai school, the major concern was the succession of the abbot, and strong preference was given to candidates who came from the same lineage. As a result, Buddhist institutions became a system of “closed” monasteries. Before the Ōbaku monks came, the Sōtō monasteries adopted the so-called “temple transmission system” (*garanbō*), which was unknown to the Chinese Chan monks.

The Sōtō system of *garanbō* created a kind of “closed” system of monasteries in which the transmission of certain monasteries remained constant and unbroken at the expense of the dharma transmission of individual masters. As a result of this system, certain masters who had been abbots of several monasteries might have numerous different transmissions that were most likely conferred on them without any face-to-face interaction. Under Manzan and Baihō's continuous petitions, the bakufu government finally abolished the *garanbō* in 1703 in favor of Manzan's plan. According to this ruling, dharma transmission and abbot transmission should be separated. For the dharma transmission of each individual master, the principles of “face-to-face transmission” (*menju shihō*) and testing by only one dharma master (*isshi inshō*) had to be strictly observed.<sup>60</sup>

The ultimate inspiration of Manzan's reform no doubt came from Dōgen, whose works had clearly articulated the principle of face-to-face transmission and testing by one master. It was undeniable, however, that through the Ōbaku monks with whom Manzan had personal contact, Yinyuan's principle of dharma transmission stimulated his reform.

## *Conclusion*

This chapter focuses on a Buddhist institution that was revived by a group of Chan monks in the seventeenth century. I have demonstrated how these Chan masters took control of Huangbo monastery, a local institution, and turned it into a dharma transmission monastery, which was to become a popular form of Buddhist institution in seventeenth-century China. In



particular, Yinyuan was instrumental in consolidating this transformation because of his long tenure in the monastery. By way of a series of efforts to institutionalize the changes centering on the practice of dharma transmission, Huangbo monastery became a model Chan institution, embodying the Chan ideal of authentic transmission cherished by Buddhist clergy and laity at that time. From the perspective of this process of institution building, it becomes clear that the practice of dharma transmission was essential in a monastery dominated by Chan monks.

As a result of the emergence of the dharma transmission monastic system, an institutional network took shape and connected once disparate and localized Buddhist institutions. Within this monastic world, dharma transmission became a powerful tool to extend an institutional network that covered most prominent Buddhist centers in China, and developed into the core organizational principle of monasteries like Huangbo, including Manpukuji Yinyuan founded in Japan. The success of Yinyuan's use of dharma transmission does not mean, however, that it was not without its own problems. As I have pointed out in my previous studies, the principle of dharma transmission in its strict sense is always an ideal. In chapter 7, we will see the practice of dharma transmission run into its own dilemma within the Ōbaku community, with corruptions of the practice needing to be addressed by the bakufu. Nevertheless, the institutionalization of dharma transmission and a conscious return to a monastic ideal ensured the spiritual authenticity of Yinyuan's tradition.

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*Leaving for the Rising Sun*THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF YINYUAN LONGQI'S  
MIGRATION TO JAPAN IN 1654

A NEGLECTED AREA in studies of the Ming-Qing transition, one that informs us about the scope and depth of that transition, concerns the changes in Chinese Buddhism. Not only did a significant number of loyalists join the Buddhist order, but, in addition, Buddhist monks became key political players. One noteworthy event in this context is Yinyuan Longqi's emigration to Japan in 1654.

The history of the establishment of the Ōbaku school in Japan belongs to the area of Japanese religion. Such scholars as Helen Baroni have clarified much of Ōbaku's religious history after Yinyuan landed in Japan, and I will reveal its political significance in the next chapter. This chapter focuses on the historical background of Yinyuan's departure for Japan, with special references to the social and political circumstances of his emigration. In addition to various conventional sources such as the Jiaying Buddhist canon (which collected, among other texts, recorded sayings of seventeenth-century Chan Buddhists), Yinyuan's complete collections, and *Ka'i hentai*, my reconstruction is largely based on newly discovered sources such as 117 letters from China addressed to Yinyuan after 1654.

As I demonstrate, Yinyuan Longqi's mission to Japan was deeply rooted in social and political changes of seventeenth-century China. Two historical developments created social conditions for Yinyuan's emigration: the Ming-Qing transition and the consequent Chinese diaspora. In particular, Yinyuan Longqi's mission to Japan was first initiated by the Chinese community in Nagasaki, and he was escorted to Japan by Zheng

Chenggong's fleet. Because of this connection with Zheng Chenggong, it is arguable that the purpose of Yinyuan Longqi's initial mission might have been to request Japanese military intervention for the anti-Manchu resistance. Although this hypothesis is debatable, it is certain that Yinyuan Longqi's emigration was enmeshed in the turbulent political events of seventeenth-century China.

### *Why Did Yinyuan Go to Japan?*

Yinyuan's move to Japan becomes intriguing when placed against the backdrop of a series of political upheavals along China's southeast coast. During the 1650s, Fujian became the major battlefield between the Manchu armies and the resistance troops. Because of this, speculation arose soon after Yinyuan's arrival, promoting a theory that Yinyuan must have been a refugee among the many displaced Chinese who found in Japan a safe haven. This scenario grows much more complicated when considering that it was Zheng Chenggong, the military leader of the Ming loyalists, who sent boats to escort Yinyuan to Nagasaki. Thus, various hypotheses about Yinyuan's political mission emerge. In this section, I shall examine these theories in details in contrast to the actual situation reconstructed by a series of invitations he received.

#### Invitations from Japan

In 1654, in response to four letters from the Chinese monk Yiran Xingrong (1601–1668), the head of Kōfukuji in Nagasaki, Yinyuan Longqi decided to leave Huangbo. The first invitation to take a position in Nagasaki was extended in the spring of 1652, but Yinyuan gently declined the offer.<sup>1</sup> Soon after, Yiran sent the second invitation letter, which was lost en route, and Yinyuan never received it. Early in 1653, Yiran's third letter arrived. In it Yiran, on behalf of local officials in Nagasaki, extended the strongest invitation yet. However, Yinyuan was still wavering, even when one of his disciples returned from Nagasaki and reported favorably about Buddhism in Japan.<sup>2</sup> In the eleventh month of 1653, Yiran's envoy brought the fourth invitation. This time, Yinyuan accepted.<sup>3</sup>

Yinyuan's decision met with opposition from his master Feiyin Tongrong and from the Huangbo community in Fuqing. In 1652 Feiyin resided in Fuyan monastery. Evidence tells us that when he heard about Yinyuan's intention to leave, he immediately wrote a letter to stop him.<sup>4</sup>

Because of Yinyuan's reputation in local Buddhist communities, monks and laity also strongly opposed Yinyuan's decision.<sup>5</sup> As a result, Yinyuan had to promise that after a three-year tenure in Japan, he would find capable Japanese disciples to transmit the dharma and then return to China. This promise probably eased the opposition. For example, his master Feiyin wrote to Yinyuan in 1657, urging him to keep his promise and return to China as soon as he found new dharma heirs.<sup>6</sup>

Yinyuan left Mount Huangbo on the tenth day of the fifth month, 1654. Ten days later, after staying at Pucheng, he arrived in Quanzhou and was welcomed to Kaiyuan monastery by his disciple Mu'an Xingtao (1611–1681), who later also joined Yinyuan in Japan. On the third day of the sixth month, 1654, he arrived in Zheng Chenggong's stronghold, Zhongzuosuo (after 1655 it was known as Simingzhou, but now Xiamen, or Amoy in the West).<sup>7</sup> Zheng Chenggong's cousin (*zuxiong*) Zheng Cai (?–1659) and his generals welcomed him warmly and accommodated him in Tianjie monastery in Immortal's Cliff (Xianyan, Fig. 3.1).<sup>8</sup> On the twenty-first day of the sixth month of 1654, Zheng Chenggong's generals provided the money and boat necessary for Yinyuan's voyage to Japan.



**FIGURE 3.1** Tianjie monastery at Immortal's Cliff (Xianyan) where Yinyuan stayed in Xiamen. Photo by Jiang Wu, July 2012.

After a fourteen-day voyage, Yinyuan and his disciples safely arrived in Nagasaki.<sup>9</sup>

### Speculations about Yinyuan's Mission to Japan

Because the arrival of Chinese monks in Japan usually created a significant stir in the Japanese Buddhist world, the reason for Yinyuan Longqi's emigration to Japan has been hotly debated. The Japanese scholar Hirakubo Akira summarizes four possible reasons.<sup>10</sup> The first points to the social and political turmoil of the Ming-Qing transition. During the 1650s, because Fujian was the forefront of anti-Manchu resistance led by Zheng Chenggong, and the Fujian population suffered miserably from violence, Yinyuan simply left on one of the several emigration waves. This theory was often taken up by Ōbaku's opponents in Japan because it undermined the sincerity of Yinyuan's purported mission to spread Chan teachings in Japan. The second explanation was often adopted by the Ōbaku monks themselves. It is that Yinyuan's motivation was purely spiritual according to his faith, meaning that his intention was to spread the Buddhist dharma in Japan, where Japanese Buddhism was "corrupt" and "degenerate," at least according to the commonly held opinion of the Ōbaku monks. A third explanation was widely known among Yinyuan's fellow monks in China: Yinyuan moved to Japan in response to several Japanese invitations extended by the Japanese ruler. One extreme version of this, held by Yinyuan's master Feiyin Tongrong, was that he was invited by the Japanese emperor himself.<sup>11</sup> Some Japanese sources also echoed this theory and stated Yinyuan was invited because Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651) was inspired by Ashigaka's inviting Chinese monks in the past and then asked the then Kōfukuji abbot Yiran to search for him. Yinyuan decided to come because he was moved by Iemitsu's sincerity.<sup>12</sup> In fact, as I have mentioned earlier, Yinyuan was invited four times by the Chinese abbot Yiran Xingrong at Nagasaki's Kōfukuji, a temple that primarily served the Chinese community there. (There was no indication that the Japanese government was initially involved. Thus, Feiyin Tongrong's claim that he was invited by the emperor was certainly an exaggeration. The reason for this misunderstanding is outlined later.) The last theory was articulated by Yinyuan Longqi himself. Because at the beginning his decision was bitterly opposed by his master Feiyin Tongrong, Yinyuan Longqi had to persuade him that his trip would be temporary and was only being carried out to repay the "debt" that his disciple Yelan Xinggui (?–1651) was unable

to pay.<sup>13</sup> In fact, Yelan was invited prior to Yinyuan, but he drowned in a shipwreck in 1651.<sup>14</sup>

The Chinese scholar Lin Guanchao tends to emphasize the second explanation—that Yinyuan’s motivation was to proselytize and to continue his lineage in Japan. Lin argues that because of a misinterpretation of the invitation letters, Yinyuan had assumed that he was invited by the Japanese ruler and thus was determined to answer the call. Lin carefully examines the correspondences between Yinyuan and Yiran and finds a major discrepancy between the expectations from the two sides. Yiran’s letter often used the Chinese character “*guo*” to refer to Nagasaki and “Lord of the Town” (*zhenzhu*) to refer to local administrators (*bugyō*). He stated misleadingly that it was “the Lord of the Island” (*dao zhu*) who extended the invitation. Actually, although the local *bugyō* was aware of the invitation, the bakufu government in Edo was only briefed after Yinyuan landed in Nagasaki. Without knowing the feudal system in Japan, Yinyuan believed that it was the “King of Japan” (*Riben guowang*) who invited him to start a new lineage of Chan Buddhism in Japan. This assumption had been widely known in Chinese Buddhist communities and his master Feiyin Tongrong mentioned it frequently and even boasted about the honor that the “King of Japan” had bestowed on his disciple.<sup>15</sup> Thus, as Lin reasons, from the beginning, Yinyuan had great expectations concerning Japan, hoping to extend the influence of his lineage there.<sup>16</sup>

Here, it should be pointed out that the “King of Japan” that Yinyuan refers to was a fictive title invented out of the Chinese need to incorporate Japan into the China-centered tributary system. One of the obstacles to establishing a normal relationship between China and Japan was an ideological conflict regarding the issue of joining the China-centered tribute system by adopting Chinese reign names in diplomatic documents and accepting Chinese investiture of titles such as the “King of Japan.” The two countries had fundamentally different visions about international order: China insisted on the tribute system and Japan rejected it. The only option for the Japanese shoguns to return to this China-centered world order was to use Chinese reign names in tribute letters to China and to accept the title of “King of Japan” as Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) did in exchange for the benefit of trade with China.

This didn’t appear to be an option for later shoguns, however, as the power of the shogun was symbolically delegated by the Japanese emperor. The Ming envoy came to Japan in mid-1596 in Osaka and tried to entice Hideyoshi to accept the title of “King of Japan.”<sup>17</sup> Hideyoshi was terrified by the idea because the Japanese emperor, though weak, remained the object of national respect.

Hideyoshi tore the Ming decrees into pieces in front of Chinese envoys and ordered to start the battle again in Korea. Since then, there was no formal contact between the two. Under a similar consideration, the early Tokugawa rulers did not want to accept the title either. Without knowing this situation, the Chinese continued to use this title in various literature about Japan.

Because of the many circumstances involved, there were other speculations that cast doubts on the sincerity of his coming to Japan. An explanation given by Keirin Sūshin, one of Ōbaku's opponents, indicates that Yinyuan's departure was a result of the disgraceful defeat of his master Feiyin Tongrong in a notorious lawsuit against him. Keirin Sūshin explained the reason as follows:

I heard that monks such as Yinyuan, Mu'an, Jifei, and Gaoquan are indeed outstanding within the Ming empire. Although they only have their staffs [as property], the reason they came to this country is not actually to sacrifice themselves for the dharma. Feiyin (Tong) rong at Jingshan and Yongjue (Yuanxian) (1578–1657) at Gushan brought [the dispute about] the principle of Chan to the government court. And [Feiyin Tongrong] was disgraced by the government officials. Therefore, all his disciples simply lost their aspirations and prestige. Accordingly they accepted the invitation of merchants and ship owners and entered our country from afar. From the present to the future, if we wish such monks to be invited, it would be impossible to bring about because monks like Daozhe (Chao)yuan (1599–1662) and Xinyue (Xing)chou (1639–1695), who actually came with patriarchal seals (dharma transmission) but are not disciples within Yinyuan's lineage, are not allowed to succeed to the abbacy in the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki.<sup>18</sup>

The lawsuit that Keirin mentioned, using the phrase “principle of Chan,” was a significant event in the Buddhist world of seventeenth-century China. As I have investigated in my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, it was centered on Feiyin Tongrong's new work on Chan genealogy, in which he deliberately changed the commonly accepted lines of dharma transmission and relegated a number of Caodong masters to the derogatory category “lineage unknown” (*fasi weixiang*). The disciples of these Caodong masters sued Feiyin in the local court, where Feiyin's book was deemed as inappropriate and ordered to be burned.<sup>19</sup> Keirin suggested that because of this defeat, Feiyin Tongrong and his disciples, including his first dharma

heir Yinyuan Longqi, lost influence in mainland China. Keirin also complained about how arrogant Yinyuan and his disciples became in Japan because Chan masters who did not belong to Yinyuan Longqi's dharma transmission line were disgraced and expelled from their monasteries. In this paragraph, he mentioned two important Chan masters. Daozhe Chaoyuan, who had come before Yinyuan and taught a number of famous Japanese monks such as Bankei Yōtaku (1622–1693) and Dokuan Genkō, was forced to go back to China. Donggao Xinyue (or Xinyue Xingchou, mentioned earlier), the only Caodong master who was invited to Japan and established the Jushō school at Mito, was harassed by hostile Ōbaku monks because of his different lineage affiliations when he first landed in Nagasaki.<sup>20</sup>

All these explanations focus on individual psychology and intend to uncover the subjective world of Yinyuan Longqi so as to reveal intentions. Although it is possible to pursue this line of inquiry, a psycho-historical approach might only lead to speculation, and even to the mythologization of a historical event.

### *Zheng Chenggong and Yinyuan's Purported Mission*

Because Yinyuan left China from Zhongzuosuo, the stronghold of Zheng Chenggong's military base, Yinyuan's life must have been intertwined with the history of the Southern Ming.<sup>21</sup> As various sources reveal, Yinyuan maintained a close relationship with the Ming loyalist movement. Not only did he have close ties with Zheng's generals, he also allowed the Ming loyalist Qian Suyue to be buried in Mount Huangbo. Some scholars even speculate that Yinyuan might have carried a special message from Zheng Chenggong to Japan to request military aid. This hypothesis hinges upon the identification of the author of a letter sent to Yinyuan. As I will show, although some scholars thought that it was written by Zheng Chenggong, a close reading suggests that such identification is far from conclusive.

#### “Begging” for Japanese Military Intervention

The hypothesis about Yinyuan's political mission was grounded in the fact that Ming loyalists were desperate to solicit any possible outside intervention to stop the Manchu invasion. Therefore, it is necessary to review a series of events that aimed to recruit new forces from overseas, especially from Japan.



Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), in his retrospective accounts, faithfully recorded the following attempts to request military intervention from Japan.<sup>22</sup>

1. In 1645 Zhou Hezhi was dispatched by the Longwu Emperor of the Southern Ming. (We must note here that Zhou was also a Fuqing native, as was Yinyuan Longqi.) As a former pirate leader who had joined the Wakō raids along the Chinese coast, he was recruited into the loyalist government. He was chosen to undertake such a mission because of his previous connection with Japan.<sup>23</sup>
2. In 1648 the Southern Ming official Feng Jingdi landed in Japan on a mission to solicit Japanese support. Unfortunately, however, this mission occurred at a time when the Japanese shogunate was fiercely suppressing Christianity and a sense of xenophobia prevailed. Feng's request was at first rejected, though he was given some old coins from the Hongwu reign (1368–1398), which the Japanese had probably earned from earlier trade with Chinese.<sup>24</sup>
3. In 1649 there was another delegation headed by the "Barbarian-Quelling Earl" Ruan Jin, who brought a copy of the imperial Tripitaka from Mount Putuo on the advice of a monk named Zhanwei. The mission failed because this monk had actually been expelled by Japan previously and this was part of his attempt to return to Japan covertly. Huang Zongxi's account of this mission might have been taken from another, more complete, description of the mission entitled *Brief Account of an Ambassadorial Mission to Japan (Fengshi Riben jilue)*, which has been translated into English by Lynn Struve.<sup>25</sup>

The delegations sent by the loyalists were far more than the three that Huang Zongxi listed. Ishihara Michihiro has studied this subject thoroughly, using both Chinese and Japanese sources, especially *Ka'i hentai*. According to him, the Ming loyalists made at least the following additional attempts to request military interventions from Japan and other countries.<sup>26</sup>

4. In 1645 Kang Yongnian was sent by the Longwu Emperor of the Southern Ming from Fuzhou to request aid from Vietnam.
5. From 1645 to 1659 the Ming loyalist Zhu Shunshui (1600–1682) traveled among China, Japan, and Vietnam in order to organize international support.<sup>27</sup>
6. In 1646 the monk Guangji was sent to Southeast Asia to recruit new soldiers.

7. In 1646 Zheng Chenggong's father Zheng Zhilong (1604–1661) sent Huang Zhengming to Japan.
8. In 1650 the empress dowager Madam Wang (Christian name: Helena) of the Yongli Emperor (Zhu Youlang, 1623–1662) wrote a letter to Pope Innocent X. In the same year, the eunuch Pang Tianshou (d. 1657; Christian name: P'ang Achilleus Christinanus) also wrote a letter to the Pope to request help. These letters were entrusted to the Jesuit Michael Boym (1612–1659; Chinese name: Bu Mige), who brought them to Rome in 1653. In 1655 Alexander VII (1655–1667) wrote a reply, which never reached the beleaguered Southern Ming court before its final days. But all these three letters have survived.<sup>28</sup>
9. During the year 1650–1651, the Yongli Emperor asked the Lê ruler in Vietnam to provide aid.
10. In 1661 general Li Dingguo (d. 1662) of the Yongli court, at the last moment of the Southern Ming, attempted to secure aid from Burma and Thailand.

All these attempts failed. In comments at the very end of his essay, Huang's tone reveals bitterness and helplessness. He mocks the Japanese for turning away from their famous spirit of "Way of the Warriors" (*bushi-dō*), merely to indulge in Chinese culture. Huang implied that even though Japan had enjoyed peaceful governance since the beginning of the Kan'ei reign (1624–1643) and might have been able to supply aid, they busied themselves with persecuting Christians:

Most people there [Japan] love poetry, calligraphy, rubbings of calligraphy, famous paintings, ancient outlandish utensils, the twenty-one [dynastic] histories, and thirteen [Confucian] classics. In the past [these items] were worth a thousand taels of silver [in Japan]. But now, they are no more than one or two hundred taels of silver because many more have been packed and brought [from China to Japan]. (This is, because they are cheap, most Japanese can buy them.) Therefore [the Japanese] had not seen warfare for a lifetime. Because their own country has neglected defense, how could [the Japanese] cross the sea to fight for revenge for other people? Even if the incident [of Christianity] from the West did not occur, it would not be possible [for the Japanese] to intervene.<sup>29</sup>

Huang Zongxi's conclusion was bitterly contested by Japanese scholars during World War II because Huang had obviously underestimated

Japanese military power and courage. As Ishihara Michihiro points out, the failure to elicit a Japanese response could be attributed to the lack of unity among the loyalists themselves. Their internal strife and the military power of the new Manchu regime precipitated the fall of the Ming and the Southern Ming.<sup>30</sup> In sum, considering the frequent missions to solicit aid, it is natural that people assumed that Yinyuan, a Ming loyalist, was involved in political activities.

### Yinyuan's Loyalist Connections

When the political center of the lingering Ming government settled in Fujian, Mount Huangbo emerged as a spiritual retreat for Ming loyalists. Yinyuan did not evade the resistance movement, and in fact openly supported it. In 1654 Yinyuan allowed Qian Suyue to be buried in Mount Huangbo. Qian Suyue, a native of Yin county in Ningbo, was a member of the famous literati association Fushe. He served Regent Lu (Zhu Yihai 1618–1662) of the Southern Ming as grand secretary. Yinyuan never met Qian, but when Yinyuan was a young monk, he once stayed at a temple close to a Confucian academy Qian built. During wartime, Qian had once been tonsured by a Huangbo monk called “Biju shangren.” His funeral has been recorded in “Burial Record” (*Zanglu*) compiled by Ye Jincheng, a grandson of Ye Xianggao. According to these records, the event became a significant gathering of Ming loyalists such as Ye Jincheng, Yao Yiming (later ordained as Duyao Xingri), Zhou Hezhi, Zhang Mingzhen, Ji Xuguo, Liu Yichun, and Xu Fuyuan. Yinyuan also wrote a memorial essay from Japan to express his deep mourning.<sup>31</sup> His consent to the burial of a prominent Southern Ming official in Huangbo was a symbol of his declared loyalism.

Yinyuan's loyalist sentiment was romanticized by his disciples. It was widely circulated in Huangbo community that during an ordination ceremony around 1654, Yinyuan followed the Ming convention to read aloud the ordination certificate. However, when he read the titles of the former Ming emperors, he could not help but wail. His literati disciple Duwang Xingyou witnessed this event and praised Yinyuan in a poem: “The iron bone from your nature will strengthen our deserted home.”<sup>32</sup>

During Yinyuan's long career on the Chinese Huangbo mountain, he had befriended many literati with loyalist connections, such as Lin Ruzhu (?–1647), Cai Lianbi, Tan Zhenmo (1590–1665), Liu Yichun (1583–?), Tang Xianyue, and Yan Shi (1604–?).

Some of them even became his disciples. Duyao Xingri, secular name Yao Yiming (*zi*. Xinggong), was one of the highly regarded Ming loyalists who became Yinyuan's disciples following the Manchu conquest. He hailed from Haining county in Zhejiang. During the turbulent years of the Manchu conquest, he served Regent Lu. After being defeated, he went to Huangbo to be ordained in 1652. Because of his literary fame, he was soon appointed as secretary and compiled Yinyuan's first chronological biography, in which he greatly promoted Yinyuan as a loyalist monk. Through him, Yinyuan's ties with the loyalists became even stronger. In 1654 Duyao managed to have the Ming loyalist Qian Suyue buried in Huangbo. He also escorted Yinyuan to Xiamen and saw him off at the Zhongzuosuo port. Duyao maintained contact with Yinyuan during the early years of Yinyuan's stay in Japan. Yinyuan expressed his wish to have Duyao come to Japan, but Duyao, perhaps still hoping to recover the lost Ming empire, stayed in China and lived in obscurity.<sup>33</sup>

Duwang Xingyou (1614–1654), secular name Ou Qi (*zi*. Quanfu), was another Ming loyalist who became Yinyuan's close disciple. His father Ou Ye was a literary man whose talent had been praised by the famous late Ming author Zhong Xing (1574–1624). Duwang organized a militia in 1649 to fight with the Qing army but was defeated. His son Ou Rong died in this battle. Captured and interrogated, Duwang only narrowly escaped by bribing a guard.<sup>34</sup> He visited Yinyuan on a rainy day in 1652 and immediately attracted Yinyuan's attention (*IGZS* 3: 1494). He was then ordained as Yinyuan's disciple in 1652. Because of his literary talent, he was entrusted with compiling a new gazetteer for Huangbo and for Lion Cliff, Yinyuan's hermitage before becoming abbot of Huangbo. As one of the most active Ming loyalists in the region, he maintained extensive contact with an underground anti-Manchu network. It seems that he knew Zheng Cai and his son-in-law Huang Song (ordained as Yunsong), though he did not have a good relationship with Zheng Cai when he was in power.<sup>35</sup> Soon after Yinyuan left for Japan, Duwang joined the Sounthern Ming general Zhang Mingzhen (1601–1655) to fight in Nanjing in 1654.<sup>36</sup>

Not only did a large number of Ming loyalists turn to Yinyuan for spiritual guidance, there were also signs that some loyalists took refuge in Huangbo and continued to assist the resistance army as monks, as in Duwang Xingyou's case. The spread of Huangbo Buddhism in Taiwan also indicates that some of Yinyuan's disciples actively participated in Zheng Chenggong's military campaign in Taiwan. In Tainan, Huangbo monastery was founded in 1688. It was famous for its involvement in

insurrections against the Manchu rule. Its relation with Zheng Chenggong is not clear, even though its monks in Taiwan were involved in failed attempts to restore the Ming.<sup>37</sup>

### Zheng Chenggong and Yinyuan Longqi

Within the resistance movement in southeast China, Zheng Chenggong emerged as a young and powerful military leader. In China today, he is remembered as a national hero who reclaimed Taiwan from the Dutch colonists in 1660. Zheng was born in Hirado, the son of a Chinese father and a Japanese mother. His father Zheng Zhilong, often referred to as “I-quan” in Dutch sources, was a former pirate leader who quickly emerged as a hegemon in the southeast Chinese coast and Taiwan. After Zheng Zhilong surrendered to the Ming, Zheng Chenggong moved back to China at the age of seven. In 1645 Zheng Zhilong enthroned Prince Tang as the Longwu Emperor in Fuzhou and his son Zheng Chenggong was granted the imperial surname “Zhu” and the new name “Chenggong.” He was thus often referred to as “Lord of Imperial Surname” (Guoxingye), or commonly known as “Koxinga” in Japan and “Coxinga” in Western sources.<sup>38</sup> Today he was enshrined in China, Taiwan, and Japan. Fig. 3.2 shows his statue in Zheng Chenggong Shrine in Hirado, Japan.

His military talent and determination made him an undisputable leader in the resistance movement. After the fall of Beijing to Li Zicheng (1606–1645) and later to the Manchus, the so-called Southern Ming regime lasted almost forty years, until the Qing government cracked down on all military resistance. The rapid-changing battle line put Fujian, especially the Fuzhou area, in the forefront of anti-Manchu resistance led by Zheng Chenggong. In 1645, when the first Southern Ming ruler, the Hongguang emperor, was captured by the Manchus, another Ming heir, Prince Tang, Zhu Yujian, claimed the throne in Fuzhou as the Longwu Emperor. His regime lasted only a year, however. Another Southern Ming regime, established by the Longwu Emperor’s brother in Guangzhou, also fell quickly. It must have been during these turbulent years that Yinyuan Longqi built strong ties with Zheng Chenggong’s generals, who eventually escorted him to Japan.

The relation between Yinyuan Longqi’s voyage to Japan and Zheng Chenggong’s attempt to request aid is less known among scholars, although one Chinese source suggests the close connection. *A Record of*



FIGURE 3.2 Zheng Chenggong's statue at Zheng Chenggong Shrine in Hirado. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, July 2013.

*Personal Experiences on the Sea (Haishang jianwen lu)* has the following account of Zheng Chenggong's 1660 mission to Japan, and mentions Yinyuan's name:

In the seventh month, [Zheng Chenggong] ordered general Zhang Guangqi to borrow armies from Japan and took the monk Yinyuan and his disciples from Huangbo monastery, fifty in total, with their boats. Because at that time, the Japanese invited Yinyuan sincerely, he was carried [to Japan] together with them. Since Zheng Chenggong only wrote a letter to the Japanese king without reaching the shoguns who actually controlled the state affairs, [Japanese soldiers] were not dispatched.<sup>39</sup>

This source suggests that Yinyuan's emigration coincided with Zheng's attempt to request aid. But the record incorrectly places Zhang

Guangqi and Yinyuan together, since as early as 1654, Yinyuan had already been escorted to Japan by Zheng Chenggong. According to other sources, Zhang Guangqi indeed landed in Nagasaki, but was not allowed to go on to Kyoto. However, he wrote a letter to Yinyuan to express his admiration and hinted at the political connection between him and Zheng Chenggong.<sup>40</sup> (See the next chapter for his contact with Yinyuan in Japan.)

Although Zheng Chenggong did not develop an intimate personal relationship with Yinyuan, Zheng's cousin Zheng Cai was a close friend and follower of Yinyuan. Zheng Cai was the son of Zheng Zhilong's brother. Serving Regent Lu, he was based in Xiamen and had conflicts with Zheng Chenggong. In a sudden attack, Zheng Chenggong defeated Zheng Cai and took Xiamen. Stripped of military power, Zheng Cai retired and took the title of Duke of Jianguo (Jianguogong). Yinyuan and Zheng Cai maintained a close relationship, with Zheng visiting Yinyuan when he stayed at Immortal's Cliff (Xianyan) in Xiamen in 1654. Zheng managed to continue the close association with Yinyuan even after Yinyuan arrived in Japan, and his son-in-law Yunsong Daoyue eventually became Yinyuan's disciple.<sup>41</sup>

### The Disputed Letter from Zheng Chenggong to Yinyuan

Yinyuan Longqi's political mission became clear when 117 pieces of correspondence preserved in Manpukuji were made public in 1993 by Chen Zhichao. These letters, mostly from persons in China to Yinyuan in Japan, were written in the period between 1652 and 1671. They were authored by Yinyuan's disciples and lay devotees, including Zheng Chenggong's generals, local elite in Fuqing, and merchants in Japan. They show that Yinyuan Longqi maintained his close connections with Ming loyalists after he arrived in Japan. Among these letters there are correspondences from former Southern Ming officials such as Tang Xianyue and his brothers and Liu Yichun, and more prominently, Zheng Chenggong's followers such as Zheng Cai and Zhang Guangqi.<sup>42</sup> Because most of the letters were sent from China to Japan, they contain valuable information about the religious, social, and cultural transformations of the Fujian area under the early Qing rule.

Chen identifies one letter without a signature as being written by Zheng Chenggong himself shortly after Yinyuan arrived in Japan.<sup>43</sup> According to him, it was written late in the summer of 1654. The original

letter, containing 241 characters, is 16 cm high and 41 cm long. Addressing himself as “the lord himself” (*benfan*), the author mentioned that he met Yinyuan before and later dispatched ships to escort Yinyuan to Japan. He noted especially that when he learned of Yinyuan’s departure on the second day, he was unable to see him off. He therefore sent this letter to show his respect, expressing a wish that Yinyuan return as soon as possible. There is no signature, but the author indicates at the end that his name appeared separately (*ming dan ju*) in the main envelope (*zhengtie*). However, because the envelope is lost, his name cannot be found.

Chen Zhichao points to two crucial pieces of evidence. First, the author mentioned that he was responsible for dispatching boats to escort Yinyuan to Japan, and biographical studies show that Zheng was the one who made this arrangement. Second, the author used the term “*benfan*” to refer to himself, and during that time, Chen claims, only Zheng Chenggong had the right to use it. Otherwise, he would be referred to as “the lord of the fief” (*fanzhu*) or “lord of imperial surname” (*guoxing gong*). Thus, Chen suggests that Yinyuan might have carried Zheng’s special order to request aid and acted as an “envoy of friendship” (*qinshan dashi*) for Zheng Chenggong.<sup>44</sup>

Professor Chen’s discovery was widely broadcast in the Chinese media. But some scholars, after examining the evidence, challenged Chen’s conclusion. Hu Cangze, for example, though acknowledging that the letter was indeed written by Zheng Chenggong, argued that the content of the letter and Yinyuan’s activities in Japan did not reveal his covert political mission at all.<sup>45</sup> Lin Guanchao, who has inspected the letter carefully, completely rejects the attribution of authorship to Zheng Chenggong. According to him, Yinyuan never met Zheng Chenggong personally, yet the letter mentioned that the author actually had listened to Yinyuan’s teaching in person. Moreover, Lin argues, the customary use of “*benfan*” cannot be taken as a term of self-reference, because in the historiography of Zheng Chenggong’s regime, such as the *Veritable Records of Previous Kings* (*Xianwang shilu*), *benfan* was used throughout the text to refer to “our lord” rather than to the author himself.<sup>46</sup> In addition, the term *benfan* was written on the top of the line whenever it occurred. According to the Chinese epistolary convention of hierarchical avoidance, this special format indicates a respectful attitude toward the author’s superior, who must be Zheng Chenggong. After reading Yinyuan’s complete works carefully, Lin speculates that the author must be Zheng’s staff member Xu Quintai, who was eventually ordained by Yinyuan as a monk in 1662. Based on



this new theory about the letter and Yinyuan's attitude toward Zheng Chenggong and his resistance movement, Lin concludes that although Yinyuan cherished deep nostalgic feeling for his home country, he was primarily a Buddhist leader without direct involvement in the resistance movement.<sup>47</sup>

Although the authorship of the letter is still debatable, Yinyuan's involvement in politics in China and Japan cannot be completely denied. As I shall reveal in the next chapter, even after Yinyuan arrived in Japan, he was closely watched by the bakufu and was suspected of being a Chinese spy until he was summoned to Edo in the ninth month in 1658, which time coincided with the arrival of another letter from Zheng Chenggong soliciting military assistance. Considering the frequent diplomatic exchange between Japan and China, Yinyuan must have had some connections with Sino-Japanese political dealings.

### *Chan Buddhism and the Diasporic Chinese Community in Nagasaki*

In addition to the resistance movement in southeast China, an important part of the historical background to Yinyuan's trip was the new wave of Chinese emigration to Japan. Because of the increasing need of overseas Chinese for religious institutions, Yinyuan Longqi was invited to Japan by the Chinese community in Nagasaki. As I have mentioned, from 1652 to 1653, Yinyuan had received four invitations from the Chinese monk Yiran Xingrong, who was at that time the abbot of Kōfukuji monastery in Nagasaki and represented the interests of the Chinese community. In addition to these invitations, there were four social conditions that facilitated the emigration of the Ōbaku monks:

1. The growing Chinese overseas communities created a demand for religious service;
2. As part of the anti-Christian agenda, in 1640 the Tokugawa government required all Japanese subjects to be affiliated with a local Buddhist temple as a measure to prevent the further spread of Christianity in Japan;
3. Chan Buddhists had successfully incorporated the popular Mazu into their pantheon and acted as caretakers of this local cult;
4. The invitation extended to Yinyuan Longqi was related to the rise of a particular diaspora in Nagasaki, whose members originally came from Fuqing county, where Mount Huangbo is located.

## The Formation of the Nagasaki Chinese Community

First of all, the presence of Chinese monks in Japan was largely related to the religious demands of a local Chinese emigré community in Nagasaki, which took shape in the sixteenth century as a result of the thriving private maritime commerce. This kind of private international trade was illegal during the Ming because Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1398) intended to confine international maritime trade to officially controlled tribute commerce. Meanwhile, he had largely given up the idea of expanding the China-centered tributary system through military conquests of its maritime neighbors, especially after considering the ill-fated expeditions during the Mongol rule: the two invasions of Japan during 1274–1281 and the 1293 expedition in Java. (Both ended disastrously: the invasions of Japan via Korea were blocked by heavy storms. The Chinese army indeed landed in Java but was defeated by the local defense and most Chinese soldiers were captured.) Thus, Zhu Yuanzhang ruled out any military conquest of the five East and Southeast Asian countries.<sup>48</sup> Through a series of diplomatic negotiations with neighboring countries, early Ming rulers successfully established a system of tribute commerce that was strongly controlled by the government. The trade between China and Japan, for example, was undertaken under a tally system (*kangō*) that only allowed ships with previously issued government certificates to do business. Ships without official tallies would be denied entrance to Chinese seaports.

The monopoly of trade by the Ming government was loosened in later times, and overseas Chinese communities thrived accordingly. Wang Gungwu suggests that the turning point occurred around 1500 with the coming of the Portuguese at Melaka.<sup>49</sup> At this point, the tribute system established by the Ming founder was on the verge of collapsing and private trade was undertaken among Chinese, Japanese, and Westerners. The overseas Chinese communities also underwent visible changes. Before 1500, owing to the strict prohibition of private trade, the overseas Chinese communities were dwindling. According to Wang Gungwu, there were only two merchant communities: one on the northeast coast of Java and another at Palembang (Sumatra).<sup>50</sup> After 1500, however, the vibrant unofficial maritime trade created two large overseas Chinese communities in Asia—one in Manila, which was under Spanish control, and the other in Nagasaki, which is our current focus.

Nagasaki became a major center for overseas Chinese during the sixteenth century. The official trade with Japan ended in 1549 when the so-called “Wakō” invasion began. This devastating maritime invasion of

Chinese coasts lasted about twenty-five years and was believed to be a reaction to the official suppression of private trade. Chinese coastal merchants and Japanese warriors formed alliances and had their bases in Japan. The early Chinese communities in Japan may have taken shape during this time because the early seventeenth century had also seen a small Chinese community in Hirado, where the early merchant/pirate leaders such as Wang Zhi (?–1559), Li Dan(?–1625), Yan Siqi (?–1625), and Zheng Zhilong were active.<sup>51</sup> Very soon, Nagasaki emerged as a major trading center and the bakufu moved all Chinese and the Dutch to Nagasaki.

The history of Nagasaki was intertwined with the spread of Christianity in Japan from the very beginning. The city of Nagasaki was by and large shaped by foreign residents from Europe and China and by the Tokugawa policies concerning religion. Along with the arrival of the first Portuguese vessel in Japan in 1567, the Jesuits began to disseminate Christian teaching. In 1570 Father Melchior Figueiredo, S. J., “discovered” the port of Nagasaki, which was soon opened to foreign traders at the request of the captain of a Portuguese vessel. Under the petition of the Jesuits to the local daimyo, Nagasaki even became a Jesuit province and was actually administered by the Jesuits since 1580. However, the Japanese shogunate began to be aware of the increasing threat of Christianity. In 1587 Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), the powerful warlord who reunited Japan, issued a decree to prohibit Christianity. In 1592 Hideyoshi appointed a new magistrate to Nagasaki and initiated a license system to regulate all Japanese vessels engaged in international trade. The persecution of Christianity reached its height in 1597 when twenty-six martyrs were arrested in Kyoto and Osaka and eventually were crucified on the hill of Nishizaka in Nagasaki. In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the first shogun of the Tokugawa bakufu, issued the *Edict of Prohibition of Christianity*. After this, an anti-Christian policy was forcefully carried out. Japanese Christians responded with a series of revolts, especially the Shimabara revolt that had greatly shaken the Tokugawa rule. In 1639 the *Sakoku jidai* (Isolation Period) began.<sup>52</sup> As a result, only residents of Nagasaki were allowed to engage in international trade, and the Dutch and the Chinese, the only two foreign merchant groups permitted to trade in Japan, were confined to certain areas of Nagasaki.

The Nagasaki trade with China was lucrative, and profits attracted many Chinese to seek fortune overseas. The major stable imports from China were silk, satin, cotton, local products, sugar, and Chinese books.

From Japan, Chinese merchants brought back items such as silver, copper, and sea products. The China trade reached its peak in the late seventeenth century, but due to the decrease of silver and copper production in Japan, the bakufu tightened its policy and controlled the total trade volume. The number of Chinese ships at Nagasaki dwindled significantly. In the beginning, Chinese were allowed to live inside the city. However, in 1688, in response to the increase of Chinese ships and the number of Chinese residents, a walled and guarded compound (*Tōjin yashiki*) was built to accommodate all Chinese travelers.

The Chinese kept an amicable relation with Nagasaki residents. For the most part, they lived peacefully with their Japanese neighbors, who were fond of the Chinese because of their cultural origins. Moreover, because Chinese merchants and captains were rich, some Japanese families were even willing to marry their daughters to the Chinese, or give their sons to them for adoption. The Nagasaki Chinese were friendly and were often fondly referred to as “Mr. Tea” (*acha-san*). They were viewed as pleasant people who visited their temples piously and treated Japanese kids especially well, as in this children’s song:

*The Chinese (acha-san) are going to visit their temple.  
They are resting in their palanquins atop Sian Bridge.  
Metal rings and Cloud cakes from Nanjing,  
They give out to us again and again.*<sup>53</sup>

The Chinese emigré community in Nagasaki was different from other diaspora communities because a clear gentry leadership was established in the beginning and continued to influence the community as a whole. Through marriage with Japanese families, some of them quickly adapted to the new environment by collaborating with Japanese authorities. Nagasaki was a domain directly controlled by the Edo bakufu, which appointed two Nagasaki bugyōs who rotated their tenure every year. To manage Chinese trade and Chinese affairs, the bugyō office appointed Chinese community leaders as Chinese interpreters (*Tōtsuji*) and administrators of the Chinese settlement (*Tōnen gyōji*). The rank of interpreter forms a hierarchy and the positions were largely hereditary among a few prominent Chinese families. Translation of trade-related documents was only part of their job. They were also charged with maintaining peace and order in the Chinese community and supervising commercial transactions in the trade. To further control trade, the Nagasaki Accounting Office (*Nagasaki Kaisho*) was

set up in 1698 and the Office of Chinese Interpreters (*Tōtsuji kaisho*) was established in 1751.

### The Coming of Chinese Chan Monks

Along with the rise of the Chinese community in Nagasaki, Chinese Buddhism was introduced, playing a significant role in building solidarity. Since the late sixteenth century, Chinese gathered around Goshinji (previously known as Zendōji) as a meeting place, and a cemetery near the temple was built. (An international cemetery was developed there to bury Russians and other foreigners in the early Meiji period.) Furthermore, Chinese mariners needed a place to house their patron deity Mazu when ships arrived; sailors needed a temporary place for rest; regular Chinese residents required a place to pray and worship; philanthropic activities needed to be organized through temples; and community leaders necessitated a venue to assert their authority and reinforce their privilege in trade and public affairs. In sum, the Nagasaki Chinese community was willing to have their own temples and was ready to support them.

The prohibition of Christianity propelled Chinese residents in Nagasaki to consolidate themselves more closely around Buddhism. As a policy to prevent further propagation of Christianity, all Japanese residents were required to be registered with a local Buddhist temple. Perhaps in order to distinguish themselves from Christians, the Chinese in Nagasaki displayed a special enthusiasm for Chinese Buddhism. Along with the coming of Chinese immigrants, several Chinese masters arrived in Japan before Yinyuan Longqi. In 1615 an obscure monk, Zhiguang, was said to be residing in Nagasaki. In 1620 the monk Zhenyuan from Jiangxi province started Kōfukuji, also called Nankinji, a temple sponsored by merchants from the lower Yangzi river area, primarily from Zhejiang and Jiangxi. The abbacy of this monastery was inherited by the monk Mozi Ruding (1597–1657) in 1632 (*OBJ* 357), and then by Yiran Xingrong in 1645. Yiran Xingrong arrived in Japan in 1634 as a merchant trading herbs and ten years later became a monk. As I have mentioned, he had been instrumental in Yinyuan's emigration by issuing persistent invitations. (Yiran was also revered as a painter-monk who brought the literati painting style to Japan.) In 1628, eight years after the founding of Kōfukuji, Fukusaiji was established by the Chinese monk Juehai (?–1637) and lay patrons from Zhangzhou in Fujian. Thus, it was also known as Shōshuji. The substantial development of this temple was attributed to Yunqian Jiewan

(1610–1673), who crossed the sea from Fujian in 1649. Later, Sōfukuji monastery, also called Fukushūji, was founded by the monk Chaoran in 1629. After the second abbot Baizhuo died in 1649, Yinyuan's dharma heir Yelan Xinggui was invited to succeed him. Unfortunately, as I mentioned earlier, Yelan died in a shipwreck in 1651. At the same time, Daozhe Chaoyuan was invited from Fujian in 1650 and returned to China eight years later.

In the lives of these monks we can discern changes in their religious identity. The founders of the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki had identities as ordained monks that were obscure. The Kōfukuji founder Zhenyuan first came to Japan as a merchant and then recovered his identity as a Buddhist monk. (*OBJ* 163) The transmission of the Sōfukuji founder Chaoran was also unclear and had no influence on later generations. (*OBJ* 238) After migrating to Japan as a merchant, Yiran Xingrong was converted by Mozi Ruding. (*OBJ* 17–18) Yunqian Jiewan's transmission, too, was doubtful. (*OBJ* 28) But almost all later emigré masters had clear dharma transmissions. When Yelan Xinggui and Daozhe Chaoyuan were invited, their sectarian identity was definite.

Yelan was Yinyuan's dharma heir and Daozhe was Yinyuan's dharma brother Gengxin Xingmi's (1603–1659) dharma heir. This change corresponded to the rise of Chan Buddhism throughout mainland China. As I have described briefly in the previous sections, early in the seventeenth century, the Buddhist world was increasingly organized by the network of dharma transmission. In the 1654 lawsuit against Yinyuan Longqi's master Feiyin Tongrong, the importance of dharma transmission was brought to a new level by Feiyin Tongrong's emphasis upon the strict practice of dharma transmission, which means that all Chan teachers should be acknowledged by a qualified Chan master. The changing composition of emigré Chan masters in Japan certainly reflected this mainland change, which culminated in the arrival of Yinyuan Longqi in 1654, whose identity as an eminent Linji Chan master was well-established.

It is notable that Chinese overseas communities often further distinguished themselves according to the regions in China from which they hailed. The three Chinese monasteries in Nagasaki, for example, are often described as expressions of local connections among people from the lower Yangzi region, Zhangzhou, and Fuzhou, respectively. In addition to being identity markers, these Chinese temples were deeply involved in community affairs. They provided temporary shelters for sailors, the sick, and elderly, and offered funeral services to them. The Chinese ships

were obliged to contribute a certain amount of their profits to the temples. More importantly, Chinese temples became the adobe of Deity Mazu, who protected Chinese sailors over capricious sea voyages.

### The Buddhist Incorporation of the Mazu Cult

Here, it is necessary for us to note that a primary spiritual need for the majority of maritime merchants and sailors in Nagasaki was a popular form of Buddhist faith that protected personal welfare and safety in travel. It would be hard to imagine that Chinese immigrants had a particular spiritual need for Chan Buddhism, which largely catered to the Chinese elite. However, it seems that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was no Buddhist deity who specialized in protecting safety at sea. The dominant cult for seamen along the southeast Chinese coast was no doubt that of Mazu, which still thrives in southeast China and overseas Chinese communities.<sup>54</sup>

It is unclear how Buddhism began to assimilate this cult. However, the study of the Mazu cult shows that both Daoism and Buddhism were incorporating Mazu into their pantheons. According to Aloysius Chang's study, Buddhist temples in Nagasaki became the caretakers of the Mazu cult. Upon arrival, Chinese sailors would carry the Mazu statue from their ships to one of the Chinese temples to which they were affiliated, parading through Nagasaki streets. Once the sailors had departed, the Mazu statue would be brought out of the temple and placed in the ship again to project their return trip.<sup>55</sup> There were also signs showing that Buddhist monks were well-prepared for sea voyage and consciously acted as wonder-workers when dangers arose. It was recorded that when Yinyuan made the trip to Japan, the ship faced a severe storm. At this juncture, Yinyuan, remaining calm, ordered a plaque erected with the edict "No audience!" (*miancan*). The high tide soon subsided and the ship safely landed in Nagasaki.<sup>56</sup> It was believed that waves were caused by the dragon king's intention to greet an eminent monk who was on board. From Shilian Dashan's (1633–1702) record of his voyage to Vietnam in 1695, it is clear that Buddhist monks responded to emergencies on the trip and invoked divine protection. According to his travelogue, when the monks were on board, they usually prepared four flags for different emergency situations. The upper part of the four flags contained the phrase, "I am carrying a clear mandate from the supreme dharma king Śākyamuni"; the lower parts of the four flags were different and read as follows:

“Heavy rain desist!” (*dayu zanzhi*)  
 “Send off with a tail wind!” (*shunfeng xiangsong*)  
 “All Gods protect!” (*zhushen yonghu*)  
 “No audience for the Dragon King” (*longwang mianchao*).<sup>57</sup>

According to Jiang Boqin’s study, the use of such flags was derived from the Mazu cult. For example, the message of the very last flag, which both Yinyuan Longqi and Shilian Dashan used, refers to an element in the popular legend of Mazu, who is recorded to have used this method to stop big tides.<sup>58</sup> However, according to Shilian Dashan’s own explanation, the flag was utilized because it was commonly believed that when a monk who knows the principle of the *Śūraṃgama Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra* sailed on lakes or went to sea, the Dragon King must come out to greet him. Therefore, his mere arrival might cause danger to the boat, making it necessary to reject his audience for the purpose of safety.<sup>59</sup>

No matter how subtly Buddhists leaders could justify the use of the Mazu tradition, the Buddhist caretaking of the Mazu cult in overseas Chinese communities was evident. In Fukusaiji at Nagasaki, Mazu was jointly worshipped with Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin) and the Lord General Guan (Guandi); in Kōfukuji, Mazu was also worshipped as Bodhisattva Mazu; in Sōfukuji, an independent Mazu Hall was erected and dedicated to the cult as shown in Fig. 3.3.<sup>60</sup> Not only did this happen in Nagasaki, but the temples of the Heavenly Consort (Tianfei) in Taiwan and Macau were also managed by Chan monks.<sup>61</sup>

### Local Connections with Fuqing

The emigré monks before Yinyuan had no doubt paved the way for Yinyuan’s arrival. But the local connection between the Ōbaku monks and the Fuqing diaspora played an important role in the Ōbaku monks’ initial development in Nagasaki. The evidence lay in the fact that most Ōbaku monks, including Yinyuan Longqi, originated from there, and Mount Huangbo was also located in the area.

Within the Chinese community there emerged a powerful faction connected with Fuqing county. Although generally referred to as people from Fuzhou, these Fuqing men distinguished themselves among other Fujianese by their distinctive dialect and formed a unique dialect group. However, compared with neighboring areas such as Hokchiu (Fuzhou) and Hokkien (Minnan), Fuqing was considered socially and economically





**FIGURE 3.3** Heavenly Consort Hall in Sōfukuji. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, July 2013.

inferior. Therefore, going abroad became a means for Fuqing people to prosper.<sup>62</sup> During several centuries of contact with the outside world, Fuqing people, recognized as Hokchia, have settled all over the world and become a unique emigrant group.

The Fuqing diaspora can be traced back to the sixteenth century, even before Yinyuan Longqi's emigration. Fuqing people were renowned as good sailors and were offered special perquisites by captains: "[T]he master mariners and mates were largely Hokkien or of Sanjiang origin, while the crews tended to be Hokchia (natives of Fuqing county), who were remunerated by being allowed to bring small cargoes of their own for trading at their destination."<sup>63</sup> This tradition produced a network of Hokchia (Fuqing) vendors in Japan, and "Hokchia members make up a tenth of the total number of Chinese permanent residents [in Japan] today."<sup>64</sup> Two surveys of Fuqing immigrants in Japan conducted in 1987 and 1988 confirm that a large Fuqing diasporic network exists in contemporary Japan.<sup>65</sup>

The Fuqing diaspora in Japan must have facilitated Yinyuan Longqi's emigration. In 1654, when Yinyuan and his disciples arrived in Japan, some Fuqing immigrants in Nagasaki played a significant role. For

example, Lin Gongyan (Japanese: Hayashi Koen, 1598–1683), Lin Taiqing (zi. Chuyu, 1561–1645), He Gaocai (zi. Yuchu, 1598–1671), Wang Yin (zi. Xinqu, 1594–1678), and Wei Zhiyan (zi. Shuanghou, 1617–1689) became leaders of the Chinese community in Nagasaki. A plaque for Śākyamuni Hall dedicated by He Gaocai and Wei Zhiyan, shown in Fig. 3.4, is still hung at Sōfukuji.<sup>66</sup>

Because of Ōbaku monks' strong local connection with Fuqing, Yinyuan's voyage to Japan was by no means accidental. Here I give a short introduction to each patron and their relationship to Yinyuan.

Lin Gongyan, a native of Fuqing, had been instrumental in inviting Yinyuan. In 1623 Lin sailed to Japan and in 1628 was appointed the administrator of the Chinese settlement at Nagasaki. His son Lin Daorong (Japanese: Hayashi Dōei, 1640–1708), who was promoted to the position of the chief interpreter (*daitōji*) in 1674, continued to support the Ōbaku monks, especially Master Jifei Ruyi, who might have been a relative of the Lin family.<sup>67</sup>

Lin Taiqing was born to a well-to-do family in Fuqing, which was related to the family of the famous Ming general Yu Dayou (1503–1580),



FIGURE 3.4 Sōfukuji's Buddha Hall plaque dedicated by He Gaocai and Wei Zhiyan. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, August 2013.

who suppressed the Wakō invasion. Lin arrived in Kagoshima in 1609 and married the daughter of the Shinohara family. In 1619 he and his family moved to Nagasaki and became prominent in local Chinese community. He was responsible for building Sōfukuji and invited the monk Chaoran in 1629 to preside over it. After he died in 1645, his son Lin Shoudian (zi. Datong, 1610–1694), whose Japanese name was Hayashi Jinbei, succeeded him and was appointed as chief interpreter (*daitōji*) from 1641 to 1662. Lin Shoudian was ordained as a monk under Yinyuan in 1669 and was given the dharma name Duzhen Xingying. He received dharma transmission from Yinyuan's dharma heir Duhou Xingshi (1624–1688) in 1676 and later resided in Tokuenji in Nagasaki starting in 1678. His son Lin Fenggao (1634–1709), also known as Futaki Jinbei or Hayashi Jinkichi in Japanese, served as chief interpreter from 1693 to 1700. He was also Yinyuan's lay disciple. The Hayashi family was the primary patron of Sōfukuji and supported Yinyuan and, later, his disciples Mu'an Xingtao and Jifei Ruyi.

He Gaocai moved to Nagasaki in 1628 and married a daughter of the Takagawa family. Together with Lin Taiqing, he was an active patron of Sōfukuji and helped to rebuild Kiyomitsu Temple. He signed the petition to invite Yinyuan and became Yinyuan's lay disciple, receiving the dharma name Xingchong from him. After Yinyuan left Nagasaki, he visited him at the new Manpukuji in 1664 and was greatly appreciated by Yinyuan, Jifei, and Mu'an. In particular, he supported Jifei at Sōfukuji. He also sponsored the publication of Jifei's *Recorded Sayings* in 1662 and took care of Jifei at his deathbed. He Gaocai died in 1671, the same year when Jifei passed. His son He Zhaojin, also known as Kani Uhyōe, became junior interpreter from 1658 to 1668. He had a particular interest in the seven-string zither and thus befriended the Chinese monk Donggao Xinyue, who was an excellent zither player and helped to spread this musical tradition in Japan.

It is not clear if Wang Yin was a Fuqing native, but it is certain that he hailed from the Fuzhou area. He might have arrived in Nagasaki during 1620s as a merchant. As a prominent figure in the Chinese community, he joined Lin Taiqing and his son to build Sōfukuji. After Lin Taiqing died in 1645, he became the leading patron to invite Yinyuan to reside in Sōfukuji in 1655. (Yinyuan first stayed at Kōfukuji.) After Yinyuan left for Fumonji in Osaka, he continued to support Yinyuan's disciple Jifei. In 1678 he was promoted to the position of the administrator of the Chinese settlement (*tōnen gyōji*). His son Ōkichirō Uhyōe continued his job after he died in 1678.

Wei Zhiyan also hailed from Fuqing. Because of Iioka Naoko's detailed study, we knew much about him. He first moved to Tonkin in Vietnam with his brother Wei Zhiyuan (d. 1654), a one-eyed merchant often referred as "Itchien" in the Dutch reports. Wei and his brother conducted silk trade between Vietnam and Japan. He frequently traveled between Tonkin and Nagasaki but did not settle down in Nagasaki until 1672, when he was permitted to stay permanently. Even before he settled down, however, he actively participated in community works. He was among the major patrons of Sōfukuji and was there to welcome Yinyuan to Sōfukuji in 1655 and Jifei in 1658. He also sponsored the building of several arch bridges in Nagasaki. It was notable that the Wei family kept a Chinese music band and introduced the Ming dynasty musical tradition to Japan.<sup>68</sup>

### Conclusion

The Ming-Qing transition was a sudden intrusion into Chinese history that completely changed the destiny of many people, who had to face the threat of life and death, the dilemma of difficult moral decision, the opportunities of changing social status, and the possibility of escape. Such a social turmoil also created heroes such as Zheng Chenggong, who had been fanaticized in popular literature. The Japanese *jōruri* play *The Battle of Koxinga* (*Kokusen'ya kassen*, 1715) was based on Zheng Chenggong's career as a Ming loyalist and was sensationally successful in Edo theatre. In modern times, Shiba Ryōtarō's historical novel *The Tartar Whirlwind* (*Dattan shippūroku*), translated by Joshua Fogel, dramatized the historical events in the Ming-Qing transition.<sup>69</sup> During this time, Buddhist monks also appeared frequently in historical sources. Many were loyalists simply disguised as monks, whose unique identity helped them do underground work. Some monks became militia leaders, messengers, and even fought in the battle. We can find their traces through the figure of Zen master Daitō in Shiba's historical novel *Zen Master of the Great Thief* (*Daitō Zenji*).<sup>70</sup> Yinyuan's close connection with Ming loyalists also gave rise to a theory that Manpukuji in Japan became a base for expatriate Ming loyalists to protect a Ming prince who was believed to have hidden in Japan.<sup>71</sup>

It is no doubt that Yinyuan left China at a time of crisis. The Manchus, though occupying most of China in the 1650s, still faced challenges from the lingering Southern Ming resistance along the southeast coast and southwest China. The struggle underlying the fierce political and military

tension was the threat to the continuity of Chinese Civilization reestablished by the Ming. In this sense, the Southern Ming regimes and the resistance movement they endorsed also symbolized a political and cultural ideal of authenticity. By siding with Zheng Chenggong, Yinyuan showed clearly his stance in this cultural and political struggle. His association with the lost Ming ideal allowed the Japanese to view him and his disciples as monks loyal to the authentic Chinese Civilization. Even after the resistance movement lost their ground and the Manchus firmly established themselves, Chinese monks coming from China were still referred to as “Ming monks” (*Minsō*) in Japanese literature.

The Nagasaki Chinese trade, however, provided an outlet for escaping the crisis on the continent. Yinyuan’s local connection with Nagasaki Chinese merchants who hailed from Fuqing helped him secure invitations and support from the Chinese community in Nagasaki. He could have lived easily in Nagasaki, serving the local Chinese merchants and sailors. However, his coming to Japan stirred a ripple effect that reached the top of the bakufu bureaucracy. In the next chapter, we will examine how the Edo bakufu reacted to his arrival and how he had been used by the Japanese to cope with the crisis they were facing.

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## *The Taikun's Zen Master from China*

YINYUAN, THE EDO BAKUFU, AND THE FOUNDING  
OF MANPUKUJI IN 1661

### *Introduction*

The story of Yinyuan's arrival in Japan in 1654 and the subsequent founding of Manpukuji in 1661 are familiar to students of Sino-Japanese history. However, the path to Yinyuan's success is still mysterious. In the previous chapter, I showed that Yinyuan came to Japan to answer the call of Nagasaki Chinese merchants who had local links with Fuqing county in China during the turbulent transition from Ming to Qing. It would have been expected that Yinyuan would settle in one of the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and become the spiritual leader of the Chinese expatriate community. However, what happened next was extraordinary in three aspects: first, after just one year of residence in Nagasaki, Yinyuan was able to secure invitations from Japanese monks and authorities to move to a Japanese monastery called Fumonji, close to Osaka and Kyoto, despite the bakufu's ruling against Chinese residents living outside Nagasaki; second, after staying in Fumonji for a few years, Yinyuan became the first Chinese of significance after the founding of the Tokugawa regime to be granted two audiences with the fourth shogun Ietsuna (1641–1680) in Edo during the winter of 1658, where he met with Ietsuna's senior councilors; third, two years later, in 1660, the bakufu allowed him to build a new temple in Kyoto, breaking another rule, this time one prohibiting new temple building.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, these results were not something that Yinyuan or his Japanese sponsors could manage alone. They were decisions made by

Japanese authorities, both local and central, and mediated by some of Yinyuan's zealous Japanese supporters such as Ryōkei Shōsen, who lobbied in Edo for Yinyuan's stay.<sup>2</sup> One may argue that Yinyuan's success could be attributed to his popularity among Japanese monks and to his teachings, which have been claimed to have "rescued" Japanese Buddhism from its decline. Helen Baroni, for example, interpreted Yinyuan's Ōbaku Zen as a "New Religious Movement" that attracted a large number of Japanese Buddhists, clearly implying that he was popular in Japan. Following the Japanese scholar Takenuki Genshō, she suggests that the bakufu patronage of Yinyuan was similar to that lavished on Chinese monks from the Yuan dynasty by previous shoguns.<sup>3</sup> It might be true that after the founding of Manpukuji, more Japanese Buddhists were drawn to the new sect and more temples changed their affiliations to Ōbaku. However, this theory does not explain why the bakufu chose to allow its founding in the first place while the "country was in chains" (*sakoku*) and temple building was tightly controlled.

