

A PORTRAIT OF AN ŌBAKU MONK:  
THE LIFE AND RELIGION OF JIFEI RUYI (1616-1671)

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
DEPARTMENT OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2009



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## CONVENTIONS OF USAGE

1. Chinese names and titles use the *pinyin* system of alphabetic transliteration, except in quotations of passage from works that adopt the Wade-Giles system. Japanese names and titles use the modified Hepburn system. Apostrophes are used only in case to prevent misunderstanding with similar transliteration or to designate discrete syllables. Sanskrit terms follow the conventional system of transliteration. Commonly used Japanese and Sanskrit terms and place names bear diacritical marks. Important Sanskrit terms will be given the corresponding Chinese transliteration in parentheses. Important Chinese titles and names will also be given the corresponding Japanese transliteration in parentheses. The texts written by Chinese émigré monks in Japan and published in the country are normally rendered in the Hepburn system of transliteration.
2. Chinese and Japanese names are rendered in native convention, with the surname preceding the first name. The surnames are used after their first appearance. Both Chinese and Japanese monks are identified by their style name or literary name, followed by the dharma name. The style names are used after their first appearance, with an exception applied to those whose dharma names are more commonly used.
3. The transliterated names and titles of texts are given their corresponding traditional Chinese or Japanese characters at their first appearance in parentheses. The characters are omitted for place names. English explanatory words for titles, texts and places are added, despite the redundancy, for the convenience of the reader.
4. References to years are cited according to the Gregorian calendar, whereas months and days are cited according to the contemporaneous Chinese and Japanese lunar calendars. As a rule, dates for dynasties, historical figures and reign periods, if known, will be given at their first appearance in parentheses.
5. The names of the two temples (Wanfusi and Manpukuji) are the same when written in Chinese and Japanese characters. For the sake of clarity, Wanfusi refers to the temple in China, and Manpukuji refers to the temple in Japan.
6. The terms “Ōbaku Zen” and “Ōbaku” used in this thesis refer to the Chan style Yinyuan Longqi and his followers introduced to Japan during the Edo period. The terms communicate the dual identity of the Wanfusi monks as descendants of the Linji Chan lineage in China and the Ōbaku lineage in Japan.
7. The term “Chan” refers both to the Zen Buddhism practiced in China, and also to those Wanfusi émigré monks’ religious identity and activity in Japan, based on their Chinese origin. Therefore, Jifei Ruyi is addressed as a “Chan master” instead of a “Zen master.”
8. As a rule, the Japanese term “kōan” refers to public case, encounter dialogues and paradoxical statements used in the history of Chan/Zen Buddhism and literature in China and Japan, considering the term is more commonly used in English-speaking countries than its Chinese counterpart “gong’ an”.

## ABBREVIATIONS

C.	Chinese
d.	died
<i>Gyōjitsu</i>	<i>Kōju Sokuhi oshō gyōjitsu</i> 廣壽即非和尚行實
<i>Gōki</i>	<i>Kōju Sokuhi oshō gyōgōki</i> 廣壽即非和尚行業記
J.	Japanese
n.p.	no publisher
r.	reign year
<i>Sokuhi zenshū</i>	<i>Shinsan kōtei Sokuhi zenshū</i> 新纂校訂即非全集
S	Sanskrit
<i>shari tōmei</i>	<i>Kōju Sokuon daioshō shari tōmei</i> 廣壽即翁大和尚舍利塔銘
<i>Tōmei</i>	<i>Kōjusan Fukujūzendera kaisan Sokuhi daioshō tōmei narabini jō</i> 廣壽山福聚禪寺開山即非大和尚塔銘並序

## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to present a comprehensive study of Jifei Ruyi (J. Sokuhi Nyōitsu, 1616-1671)'s life. Jifei was originally a monk of Wanfusi (J. Manpukuji) at Mount Huangbo, China, and one of Yinyuan Longqi (J. Ingen Ryūki, 1592-1673)'s leading dharma heirs. He contributed as a founding leader of the Wanfusi émigrés to the establishment and consolidation of Manpukuji in the seventeenth century Japan. Chief among his achievements is his introduction of the Chan style and literati cultural activity of the late Ming China (1368-1644). Jifei's syncretic religious practice combined Linji Chan (J. Rinzai Zen) style and elements from other Buddhist denominations, with his Chan modeled mainly on the teachings of Linji Yixuan (d.867). Jifei's filial piety, Confucian kinship and Buddhist sectarian consciousness, and cultural practice of literati ideal reflect his unitary vision of Confucianism and Buddhism, a popular socio-religious trend during the time.

## INTRODUCTION

Wanfu Chansi (萬福禪寺, J. Manpuku Zenji) at Mount Huangbo (黃檗山, J. Ōbakusan) in Fuqing, Fujian province of south China <sup>1</sup> belonged to the Yangqi (楊岐, J. Yōki) lineage of Linji Chan (臨濟禪, J. Rinzai Zen) school. This lineage became active in the mid-seventeenth century under the leadership of Miyun Yuanwu (密雲圓悟, J. Mitsuun Engo, 1566-1642) and Feiyin Tongrong (費隱通容, J. Hiin Tsūyō, 1593-1661). As Feiyin's senior dharma heir, Yinyuan Longqi (隱元隆琦, J. Ingen Ryūki, 1592-1673) succeeded to the abbacy of Wanfusi after Feiyin left for another position. He thus was credited as the third patriarch of the Huangbo lineage. In 1654 he went to Japan, where he successfully founded Ōbakusan Manpukuji (J. 黃檗山万福寺)<sup>2</sup> in 1661. With the temple as his base, he was able to continue his lineage overseas—a lineage survived until the late eighteenth century. However, the religious and cultural legacy of late-Ming Chan Buddhism took a turn for the worse in China due to the influence of destructive internal wars over the subsequent centuries. Therefore, Yinyuan's monastic group in Japan provides a valuable opportunity to investigate the Chan Buddhism practiced on Mount Huangbo in late Ming China (1368-1644).

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<sup>1</sup> Kōdō Nōnin, *Ingen zenji nenpu* (Kyōto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo. 1999), 18. The temple was renamed in 1614 from the Jiande Chansi (建德禪寺, J. Kentoku Zenji) to the present name Wanfu Chan temple. Miyun served the first abbot of the temple in 1630. With him, members of his lineage dominated Wanfusi: Feiyin Tongrong, and then Yinyuan. See Yoshio Hayashida, “Minmatsu ni okeru Fukushū no Bukkyō—Ōbakusanji o chūshinni--,” in *Ōbaku bunka*, no.114 (March 1994): 13-14. Jiang Wu, “Leaving for the Rising Sun: the Historical Background of Yinyuan Longqi's Migration to Japan in 1654,” in *Asia Major* 3, vol.17, (2004), Part 2: 98.

<sup>2</sup> Nōnin 1999, 327.

Yinyuan was not alone in disseminating and consolidating the Chan teachings in Japan. Mu'an Xingtao (木庵性瑠, J. Mokuan Shōtō, 1611-1684) and Jifei Ruyi (即非如一, J. Sokuhi Nyoitsu, 1616-1671) were two of his senior dharma heirs whose religious compatibility and charismatic personalities distinguished them from the rest of the master's followers. In the Edo period (1603-1868), the monastic community associated with Yinyuan was often referred to as "Zenshū Ōbakuha (禪宗黃檗派, the Ōbaku school of Zen, or the Ōbaku branch of Zen lineage) in an early attempt to accommodate the newcomers to the Japanese monastic system by lineage and branch (school). In contrast, the Chinese émigré monks referred to their lineage variously as "Rinzai Zenshū" (臨濟禪宗, the Rinzai Zen lineage), "Rinzai Shōshū" (臨濟禪宗, the authentic Rinzai lineage), and "Rinzai Shōden" (臨濟正傳, the orthodox Rinzai transmission).<sup>3</sup> In 1874, the Meiji government (1868-1912) categorized the association of the temples belonging to this early movement as a distinct Zen lineage, with Manpukuji as main temple. The Manpukuji clergy and their sub-temples were called the "Ōbaku Sect of the Rinzai School".<sup>4</sup> Two years later, it was called the Ōbaku Sect--a term which remains in use today. Borrowing the terminology, Helen Baroni describes this Chan style as Ōbaku Zen, a term communicating the dual identity of Yinyuan and his followers as descendants of the Linji lineage from China and the Ōbaku lineage in Japan.<sup>5</sup>

Wu Jiang acknowledges the early Ōbaku monks' role as the transmitters of Chinese high culture, but his research focuses more on the controversies centered on

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<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Horton Sharf, "Ōbaku Zen Portrait Painting: A Revisionist Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994), 355-356. Helen J. Baroni, *Ōbaku Zen: the Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Mitsuyoshi Date, *Nihon shūkyō seido shiryō ruishūkō* (Tōkyō: Ganshōdō, 1930), no.212, 627.

<sup>5</sup> Baroni 2000, 19-23.

Miyun Yuanwu and Hanyue Fazang (漢月法藏, J. Kangetsu Hōzō, 1573-1635)'s claims of orthodox dharma transmission. He argues that Ōbaku's institutional success in Japan was a result of their claimed "authentic" and "orthodox" identity within the Linji School.<sup>6</sup> Helen J. Baroni approaches the Ōbaku phenomenon in seventeenth-century Japan from a socio-political perspective, and reaches the conclusion that Ōbaku's early success in Japan depended largely on this movement's Chinese identity as an alternative tradition to other mainline Japanese Buddhist groups.<sup>7</sup> In the process, she covers briefly the syncretic nature of both the practice taught by Yinyuan and his followers and their cultural achievements. Considering the Edo *bakufu* (the military government during the Tokugawa period)'s official isolation was tempered with an interest in and enthusiasm for things foreign, James Baskind insightfully points out that Yinyuan achieved his cause primarily through his foreignness and what that represented.<sup>8</sup> His dissertation provides a systematic study of the early Ōbaku founders' syncretistic religious thought and practice. Despite these scholars' different foci in their studies of the Ōbaku movement, their scholarship nevertheless provides a primary theoretical framework for my study.

Examining seventeenth-century China will allow us to observe the origin of this particular form of Chan teaching. This century witnessed the reappearance of Chan Buddhism after two centuries of stagnation following its vibrancy in the Song dynasty (960-1279). Chan Buddhism was a social movement that followed after the Buddhist reforms championed by scholar-monks such as Zibo Zhenke (紫柏真可, J. Shihaku Shinka, 1543-1603), Yunqi Zhuhong (雲棲祿宏, J. Unsei Shukō, 1535-1615), and

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<sup>6</sup> Jiang Wu, "Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-century China" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 2002), 282, 304.

<sup>7</sup> Baroni 2000, 121.

<sup>8</sup> James Matthew Baskind, "Ming Buddhism in Edo Japan: the Chinese Founding Masters of the Japanese Ōbaku School" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2006), 62.

Hanshan Deqing (憨山德清, J. Kanzan Tokusei, 1546-1623) in the sixteenth century.

Retrospectively, this movement was the result of an on-going process of acculturation and the coalescence of native belief systems, including Confucianism and Taoism.

Scholars such as Albert Welter and Mortern Schlütter assert that from as early as the Song dynasty, Confucian scholars started to play an instrumental role in this movement. When the scholar-official class or literati<sup>9</sup> emerged as the standard-bearers of social, political, and cultural life, they also engaged in integrating the alien ideas of Buddhism to a Chinese philosophical perspective.

The Neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty was a philosophical movement with

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<sup>9</sup> The literati refer to the scholarly elite, or the scholar-official class in imperial China that embraced Confucianism as their ideology, worldview and ritual corpus. Following the demise of the aristocratic influence and habits of the Song dynasty, this scholar-official class emerged with its members gaining status based on their performance in competitive literary examinations. Patricia Buckley Ebrey believes that the increase in wealth, the intellectual excitement caused by the revival of Confucian teachings, and the growing importance of the examination system for recruitment to office all resulted in the emergence of the scholar-official elite in imperial China. By the end of the Song dynasty, this social group had attained remarkable social, political, and cultural importance and marked China as different from other major societies of Eurasia. Their literary abilities guaranteed their dominance of the most powerful political posts, and the ruling class became more closely identified with education and the examination process, even if its chief economic resource remained landholding.

Culturally, the literati ideal was strongly identified with Chinese civilization, thanks in part to the rivalry between the Song and the militarily stronger nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples to the north China. Those who felt acutely the threat by the northern rivals became less open to borrowing foreign styles and more sensitive to issues of Chinese cultural identity. Things foreign were often rejected simply due to their origins. During the Mongol occupation (1271-1368), China was tied into a Eurasian empire but Chinese cultural life continued. Unlike their European contemporaries, however, the Chinese reacted conservatively toward distant lands. To protect what was distinctly Chinese became a higher priority than drawing from the outside to enrich or enlarge Chinese civilization. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 1999), 145, 149, 150-151, 183.

The Ming government continued and expanded the examination system for Confucian literati, and the members of this gentry class kept expanding. Their influence even penetrated into the local communities through projects such as building schools, erecting arches in honor of local magnates and renovating temples. See Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 15, 18-19.

a dual nature: a creative response to Buddhist and Taoist challenges on the one hand and an imaginative re-appropriation of classical Confucianism on the other.<sup>10</sup> To repudiate the alleged detrimental impact on China's culture and civilization of Buddhism — a foreign religion— after the demise of the Tang dynasty (618-907), the Chan communities cooperated with the literati and officials to forge a new Chan identity in order to survive. Therefore, “transmission outside the teaching” was designed as a statement of Chan Buddhism's new identity as well as a political message. By distancing itself from “the teaching” of “foreign” Buddhist scriptures and doctrines, the new Chan style aligned itself with Song literary preferences.<sup>11</sup> The dynamic and interactive style exhibited in Chan appealed to the literati, who saw this newly constructed identity as being iconoclastic, and as an ideal alternative way to see themselves and their relation to the world.<sup>12</sup> While the leading Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (朱熹, J. Shu Ki, 1130-1200) expressed strong anti-Buddhist rhetoric, literati families were actually the source of many scholar-monks who were active and influential in the Song.<sup>13</sup> This analysis applies to the restoration of Chan Buddhism in the mid- and late-Ming as well.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, thinkers of every major religious tradition advocated the unity of the Three Teachings (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism).<sup>14</sup> The opportunity the examination system gave to men of humble social

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<sup>10</sup> Tzi-ki Hon, “Confucianism: Song (Sung),” in *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy*, ed., Antonio S. Cua (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 135.

<sup>11</sup> Albert Welter, *The Linji Lu and the Creation of Chan Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 107-108.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>13</sup> Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen: the Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-dynasty China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 28-29.

<sup>14</sup> Judith A. Berling, “When they Go their Separate Ways: the Collapse of the Unitary Vision of Chinese Religion in the Early Ch'ing,” in *Meeting of Minds: Intellectual and Religious Interaction in East Asian Traditions of Thought*, ed., Irene Bloom and

background to ascend the social ladder led to a democratization of education and a rise in popular literacy in the mid-Ming.<sup>15</sup> It was in this socio-political landscape that Wang Yangming (王陽明, J. Ō Yōmei, 1472-1528) claimed that the Way existed in an individual's mind, and that people could discover it by clearing their minds in search of innate knowledge. He believed that it was only after one attains a standard of perfection within one's own heart and mind that one could realize the qualities of the sage. In this process, by ceasing to rely on external idealized standards one could come to completely identify with the principle of Nature within oneself.<sup>16</sup> This concept was similar to that in Chan Buddhism and contributed to the evolution of the religion.<sup>17</sup> Wang's argument for self-cultivation as a route to sagehood or enlightenment presented a new paradigm for many scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to follow. Chan Buddhism as an intellectual discourse became appealing for them as a means to argue the possibility of the sudden attainment of enlightenment through gradual cultivation.<sup>18</sup> Guan Zhidao (管志道, J. Kan Shidō, 1536-1608) went beyond the boundaries of Neo-Confucianism in his acceptance of Huayan (華嚴宗, J. Kegon) Buddhist doctrines, when he was not satisfied with Zhu Xi's doctrine of the "investigation of things" as a means to discover their *li* (理, J. *ri*,

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Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 210-211.

<sup>15</sup> Richard hon-chun Shek, "Religion and Society in Late Ming: Sectarianism and Popular Thought in Sixteenth-seventeenth Century China" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980), 41.

<sup>16</sup> Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed., Wm. Theodore de Bary and the Conference on Ming Thought (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), 150-151.

<sup>17</sup> Kengo Araki, "Confucianism and Buddhism in the Late Ming," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, ed. William Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 54.

<sup>18</sup> Kengo Araki, *Minmatsu shūkyō shisō kenkyū-Kantōmei no shōgai to sono shisō* (Tōkyō: Sōbunsha, 1979), 422-424.

“principle”), which would lead to the genuine realization of the self.<sup>19</sup> Continuing the Song literati officials’ facilitation of Chan’s rise in the Song dynasty,<sup>20</sup> the literati class engaged in reviving Buddhism as an iconoclastic alternative to their scholarly pursuits.<sup>21</sup> These scholars’ religious experiments in search of sagehood envisioned Chan as being iconoclastic and anti-intellectual, without a serious understanding and interest in everyday monastic routines, including liturgical services, observance of precepts, and ordination.<sup>22</sup> Due to such intellectual enthusiasm on the part of the literati, Chan Buddhism gained a certain cachet in the mid-Ming’s high cultural life.

The literati’s largely hermeneutic and imaginative perception of Chan in turn motivated elite monks to revitalize Buddhism in terms of popularizing doctrinal tradition and producing exegetical texts. In a similar spirit, to unify different teachings, Yunqi Zhuhong attempted to combine Chan Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism, with the addition of a set of merit-based moral precepts (largely Confucian in nature). Meanwhile, Hanshan Deqing advocated a combined practice of Chan and Huayan Buddhism. Half a century later, Ouyi Zhixu (藕益智旭, J. Gūeki Chigyoku, 1599-1655) abandoned Confucian teaching for Buddhism. Following in the footsteps of the early masters’ ideal of a unitary vision of Buddhism, he practiced Tiantai (天台宗, J. Tendai), Pure Land, and Chan Buddhism.<sup>23</sup> These masters’ sponsorship of Buddhist scholasticism in general suggests their primary interests lay with doctrinal studies rather than the sectarian establishment.

By the 1630s, Chan Buddhism surfaced as a full-fledged institution with a

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 31-41.

<sup>20</sup> Albert Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: the Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 218-219.

<sup>21</sup> Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: the Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-century China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 84.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>23</sup> Shengyan, *Minmatsu chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1993), 83-114.

growing monastic community.<sup>24</sup> In contrast to the early intellectual and Buddhist reformers' unitary vision, monks of Caodong Chan (曹洞禪, J. Sōtō Zen) and Linji Chan each authored voluminous writings to assert their primacy in restoring the dharma transmission line. Again, this movement built up momentum under the sponsorship of Confucian literati and officials.

Timothy Brook and Jiang Canteng also argue for the gentry's economic support of Chan Buddhist monasteries. Jiang observes that in the sixteenth century, the monastic-owned lands and populace were charged comparatively low taxes, while non-monastic households and lands were subject to higher tax rates. This difference offered the temples opportunities for profit by holding title to large amount of land that actually belonged to local gentry and farmers, thus helping them to evade the otherwise harsh state taxes; the actual landowners then paid to the temples a service fee which was much less than their taxes would have been. Meanwhile, more and more people entered monasteries to escape heavy state taxes and duties, such as income and head taxes.<sup>25</sup> The Ming government maintained the fiction that it regulated Buddhism, although in actuality it had very little control over the soaring number of ordained clergy.<sup>26</sup> Economic collaboration with the local landowners offered one solution to the economic burden the temples carried due to the increasing populations within the temples. Such collaborations were unlikely to diminish in the seventeenth century, when state regulation became even more lax. Chan monasteries during that period were able to perform the ordination ceremony for novices without state regulation, leading to even more soaring numbers of new clergy.

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<sup>24</sup> Wu 2008, 83.

<sup>25</sup> Canteng Jiang, *Wanming fojiao conglin gaige yu foxue zhengbian zhi yanjiu-yi Hanshan deqing de gaige shengya wei zhongxi* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubangongsi, 1990), 28-32.

<sup>26</sup> Timothy Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 152-153.

With the multifaceted support of the Confucian literati, Chan Buddhism came to assert their orthodox status in the Chan community. From 1595 to 1653, approximately 386 volumes of Chan literature-- the “lamp histories”(燈錄, *C. denglu*, *J. tōroku*), “recorded sayings”(語錄, *C. yulu*, *J. goroku*) and “encounter dialogues”(公案, *C. gong'an*, *J. kōan*)-- were produced.<sup>27</sup> The *denglu* paid special attention to the lives of eminent Chinese Chan monks, and the *yulu* and *kōan* highlighted the dialogues and encounters between these masters and their disciples. These texts attempted to challenge intellectual pattern of thought, and denounces the value of philosophical analysis. Buddhist monks authored most of these books. The spread of mass education in late Ming qualified notable number of monks to author these books.<sup>28</sup>

Schlütter suggests that the audience for the recorded sayings in the Song was not just practitioners, but also the literati who sought enjoyment and respite from routine life.<sup>29</sup> Brook estimated that between 1612 and 1648, the literati and local gentry were involved in appointing Chan masters they favored to be abbots of monasteries.<sup>30</sup> Over time, some abbots started to attract or develop followers to continue the administration of the temple as an “imagined” family. The literati’s involvement in the monastic activities motivated some ambitious monks to produce literary work to appeal to these Confucian patrons. This trend suggests that many Buddhist schools, including Chan, became occupied with the sectarian consciousness characteristic of the Chan Buddhist reforms.

