

Qian Qianyi as a Buddhist in the Ming-Qing Transition*

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Abstract

Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) was a prominent late Ming scholar-official who fashioned himself as a Buddhist in the early Qing. Despite Qian's claims that he had taken refuge in Buddhism, however, fellow literati close to him still inclined to emphasize his other identities fostered by a classical Confucian education—poet, scholar, and politician. Focusing on Qian's commentary on the *Shoulengyan jing*, i.e., the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, and his compilation of Hanshan Deqing's (1546–1623) anthology, this paper unravels Qian's efforts in promoting Buddhism and documenting its history. It brings to light Qian Qianyi's hitherto overshadowed Buddhist endeavors, their historiographical and historical implications, as well as the complexities of interreligious dynamics during the Ming-Qing Transition.

Keywords:

Qian Qianyi, Hanshan Deqing, Ming-Qing Buddhism, Buddhist Publishing, Confucian-Buddhist dynamics, the Ming-Qing Transition.

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明清之際的佛弟子錢謙益

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摘要

錢謙益（1582–1664）是明末著名的文士與政治家，入清之後屢以佛門弟子自居。儘管錢氏宣稱皈依佛門，其文人友朋仍舊傾向強調錢氏早年所受儒學影響及其士大夫身份，如詩人、文宗或政壇鉅子。本文以錢謙益的兩部佛教作品（錢注《首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔》和其主編之《憨山大師夢遊全集》）為中心，來梳理錢氏在提倡佛教及記錄僧史方面的努力，藉以凸顯晚近逐漸受到學界重視的幾個相關課題，即明末清初的儒佛關係、僧侶士人社群網絡以及錢謙益對佛教的影響。

關鍵詞：

錢謙益、明末清初佛教、佛教出版、儒佛交涉、明清之際

Introduction

During recent decades, late Ming religious practices and interreligious dynamics have attracted increasing scholarly attention. Motivated by efforts to study religion in everyday life and to reconsider its significance in the sociocultural context, researchers have extended the subjects of their study to various religious practices,¹ elite patronage of religions,² and to the social networks formed by different religious communities.³ Together, they have demonstrated new perspectives to studying the Chinese religions beyond the scope of a philosophy or as sets of ideas in history. This trend of interdisciplinary research has explored the broader implications of religions in Chinese society and facilitated in particular the dialogue between religious studies and sociocultural history.

One focus within this body of research is on the interreligious communities established through mainly elite male networks.⁴ Facilitated by

¹ For a seminal work on pilgrimage in Chinese history, see Naquin and Yü, eds., *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*; for a study of self-inflicted violence in late imperial Chinese religions, see Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500-1700*; for detailed analysis of the rituals and practices advocated by the monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) to eliminate karma, see McGuire, *Living Karma*.

² See Brook, *Praying for Power*, for a social history of elite patronage of Buddhism during the late Ming.

³ For how literati formed their (locally based) social networks through patronage of Buddhism, see Brook, *Praying for Power*; for how late Ming literati were involved in Buddhist doctrinal disputes, see Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*; Jennifer Eichman, in her recent work, highlights a geographically dispersed Buddhist fellowship formed between monks and Confucian literati through epistolary communication. See Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*.

⁴ I understand my use of “religious” here may invite some uncomfortable reactions, in particular from religious scholars, as the category of “religion” as a research discipline was built on a Christian model and its application to world religions has remained under contestation. See Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious.” There was no equivalent term in premodern Chinese for the category of “religion,” but the Three Teachings—that is, Confucianism (Neo-Confucianism in particular here), Daoism, and Buddhism—did all cover aspects of the analytic topics used by contemporary religious scholars and may well qualify as “religious” even without a denomination of *zongjiao* 宗教, the modern Chinese term borrowed from Japanese for the translation of Western “religion.” See Campany, “On the Very Idea of Religions,” 289. In this respect,