One can also link Yinyuan's success to the rising enthusiasm for Chinese culture and Confucianism. However, the so-called cultural renaissance of the Genroku era only reached its peak almost half a century later; thus Confucianism was not yet fully established as the official ideology during Yinyuan's time.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, the newly established system of official affiliation of households with temples (*danka*) left little room for the development of a new sect such as Ōbaku unless the bakufu was willing to support it financially. Even after the founding of Manpukuji, Ōbaku temples fared poorly in the *danka* system.<sup>5</sup>

In particular, we have to consider that during the six years before the founding of Manpukuji, Yinyuan received a mixed response from Japanese Buddhists. Strong opposition was organized by the powerful Zen institution Myōshinji, despite the fact that Myōshinji monks such as Ryōkei Shōsen, Jikuin Somon (1610–1677), and Tokuō Myōkō (1611–1681) strongly supported Yinyuan. Even the Confucian scholar Mukai Genshō (1609–1677) aired his opposition to Yinyuan because he feared that Japanese national identity would be lost in the face of an imported foreign tradition.<sup>6</sup> This anti-Ōbaku sentiment culminated in the mid-eighteenth century and nourished the rise of Hakuin's (1685–1768) Zen teaching. It should be remembered, though, that Yinyuan's syncretic teachings were not novel, focusing on a reinvention of the Chan rhetoric of beating and shouting, while his practice was a mixture of Pure Land, Tantric, and Vinaya practices, as I will reveal in chapter 5.<sup>7</sup>



Unlike other studies that only discuss Yinyuan's role in the Zen Buddhist world of the early Edo period, I intend to situate him in the broader political and international context in which Tokugawa foreign policy took shape. I believe that in order to explain Yinyuan's remarkable success, one has to examine closely how the transformation of early Tokugawa bureaucracy and the formation of a Japan-centered world order shaped the active foreign policy of the bakufu toward Europeans, and to her Asian neighbors such as China, Korea, and Ryukyu. When Yinyuan arrived in 1654, the bakufu had partially achieved its goal by barring Europeans, except the Dutch, from trade, and by "persuading" Korea and Ryukyu to send regular embassies to Edo as a way of establishing "neighbourly relationships."<sup>8</sup> In 1607 Ieyasu and his son, the new shogun Hidetada (1579–1632), welcomed the first Korean embassy, and eleven more came to Edo by 1811. These embassies, composed of a large number of Korean officials and attendants (usually numbering between three hundred and five hundred) publicly paraded their way through west Japan to Edo, and created a sensation throughout the country. They were widely viewed by the Japanese as evidence of the shogun's success in bringing the Koreans to pay tribute to Japan.

At the same time, a Japanese version of the "civilization versus barbarianism" relationship (*Nihongata ka'i ishiki*), a long-held nationalist discourse, started to reemerge in political and intellectual discourse, characterized by rejecting the domination of the Chinese tribute system. This new conception of the world order was primarily based on Japan's diplomatic relationship with Korea and secondarily on a fictional "foreign" relationship with Ryukyu.<sup>9</sup> For this purpose, the bakufu invented a form of address for the shogun in all documents directed to neighboring countries: Taikun (popularized in English as Tycoon).<sup>10</sup> The ideological underpinning of this "Taikun Diplomacy" was the usurpation of the Chinese "civilization versus barbarianism" discourse, stripped of its Sinocentrism and instilled with the nationalist notion of a "Kami state" (*shinkoku*). Such a mixed ideology called for the transformative power of "virtue" (*toku*) rather than "military prowess" (*bui*) as the basis of political legitimacy.

Although the bakufu was successful in its dealings with Korea and Ryukyu, it should be noted that such a new diplomatic order was largely the production of the bakufu's own imagination and crafting of ideology, as both were also official vassal states of the Chinese empire and paid regular tribute to the Ming and Qing courts. Twelve Korean embassies visited Japan during the Edo period, but between 1637 and 1874 about 474



went to Beijing, or three visits every year on average (these were known as *Yeonhaengsa*).<sup>11</sup> However, this comparatively insignificant number of embassies to Edo Japan was discussed and represented in popular literature and painting with much fanfare by contemporaries, as Ronald Toby shows.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, in popular literature, Koreans were often referred to as Chinese (*tōjin*) and their writings as Chinese works. (It should be noted that in the late Edo period the word “*tōjin*” had been used to refer to all foreigners.) The double status of Japan’s “vassal” states points to an implicit relationship between China and Japan even though there were no formal diplomatic links after the end of the “tally” (*kangō*) trade in the late sixteenth century. Conspicuously missing in the bakufu’s carefully constructed diplomatic worldview was the Chinese empire.

Under these circumstances, in the eyes of bakufu officials, Yinyuan was not simply an established Zen monk, but also a kind of representative from China whose presence in Japan was symbolically ambiguous and nuanced, considering the long absence of formal diplomatic relations. However, rather than ignoring China, the bakufu showed favor to private trade with China in Nagasaki, launched an active intelligence program to keep abreast of the Ming-Qing transition in the mainland, and even initiated debates among its senior officials about sending troops to help the resistance leader Zheng Chenggong, who made repeated requests for military aid. Thus, China held a significant place on the bakufu’s mental map, and Japan clearly wanted to engage China in the new world order she intended to build.

In this chapter, I will try to disentangle the complicated political and religious background that led to the founding of Manpukuji. I suggest that the bakufu’s gradual moves to grant Yinyuan a more prominent status in Japan were calculated considerations to engage China and to create a symbolic presence for China on a new Japan-centered world map. Evidence for this can be adduced from two coincidences with other diplomatic events: first, Yinyuan and the Korean embassy traveled at the same time in 1655 and arrived at Osaka on the same day; second, Yinyuan was summoned to Edo in 1658—right after Zheng Chenggong’s envoy arrived in Nagasaki in the summer of the same year and presented an official letter that mentioned Yinyuan’s name. Finally, I examine the bakufu’s ceremonial protocols for dealing with Yinyuan in official and private records, especially his audiences with Ietsuna as seen in bakufu documents such as *Diary of Edo Bakufu* (*Edo bakufu nikki*) and *Veritable Records of Tokugawa* (*Tokugawa jikki*). Although ambiguous, these public and formal rituals

and ceremonies contained all the elements of formal audiences with foreign diplomats and were interpreted differently by various spectators. I believe that this ambiguity was created to allow Yinyuan's Manpukuji to be institutionalized as a symbolic representative of China. This interpretation is supported by the bakufu's choice of only having Chinese abbots in Manpukuji, and making their regular visits to Edo part of the routine of audiences with shoguns to accept new appointments and congratulate the new shogun on his succession. These visits, though not specifically characterized as diplomatic "tribute" missions (and remaining politically ambiguous), were comparable to those of Korean and Ryukyuan embassies in the minds of the common people during the Edo period. All evidence points strongly to the idea that the bakufu was less interested in Yinyuan's religious message than they were eager to harness the political benefits of having a Chinese presence in Edo Japan.

### *Two Diplomatic "Coincidences"*

The inner workings of the bakufu's decision to retain Yinyuan are largely unknown to us, as many secret discussions were not recorded. Public notices and official letters concerning Yinyuan simply announced the result of such deliberations. However, the bakufu's other diplomatic measures for dealing with China and Korea may offer some clues as to how high bakufu officials considered Yinyuan's case, because the officials who were dealing with Yinyuan were all adept in conducting foreign affairs. For example, the Kyoto deputy Itakura Shigemune (1586–1657), the representative of shogunal power in west Japan, invited Yinyuan to Fumonji and personally interviewed him. During his long career as Kyoto deputy, Shigemune was also actively involved in China affairs and joined a bakufu debate about sending troops to China to help Ming loyalists in 1646, strongly supporting the move and even drafting an invasion plan that still raises debate among scholars.<sup>13</sup> Another supporter of Yinyuan, grand councillor (*tairō*) Sakai Tadakatsu (1587–1662), was one of the most influential policy makers at the time, as we can see from his handling of the 1643 Korean embassy and the capture of the Dutch ship *Breskens* in the same year.<sup>14</sup> He continued to exert his influence in domestic and international affairs even after his retirement in 1658.

It is hard to imagine that when the bakufu was dealing with Yinyuan, they only appreciated his Zen teaching and did not consider his status as a Chinese monk and its ramifications for other international affairs. Two

events with international significance that superficially appear to be mere “coincidences” during Yinyuan’s trip to Osaka in 1655 and his trip to Edo in 1658 might shed light on the bakufu’s decision-making process.

### Arriving at Osaka with the 1655 Korean Embassy

If the bakufu only considered Yinyuan as a Zen teacher, there would have been no need to relocate him from Nagasaki, as Japanese monks could travel there to study with him. Before Yinyuan came to Japan, his dharma nephew Daozhe Chaoyuan was in Nagasaki; from 1651 to 1658 Japanese monks such as Bankei Yōtaku and Dokuan Genkō came to study under him without causing major issues.<sup>15</sup> When the Myōshinji monk Ryōkei and others petitioned for Yinyuan to stay in Fumonji, located between Kyoto and Osaka, the bakufu granted their request even though there were no obvious political gains for them. In the meantime, another, more important, diplomatic event occurred. In 1653, the year before Yinyuan arrived, the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, took power and both Korea and Ryukyu sent envoys to attend his inauguration. The Ryukyu king Shō Shitsu (1629–1668) sent his son as the ambassador. An envoy dispatched by the Siamese king also arrived in the fifth month of 1656. The Korean king sent an impressive 488-strong delegation headed by the official envoys Jo Hyeong (1606–1679) and Nam Yong-ik (1628–1692).

The 1655 embassy was particularly important because Manchu troops had invaded Korea in 1627 and 1636, and Korea had to subject herself to the Manchu rule. The 1655 Korean embassy was the first to Japan after the fall of the Ming in 1644.<sup>16</sup> On the ninth day of the sixth month in 1655, it left Busan, arriving at Tsushima six days later. Earlier, on the first of the sixth month—eight days before the Korean embassy left Busan—the magistrate of works, Makino Shigetsune, sent a letter to the magistrates (*bugyō*) of Nagasaki and Osaka concerning the invitation of Yinyuan to Fumonji.<sup>17</sup>

The Korean embassy traveled to Kyūshū passing Iki island, Chikuzen province, and Ainosima (an island close to Kokura), before boarding boats at Shimonoseki on the fourth day of the eighth month. On the ninth, only four days after the Korean envoys set off from Shimonoseki, Yinyuan and his disciples Damei Xingshan (1616–1673), Duyan Xingwen (1586–1655), Huilin Xinji (also known as Duzhi, 1609–1681), Duzhan Xingying (1628–1706), Duhou Xingshi (1624–1688), and Duli Xingyi (also known as Dai Li or Dai Mangong, 1596–1672) left Nagasaki. Their group

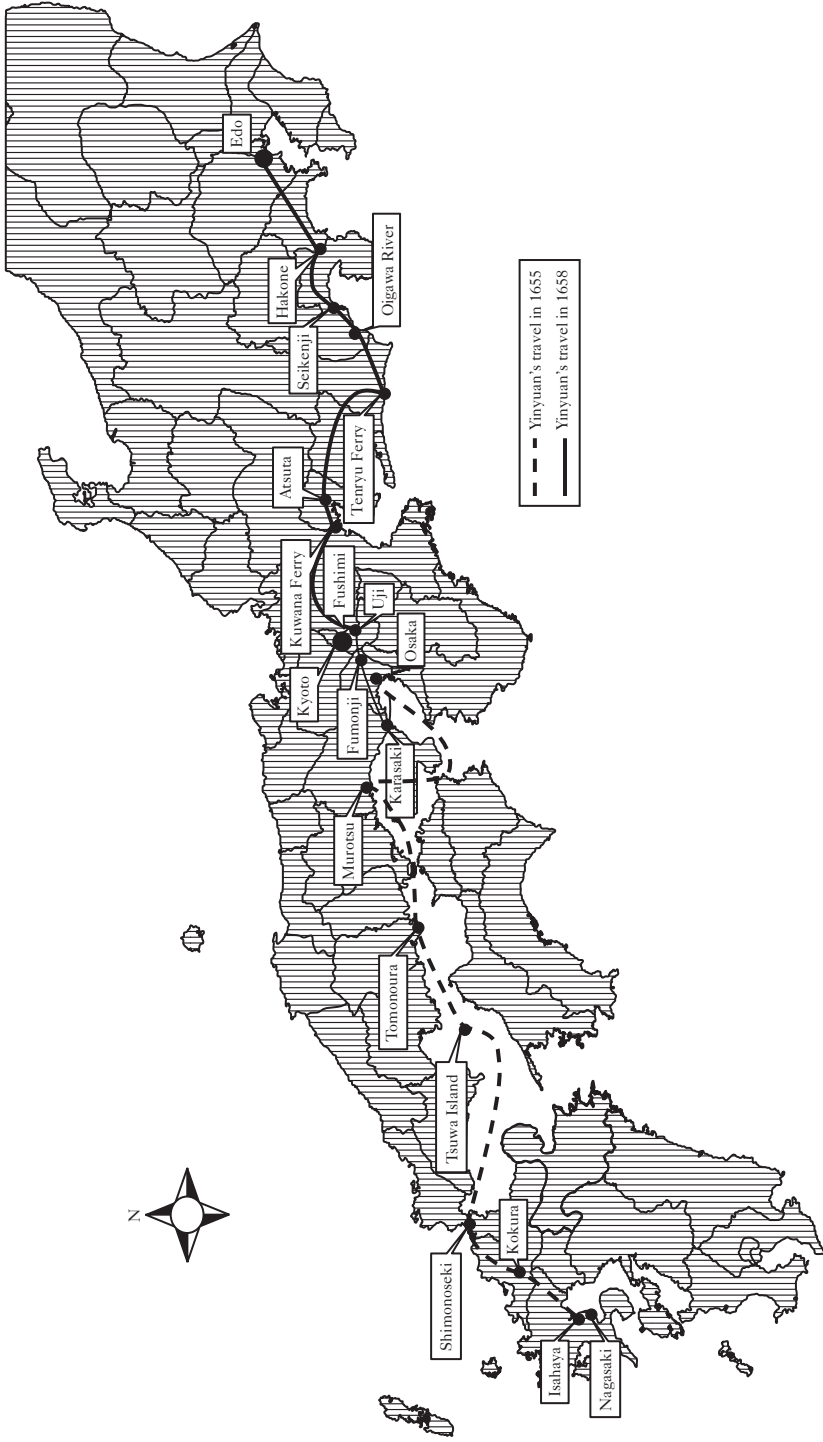
crossed the Isahaya River during the night of the tenth day. That night, they stayed at Isahaya itself. The next morning, they traveled briefly in Hizen province and boarded a boat dispatched by the lord (*daimyō*) of Shinano province, Nabeshima Katsushige (1580–1657), one of Hideyoshi's generals during the Korean invasion. Yinyuan's party traveled by boat for three days until they reached Kokura and stayed in Kaizenji on the fourteenth.<sup>18</sup> Tired of receiving so many curious Japanese visitors, Yinyuan ordered the sailors to move on early in the morning. Quickly, his group reached Shimonoseki on the seventeenth but was delayed by rain.<sup>19</sup> After waiting a few days for a favorable wind, they passed Kaminoseki on the twenty-fourth. They stayed at Tsuwa on the twenty-seventh, and that night arrived at Kamaka, then stopped at Tomo no Ura on the twenty-ninth. On the third day of the ninth month, they stopped at Murotsu, finally catching up with the Korean envoys at Osaka Bay on the fifth.<sup>20</sup> (See Fig. 4.1 for the reconstructed itinerary.)

It was a bright day according to Yinyuan's poetic record; however, his chronological biography only recorded:

on the fifth day of the ninth month, [the master] arrived at the port of Osaka. It happened that the Korean kingdom came to pay tribute. Spectators formed such a crowd that they resembled a solid wall. The master could not get to the shore and had to change to a small boat to travel along the river. (*Nenpu* 267)

The Korean envoys arrived at the port in the early morning and found crowds had gathered to watch them, men and women sitting on both sides of the road. After the Koreans landed, they stayed at Nishi Honganji's Tsumura Cloister in Osaka.<sup>21</sup> Apparently, Yinyuan's boat arrived shortly afterward. Finding the port had been occupied, he had to yield to the formally invited foreign guests. He landed on Karasaki the next day and was ushered to Fumonji, near Tonda.

Yinyuan did not meet the Korean envoys or even see their splendid procession (although it would have been an interesting encounter for the Koreans to see a man from the "Heavenly Dynasty" *tianchao*—their suzerain country, Qing China). Their arrival on the same day in Osaka appeared to be pure coincidence. However, when the invitation was extended to Yinyuan, the Korean embassy was already on their way to Japan. Allowing a small group of Chinese monks to travel within Japan at the same time was an interesting move by the bakufu, suggesting they intended to have



**FIGURE 4.1** Yinyuan's itineraries from Nagasaki to Fumonji in 1655 and from Uji to Edo in 1658. © Jiang Wu. Created with ArcView 3.2 and CHGIS 1828 Province (kuni). Boundaries base map released in Feb. 2004.

the Chinese participate in a similar mission. Of course, Yinyuan's status and travel privileges could not match those of the Korean embassy. Thus, while all this may be mere coincidence, if we take into consideration the bakufu's intention to construct a Japan-centered international order in East Asia, Yinyuan's visit and his final settlement at Uji were significant, as he could be considered as representing China in this new world order. As mentioned previously, it was impossible for the bakufu to ignore China when dealing with Korea and Ryukyu, since China was the political force behind them.

### Yinyuan and the Arrival of Zheng Chenggong's "State Letter"

Without a formal diplomatic relationship, the bakufu had to engage China in a more cautious and tactical way, especially when the Qing regime was not stabilized and several Southern Ming courts claimed legitimacy simultaneously. The Ming-Qing transition and Zheng Chenggong's resistance movement only made Chinese affairs more complicated, as Japan had to negotiate with the Manchu court, the Southern Ming regimes, and Zheng Chenggong's regional hegemony in the southeast coast and Taiwan. One of the central issues was how to deal with the repeated requests for military aid from China. The bakufu chose to be inactive but vigilant while the political and military situation was not completely settled. As a general policy, they would turn down requests for direct military intervention, only occasionally providing supplies. However, the bakufu appeared to be more active in promoting Yinyuan, who came directly from China, and in particular from Zheng Chenggong's stronghold in Xiamen, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that Yinyuan carried Zheng Chenggong's secret request for aid, it is certain that his presence in Japan was a valuable asset for Zheng Chenggong to leverage his plea. Zheng's envoys did approach Yinyuan and intended to harness the connection with him. For example, Zheng Chenggong sent his general, Zhang Guangqi, an acquaintance of Yinyuan, to request aid in the middle of 1660.<sup>22</sup> Because Zhang Guangqi knew Yinyuan personally, he even petitioned to meet him. When Zheng Chenggong mentioned Yinyuan's name in his official "state letter" to the shogun, it may have alerted the senior councilors in Edo. However, the response to Zheng's request was quick

and negative: Zhang Guangqi was asked to stay in Nagasaki without an audience with senior bakufu officials.

Zheng Chenggong's 1660 envoy was sent under auspicious circumstances. In the fifth month, Zheng had launched his famous Northern Expedition and quickly besieged Nanjing, though the campaign failed in the second year. Just two months after the start of the campaign, in the seventh month, he dispatched Zhang Guangqi to Japan. In various Chinese sources, however, Zhang's mission was clearly associated with these attempts, as he did receive some military supplies.<sup>23</sup> For example, in a passage from *A Record of Personal Experiences on the Sea* (*Haishang jianwen lu*), which I translated in the previous chapter, Ming loyalists had associated Zhang Guangqi's mission with Yinyuan's arrival in Japan.<sup>24</sup>

However, it is plainly wrong, as claimed in this record, that Yinyuan went to Japan in 1660 with Zhang Guangqi. Nevertheless, such an "innocent" anachronism suggests an implicit connection between this mission and Yinyuan, which the Ming loyalists wished to establish.

On his arrival at Nagasaki, Zhang Guangqi contacted Yinyuan, who was probably still in Fumonji at Osaka, and requested a meeting with him. Judging from their communications, they had met previously in Huangbo monastery when Zheng Chenggong's army temporarily occupied the Fuqing area.<sup>25</sup> Zhang Guangqi wrote several letters to Yinyuan, and one of them, probably written in the ninth month of 1660 when he was about to return, is still extant. In this polite letter, Zhang expressed his admiration for Yinyuan and indicated that he had planned to meet him in Kyoto but was unable. Zhang also indicated that in a separate letter, Yinyuan had left a message for Zheng Chenggong to continue to spread Buddhism in his territories and to protect his people. Zhang promised to bring this message back to Zheng Chenggong. Realizing the importance of Zhang's mission, Yinyuan replied with a poem to encourage Zhang "not to fail in his China mission" (*buru Zhonghua ming*), showing the significance of his trip to Japan. Zhang also wrote another letter to Yinyuan to express his admiration, and once again hinted at the political connection between Yinyuan and Zheng Chenggong.<sup>26</sup>

The most intriguing issue is that the timing of Yinyuan's visit to Edo in 1658 coincided with the arrival of Zheng Chenggong's "state letter" prior to his departure. Zheng Chenggong's formal letter to the shogun was relayed to Edo from Nagasaki on the tenth day of the seventh month.<sup>27</sup> Although the letter itself did not mention the request for aid, the intention to form

a special allegiance was clear. Moreover, the letter mentioned Yinyuan. After the arrival of the letter, the bakufu suddenly became interested in Yinyuan: just one month after Zheng Chenggong's letter reached Edo, Yinyuan was asked to prepare to go there, arriving three months later. It is no doubt that Zheng Chenggong's letter directed the bakufu's attention to Yinyuan.

If the bakufu officials could ignore the exchange of private letters between Yinyuan and Ming loyalists, they could not overlook the clear reference to Yinyuan in Zheng Chenggong's official "state letter." In this, Zheng first alluded to the historical connection between China and Japan and praised Japan's moral integrity and the shogun's military power. Emphasizing the fact that Japan was his birthplace, and demonstrating his determination to expel the Manchu army from China, he expected to have more frequent communications with Japan after the Ming dynasty was restored. When he praised the shogun's orderly governance, Zheng mentioned the bakufu's religious policy: "You have used Buddhism to assist Confucianism, again we have seen the prime minister visited [master] Huangbo (Yinyuan)." <sup>28</sup> This "Master Huangbo" must refer to Yinyuan, who hailed from Huangbo and at that time resided in Japan. It is, however, curious why Zheng Chenggong chose to mention Yinyuan and Huangbo, as the two had never met: it is perhaps plausible that, because of frequent contact between Nagasaki and Xiamen, Yinyuan's success in Japan had been reported back to China, and that Zheng referred to Yinyuan in his letter to strengthen his ties with Japan.

This passing reference must have alerted the bakufu and, according to Kawahara Eishun's study, their reaction to Zheng Chenggong's letter and the decision to invite Yinyuan to Edo corresponded perfectly. On the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of 1658, Zheng Chenggong's official letter arrived at Nagasaki and was rushed to Edo on the tenth day of the seventh month. Meanwhile, after receiving several letters from his teacher Feiyin Tongrong and lay patrons in China, Yinyuan asked Ryōkei to lobby on his behalf for permission to go back to China. The bakufu did not respond until the seventh month and decided that Yinyuan should travel to Edo instead. Yinyuan left for Edo on the sixth day of the ninth month and arrived in Edo on the eighteenth. Shortly before this trip—on the fourteenth day of the eighth month—Zheng Chenggong sent a second letter requesting troops because of major military setbacks in Nanjing, which arrived in Nagasaki and then in Edo on the first day of the ninth month. <sup>29</sup> A quick rejection was sent from Edo on the second and arrived



in Nagasaki on the fifteenth. On the twentieth, Zheng Chenggong's envoy left Nagasaki, just two days after Yinyuan arrived in Edo.

The bakufu's choice to see Yinyuan, rather than Zheng Chenggong's envoy, is the subject of much debate: arguably Yinyuan was called to Edo to replace Zheng's envoy. The bakufu's rejection of Zheng's request was consistent with their previous decisions not to intervene, not because of Japan's lack of interest in China affairs, but due to their lack of confidence in Zheng's resistance movement. On the contrary, Yinyuan's visit to Edo at the same time showed the bakufu's deep interest in China and their intention to explore another kind of relationship represented by Chinese monks, which was conventional and acceptable for Japanese rulers. These two diplomatic "coincidences" suggest that, although Japan rejected the China-centered tribute system, the new Tokugawa bakufu hoped that China could still play a role in its new diplomatic order. Yinyuan's arrival and his identity as an eminent monk provided the bakufu with an opportunity to establish an alternative place for China on Japan's imagined world map.

### *Did Yinyuan Come on a Tribute Mission?*

The bakufu's attitude toward Yinyuan is also clear in numerous references to him in official and private documents. His treatment in ceremonial matters, especially his audience with Ietsuna, reveals a secret agenda of state building and asserting ritual hegemony. The bakufu was notorious for manipulating diplomatic language and ceremonial protocol to gain an upper hand in foreign relationships. In the eyes of commoners, the Korean embassies were overwhelmingly considered as tribute missions (*raichō*), while the official designation for such visits was *raichei*, a diplomatic term developed during the Warring States period in China to describe visits among vassal states of equal status.<sup>30</sup> References to Yinyuan's arrival demonstrate a similar pattern. As I will show later, although most official records used the vague term "coming east" (*tōrai*), popular writers often referred to his journey to Japan as a "tribute mission," like the Korean embassy. Despite the fact that the simple choice of wording might be considered arbitrary, it is suggestive that in the popular imagination, Yinyuan's audience with Ietsuna, though ceremonially ambiguous, was represented as a tribute mission and was even visualized in popular paintings in this way, as illustrated in Fig. 4.2.<sup>31</sup> More surprisingly, in a clear move to perpetuate the image of Yinyuan's trip as a



FIGURE 4.2 “Painting of Ōbaku Founder’s Arrival” (*Ōbaku kaizan kokushi raichō tōgan no zu*), by Zento Shinshō (1820–1876), color on silk, 42.5x57.0cm, preserved in Hōdenji at Shizuoka. Reprint provided by Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive.

“tribute mission” performed by Chinese monks, the bakufu, after granting him land and financing the building of Manpukuji, set the precedent of only appointing Chinese monks as Manpukuji abbots, while requesting they attend the shogun’s inauguration ceremonies as the Korean and Ryukyuan embassies did.

### References to Yinyuan’s Arrival in Japanese Sources

Yinyuan’s arrival and presence in Japan was a public event in the mid-seventeenth century, and many Japanese public and private sources recorded his activities. The fanfare he caused in Nagasaki even disturbed Mukai Genshō, who, as mentioned earlier, was hostile to all foreign influences. He noted that Yinyuan’s fame as a great teacher and another “Bodhidharma” preceded his arrival in Japan. Moreover, once he had arrived, people came to worship him day and night, and Japanese monks, especially those from Myōshinji, came to study with him. Genshō noted in his book *Chapters on Realizing One’s Shame* (*Chishihen*):

Monks and laypeople, men and women, go to see him one after another. Day and night, there is no one who does not pay obeisance to him . . . Not knowing right from wrong, or honor from disgrace, only the monks of the Kanzanha[Myōshinji]—old and young monks, wearing purple robes or black robes—come and go without respite. I have heard that all of the two hundred-odd monks gathered in Yinyuan’s assembly are members of the Kanzanha.<sup>32</sup>

Yinyuan’s arrival in Fumonji also caused a stir, and the bakufu even chastised Ryōkei for allowing so many visitors to come. It happened that many Japanese pilgrims visited a nearby Ikkō-sect (Jōdo shinshū) temple to attend a ceremony commemorating Shinran’s (1173–1263) death. After hearing a Chinese monk was living at the nearby Fumonji, they crowded into the monastery to see Yinyuan.<sup>33</sup> Even more Japanese sent requests for Yinyuan’s calligraphy. The bakufu had to control the chaos by restricting the number of visitors to two hundred capable Japanese students.<sup>34</sup> A plaque which Yinyuan wrote for Fumonji remains there today as shown in Fig. 4.3.



**FIGURE 4.3** Yinyuan’s calligraphy “Lion Grove” written for Fumonji. Photo taken by Jiang Wu at Fumonji, August 2013.

Yinyuan's arrival at Edo in the winter of 1658 was also a sensation. During his seventy-odd-day stay, many visited him, both rich and poor. The Confucian scholar Yamaga Sokō, thirty-seven at the time, was one of these curious people. Introduced by his friend, the Hirado lord Matsuura Shigenobu (1622–1703), who knew Yinyuan from Nagasaki, Sokō visited Rinshōin (or Tentakuji) where Yinyuan stayed and had a short conversation with him on the sixteenth day of the tenth month of 1658.<sup>35</sup> (See details of this encounter in chapter 6.)

Yinyuan's moves were also recorded in official records such as *Diary of the Edo Bakufu* and the *Veritable Records of Tokugawa*.<sup>36</sup> In these documents, Yinyuan was referred to neutrally as “Ingen zenji” without implying any diplomatic significance. The *Diary of the Edo Bakufu* has five entries concerning Yinyuan before the founding of Manpukuji in 1661, but none of them characterized his visit as a tribute mission,<sup>37</sup> and neither did official documents. For example, in the *Miscellaneous Notes of Temple and Shrine Officials* (*Shisō zasshiki*), a collection of documents from the Office of the Superintendent of Temple and Shrine Affairs, Yinyuan's arrival in Japan was referred to as “his boat coming to shore” (*chosen*) and his meeting with the shogun as “coming for an audience” (*ekken*) or a “royal viewing” (*omemie*). Among the official decrees issued by the bakufu, only one document addressed Yinyuan's presence using the term *raichō*.<sup>38</sup> However, in private letters and anecdotal notes such as *Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku* (*Ōbaku geki*), and the *Essays on Corruptions in Zen Communities* (*Zenrin shūhei shū*), Yinyuan's visit was overwhelmingly referred to as a tribute mission. For example, Mujaku Dōchū recorded how Jikuin referred to Yinyuan when addressing Kyoto deputy Itakura Shigemune in *Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku*:

The thirty-second generation descendent of Linji, a worthy teacher, has come to Nagasaki from China to pay a tribute visit [*raichō*] and says that he must soon return to China. He is an honored guest of the Rinzaï sect in Japan, so I would like to show him some hospitality.<sup>39</sup>

Japanese monks also wrote explicitly about Yinyuan's journey as *raichō*, including numerous such references in private letters among Myōshinji monks. For example, Japanese monk Kyorei Ryōkaku (1600–1691) wrote to Tokūō after he stayed with Yinyuan for the winter retreat in 1654 that, “Yinyuan arrived (*raichō*) as anticipated.”<sup>40</sup> In Ryōkei's invitation letter for



Yinyuan to move to Fumonji, he wrote: “Our country recently has not heard of any righteous teacher coming for a tribute visit.”<sup>41</sup>

It should be noted that unofficially *raichō* was commonly used in private records to refer to the arrival of foreigners, and might not have implied any special meaning. However, the etymology of the word is deeply rooted in the ideology of the Sinocentric tribute system; the bakufu appears to have been keenly aware of this and intentionally avoided such references in official records. Sakai Tadakatsu’s letter to Yinyuan (dated to the third day of the fifth month of 1659), which announced the shogun’s decision to allow Yinyuan to stay permanently, might illustrate the bakufu’s ambivalent attitude toward characterizing Yinyuan’s presence in Japan as a tribute mission. In this letter, shown in Fig. 4.4, Tadakatsu first expressed his great admiration for Yinyuan:

I received your letter and desired seeing you in person after reading it. First, I am happy that you are healthy and at peace. It also made me recall your visit to Edo last winter. After you came to Edo Castle and paid homage to the shogun, I met you in person for the first time and was honoured that you deigned to visit my home. This

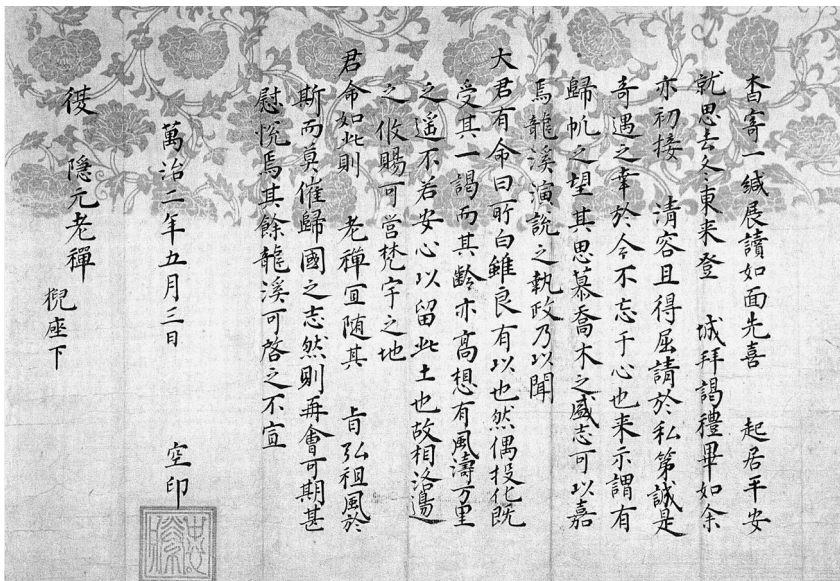


FIGURE 4.4 Sakai Tadakatsu’s letter to Yinyuan in 1659. Reprint provided by Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive.

was indeed a most fortunate outcome of our marvellous meeting. Even today, I cherish it in my heart.

He indicated in this letter that Ryōkei had again petitioned the shogun on Yinyuan's behalf to return to China, and subsequently conveyed the result:

You said in your letter that you were thinking of returning to China. Your feelings for your home country are indeed laudable. Ryōkei went to persuade the shogun again and so we heard the order from the Taikun [Ietsuna]: "What Yinyuan has requested is indeed reasonable. However, when he came he subjected himself to me. Since I have received him in audience and he is senior in age, I suspect it is better that he settle peacefully in this land rather than cross vast distances on rough seas. Therefore, choose a place close to the capital and grant him a piece of land to build a temple."<sup>42</sup>

Tadakatsu then asked Yinyuan to accept this offer:

This is the shogun's decree. You should follow his order and spread Zen teachings here; do not mention your wish to return again. If you do this, I will look forward to meeting again with great pleasure. Ryōkei will inform you of the other arrangements. There is no more to say.

Tadakatsu signed the letter on the third day of the fifth month of the second year of the Manji reign with the dharma name that Yinyuan gave to him: Kūin—the "Seal of Emptiness."

Here, Tadakatsu referred to Yinyuan's arrival in Japan simply as "coming to the East," avoiding the term *raichō*. However, he referred to the shogun as the Taikun or "Great Prince," a new diplomatic coinage that asserted that the Tokugawa shogun held the position at the center of the Japanese world order. This approach was similar to the way Japan handled Korean affairs: that is, they did not refer to the Korean embassy as a tribute mission, but allowed Japanese people to see it as such simply by treating it as one. The tone of the letter and the excuse Tadakatsu gave on behalf of Ietsuna also reminds us of a Sinocentric mentality best described in the Chinese phrase "Cherishing Men from Afar" (*huairou yuanren*), used as the title of James Hevia's monograph on Macartney's mission to the Qing in 1793. This condescending phrase often appeared in Chinese court literature on imperial guest rituals

performed by foreign tributary envoys. The shogun's gesture suggests that he considered it time for the Japanese Taikun to assume his position at the center of the world and to "cherish" Yinyuan as a Zen master from China.

### When Monks Became Diplomats

Audiences with foreign embassies and their implicit cultural and political significance have been intensively studied, for example, Korean embassies to Japan, the Dutch embassy to Edo in 1643, four Dutch and Portuguese embassies to Beijing between 1666 and 1687, and Macartney's British embassy to Beijing in 1793.<sup>43</sup> All these embassies involved lengthy and sophisticated negotiation of ritual protocols. One of the areas these studies have not yet touched upon was the protocol concerning Buddhist monks who also acted as emissaries. Such cases were not rare in East Asian history, especially between China and Japan, who shared common roots in the Buddhist tradition.

Since the Yuan, monks such as Lanxi Daolong (1212–1278), Wu'an Puning (1197–1276), Daxiu Zhengnian (1214–89), Wuxue Zuyuan (1226–1286), and Yishan Yining (1247–1317) were sent to Japan as envoys.<sup>44</sup> During the Ming, official visits from Japan were often carried out by Japanese Zen monks from the Gozan system. For example, monk-envoy Tōyō Inpō (?–1454) visited China in 1453. In 1511 the Tōfukuji monk Ryōan Keigo (1425–1514), chief envoy of the Japanese delegation, arrived in Ningbo and even met with the famed Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yangming. Zen monk Sakugen Shūryō (1501–1579) was another famous envoy who visited China in 1539 and in 1547.<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, the Ming government also used Buddhist monks as envoys to Japan and to other neighboring countries. In 1372 the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang (1328–1392) dispatched Zhongyou Zuchan (fl. 1360–1373), and Zhongming Kexin (dates unknown) to Japan, and in 1420, Tianlun Daoyi (dates unknown) and Yī'an Yiru (1352–1425) were sent as emissaries to Japan.<sup>46</sup>

In the seventeenth century, Buddhist monks were again busy in the courts of the new regimes in China, Japan, and other East Asian areas. The Shunzhi Emperor (1638–1661) received the fifth Dalai Lama in Beijing in early 1653. Just two years after Yinyuan was received by Ietsuna in 1658, the Chinese emperor Shunzhi granted an audience to Yinyuan's dharma uncle Muchen Daomin (1596–1674) in Beijing; in 1695 Vietnamese King Nguyễn Phúc Chu (1674–1725) had audiences with the Chinese Caodong

master Shilian Dashan (1633–1702) from Guangdong province.<sup>47</sup> These activities were typical: audiences with religious leaders in the process of establishing empires had special symbolic meaning and should not be overlooked in the study of international relations in early modern East Asia.

Although speculation has been raised that Yinyuan's mission was on behalf of the Ming loyalist leader Zheng Chenggong, there is no hard evidence to support this, and to view his audience with Ietsuna as a diplomatic meeting is far-fetched. However, as I showed earlier, Yinyuan was called to Edo in lieu of Zheng's envoy. Judging from this, the bakufu deemed it inappropriate to receive a formal envoy from China. However, it was considered suitable to have a Chinese monk replace him because such an audience was ritually more ambiguous, allowing different interpretations by its participants, observers, and the general public. Because of the complexity of the Sino-Japanese relationship, the meanings of ritualized audiences with foreign monks in Tokugawa Japan were intentionally blurred.<sup>48</sup>

According to Yinyuan's own account, the purpose of his trip to Edo and his audience with Ietsuna was to thank the shogun in person for Japan's hospitality and the bakufu's support once he had decided to go back to China—he had sought permission to leave Japan several times earlier.<sup>49</sup> However, one abiding question is whether Yinyuan warranted such a formal audience with Ietsuna, especially after the Great Meireki fire that destroyed most of the city, including the shogun's main palace (Honmaru), and when there were more important domestic issues to deal with. The bakufu documents, however, maintain silence about the true intention of the meeting (which was definitely not to bid farewell to Yinyuan). It is also unlikely that the seventeen-year-old shogun had any serious interest in Yinyuan's Zen teaching. Because of young age and illness, he was unable to rule the country since he was installed at the age of ten, and had to rely on senior councilors such as Matsudaira Nobutsuna (1596–1662) and Sakai Tadakiyo (1624–1681).

Did Ietsuna and his senior councilors appreciate Yinyuan's Zen teaching? Certainly, Sakai Tadakatsu and Inaba Masanori (1623–1696) were interested in Zen. Masanori in particular became a patron of the Japanese Ōbaku monk Tetsugyū Dōki (1628–1700).<sup>50</sup> However, they pursued their religious interests privately. Thus, if Yinyuan's Zen teaching was not the primary reason for the favor bestowed on him, his identity as a Chinese celebrity coming to Japan ten years after the founding of the Manchu



empire (but still claiming to be a subject of the Ming) might have intrigued the senior councilors.

Although the Tokugawa shoguns had received Koreans, Ryukyans, and Europeans, they had never received a Chinese in a formal audience in the early seventeenth century. The last time Japanese rulers met with Chinese envoys was Hideyoshi's audience with the Ming ambassadors in Osaka in 1596, when they tried to confer Hideyoshi with the title of "the King of Japan" in exchange for his retreat from Korea.<sup>51</sup> It is certain that Yinyuan was the first Chinese to be received formally by a Japanese ruler in almost eighty years. More importantly, as I have shown in the previous section, the arrival of Zheng Chenggong's letter in mid-1658, with a clear reference to Yinyuan's residence in Japan, alerted the bakufu to his significance.

### Ceremonial Protocols in Yinyuan's Audience with Ietsuna

Because of the importance of ceremonial protocols in premodern East Asian state formation, we need to pay close attention to the rituals involved when a foreigner met with a ruler. On the surface, Yinyuan's audience seems to have been one of many ceremonial events held in Edo Castle: each year the shogun and his senior councilors received many foreign and domestic guests, including Japanese monks. However, Yinyuan's Chinese identity made this audience special and ceremonially important—it was a special ritual tailored for a Chinese visitor, conforming to Japanese protocol while demonstrating Yinyuan's Chinese origins by his presenting gifts of a Chinese flavor. In particular, Yinyuan had to present his *Recorded Sayings (Yulu)* published in China and Japan. These were the credentials of an authentic Chinese Zen monk, similar to official envoys who carried "state letters" as proof of their status.

Emphasizing ceremonial protocol fitted into the bakufu's overall agenda of imperial formation by establishing a series of ritual conventions such as keeping daily records of shogunal activities, the ranking of daimyos and officers, the ritual arrangement of the shogun's visit to Kyoto, worshipping in temples and shrines, shogunal inauguration ceremonies, and the mortuary rites for deceased shoguns. In annual bakufu ceremonies such as the New Year Celebration Ceremony (*Nentō Girei*), the Five Festivals (*Gosekku*), the Kashō Celebration in the middle of the year (*Kashō*),

the Autumn Celebration in the beginning of the eighth month (*Hassaku*), and the Winter Celebration (*Gencho*), daimyos and abbots in temples and shrines were granted an audience with the shogun, who in turn dispensed gifts to them. Audiences with foreign guests such as Koreans, Ryukyuan, and Dutch ambassadors and representatives at Nagasaki were even more elaborate and meticulously prepared. All these rituals and ceremonies were carefully designed to express a kind of ceremonial supremacy and to highlight the symbolic center through the use of ritual props, seating arrangements, dress codes, decorations, and the exchange of gifts.<sup>52</sup> The audience with Yinyuan occurred exactly during the formative period of these samurai ritual protocols (*buke girei*).

Yinyuan and his entourage left Fumonji on the sixth day of the ninth month and first headed north, stopping at Fushimi. The next day, they passed the scenic Biwa Lake. Two days later, on the eighth, Yinyuan was on the road leading to Ise and passed the Kuwana Ferry on the ninth. That night, he stayed at Atsuta. It began to rain when they moved again the next morning to Mikawa. On the eleventh day, they were on the way to Tōtōmi province and soon passed the Tenryū Ferry. The thirteenth day was the most exciting time during the journey because Yinyuan could now see Mount Fuji from the Nakayama Ridge. He then sailed across the torrential Ōigawa River heading for Suruga, where he stayed in a small village called Maruko. On the fourteenth day, it rained again when they paused in a small village called Ejiri. The next day (the fifteenth), he continued the march and visited Seikenji Temple at Mount Kyogō. He soon climbed over the Hakone Pass and on the eighteenth Yinyuan arrived in Edo and was lodged in Rinshōin, also known as Tentakuji, which had been built for the powerful nurse of the third shogun Iemitsu (1623–1651), Kasuga no Tsubone (1579–1643). In total, Yinyuan stayed in Edo for about three months.<sup>53</sup> (See Fig. 4.1 for his reconstructed itinerary in 1658 and Fig. 4.5 for the places he visited in Edo.)

The moment Yinyuan arrived was not opportune: most of the city had been burned to the ground the previous year in the Great Meireki Fire. However, the audience was held as scheduled and took place in the Western Palace (Nishinomaru). Yinyuan did not leave any detailed description of this audience. However, bakufu diaries all recorded this event in varying degrees of detail. According to *Veritable Records of Tokugawa*, when Yinyuan arrived in Tentakuji on the eighteenth day of the ninth month, senior councilor Matsudaira Nobutsuna and superintendent of

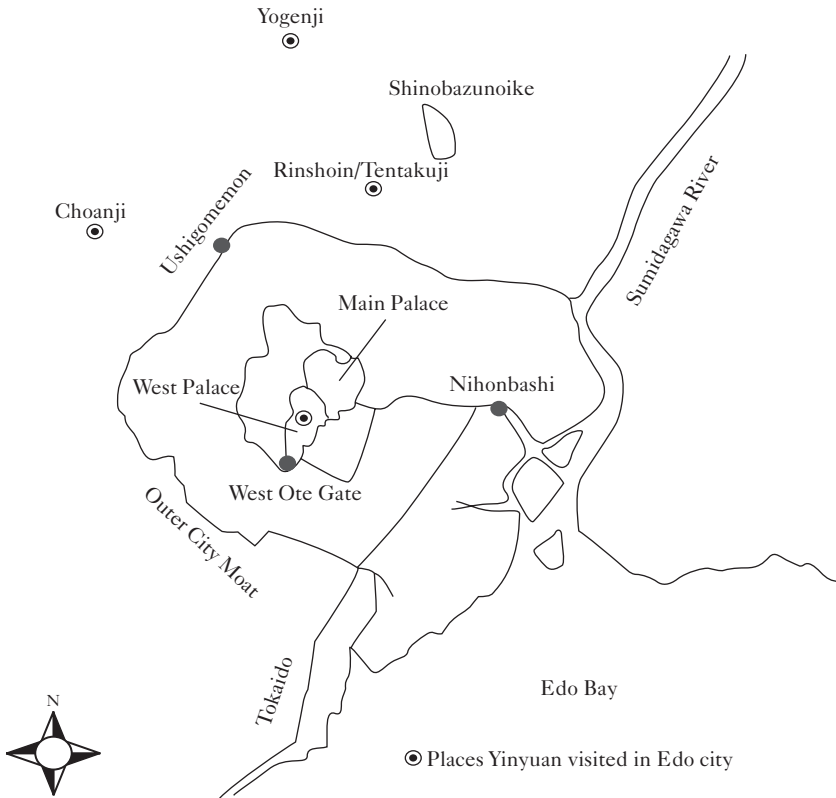


FIGURE 4.5 Yinyuan's stops in the city of Edo © Jiang Wu.

temples and shrines Inoue Masatoshi (1606–1675) were sent to welcome him. Yinyuan's Japanese disciple Ryōkei was first summoned on the twentieth-ninth of the tenth month to discuss details of the audience and Yinyuan was summoned on the first of the eleventh. On that day, Yinyuan arrived at West Ōte Gate by palanquin (*norimono*). He then walked from the gate with the aid of his staff.<sup>54</sup>

Yinyuan was led to wait in the Great Hall (*Ōhiroma*), the official place for formal audiences with important “outsider” lords (*tozama daimyō*) and foreign guests, such as Korean and Ryukyuan ambassadors, and representatives from the Dutch company at Nagasaki. The Great Hall was further divided into several sections and the audience was held in one of the smaller spaces, depending on the occasion. While Yinyuan was waiting, the shogun's attendant first came out to give a series of orders to his translator. Then, the superintendent of temples and shrines appeared and ushered Yinyuan into the inner chamber. Yinyuan,

together with Ryōkei and Tokuō and a translator, was allowed to enter the hall. Japanese records give a detailed description of Yinyuan's dress and behavior: he wore a yellow robe, holding a rosary and a monk's sitting mat (*zagu*) in his left hand and his whisk in his right. He entered the door and bowed, followed by Ryōkei, Tokuō, the interpreter, and senior councilors Matsudaira Nobutsuna, Abe Tadaaki (1602–1671), and Inaba Masanori.

Yinyuan presented carefully chosen gifts for the shogun, ones that were indispensable in status conscious societies like China and Japan, having listened to the advice of the Japanese.<sup>55</sup> The gifts included two rolls of precious brocades (*ransu*), a hundred bundles of fine incense (*senkō*), and sixteen sticks of Chinese ink (*karasumi*). Then Ryōkei and Tokuō were brought forward. On Yinyuan's behalf, Ryōkei presented his *Recorded Sayings* published in China (in six fascicles) and in Japan (in five fascicles), together with two fine Chinese fans, perhaps with calligraphy of famous Chinese literati on them. Tokuō presented one bundle of Gihara paper (*gihara*, also known as Sugihara paper, a kind of Hōsho paper made from mulberry wood). Here we can identify that the presentation of silk brocade and Hōsho paper largely followed the Japanese convention for receiving monks in a formal audience with the shogun.<sup>56</sup> This meeting was primarily symbolic. No serious conversation was held between Yinyuan and the shogun, and the guests were soon dismissed. Yinyuan returned to Tentakuji and began a ceremony of releasing animals to pray for the shogun. He returned for a second audience when he received gifts bestowed by the shogun, leaving Edo on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month.

Yinyuan's audience with the shogun was a carefully managed ceremony and could be interpreted in many ways. Before Yinyuan entered Edo Castle, Ryōkei had been summoned twice to discuss the details of the audience. In bakufu diaries, it was described using the Japanese terms *shōken* (*Tokugawa jikki*) and *omemie* (*Edo bakufu nikki*). More importantly, the structure of the ceremony followed Japanese convention in receiving Buddhist monks. As Chinese scholar Ge Zhaoguang points out, "Rituals, attire, and physical gestures like the kowtow were originally symbols. . . . this set of 'symbols' took effect only inside the tributary sphere."<sup>57</sup> In the eyes of those who believed that Yinyuan was coming to present tribute, this ceremony was the climax of the mission: an audience with the ruler following Japanese ritual protocol while presenting his credentials as a representative of a foreign nation.

### *Chinese Monks Only*

If the bakufu's intention to use Yinyuan as a symbolic envoy of a tribute mission from China was not clear during Yinyuan's audience with Ietsuna, events after the founding of Manpukuji strengthen the case. First, Sakai Tadakatsu made the suggestion to Yinyuan that the abbots of Manpukuji should always be Chinese and in case of vacancy they should invite monks from China. Yinyuan concurred and wrote this into his will. Consequently, only Chinese monks served as Manpukuji abbots for the next hundred years. Second, it was decided that all Manpukuji abbots should be approved by the bakufu and on appointment they were obliged to visit Edo to acknowledge their elevation in person. Third, the Chinese abbots were obliged to visit Edo to congratulate the bakufu on the succession of a new shogun, as with the Korean and Ryukyu embassies.

#### Selection of Chinese Monks as Manpukuji Abbots

If we examine the history of Manpukuji in the Edo period after its founding in 1661, it is notable that the monastery maintained the tradition of having Chinese monks as abbots until the late eighteenth century. The Japanese finally took control of Manpukuji only because it failed to bring capable monks from China, despite the bakufu's decree demanding them, and because the last surviving Chinese monk passed away in Japan in 1784. It is clear that Chinese monks were an absolute minority in the Manpukuji community, but during the hundred years after 1661, Chinese monks had to occupy the position of abbot, at least symbolically. Evidence shows that this was not the result of Chinese monks' deliberate manipulation, but was implemented and institutionalized by Japanese authorities.

As revealed earlier, in the sixth article of his will, Yinyuan stipulated that Chinese monks be invited and he credited this idea to Sakai Tadakatsu.<sup>58</sup> There is no other evidence to corroborate Yinyuan's words, but it is likely that Sakai Tadakatsu had indeed made such a suggestion, since Yinyuan's will was published and no one disputed it. Yinyuan hand-picked the second abbot, Mu'an Xingtao, and watched over him for more than ten years before he passed away. When the third abbot was to be elected, a convention was established: a list of three or four Chinese and Japanese monks, selected by Manpukuji, was presented to the bakufu for the final decision. This process of selecting the third abbot shows that Chinese monks did not intend to monopolize the abbotship—among

the candidates was one of Yinyuan's senior Japanese disciples, Dokuhon Shōgen (1618–1689).<sup>59</sup> However, the bakufu picked the Chinese monk Huilin Xingji (1609–1681) and the tradition of appointing Chinese monks continued. In a meeting with the eighth Manpukuji abbot, Yuefeng Daozhang (1655–1734), on the first day of the third month in 1706, the grand councilor Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714) reaffirmed bakufu support for having Chinese monks as abbots and even conveyed the shogun's intention to eliminate Japanese monks from the candidate list in the future. He passed the shogun's decision to Yuefeng: "In the future all Ōbaku abbots should be Chinese monks and there is no need to list Japanese candidates anymore."<sup>60</sup>

In practice, Manpukuji continued to supply a list of both Chinese and Japanese candidates. However, in the next hundred years, the bakufu always selected Chinese monks. In 1740, for the first time, a Japanese abbot, Ryōtō Gentō (1663–1746), was chosen because of the failure to invite monks from China. But Chinese monks resumed the abbotship soon after for the next fifty years—occasionally alternating the position with Japanese monks—until the last surviving Chinese abbot, Dacheng Zhaohan (1709–1784), passed away. Among the Chinese monks, eight of them received purple robes.

The bakufu reluctantly discontinued the convention and allowed Japanese monks to be abbots only because efforts to invite more Chinese monks failed in the mid-eighteenth century. Realizing the lack of qualified Chinese monks, in the 1720s the bakufu asked Manpukuji to put more effort into recruiting monks from China, but they also demanded that the newly invited candidates must have dharma transmissions within Yinyuan's line and present their published *Recorded Sayings* as credentials. (Previously, only junior monks without dharma transmissions were invited and then received dharma transmissions from resident Chinese monks in Nagasaki.) The Chinese abbots in the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and in Manpukuji panicked about the change, realizing that such a high standard would be difficult to meet. They finally secured the senior master Zhongqi Daoren (dates unknown) from the Chinese Huangbo monastery to meet the requirement. The bakufu was very serious about Zhongqi's arrival: a large sum of money was bestowed to Manpukuji and new quarters were built for him in Nagasaki. However, in 1728, when a small group of invited Chinese monks were about to depart from Putuo Island, they were arrested by Zhejiang Governor Li Wei (1687–1738) as the Yongzheng Emperor had started to tighten trade with Japan. They were

then sent back to Huangbo. In 1730 another attempt to invite the Chinese monk Tiechuan (dates unknown) also failed. (In chapter seven, we will revisit this issue and provide details about these failed attempts to invite Chinese monks.)

### Chinese Monks' Regular Visits to Edo

The bakufu clearly considered it important that their sponsorship of a Chinese monastery was widely known, that they requested these Chinese monks to visit Edo regularly, that they were granted audiences with the shogun on their appointments, and that they were asked to attend when receiving the honor of the purple robe.<sup>61</sup> Why was this? Table 4.1 details visits to Edo of Manpukuji abbots until 1780 (non-Chinese are marked\*<sup>62</sup>).

The Manpukuji abbots were also asked to come to Edo to offer congratulations on the inauguration of a new shogun and condolence on the death of a shogun. Although I have not found the bakufu edict that stipulates this practice, Table 4.2, correlated with similar Korean and Ryukyu missions, shows that it was institutionalized and followed faithfully.

There are no systematic records that document these audiences in later times. However, one record preserved by officials at the office of superintendent of temples and shrines shows how these audiences were conducted in the late eighteenth century. On the twenty-eighth day of the second month in 1793, while copying a report sent by superintendent of temple affairs Matsudaira Teruyasu (1750–1800) to senior councilor Toda Ujinatori (1756–1806), a bakufu official noted that the ceremonial audiences Ōbaku monks had with shoguns were different from those of all other sects.<sup>63</sup> This report included a description of ceremonies involving the audience with the twenty-second Manpukuji abbot, the Japanese monk Kakushū Jōchō (1711–1790), on the fifteenth day of the ninth month in 1785, a year after the last Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan had passed away. The official who copied this report noted that the same ceremony was followed for the previous visit of the Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan on the first day of the third month in 1776. Therefore, we can assume the following ritual protocols were stipulated for Manpukuji abbots in general.

First, the place for audience was no longer the Great Hall. Rather, the ceremony was held in the shogun's regular office, Oshiroshoin, and was an individual audience (*dokurei*).<sup>64</sup> The abbot was allowed to carry his staff to the resting room (*tenjōnoma*) while waiting. When the ceremony started, the abbot presented three bundles of Hōsho paper with *mizuhiki*

**Table 4.1 Gratitude Missions of Manpukuji Abbots to Edo  
and Audiences with the Shogun**

Year	Abbot	Shogun	Purpose of the Audience
1665	Mu'an Xintao	Ietsuna	Acknowledgment of appointment
1669	Mu'an Xintao	Ietsuna	Acknowledgment of donation
1671	Mu'an Xintao	Ietsuna	Acknowledgment of purple robe
1682	Duzhan Xingying	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of appointment
1692	Gaoquan Xingdun	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of appointment
1695	Gaoquan Xingdun	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of purple robe and to preach to shogun
1696	Qiandai Xing'an	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of appointment and to preach to shogun
1705	Yueshan Daozong	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of appointment and to meet Yanagisawa
1706	Yueshan Daozong	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of purple robe
1707	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of appointment
1708	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi	Acknowledgment of purple robe
1716	Lingyuan Haimai	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment
1720	Duwen Fangbing	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment
1723	Gaotang Yongchang	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment
1735	Zhu'an Jingyin	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
*1740	Ryōto Gentō	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment
1744	Dapeng Zhengkun	Yoshimune	Acknowledgment of appointment and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1747	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige	Acknowledgment of purple robe and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
*1748	Hyakuchi Genzetsu	Ieshige	Acknowledgment of appointment
*1754	Sogan Genmyō	Ieshige	Acknowledgment of appointment
1758	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige	Acknowledgment of appointment to a second term
*1763	Sengan Gensū	Ieharu	Acknowledgment of appointment
1765	Boxun Zhaohao	Ieharu	Acknowledgment of appointment
1772	Boxun Zhaohao	Ieharu	Acknowledgment of purple robe and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1776	Dacheng Zhaohan	Ieharu	Acknowledgment of appointment



**Table 4.2 Shogunal Ceremonies Attended by Manpukuji Abbots in Edo  
(Correlated to Foreign Embassies for the Same Purposes)**

Year	Abbot	Ceremony	Korean Embassy	Ryukyu Embassy
1680	Huilin Xingji	Ietsuna's death		
1680	Huilin Xingji	Tsunayoshi's accession	1682	1682
1709	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi's death		
1709	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ienobu's accession	1711	1711
1712	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ienobu's death		
1713	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ietsugu's accession	1714	
1716	Lingyuan Haimai	Yoshimune's accession	1719	1718
1744	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige's accession	1748	1753
1751	Hyakuchi Genzetsu	Yoshimune's death		
1761	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieharu's accession	1764	1764
1761	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige's death		

knots and two rolls of brocade on top. During the ceremony, the abbot was asked to wear his dharma robe and Chinese-style Zhigong hat (*Shikō mōsu*), and in his left hand to hold a whisk.<sup>65</sup> Two monk officers, usually the first monk (*shuso*) and supervisor (*kansu*), presented one bundle of Hōsho paper and one fan (*issoku ibbon*). After the audience, they were asked to meet with senior councilors at Tamarinoma and receive their gifts: five seasonal garments (*jifuku*) and fifty bars of silver for the abbot and three seasonal garments for the two accompanying monk officers.<sup>66</sup>

The difference between the ceremony Manpukuji monks used and those for other sects (as noted by officials of temple and shrine affairs) awaits further research. However, current evidence indicates that the bakufu treated Manpukuji's Chinese abbots as special guests in their symbolic universe, comparable to Korean and Ryukyuan embassies, suggesting that the founding of Manpukuji and the symbolic use of Chinese monks were calculated measures to co-opt China into a Japan-centered world order.

### *Conclusion*

Scholars of Tokugawa history have often overlooked the political and diplomatic roles of Chinese monks from Manpukuji. Marius Jansen and Joshua

Fogel, for example, emphasized the cultural contribution of these monks to Chinese learning and the artistic renaissance in the mid-Edo period, but considered Yinyuan and his Chinese cohorts simply as remarkable Zen monks among the many Chinese in Nagasaki.<sup>67</sup> Ronald Toby, in his *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, did not mention Yinyuan Longqi at all. He assumed that no Chinese were allowed to visit the shoguns and thus the Chinese were placed after Koreans, Ryukyuan, and even the Dutch, giving them the same status as “barbarians.”<sup>68</sup> Mizuno Norihito even went further by saying “China was also not a constituent of the Tokugawa international order, still less its inferior constituent.”<sup>69</sup> Reinier Hesselink, indeed, speculated that Tokugawa Japan was forced to accept one of two extreme options: “either [to] ignore the existence of China, or to conquer it.”<sup>70</sup>

My study shows that a third way of dealing with China, more subtle and complicated, did exist. The arrival of Yinyuan Longqi and the institutionalization of audiences with the shogun for Chinese monks represented the symbolic presence of China in the bakufu's new world order. Historians should, thus, consider seriously the presence of Chinese monks in Japan, and to take into account religious exchange as another way of forging international relationships in addition to diplomacy (*tsūshin*) and trade (*tsūshō*).

We should note that the two locations of Chinese communities in Japan—Nagasaki on the periphery and Uji at the center—produced different meanings of “China” in politics and culture. In Nagasaki, Chinese ships came with goods such as raw silk, sugar, medical herbs, and books, plus the human cargo of merchants, sailors, refugees, and Chinese monks. While these merchants and sailors, wearing their exotic “barbarian” clothes and talking *chinpunkan*—an onomatopoeic term the Japanese coined to mimic Chinese conversation—were restricted to Nagasaki, Chinese monks, who had not adopted the Manchu dress code, were identified as loyal to authentic Chinese ideals.<sup>71</sup> Winning respect from the Japanese with their decorum, ritual performance, poetry, calligraphy, painting, and medical knowledge, they settled in Uji and were invited to Edo.<sup>72</sup> These Chinese monks brought China, in an idealized and symbolic fashion, right into the land of the *Kami* and created a mental buffer zone that obviated having to deal with the actual country. The founding of Manpukuji in Uji, rather than in Nagasaki where Chinese residents lived, signaled the completion of a process of both domestication and alienation: on the one hand, Chinese cultural ideals were domesticated

by establishing Manpukuji as part of the Japanese symbolic universe in Kyoto; on the other hand, the Chinese political power represented by Chinese merchants was alienated as foreign, and restricted to Nagasaki.