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<sup>27</sup> Shengyan, *Mingmo fojiao yanjiu* (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1987), 3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>29</sup> Mortern Schlütter. “The Record of *Hongzhi* and the Recorded Sayings Literature of Song-dynasty Chan”, in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed., Steven Heine and Dale Stuart Wright (New York: Oxford University press, 2004), 200-201.

<sup>30</sup> Brook 1993, 182.

Another strategy adopted by many Chan clergies was to restore the broken lines of dharma transmission. Wu argues that the primary concern of the seventeenth-century Chan monks was to reconstruct the existing dharma transmission and reclaim orthodoxy and legitimacy,<sup>31</sup> and from 1632 to 1653 approximately nine Chan lamp histories were composed.<sup>32</sup> Considering the dominant Confucian curriculum in public education, most educated monks certainly brought a literati perspective to their Chan mentality and practice.

Unlike the early generation' open-minded approach to Buddhist denominations, the early seventeenth century Chan reformers focused more on their legitimacy as teachers of an "authentic" tradition in their bid to forge a new identity. Inevitable problems and disputes naturally arose in the process of their efforts to reassert dharma transmission within a legitimized line. Shengyan introduces a new phenomenon that resulted from these efforts. Some Chan abbots simply concerned themselves with finding an appropriate heir to continue the administration of their temples, overlooking their disciple's lack of qualifications to serve as a Chan monk before conferring the certificate. As a result, the value of *inka* (the official recognition of one's enlightenment experience) degenerated.<sup>33</sup> The disputes concerning the authenticity of the Chan enlightenment experience and legitimacy of one's dharma line became so intense between different Chan schools in the late Ming that Wu suggests that the reconstruction of a hierarchy of dharma transmission featured prominently in the resurgence of Chan Buddhism.<sup>34</sup>

While the Chan rhetoric in this period was highly exclusionary and sectarian, the

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<sup>31</sup> Wu 2002, 111.

<sup>32</sup> Shengyan 1987, 30-31.

<sup>33</sup> Shengyan 1993, 45-46.

<sup>34</sup> Wu 2002, iii.

actual monastic practices in the Chan communities were extremely syncretic.<sup>35</sup> Jifei's early monastic practice suggests an opportunity for him to assimilate available sources within and without the Linji School. Jifei's family was steeped in Neo-Confucian scholarship and Buddhism, boasting as ancestors prominent scholar official Lin Xiyi (林希逸, J. Rin Kiitsu, 1193-1271) from as early as the Song dynasty.<sup>36</sup> Jifei's early schooling included the classics of Confucianism and Taoism. After taking the bodhisattva precepts under Yinyuan at around age eighteen, he devoted himself to completing his monastic training. Two years later, he took up residence at a nearby temple in order to look after his aged mother. For two years he read Buddhist doctrines with the monk Xilai Hao (西來灑, J. Seirai Kō), who was of a different monastic background. Unsatisfied with these doctrinal teachings, Jifei made religious journeys to study under various Buddhist masters for practical experience. Jifei's background of miscellaneous religious trainings sheds light on the practice common among his monastic contemporaries.

To catch a glimpse of early Ōbaku founders' espousal of their Linji Chan doctrine of "authentic" origin, and their participation in the late-Ming literati activities, this thesis will focus on Jifei's case in order to sort out a Chan pattern that was threaded with skeins of a late-Ming culture and a Neo-Confucian mentality. I argue that the highly syncretistic practice and the close association with the literati culture prepared the way for Jifei's (as well as the other early Ōbaku founders') success in seventeenth-century Japan when official support from the court and *bakufu* materialized. My argument is further confirmed by Elizabeth Horton Sharf's dissertation on Ōbaku's cultural achievement, "Ōbaku Zen portrait painting: a revisionist analysis". Based on the contribution of Ōbaku portraits to the development

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<sup>35</sup> Wu 2008, 44.

<sup>36</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:412-413.

of Japanese art, she portrays the émigré Chinese Ōbaku abbots of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the living embodiments of southern Chinese literati culture.<sup>37</sup> Jifei's education and religious experience in China epitomizes a highly sinicized Linji Chan Buddhism that was transformed and reorganized by a Chinese mentality and the deep penetration of Neo-Confucian values to the monastic practice. His well-received mission in Japan were influenced not only by his emphasis on returning to Chan's golden age in Tang and Song dynasties, but also by his familiarity with the late-Ming literati culture.

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<sup>37</sup> Sharf 1994, 323-324.

## CHAPTER I: THE CASE OF FILIAL PIETY IN JIFEI'S LIFE

This chapter discusses Jifei's life before being a monk with four of Jifei's biographies collected in the *Shinsan kōtei Sokuhi zenshū* (新纂校訂即非全集, Newly-compiled and revised complete collection of Jifei) (four volumes) as primary sources. The *Sokuhi zenshū* includes two major documents on Jifei's life: the *Kōju Sokuhi oshō gyōjitsu* (廣壽即非和尚行實, Deeds of Master Kōju Sokuhi) and the *Kōju Sokuhi oshō gyōgōki* (廣壽即非和尚行業記, Conduct of Master Kōju Sokuhi), disclosing Jifei's religious vision through a chronological evaluation of the master's life. The *Gyōjitsu* was compiled by Jifei's Chinese disciple Hualin Xingyin (化林性因, J. Kerin Shōei, 1596-1667) in the master's presence in 1665 in Japan.<sup>38</sup> Jifei's Japanese disciple Hōun Myōdō (J.法雲明洞, 1638-1706) compiled the *Gōki* in 1672, one year after Jifei's death.<sup>39</sup> The *Sokuhi zenshū* includes two epitaphs: *Kōjusan Fukujūzendera kaisan Sokuhi daioshō tōmei narabini jō* (廣壽山福聚禪寺開山即非大和尚塔銘並序, Epitaph and preface to the pagoda of great master Jifei of Fukujū Zen temple at Mount Kōju) and the *Kōju Sokuon daioshō shari tōmei* (廣壽即翁大和尚舍利塔銘, Epitaph to Great Master Kōju Ji's Reliquary). The *tōmei* was composed by Song Deyi (宋德宜, J.Sō Tokugi, 1626-1687),<sup>40</sup> an important scholar official of the Qing court (1644-1912) in China. Gaoquan Xingdun (高泉性澂, J.Kōsen Shōton, 1633-1695), later the fifth abbot of

<sup>38</sup> Akira Hirakubo, ed., *Shinsan kōtei Sokuhi zenshū* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1993), 3: 1327-1346.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:1299-1326.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:1347-1354.

Manpukuji, authored the *shari tōmei* in 1671.<sup>41</sup>

This study draws primarily on the information contained in the *Gyōjitsu* while consulting the rest, which had been composed after the master's death. Based on these public accounts of Jifei's life, this chapter will take a look at the role of filial piety in Jifei's early life, a theme suggestive of the syncretic nature of the religious practice in the Chan cloisters. This practice was achieved when the monasteries accepted the Confucian value of filial piety. The second topic of the chapter is Jifei's journey of renouncing secular life. The historical process of his experience is largely obscured by these biographies' mythological presentation, which indicates the degree to which Buddhism had been incorporated into popular culture during the time. The textual presentation of Jifei's life is also explicit in its political significance, considering that they were produced in Japan, a place where the early Ōbaku monks were engaged in disseminating and fortifying their influence in the country.

Most scholars have based their argument on the information provided by the biographies, but few notices the historical context within which these biographies were composed, and how the composers' present purpose influenced their textualization of Jifei's life. Baskind's recent research brings to English-speaking academia Jifei's religious concern and style, but little scholarship has given sufficient attention to Jifei's involvement in the Neo-Confucian literati's cultural practice and ethics. Takahashi Chikumei's *Ingen, Mokuan, Sokuhi* (1978) offers a systematic introduction to the master's life. Although this account is romantic and idealistic in nature, his usage of Jifei's poetry demonstrates the importance of the master's personal writing in understanding his life. Kimura Tokugen provides a concise version of the master's life, and even introduces several historical events surrounding

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 3:1355-1358.

Jifei's arrival in Japan.<sup>42</sup> Baroni dedicates two pages in her book to describing the master's life behind the mythological aura. These scholars present useful analysis for the exploration of Jifei's life and religious activities.

### Social Background in Seventeenth-Century China

It is important to define the historical context, not only the intellectual atmosphere of seventeenth-century south China, a place where Jifei was born and raised, but also the environment where the popular Buddhist practice located outside of monasteries during the time. The main themes that this chapter incorporates extensively are, the monastic acceptance of Confucian filial piety, the popularity of Guanyin (觀音, J. Kannon, S. Avalokiteśvara) and Mulian (目蓮, J. Mokuren) worship in the seventeenth century, when many Confucians supported Buddhist practice. Their attitude poses a stark contrast to that of the Confucians in the Song dynasty, a period when the Confucian rhetoric of anti-Buddhism was best illustrated as follows:

The Buddhists advocate the renunciation of the family and the world. Fundamentally, the family cannot be renounced. Let us say that it can, when the Buddhists refuse to recognize their parents as parents and run away. But how can a person escape from the world?<sup>43</sup>

Filial piety was a main topic around which the Confucian apologists constructed their argumentation in the Song dynasty. This remark illustrates Confucianism and Buddhist sangha' different attitude toward one's filial duty during the time. Filial

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<sup>42</sup> Tokugen Kimura, *Ōbakushū no rekishi, jinbutsu, bunka* (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha. 2005), 90-91, 152-157.

<sup>43</sup> WM.Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 1: 697.

piety epitomized the Confucian emphasis on one's social responsibility, when the Buddhist monasticism encouraged one's spiritual advancement at the cost of a secular life.

The popularity of *gongguo ge* (功過格, Ledger of Merits and Demerits)<sup>44</sup> contributed largely to the Buddhist acceptance of Confucian filial piety in the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> These morality books gave short stories appealing to all social groups' taste and imagination, and the protagonists of the tales were often presented with a detailed exposition of their moral position in people's life. The spread of the mass education even made *shanshu* generally available to the lower classes, whose demand for the storybooks kept increasing. Most of the *shanshu* authors believed that the society was degenerated, and presumed that these moral principles would restore a

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<sup>44</sup> It is a type of moral account books originated in the twelfth-century Taoism. The ledgers list good and bad deeds, using merit and demerit for the user to measure his or her moral standing in a precise way. The books emphasize the individual's responsibility to assume the task of scrutinizing and recording merits and demerits to encourage good and exemplary deeds while discouraging bad behavior. It was assumed that the gods rewarded and punished human behavior according to certain established moral standards.

The ledgers became particularly popular among members of educated class in the late Ming and early Qing. The books served a more secular purpose, as a means of attaining social and career goals like success in the civil examinations and official positions, etc. This development brought Neo-Confucian concerns about determining one's own fate to bear on Taoist self-cultivation tradition. By the eighteenth century, the ledgers were commonly incorporated into the collections of moral instructions frequently published by gentry officials. The belief in the salutary effect of good deeds in the ledgers is still very much a part of Chinese moral education. See Pregadio 2008, 874; Hans Antlöv, and Tak-Wing Ngo, *The Cultural Construction of Politics in Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 115-116. For details, see Cynthia Joanne Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

<sup>45</sup> Evidence for the popularity of the books goes back to the Song dynasty or even earlier. Key conceptual and linguistic elements of the books could be found in the Han dynasty cosmological texts, the *Taiping jing* (Scripture of Great Peace), as well as later Taoist and Buddhist works. Early morality books were a means to disseminate Taoist internal and external cosmological ideas. The books were particularly widespread in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. See Fabrizio Pregadio, *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008), 873-874. de Bary 1970, 341-342.

sense of purpose and harmony to the country. Among the *shanshu* publications, *Gongguo ge* welcomed its most flourishing days in the late Ming through the activity of Yuan Liaofan (袁了凡, J. En Ryōhan, 1533-1606).<sup>46</sup> Yuan was a Confucian scholar, and remained in close contact with leading Buddhist priests of the time. His voluminous publications reflect his life experiences, demonstrating the popular acceptance of Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist ideas as a syncretistic tradition.

The *Gongguo ge* formulated by Yuan categorized people's moral behaviors into two types: good (merit) and evil (demerit) in order to regulate human behaviors to change the person's own destiny. The good and evil standards in the ledgers correspond to the Taoist principle of merits and demerits, suggesting the Taoist influence on Confucian self-cultivation instruction. These morality books reflect late Ming society's emphasis on this-worldly morality, and the significance of religion and retribution in the afterlife in reinforcing the moral order. Religious piety was enjoined and the belief in the essential harmony of the three teachings is presented.<sup>47</sup> The unitary vision of Buddhism and Confucianism motivated Buddhists to gravitate to Confucian values in search of Confucian literati patronage. Upon Zhuhong's initiative, the ethics promoted in the ledgers had been implemented into the monastic life in 1604,<sup>48</sup> when he developed the ledgers' practical application in his work *Zizhi lu* (自知錄, J. Jichiroku, Record of Self Understanding) for the monks in his temple to follow.

In addition to the monastic acceptance of the ideas reflected in morality books, the popularity of the Buddhist icons promoted lay support of Buddhism. Guanyin is one of the most important and beloved Buddhist divinities in China. Among the many

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 343.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 360-362.

<sup>48</sup> Shek 1980,131-135.

scriptures glorifying Guanyin, Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什, 344-413)'s<sup>49</sup> translation of the *Lotus Sutra* in 406 made the name famous. The sutra presents Guanyin as a Perceiver of the World's Sounds,<sup>50</sup> a bodhisattva of salvific powers. These early sutras made no reference to the bodhisattva's physical appearance. By the tenth century Guanyin began to assume female characteristics, and the sexual transformation into a female was completed by the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

The image of Guanyin began to appear in indigenous life stories, miracle talks, literature, and art in China from the tenth century on. The origins of this deity must have lied in a group of indigenous scriptures that portray her primarily as a goddess able to grant sons, protect pregnant women, and assure safe childbirth.<sup>52</sup> By the late Ming, the deity was already a household name.<sup>53</sup> Literati in the sixteenth century have actively promoted the cult of Guanyin. Yuan Liaofan, for instance, chanted an indigenous Chinese scripture, *The Dharani Sutra of the Five Mudras of the Great Compassionate White-robed One* (白衣大悲五音心陀羅尼經), in order to have a son. In 1580, he became the father of a son. When he compiled a collection of texts to help people in obtaining heirs, he put this text at the beginning. Copies of this scripture were reprinted and distributed free of charge by donors who wanted to bear witness to Guanyin's efficacy and promote her cult. They ranged from members of the royal family literati-officials, and merchants, on down to obscure men and

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<sup>49</sup> He is a Kuchean Buddhist scholar monk, and translated many important Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit to Chinese. The most important of his translation includes the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sutra*, *Diamond Sutra*, etc.

<sup>50</sup> Burton Watson, trans., *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 335.

<sup>51</sup> de Bary 1999, 1:534.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:534.

<sup>53</sup> Chunfang Yu, *Kuan-yin: the Chinese Transformation of Avalokitesvara* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 353-355.

women.<sup>54</sup> This public enthusiasm for Guanyin demonstrates the transformation of Buddhism in the late Ming, when the deity was worshiped as a fertility goddess.

Faith in Guanyin was particularly popular in areas of southeast China including Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang provinces.<sup>55</sup> Yuan Liaofan, for instance, was born in Jiangsu province. Also a native of Jiangsu province, Ouyi Zhixu was born after his father's pious praying of Guanyin for a son.<sup>56</sup> Mount Putuo, an island in today's Zhejiang province and one of the four sacred mountains in China, is where Guanyin is believed to reside.<sup>57</sup> The association of the island with the goddess started slowly in the tenth century, and picked up momentum in the sixteenth century.<sup>58</sup> By the eighteenth century, the island became a sacred place of religious pilgrimage.<sup>59</sup>

Mulian is another important figure in the context of Chinese Buddhist mythology. Mulian's mother treated Buddhist monks without respect during her lifetime, and was therefore punished to suffer in hell after death.<sup>60</sup> When Mulian found out his mother's situation through his special powers to see hungry ghosts, he sought the Buddha's help to save her from ghosthood. The mother finally rested in the Heaven. This story illustrates Buddhism's transformation in China. Mulian's supernatural power satisfied the monastic establishment's intention to create an exemplar Buddhist icon to demonstrate Buddhist compassion for sentient beings. A

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<sup>54</sup> de Bary 1999, 1:534.

<sup>55</sup> Shengyan 1993, 186.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>57</sup> The association of Mount Putuo with Guanyin is confirmed in Jifei's poem: "[The Bodhisattva] resides at Mount Putuo, perceiving the sufferings in the mundane world, and remains composed, like a rock undisturbed by the ocean waves. She is therefore called Guan Zizai (Guanyin the Merciful)." Hirakubo 1993, 2:621-622. My translation.

<sup>58</sup> Yu 2001, 354.

<sup>59</sup> Chun-fang Yu, "P'u-t'o Shan: Pilgrimage and the Creation of the Chinese Potalaka," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, ed., Susan Naquin, and Chun-fang Yu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 191.

<sup>60</sup> Stephen F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 110-111.

Buddhist priest, Mulian's filial behavior represented the best compromise between the *sangha* and Confucian concern of filial piety.<sup>61</sup>

Mulian's spiritual powers also allowed him to encounter other hungry ghosts. Like his mother, these ghosts were greedy in their previous lives and refused to make donations to monks. To alleviate their suffering, Mulian established a communal feast with the aid of the Buddha and the ghosts' descendants. The living relatives of the ghosts pooled their resources and made donations to the Buddhas and the *sangha*. The Buddha helped alter the laws of karma so the ghosts could attend the feast to enjoy the offerings sent by their relatives. Mulian's story justified the ghost festival, which has been one of the most widespread annual celebrations in China since the Tang dynasty. During the festival, secular households invite monasteries to participate in their ancestor worship rituals, and the monks assume a spiritual role in promoting the welfare of those dead. This festival links the family (the primary socio-religious institution in Chinese society) and the *sangha* as complementary social groups to support the principle of kinship.<sup>62</sup>

The cult of Mulian remained popular even in the late Ming. In 1582, the playwright Zheng Zhizhen (鄭之珍, J. Tei Shichin, 1518–1595) published a new version of this story called *Mulian Rescues his Mother: an Opera for Goodness* (目蓮救母勸善戲文). The new opera included more specific Confucian teachings and stories.<sup>63</sup> These Buddhist icons were presented as upholders of Confucian filial piety, a conspicuous theme of Jifei's biographies.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 113-136, 166-167.

<sup>62</sup> The Chinese kinship system is organized by the principle of patrilineage and consanguinity.

<sup>63</sup> Qitao Guo, *Ritual Opera and Mercantile Lineage: the Confucian Transformation of Popular Culture in Late Imperial Huizhou* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 89.

## Guanyin's Prophecy

Set in this historical context, both Jifei's personal writing and his public biographies outline the assimilation of Neo-Confucian ethics and popular Buddhist practice in his life. The *Gōki*, *Gyōjitsu* and *Shari tōmei* share similar hagiographical features concerning the master. Jifei was born in Fuqing, Fujian province in 1616. According to these records, his birth was presaged by an auspicious dream. His mother was a pious worshiper of Guanyin and eventually became pregnant with Jifei after extensively praying to the bodhisattva. Preceding the birth of the baby, she dreamed of receiving a white lotus blossom from Guanyin. The lotus flower in Buddhism embodies notions of enlightenment and the purification of nirvana. An open blossom signifies full enlightenment. On the way to enlightenment, proper wisdom is required to approach dharma, so sometimes the flower is referred to as wisdom. As Jifei later achieved enlightenment and became a master, the lotus flower his mother received from Guanyin in the dream can be read as both as a metaphor and prophecy. As a symbol of the highest wisdom in Buddhism, the blossom prophesied his birth, and revealed a mysterious metaphoric connection between Buddhist dharma and the baby. This revelation became significant because it set the tone for the young boy's leaving for the *sangha* as well as becoming an enlightened being.

Not only did this bodhisattva prophesy the birth of Jifei, she was also instrumental in guiding Yinyuan, Jifei's master, and Mu'an, his dharma brother, into the realm of religious faith. At age twenty-three, Yinyuan, a native of Fuqing, Fujian province, visited Mount Putuo in the early seventeenth century. As a result of the religious comfort and the message that he received during his stay on the island, his anxiety in searching for his lost father was relieved. Yinyuan decided to convert to

Buddhism.<sup>64</sup> Guanyin also guided Mu'an into the *sangha*. A native of Quanzhou, Fujian province, Mu'an was born with two teeth, a phenomenon rich in mystical significance. His faith in Guanyin was awakened at age ten, when he heard people chanting the bodhisattva's name.<sup>65</sup> The involvement of Guanyin in these masters' biographies demonstrates again the popularity of Guanyin in south China during the time.

### Mulian as a Model

Jifei's life before he became a monk was characterized by filial piety, a set of ethics that cater to the Confucian demand for engaging in this-worldly behavior. Born into a local literati family, Jifei's life changed fundamentally with the death of his father, the main provider of the family's income, when the boy was only thirteen. His schooling was terminated immediately, and the boy stayed home, serving his mother devotedly. Soon a Chen family manifested their interest in having Jifei as their son-in-law. The boy's engagement to Chen's daughter was arranged, but he was not keen on the prospect of the marriage. At age fourteen, Jifei rejected the arrangement after watching a play about Mulian on the street.