jiangxue 講學 (lecture on learning) and *jianghui* 講會 (lecture assembly) activities, elite male networks were widespread after the mid-Ming period.⁵ These communities could extend from locally based to interregional networks, as they expanded during the mid- to late-Ming era along with the process of economic and social integration. After the Wanli 萬曆 reign (1573–1620), the Buddhist community had expanded rapidly and interaction, collaboration, and crossovers between different social groups — literati and monks in particular — became a conspicuous phenomenon. While many literati educated under the Neo-Confucian curriculum were active patrons and avid followers of Buddhist teachings, a number of eminent monks were equally well-versed in Confucian learning and literature. These interconnected social circles had profound implications in both the contemporary and subsequent periods. The networks they formed continued and would later make possible the remarkable phenomenon of Ming loyalists seeking refuge in Buddhist monasteries during the Ming-Qing transition. This phenomenon has often been summarized by the shorthand *tao Chan* 逃禪 (literally, escape into Buddhism), a euphemism used by literati and monks alike, and may or may not imply pejorative connotations. In practice, however, the social phenomenon was much more complex than merely some act of evasion that the catchphrase *tao Chan* denotes. As shown in Chen Yuan’s 陳垣 pioneering research on the Ming loyalist monks in Yunnan and Guizhou, the topic of entanglement between Buddhism and politics during the Ming-Qing transition has great potential to inform us not only of the development of Buddhism itself but also its roles in the political, social, and cultural history.⁶

The dynamic late Ming culture that became manifest in Buddhist and interreligious networks, however, should not obscure from us the Confucian-Buddhist polemics that had been implicit in the development of Neo-Confucianism since the Song times.⁷ Despite multiple efforts to harmonize

I use “interreligious” to describe the interactions between the three teachings, in particular the cases of Neo-Confucian-Buddhist interactions.

⁵ Miaw-fen Lü’s research shows that elite male social networks were indispensable with the expansion of Wang Yangming’s teaching; see her *Yangming xue shiren shequn*. Eichman (*A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*) focuses on the community of Buddhist networks.

⁶ See Chen Yuan, *Mingji Dian Qian fojiao kao* and *Shishi yinian lu*. Also see Chen, *Mingdai de fojiao yu shehui*; Struve, ‘Deqing’s Dreams’; Liao, *Zhongyi puti*.

⁷ An outstanding example is the genealogical discourse, appropriated from the Buddhist lineage making, that certain Confucians employed to strengthen the control over institution, ritual, and practice. See Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way*.

Confucian and Buddhist ideals of moral cultivation after Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529)—in particular by those so-called Taizhou 泰州 thinkers—late Ming China also witnessed a Confucian revival which sought to correct Wang’s overt tolerance toward other strands of thought. This is evident by the calls to mediate Wang Yangming learning with Cheng-Zhu teaching in the Donglin 東林 movement led by Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550–1612) and Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562–1626).⁸

This essay examines Qian Qianyi’s 錢謙益 (1582–1664; *jinshi* 1610) legacy in the realm of Buddhism as a window into this dynamic world of interreligious communities of the late Ming and early Qing. One of the most prominent literati in late Ming politics and culture, Qian Qianyi had been, and continues to be, controversial as a historical figure, primarily due to the political stigma associated with him throughout the Qing period, partly a consequence of his Ming loyalist political engagements and the ensuing Qing imperial censorship on his writings.⁹ It has taken recent scholarship several decades to restore, little by little, the importance of Qian Qianyi in the Ming-Qing transition as a writer, poet, and historian.¹⁰ Meanwhile, his influence on

Brook’s reconsideration of syncretism in the late Ming plural religious context, on the other hand, suggests that in the elite discourse it remained more common to find a syncretic tone that privileged Confucianism as the higher teaching “in which the other two teachings must converge.” See Brook, “Rethinking Syncretism,” 23.

⁸ The development of the so-called Wang Yangming school(s) of thought has been studied extensively in Chinese, English, and Japanese scholarship by intellectual historians and philosophers since the early twentieth century; here I will not reiterate the major scholarship and their findings. For a clear and relatively brief discussion of the world of Confucian thought after Wang Yangming, see Peterson, “Confucian Learning in Late Ming Thought.”