This chapter also contributes to the debate about Yinyuan's political mission to Japan that I have outlined in the previous chapter. As Chen Zhichao argued and Ono Kazuko suggested, Yinyuan came to Japan on a mission from Zheng Chenggong to request aid, acting as his "envoy of friendship." However, Lin Guanchao dismissed the alleged letter from Zheng Chenggong to Yinyuan, countering that the connection between Zheng Chenggong and Yinyuan was tenuous, and further claimed that Yinyuan was wary about the legitimacy of Zheng Chenggong's resistance movement.<sup>73</sup>

I agree that Yinyuan was not an envoy dispatched by Zheng Chenggong. However, as this chapter shows, when he landed in Japan, a particular political situation in China and the assertion of shogunal hegemony allowed the Japanese to interpret Yinyuan as a representative from China. This interpretation was specifically created by manipulating ritual protocols and placing Yinyuan in different contexts in Edo society.

For Tokugawa Japan, China was both remote and near. The bakufu could choose to ignore the "real" China and create buffer zones in Korea and Ryukyu in order to avoid direct confrontation with China. However, they needed to engage China in some manner; this imperative led to the tolerance toward Chinese trade and the building of Chinese temples.

The founding of the Chinese-style Manpukuji in Japan was a compromise between two conflicting claims of imperial hegemony in early modern East Asia, and the bakufu was the prime mover in a series of events leading to this result. They successfully manipulated the symbolic presence of Chinese monks by exploiting a common cultural and religious heritage shared with China, while the presence of Chinese monks in Japan satisfied the demand of dealing with China in an era without formal diplomatic relations.

This chapter also demonstrates that the newly established Japan-centered world order was not rigid, nor was the Chinese tribute system. The new order and its ideology were largely figments of the bakufu's political imagination and could easily become illusory, or a "notional construct" as Ronald Toby terms it.<sup>74</sup> The consideration of Japan's foreign relationships should, thus, be broadened beyond diplomacy and trade. To borrow James Hevia's theoretical framework, while Yinyuan's presence in Japan and the founding of Manpukuji may not be viewed as international

diplomacy in its strictest sense, they should be understood as one of the results of an “interdomainal struggle for dominance” in East Asia between the imperial formation of the Qing empire and the Tokugawa shogunate. Both adopted what Hevia calls a “centering” approach to resolve complicated foreign relationships and to physically maneuver foreigners, such as embassies and Buddhist monks, toward centers such as Beijing and Edo through public displays of ritual and the manipulation of textual records.<sup>75</sup> The arrival of Chinese monks fit into this approach without much contention, as various diplomatic claims could be put to rest by using the excuse of spreading Buddhism. Therefore, such “domains” should not be confined to political and bureaucratic transactions but should also include the symbolic sphere of religion, allowing the possibility of a broader engagement with foreign countries.

Yinyuan was once again instrumental in the process of restoring the Sino-Japanese relationship in the 1970s. On March 27, 1972, the Showa emperor Hirohito (1901–1989) bestowed an honorific title on Yinyuan: Great Master of the “Light of Efflorescence” (*kekō*), which derives from a title of the Buddha in the *Lotus Sutra*, but which can also be metaphorically rendered as “the Light of China” because of the ambiguous meaning of “*ke*” which is often used to refer to China. The timing of this bestowal was not randomly chosen: just six months later, on September 29, 1972, China and Japan resumed normal diplomatic relations.<sup>76</sup>

## *The Multiple Lives of a Chinese Monk*

YINYUAN AS ZEN MASTER, LITERARY MAN,  
AND THAUMATURGE

WHO WAS YINYUAN? Many people want to know the answer. However, to respond to this question, we have to first ask through what ways people got to know him. As the founder of a new religious tradition, Yinyuan's extraordinary life has been greatly mystified. In the standard sectarian literature, however, the portrait of Yinyuan is rather flat: he was depicted as the protagonist of a series of events leading to the founding of Manpukuji, with a teleological purpose of revitalizing Japanese Buddhism from its decline. The major source was the collection of his *Recorded Sayings*, published during his lifetime in both China and Japan. Through this thick shroud of mystification, an image of an iconoclastic Zen master emerged via the printed words. From the perspective of his followers, he has been worshipped as a genuine Zen master and a capable abbot. In addition, he also wrote many poems as a literary hobby and spread them through publication. For readers of these poetry collections, he was a skillfully literary man who excelled in Chinese poetry. He was also an accomplished calligrapher, and his writings can still be seen in public and private collections. His *Recorded Sayings* and poetry anthology seem to have created a public image of Yinyuan as representative of a high civilization with spiritual and cultural authenticity. However, two texts authored by Japanese monks and studied by Helen Baroni, Mujaku Dōchū's *Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku* (*Ōbaku geki*) and Keirin Sūshin's *Essays on Corruptions in Zen Communities* (*Zenrin shūhei shū*), indicated quite the opposite. According to Helen Baroni's study, these two texts revealed some negative aspects of Yinyuan and his Chinese tradition. Some of these criticisms were charged with

bias and personal opinions. For example, in *Ōbaku geki*, Yinyuan had been depicted as a rude and ambitious monk who pursued power and fame for himself. Keirin Sūshin, who published his work anonymously, pointed out that Yinyuan and his Chinese disciples could not be trusted because their practice was no longer pure Zen and their spoken Chinese had been corrupted by the Manchu sound since the Yuan Mongol occupied China.<sup>1</sup> These accusations indeed bear some truth. As I will reveal in my following discussion, behind his iconoclastic Zen style, Yinyuan was an eclectic and syncretic teacher who never overlooked other practices such as Pure Land, doctrinal studies, and even ascetic practices.

In trying to formulate a more complete understanding of Yinyuan, his widely circulated publications offer only limited assistance. Furthermore, while a type of literature created in Edo Japan and titled “miscellaneous notes” (*zuihitsu*) offers a broader depiction of him, thus far it has been scarcely utilized for this particular purpose.<sup>2</sup>

The *zuihitsu* included recorded entries of current affairs, anecdotes, and hearsays from all walks of society for the consumption of a growing reading public whose curiosity demanded the expansion of their life experience through reading. The references to foreigners such as Yinyuan and his Ōbaku tradition can be read frequently in these writings. Even the German physician Kampfter mentioned Yinyuan in his travelogue and described him as a powerful thaumaturge who was capable of making rain.

Thanks to the collection and publication of these works and excellent indexes prepared for research, we are able to put together a more complete picture of Yinyuan and to answer the question of who he was. In this chapter, I am going to add these valuable sources to the conventional ones collected in his complete work. In addition, I examine a series of oracle poems I collected in Japan. These poems and the divination methods were not necessarily invented or practiced by Yinyuan, but they were all attributed to Yinyuan and the Ōbaku tradition. These unusual sources show that in secular literature, Yinyuan was also remembered as a diviner and wonder-worker. All these multifaceted images raised questions about Yinyuan as the symbol of authenticity.

### *Yinyuan as an Eclectic Zen Master*

To understand Yinyuan, we have to first look at his Zen teaching and practice. To a large extent, Yinyuan was not original in creating any new style of Zen, as many Buddhist thinkers had articulated similar thoughts before

and during his own time. His Zen thought is based on a body of rich Zen literature, such as the *Recorded Sayings* created during the Tang and canonized in the Song dynasty. As Helen Baroni notes, Yinyuan Longqi often singled out the *Recorded Sayings of Master Linji* as the spiritual source of his teaching and practice.<sup>3</sup> Despite his lack of originality, his contribution lies in his ability to uphold the iconoclastic Zen style reinvented by his teachers Miyun and Feiyin and to faithfully perform the ritual of ascending the hall where encounter dialogues were presented. In his performance of encounter-dialogue, Yinyuan adhered to the Zen rhetoric of spontaneity and immediacy. His *Recorded Sayings* were intended to create such a radical image by writing down his performance and expressing an iconoclastic Zen spirit. However, a careful reading of his complete collection shows that his Buddhist teaching was quite conventional, as he supported a variety of traditional Buddhist practices rather than the iconoclastic Zen practice only.

### The Teaching of an “Authentic” Zen Master

In the history of Chinese religion, Yinyuan was not remembered as a great thinker. He never wrote long treatises to expound on the profound Buddhist doctrines. However, in his long career, his *Recorded Sayings* and his poems often reflected what he thought and practiced. His voluminous *Recorded Sayings* follow the highly standardized literary genre that was supposed to record his main activities during the ritual of ascending the hall and his interaction with students and lay devotees. It was conventional for the Chan teachers in seventeenth-century China to collect and publish these records immediately after a teacher completed the tenure in a monastery. Periodically, these records were put together into a longer collection. Yinyuan's first *Recorded Sayings* in two fascicles was published in 1642. In 1645 a collection of records collected in Fuyan and Longquan monasteries were published in one fascicle. In 1651 another collection in one fascicle was published. After Yinyuan arrived in Nagasaki, not only were all the previous collections reprinted in Japan by his lay disciple Katsu Shōin (1598–1671), but several new collections about his sayings in Kōfukuji, Sōfukuji, and Fumonji were also published. In 1656 Yinyuan's *Recorded Sayings* collected in China was published and soon incorporated into the supplementary section of the Jiaxing Canon.<sup>4</sup>

Yinyuan was renowned as a Zen teacher because he always upheld the radical Zen rhetoric as shown in his published *Recorded Sayings*.

His Zen teaching appears to be pure in the sense that it is based on the antinomian spirit consistent in the Zen tradition. The root of his Zen thought is the idea of emptiness as expressed in a verse he wrote for Emperor Gomizunoo: “the myriads of distinctions are empty with one sweep.”<sup>5</sup> His Zen thought is influenced by the teaching of Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarbha*, *Rulaizang*) as seen in the *Treatise on Awakening of the Faith* and the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*. According to these scriptures, the world is originated from the single pure mind, which contains two aspects—enlightenment (absolute) and samsara (phenomenal). Because of ignorance, human beings fell in samsara. Only through awakening, one can recover the pure mind. In his sermon to a Japanese visitor, he gave the following instruction:

Students of the Way (Buddhists) should trust themselves that the originally pure and perfect mind is the Buddha. Only because you are not enlightened the single thought of ignorance falsely aroused. The original mind is thus obstructed and you transmigrate in accord with your karma, entering the ocean of life and death.<sup>6</sup>

Here, following the teaching of *tathāgatagarbha* thought, he considers Buddha nature to lie in one’s own pure mind. The cause of samsara, however, is the thought of ignorance that beclouds the original mind. Buddhist cultivation, then, is aimed to recover this beclouded mind and the authentic self.

The ultimate goal of his teaching was to enable his students to reach enlightenment, the ultimate experience of authenticity. However, he emphasized that this kind of authentic experience must be based on one’s own effort.<sup>7</sup> Yinyuan communicated his view of the teaching in plain words in his letter written for a Japanese patron Tsusaka Hikouemon.

Bodhidharma came from the west. He pointed directly to the human mind and enabled people to become the Buddha by seeing their true nature. However, the mind-nature (*xinxing*) can not be obtained from outside. How could one search from the outside? One should return to himself day and night. Years after years, one should examine himself time to time: Where is my mind-nature? At the time of walking, staying, sitting, and reclining, meeting with guests, where is the mind-nature? At the time of thinking and pondering, not thinking and not pondering, what is it? Chase



after the question again and again until there is nowhere to pursue! Investigate until there is nothing to investigate, without awareness of anybody. Then you will not be cheated by the shallow and fake teachers. After this, it is ok if you chant the *Lotus Sutra* or not to chant at all; it is ok if you discourse about Zen or not at all; it is ok if you chastise the Buddha and curse the patriarch or not to do it at all. This is like you lost the priceless family-owned pearl and search all the day outside. Without finding it, you can not sit or recline comfortably. Suddenly, you met a teacher, who points out that the pearl is actually in your own cloth. You reach inside your cloth and find it is indeed true! How happy you are all of yourself and how endless is the wealth of the pearl! How could you doubt if it is true or not! What the patriarch points out is the pearl of the mind. No need to ask other people. The key is to reach self-enlightenment and self-realization. Remember this to your heart! (IGZS 4: 2016–7)

In this long quote, Yinyuan's message is clear: a Zen person should always strive to question himself about his true nature introspectively, because the ultimate source of enlightenment lies in one's own self. He alluded to the famous parable in the *Lotus Sutra* to show the pearl is actually hidden in one's own cloth.<sup>8</sup> Here, the pearl symbolizes the true nature and the cloth one's own body. For Yinyuan, "self-enlightenment" and "self-realization" are the essential principles of Zen teaching of authenticity.

As I have pointed out in earlier chapters, one of the salient features of his Zen was the ability to demonstrate the spirit of Zen spontaneity in the performance of encounter dialogue. For Chan monks in seventeenth-century China, "enlightenment was widely believed to be attainable through sudden experience and encounter dialogue, which was a real performance involving master and disciple. . . . [W]hen encounter dialogues were enacted, beating and shouting, two kinds of action that were of a performative nature, were regarded by China Buddhists as the hallmark of the 'authenticity' of their tradition."<sup>9</sup> In the monasteries where Yinyuan presided, encounter dialogue, as performed during the ceremony of ascending the hall, often occurred as part of monastic ritual. They happened at the change of seasons and yearly celebrations such as the first day of the year, winter solstice, or at the celebration of Buddhist festivals such as the day of Buddha's enlightenment, Yinyuan's and his teacher's birthdays, or in regular monastic activities such as ordination,

and the beginning and ending of spring and winter retreats. In addition to these regularly scheduled routines according to the monastic calendar, the ceremony for ascending the hall could be requested any time, such as when the cremation or the “eyes opening” ceremony for installation of Buddha statues were held. Yinyuan was most frequently requested to ascend the dharma hall when a mortuary ritual was performed for a donor’s family. It seems that during Yinyuan’s time, ascending the hall had been incorporated in the mortuary services that Chan monks conducted.

Numerous cases of such spontaneous invention of performance can be found in his *Recorded Sayings*. If we conduct a simple statistics of his activities according to his *Recorded Sayings* throughout his career, we can see the importance of the ceremony of ascending the hall in his religious life. In total, he conducted the ceremony (*shangtang*) 331 times, gave “hall lectures” (*kaitang*) three times, wrote “eulogy on ancient cases” (*songgu*) 135 times, “commentary on ancient cases” (*niangu*) 27 times, conducted “spontaneous encounter” (*jiyuan*) 104 times, and gave dharma talks (*fayu*) 84 times. (*IGZS* vol. 1) The numbers clearly show that the ceremony of ascending the hall is predominant in Yinyuan’s Zen practice. Through these performances and records, Yinyuan’s image as an authentic Zen master has been established.

Imitating the style of beating and shouting, he often struck his students heavily, sometimes hurting them. As Helen Baroni reveals, Yinyuan and his disciples from China “often invented kōan spontaneously for their students to suit a specific situation.”<sup>10</sup> For example, in one encounter with students in the Chinese Huangbo monastery, he suddenly poured hot tea on the head of his student. In some other cases, he simply knocked down his students by kicking them with his feet. (*IGZS* 2: 647, 651) Yinyuan did these physical performances more frequently in China, as he was energetic in his middle age. He performed less and less encounter dialogues, however, after landing in Japan. His senior age must have prevented him from exerting himself too much. In addition, it was likely that the language barrier was a hurdle for his Japanese students to grab the meaning of his words and respond to his spontaneous actions immediately. In his letter to Feiyin, he reported, “I don’t understand their language and had to rely on translation. It is therefore unavoidable that the best teaching moment has been lost. I can introduce them (Japanese monks) gradually. Moreover, the lay patrons who sat there and listened to my sermon did not understand my teaching.” (*IGZS* 4: 2197)

Not only did he use beating and shouting frequently as his teachers Miyun and Feiyin did, but also employed crude and harsh language to demonstrate his Zen spirit. For example, when a monk asked, “who is the Buddha?” to the effect similar to Linji’s use of the phrase “dry shit-stick” (*ganshijue*), Yinyuan replied: “Maggot worms in a feces pit.” (*shikeng chongzi*) (IGZS 2: 921) In another case, a group of his relatives from Donglin came to visit him. They offered Yinyuan a vegetarian meal and requested a ceremony of ascending the hall. Yinyuan, however, gave them a “stinky” speech that probably shocked the audience.

Today, for no reason, I peed and pooped in such a small village with three households. To think it over and over, it seems I will never forget my hometown. If anyone here smelled the stinky, why not grab some shit and throw to each other? I would like to turn the Buddha dharma wheel and perform the Buddhist ceremonies with these shit-sticks. So people in the world can all share this stinky smell. Isn’t this wonderful? If not, I will go to poop at the very top of an aloof mountain. (IGZS 1: 87)

In my study of seventeenth-century Chan Buddhism in China, I employed the performance theory to analyze the dynamics of encounter dialogues in the ceremony of ascending the hall and the encounter between Chan monks. In my view, such encounters, which often occurred in front of an audience composed of both clergy and lay people, were highly ritualized performances disguised as spontaneous occurrences based on the imitation of encounter cases of ancient patriarchs that have been textualized in Chan literature. A successful performance has to appear “real” to communicate to the audience a sense of authenticity.<sup>11</sup> My conclusion can be applied to Yinyuan’s use of encounter dialogues as well. In numerous cases of such performances in his *Recorded Sayings*, a clear trace of imitation can be identified: the use of words and phrases had precedents in Zen literature and his encounter dialogue followed a clear pattern in order to demonstrate a spirit of spontaneity and to engender a sense of reality. In this way, an aura of authenticity was created and further reinforced through writing and printing of the collection of these records.

### The Other Side of a Zen Master

If one reads only the records of his performance in the ceremonies of ascending the hall that are full of his spontaneous repartee and interactions

with students, one runs the great risk of idealizing Yinyuan as a radical Zen master. For example, it is commonly known that a typical Zen master defies the authority of scriptures and Buddhist canons because Zen does not “rely on written words” and its teaching belongs to a “separate transmission” outside scriptures. However, some of Yinyuan’s poems reveal that he did not radically reject scriptures. Rather, he often read Buddhist scriptures such as *Scripture of Buddha’s Remaining Teaching* (*Yijiao jing*), the *Nirvana Sutra* (*Niepan jing*), the *Diamond Sutra*, and the *Lotus Sutra*. In his retirement years in Japan, he developed a routine to read one fascicle of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (*Huayan jing*) every day. (IGZS 8: 3838, 3731)

Yinyuan deeply respected the Buddhist canon as well and was eager to help to spread it. As I have revealed in chapter 2, the Chinese Huangbo monastery was revived because of the bestowal of the Ming Northern Buddhist canon from Emperor Shenzong (Wanli). When Yinyuan landed in Japan, he valued the Buddhist canon as a way to spread Buddhism and took care of the canon that was donated to him in 1656 by the Osaka merchant Katsu Shōin. He wrote a poem to celebrate this event.

#### **Joyful upon the Arrival of the Canon sent by Lay Devotee Shōin**

*Where my pigweed staff points printed words appear,  
A three thousandfold treasury especially for us.  
With each phrase containing infinite meanings,  
The Dharma Wheel will turn forever here in Penglai (Japan).  
(IGZS 6: 2913)*

After the founding of Manpukuji, the canon was carefully placed in storage and duly taken care of. The canon was regularly taken out for exposure to sunshine in order to remove the dampness.<sup>12</sup> On the thirteenth days of the ninth month in 1665, Manpukuji carried out a major effort to inspect the canon, probably for the purpose of reprinting it. Yinyuan wrote a poem to celebrate this event.

#### **Words for Monks Inspecting the Canon**

*His long and broad tongue speaks the true sutras.  
The radiance of each word glorifies our ancestral hall.  
The assemblies that formed the sea of the Chinese Canon,  
have transmitted to this land a record of blessing and joy. (IGZS 9: 4443)*

Yinyuan’s emphasis on the importance of the canon influenced his Japanese disciples and eventually Tetsugen vowed to print a complete set

in Japan. Yinyuan then happily gave the Manpukuji copy of the Jiaxing Canon to him.<sup>13</sup>

### Words to Zen Person Tetsugen for his Fund-Raising to Carve the Great Canon

*Such deeds and vows are as deep and as vast as the sky.  
They reach every the world throughout the Realm of the Dharma.  
As the words of the Sage are spread they reveal what is truly good.  
As the precious treasure is transmitted it continues on forever.  
It constantly appears to the wisdom eyes of gods and humans,  
and connects all places with the source of buddhas and patriarchs.  
The fullness of your understanding comprises the Dharma's benefit,  
Your accomplishment will endure for ten-thousand ages.*  
(IGZS 10: 4579)

In practice, Yinyuan was much more conventional about teaching his disciples the basic Buddhist doctrine of transmigration and karma to inculcate a strong Buddhist faith. For him, faith in Buddhist teaching is essential. He divided all people into five categories according to their levels of faith in Buddhism. There are people of “correct faith” (*zhengxin*), “false faith” (*xiexin*), “natural faith by birth” (*ziran erxin*), “acquired faith through education” (*jiao er houxin*), and “complete lack of faith ‘til death” (*zhisi er buxin*).<sup>14</sup> Therefore, Yinyuan believed that there must be different ways of teaching them.

Although he adhered to the iconoclastic Zen rhetoric as we have seen in his *Recorded Sayings*, he was fully aware of the danger of his kind of “pure” Zen teaching, which appeared to be too advanced for some students and might lead to abuses and anti-conventional behaviors. He worried that those students did not ground themselves firmly on fundamental Buddhist practices, but rather simply imitated “shameless people” (*wuchi zhi tu*). He thus opposed the use of Zen rhetoric to legitimize antinomian behaviors. In his reply to a Japanese patron, the layman Mujun, dated to 1656, he said poignantly,

Nowadays, there is a group of shameless people. They wear “big hats” and speak “big words.” Using the teaching in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* as excuse, they give free reign to their lust, anger, and ignorance and treat them as the great way of release; they chastise precepts, concentration, and wisdom as the small achievement

of the two vehicles (i.e. Śrāvaka and Pratyekabuddha). . . They follow each other and become trendy. They are just like the blind guides the blind and they are about to fall into the pit of fire. (IGZS 4: 2220)

Here Yinyuan criticized a particular cultural phenomenon that was popular in the late Ming dynasty as a result of an extreme understanding of Wang Yangming's teaching as a free and spontaneous expression of one's true self. This phenomenon has been often referred to as the "Crazy Chan" represented by the iconoclastic Confucian figure Li Zhi (1527–1602).<sup>15</sup> As Yinyuan pointed out, the followers of "Crazy Chan" often alluded to the image of Vimalakīrti as the example to cover up their dislike of conventional Buddhist practice. It is true that in *Vimalakīrti Sutra* the layman Vimalakīrti, though a household keeper who often visits bustling market and prostitutes, is respected by the Buddha as having a wisdom superior to Buddha's disciples. Apparently, the followers of "Crazy Chan" drew inspiration from this character and had an extreme understanding of the teaching of non-duality.

He wholeheartedly believed in karma and transmigration and thus became an avid supporter of releasing lives. Influenced by the prevalence of animal-releasing rituals promoted by the late Ming eminent monk Zhuhong, Yinyuan participated in numerous such ceremonies and wrote many verses to encourage such altruistic activities. He wrote passionately in his verse commemorating the animal-releasing event. "Even plants crave for life, why don't fish and bird?" He reasoned and showed his empathy: "Their body shapes are not like ours, but their sufferings are just like ours." For Yinyuan, saving their lives could enable them to be reborn in the land of bliss. "If they ascend the land of bliss, their happiness is also ours." (IGZS 4: 2597) After Manpukuji was founded, Yinyuan had made releasing animals a routine ritual every month. Before the completion of this project, Yinyuan only released birds in Manpukuji. Under his guidance, a pond for freeing fish bought from the market was built in Manpukuji in 1664. In 1667 a Lotus Society was organized for releasing lives and praying for rebirth in Pure Land. Yinyuan fully supported it. (IGZS 8: 3646)

In particular, Yinyuan considered killing animals the cause of many disasters in the world, especially fires. In the spring of 1663, when he heard a fire broke out in Nagasaki burning half of the city, he attributed it to excessive animal killing. He recalled that when he stayed in Kōfukuji

in 1654, a slaughtering facility was located close to the temple. Yinyuan attributed the cause of the fire to this facility. He wrote sadly to the patrons in Nagasaki:

I was sojourning at Kōfukuji in Nagasaki in the fall of 1654. Every morning I could hear the wailing of slaughtering animals. Because of this, I worried that Nagasaki could have unexpected consequences. I also went to the officials to tell them about this, wanting them to forbid killing to bless their people. Since there was no avail, I could do nothing. Now considering the disaster of fire, isn't this a simple testimony of the consequence of unrestrained lust and ruthless killing? (*IGZS* 7: 3301)

Yinyuan also supported the practice of chanting Buddha's name (*nianfo*), and many observers of Yinyuan took it as the Pure Land method of cultivation. According to James Baskind's study, the practice of *nianfo* was regularly held in Yinyuan's community. However, Yinyuan's use of *nianfo* lacks the strong salvific purpose of many other Pure Land practitioners such as Zhuhong. For Yinyuan, the *nianfo* method allowed Zen practitioners concentrate as an expedient means toward reaching enlightenment. The following words express his view on *nianfo*.

It has been ten years since this old monk has come East to this island [of Japan]. During that time I have practiced [and taught] only the Way of Rinzai. Unfortunately, concerned by the low ability of the people of the times, [I see that] they are not able to bear the burden [on their own]. [Therefore] the only recourse is to have them practice the *nianfo*. Truly this is akin to prescribing the correct medicine in accordance with the illness. Who can find fault with this?<sup>16</sup>

Here we see that Yinyuan considered the practice of *nianfo* to be safe and practical. His view was certainly not new. As Robert Sharf has pointed out, Yinyuan's association with *nianfo* and Ōbaku's embrace of the many Pure Land elements were largely heritages from the Song-dynasty synthesis of Chan and Pure Land.<sup>17</sup> Although Yinyuan justified *nianfo* practice as an expedient means to attain Zen enlightenment, his sanction of this practice opens the door to a more devotion-based Pure Land practice in the Ōbaku community.<sup>18</sup>

## Yinyuan as a Steward of Syncretic Monastic Practices

It is clear that Yinyuan's "pure" Zen was rather a rhetorical stance. In practice, he was a much more balanced teacher, emphasizing conventional Buddhist faith and Pure Land beliefs. As an established Zen master, Yinyuan spent a long career as abbot in many monasteries in China and Japan. To a large extent, he was not only a Zen teacher, but also an accomplished monastic administrator who became the steward of the Buddhist tradition he inherited. This common heritage, as I have pointed out in my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, including a variety of Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, such as Pure Land, Vinaya, esotericism, and asceticism, had been assimilated into monastic community.<sup>19</sup>

Yinyuan's greatest achievement as abbot was to supervise the compilation and publication of three comprehensive monastic guidebooks for daily practice and liturgical services in Manpukuji with the help of his capable disciples. The first one is a collection of monastic rules entitled *Pure Regulation of Ōbaku* (*Ōbaku shingi*), which has been studied by Helen Baroni. This work was completed in 1673, after the successful founding of Manpukuji, and covered all aspects of monastic practices. Although it was attributed to Yinyuan Longqi, the fifth abbot of Manpukuji, Gaoquan Xingdun, was responsible for the actual compilation.<sup>20</sup>

The second major work was *The Rite and Procedure for Spreading Ordination* (*Hongjie fayi*), which was an abbreviated version of Hanyue Fazang's volume of the same title. Hanyue Fazang was a prominent Chan master in the seventeenth century and a controversial dharma heir of Miyun Yuanwu. As I have highlighted in my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, he was not only a thoughtful Chan teacher but also a Vinaya master in the tradition of Guxin Ruxin (1541–1615) and an esoteric practitioner, aiming to create a syncretic understanding of Chan Buddhism. The purpose of his work was to systematize the ceremony of Triple Platform Ordination (*santan Kaijie*) created in the late Ming to expedite the massive and rapid initiation for new monks and lay people. In a short period, the triple ordination ceremony held novice initiation, full ordination, and bodhisattva ordination all together in one place. When this form of ordination was introduced to Japan by Yinyuan and his followers, it was new to Japanese monks, as Baroni observes. Based on Hanyue's work, Yinyuan intended to incorporate Triple Platform Ordination formally into Zen monastic codes.<sup>21</sup>



The third effort was the publication of *Chanting Liturgy of Zen Grove* (Ch. *Chanlin kesong* or Jpn. *Zenrin kaju*), a pure Chinese-style liturgical manual reprinted in 1662 in Kyoto. In addition to *Ōbaku shingi*, which incorporated a large number of liturgical texts for different ceremonial occasions, this work provided guides of the full chanting manuals for the two daily liturgical services, which had been codified in Chinese monasteries at that time and continues to be used today.<sup>22</sup>

These three code books provided the much-needed guidelines for monastic practice in the newly founded Manpukuji. It should be noted that in this process of codification and routinization of monastic practice, a visible esoteric element, a legacy from the monastic communities in the mainland, can be clearly seen. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang, being conscious of monks' role of performing rituals and ceremonies for the devotees, created a separate category of "Yoga" (*yuqieseng*) for monks who specialized in ritual performance, mostly esoteric in nature. During the late Ming Buddhist reform, this category was no longer independently functional, but the practice had been assimilated into regular monastic practice. In particular, the ritual of feeding the hungry ghosts was very popular in the late Ming, as Hun Lye has revealed.<sup>23</sup> This ritual is often referred to as the Mengshan Rite in Chan liturgical services (*Mengshan shishi*), as a variation of the so-called *preta* (flaming mouth) releasing ritual (*fang yankou*), which aims at releasing hungry ghosts from hell.<sup>24</sup> Chan masters such as Hanyue Fazang became adept practitioners of this ritual. During the Ming, it was developed based on an anonymous ritual manual, *Rites from the Essentials of the Yoga Teachings for Distributing Food to Burning-Mouths* (*Yuqie jiyao yankou shishi yi*). Stemming from this work, Hanyue put together the *Newly Compiled Essential Platform Ceremonies for the Practice of Yoga* (*Xiuxi Yuqie jiyao shishi tanyi*), also known as *Standards for Yoga Flaming Mouth Ritual* (*Yuqie yanjou kefan*) in two fascicles. In 1665 Yinyuan's disciple Baiyan Xingjie (1634–1673) published Hanyue Fazang's work in Japan, then again in 1678.<sup>25</sup> The reprint of this esoteric text indicated the popularity of this ritual among Chinese monks in Japan.

Although Yinyuan himself was not an ascetic who practiced extreme austerity, he espoused his disciples to practice "secluded retreat" (*biguan*) and other ascetic practices popular in late imperial China. Unfortunately, as James Baskind points out, the ascetic and mortification practices such as finger burning, blood writing, and three-year secluded retreat by Ōbaku monks have not been well studied.<sup>26</sup>

However, Jimmy Yu's recent study of self-inflicted violence in late imperial China suggests the popularity of blood writing (*xueshu*) among Chinese Buddhist monks. According to his study, the idea of such practice in monastic community was to express one's filial piety by using one's own blood, usually blood pricked from the tongue or finger tips, to copy an entire scripture.<sup>27</sup> This practice was also brought to Japan by Chinese monks and caught the attention of the Japanese.

In the Chinese Huangbo, before Yinyuan moved to Japan, there were a few monks who were already practicing blood writing. Yinyuan composed at least two poems to commemorate the events of some monks writing *Amitābha Sūtra* and *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* with their own blood. (*IGZS* 3: 1557) Although he did not recommend it to all practitioners, Yinyuan supported such an ascetic practice by providing necessary subsidies to the ascetics and even inspired quite a few of his disciples, both Chinese and Japanese, to practice blood writing.

The most famous of all blood writers among Yinyuan's disciples was Weiyi Daoshi (1620–1692), who joined Yinyuan in Japan after 1654. According to Yinyuan's postscript to Weiyi's blood writing, Weiyi was a monk ordained in the Chinese Huangbo monastery and resided in Zhenhai monastery nearby. He mostly worshipped the *Avatamsaka Sutra* and vowed to bow once for every word he read (*yizi yibai*). After he arrived in Japan in 1663, he became Yinyuan's attendant and promised to use the blood from his fingertips to hand-copy the entire scripture. After three years, on the nineteenth day of the sixth month in 1664, it was finally completed in eighty-one scrolls.<sup>28</sup> (*IGZS* 7: 3458) According to Yinyuan, he blood-wrote several Mahayana scriptures as well and earned his reputation because of the deed.<sup>29</sup> In total, he blood-wrote fourteen scriptures in two hundred fascicles. His piety inspired Gomizunoo's twelfth son Ichijōin no miya shinkei hōshinnō (1649–1706) to blood-write scriptures to dedicate to his mother.<sup>30</sup> Gomizunoo's eldest daughter Bunchi (1619–1697) also wrote several scriptures with her blood to commemorate her father's death.<sup>31</sup>

As I have argued in my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, the reinvented Chan tradition literarily became a receptacle of all kinds of Buddhist heritage in the name of returning to antiquity, which meant to enliven the encounter dialogue in monastic rituals. In Yinyuan, we see not only a lively Zen spirit of spontaneity in his performance of the ceremony of ascending the hall but also the highly syncretic nature of his practice that combined Pure Land invocation, esoteric rituals, organized ordination ceremonies,

and advocacy of ascetic practices such as the secluded retreat and blood writing. All these indicate that for Yinyuan, in sharp contrast to the variety of Buddhist practices he endorsed, the Zen spirit embodied in encounter dialogues was merely rhetorical.

### *Yinyuan as a Literary Man*

One salient feature of Zen in East Asia is its thorough immersion in the literary culture. The literary output of Zen monks was astonishing in both China and Japan. In particular, the Zen masters of Five Mountains (*Gozan*) were all superb writers of Chinese poetry.<sup>32</sup> In the seventeenth century, when Zen rose again as the mainstream Buddhist belief in China, it grew out of a pro-Zen literati culture, as I have observed. Zen monks addressed Confucian literati's spiritual concerns and joined literati's philosophical clubs; they learned to write poetry and follow appropriate literary conventions in letter writing in order to communicate with these literati. Literati lifestyles also penetrated the monastic compound: Zen monks drank tea and organized tea parties, which were gatherings of literati and clergy for the purpose of enjoying the pleasure of poetry making; senior monks collected calligraphies and painting of famous literati and many of them were calligraphers, painters, and zither players themselves. In this sense, Zen monks in the seventeenth century had been gentrified as part of the literati circle, as pointed out in chapter 1.

Yinyuan was one of such gentrified monks, and his literati lifestyle displayed his Zen spirit. The essence of such a lifestyle was a sense of elegance construed by sophisticated literati activities, refined cultural utensils, and a network of literary friends. Yinyuan's popularity among educated Japanese could be attributed to the cultural side of his Zen lifestyle. Inspired by such a cultured Zen, Japanese monks who associated with Chinese monks also imitated this lifestyle and spread it to other parts of Japanese society.

### Yinyuan's Poetry

An indispensable literary skill of a gentrified monk was poetry writing and Yinyuan was an accomplished practitioner of the art. He composed about five thousand poems in his lifetime, most of them written following his arrival in Japan. After he built Manpukuji, he authored more than three thousand poems, the majority of these written during his retirement.

As Liao Zhaoheng and Lin Guanchao point out, his poems composed in Japan reflected his constant longing for his homeland and his aspiration toward the ideal of transcendence. Yinyuan had tried all different kinds of poetic genre, including the pentasyllabic “old-style poems” (*gushi*), “regulated verse” (*lüshi*), “quatrains” (*jueju*), the “music bureau” (*Yuefu*) ballads, and “folk songs” (*ge*), with the exception of the “lyrics” (*ci*), which originated from popular songs and were considered not appropriate for monk-poets.<sup>33</sup>

Although he was a prolific writer, Yinyuan admitted that he was only an amateur lover of poetry rather than a well-established professional poet. However, in Japan, his poems were coveted as pieces with high symbolic value. Although Yinyuan had received only elementary education in China, it seems that his monastic instruction under the tutelage of Miyun Yuanwu played a crucial role in introducing him to poetry writing. Family tradition must have also played a partial role, as evidenced in a newly discovered family genealogy. According to the chronological biography, it appears that Yinyuan’s brother was also a poet. Throughout his life, Yinyuan published many poetic collections, including *Collection of the Southing Cloud* (*Yuntaoji*), *Collection of a Hundred Imitation Poems after Cold Mountain* (*Ni Hanshan baiyong*), and *Collection of a Recluse among Pine Trees* (*Songyinji*).

The close connection between Zen and poetry explains Yinyuan’s interests in poetic production. The Zen tradition was a highly literary one, and writing poems was an indispensable means for Zen monks to express their enlightenment experience. Zen teachers claim that Zen imparts the ineffable truth that could not be expressed through written words or scriptures. However, they embraced poetry writing because they believed that poems could lead people to transcend written words, moving into a spiritual realm. In the later development of Zen after the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, Zen teachers such as the Linji patriarch Linji Yixuan, whom Yinyuan and his disciples greatly admired, developed an effective means to corner students into a dilemma of mental blindness: they used shouts and beats to respond to students’ legitimate questions, with students forced to abandon all attempts to use their intelligence. They did, however, allow expressions of experience through composition of terse and elegant verses. In addition, writing poetry put Zen masters on par with the literati. It became a great need for Zen students to master the technique of writing good poems. Consequently, in Zen communities, deliberate efforts were made to educate young students to write poems. In Miyun

Yuanwu's community, students were encouraged to form literary clubs to study koans and to write poems about them. Yinyuan himself joined one of such poetry clubs and was said to have excelled in writing Zen poems.

Yinyuan clearly saw his poems as part of the tradition of Zen poetry. Therefore, he considered himself as belonging to a long literary tradition that included famous Buddhist teachers and poets such as the great late-Tang monks Guanxiu (832–912) and Qiji (863–937), the Wu-Yue scholar monk Yongming Yanshou, the Song Chan monk Dahui Zonggao, the Yuan Chan monk Zhongfeng Mingben, and the late Ming Pure Land monk Yunqi Zhuhong. His poems, in turn, cannot be judged purely by their literary merits. In his preface to his *Collection of the Sougning Cloud* (*Yuntaoji*), he pointed this out aptly: "Poetry is close to Zen but cannot be called Zen. Zen has to rely on poetry but cannot be called poetry." (IGZS 1: 43). He further divided "wen" (culture or civilization) into two kinds of literature: the "words of morality" (*Daode zhiwen*) and "words of flowery style" (*Huachi zhiwen*). Clearly, he favored the former, which aims at "seeing the nature, illuminating the mind, preserving the truth and eliminating the false." (IGZS 9: 4172) In the preface of this collection, he said frankly that he was not a professional poet since he never received proper training in literary skills. His collection of poems was rather the accumulation of the verses he wrote throughout the years. He remarked: "It is said that I can write poems. But actually I can't. . . I only write to fit in the circumstances and to express my feeling at that time." (IGZS 8: 3909)

Yinyuan's poems can be classified as typical "mountain-dwelling poems" (*shanjushi*) favored by monks and recluses. According to Liao Zhaocheng, mountain-dwelling poetry is a loose category to describe monastics' poetic creation. Most of these poems either included mountain dwelling in their title or content, or their themes closely related to the condition of living in the natural world, such as mountains, lakes, boats, and villages. Monk-poets devoted to this genre typically imitate the Tang monk Hanshan, the Yuan monks Shiwu Qinggong (1272–1352) Zhongfeng Mingben, and Yutang.<sup>34</sup> Clearly, mountain-dwelling poetry is a type of landscape poem in the Chinese poetic tradition and was favored by monks and recluses.

The most common genre Yinyuan composed is regulated verses in four or eight lines. In 1665 alone, he wrote fifty poems in regulated verses in seven characters and eight lines. (IGZS 8: 3823) These regulated verses follow strict rules in composition: the lines could number four or eight,

or even longer, but each line had to have five or seven characters. Not only did the rhymes have to be the same for the last characters (except the third line in a four-line verse or the third or seventh line in an eight-line verse), but the tones of each character in a line must follow a phonetic pattern as well.

Yinyuan's tea poems make good examples of his poetic style. He loved tea and drank it often. During his retirement, he even planted tea by himself in front of his room in Sōindō. Yinyuan and his disciples brought to Japan the Chinese tea-making technique, which processes tea leaves by baking them in a wok. Such type of Chinese tea produced at Manpukuji was commonly called "Yinyuan Tea" (*Ingencha*) at that time and later became *sencha*.<sup>35</sup> Yinyuan was fully aware of the unique spiritual character of tea for a Zen practitioner as opposed to wine.<sup>36</sup> When he resided in Fumonji, a Japanese devotee presented tea to him, probably the Japanese *macha*, from Edo as offering. He wrote the following verse to thank him.

*A cup of tea wakes you up;  
A cup of wine puts you to sleep.  
Asleep or awake are as different as the sea and the sky.  
But if not for sleep there would be no waking up;  
And if no one was asleep no one would be awake.  
So has it been for ten thousand ages. (IGZS 6: 2605)*

His joy in tea was imbued with a deep literati aesthetic taste. For Yinyuan, tea drinking was linked to literary production and a rich cultural and historical significance exhumed from the material aspect of tea drinking and preparation. He loved to use various elegant tea utensils such as Yixing clay pot to brewed favorite teas such as Wuyi tea from Fujian and Songluo from Shexian in Anhui. To pursue the taste of elegancy, he even brewed tea with snow and enjoyed the unique combination and the aesthetic atmosphere it brought to him. "Brewing Tea during the Snow" thus became a famous literary gathering for Chinese monks in Manpukuji. During such tea parties, Yinyuan invited his disciples to join him in playing the literary game of poetry writing. Each of the participants was supposed to compose poems by following the rhymes in Yinyuan's poems. Yinyuan first wrote five poems about brewing tea in fasc. 3 of *Miscellaneous Record of the Old Man of the Secluded Pines* (*Shōin rōjin zuiroku*). Two of them are translated by Patricia Jane Graham as follows.

*In my leisure time I idly brew white snow tea.  
 This method has been passed down to me alone.  
 The heavenly old men have kindly bestowed upon me this piece of poor land.  
 And yet day after day, jade flower (tea) come scattering down like snow.*

*It is pleasurable to spend quiet leisure time brewing snow tea.  
 Reflecting upon the writings of old Zhao Zhou,  
 Sitting by my gate I await famous visitors.  
 Then I sip the cup to bring forth poems and literary grace.  
 My activity incites the competition of heavenly deities who send down  
 heavenly flowers (snow).<sup>37</sup>*

Yinyuan's poems show clear traces of imitation, which he admitted. Because Yinyuan admired the Tang poems, especially Zen monk poets such as Hanshan—famous in the West as Cold Mountain—and Shide, he intentionally emulated them by following the style of imitation poetry (*nishi*). Imitation poetry is a longtime Chinese literary tradition. Although this type of poetry claims to be imitation of the old poems, they are not simple reproductions of the objects they follow. Admiring the style of famous poets, a writer intends to create a compositional structure similar to the original poems that are the objects of imitation. The writer may include some of the elements of the old poems into new poems by repeating certain words, following similar rhymes, singling out one particular poetic element to expand, and creating parallel lines mimicking the old one. In this way, the writer creates new poems that bear recognizable resemblances to the old ones and recreates aesthetic value in a new context based on semantic links with the old poems. Overall, it is a literary strategy to compose new poems.<sup>38</sup>

Yinyuan loved Hanshan's poems. In 1665 he read Hanshan, Shide, and Fenggan's collections of poems and wrote three hundred imitation poems in a very short period by following Hanshan's style. (*IGZS* 9: 4018–19)

One of the poems read as follows:

*I live in the mountains free of worldly ties.  
 Having realized what was about to come,  
 I made a hut of trees and thatch,  
 Next to a stream that plays a stringless zither.  
 Gathering ferns I satisfy my needs;  
 Boiling snow I pass my remaining years.*

*Avoiding the disasters of humankind,  
I live without the burdens of karma.  
(IGZS 8: 3980)*

The carefree feeling expressed in this poem is comparable to the following poem by Hanshan (Cold Mountain) translated by Bill Porter (Red Pine).

*I chose a secluded place  
T'ien T'ai says it all  
Gibbons howl and the gorge fog's cold  
A view of the peak adjoins my grass door  
Bamboo leaves roof a pine hut  
I cleared a pool and led in the spring  
Glad at last to put everything down  
Picking ferns I pass the years left.<sup>39</sup>*

If we compare these two poems, we can see clear traces of imitation and borrowing. Both chose the topic of mountain dwelling and weave the scenes of nature into the poems. We can also identify some wording that Yinyuan clearly borrowed from Cold Mountain, such as picking the fern, building the hut, and spending the rest of life. However, Yinyuan did not simply copy Hanshan's poem. Rather, he used the existing structure to describe his own life. For example, some distinctive features such as brewing snow were unique to Yinyuan's life and were not found in Hanshan's poetry.

### Yinyuan's Poetic Love of Mount Fuji

Many of Yinyuan's poems can be classified as belonging to the genre of "Landscape Poems" (*shanshui shi*) in the Chinese poetic tradition. The theme of landscape covers a variety of topics such as monks' thatched huts, surrounding mountains, running creeks, pine trees, and blossoming flowers in their variations in four seasons. As a Zen monk, Yinyuan cherished the mountainous environment in which he resided. As he said, "Monks live among mountains and rivers. If we don't understand the joy of mountains and rivers, how could we differ from the commoners?" (IGZS 3: 1246)

As one of the very few Chinese who had actually seen Mount Fuji, Yinyuan immediately loved this unique mountain when he passed it

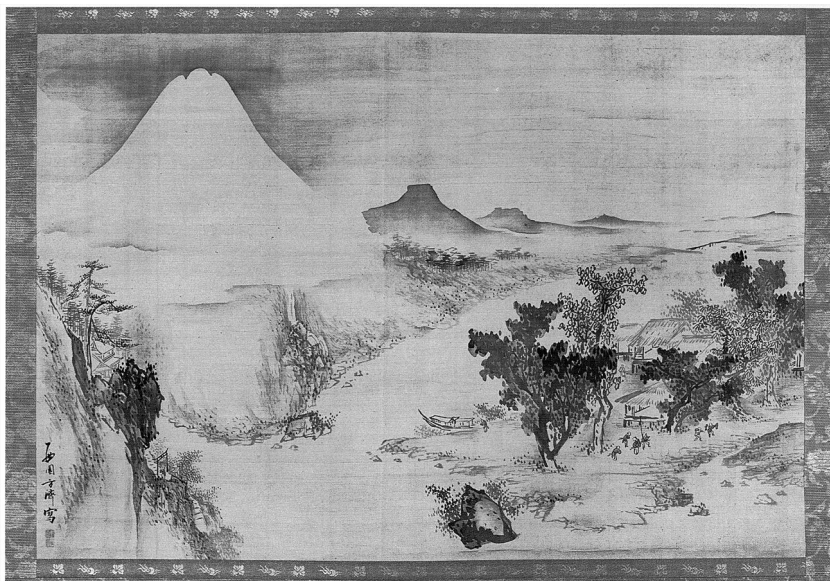


on his way to Edo in 1658 along the Tōkaidō highway. Mount Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan, and also the most respected. Completely round and extending to above the clouds, it gives the impression of a perfect sculpture created by nature. It is also a live volcano, with smoke often exhaled from its snow-covered summit, adding the mystery of transcendence to its unspeakable beauty. In the Edo period, it attracted pilgrims from all over Japan. Travelers on the Tōkaidō highway could easily view and appreciate the scenery on the road when entering its neighboring areas such as the Suruga, Kai, Izu, and Sagami prefectures. Even foreign visitors such as the Korean and Ryukyū envoys marveled at its splendor.<sup>40</sup> The Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues (1561–1634), who stayed in Japan from 1576 to 1612 and served as Hideyoshi and Ieyasu's interpreter, recorded: "Its lower reaches are covered with grass and hay, while the middle regions are thickly forested and provide valuable cedar wood."<sup>41</sup>

Little noted among these travelers bypassing Mount Fuji was the few fortunate Chinese who were allowed to travel while most Chinese were confined in Nagasaki and could not journey in Japan without special permission. These few Chinese must have been intrigued to see a mountain like this, likely marveling at its image.<sup>42</sup> In fact, the Chinese learned about the beauty of Mount Fuji as early as the tenth century from Japanese visitors. In his work *Six Models of Buddhism* (*Shishi liutie*), Chinese monk Yichu wrote a note about the mountain praising its magnificence. "Over 1,000 *li* to the northeast is a mountain by the name of Fuji. . . . A single flower soaring on high, its summit is covered in mist."<sup>43</sup>

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, because of the frequent exchange between China and Japan, a few Chinese had the opportunity to view the majestic mountain. Among them was the Chinese painter Fang Ji, who saw the mountain after drifting to the shore of Japan in a shipwreck, later expressing his feeling through his paintbrush as illustrated in Fig. 5.1.<sup>44</sup>

Yinyuan was another one of the few Chinese lucky enough to have such a viewing experience. He, too, was amazed by its beauty. Before seeing the mountain, Yinyuan had heard about this great mountain as early as he lived in Kōfukuji in 1654. His first visual contact with Mount Fuji was a painting of it on a folding fan, probably a gift from his Japanese guests. Yinyuan liked it immediately, writing a poem on the fan to express his fondness. (*IGZS* 6: 2727)



第三圖 富士真景圖 方濟筆 氏藏

FIGURE 5.1 Fang Ji, “Painting of a Genuine Scene of Mount Fuji” (*Fushi zhenjing tu*). Reprint from Ōba (ed.) *An’ei kunen Awa*, illustration no. 3.

As an old man in his sixties, however, he saw something else in this great mountain. He rendered the mountain as a metaphor for himself: an old and white haired man standing alone and aloof. The snowed crest, as he imagined, matched his own appearance: an old monk with snow-white hair. His longing grew during his retirement years, as he knew that he would never be able to visit that mountain again.

Yinyuan’s love of Mount Fuji did not abate after the founding of Manpukuji. He always regretted that he did not climb Fuji when he passed it on his way to Edo in 1658. (For details of his itinerary during this travel, see chapter 4.) However, he had his own idea to satisfy his penchant for Mount Fuji: he built a miniature Mount Fuji in his compound in Manpukuji so he could face Mount Fuji every day. On the fifteenth day of the third month in 1663, after building the eastern abbot’s chamber, he found that there was still a piece of land behind it. He asked workers to dig a small pond and planted lotus flowers, imitating the atmosphere of the scenic Mount Lu (Lushan) in China. He built a small rock mountain and made a waterfall by digging a duct to allow the spring water to flow down. He called this his Mount Fuji (*IGZS* 7: 3455), writing

several verses for this miniature version of the mountain. The second verse reads as follows:

*Us both with white hair and me old besides,  
Facing each other we think the same thought.  
I would say something deep but have nothing to say.  
I'm relying on you to keep this going forever.  
(IGZS 8: 3746)*

### *Yinyuan as a Thaumaturge*

In public, Yinyuan appears to be a genuine Zen monk, a capable abbot, and a skillful poet. However, little explored is how Yinyuan has been viewed in private by Japanese elite and commoners. Of course, Yinyuan's own *Recorded Sayings* and literary collections will not tell us about his popular impression among the Edo people. However, during the Edo period, a large number of *zuihitsu* (miscellaneous notes) literature had been composed by Japanese literary men and some of them, such as *Nightly Chats since the Kasshi Day* (*Kasshi yawa*), examined later, mentioned Yinyuan's coming to Japan. The records of Yinyuan's magical power appeared in various kinds of *zuihitsu* penned by learned intellectuals. The writing of such notes became extremely popular and was promoted by the publishing industry. Today, the publication of collections such as *Complete Collection of Japanese zuihitsu* (*Nihon zuihitsu taisei*), *A Hundred Titles of Unpublished zuihitsu* (*Mikan zuihitsu hyakushu*), *Collection of zuihitsu in Early Modern Period* (*Kinsei zuihitsu shū*), *Collection of Japanese zuihitsu* (*Nihon zuihitsu shūsei*), and various indexes made it easy to study Yinyuan's impact on Edo society from the perspective of the average Edo people. Yinyuan even appeared in popular *noh* drama about the Japanese traveler Tenjiku Tokubei (1612–?), the legendary merchant and adventurer who had visited India. In the novel *Veritable Records of Tenjiku Tokubei* (*Tenjiku Tokubei jikki*), it was described that Tokubei visited Yinyuan right after he gave up his household to his son to inquire into Buddhist teaching and the current situation in China.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, European visitors—such as the German physician Kaempfer in his *History of Japan*—also mentioned Yinyuan. Moreover, a few secretly circulated manuscripts such as *Collection of Peach Buds* (*Tōzuihen*) and what Michel Strickmann called *Ingen Daishi Oracle Booklet* connect Yinyuan to a Daoist divination tradition active in Edo Japan.<sup>46</sup> All of this

literature reveals that there was another Yinyuan who destabilized our traditional image of him as a Zen teacher. In popular eyes, he was a thaumaturge who was capable of wonder working, rain making, and Daoist divination.

### Yinyuan as a Rainmaker in the Eyes of German Physician Kaempfer

The remarkable German physician and traveler Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) visited Japan from 1690 to 1692 and provided one of the earliest first-hand reports of Japanese culture and history. He arrived in Nagasaki as the physician for the VOC (Dutch East Indian Company) settlement in Deshima. During his two-year stay in Japan, he went on extensive travels and studied Japan's natural history. His observation and research of Japanese culture was published as *History of Japan* in 1727, a few years after his death. Thank to Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey's translation and annotation, his records are available in English for researchers to use. Through reading Kaempfer's record, we can see clearly that Yinyuan was known in Edo Japan as an effective rainmaker.

Kaempfer has noted the existence of three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and Yinyuan's prominence in Japan. In his travelogue, he correctly named all three temples and their affiliations with Chinese merchants from three different regions in China. He pointed out that these temples were built for praying the safe trade and were also a result of the anti-Christian persecution that required all Japanese, as well as sojourning Chinese, to register with a Buddhist temple. He understood that these were Chinese monasteries and their abbots were under the jurisdiction of their headquarters at Mount Ōbaku (Manpukuji) in Kyoto. This led him to write a long discussion of Yinyuan.

Ingen was born in China, where he occupied the chair of Daruma, the first spiritual magistrate in that country and twenty-eighth successor of the original founder and deity Shaka. His devotion to his work and his countrymen, who lived in three monasteries without a common leader, and his zeal to spread and consolidate the *buppō*, or sect of *butsu*, in the face of the commotion of the *mukuri kokuri* (Mongol-Korean, my note)(as they call all Christians and antagonists of their own teaching), who had discredited themselves sufficiently by their harsh code of violence and weapons, induced

Ingen to vacate his chair in favor of someone else and go to Japan to establish an office, or archbishop's chair, for the above paganism. He arrived in the year of Christ 1653 and was received with great respect.

Kaempfer's record, despite his awkward analogy to Christian ecclesiastical titles, is remarkably accurate, except for being mistaken about the year of Yinyuan's arrival. He continued to describe the sensation Yinyuan caused when he landed in Nagasaki.

The lords of the provinces came to welcome him, wearing nothing less than *kami shimo*, or ceremonial dress, and took their seat below him. The shogun ordered that he be given a mountain in their holy city of Miyako (Kyoto) as a residence, which had to be called Ōbaku, after the archbishop's residence that he had left in China.<sup>47</sup>

Here Kaempfer mentioned nothing about Zen and did not attribute Yinyuan's popularity to anything related to his spiritual attainment. Rather, he changed his tone and described a rain-making ceremony Yinyuan conducted for local people when he first arrived.

His sanctity came to the test shortly after his arrival, and the result greatly enhanced the esteem in which he was held. He was asked by the farmers of the surrounding countryside to conduct a *kitō*, that is, a holy ceremonial prayer or mass, to draw rain from heaven onto their rice fields, which were being devastated by drought. He answered that he could neither make rain nor assure them that the *kitō* would produce the desired effect but that he would do his best. Thereupon he climbed up a mountain and conducted his *kitō*. The following day the rain poured down so heavily that even the smaller bridges in the city were washed away, and not only the farmers but also the city judged that he had made his *kitō* too strong.<sup>48</sup>

It is interesting to note that this event of rain making became so well remembered among locals after several decades and was even transmitted to us through a foreign visitor's pen. Yinyuan was indeed involved in such activities, as some of his poems made references to rain-making rituals. However, they only occupied a marginal space in Yinyuan's anthologies and Yinyuan never boasted about his efficacy.<sup>49</sup>

Even more intriguing is that Kaempfer's record about Yinyuan's successful rain making patterned on a long Chinese tradition to describe Buddhist monks as thaumaturges. His overdoing of rain making reminds us of how Fotudeng (232–349) and the three Tang esoteric masters Sanwuwei (637–735), Vajrabodhi (671–741), and Amoghvajra (705–774) have been depicted in standard biographies.<sup>50</sup>

### Yinyuan as a Miracle Worker in *Zuihitsu* Literature

Among common Japanese, Yinyuan and his disciples had been viewed as magic workers with extraordinary abilities such as divination, rainmaking, and telekinesis, which has been commonly referred to as “spiritual penetration” (*jintsū*) in Buddhist literature.<sup>51</sup>

Many authors of *zuihitsu* literature mentioned Yinyuan and his Ōbaku tradition with their own particular interests, which were absent in conventional sectarian literature on Yinyuan. For example, Matsuura Kiyoshi, commonly called Seizan (1760–1841), authored a massive collection of anecdotes and hearsays titled *Kasshi yawa* around 1821. Its main collection has a hundred fascicles, the supplementary collection also a hundred, and the third seventy-eight fascicles. In *Kasshi yawa*, several legends about Yinyuan and his disciple Jifei were circulated in Edo. According to Seizan, at the end of the third month of a certain year, he was invited by a certain monk Miten, the abbot of Rakanji in Edo, to join a memorial service for the founder Yinyuan. During his conversation with monks, he heard two remarkable stories about Yinyuan and his disciples and recorded them in his *zuihitsu*.

The first one is about Yinyuan and his close disciple Jifei, who was widely claimed to have acquired magical power. One day, the two of them were about to board a boat to cross the Uji River at the so-called Yinyuan Ferry (*Ingen watari*). Suddenly, Jifei showed his magical power by moving himself to the other shore without boarding the boat. Yinyuan thus scolded him: “The true power of ‘spiritual penetration’ is the one no one can see.”

The second story occurred in Myokō Pavilion at Mount Ōbaku, which overlooked the Yodogawa River in Uji and had a view of the boats on the river at that time. One day, Yinyuan and his two disciples Mu'an and Jifei were sitting in the pavilion and watching over the boats on the river from a distance. Unexpectedly, Yinyuan then said, “You two make that boat stop.” Mu'an rose up immediately and rolled down the curtain in the pavilion. Jifei closed his eyes, apparently exercising his mental power. Soon after, the boat stopped.<sup>52</sup>

Although in these two stories the performer of these wonders was Yinyuan's disciple Jifei, these anecdotes clearly insinuated that Yinyuan was a master with power superb to his disciples. Matsuura Seizan wrote down these stories with admiration. We have no traces in the three masters' records that they ever performed these feats. However, in popular thinking, Yinyuan and his disciples were no doubt wonder makers.

### Yinyuan as a Daoist Diviner

As I have indicated in chapter 1, Daoist and popular religious ideas were part of the rich local Buddhist culture in Fuqing, from which Yinyuan hailed. This proves that such a tradition had a long-term impact upon Yinyuan. During his tenure in the Chinese Huangbo monastery, Yinyuan developed close ties with Daoist diviners in the nearby Mount Shizhu. In Japan, recent studies show that he continued to practice divination, as seen from the little-known manuscript of *Peach Bud Collection* (*Tōzuihen*) compiled for Emperor Reigen (r. 1663–1687). In this collection of essays written by Yinyuan's disciples and court nobles, Yinyuan was portrayed as a monk deeply immersed in the Daoist culture of divination. This is not an isolated evidence or rumor about Yinyuan's divination activities. As Michel Strickmann discovered, even in the late Edo period, Yinyuan's name was still associated with the Chinese method of divination, and a few oracle books were attributed to his authorship (more on this later).

In 1990 Terence C. Russell brought to light a little-known manuscript from the Japanese National Diet Library. In recent years, both Lin Guanchao and James Baskind did a follow-up study of the text and shed new light on its compilation and popularity.<sup>53</sup> This Japanese collection, titled *Peach Bud Collection* (*Tōzuihen*), highlights the Daoist connection to Yinyuan's migration.

*Tōzuihen* records the miraculous Daoist spirit writing that foresaw Yinyuan Longqi's success in Japan. In this episode, Immortal Chen Tuan (?–989) and a Daoist medium connected with him played an important role. Yinyuan's consultation with Chen is said to have taken place sometime during 1652. One day, Yinyuan visited the neighboring Mount Shizhu where Chen Tuan often appeared and communicated with his medium through spirit writing. According to *Tōzuihen*, when the medium entered the trance, Yinyuan asked this question first: "This old monk has recently received an invitation from Japan. I do not know if the Buddhist



dharma can be put into practice there or not.” Chen Tuan replied: “It can! However, when you first get there, do not use the stick [i.e., the stick carried by Chan masters for the purpose of rebuking students] for I fear that there may be those among the common people who do not know what it means. If the Master leaves now, his arrival will coincide with the appearance of a new emperor in the world. In later times the Way will be much more prosperous.”<sup>54</sup>

This was the prognostication that Chen Tuan had made. It assures the success of Yinyuan’s voyage and indeed mentions the birth of an emperor, who was considered Emperor Reigen by Yinyuan’s disciples in Japan. Chen Tuan even promised that his disciple Guiyazi, who was a golden turtle-dragon in charge of the Northern Sea where Yinyuan was to cross, would guarantee Yinyuan’s safety during his trip.