The play inspired Jifei to consider the prospect of being a monk. The *Gyōjitsu* records, "Awakened by the play *Mulian chuanqi* [the Legends of Mulian], Jifei desired an ascetic life. He began to think about becoming a monk to return the favor of being raised."<sup>66</sup> This idea was explained away as a means of returning the favor of

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<sup>64</sup> Nōnin 1999, 94-98.

<sup>65</sup> Chikumei Takahashi, *Ingen, Mokuan, Sokuhi* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai. 1978), 94-96.

<sup>66</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1328. My translation.

being born and raised by his parents.<sup>67</sup> The widowed mother disapproved of the son's plan on a monastic life. But Jifei turned his back on the marriage that year and manifested his determination by starting at home a vegetarian diet, a symbol of the Buddhist ascetic life.

If it were Jifei's virtue to change his plan of being a monk when his mother showed her disapproval, it would be difficult to judge his rejection of marriage as filial. One of the primary concerns of filial piety was the imperative to produce male heirs to maintain the family property and legacy, but Jifei rejected a married life to fulfill his social and filial obligation to produce offspring. From a political perspective, if Jifei's father would have been alive, he might have been able to take the civil examinations after sufficient schooling. The promise for his future could have been different.

The biographers avoided this dilemma by singling out Jifei's piety toward his widowed mother, and presenting his rejection of marriage as a determination for an austere life. This interpretation was not ingenious in late Ming China. In investigating the development of Guanyin in China, Yu Chunfang found a similar story in the life of Princess Miaoshan, a legendary figure believed to be the manifestation of Guanyin in China. The princess was presented as a filial daughter, but refused marriage for a life of austerity. Her choice to remain childless communicated her determination to abandon worldly pursuits and become a compassionate bodhisattva. The princess's distaste for physical desire and a married life was fully vindicated by her religious conviction.<sup>68</sup> The analysis applies to the case of Jifei. His rejection of the Confucian

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 3:1328.

<sup>68</sup> Chunfang Yu, "the Cult of Kuan-Yin in Ming-Ch'ing China: a Case of Confucianization of Buddhism?" in *Meeting of Minds: Intellectual and Religious Interactions in East Asian Traditions of Thought*, ed., Irene Bloom and Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 144-147.

concern for secular life is justified by his mythical birth.

Mulian served as Jifei's role model in guiding the young man into the *sangha* without abandoning Confucian ethics. At age seventeen, after finally receiving his mother's permission, Jifei entered Longshan temple (龍山寺, J. Ryūzan-ji) at his hometown Fuqing. The young man embarked on a religious career since then. It is worth bearing in mind that Jifei's mother did not favor the idea of his leaving home for a monastic life at the outset of his pleading at age fourteen. However, once Jifei received ordination and became a monk, she was supportive of his training. In 1639, after years of monastic training and religious wandering, Jifei visited his sick mother. When the mother saw her son, she rejoiced, saying, "I hope you will be like Mulian, delivering me from suffering [when I die]." Jifei replied, "Though your son falls behind the Reverent Luo (Mulian), my mother surely exceeds [the fate of] Ms. Liu (Mulian's mother)." <sup>69</sup> This dialogue illustrates first of all that Jifei's renouncement of marriage and producing descendants did not deny the value of filial piety for a monk. <sup>70</sup> Secondly, the mother encouraged the son's monastic practice for spiritual advancement. She expected that her respect toward Jifei as a monk would promise her salvation from suffering after death. Mulian's filial behavior establishes a harmony between the two poles of Chinese society: secular society promoting Confucian values, and spiritual realm of Buddhist *sangha*. Jifei's biographers followed Mulian's example, creating Jifei as another ideal practitioner of institutionalized religion, an alternative to this-world oriented families, with each compensating for the other.

The close involvement of Mulian in Jifei's private life demonstrates that Buddhism had adapted itself to the seventeenth century cultural landscape of China. This sinicized religious practice in turn attracted the literati's support of Buddhism. In

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<sup>69</sup> Hiraokubo 1993, 3:1330.

<sup>70</sup> Baskind 2006, 150.

the spring of 1648, Jifei's mother contracted a serious illness when a Ming loyalist troop laid siege of Fuqing.<sup>71</sup> To comfort his mother, Jifei walked through the battlefields, hurrying back home. When the local gentry expressed their respect

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<sup>71</sup> The mid-seventeen century was a tumultuous time in China. In 1644, Li Zicheng (李自成, J. Ri Jisei, 1606-1645) led masses of starving Chinese peasants into Beijing and precipitated the collapse of the Ming court. The last emperor Chongzhen (崇禎, 1611-1644) committed suicide in April, marking the end of the Ming dynasty. On May 1644, Li lost Beijing to the Manchu armies, a non-Chinese community who occupied the capital city and established them the founder of Qing dynasty in China. However, the Manchu's authority was strongly resisted by Chinese elites and commoners in many areas of the country. In South China, Ming loyalists gathered to support several Ming princes' effort to revive the fallen Ming dynasty. In 1645, a prince was installed as the Hongguang emperor (r. 1644-1645) at Nanjing. In 1645, Ming prince Zhu Yujian (朱聿鍵, 1602-1646) declared as Emperor Longwu (r. 1645-1646) in Fujian.

From 1644 to 1646, the Manchurian troops marched from north China to the south pursuing Ming loyalists. In 1645 Hongguan emperor's court was demolished. In July 1646, the Manchu Prince and General Dodo (多鐸, C. Duoduo, 1614-1649) led the troop from Zhejiang into Fujian. He captured Zhu Yujian, and persecuted him and his family in Fuzhou. In December 1646, The Prince of Gui, Zhu Youlang (朱由榔, 1623-1662, r.1646-1662) took the title emperor and used Yongli as his reign period name for the court in Guangdong province.

Fujian became one of the major battlefields between the Ming loyalist military and the Qing troops from November 1646 to 1661. In January 1647, the newly assigned Qing governor of Fujian and Zhejiang occupied Fuzhou, and killed numerous inhabitants and sacked women in two cities near Fuqing in March. In July, the loyalists in the province supported the troops sent by the Yongli court, whose army was attempting to take Fuzhou out of the Qing's control but to no avail. The Ming army instead placed the city Fuzhou under a state of siege. In December, the anti-Qing power attacked Fuqing but failed. In January 1648, the Ming army seized control of many a town around Fuzhou area, but the Qing troops continued occupying Fuzhou city. Various battles continued between the Qing and Ming sides throughout the year of 1648 in Fujian province.

As considerable local inhabitants supported the Ming loyalist, the Qing soldiers who had been occupying Fuqing must have gone on the rampage in the city. These cataclysms must have frightened Jifei's mother into sickness, and urged him through the siege pressed by the Ming army to visit the mother in spring 1648. See Frederick W. Mote, *Imperial China 900-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 836-840; Robert Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt: Environment and Economy in Late Imperial South China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 148-149. Lynn A. Struve, *Voices from the Ming-Qing Cataclysm: China in Tigers' Jaws* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 96. *Lü Ri gaoseng Yinyuan zhi zhongtu laiwang shuxin ji* [collected from China by the Japanese sojourning master Yinyuan], ed. Chen Zhizhao, et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxi, 1995), 538-543.

toward his filial conduct, he cited the *Bao'en Sutra* (報恩經, J. Hōonkyō)<sup>72</sup> and stated that “even if one cut one’s own flesh to feed one’s parents three times a day, one still could not return the favor received from the parents. As a mountain monk, I was born and reared by my parents. So it is my duty to serve them even at the risk of losing my life hundreds of times.”<sup>73</sup> Filial piety in the seventeenth century was virtuous conduct and promoted by both Confucianism and Chan Buddhism.

### The Four Biographies

The four public biographies of Jifei portray him as a man predestined to become an enlightened Chan master and a moral exemplar for layperson and clergy alike. As Virginia Woolf said in *A Room of One’s Own*, “History is too much about wars; biography too much about great men.”<sup>74</sup> Biographies have many layers, and to unveil the facts that have been minimized as a result of the biographers’ concurrent cultural trends and their religious and political intentions. Except for the epitaph written by the Chinese official, the rest were written in Japan, so this section will investigate seventeenth century Japan’s socio-political context within which those biographies were composed.

The Tokugawa Japan clearly associated filial piety with Buddhism, as a result of the shogunate’s fear of Christianity, a religion that recognized an authority higher than *shogun* or *daimyō*, and carried with it the implicit threat from foreign powers and their territorial ambitions. Following the anti-Christian campaigns and ordinances of

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<sup>72</sup> Considering the similar account, the sutra Jifei cited might be the *Dafangbian Bao'enjing* (大方便佛報恩經卷, J. Daihōben butsu hōonkyōkan ) in *Taisho Tripitaka* Vol. 3, No. 156.

<sup>73</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1332. My translation.

<sup>74</sup> Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One’s Own* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989), 108-109.

1613-1614, the entire populace was officially required to register at temples to publicize their religious life and certify their non-Christian status. The practice of households' registration at a temple had been implemented universally by 1671.<sup>75</sup> This system is addressed as the *danka seido* (J.檀家制度, affiliation system of temples and households).<sup>76</sup> People's religious attachment to their local temples gave rise to the temple's funerary patronage: a privilege to perform death and memorial rituals for the dead registered at their temples. The systemization of funeral rites contributed to the popular practice of filial piety among laity and clergies.

The *Xiaojing* (孝經, J. kōkyō, Book of Filial Piety), as one of the Confucian classics, was widely propagated and emphasized during the time. By the end of the eighteenth century, the book was taught in every school, and every educated child could recite it by heart. The family was also penetrated by political values and perceived as a miniature polity.<sup>77</sup> Nakae Tōjū (J. 中江藤樹, 1608-1648), the founder of the Ōyōmei (Wang Yangming) school, maintains the rhetoric of filial piety as follows: "to fear and revere the decrees of our great first ancestor, the August Lord on High, and our great parents, the gods of heaven and earth, and to accept and practice their divine way with deep reverence is called filial piety, the supreme virtue."<sup>78</sup> Nakae's remark argues that filial piety had even been woven into the fabric of indigenous belief during the time. His Confucian syncretism and the Buddhist

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<sup>75</sup> Duncan Ryūken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: a Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 18.

<sup>76</sup> Kenneth A. Marcure, "The Danka System," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.40, No.1. (Spring, 1985): 39-40.

<sup>77</sup> Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: the Values of Pre-industrial Japan* (Glencoe: The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957), 89.

<sup>78</sup> Tōjū Nakae. "Dialogue with an Old Man"(J. Okina mondō), in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: v.2 1600-2000*, ed., Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck and Arthur E. Tiedemann (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 120.

patronage of death rituals reveals the political rationalization of filial piety at court to centralize power in a hierarchical order.

Although religious considerations were of the utmost concern in these biographies, there was an underlying financial cause in Jifei's decision to become a monk. In Song Deyi's and Gaoquan's brief accounts of the master's life, Jifei's tremendous intelligence and his religious devotion were emphasized, but the impact of the father's death upon the family was left unmentioned.<sup>79</sup> The reality was that Jifei left school, and had a brief betrothal soon after the loss of the father. The biographers' manipulation of facts obscure a possible financial crisis the family might have been facing.

Among Jifei's four biographies, three were composed at the end of seventeenth-century Japan. Ōbaku monks were eager to gain a foothold in Japan in the 1670s. Yinyuan came to Japan in 1654, and Jifei arrived in Nagasaki in 1657. They did not receive official recognition or support until 1661, when a piece of land was granted for them to build Manpukuji at Uji, Kyōto. By 1663, these monks had only developed a minimal network of temples and recruited only a few permanent Japanese converts.<sup>80</sup> Jifei's first biography was finished in 1665 at the request of Lord Minamoto. He was Jifei's patron, a local *daimyō* of political influence.<sup>81</sup> In 1671, the year the master passed away, Gaoquan authored the *Shari tōmei*. The following year saw the compilation of the *Gōki*. In 1673 Ōbaku monks lost Yinyuan. Manpukuji could not ignore the political and social pressure for their survival and institutional expansion with the loss of the masters. One of their strategies was to portray Jifei as a religious icon without human flaws to support Ōbaku movement.

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<sup>79</sup> Hirakubo 1993,3: 1347, 1355.

<sup>80</sup> Baroni 2000,54.

<sup>81</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1327.

Jifei's biographies coped with the social expectation of filial piety in mainstream late Ming society and crafted for him a place of repute in the intellectual world of Japan. Jifei renounced a secular life, but he maintained the status quo by fulfilling the duty assigned to a son by the state. Yinyuan was also presented a filial son who had an arduous journey in search of his father. These monks' devotion to their parents signals their support of the *bakufu*'s emphasis on filial responsibility.

The masters' example certainly appealed to those laities who gravitated to monks with Confucian ethics. In 1665, with the patronage and invitation of Mitsushige Niwa, the *daimyō* of *Nihonmatsu han* in Ōshū, Gaoquan conducted a memorial service for Niwa's deceased father. In the same year, Niwa constructed Kanrozan Hōun'in and invited Gaoquan to be the founding abbot of the temple. The whole even was a gesture from the warrior class to support Ōbaku monks' filial piety. During his residence at the Hōun'in, Gaoquan wrote his first book in Japan: the *Shakumon kōden* (釋門孝傳), which was published in 1666. The book introduces the stories of Buddhist monks who demonstrated exemplary filial feeling toward their parents. Among these masters, Yinyuan's and Jifei's filial stories were the most prominent cases. Baskind believes that this book promoted the compatibility of Confucianism and Buddhism.<sup>82</sup>

Jifei's filial conduct illustrates his embodiment of Buddhism and Confucian values, a conspicuous religious practice of the late-Ming as well as early Tokugawa Japan. In seventeenth century China, the Confucian literati's support guaranteed the revitalization of Buddhism, but this support in turn contributed to a Chan identity that was characterized as strongly synthesized and this-worldly. Chan monasteries were

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transformed into a social institution, a supplement to the secular society. The seventeenth-century Japan underwent a similar change. With the state's edicts, the temples were made a social institution issuing annual certificates to prove people's religious belief, and performing death rituals for secular households. This secularization of Chan Buddhism in the two countries contributed directly to Ōbaku Zen's success in Japan, facilitating its religious influence and gaining support from the *samurai* class.

## CHAPTER II: TRANSMITTING A SYNCRETIC CHAN BUDDHISM: JIFEI'S RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

In keeping with the syncretistic Buddhist practice in seventeenth century China, Jifei's religious training and pedagogic legacy illustrate the syncretistic practice of different Buddhist denominations that dominated many Chan communities. After a systematic examination of Jifei's religious practice in both China and Japan, Baskind believes that the master's writing expounded on several conspicuous themes commonly seen in Ōbaku practice: meditation, precepts, and *nenbutsu* -the Pure Land practice of chanting.<sup>83</sup> These two scholars' work provides a theoretical ground for this chapter's investigation of Jifei's Chan style with more details, followed by a discussion of the master's contributions to Japan's Buddhist community.

### Religious Peregrination

Before exploring Jifei's peregrination experience, it is important to investigate the history of peregrination in Chinese Buddhism. Peregrination was a monastic practice for monks to travel from one monastery to another in search of new teachers and teachings. According to Robert H. Sharf's observation, Chinese monks, irrespective of their ordination lineage, were bound together by their adherence to a similar monastic code, a common mode of dress, a common stock of liturgical and ritual knowledge, etc. Therefore, there were few barriers standing in the way of

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<sup>83</sup> Baskind 2006, 147.

monks who expected periods of peregrination.<sup>84</sup> Evidences demonstrate that seventeenth-century Buddhist community had carried on with this tradition. To name merely a few, Yinyuan, Mu'an, and Jifei had years of wanderings for spiritual advancement. This section will explore Jifei's experience of the religious journey.

Before any travels to other temples, Jifei focused on the necessary monastic trainings. He made his way to the temple to visit Miyun at age fifteen. At age seventeen, Jifei studied Buddhist doctrines under the guidance of Xilai Hao at the Longshan temple, situated in his hometown. The following year saw his tonsure, whereupon he took the dharma name Ruyi. In 1633, he made his way to Wanfusi on the occasion of Feiyin's ascendancy to the abbacy, three years after his initial visit. In 1635 he received from Feiyin the precepts of a monk, and two years later, the bodhisattva precepts from Yinyuan. These experiences clearly demonstrate the Wanfusi's accommodation of Jifei's monastic training.

Upon his completion of monastic training, Jifei left Wanfusi to seek out trainings with Buddhist masters of different denominations. For the first two years, he resumed his doctrinal study with Xilai, but this intellectual approach to the origin of the mind was not Jifei's liking.<sup>85</sup> He then decided to start a religious journey for "practical" training to achieve his goal of ultimate enlightenment.

The dynamic Buddhist community certainly provided a wide spectrum of practice for keen novices like Jifei. Leaving behind the doctrinal inquiry, Jifei visited Shiyu Mingfang (石雨明方, J.Sekiu Myōhō, 1593-1648)<sup>86</sup> on Mount Changqing

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<sup>84</sup> Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 9.

<sup>85</sup> Hirakubo 1993,3:1300.

<sup>86</sup> Similar to Jifei's experience, Shiyu had a period of religious peregrination during the early years of his Buddhist career. In 1614, Shiyu followed the Pure Land practice of exclusive chanting, to little avail, so in 1615 he came to learn sitting meditation under Zhanran Yuancheng of the Caodong Chan School. At one time, when he was

(長慶山, J.Chōkeizan), an experience that marked his beginnings in *kōan* meditation. An enlightened Chan master, Shiyu incorporated in his Chan style sitting meditation, *kōan* meditation, *nenbutsu*, and doctrinal studies. Jifei sought from this master a spiritual guidance to break through mental barriers to achieve enlightenment. Shiyu introduced Zhaozhou Congshen (趙州從諗, J. Jōshū Jūshin, 778–897)’s discussion of a dog’s Buddha nature for Jifei’s meditation. This famous *kōan* is originally recorded as follows:

A monk asked Jōshū in all earnestness, "Does a dog have Buddha-nature or not?"  
Jōshu said, "Mu [無, J.Mu, No]!"<sup>87</sup>

It is a basic assumption in Mahayana Buddhism that all sentient beings are born with the Buddha-nature, and Zhaozhou’s denial of the existence of a canine Buddha nature appears to be startling in the dialogue. Jifei pondered possible meanings of Zhouzhao’s answer for roughly twenty-one days but to no avail. Then a monk named Bushan instructed him: “When you feel dull and muddled, you must at all times hold

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frustrated by the austerity of sitting practice, Zhanran inspired him by explaining, “sitting meditation is conducted for relaxation and enjoyment, not for suffering and distress. So it will do you no good if you are unable to enjoy but have to concentrate by sheer force of will.” These words stimulated fresh understanding in Shiyu, and propelled him toward great achievement through meditation.

Shiyu insisted on a sincere understanding of the dharma in a meditative method, and turned down the militant style of sudden shouts and blows for spiritual advancement. He left the temple when he saw those of his fellow monks attempting to demonstrate their understanding of *kōan* through shouts and violent blows in the Chan Hall. Shiyu was enlightened while reading the *Surangama-sutra*, a fundamental Chan Buddhist doctrine. See Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo ed., *Zengaku daijiten* (Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten, 1978), 1:115b. Jingzhu, “Shiyu chanshi xingzhuang,” in *Ming ban Jiaxing da zang jing: Jingshan cang ban*. Vol.27, No.B190 (Taipei: Xin wen feng chu ban gong si, 1987), 154. My translation.

<sup>87</sup> Kōun Yamada, trans., *The Gateless Gate: the Classic Book of Zen koans* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 11.

on to this ‘Mu’. Try to focus on the time before Zhaozhou’s shit.”<sup>88</sup> This instruction denies a linguistic approach to the logic or the plot of the story.<sup>89</sup> With Bushan’s advice, Jifei realized his dualistic mindset that tended to think from a conceptual and logical perspective. It is an awareness that helped improve Jifei’s comprehension of *kōans*, but he was not satisfied with this improvement.

The anxiety to achieve enlightenment motivated the young monk to visit other temples for further inspiration in rapid succession: Chaozong Tongren (朝宗通忍, J. Chōsū Tsūnin, 1604-1648) at Lingshi temple (靈石山, J. Reisekizan), Wanru Tongwei (万如通微, J. Mannyō Tsūbi, 1594-1657)<sup>90</sup> of Mount Cao (曹山, J. Sōzan), Caodong Chan Master Yongjue Yuanxian (永覺元賢, J. Yōgaku Genken, 1578-1657)<sup>91</sup> at Mount Gu (鼓山, J. Kozan), Chan Master Hengxin Xingmi (互信行彌, J. Kōsin Gyōmi, 1603-1659) at Luoshan (羅山, J. Razan) who specialized in Chan meditation and doctrinal studies. Jifei’s interaction and communication with these priests demonstrate that Wanfusi shared with many other temples a similar Chan style with a combined practice of *kōan* discussion, sitting meditation, and doctrinal studies.

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<sup>88</sup> Bushan’s vocabulary appears vulgar, but is commonly seen in Chan literature. Chan writing differs mainly in their language from those used in the major Mahayana sutras such as the *Lotus Sutra* and the *Vimalakirti Sutra*. The Indian sutras are rich in lush descriptions and evocative images, while the Chan *yulu*, as represented by the *Linji lu*, uses colloquial language of the period. Their expression are earthy, at times coarse or even vulgar. Watson 1993, xxv. Hiraakubo 1993,3: 1301. My translation.

<sup>89</sup> Schlütter 2008, 107-108.