⁹ The reception of Qian Qianyi in modern scholarship is itself a history too complex to summarize here. For the pioneering study on Qian Qianyi and the Qing censorship imposed on Qian, see Liu Tsuo-mei’s series articles published during the 1960s and 1970s; in particular, his 1962 article “Qingdai jinshu ji Muzhai zhuzuo” has been an important reference for later scholarship; for Qian Qianyi’s engagement in Ming loyalism, see Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuang*, first published in 1980. In English scholarship, Chang’s 2006 article, “Qian Qianyi and His Place in History,” revisits Qing historical evaluations and censorship of Qian Qianyi; for a detailed study on the multi-faceted life and changing evaluations of Qian Qianyi from the Ming-Qing transition to modern scholarship in the context of loyalism and the historiography of loyalism, see Lin, “In the Name of Honor.”

¹⁰ On Qian Qianyi’s multi-dimensional engagements in politics, scholarship, and Buddhism, see Yoshikawa, “Koji to shite no Sen Keneki;” Pei Shijun’s *Sihai*

Buddhism, a relatively less contested area, has also attracted increasing scholarly attention.¹¹

In what follows I look into Qian Qianyi's Buddhist networks and activities to situate him in the history and historiography of late Ming and early Qing Buddhism. Specifically, I will demonstrate Qian Qianyi's role as a powerful patron and engaging Buddhist through his two projects, the *Hanshan laoren mengyou ji* 憨山老人夢遊集 (Collection from Elder Hanshan's dream travels; hereafter *MYJ*) and the *Da foding Shoulengyan jing shujie Mengchao* 大佛頂首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 (Qian Qianyi's draft annotations on the *Śuraṅgama Sūtra*; hereafter *MC* [*Mengchao*]). Through an examination of the publication of these projects, I intend to show not only how Qian deployed his Buddhist networks to preserve the legacy of the late Ming monk Hanshan Deqing 憨山德清 (1546–1623) but also Qian's scholastic approach to the Buddhist commentary tradition. Qian Qianyi met Deqing in person only one time in 1617. Maintaining their relationship mostly in epistolary form, Qian expressed his admiration and devotion to Deqing through the publication of the monk's complete anthology and through defense against his critics. In particular, the remarkable influence Qian exerted through his networks in preserving and promoting the legacy of Deqing deserves to be properly addressed.

As a young student, Qian Qianyi had been instructed under Gu Xiancheng through family connections, and this experience constituted a major influence that would later facilitate his rise in the political and cultural arena.¹² Yet, other than the Donglin school of thought, Qian's upbringing had also allowed him to be a regular practitioner of Buddhist teaching and a curious reader of Daoist texts before the age of fifteen. Examined under the milieu of late

zongmeng wushi nian is the first biography in Chinese to address these achievements in chronological order; for Qian Qianyi's theory and practice of poetry-history, see Yim, *The Poet-Historian Qian Qianyi*.

- 11 Chen Yuan, in his *Shishi yinian lu* and *Qingchu sengzheng ji*, had reconstructed some of Qian Qianyi's relations with contemporary Buddhist monks, primarily through epistolary sources and prefaces, but he did not exclusively study Qian Qianyi and Buddhism. A pioneering study on Qian Qianyi and Buddhism, Yoshikawa's "Koji to shite no Sen Keneki," has laid an important ground on this topic. Lien Rui-chih's informative "Qian Qianyi de fojiao shengya ji li'nian" delineates a full sketch of Qian's life as an important Buddhist layman from the late Ming to early Qing. Hsieh's "Qian Qianyi fengfo zhi qianhou yinyuan ji qi yiyi" delves further into a rich study of Qian's family connection with Buddhism and how his Buddhist commitment related to his statecraft aspirations.
- 12 For an extensive discussion of Qian Qianyi's early connections with the Donglin leaders, see Lin, "In the Name of Honor," Chapter 1.

Ming's intellectual and religious openness, Qian's case was a representative example rather than an exception of his time.¹³

Qian Qianyi had been practicing Buddhism throughout his life and he proclaimed himself a Buddhist after a fire burned down his private library, Jiangyunlou 絳雲樓, in 1650.¹⁴ Frequently embracing his dual identity as someone who had “the demeanors of a Confucian and the conduct of a Buddhist” (*rufeng fanxing* 儒風梵行),¹⁵ Qian presented the two spiritual pursuits as mutually compatible and perhaps also expected the same attitude from some of his targeted audience. Despite the intellectual openness of the time, religious pluralism in reality was often under contestation. After Qian's death, his fellow literati continued to delineate him predominantly as a Confucian scholar, politician, and leading literatus. On his pursuit of the Buddhist mode of life, some dismissed it as a disguise, or a mere “escape into Buddhism” without real understanding nor deep commitment.¹⁶