The text was compiled in 1705 by the Chinese monk Gaoquan Xingdun, the fifth Ōbaku abbot appointed by the shogunate government.<sup>55</sup> Judging from the existing records in *Tōzuihen*, Gaoquan Xingdun must have participated in Yinyuan’s effort to consult the Daoist deity before he came to Japan. According to his biography, Gaoquan was very interested in this Daoist technique of contacting the other world. His epitaph publicly stated that he befriended a Daoist spirit medium.<sup>56</sup> In *Tōzuihen*, Immortal Chen even revised and appreciated Gaoquan’s poems composed in China.<sup>57</sup> Gaoquan also had a Daoist name, “Tanhua daoren.” When he was in China, one day an official named Wang requested a sample of spirit writing from the transcendent He Jiuxian, who composed a poem to claim Gaoquan and he were old friends. Chen Tuan, to whom Yinyuan prayed, exchanged literary compositions with Gaoquan Xingdun as well. It was highly plausible that Gaoquan developed his close connection with these Daoists via his master Huimen Rupei, who lived in Lion Cliff for a long time. Both Chen Tuan and He Jiuzhen presented poems to Huimen as well.

At the request of Emperor Reigen, this compilation, including thirty-five essays by Ōbaku monks and other Japanese scholar-officials, details Immortal Chen’s prognostication of Yinyuan’s success in Japan and even of Emperor Reigen birth. It is this book in particular that shows Yinyuan and his followers promoting Daoist divination techniques such as spirit writing. The book suggests the role of Daoist prophesy in the process of Buddhist myth making. In it we learn that the avatar of the Daoist immortal Chen Tuan in the Fuqing area, where Huangbo was located, created a legend of efficacy of divination in



Mount Shizhu. Chen Tuan was a famous Daoist figure in the ninth and tenth centuries. He had successfully predicted the establishment of the Song dynasty and was remembered as the person who transmitted a new type of cosmology to the Song Neo-Confucian Shao Yong (1011–1077). Although he was a real historical figure, Chen Tuan was gradually deified as a Daoist transcendent who was very skillful in physiognomic prognostication and the use of the “River Chart and Luo River Writing” (*Hetu luoshu*)—both an ancient cosmogram and a divination manual. It is not known when he was associated with the technique of spirit writing, or planchette. But in the seventeenth century, Chen Tuan became known as a Daoist transcendent who was able to communicate with the human world through spirit writing. In the process of spirit writing, divine revelation was made by written messages through a medium. During the Song, the one most directly connected to it was the goddess of the Latrine, Purple Aunt (Zigu). Spirit writing was developed in late imperial China and largely connected with the *Shanshu* (morality books) tradition because the revelations were usually moral injunctions from deities. It is commonly held that this tradition was derived from the beliefs of literati and scholar-officials concerned with their careers in the civil service exams, which needed divine instructions to predicate the odds of winning.<sup>58</sup>

Chen Tuan’s “arrival” in Fuqing county was a local creation in the late-Ming Fuzhou area. Mountains around Fuqing had been renowned as the residences of the Nine Transcendents. However, Chen Tuan, as a Daoist immortal, was not among them. Chen Tuan’s “presence” in the Fuqing area, according to the Ōbaku monks, was about fifty years before Yinyuan’s journey to Japan. His incarnation might have been related to a spirit-medium called Master Zheng, who was often mentioned in *Tōzuihen*. The Ōbaku monks explained that Master Zheng had studied the method of spirit writing in Nanjing and was capable of communicating with Chen Tuan. In *Tōzuihen*, Chen Tuan appeared to communicate with a certain Daoist medium named Chen Bo and commonly referred to as “Immortal Chen.”

This Immortal Chen aroused significant interest in Daoism among the Huangbo monks. It appears Yinyuan had consulted him before he left for Japan, and his oracle poem played a part in Yinyuan’s decision to leave China. However, the legend was not mentioned by Yinyuan or other Chinese monks when they first arrived in Japan. Rather, it was not known until 1705 when the *Tōzuihen* was composed.

## Edo Oracle Books Attributed to Yinyuan and Ōbaku

*Tōzuihen* was a rare manuscript and was never publicized beyond the court and Manpukuji. We may question if this text was forged to promote a special connection with the royal house after Yinyuan's strong supporter Emperor Gomizunoo passed away. Thus, Yinyuan's link with Daoist divination might be completely imagined. However, evidence shows that Yinyuan's fame as a diviner had been widespread in Edo Japan and quite a few divination manuals have been attributed to him. Michel Strickmann, in his posthumous book on Chinese oracle poems, brought to light a copy of a Japanese oracle book in his procession entitled *Thirty-Two Oracle-Slips for Good and Bad Fortune, Weal and Woe* (*Kikkyō kafuku sanjūniban mikuji*), which was first printed in Japan in 1905 and reprinted in 1925. He noted that this oracle booklet was clearly attributed to Yinyuan and referred to it as *Ingen Dashi Oracle Book*. His short note about this book reads as follows.

The text is illustrated (as are many of the other Japanese oracles), one woodcut per each stanza of oracular verses; it opens with the general instructions for use, including an illustration of the divining sticks and their container. Each set of verses is accompanied by *furigana* transcriptions and an explanation in Japanese. I can provide no information on the extent of this sequence's diffusion in Japan.<sup>59</sup>

Strickmann did not conduct further study of the text. This edition can now be accessed through the National Diet library website. According to my reading, it was compiled by Iwaki Genzui, who wrote a short preface to this text. Iwaki claimed that his work was based on Yinyuan's own work about the thirty-two divination lots, but did not give the title. He added his own verses to each to explain the meaning of the original verses and also described the method of divination. For him, all the "sacred lots" (*omikuji*) are placed in a divination container. One has to purify oneself first by washing hands with pure water, making offerings to Buddhas, and chanting the dharani of Buddha's name. Setting the mind on gods and Buddhas, one asks them to protect by chanting a verse. After this, one has to shake the divination box three times. When shaken, the bamboo slip of the *mikuji* jumps out. Then, one should take down the number and check it against the number of the thirty-two oracle poems. People can read the verse associated with each number to interpret their own fortune.<sup>60</sup>

Iwaki did not give the title of Yinyuan's work he based this on. During my stay at Manpukuji archive, I came across several such oracle books attributed to Yinyuan and his Ōbaku tradition. I list the titles as follows:

No. 1. *Numinous Oracle-Slip of Manpukuji at Mount Ōbaku* (*Ōbakusan Manpukuji reisen*), anonymous, sixty-four oracle poems, undated manuscript.

No. 2. *Imperially Bestowed Temple Oracle Slip of Ōbaku Monastery* (*Chokushi Ōbakuji garansen*) or *Temple Oracle Slip with Numinous Responses of Ōbaku Monastery* (*Ōbakuji garan kannō reisen*), anonymous, sixty-four hexagrams, published and printed in 1716.

No. 3. *Guanyin Oracle Slip of the Ōbaku Style* (*Kannon sen Ōbakuryū*), anonymous, prefaced by Chinese monk Huiyan, published and printed in 1694 by bookstores in Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo.

No. 4. *Investigation of Guanyin Oracle Slips with Numinous Responses* (*Reigan Kanzeon senboku kō*), attributed to Yinyuan, and translated in Japanese by Atsumi Michizumi, prefaced by Ōbaku monk Huiyan in 1694, reprinted in 1848 in Osaka and distributed by eleven bookstores.

No. 5. *Vaiśravaṇa Oracle Slips Transmitted by Gaoquan* (*Kōsen denrai Bishamon sen*) or *Thirty-Two Oracle Slips with Numinous Responses from Heavenly King Vaiśravaṇa* (*Bishamon tennō Bosatsu sanjūuni kanō reisen*), manuscript dated to 1702.

Without further study, it is hard to tell from which manuscript Strickmann's text was based on. Most likely, his text was modeled on the Guanyin oracle poems (no. 3 and no. 4), which contain thirty-two verses. It is certain, however, that a special divination technique based on thirty-two divination interpretations was popular in Japan and was attributed to Yinyuan as the transmitter. Nevertheless, a preliminary examination shows there are basically two divination methods associated with Yinyuan. The first is the method of drawing lots as in the *Ingen Daishi Oracle Book* that Strickmann discovered. The second was the use of coins to form thirty-two different formations.

This method, most likely Yinyuan's favorite, relied on the cult of Avalokiteśvara as the source of inspiration. No. 4 of the list, short-handed as *Guanyin Oracle* (*Kannon sen*), was commented on by the Japanese monk Atsumi Michizumi and block printed in 1694 by an Edo publisher (see Fig. 5.2). The first sentence of Yinyuan's oracle book starts with the phrase "Colored Phoenix Arrives at Red Palace Gate" (*caifeng linnanque*), which is considered the most auspicious verse. Yinyuan's disciple Huiyan stated that these oracle poems were created in Putou Island and brought

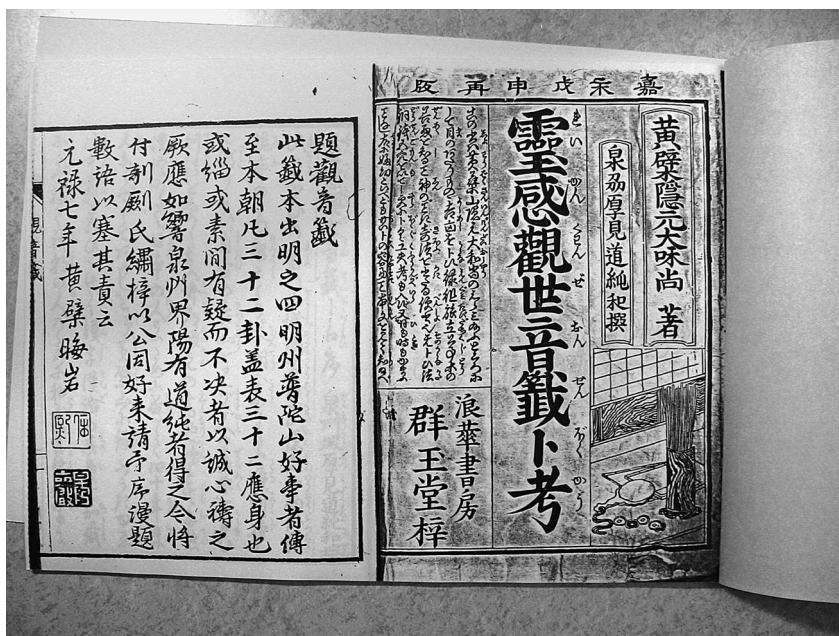


FIGURE 5.2 Cover page of *Guanyin Oracle Poems*. Photo by Jiang Wu from Manupukujji Bunkaden Archive, July 2013.

to Japan. He claimed that the thirty-two hexagrams corresponded to the thirty-two transformations of Avalokiteśvara. It is no doubt that after being immersed in such a divination culture, Yinyuan and other Chinese monks were also practitioners of divination. Their transmission to Japan was welcomed by Edo Japanese. The *Guanyin Oracle* attributed to Yinyuan and rewritten by Atsumi Michizumi was initially carved to blocks by the book dealer Gungyokudō in Osaka and was distributed by eleven bookstores in Japan. Its reprints show that it was a best seller in the late Edo period.

According to this text, this method of divination involves simply using five copper coins and was said to have been taught by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at Putuo Island, the sacred mountain along the east China coast. Therefore, before performing this divination, the person must first worship and make offering to Guanyin. Moreover, the diviner has to recite Guanyin's name thirty-three times and the Guanyin scripture one time. The five coins are marked with five agents: "metal" (*jin*), "wood" (*mu*), "fire" (*shui*), "water" (*huo*), and "earth" (*tu*). They are then put in two hands, after which the diviner shakes the coins and throws them on the ground. The up-down sides of each coin create a formation that can be identified

by checking the oracle book, each corresponding to one of the thirty-two hexagrams. It is said that the total number of the combination corresponded to the thirty-two transformations of Guanyin. It can be used to predict all daily affairs and business-related activities.<sup>61</sup> Fig. 5.3 illustrates the layout of the coins for divination.

Yinyuan's *Guanyin Oracle* can be traced back to China. Among various widespread divination methods in China, the *Guanyin Oracle* was particularly favored in the Qing dynasty. According to Lin Guoping, in Fujian area, the most popular Guanyin Oracle Book usually contains sixty poems or a hundred poems. Yinyuan's *Guanyin Oracle Book* contains only thirty-two poems, clearly representing a different tradition.<sup>62</sup> Further studies show that the content of Yinyuan's *Guanyin Oracle* corresponds to a popular oracle book in late imperial China, entitled *Efficacious Manual of Luminous Responses of Guanyin Bodhisattva (Guanshiyin pusa ganying lingke)*. It appears that this text is still popular in modern China and has been reprinted by Master Yinguang (1862–1940) in the republican era as well as more recently by Master Jingkong.<sup>63</sup>

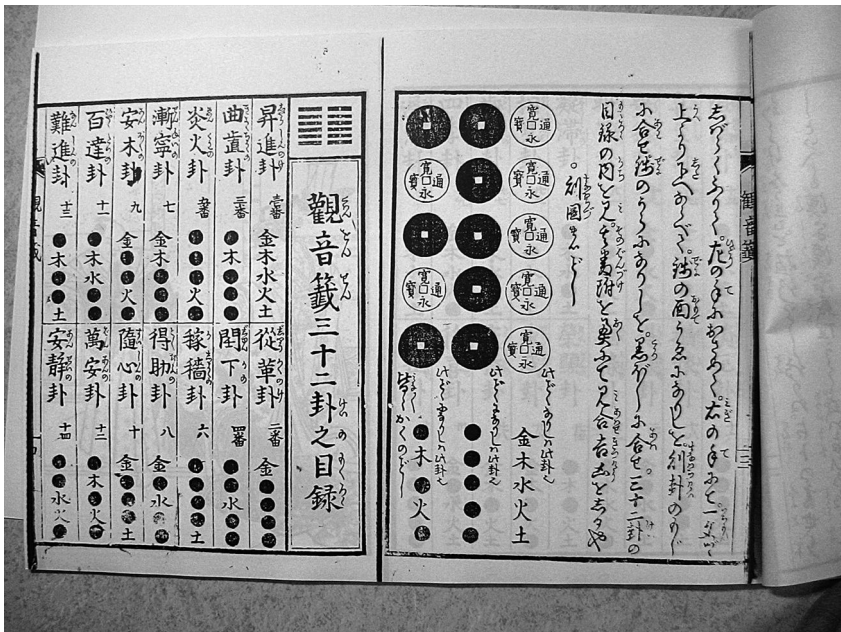


FIGURE 5.3 Diagram of Guanyin Oracle. Photo by Jiang Wu from Manupukuji Bunkaden Archive, July 2013.



Because the divination tradition has long been incorporated in the Buddhist tradition, it is not surprising that Yinyuan and other Chinese monks practiced divination. Since the medieval time, the use of the apocryphal sutra *Scripture of Divination* (*Zhanchajing*) and the oracle books such as *Oracle Slip of Tianzhu Monastery* (*Tianzhu lingqian*) attests to the popularity of divination in Chinese Buddhist tradition.<sup>64</sup> In the late Ming, *Scripture of Divination* was once again promoted by eminent monks such as Ouyi Zhixu according to Guo Liying's study.<sup>65</sup> The oracle poems and the divination methods associated with Yinyuan, though awaiting further study, show convincingly that Chinese monks in Japan had engaged in the long-standing Chinese divination practice and spread it within the popular culture of Edo society.<sup>66</sup>

### Conclusion

After Manpukuji was built with the help from the bakufu, Yinyuan's fame quickly reached all over Japan. The Japanese, both Buddhist clergy and elite, were eager to witness with their own eyes a living presence of an "authentic" Zen teacher and a man of high culture from China. However, the more exposed Yinyuan's teaching and practice became in front of the Japanese, the more suspicions and doubts developed among them. Helen Baroni, for example, already documented such suspicion and even criticism toward Yinyuan and his tradition. For example, the Rinzai monk Kyōrei, after attending the winter retreat at Kōfujuki in 1654–1655 led by Yinyuan, sent a letter to the Myōshinji elders Tokuō and Ryōkei. He pointed out frankly that in terms of Yinyuan's Buddhist practice, "the outer form looks like Jōdo-shū, but the inner looks like Zen-shū."<sup>67</sup> Teki Shuso of Myōshinji also commented on Yinyuan, pointing to his esoteric practices in particular:

Having had a thorough look at the Zen master Ingen (Yinyuan), when the summer training period came to a close, I was ready to leave. When you observe the style of teaching in his temple, it's *mondō* (dialogue) and lectures, just like Zen; but before you know it, they're chanting "Namu Amida Butsu!" just like the Pure Land school; then all of a sudden, they're performing mudras, drawing signs with their fingers, just like Shingon. Basically, it's like someone who's operating a variety store. One does not find here the ancient and revered practices of our school.<sup>68</sup>

Suzuki Shōzan, upon hearing the move to invite Yinyuan to Edo, worried whether he represented the authentic teaching for laymen. He commented, “I’ve heard something about how that Chinese priest runs his meditation hall. But how could the way he does it help laymen? That’s the only thing I long to do.”<sup>69</sup>

In Mujaku’s *Ōbaku geki* and Keirin Sūshin’s *Zenrin shūhei shō*, both authors point out the syncretic nature of Yinyuan’s teaching and practice, claiming that Yinyuan’s Zen was a deteriorated form of practice. One of the major accusations was that Yinyuan simply was not a pure Zen teacher. Rather, he was a practitioner of Pure Land Buddhism and was greatly influenced by the practices of the secular world. Such doubts led the eventual marginalization of Ōbaku Zen in Japan when Hakuin emerged to reform the Zen order.<sup>70</sup>

This chapter reveals different aspects of Yinyuan’s life and shows the complexity of his teaching, practice, and literary works. Contrary to his image as an authentic Zen teacher, his fame as a thaumaturge grew with time and was even mythologized through various obscure writings and popular literature. Clearly, the variety of Yinyuan’s teaching and practice created tension that became the source of contentions from the Japanese. Sometimes the multifaceted dimensions in Yinyuan’s teaching and practice cannot be reconciled easily, and simply reflect the syncretic nature of Ming Buddhism that Yinyuan had inherited.

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*Authenticity in Dispute*RESPONSES TO THE IDEAL OF AUTHENTICITY  
IN EDO JAPAN

IN CHAPTER 4 I INVESTIGATED how the bakufu chose to support Yinyuan as representing China to participate in a new Japan-centered world order. This does not mean, however, that the acceptance of Yinyuan and the imported Chinese tradition in early Edo society was smooth and without controversies and disputes. In chapter 5 I revealed the syncretic nature of Yinyuan's teaching and practice, which gave rise to open criticism. Upon his arrival, personal attacks and disputes were neverending. Yinyuan's opponents, such as Mujaku, questioned his motive of coming to Japan, attacked his moral integrity, and criticized his joint practice of Zen and Pure Land.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the ostentatious display of Yinyuan as the embodiment of the ideal of Zen teaching and Chinese culture met with contention in Edo Japan, as a quest for a unique Japanese identity emerged among Japanese Buddhists and intellectuals. This quest eventually led to the nativist movement initiated by the *Kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801).

The Japanese responses to Yinyuan on the spiritual and intellectual levels are therefore perfect examples to illustrate how such an identity search was full of negotiation, contradiction, and compromise. Because Yinyuan claimed to have the authentic dharma transmission and superb literary skills, the Japanese had high expectation of him. Some espoused and defended him because they accepted the ideal of authenticity Yinyuan represented. However, those who harbored a nativist sentiment questioned Yinyuan's authenticity. These two opposing responses can be



seen from the reactions of Japanese monks. A large number of Yinyuan's Japanese followers, including Ryōkei, were convinced that Yinyuan represented the authentic Zen teaching and that his presence would transform Japanese Buddhism. Consequently, to associate with Yinyuan meant to be close to the authentic Chinese culture represented by a living Chinese. However, for some monks, including Mujaku Dōchū and Keirin Sūshin, the syncretic nature of Yinyuan's teaching was subject to serious doubts about his authenticity claim.

So far, our understanding of the Japanese responses to Yinyuan, either positive or negative, largely relies on the accounts from sectarian perspectives. Accounts from monks with Ōbaku affiliation tended to paint a rosy picture about Yinyuan, while Yinyuan's strong opponents from the Myōshinji line denigrated him with personal attacks and sectarian bias. In this chapter I deliberately shun away from highly charged sectarian writings such as Mujaku's anecdotal *Ōbaku geki*. Rather, I would like to highlight the Japanese responses to Yinyuan and the ideal of authenticity from the perspectives of selected Japanese observers who are not directly related to Yinyuan himself. These responses dealt with the religious and cultural ideals Yinyuan embodied. First, I will focus on two Japanese intellectuals, Mukai Genshō and Yamaga Sokō, both of whom had contacts with Yinyuan and wrote about their individual impression of him. Both intellectuals shared a vigilant attitude toward foreign influences and attempted to locate Japan as the center among foreign cultures. Genshō incorporated Yinyuan as one of his targets of criticism in his thoughtful *Chapters on Realizing One's Shame (Chishihen)*. Yamaga Sokō made a detailed record about his encounter with Yinyuan in 1658. Although he did not comment on Yinyuan extensively, works of his such as *Actual Facts of the Central Dynasty (Chūchō jijitsu)* express a strong nativist sentiment by asserting Japan as the Central Dynasty (*Chūchō*). I consider his thought as an indirect rejoinder to the ideal of cultural authenticity Yinyuan represented. Judging from their responses, both Genshō and Sokō sought to remove China as the legitimate center of civilization.

However, their thoughts did not represent the mainstream belief of the mid-Edo intellectuals. The end of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century saw a remarkable rise of a Sinophilic fervor over things Chinese, with Chinese cultural ideals dominating the mentality of the Japanese *bunjin* class. Dokuan Genkō and Ogyū Sorai represented such a position, which defended the ideal of authenticity Yinyuan represented. Both of them delved into Chinese learning and sought to redefine

it on its own terms. Genkō, a neglected Sōtō monk and intellectual, had studied with Chinese monk Daozhe Chaoyuan and befriended Donggao Xinyue, who temporarily stayed at Kōtaiji in Nagasaki where he resided. Not only was he an eminent monk, he also researched on Chinese classics extensively. Although he did not study under Yinyuan, he was within the close circle of Japanese monks who associated with Chinese monks and was subjected to a strong Chinese influence. (His Kōtaiji was next to the Chinese temple Sōfukuji.) Ogyū Sorai, the renowned Ancient Learning (*Kogaku*) scholar, though not a contemporary of Yinyuan, had extensive contacts with Chinese monks at Manpukuji and even tried to learn colloquial Chinese with them. Although he lived in a much later time and had not had the chance to meet Yinyuan personally, he became interested in the authenticity of Yinyuan's epitaph, written by Qing official Du Lide (1611–1691). He completely discredited the facts presented in this epitaph based on his evidential research, thus defending Yinyuan against possible forgery according to his own understanding. As I will show, Du's epitaph is consistent with Yinyuan's biographical sources and followed established Chinese conventions. Sorai's investigation into Yinyuan's biographical writing only shows his confidence to judge Yinyuan according to his standard of "authenticity studies."

### *Authenticity and Its Discontent: Mukai Genshō and Yamaga Sokō*

#### Mukai Genshō's Criticism of Yinyuan

Mukai Genshō (1609–1677) was one of the early Japanese intellectuals exposed to Western science and medical knowledge. According to his biography, written by his student the Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), he grew up in Nagasaki and was educated with traditional Chinese and Japanese learning, and possibly Western learning in arithmetic and music as well. He worked particularly hard on Chinese medical scholarship. Throughout his life, he wrote approximately seventeen books, including *Explanation of Heaven and Earth* (*Kenkon bensetsu*), which he transliterated and edited based on the Portuguese Jesuit priest and apostate Sawano Chūan's (Christovão Ferreira, 1580–1650) work. He also practiced medicine and became a famous doctor in Kyoto, where he died in 1677. In 1639 he was put in charge of inspecting books brought from China and to report on any books containing references to Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

In 1647 he built the Confucian Academy (Seidō) in Nagasaki and was appointed the school director. His descendants held this position until the end of the bakufu rule. (See Fig. 6.1 for the remaining gate of Nagasaki Confucian Academy.)

A few years later, in 1657, he wrote a book titled *Chapters on Realizing One's Shame* (*Chishihen*) in three fascicles, sending it to Shinto master Higaki Shineaki (1582–1662). To deliberately ridicule and humiliate those Xenophilic Japanese, he used the pen name “Garbage-Picking Slave” (*Shōkido*). In this work, he attacked all recent foreign influences such as Christianity and Chinese Buddhism from the perspective of the native Shintoism. Moreover, he was critical of some Japanese for blindly following the foreigners.<sup>3</sup> Yinyuan was included among his list of criticisms following Genshō’s witnessing of the sensation stirred by Yinyuan’s arrival in 1654. He commented on Myōshinji monks’ devotion to Yinyuan, as mentioned in chapter 5.

In particular, Genshō praised Ieyasu for his Kami-like virtue and his ability to regenerate Japan as a nation. He claimed that the Japanese in



**FIGURE 6.1** Remains of Nagasaki Seidō founded by Mukai Genshō. Ironically, it is now moved inside Kōfukuji, where Yinyuan stayed. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, August 2013.

his time had forgotten Japan was the land of Kami (*shinkoku*) and shamelessly pursued exotic, foreign lifestyles. For him, compared with China, which followed the Way of Heaven, Japan was superior in race, language, and natural scenery. Unlike other countries around China that submitted themselves to the China-centered tribute system, Japan never adopted Chinese reign names. According to his understanding, when Prince Shōtoku (574–622) supported Confucianism and Buddhism, he argued that Shinto was the root of Japan, and Confucianism and Buddhism were only the supporting branches. However, Buddhists shamelessly invented the theory of Kamis as local manifestations of Buddhas, which has often been expressed as “original substance manifests traces” (*honji suijaku*).<sup>4</sup> Thus, in Genshō’s eyes, they have turned the country of Shintō into that of the Buddha.

Because Yinyuan was the most recent visitor calling at Nagasaki, Genshō gave special attention to him and felt that the Japanese monks, in particular the Myōshinji monks who welcomed Yinyuan, humiliated themselves by studying with him. At the time Genshō wrote the book *Chishihen*, there had been rumors that Yinyuan stayed at Edo and was promoted by the bakufu. Genshō opposed this strongly, appealing to the authority.<sup>5</sup>

Genshō discussed Yinyuan throughout his book, especially in the third fascicle, with descriptions of his practice, quotations from Yinyuan’s *Recorded Sayings* published in Japan, and various anecdotes about him. Mukai Genshō complained that Yinyuan had demanded that those Japanese monks who practiced with him follow Chinese monastic routine. By adopting the Chinese monastic practice, Japanese monks completely abandoned their own tradition.

Genshō commented on the foreign customs Yinyuan brought to Japan:

In our country Japan, the Way of Heaven is not transgressed, the affection of the kami is clear, and the efforts of the people are satisfactory. We have been preserved from disgrace precisely because we are not contaminated by foreign customs.

.....

The Japanese monks under Master Yinyuan have all abandoned the priestly ways of their own country and adopted the customs of China. Their behavior is ridiculous, and [they] should be ashamed. I consider it disgraceful that they have without good cause altered the proper lifestyle followed by Japanese priests since times of old.

If this is something that Master Yinyuan has encouraged, I can only wonder about his inner intentions.<sup>6</sup>

He suspected that Yinyuan intended to form his own faction by demanding Japanese monks change to Chinese style of practice and by giving all visitors, regardless of whether they belonged to his own lineage or not, dharma names in his lineage. He questioned Yinyuan's intention of doing it.<sup>7</sup>

Genshō also heard that public debates had been held regarding the matter of inviting Yinyuan to be the abbot of Myōshinji. He was aware of the two opposing views, one represented by Gudō Tōshoku (1577–1661) for maintaining the Myōshinji founder Kanzan Egen's (1277–1360) line and the other for changing Kanzan's line to Zhongfeng Mingben's lineage represented by Miyun, Feiyin, and Yinyuan. For Mukai Genshō, this was shameful since it meant that some Myōshinji monks had forgotten the kindness (*on*) of their founder Kanzan.<sup>8</sup>

While denouncing Yinyuan, Genshō praised another Chinese monk, Daozhe Chaoyuan, who came prior to Yinyuan but was forced to go back to China because he was not Yinyuan's dharma heir. Daozhe Chaoyuan hailed from Putian in Xinghua prefecture, and was Yinyuan's dharma brother Genxin Xingmi's dharma heir. He arrived in Sōfukuji in 1651 and became the third abbot. In 1652 he was invited to Hirado by the lord Matsuura Shigenobu (1622–1703) to Fumonji. It is under him that Japanese monks such as Bankei Yōtaku, Egoku Dōmyō (1632–1721), and Dokuan Genkō studied. When Yinyuan was invited to Sōfukuji, Daozhe became the temple supervisor (*jiansi*). In 1657, when Jifei came to Sōfukuji, he was caught in a difficult situation about the validity of his dharma transmission. His Japanese student Bankei suggested that when Daozhe's teacher Genxin Xingmi sent the certificate of dharma transmission to Daozhe in Nagasaki as a proof, Yinyuan intercepted it and destroyed it.<sup>9</sup> Facing the oppression of his fellow Chinese monks, he returned to China, perhaps unwillingly, in 1658. (*OBJ* 263) Daozhe seemed to have been truly admired by his Japanese followers. His existing *Recorded Sayings*, compiled by his Japanese disciples, also confirmed that he was a modest teacher who rarely held the ceremony of ascending the hall. (We will discuss Daozhe further in the following section on Dokuan Genkō's thought.)

Genshō praised Daozhe for his virtue of modesty and simplicity. In his eyes, Daozhe solely concentrated on Buddha's teaching by means of meditation practice and chanting sutras.<sup>10</sup> For example, he described one

occasion of walking meditation Daozhe organized in the spring of 1654. During a hundred days, monks and laypeople chanted Buddha's name in Chinese pronunciation and walked in meditation with the wish to be reborn in Pure Land. More impressive was that Daozhe, as a Chinese, never gave even one sentence for instruction.<sup>11</sup> In contrast to Daozhe, who was modest, Yinyuan was "ambitious" and "pretentious" in Genshō's eyes.

Apparently, Genshō had read Yinyuan's publication carefully and particularly singled out Yinyuan's reply to Yiran's invitation letters for criticism. He quoted the entire reply from Yinyuan's *Drafted Records of Master Huangbo* (*Huangbo caolu*, i.e., *Yinyuan chanshi xulu*, reprinted in Nagasaki) and questioned Yinyuan's true intention of coming to Japan. In his reply to the invitation extended by Yiran, Yinyuan expressed his intention to entrust his teaching to the Japanese ruler and officials. However, Genshō questioned, if "Yinyuan even could not bless the Ming, how could he bring fortune to Japan?"<sup>12</sup> For him, Yinyuan's letter is full of arrogance, cunningness, and lies. It appears to Genshō that Yinyuan wanted to spread his own teaching in Japan and to change Japanese Buddhism to the Chinese style. But Genshō contended that Japan has its own way of practicing Buddhism since the antiquity. If Japanese monks wanted to follow Yinyuan, shame for these Japanese monks! Moreover, "the shame of Japanese monks is the shame of Japan."<sup>13</sup> Genshō protested bitterly.

Genshō also disputed the common belief that Yinyuan was one of the rare enlightened teachers in the three hundred years of the Ming dynasty. He rejected the claim that there was no enlightened master in Japan for three hundred years and only Yinyuan could revitalize Japanese Buddhism. According to Genshō, some Japanese appeared to have believed that Buddha's teaching relied on the mind transmission and it didn't make a difference to change to the Chinese way of practice or even shift to the Chinese dharma transmission lines. They also followed Yinyuan by chanting scriptures in Chinese pronunciations. In Yinyuan's assembly, men and women joined together during the night. However, Genshō regarded the "way of practice" as the seal of the enlightenment of one's own mind, authenticating one's dharma transmission. For him, during his time, the Chinese way of practice and Chinese customs no longer represented the authentic Chinese style because China had been occupied by the Manchus. Genshō even considered Yinyuan's coming a bad omen for Japan because when Miyun Yuanwu, Feiyin Tongrong, and Yinyuan Longqi revived Chan teaching in China, the Ming dynasty was lost to the Manchus. As Genshō pointed out from reading Yinyuan's records, Yinyuan had prayed for the

last Ming emperor Chongzhen and one of the Southern Ming emperors Hongguang. However, both of them had died miserably—Chongzhen hung himself when Li Zicheng’s rebel army sacked Beijing in 1644 and Hongguang was captured and killed shortly after he was transferred to Beijing in 1645. These were not auspicious signs for Genshō. For him, “Buddha’s teaching and the secular world can not stand side by side.” If one rises, the other would fall.<sup>14</sup>

Genshō had examples of the bad omens Yinyuan brought to Japan. He recorded the following ones: When Yinyuan entered Kōfukuji on the eighteenth day of the seventh month of 1654, he had prayed for the longevity of the Japanese emperor. However, the emperor died about sixty days later.<sup>15</sup> Anecdotally, Genshō heard that there was a tomb close to the abbot chamber at Kōfukuji where Yinyuan lived. Yinyuan purportedly complained that “This tomb is right under my head. If the person in the tomb arises, it will cause trouble.” He thus asked the tomb owner to dig the corpse out and move it away quickly.<sup>16</sup> For Genshō, this constituted heresy and black magic (*itan yōjutsu*). Genshō also insinuated that in order to bring good fortune according to the *fengshui* principles, upon his arrival at Kōfukuji, Yinyuan made some architectural modification to the Buddha hall, built a new meditation hall and abbot’s chamber, and even changed the direction of the main gate.<sup>17</sup> Here, though biased and wicked, Genshō’s remarks corroborated the fact about Yinyuan’s syncretic practice that we discovered in the previous chapter. That is, Yinyuan believed in supernatural forces and was deeply involved in the practice of divination and geomancy.

Genshō also linked Yinyuan’s coming to Japan with the unsettled political situation in China. Being aware of the recent Manchu conquest of China and the resistance movement in the south led by Zheng Chenggong, Genshō was fully cognizant of the fact that Yinyuan was sent to Japan by Zheng Chenggong’s fleet. He was therefore wondering about what Zheng Chenggong had told Yinyuan before his departure, implying that Yinyuan had a secret mission. He also mentioned Yinyuan’s teacher Feiyin Tongrong, who resided in Jingshan within Yuhang county at that time. But Genshō erroneously described it as located in Nanjing, which was occupied by the Manchus. The reason for this reference is that he noticed that just four or five months after Yinyuan arrived in Nagasaki, Yinyuan sent his disciple back to China, bringing letters and gifts to Feiyin, who was assumed to have resided in the Manchu-occupied region. Yinyuan was then invited to the capital and later to Edo. With wild imagination, Genshō surmised that Yinyuan might have established a secret



connection between the authorities in Edo and the Manchus in Nanjing.<sup>18</sup> Genshō's suspicion was echoed by Kumazawa Banzan, who saw Yinyuan's arrival as an aftermath of the Manchu invasion.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, in Genshō's eyes, foreigners coming to Japan, including monks, must harbor the thought of rebellion. Yinyuan once again served Genshō as a wonderful example. Genshō claimed that in Yinyuan's records, he emphasized that he always acted at the advantage of his time and responded to the current circumstance. However, Genshō argued, this demonstrated exactly how "evil" Yinyuan was, since circumstance could be right or wrong. If one follows the wrong circumstance, their action must be evil.<sup>20</sup>

Genshō also disputed about the claim that Yinyuan was more intelligent than Japanese monks. Some Japanese marveled that when they engaged in "brush conversation" (*hitsudan*) with him, Yinyuan wrote fluently without showing a sign of deliberation and hesitation, while Japanese monks had to pause and think how to write. Genshō argued that writing in his native language, Yinyuan was naturally more fluent. Since for Japanese monks Chinese was a foreign language, it was no wonder they wrote slower. In this case, Genshō surmised, Japanese monks were actually superior to Yinyuan because they not only knew Chinese but also could use Japanese.<sup>21</sup>

### Yamaga Sokō's Encounter Dialogue with Yinyuan

Sokō started his Chinese learning with Hayashi Razan (Hayashi Dōshun, 1583–1657) and his brother Hayashi Eiki (?–1638) when he was only nine years old. At the age of sixteen, he was already capable of giving lectures on the *Great Learning* for the first time. The Japanese learning was not neglected, either, as Sokō was well versed in Japanese history and had read numerous Japanese classics. Since he was young, he had studied Japanese classics and commentaries by Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402–1481) and once grown up, he received instructions from the Shinto scholar Hirota Tansai. According to his diary, he studied the two chapters of "Genealogy of Gods" in *Chronicles of Japan (Nihon shoki)* when he was sixteen years old (1639). He also studied with the Shingon monk from Kōyasan Kōyū Hōin, who transmitted the "joint practice of Shintō with two mandalas" (*Ryōbu shūgō shintō*), a unique Shingon-Shinto practice based on the belief of the "local manifestation of Buddhas" (*honji suijaku*). In addition, his learning of Japanese classics such as *Records of Ancient Events (Kojiki)* and *Chronicles*



of Japan (*Nihon shoki*) might have been influenced by an apocryphal text, *The Classics of Great Accomplishment which Records Imperial Genealogy in Ancient Events from Previous Generations* (*Sendai Kuji hong'i Taiseikyō*) by the Ōbaku monk Chōon Dōkai (1628–1695).<sup>22</sup>

He was taught military science and later created his own military tradition named after him (*Yamagaryū heigaku*). After he grew up, he served many lords and in particular befriended Hirado lord Matsuura Shigenobu, who was a supporter of Yinyuan. However, because of the publication of his *Fundamentals of the Sacred Teaching* (*Seikyō Yōroku*) in 1665 in which he criticized Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, he was banished to Akō, where he has been said to have inspired the suicide of the famous forty-seven rōnins in 1703. His reputation as a nationalist and master of "Way of the Samurai" (*bushidō*) reached its height in the Meiji period. His writing *Actual Facts of the Central Dynasty* (*Chūchō jijitsu*) was made famous by General Nogi Maresuke (1849–1912), who presented this work to the new Taishō emperor three days before he committed *seppuku* suicide for the past Meiji emperor.<sup>23</sup>

In his autobiography, Sokō confessed that in his early age he also revered the Buddha sincerely and cited his meeting with Yinyuan as proof. He added that in his middle age, "I also held Buddhism in particular high regard. I met the famous priests of the Five Monasteries and other monasteries and took delight in learning from them and in acquiring enlightenment. I even met the Abbot Ingen (Yinyuan)."<sup>24</sup>

Sokō met Yinyuan and had a short conversation with him during Yinyuan's trip to Edo in 1658. Their meeting place was Rinshōin monastery, which is still extant in Yushima, Tokyo (see Fig. 6.2). He was thirty-seven in that year and his thought was still in a formative stage. He was introduced to Yinyuan by the Hirado lord Matsuura Shigenobu, with whom he had been associated. His chronological biography has the following record, which I translated here.

On the sixteenth day of the seventh month I visited Tentakuji (Rinshōin) and met Zen master Yinyuan (the twenty-eighth generation from Linji and the abbot of Huangbo monastery).

I ASKED: "To meet a venerable teacher here is indeed a rare opportunity in a thousand years. I have no single dharma to be able to ask you. But I humbly beg your kind instruction."

YINYUAN SAID: "What kind of thing is the person who has nothing



FIGURE 6.2 Entrance of Rinshōin at Tokyo. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, March 2011.

to ask?” He later said again: “If you have broken through the pass of no affair, then there is no affair.”

I ASKED: “Here I am attending you and start a conversation. You instruct me in your method (*saryaku*). I am about to stroke through the tiger’s beard without knowing the deep sludge under my feet. Shouldn’t this be fearful? Today, where is my ‘tangling vine’ (*kattō*)?”

THE MASTER SAID: “Your two questions seem contradictory.”

I SAID: “Expressions are different but the meaning is the same.”

THE MASTER THEN RAISED HIS WHISK: “What is this?” Then he put it down. “What is this then?”

I SAID: “Your disciple (Sokō) usually have no affair in my mind. Didn’t you have anything in your mind either?”

Yinyuan was silent. Then I stood up to excuse myself from the seat with a bow. The master suddenly uttered a shout. But I simply unfolded my fan and waved it, bursting into loud laughter. The master said: “Please don’t treat Buddha’s teaching as a play thing.” I bowed and then left. The master then called me and said: “Please don’t throw this matter away.” But I stood up and bowed to leave.<sup>25</sup>

There were attendants standing behind the Chan master: Tokūō, Setsudō, Dōin from Tentakuji on the left. The Matsuura lord introduced me first. The Chan master left Edo in the twenty-eight days in the eleventh month.

This is a typical record of encounter dialogue that is often seen in Zen literature. The uniqueness is that it happened between a Chinese monk and a Japanese intellectual. It is not known how the conversation was conducted and how the language barriers were overcome. Both of them were not fluent enough to converse in either colloquial Chinese or Japanese. It is likely the conversation was conveyed through writing in classical Chinese or through a capable interpreter. What is remarkable is that despite the awkwardness of communication, the sense of spontaneity was preserved in the record.

Sokō showed his due respect to Yinyuan but indicated that he knew Zen literature very well. In the beginning he presented a riddle for Yinyuan to solve. He claimed that he had nothing to ask about, suggesting he had reached the state of “no affair.” But he still asked Yinyuan to instruct him. Yinyuan saw through this and pointed out that the self of a person without affair has to be clarified. If the self is eliminated, then the person is truly without any affair. Sokō then changed his topic by asking a new question. This question is puzzling and not very clear in its meaning. Sokō seems to suggest that he had a problem, which he referred to as “tangling vine.” According to Sokō’s account Yinyuan was clueless about his questions and suggested that Sokō’s questions contradict each other. Sokō, however, insisted they are related. Yinyuan tried to divert the conversation to a riddle he improvised: he raised his whisk and then put it down. Then he asked Sokō to figure out the meaning of his actions. Sokō was not intimidated. Rather, he challenged Yinyuan’s spiritual attainment: “I usually have no affair in my mind. Didn’t you have nothing in your mind either?” In this statement/question, Sokō insinuated that he had reached a spiritual attainment of no affair and Yinyuan had not yet arrived. In Sokō’s record, Yinyuan became speechless and tried his typical technique of shouting. Sokō responded with laughter and intended to leave with victory. Yinyuan then became upset and tried to bring Sokō back to the conversation because he realized Sokō may not be very serious about his spiritual quest. But Sokō seemed to have claimed the upper hand and left with self-satisfaction.

Compared with other records in Sokō’s biography, this entry is unusual because it documented in detail about an encounter dialogue. Rather than simply writing down the event of visiting Yinyuan, Sokō reconstructed a confrontation between a Chinese and a Japanese. How reliable this record was is not known because Yinyuan did not have any references in his writing to corroborate this event. This is understandable because Yinyuan was

busy during his stay in Edo and had to meet people more prominent than Sokō. At the time of this meeting, Sokō was only in his middle age and was not as famous as he later became. Many of his important works were not yet written. This encounter did not merit Yinyuan's attention.

Sokō's meeting with Yinyuan occurred at the juncture of his moving away from a pro-Buddhist mentality to an intensive study of the Chinese Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi's philosophy. After he turned thirty-five years old, he concentrated on Zhu Xi's learning, but soon became a critic of Zhu Xi. He then advocated the superiority of Japanese learning and the importance of Japanese classics. Consequently, Sokō's attitude toward Buddhism also underwent several changes. In his writing, he largely followed the Chinese Neo-Confucian attitude toward Buddhism and considered it as inferior to Confucianism but having the function of assisting the sagely governance.<sup>26</sup> After this encounter, he did not have contacts with Yinyuan and his disciples. He did, however, mention Gaoquan, Yinyuan's dharma grandson and the fifth Manpukuji abbot. He recorded the hearsay that Gaoquan was extremely frugal and simple about his diet, even eating raw food. Sokō, however, saw this as the degeneration of Buddhism. Without appreciating human cuisine and food preparation, Buddhist teaching might lead human beings to be close to animals.<sup>27</sup>

If we adopt a performance theory perspective to analyze this encounter, we can see that both Sokō and Yinyuan intended to enact "performance" and enliven ancient cases of encounter dialogue. As I have revealed in my analysis of the performance of encounter dialogues in seventeenth-century China, it "was distinctly real because through the manipulation of religious symbols and the reenactment of textualized encounter scenes, a 'performatively created reality' corresponded with the collective imagination of the past among the audience."<sup>28</sup> However, such a sense of reality is predicated on the condition of mutual understanding and consensus on the meaning of koan literature in order to create an ineffable sense of "fit" among the participants. It seems that in the dialogue between Sokō and Yinyuan, such a sense of "fit" is lost. In performance theory, this is typically referred to as "performance failure" because no agreement has been reached.

Its recreation in Sokō's biography only showed the importance in his intellectual growth. The confrontation between an eminent Chinese and a Japanese could only be understood if we consider Sokō's radical reinterpretation of the meaning of "China" and his assertion that Japan, rather than China, is the central land of civilization.

Sokō's *Chūchō jijitsu* expressed such a view in the most systematic way and articulated a typical "Japanese consciousness of civilization versus barbarianism."<sup>29</sup> This work, written in 1670 when he was exiled to Akō, was a systematic account of the history of Japan from the antiquity, starting from the founding of the nation as a Kami state. Centering on the genealogy of Japanese emperors, Sokō largely followed the Japanese history *Chronicle of Japan (Nihon shoki)* in order to outline a theory of nation-building. The key idea of this work is that Japan is the center of the world created by gods. In his view, Japan's political institutions, sagely governance, divine teaching, ritual protocols, and military power are all superior to that in other nations. In his *Leftover Words in Exile (Haisho zanpitsu)*, he listed three reasons to support such a view: first, Japan has an unbroken line of imperial throne, second, Japan was revered by its neighbors and was never conquered by foreigners, and third, Japan possessed essential virtues of civilization that outshone China's.<sup>30</sup>

What is fascinating is that Sokō repeatedly called Japan the "Central Dynasty" (*Chūchō*), "Central Kingdom" (*Chūgoku*), and "Central Efflorescence" (*Chūka*), which were traditionally used to refer to China proper as a cultural and geographical concept. He found his support from *Nihon shoki*.

In the "Genealogy of Gods," *Nihon shoki* delineated a creation myth of the Japanese nation. In a nutshell, the two gods Izanagi and Izanami created the island of Onokorojima as the pillar of the land of Great Japan, and then gave names to all eight great continents. In many places, *Nihon shoki* described the land they created as "Central Kingdom" (*Chūgoku*), an interpretation that Sokō paid much attention to. After quoting the original words from *Nihon shoki* about the creation of Onokorojima, Sokō added his explanation: "Onokorojima Island is an island created from self-coagulation, which means that it is independent without support. The 'middle of the country' (*Kokuchū*) means the 'Central Kingdom.'"<sup>31</sup>

Sokō quoted another reference to "Chūgoku" in the "Genealogy of Gods," which said that God Takami musubi intended to let his "Heavenly Grandson" God Ninigi be the lord of the human world, which is called the "Central Kingdom of Reed-Plains" (*Ashihara no nakatsukuni*). Here, Chinese characters for "Central Kingdom" should be pronounced as "Ashihara no nakatsukuni." It is commonly understood that the "Central Kingdom" is the land of human beings situated between heaven (*Takaamanohara*) and the underground world (*Yomotsukuni*).<sup>32</sup> Sokō made his own comments about the use of this term in *Nihon shoki*:

This is the reason that our country has been called “Central Kingdom.” The text [of *Nihon shoki*] before also said that “Amaterasu-ōmikami” proclaimed in heaven: “In the Central Kingdom of Reed-Plains there is a God of Food (Ukemochi no Kami). Therefore, the name of ‘Chūgoku’ has been like this since the remote antiquity.”<sup>33</sup>

For Sokō, “Chūgoku” is purely a geographical concept that refers to the central land surrounded by myriad countries. Moreover, different from China, the foundation of Japanese Civilization was the use of “Martial Prowess” (*bui*) and “Martial Virtue” (*butoku*), represented by the divine weapon “Heavenly Jeweled Halberd” (*Ama no nuhoko*). Sokō remarked,

The fact that the halberd was made from jewels is [showing] the non-killing sacred martial virtue. When the world was not yet civilized and human knowledge not developed, the violence and evils were conquered and cruel bandits were scared away. Without Martial Prowess (*bui*) [it] could never be gained. Therefore, the heavenly descendant’s coming to earth is also said to be following the halberd and jewels. There are natural reasons for the fact that the foreign dynasty [China] and all the barbarians can never achieve the authority and military force of the Central Dynasty [Japan].<sup>34</sup>

Based on his reading of *Nihon shoki*, he was proud that Japan is now the “Central Kingdom,” representing the superior civilization. In his preface to this work, he claimed:

I was born into the land of Central Efflorescence (*Chūka*, referring to Japan here) with Civilization. Yet, without realizing how beautiful it is, I have been indulged in the classics of “outer dynasty” (*gaichō*, referring to China here) and admired their people and things greatly. How careless I became! How aimless I was! Or was I attracted by curiosities? Would I follow those outlandish things? It is that the land of the “Central Kingdom” (Japan) stands out among thousands of states and her people and produces are superior in the world. Therefore, her myriad of gods, continuous sagely governance, brilliant cultural establishment, and the magnificent military virtues are comparable to Heaven and Earth.<sup>35</sup>

In his preface, which I translated partially, he regretted his previous indulgence in Chinese learning and his negligence of Japan's own culture. He admitted that before his awakening he was looking for outlandish things aimlessly. This might have led him to Yinyuan because of curiosity and admiration. But his account of the encounter clearly showed his independence and arrogance in front of an eminent Chinese monk.

The phrases of "Chūgoku" and "Chūka bumei" were common in Chinese classics. Under the political ideology of a China-centered world order based on the distinction of civilized and barbarian, China represents the place of "Central Kingdom," which is both a cultural concept and a geographical center. However, Sokō applied these categories to Japan and believed what made Japan a place of "Central Efflorescence" was her adoption of rites. He claimed,

The reason Japan is called "Central Efflorescence" is because of this [concept of] rite. Barbarians are humans too. But their nations have governance. Animals are things but they also group together according to different types. The reason why they are barbarians and animals is that they do not perform rites. If humans do not have rites, they are not different from animals; if Central Efflorescence does not have rites, it is not different from barbarians.<sup>36</sup>

Here, it is clear that Sokō adopted the Chinese division of civilization and barbarianism and placed rites at the center of the distinction. His idea, however, deviated from the Chinese concept on two aspects. First, he abandoned the geographical restriction of the idea of civilization to China only. Second, he regarded barbarians as human beings as well, while the Chinese intellectuals did not even consider barbarians human: they were simply between humans and animals. Third, if they were also human beings, the only difference between barbarians and civilized people was the ability to perform rites.

In his treatise, all the references such as "Central Kingdom," "Central Efflorescence," and "Civilization" were used to name Japan. China was simply referred to as "foreign dynasty" (*gaichō* or *ichō*). Sokō was aware of the possible doubts about his use of conventional concepts and prepared to defend himself. In particular, he had to explain the relationship between this "Central Kingdom" (Japan) and China.

In his world map, both Japan and China were situated at the center of the world. The difference is that Japan has a genealogy of gods. Moreover,



Heaven gives birth to Japan at the center and the two gods (Izanagi and Izanami) created the pillar of the nation. Therefore, it is natural for Japan to be the “Central Kingdom.”<sup>37</sup>

Sokō had to admit that China remained the leading nation in history and culture and Japan and Korea followed. Although Japan and China shared the “essence of the universe,” Japan’s excellence was more authentic. Moreover, China had five shortcomings. First, the territory of China is vast but lacks natural barriers. Therefore, more garrisons had to be built and troops had to be deployed. Second, because of her closeness to neighboring barbarians, China had to constantly reinforce the forts along the Great Wall, thus impoverishing her people. Third, border troops did not fulfill their duty. Rather, they either fought China together with the “barbarians” or surrendered to them for personal reasons. Fourth, it was easy for the tribal people in the north such as Huns and Khitans to invade China. Fifth, eventually, because of these disasters, a Chinese dynasty was overthrown and the royal household name was replaced. On the contrary, Japan was situated right in the middle and surrounded by the ocean. Even the Mongol army was not able to invade her.<sup>38</sup>

According to Sokō, Japan’s uniqueness does not prevent it from learning from China and adopting classical Chinese as its written language, together with native Japanese writings. (In fact his *Chūchō jijitsu* was written in classical Chinese.) He thought there was no reason for Japan to “defend its shortcoming and reject foreign influences.” Japan needed to learn from China because Japan and China were similar and China survived longer than Japan with much to learn from. Moreover, China and Japan only differ because the natural environment was different.<sup>39</sup>

### *Authenticity and Its Defenders: Dokuan Genkō and Ogyū Sorai*

#### Dokuan Genkō’s Quest for Authenticity

Dokuan Genkō (1630–1698) was known as both a Zen master and an exegete of Chinese classics. He was a Sōtō monk, a much neglected figure. Well-versed in Chinese classics and respecting Chinese culture, he had close ties with Chinese monks in Nagasaki and mainland China. He first studied with the Chinese monk Daozhe. He could have studied with Yinyuan and his Chinese disciples after they arrived. However, because of his loyalty to Daozhe, he chose to live like a hermit and devoted himself



to the study of Chinese classics. Eventually he received the Sōtō transmission and resided in Kōtaiji. His scholarship was not well known during the Edo period, but Ogyū Sorai discovered his works on Chinese classics and admired him at the highest regard. As a Sōtō master he was remembered as an advocate for the Sōtō reform of dharma transmission. He was also a meditator and composed a meditation manual called “Nine Perceptions of Foulness” (*Kusō*), which has been introduced to the English world by Michel Mohr.<sup>40</sup> As a scholar of Chinese learning, he conducted philological studies on Confucian and Daoist classics, history, and Tang poems and jotted down his notes in Chinese. Genkō’s major work *Senseless Talk* (*Sengo*) was published in 1681.

He immersed himself in Confucian learning and was critical of Neo-Confucianism from a philological perspective. Challenging Zhu Xi and Cheng brothers’ Neo-Confucian understanding, he questioned Neo-Confucian interpretation and deliberately used philological works in the Han dynasty as his basis. According to Kanda Kiichirō, some of his views and evidential scholarship were even ahead of Chinese evidential scholars such as Wang Yinzhi (1766–1834), Jiao Xun (1763–1820), and Liu Baonan (1792–1859). His approach was greatly admired by Edo Confucians such as Sorai, who frequently quoted him in his work. His fame reached China at the end of the nineteenth century, along with Sorai’s work.<sup>41</sup>

His achievement largely relied on his superior skills in Chinese language, including colloquial Chinese, which he acquired through learning with Chinese monks and Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki. He first studied with Daozhe Chaoyuan from 1651 to 1658 and became his loyal disciple. Some scholars have even suggested that it is possible that Genkō actually received Daozhe’s dharma transmission.

As I have shown in previous discussions, Daozhe was a Chinese monk whose teaching and practice were much appreciated by the Japanese. Yinyuan’s opponents, such as Mukai Genshō, used him as a positive example of Yinyuan’s opposite. Genkō’s fellow monk and good friend Egoku Dōmyō, however, switched to Yinyuan and became Mu’an’s dharma heir. Egoku was referred to as one of the “Three Outstanding Ōbaku Teachers” (*Ōbaku sanketsu*). Initially known as Ehan, Egoku first came with his teacher Jikuin to welcome Yinyuan’s disciple Yelan in 1651 and later became a close attendant for Daozhe Chaoyuan. Together with Chōon Dōkai, who read Feiyin’s *Wudeng yantong* and was thus attracted to Yinyuan, he later received Mu’an’s transmission. In the seventh month of

1686, Dokuan Genkō visited him in Osaka and Genkō decided to publish Daozhe's *Recorded Sayings* compiled by Egoku.<sup>42</sup>

Judging from Daozhe's *Recorded Sayings*, a rare book published by Genkō, we can tell that Daozhe's teaching was more prudent in cultivation and never aggressive in asserting his spiritual orthodoxy as Yinyuan and his disciples did. After Yinyuan arrived, Daozhe could not even live in Nagasaki anymore because a purge of monks without Yinyuan's dharma transmission forced him to go back to China. As Daozhe's loyal disciple, Genkō must have had reservations about Yinyuan and his teaching. He chose not to study under Yinyuan and his disciples. However, Genkō kept a good relationship with Chinese monks in Nagasaki, including Jifei Ruyi and Donggao Xinyue. He did not like Mu'an very much and when Mu'an wrote a preface for Japanese Sōtō monk Manzan's reprinted version of Dōgen's *Extended Collection* (*Eihei kōroku*), Genkō criticized Mu'an's preface. In addition to Daozhe, the Chinese monks he admired the most were Yunqi Zhuhong and the Caodong monk Yongjue Yuanxian, whom he never met but whose work he had read a great deal of. Rather than going to Manpukuji to seek recognition, he turned to China proper for legitimation. Through Chinese merchants in Nagasaki, he asked Yongjue Yuanxian's disciple Weilin Daopei (1615–1702), also an eminent monk presiding in Gushan monastery in Fuzhou, to write a preface for his work *Words in Solitude* (*Dokugo*).<sup>43</sup> In addition, Weilin wrote the plaque of his temple which was still hanged there (Fig. 6.3).

Although Genkō did not comment on Yinyuan and his Ōbaku tradition extensively in his writing, he did absorb many thoughts from him. One essential principle of Yinyuan's Chan teaching that resonated with him was the strict definition of dharma transmission. He consciously applied the idea to the reform of Sōtō Zen sect.

As I have outlined in chapter 2, before Chinese monks arrived, the Sōtō monasteries adopted the so-called "temple transmission system" (*garanbō*), which switched a given monk's dharma transmission to the lineage of the monasteries he presided over. William M. Bodiford makes the following description of the system in the Sōtō tradition:

At one time in the Sōtō school the normative form of *shihō* (succession of dharma—my addition) was for a monk to inherit the Dharma lineage of the temple at which he resided. In this institutional form of transmission, known as *garanbō* (temple Dharma



**FIGURE 6.3** Kōtaiji's title written by Chinese monk Weilin Daopei. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, August 2013.

[lineage]), if a monk resided at temple “A” he would inherit the Dharma lineage of the founder of that temple. If he himself later became abbot of temple “B” that had a different founder, he would replace his previous *shihō* with a new lineage that would connect him to the founder of temple “B” and each of its subsequent abbots. This would be done even if the monk in question had never met any of the former abbots of temple “B.” For any given temple the Dharma lineage of its abbots would always be the same (*garanbō*), but with regard to any individual abbot, his Dharma lineage would change every time he was appointed to a new temple that was of a different lineage faction. In other words, depending (*in*) upon the temple (*in*) that a monk presided over, he would change (*eki*) his lineage (*shi*), a process known as *in'in ekishi*. The institutional requirement of *in'in ekishi* appears to have been widespread during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>44</sup>

The confusion of dharma transmission behooved serious consideration in order to maintain consistency. A reform aiming at “restoration to the past” took form and was led by a group of Sōtō monks who had close

connections with Ōbaku monks. The famous Ōbaku monk Chōon Dōkai (1625–1695), for example, was Manzan's close friend who often urged him to convert to Ōbaku Zen and criticize Sōtō for its incorrect practice of lineage transmission. Manzan also kept a good relationship with Tetsugen as early as 1664. Renzan Kōeki (1635–1694) had a close association with the Caodong master Donggao Xinyue (1639–1696), who held quite the same view about dharma transmission as the Ōbaku masters did. Tokūō Ryōkō (1649–1709) also studied with the second Manpukuji abbot Mu'an Xingtao and his disciple Chōon Dōkai.

Genkō was keen to the issue of dharma transmission in Sōtō Zen Buddhism and was one of the harbingers who initiated the reform to return to what they imagined as the ancient practice. His criticism directly influenced Manzan and Tenkei Denson (1648–1735). His name was thus listed as one of the five masters who initiated the movement in *Record of Recovering the Past for Authentic Dharma Lineage (Shūtō fukkoshi)* together with Renzan, Baiha Jikushin (1633–1707), Manzan, and Denō Upo.<sup>45</sup>

In his writing, Genkō criticized the Sōtō practice of changing dharma transmission according to the lineage of resident temples:

The practice of presenting gift money for dharma transmission and that of changing their dharma transmission because of the change of their resident monasteries are all corrupted conducts of false monks. How could we Buddhist monks do these? Nowadays those who abandoned morality and sought for profits and changed their dharma transmission so quickly are like contracted laborers who only cared about their salary. Without permanent masters, today they go to the Wang family and tomorrow the Zhang family. The places with higher pays are where their teachers are.<sup>46</sup>

He emphasized the transmission of the mind as the essence of dharma transmission. Without spiritual authentication, transmission—whether by proxy or by personal encounter—would be meaningless, since one would have teachers but lack the enlightenment experience. He criticized nominal transmission in both Japanese and Chinese Buddhism.

Nowadays, Japanese monks transmitted dharma by writing down on paper and Chinese monks by passing on the whisk. They call this dharma transmission but they are all external marks not the essence of dharma transmission.<sup>47</sup>

He continued:

When I carefully observe the transmission of the robe and the entrustment of the dharma in the Zen school nowadays, [I see that] the name survives but the reality has long since disappeared. Today, those who inherit the dharma of the Buddhas and patriarchs depend upon awakening by themselves without a master. Even if the name disappears, they are the only ones who inherit the reality.<sup>48</sup>

Genkō's critique touched upon the essential issues in Zen enlightenment: what is the authentic experience (*shinsan jitsugo*)? Here, he seemed to have an idea similar to the Chinese Chan monk Hanyue Fazang (1573–1635), who also argued that dharma transmission was dependent on one's genuine enlightenment experience. Although his Chinese scholarship is excellent, he opposed the scholastic approach to Zen and declared that "Zen needs to contemplate rather than lecturing."<sup>49</sup>

Genkō's Chinese learning and his adherence to the authenticity of dharma transmission show that he intended to reform Japanese Buddhism according to these values. Unlike Genshō and Sokō, in his writings, Genkō rarely appealed to Japanese classics as his source of argument. In his view, Chinese Civilization had everything Japan needed. China and Chinese people were superior, and even their shortcomings could be tolerated and explained away. For example, he commented on the weakness of Chinese men in the following:

Chinese men are timid and Japanese men are brave. Roughly speaking, three Chinese men can fight with one Japanese man. But there are those who are inspired by [the virtues] of loyalty and righteousness and do not bend with hundreds of setbacks and thousands of hardships. They fought even harder even if they had to throw themselves in fire and boiled water and walked on bare blades. As for this kind of people, [I have to say that] more can be found in China rather than in Japan. What is the reason of this? That is because the courage in China is generated from [the virtues] of benevolence and righteousness and the courage from this land derives from natural temperament. The courage from natural temperament is limited but the courage from benevolence and righteousness is infinite. So much it is indeed! This is why benevolence and righteousness can not be done away with.<sup>50</sup>

It is clear that Genkō had high esteem of Chinese and Chinese culture. He considered the fundamental Confucian values of benevolence and righteousness as the source of human behavior, contending that in China, such a value system produced a moral courage far superior to that in Japan. Genkō implied that Japan lacked such virtues and therefore had to be transformed.