<sup>90</sup> Wanru aided in revitalizing the Linji School, and served as the thirty-fifth patriarch of the Chan school. Apart from his talent in the administration of monasteries, he was noted for his reestablishment of monastic precepts and Chan scholarship. See Ziqiang Xu, Shitian Lin, and Guomei Shen, *Zhongguo lidai chanshi zhuanji ziliao huibian* (Beijing: Quanguo tushu guan wenxiansuo weifuzhi zhongxin, 2003), 2: 292-289.

<sup>91</sup> Yongjue remained a Neo-Confucian scholar until age forty when his parents passed away. He soon assumed a monastic life in order to pursue his interest in Buddhism. As a scholar monk, he composed roughly eighty volumes of writing during his lifetime, promoting the unity of Chan, Pure Land Buddhism, and Confucianism. Yongjue was also credited with establishing Yongquan temple (涌泉寺, J. Yōsenji) at Mount Gu.

These universal practices prevalent in late-Ming Chan monasteries in turn motivated Jifei to seek inspiration from various monastic sources.

No extant records detail the exact teachings that Jifei received from these Chan masters. His communication with these monks nevertheless suggests his open-mindedness and sincerity in coming into direct contact with the essence of Chan Buddhism, regardless of the masters' sectarian background. On the other hand, these priests' willingness to instruct Jifei, a monk not of their monastic affiliation, indicates a certain trans-sectarian openness. Under the leadership of such figures, these temples seem to have formed a community willing to embrace a mutual sharing of human resources and facilities.

#### Enlightenment at Wanfusi

After roughly two years' journey, Jifei's understanding had largely improved but still he could not break into the gate of enlightenment. After a brief meditation experience at a hut on a mountain, he returned to Wanfusi for guidance in 1639 at age twenty-four. The *Gōki* records the dialogue between Jifei and his master Yinyuan after the disciple's two years of pilgrimage. Upon entering the temple, Jifei asked his master how to reach enlightenment. Yinyuan blew him a beat as his answer. At this, Jifei responded: "I understood!" "What did you understand?" His master demanded. "It's a *kōan*." The young disciple answered. The master hushed him and the disciple left the hall with a bow.<sup>92</sup>

This seemingly innocuous portrayal of Jifei's return achieved a different emphasis in the biography offered by Myōdō, the sole Japanese among the

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<sup>92</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1302. My translation.

biographers of Jifei. According to the *Gōki*, after a futile attempt to practice austere meditation on the mountain, Jifei met a mysterious acquaintance from his hometown. The acquaintance criticized the “small understanding” of the dharma prevalent in the Chan world, and urged him to return to Mount Huangbo for “great understanding.” Thus Jifei ended his religious peregrination and returned back to see his master.<sup>93</sup> Hualin Xingyin also mentioned Jifei’s encounter with the acquaintance, but the acquaintance was recorded to inform Jifei of his mother’s deteriorating health.<sup>94</sup> The difference between Myōdō and Hualin in regard to the content that the acquaintance conveyed to Jifei raises intriguing questions.

At first glance, the difference may be due to the language barrier between Myōdō and Jifei. As a Japanese, Myōdō might not speak fluent Chinese as the native speaker Hualin. Hualin was less likely to misunderstand his master’s description of his life. Furthermore, he had followed Jifei in both China and Japan.<sup>95</sup> Be that as it may, the point here is not the credibility of their accounts, but rather the hidden message intimated in Myōdō’s writing. The small understanding might refer to Jifei’s eagerness to achieve great understanding through short visits to prominent masters and his self-reliant practice. So the acquaintance might have tried to urge him to settle down to study under one master with concentration and perseverance for enlightenment. Another approach to the dialogue is that the big understanding may indicate the validity of Yinyuan’s teaching in comparison to the small understanding of the Chan priests Jifei had visited. The *Gyōjitsu* confirmed these masters’ credit for Jifei’s improved knowledge, but alluded that Jifei might not be able to realize his spiritual goal without Yinyuan’s instruction. This speculation is further supported by

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 3:1301-1302.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 3: 1330-1331.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 3: 1110-1111.

Hualin's elaboration of Jifei's eagerness to receive Yinyuan's illumination upon the moment he entered Wanfusi.<sup>96</sup> It is likely that the authors intended to emphasize the significance of Wanfusi and Yinyuan in Jifei's spiritual advancement.

### Yinyuan and Jifei

Yinyuan was a renowned Chan master in late Ming China. He served briefly as the abbot of Wanfusi from 1637 to the spring of 1644. From 1646 to 1654, Yinyuan came to administer the temple again as the abbot. In 1639, he decided to restore the glory of Mount Huangbo as a Chan center, a place where Huangbo Xiyun (黃蘗希運, J. Ōbaku Kiun, d.850) was believed to have received monastic training in the Tang dynasty. Thanks to Yinyuan religious charisma, by 1652 he had expanded Wanfusi complex and helped to develop the temple into a thriving Buddhist center.<sup>97</sup> It was during this time that Jifei returned to receive Yinyuan's instruction.

After nearly a decade's effort at Wanfusi, in 1650, at age thirty-four, Jifei reached enlightenment after a near-death experience in a mountain fire behind the temple. His body caught fire when he was attempting to put down the blaze, and he lost consciousness after being severely burned. Two of his fellow monks found him in a pit and offered immediate help until he returned to consciousness. At that moment, Jifei gained complete enlightenment. He then went to visit Yinyuan for his spiritual experience. The master greeted Jifei with a smile, "Fortunately indeed is it that you have had a great death and come back to life. Because of this [experience] your everyday life will be full of joy. Not only that, but just like the clear moon after the

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 3: 1330-1331.

<sup>97</sup> Nōnin 1999,441-445.

rain, so will your mind be especially clear and refreshed.”<sup>98</sup>

Yinyuan’s comments confirmed Jifei’s near-death experience as a rare opportunity for his awakening to the truth. The significance of Jifei’s experience could be found in a similar story recorded in *Biyan lu* (碧巖錄, J. Hekigan roku, The Blue Cliff Records). Zhaozhou once asked, “How is it when a man died the great death returns to life?” The book then comments that a man who survived such a near-death experience would be free from confinement to Buddhist doctrinal concepts, secular concerns of gain and loss, dualistic perception of the world.<sup>99</sup> Baskind even interprets the fire incidence as a ritual, and Jifei’s near-death experience as a metaphor for his religious transformation. The hole he fell into symbolizes the mundane world, a place where he lost consciousness. The fire is a Buddhist symbol with its flame burning away sufferings and illusions representative of human ignorance. Jifei’s coming back to life signals that he was reborn as a new man, free from ignorance.<sup>100</sup> Only after Jifei renounced everything including his desires for knowledge and self, did he gain a connection with non-duality.

Jifei did not receive *inka* until he demonstrated his understanding of Linji’s writing. About ten days after Jifei’s enlightenment experience, he came to request an interview with Yinyuan. Yinyuan gave him a *kōan* on Linji Yixuan (臨濟義玄, J. Rinzai Giken, d. 867)’s “Three Darks and the Three Vitals” as a test.<sup>101</sup> “The Three Darks and the Three Vitals” refer to the Three Dark Gates and the Three Vital Seals. These phrases are believed to summarize the basic meaning of Buddhism.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1304-1305. I am indebted to the English translation of this section by James Baskind in: Baskind 2006, 149-150.

<sup>99</sup> Yuanwu, *The Blue Cliff Record*, trans., Thomas F. Cleary and J. C. Cleary (Boulder: Shambhala, 1977), 249-251.

<sup>100</sup> Baskind 2006, 150.

<sup>101</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1305.

<sup>102</sup> *Zhenzhou Linji Huizhao chanshi yulu*, in *Taisho Tripitaka* Vol. 47, No. 1985,497.

Yinyuan required him to compose a verse based on these primary Linji Chan vocabularies to test his achievement. After Jifei's satisfactory answer, the master questioned his understanding of the *kōan*: Zhaozhou's discussion of a dog's Buddha nature. Jifei gave a satisfactory answer. The master then passed Jifei his whisk, acknowledging the disciple's enlightenment.

Yinyuan's confirmation of the disciple's enlightenment experience resulted in Jifei's receipt of *inka*. Jifei was legitimized as Yinyuan's official dharma heir. From the Buddhist perspective, the dharma cannot be transmitted, only authenticated or acknowledged. In Tokugawa Japan, dharma transmission had been of two principal types: transmission based on spiritual recognition and transmission based on temple lineages. The Rinzai temples used both of them: according to the circumstances, *inka* can signify either spiritual recognition or inheritance of a temple lineage.<sup>103</sup> As was briefly discussed in the introduction, this applies to the Chan monasteries of seventeenth-century China as well.

Yinyuan's confirmation of Jifei's religious achievement communicates the master's status at Wanfusi. It argues first of all that Yinyuan is qualified as an individual to evaluate another individual's existential breakthrough. Secondly, it attributes Jifei's achievement to Yinyuan's teaching: Yinyuan was the final resource for Jifei's struggle for spiritual guidance. As a dharma heir to Feiyin, Yinyuan represents Feiyin's dharma line. The *inka* Jifei had received thus was a certificate of his enlightenment, and an identity he naturally inherited from Yinyuan. Jifei was now a monk of Wanfusi affiliation and a carrier of Yinyuan's Chan lineage.

Jifei's acceptance of this special identity demanded his fulfillment of new

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<sup>103</sup> Michel Mohr, "Zen Buddhism during the Tokugawa Period: the Challenge to Go Beyond Sectarian Consciousness," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (1994) 21/4:358.

obligations, particular the duty to respect Yinyuan as a spiritual father. Confucianism defined a Chinese family as a patriarchal social unit organized in a hierarchical order: the father as the head of the unity, and the children as the followers to serve the parents with piety. The interactions between Yinyuan and his master, and between him and his disciples, bear a close resemblance to the secular family relationship of the time. It is a constructed “family” organizing its members after the model of a typical this-world family, another facet of seventeenth-century Chan Buddhism’s restoration of the Song monastic codes. For instance, the *Chanyuan qinggui* (禪苑清規, J. Zen’en shingi, Rules of Purity for the Chan Monasteries)<sup>104</sup> addressed the administrative hierarchy within the monastery, including the duties and powers of the various monastic officers.<sup>105</sup> In the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368), *Chixiu baizhang qinggui* (敕修百丈清規, J. Chokushū Hyakujō shingi, The Imperial Edition of Baizhang 's monastic rules of purity)<sup>106</sup> assigned to the abbot a more important role in monastic life. The duties of the priory were also expanded and divided between two positions, indicating that the monastery’s hierarchy became more and more

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<sup>104</sup> Compiled in 1103 by the Chan monk Changlu Zongze (長蘆宗蹟, J. Chōro Sōsaku, d.1107?), and one of the earliest Chan monastic code in existence. This text established a definitive code for Chan Buddhist with a comprehensive set of rules to regulate monks’ life in the large public monasteries of the Song period. The text defines detailed guidelines for itinerant monks, emphasizes the importance of studying under masters at various monastery, prescribes the proper protocol for attending a retreat, and details the procedure of requesting an abbot’s instruction. See Yifa, and Zongze, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China: An Annotated Translation and Study of the Chanyuan Qinggui* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), xix.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 145-146.

<sup>106</sup> One of the most comprehensive monastic code of regulations ever assembled. It was produced by decree of the Yuan emperor and was compiled between the years 1335 and 1338. The content includes liturgies relating to prayers for the emperor and welfare of the state, a schedule of various ceremonies involving the abbot, the titles and duties of the administrative officers. See Yifa 2002, 49. T. Griffith Foulk, “Ritual in Japanese Zen Buddhism,” in *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice*, edited by Steven Heine, and Dale Stuart Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28.

complex.<sup>107</sup> As a temple in the late Ming, Wanfusi obviously continued this process of secularization and assimilation of the Confucian value system. Yinyuan was at the pinnacle of the hierarchical world of Wanfusi, serving as its metaphorical father—the head of the temple. Within the temple, an imagined family was formed in a hierarchical order consisting Yinyuan, his dharma heirs, and various disciples.

As a certified Chan master, Jifei took leave of Mount Huangbo and moved to a temple at Mount Xuefeng (雪峰山, J. Seppūzan), Fuzhou. The temple offered him the abbacy but was declined, and Jifei stayed at the temple for most of his remaining years before leaving for Japan. During his residence there, upon hearing his master's illness, Jifei went to Wanfusi to show his concern for Yinyuan's physical condition. In return, Jifei was promoted to take charge of whisks at Wanfusi. Jifei was a member of this patriarchal family, and served the patriarch Yinyuan in a similar way he served his mother.

This theme of filial duty continued through Jifei's life from the secular family to the spiritual family: first in his reverence for his mother, then for his master. Jifei's embodiment of Buddhist and Confucian values in the form of filial piety was a conspicuous religious practice of the late-Ming Wanfusi community, as further evidence will demonstrate.

#### *Wudeng yantong* and Ōbaku's Sectarian Consciousness

In 1653, three years after Jifei's enlightenment, Yinyuan's master Feiyin published *Wudeng yantong* (五燈嚴統, J. Gotō gentō, The Exact Lineage of the five lamps) to set forth his own and Miyun's understanding of Chan lineages. Feiyin

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<sup>107</sup> Yifa 2002, 49-51.

referred to his Chan lineage as the *Linji zhengzong* (臨濟正宗, J.Rinzai shōshū), claiming he and Yinyuan as heirs to Linji Yixuan, the patriarch of Linji Chan. Feiyin even challenged the lineage claims made by prominent Caodong Chan monks such as Wuming Huijing (無明慧經, 1584-1618) and Zhanran Yuancheng (湛然圓澄, J.Tannen Enchō, 1561-1626), and invalidated the qualifications of these masters' living descendants including Yongjue Yuanxian.<sup>108</sup> Feiyin's textual manipulation of monastic lineage in the form of *denglu* is often seen in the history of Chan Buddhism from as early as Song dynasty. Through the filtered memory of successive generations and the exigencies associated with Chan's growing social influence, recollections of Chan's famed masters were conducted according to the requisites of Chan's newfound identity.<sup>109</sup>

In the Song period, most Chan factions were predicated on an obscure “founder” with honorific rank to lend legitimacy to the movement.<sup>110</sup> Feiyin and Yinyuan continued this concept to put themselves in a position of authority on Linji Chan style through textual claim. Wu speculates these monks' practice of establishing authority based on textual creation is originally from the Confucian world.<sup>111</sup> Feiyin's book sought to rectify lineage problems within his school and to undercut the claims of rival lineages. The text's publication had thus stirred up hostilities from other monastic groups. The dispute even led to a public debate in front of Qing government officials in Zhejiang province between Feiyin and Sanyi Mingyu (三宜明盂, J. Sangi

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<sup>108</sup> Kimura 2005,35. Lin Guanchao, “Hiin Tsūyō no *Godō gendō* nitsuite no kōsatsu,” in *Hanazano gakuen daigaku kokusai zengaku kenkyūjo ronsō*, no. 3, (March 2008), 127-128. Wu 2008, 212-213.

<sup>109</sup> Albert Welter, “Lineage and Context in the *Patriarch's Hall Collection* and the *Transmission of the Lamp*,” in *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, ed., Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 141.

<sup>110</sup> Welter 2006, 218.

<sup>111</sup> Wu 2002, 178.

Myōu, 1599-1665), resulting in Feiyin's loss. In 1654, the book's original woodblocks were destroyed.<sup>112</sup> Feiyin's textual claim of his lineage as the heir to Linji was thus rejected.

As a *denglu*, *Wudeng yantong* serves the genealogical purpose of Feiyin's and Yinyuan's own version of hagiography, rather than anything approaching actual biography. The Chan masters at Wanfusi had sided together in an attempt to assert their orthodox Chan style, to assume the role as a patriarchal authority, and to bring order to the Chan communities. Echoing the opinion of his spiritual grandparent Feiyin, Jifei credited his master Yinyuan as the thirty-sixth patriarch in a direct line of descent from Nanyue Huairang (南岳懷讓, J. Nangaku Ejō, 677-744), the first patriarch of the five Chan schools and a disciple of Huineng. Their teaching follows Bodhidharma (d.530?), the first patriarch of Chan Buddhism in China who brought Mahākāśyapa's teaching from India to China. After Bodhidharma came Huike (惠果, J. Eka, 487-593). Huike was succeeded by Sengcan (僧璨, J. Sōsan, - 606), Daoxin (道信, J. Dōshin, 580-651), Hongren (弘忍, J. Kōnin, 601-674), and then Huineng (慧能, J. Enō, 638-713). The six masters were the Grand Masters or Patriarchs of Chan Buddhism in China. Linji Yixuan was a descendant of Nanyue's line and Yinyuan was thus the thirty-second legitimate transmitter of his Chan style.<sup>113</sup>

### Coming to Japan

Chinese society had been undergoing radical changes in the mid-seventeenth century. By 1646, the Qing government conquered most of China proper. Despite the

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<sup>112</sup> Lin 2008, 136-146. Wu 2008, 214-223.

<sup>113</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 2:458-599.

Manchurian sovereign's effort to adapt themselves to Chinese culture, the anti-Manchu sentiment among the Han-Chinese elites and commoners were palpable in the country. The Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong (鄭成功, Koxinga, J. Tei Seikō, 1624-1662)'s military activities in the coastal area of southeast China, particularly Fujian province, had been a threat to the new Manchurian sovereignty. To cut off the south China coastal area's support of Zheng's power, the Qing emperors banned sea trade and oversea travels in 1647. Maritime activities and trading with other countries were closed until 1684, when the Emperor Kangxi (康熙, 1654-1722) defeated Zheng's government in Taiwan.

It is in the middle of this socio-political situation that Yinyuan departed China in 1654. Yinyuan took the controversial book *Wudeng yantong* to Japan with him. Mu'an followed his footsteps and journeyed to Japan in 1656. In 1657, Yinyuan had the book republished in Japan, disregarding the news that his master lost the debate, the Qing court banned the book, and Chan communities rejected the book's content in 1654. The book was in classical Chinese, and with the textual authority established by this book, Yinyuan and his disciples claimed their teaching as authentic Linji Chan transmitted from Linji himself.<sup>114</sup> Mount Huangbo was framed as the very center of the orthodox Linji Chan, when several prominent masters' association with Mount Huangbo and Wanfusi were isolated to rectify the claim for orthodoxy. Huangbo, the teacher of Linji, was recorded in the *Linji lu* (臨濟錄, J. Rinzai roku, the Zen teachings of master Linji)<sup>115</sup> to have received monastic training at Mount Huangbo. Later Huangbo established a temple in Jiangxi province and named the monastery

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<sup>114</sup> Wu 2002, 178.

<sup>115</sup> As one of the earliest recorded sayings, the *Linji lu* is a *yulu* that collects Linji's sermons, pedagogic principles. The text records Linji's extensive use of beating and shouting, a confrontational instructional style that was carried on by his followers as the primary feature of Linji Chan.

Huangbo as well. It was at this temple that Linji found religious inspiration upon his short-stay. In the Ming dynasty, both Miyun and Feiyin served the abbot of Wanfusi. These monks' sectarian background of Linji Chan vindicated Yinyuan's claim to be the authentic dharma transmitter of Linji's Chan style, and Wanfusi came to boast as the head temple of the orthodox Chan, a place rich in Chan tradition. The publication of the book was significant in justifying Yinyuan's mission in Japan.

However, Feiyin was simply one of Miyun's twelve dharma heirs, and Yinyuan, one of Feiyin's dharma heirs.<sup>116</sup> So, leaving Yinyuan's adoption of the Confucian concept of textual authority aside, it would be hard to accept Yinyuan as the sole custodian of Linji's Chan teaching. As discussed in the previous chapter, the revitalization of Chan Buddhism was a collective effort of both Neo-Confucian scholars and Buddhist monks in China. Most of these contributors approached Chan Buddhism from trans-sectarian perspectives and for a unitary purpose. Why then, the book was not contested in Japan as it did in China?

To begin with, the republication of the *Wudeng yantong* occurred when the official tie between China and Japan was lost in the mid-seventeenth century, a period when both China and Japan instituted isolationism to exclude themselves from any contacts with foreign countries. Tokugawa Iemitsu (J.徳川家光, 1604-1651)'s edicts from 1633 to 1639 introduced the *sakoku* (national isolation) policy in 1638. The Japanese were forbidden to leave Japan, and foreigners' access to the country was strictly regulated. Among the exceptions were the Dutch and Chinese, who were only allowed to stay and conduct trade in Nagasaki. The policy was implemented until 1853. Set in this social context, most of the Japanese readers were not even familiar with the actual situation happened in the Chan community on the continent, due

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<sup>116</sup> Kimura 2005, 33-37.

largely to the limited communication with China.