However fluid the boundaries were between Qian's multifaceted identities, the little attention his close literati associates paid after his death to his lifelong investment in Buddhism begs the question of the nature of the interreligious dynamics during seventeenth-century China. Where did Qian Qianyi situate in the late Ming religious pluralism as an influential literati layman? How does one interpret the disregard or dismissal of his Buddhist endeavors after his death? More importantly, what new insights could we gain

13 The first generation of intellectuals who matured in the early Qing, such as Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671) and Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695), still exhibited these traits to various degrees. For a discussion of the question and solutions on the possibilities in late Ming intellectual world and alternatives to the conventional Confucian moral cultivation and career outlet as encapsulated in Fang Yizhi's “Seven Solutions,” see Peterson, *Bitter Gourd*.

14 In describing his life after 1650, Qian used profusely phrases such as “*gui kongmen* 歸空門” (returned to the Gate of Emptiness; that is, Buddhism) or “*guixin kongmen* 歸心空門” (returned my heart to the Gate of Emptiness). Considering that Qian Qianyi was exposed to Buddhism from an early age, his use of the verb *gui* 歸, “to return to,” likely implies a conscious (and presumably fulfilling) choice.

15 Qian Qianyi used this phrase frequently, possibly to invoke the images of the Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (Bo Juyi; 772–846). See in the following discussion Qian's letter to Monk Jiqi Hongchu 繼起弘儲 (1605–1672), abbot of the Lingyan 靈巖 temple in Suzhou, in Qian's *Youxue ji* 有學集 (Collection of progressive learning. Hereafter, *YXJ*), *juan* 40, 1394.

16 See Qianlong's fulmination against Qian Qianyi in the discussion below.

into the development of Buddhism during the Ming-Qing transition through Qian's case?

To understand the significance of Qian Qianyi's place in Buddhism during the Ming-Qing transition, this essay draws on the *Mengyou ji* (MYJ) and *Mengchao* (MC) as well as Qian Qianyi's *Chuxue ji* 初學集 (Collection of preliminary learning; hereafter CXJ) and *Youxue ji* 有學集 (Collection of progressive learning; hereafter YXJ) to investigate the social networks, intellectual concerns, and material exchange involved in the compilation of these two important Buddhist projects. Reconstructing their publication histories through prefaces, epistolary sources, and commentaries, I offer the following two conclusions. First, Qian Qianyi demonstrated through these two projects not only his identity as a follower and patron of the Buddhist teaching but also his intention as a Dharma protector. Second, his Buddhist pursuits and networks, far from a mere escape into the otherworldly dharma teaching, had strong mundane concerns that could offer great insights into the extent to which Buddhists and their activities had been socially and politically engaged in the history of the Ming-Qing transition.

Early Buddhist Connections

Qian Qianyi was exposed to profound influence of Buddhism from an early age through family, who brought him up with the practices of reciting sūtras and attending lectures of eminent monks. A native of Changshu 常熟, a county under the Suzhou prefecture in the Lower Yangtze, Qian was introduced as a child to a flourishing Buddhist culture in the region; his family had been for three generations the main patron of the local Puoshan Monastery 破山寺 (aka Xingfu Monastery 興福寺), and they had formed marital alliances with other major Buddhist patrons.¹⁷ As he grew into adulthood, he continued to nurture and develop his Buddhist connections while he also kept a keen interest in promoting Buddhist learning and documenting its history.