### Ogyū Sorai's "Authenticity Studies" of Yinyuan's Biography

It is well-known that Sorai, a unique figure among Edo intellectuals, advocated a return to Confucian classics and accepted the ancient Chinese values and political institutions because of the superiority of Chinese Civilization. He lived much later than Yinyuan did and of course did not meet him. However, he befriended Chinese monks at Manpukuji and was directly involved in the forgery detection of Yinyuan's biography written by a Chinese official. Through his superb evidential scholarship, Sorai defended Yinyuan against possible textual distortion and the adulteration of his identity as a genuine teacher.

Ogyū Sorai was an original thinker fully immersed in the Chinese scholarly tradition. His thought was characterized by a radical rejection of Neo-Confucian interpretation and a call for return to ancient texts, as they embodied the authentic way of the sages. Such a rebellious attitude had already been spelled out by Yamaga Sokō and Itō Jinsai (1627–1705). However, Sorai was unique in his methodology of "the study of old phrases and syntax" (*Kobunjigaku*). Sorai's scholarship, based on a philological approach similar to Dokuan Genkō, challenged the Neo-Confucian interpretation of classics and advocated a return to the meaning of ancient texts as they were meant in ancient times. In his scholarship, he emphasized the importance of reading Chinese classics in the Chinese ways. In his Ken'en academy, he required his students to read classic Chinese directly from the copies, without Japanese notation marks.

He saw the Neo-Confucian notion of principle as an abstract construct and believed the Way of Early Sages could only be found in the Six Classics rather than the Four Books emphasized by Zhu Xi. The problem of Neo-Confucianism was understanding ancient texts by using the language of their own time and thus failing to approach these texts in terms of the language usages at the time of the sages. His own philological study of the classics suggests that the Way of the Sages is simply the

ethical norms designed for the human world, devoid of any cosmological significance. This is dramatically different from the Neo-Confucian theory of the ontological status of “Heavenly Principle.” Also, he acknowledged that not everyone can be the sage. Each individual is not supposed to achieve what the sages did, but can participate in the Way by developing his own “virtues” (*toku*), which means “acquisition” (*toku*) of one’s own moral quality based on endowment of human conditions. Soraï’s conclusion therefore has strong political implications for governing the country.<sup>51</sup>

Soraï consciously adopted the Chinese worldview and cultural values. To imitate Chinese cultural conventions, he gave himself the Chinese name Butsu Mokei. Because he fully accepted the world order centered on Chinese Civilization, he proudly called himself “Eastern Barbarian” (*Tōi*), a derogatory term for the Japanese from the Chinese standpoint. He considered China the only place where sages emerged. “The populace of China are people (*hito no hito*); the populace of the barbarian countries are beings (*hito no mono*). Beings cannot think; only people can think. The reason why China is the country of the rites and their practice is because of this ability to think.”<sup>52</sup>

However, Soraï’s Sinophilic sentiment could not be regarded as self-denigration. Rather, his passion for the Way of the Sages led him to believe that the contemporary China had lost her ancient civilization: “From the three dynasties on,” he wrote, “China, despite being the ‘Central Efflorescence,’ has been invaded by the barbarians of the West and North. It is no longer the “Central Efflorescence” of old. Consequently, there are none who simply adhere to the standards embodied in the name of “Central Efflorescence.”<sup>53</sup> Soraï’s love of ancient China is a way to project Japan’s future onto China’s past. He thus redefined Japanese identity in Chinese cultural terms.

Soraï’s love of Chinese culture represents a growing Sinophilistic fervor culminating in the Genroku renaissance (1688–1704) and the formation of a lively *bunjin* culture in the mid-Edo period. During this period, not only did educated literati form a city-based salon culture to pursue a literary life style, but learned Buddhist monks, especially Ōbaku monks, were active members of this extensive literati network. Ogyū Soraï’s connection with Ōbaku monks, both Chinese and Japanese, was extensive and noticeable in his literary writings. One of the essential figures in Soraï’s literary network was the Ōbaku monk Daichō Genkō, who spoke fluent Chinese and was skillful in poetry and essay writing.



Daichō hailed from Hizen domain in Kyushu and went to Nagasaki to study colloquial Chinese with the famous language teacher Ueno Gentei (1661–1713, also known as Koku Shisei). In Nagasaki he befriended Ueno Gentei's student and translator Okajima Kanzan (1674–1728). His Chinese was so excellent that he became the translator for the eighth abbot Yuefeng Daozhang. He later became the third abbot in Ryūshinji in 1723, and in 1724 he came to Manpukuji to serve his dharma brother Gaotang Yuanchang as monastic officer. Not only was he an important monk in Manpukuji's monastic hierarchy, but he also wandered around Edo for six years from 1717 to 1723. During his sojourn in Edo, he befriended Sorai and his students. He was later involved in a dispute over recruiting Chinese monks in Manpukuji and thus had a confrontation with the then Chinese abbot Zhu'an Jingyin, who was forced to a premature retirement due to his failure to invite Chinese monks. The bakufu appointed six senior monks to manage Manpukuji affairs together for a short period and this led to the election of the first Japanese abbot Ryōtō Gentō in 1740.

In addition to Daichō, Sorai kept a close relationship with the Ōbaku monk Kōkoku Dōren and wrote at least fifteen letters to him.<sup>54</sup> Other Ōbaku monks such as Kakushū Jōchō (1711–1790), the twenty-second abbot of the Manpukuji and Hakuin's student, Kōkoku Dōren (1652–1723), the first Japanese monk Yinyuan ordained, the Ōbaku monk-poet Shūnan Jōju (1711–1767), the Ōbaku monk-painter Ninsen Nyokei (1757–1821), the calligrapher, waka poet, and Dapeng Zhengkun's attendant Monchū Jōfuku (1739–1829), and the monk-poet Goshin Genmyō (1713–1785) were also active. Their common characteristic was that most of them had opportunities to be exposed to Chinese language and culture because of Ōbaku's Chinese origin. All of them could speak fluent Chinese and was often referred to as "Monks who speak Chinese (*Tōwasō*)."<sup>55</sup> Many of them had studied colloquial Chinese in Nagasaki with teachers such as Koku Shisei (formally known as Ueno Gentei) and Okajima Kanzan. Owing to their superb Chinese knowledge and frequent travels, these Ōbaku monks, both Chinese and Japanese, connected the literary communities in Nagasaki, Kyoto/Osaka, and Edo. Because of their close ties with Nagasaki, they also brought Chinese language learning and the most recent information on China to these literary communities.

The indebtedness of Sorai to the Ōbaku monks might be best illustrated in the following remark in a letter he wrote to an Ōbaku priest: "Now, at a time when Confucianism was on the decline, I unfortunately become a Confucianist. However, at a time the Way of Buddha has come across



the Sōrei mountain, you, Roshi, fortunately become a Confucianist.”<sup>56</sup> In Ogyū’s eyes, the Ōbaku monks were not simply Buddhist priests but also celebrated cultural elite.

Sorai’s Ōbaku ties must have been fostered by his lord Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), the powerful councilor who dominated Tsunayoshi’s government. According to Olof G. Lidin’s study, Sorai first met Chinese monks at Yoshiyasu’s residence, where the fifth Manpukuji abbot Gaoquan had been invited. He even learned a little colloquial Chinese to communicate with these Chinese monks.<sup>57</sup> Later, in 1711, he organized a translation society (*yakusha*) dedicated to learning Chinese and translating Chinese texts.

Sorai had an enduring friendship with the Chinese abbot Yuefeng Daozhang. He met Yuefeng for the first time on the seventeenth day of the ninth month in 1707 at the Ōbaku’s Edo headquarters Zuishōji. On the second day, he immediately wrote a letter to Yuefeng to express his gratitude.<sup>58</sup> After that, Sorai met Yuefeng every time he visited Edo and corresponded with him frequently. In the spring of 1708, he had an extensive “brush conversation” with Yuefeng. Judging from the transcript of their conversation preserved in Seikadō Archive, Sorai was able to write in colloquial Chinese but admitted that he could not speak Chinese, although his writing skill was superb.<sup>59</sup>

Because of his close association with Ōbaku monks, Sorai participated in several literati projects initiated by them. One such project was the compilation of a literary collection called *Poetry of Rakuyō Boulevard* (*Rakuyōdō shi*), which contains writings of both Chinese and renowned Japanese intellectuals (see Fig. 6.4). The current edition was printed by a famous Kyoto print shop, Ryūshiken, which specialized in publishing Chinese books.<sup>60</sup>

This publication project, seemingly a bestseller, as the publisher had promised a forthcoming sequel, was initiated by the Chinese monk Daoben in 1723 to celebrate the discovery of a six-year-old child prodigy from Owari domain, who was able to write elegant cursive Chinese calligraphy. This boy was the grandson of a retainer of the Owari domain named Yamada Yoshiyuki Uemon. (This prodigy story reminds us of the famous Edo painter Ike Taiga, who also went to Manpukuji to demonstrate his painting skills as a young child.) In the first six pages, this short booklet printed twelve big characters of a Tang poem about the Luoyang Boulevard that were written by this boy in cursive style: one half-page only contains one or two Chinese characters. The content of these characters has not yet

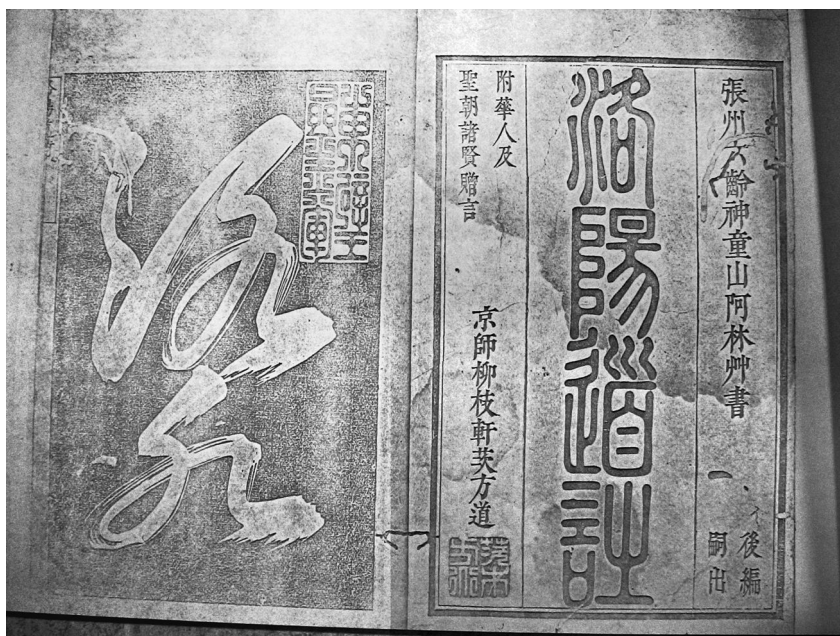


FIGURE 6.4 Cover and first page of *Rakuyōdō shi*. Photo by Jiang Wu from Manupukuji Bunkaden Archive, July 2013.

been identified. However, they must have been based on a literary genre popular in Wei-Jin and Sui-Tang periods, when the roads leading to the Chinese capital Luoyang were a favorite topic for Chinese poets.<sup>61</sup>

The pages of calligraphy were followed by a collection of celebratory poems and short notes written by twelve Chinese, most of them sojourning Chinese in Nagasaki, including the Sōfukuji abbot Daoben and the Fukusaiji abbot Dapeng. The last part records poems and essays from seventeen Japanese writers from Kyoto, Edo, Tsujima, and Nagasaki. Among them were famous intellectuals such as the bakufu scholar and master of Yushima Confucian Academy (Seidō) Hayashi Hōkō (1645–1732), his son Hayashi Nobumitsu (1681–1758), Ogyū Sorai, Confucian scholar Itō Jinsai's son Itō Tōgai, Tsujima diplomat Amenomori Hōshū (1668–1755), translator Okajima Kanzan, and Nagasaki scholar Ro Sōsetsu (1675–1729). All of them saw the emergence of such a miracle as a sign of the success of the shogun's promotion of culture.<sup>62</sup> Sorai seemed to have fostered a close relationship with Daoben. Not only did he contribute a piece of writing for this project, he also wrote a postscript for Daoben's literary collection *Singing of the Desolate Grass* (*Xiaocao ming*) in 1727.<sup>63</sup>

Sorai's involvement with Yinyuan occurred when Manpukuji was preparing to celebrate the bakufu's formal recognition of a royal title the retired Emperor Gomizunoo bestowed to Yinyuan upon the former's death in 1683. Because of the tension between Emperor Gomizunoo and the bakufu during the Purples Robe incident, even though the retired Gomizunoo passed to Yinyuan an honorific title, Manpukuji did not dare to publicize it. Perhaps because of the much-improved relationship between the bakufu and Emperor Reigen, this title was finally recognized by the bakufu and now could be announced publicly. To commemorate this event, Manpukuji wanted to inscribe a new stele with Yinyuan's biography. Mediated by Chinese merchants in Nagasaki, a Qing official named Du Lide (1611–1691) was asked to write the biography.

Du Lide was an early Qing official with a distinguished rank. He was born in Baodi county close to Beijing during the late Ming and acquired his degree of "Presented Scholar" (*jinshi*) in 1643, just one year before the fall of Beijing. After the fall of Beijing in 1644, he collaborated with the Manchus and was appointed as a palace secretary in the central drafting office (*Zhongshuke zhongshu*) in the new government. He was quickly promoted and served various ministries. His career was furthered during the Kangxi Emperor's reign. He retired in 1680 with the title grand preceptor of the heir apparent (*Taizi taishi*). Upon his death, Kangxi Emperor praised him with the highest regard.<sup>64</sup>

No Chinese sources in Chinese dynastic history mentioned that Du had written an epitaph for Yinyuan. Ōbaku monks claimed that as early as 1686, Yinyuan's disciple Nanyuan Xingpai had requested this epitaph and Chinese merchants in Nagasaki brought it back from China. However, the epitaph was not inscribed on stone and erected until the fourth month of 1709.

This epitaph has two parts. The first part, written in Du's personal voice, praised Yinyuan's accomplishment and in particular singled out his authentic transmission from Miyun Yuanwu and Feiyin Tongrong. Du also commended Yinyuan for founding two Huangbo monasteries in both China and Japan. At the end of this part, Du linked Yinyuan's success to the rise of the Qing dynasty in Asia.

In the past, because the coastal atmosphere was obstructed (note: referring to the Manchu fight with Zheng Chenggong), the two countries (China and Japan) have no communication. Now, the

great Sagely Son of Heaven, reveres Confucianism and promotes Buddhism. He regards the realm of four seas as his own home. No matter it is a foreign country or a peculiar place, he treats them as the same body with the same kind of benevolence.<sup>65</sup>

Here, Du Lide alluded to a policy change toward Japan after conquering Taiwan in 1683. In 1688 the Qing court rescinded its ban on trade with foreign countries that had been designed to blockade and isolate Taiwan, occupied by the Zheng family. Therefore, the two countries, though still without any formal diplomatic relationship, could trade privately without policy issues. Moreover, Du expressed a typical Manchu rhetoric of “unity as one body,” which had been frequently used in the Qing document as its founding ideology to unify China and to establish a China-centered world order.

The second part of the epitaph is a standard account of Yinyuan’s life and achievement. Very often, this biographical part was prepared by people who made the request and the author of the epitaph simply copied it into his own writing. This section starts with the Chinese character “according to” (*an*), which indicates the following part is based on some kind of pre-prepared draft presented to him. To prepare a pre-written version of the epitaph for the author was a common practice in China, especially if the author himself did not know the person or had no relationship with him. This short biography might have been drafted by Nanyuan Xingpai, who requested the epitaph from Du Lide. Its content provides a fairly detailed introduction to Yinyuan’s life, starting from his youth, followed by his study tour in Zhejiang, his career as abbot in a variety of monasteries, and until his success in Japan. The biography ends with detailed information about his dharma heirs and literary legacy as follows.

He was born in the *wu* time (around 7 to 9 during the night) of the fourth day of the eleventh month of the twentieth year of the Wanli reign. He lived in Japan for twenty years. His full corpus was stored in a pagoda at Manmatsu Ridge in Mount Ōbaku, being located in the north and facing south. He has Longhua Haining (Wude Haineng, Yinyuan’s first dharma heir) and other twenty-three people as dharma heirs. His extensive records have thirty fascicles with two fascicles as chronological biography. All are circulated with the Great Canon.<sup>66</sup>

It is certain that Du Lide had nowhere to find out these details except copying the biography provided by Yinyuan's disciples. The epitaph ended with a eulogy with four-character line stanzas, typical for an epitaph closing.

This epitaph does not show any suspicious signs of a forgery. Whether to erect it or not was purely an internal affair for Manpukuji and had nothing to do with Sorai. However, Sorai took issue with it and argued that it was a forgery by Nagasaki Chinese merchants and should not be put on the stone stele. In 1709 he met Yuefeng again when he came to Edo to attend Tsunayoshi's funeral. His seventh letter sent to Yuefeng in the middle of the sixth month discussed the matter further. In this letter, he opposed strongly the plan to inscribe this epitaph on stone slab, listing all the reasons he could think of.

After the formal greeting and courtesy of inquiries about recent events at Manpukuji, Sorai raised the question about the epitaph. He heard that this epitaph was written by the Qing grand secretary Du Lide. It had been acquired by Nanyuan Xinpai from China but for some reason it was not inscribed and erected immediately. Only when Yuefeng became the abbot was the project planned to be finished. Sorai surmised that since Nanyuan did not use it earlier and even Gaoquan did not mention it, this showed that there were problems with this epitaph that prevented it from being inscribed immediately. Sorai now said that he had a chance to read it and found out it was actually "vulgar, loose, erroneous, and contradictory." He believed that it must be a forgery created by someone who wanted to smear Yinyuan and damage his reputation by spreading it. Sorai reminded Yuefeng how important such kind of writing was and that it must not be taken for granted, especially after being carved on stone. He tried to persuade Yuefeng to withhold this project by listing all the most obvious problems. Here Sorai employed his superb evidential scholarship to analyze this piece of writing. The major technique he used is forgery detection based on philological irregularities, internal logical contradictions, unconventional use of language, anachronism, and geographical inconsistency.

Sorai started with the first line of the epitaph, which was supposed to be the title of the author of the epitaph. It says "Imperially Bestowed Epitaph for the Founder of Ōbaku Monastery the Old Monk Yinyuan." After the title, it follows with the author Du Lide's name and a complete array of imperial titles.

Sorai saw the title of this epitaph as the most inscrutable because it was not clear from which authority this epitaph was bestowed. He first questioned which regime was this imperial power who bestowed the epitaph? “Is this the Qing emperor? Ming dynasty? Or our Heavenly Emperor of Great Japan?”<sup>67</sup> If this was written for Huangbo monastery in China, then it must be given by the Qing emperor and thus Du Lide simply wrote it by following an imperial order. However, in the author’s line that listed all his official titles, it does not even mention such a great honor by saying “written by imperial decree” (*fengchizhuan*). If, however, this came from a Japanese emperor, it was impossible for a Chinese high official like Du Lide to write under the order of a foreign ruler because China never enthroned a Japanese sovereign. Sorai therefore reasoned that this epitaph must have been written by those Chinese who received very little education. Moreover, the colloquial phrase “old monk” (*laoheshang*) also appeared in the title, showing the forger’s ignorance about the conventions of formal literary writing.

Sorai also spotted the inconsistent use of imperial names and official titles in Chinese political hierarchy. He noted that the first part of the epitaph refers to emperor, king, prime minister, and officials in general terms. However, in the second part, when Yinyuan’s Japanese patrons were mentioned, the references to the retired Great Supreme Emperor, daimyos, and so on were contradictory with the earlier references. For Sorai, it was most laughable to call Sakai Tadakatsu in the Chinese fashion “oldster of the imperial hall” (*gelao*), an unofficial term for a grand secretary (*daxueshi*) in the Ming and Qing,<sup>68</sup> probably because it did not conform to Japanese convention. (Tadakatsu was instrumental in persuading the bakufu to allow Yinyuan to establish Manpukuji.) He also noticed the confusing references to reign names in the epitaph: the Qing reign name of Shunzhi, the Ming reign name of Wanli, and the Japanese reign name of Kanbun were also intermingled together. Sorai reasoned that no educated elite in China would have written in this way because such a violation of political taboo would meet with capital punishment. Also, when Yinyuan’s achievement in China and Japan were mentioned, China and Japan were put on par equally as two countries. Sorai understood clearly that in a China-centered tribute system, a Chinese dynasty would not consider her equal to other nations. Moreover, the Ming dynasty was referred to as the “Great Ming,” as if it was the current ruling regime. A Qing official, Sorai said, would not dare to write like this.

Sorai also detected a geographical inconsistency in the use of place names. He noticed that the biographical part of the epitaph mentioned Yinyuan's journey to Yuzhang (Nanchang) and Jinling (Nanjing) to search for his missing father. Here, Sorai showed off his knowledge of historical geography of China: he correctly pointed out that Yuzhang was located in Jiangxi and that Yinyuan's father was missing in the area of Chu, which was the acronym for Huguang province. Therefore, it does not make sense for Yinyuan to travel to Jiangxi and then to Nanjing, since his father had actually gone to Huguang.

Sorai pointed out that this epitaph was detailed about Yinyuan's life in Japan but less about his life in China. Moreover, the writing was so bad that there were too many inconsistencies, violations of literary conventions, and repetitions. Its writing style was more like "legends and novels" (*denki shōsetsu*). Sorai concluded that this epitaph must have been written by some sinister Chinese interpreters in Nagasaki who forged it in order to make money.

From today's perspective, it seems that Sorai may have misused his talent in a minor piece of writing and exaggerated the case by calling this epitaph a complete forgery. As I have shown, the two parts of this epitaph might have to be attributed to two different authors. It is conventional in China to request a famous person to write an epitaph for a complete stranger if lavish gifts are presented. Very often, basic biographical information of the figure would be presented as a mother copy to be included as part of the epitaph. Moreover, Du Lide's official titles were inscribed in the beginning, and matched his official biography. It is reasonable to assume that Du Lide wrote only the first part and the second part was copied verbatim from a prepared draft. Therefore, inconsistencies must have existed. Moreover, the final version could have been edited by Manpukuji monks as well. Some of the inconsistencies, such as Yinyuan's search of his father in his early years, were recorded in various biographical accounts and contained the same content. Here I have to point out that Sorai did not seem to realize that in ancient China, for Fujian travelers to go to reach Yangtze River, they had to go through the northern Fujian area neighboring Jiangxi and then join the waterways of Gan River and Dongting Lake to travel to Huguang and other places.<sup>69</sup> The inconsistency only shows that in his youth Yinyuan's real purpose was not to find his father but to take this opportunity to embark on a spiritual journey that eventually led him to Buddhism. As I have pointed out in chapter 1, Yinyuan had undergone a



psychological crisis and made this travel possible on the excuse of finding his father.

What Sorai was really concerned with is the ideal of authenticity represented by Yinyuan. He believed that the epitaph should be a truthful depiction of Yinyuan. In his imagination, a genuine epitaph written by eminent Chinese could not have been done in such poor quality. He believed that with his superb literary skill in Chinese, he could defend Yinyuan against possible assaults of his reputation. We can also tell from his criticism that Chinese writing could no longer describe the complexity of East Asia's political order. The parallel use of different reign names simply reveals the crisis of a China-centered tribute system and the vocabulary associated with it is no longer capable of describing the reality of the loss of authenticity.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter deals with the Japanese response to Yinyuan and the religious and intellectual ideals associated with him. Japanese elite made efforts to absorb his teaching, evaluate his practice, and adjust themselves according to the ideals he embodied.

Yinyuan's identity as an authentic Linji/Rinzai master was no doubt controversial. It is even more complicated when considered him an eminent Chinese who represented the high culture of the Central Kingdom. In Tokugawa period, China was not simply one of the foreign countries (*ikoku*). Rather, it was a formidable ideological, cultural, and political construct that Japanese intellectuals had to constantly cope with, adjusting its position toward China and Chinese accordingly. Therefore, as David Pollack remarked, "China was Japan's walls, the very terms by which Japan defined its own existence."<sup>70</sup>

The Edo period was a crucial time period during which Japan adopted many Chinese cultural and political norms while struggling to assert its own identity by mitigating between the "universal" Chinese ideal of civilization and the "particular" local knowledge of Japan's past. Such a tension can be found in the rise of various Confucian schools of thought such as those of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming, the Ancient Learning, and the nativist *Kokugaku* movement. In this process, expatriate Chinese such as Zhu Shunshui played important roles in the formation of the Mito ideology and had been studied intensively.<sup>71</sup> However, little attention was paid



to Japanese intellectuals' response to Chinese monks such as Yinyuan. As I have revealed in this chapter, at the moment of Yinyuan's arrival at Nagasaki, he immediately caught the sight of Japanese intellectuals such as Mukai Genshō, a doctor, botanist, and Confucian scholar, and Yamaga Sokō. Mukai Genshō, who was among the curious Nagasaki residents who witnessed Yinyuan's procession through Nagasaki streets to Kōfukuji, commented about Yinyuan extensively in his work *Chapters on Realizing One's Shame*. Yamaga Sokō met with Yinyuan in Edo in the winter of 1658 and had an interesting encounter dialogue with him. He gave a detailed account in his chronological biography but suggested that he was not impressed by Yinyuan's teaching. However, judging from his influential work written in 1669, it was reasonable to assume about his discontent with the idea of China as the "Central Dynasty" which Yinyuan represented.

As Yinyuan's contemporaries, both Genshō and Sokō shared a defiant attitude toward Yinyuan and the cultural ideal he represented. However, such an attitude cannot be simply dismissed as xenophobia or even Sinophobia. Rather, both of them sought to reestablish Japan's cultural and political identity through reexamining Japan's classics. Such a prototype nativism, however, was not the mainstream in the early Edo intellectual world. Rather, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had seen a growth of Sinophilia, a genuine affection of the Chinese cultural tradition and things Chinese.

The central issue here is about the authenticity of these ideals. Some, including Mukai Genshō and Yamaga Sokō, questioned it by denouncing Yinyuan's spiritual qualification and by elevating Japan as the center of the world. Others, including Dokuan Genkō and Ogyū Sorai, continued to hold that China, in their own imagination, was the center of civilization, and Chinese such as Yinyuan represented the best of "Central Efflorescence." Before the rise of the nativist *Kokugaku* scholarship, such a debate was common. It appears that Yinyuan was caught at the center of the debate because of his image as the symbol of authenticity. To a certain extent, these Japanese responses were not truly about Yinyuan. Rather, they reflected the Japanese quest for the meaning of authenticity and the cultural identity in relation to the overwhelming Chinese tradition.

## *Where Are the Authentic Monks?*

### THE BAKUFU'S FAILED ATTEMPTS TO RECRUIT CHINESE MONKS

DURING THE LATE seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Ōbaku tradition founded by Yinyuan experienced a rapid growth. The foundation of the growth was its Chinese appeal and the presence of Chinese monks as symbols of authenticity. However, during the eighteenth century, Manpukuji also suffered from a serious shortage of qualified Chinese monks to succeed the abbotship. Although the bakufu supported a series of attempts to recruit Chinese monks, most of them failed. No Chinese monks arrived after 1723. After the last presiding Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan died in 1784, no Chinese monks lived in Japan anymore. This failure expedited Ōbaku's further decline in the late eighteenth century.

In this chapter, using a variety of sources culled from *Changing Situations Between Chinese and Barbarians* (*Ka'i hentai*), *Catalogue of Books Imported by Ships* (*Hakusai Shōmoku*), *Translated Documents from Japanese and Chinese* (*Wakan kimon*), *Daily Records of Office of Chinese Interpreters* (*Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku*), *Compendium of Oceanic Communication* (*Tsūkō ichiran*), and other rare sources preserved in Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture and Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive, I highlight a significant change of the bakufu policy after 1715. According to this policy, a new standard of authenticity had been applied for recruiting genuine Chinese Zen teachers within Yinyuan's lineage. The bakufu stipulated that the future candidates must have received credentials of dharma transmissions before coming to Japan and had to present their *Recorded Sayings* to authenticate the candidates' enlightenment experience. This new order

completely changed the previous practice of recruiting young monks without dharma transmission from China. Chinese monks in Japan tried all means to find such candidates. Eventually, an eminent Huangbo abbot, Zhongqi Daoren, agreed to come with a group of junior monks. However, the desperate attempt to smuggle them out of China was thwarted by the Yongzheng Emperor's governor Li Wei, who arrested these monks and sent them back to Huangbo. This episode highlights the bakufu's renewed commitment to the principle of authenticity in the face of the corruption of dharma transmission in the Manpukuji community. In addition, as I will show in this chapter, the termination of Chinese monks' migration largely intertwined with the decline of Sino-Japanese trade due to new regulations promulgated in 1715 and the tightening supervision of the trade in China under Yongzheng Emperor's rule.

### *Bakufu's New Policy Toward Sino-Japanese Trade*

#### Policy Changes Toward the Chinese

As I have emphasized throughout this study, Yinyuan's success in Japan was an extraordinary historical event conditioned by various factors. Thus, the decline of the tradition he established has to be explained by examining the historical background around that time. Yinyuan arrived in Japan at the time when Edo bakufu was eager to establish a new Japan-centered world order. However, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, both China and Japan had completed the process of imperial formation: the Qing government finally conquered Taiwan in 1683 and thereafter lifted the ban of coastal trade imposed during its isolation of Taiwan, resulting in a skyrocketing rise of the number of Chinese ships calling at Nagasaki for trade. In 1684 there were only twenty-four ships arriving at Nagasaki. In 1685, however, the number rose to eighty-five, and then to 102 in 1686, reaching an all-time high of 193 in 1688.<sup>1</sup> The sharp increase in the number of Chinese ships calling at Nagasaki immediately drew the bakufu's attention. At the same time, the conquest of Taiwan led to increasing armed smuggling and piracy along Japan's coast.

Meanwhile, the decline of gold and silver production in Japan limited its ability to supply sufficient amount of currency for trade. The shortage of currency supply thus prompted the bakufu to take action to curb foreign trade. With a series of measures to reduce the trade volume and to control Chinese residents, the bakufu built the Chinese quarter (*Tōjin*

*yashiki*) in 1688 and set a ceiling on the number of Chinese boats arriving at Nagasaki. The bakufu tightened up its China policy, which culminated in the so-called “Shōtoku New Regulation” (*Shōtoku shinrei*) issued in 1715, capping the number of Chinese ships at thirty and trade volume at six thousand *kanme* in silver each year (1 *kanme* equals 8.72 pounds). Moreover, the bakufu established a tally system that required all trading ships to apply for trading licenses—“the Tablet of Trust” (*shinpai*) issued by the bakufu. This tally system only allowed those Chinese shipmasters who had obtained the trading licenses to trade in Nagasaki.<sup>2</sup>

The new policy of control was not favorable to the China trade and the Chinese. It is clear that the new generation of the bakufu bureaucrats was ready to confront the foreigners and to tighten their rules regarding trade and migration. As many scholars have suggested, during this time period, the bakufu, reiterating “martial prowess” (*bui*), changed its attitude from “favorable harmony” (*yūwa*), implying lenient punishment for Chinese perpetrators of the law, to “hard-liner” (*kyōkō*). Quota of trade volume and number of ships were fixed and Chinese merchants and sailors were put under close supervision in the newly built Chinese quarter.

Such a change of attitude can be seen from Confucian politician Arai Hakuseki’s writings. Arai Hakuseki was one of the leading intellectuals and policy makers during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Kate Wildman Nakai points out that as a Confucian scholar, Hakuseki harbored a deep commitment to the notion of authenticity. He preferred strongly to adhere to the original Confucian value system as it had been developed in China rather than make “the eclectic adaptation of Confucian propositions to the different intellectual and political environment of Japan.”<sup>3</sup> He looked to the authentic Chinese cultural ideals for his personal cultivation and literary composition. In his view, the authentic literature must be that which could be understood by the Chinese as well. He said: “One should seek to write [Chinese prose and poetry] in such a way as to be readily comprehensible to the Chinese. Needless to say, since writing is something that originated in China, in its essence it is Chinese.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, the opinions of the Chinese have the final say about what is authentic. He also intended to impose what he considered to be the authentic Chinese ideals to the political realm and attempted to remodel the Tokugawa governance according to them. This does not mean that he would compromise Japan’s interests and adopt a favorable policy toward the Chinese trade. Rather, it was under him that the new Shōtoku regulation was promulgated.

During his tenure as senior councilor, because of the arrival of a large number of Chinese merchants and sailors, there had been criminal cases involving Chinese residents in Nagasaki, some of whom had even assaulted Japanese and Japanese officials. Hakuseki felt indignant upon hearing a report from Nagasaki bugyō about the crimes Chinese residents committed in Nagasaki and thus commented on the lenient treatment of Chinese migrants in the previous decades:

The reason why the Chinese and others behave like this is probably because of the lenient way foreigners were treated in the Jōkyō and Genroku eras. Our people were enjoined not to be hostile to foreigners, and when the lower officials of the Bugyōsho were threatened by the Chinese, and drew their swords and wounded them slightly, they were dismissed on the spot. In consequence, foreigners developed a bad habit of doing what they like.<sup>5</sup>

Hakuseki continued to comment, suggesting a solution:

We ought not to lower the dignity of our country for the sake of gain as we do in thus throwing away the time-honored treasures of our produce in exchange for the ephemeral novelties that come from abroad.<sup>6</sup>

Hakuseki's words exemplified the change of attitude toward foreign trade. Although these changes in trading policies with China have been studied by many scholars, it is little noticed that under such strict rules, the newly founded Ōbaku sect was also affected, since maintaining the Chinese dominance of Manpukuji required continuous arrival of Chinese monks who crossed the sea with Chinese ships. Under the new rules, Chinese monks invited by the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and Manpukuji were subjected to close examination of credentials and identities. Moreover, the bakufu also demanded Manpukuji to strengthen its discipline and the practice of dharma transmission in order to maintain its purity and authenticity.

### The Corruption of Dharma Transmission and the Debate on “Transmission by Proxy”

After Yinyuan's death, the bakufu continued to support Manpukuji and the Ōbaku sect gained momentum in the initial fifty years of its

history. Under the second abbot Mu'an, Manpukuji was consolidated and expanded to other areas through his Japanese disciples who fostered close ties with bakufu officials and local daimyos. (Mu'an had forty-six dharma heirs and only three were Chinese.) Among his Japanese disciples, Chōon, Egoku, and Tetsugyū were respected as Ōbaku's "Three Talents" (*Ōbaku sanketsu*) because of their exceptional contribution to the further spread of Yinyuan's influence in Japan. For example, Mu'an's disciple Tetsugyū Dōki won the conversion of Inaba Masanori (1623–1696), senior counselor and lord of Odaware domain, who received Tetsugyū's transmission in 1688. With the help of Aoki Shigekane (1606–1682), he built Zuishōji in Edo (Fig. 7.1), which became the local representative (*furegashira*) of Manpukuji in Edo. He befriended the fourth Sendai lord Date Tsunamura (1659–1719), Masanori's son-in-law. Mu'an's heir Egoku converted the third Chōshū daimyo, Mōri Yoshinari (d. 1694). Manpukuji also gained financial support by entrepreneurial monks such as Gaoquan Xingdun's Japanese disciple Ryōō Dōkaku (1630–1707), who ran a successful medical business called *Embroidered Pouch Pills* (*Kintaien*), which sold a cure-all medicine inspired by Chinese prescriptions.<sup>7</sup>

However, problems of corruption also began to emerge, especially those about dharma transmission. The emphasis on dharma transmission was one of the cornerstones of Yinyuan's tradition. However, because of the need to spread the new teaching and to increase the number of disciples, the rule of dharma transmission was not strictly followed. In



FIGURE 7.1 Main gate of Zuishōji in Tokyo. Photo taken by Jiang Wu, March 2011.

particular, the problem of dharma transmission emerged as one of the major issues, as Yinyuan's dharma heirs tended to give away their transmissions to their Japanese disciples without careful selection and scrutiny of their spiritual credentials. This problem was certainly not peculiar if we look at Chinese Buddhism where Yinyuan's Ōbaku tradition originated.

As I have pointed out in my study of the revival of Chan Buddhism in seventeenth-century China, during the late Ming and early Qing, while Chan dharma transmissions grew exponentially, there was an intrinsic problem in the mechanism of dharma transmission as a way of expansion. Yinyuan and his teacher Feiyin Tongrong greatly expanded their influence by offering dharma transmissions to many disciples. For example, Feiyin had more than seventy and Yinyuan had thirty-three. Miyun's other heir Muchen Daomin had more than a hundred dharma heirs. This practice raised a serious question because dharma transmission was no longer associated with spiritual attainment and simply became a mechanism of self-promotion and expansion. Debates ensued regarding the use of dharma transmission and its relationship with the principle of Chan Buddhism, dominating Buddhist communities in China around the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> In Edo Japan, this problem of excessive dharma transmission occurred immediately after Yinyuan died. For example, the bakufu received reports that there were many Ōbaku dharma heirs in Edo. Because of the lack of space in Ōbaku temples, they had to rent civilian residences to be able to stay in the city.<sup>9</sup>

In a meeting with the sixth Manpukuji abbot Qiandai Xing'an on the seventh day of the sixth month of 1696, despite his favor of Chinese monks, the grand councilor Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu noticed the issue of corruption in the Ōbaku sect and intended to rectify it. Yoshiyasu pointed out frankly that this was a serious problem for the new Ōbaku sect. He lamented the decline of spiritual discipline in Manpukuji because many monks pursued fame and profit by associating themselves with powerful patrons. More importantly, the practice of dharma transmission became relaxed and thus many people claimed that they had dharma transmission from Ōbaku. On the twentieth of the same month, Yoshiyasu invited Qiandai to his residence again to discuss the matter. He put his words in brush: "In recent years, [monks in] the Ōbaku sect have given up the Great Affair (*daiji*) of themselves and only chased after the truth of the mundane world. They showed off their dharma in order to make profit. This has greatly betrayed a monk's true aspiration." He pointed out that the essential issue was the profusion of dharma transmission without regulations,



saying that the Ōbaku monks had lost the tradition of “genuine contemplation and authentic enlightenment” (*shisan jitsugo*). “They took the ‘winter melon seal’ (*tōkan inji*) as the ultimate goal. Those who claim to be great teachers with dharma transmission are swarming without knowing their exact number.” Moreover, they have “publicly deceived many lords and nobles and privately compete about the superiority of their dharma transmission.” Yoshiyasu accused these Ōbaku monks as “picking up the fame but losing the substance” (*shūmei ijitsu*).<sup>10</sup>

Within the Manpukuji community, the issue of dharma transmission also caused disputes and controversies. The most famous was the controversy over the retired emperor Gomizunoo’s dharma transmission. Emperor Gomizunoo was a talented literary man and a lover of arts and poetry. He was also serious about religious cultivation. But his role as an emperor was overshadowed by the bakufu. He was forced to marry Ieyasu’s granddaughter Minamoto no Masako (1607–1678) and his activities were supervised by the shogun representative (*Shoshidai*) in Kyoto. In 1627, during the “Purple Robe Incident,” the Edo bakufu officially annulled several honorific titles he granted to eminent monks in Myōshinji and Daitokuji and put six monks to exile. He protested by a sudden abdication in 1629. During his long life in retirement, he befriended Yinyuan and the new Ōbaku tradition.<sup>11</sup>

According to the Ōbaku sources, Emperor Gomizunoo had secretly received dharma transmission within Yinyuan’s lineage via Yinyuan’s Japanese disciple Ryōkei in 1667 and was duly recorded in Manpukuji’s genealogy of dharma transmission (see Fig. 7.2). Because of Ryōkei’s premature death in a tsunami in Osaka in 1670, Emperor Gomizunoo became Ryōkei’s only dharma heir. However, his status as a retired emperor prevented him from transmitting Ryōkei’s dharma to disciples like an ordinary Zen teacher would do. According to Gaoquan, he thus entrusted Gaoquan to find appropriate dharma heirs on his behalf and Gaoquan then transmitted the emperor’s dharma secretly to the Japanese monk Kaiō Hōkō (1635–1712), who used to be Ryōkei’s disciple. What Gaoquan did caused a serious debate within the Manpukuji community because it apparently violated the essential rule against “transmission by proxy” that had been laid out by Feiyin Tongrong, Ōbaku’s spiritual father. The issue manifested from this debate touched upon the spiritual core of the tradition about how to maintain the authenticity of dharma transmission.

During my research at Manpukuji, I examined a series of manuscript collections dedicated to the debate. Among these polemical essays, a



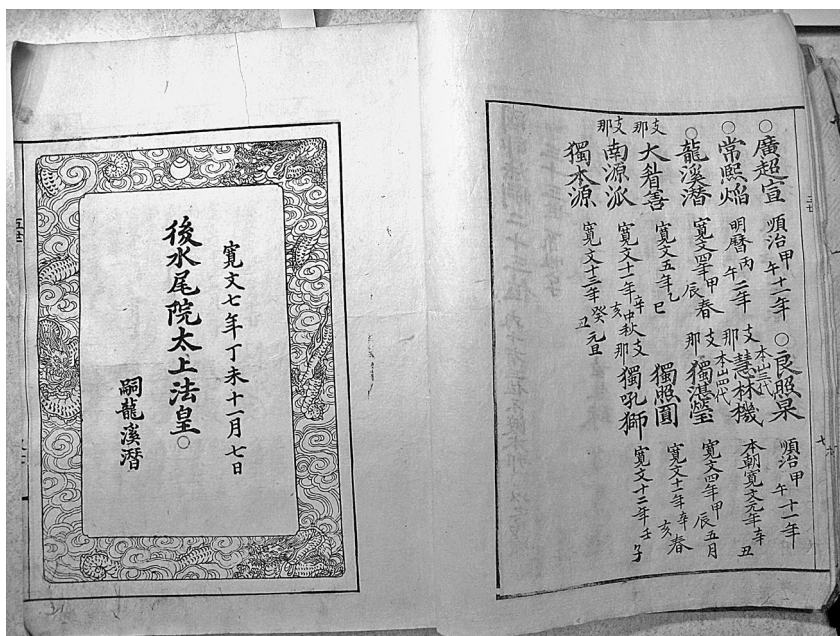


FIGURE 7.2 Gomizunoo's special place in Obaku Lineage as seen from *Ōbaku shūkanroku*. Photo by Jiang Wu from Manupukuji Bunkaden Archive, July 2013.

central issue is how to enforce Yinyuan's teacher Feiyin Tongrong's strict rules about dharma transmission laid out in his controversial work *Strict Transmission of Five Chan Lamps* (*Wudeng yantong*). These rules had been referred to as "Patriarchal Admonishment of Master Jingshan (Feiyin)" (*Jingshan zuxun*), which has been outlined in Duzhan Xingying's essay "Refutation of Transmission by Proxy" (*Daifu bolun*):

(*Wudeng*) *Yantong* says: "From antiquity transmission by Buddhas and Patriarchs are all done through personal acquaintance and must have 'transmission certificate' for authentication." (*Yantong*) also says: "Only those who had the immediate on spot attestation and received the master's personal acknowledgement by themselves can be listed in the genealogy of dharma transmission." The rest of those who received "remote succession" (*yaosi*) and "transmission by proxy" (*daifu*) will be deleted completely with no trace.<sup>12</sup>

Here "remote succession" and "transmission by proxy" were defined clearly in a polemical essay authored by his disciple:

The matter of “remote transmission” refers to the case that because some people read *Recorded Sayings* of ancient teachers, they inherited their dharma. . . . The matter of “transmission by proxy” refers to the situation that some eminent teachers, upon their death, never entrusted their teaching to anyone and thus their dharma line extinguished. Later their dharma relatives or some famous teachers during his time, pitying on their being without dharma heirs, transmitted by their proxy the dharma robe and whisk they left to their disciples.<sup>13</sup>

It appears that the transmission from Emperor Gomizunoo to a Japanese follower is a clear case of “transmission by proxy.” However, Gaoquan counterargued that his transmission on behalf of Emperor Gomizunoo was a special case and his action conformed with Feiyin’s “Patriarchal Admonishment” since what Feiyin referred to were simply cases of “wanton transmission by proxy” (*wangdai*). Nanyuan Xingpai, who supported Gaoquan, claimed that because Gaoquan had Emperor Gomizunoo’s imperial message, it was legitimate to offer transmission on the emperor’s behalf based on the principle of “trust” (*xin*) and “righteousness” (*yi*).<sup>14</sup> Because the majority of eminent monks in the Manpukuji community were in favor of Gaoquan who also obtained the bakufu’s support, the case was settled in favor of Gaoquan’s action of transmission by proxy. However, after this debate, the spiritual principle of dharma transmission had been seriously weakened, as Helen Baroni has pointed out.<sup>15</sup>

### The Bakufu Reform of the Ōbaku Sect

Under Tsunayoshi, known as the famous “dog shogun” for his unusual compassion toward dogs, literary values and the virtue of benevolence were emphasized. The emergence of Genroku renaissance can be largely attributed to his cultural policies. Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu was an exemplar of these literary values. Not only did he advocate these values and recruit a large number of literary retainers such as Sorai, but he himself was also a literary man and built a Garden of Six Righteousness (Rikugien) to pursue his literary interests in retirement. In particular, he was fond of Zen under the influence of his concubine Iizuka Someko (1665–1705).<sup>16</sup> He called himself the layman “Complete Penetration” (Zentōru) and had extensive interactions with Buddhist monks, both Chinese and Japanese. His Zen

interests and Zen conversations with monks were collected in *Records of Eternal Answers in Protection of the Law with the Emperor's Preface* (*Chokushi gohō jōōroku*).<sup>17</sup> He promoted Zen Buddhism, and Chinese monks such as Gaoquan, Qiandai, and Yuefeng were patronized by the bakufu. He also pursued Buddhist teaching with Gaoquan and helped him to acquire the Purple Robe. He invited Qiandai and Yuefeng to his mansion when they visited Edo.<sup>18</sup>

According to *Chokushi gohō jōōroku*, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu met Gaoquan Xingdun for the first time in 1692 and had a conversation about Zen koan with him.<sup>19</sup> He met another Ōbaku monk, Hōun Myōdō, the abbot of Fukujūji at Kokura in 1692 as well. He met with the Manpukuji abbot Qiandai in 1696 and discussed the new regulations for Manpukuji, which we will elaborate on later.<sup>20</sup>

Yoshiyasu also had extensive contact with Qiandai. Qiandai hailed from a Chen family in Changle county in Fuzhou. He was ordained by Jifei in China when he was seventeen years old. He then followed Jifei to Japan and was installed as the abbot of Sōfukuji in 1658, becoming Jifei's dharma heir in 1665. Qiandai was selected as the sixth abbot of Manpukuji in 1695 and was awarded with the purple robe in 1698. (*OBJ* 183–84).

Qiandai visited Yoshiyasu's residence on the twentieth day of the sixth month, 1696. Qiandai first reported the death of Gaoquan and his succession, also expressing his admiration of Yoshiyasu. Through translators and brush conversation, they discussed the current affairs in Manpukuji. Yoshiyasu lamented about the corruption there. He thus advised Qiandai to straighten the practice of dharma transmission and gave him seven new articles of regulation approved by the senior council and distributed in the name of Qiandai.

Here I translate them as follows:

### Monastic Regulations

The Ōbaku tradition is becoming huge and enormous day by day. Therefore, occasionally there are people who disrupt the lineage and create more corruptions. They don't reflect upon themselves but only pursue power and profit, becoming laughingstocks for bystanders. Thus, I have no choice but set up these regulations to inform monks in all subtemples. All the articles in this document need to be understood properly.

1. The essential thing of transmitting the great dharma is to choose candidates based on their understandings and virtues. Even if they have received recognition (*inka*) from their teachers, without coming to Manpukuji to hold the ceremony to “hold the whisk and preach the dharma” (*hinhotsu teishō*), their names will not be allowed to be copied into the register [of recognized dharma heirs]. If there were virtuous elders who cannot perform the teaching, Manpukuji allowed their assembly leaders (*hansho*) to register [on their behalf].<sup>21</sup>
2. Younger monks who did not perform the ceremony of ascending the hall [in Manpukuji] are not allowed to wear red robes [as official outfit for recognized dharma heirs]. However, if the dharma heir is the abbot of a monastery or has to ascend the hall to preach the dharma, or has to light the pyre for the cremation ceremony, they can wear red robes for those occasions.
3. Those who have acquired the dharma but later returned their dharma robe and transmission will be expelled from our sect. Or if their teachers are still alive and they have to travel to other places to study, other teachers can not transmit the dharma to them to let them betray their own teachers. Or if the teacher and student never meet, no transmission is allowed because this betrays our ancestors’ admonishment. Everyone must understand this.
4. Dharma heirs are not allowed to rent houses and live in marketplaces and residential areas to show off their knowledge and teaching so to diminish people’s trust on us.
5. Without the ceremony of ascending the hall, four assembly leaders are not allowed to be selected. Monks in small chapels, though having received ordination precepts, need to keep quiet and do not gather people to create commotions.
6. Nuns who received transmission can only wear light blue rather than colored robes. Laypeople who received transmission should wear black and don’t make it too colorful.
7. Do not confer [the teaching] to laypeople and nuns without restraints. Also even for those who had already received transmission when they were laypeople, after they were ordained their transmission cannot be intermingled with senior monks and be copied into the register. All those who are ordained during old ages should be polite and behave according to their status.<sup>22</sup>

From these regulations, it is clear that the bakufu's essential concern was to maintain the purity and authenticity of the Ōbaku teaching and practice through regulating dharma transmission. There are a number of important issues raised in these new regulations. First, in addition to receiving dharma transmission through one's teacher's private recognition, a public ceremony must be held in Manpukuji to prove one's true spiritual merit and required the candidate's personal presence in Manpukuji. Otherwise, he would not be considered an officially recognized dharma heir. This practice, referred to as "holding the whisk and preaching the dharma" (*hin-hotsu teishō*), was noted in later sources as "ascending Mount Ōbaku and manifesting one's teaching" (*tōbaku kenhō*).<sup>23</sup> In case that the candidate could not make it, a senior officer could come to Manpukuji on his behalf. Second, a candidate had to commit himself to the dharma lineage without changing his affiliation later. Otherwise, this person might face the penalty of expulsion if he gave up his transmission. Moreover, two problematic practices of dharma transmission, remote succession (*yaosi*) and transmission by proxy (*daifu*), were literally forbidden, following the strict rule of Yinyuan's teacher Feiyin who advocated "personal acquaintance" with the master (*mianbing qincheng*). Third, dharma transmission became a status marker between monks and nuns, laypeople and monastics. The sequential order of their receiving dharma transmission, rather than their seniority in monkhood, determined their status in the Ōbaku community.

The new regulations issued by the bakufu clearly dealt with the profusion of dharma transmission in Manpukuji, which largely followed the Chinese practice of unrestricted issuance of dharma transmission certificates. These regulations curbed the tendency of offering the dharma transmission without restriction and particularly targeted laypeople and nuns. Monks had to come to Manpukuji to hold public ceremonies to announce their dharma transmission and present evidence for examination. Otherwise, they would not be able to be recognized and registered with Manpukuji.

These new regulations were particularly important for reiterating the rule of dharma transmission after a fierce debate between Duzhan and Gaoquan about the retired Gomizunoo's dharma transmission during the 1680s. The new measures thus demonstrated the bakufu's intention to restore the authenticity of dharma transmission and the authority of the male clergy.

The bakufu further strengthened its regulations regarding Ōbaku after Yoshiyasu. Again, on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month in 1722, in

the name of Zuishōji and Kaifukuji, Ōbaku's two representative temples (*furegashira*) in Edo city, new rules were issued to deal with those Ōbaku followers who disrupted the lineage (*rantō no hai*). The bakufu reiterated that Ōbaku monks living in Edo should be affiliated with the two representative temples. Without such affiliations they would not be allowed to live in Edo. Other minor issues such as solicitation of funds, offering meals for ceremonies, lay patrons and monks' traveling, and chanting scriptures during the night were also regulated.<sup>24</sup>

### *Conventional Procedures for Recruiting Chinese Monks*

#### Recruiting Chinese Monks with No Dharma Transmission

Another major change affected the procedure for recruiting Chinese monks to Japan. This change occurred roughly around the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the bakufu started to put Sino-Japanese trade under tight control. Since Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751) took power in 1716 and initiated the Kyōhō reform, the administrative supervision of the Ōbaku monks, especially the succession of Chinese monks to the abbotship of Manpukuji, was closely supervised.<sup>25</sup> The change to more strict rules for recruiting Chinese monks was largely a response to Manpukuji's established convention of recruiting Chinese monks to Japan, which compromised genuine spiritual attainment and dharma transmission for the monopoly of the abbotship within a small circle of Chinese monks.

Before the new rules were enforced, Manpukuji adopted a practical approach to recruit new members from China. This approach did not emphasize the seniority, spiritual and literary achievement, or dharma transmission of the candidates. Rather, Chinese monks who were already in Japan preferred to invite junior monks with no dharma transmission at all so they could just confer their dharma transmission to them upon their arrival in Japan. In practice, the candidates were largely recruited through personal connections of the Chinese monks who were already in Japan and the process was brokered via Chinese merchants traveling between the mainland and Nagasaki. These monks first sent letters from Japan to famous Chinese temples and asked their acquaintances to recommend young monks who had not yet received dharma transmission at the time of invitation. The task of delivering the letters and bringing successful

candidates to Japan was mostly undertaken by Chinese merchants. The purpose of having these novice monks was to train them in Nagasaki and then offer them dharma transmission within Yinyuan's direct lines. This would ensure that the newcomers would not bring in dharma transmissions from other lineages and thus caused confusions and disputes. Two monks in particular caused such problems. One was Daozhe Chaoyuan, who arrived before Yinyuan but was the dharma heir of Yinyuan's dharma brother Genxin Xingmi. (I have introduced him briefly in the previous chapter.) Even though their sectarian affiliation was very close, Daozhe was forced to resign from his post in Kōfukuji and returned to China.

Another incident was the arrival of the Caodong monk Donggao Xinyue in 1677. Also known as Xinyue Xingchou, he was an accomplished Caodong teacher and a zither player. Regardless of his talent, he was threatened by Ōbaku monks to be expelled from Nagasaki if he did not change his sectarian affiliation. Donggao had to compromise. He recounted the entire incident in a document to clarify his dharma transmission. In this document, he said that when he arrived on the thirteenth day of the first month in 1677, Chinese interpreters first came aboard to inspect cargos and passengers. Learning that Donggao was invited by Kōfukuji, the interpreters asked about his basic information, such as when he was ordained and where he received dharma transmission. Donggao reported naively that he was a dharma heir within Juelang Daosheng's (1592–1659) Caodong lineage. The interpreters were not happy about this. They said, "Nankin monastery (Kōfujiji) only wants to invite a monk to be the abbot, who wants you (shipmaster) to invite a monk with dharma transmission?" To be able to land in Nagasaki, Donggao was pressured to change his dharma transmission. After deliberation, he had to compromise and held a ceremony to recognize the Kōfukuji abbot Chengyi as his master for expediency. However, in secret he planned to appeal to the Manpukuji abbot Mu'an to clarify his dharma transmission. The dilemma was finally solved when the Mito lord Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1701) was willing to accommodate him in his domain.<sup>26</sup> Donggao's case shows clearly how the rule of recruiting monks without dharma transmission was implemented to maintain the purity of Yinyuan's dharma transmission.

We can also see how these conventional procedures were carried out from various records such as *Ka'i hentai*, *Tsūkō ichiran*, and *Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku*. In *Ka'i hentai*, for example, we have the following inspection records about a Chinese monk who arrived with a Chinese ship. In the



eighth month of 1693, Vessel no. 79, after drifting to Tsushima by a storm, finally arrived at Nagasaki safely, bringing ashore seven Japanese fishermen and the Chinese monk Shengchui Fangbing (1656–1725), thirty-two years old at that time. (He was later known as Duwen Fangbing and became the eleventh Manpukuji abbot in 1719.) (*OBJ* 282–3) This monk hailed from a Liu family at Anxi county in Quanzhou and was ordained by the monk Liangfan in Kaiyuan monastery, where the second Manpukuji abbot Mu'an once resided. According to the inspection report by Nagasaki interpreters, during the summer of this year, the Chinese temple Fukusaiji at Nagasaki was looking for two resident monks from China and letters of invitation were sent to the mainland. The monk Yi'an answered the call and arrived earlier. However, the second candidate, Fangbing's fellow monk Fangyu, became sick and Fangbing was persuaded by his teacher Xuanpu Zongtan to come instead. It seems that Fangbing was related to the Fukusaiji abbot Donglan and called him his dharma uncle, indicating that his teacher Zongtan and Donglan belonged to the same ordination lineage. Carrying Xuanpu's letter to Donglan as proof, Fangbing left Kaiyuan monastery and headed to the north, boarding a ship to Japan in Ningbo.

Upon Fangbing's arrival, the Nagasaki interpreters immediately filed a report and translated Fangbing's affidavit. In their report, they emphasized particularly that Fangbing did not have dharma transmissions after examination. In Fangbing's affidavit, he had to make the following pledge about his status of dharma transmission: "If I indeed have dharma transmission but only lied and concealed it for the time being, please apply your state law on me when the truth is discovered in the future and I will not have other excuses. I hereby swear in this document as testimony for the future without other intentions."<sup>27</sup>

### Routinization of the Recruiting Procedures

The inclusion of such kind of investigation and testimony about dharma transmission in official inspection documents appears to be unusual because in normal circumstances religion has nothing to do with trade and government affairs. It only indicates that the procedure of inviting Chinese monks has been routinized and officially sanctioned by Nagasaki authorities. The bakufu had incorporated the monastic business of Manpukuji and the Chinese monasteries in Nagasaki into its routinized administrative procedures and asked Nagasaki bugyō and interpreters



to interrogate the identity of the incoming monks according to an established convention.