Baskind credits Yinyuan's Chinese background as perhaps the most important reason for his success in Japan.<sup>117</sup> Imperial China had remained a major cultural inspiration for Japan. In terms of language, Classical Chinese was introduced into the country as the official language when Japan did not yet have a written language. And the language remained yardstick of China's cultural superiority in pre-modern Japan. To name merely a few, Kūkai (J. 空海, 774-835) and Saijō (J. 最澄, 688-763) founded Shingon (J. 真言) and Tendai (J. 天台) schools after their religious training in China, as did Myōan Eisai (J. 明庵栄西, 1141-1215) when he founded Rinzai Zen, and Eihei Dōgen (J. 永平道元, 1200-1253) when he established Sōtō Zen. The Buddhist sutras used in Zen cloisters were in Chinese. China retained its religious prestige well into the Tokugawa period, and significant Japanese monks viewed the Chinese monks as possessing unquestioned legitimacy.<sup>118</sup>

The *Wudeng yantong* was to define the Wanfusi monks' Chan orthodoxy in Japan, if not in China. Yanagita Seizan argues that Japan has a liking for purity and orthodoxy to such an extreme that sometimes they run the risk of becoming eccentric and sticking at the principle more narrow-minded and dogmatic than Chinese. This preference for orthodoxy opened a door for Yinyuan's assertion of his orthodox Linji Chan style.<sup>119</sup> Yinyuan's textual claim, on the other hand, was endorsed by his qualification as a certified Chan master and his multiple talents including his success in temple administration. Yinyuan's two-volume Chan *yulu* published in 1642 was

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<sup>117</sup> Baskind 2006, ix.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Seizan Yanagita, "Ingen no tōto to Nihon Ōbakuzen," in *Nicchū bunka kōryūshi sōsho*, ed. Ryōen Minamoto (Tōkyō: Daishūkan shoten, 1996), 4:285.

well received in Japan three years before his arrival to the country.<sup>120</sup> In such circumstances, the Chan style imported by Yinyuan and his disciples was probably misunderstood as Chinese Buddhism itself, not as a Chan style practiced in Wanfusi, one of the many temples active in seventeenth-century China.

In 1657, the year when *Wudeng yantong* was published, Jifei arrived at Nagasaki, Japan. The enthusiastic Chinese community welcomed the master. Jifei soon joined his master Yinyuan and other Wanfusi members' effort to establish themselves as the embodiment of seventeenth century Chinese Linji Chan Buddhism.

### The Founding of Manpukuji

From the inception of Jifei and his follower monks' landing on Nagasaki, their religious identity and Chan teachings had attracted Japanese Zen monks who were curious about continental Buddhism. The Zen founders in Kamakura period were mostly scholar monks with strict monastic discipline. From the thirteenth century on, most of the Rinzai Zen monks devoted themselves to literary endeavors, such as poems in classical Chinese, Zen gardens, tea ceremony, and Confucian texts. The *kōan* records, especially the *Biyān lu*, lost their status as tools for Zen practice, and became literary and educational devices. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Myōshinji (J. 妙心寺) and Daitokuji (J. 大徳寺), boasting of a steady stream of imperial patrons, gained an opportunity for prosperity among many Rinzai Zen temples. The Myōshinji line's institutional expansion throughout the country was achieved at the cost of a drastic dilution of Zen practice with popular beliefs, such as prayers for secular intentions, and funereal ceremonies. Zen *mondō* between master

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<sup>120</sup> Baskind 2006, 64.

and disciple degenerated into Myōshinji's rapid expansion of secret transmission in which "answers" to *kōan* were passed on from one generation to the next. By the end of the sixteenth century, the monks' hall at Myōshinji was derelict, and the monastic life was fragmented with the proliferation of sub-temples.<sup>121</sup> Even though the early seventeenth century welcomed the rehabilitation of Buddhist institutions,<sup>122</sup> a strict reverence for Zen rituals and precepts was not implemented into the existing Rinzai Zen temples until the mid-eighteenth century with the emergence of Ekaku Hakuin (J. 白隠慧鶴, 1685-1768)'s influence.

Predating the Wanfusi émigrés, there were at least sixteen Chinese monks who had come to Japan during the early Edo period. Among them, Daozhe Chaoyuan (道者超元, J. Dōsha Chōgen, 1602-1662) of Linji Chan affiliation had attracted an even wider audience in the Japanese community in Nagasaki and Hirado up until 1654.<sup>123</sup> Daozhe's Japanese disciples include the noted Japanese monk Bankei Yōtaku (J. 盤珪永琢, 1622-1693), but his mission came to an abrupt end when Yinyuan arrived and an unclear conflict blossomed between them. Daozhe failed to find official support for a religious career in Japan, resulting in his return to China.<sup>124</sup> In comparison with the scale of these monks' religious achievements, Yinyuan certainly had more accomplishments to establish him in the country.

The primary support Yinyuan and his disciples received were the Chinese communities, particularly the three Chinese temples Fukusaiji (J. 福濟寺), Kōfukuji (J. 興福寺) and Sōfukuji (J. 崇福寺) in Nagasaki. In the seventeenth century, more

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<sup>121</sup> Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: the Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1981), 129.

<sup>122</sup> Zennosuke Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, kinseihen* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1944), 2:1-11.

<sup>123</sup> Kimiya 1965, 695-696.

<sup>124</sup> Sharf 1994, 368-369. Norman Waddell, *The Unborn: the Life and Teachings of Zen Master Bankei 1622-1693* (New York: North Point Press, 2000), 13-18.

and more Chinese immigrated to Japan when the Ming court fell off and the country was disturbed by wars. These émigré later moved to Nagasaki as a result of the *bakufu*'s anti-Christian policy. Two decades later, the Chinese population and merchants in Nagasaki founded the three temples to accommodate their religious, funeral and political need (for Chinese merchants to obtain certificate to demonstrate their Buddhist status in Japan, for instance).<sup>125</sup> Kōfukuji was founded in 1624 to serve those who were from the Nanjing area (including today's Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui provinces).<sup>126</sup> In 1628, those from Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, south part of Fujian province, founded Fukusaiji. Sōfukuji was constructed by the expatriates of Fuzhou origin in 1629. As mentioned before, Fuqing is not only Yinyuan and Jifei's hometown, but also the place where Wanfusi locates. It was Sōfukuji that invited Yinyuan to come to take residence at the temple in 1654.

In spite of the initial success Yinyuan had achieved in Japanese populace, the prospect for him to establish himself was not delightful. The Tokugawa family had taken roughly sixty-five years (1601-1665) to enact a new religious policy, in an attempt to implement the Tokugawa family's political control over the religious bodies and individual's private religious activities. For instance, the *danka seido* provided Buddhist priests with the power and obligation to ascertain that people living in their areas were neither Christian nor hostile to the state. One entry of the state even clear asserts, "people should return Heaven's kindness to the Earth and should return the Buddha's benevolence to the monks. This is a natural rule and should be observed."<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Kimura 2005, 71-72. Tsujita Tadahiro, "Kōbe kanteibyō to Fukkenshō," in *Ōbaku bunka* v.114 (March 1994), 91-92.

<sup>126</sup> Yoshio Hayashida, *Kanan shakai bunkashi no kenkyū* (Kyōto Joshi Daigaku, 1993),

<sup>127</sup> Marcure 1985, 12.

Taking the *bakufu*'s religious policy into consideration, Richard Jaffe suggests that the establishment of Manpukuji might have partially served the *bakufu*'s purpose in dividing the Myōshinji faction, the most powerful Zen monastery in the early Edo era.<sup>128</sup> Around 1657, the *bakufu* provided Yinyuan at Fumonji with a monthly stipend sufficient to support one hundred people.<sup>129</sup> In 1658, through a prominent Myōshinji monk Ryōkei Shōsen (J. 龍溪性潛, 1602-1670)'s effort, Yinyuan established connections with high officers of the *bakufu*, contributing directly to the founding of Manpukuji on a land granted in 1659 by the *bakufu*.<sup>130</sup> This promotion was unprecedented among Chinese immigrant monks at the time, and promised the indigenous political facilitation of the Ōbaku monks' activities in the country. The Wanfusi monks' mission in Japan had begun a new chapter.

### The Ōbaku Identity

In 1661 the main construction of Manpukuji was completed. The *shogun*'s direct patronage had encouraged both the high officers and the local *daimyōs* to support the Manpukuji monks. Some of them renovated and built new temples and

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<sup>128</sup> Richard Baffe, "Ingen and the Threat to the Myōshinjiha," in *Komazawa daigaku Zen kenkyūsho nenpō* 2 (March 1991), 27.

<sup>129</sup> Zennosuke Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, kinseihen* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), 3: 345.

<sup>130</sup> Tsuji Zennosuke ascribes the granting of the land mainly with Ryōkei's role as the go-between. In addition to Ryōkei's contribution, Yinyuan's religious cachet and several important *bakufu* officials' support also propelled the *bakufu* into the final decision. During his interview with the *shogun*, Yinyuan seems to have left a satisfactory impression upon the ruler. In the winter of 1658, the master also conducted a memorial service for his host Sakai Tadamasa (J. 酒井忠勝, 1587-1662)'s father who died in 1627. Taking these performances into consideration, the master's personal charisma and reputation must have contributed to the *bakufu*'s later support. Kimura Tokugen believes that Makino Chikashige (J. 牧野親成, 1607-1677) played another significant role in suggesting a piece of land at Uji when he served as a supervisor at Kyōto during the time. See Tsuji 1955, 3:346-354. Kimura 2005,302.

ascribed the eminent Ōbaku monks as the founder or abbot. As an institution, the Manpukuji Chinese émigrés outnumbered those Chinese monks who came to Japan at around the same time. The Wanfusi monks remained organized with consistent Chan style and discipline, and as a cohesive monastic group, they strove for the same aim of establishing the authority of their Chan practice. China was the fountainhead of Japanese Zen since the medieval period, and the Japanese priests could not seek any inspiration directly from the continent after the *bakufu*'s *sakoku* policy in the seventeenth century. So when Yinyuan came to serve as the embodiment of Ming Buddhist models,<sup>131</sup> Jifei participated in importing Ming Buddhism to Tokugawa Japan.

The Mankukuji monks' adherence on monastic discipline and traditional forms of Zen practice such as meditation was more than just an alternative for considerable number of monks who were seeking new approaches to Buddhist practice.<sup>132</sup> To describe the *sandan kaie* (三壇戒會, C. Santan jiehui, the precept ceremony in three stages) to his Japanese audience, Yinyuan wrote *Gukai hōgi* (弘戒法儀, C. Hongjie fayi) as early as 1658. The book constituted fourteen chapters, with thirteen chapters taken from a work by the same name authored by Hanyue Fazang in 1623. Yinyuan, Mu'an, and Gaoquan co-operated on the *Ōbaku shingi* (J. 黄檗清規, Pure rules of Ōbaku), a monastic code to govern Manpukuji. The work was published in 1673, and stands as one of Manpukuji's most important contributions to the development of contemporaneous Japanese monastic codes.<sup>133</sup> Traditional Chan monastic codes include the *Chanyuan qinggui* as a standard for monastic practice, and the *Ōbaku*

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<sup>131</sup> Baskind 2006, 44.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-46.

*shingi* is used to regulate the monastic setting of a single monastery.<sup>134</sup> Prior to the publication, Wanfusi's expectation for monastic conducts was elucidated mainly through the founding masters' personal example. Jifei was one of the instrumental figures to be presented for the temple's monastism. As aforementioned, he completed his monastic training in Wanfusi before engaging in a subjective investigation of the mind through meditation and doctrinal studies. No extant records explicitly indicate the precepts Jifei used while residing at Sōfukuji and Fukujūji, but he was documented as an erudite master who remained moderate in his behavior, and firm in monastic disciplines and practice.<sup>135</sup>

On the other hand, the type of Zen monastic institution that had originally been regulated by the *Chanyuan qinggui* and *Chixiu baizhang qinggui* had virtually disappeared in Japan's Zen monasteries by the latter half of the sixteenth century. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Japanese Zen institutions spread and evolved in ways that were relatively independent of the developments in China. Rinzai Zen monks of the same lineage splintered off as "brother" and "cousin" dharma heirs, and competed for the abbacies of monasteries. This development, added with new patterns of patronage that linked individual Zen masters and their lineal descendants with particular lay clans boasting wealth and power, led to the proliferation of mortuary sub-temples at the manor metropolitan Zen monasteries and the eventual demise of their head temples. The monks' collaboration with secular powers in turn caused the temples' lax observance of monastic code, a situation commonly seen in the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, the architectural layout of these sub-temples, as time went on, was simplified with the worship hall moved into the abbot's quarters. The new set of guidelines produced under such

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<sup>134</sup> Baroni 2000, 88-89.

<sup>135</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1336.

circumstances contains more basic ways of engaging lay followers in Buddhist practice. For instance, the *Shoekō shingi* (J. 諸回向清規, Rules of Purity with Various Dedications of Merit) incorporates funeral rituals, rites of repentance and receiving precepts into it. The code was originally composed by a Rinzai Zen monk Tenrin Fuinin (J. 天倫楓隱,) 1566 as an in-house document, and not published for public circulation until 1657.<sup>136</sup>

The Wanfusi group's steadfast observance of the precepts struck the Japanese Zen monks with surprise when they lost this tradition in the intervening centuries. The Chinese expatriate's observance of communal monastic discipline impressed a number of Rinzai and Sōtō monks, and even attracted influential and powerful patronage from locals. The emperors were devotional Buddhism followers, and traditionally attached to the Myōshinji Zen practice. Baroni speculates that the imperial court's appreciation for the Ōbaku's strict interpretation of monastic code and practice must have motivated their patronage of the expatriate monks out.<sup>137</sup> With Ryōkei's further negotiation, the retired emperor Go-mizunoo (J. 後水尾天皇, 1596-1680, r.1611-1629) became a patron of Yinyuan's Chan style.<sup>138</sup> The political and financial support from both the *bakufu* and the imperial house wrangled Ōbaku a legitimate seat within the Japanese Buddhist community, as an "official" representative of Ming Chan Buddhism in Japan.

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<sup>136</sup> T. Griffith Foulk, "Rules of Purity' in Japanese Zen," in *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism*, ed., Steven Heine, and Dale S. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 148-150.

<sup>137</sup> Baroni 2000, 166.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

## Jifei's Linji Chan Style

Jifei's *yulu* and writing reveal this master's contribution to his master's project was his solid scholarship and understandings pertain to the Linji Chan and other religious style current in seventeenth-century China. Baroni characterizes Jifei's Chan style as free, spontaneous, characteristic of the Chan masters' in the classical period.<sup>139</sup> Jifei's Linji Chan continued the heritage of the southern Chan School founded by Huineng, a master who was believed to reach enlightenment immediately upon hearing the *Diamond Sutra*. Later many of Huineng's followers assume the sixth Patriarch an apologist for the doctrine of "sudden enlightenment."<sup>140</sup> However, Huineng was by no means exclusively asserting sudden enlightenment as a singular goal. He is explicit in the record as saying, "in the Dharma there is no sudden or gradual, but among people some are keen and others dull. The deluded recommend the gradual method, the enlightened practice the sudden teaching."<sup>141</sup> Linji inherited the core teachings of the Southern school with a specific emphasis on sudden enlightenment. Similar to his predecessors such as Huineng and Huangbo, Linji was also versed in sutras and doctrines, as recorded in the *Linji lu*. Linji's primary concern was the nature of the mind, stressing that one should seek an answer from within. He explained that, "When the time comes to do so, put on your clothes. If you want to walk, walk. If you want to sit, sit. But never for a moment set your mind on seeking Buddhahood. Why do it this way? A man of old said, 'if you try to create good karma and seek to be a Buddha, then Buddha will become a sure sign you will remain in the

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<sup>139</sup> Baroni 2000, 61.

<sup>140</sup> Philip B. Yampolsky, trans., *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 126-127.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

realm of birth and death.”<sup>142</sup> Linji encouraged Chan monks to seek inspirations from Buddhist scriptures and other sects when necessary, but he discouraged them from holding onto a rigid methodology, or a particular text for ultimate understanding.<sup>143</sup>

Yinyuan continued his masters Miyun’s and Feiyin’s emphasis on the *Linji lu*, one of their texts for Chan practice. Jifei was familiar with the core technical terms such as “three vital seals” and “three dark gates” that appear in the *Linji lu*.

The monk asked: the Dharma is thriving, and the Law is revitalizing. Please elucidate the three dark gates and three vital seals. What is the first dark gate?  
 The master said: you are asking about the second dark gate.  
 The monk asked: what is the second dark gate?  
 The master answered: you have just asked.  
 The monk asked: what is the third dark gate?  
 The master answered: The eyebrows, eyes and nose interconnect.  
 The monk asked: what is the first vital seal?  
 The master answered: the Sanjiaosi emerged from the tiger head.<sup>144</sup>  
 The monk asked: what is the second vital seal?  
 The master said: No horns in the bull’s head.  
 The monk asked: what is the third vital seal?  
 The master answered: The *Qilin*<sup>145</sup> with only one horn.<sup>146</sup>

The “Three dark gates” and “Three vital seals” are believed to summarize the basic meaning of Buddhism in short phrases. But the exact meaning of the phrases remains debatable even today. Scholars like Asahina Sōgen,<sup>147</sup> Yoshitaka Iriya,<sup>148</sup> and Burton

<sup>142</sup> Burton Watson, trans., *The Zen Teachings of Master Lin-chi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 26.

<sup>143</sup> Thomas Cleary, *Rational Zen: the Mind of Dōgen Zenji* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 4.

<sup>144</sup> It might refer to the Sanjiaosi (三角寺, J. Sankakuji) where the legendary Chan Master Fuhu (C. 伏虎, literally means a tiger-tamer) of the Tang dynasty resided.

<sup>145</sup> A legendary Chinese animal with a single horn, a deer-like body, horse-like hoofs, and an ox-like tail.

<sup>146</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:48-49. My translation.

<sup>147</sup> Yixuan, Hui-jan, and Asahina Sōgen, *Rinzai roku* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 35-36.

<sup>148</sup> Yixuan, and Iriya Yoshitaka, *Rinzai roku* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 28-29.

Watson<sup>149</sup> are cautious in explicating the meanings of the terms. *Wudeng huiyuan* (五燈會元, J.Gotō kaien, The Compendium of Five Lamps)<sup>150</sup> provides a context for Linji to address the significance of each phrase. Linji preaches that one is qualified to be the teacher of Shakyamuni and Bodhidharma if he understands the meaning upon hearing the first phrase, the one who did not understand until the second could be the instructor of heaven and earth, and the one who failed to understand anything until the third phrase could not even save himself.<sup>151</sup> Jifei's ways to respond to his audience resonate with Linji's idea. He refused to answer the monk's question about the second dark gates, as it indicated that the monk failed to understand the meaning contained in the first phrase. Through the phrase "the eyebrows, eyes and nose interconnect," Jifei tried to bring the monk into realization of his sentient existence conditioned by attachment and desire. Jifei employed the typical anti-language Zen logic to urge his audience to understand that it is his logical mindset that restricts his approach to the true nature of the mind.

Jifei's Chan style was refined with the principles from the classic Chan texts, particularly the *Linji lu*. One ritual the master introduced to Japan is the protocol of ascending the dharma hall to deliver a public sermon (上堂, C.shangtang, J. Jōdō).<sup>152</sup> Traditionally, a Chan master's sermons could be his lectures on Chan doctrines, or his

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<sup>149</sup> Watson 1999, 19.

<sup>150</sup> A text compiled by the monk Puji at Lingyin temple in Hangzhou in the early 1250s. It is the distillation of five previous lamp records: *Jingde chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄), *tiansheng guangdenglu* (天聖廣燈錄), *jiangzhong jingguo xudenglu* (建中靖國續燈錄聯燈會要嘉泰普燈錄), *liandeng huiyao* (聯燈會要嘉泰普燈錄), and *Jiatai pudenglu huiyao* (嘉泰普燈錄), a series of *denglu* compiled during the Song dynasty. The *Wudeng huiyuan* provides traditional accounts of the lives of famous Zen teachers and their teachings. See Ferguson, Andrew E. *Zen's Chinese Heritage: The Masters and Their Teachings*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 10.

<sup>151</sup> Puji, *Wudeng huiyuan* (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1984), 2:645.

<sup>152</sup> Steven Heine, and Dale Stuart Wright, *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2008), 83.

instructions on spiritual practice. The master normally ascended the high seat of the hall to deliver a sermon, and it was treated as public occasions, allowing both monastic assembly and laypeople to attend. The master's sermons were normally preceded by and followed with customary ceremonial acts such as bowing and invocations. At times, the events included questions from the audience. Jifei's sermons were also delivered with a prescribed ritual pattern. Jifei introduced shouting at and beating of the student in response to their questions, but he was moderate in using the pedagogic practice. These performances were not innovative. Mario Poceski argues that many of them actually followed highly stylized and scripted patterns of Zen thought developed in the Song time.<sup>153</sup>

The following sermon illustrates several details of the master's practice:

The dharma senior Mu'an invited the Master [Jifei] to ascend the hall.  
 The monk asked: "One Buddha reached enlightenment, and ten-thousand Buddhas applauded." What is "the ten thousand Buddhas applauded"?  
 The master said: Delighted in [his] breaking through the entrance to emptiness.  
 The monk said: Is it still worthy to be applauded if [he] simply likes the True Man with no rank besides the lump of red flesh?<sup>154</sup>  
 The master said: Where is the True Man with no rank?  
 The monk was about to say something, whereupon the Master blew him a beat.<sup>155</sup>

Jifei urges his audience to set aside external sources and to look within for the truth. According to Burton Watson, the "True Man" refers to a person of genuine understanding of the Way, and "True Man with no rank" stands for the Buddha-nature

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<sup>153</sup> Mario Poceski, "Chan Rituals of the Abbots' Ascending the Dharma Hall to Preach Zen Rituals," in *Zen Ritual: Studies of Zen Buddhist Theory in Practice*, edited by Steven Heine, and Dale Stuart Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 83-84.

<sup>154</sup> "The True Man with no rank besides the lump of red flesh" is originally seen in the *Linji lu*, which states, "Here in this lump of red flesh there is a True Man with no ranks" Watson 1999, 13.