One of his earliest close Buddhist contacts is the Huayan 華嚴 monk Xuelang Hongen 雪浪宏恩 (1545–1607), abbot of the Baoen Monastery 報恩寺 in Nanjing, to whom Qian had served as a disciple from the age of 8

¹⁷ For the Qian family's deep involvement in Buddhism, and especially their patronage of the Puoshan Monastery, see Hsieh, "Qian Qianyi fengfo zhi qianhou yinyuan ji qi yiyi."

sui.¹⁸ Well-recognized as a talented lecturer and poet, Hongen held an individualistic outlook on matters of spirituality and embraced a number of secular interests. His versatile skills in poetry and various forms of art ranging from music to calligraphy to painting, together with his assertion that erudition—in the textual traditions of the Three Teachings, no less—was the gateway to dharma, had attracted a large number of literati followers in Jiangnan.¹⁹ Nevertheless, his readiness to overpass the conventional boundaries—between different intellectual traditions and art forms, and between luxurious lifestyles and monastic disciplines—also subjected him to controversy and harsh criticism, which eventually led to his being displaced from the imperially-founded Baoen Monastery by the local authority in 1601.²⁰ Coinciding with the banishment and impeachment of Li Zhi 李贄 (1527–1602), the outspoken critic of the followers of Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy, the incident of Hongen likewise indicates an assertion to return to a more austere intellectual climate championed by some Neo-Confucian officials at the beginning of the seventeenth century.²¹

Given his relationship with Hongen, it is curious that Qian Qianyi did not provide any details about the monk's banishment from Baoen si Monastery. A further examination of Qian's intellectual connections reveals the sensitive position he likely was caught in amidst the conflict between major Donglin Confucians and outspoken leaders of religious pluralism. Qian in fact also wrote an epitaph in early 1620s for the reburial of Guo Zhengyu 郭正域 (1554–1612; *jinshi* 1583), the Head of Imperial Academy in Nanjing (rank 4b) who had earlier forced Hongen into exile. In this account, Qian elaborated the political career of Guo as a highly engaged Donglin man but kept silent about his removal of the popular Huayan monk from the Baoen Monastery.²² This silence was further compounded with the eloquence Qian revealed in another epitaph he wrote earlier for Hongen, who died in 1608: about the monk's origin and development in the Baoen Monastery, his contribution to its reconstruction after the 1566 fire that burned down the monastery complex,

¹⁸ Since this is by Chinese counting, the actual age should be between 6 and 7. See *CXJ*, 1573. Qian also maintained long term relationships with monks from monasteries in Changshu and Suzhou.

¹⁹ *CXJ*, 1572–1573.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1573. For more details on the popularity and controversy of Hongen, see Liao, *Zhongyu puti*, 183–197.

²¹ For Li Zhi's controversy and impeachment, see Ray Huang, *1587, A Year of no Significance*, 189–221.

²² *CXJ*, 1289–1296.

and his propensity to stay at ease in any situation, including after being forcefully dislodged from the monastery during his last years.²³ It is certain that Qian Qianyi's close connections with Donglin had dictated his public endorsement of its moral fellowship during his early career, a point I shall return to later in this section. On the other hand, reading through the parallel narrative of Hongen's biography, one could easily find the emphasis Qian placed on Hongen's calm endurance of the hardship after exile. As if a response to the contemporary criticism of Hongen, Qian confessed that he, too, had earlier harbored similar doubts on the monk's easygoing demeanor; but after witnessing the monk's untroubled life in exile, however, Qian "had come to regret being shallow in knowing the Master before" (始悔向者知師之淺也).²⁴

Through Hongen, Qian Qianyi was further connected to a wider Buddhist network, including the monk's dharma heirs who remained active in the Jiangnan region. Qian perhaps also knew, through Hongen, of Hanshan Deqing, whom Qian revered throughout life. It is unclear when Qian first became acquainted with Deqing, but in the biography he wrote for Hongen, Qian already indicated his self-identification as a dharma disciple of Deqing. Respectfully referred to Deqing as a source of authority both in Buddhist teaching and in his sense of mission in Buddhist work, Qian deliberately intertwined the lives and aspirations of the two monks.²⁵ Indeed, both Hongen and Deqing came from the Huayan tradition transmitted by Wuji Wuqin 無極悟勤 (1500–1584), former abbot of the Baoen si monastery, and both were dedicated to the reconstruction of Baoen Monastery after 1566 and were conversant in Buddhist and classical learnings. Qian Qianyi affinity with

23 *CXJ*, 1571–1574. Also seen in Hanshan's biography, *CXJ*, 1560–1562. For the fire at the Baoen Monastery in 1566 in Hanshan, see Struve, "Deqing's Dreams," 5–6.