Here are some examples of how religious affairs had become part of the administrative duty of Nagasaki authorities. An inspection report from *Ka'i hentai* is related to the arrival of the monk Gaotang Yuanchang (1663–1733), who later became the twelfth Manpukuji abbot. (*OBJ* 118) Gaotang was brought to Japan by Vessel no. 22 from Ningbo in 1721. The letter of invitation was sent by Kōfukuji and brought to China in 1718 by a Chinese merchant named Suo Peigong, shipmaster of Vessel no. 33 in 1717. Together with Chinese merchant Cheng Yifan, he visited Gaotang at Chaoming monastery in Hangzhou and gave him the letter, persuading him to come.<sup>28</sup>

Vessel no. 1 from Ningbo in 1722 (shipmaster He Dingfu and associate shipmaster Qiu Yongtai) brought two more monks for the Sōfukuji abbot Daoben, who asked Qiu Yongtai to invite two of his three disciples in China, Rangdong, Quyi, and Riwen, to come to Japan. Because one of the three monks died, one was very sick, and the third was busy with temple affairs, Qiu had to go to Gushan monastery (also known as Yongquan monastery) in Fuzhou to call for Huimu and Dacheng (*OBJ*, 308–09 and 204–05), who were Daoben's dharma grandsons in the same ordination lineage. They agreed to come and left Ningbo on the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month at the end of 1721. Upon their arrival, Nagasaki officials had to state again in their inspection report that these two monks received ordination in the Linji sect but did not have dharma transmission yet.<sup>29</sup>

The monk Qiyan Daohui, later known as Dapeng Zhengkun, the fifteenth abbot of Manpukuji (*OBJ*, 213–14), arrived at Nagasaki in the seventh month of 1722 aboard shipmaster Wu Ziming's vessel from Ningbo. He had to file an affidavit as well. In this document, he told the Nagasaki authority that he hailed from a Wang family in Jinjiang county in Quanzhou and was thirty-two years old. He was ordained at the age of sixteen under monk Mingxin at Kaiyuan monastery in Quanzhou. In the eighth month of 1720, Wu Ziming brought Fukusaiji abbot Quanyan Guangchang's (1683–1746) invitation letter. (*OBJ*, 185–86) His teacher was hesitant, only granting permission for him to go to Japan in the third month of 1721. He thus left Quanzhou for Shanghai and from there boarded Wu Ziming's ship.<sup>30</sup> Similar to other arriving Chinese monks, he had to declare that he had not yet received dharma transmission but belonged to the monk Wu'an's ordination lineage of the Linji sect. (Wu'an's identify is

not known.) To show his sincerity of coming to Japan, he also added that he would not even dare to ask for permission to return to China.<sup>31</sup>

Monk Zhu'an Jingyin, later the thirteenth Manpukuji abbot, arrived with Vessel no. 17 from Nanjing in 1723, whose shipmaster was Li Shuruo, also the shipmaster of Vessel no. 10 in 1719. In 1722 the Kōfukuji abbot Gaotang, who had just arrived one year earlier, asked shipmaster Shen Yudang to bring an invitation letter back to China upon his return. Shen passed the letter to Zhong Jintian, the shipmaster of Vessel no. 20 of 1722 and Zhong found Zhu'an and gave the letter to him.<sup>32</sup>

### *Records from Wakan Kimon*

In a rare source entitled *Wakan kimon* compiled by Matsumiya Kunzan (1686–1780), a few more invitation letters were preserved and shed light on the conventional procedure of inviting Chinese monks to Japan.<sup>33</sup>

The first letter, dated to 1702, was issued by the then Manpukuji abbot Qiandai Xing'an (1636–1705), who had been in the abbot position for seven years. The letter was addressed to the then Chinese Huangbo abbot in Fuqing Boweng Mingjing (1642–1724). Apparently, Qiandai was hoping to strengthen the ties between Japanese Manpukuji and Chinese Huangbo monastery because both were led by Yinyuan and shared the same spiritual origin. The purpose of the letter was to recruit four young monks to come to Japan. Qiandai indicated that the government had approved the plan. He asked Mingjing to select capable monks of moral integrity and literary skills. The minimum requirement was that they had received full ordinations and were willing to take the risk of traveling. In the future, Qiandai promised some of them would be offered dharma transmission and to succeed the abbot position in Manpukuji.<sup>34</sup>

It seems that Qiandai never met Mingjing, but learned that Mingjing recently succeeded as abbot in the Chinese Huangbo monastery. He reported that he and Manpukuji had received considerable patronage from the Japanese bakufu: not only was he awarded the honorific purple robe, but public funds were dispensed to repair Manpukuji. Qiandai suggested that the bakufu government favored Ōbaku more than other sects. What concerned him was the fact that there were less and less Chinese monks coming ashore. He particularly praised the Japanese aristocrats and common people, for they had no bias toward foreigners. What these Japanese wanted, according to Qiandai, was simply literary merit and loyalty.<sup>35</sup>

In the reply from Mingjing appended after Qiandai's letter, Mingjing indicated that Qiandai's letter and gifts were delivered by a layman, possibly a shipmaster, named Gao. After a courteous opening and customary protocol of greeting, Mingjing implicitly rejected Qiandai's proposal by complaining of the current moral decline in Huangbo, and China in general. He said that although he had been the abbot for more than ten years, he was not able to revive the monastery. Only a year earlier, a renovation project took place to repair the dilapidated main gate and other facilities. By the time he replied to this letter, the main Buddha hall, storehouse, and the abbot chamber had been repaired. In early next year, the project to repair the dharma hall and corridors would be completed.<sup>36</sup>

The second pertaining document is the Sōfukuji monk Daheng's petition for the arrival of two invited monks, dated the fifth month of 1709.<sup>37</sup> Daheng stated clearly that the invitation letter was sent in 1707 with the bakufu's permission. The letter was addressed to Gushan monastery in Fuzhou and was delivered by a Chinese ship returning to China during that year. Apparently, Gushan monastery selected a monk called Bieguang (OBJ 327–28) to succeed Daheng and another monk named Zhisheng was to accompany Bieguang as attendant. They had been brought to Nagasaki by Vessel no. 44 from Nanjing (shipmaster: You Sanguan).<sup>38</sup> Also with them was a reply letter from the monk Hengtao at Gushan monastery. The original invitation letter was presented as the evidence of official approval. At the end of the petition, Daheng humbly requested permission for them to land and stay in the monastery.<sup>39</sup>

Records of Vessel no. 44 of 1709 from Nanjing in *Ka'i hentai* corroborated the content of this petition. According to *Ka'i hentai*, the shipmaster's full name was You Ruxi.<sup>40</sup> The letter from Sōkufuji was sent to Gushan monastery two years earlier. Bieguang and Zhisheng left Shanghai on the ninth day of the third month. However, their first attempt failed due to a storm.<sup>41</sup> Vessel no. 47 of 1710 from Ningbo also brought a Chinese monk who was summoned by Fukusaiji. It was again You Ruxi who delivered a letter a year prior to Gushan monastery.<sup>42</sup> In addition, various reports briefly documented the attempts to invite several other Chinese monks: Vessel no. 6 of 1711 from Ningbo brought one monk. The invitation letter from the Kōfukuji abbot Yue'an was brought to monk Baiting at Ciyun monastery in Qiantang by shipmaster Cheng Yifan of Vessel no. 24 of 1709. Baiting's disciple Guiguo answered the call.<sup>43</sup> After his arrival in 1710, he was soon appointed abbot of Kōfukuji. As reward,

Guiguo petitioned to increase merchant Cheng Yifan's (shipmaster of Vessel no. 39 of 1710) trading quota by fifteen *kanme*.<sup>44</sup>

All of these records indicate that a convention of inviting Chinese monks had been adopted by Manpukuji and bakufu officials in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

### *Manpukuji's Desperate Attempts to Recruit Chinese Monks*

#### Bakufu's Policy Changes

This system of recruiting Chinese monks manipulated by Manpukuji and Chinese interpreters at Nagasaki seemed to work very well in the early eighteenth century, but its problem was also obvious. Manpukuji only wanted to continue the Chinese monopoly of the abbotship and tended to sacrifice the spiritual qualification of the monks they invited. Therefore, they insisted on inviting those junior monks without dharma transmission, so that they could confer their own upon their arrival.

The Japanese, however, greatly puzzled by this ingenuity, questioned the spiritual authenticity of these invited monks and criticized this practice sharply. The Nagasaki magistrate Ōoka Kiyosuke (1679–1717), who took office in 1711, noted this anomaly in his *Various Discussions about Nagasaki (Kiyō gundan)*. He explained the current situation about inviting Chinese monks after introducing the three Chinese temples. I translate this note below.

Sixty and seventy years ago (around 1650s), because China was not united, eminent monks would like to come to Japan to avoid chaos if the invitation with generous gifts was provided. However, in recent years, monks without virtues also crossed the sea. Not only that, there were also very few among their disciples who received dharma transmission. People heard that they only limited to Chinese monks who came here and declared that they do not have dharma transmission. Then Chinese monks here, together with the Chinese in Nagasaki, submitted the proposal for appointing their successors and sent it to Office of Nagasaki bugyō. However, we heard that this had become a laughingstock among the Chinese. We should indeed worry about this. I therefore record it here. Also, the abbot of Manpukuji was chosen from Chinese monks in the three temples [in Nagasaki] according to Manpukuji's proposal.<sup>45</sup>

If Kiyosuke noticed this during his tenure as the Nagasaki magistrate, he must have complained about it to the bakufu.<sup>46</sup> The bakufu seemed to react to these charges and thus changed its policy. Although the original bakufu document of such changes cannot be found, the wording of the decrees has been recorded in many sources. For example, in a letter written by the Manpukuji abbot Gaotang he clearly indicated that he received the order in the seventh month of 1724.<sup>47</sup> The documents I examined at Manpukuji Archive such as *A Bundle of Documents about Our Temple (Fukusaiji) Recruiting Chinese Monks (Honji kō tōsō ikken)* dated the ninth month of 1761 also shed light on the details about the proposed changes.

These documents reveal that the eighth shogun Yoshimune himself was interested in this matter and directly interfered by issuing a specific order regarding recruiting Chinese monks.<sup>48</sup> Yoshimune, ascending to power in 1716, was an ambitious ruler who left his marks in mid-Edo political and economic reform. He was also influential in cultural and religious realm, as he had a vision about shogunal governance. Yoshimune seemed to have no particular connection with or interests in Yinyuan's Zen teaching. However, during a tour at the Ōbaku monastery Rakanji in Edo, he made the decision to set up new rules for recruiting Chinese monks.<sup>49</sup>

On the sixth day of the seventh month of 1724, the bakufu gave the two Ōbaku representatives, Zuishōji and Kaifukuji, the following order:

In recent years, Chinese monks at Kōfukuji, Sōfukuji, and Fukusaiji in Nagasaki were recruited from China without dharma transmission. They stayed at the three temples at Nagasaki and received dharma transmission there. Later, they became the abbots in Manpukuji. From now on, monks who have received dharma transmission within Yinyuan's lineage and have acquired learning and virtue are particularly inspected at Manpukuji. Go to China to get them to Nagasaki and make them abbot at Kōfukuji, Sōfukuji, and Fukusaiji. Later, make them abbots at Manpukuji. This has been ordered the year before last year. Monks in the Ōbaku lineage should discuss the matter and quickly invite capable monks from China.<sup>50</sup>

### Manpukuji's Responses

The two Ōbaku temples in Edo passed the bakufu's edict to Manpukuji two days later. It clearly stipulated that the Japanese government now wanted to change the accepted practice of abbot succession in Manpukuji

and only invited eminent monks who already obtained dharma transmission in Yinyuan's lineage.

It is no doubt that the bakufu raised the bar for inviting Chinese monks and this had direct impact on Chinese monks in both Uji and Nagasaki. This change posed a serious challenge to Manpukuji and triggered a series of desperate efforts to meet the bakufu's new expectation. The attempt was to recruit a senior Chinese monk called Zhongqi Daoren from Mount Huangbo who met the new bakufu requirement. The then Manpukuji abbot Gaotang Yuanchang first sent letters to the abbots of the three Chinese temples in 1726 to ask them to help recruit senior monks in accordance with the new bakufu requirement.

We are fortunate that all these documents are extant and I will analyze them in detail below. The first letter we have was written by the then Manpukuji abbot, Gaotang Yuanchang, mentioned earlier, and was addressed to the three Chinese abbots at Nagasaki, Boxun Zhaohao of Sōfukuji, Zhu'an Jingyin of Kōfukuji, and Dapeng Zhengkun (1691–1774, previously known as Qiyao Daohui) of Fukusaiji. In this letter, Gaotang Yuanchang expressed his concern about selecting the next abbot after him because the bakufu changed the convention of abbot succession. As noted earlier, the abbot of Manpukuji had been selected from the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki. Thus, when a new Chinese monk arrived at Nagasaki, he had to be a junior with no previous dharma transmission. However, the bakufu now required that the future abbot of Manpukuji should have already received dharma transmission within Yinyuan's lineage and had established himself as a reputable teacher in China, rather than receiving dharma transmission after coming to Japan. Gaotang worried much because he regretted that he did not know any of Yinyuan's disciples when he was in China. He intended to write letters of inquiry to the three famous Chinese monasteries and urged the three abbots in Nagasaki to do the same if they had personal ties with Chinese monasteries. If such a person was recommended, Gaotang stated, his *Recorded Sayings*, as evidence of his spiritual achievement, should be presented first for examination. Only after this person was proven to be a genuine Zen teacher should a formal invitation letter be issued.<sup>51</sup> One bar of silver and a roll of high-quality paper would be brought to the candidate as gifts.

The second letter was the formal letter of inquiry written by Gaotang Yuanchang to three Chinese temples in China: Lingyin monastery and Fuyan monastery in Hangzhou, and Huangbo monastery in Fuqing. In the beginning of the letter, Gaotang Yuanchang had to review the history of

Manpukuji a little bit because of the less frequent communication between monks in the two countries. He described the origin of Yinyuan's dharma transmission and the honor he received in Japan. The important fact was that after Yinyuan, all succeeding abbots came from China, including himself, who became the twelfth abbot in 1723. Some of these abbots arrived with dharma transmissions; some did not, only later receiving dharma transmission in Japan. He confessed that in recent years only those who had no dharma transmission in China were allowed to stay. However, in the seventh month of 1724, a new edict from the bakufu dictated that after him, the abbot would be selected only from those who already had dharma transmission within Yinyuan's lineage in China. In addition, the candidate should be morally and literarily capable. According to the new rule, the candidates should first stay in the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki. When the abbacy became vacant at Manpukuji, they could succeed. Here, the new emphasis of the rule was predicated on a strict understanding of dharma transmission. As Gaotang explained, the candidate must have dharma transmission that could be traced back to Yinyuan. Even a close relative from Yinyuan's collateral lineage would not fit. Thus, a candidate with the dharma transmission from Feiyin Tongrong's dharma heirs other than Yinyuan, though close enough, would not meet the expectation of the bakufu. For their moral and intellectual character, the expectation was that they had established themselves by publishing their *Recorded Sayings*. Three bars of silver and two rolls of high-quality paper were given as gifts.<sup>52</sup>

The three Chinese abbots in Nagasaki also wrote a joint letter to Huangbo monastery in Fuqing to make the same request. More specifically, they clarified that the candidates must already be established as Zen masters capable of holding the ceremony of ascending the hall. In addition to requesting their *Recorded Sayings*, the three abbots also asked for detailed information about the candidates' origins and ages, possibly for further examination by the bakufu.<sup>53</sup>

The last letter in the series was a reply from the three Chinese abbots in Nagasaki to Gaotang to report the details of their effort of sending out the inquiry letters. Signed by the three abbots but possibly written by Zhu'an Jingyin, the letter reveals that Gaotang's initial letter cited earlier arrived at Nagasaki on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month in 1726. They circulated the letter among themselves and wrote a separate letter to explain the matter. The draft of the letter was reviewed by the Nagasaki bugyō through the monk officials. According to this letter, the letter to Huangbo monastery in Fuqing was sent out first by shipmaster Ke Wancang of

Vessel no. 1, which was already dispatched on the eleventh day of the fifth month. (Ke was an essential figure in the recruiting effort and his role will be further explained later.) The letters to Fuyan and Lingyin monasteries were entrusted to shipmaster Yin Xinyi of Vessel no. 2 from Ningbo, which was estimated to depart within a month.<sup>54</sup>

Gaotang also wrote a letter to the abbot of Huangbo monastery in China, dated the third month of 1726, to make similar requests. His letter was carried to China by Ke Wangcan (Vessel no. 31), who returned to Japan in 1727 with the news that Master Zhongqi was willing to come.<sup>55</sup> A formal invitation was then sent out to Zhongqi.

### *A Real Hope: Master Zhongqi from Huangbo*

#### Who Was Master Zhongqi?

Gaotang and other Chinese monks in Japan were almost pleading for candidates because they knew how difficult it was to meet the bakufu's new expectation. For example, Gaotang confessed that he never met Yinyuan's dharma descendants in China even though he had traveled to many places. Such a concern over the new expectation simply reflects the decline of Chan Buddhism in China, as I have revealed in my book *Enlightenment in Dispute* on the Chan revival in the seventeenth century. I pointed out that the revival of Chan Buddhism was a particular religious phenomenon in the seventeenth century and Yinyuan came to Japan during the heyday of the Chan revival. Chan monks revived the ancient style of spontaneous encounter dialogue such as beating and shouting during the ceremony of ascending the hall. A capable Chan master often produced *Recorded Sayings* that documented their teaching. Yinyuan's Chan teaching was embraced by the Japanese aristocrats because it enlivened the ideal of the authentic Chan teaching. However, as I also pointed out, such a spontaneous Chan style could not sustain itself, and Chan Buddhism declined in the early eighteenth century. As a result, even with dharma transmission, Chan monks were less concerned with their spiritual attainment and had no interests in producing and publishing *Recorded Sayings*. However, the new bakufu rule reflected a renewed interest in having authentic Chan monks from China. The bakufu thus expected Manpukuji to become an authentic representation of such an idealized Chan. In reality, fewer monks in eighteenth-century China would perform the ceremony of ascending



the hall, and published their *Recorded Sayings* even though they received nominal dharma transmissions. Therefore, the simple task of recruiting authentic Chan masters from China became challenging for Chinese monks in Japan.<sup>56</sup>

The tireless effort of these desperate abbots indeed yielded some result, but bore no fruit due to government intervention in China. Thanks to Ōba Osamu's study, we now know that a senior monk called Zhongqi Daoren from the Chinese Huangbo monastery was recommended for the position. However, the identity of this monk has not yet been clarified by scholars.

According to the monastic gazetteer of Huangbo monastery, Zhongqi hailed from the Ren family in Putian in Fujian. He received dharma transmission from Qingsi Zhenjing, the eighth abbot of Huangbo monastery. He was later installed as the thirteenth abbot of Huangbo. His short biography in the monastic gazetteer did not reveal significant events in his life, only giving the date of his death as the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month but without a year. (If we accept the rumor that he died before leaving for Japan, the year of his death should be 1728.) Judging from this biography, he must have retired from the post in 1726 or 1727 when the invitation letter from Japan arrived.<sup>57</sup> Apparently Zhongqi was a perfect match because he was indeed an established Chan teacher. His *Recorded Sayings* were collected and published. Not only did some of his disciples later become abbots in Huangbo, but he was even referred to as a Vinaya teacher as he was capable of offering ordination and precepts.<sup>58</sup>

The bakufu's new procedure required that these Chinese candidates present their *Recorded Sayings* as proof of spiritual attainment. Indeed, the bakufu documents mentioned that Zhongqi's *Recorded Sayings* was presented to the Nagasaki bugyō and then sent to the bakufu. Although the title of his work has been recorded in the catalogue of Ōbaku writings, its whereabouts are unknown. During my research in the summer of 2013, I discovered an abridged manuscript of this work transcribed by Yoshinaga Setsudō. This manuscript, entitled *Essential Selections and Extended Catalogs of Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Zhongqi from Huangbo* (*Huangbo Zhongqi chanshi yulu guangmu jiyao*), was compiled by his disciple Jingsi and divided into four fascicles, which include his sermons in ascending the hall ceremonies, "casual study" (*xiaocan*), correspondences, and poems. It seems there was a preface, but Yoshinaga did not transcribe it. Because a poem celebrating Zhongqi's seventieth birthday

was included, this work must have been compiled after his seventieth birthday.<sup>59</sup>

Existing sources related to recruiting Zhongqi show that the bakufu was absolutely serious about him. It was clear that Zhongqi was Yinyuan's dharma grandson within the direct transmission line and had four fascicles of *Recorded Sayings*. It appears that not only was he invited, but six other junior monks were also invited to accompany him.

A manuscript document entitled *Information about Recruiting Huangbo Monks from Fuzhou (Fukushū Ōbaku oshō shōsei shuchi)*, dated the ninth month of 1727, provided a detailed list of the eight monks who planned to cross the sea. (The list was sent to Nagasaki in the eighth month of 1726.) Another document, entitled *Correspondences between Japan and the Great Qing plus Poems to Dispel Doubts (Nihon Dai Shin shokan narabini bengige)*, also gave a more detailed list. Putting these two lists together, we can have a complete record of the proposed candidates, shown in Table 7.1, despite some minor discrepancies.<sup>60</sup>

**Table 7.1 Name List of Recruited Chinese Monks**

Name	Identity	Age	Origin of Birth
Zhongqi Daoren	Abbot of Huangbo monastery in Fuzhou	Seventy-three years old	Hailed from Fuqing
Jiongwei Jixuan	Abbot of Longhua monastery in Fuzhou, Zhongqi's dharma nephew	Forty-five years old	Hailed from Fuqing
Fochi Jizhen	Zhongqi's dharma nephew,	Forty-six years old	Hailed from Xianyou
Jianshan Zhigao	Zhongqi's dharma heir	Forty-eight years old	Hailed from Xianyou
Yunyan Yuanxiu	Zhongqi's dharma heir	Fifty-six years old	Hailed from Fuqing
Haizhou Jihui	assembly leader	Sixty-two years old	Hailed from Fuqing
Taomin	Zhongqi's disciple	Thirty-three years old	
Xuelang Xinggao	assembly leader, Zhongqi's disciple	Thirty years old	Hailed from Fuqing
Dawen Fangdi	Zhongqi's disciple	Thirty-six years old,	Hailed from Xianyou

## Rumor about Master Zhongqi's Arrest

The thriving Sino-Japanese trade and the bakufu's tightening policy in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century also caught the attention of the Qing court in China. In the eighteenth century, the trade between China and Japan had a semi-official nature, as the Qing court needed the continuous supply of copper from Japan to mint new coins.<sup>61</sup> The Kangxi Emperor adopted a lenient policy toward the trade even though no formal diplomatic relationship was established between China and Japan. However, he kept close eyes on Japan. In 1701 he sent an official from Hangzhou Silk Production Bureau (*Hangzhou zhizao*) called Mo'ersen as a spy to Nagasaki. Disguised as a merchant, this Chinese spy departed from Shanghai on the fourth day of the sixth month and returned to Ningbo on the sixth day of the tenth month.<sup>62</sup> The Kangxi Emperor practical policy toward the trade was fully illustrated in his solution of the controversy over the trading licenses (*shinpai*) issued by the bakufu with a Japanese reign name on them. In 1714 the new Shōtoku rules were promulgated and the trading license became a hot commodity among Chinese merchants, causing disputes on the China side. Some envious Chinese merchants, who did not obtain the licenses from the Japanese authority and thus forfeited the right of trading, sued those lucky ones who got their licenses, bringing them to the court of Ningbo prefecture. They charged those certified merchants because they carried official documents bearing the reign names of a foreign nation, thus violating the Chinese law of loyalty. The case reached the central government through the memorials sent to the Kangxi Emperor. In a China-centered world, using the reign name of a foreign country was a serious violation of the authority of the "Heavenly Kingdom" (*tianchao*). However, the Kangxi Emperor ruled in 1717 to allow the continual use of these licenses in China, citing that they were only issued as a certificate for trade rather than an official document.<sup>63</sup> However, when Kangxi's successor the Yongzheng Emperor ascended to the throne, he started to control the trade in the Zhejiang area.

We will explain this change in detail later because it effectively blocked Japan's effort to recruit eminent monks from China. On the Japan side, without knowing the new policy changes in China, the bakufu took the invitation of the senior candidate Zhongqi seriously and prepared for his landing. It is surprising that the bakufu government, from the shogun to the Nagasaki bugyō, was closely involved in the entire process. After getting favorable feedback from China, Yoshimune's government knew that two leading monks, Zhongqi and Jiongwei, along with several other monks,

had agreed to come. Their *Recorded Sayings* were collected and presented to the shogun for approval. The bakufu decided to welcome these monks with the same ceremonial protocols they performed for Yinyuan. The two Nagasaki governors (*daikan*) Takaki Kanbei and Takashima Sakubei gave the order to Ke Wancang (shipmaster of Vessel no. 31) to bring invitation documents and gifts to China and arranged their future stay at Kōfukuji. A fund of sixty-four *kan* and five hundred *me* were allocated for repairing the temple and building additional rooms for them.<sup>64</sup> However, in 1729, some bad news arrived: it was rumored that shipmaster Ke Wancang and a group of nine monks, including Master Zhongqi, were arrested by the Chinese authority at Putuo Island when they were about to set sail. Ke Wancang was prosecuted in Hangzhou and he and his whole family were put in exile as punishment.<sup>65</sup> Later, all monks who were arrested, including Zhongqi, were forced to return to their temple in Fujian.

In the next few years, conflicting rumors reached Japan: one shipmaster said Master Zhongqi had died, another said the Qing government had approved Zhongqi's petition to come. Zheng Hengming, arriving in 1730, claimed that Zhongqi had passed away and other monks had acquired permission to come; Wei Hongdan, arriving in 1731, said Zhongqi had been permitted to come and that his entourage was in his house, ready to sail. Again, Zheng Hengming reported that Zhongqi indeed passed away. The bakufu was frustrated and thus banned Ke and Wei from trading in Japan.<sup>66</sup>

Viewing this event from the Chinese side, Zhongqi's travel plan was actually undermined by the tightened Qing control over the Sino-Japanese trade. Chinese sources reveal that a group of Huangbo monks, together with Chinese merchants who smuggled them, were arrested in Putuo. Moreover, the Yongzheng Emperor was directly involved in the policy making. The arrest of these monks took place in the winter of 1728.

### The Detention and Release of Huangbo Monks

The Kangxi Emperor's successor the Yongzheng Emperor was also concerned about the Japan trade. He entrusted Zhejiang Governor Li Wei to investigate and Li Wei did an excellent job. He became the Zhejiang governor in 1725, after the bakufu enforced the new rules on trade in 1714. From the eighth month to the twelfth month in 1728, Li Wei submitted five memorials to report his discoveries. Through these memorials, we learn that Yongzheng was aware of the thriving trade with Japan and the bakufu's

interests in gathering information about China. All of Li Wei's reports were enough to alert Yongzheng, who ordered Li Wei to take actions to stop illegal activities. As we will see later, one of the measures Li Wei took affected Manpukuji profoundly. Li Wei arrested a group of people who intended to be smuggled into Japan, including several monks from the Chinese Huangbo monastery.

With Yongzheng's approval, Li Wei conducted secret investigations that resulted in several arrests. In his memorials submitted on the eighth day of the eighth month and the seventeenth day of the tenth month of 1728, he reported that he had detected a group of merchants intending to sneak a group of scholars of practical knowledge into Japan. He then named a few of them, including merchants, doctors, a horse veterinarian, "recommended scholars" of military rank (*wuju*), and licentiate (*xiuca*). In particular, he mentioned Japan's efforts to recruit talented people from China who could teach Japanese equestrian archery, military strategies, astrology, naval battles, medicine, veterinarian skills for treating horses, and legal knowledge. The shogun even asked the Chinese merchants to bring elephants to Japan from Vietnam.<sup>67</sup>

In a memorial submitted to the Yongzheng Emperor, dated to the third day of the eleventh month of 1728, Zhejiang governor Li Wei reported the arrest of monks from Huangbo in Putuo Island. According to this report, these monks were led by Ke Wancang, the shipmaster who delivered the invitation to Huangbo from Nagasaki.<sup>68</sup> However, Ke was an agent on behalf of a Chinese merchant called Wei Deqing. Ke was also shipmaster who traded frequently between China and Japan.<sup>69</sup> Wei was a merchant from Xiamen. The relationship between the two is not clear. In another memorial dated the eleventh day of the twelfth month of 1728, Li Wei, citing from their confession after their arrests, said that the two had a business dispute: for some reason, Ke owed Wei 1,300 taels of silver and wanted to obtain a trading license to earn money to pay back his debt. It seems that helping Manpukuji to recruit Chinese monks was a way for Ke to make a profit. Indeed, the Japanese offered him a license for his effort to recruit Chinese monks. Wei also contributed three hundred taels of silver to cover Ke's travel expenses to Fujian.<sup>70</sup>

For the arrest of this group, Li Wei reported that he had detected previously that they planned to sail from Putuo in the middle of the ninth month. He therefore sent his men to Putuo to wait for them. On the ninth day of the tenth month, Ke Wangcang brought monk Bifeng, who was one of the nine people to arrive in Ningbo from Fujian on land. They quickly

changed their names to avoid detection and pretended to be pilgrims to Putuo Island. They left Zhenhai Port on the tenth. A squad leader (*bazong*) named Li Chengji in the Zhenhai garrison, who had been previously sent by the company commander (*qianzong*) Wang Guocai, followed them to Putuo. Together with the squad leader He Youjiao at Dinghai Garrison, they arrested all nine people upon their arrival.<sup>71</sup>

Li Wei interrogated the merchants and monks involved and it became clear that Zhongqi actually passed away shortly before the trip and was not among the group of monks heading to Japan. According to Li Wei's report, monk Bifeng was from Huangbo monastery in Fuqing and was Zhongqi's dharma heir. Because in Japan there was a Fujian monastery, Chinese monks were always invited. Originally, Zhongqi was supposed to lead the group to Japan. He had, however, passed away during the summer. Consequently, Ke and Wei considered bringing his dharma heirs to Japan. Because the plan changed and Bifeng was not the person the Japanese wanted, they planned to bring Bifeng and others to stay in Putuo Island first. For the next step, Ke and Wei sailed to Japan to report the change and request permission for allowing master Zhongqi's substitute to come to Japan. Nonetheless, Li Wei reported, they were all arrested before leaving for Japan. After investigation, Li Wei found that Ke Wancang had already received a trading license as reward, which was worth eight thousands taels of silver. More rewards would be given if they could successfully bring the monks to Japan.<sup>72</sup>

In a memorial submitted to Yongzheng dated to the eleventh day of the twelfth month in 1728, Li Wei reported again the confession from merchant Zhong Jintian, whom he had interrogated. He mentioned that there was a certain merchant from Xiamen called Guo Yuguan who also brought monks to Japan. The details are not known, but it is very likely that the monks were invited by Manpukuji.<sup>73</sup>

Li Wei considered monks leaving for Japan to be serious violators of the law. However, when the Yongzheng Emperor read his report, he showed his leniency toward monks, trying to distinguish monks from other offenders. He wrote at the end of the memorial: "Japan long since respects the Buddha and likes monks. Japanese often recruited Chinese monks from the mainland. This is what I already know well. You have investigated their origins and history and show they are not bandits. We should treat them with more leniencies, lest that country (Japan), upon hearing about their arrest, would be afraid of inviting other Chinese monks."<sup>74</sup>

Yongzheng's leniency toward monks is understandable, as his connection with Chan Buddhism is well known. In my previous work *Enlightenment in Dispute*, I revealed that Yongzheng was a self-proclaimed enlightened monarch who read Chan texts extensively and even participated in Buddhist controversies by writing his own polemical book *Record of Selecting Demons and Discerning Heresy* (*Jianmo bianyi lu*). He associated with many monks, especially Chan monks, and was well informed about monastic affairs in Buddhist communities.<sup>75</sup>

Li Wei's memorials also help to solve the mystery of Zhongqi's coming.<sup>76</sup> Although Li Wei did not mention the identity of all the other eight monks, we can assume that most candidates in the proposed list were among the group. A further investigation into the records in the monastic gazetteer of Huangbo monastery reveals that at least the monk Jiongwei had prepared to leave and had a farewell ceremony with his fellow monks.<sup>77</sup> In the biography of a Huangbo abbot called Biyuan Shicun (or Pucun, 1682–1753), it was mentioned in passing that after Biyuan was installed in the third month of 1727, the monk Jiongwei and others decided to go to Japan upon invitation. To say farewell to the Huangbo community, they requested a special ceremony of ascending the hall administered by the newly installed abbot Biyuan Shicun, who indicated in his farewell remark that Jiongwei was his dharma nephew and all other monks who accompanied him to Japan came from the Western Hall (*xitang*) of the monastic order. His remark suggests that Jiongwei had already received dharma transmission from one of Biyuan's dharma brothers and was possibly the head of the West Hall, a significant position in the monastic order.

It is also possible that Zhongqi did not want to come in the first place when he received the invitation letter. In Zhongqi's reply to Gaotang's invitation dated to the second month of 1727, Zhongqi made an ambivalent suggestion about who was actually going to travel to Japan, insinuating that he might not be able to come. After the epistolary etiquette and salutation in praise of Yinyuan's achievement in Japan, he said the following:

I had succeeded the abbotship in Huangbo for many years. After my tenure, I retreated to Shuangfeng monastery and enjoyed myself among mountains and valleys. The year before last year, because of repeated invitations from Huangbo community, I again became the abbot. For this matter [of going to Japan], the whole community had a public discussion and considered that as Patriarch Yinyuan's

dharma grandson, I would be capable to answer your call. However, I regret that my fortune is shallow and I have never made the public satisfied. Since my cultivation and virtues are also mediocre, how could I shoulder such a heavy task? In addition, I have been in my senior age. It would be difficult to travel for a long time. Therefore, I have been deliberating and wavering without a final decision. However when thinking about the dharma transmission of our ancestors, you and me are the same. The mandate from the [Japanese] state was so sincere and frequent that it would not be righteous to refuse firmly. Therefore, I chose my dharma nephew Jiongwei. His knowledge and behavior are so excellent that he has been invited to Longhua monastery in the Jiachen year (1724) and now is the abbot of that monastery. I order him to go forward. He will also lead a group of a few monastic officers to go to the great country (Japan) together. Following Patriarch Yinyuan's established rule, he will preside over for three years. He will recommend worthies to succeed him in order to help Buddha dharma spread and lamps (Zen transmission) continue without end.<sup>78</sup>

Here, it is implied that Zhongqi had declined the invitation on the excuse of his senior age, recommending Jiongwei to come instead. This was confirmed by the passing reference to Jiongwei's departure in the *Monastic Gazetteer of Huangbo*. In the same gazetteer, Zhongqi's biography never suggested he accepted the invitation from Japan. It is still a puzzle why Bifeng was finally selected. It is obvious that he and Jiongwei were two persons, as Bifeng was Zhongqi's dharma heir as Li Wei suggested.

### The Last Attempts to Recruit Chinese Monks

The tightening control during the Yongzheng reign was felt keenly by Chinese monks at Manpukuji. After the failed attempt to invite Zhongqi, a new hope arose a few years later. As early as the second month of 1727, shipmaster Yin Xinyi brought back the news that a monk called Tiechuan, the dharma brother of Mingyu in Fuyan monastery, would come. Following Yinyuan's precedents, he would be allowed to land in Nagasaki and stayed at Kōfukuji first. New dorms were thus prepared for him.<sup>79</sup>

However, the invitation of Tiechuan did not run smoothly either. In 1735 shipmaster Shen Xingcun brought in Tiechuan's reply, asking for more travel allowance and the trading license. Zhu'an Jinglyin petitioned



to invite Tiechuan<sup>80</sup> and in 1736, the bakufu approved the plan to summon a new abbot to Manpukuji from China. It seems that some monks and Chinese merchants who brokered the deal saw this as an opportunity to make profits. Their increasing demand aroused bakufu's suspicion and the license issued to shipmaster Shen Xinchun was rescinded by the bakufu for unknown reasons. In 1742, however, to support Tiechuan's coming, the license was returned to him. Chinese monks in the three Chinese temples at Nagasaki continued to petition for new monks to come. Monk Dalun, together with the abbot of Sōfukuji and Fukusaiji, filed a petition in 1739. From 1755 to 1757, more petitions were filed, but without success.

In addition to recruiting Tiechuan, Zhu'an also attempted to invite two other monks. In fasc. 43 of *Hakusai shomoku*, there is a formal letter from Manpukuji abbot Zhu'an to his two fellow monks in China, dated to 1735. In his letter, Zhu'an Jingyin, who sailed to Japan in 1723, gladly informed his friends that after a twelve-year residence in Kōfukuji, he had been recently appointed as the new abbot of Manpukuji by the bakufu. However, for the vacancy left in Kōfukuji, Zhu'an asked Xinjian at Chuntan monastery in Jiaying to succeed him and Daoyuan at Jingci monastery in Hangzhou to accompany him. In addition, Sōfukuji invited a monk called Moji from Leitang monastery in Minxian from Fuzhou and Fukusaiji invited another Chinese monk who was not named.<sup>81</sup>

Zhu'an's letter indicates that he had known these monks before he left China. Praising the Japanese people for their piety and elegance and boasting of the comfortable life in Japan, he tried to persuade Xinjian to come. For the detailed travel plan, he said he had a relative named Fei Hanying. Not only did Fei Hanying carry Zhu'an's letter of invitation, he would also arrange their travel plan. Zhu'an suggested that it was not easy to travel to Japan at that time, insinuating the tightened regulations of trade under the Yongzheng reign.

The content of this letter has been corroborated by other sources. One petition submitted to Nagasaki magistrate in Zhu'an's name asked for permission to invite the two aforementioned monks. The middle man of this effort was Chinese merchant Qian Tailai. They were allowed to come in 1735, but because Fei Hanying, the shipmaster in charge, had died, their trips were postponed indefinitely.<sup>82</sup> This does not mean, however, that the bakufu lost its interest in having Chinese monks come. Even down to 1768, the bakufu was still making efforts to raise money for inviting Chinese monks. It had been stipulated to Nagasaki Accounting Office (Nagasaki

kaishō) that for the purpose of inviting Chinese monks for Chinese monasteries, after 1768, every year eighteen *kan* and nine hundred *me* should be set aside from the donations of Chinese ships (*Tōsen kishin gin*) until the total amount reached 120 *kanme*.<sup>83</sup>

### *Conclusion*

These failed attempts of recruiting Chinese monks are likely to have frustrated the bakufu officials. In 1740 the first Japanese abbot Ryōtō Gentō was appointed, probably as a result of the repeated failure. All these attempts show that the bakufu indeed wanted to have continuous Chinese presence in Japan. However, the bakufu's demand of authentic heirs from Yinyuan's lineage and the strict foreign policy during the Yongzheng reign made such attempts extremely difficult.

The termination of Chinese presence in Manpukuji signified the end of a period of extensive Chinese influence in Edo culture. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Ōbaku tradition started to show signs of a significant decline. Ikeda Sadatsune (1768–1832), who compiled a directory of Ōbaku temples in Edo in 1827, lamented the decline of the Ōbaku institutions in the preface of this directory.

Nowadays, Buddhism is at its height in Edo. Temples are side by side and the Doctrinal tradition and the Zen tradition vie for superiority. But the lineage of Ōbaku remains silent and sadly dispirited. The story of how our National Master (Yinyuan) and other masters started the tradition has been forgotten and lost. Things like the buildings, signboards, statues, pagodas, stele, and inscriptions are either burnt, lost, or broken. All these are going to be gone. Could we still be able to pass them to later generations? <sup>84</sup>

It is clear that without the arrival of additional Chinese monks and a lack of new inspiration of spiritual reform in the Ōbaku tradition, Yinyuan and the tradition he started in Japan began to lose its momentum in the late eighteenth century. However, this does not mean that the Japanese bakufu simply let this happen without serious effort to support Ōbaku. Rather, this chapter shows how much the bakufu sincerely wished to renew this tradition by emphasizing the genuine spiritual accomplishment of Chinese monks. Both Yoshiyasu and Yoshimune were involved in reformulating rules to revitalize the tradition. They saw correctly that

a spirit of authenticity could be reestablished by recruiting monks with legitimate dharma transmission and genuine enlightenment experience, as evidenced in *Recorded Sayings*. Nevertheless, their efforts did not yield positive results.

Without newcomers, the remaining Chinese abbots in Japan, even in their senior ages with illness, had to rotate among themselves to be abbot of Manpukuji in order to fulfill the bakufu's demand for the symbolic presence of Chinese monks at Manpukuji. Under such a shortage of Chinese monks, the abbotship occupied by the Chinese monks for a century inevitably went to senior Japanese monks. At first, Japanese abbots and a few remaining senior Chinese monks took the position alternatively. At the end of the eighteenth century, after the last senior Chinese monk passed away, all succeeding Manpukuji abbots became Japanese. With the rise of Hakuin Zen, these Japanese abbots were also receptive to the new way of practicing Zen, which was considered more pure and authentic than the syncretic Chinese style.

The connection between Ōbaku Zen and Hakuin Zen still awaits further exploration. Hakuin studied with the Ōbaku monk Egoku in 1713 when he was only twenty-nine. It is unknown how this event influenced Hakuin. The succession of Kakushū Jōchō (1711–1790) in 1786 right after the death of the last Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan (1709–1784) introduced Hakuin Zen to Ōbaku community because Kakushū had studied under Hakuin in approximately 1749. It should be noted that Egoku first studied under the Chinese monk Daozhe rather than Yinyuan. Based on these connections, Masafumi Rinoie even believed that the Zen transmission in Manpukuji actually was not Yinyuan's. Rather, it goes from Daozhe to Egoku, from Egoku to Hakuin, and from Hakuin to the twenty-second abbot Kakushū.<sup>85</sup>

The thirty-third abbot Ryōchū Nyoryū (1793–1868), who studied under Hakuin's disciple Shunsō Shōju (1751–1839) and received dharma transmission from Takujū Kosen (1760–1833), brought the Ōbaku sect back to the mainstream Rinzaï teaching.<sup>86</sup> It is clear that the Ōbaku tradition, without the strong presence of Chinese monks like Yinyuan, could not maintain a "pure" and "authentic" teaching as some Japanese envisioned. The decline of Ōbaku was inevitable during the bakumatsu and early Meiji periods because of the loss of financial support from the Tokugawa house, and its Chinese overtone even became an embarrassment against the backdrop of a strong nationalistic sentiment.

# *Conclusion*

## YINYUAN AND THE AUTHENTICITY CRISIS IN EARLY MODERN EAST ASIA

THIS STUDY FOCUSES on Yinyuan and delineates the contour of his Zen mission in the context of early modern Sino-Japanese history. Questions remain on how to understand Yinyuan and his accomplishment or failure in light of the seventeenth-century crisis in early modern East Asia because Yinyuan's traveling to Japan and the founding of Manpukuji were not isolated events. When evaluating Yinyuan, we have to remember that besides him there were other foreigners traveling in foreign lands. In addition to Chinese monks such as Yinyuan and Shilian Dashan, these travelers include the Korean and Ryukyu embassies in Japan and more frequently in China, Tibetan Lamas to Beijing, Vietnamese embassies to Beijing, and Chinese enfeoffment envoys to Korea, Ryukyu, and Vietnam.

As I have demonstrated in this study, Yinyuan and his mission fit within multiple religious, political, and cultural contexts as spiritual leader, political representative, and writer of belles lettres. He was also successful in portraying himself as a symbol of authenticity during a time of great transformations in East Asia. I consider the Authenticity Crisis as one of the major signs of these transformations, and Zen master Yinyuan has to be understood against this background. In the conclusion, I would like to outline the phenomenon of the Authenticity Crisis in early modern East Asia in order to contextualize Yinyuan and the series of events related to his arrival in Japan.

### *Returning to Classics for Authenticity*

The sense of crisis was acutely felt in the seventeenth century, when profound changes took place in East Asian culture and society. Intellectually, the Authenticity Crisis manifested in the challenges to the dominant Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy represented by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), whose notion of the objective “principle” (*li*) was challenged by Wang Yangming’s Learning of the Mind, which placed the moral authority of the self on subjective grounds. Both Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming shared the idea that there is a universal source for defining what things really are, which provides moral and metaphysical foundation for the human world and the material world. However, for Zhu Xi, such an ultimate source is “principle,” which lays down the pattern of the phenomenal world where “vital force” (*qi*), “physical thing” (*wu*), and “human affair” (*shi*) were considered opposite to the transcendence of the pure “Heavenly Principle.” For him, the world exists in two binary planes in which the transcendental “principle” is prior to the phenomenal world logically. Thus, this phenomenal world can only be authentic if it conforms with principle. This worldview implies that a moral life dictated by “principle” has to suppress human feeling and desire (*qingyu*), which are considered to have beclouded the “Heavenly Principle.” Zhu Xi’s understanding has political and cultural implications for maintaining a social and political hierarchy. His philosophy was thus espoused as intellectual orthodoxy in East Asia.<sup>1</sup>

For Wang Yangming, “mind” provides the standard of the phenomenal world and transcends the dualities of moral right and wrong. He shifts the ground of morality onto the intuition of one’s inner self, which he calls the “innate knowledge of goodness” (*liangzhi*). Therefore, to be a sage means to return to one’s own mind-and-heart for moral inspection. His approach largely reversed the focus of learning promoted by Zhu Xi, who emphasized the gradual process of learning classical knowledge in anticipation of achieving a comprehensive understanding of “Heavenly Principle” in a sudden way.<sup>2</sup> Wang’s position implies what de Bary terms as “liberalism,” which calls for the freedom from Confucian moral constraint and the individualist pursuit of human feeling and desire. It was thus developed into a “leftist” movement represented by the iconoclastic thinker Li Zhi, who brought Wang’s teaching closer to Chan Buddhism and advocated the spontaneity of the “child-like heart” (*tongxin*) as the central concept to define what he meant by “the authentic” (*zhen*).<sup>3</sup>

As early as the sixteenth century, Zhu Xi also faced criticism from “Practical Learning” (Shixue), which had a following in both China and Korea. Thinkers such as Luo Qinshun (1457–1547) and Wang Tingxiang (1475–1544) who grounded “principle” upon “vital force,” believed that principle could only be derived from the actual world rather than from a transcendental realm. Their emphasis on “vital force” provided a philosophical foundation for the tradition of Practical Learning.<sup>4</sup> Following this line of thinking, an overwhelming number of scholars such as Liu Zongzhou (1578–1645), Huang Zongxi, Gu Yanwu (1613–1682), Dai Zhen (1724–1777), Yan Yuan (1635–1704), and Li Gong (1659–1733) believed that the vital force is more fundamental and primary than principle.

During the Qing dynasty both Zhu Xi’s and Wang Yangming’s Neo-Confucian thought were rejected by the movement of evidential scholarship, which advocated a return to a more “authentic” past through textual criticism and philological studies.<sup>5</sup> Metaphysical discussions of philosophical categories were criticized as “idealism,” as Joseph Levenson calls it.<sup>6</sup> The common strategy these evidential scholars adopted was to turn to the body of classical texts created in the earliest Chinese dynasties, the so-called “Three Dynasties,” Xia, Shang, and Zhou (roughly from 2000–256 BC), in order to recover the authentic meaning envisioned by ancient sages as blueprints for solving contemporary issues. For them, the solution for contemporary problems lies in the classics of the “Three Dynasties,” which lay out a paradigm of “Rite” and “Music” (*Li yue*). To recover the significance of Rite and Music from these texts, precise scholarship was required to decipher the meaning of ancient words. Thus, the primary method they relied on was a rigorous philological inquiry of phrases, phonemes, and syntax of these texts. These efforts led to a variety of redefinitions of authenticity and new understandings of issues in the real world. Huang Zongxi, for example, in his *Record of Waiting for a Visit at the Time of Ming-Yi* (*Mingyi daifang lu*), designed a new plan for statecraft based on his reading of classics.<sup>7</sup>

In light of this new “episteme,” as Benjamin Elman calls it, philosophical debates that concerned Neo-Confucians were successfully transformed into the issue of textual authenticity. For evidential scholars, authenticity lies in a thorough rereading of Confucian classics by employing philological techniques such as phonology, paleography, textual criticism, and etymology. They believed that by employing this method, they could recover the original meanings intended by the sages.<sup>8</sup> In particular, phonemes of ancient words were deemed necessary in the process of “authenticity

studies” and the task of Confucian scholars transformed from moral and philosophical reasoning to that of “investigating words and understanding the sound” (*kaowen zhiyin*). Gu Yanwu, the founding father of evidential scholarship, wrote *Five Treatises on Phonology* (*Yinxue wushu*) to explain the importance of “authentic sound” (*zhengyin*) in ancient texts.<sup>9</sup> In his view, words and their sound are inseparable in ancient times and poems were supposed to be sung with music. However, in later times, the correct pronunciations of these words were simply lost. Nowadays these pronunciations are merely today’s sound after several changes in history. Down to Gu’s own time in the seventeenth century, “the loss of this Way [of Phonetics] has been more than two thousand years.”<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the recovery of ancient sound is essential for reviving the ancient ceremonial rites and music to initiate institutional and cultural reforms. Gu thus put his phonological study in a hidden political agenda for rebuilding statecraft.

Among evidential scholars, Dai Zhen has a prominent place in dismantling the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. He believed that human goodness should not be dictated by the Neo-Confucian principle. Rather, through his philological research of Mencius, he concluded that the ancient sages never used the term “principle” to mean a transcendent absolute. Rather, it simply refers to the pattern and order of “what is natural,” including human feeling of like and dislike.<sup>11</sup> His contemporary Zhang Xuecheng even attempted a more radical approach to reduce the absolute and sacred status of Confucian classics to a relativistic historical process: “All Six Classics are history,” he famously remarked, meaning that all ancient classics were created out of a special time and should be understood only within the backdrop of that time.<sup>12</sup>

These challenges of the monopoly of “principle” implied a greater crisis in early modern East Asia. Chinese scholar Wang Hui points out aptly the implication of this crisis to Chinese Civilization:

As the universal value system for a moral-political community, “Heavenly Principle” constitutes the key concept of China’s moral praxis, cultural identity, and political legitimization during her “pre-Western” age. Nonetheless, the collapse of the world view centering on this concept means that the moral-political community which had taken form in a long time period and its sense of identity are facing crisis.<sup>13</sup>

*The Formation of an International “Textual Community” in East Asia*

These intellectual movements in China had immediate repercussions in other parts of East Asia and encouraged the emergence of new indigenous traditions. Intellectuals in East Asia, sharing and respecting a common textual tradition, adopted similar approaches to cope with the crisis. As Benjamin Elman points out, evidential research originated from Qing China also spread to Joseon Korea and Tokugawa Japan through commercial and tribute exchanges of books. Therefore, according to him, “an East Asian community of textual scholars who specialized in empirical research and philological studies of the Chinese classics” took shape.<sup>14</sup>

The flourishing of such a community was predicated on the frequent book trade and the spread of classical knowledge. What was unique during the early modern period was the widespread application of printing technology and the rise of a thriving private publishing industry that nourished a reading public and fostered a literati network. Published books became the currency for literary fame and prestige as well.<sup>15</sup>

More importantly, the frequent book trade among East Asian countries, especially the Sino-Japanese book trade in Nagasaki, facilitated the formation of a pan-East Asian literati culture. As Ōba Osamu points out, the frequent book trade between China and Japan was a significant sign of cultural exchanges. Collecting, exchanging, and reprinting Chinese books brought East Asian intellectuals closer than before. Even Ryukyu Islands participated in this circle of publication and distribution of books. As Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801) observed, book traders from Japan and Ryukyu paid a higher price to buy books in Zhejiang. “Thirty years back, book buyers in Peking bought up many books from old families here, but in the last decade they have paid no attention to us. I’ve heard that foreign ships, for example from Japan and the Ryukyuan, have come and bought many books for which they have paid high prices.”<sup>16</sup>

The cultural renaissances in East Asian countries created a great need to exchange ideas and cultural products. In the cultural realm, the rise of Chinese learning and the hoarding, imitating, and reproducing of the Chinese-style cultural goods such as Chinese books and other artifacts in Korea and Japan challenged China as the only place of authentic Chinese Civilization. However, China remained at the center of cultural production and products such as books were exported in large quantity in the Nagasaki trade. Nevertheless, a notable trend was that countries other than China



felt the urge to bring their cultural products to China for exchange as well. In the areas of classical learning, intensive studies of “ancient learning” prompted Japanese scholars to realize Japan had preserved many “authentic” ancient Chinese texts that the Chinese no longer had. Not only did they study and reprint those texts, but they were eager to send these new prints, along with their understanding of them, back to China. They felt elated when their accomplishments were acknowledged by Chinese evidential scholars and incorporated in Chinese compendiums such as the imperial *Complete Collection of Four Treasures* (*Siku quanshu*).<sup>17</sup>

In Japan, the rise of Confucian learning was remarkable in the formation of Tokugawa ideology. Both Zhu Xi’s and Wang Yangming’s teachings were represented by Japanese intellectuals. Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619) and his disciple Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) largely followed the Song Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi’s teaching, which was continued by Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) and Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714). Nakae Tōju (1608–1648) founded a tradition following Wang Yangming’s thought. However, these two traditions were quickly overshadowed by the so-called “Ancient Learning School” (*Kogakuha*), which advocated the return to ancient classics rather than following the Neo-Confucian interpretation. This new intellectual trend, represented by Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), Itō Jinsai (1627–1705), and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), attacked the Neo-Confucian interpretation of Confucian classics.<sup>18</sup>

Without evidence of mutual influence, it is interesting to note that their views on classical learning echoed those of Chinese evidential scholars. For example, Jinsai and Chinese scholar Dai Zhen, living around the same time, both proposed to return to “ancient studies.”<sup>19</sup> Jinsai wrote passionately to prove that “The *Great Learning* is not a Confucian text,”<sup>20</sup> thus discrediting the Neo-Confucian regrouping of the Four Books and the priority of *Great Learning*. Dai Zhen, combing through ancient texts, proves that the word “principle” was never used in the way Zhu Xi intended it.

As I have explained in chapter 6, Ogyū Sorai also believed that an authentic reading of Confucian classics relies on reconstructing the original meaning of ancient texts through philological research as the ancient Chinese would have read them. He challenged Neo-Confucian understanding of key concepts such as human nature (*xing*) and emphasized the use of philological knowledge, especially phonetics, to discover ancient truths. Similar to Chinese scholar Gu Yanwu, he considered that sound has special significance in reconstructing the meaning of words and phrases and advocated “the primacy of speech.”<sup>21</sup> This explains why

he willingly associated himself with Chinese monks from Manpukuji and encouraged his students to learn conversational Chinese. His emphasis on the importance of spoken Chinese in reading Chinese classics had direct impact on the phonocentrism of the National Learning (*Kokugaku*) scholars such as Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769), Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), and Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843),<sup>22</sup> who adopted a similar “linguistic strategy,” as Harry Harootunian calls it, albeit landing on a completely reversed conclusion about the civilization/barbarianism division.<sup>23</sup> Their approach was to go back to the original meaning of words by rejecting the role of Chinese words as representing reality. Therefore, to understand the reality of Japan as contained in Japanese history such as *Records of Ancient Events* (*Kojiki*), readers need to go beyond the Chinese expressions that were used to write down Japanese history in order to reach what is authentic. For Norinaga, Chinese culture has a fundamental linguistic problem of excessive “Chinese ornateness” (*kara no kazarifumi*), “by which he meant elaborate style to no purpose, ornate language used for its own sake, unshaped by any compelling and informing content.”<sup>24</sup> Applying this linguistic strategy, Nativist thinkers condemned Chinese language for its failure to represent the true world and inadequacy to describe the true nature of the universe. Eventually, China was transformed as “the Other” and Japan was established as the source of civilization.

Susan Burns’s following remarks captured the spirit of the Nativist approach to the issue of authenticity from a linguistic perspective:

No single issue concerned Norinaga and his critics more than the nature and significance of the language of the ancient texts. Their discussions of etymology, morphology, phonetics, and syntax may strike modern readers as tedious and antiquarian, but questions of language were profoundly implicated in their discussions of community. In a society where every act of speech and writing was shaped by variables such as gender, genre, dialect, status, and so on, the ideal of an original, authentic, and enduring “Japanese” language was a powerful means to explain and thereby constitute cultural identity.<sup>25</sup>

Following the same linguistic approach Sorai adopted, the Nativists successfully made language an ideological construction and established the “sovereignty of sound.” The difference is that Nativists substituted Chinese classics with Japanese ancient texts and resurrected the ancient

pronunciation, pure and unadulterated, from the corrupted Chinese ideographs (*hentai kanbun*) used to transcribe ancient Japanese. Thus, the Japanese became “living words” (*ikita kotoba*) where “the wondrous spirit of language (*kotodama*) of our great and august country” derived.<sup>26</sup> Such a phonocentric reinterpretation had a far-reaching implication and directly impacted the rise of nationalism and imperialism.

In Joseon Korea, Zhu Xi’s authority of interpreting Confucian classics was challenged by scholars such as Yun Hyu (1617–1680), Pak Sedang (1629–1703), and Choe Seogjeong (1648–1715). Their different interpretation of Confucian rites can be gleaned from the rite controversy with the Westerners’ faction (Seonin) leader Song Siyeol (1607–1689) over the mourning ritual for King Hyojong (1619–1659, r. 1649–1659) around 1659 and then again in 1674. Their approach was to relegate Zhu Xi as simply one of the many commentators and to go back to Six Classics rather than Zhu Xi’s commentaries on the Four Books for understanding the authentic Confucian teaching. As Jahyun Kim Haboush argues, as a way to respond to the fall of China as the center of Confucian civilization, a new episteme that espoused Korea’s leading role in reconstructing the civilized world after the Manchu conquest emerged in these lively debates over reading classics.<sup>27</sup>

Even the Ryukyu Kingdom, which was situated at the margin of the Chinese and Japanese spheres of influence, had felt the pulse of intellectual changes as exemplified in Confucian scholars Tei Junsoku (1663–1734) and Sai On (1682–1761), who intended to transform Ryukyu society by adopting Confucian ritual and moral norms from the continent.<sup>28</sup>

Such a return to Confucian classics for universal truth also occurred in early-modern Vietnam, which entered into the “Age of Commerce,” as Anthony Reid calls it, bringing Vietnam closer to other parts of East and Southeast Asia.<sup>29</sup> The mass production of cheap Chinese books helped to spread Chinese values down to the village level in Vietnam. As Li Tana points out,

the traditional Confucian village value of the Vietnamese elites was built precisely upon the mass production of the Chinese print industry from the late sixteenth century onward. The books brought into Vietnam by the merchants formed the stock of knowledge, and served as important sources for the newly developed approaches to textual interpretation, biography and historiography in the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

There was no doubt that Vietnam experienced a “literary revival” during the early modern time and Vietnamese literati developed their own understanding of classics.<sup>31</sup> As Alexander Woodside observes, Vietnamese intellectuals such as Ngô Thì Nhậm (1746–1803) displayed an intellectual propensity toward what he calls “primordial Confucianism,” which emphasized the primacy of Zhou dynasty ideals embodied in classical Zhou texts.<sup>32</sup> All of these sporadic examples from scholars in early modern East Asia clearly show that a call for the return to ancient classics reemerged as a strong intellectual and social movement in search of the meaning of authenticity.

### *Rethinking the China-Centered World Order*

The significance of the Ming-Qing transition is far beyond a simple dynastic change. Rather, as Lynn Struve suggests, such a dynastic transition caused a widespread disruption of time and conflicting description of historical events under different calendric frameworks set up by competing political regimes.<sup>33</sup> Such a change of dynastic time thus indicates the change of political order in premodern East Asia.

The fact that “Central Kingdom” (*Zhongguo*) was employed as the name of China as a nation-state is quite recent in modern history.<sup>34</sup> In ancient times, it was an ambiguous term with both cultural and geographical significance. As defined in Confucian classics such as the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), the authenticity of Chinese Civilization lies in the assumption that the Central Kingdom be ruled by civilized people from the Central Plain (*Zhongyuan*). Here, the cultural concept of civilization conflates with a geographical concept. Moreover, this exclusivist idea was reinforced through a tribute system with China at its center. It implies that the relationship between the Central Kingdom and other countries was asymmetric, as Peter Bol points out.<sup>35</sup>

At the international level, such a China-centered tribute system and the mentality it embodies had repercussions in other parts of East Asia because the authenticity of Chinese Civilization was built on a world order characterized by a graded tribute system, with the Chinese emperor at the center of political power. As John Fairbank describes, such a concentric tribute system divided “all under heaven” (*tianxia*) into several zones to include the Sinitic areas (Korea, Vietnam, Ryukyu, and occasionally Japan), the Inner Asian Zone (the nomadic people and Tibet), and the Outer Zone

(South Asia and, later, Europe). If the leading role of the Chinese emperor in this civilized world was accepted, the vassals or tributary states were obliged to also accept official appointment from Chinese empire according to the Chinese ranking system for official titles, to adopt Chinese dynastic reign names, and to pay tribute of local products to the Chinese capital periodically by following Chinese ceremonial protocols such as kowtowing to the Chinese emperor. However, as Fairbank points out aptly, “the Chinese world order was a unified concept only at the Chinese end and only on the normative level, as an ideal pattern.”<sup>36</sup>

The Manchu takeover of the continent put such a tribute system in an ironic dilemma because the very distinction between “civilization” and “barbarianism” was seriously shaken by the fact that China was ruled by the “barbarian” Manchu aristocrats, who forced the Han Chinese to adopt a “barbarian” dress code by shaving their forehead and keeping the queue. Chinese intellectuals who had witnessed the intrusion of the Manchu “barbarians” into the “Central Kingdom,” such as Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692), Gu Yanwu, and Fu Shan (1606–1684), all felt keenly about the loss of a cultural identity and a sense of crisis. For them, a sharp line between people from the Central Plain and the barbarians should be drawn and safeguarded.<sup>37</sup>

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the world order with China as its center was challenged by Japan through its own effort to establish a Japan-centered world order with the inclusion of Korea and Ryukyu into its sphere of influence. In the early period of the Tokugawa rule, the new bakufu was trying to stabilize its governance in all areas, in particular its foreign policy, which was characterized by the radical anti-Christian measure and the so-called seclusion (*Sakoku*) policy. It is now widely accepted that such “isolationism,” a clear misnomer, was actually a controlled opening, as Japan continued to use care and caution in managing its foreign relations with the outside world, including the Europeans and its Asian neighbors. The bakufu actively engaged in foreign relationship through the so-called “four ports” (*yottsu no kuchi*): Tsushima handling Korean affairs, Nagasaki the Dutch and Chinese trade, Satsuma the Ryukyu affairs, and less importantly, Matsumae the Ezo or Anui people. Among these four ports, Nagasaki had a prominent role in dealing with the Europeans and the Chinese.<sup>38</sup>

In early Edo Japan, the founding of Tokugawa bakufu led to new diplomatic efforts to include Korea and Ryukyu into the orbit of such an imagined universe, with Japan as the center. In chapter 5, I have analyzed the

various aspects of this new world order, especially the role of Korea and China. The bakufu's dealing with Ryukyu, however, was perhaps the most intriguing. Although Japan had conquered Ryukyu in 1609, the bakufu intentionally made Ryukyu to look more foreign. Satsuma lords, for example, prohibited Ryukyuans from adopting Japanese customs and dressing like Japanese. Meanwhile, trade and exchanges with China and Chinese learning were encouraged but the truth of Japanese control was intentionally concealed. The bakufu was even complacent about the fact that the Ryukyuans look more like Chinese: In 1712 Chūzan king's official title was changed back to "King" (*kokudō*) from the previous title of "state administrator" (*kokushi*) given by Satsuma lords. After 1726 all Ryukyuan officials in the embassy to Edo wore Ming-style Chinese robes to parade before Japanese citizens.<sup>39</sup> This interesting policy simply shows how careful and sophisticated the bakufu was at maintaining a Japan-centered "tribute system." Meanwhile, because in the Chinese tribute system the importance of Ryukyu was only next to Korea, the fact that it was also a vassal of Edo Japan greatly undermined the China-centered world order.