<sup>155</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:55-56. My translation.

within everyone.<sup>156</sup> This Buddha-nature equals the emptiness that the “One Buddha” broke through in the narrative above. The monk is repeating his previous question by asking “is it still worthy to be applauded if [he] simply likes the True Man with no rank besides the lump of red flesh?” Jifei then tries to give a hint by rebuking, “where is the True Man with no rank?” Failing to realize it is within himself, the monk tried to express this “Buddha-nature” through words. Jifei blew him a beat to stop him from the wrong direction. Jifei attempted to convey to the monk that there is no goal to be striven for because it has been won already, no place to be journeyed to because one is there right now.<sup>157</sup> The dialogues also indicate Jifei’s inheritance of Linji’s militant teaching methods. Similar to Linji’s response to the listener who was about to explain “the True Man with no rank” by shoving him away,<sup>158</sup> Jifei blew a beat to stop the monk’s wrong meditative direction. Other than the practice of beating, the records also indicate his emulation of Linji’s shouting at his audience in order to shock them.

### Jifei’s Syncretic Buddhist Practice

Despite Jifei’s self-consciousness regarding his dharma lineage, his Chan style and thought had absorbed and perpetuated the popular syncretistic trend of Chan practice which combined elements from other denominations in seventeenth-century China. The emphasis on the authenticity of dharma transmission could prevent those without true understanding from claiming unearned positions, but under certain

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<sup>156</sup> Watson 1999, xxiv.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, xxv. This idea represents the primary thought of the Southern Chan School. The verse refers to Huineng’s verse “Bodhi originally has no tree, the mirror also has no stand. Buddha nature is always clean and pure; Where is there room for dust?” Yampolsky 1967, 132.

<sup>158</sup> Watson 1999, 13.

circumstances, it could also become a breeding ground for rivalry and ambition. In addition, this concern with dharma lineage orthodoxy was not common at the time.<sup>159</sup>

As a Chan teacher, Jifei inherited the trans-sectarian perspectives employed by the Buddhist masters he had encountered in his younger years. The following suggests his knowledge of Chan Buddhism went well beyond sectarian and doctrinal boundaries.

The monk asked: why is that the five leaves developed from one flower are blooming, and each branch displays the spirit of the spring?<sup>160</sup>

The master blew a beat, and said: everyone has one share of the branches. One Buddha entered into enlightenment and ten thousand Buddhas applauded. One blossoming flower is surrounded by thousands of flowers. No matter yellow or purple, they are all the symbols of the spring. No matter old or new, all the Buddhas represent the same Way. They use this non-dualistic Way to explore the gate being proven by no human or heavenly beings yet, and discover the mystery that Shakyamuni did not convey.”<sup>161</sup>

The five “houses” was not originally considered different Chan schools, nor were they institutionalized. Institutionalization of Chan teachings begun in around the seventh century, a time when the charisma of some Chan masters such as Huineng attracted growing numbers of followers. Meanwhile, there arose a tradition of criticizing the very notion of institutionalized Chan leadership among Chan teachers, a group of masters who claimed that enlightenment was neither to be found in doctrines nor in any external entity.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, when being asked about the difference between

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<sup>159</sup> Shi 1987,45-46.

<sup>160</sup> It refers to the development of the Zen Buddhism after the Sixth Patriarch inaugurated the Southern School. During the Tang and the Song dynasties, with the rise of eminent Zen masters such as Shitou Xiqian (石頭希遷, J.Sekito Kisen, 700-790), Baizhang Huaihai (百丈懷海, J.Hyakujō Ekai, 749? - 814), Huangbo, Linji, and Yunmen developed specialized teaching methods, which became characteristic of the five houses of Chan of Southern School. The five houses normally refer to Guiyang school, Linji school, Caodong school, Yunmen school and Fayuan (法眼, J.Hōgen) school. This list does not include earlier schools such as Hongzhou school named after Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, J. Basō Dōitsu, 709–788).

<sup>161</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:56-57.

<sup>162</sup> Cleary 1993, 7-8.

these Chan schools, Jifei answered that they all focused on one single purpose, which is to free one's mind. He preached, "No matter yellow or purple, they are all symbolizing the vitality of the same spring. No matter old or new, all the Buddhas represent the same Way." Here Jifei attempts to emphasize the principle of "emptiness" that characterizes all the denominations, and the entire phenomenal world was described as a single, all-embracing oneness.

Jifei's religious knowledge and perspective demonstrates his solid scholarship in classical Chan Buddhist rhetoric, as illustrated further by the following dialogues:

Xueji asked: What is Linji school?

The master answered: A Thunderbolt in the blue sky.<sup>163</sup>

The monk asked: What is Caodong school?

The master answered: A tiger's chipping, and a horse's stumbling.<sup>164</sup>

The monk asked: What is Yunmen school?

The master answered: The red circle behind the brain<sup>165</sup>.

The monk asked: What is Guiyang school?

The Master gestured an *ensō* [an expression of one's enlightenment by making a circle with fingers]<sup>166</sup> saying, "Nobody jumps out".<sup>167</sup>

The monk asked: What is Fayan school<sup>168</sup>?

The master answered: The world is Sramana's insight<sup>169</sup>.

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<sup>163</sup> Linji Chan was characterized by its emphasis on "seeing one's true nature" and the absolute free functioning of wisdom within the activities of daily life. Its training methods include *kōan* and some militant teaching styles such as shouting and beating.

<sup>164</sup> Caodong school is named after Dongshan Liangjie (洞山良价, J.Tōzan Ryōkai, 807-869) and his disciple Caoshan Benji (曹山本寂, J.Sōzan Honjaku, 840-901) in the ninth century. The school emphasized sitting meditation, and famous for the Verses of the Five Ranks with Dongshan as the authorship.

<sup>165</sup> Yunmen School is named after Yunmen Wenyan (雲門文偃, J. Unmon Bun'en, 862 or 864-949) during Tang dynasty. Yunmen was renowned for his forceful and pithy teaching, often expressed through sudden shouts and blows with a staff.

<sup>166</sup> *Ensō* often refers to the absolute truth in Zen Buddhism.

<sup>167</sup> Guiyang School (or Weiyang School) is named after Chan masters Guishan Lingyou (澚山靈祐, J.Isan Reiyū, 771-853) and his dharma heir Yangshan Huiji (仰山慧寂, J. Kyōzan Ejaku, 807-883). The school is noted for its question-and-answer training style to help the disciples understanding its teaching.

<sup>168</sup> Fayan school is named after Fayan Wenyi (法眼文益, J. Hōgen Mon'eki, 885-958). The school flourished up until Yongming Yanshou (永明延壽, J.Yōmei Enju, 904-975)'s time.

<sup>169</sup> It generally refers to the male wandering ascetics in India, or Gautama Buddha

The monk asked: The five sects are the same or different?  
 The master answered: Five multiplied by five equals twenty-five.  
 The monk bowed low, "Thanks for the instruction."  
 The master asked: Which school does you belong to?  
 The monk gave a shout.  
 The master blew a beat and said: Half nodding in front of the Linji Hall.<sup>170</sup>

The training style of the five houses differed greatly, and Jifei's portrayal of these schools illustrates his trans-sectarian approach to Chan doctrines. Here he commented the teaching style of Linji, Caodong and Yunmen schools, and summarized the doctrinal feature of Fayan and Guiyang schools. In terms of pedagogic style, Caodong masters were elaborate and courteous, Linji monks were forceful and vehement, Yunmen vigorous and abrupt, Fayan flexible, and Guiyang was mild and gentle. Among the five Chan schools, Fayan showed special focus on scriptural studies. Zen masters Tiantai Deshao (天台德韶, J. Tendai Tokushō, 891-972) tried to incorporate Tiantai doctrines into Fayan Chan, and his disciple Yongming Yanshou attempted to harmonize Pure Land doctrine with Chan practice. Guiyang school had ninety-six *ensō*, and believed that everything possesses Buddha-nature, and one becomes Buddha if he sees truth in himself.

The phrase of "five multiplied by five equals twenty-five" demonstrates Jifei's acceptance of these different Chan styles as similar tools to guide one into discovering truth. From the Song dynasty on, the Linji school had absorbed different pedagogical methods and doctrines from other schools. The following dialogue proves Jifei's familiarity with encounter dialogues and *kōans* that were not seen in the *Linji lu*.

[Wei Er-qian<sup>171</sup>] asked: The sword hung in between the eyebrows<sup>172</sup> scares

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who was a wandering ascetic before reaching enlightenment.

<sup>170</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:40-41. My translation.

<sup>171</sup> Erqian (爾潛) is the style name of Wei Zhiyan (魏之琰, J. Gi Shien, 1617-1689), an active merchant and musician born in Fuqing, Fujian province, China. He lived in Vietnam and frequented Nagasaki for trade. Wei was one of the leaders in the Chinese

even demons, the hidden pearl in the sleeves must have credit. I will not ask about the Three Dark Gates of Linji, but please explain to me the Five Ranks of Caodong<sup>173</sup>.

The master said: Ask from the beginning.

The monk said: What is the Apparent within the Real<sup>174</sup>?

The master said: The fragrant horse with cloven hoofs.

The monk said: What is Arriving within the Relative?

The master said: The jade-like flowers blossom in the cycad.

The monk said: What is The Relative within the Absolute?

The master said: The faint light in the snow-covered mountain at midnight.

The monk said: What is The Absolute within the Relative?

The master said: The mutual integration of the moon and the sun.

The monk said: What is the Unity of the Absolute and Relative Attained?

The master said: The chaos without openings.

The monk said: After your instruction on the Five Ranks, [I felt] just like the Shakyamuni upon losing his sight, and the Vimalakirti when he opened his eyes. Is it the same or different?

The master said: Each will be hard to achieve if the two are mixed.

The monk said: Is it the true light when [the dark] being illuminated by the compassionate Sun?

The master blew a beat and said: Is it absolute or relative?

The monk bowed low.

The master gestured an *ensō* with his flywhisk, and said: Do you understand? Shakyamuni realized it at midnight in a snow-covered mountain; the Sixth Patriarch found it when treading on a mortar at a mill; Baizhang plowed it out of the field, Weishan discovered it in the wooden ladle when taking water; Xuefeng found it near a food basket; Yunfeng bumped into it at a busy market. The wise of ancient and present achieved it in their daily life. The Danapati of this temple started to believe it from his Buddha nature. As aforementioned, stop discussing it but have faith in it.<sup>175</sup>

Jifei explained the relation between the phenomenal world and human cognition. The relative is the object of knowledge and being conditioned by space,

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community in Nagasaki in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1672 he immigrated to Nagasaki and spent the rest of his life in Japan. One of Jifei's poems describes Wei as a pious lay Buddhist and patron of the master's religious activity in Japan. Hirakubo 1993, 3:1023.

<sup>172</sup> It refers to anger.

<sup>173</sup> It is Dongshan's summary of the five levels of Enlightenment. Caoshan later interpreted it as the five ranks between lord and subject. The lord corresponds to the Absolute, and the subject corresponds to the Relative. Dongshan's poems on the Five Positions (Five Ranks) of Absolute and Relative were used frequently as *kōan*.

<sup>174</sup> The Absolute means the noumenon, the nature of a thing independent of human cognition as a thing in itself. The Relative means the phenomenon, an observable event or physical manifestation capable of being observed by one of the five human senses.

<sup>175</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1: 51-52. My translation.

time, and other such categories. The absolute, on the other hand, is the actual object that emits the phenomenon. The Five Ranks explains a Mahayana network of mutual relations. His sermon of “the mutual integration of the moon and the sun” shows the spirit of Chan: emptiness is neither negation nor affirmation. Enlightenment is described here as an intuitive response to the nature of things incomprehensible through an analytical or logical approach. When one has obtained it, all the opposites and contradictions would be untied and harmonized into a consistent organic whole. Exemplified by the experiences of the Zen masters, enlightenment is a plain fact, a pure experience being undergone every day.

Jifei’s Chan style bears a clear influence from the classical period of the Tang and Song dynasties. This was due partly to his familiarity with Mahayana scriptures as well as Chan literature. The unifying vision of Buddhism, as expressed in Chan monasteries, also inspired his Chan practice. His concern with the doctrine of karma might reflect his acceptance of the schedule of merits and demerits synthesized by Yuan Liaofan. This idea of the Taoist origin argued that the fate of an individual was determined by the balancing of the merits against the demerits earned during his lifetime.<sup>176</sup> Jifei’s piety toward his mother and his master already demonstrates his strong moral standard, and he seems to continue this moral approach in his teaching as a way for one’s self-salvation.

Despite the syncretistic elements adopted from Confucianism and other Buddhist schools, Jifei kept meditation as the primary focus. He explains, “Buddhist practice focuses on seeing one’s mind, and sows the seed of bliss from behaviors. Meditation is the fundamental manner to see into one’s mind; and serving the others with

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<sup>176</sup> Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China: a Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 436.

compassion is a priority in achieving the state of bliss.”<sup>177</sup>

Jifei added miscellaneous Buddhist elements of different schools to his Linji Chan practice as skillful means. In regard to the institutions of different denominations including Tiantai, Huayan, Yoga and Pure Land schools, he approaches them with an apocalyptic rhetoric by referring the present world as “*moshi*”(末世, J. masse).<sup>178</sup> The *moshi* is a concept developed from the doctrine of three distinct periods of the Buddha Śākyamuni’s dispensation.<sup>179</sup> Jifei used expedient means to refer to these competitive denominations, explaining them away as simply different means for people to reach the goal of enlightenment during the period of final doctrine.<sup>180</sup>

In the same spirit, Jifei considers *nenbutsu* as an expedient means to help one reach their spiritual goal. After consulting Jifei’s sayings, Baskind agrees that *nenbutsu* is simply a means of training intended to lead or assist the Zen practitioner to a higher or desired state of meditative absorption; a Zen practice that is to lead to an intuitive understanding that then results in the attainment of the ultimate goal, enlightenment. He insightfully points out that Jifei believes that recitation of the Buddha’s name is compatible with Zen practice, and also can function as an equally efficacious means of realizing ultimate truth.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1:218-219. My translation.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid, 1: 431.

<sup>179</sup> According to sutras such as the *Lotus Sutra* and *Avatamsaka*, the duration of the Śākyamuni Buddha’s teachings maybe divided into three periods: Period of the True Dharma when the teachings of Śākyamuni were rigidly followed; Period of the Counterfeit Dharma when the true dharma were obscured and something resembling it were in vogue; and the Period of the Final Dharma when the dharma was in disrepute, and about to disappear. See Ch’en 1964, 297-298.

<sup>180</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 1: 431.

<sup>181</sup> James Baskind, “The *nianfo* in Ōbaku Zen—a Look at the Teachings of the Three Founding Masters,” in *Japanese Religions* (2008) 33/1-2, 29.

Jifei's sermons indicate that the master's Chan style appealed to the Japanese Buddhists because they represented an updated Chan practice from late Ming China. Jifei's Chan style outlined a comprehensive Chan Buddhist schema expressed in figurative and literary terms borrowed from the classic Chan Buddhist *yulu* and *denglu*. The novel behaviors of the Chan masters in the classic period were exhibited through a unique teaching style, involving famous antics such as shouting, slapping, hitting, and otherwise abrupt retorts, all of which was epitomized by Linji.<sup>182</sup> Jifei followed the pattern established for the great Chan masters in the Tang and Song dynasties.

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<sup>182</sup> Welter 2008,139.

CHAPTER III: CONFUCIAN IDEAL WITHIN THE CHAN CLOISTERS:  
JIFEI'S CULTURAL LIFE

Despite the general consensus regarding the socio-cultural significance of the Ōbaku founders' Chinese background in their religious mission, these monks' cultural heritages remain relatively marginal in the world of Buddhist historians. Scholars like Ui Hakuju<sup>183</sup> and Tsuji Zennosuke are reluctant to allocate to their cultural practice more than a minor role in their religious career. It was not until the 1980s that art historians started to show their interest in Manpukuji's cultural heritage. Ōtsuki Mikio's dictionary *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten* describes the lives of the Ōbaku monks and their socio-political interactions with Japanese literati painters, professional artists, playwrights and government officials from secular society. Baroni even suggests the *bakufu*'s interest in Manpukuji was predominantly cultural rather than religious,<sup>184</sup> but her primary evidence is the heritages left behind by Tetsugen Dōkō (J.鉄眼道光, 1630-1682), a Japanese monk of Ōbaku lineage. Her research is preoccupied with questions regarding the Ōbaku's religious heritage, and gives the monks' introduction of late-Ming culture a second place of discussions.

Yinyuan and his disciples' cultural practice gave them an advantage in gaining patronage and followers from the nobility and warrior class. Considerable art historians have dedicated themselves to elucidating the Ōbaku monks' introduction of late-Ming Chinese cultural achievement including architecture, sculpture, painting, and music to Japan. In terms of the émigrés' contribution to Japanese painting, both Nishimura Tei and Elizabeth Sharf have dedicated a detailed research on the Ōbaku

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<sup>183</sup> Hakuju Ui, *Bukkyō hanron* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1966), 1018-1022.

<sup>184</sup> Baroni 2000, 166.

Zen portrait paintings. Their research narrows down the monks as the living embodiments of southern Chinese literati culture, and as the agents for the transmission to Japan of seventeenth-century China's technological and artistic achievements.<sup>185</sup> Kimura Tokugen's collection presents a brief history of Ōbaku literati art.<sup>186</sup> Although no substantial scholarship has built up a detailed profile of Jifei's contribution to the cultural heritage of the early Ōbaku movement, many scholars' surveys establish a basic framework for my investigation of Jifei's cultural life as an effective way to attract Japan's warrior class and intellectuals. This chapter argues the penetration of late-Ming Confucian style of life into the Chan cloisters by observing the Ōbaku monks' textual productions, as well as Jifei's involvement in writing, calligraphy, literati paintings, and Confucian knowledge.

#### Penmanship and Confucian Knowledge

With the support of educated elites and members of the Tokugawa family, Buddhist temples ceased to dominate Confucian studies, and Confucianism assumed independence. This transition was best demonstrated in the intellectual experience of Yamazaki Ansai (J.山崎闇齋, 1618-1682), who came into contact with Neo-Confucianism during his monastic training. The study led him to reject Buddhism and to publish a book criticizing the religion.<sup>187</sup> This paradigm shift in intellectual interest provides a favorable atmosphere for Jifei and his fellow monks to import late Ming Confucian culture as part of their mission. No records indicate Yinyuan's and Jifei's

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<sup>185</sup> Sharf 1994, 324. Tei Nishimura, *Ōbaku gazōshi* (Tōkyō: Toritsugijo Sōgensha 1934), 99-125.

<sup>186</sup> Kimura 2005, 357-388.

<sup>187</sup> de Bary 2001, 84

linguistic background in Japanese, and classical Chinese was the written language Jifei employed during his stay in Japan. Their Chinese cultural background allowed them to converse in writing with local Japanese elite.

In her research of the Ōbaku Zen's political ascendance in Tokugawa Japan, Helen Baroni speculates that the Ōbaku masters' expertise in Chinese culture including the arts of calligraphy, painting, poetry and prose appealed to the *bakufu*, and the exclusive control of the Ōbaku monks fulfilled the *bakufu*'s ambition to be the sole purveyor of Chinese culture.<sup>188</sup> Baskind's research also argues that the Ōbaku's Chinese cultural cachet was one of their greatest assets, which they were able to use to their advantage.<sup>189</sup> These scholars observed the cultural prestige seventeenth-century Chinese had been enjoyed in Japan.

The physical development of Ōbaku movement demonstrates the early Ōbaku founders' professional competence in competition with other existing religious communities in Japan. However, a good beginning does not guarantee a continuing popularity of the movement by default. From the outset, the Chinese émigrés' activities had been put under the direct control of the *bakufu*. The sense of crisis must have dictated the Ōbaku monks' composition of hagiographies as their founding masters' biographies. The creation of Yinyuan's and Jifei's supernatural powers was part of their strategies to attract the Japanese audience. Jifei's biographies were equally dedicated to open promotion of the master's religious qualification in establishing and propagating Ōbaku Zen during its fledgling years.

The Ōbaku monks used extensive prediction motif in establishing the religious authority of Manpukuji through promoting the image of the founding masters like Yinyuan and Jifei. The prediction motif was originally used in Albert Welter's

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<sup>188</sup> Baroni 2000, 183-184.

<sup>189</sup> Baskind 2006, 8-9.

analysis of the motives behind Chan master Tiantian Dezhaos prediction concerning his patron Qian Shu (钱俶, J.Sen Shoku, r.948-978)'s political career. Dezhaos once predicted that Qian would ascend to the throne in Wuyue Kingdom<sup>190</sup>, an even that did happen later. Impressed by the Chan master's transcendental power, Qian established Chan Buddhism as the state religion. However, Welter argues that the prediction actually obscured historical facts that had contributed to Qian's support of Deshao's religious reform.<sup>191</sup> Both the *Gōki* and *Gyōjitsu* document auspicious predictions for Jifei's success in Japan. Before departure from China to Japan, Jifei planned to pay a certain renowned Lin Jihou (林集侯, J. Rin Shukō) an unscheduled visit. Lin had a dream the night before. In the dream, the General Skanda (韋陀, J. Idaten)<sup>192</sup> was standing next to bed, informing Lin that a bodhisattva was to visit him.<sup>193</sup> This dream (with other auspicious signs) indicates that before leaving China, Jifei received great respect even in places out of his hometown. Similar to the Skanda's role to protect Buddhist dharma, the dream perhaps predicts Jifei's role in promulgating in Japan an authentic Buddhist teaching. Jifei's biographers then introduced the welcome that Jifei received from the three Chinese temples. This welcome proved partially Lin's prediction as correct, and promised a delightful prospect of Jifei's life in the foreign land.