24 *CXJ*, 1574. Interestingly, the arrangement of these two biographies in *CXJ* also forms a structural parallel, though it is hard to judge if this is by design (Qian Qianyi did organize the *CXJ*): Guo Zhengyu's biography was placed first under the second section of the biographies Qian wrote for Donglin men, corresponding to Hongen's biography, which ranks the first in the second section for the biographies for monks.

25 In comparison, Hongen was not as visible in the biography of Deqing that Qian wrote in 1627, which showcases the remarkable life journey Deqing chose to live. The importance of the two monks to Qian Qianyi is further revealed in his organization of the two biographies: Deqing was placed in the first among all biographies of eminent monks Qian wrote before 1644, and Hongen tops the second section of them. See *CXJ*, 1559–1565.

the two monks drew him closer to the Huayan tradition, motivating him to protect its dharma transmission against other competing schools.

Qian Qianyi likely nurtured his sense of mission to protect the Dharma (*hufa* 護法) in part out of his profound admiration of Deqing, with whose determination to uphold the Buddhist teaching and community he found sympathy. The two had shared a high regard of Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), the early Ming literatus layman whose writings on Buddhist teaching Qian compiled, with Deqing's guidance, under the title of *Hufa lu* 護法錄 (Records of protecting the Dharma).²⁶ Their collaboration took place around 1617, when Deqing traveled through the Wu region and visited Changshu to give lectures at the local Qingliang Monastery 清涼寺. On this occasion, Hanyue Fazang 漢月法藏 (1573–1635), the abbot of Qingliang Monastery, and Qian Qianyi the lay Buddhist, together welcomed Deqing and received him as their master.²⁷ The episode of Deqing's visit to Qingliang Monastery was a crucial moment for Qian Qianyi personally as a lay Buddhist and a patron. As a layman practitioner, Qian stood on a symbolically equal footing with the Chan monk Fazang, the abbot and a friend; in regard to Deqing, Qian was both a patron and a disciple. Qian did not seem to have any troubles negotiating these different social roles, but took the occasion as an emblematic moment of his Buddhist life.²⁸ After this event, Deqing seemed to have reciprocated in mutual understanding by expressing his conviction regarding Qian's capacities as a lay protector of Buddhism.²⁹

Qian's proactive approaches included not only publishing Buddhist texts but also promoting what he considered to be the Dharma and defending it against heresy, such as certain radical Buddhist practices that were in fashion

²⁶ See Hsieh, "Qian Qianyi fengfo zhi qianhou yinyuan ji qi yiyi," 22–23. *Hufa lu* (preface by Qian Qianyi dated 1616) was included in the Jiaying 嘉興 Canon (CBETA/JB110).

²⁷ *YXJ*, 1255.

²⁸ For literati Buddhist practice and how they expressed their religious identity, see Lü, "Religious Dimensions of Filial Piety."

²⁹ After his visit to Changshu in 1617, Deqing allegedly mentioned to a long-term attendant that 'there is no worry that our flagpoles would be toppled' 剎竿不憂倒卻矣, namely, Buddhist teachings and institutions would be secure. The metaphor comes from the famous Chan anecdote of a conversation regarding Dharma transmission between Ānanda and Kāśyapa. The flagpoles refer to symbolic material objects erected in front of the gates of Buddhist temples; thus, the security of the flagpoles refers to the upholding of the Buddhist teachings and institutions. See *CXJ*, 1559.

in his time, in particular the physical methods (such as blows and shouts) propagated by some Chan monks.³⁰ His role as a powerful patron and as an avid defender of the Dharma could have considerable impact on these trends of dramatic techniques.

This strong sense of mission in protecting the Buddhist Dharma was, ironically, in accord with the formative education Qian Qianyi received under Donglin leaders. Despite the fact that the young literatus had troubles in keeping in line with the overarching militant Donglin position, he did maintain its ideal of elite-oriented social reform through his life. He was, nevertheless, separated from the Donglin Confucians on a fundamental issue: his syncretic intellectual inclination. A local anecdote about Qian Qianyi's early interaction with Gu Xiancheng narrates that Gu noticed the young student's strong interests in other strands of teachings (多讀異書), a tendency that the Donglin leader appreciated but felt necessary to intervene. He told the student that there was yet one book to read (and the latter was immediately thrilled), namely the *Elementary Learning* (*Xiaoxue* 小學), a treatise on childhood learning compiled by the Song Confucian Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).³¹ Gu directed the young student to the chapter on Zengzi's student, a reading that was meant to bring Qian to the Neo-Confucian intellectual path of learning as the foundation for self-cultivation and social activism (立身學術大要盡此矣).³² Though the young Qian Qianyi eventually did not find personal resonance in the Cheng-Zhu teaching, he was instilled with its strong sense of activism.