Vietnam's position in the Chinese world order was also nuanced. In history, Vietnam always defied the Sinocentric world order by declaring their rulers emperors and secretly using their own reign names.<sup>40</sup> Along with the unification and restoration of the Nguyễn court under the Gia-long emperor (Nguyễn Phúc Ánh, 1762–1820) in 1802, a self-consciousness of "Central Kingdom" emerged. As Alexander Woodside aptly remarks,

The Vietnamese did not believe that it was an eccentricity for them to argue that a Son of Heaven in Huê could exemplify unique imperial virtues. But the price of consistent defense of this position was the artificial devaluation of China in the Vietnamese mind. In 1805 Gia-long referred to Vietnam as the "middle kingdom" or *trung-quôc*. The conventional Chinese term for China thus became, in Vietnamese hands, an abstraction devoid of any one geographic reference. It changes into a phrase capable of being used to refer to any kingdom, founded upon the principles of the Chinese classics, which felt itself surrounded by unread barbarians.<sup>41</sup>

Such a self-consciousness was reified into a fictional regional tribute system, with Vietnam at the center. In 1815 the Gia-long court declared thirteen "countries" as her vassals, including Vientiane, Burma, highland tribes in south Vietnam, and even France and England.<sup>42</sup>

### *Nativist Attempts to Redefine Cultural Authenticity*

During the seventeenth century, the Ming-Qing transition was the major event that triggered a mentality of loss and nostalgia and spurred various attempts to redefine cultural authenticity. As I have pointed out in chapter 5, in Japan, simultaneous to the dynastic changes in China, was the reemergence of a mentality of a Japanese type of “civilization versus barbarianism” relationship (*Nihongata ka'i ishiki*) among Japanese officials and intellectuals, which was characterized by rejecting the domination of the Chinese tribute system. Itō Jinsai, though admitting Japan's barbarian status in his interpretation of the *Analects*, believed that Japan was morally superior to China, as the former's imperial succession remained unbroken. Asami Keisai (1652–1711) wrote “Disputing the Central Kingdom” (*Chūgoku ben*) in 1701, claiming that China was one of the nations in the world and that, based on his geographical knowledge, there was no ground for her superiority and centrality as the center of the world. As I have analyzed in chapter 6, Japanese intellectuals such as Yamaga Sokō, in his *Chūchō jijitsu*, even argued that Central Kingdom was now located in Japan according to his reading of the Japanese classic *Nihon shoki*. His view was prevalent in the eighteenth century. Nativist scholar Tanigawa Kotosuga (1709–1706) echoed Sokō in his *Comprehensive Annotation of Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki tsūshō*) published in 1762: “In this book, our country is called the Central Kingdom and China is referred to as ‘foreign country,’ ‘Western Land,’ or ‘Western Barbarians.’ This is the general rule of historians.” Before Sokō, Yamazaki Ansai already made it clear that “the title of ‘Central Kingdom’ can be spoken from the perspective of each country. Then we are in the center and all surrounding countries are barbarians. Therefore, I can say that the name ‘Central Kingdom of Reed-Plains’ (*Ashihara no nakatsukuni*) is not created out of our own interest.”<sup>43</sup>

Motoori Norinaga also questioned China's superiority and the sacredness of Chinese sages by reinterpreting Japan's ancient classics. In 1777 he wrote *Sorrowful Words on Suppressing Barbarians* (*Gyōjū gaigen*), in which China was considered as one of the barbarian nations that need to be conquered.<sup>44</sup> Aizawa Seishisai (1781–1863), a Mito Confucian scholar, composed the controversial treatise *New Theses* (*Shinron*), in which he claimed Japan was now the Central Kingdom and the logical response for Japan toward the Westerners was expulsion of Western barbarians by force (*jōi*). According to Wakabayashi, by claiming Japan as representing “Middle

Kingdom Civilization,” Seishisai created a “synthesis of Confucian and nativist rationales for claiming Japanese superiority” and “allowed bakufu leaders to extricate Japan from subservience to a China-dominated diplomatic world order of universal empire and culture.” Moreover, “it allowed them to conceive of ideas like national sovereignty and territorial integrity, ideas indispensable to the formation of Meiji nationalism.”<sup>45</sup>

The general strategy of these Japanese intellectuals to redefine Japan’s role in a civilized world was what Kate Nakai called “universalize” and “de-Sinify” Confucianism.<sup>46</sup> According to her study, from Japan’s perspective, Tokugawa intellectuals considered that authentic civilization could be found in Japan in three areas. First, the Japanese court ritual preserved the rites of the Zhou dynasty. Arai Hakuseki, for example, argued that the ancient court dress retained the elements of the Zhou style, while the recent Chinese garments have been contaminated by the invading barbarians. The Japanese ritual of clapping hands in ceremonial bowing had been recognized by Tang scholar Lu Deming (556–627) as preserving the Zhou Ritual as described by Han commentator Zheng Xuan (127–200). Second, some Tokugawa Confucians argued that the musical tradition of ancient sages, though disappearing in China but now preserved in Japan’s court music (*gagaku*), could be traced back as early as the Qin and Han dynasties. Such a conviction led Ogyū Sorai to study ancient music intensively.<sup>47</sup> Finally, because Tokugawa bakufu adopted the ancient feudal system (*fengjian/hōken*) rather than the popular bureaucratic hierarchy of prefecture/county system (*junxian/gunken*) in China, Edo intellectuals believed that Japan was closer to the Way of the Sages than the later Chinese dynasties were.<sup>48</sup>

Joseon Korea was most affected by the change of temporal framework brought by the Ming-Qing transition. Throughout the mid- and late Joseon periods, different calendric dating methods, such as the reign name of the last Ming Emperor Chongzhen, the new reign names of Qing emperors, and the plain sexagenary cycle of “stems and branches” (*ganzhi*), were used simultaneously. JaHyun Kim Haboush described the impact of the Ming-Qing transition on Joseon Korea as follows.

With “barbarian” Manchus in China proper, the Sinocentric world view was no longer viable, and the conceptual remapping of center and periphery emerged as an urgent issue. Koreans believed that Confucian civilization had been lost or at least greatly compromised in a barbarian-dominated China and that this civilization,



consequently, had to be safeguarded and transmitted in Korea. In transferring the role of culture-transmitter to Korea, they were rejecting the sinocentric world view.<sup>49</sup>

Joseon Korea, because of her adoption of Chinese cultural conventions and the long-term policy of “serving the great and emulating China” (*sadae mohwa*), had been acclaimed as the “Little China” (*So Junghwa*) since the Song dynasty.<sup>50</sup> However, this policy had to be changed to “serving to the powerful barbarian” after the Manchu conquest, according to Watanabe’s observation.<sup>51</sup> Although the Joseon court had no choice but to subjugate herself before the rising Manchu state, a deep-rooted sentiment of “revering the Zhou and longing for the Ming” (*jonju samyeong*) permeated the court. A series of efforts were made to express the mourning of the lost Ming: these included the building of the Great Altar of Gratitude (Daebodan) for Ming emperors Hongwu, Wanli, and Chongzhen by King Sukjong in 1704, the Shrine of Facing East Eternally (Mandongmyo) for the Wanli emperor (proposed by Song Siyeol and built by his disciples in 1704), and the Temple of Great Unity (Daetongmyo) for the commemoration of Ming emperors.<sup>52</sup> Joseon intellectuals took pride from these buildings and memorial ceremonies because no such ceremonies could be held inside China anymore. Koreans even ranked the ceremonial protocols for the Ming sacrifice higher than those for deceased Korean kings. Joseon Koreans were also proud that they were allowed to keep the “civilized” Ming official attire and hairstyle while all the Chinese had to shave their heads by following the “barbarian” custom.<sup>53</sup> According to some anecdotal records, King Hyojong even contemplated a plan to launch a “northern expedition” to invade China in order to expel the Manchus.<sup>54</sup>

In the Korean historical writings, Chinese dynasties founded by the Han Chinese were revered as the orthodox polity, while the Qing was relegated as the usurper. Many private writings continued to use the Ming reign names. Years after the fall of the Ming were marked by the last Ming emperor Chongzhen’s reign name. In the historical anthology *Collection of Revering the Zhou Dynasty* (*Jonju hwipyeon*) initiated by King Jeongjo (1752–1800) in 1796 and completed by Seong Haeung (1760–1839) around 1825, the Manchu emperor was referred to as the “barbarian emperor” (*hohwang*) and the Southern Ming regimes were established as the orthodox successors of the Ming. The dynastic chronology followed the Joseon calendar years, completely bypassing the Qing calendars and reign names. According to the compiler of this anthology, the contemporary China was

no longer the Central Kingdom, but was referred to as the Manchu or Qing state.<sup>55</sup> By this, Joseon intellectuals could claim that they were the authentic spiritual heir of a great civilization. Such a perception of Korea has been often referred to as “Korea’s Sinophilism” (*Joseon Junghwa juui*).

The view of Vietnam as a “civilized domain” was widely spread among Vietnamese intellectuals in the early modern time, and the appellation of “barbarian” addressed by Chinese in official documents was often rejected as an insult. Lý Văn Phức (1785–1849), for example, in his official trip to China in 1831, refused to enter the envoy’s residence in Guangzhou with the designation of “barbarian envoy.” He wrote an essay entitled “Differentiating the Barbarians” (*Dibiện*) to dispute such a derogatory phrase applied to his country and argued that China and Vietnam only differed in language, custom, and dress code. According to him, “the meaning of civilization and barbarity can only be sought after in literary composition, ceremonies, and righteousness.”<sup>56</sup>

### *Authenticity and Its Consensus*

It was clear that East Asia during the early modern period had undergone a serious Authenticity Crisis, as varying claims of authenticity emerged in different parts of East Asia. However, interestingly, we did not see these East Asian countries engaged in major conflicts. Rather, East Asia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enjoyed a long period of stability and peace. Meanwhile, the East Asian region experienced a remarkably active period of personnel exchanges among tribute envoys, migrants, passengers, merchants, and traveling monks. Not only did these people cross the borders and reach their destinations, they also engaged in extensive cultural exchanges with locals and demonstrated an urgent need to share their understanding of each other. These visitors, upon their arrival in foreign lands, were approached by locals to have conversations through writing down classical Chinese. They exchanged poems and their calligraphies as gifts. In some cases, a strong affinity and bond grew among these literary friends and tears were shed at the time of departure.<sup>57</sup> All these exchanges were not hostile but rather friendly and showed a clear intention to find mutual agreement and recognition. I tend to call the purpose of these cultural activities “consensus-seeking” in the sense that the participants truly wished to establish a common ground to position themselves within a new framework of mutual understanding. In my view, such consensus-seeking activities are indispensable in any attempt to

redefine the meaning of authenticity because not only does the discourse of authenticity call for a careful logical reconstruction, but it also needs to obtain consensus and recognition from others who share a common core of knowledge base. Therefore, such consensus-seeking activities are necessary for establishing a new claim of authenticity.

These activities were based on a rise of a literati culture dominated by Chinese cultural and aesthetic norms. In the cultural realm, what characterized East Asia in the early modern period was the revival of a pan-East Asian literati culture. Such a literati culture, with classical Chinese as its lingua franca, shared a common core composed of Confucian classics, literary canon, and artistic taste. Within such a literati culture, educated elite emulated an ideal of cultured life, elegant aesthetic pursuits, and seclusion from society. They found spiritual solace in reading and studying Confucian classics and engaging in literary productions such as writing essays and Chinese poems. In addition to these literary pursuits, they dabbled in ink painting and enjoyed the company of their fellow literati at tea parties and literary gatherings. Their commitment to ancient classics did not exclude them from reading Buddhist and Daoist scriptures. Rather, to associate with eminent monks and Daoist teachers was considered a laudable gesture in avoiding the mundane.

Greater personnel exchanges occurred within the tribute system and along the trade route. It has been noted that the China-centered tribute system was not simply a political structure to push China's neighbors into an orbit around Beijing. Rather, as Fairbank has revealed, it was actually more about international trade. To be allowed to pay tribute to China was to be granted the license to trade with Chinese merchants. Each tribute embassy brought a large quantity of goods for trade, and earning profits from such official trade was one of the incentives for neighboring countries to join the tribute system voluntarily. However, a deeper intellectual significance of the tribute system has not yet been revealed. Because tributary states like Korea and Vietnam shared the common textual classics with China, there was a great need for intellectuals to keep abreast with the latest cultural development within the continent and adjust their position within the Sinitic world. During their trips, the foreign envoys left a large body of literature to describe their journeys.

The envoy literature and records of cultural exchanges exist in large quantities. In recent years, under the leadership of Prof. Ge Zhaoguan, the travel records from Korean and Vietnamese envoys, typically referred to as "Records of China-Bound Envoys" (*Yanxinglu* or *Chaotianlu*), have been

systematically collected and published. In Korea, the voluminous travel writings by Korean envoys were also reprinted. In total, there were at least five hundred titles of such envoy travel literature generated by Korean envoys.<sup>58</sup> Vietnam envoys also left a collection of poems and essays about their trips to China. Recently, seventy-nine titles of fifty-three envoys have been published in China.<sup>59</sup>

Judging from these writings, besides their official duties during their travel, these envoys went sightseeing, interacted with local people, and made friends with like-minded local elite. Through “brush talks” (*bitan* 筆談, *J. hitsuwa*) via writing down their thoughts in classical Chinese, which is the common linguistic heritage in East Asia, they shared their views. Such brush talks, as Douglas Howland points out based on examples between Chinese envoys and Japanese elite in the 1870s, are examples of “a written linguistic code” that is composed of various native linguistic elements from the participants. More importantly, “through participation in this common code of brushtalking, Chinese and Japanese scholars actualized a conception of Civilization that gave members of both cultural groups positions in an allegedly universal discourse.”<sup>60</sup> Howland’s remark shed light on the nature of such written conversations carried on in the form of writing Chinese characters. In my opinion, such literary exchanges among educated elite in East Asia had special intellectual significance at the time of the Authenticity Crisis. This is because when the notion of authenticity created by the Chinese was challenged, multiple claims of authenticity emerged and needed consensus to confirm or adjust. Therefore, these missions were largely consensus-seeking missions for the purpose of validating competing claims. This, however, doesn’t mean they had to agree with each other.

Joseon Practical Learning (*silhak*) scholar Hong Taeyong’s (1731–1783) experience in Beijing was a perfect example to illustrate how he sought for mutual understanding with Chinese scholars and how his experience in China shaped his view of the world. At the age of thirty-five, Hong joined the 1765 Korean embassy as an aide to his uncle, who served as the secretary. He spent about six months in Beijing in 1766 and wrote a memoir about his experience. During his stay, he not only toured many places but also met a lot of interesting people, including literati and scholars, Manchu officials, merchants, musicians, foreigners such as Ryukyuan, Mongols, Muslims, and two Jesuits who served as royal astronomers at the court (Augustin von Hallerstein, Chinese name Liu Songling, 1703–1774, and Anton Gogei, Chinese name Bao Yuguan, 1701–1771).

In addition, he developed intimate relationships with three young Chinese scholars from Hangzhou who stayed in Beijing for the civil service exam. They met almost every day and carried on conversation through brush talks, which were compiled by Hong into a two-fascicle collection titled *Ganjeong Brush Talk* (*Gangjeong p'iltam*). Although Hong admired the peaceful governance of China under the Manchu rule and even considered that “Manchus are superior to the Chinese,” his sense of superiority of Korea as a spiritual heir of the lost Ming prompted him to question sensitive matters such as the Ming clothes he saw in Chinese theaters and the banned works of Ming loyalists. To the embarrassment and discomfort of his Chinese friends, he even remarked, “I can’t stand seeing you Chinese under the whips of the Manchus.”<sup>61</sup>

Hong held a relativist view about China’s claim as the center of the world. As one of the few Koreans exposed to Western astronomical science, he rejected the notion that there was an absolute center of the universe. Instead, he believed that the center was only relative to a person’s own position. In an imagined dialogue between a Korean scholar Master Void (Heoja) and the Old Man of Substance Learning (Shirong) happening on the border between Korea and China, he spoke in the voice of this Old Man: “From the perspective of heaven [nature], how can there be any distinction between ‘in’ (nae) and ‘out’ (wae)? Thus, each feels close to his own [neighbor], each respects his own ruler, each defends his own country, and each finds comfort in his own customs—[in this] Hwa [China] or Yi [Korea] are all the same.”<sup>62</sup>

Not only did such a consensus-building process occur between foreign envoys and their Chinese hosts, but foreign envoys also exchanged poems among themselves. For example, after they arrived in Beijing, Vietnamese envoys and Korean envoys often gathered together to exchange poems and information, as seen in Liam Kelly’s study of Vietnamese envoy poetry. The most exemplary encounter happened between the Joseon envoy Yi Sugwang (1563–1628) and the Vietnamese envoy Phùng Khắc Khoan (1528–1613) in 1597. Both of them exchanged poems to congratulate each other as a member of civilization.<sup>63</sup>

The Korean embassies in Japan were not simply political and economical either. Korean envoys and Japanese intellectuals engaged in various kinds of cultural exchanges. Nam-lin Hur used the term “prestige economy” to describe the nature of these exchanges as the “expectations of ethnic groups for a ‘self-justified’ prestige, a prestige

that exonerates their claim to distinctive ethnic and cultural status.”<sup>64</sup> In Edo Japan, since the arrival of the Korean war captive Kang Hang (1567–1618), Korean scholars were widely admired and welcomed.<sup>65</sup> The records of brush talks with Korean envoys were extremely popular and were circulated through printing. Each time when Korean envoys arrived in Japan, educated Japanese scholars flocked to their residences to request meetings with the envoys in person. They presented their own essays and calligraphy to Koreans, hoping to obtain their written comments and appraisal. The records of their exchanges were collected and quickly published, circulating in the book market, often in great demand.

These exchanges cannot be lightly regarded. To be able to receive favorable written remarks from the Korean envoys was an important asset for the promotion of their own literary fame and honor. Some of them traveled from afar in order to ask the Koreans to evaluate their writings. They wanted to find consensus about the same aesthetic value they cherished as well. These intellectuals were lacking confidence and desired external acknowledgment and recognition of their not being “barbarians” and being successful imparters of the culture of Central Kingdom. However, such a vast body of literature, often being called *Changhe bitan* / *Shōwa hitsudan*, has not been systematically studied.<sup>66</sup>

The 1719 envoy Shin Yuhan was popular among Japanese intellectuals. He left a famous work, *Record of Oceanic Journey (Haeyurok)*, in which he documented his observation of Japan and Japanese people.<sup>67</sup> As Nam-lin Hur points out, his political mission was literarily transformed into a “cultural diplomacy” as the Japanese crowded their residences to ask for literary exchanges. Shin and his colleagues had to work day and night. During a brief period of six months in Japan, Shin wrote about six thousand poems in total. The interaction between Korean envoys was also quickly published. Shin was amazed to see that the poems he had written on the way to Edo were already in print by the time he passed Osaka on his return trip.<sup>68</sup> In Shin’s record, he also commented frankly on the inferiority of the Chinese poems composed by Japanese scholars. Though biased against Japan and the Japanese, he engaged in straightforward conversation with scholars such as Amenomori Hōshū, who was a Tsushima official well-versed in spoken Korean and Chinese. Hōshū’s manner and literary skills were highly praised by the Koreans in his dealing with foreign affairs. Shin and Hōshū had long conversations which covered a wide range of touchy topics. They discussed about their prejudices against each other and even

how to evaluate Hideyoshi and his atrocity in Korea. Although they had confrontations in their discussions, Shin saw Hōshū's tears at the night of his departure back to Korea.<sup>69</sup>

During the communications with the Korean embassy, Japanese intellectuals shared their views about China and felt a sense of consensus with their Korean guests. For example, Taki Yahachi (1709–1773), a student under Ogyū Sorai's disciple Yamagata Shūnan (1687–1752), was well-versed in Chinese learning and was praised by Korean envoy Won Junggeo as “an overseas Chinese.”<sup>70</sup> In a letter he sent to the 1763 Korean envoy Seong Daejung (1732–1809), he claimed that both Korea and Japan could now be regarded as civilized rather than China. He assumed that Seong would agree with him.

Both your country and my country are located at the east end of the world. However, right now, in your country, the preeminence of music and moral teaching and the purity of your people's virtue are instantiated in your setting up Four Schools to train talents, Elderly Assistance Agency (Gwihuseo) to bestow subsistence to take care of the elders. Even slaves and servants are allowed to observe the three-year mourning period for the death of their parents. There is no more than this even during the ancient time which was the most virtuous.

The beauty of the human relations and customs in our country is out of our nature. Loyal officials and righteous gentlemen, filial sons and chaste women live side by side. It is not rare at all to see slaves and servants, even prostitutes, killing themselves out of loyalty.

China [used to be] the country of the sages. However, her people are so wicked and evil that they are worse than the barbarians. I have seen this in the legal codes of the Ming and Qing dynasties. According to these codes, their wickedness, deception, ferociousness, and evilness are so extreme that we never heard about them in our country. Moreover, in the country of Holland people did not possess the second woman (*funishiki*, referring to the monogamy system in the West) and there is no beggar in that country. All these are what China can not achieve. Therefore, the places where the transformation of the sages, the teaching of Poetry and History, Rituals, and Music can reach are no more than our country, Ryukyu, and Vietnam.<sup>71</sup>

In this letter, Taki Yahachi cited examples of Joseon Korea's cultural achievement. He mentioned the establishment of Four Schools and the Elderly Assistance Agency as examples. Without visiting Korea, his source of information is most likely the "Joseon Ode" (*Chaoxian fu*)—composed by the 1488 Ming envoy to Joseon Dong Yue—in which these institutions are mentioned.<sup>72</sup> He held his own country in high regard because of the virtue of loyalty. However, he lamented China's moral decline. It appears that his main source of information about China was the Ming and Qing legal codes. As a student in Sora's tradition, he must have joined Sora's project to study Chinese legal codes. Interestingly, he even had extensive knowledge about European social institution of marriage and social life, showing the wide range of Dutch learning (*Rangaku*). Taki's remarks insinuated a consensus between him and Seong: the center of civilization had moved out of China, and both Korea and Japan, together with Ryukyu and Vietnam, formed a new civilized world.

### *Seeking Consensus from Chinese Monks*

Based on my account of the Authenticity Crisis in East Asia, it is noted that in the seventeenth century down to the mid-eighteenth century, there was no clear sign that East Asian intellectuals had found the solution to get out of such a crisis and to identify clearly their own position in the civilized world. The primary language and vocabulary for describing themselves were still dictated by literary and cultural conventions derived from Chinese Civilization. In Japan the nativist movement represented by Norinaga's National Learning (*Kokugaku*) had not yet dominated the mind of the intellectuals in the late eighteenth century. He completed his *Commentary on Kojiki* (*Kojikiden*) only in 1798. In other words, the light of modernity had not yet dawned on East Asia.

This is the time period when Chinese monks became extremely active. Yinyuan was not the lone traveler during this time. According to Yamamoto Etsushin's statistics, about seventy-three Chinese monks arrived in Japan from mid-seventeenth century to mid-eighteenth century, and thirty-three of them were Yinyuan's disciples, with fourteen of them appointed by the shogun as the abbot of Manpukuji.<sup>73</sup> It should also be noted that in other parts of East Asia eminent Buddhist monks were also traveling to various political centers. Notable among them were the fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing, and Lama Lcang skya's presence in Yongzheng and Qianlong courts,<sup>74</sup> Yinyuan's dharma uncle Muchen



Daomin's audience with the Shunzhi Emperor, and Shilian Dashan's visit to Vietnam in 1695.<sup>75</sup> Shouzun Yuanzhao (or Yuanshao, 1648–1728), who belonged to Miyun Yuanwu's dharma transmission line, came to Vietnam in 1665 and founded the Nguyễn-Thiền tradition within the Lâm-Tê (Chinese: Linji) school in Vietnam.<sup>76</sup> Other Chinese monks such as Zhuozhuo (1590–1644), his disciple Mingxing (1596–1659), Fabao, and Xuanxi were also active in Vietnam.<sup>77</sup>

From 1654, the year Yinyuan landed in Nagasaki, and 1784, the year the last of the Chinese abbots, Dacheng Zhaohan, passed away, the continuous presence of Chinese monks in Edo society cannot be considered lightly. Because of the ambiguous status of Buddhist monks, the meaning of their presence could be easily appropriated by many parties to fit into different contexts. In their interactions with Chinese monks, some Japanese were happy to see them as representing the ideal of authenticity; some, however, only saw evidence of the corruption of authenticity. Either way, the Japanese found their own image through the meaning they projected to these monks. Despite the divergent views about these monks, the indigenous interactions with them were meaningful as activities of consensus-seeking.

If we see these interactions as consensus-seeking, Yinyuan's popularity in Edo Japan can be understood as one of the results of Japanese eagerness to find consensus of their understanding of what is authentic. Yinyuan and the tradition he founded were perfect for the Japanese imagining of authenticity: he claimed to be an heir of an authentic lineage from the antiquity, allowing himself to be construed as a contrast to the "degeneration" of Japanese Buddhism. His performance of encounter dialogue and his emphasis on dharma transmission connected to the memory of ancient Zen masters as read in their *Recorded Sayings*. He came from among the Ming loyalists, and his connection with Zheng Chenggong aroused a nostalgic feeling to the lost Ming. Meanwhile, his cultural upbringing and poetic output confirmed his origin from an authentic civilization and his status as member of a cultured elite. His tradition in Japan was therefore institutionalized as a symbolic presence of religious, political, and cultural ideals of authenticity and was meant to maintain its pure Chinese-ness for the same purpose.

Of course, as I have demonstrated in this study, Yinyuan's teaching and practice are full of contradiction and inconsistency. His teaching is highly eclectic, consisting of a conventional Buddhist doctrine mixed with Pure Land beliefs. His monastic practices were inherited from legacies of the

late Ming Buddhist reform and displayed a syncretic nature. His fondness of divination, a consciously concealed pastime, simply shows that he was a man deeply influenced by local culture in south China. The Japanese who came to him saw all of these and their opinions split as a result. Such divergent views indicate that Yinyuan and his tradition suffered the same level of Authenticity Crisis as did other areas of early modern East Asian culture that we have outlined in this conclusion.

Yinyuan interacted primarily with the Japanese. However, it is interesting to note that he might have had contacts with Koreans as well. As I revealed in chapter 5, on his way to Fumonji in 1655, Yinyuan happened to arrive at the Osaka port at the same time as the Korean envoys did. It is not certain if Yinyuan actually met in person with the Korean envoys in 1655. However, in my archival research in Manpukuji, I came across several records of Chinese monks' interaction with Koreans and Ryukyuan. For example, Yinyuan's disciple Nanyuan Xingpai, who accompanied Yinyuan to Osaka in 1655, met with Korean envoy Seong Wan (1637–1710) in 1682. Seong Wan was the literary officer of the 1682 embassy. Apparently when the envoys arrived in Osaka, Nanyuan, who presided over Kokubunji in Osaka, went to see him, leaving behind several poems he had exchanged with him. One of them reads:<sup>78</sup>

#### **Koreans Come to Pay Tribute**

*Living to the east in Japan thirty springs,  
Twice have I met guests from Korea.  
Your clothes resemble the style of the Ming;  
Your ancestors go back all the way to the Shang.  
A pity the Tang emperors wasted their might.  
Why couldn't they spread kindness like the lords of Nippon?  
All nations hope for peaceful times and safe roads.  
The seas have calmed so you might deliver your treasures.*

In this poem, Nanyuan mentioned that this was his second time meeting with Korean envoys. The first time obviously refers to their incidental encounter in Osaka in 1655. He seemed to suggest that he had interactions with Korean envoys in 1655 as well. If so, it was likely that Yinyuan also met with these Korean guests. However, the details of their encounters are not known. Nevertheless, Nanyuan's poem translated herein expressed a feeling of nostalgia through his imagining of the Kingdom of Korea. According to my reading, Nanyuan marveled at the fact that the Koreans

could still keep the Ming-style clothing. Furthermore, he deplored the fall of the Chinese empire to the Manchus. As a Chinese, Nanyuan acknowledged the success of Japan's having Korea as its tributary state. Nanyuan's poem, from a Chinese perspective, reflected how successful the bakufu's attempt was in constructing a Japan-centered world order.

Nanyuan's interaction with Korean envoys shows that the Chinese were also interested in these consensus-seeking activities. The sixth Manpukuji abbot Qiandai met a Ryukyu Zen monk named Sokan. Sokan's identity is not known and no details about their encounter have been discovered. I surmise that because the Ryukyu Kingdom regularly dispatched monks to study in Satsuma and many of them stayed for a long time without returning to Ryukyu, it is likely that Sokan belonged to one of these traveling Ryukyu monks and visited Manpukuji.<sup>79</sup> Here I translate the poem Qiandai wrote for Sokan.

*Getting through Sokan Pass couldn't have been easy,  
Nor staying in the Land of Five Clouds in rope sandals.  
If those back home ask how things look in Fusan (Japan),  
Plum flowers are white and peach blossoms just as red in spring.<sup>80</sup>*

Qiandai's poem is much nuanced. On the surface, he wrote to Sokan about his journey in Japan. According to my reading, however, he was using Sokan as a trope to liken himself to a sojourning Chinese monk in Japan. Consequently, all of the words written for Sokan can be applied to Qiandai and other sojourning Chinese monks as well. It appears that he was satisfied with his life in Japan. In terms of his impression of Japan and his judgment of Japanese culture, he found no difference from China, thus writing the line: "Peach blossoms just as red in spring."

The Chinese monks' communications with people from other parts of East Asia awaits further research. These exchanges help to shed light on one of the central issues in this study, that is, how to make sense of Yinyuan's travel to Japan during the Authenticity Crisis in early modern East Asia. In our perusal of intellectual and cultural transformation of early Modern East Asia, it is evident that the Authenticity Crisis was present and that different claims of authenticity competed in the Sinitic world. Studies of cultural interactions between China and Japan in modern times seem to suggest that a complete subversion of a China-centered worldview only happened after both countries were challenged by the intrusion of Western powers.<sup>81</sup> However, my study shows that the seed of the

changes was already planted in the early modern time. Ironically, during this time of the Authenticity Crisis, Yinyuan, a Buddhist monk, became the symbol of authenticity because he was simultaneously a Chinese Zen monk with “Authentic Transmission of the Linji Sect,” an expatriate Chinese loyal to the lost Ming empire, and a man of letters with excellent skills in Chinese poetry and calligraphy. His adventure in Japan and the fate of his Ōbaku tradition only reflected the profound transformations that East Asia had gone through in the early modern time.



# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Atwell, "Some Observations." Wakeman, "China and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis." The issue of "Seventeenth-Century Crisis" was first raised by European scholars such as Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm. See Hobsbawm, "The Crisis of the 17th Century." Adshead, "The Seventeenth Century General Crisis."
2. Ng, for example, has pointed out this lacuna. Ng, "The Epochal Concept of 'Early Modernity.'"
3. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere*.
4. Yamawaki, *Nagasaki no Tōjin bōeki*. Ōba, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen*. Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*. Matsuura, *Edo jidai Tōsen*.
5. See Elman (ed.), *Rethinking Confucianism*; Struve, *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition*. Huang, *Dongya wenhua jiaoliu zhong de Rujia jingdian yu linian*.
6. See Ge, *Zhaizi Zhongguo*.
7. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*.
8. Nakata, "Sorai to Chūgokugo."
9. Yanagida, "Ingen no tōto to nihon Ōbakuzen," p. 283.
10. *Ingenmame* is a kind of preserved bean named after Yinyuan Longqi. *Takuanzuke* is a kind of pickled daikon attributed to the Myōshinji monk Takuan in the Edo period.
11. Yanagida, "Ingen no tōto to nihon Ōbakuzen," p. 283. Yanagida's observations are confirmed by Western scholars as well. For changes of Zen monastic rituals, see Foulk, "Ritual in Japanese Zen Buddhism," pp. 21–82. For Ōbaku impact on invocation ritual for praying to the emperor (*Zhusheng*), see Mohr, "Invocation of the Sage," pp. 215–17.
12. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 156–59.
13. Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity*.

14. Tylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity*.
15. Lindholm, *Culture and Authenticity*, p. 1.
16. Lindholm, *Culture and Authenticity*, p. 2.
17. *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, p. 234.
18. Mohr, "Zen Buddhism During the Tokugawa Period."
19. Yanagida, "Ingen no tōto to nihon Ōbakuzen," p. 285.
20. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 86–87.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14.
22. Kumazawa Banzan, *Shūgi gaisho*, in *Zotei Kumazawa Banzan zenshū*, pp. 26–27. Translated in Nakai, "Naturalization of Confucianism," p. 169.
23. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, p. 89.
24. Addiss, *The Art of Zen*, p. 78.
25. It is still unclear where Yinyuan's calligraphic style came from. One opinion is that he benefited from his teacher Feiyin. Another theory points to the Song calligrapher Cai Xiang (1012–1067) as the source of his inspiration. Yet another theory suggests that his style followed the mid-Ming literati tradition, especially influenced by Wen Zhengming (1470–1559). In his old age, he was more inclined to Tang monk Huaisu's (725–785) cursive writing. See Liu, *Ōbaku zenrin bokuseki no kenkyū*, pp. 19–22.
26. Addiss, *Obaku: Zen Painting and Calligraphy*.
27. Sharf, "Ōbaku Zen Portrait Painting." For a comprehensive review of Ōbaku's artistic output, see Stanley-Baker, *The Transmission of Chinese Idealist Painting to Japan*, pp. 25–61.
28. Baisao was ordained at an Ōbaku temple Ryūshinji at the age of twelve and took the name Gekka Genshō under his teacher Kerin Dōryū (1634–1720), who had studied with Yinyuan. He defrocked in 1731 and opened his tea shop at Kyoto in 1736. He was acclaimed as the founder of the *sencha* tradition. During Edo's cultural renaissance, drinking *sencha* became the hallmark of the *bunjin* taste. See Graham, *Sencha: The Tea of Sage*. For English translation of his poems, see Waddell (trans.), *The Old Tea Seller*.
29. Such a list can be seen in Yoshinaga, *Ingen kanji ko*.
30. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, p. 56.
31. Marceau, *Takebe Ayatari*, p. 12. See also Nakamura, "Ōbaku no bunjin shumi nitsuite."
32. Ike Taiga was a central figure in the development of the *nanga* painting movement. At age six, Taiga first visited Manpukuji and caught the attention of the Chinese abbot Zhu'an. For Taiga's meeting with Ōbaku monks, see Takeuchi, *Taiga's True Views*, p. 2.
33. Takahashi Hiromi, *Kyōto geien no nettowaku*, pp. 21–22. For more about these literary Ōbaku monks, see chapter 6. For a short introduction and translation of Daichō's Chinese poems, see Bradstock and Rabinovitch (trans.), *An Anthology of Kanshi*, pp. 124–25.

34. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 134–47. Yinyuan’s Japanese disciple Tetsugen Dōkō was also involved in a dispute with Jōdo Shinshū Buddhists at Mori town in Kyūshū around 1669 over the interpretation of the *Śurāṅgama Sūtra* on its emphasis over sexual abstinence. See Baroni, “Bottled Anger.” Mu’an’s disciple Chōon Dōkai was involved in the fabrication of a Shinto scripture and was put in exile.
35. Riggs, “The Life of Menzan Zuihō,” and “Meditation in Motion.”

## CHAPTER 1

1. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 11.
2. For a useful summary of recent scholarship in Taiwan and mainland, see Eichman, “Humanizing the Study of Late Ming Buddhism.”
3. Many of my observations stated in this section have been elaborated on in my book *Enlightenment in Dispute*, especially the last two chapters. I will not provide detailed references in the following account.
4. For the creation of the Jiaxing Canon, see Chen, *Ming dai Fo men nei wai*, pp. 141–266. Dai, “The Economics of the Jiaxing Edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka.”
5. See Stock, *The Implication of Literacy*. For my use of his term to interpret the late-Ming Buddhist revival, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 249–56.
6. For a recent study of Jifei, see Zheng, “A Portrait of an Obaku Monk.”
7. For the “Ascending the Hall Ritual” in earlier periods, see Poceski, “Chan Rituals of the Abbots’ Ascending the Dharma Hall to Preach”; see also Sharf, “How to Think with Chan Gongans.” For suggestions of a performance approach to study Zen ritual, see Wright, “Introduction,” Heine (ed.), *Zen Rituals*, pp. 10–15; Stephenson, “The Kōan as Ritual Performance.”
8. His brother Lin Zichun became a monk around 1635 and died between 1654 and 1666. Before becoming a monk, he had a son named Lin Rumō, dharma name Daofu, who came to Japan to visit Yinyuan. He died in 1675 on his way back to China and was buried in Sōfukuji in Nagasaki. For some evidence in Yinyuan’s record, see *IGZS* 3: 1130, 6: 2669. Yinyuan’s record also shows he had other relatives, including a nephew named Lin Fuzhong, who seemed to have suffered a disaster in which he lost his property and family members. As Yinyuan indicated in a poem to him, this nephew had to live in a monastery for the rest of his life. Yinyuan also had a uncle named Lin Guchu, about whom we know very little. *IGZS* 6: 2649 and 3: 1131.
9. See Lin, “Chūgoku ni okeru Ingen zenji no kankyō.” See also his *Yinyuan Longqi chanshi*, pp. 1–20. Yinyuan’s family clan genealogy was preserved by the Lin Family Shrine of the Donglin village in Fuqing. It was first composed in 1524 and revised in 1740. The current version was hand-copied by Lin Shangyuan in 1740. I want to thank Lin Guanchao for sharing this copy with me.



10. The nature of Chinese religion has been debated by anthropologists of Chinese religion. For a recent study that discusses many theoretical issues in Chinese religion, see Chau, *Miraculous Response*.
11. For an overall introduction to Mount Shizhu, see *Shizhushan zhi*. I want to thank Lin Guanchao for sending me a copy.
12. The role of dreams and the proliferation of dream literature in Chan Buddhism have been examined by Bernard Faure. See his *Rhetoric of Immediacy*, pp. 209–30. Dream literature was extremely rich during the Ming-Qing transition when many people suffered psychological trauma. See Struve, “Dreaming and Self-Search.” I want to thank Prof. Struve for sharing her paper with me before its publication.
13. See *Chongxiu Putuo shan zhi*, p. 144 and p. 106. See also *Putuo luojia xinzhì*, pp. 105–07. For a study of Putuo Island, see Yu, “P’u t’o Shan” and her *Kuan-yin*, pp. 383–88.
14. The memory of his time in Putuo Island often surfaced in his poems and records. When he stayed at Fumonji in 1656 and contemplated about his return to China, he indicated to his disciples that he would like to live in Putuo Island. See the reply to Chen Yunning, *IGZS*, p. 2313; letter to Duyao Xingri, *IGZS*, p. 2255. In 1665 Yinyuan felt sad when he heard that Putou Island was plundered by the Dutch as a retaliation of Zheng Chenggong’s attack of Taiwan. See *IGZS*, p. 4044. See also Lin, “Chōin o kiku.”
15. Zhuhong was one of the leading proponents for releasing life in the late Ming period. See Yu, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*.
16. Relying on a critique of Buddha’s chief attendant Ānanda, the scripture offered a sophisticated philosophical system that explained all aspects of the universe and human life. For the popularity of the *Śuramgama Sūtra* in the late Ming, see my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 50, and “Knowledge for What?”
17. For the importance of Eastern Zhejiang in the rise of Chan Buddhism, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 55–63.
18. For instance, although Yinyuan was an accomplished literary man, he had to warn his disciples not to be indulged in literary learning in the regulation he laid out for Manpukuji. See *Ōbaku shingi*, T 2607, 82: 769b.
19. The reality of passing the exam has been studied by scholars. See Bol, “The Examination System and the Shih.” Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations*.
20. See Lin, “Yinyuan chanshi jiashi kaobian.” The new source has some discrepancies with Yinyuan’s standard biography, which strongly suggested Yinyuan’s family had relatives living in Hangzhou and might have been involved in some family business that required his travel. Lin Guanchao believed that his father was a merchant. My account is based on Yinyuan’s standard biography compiled during his lifetime.
21. According to his disciple Jifei Ruyi’s *Fuqing xianzhi xulue*, there is Zhongfeng village school in Wan’an town. Yinyuan must have attended this school. As a

- pupil, he learned the basic language skills. He was particularly interested in two language exercises that helped Chinese kids to master the rhymes. One is called “linking phrase” (*Shunzhu*) and the other is “making couplets” (*zuodui*). In both exercises pupils were trained to acquire language skills by mastering the rhyming techniques later to be used in composing poems. Yinyuan demonstrated his talent in these practices, which may have kindled his lifelong penchant for writing poetry. See *Nenpu*, p. 5.
22. See my book for the connection between Qi family and Yunmen, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 78.
  23. *Nenpu*, p. 93. We know nothing about this painter Fang, but he was respected by Zhejiang literati according to Yinyuan’s biography.
  24. For the publication of *Sijia yulu*, see Chen, *Yangming xuepai yu Wanming Fojiao*, pp. 110–12. See also Shiina, “Baso shikeroku no shohon.”
  25. See Yanagida, “*Kosonshuku goroku kō*.”
  26. See Wu, “Knowledge for What?”
  27. Shengyan, *Mingmo Fojiao yanjiu*, pp. 54–67.
  28. Yinyuan most likely learned this sentence from the encounter dialogue between Baizhang Huaihai and his disciple in fasc. 1 of *Guzun shu yulu*. X 68: 5b, no. 1315.
  29. Buswell, “The ‘Short-Cut’ Approach.”
  30. The very same response can be found in *Zhaozhou chanshi yulu*. For an alternative translation, see Green, *The Recorded Sayings of Zen Master Joshu*, p. 231.
  31. For a critique of such routine memorization, see my book *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 42.
  32. They were Miyun’s early disciples. Poshan Haiming later returned to Sichuan and his lineage spread all over southwest China. For recent studies, see Daojian, *Po shan chan xue yan jiu*. Xiong, *Po shan chan shi ping zhuan*.
  33. Paraphrased from the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, fasc. 14, T no. 2076, 51: 313c.
  34. Some of them, such as Liangye Xingle, followed him to Japan. Liangye came to Japan in 1654. Soon, he returned to China and met Jifei Ruyi and delivered Yinyuan’s letter to him. He later returned to Lion Cliff, probably to guard the place by following Yinyuan’s order. Later, he became the supervisor in Huangbo monastery. *OBJ*, p. 394. Liangzai Xingchang also returned to China. *OBJ*, p. 384. Damei Xingshan, or Liangzhe Xingshan, hailed from Jinjiang in Fuqing. He followed Yinyuan to Japan and became his leading dharma heir in Japan. *OBJ*, pp. 212–13.
  35. See *Shiziyuan zhi*, printed in Japan, dated 1654. This gazetteer was prefaced by Yinyuan’s disciple Duwang Xingyou. For Duwang and his writing, see Liao, “Duwang Xingyou yu *Zhesheng shiji*.”
  36. The location was now under the water of Dongzhang reservoir, which was built in the 1950s. The scene of this place described in this chapter was reconstructed from the eight poems written by Yinyuan sixteen years later. *IGZS* 3: 1542–46.
  37. *Shiziyuan zhi*, p. 1.
  38. *Huangbo shan si zhi*, fasc. 3, p. 114.

39. He was the compiler of the anti-Christian polemic collection *Treatise on Exposition of the Way and Disputation of Heresy* (*Yuandao Pixie shuo*) in 1636 and instructed his lay disciple Xu Changzhi to compile *Collection of Destroying Heresy of the Sagely Dynasty* (*Shengchao poxie ji*) in 1639. For details, see my dissertation, “Orthodoxy, Controversies, and the Transformation,” chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 2

1. For a brief textual history of the editions of monastic gazetteers of Huangbo monastery, see Brook, *Geographical Sources of Ming-Qing History*, pp. 202–03. However, I rely primarily on the 1652 edition and the 1824 edition preserved, respectively, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 719 and *Zhongguo Fosi shizhi huikan* Series 3, vol. 4.
2. The name “dharma transmission monastery” did not appear in seventeenth-century Buddhist sources. Rather, it was widely used at the end of the nineteenth century to refer to a particular monastic system. Hasebe Yūkei adopts this term to characterize the changes in seventeenth-century Buddhist monasteries. See his *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p. 286. See also my discussion later in this chapter.
3. Brook, *Praying for Power*, p. 29.
4. This institution was transplanted to Japan and became the so-called Gozan system. See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*.
5. For the development of Buddhist institutions in the Song, see Chikusa Masaaki, “Sōdai Fukken no shakai to jiin,” p. 147.
6. Schafer, *The Empire of Min*, pp. 91–96.
7. Clark, *Community, Trade and Networks*.
8. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*.
9. Dean, *Daoist Ritual and Popular Cults of Southeast China*, pp. 32–33.
10. Li Chuanjia and Guo Wenxiang, *Fuqing xianzhi*.
11. *Chunxi sanshan zhi*, fas. 36, *Siku quanshu*, vol. 484, p. 531.
12. This is perhaps the most mispronounced Buddhist term. Chinese Buddhists conventionally pronounce it as *bore*. See *Ciyuan*, p. 1428b.
13. *Chunxi sanshan zhi*, *Siku quanshu* vol. 484, p. 532.
14. Tokiwa Daijō has questioned this date. See his *Shina Bunka shiseki*, vol. 6, p. 135.
15. Because Huangbo Xiyun’s Chan thought nourished generations of Linji Chan monks, Mount Huangbo in Jiangxi was revered as the “ancestral hall” of the Linji school in China and Japan.
16. *Chunxi sanshan zhi*, *Siku quanshu*, vol. 484, p. 532.
17. For the calculation of the tax rate in Song dynasty Fujian, see Chikusa Masaaki, “Sōdai Fukken no shakai to jiin,” p. 157.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 181–87.

19. T'ien Ju-k'ang, "The Decadence of Buddhist Temples in Fukien in Late Ming and Early Ch'ing." T'ien's depiction of Late Ming Buddhism as a decline is not completely accurate, however.
20. Brook, *Praying for Power*, pp. 255–64.
21. Eberhard, "Temple-Building Activities in Medieval and Modern China."
22. On Shengzong and his mother's patronage of Buddhism, see Naquin, *Peking*, pp. 156–61. For a recent study of the revival of Buddhism during the Wanli reign, see Zhang, "A Fragile Revival."
23. See Li and He, *Hanwen Dazangjing yanjiu*, pp. 434–64.
24. Ye Xianggao served twice in the grand secretariat for the Wanli and Tianqi (r. 1621–1627) emperors, respectively. He was elected member of grand secretariat in 1607 with six other officials. Despairing of politics, he was eventually permitted to retire in 1614. From 1621 to 1624, he was again summoned by the Tianqi emperor to be the chief grand chancellor (prime minister). For details of his political career, see Leng Dong, *Ye Xianggao yu Mingmo zhengtan*. In addition, he was a patron of Christianity. He introduced the Jesuit missionary Giulio Aleni (Chinese name: Ai Rulüe, 1582–1649) to the Fujian region. For Aleni's activities in Fujian, see my dissertation, "Controversy, Orthodoxy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China", ch. 4.
25. For Ye's involvement in the revival of Buddhism in Fujian, see Hayada Yoshio, "Mindai ni okeru Fukken to Bukkyō," pp. 132–37. He also actively participated in other Buddhist construction projects as well. For example, the magnificent Buddhist Pagoda of Auspicious Clouds (*Ruiyunta*) was erected under his and his son's sponsorship in 1615. For the artistic and architectural analysis of this tower, see Ecke, "Two Ashlar Pagodas at Fu-ch'ing in Southern Fu-chien."
26. Ye Xianggao, "Introduction to fund-raising for rebuilding Huangbo (Chongxing Huangbo muyuan xu)", in *Huangbo sizhi, Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, vol. 719, p. 354b.
27. *Huangbo sizhi, Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, vol. 719, p. 324.
28. These letters are preserved in *Huangbo shanzhi*, fasc. 6.
29. Hasebe, *Ming Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p. 293.
30. For a detailed study of the official monastic system in the Song, see Huang Minzhi, *Songdai Fojiao shehui jinji shi lunji*. See also Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism;" Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China*; Brook, *Praying for Power*, pp. 174–75.
31. *Qingyuan tiaofa shilei*, fasc. 51. p. 476. For a detailed analysis of this system, see Schlütter, "Vinaya Monasteries, Public Abbacies, and State Control of Buddhism."
32. See Huang, *Songdai Fojiao shehui jingjishi lunji*, p. 309.
33. Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, pp. 285–314.
34. *Huangbo shanzhi*, in *Zhongguo fosi zhi*, series 3, vol. 4, pp. 110–94. For a full list, see Lin, *Linji zong Huangbo pai yu Riben Huangbo zong*, pp. 88–90.

35. For this dispute, see my book *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 187–206.
36. See “Yue Tiantong panyu,” *IGZS* 3: 1166. See my book for the discussion of Miyun’s polemical essay “Panyu.” He also shared the same opinion about Hanyue with Miyun. See *IGZS* 4: 2331.
37. He lamented Feiyin’s defeat in the court, faulting the judges. *IGZS* 4: 2235. Yinyuan indicated that Feiyin had left a will to ask Yinyuan to help him supplement his *Strict Transmission of the Five Lamps* and Yinyuan did work to supplement the work. However, I am not aware of the existence of such a work. See Yinyuan’s poem on this matter in *IGZS* 8: 3674.
38. See *Yichu liutie*, p. 3a.
39. See *Shishi tongjian*, vol. 3, in *Wanzi Xuzangjing*, vol. 131, p. 842.
40. See *Huangbo sizhi*, *Xuxiu siku quanshu*, vol. 719, p. 309.
41. See *Chanmen risong*, p. 386. These poems can be found in *Huangbo sizhi*, in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, vol. 719, p. 309.
42. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 76, 146.
43. See his “On the lineage of dharma transmission (Fapai shuo), in his *Bushuitai ji*, fasc. 24, *Zhonghua dazang jing di er ji*, vol. 102, p. 42597. For a recent study of monks’ naming practice in late imperial China, see Zhang, “Wanming yilai sengren minghao ji puxi yanjiu.” I want to thank Prof. Zhang for sharing his paper with me.
44. See Kodera, *Dogen’s Formative Years in China*, p. 43.
45. For a photocopy of Dōgen’s certificate, see Ōkubo (ed.), *Kohon kōtei Shobōgenzō*, p. 343.
46. Although Buddhists at that time believed that the name of the document came from Linji himself, there is no evidence to support this claim.
47. Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, p. 362.
48. Holmes Welch interviewed Japanese monks in Manpukuji about the issuing of dharma transmission, but they did not comment on the modern form of the certificate he presented. See Welch, “Dharma Scrolls and the Succession of Abbots in Chinese Monasteries,” p. 143, at n. 136.
49. See Hayashi Yukimitsu, ed., *Ōbaku bunka*, p. 32, number 20.
50. For details, see Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū*, pp. 362–66.
51. Feiyin, “On Muchen’s Cheating of Master Tiantong (Miyun Yuanwu)” (*Shuo Muchen qi Tiantong laoheshang*), in *Feiyin chanshi bieji*, fasc. 15, p. 7. This is a rare manuscript preserved in Komazawa University Library. I wish to thank Harvard-Yenching Library for obtaining this rare source from Japan.
52. *Ōbaku shingi*, T 2607, 82: 780–81. Translated by Helen Baroni. See her *Obaku Zen*, p. 92.
53. *Ibid*, T 82: 781. My translation.
54. See my explanation in Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 33.
55. *IGZS* 4: 2360. He wrote another letter in 1659. See *IGZS* 4: 2359. For Liangyi’s original letter, see *Correspondence*, no. 85, p. 404.

56. IGZS 4: 2361. Langxuan's biography can be found in *Xinxu Gaosengzhuan*, fasc. 57. Langxuan and Yixi's letter was reprinted in *Correspondence* no. 84, p. 398. Their teacher Shixue was an old acquaintance of Yinyuan and he sent two letters to him in 1654 and 1655. Yinyuan wrote a poem to commemorate when he passed away. See *Correspondence*, no. 7 and 8 and Yinyuan's poem in IGZS 4: 2668.
57. Takenuki, *Kinsei Ōbakushū matsujichō shūsei*, p. 25.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
59. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 132–33. Translated from Minamoto, *Tetsugen*, pp. 88–89.
60. See Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen," p. 449. See also Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Theory and Practice," in *Zen Ritual*, pp. 261–82.

## CHAPTER 3

1. See Yinyuan's reply in IGZS 2: 1026.
2. The report was brought back by Lingsou, a disciple of Mu'an Xingtao. See *Shinsan Kōtei Mokuan zenshū*, p. 3528.
3. For Yiran's letter and Yinyuan's reply, see IGZS 4: 1592, 1595.
4. See *Feiyin chanshi yulu*, JXZ no. 178, 26: 189c. For Feiyin's letter, see *Correspondence*, no. 001, p. 43–46.
5. See Yinyuan's chronological biography, IGZS 11: 5202.
6. For this letter, see *Correspondence*, p. 47.
7. For a brief account of the history of this place, see Ng Chin-Keong, *Trade and Society*, pp. 45–52.
8. See Yinyuan, "Zeng Zhengguogong," IGZS 2: 1510. (Zheng Cai's letter is included in this correspondence.) For a study of Zheng Cai, see Kawahara, "Rōō Shu Ihai to Kenkokukō Tei Sai"; "Rōō Kankoku Kenkokukō Tei Sai to Ryūkyū Ōkoku Tanmonshi Hirakawa." See also Kawahara, "Ingen Zenji to kō Shin seiryoku tonokankei," *Ōbaku bunka* 118 (98–99), pp. 107–10.
9. See "Yinyuan nianpu," IGZS 11: 5200–02.
10. For the following accounts, Hirakubo, "Tōto kantsuru shosetsu," in *idem*, *Ingen*, pp. 67–77. Kimura Tokugen also discussed a similar background in his "Ingen Zenji Rainichi no riyū."
11. See Shuijian Huihai, "Jinsu Feiyin heshang xingzhuang," in *Tianwang Shuijian heshang zhu Jinsu yulu*, fasc. 2, JXZ 29: 277A–79A.
12. *Zōho Nagasaki ryakushi*, in *Nagasaki sōsho*, vol. 2, p. 49.
13. Yelan Xinggui was Yinyuan's dharma heir. Because his friend Wuxin Xingjue (1613–1671) recommended him to the Sōfukuji, he was invited in 1651. Yelan left Zhongzuosuo (Xiamen) in the summer of 1651; see Yinyuan, "Shang jingshan benshi heshang," in IGZS 4: 2198–200.
14. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 36.
15. See *Correspondence*, p. 43.

16. I want to thank Prof. Lin Guanchao at Xiamen University for kindly sharing his paper with me and checking facts in a later version of this chapter. See his “Ingen tōto no shinsō ni tsuite,” pp. 291–301.
17. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 232.
18. Keirin, “Nagasaki shō Minsō ben,” *Zoku zenrin shūhei shū*, p. 15. Michel Mohr translated the same passage in his “Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Period,” p. 346. I thank the Harvard-Yenching Library for making a photocopy of this rare book from the Komazawa University Library.
19. In 1654 Feiyin was sued by Caodong masters. The dispute was about his Chan genealogy *Wudeng yantong*. He was charged with altering official Chan transmission lines based on a spurious inscription of Tianwang Daowu in the Tang. For a detailed study, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 187–206.
20. The majority of the emigré monks were the Linji monks in Miyun Yuanwu’s and Feiyin Tongrong’s lines. There was no influential Caodong master who attempted to spread the dharma in Japan until 1677, when the Ōbaku monks had firmly established themselves. The first Caodong master Xinyue Xingchou, who was usually called Donggao Xinyue, landed in Nagasaki and found himself entering a quite unfriendly world dominated by the Ōbaku monks. See his biography in *OBJ*, pp. 162–163. See also Kimura, “Shinetsu zenji no Nihon torai no riyū,” pp. 61–68.
21. See Struve, *The Southern Ming 1644–1662*. For the relation between the Southern Ming and the Tokugawa bakufu, see Chen, *Jin shi chu qi Riben*, pp. 166–90.
22. The following accounts are based on Huang, “Ribei qishi ji,” in *Taiwan wexian congkan* no. 135, pp. 86–89. See also Masuda, “The *Kan’ei shōsetsu* and *Riben qishi ji*,” in Masuda Wataru, *Japan and China*, pp. 146–55; “Details concerning the *Riben qishi ji*,” *Japan and China*, pp. 156–66.
23. Huang Zongxi recorded his name as Zhou Cuizhi. In other sources, e.g., *Ka’i hentai*, pp. 12–13, his name is Cui Zhi. He sent two letters to Japan, which were carried by his deputy Lin Gao. For these letters, see Nan, “Zhou Hezhi de xingming jiqi qishi Riben.”
24. In Huang Zongxi’s epitaph, his disciple Quan Zuwang (1705–1755) stated mistakenly that Huang Zongxi had accompanied Feng to Japan for the same mission. This mistake has been clarified by Liang Qichao, “Huang Lizhou Zhu Shunshui qishi riben bian.”
25. Struve, trans., “Better to Die at Sea,” in her *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm*, pp. 114–21.
26. For a detailed study of the following event, see Ishihara, *Minmatsu Shinsho Nihon kisshi no kenkyū*. See also Kimiya, “Minmatsu no kisshi ōyobi kishi.” These petitions had been considered seriously among bakufu officials. See my discussion in the next chapter.
27. For a study of Zhu, see Ching, “Chu Shun-shui,” and “Practical Learning of Chu Shun-shui.” According to Xu Xingqing’s discovery of a letter addressed to Andō Seian dated to 1658, Zhu urged Japan to invade China and occupied

- the Central Kingdom. Xu Xingqing, *Kindai Chū-Nichi shisō kōryūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 33-44.
28. The letters were reprinted in Zhang Xinglang, *Zhongxi jiaotong ziliao huibian*, vol. 2, pp. 167-69. For studies in Western languages, see also Struve, trans., "‘My Complete Devotion’: An Empress Appeals to the Pope," in her *Voices From the Ming-Qing Cataclysm*, pp. 235-38.
  29. Huang, "Ribei qishi ji," pp. 88-89. Wu, "Huang Lizhou qishi Ribei shishi kao."
  30. Ishihara, *Minmatsu Shinsho*, pp. 113-30.
  31. The record of the burial is collected in *Qian Zhongjie gong ji*, fasc. 21, in *Congshu jicheng xubian*, vol. 121 and in Feng, ed., *Siming congshu*, fasc. 16-25. For details, see Ono, "Sen Suraku no Ōbakusan bosō ni tsuite." See also Quan, "Ming gu Bingbu shangshu jian Dongge daxueshi zeng Taibao Libu shangshu shi Zhongjie Qian gong shendao di'er beiming," *Jiji ting ji*, fasc.7 rpt. in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, pp. 85-95; also Huang, "Qian Zhongjie gong zhuan," in *Nanlei wending houji*, fasc. 4, rpt. in *Guoxue jiben congshu*, pp. 58-62. For Yinyuan's poem to commemorate Qian, see *IGZS* 3:1475.
  32. *Zhesheng shiji*, fasc. 4, p. 16.
  33. For letters between Duyao and Yinyuan, see *IGZS* 4: 2254-57.
  34. Duwang has a detailed account of his capture and escape. See *Zhesheng shiji*, fasc. 4, pp. 7-11. Duwang might have been born in 1614, as he said he was already forty when the preface was written in the summer of 1654. He must have died before 1661, as Yinyuan mentioned his death in a poem commenting him around 1661. *IGZS* 6: 2665; 6:2672.
  35. According to Duwang, Zheng Cai was also temporarily ordained at Huangbo after escaping from Zheng Chenggong. See *Zhesheng shiji*, fas. 3, p. 18. I get access to this text through a facsimile version at Harvard-Yenching Library. It collects his essays and poems during his short stay at Mount Huangbo.
  36. This information was revealed in Duyao's letter to Yinyuan. See *Correspondence*, p. 99.
  37. See Shi Huiyan, "Mingmo Qingchu Min Tai Fojiao de hudong"; and Lu, "Huangbosi jiqi senglü de zhengzhi huodong." See also Nogawa, "Tainan Ōbakuji kō: ko Ōbaku matsuji no seitsui."
  38. For a study of Zheng Chenggong, see Clements, *Pirate King*. Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism*. Carioti, "The Zhengs' Maritime Power in the International Context of the 17th Century Far East Seas." Masuda, "Zheng Chenggong and Guoxingye," in *Japan and China*, pp. 184-95. For short introductions, see Struve, *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm*, pp. 179-203; Wills, *Mountain of Fame*, pp. 216-30.
  39. Ruan, *Haishang jianwen lu*, p. 43.
  40. This letter has been reprinted in *Correspondence*, no. 094, pp. 433-40 and analyzed by Ono Kazuko in "Ingen zenji ni ateta itsū shokan," pp. 65-69.
  41. Lin, *Yinyuan Longqi*, pp. 236-40.



42. On the relationship between Yinyuan and Ming loyalists, see Lin, “Yinyuan chanshi he Nan Ming kang Qing renshi de guanxi.”
43. *Correspondence*, no. 006, pp. 67–71.
44. Chen, “Zheng Chenggong zhi Yinyuan xinjian de faxian.” Ono Kazuko also argues for the political implication of Yinyuan’s arrival because the initial protective measure taken by the Japanese during Yinyuan’s stay in Fumonji indicates that the bakufu was fully aware of Yinyuan’s unusual mission. See Ono, “Dōran no jidai o ikita Ingen zenji,” p. 91.
45. Hu Cangze disagrees with the hypothesis that Yinyuan’s mission was political, but his argument is speculative and unconvincing. See his “Zheng Chengong yu Yinyuan chanshi guanxi luelun.”
46. See Yang Ying, *Xianwang shilu*. This work only existed in hand-copied manuscript and it is difficult to decipher the use of the term “*benfan*” in different contexts. It was certain, however, that Zheng Chenggong often addressed himself as “*benfan*.” For an introduction of the book, see Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict*, pp. 279–81. For partial translation, see Struve, *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm*, pp. 184–203; 207–31.
47. For details, see Lin, “Ingen to Tei Seikō tono kankei ni tsuite.” Kimura Tokugen is also suspicious of this theory. See his “Zoku. Ingen Zenji rainichi no riyū,” pp. 23–36.
48. These five countries were An’nan (Vietnam), Champa, Korea, Siam, and Liuqiu (Ryukyu islands). Later, fifteen more were added to the “not to be invaded” list. See Wang, “Ming Foreign Relations,” in Mote and Twitchett, eds., *Cambridge History of China*, 8. 2, pp. 31–12.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
50. Wang, “Merchants without Empires,” p. 405.
51. Wills, “Maritime China from Wang Chih to Shih Lang,” pp. 201–38.
52. For early history of Nagasaki under Jesuits, see Pacheco, “The Founding of the Port of Nagasaki.”
53. Ōba, *Nagasaki zuihitsu*, p. 107, translation quoted from Berger, “The Overseas Chinese,” p. 30.
54. Modern studies on this cult in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages are many. For a point of entry in English, see Bosco and Ho, *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. See also Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-in*.
55. Chang, “The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603–1688),” pp. 111, 119–20.
56. See “Yinyuan nianpu,” in *IGZS* 11: 5206.
57. Shilian, *Haiwai jishi*, fasc. 1, p. 3. For a few excerpts translated into English, see Li Tana, “A Chinese Buddhist Report.”
58. See Jiang, *Shilian Dashan yu Ao’men*, p. 449.
59. Shilian, *Haiwai jishi*, fasc. 1, p. 6.
60. Miyata, “Maso dōmon oyobi Masodō,” in *Nagasaki Sōfukuji ronkō*, pp. 341–58.