Welter argues that prediction motif, together with enlightenment prediction motifs and awakening experience motif, is commonly seen in biographies of Buddhist

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<sup>190</sup> The Wuyue regime (895-978) was located in southeast China, covering roughly today's Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces.

<sup>191</sup> Welter 2006, 146.

<sup>192</sup> Skanda was the god of war in Indian mythologies. Later he was incorporated into Buddhism as the guardian of the Dharma, protecting Buddhist monasteries and teachings. He was considered as the general-in-chief of the thirty-two celestial generals under the four Heavenly Kings. See Nakamura Hajime, *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 35.

<sup>193</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1309-1310, 1342-1343.

monks.<sup>194</sup> Jifei's four biographies used Guanyin to predict the master's enlightenment experience, and Mulian guided Jifei's spiritual awakening to Buddhism. In the same spirit, Lin's prediction confirmed Jifei's religious authority in China and propelled the master to the position of an enlightened spiritual leader in Japan. Myōdō introduced another dream by the wife of Ogasawara Tadazane (J.小笠原忠真, 1596-1667)<sup>195</sup>. The dream identifies Jifei as an arhat,<sup>196</sup> a Buddhist practitioner realized the nirvana. Lying behind the prediction is crucial political events in the course of early Ōbaku movement in Japan. The biographies record that the lord Ogasawara received inspiration from his wife's dream, and became a patron of Jifei (and his monastic group)'s Buddhist activity. Ogasawara requested Jifei to stay in Kokura, and founded Kōjusan Fukujūji (J. 広寿山福聚寺) with the master as the abbot from 1664 until 1667. Ogasawara's wife was *daimyō* Honda Tadamasa (J.本多忠政, 1575-1631)'s<sup>197</sup> daughter and adopted by Tokugawa Ieyasu (J. 徳川家康, 1542-1616, r.1603-1605), the founder of Tokugawa *bakufu*. Politically, Ogasawara also maintained a close relationship with the Tokugawa Shogunate. Implicit in the Ogasawara prediction episode is the *bakufu*'s political and financial support of Manpukuji, and Ogasawara's support of Jifei's mission.

Jifei's biographers are not alone in concocting stories to glorify the master's arrival in Japan. Yinyuan's landing on Nagasaki was shrouded in some strange red

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<sup>194</sup> Welter 2006, 146.

<sup>195</sup> Ogasawara was Tokugawa Ieyasu's great-grandson, and the *daimyō* of Kokura domain of Buzen province, an old province that covers part of today's northern Kyūshū. He and his descendants were lords at Kokura domain from around 1632 through 1868.

<sup>196</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1312.

<sup>197</sup> Honda Tadamasa is the eldest son of Honda Tadakatsu (J.本多忠勝, 1548-1610). Tadakatsu was one of the four primary generals in helping Tokugawa Ieyasu establish his military government and maintain effective rule over Japan.

beams, predicting the master's future success in the country.<sup>198</sup> Jifei's and Yinyuan's subjectivity as historical figures were completely obliterated by the fabrication of the masters' transcendental power. Even Jifei himself participated in this project of creating Ōbaku monks as masters with supernatural power. He wrote a poetry "In gratitude for the rain" after he successfully brought rain over to the city with three days' petition.<sup>199</sup>

But the convergence of the political and religious circumstances did not appear favorable for Manpukuji to maintain a successful religious career in a long run. The Myōshinji line was the most influential among Japan's extant Rinzai temples as an institution with financial income and close ties to the imperial court. Most of the Myōshinji monks did not act friendly to Yinyuan, as elucidated by the temple's rejection of Ryōkei's proposal to invite Yinyuan to take residence in the monastery.<sup>200</sup> In 1662, the *bakufu* proscribed any constructions of monasteries on new land.<sup>201</sup> The physical development of the Ōbaku movement thus coincided with the fermentation of the *bakufu*'s religious policy.

Following the loss of Yinyuan in 1673 and the death of their imperial supporter, the retired Emperor Go-mizunoo in 1680, the Ōbaku monks forged a "divine" prediction. Through the composition of *Tōzuihen* (桃蕊篇, C. Taorui pian, the peach bud collection), they tried to establish a connection to the imperial house. Baskind identifies this prediction as of Taoist belief.<sup>202</sup> The text manipulates a prophetic poem written by Chen Tuan (陳搏, d. 989), a Taoist immortal, in an attempt to predict Yinyuan's arrival in Japan, and the event's significance on the birth of the new

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<sup>198</sup> Nōnin 1999, 251.

<sup>199</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1163.

<sup>200</sup> Tsuji 1944, 3:322-326.

<sup>201</sup> Genshō Takenuki, *The kinsei Ōbakushū matsujichō shūsei* (Tōkyō: Yūzankau Shuppan, 1990), 17-18.

<sup>202</sup> Baskind 2006, 8-9.

Emperor Reigen (J. 靈元天皇, 1654-1732, r.1663-1687), in an attempt to perpetuate imperial ties with the emperors. Through their calculated and creative intervention, the book was presented to Emperor Reigen in 1705.<sup>203</sup> Manpukuji's successful relationship with the emperor was thus forged. These émigré monks' penmanship was adeptly used to immortalize their founding masters' image with supernatural events, and to perpetuate Manpukuji's Chan style and Ōbaku monks' spiritual authority.

The Ōbaku monks' textual production directly contributed to their religious success.<sup>204</sup> Their penmanship and knowledge of Chinese Buddhism also contributed to the cultural development of Japan, a country where no distinct early modern Japanese literature or culture was fully materialized until the end of the seventeenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Tokugawa rulers' policy of rule by law and morality required mass education in classical Chinese. Scholars of Chinese studies like Hayashi Razan (J. 林羅山, 1583-1657) believed in learning as a means of governing.

Jifei and his fellow monks were fully aware of Japan's cultural perception of their role as the embodiment of high culture in Japan. They were prolific writers, much like their Song predecessors, whose written works were normally in the form of poems, tomb inscriptions, prefaces, letters, and temple commemorations, which were usually reserved for literati.<sup>205</sup> A glance at the bulk of Jifei's poems surviving from Japan informs us that proficiency in literati writing during seventeenth-century China was highly valued by both monasteries and gentry patrons alike.

Writing is a powerful tool for Jifei to communicate with his patrons of Chinese and Japanese cultural background. One poem entitled *Gengzi yuanri zhu qinglao*

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 8-9, 45-46.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>205</sup> Mark Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspective on Buddhism in Sung China, 960-1279* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 11-12.

*jianguo* (庚子元旦諸卿老見過, On meeting hometown folks at the new year of 1660) expresses Jifei's joy at meeting a group of patrons for New Year celebration, when these Chinese émigrés came to visit the master at Sōfukuji.<sup>206</sup> Another titled *Shisan ri feizhoudaozhong huai zhugong xiangsong huiqi* (十三日肥州道中懷諸公相送回崎, To the gentlemen of Hishū<sup>207</sup> giving me a send-off to Nagasaki on the date of thirteenth) was composed to communicate the poet's gratitude toward those who came to see him off when he was planning to leave for Nagasaki.<sup>208</sup> The *Sokuhi zenshū* collects substantial numbers of the master's poems documenting his active interaction with both Chinese and Japanese patrons through this literary tool.

Jifei came to the country when the priority of publication was given to Buddhist and Confucian texts. Medical books, literary classics, and contemporary vernacular literature did not find chance for mass printing until the end of the century.<sup>209</sup> The availability of mass printing offered these masters great opportunity to promulgate their scholarship as a cultural project. Tetsugen Dōkō's (a Japanese convert to Ōbaku Zen) endeavor in printing the Ming edition Buddhist scriptures amply demonstrates the argument. The first complete Japanese edition of the Buddhist scriptures was printed in 1648, but a few notable problems prevented it from circulating as a standard edition. In 1667, Dōkō built a print house with new printing techniques in the city of Kyōto, and in 1668, announced his undertaking to produce a complete woodblock edition of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Twelve years' later, the master eventually completed the actual carving of the woodblocks for the Buddhist canon,

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<sup>206</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 982.

<sup>207</sup> Part of today's Kyūshū area.

<sup>208</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1025-1026.

<sup>209</sup> Haruo Shirane, *Early Modern Japanese Literature: an Anthology, 1600-1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 21-22.

with the first complete copy ready to present to the retired emperor Go-mizunoo.<sup>210</sup>

This work remains Dōkō's primary contribution to Japanese Buddhism of the early modern period.<sup>211</sup> Ōbaku monks used publication as both an effective way to promote their sectarian authority, and a major vehicle to construct a positive cultural image of the monastery.

### Jifei's Unitary Vision of Chan Buddhism and Confucianism

Due partly to the fact that many late-Ming monks were educated before their monastic career, and partly to the gentry class' growing involvement in monastic affairs, the craze for an idyllic environment swept many Chan temples. Chan monks gravitated to the practice and connoisseurship of amateur art and literature, as a way to demonstrate their high-culture profile. This effort in turn attracted influential scholar-officials and local gentry to fortify Chan temples' financial as well as intellectual success. Timothy Brook notices that the gentry's engagement in religious activities at monasteries was not necessarily purely religious in inspiration, but belonged to a larger cultural context that honored the monastery as a repository and symbol of high-cultural values. Attracted by the cultural and aesthetic values of Chan Buddhism, literati integrated Buddhist themes into their cultural productions such as poetry composition.<sup>212</sup>

Jifei's literati family and monastic background prepared for him an easy access into the local gentry class. His literary competence gained him remarkable social and cultural recognition as a qualified scholar-monk with literary proficiency in reading

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<sup>210</sup> Kimura 2005,205-207.

<sup>211</sup> Helen J. Baroni, *Iron Eyes: the Life and Teaching of Ōbaku Zen Master Tetsugen Dōkō* (Albany: State university of New York Press, 2006), 55,151-174.

<sup>212</sup> Brook 1993,107.

and writing. As a monk, Jifei composed the *Fuqing xianzhi xuluoxu* (福清縣志續略敘, A brief gazetteer of Fuqing county) for his hometown.<sup>213</sup> It is a compliment for the master's prose composition skill.

In 1662, Jifei received a letter from a visitor regarding the *li* (理, J. rei, Principle) of things. Many of Jifei's answers were reminiscent of Neo-Confucian metaphysical theory. He adopted the term *qi* (氣, J. ki, vital energies, material force) and Yin-yang theory to explain the workings of the cosmos. For instance, he explained that the sky and the earth were divided when the light *qi* rose up to form heaven, and the turgid *qi* condensed and shaped the earth.<sup>214</sup> Zhu Xi gave special weight to principle (*li*) and believed that intensive study would allow the learner to discover the principle of any matter at hand. In seventeenth-century Japan, many elites adopted a wholesale Neo-Confucian position including its Sino-centric worldview that asserted ethnic Chinese's universal moral and cultural leadership. A leading Confucian practitioner of the century Kumazawa Banzan (J.熊沢蕃山, 1619-1691), for example, believed that the Japanese imperial house was founded by a Chinese sage.<sup>215</sup> Such a favorable intellectual climate directly motivated Jifei's cultural practice of Neo-Confucianism, and even played a role of authority in certain literati arts such as calligraphy and poems.

Given his education background, Jifei was confident in his unitary vision of Confucianism and Buddhism as an enlightened Chan monk. He strongly believed in the Buddhist influence in Wang Yangming's life, and even introduced an unofficial episode supporting his thesis. He wrote in Japan that Wang once visited a derelict temple in a mountain, and found there a monk who had gone into permanent sealed

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<sup>213</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1250-1255.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., 1: 383-384.

<sup>215</sup> de Bary 2001, 126-127.

confinement<sup>216</sup> for fifty years. He opened the cabinet where the monk had been sitting, and found a verse there stating “fifty years ago Wang Shouren (王守仁, Wang Yangming’s name), the one who opened this door is the who closed the door.” Wang was obviously shocked at what his eyes told him, and eventually believed himself to be the reincarnation of the sitting mummy. His faith in Chan Buddhism was assumed, and the complimentary relation between the religion and Confucianism was advocated and believed in by his followers.<sup>217</sup> Regarding the conflict between one’s moral responsibility for family and desire for an ascetic life, Jifei even suggested living one’s life as a lay follower.<sup>218</sup> His focus was on one’s mental concentration and daily practice toward the possibility of salvation, not on the superficial forms of entering into a monastery. This stance echoes Wang Yangming’s thesis that sagehood was achieved by focusing on the mind rather than on investigating and following the objective Way espoused by Zhu Xi.

This merge of religious and literati concerns was especially palpable in Jifei’s verse *Ti huasong shou yuan tanyue* (題畫松壽源檀越, On the Painting of Pine Trees to Celebrate the Birthday of Patron Lord Minamoto). The verse goes as follows,

[You] behave with integrity pure as [the color of] snow,  
 Your manner communicates your heart spontaneously.  
 The trunk soars up straight to the sky,  
 Its lush leaves provide shade for a thousand years....<sup>219</sup>

Pine trees are a favorite subject for literati artists due to the plant’s symbolic sinuosity, sturdiness, and long life span. They were often exalted to refer to people of high principles whose manner revealed an inner power. Jifei’s lyric was riveted in

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<sup>216</sup> It is a self-mortification practice in Chinese Buddhism. The austere practice demands its practitioner to spend a certain amount of time sequestered from the mundane world within a temple or a shrine’s precincts while engaging in continual meditation. Baskind 2006, 199-200.

<sup>217</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1077-1079. My translation.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:426-427.

Confucian terminology and expressed a literati concern. It was a eulogy to his patron Lord Ogasawara's age and morality, revealing the Confucian concerns conceived in the master's Chan mindset.

The master's artistic practice expresses not only Jifei's aesthetic ideal as appreciated by the Ming literati, but also his political tendency toward sino-centrism. He valued the martyrdom of Ming loyalists, celebrating the suicides of figures such as the high official Li Guozhen (李國楨), and the self-extinguishing behaviors of the Zhang family in his poem *Ku Chongzhen di* (哭崇禎帝, Mourning Emperor Chongzhen). Similar to the Neo-Confucian ethnic consciousness, he described the Manchurian troops as rebellious and offensive.<sup>220</sup> Being an enlightened monk, he was also firm in the cultural and political stance assumed by the Chinese intellectuals: their proto-nationalistic conception of loyalty not just to their ruler but also to their nation and culture. Many Ming literati continued this political perspective, and attempted to reject the Manchurian government by committing suicide, joining the monastic community, or leaving for foreign countries including Japan and Vietnam. Jifei was clear and firm in his criticism of the Manchu occupation of China. This feeling is further confirmed by his ambivalent identity as a Chan master equipped with a Neo-Confucian mentality. The literati ideal influences the way he perceived religious and social issues.

In seventeenth-century China, the kinship bonds were intensified and culminated in a national movement of lineage building.<sup>221</sup> As a member of his clan<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1109. My translation.

<sup>220</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 2: 865-866.

<sup>221</sup> Kai-wing Chow, *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 79.

<sup>222</sup> A Chinese clan is normally patrilineal and patrilocal group of related Chinese people with common surname sharing a common ancestor of father's side. It is a form of kinship. Take Jifei as an example, he shares with his clan the same surname Lin.

at hometown, Jifei was loyal to the community interest. When his nephew assumed government office, he commented that the young man promoted his kinsmen and their ancestors' reputation by his political achievement.<sup>223</sup> Jifei assumed a Confucian perspective, expecting the nephew to continue filial behavior to his parents, and their ancestors' high-minded conduct.<sup>224</sup> This devotion was actually an expression of the Confucian religiosity of ancestor worship.

The kinship strengthened the group identity and played an important role in the way that the three Chinese Chan temples in Nagasaki were operated in the seventeenth century. According to Hayashida Yoshio's statistics, out of nine Chinese monks served the abbotship of Kōfukuji, roughly eight were of Nanjin origin. And ten out of eleven Fukusaiji abbots and administrators were from south Fujian area. Among the nineteen Chinese monks who took residence at Sōfukuji as abbot or temple administrator, thirteen were of Fuzhou origin.<sup>225</sup> Throughout his religious career in Japan, Jifei had a strong attachment to this temple and its patrons of his hometown origin. He was credited as one of the Sōfukuji's founding masters, and spent his last years at the monastery.<sup>226</sup>

The practice of group identity was obviously extended into Buddhist monasteries, and elaborated as Ōbaku monks' sectarian consciousness as a collective identity for their mission in Japan. Michael Mohr contends that these émigré monks

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Initiated around the Song period, the Confucian esteem for kinship solidarity, joined with the political and economic benefits that kinship groups offered, provided an inducement for kinsmen to join forces to form a clan. In south China, migrants from north China had often settled in places with enough uncultivated land for many descendants to remain in the vicinity, making for a critical mass of nearby kinsmen in Ming dynasty. In Fujian where Jifei's and Yinyuan's hometowns were located, substantial descent groups were quite evident by the twelfth century. Ebrey 1996, 206-207.

<sup>223</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1020.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 3:1022-1023.

<sup>225</sup> Hayashida 1993, 187-189.

<sup>226</sup> Takahashi 1917, 174-192.

had brought with them the distinctive contradictions and sectarian consciousness that had arisen in China since the Song dynasty. The confusion and vain polemics that characterized so much of the Ming Chan Buddhism were especially crystallized in their sectarian consciousness.<sup>227</sup> His assertion is partially true, because the seventeenth century China did see sectarian disputes among monks, but he ignored that the sectarian consciousness happened only in part of the Buddhist community, particularly Wanfusi. Not every Chan monks participated in the activities of creating lineages. Jifei used to request interviews with various monks, which illustrates the Chan priests' open-minded attitude toward novices of different denominations without sectarian bias or preference. Feiyin's effort to forge his dharma line as the transmitter of a "true lineage of Linji" was indirectly contested by his Chan contemporaries. Yinyuan and his followers' insistence in this identity betrayed somehow their frustration in China due to the official banning of the *Wudeng yantong*. In Japan, the book was used as a theoretical base to legitimize their identity as Chan masters of Linji lineage. By recommending Chinese monks to the abbacy of Manpukuji until the mid-eighteenth century, they maintained agents for the transmission to Tokugawa Japan of the scientific, technological, religious, and artistic achievements of the late Ming and early Qing.<sup>228</sup>

#### Jifei's Calligraphy and Colophons<sup>229</sup>

Over centuries, Buddhism had adapted to Chinese society, and the Buddhism

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<sup>227</sup> Mohr 1994, 348.

<sup>228</sup> Sharf 1994, 324

<sup>229</sup> Colophons are a literary genre since the North Song dynasty (960-1127). Normally a writer composes a poem, inscription on a piece of ink painting to express the writer's knowledge or comments of the painting.

that Japan imported was its Chinese form with its links to Chinese culture. The elite Confucian culture of the Song and Yuan dynasties directly influenced the aesthetic values of the culture in Chan temples, including the style of gardens, tea utensils, calligraphy, and ink painting. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, these arts were brought to Japan by Buddhist monks in connection with the establishment of Chinese-style monasteries and the transmission of Chan lineages. Foulk accurately traced the process these cultural elements being repackaged as Zen arts in Japan, but he inappropriately contends that in China the elite Confucian culture were never specifically identified with Chan.<sup>230</sup> His argument is first of all contested by Timothy Brook's presentation in *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China*, as previously mentioned. The fascinating role assumed by Ōbaku monks as cultural negotiators argues that Chan monks were seldom excluded from the Confucian cultural activities, and Chan values exerted a substantial influence on literati life style in late Ming China.

Calligraphy, together with poetry, had long been treated in Confucian writings as vehicles for expressing one's personal thought and feeling, for conveying to others something of one's personality.<sup>231</sup> From around the sixteenth century, a burgeoning urban culture, and the rise of vernacular literature, challenged the literati to make efforts in perfecting their cultivated lives in an attempt to buttress the boundary between literati and popular culture.<sup>232</sup> The Tang and Song literati had produced great poems, diverse poetic and calligraphic styles, and paintings for self-expression. Their works were "classics" for many Ming literati, the perfect models to strive after when engaging in amateur expression.

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<sup>230</sup> Foulk 2006, 149.

<sup>231</sup> James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Geneva: Skira, 1972), 89.

<sup>232</sup> Ebrey 1999, 201.

Yinyuan and his disciples remained conscious upholders of an ideal literati culture by resorting to the standard set up in the Tang and Song dynasties. In terms of calligraphy, Yinyuan was a diligent calligrapher striving after the *Sijia zitie* (四家字帖, Calligraphy of the Four Houses)<sup>233</sup>. These calligraphers were considered the most prominent and orthodox literati artists on prose, poetry, and calligraphy among mainstream Ming literati artists. In establishing his own commanding style, Yinyuan kept an early-seventeenth century edition of the collection as his constant reference in Japan.<sup>234</sup> Equally recognized as artists in calligraphy, Mu'an's calligraphy was exuberant and grand, while Jifei's was confident and luxuriant (see the following pictures). When Japanese Rinzai monks engaged in the modest and reserved style inherited from the Song artists with rigidity, Ōbaku monks' calligraphy brought to the community a fresh air, characteristic of late-Ming Chinese culture's liveliness and dynamics.<sup>235</sup>

Most of Jifei's artist output in China was in the realms of calligraphy, poetry and prose in literary Chinese, while later in Japan, he started to act as a connoisseur of Chinese literati painting.<sup>236</sup> Many ink paintings extant today are decorated with his

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<sup>233</sup> The four houses refer to the calligraphies by Su Shi (蘇軾, J. So Shyoku, 1036-1101), Huang Tingjian (黃庭堅, J. Kō Teiken, 1045-1105), Cai Xiang (蔡襄, J. Sai Jō, 1012-1067), and Mi Fu (米芾, J. Bei Futsu, 1051-1107).