An avid reader who was naturally drawn to different teachings and cultivated with the idea of social activism, Qian Qianyi found his intellectual and spiritual aspirations most fulfilled in the teachings of another teacher, Guan Zhidao 管志道 (1536–1608; *jinshi* 1571). An important late Ming thinker and reformist who syncretized Confucian classics, in particular the *Book of Change*, and Huayan Buddhist teaching, Guan has been little

³⁰ See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 159–160.

³¹ *Liunan suibi, xubi*, 142–143. Elementary educational primers were an important focus of the Neo-Confucian education; in addition to Zhu Xi, Zhan Ruoshui 湛若水 (1466–1560) also compiled a similar text from the classics which is titled *Ancient Text Elementary Learning* (*Guben Xiaoxue* 古本小學) to distinguish itself from Zhu Xi's more influential compilation. Since the chapter in question, “Gongming Xuan studied with Master Zeng” 公明宣學於曾子, is only included in Zhu Xi's *Elementary Learning*, we can assume that Gu Xiancheng instructed the young Qian Qianyi with Zhu's version.

³² *Liunan suibi, xubi*, 143.

understood in modern scholarship until recent decades, largely due to his obscurity after the Qing dynasty.³³ Guan grounded his thought in Wang Yangming's Four Sentence teaching and reaffirmed that human nature was neither good nor evil, the crux of philosophical contestation in the Yangming school during his time, for which he engaged in long and extensive debates with Gu Xiancheng.³⁴ Neither one could convince the other in the end. But it was during these years that Guan's teaching completely engrossed Qian Qianyi, then a young student of Gu.

In 1607, the year when Qian passed the provincial examination, he took the vow to be a disciple of Guan Zhidao in the Zhutangsi 竹堂寺 monastery in Suzhou, where Guan delivered lectures until his death.³⁵ What motivated this decision? In 1628, Qian wrote a substantial biography to detail the life, career, and thought of Guan Zhidao, whose ideas about Buddhist and Confucian spirituality had profoundly resonated with his.³⁶ Compared with his other formative relationships, Qian's personal connection with Guan was relatively short but not less intense. Qian was carried away by the syncretic vision he found in the latter. On the one hand, it was because of the inclusive theory with which Guan offered to syncretize the ultimate principles of Confucianism and Buddhism; on the other, Guan emphasized the two teachings are each independent and should be distinguished from each other (理則互融，教必不濫).³⁷ In Qian's view, Guan's solution was superior to

³³ In modern scholarship, Araki Kengo's 荒木見悟 study was the first attempt to situate Guan Zhidao in the late Ming religious milieu; see Araki, *Minmatsu shūkyō shisō kenkyū*. Weisfogel's *A Late Ming Vision for Local Community*, on the other hand, focuses on Guan's proposal for ritual in the context of state-elite relations; Ngoi's *Jun shi dao he* argues for a socio-political interpretation of Guan's thought; Wu Mengqian's *Rongguan yu pipan* provides a new study on Guan Zhidao's attempts to syncretize Confucian and Buddhist teachings.

³⁴ On the debates between Gu Xiancheng and Guan Zhidao in the intellectual context of late Wang Yangming schools, see Wu Zhen, *Yangming houxue yanjiu*, 79–116.

³⁵ *CXJ*, 1265.

³⁶ See Qian Qianyi, "Hu-Guang tixing anchasi qianshi jinjie chaojie daifu Guangong xingzhuang" 湖廣提刑按察司僉事晉階朝列大夫管公行狀, in *CXJ*, *juan* 49, 1252–1267. This is presumably the most substantial biography on Guan Zhidao one can find. It is noteworthy, however, that not many discussions on Guan Zhidao have referred to this biography.