61. See Li Xianzhang, *Maso shinkō no kenkyū*. The Mazu temple in Macau was controlled by Shilian Dashan's lineage for a long time. This is evidenced by the recent discovery of Dashan's lineage in Macau; Jiang, *Shilian Dashan*, esp. pp. 449–53.
62. Kuhn, *Chinese Among Others*, p. 41. For a study of the Fuqing dialect, see Feng, *Fuqing fangyan yanjiu*.
63. See Pan (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*, p. 332. See also his *Sons of the Yellow Emperor*.
64. *Ibid.* p. 337.
65. Jiang, et. al., “Dui lü Ri Fuqing huaqiao wangluo.” See also Nakamura, “Relationship of Overseas Chinese in Japan to Modern China.” Liu, “Shindai zenki no Fukken shōnin to Nagasaki boeki.”
66. For details about these Fuqing people and their descendants, see Miyata, *Tōtsūji kakei ronkō*, pp. 388–411; 451–76; 798–819; 961–96.
67. On the relation between Huangbo and the Hayashi family, see Hayashi Rokurō, *Nagasaki Tōtsūji*, esp. pp. 22–26, 42–47, and 66–68. According to Hayashi, Yinyuan's disciple Jifei Ruyi might be a relative of the Lin family. Lin met Yinyuan in 1655 when he was a boy. See *IGZS* 6: 2972.
68. For details, see Iioka, “Wei Zhiyan.” I want to thank Iioka for sending me her manuscript. The music scores used by the Wei family, titled *Wei shi yue pu*, were compiled by Wei Hao, known as Gi Shimei (1728–1774), and published in Kyoto in 1768. It is reprinted in *Xu xiu siku quan shu*, vol. 1096. For a translation of its preface, see Dean, “Mr Gi's Music Book,” and Malm, “Chinese Music in the Edo and Meiji Periods in Japan.”
69. For English translations of these two works, see Keene (trans.), *The Battle of Coxinga* and Fogel (trans.), *The Tatar Whirlwind*. For a short analysis of *The Battle of Coxinga*, see Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Literature*, pp. 47–55.
70. I am using a Chinese translation of this book. See Shiba, *Dadao chanshi*.
71. See Xu, *Ming Taizi*.

## CHAPTER 4

1. For a brief summary of Tokugawa policies toward religion, see Nosco, “Keeping the Faith.” See also Williams, “Religion in Early Modern Japan.”
2. For Ryōkei's short biography in English, see Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 75–77. His name can also be read as “Ryūkei.” Here I follow the pronunciation in *OBJ*, p. 380.
3. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 181–82, 197–219.
4. Recent studies show that the Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy was not established at the beginning of the Tokugawa period. It ascended to the center of bakufu discourse only during the reign of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709). See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*. Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun*, pp. 295–97.

5. Based on the statistics for 1871, Nam-lin Hur noticed that there were very few Ōbaku temples that had funerary *danna* households. For example, in the Ōzu province, there were only three Ōbaku temples and none of them had funerary households, and in Hita province there were twenty-six Ōbaku temples but only four had funerary *danna* households. The development of the Ōbaku sect in late Tokugawa deserves more study. However, this incomplete survey shows that Ōbaku participation in so-called funerary Buddhism was significantly low in comparison with other indigenous traditions. Hur, *Death and Social Order*, p. 11.
6. Mukai, *Chishihen*, especially pp. 23–26, 75–83, 90–111. Genshō's book was not specifically targeted at Yinyuan. Rather, he expressed his concerns that Japan was losing its identity in the face of foreign influences such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. However, because Genshō was at Nagasaki when Yinyuan arrived and witnessed the many “shameless” Japanese who followed Yinyuan's Chinese practice, he particularly singled out Yinyuan. His work was published in the early summer of 1658 and might be the first systematic criticism of Yinyuan and his practice. See my discussion of his criticism in chapter 6.
7. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 265–73.
8. Many scholars have questioned this concept. For an overview, see Toby, “Reopening the Question of Sakoku” and Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts*. It should be noted that the English closed their Hirado factory voluntarily because of the loss of profit.
9. For discussion about this type of new consciousness, see Arano, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, pp. 53–66; Asao, *Shōgun kenryoku no sōshutsu*, p. 309; Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, pp. 211–30. For a comprehensive discussion of the Chinese tribute system, see Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese World Order*. See also Mizuno, “China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations”; Shigeki, “International Society after ‘The Transformation from Civilized to Barbarian.’”
10. Some of these ideas have been discussed in Ronald Toby's recent book in Japanese, “*Sakoku*” to *iu gaikō*. See also Arano, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, pp. 161–244, and Walker, “Foreign Affairs and Frontiers.”
11. For the frequency of these visits, see Chun, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations,” in Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order*, pp. 90–111, especially pp. 99–100. Such an imbalance has been noted by Fuma Susumu in his comparative study of Korean embassies to China and Japan. See Fuma, *Chaoxian yanxingshi yu Chaoxian tongxinshi*. I use the Chinese translation of Fuma Susumu's articles because Chinese translations are most updated.
12. See Toby, “Carnival of the Aliens.”
13. New studies show that Shigemune was responsible for drafting the plan, but it did not represent Iemitsu's attitude. He drafted the plan when the messenger who brought Zheng Chenggong's letter passed through Osaka. See Komiya, “Minmatsu Shinsho Nihon kisshi.” See also Toby, “‘*Sakoku*’ to *iu gaiko*,” pp. 137–39; “Minmatsu Shinsho Nihon kisshi,” *Nihon rekishi* 498 (1989): 94–100.

14. The Dutch ship arrived on Yamada bay in search of provisions, but her crew members were arrested and interrogated in Edo. See Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*, pp. 93–96. For Tadakatsu's dealing with the Korean embassy, see the Korean documents addressed to him in the Sakai Family Archive, reprinted in *Obama shishi*, pp. 40–48. See also Bolitho, *Treasures Among Men*, pp. 165–66.
15. See *Nanzan Dōcha goroku*, vol. 2.
16. For more on the intricate relationship between Korea and the Manchus, see Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*, pp. 177–85.
17. It was not known why he was assigned the job of taking care of Yinyuan before 1658. See Kimura, *Ōbakushū no rekishi*, p. 305.
18. *Nagasaki kaidō* seems to be the main route but apparently Yinyuan did not follow it.
19. In another record, Yinyuan said it was the nineteenth day. *IGZS* 6: 2846.
20. This itinerary was reconstructed through his poems written during the journey. See *IGZS* 6: 2845–50.
21. The Korean envoys left Osaka on the eleventh day of the ninth month and arrived in Edo on the second day of the tenth month. They left Edo on the first day of the eleventh month and arrived in Osaka on the twenty-third day and returned to Busan on the tenth day of the first month of 1657. There are many studies of the Korean embassies during the Tokugawa period, especially in the eighteenth century. For the 1655 embassy, see Nakao, *Chōsen tsūshinshi*, pp. 152–66. Both Jo Hyeong and Nam Yong-ik left travelogues about their trip in Japan. See Sin Ki-su and Nakao Hiroshi, *Taikei Chōsen tsūshinshi*, vol. 3. It should be noted that Nam Yong-ik also served as vice ambassador of the Korean embassy to Beijing in 1666.
22. For this event, see Jiang, *Taiwan waizhi*, p. 160. Lin Guanchao believes that this event occurred in 1658 and Zhang actually brought Zheng Chenggong's "state letter" to the bakufu. More evidence is needed to corroborate this hypothesis. See Lin Guanchao, *Yinyuan Longqi*, pp. 222–27.
23. See Wu, "Leaving for the Rising Sun," p. 108.
24. Ruan, *Haishang jianwen lu*, p. 43.
25. For details about Mount Huangbo under Zheng Chenggong's occupation, see Lin, *Yinyuan Longqi*, pp. 202–07.
26. This letter has been reprinted in *Correspondence*, letter no. 094, pp. 433–40. It has been analyzed by Ono Kazuko in "Ingen zenji ni ateta ittū shokan," pp. 65–69. For a reproduction of Zhang Guangqi's letter to Yinyuan, see *Correspondence*, p. 433. For Yinyuan's reply, see *IGZS* 6:2636. See also Lin Guanchao's detailed analysis in his *Yinyuan Longqi*, pp. 222–29.
27. The letter is preserved in *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 1, p. 45.
28. *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 1, p. 45. Here I follow Lin Guanchao's reading in his *Yinyuan Longqi Chanshi*, p. 225. Lin reasoned that the phrase "Yuangong" was misprinted and should be "yuanglao" or "yuanrong," referring to senior bakufu high officials such as Itakura Shigetane.

29. This letter was preserved in *Ka'i hentai* and was usually dated to 1648 because it was appended to Zheng Cai's letter. However, Kawahara believed that it should be dated to 1658 based on its content. See his "Tei Seikō no Nihon seien," p. 70. See also Kawahara Eishun, "Ingen Zenji no tōto," pp. 53–58.
30. See Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, pp. 41–42. See also Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai*, pp. 206–09.
31. It would be interesting to compare these paintings with those of the Korean procession studied by Toby. See Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens." However, due to space, I will not elaborate here.
32. Translated by Richard Jaffee, "Ingen and the Threat to the Myoshinjiha," p. 157. Mukai Genshō, *Chishihen*, pp. 23–44.
33. See translation of this record of *Ōbaku geki* in Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 207.
34. This can be seen in the bakufu orders issued on the third day of the fifth month of 1656 and the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month to allow Yinyuan to stay in Fumonji and restrict Japanese visitors to two hundred. See documents preserved in Keizuiji archive and included in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, pp. 338–39.
35. See *Yamaga Sokō Zenshū*, vol. 15, pp. 62–64. See my discussion of his thought in chapter 6.
36. I am aware of the existence of a large number of bakufu diaries kept by various officials, and some compilations such as *Tokugawa jikki* were not primary sources. Without extensive visits to these archives, I mainly relied on published sources and digitized manuscripts made available at Digital Archive of National Archive of Japan. For the complex textual lineage of various bakufu diaries, see Komiya, *Edo Bakufu no nikki to girei shiryō*, pp. 1–190.
37. For these records, see Fujii, *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 26, pp. 362, 416, 455, 456, and 477.
38. *Shisō zasshiki*, fasc. 15, in *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan*, vol. 7, p. 354. Other documents I examined include those preserved in the archives of Keizuiji, Tafukuin, Senjuin, and the Sakai family, which have been collected by Tsuji Zennosuke and reprinted in his *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, pp. 328–31, 339–40, 343–44, 347–48, and 351–52. Fourteen other relevant bakufu documents preserved in the archives of Fumonji and the Shimizu family have been reprinted in *Takatsuki shishi*, vol. 4, part 2, *Shiryō hen*, no. 3, pp. 587–95. Four letters from Tadakatsu to Yinyuan preserved in the Sakai Family Archive were reprinted in *Obama shishi*, pp. 65–67.
39. See Baroni's translation in her *Obaku Zen*, p. 206. For the original phrase, see Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, p. 327.
40. Reprinted in Tsuji's *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, p. 322. See Baroni's translation of the letter in *Obaku Zen*, pp. 124–25.
41. Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, pp. 332–33.
42. This letter has been reproduced in many books. For example, Hirakubo, *Ingen*, p. 124. A recent reproduction is included in a special exhibition catalogue, *Ōbaku—ŌBAKU*, no. 58, p. 116.

43. See Toby, “Carnival of the Aliens”; Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*; Wills, *Embassies and Illusions*; and Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*.
44. For the role of Zen monks as diplomats, see Nishio, “Kyōto gozan no Gaikōteki kinō.” Enomoto, *Sōryō to*.
45. All these Japanese monks left their travelogues and are reprinted in *Zoku shiseki shūran*, vol. 1.
46. For a detailed study of the role of Buddhist clergy in early Ming diplomatic policy, see Hasebe, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi*, pp. 47–76.
47. For an overview of Chinese monks in Japan and Vietnam, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 98–99.
48. For example, according to Robert Borgen’s study, even though Jōjin (1011–1081) arrived in China in 1072 without formal documentation as a diplomat, he was treated as if he were an official envoy by the Song court. See Borgen, “Jōjin’s Travels from Center to Center,” pp. 395–96.
49. See *IGZS* 4:2328.
50. Masanori became a strong supporter of Ōbaku after Yinyuan’s death. He was particularly close to Yinyuan’s Japanese disciple Tetsugyū, who was active in Edo. He received Tetsugyū’s transmission in 1688. See Shimojū, *Bakkaku fudaihān*, pp. 31–27. See also his article “Inaba nikki ni mieru Shōtaiji.”
51. Berry, *Hideyoshi*, p. 232.
52. For new emphasis on the role of bakufu rituals and ceremonies in the formation of Edo society, see Komiya, *Edo Bakufu no nikki*, pp. 326–84.
53. Yinyuan’s itinerary to Edo was reconstructed from his poems written during his journey. See *IGZS* 6:2918–931.
54. My account of the audience is based on *Tokugawa jikki* (vol. 4), in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikai*, vol. 41, p. 284, which was compiled based on *Ryūei hinamiki* and *Osoba nikki*. The entries in *Edo bakufu nikki* were rather brief and only Inoue was mentioned to be sent to greet Yinyuan at Tentakuji. See *Edo Bakufu nikki*, vol. 26, p. 456. Some of these sources were incorporated in *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 208, vol. 1, p. 305.
55. Mujaku reported that Yinyuan initially refused to bow to the shogun and later only agreed to bow once. When he was at the audience, he apparently sat down in front of the shogun arrogantly and attempted to approach him directly. If this is true, it shows that Yinyuan initially resisted following Japanese convention. See Baroni’s translation of *Ōbaku geki*, in Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 211.
56. Hōsho paper is a high-quality white paper made of mulberry wood, usually Sugihara paper: one bundle contains ten sheets. For a detailed explanation of the wrapping of the gifts and Hōsho paper, see *Ryūei gyōgi*, fasc. 2, *Tokugawa seido shiryō shoshū*, p. 29 and *Shiryō Tokugawa Bakufu no seido*, p. 307.
57. Ge, “Costume, Ceremonial, and the East Asian Order,” p. 138.
58. He accepted Sakai Tadakatsu’s advice and stipulated that if in the future no suitable candidates could be found in Japan, they should seek a new abbot from China. See *IGZS* 7: 3489–94.

59. *OBJ*, pp. 280–81.
60. Quoted from Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, p. 531. According to Tsuji, the original record is preserved in Manpukuji. This conversation occurred when Yuefeng visited Edo and was invited to Yanagisawa's residence. Most of his conversations about Zen and Manpukuji abbots were preserved in Yanagisawa's *Chokushi Gohō jōōroku*.
61. This rule is included in the collection of official documents of the superintendents of temple affairs compiled in 1834. See *Shisō zasshiki*, fasc. 11, in *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan*, vol. 7, p. 242.
62. Data in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 are based on *Ōbaku jinmei jiten* and *Zuishōji jūji kōtai zakki*, in *Tōkyō daigaku sōgō toshokan shozō Kakō daizōkyō*, vol. 2, pp. 219–42. I want to thank Professors Sueki Fumihiko and Yokote Yutaka for arranging my visit to examine this edition of the Jiaying Canon and giving me a copy of this book in March 2011.
63. Matsudaira served as superintendent from 1784 to 1798 and was on duty during the first month of 1793. See Ozawa, “Jisha bugyō kō,” in *Bakufu seidoshi no kenkyū*, pp. 54 and 79.
64. For the procedures for an individual audience, see *Ryūei gyōgi*, fasc. 1, in *Tokugawa seido shiryō shoshū*, pp. 172–75 and *Shiryō Tokugawa Bakufu no seido*, pp. 236–40.
65. The bakufu had a detailed dress code for Ōbaku monks. See *Shisō zasshiki*, fasc. 36, *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan*, vol. 8, p. 822. The hat was named after the Chinese monk Baozhi in the fifth century and was also called “Ingen bōshi.” Its exact history is not clear. See Yamamoto Etsushin, *Ingen kanji kō*, pp. 13–14.
66. *Shisō zasshiki*, fasc. 25, *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan*, vol. 8, pp. 575–76. This record is also corroborated with a brief record in *Zuishōji* documents, according to which they met with both Ieharu (1737–1786) and the heir apparent, Ienari (1773–1841). See *Zuishōji jūji kōtai zakki*, in *Tōkyō daigaku sōgō toshokan shozō Kakō daizōkyō*, vol. 2, p. 233. It seems the place of audience had been changed to Shiroshoin at the end of eighteenth century. For a detailed layout of Shiroshoin, see *Ōbaku Jūshidai Ryōto Osho keiseki sanfu kiji*, manuscript, Manpukuji Bunkaden Archive, p. 23.
67. Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World*, pp. 55–57. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere*, p. 33. Both Jansen and Fogel mistakenly stated that Yinyuan met with the retired emperor Gōmizunoo.
68. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, p. 201.
69. Mizuno Norihito, “China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations,” p. 144.
70. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*, p. 165.
71. On *chinpunkan*, see Plutschow, *A Reader in Edo Period Travel*, p. 99.
72. It appears that Japanese authorities treated Chinese traders and Chinese monks very differently. Chinese merchants had been treated badly after the building of the patrolled Chinese quarter and the issuance of the regulations of the

- Shōtoku reign. In a newly discovered record, *Hearsay from Nagasaki* (*Changqi jiwen*), dated to 1735, its author Tong Hua (*jinsshi* 1838) vividly described the sharp contrast between the attitudes of Japanese officials and translators toward and treatment of Chinese merchants and monks. See Matsuura Akira, *Edo jidai Tōsen*, p. 130.
73. For such a debate, see Chen, “Zheng Chenggong zhi Yinyuan xinjian de faxian.” Ono, “Dōran no jidai o ukita Ingen zenji.” Lin Guanchao, *Yinyuan Longqi Chanshi*, pp. 201–40.
  74. See Toby, “Leaving the Closed Country.” Yamamoto Hirofumi also makes similar comments. See his *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai*, p. 256.
  75. For Hevia’s interpretation of imperial formation and the “centering” process, see his *Cherishing Men from Afar*, pp. 25–28, 121–25.
  76. The certificate was issued by the chief officer of Imperial Household Agency Usami Takeshi (1903–1993). See *Ōbaku Shūhō* (Manpukuji), 154 (July 20, 1972): 4.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 134–54.
2. Yoshida, *Zuihitsu no sekai*.
3. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 86.
4. Lin, “Ingen Ryūki no goroku.” See also *IGZS*, vol. 1 for a detailed introduction of Yinyuan’s works in various editions.
5. Shengyen, “Qianbie wancha yishaokong.” On the third day of the second month in 1673, Gomizunoo requested Yinyuan’s teaching and Yinyuan replied with this verse.
6. See Yinyuan’s instruction to Nishisa Tarō in Kōfukuji around 1654–1655. *IGZS* 4: 2019.
7. See his letter to Tokuō, *IGZS* 4: 1971 and *IGZS* 4: 1974.
8. Watson (trans.), *The Lotus Sutra*, chapter 8.
9. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 157.
10. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 140–41.
11. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 157–61.
12. For his poem, see *IGZS* 8: 3846 and *IGZS* 9: 4443. For the ritual of sunning the canon, see Wu, “From the Cult of the Book to the Cult of the Canon.”
13. For his poem to Tetsugen, see *IGZS* 10: 4579. For Tetsugen’s carving of canon, see Baroni, *Iron Eyes*, pp. 39–54.
14. See Yinyuan’s instruction to Yaolin, *IGZS* 7: 3316.
15. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 48–53.
16. *IGZS* 7: 3319, translation from Baskind, “The *Nianfo* in Obaku Zen,” p. 25.
17. Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism.” p. 322. Jaffe, “Ungo Kiyō’s Ōjōyōka and Rinzai Zen Orthodoxy.”



18. The *nianfo* practice became even more emphasized under the fourth Manpukuji abbot Duzhan Xingying. See Tanaka Minoru Marukosu, “Nenbutsu Dokutan no kenkyū.”
19. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 265–86.
20. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 88–94. For translation of its preface, see Baskind, “*Obaku shigi oyobi*.” Nogawa, *Minmatsu Bukkyō no edo bukkyō*, pp. 330–428.
21. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen* and Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 30–31. See also Chu, “Bodhisattva Precepts in the Ming Society.”
22. For a study, see Kimura, *Ingen Zenji to Obaku bunka*, pp. 187–238.
23. See Lye, “Yüqie yankou in the Ming and Qing.”
24. See Wu, “The Tangut Diaspora and the Mengshan Rite.”
25. See Kimura, “*Obaku nosegaki*,” in his *Ingen zenji to Obaku bunka*, pp. 295–380. For Baiyan’s biography, see *OBJ* 307.
26. Baskind, “Mortification Practices.”
27. Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence*.
28. For his biography, see also Baskind, “Mortification Practices,” pp. 162–63.
29. He blood-wrote the *Great Nirvana Sutra* in forty-two volumes from 1666 to 1667. In Yinyuan’s records, there were a few other *Obaku* monks who also engaged in blood writing, including the monk Xingchu (*IGZS* 8: 3604), Suxian (*IGZS* 8: 3663), Weizhan (*IGZS* 8: 3779), Leizhou (*IGZS* 9: 4148), and an anonymous monk (*IGZS* 9: 4496). All of them conducted blood writing to commemorate their deceased parents.
30. Yamamoto, *Obaku kessho kō*. See also *Obaku kessho kyō* and Nogawa, “Minmatsu Bukkyō no Edo,” pp. 463–74.
31. Fister, “Creating Devotional Art with Body Fragments,” pp. 232–35. Fister speculated that Bunchi’s blood writing was inspired by *Obaku* monks because of Gomizunoo and Terukonai Shinnō (Shōzan Gen’yō, 1634–1727). However, Bunchi made her first blood writing as early as 1643, before Yinyuan arrived. In addition, according to Fister, Tetsugyū Dōki (1628–1700) painted the image of Amitābha with blood in 1662 to commemorate his mother’s death.
32. Parker, *Zen Buddhist Landscape Arts*.
33. See statistics of Yinyuan’s poetic output in *IGZS* 1: 37. See also Lin, “Ingen Ryūki no shige.” Liao, “Yinyuan chanshi shige.”
34. Liao, “Wan Ming sengren ‘Shanjushī lunxi.’”
35. Ōtsuki, *Sencha bunka kō*, p. 38.
36. For the debate about tea and wine in the Tang, see Benn, “Buddhism, Alcohol, and Tea.”
37. Graham, *Tea of the Sages*, p. 54. For detailed discussion about this literary gathering, see Ōtsuki, *Sencha bunka kō*, pp. 25–38. For Yinyuan’s five poems, *IGZS* 11: 5045.
38. Lee, “Imitation.”
39. My choice of these two poems for comparison is inspired by Zhang Shi’s discussion of Yinyuan’s poem. See Zhang, *Hanshan yu Riben Wenhua*, pp. 89–94.

- For the translation of Hanshan's poem, see Red Pine (Bill Porter), *The Collection Songs of Cold Mountain*, no. 79.
40. For discussion about Mount Fuji in foreigner's eyes, see Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, pp. 276–328.
  41. Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, p. 8.
  42. There were a number of Chinese monks who viewed Mount Fuji and wrote poems. For details, see Lin, "Fujisan o utau." See also Liao, "Mu'an chanshi shige de Riben tuxiang," p. 322.
  43. *Shishi liu tie*, p. 433. Translated by Joshua Fogel and quoted from his "Chinese Understanding of the Japanese Language," *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors*, p. 65.
  44. Fang Ji, *zi*, Xiyuan, associate shipmaster of Chinese vessel Yuanshun from Nanjing, was drifted to the shore at Chikura in Awa (in today's Chiba county) in 1780. He was a painter as well. See Ōba (ed.) *An'ei kunen Awa*.
  45. Yanagisawa, *Tenjiku Tokubei jikki*, pp. 50–52. Accessed through Diet Library Digital database.
  46. See Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy*. I am grateful to Bernard Faure for informing me of Strickmann's important discovery before the publication of his posthumous book.
  47. See Bodart-Bailey, trans., *Kaempfer's Japan*, p. 177.
  48. All three quotes are adopted from Bodart-Bailey, trans., *Kaempfer's Japan*, p. 177.
  49. It might be true that Yinyuan did not believe in his own magical power. However, Yinyuan might have some elementary knowledge about watching clouds and climate changes (*wangqi*), which is one of the Fengshui techniques.
  50. Wright, "Fo-tu-teng, A Biography;" Chou I-liang (Zhou Yiliang), "Tantrism in China." Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*.
  51. For discussion about the six superknowledges, see also Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, pp. 102–14.
  52. See "Rakanji no hana," Matsuura Seizan, *Kasshi yawa*, fasc. 62, vol. 4, p. 281. Seizan had a close relationship with the monk Miten. See also *Kasshi yawa*, fasc. 79, vol. 5, p. 317.
  53. See Russell, "Chen Tuan at Mount Huangbo;" and idem, "Chen Tuan's Veneration of the Dharma." Baskind, "A Daoist Immortal among Zen Monks." See also Lin, "Ingen Ryūki to Rihon kōshi." The rare source *Tōzuihen* that I am using is a photocopy held in the Komazawa University Library, a gift from Livia Kohn to the Harvard-Yenching Library.
  54. Trans. Russell, "Chen Tuan at Mount Huangbo," p. 113.
  55. See *Shiziyān zhi*, fasc. 2. Later, Gaoquan came to join Yinyuan Longqi in 1661 and was appointed abbot of Manpukuji in 1692 after winning a debate about dharma transmission with the fourth Manpukuji abbot Duzhan Xingying (1628–1706). See Baron's account, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 176–80. Gaoquan also compiled a number of monastic biographies. See Enomoto, *Nansō Gen-dai Nitchū*, pp. 288–93.

56. See Gaoquan's epitaph in *Daien koe kokushi goroku*, fasc. 15, pp. 3, 12. See also his chronological biography, in *Kōsen zenshū*, 3: 1478.
57. Gaoquan, "Chen xian dian xiao," in *Tōzuihen*, appendix.
58. For a brief account of the history of the spirit-writing tradition, see Jordan and Overmyer, eds., *The Flying Phoenix*, chap. 3, "Background of the *Chi*," pp. 36–88.
59. Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Oracle*, p. 9.
60. Iwaki, *Kikkyō kafuku sanjūniban mikuji*, preface, pp. 1–2.
61. See Nakamura, "Ōbaku Ingen zenji," p. 2.
62. For the use of *qian* in late imperial China, see also Smith, *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers*, pp. 233–45. Lin, "Zhongguo lingqian yanjiu," pp. 87 and 218. Lin collected 760 kinds of oracle poems and 200 are Guanyin Oracle Poems.
63. This text can be found in *Zhongguo li dai Guanyin wen xian ji cheng*, vol. 9.
64. For the Chinese oracle tradition in Chinese monastery, see Lai, "The Chan-ch'a chin"; Huang, "Tianzhu liangqian".
65. Guo, "Divination, jeux de hasard et purification."
66. In a Chinese oracle tradition, a set of oracle poem entitled "Oracle Poem by Chan Master Huangbo" (*Huangbo chanshi shi*) was extremely popular in China. I have not yet been able to identify its link with Huangbo monastery and Yinyuan. See *Chūgoku yogensho denpon shūsei*, pp. 219–48. This text was also known as *Huangbo chanshi zanshi yu*. Its relation with Yinyuan is thus far unknown.
67. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p. 125.
68. Mujaku, *Shōbōzanshi*, p. 161. Haskel, *Letting go*, p. 36.
69. Suzuki, "Roankyō," translated in *Selected Writings of Suzuki Shōsan*, p. 187.
70. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 122–64. Michel Mohr, "Emerging from Nonduality." Although Hakuin has been influenced tremendously by Ming Buddhism, he opposed the late Ming Chinese Buddhist understanding of Zen in general, including Zhuhong, Yongjue Yuanxian, and Yinyuan Longqi. See also Ahn, "Zen and the Art of Nourishing Life Labor," pp. 203, 208, and 212.

## CHAPTER 6

1. For the relation between Yinyuan and Mujaku, see Takenuki, *Shin Nihon Zenshū shi*, pp. 221–48.
2. For a translation of this biography, see Pinto dos Santos, "The 'Kuroda plot'," pp. 164–66. For Genshō's activities related to Nagasaki book inspection, see Ōba, *Books and Boats*, p. 42. For Mukai's attitude toward Western learning, see Pinto dos Santos, "Five Types of Reaction."
3. For a study of this work, especially the criticism of Yinyuan, see Komoguchi, "Mukai Genshō," pp. 65–67.
4. The *Hongji suiijaku* theory was widely accepted in premodern Japan as the foundation of the joint practice of Buddhism and Shintoism. See Teeuwen and Rambelli, *Buddhas and Kami in Japan*.

5. Mukai, *Chishihen*, pp.100–01.
6. Mukai, *Chishihen*, pp. 1 and 24–25, Translated by Mohr, “Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Period,” p. 352–53.
7. Mukai, *Chishihen*, pp. 23–24, 103.
8. Mukai, *Chishihen*, pp. 110–11.
9. Bankei, *Genshiken ganmokukan*, in *Bankei zenji hōgoshū*, 173. Haskel, *Letting go*, pp. 35, 135. Norman Waddell translated the anecdote in his *The Unborn*, p. 31.
10. Mukai, *Chishihen*, pp. 70–71.
11. Mukai, *Chishihen*, p. 73.
12. Mukai, *Chishihen*, p. 95.
13. Mukai, *Chishihen*, p. 78.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 103–04.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
19. Banzan, *Usa mondō*, fasc. 2, *Banzan zenshū*, 5: 308. Banzan was also critical to the arrival of Chinese monks who he thought brought more harm to Japan and were signs of famine and social unrest.
20. Mukai, *Chishihen*, p. 90.
21. Mukai, *Chishihen*, p. 104.
22. This text was compiled in 1675 in 72 fasc. It responded to the anti-Buddhism sentiment at that time and advocated the unity of Buddhism and Shintoism. It was soon declared an apocryphon and the Ōbaku monk Chōon was put in exile. Sokō handcopied this text in 1678. Both his Shinto teachers Tansai and Hōyū were involved in this incident of forgery. See Hori Isao, *Yamaga Sokō*, pp. 45–52. For studies of Chōon, see Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, 80–81.
23. Most biographical account is based on his autobiography *Leftover Words in Exile* (*Haisho zanpitsu*) written in 1675, in *Yamaga Sokō zenshū. shisō*, vol. 12, 571–99. For an English translation of this work, see Uenaka, “Last Testament in Exile.” For Sokō’s influence on nationalism in modern Japan, see Tucker, “Tokugawa Intellectual History and Prewar Ideology”; “Yamaga Sokō’s *Seikyō yōroku*.”
24. Uenaka, “Last Testament in Exile,” p. 148.
25. For the Chinese original, see *Yamaga Sokō ikun to nikki*, pp. 46–47. Japanese translation is included in *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 15, pp. 62–64. See also Murata, “Yamaga Sokō no Kyo to jitsu.” I want to thank Albert Welter for helping me understand the allusions in this passage.
26. See *Yamaga zuihitsu* in *Yamaga Sokō Zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 289–93. *Takkyō dōmon*, *Yamaga Sokō Zenshū*, vol. 12, pp. 269–90. Hori, *Yamaga Sokō*.
27. *Yamaga Zuihitsu*, *Yamaga Sokō Zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 534–35.
28. Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, p. 160.
29. Maeda, “Yamaga Sokō *Chūchō jijitsu*.” See Gan, “Shanlu Suxing Zhongchao shishi.”

30. Harootunian, "China in Tokugawa Thought," in *The Chinese and The Japanese*, p. 14.
31. *Chūchō jijitsu, Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 13, p. 10. The island was created from the drips of the jewel-halberd Izanagi and Izanami used to probe the land in the ocean. Therefore, Sokō called it self-coagulated.
32. See *Nihongi*, translated by Aston, pp. 12–14. 32. Takamitsu Kōnoshi argues that the land of Yomi is actually part of Central Land, which is the land of "kuni." See Takamitsu, "The Land of Yomi."
33. *Chūchō jijitsu, Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 13, pp. 232–34, 371–72.
34. *Chūchō jijitsu, Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 13, pp. 175–76. Translation quoted from Gundersen, "Sense of Cultural Identity," p. 37.
35. *Chūchō jijitsu, Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 13, p. 226. Sokō expressed similar ideas in his *Yamaga gorui, Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 5. See a brief review in Wakabayashi, *Anti-Foreignism*, pp. 28–30.
36. *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 305–06.
37. *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 11, p. 234.
38. *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 11, pp. 236–37.
39. *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 11, p. 266, *Takkyō dōmon*, in *Yamaga Sokō zenshū*, vol. 12, p. 326.
40. Mohr, "Cutting Through Desire."
41. See Kanda, "Nihon kangakushi jō." See also Takahashi Hiromi, "Dokuan Genkō no Seika." For a selection of his Chinese poems, see Sueki and Horikawa (ed.) *Sōmon*.
42. See Masafumi, *Ōbaku sanketsu Egoke Dōmyō*, pp. 142–46.
43. *Dokuan Genkō gohōshū*, vol. 1, pp. 3–5. See Enomoto, "Nagasaki Kōtaiji," pp. 77–84.
44. Bodiford, "Dharma Transmission in Sōtō Zen," p. 424.
45. It should be noted that he was criticized later by Sōtō teachers for not understanding the teacher and not having recorded dialogue. See Shibe, "Dokuan Genkō."
46. "Zokudan," part 1, *Dokuan Genkō gohōshū*, vol. 1, pp. 78b–79a.
47. "Dokugo," in *Dokuan Genkō gohōshū*, vol. 1, p. 15a.
48. "Zokudan," translated by Mohr, "Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Period," p. 363.
49. "Dokuan kō," II, *Dokuan Genkō gohōshū*, vol. 1, p. 167b.
50. "Jikeigo," part 1, *Dokuan Genkō gohōshū*, vol. 1, 40b–41a. Some Japanese intellectuals such as Yamaga Sōkō singled out the virtue of valor (*yong/yū*) as a unique Japanese quality of superiority. Genkō's remarks might be a response to such popular views.
51. The best of the account of his philosophy remains Maruyama's work. See Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, pp. 69–134. For a summary of critiques to his work, see Lan, "Zhanhou Riben xuejie." For Soraï's critique of Chinese Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi, see Chan, "On Ogyū Soraï's Critique."

52. Ogyū, *Ken'en zuihitsu*, *Ogyū Sorai zenshū*, vol. 17, pp. 158, 299. Translated by Kate Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism," p. 166.
53. Ogyū, letter to "Nai Sansei" of Yanagawa, Translated in Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism," p. 179.
54. Kōkoku was renowned in the Ōbaku community as the first Japanese ordained by Yinyuan. In 1657, when he was just nine, he went to Fumonji and was ordained by Yinyuan as a novice. He later studied under the third Manpukuji abbot Huilin Xingji and received his dharma transmission. He was good at colloquial Chinese and followed Huilin as his attendant and served as his interpreter. *OBJ* 114–15.
55. See Imanaka, *Soraigaku no shiteki kenkyū*, pp. 53–63.
56. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai*, p. 120.
57. See Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, pp. 500–35. Pastreich, "Grappling with Chinese Writing," pp. 126–28.
58. See Hiraishi, *Ogyū Sorai nenpu kō*, pp. 63–64. For the letter, see *Soraishū*, fasc. 29, pp. 66 and 68. Ishizaki, *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungakushi*, p. 74.
59. Lidin, "Vernacular Chinese in Tokugawa Japan." For the transcript of this conversation, see Ishizaki, *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru Shina zokugo bungakushi*, pp. 56–61. For a brief account in English, see Yoshikawa, *Jinsai, Sorai, Norinaga*, pp. 126–27.
60. For a short description of this print shop and its activities in Edo Japan, see Honma, "Shoshi to setsuwa."
61. For discussions about this genre, see Chen, *Ju zhu de shi pian*. I want to thank Prof. Pao-Tao Chia-lin for helping me decipher these characters.
62. See *Rakuyōdō shi*. I have examined this copy during my research in Kyoto.
63. See *Xiaoming Cao*.
64. For a study of Du Lide, see Gao, *Qing chu liang xiang Du Lide*.
65. *Nenpu*, p. 395. For the whole epitaph, see *Nenpu*, pp. 395–98.
66. *Nenpu*, p. 398.
67. *Soraishū*, vol. 3, fasc. 29, p. 9. I want to thank Liu Yuebing for pointing to this reference.
68. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, pp. 278–79.
69. For the importance of this region in Chinese geography, see Wu, et al., "Spatial Analysis and GIS Modeling of Regional Religious Systems in China," p. 188.
70. Pollack, *Fracture of Meaning*, p. 4.
71. See Ching, "Chu Shun-shui, 1600–82"; and Xu, *Zhu Shunshui yu Dongya wenhua*.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Ōba, *Books and Boats*, p. 25.
2. Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, pp. 106–17.
3. See Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, pp. 92–94.

4. Letter to Sakuma Dōgan, *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, vol. 4, p. 30. Quoted from Nakai's translation, see Nakai, *Shogunal Politics*, p. 93.
5. *Told around a Brushwood Fire*, p. 245.
6. *Told around a Brushwood Fire*, p. 247.
7. Ryōō used the profit to finance Manpukuji and build libraries in Edo. For a thorough study in English, see Groner, "Ryōō Dōkaku." I want to thank Paul for providing references and sending me the paper before its publication.
8. See my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 187–244.
9. Date, *Nihon shūkyō seido*, pp. 211 and 409.
10. *Chokushi gohō jōōroku*, fasc. 3, part 2, unpaginated.
11. He was also a playwright. See *The Emperor Go-Mizunoo-In's Kocho*. See also Lin Guanchao, "Ingen Ryūki to Nihon kōshi." For the emperor's relationship with the Tokugawa bakufu, see Butler, *Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan*, pp. 226–35. For the emperor and the Purple Robe incident, see also Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, 166–77.
12. *Daifu lunji*, unpaginated. Duzhan quoted partially from *Wudeng yantong*, X 80: 543, n. 1567.
13. "Yaosi daifu," in *Daifu lunji*, unpaginated. It was written by an anonymous author, likely Duzhan or one of his followers.
14. "Tiande heshang jiehuo pian," *Kaiō Su oshō shihō benron*, p. 10.
15. For a summary of the case, see Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 176–80.
16. Her works *Koshiroku* and *Matsukage nikki* (ca. 1714) have a place in women's literature. See Shimauchi, *Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu to Edo no yume*, pp. 174–88.
17. He presented the book to Emperor Reigen, who wrote a preface for this work. See *Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu Ko Sanzenroku*, p. 9. Also see Shimauchi Keiji, *Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu to Edo no yume*, pp. 221–32.
18. For this connection, see Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 9, pp. 500–35 and Bodart-Bailey, "Councillor Defended."
19. For his conversation with Gaoquan, see *Chokushi gohō jōōroku*, fasc. 1, part 2. This event was also recorded in Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, *Rakushidō nenroku*, fasc. 32, p. 252.
20. These events were also recorded in *Matsukage nikki*. See *Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu sokushitsu no nikki*, fasc. 6, pp. 66–68. For Qiandai's visit and new regulations for Manpukuji, see fasc. 26, pp. 306–07, 314–16. For details of these regulations, see the next section. For a sketch of his connection with Chinese monks, see Bodart-Bailey, "Councilor Defended."
21. The terms *hansho* or *banshou* in Chinese refer to four positions of monastic officers in a Chinese Chan monastery. These four positions are "First Seat" (*shou-zuo*), "West Hall" (*xitang*), "Back Hall" (*houtang*), and "Meditation Hall Master" (*tangzhu*). I want to thank Ven. Dingming at Guanghua monastery in Beijing who explained to me these positions in an email dated Feb. 22, 2014.
22. Translated from *Shibu shokushō ruiju*, fas. 2, pp. 75–76. See also Tsuji's transcription, Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 9, pp. 514–16. *Chokushi gohō jōōroku*, fasc. 3. The content of these copies is the same.

23. For the regulation of ascending Manpukuji, see Ōtsuki, “Ōbaku shūkanroku,” pp. 73–77.
24. Date, *Nihon shūkyō seido*, pp. 211 and 409.
25. Since Yinyuan’s death in 1673, a convention of abbot succession in Manpukuji had taken form: the candidates had to be Chinese and must have served in one of the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki. This convention was accepted by the shoguns and supported by the government. For Yoshimune’s reform, see Chang, “Identity and Hegemony.”
26. See Donggao Xinyue, “Ribei youlai liangzong mingbian,” in Chen (ed), *Lü Ri gao seng Donggao Xinyue shi wen ji*, pp. 89–90. There are several versions of this document and Chen Zhichao’s version is the most complete. See his biography in *OBJ*, pp. 162–63.
27. *Ka’i hentai*, fas. 20, vol. 2, pp. 1605, also see *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 250. Many records from *Ka’i hentai* and *Wakan kimon* have been incorporated into *Tsūkō ichiran*. fasc. 209. Chinese scholar Sun Wen noticed this record of Chinese monks but did not give full account of their connection with Manpukuji. See Sun, *Tangchuan fengshuo*, pp. 136–38.
28. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, in *Ka’i hentai*, vol. 3, 2907–08.
29. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, fasc. 3, *Ka’i hentai*, vol. 3, p. 2927.
30. Ōba Osamu claimed that Quanyan had provided intelligence for the Chinese spy Zhu Laizhang sent by Zhejiang governor Li Wei in 1729. Ōba, *Books and Boats*, p. 235. Wu Ziming seems to be a model merchant who had received awards by Japanese authorities in 1732 for helping to capture smugglers together with merchant Yi Jingxin. See *Zōho Nagasaki ryakushi*, p. 154.
31. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, *Ka’i hentai*, vol. 3, 2944–45.
32. *Ka’i hentai*, fasc. 37, vol. 3, p. 2980. For a useful reference to identify ships and their captains, see Kamiya Nobuyuki, *Tōsen fūsetsugaki dētabēsu 1674–1728*.
33. According to Ōba Osamu’s study, Matsumiya was a famous scholar of the school of military science (*heigaku*) in mid-Edo period. He studied with Hōjō Ujisuke (1666–1727). This collection was compiled around 1726, when Kunzan served as a clerk at Nagasaki bugyō’s office. It contains about 150 documents in Chinese with Japanese translation, including seven pertaining to Chinese monks’ coming to Japan. See Ōba, *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, pp. 367–76.
34. See Qiandā’s letter in *Wakan kimon*, in Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 189–90. This letter was also included in *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 209, p. 357.
35. For Bili’s biography, see *Huangboshan si zhi*, *Zhongguo fosi zhi*, series 3, no. 4, pp. 188–90.
36. *Wakan kimon*, in Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 191–92. This letter has been included in *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 209, pp. 358–59.
37. *Wakan kimon*, Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 196–98.
38. It was customary to use such name as “sanguan” or “yiguan” in Fujian. For an explanation of the use of the term “guan” as a reverent salutation to people, see Wang, “Qixiong.”



39. Bieguang was briefly mentioned in *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 381. For Bieguang's confession, see also *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 209, pp. 361–62.
40. You Ruxi's trading certificate was forced to transfer to Zhuang Yunqing after the lawsuit about Japanese trading certificates filed in Suzhou prefecture. Ōba, *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, p. 25.
41. *Ka'i hentai*, fasc. 34, vol. 3, pp. 2633–34.
42. *Ka'i hentai*, fasc. 34, vol. 3, p. 2675.
43. *Ka'i hentai*, fasc. 35, vol. 3, p. 2687.
44. *Tō tsūji kaisho nichiroku*, vol. 8, p. 244.
45. *Kiyō gundan*, p. 18.
46. I suspect that the change of policy might have something to do with Fukami Gentai, or Kō Gentai (1639–1722), who was Yinyuan's disciple Duli Xingyi's lay student and knew about Chinese monks and their practice very well. He served in bakufu as a Confucian scholar since 1709 and befriended with Arai Hakuseki. For his connection with Chinese monks and Hakuseki, see *Fukami Gentai no Kenkyū*, pp. 107–15, 296–320. For a short introduction in English, see Ōba, *Books and Boats*, pp. 138–39.
47. *Wakan kimon*, p. 276.
48. Ōba, “A Profile of the Unruly Shogun Yoshimune,” *Books and Boats*, pp. 120–45.
49. Many resources mentioned his tour at Rakanji. However, little was recorded about what triggered his decision. In 1695 Tokugawa Tsunayoshi granted permission to establish Ten'onzan Gohyaku Rakanji, where a set of statues of the Five Hundred Rakan (Luohan) carved by the founding priest Shōun Genkei (1648–1710) were located. Rakanji was one of the major Ōbaku temples in Edo and was renowned for the sculpture of five hundred Rakans in Chinese styles. It served as a shogunal-grant temple and shoguns made frequent visits there. Tetsugen has been revered as its nominal founder. For details, see Screech, “The Strangest Place in Edo.”
50. For this edict, see *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 165. See also Kimura, “Ōbakuha ni okeu Chūgokusō,” p. 114. The original edict was copied in *Honji kō tōsō ikken* (1761).
51. *Wakan kimon*, in Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 273–77.
52. See *Nihon Dai Shin shokan narabini bengi ge*.
53. *Wakan kimon*, Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 280–81.
54. *Wakan kimon*, in Ōba, *Kyōho jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō*, no. 1, pp. 284–85. Yi Xinyin was the shipmaster of Vessel no. 22 from Ningbo in 1721. This was his first trade as an independent shipmaster, since his trading certificate (*shinpai*) was transferred from captain Zhao Shusan, who became sick and was unable to come. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, fas. 3, *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 3, pp. 2907–08.
55. *Wakan kimon*, p. 169.
56. See Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 245–64.
57. For Zhongqi's biography, see *Huangboshan si zhi*, pp. 190–92.

58. Ruoyu Jiwei's biography mentioned Zhongqi as a vinaya master; see *Huangbo shan si zhi*, p. 205.
59. See *Huangbo Zhongqi chanshi yulu guangmu jiyao*.
60. *Fukushū Ōbaku oshō shōsei shuchi*. A report by Nagasaki bugyō Gotō Shōzaemon dated the ninth month of 1755 indicates that Zhongqi was already seventy and Jiongwei was the abbot at Longhua monastery in Fuqing. There were seven other monks and nine people in total. See *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 173.
61. The copper trade with Japan fit in the general Copper Administration and declined after the excavation of mines in Yunnan.
62. The Yongzheng Emperor mentioned this mission in his reply to Li Wei's memorial dated the eighth day of the eighth month of 1728, *Gongzhongdang*, vol. 11, p. 56. For details, see Matsuura, *Edo jidai tōsen*, pp. 77–97. This event was also discussed in Guo, "Views of Japan and Policies toward Japan in the Early Qing." See also Iwai, "International Society."
63. Matsuura, *Edo jidai tōsen*, pp. 98–121. For the controversy about *shinpai* and the Kangxi Emperor's ruling, see Ōba, *Books and Boats*, pp. 29–32, 114–19. Zhao, *Qing Opening to the Ocean*, pp. 137–52. See also Schottenhammer, "Japan—The Tiny Dwarf?"
64. See a series of related documents reprinted in *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 169–78. In particular, Gotō Shōzaemon's report in 1755 summarized the actions the bakufu had taken to invite Chinese monks. *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 173–76.
65. This result was mentioned in a Nagasaki bugyō report dated to 1755. See *Honji kō tōsō ikken*.
66. *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 166–67. See also Ōba, *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, p. 54 and *Books and Boats*, p. 227. See also *Tsūkō ichiran*, fasc. 209, p. 371.
67. See Li Wei's memorials in *Gongzhongdang Yongzhengchao zouzhe*, vol. 11, pp. 53–56, 555–56. The bakufu indeed employed many of them to serve the government. For some of the famous Chinese working for the bakufu and the arrival of the elephants, see Ōba, *Books and Boats*, pp. 213–26, 201–02.
68. See Ōba, *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, p. 58.
69. Ke often traded in Nagasaki. He was the shipmaster of Vessel no. 8 of 1718 and no. 39 of 1713. He didn't trade for five years because of the *shinpai* dispute in China. It seems he had to give up his certificate and was only returned later. See *Sakikō shōsetsu*, fasc. 1 in *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 3, pp. 2789–90. He was also mentioned in the report of Vessel. 23 from Nanjing in 1720. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, fasc. 3, *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 3, pp. 2888–89. *Sakikō shōsetsu*, fasc. 3, *Ka'i hentai*, vol. 3, 2890. *Ka'i hentai*, fasc. 37, vol. 3, p. 2972.
70. *Gongzhongdang*, vol. 12, p. 57.
71. Ren, *Kinsei Nihon to Nitchū bōeki*, pp. 271–77. See also Ōba, *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, pp. 53–62. For a detailed summary of the investigation in English, see Ōba, *Books and Boats*, pp. 228–40. Zhao, *Qing Opening to the Ocean*, pp. 149–51.

72. *Gongzhongdang*, vol. 11, pp. 674–75.
73. *Gongzhongdang*, vol. 12, p. 57. Zhong Jintian was the son of the Chinese merchant Zhong Shengyu. His ship, Vessel no. 20 in 1727, arrived at Nagasaki on the twenty-first day in 1727. Guo Yuguan's identity is not known, but he might be a relative of Chinese merchant Guo Likui. See Ōba (ed.), *Tōsen shinkō kaitōroku*, p. 56.
74. See Li Wei's memorial on the third day of the eleventh month in 1728. *Gongzhongdang*, vol. 11, p. 676.
75. I have fully investigated Yongzheng's connections with Chan Buddhism in chapter 6 of my *Enlightenment in Dispute*, pp. 163–86.
76. The monk Bifeng's identity is not known. In the chronological biography of Dapend Zhengkun compiled by Yoshinaga Setsudō, it was stated that Zhongqi had accompanied Dapeng to Edo in 1744. It is not known on what basis Yoshinaga made this claim. See *Ōbaku Daihō Shūkon*.
77. His name was misprinted as Jiongzhen in *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 169.
78. See Zhongqi's reply in *Nihon Dai Shin shokan narabini bengi ge*, unpaginated.
79. See *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 168.
80. But on the sixteenth day of the twelfth month in 1739, Zhu'an was summoned to the Kyoto deputy's office and was forced to retire from his post.
81. *Hakusai shomoku*, fasc. 43, vol. 29, pp. 23–25. See also a report filed by Kōfukuji about inviting these two monks. See *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 178. *Honji kō tōsō ikken*, unpaginated.
82. See *Nagasaki shishi*, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 178. Related primary sources are preserved in *Honji kō tōsō ikken*.
83. *Zōho Nagasaki ryakushi*, p. 197.
84. *Kōchū Edo Ōbaku zensatsuki*, p. 4.
85. Masafumi, *Ōbaku sanketsu Egoku Dōmyō*, pp. 145–46 and 217–22. See also Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp. 79–80.
86. For an overview of the Ōbaku sect during the bakumatsu and Meiji transition, see Mohr, "The Japanese Zen Schools and the Transition to Meiji," pp. 179–85. "Emerging from Nonduality," pp. 254–56.

#### CONCLUSION

1. There are many excellent studies of Zhu Xi and Neo-Confucian philosophy. For a few representative works, see Chen, *Zhu Xi zhexue yan jiu*. Chan (ed.), *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*. Ching, *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*. Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy*.
2. For the study of Wang Yangming, see Ching, *To Acquire Wisdom*. Tu, *Neo-Confucian Thought in Action*.
3. Ch'ien, "Chiao Hung and the Revolt Against Ch'eng-Chu Orthodoxy." See Epstein, *Competing Discourses*, pp. 74–79. Lee, *Li Zhi*, pp. 101–13.

4. Bloom (trans.) *Knowledge Painfully Acquired*. Ong, "The Principles Are Many." For a detailed study of the tradition of Practical Learning in China and Japan, see de Bary, *Principle and Practicality*. Li, "A Comparative Study of Practical Learning in China and Korea."
5. De Bary, *Self and Society in Ming Thought*. Yu, "Cong Song Ming Lixue de fazhan."
6. Levenson, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*, pp. 3–7.
7. De Bary, *Waiting for the Dawn*.
8. For the rise of evidential scholarship, see Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology*.
9. See Wang, *Xiandai Zhongguo sixiang de xingqi*, part I, vol. 1, pp. 362–72. Bartlett, "Phonology as Statecraft in Gu Yanwu's Thought."
10. "Yinxue wushu xu," in Gu, *Yinxue wushu*, pp. 2–3. Quoted and translated from Wang Hui, *Xiandai Zhongguo sixiang de xingqi*, part I, vol. 1, p. 46.
11. For Dai Zhen's study of Mencius and translation of his commentary, see Chin and Freeman, *Tai Chen on Mencius*. For the translation of his work on goodness, see Cheng, *Tai Chen's Inquiry into Goodness*.
12. Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng*. Yu, "Zhang Xuecheng Versus Dai Zhen."
13. Wang, *Xiandai Zhongguo sixiang de xingqi*, part I, vol. 1, p. 47.
14. Elman, "Search for Evidence from China," in Fogel (ed.), *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors*, p. 160.
15. Elman, "Sinophiles and Sinophobes in Tokugawa Japan" and "One Classic and Two Classical Traditions." See also Ōba, *Books and Boats*. Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*.
16. Zhang's letter to Ruan Yuan (1764–1849) dated to 1796. Translated in Nivison, *The Life and Thought of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng*, p. 251.
17. For example, at Ogyū Sorai's suggestion, a lost text in China *Textual Study of the Seven Classics and Mencius* (*Shichikei Mōshi kōbun hoi*), which was based on the discovery in Ashigaka archive, was compiled by his student Yamanoi Konron (d. 1728) and sent back to China by the order of the shogun Yoshimune after it was further revised in 1732. Chinese merchant and painter Yin Fujiu (1698–1747) brought several copies back to China around 1733. After a fierce debate about its authenticity, this Japanese work was accepted as genuine and valuable for classical studies. Thus it was included in the imperial edition of *Siku quanshu* and was reprinted in China by the famous scholar Ruan Yuan in 1797. Another example is the importation and translation of *General Meaning of the Amplification of the Six Maxims* (*Liuyu yan'yi dayi*) compiled by Ryukyu Confucian scholar Tei Junsoku, who presented this book to Yoshimune in 1714. Ōba, *Books and Boats*, pp. 169 and 136–38. The exchange of scholarship between China and Japan during the Tokugawa period has been studied by several Western scholars. See Miller, "Some Japanese Influences on Chinese Classical Scholarship of the Ch'ing Period;" Hess, "Qing Reactions to the Reimportation

- of Confucian Canonical Works from Tokugawa Japan,” in Fogel (ed.), *Sagacious Monks and Bloodthirsty Warriors*, pp. 126–57. See also Elman, “One Classic and Two Classical Traditions.”
18. For a summary of Neo-Confucianism in Japan, see Minamoto, “The Acceptance of Chinese Neo-Confucianism,” For more thorough treatment, see Nosco, *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*.
  19. For a comparative study of the two, see Yu, “Dai Zhen yu Itō Jinsai.”
  20. See the complete translation of this text in Tucker, *Itō Jinsai’s Gomō Jigi*, pp. 233–44.
  21. Sakai, *Voices of the Past*, pp. 223–25.
  22. Ooms, “Human Nature.”
  23. Harootunian, “China in Tokugawa Thought,” pp. 17–29. I am aware of the difference in the use of terms such as nativism and *Kokugaku*. See Breen, “Nativism Restored.” Teeuwen, “Kokugaku vs. Nativism.”
  24. Pollock, *Fracture of Meaning*, p. 46.
  25. Burns, *Before the Nation*, p. 12. McEwan, “Motoori’s View of Phonetics and Linguistics.” Fogel, “On Japanese Expressions for ‘China.’”
  26. Suzuki Akira (1764–1837), *Gengo shijūron*, quoted from Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen*, p. 66.
  27. Haboush, “Constructing the Center.” See also Deuchler, “Despoilers of the Way.” Miura, “Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Seventeenth Century Korea.”
  28. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*.
  29. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*.
  30. Tana, “Tongking in the Age of Commerce,” p. 260.
  31. Taylor, “The Literary Revival in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam.” See also Whitmore, “Literati Culture and Integration in Dai Viet, c. 1430–c.1840.”
  32. Woodside, “Classical Primordialism.”
  33. Struve, “Introduction,” *Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition*, pp. 3–27.
  34. Liu, *The Clash of Empires*, pp. 75–81, pp. 264–65. See also Zhao, “Reinventing China.”
  35. Bol, “Geography and Culture,” p. 72.
  36. Fairbank, “A Preliminary Framework,” *The Chinese World Order*, p. 12.
  37. See Langlois, “Chinese Culturalism and the Yuan Analogy.”
  38. Tsuruta, “Kinsei Nihon no yottsu no kuchi.”
  39. Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, p. 29.
  40. Li, “Yuenan shiji dui ‘Zhongguo.’”
  41. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, pp. 18–19. Kelley, “Vietnam as a ‘Domain of Manifest Civility.’”
  42. Woodside, *Vietnam and the Chinese Model*, p. 237.
  43. Tanigawa Kotosuga, *Nihon shoki tsūshō*, vol. 1, p. 67.
  44. For a brief review of their views, see Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism*, pp. 22–40. See also Ng, “Redefining Legitimacy.” Japanese views of China during the Edo

- period were much nuanced. For a detailed study, see Zhao, et al., *Jindai yilai riben de Zhongguo guan*, vol. 2.
45. See Wakabayashi, *Anti-foreignism*, p. 8. See also Koschmann, *The Mito Ideology*, pp. 56–80.
  46. Nakai, “Naturalization of Confucianism,” p. 165.
  47. For Sorai’s study of ancient music, see Tao Demin, *Nihon Kangaku shisōshi ronkō*, pp. 49–68.
  48. Nakai, “The Naturalization of Confucianism,” pp. 174–78.
  49. Haboush, “Contesting Chinese Time,” p. 115.
  50. For this policy, see Sun, “An Analysis of the ‘Little China’ Ideology of Chosŏn Korea.” Yamauchi, *Chōsen kara mita Ka’i shisō*.
  51. Watanabe, “The Concept of Sadae Kyorin in Korea.”
  52. David Mason was perhaps the first Westerner who had witnessed the modern performance of sacrificial ceremony held in Gap’yeong county in Gyeonggi-do province in 1989, 90, 91. He included a translation of the history of the sacrifice from the seventeenth century to date. See Mason, “The Sam Hwangje Paehyam.” See also Bohnet, “Ruling Ideology and Marginal Subjects.”
  53. Haboush, *A Heritage of Kings*, p. 77.
  54. Haboush, “Constructing the Center,” pp. 71–72.
  55. Sun, *Da Ming qi hao*, pp. 348–49. Chen, *Chaoxian wang chao*.
  56. Quoted and translated from Chen, “Zhouyou lieguo de Yuenan mingru,” p. 235.
  57. The records of these moving moments can be found in the 1764 Korean embassy to Edo and 1765 Korean embassy to Beijing. Fuma Susumu has a detailed analysis of the meaning of emotion during their encounter. See Fuma, *Chaoxian yanxingshi yu Chaoxian tongxinshi*, pp. 158–85.
  58. For a review of the Korean envoy literature in English, see Ledyard, “Korean Travelers in China.” McCune, “The Exchange of Envoys between Korea and Japan.” There are many studies in Asian languages. For an overview of Korean China-bound envoy literature, see Bae, “*Yanxinglu de yanjiushi huigu*.”
  59. See *Yuenan Hanwen yanxing wenxian jicheng*.
  60. Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization*, p. 47.
  61. *Gangjeong p’iltam*, 387b, translated by Ledyard, “Hong Taeyong and His Peking Memoir,” p. 73.
  62. *Uisan mundap*, pp. 16a-b, 37a. Song, “Countering Sinocentrism,” p. 282.
  63. Kelley, *Beyond the Bronze Pillars*, p. 183. For an overview of encounters between Vietnamese and Korean envoys in China from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, see Shimizu Taro, “Kinsei izen no Pekin.” For a historical description of Vietnamese envoys’ literary creation, see Liu, *Yuenan hannan guji*, pp. 293–367.
  64. Hur, “Korean Officials in the Land of Kami.”
  65. For translation of Kang Hang’s record in English, see Haboush and Robinson (trans.), *A Korean War Captive in Japan*.

66. For a survey of extant *shōwa* literature in Japan, see Takahashi Masahiko, “Chōsen tsūshinshi shōwashū mokuroku kō.” For Tsushima’s role in Korea-Japan relationship, see Lewis. *Frontier Contact*.
67. Hur, “Korean Missions to Japan.” Lewis, “Beyond Sakoku,” and “Eighteenth-Century Korean and Japanese Images of Each Other.”
68. Hur, “A Korean Envoy Encounters Tokugawa Japan,” pp. 69–70.
69. Shin, “Haeyurok,” p. 267. Quoted from Lee, “Cultural Expressions,” p. 172.
70. Fuma, *Chaoxian yanxingshi*, p. 170.
71. See *Nagato kikōmonsa*. Keio University, Google book, unpaginated manuscript.
72. According to Dong, the Four Schools are named according to the directions they were located in at the Confucian College (Seong-gyun gwan). The Elderly Assistance Agencies provided coffins to those elderly who could not afford proper burial after they died. Dong’s work was reprinted in Japan in 1711 by Confucian scholar Utsunomiya Keisai (1677–1724). See Wasada University online archive Kotenseki sogo Database.
73. Yamamoto Etsushin, *Ōbaku tōto sōhōden*.
74. Xiangyun Wang, “The Qing Court’s Tibet Connection.”
75. See Wheeler, “Buddhism in the Re-ordering of an Early Modern World.”
76. For the role of Chinese monks in Vietnam, see Wheeler, “Missionary Buddhism in a Post-ancient World.” See Thich, *Buddhism and Zen in Vietnam*, pp. 148–61. For a study of Yuanzhao, see also Tan, “Qingchu Guangdongji qiaoseng.”
77. See Liu, *Yuenan hannan guji*, pp. 80–83.
78. *Zhilin ji*, fasc. 9, p. 6.
79. For Ryūkyū monks in Japan, see China, *Ryūkyū Bukkyō shi no kenkyū*, pp. 278–79.
80. *Bolin waiji*, fasc. 7, p. 14.
81. For example, see Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization*, Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient*.

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