<sup>234</sup> Sekkō Hayashi, "preface," in *Ōbaku sanpitsu* (Uji: Ōbakusan Manpukuji, 1989), ii.

<sup>235</sup> Kimura 2005, 358.

<sup>236</sup> It is a painting style developed by Confucian literati in the south Song dynasty (1127-1279) and often called scholarly painting, literati painting, or South Chinese painting. The style was evolved out of the academy tradition and reached maturity in the later half of the fourteenth century. With black ink, brush and paper as primary media, the scholar-painters believed that their amateur painting skill would emancipate their creativity and spontaneity from technical restrictions. Literati paintings are expected to reflect the artist's personal quality, and its value has no necessary relationship to the picture's likeness to anything in nature. Due partly to the scholar-painter's self-consciousness as elite, more artists began to represent their level of education and his moral standards. This radical change separated the professional artists from scholarly artists in painting, which in the Ming dynasty two separate lineages of styles and taste was established. See Valérie Malenfer Ortiz, *Dreaming the*

verses-- a common practice among the early Ōbaku Chinese monks in Japan. How, then, could Jifei assume a new role as connoisseur of literati painting?

The involvement of Chan Buddhism into paintings started during the Song dynasty when a group of literati engaged in generating new painting theory. Until the latter half of the eleventh century, China's professional painting theory was concerned with light, shading, color, and representational artistic skills. Traces of individual calligraphic brush strokes were to be suppressed instead.<sup>237</sup> The amateur art of black ink painting gave primacy to the line, the same technique appreciated in calligraphy.<sup>238</sup> The literati even took inspiration from Chan thought for paintings. After the thirteenth century, the paintings related to Chan lost their appealing to the gentry.<sup>239</sup> In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the literati tradition was reestablished as the leading force in Chinese painting in the southeast region, a major center of the scholarly culture.<sup>240</sup> The literati's renewed interest in Chan Buddhism communicates their growing interest in spiritual and aesthetic ideals in Chan temples. Jifei's oeuvre establishes that the Chan' involvement in literati art was continued into the seventeenth century.

As a Chan monk, Jifei was seldom excluded from the gentry class' ideal vision for ink painting. The insight achieved through his training in calligraphy qualified him to enrich ink paintings with colophons--fitting poems and calligraphy. His poetry *Wei dao Zhang ti san sheng tu* (為道長題三聖圖, On Michinaga's painting of the three saints) conveys little of the artistic quality of the painting. Instead, the verse discusses the person's profession as a doctor, and the significance of morality was

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*Southern Song Landscape: the Power of Illusion in Chinese Painting* (Boston: Brill, 1999), 53-54. Cahill 1972, 89-91, 107-115.

<sup>237</sup> Sharf 1994, 108-109.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 109

<sup>239</sup> Ortiz 1999, 55

<sup>240</sup> Cahill 1972, 125.

emphasized.<sup>241</sup>

Manpukuji preserves many pieces of the master's calligraphy and colophons, along with his master and dharma brothers' stylistic brushwork. The verses were mostly a summary of Jifei's understanding of Chan spirituality as communicated through the painting, in a language that is riddled with Chan and Confucian elements. To use Ortiz's expression, the painting and the Ōbaku monks' colophons together paid tribute to the Chan master at two levels: praise for his literary knowledge and an understanding of his spiritual teachings.<sup>242</sup> This artistic practice demonstrated Yinyuan and his followers' loyalty in supporting the Confucian literati ideal in China, and Japanese nobility's acknowledgement of these Chan monks' spiritual authority.

#### Engaging in Literati Painting

A close observation of calligraphy and Chan-related ink paintings reveals a similar requirement for materials (ink, brush and paper), techniques, and even aesthetic values at work. As mentioned previously, both literati art and Chan Buddhism emphasize natural, spontaneous values, and quick insight. In his analysis of the literati artists at the turn of the sixteenth century, Cahill affirms that a painter's training as calligrapher help to improve his mastery of brush technique and sense of design which he needs as painter, and his poetic imagination supply suitable themes.<sup>243</sup> Jifei's literary background certainly provides him with the necessary techniques.

Jifei's *Zhushi tu* (竹石圖, Painting of bamboo stalks and rocks) preserved at

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<sup>241</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1046-1047.

<sup>242</sup> Ortiz 1999, 42.

<sup>243</sup> Cahill 1972, 131.

Manpukuji depicts the favorite literati motif of bamboo in ink on paper with a verse. The brush stroke is dynamic in patchy ink.<sup>244</sup> The calligraphy brushwork was preeminent in the painting. The patchy ink communicates a deliberate awkwardness of brushwork. The style indicates Jifei's conscious nourishment of spontaneity, simplicity with an antiquated flavor. This accomplishment correlates very well to Elizabeth Sharf's observation. She finds that the mainstream elite painters emphasized antiquity, favored the awkward over the elegant, and painted works with a certain aloof purity.<sup>245</sup> The verse composed for the painting further endorses Jifei's connoisseurship of the orthodox scholar-amateur painting. The poem goes that,

Blessed is the bamboo grove,  
 Being depicted vividly on a piece of paper.  
 The plant shimmers in the picture,  
 But no sound could be heard.  
 Zephyr blows through the leaves,  
 And the trunk stands upright with modesty,  
 Who is this lord's<sup>246</sup> ideal companion?  
 To share joys with the ten-thousand-year-old plant.<sup>247</sup>

The lord refers to a gentleman with noble quality, and the bamboo was thus personified as a person of ideal quality. Jifei wrote this verse on a painting he made as a gift to one of his Japanese patrons, so he might use the image of bamboo to pay his patron a compliment.

In terms of artistic quality, Jifei's painting could only be treated as an amateur

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<sup>244</sup> Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, ed. *Ōbaku no bijutsu: Edo jidai no bunka wo kaeta mono* (Kyōto: Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1993), 108, 180.

<sup>245</sup> Sharf 1994, 104-105.

<sup>246</sup> Since the Song dynasty, bamboo has been credited with various Confucian moral qualities. Because of its perennial nature and the resistant quality of not easily being broken by the natural challenges, the plant is considered as an emblem of a Confucian gentleman, or lord, who remains integral to Confucian moral principles. Literati artists often used the image of the bamboo to convey a person's moral and cultural integrity.

<sup>247</sup> The ten-thousand-year-old plant refers to the bamboo. Ōbakusan Manpukuji 1989, 50. Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1993, Plate 135, 180. Hirakubo 1993, 3: 971. My translation.

attempt of the late Ming literati painting.<sup>248</sup> His painting *Laosong zhi lan tu* (老松芝蘭圖, A painting of an old pine tree, *lingzhis*<sup>249</sup> and orchids) for Wei Zhiyan's birthday certainly contests the master's artistic virtuosity.<sup>250</sup> Similar to bamboos, orchids and *lingzhis* are auspicious objects in Chinese culture, and highly valued by Confucian literati. The arrangement of the orchid flowers and *lingzhis* under the pine tree certainly conveys the master's best wish for Wei's birthday. Considering the monastic background of the painter, it is arguable that the aesthetic significance of Jifei's art derives more on the master's spirituality. Among Jifei's artistic output, the calligraphy and colophons outnumbered his paintings. It indicates that these two styles are the major channel for the master to express his feeling and thoughts. It also suggests that Jifei seldom has the ambition in producing ink paintings in Japan.

Jifei's literary and artistic production, added with his knowledge of late-Ming Neo-Confucianism rhetoric, planted the seeds of Confucian scholarship in Japan's intellectual realm. The seventeenth-century Manpukuji boasted members such as the talented painter Yiran Xingrong (逸然性融, J. Itsune Shōyū, 1601-1668), skilled writer Gaoquan Xingdun, physician of Chinese medicine and calligrapher Duli Xingyi (独立性易, J. Dokuryū Shōeki, 1596-1672), commonly known as Dai Mangong (戴曼公). The Ōbaku monks weaved the literati ideal into their monastic life and formed a distinctive style of Zen.

Once being invited to view a rare porcelain pottery collected by a Japanese family, Jifei authored an essay titled *Ti Songhua tan* (題松花罈, On a Songhua vase)

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<sup>248</sup> Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1993, 103.

<sup>249</sup> Lingzhi (靈芝, J. reishi) is one form of the mushroom *Ganoderma lucidum*. This type of bracket fungus grows as a parasite on a wide variety of trees. As its Chinese name conveys, the plant enjoys special veneration in China and believed as mushroom of immortality in traditional art.

<sup>250</sup> Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1993, Plate 136, 108, 180.

to express his favorable appreciation of the container's fine quality.<sup>251</sup> The Ōbaku monks often entertained themselves with literati activities such as collecting valuable ancient paintings, appreciating rare stones and seals, boiling snow to make tea, and composing situational poetry and prose. It is a lifestyle idealized by the Ming literati and imported into Manpukuji by the émigré monks. The paintings and calligraphies they imported to the country opened Edo Japan's horizon and inspired Japanese artists to develop a new painting style *karae* (J. 唐絵, Chinese style painting).<sup>252</sup> Ōbaku temples were considered the information centers of the latest Chinese cultural in Edo period, artists from various painting schools came to visit the temples for inspiration, partly motivated by the ideal image of China cherished in their minds, The Ōbaku monk artists' calligraphy was introduced to local areas as *karayō* (J. 唐様, Chinese style calligraphy).<sup>253</sup>

Confucian education was so widespread in the early eighteenth-century Japan that Chinese literati art became a popular practice among the *samurai* class. The elite who were disillusioned with public service devoted themselves to Chinese arts: Chinese poetry and prose, painting, calligraphy, seal engraving, etc.<sup>254</sup> As a new social phenomenon in eighteenth century Japan, the ideal of *bunjin* (J. 文人, Japanese

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<sup>251</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3:1258-1259.

<sup>252</sup> This new painting style based on the deformationism of Chinese paintings in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. Yiran Xingrong established Japanese *karae* style paintings in Nagasaki, and this style was consolidated in Nagasaki by Yiran's Japanese disciples. See Norio Fujisawa, *Ōbaku bijutsu no shomondai: kaiga o chūshin ni: kenkyū happyō to zadankai* (Kyōto: Bukkyō Bijutsu Kenkyū Ueno Kinen Zaidan Josei Kenkyūkai, 1994), iv.

<sup>253</sup> This calligraphy was derived from the style established by the talented literati artist Wen Zhengming (文徵明, J. Bun Seimei, 1470-1559) in China. Ōbaku monk Duli Xingyi transmitted the Ming style calligraphy, particularly, to Kitajima Setsuzan (J. 北島雪山, 1636-1697), a prominent calligrapher who then passed the style to Hosoi Kōtaru (J. 細井広沢, 1658-1735), a Confucian scholar and calligrapher. With their effort, the style spread to the intellectual circle of Japan.

<sup>254</sup> Hirane 2002,382.

Confucian intellectuals) surfaced as a new social phenomenon in eighteenth-century Japan. The taste of Ming literati became popular among the educated Japanese, *karayō* was accepted as a way to expression their spirituality and thoughts. Many elites even practiced the calligraphy daily for self-cultivation.<sup>255</sup>

In 1745, under the charge of the fifteenth abbot of Manpukuji, the *Enkyō matsujichō* listed 1043 temples, among which 379 were direct branch temples under the administration of Manpukuji or its thirty-three *tacchūs* (sub-temples in the vicinity of Manpukuji). Another 356 or 357 belonged to the direct branch temples with twenty-nine branch temples attached to them. There were eighty-four independent branch temples with six under their administration.<sup>256</sup> The new established or renovated temples amounted to about 897.<sup>257</sup> With the *bakufu*'s political and financial support, Chinese monks dominated the Ōbaku sect abbacy until the mid-eighteenth century, these émigrés' presence sustained the Japanese' interest in exotic Chinese culture.

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<sup>255</sup> Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1993,15.

<sup>256</sup> Takenuki 1990, 45,98. Akira Hirakubo, *Ingen* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), 261.

<sup>257</sup> Takenuki 1990,26.

## CONCLUSION

Jifei never assumed official leadership at Manpukuji, nor did his career as productive as those of Yinyuan, Mu'an and Gaoquan. These three masters not only officially ascended to the abbacy of Manpukuji, but also directly secured the *bakufu* and imperial court's patronage during Ōbaku's fledging years. When Yinyuan and Mu'an were active in the political and cultural centers of Edo and Kyōto, Jifei spent most of his life in Kyūshū-- the peripheral area of Ōbaku organization. Mu'an ordained at least fifty disciples in Japan during his more than thirty years of émigré life. Jifei stayed in Japan for roughly fourteen years, and ordained only five disciples.<sup>258</sup> Jifei's contribution to Ōbaku Zen's physical expansion includes roughly nine branch-temples with him as the founding abbot.<sup>259</sup> Jifei treated his followers with patience and benevolence. He was ready to share food with others, and accepted appropriate donations with gratitude. Refraining from the amalgamation of personal property, he treated people with sincerity, regardless of their social status, age or gender.<sup>260</sup> In 1668, Jifei passed his position to one of his Japanese disciples before retiring to Sōfukuji.<sup>261</sup> In his will, he requested a cremation without funeral service or a mount, and had his belongings donated for charity.<sup>262</sup> Among his disciples, Qiandai Xing'an (千呆性佞, J. Sengai Shōan, 1636-1705) served the sixth abbot of Manpukuji. Qiandai founded roughly four temples, with one crediting Jifei as the

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<sup>258</sup> Mikio Ōtsuki, Shōshun Katō, and Yukimitsu Hayashi, *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 1988), 190-191.

<sup>259</sup> Jifei is listed as one of the two possible founder of Seirenji in Takenuki 1990, 295.

<sup>260</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1324-1325.

<sup>261</sup> Takahashi 1917, 174-192.

<sup>262</sup> Hirakubo 1993, 3: 1289-1290.

founder.<sup>263</sup>

As discussed so far, various factors contributed to Jifei's success in winning the *bakufu*'s political and financial support for his religious activity in early Tokugawa Japan. Together with his fellow monks, he imported to Japan the reformed Chan monasticism on the continent. His syncretic practice of Buddhism incorporated elements from various religious groups including Pure Land Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. He introduced to Japan the rituals commonly practiced in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. His extensive employment of *yulu* and *kōan* was a practice common to Chan Buddhism in China at that time. Jifei mimicked the iconoclastic teaching style of classical Chan teachers: ascending the dharma hall, delivering a public sermon, and the shouting and beating.<sup>264</sup> These performances demonstrate Wanfusi's self-consciousness in trying to forge a new relationship to the great models of the past, specifically those of Linji Yixuan's records in the Chan texts of the Song dynasty. Their knowledge of Chan literature from their classical period in the Tang and Song dynasties struck the Japanese audience, and urged them to return to the Buddhist traditions of China and Japan for inspiration and orthodox legitimacy.

However, this artful manipulation of textual models was not without their criticism in China. Shengyan argues that it is Miyun Yuanwu's followers who showed particular interest in emphasizing Chan monks' dharma transmission legitimacy. Many mid- and late-Ming Chan masters such as Hanshan Deqing and Ouyi Zhixu were against any genealogical claims for one's enlightenment experience.<sup>265</sup>

Considerable literati also accused the Chan teachers of being pretentious, and

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<sup>263</sup> Kimura 2005, 91-92.

<sup>264</sup> Poceski 2008, 84.

<sup>265</sup> Shengyan 1987, 45-54.

vulgarizing the true Chan spirit.<sup>266</sup> Michael Mohr accuses Ming China a scapegoat for the sectarian awareness in Japan.<sup>267</sup> Despite the fact that as members of Chan genealogy contenders for legitimacy in China, Yinyuan and his followers brought with them the conspicuous sectarian consciousness to Japan, Mohr's argument deserves further discussion. Late Ming did see the rise of sectarian disputes among many a Chan masters, but it was not a commonly seen phenomenon in the whole Chan Buddhist communities.

The Ming educated class was left little room for spontaneity and creativity when the Song Confucians had somehow imposed their order on the Chinese world. Zhu Xi had reunited the rational and moral orders, and Sima Guang (司馬光, J. Siba Kō, 1019-1086) had encompassed all history in a sweeping panorama of recorded fact and moral example.<sup>268</sup> With the burden of high culture characteristic of the alleged Chinese cultural identity, the Ming scholars turned to be cautious to any cultural changes. Instead, the late-Ming literati culture became something of an emotional nostalgia, a rather self-conscious attempt to fulfill a notion of what a literati should be.<sup>269</sup>

In the same light, it is disturbing to find in the Wanfusi monks a supposedly "authentic" Linji Chan teaching transmitted through a "legitimate" lineage derived from the Tang and Song period. Joseph Joubert says, "We are all of us more or less echoes, repeating involuntarily the virtues, the defects, the movements, and the characters of those among whom we live."<sup>270</sup> The Chan masters played the game of orthodoxy from behind a screen of detachment from contemporaneous society.

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<sup>266</sup> Heine and Wright 2008, 108.

<sup>267</sup> Mohr 1994, 365.

<sup>268</sup> De bary 1970, 8-9.

<sup>269</sup> Andrew H. Plaks, *The Four Masterworks of the Ming Novel: Ssu ta ch'i-shu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 51.

<sup>270</sup> Joseph Joubert. *Pensées [of Joubert]*, trans. Henry Attwell (NY: Stokes, 1900), 61.

Detached though they may be, their aloofness was not substantial enough to be called alienation, when they incorporated the newly reformed Buddhist elements and Confucian perspectives to their religious life.

Mohr speculates that the successful advent of the Wanfusi monks—the last main phase in the transmission of Buddhism from China to Japan—was largely characterized by Japan’s fascination for things foreign. Perhaps only a few educated people understood the true implications of the doctrinal debates and disputes going on in China.<sup>271</sup> This statement proves insightful after a close observation of the strategies adopted by the Ōbaku founders and their successful manipulation of the available information and authority. Yinyuan and his disciples’ establishment of Manpukuji in Japan suggest little of their doctrinal ingenuity, but rather their solid command of the reformed Ming Chan Buddhism and the *bakufu*’s patronage. The Chinese émigrés’ effort at maintaining their privilege as the “authentic” representative of continental Chan Buddhism eventually led to the isolation of the movement from concurrent cultural developments in Japan.<sup>272</sup> Most of the early Manpukuji abbots were drawn from Wanfusi or by Ōbaku monks’ recommendation. This performance suggests that Manpukuji’s obsession in maintaining its identity even excluded itself from the religious resources of China. Forty years after Jifei’s death, Manpukuji was left with few options for qualified abbots from China. An entry in the *Nagasakishi shi* (J. 長崎市史, History of Nagasaki City) discloses that around the 1720s, monks without adequate training in China were sent to Japan, and received training in the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki before serving the abbot of Manpukuji.<sup>273</sup> The founding masters’ sectarian consciousness might have contributed to their institutional success

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<sup>271</sup> Mohr 1994, 364.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 364.

<sup>273</sup> Kimura 2005, 120.

by constructing a temple to implement their own teaching in Japan, but their Chan style would not last long if not buttressed by a basic aspiration for spiritual curiosity and religious responsibility for universal salvation.

To keep their “should-be” identity, not only the early Wanfusi émigré monks but also their followers in the early eighteenth century lost the courage and spontaneity to create something new. When a narrow-minded sectarian consciousness replaced Mahayana compassion, the religious sincerity and responsibility would be obscured by secular concerns of power and ritual performance without spiritual content. In the early eighteenth century, the temple had difficulty to find a qualified abbot. If Yinyuan and his followers had had any ambition to lead or even reform the whole of Japanese Rinzai Zen, they would not have that qualification by the first half of the eighteenth century. So, it is of little surprise that Hakuin came to revive the moribund Japanese Rinzai Zen by returning to the Zen of the Song period that had been established by Nanpo Jōmyō (南浦紹明, 1235-1308) and Shubō Myōchō (宗峰妙超, 1282-1337), and further injected Japanese elements to his teaching to attract both monks and laymen. The notion of a true lineage to carry on a “pure” teaching further motivated him to train disciples to organize his teachings and develop them.<sup>274</sup> Japanese priests of different lineage started to dominate the abbacy of Manpukuji from 1784 to date. Today it is the Zen style revised by Hakuin that Manpukuji has been practicing. Nearly one hundred years after Yinyuan and Jifei’s success in importing their Chan style to Japan and implementing the teaching in Manpukuji, the tide had thus shifted in full force against the modes of practice they

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<sup>274</sup> Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Zen Master Hakuin: Selected Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 25-27.

endeavored to establish.<sup>275</sup>

To sum up, this study is nothing more than a preliminary study of several main trends explicit in Jifei's life. It has been an effort to include diverse strands of Jifei's identity to a coherent whole: a Chan master, an Ōbaku lineage holder, a Confucian moralist, and an amateur literati artist. To under this Chan master's life set in the socio-political context of seventeenth-century China and Japan, special attention have been dedicated to several conspicuous themes: Qing dynasty's policy in regard to Yinyuan and his follower's emigration, the Ōbaku expatriates' relationship with the *bakufu*, Manpukuji's relation with Chinese émigrés in Nagasaki. These efforts put forward the socio-political background of the seventeenth-century Ōbaku phenomenon, but might not be sufficient enough to answer questions such as Ōbaku monks' interaction with continental Buddhist community and seventeenth-century Chinese Chan community's general response toward Ōbaku Zen in Japan, which leaves room for further research.

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<sup>275</sup> Baskind 2006, 278.

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