³⁷ *CXJ*, 1258. Guan's view clearly resembles a form of syncretism; however, recent scholarship has increasingly questioned the applicability of syncretism in characterizing late Ming religious pluralism on the whole. See Brook

the construction of the genealogy of the Way, a strategy Cheng-Zhu scholars often took to withhold doctrinal distinctions and to privilege their own teachings. Asserting that Guan had reclaimed a spirituality in Confucianism that was on par with Buddhist wisdom, Qian simultaneously criticized Cheng-Zhu learning for not having fathomed the higher ideals of Confucianism, thereby allowing radical Buddhists and Daoists to slander it as a learning that lacked the ultimate wisdom (程、朱以後，不知道岸之所歸，使二氏之狂徒，詆吾儒為無究竟之學).³⁸ Qian Qianyi highlighted Guan Zhidao's call to return to the foundations of the Confucian tradition to criticize his contemporary Confucians. He considered them as scholars who were ignorant of urgent matters and as uncritical followers of the doctrinal boundaries set up by Cheng-Zhu learning.

After the rise of Cheng-Zhu Confucianism, there were, by and large, two major positions regarding the Confucian-Buddhist relations among Confucians: those who took the side of the Neo-Confucians, to repel Buddhism (闢佛); those at the side of the Buddhists, to protect the Dharma (護法). It is through this history that we can understand Qian Qianyi's effort in compiling and publishing Song Lian's writing that upheld the Buddhist teaching into the collection of *Hufa lu*, as mentioned before. From a similar position, Guan Zhidao not only sympathized with Buddhism but also managed to reconcile the interreligious conflicts staged by some Cheng-Zhu Confucians. Upon close examination, however, the ultimate commitment in Guan's writings, as also implied in the biography Qian Qianyi wrote for him, remained to Confucianism. Unlike other defenders of Buddhism who placed its wisdom above Confucian learning, Guan meant to seek equal footing for the two.³⁹ In essence, Guan's goal was to break through a dichotomy prevalent in his day that categorized Confucianism as a worldly teaching (世間文字) and Buddhism as otherworldly, and to validate both as equivalent teaching methods for attaining spiritual fulfillment.

Inspired primarily by the two teachers he much revered, as a more advanced student Qian Qianyi inherited an intellectual disposition from Guan Zhidao and the monk Hanshan Deqing toward the mutual accommodation and

(“Rethinking Syncretism”) for a general discussion on the topic. Also see Ngoi, *Jun shi dao he* (Chapter 3) for a discussion on the case of Guan Zhidao.

38 CXJ, 1259–1260.

39 This is shown in a review he drafted in his final years on Shen Shirong's 沈士榮 (fl. 1380s) *Xu Yuanjiao lun* 續原教論 (On the origins of the [Buddhist and Confucian] Teachings, continued), which Shen wrote to accommodate Buddhism. See Wu Mengqian, “Guan Dongming *Xu Yuanjiao lun ping xitan*.”

borrowing between Confucianism and Buddhism. It is noteworthy that other teachers from Qian's formative years, including Gu Xiancheng and the monk Xuelan Hongen, also displayed different degrees of intrareligious or interreligious accommodations. Through this review of religious pluralism and the Confucian-Buddhist polemics among late Ming intelligentsia, I have shown here the multifold teachings that stimulated Qian Qianyi to identify his goals and priorities and to develop his strong sense of social activism, which would play an important part in the next period of his life following the fall of the Ming dynasty.

Qian Qianyi and His Buddhist Networks in the Ming-Qing Transition

In 1644, the world as Qian Qianyi and his contemporaries had known it was turned upside down. The Ming dynasty, after being troubled by famine, plague, and warfare for more than two decades, was brought to an end: the Chongzhen 崇禎 (r. 1628–1644) emperor committed suicide as Li Zicheng 李自成 (1606–1645), one major leader of late Ming popular uprisings, led his army into the capital Beijing on an early spring day in April. In less than two months, Li's army was expelled by a multi-ethnic military confederation led by the Manchu prince and regent Dorgon (1612–1650), who then took over Beijing and established the Qing rule in China for the next two-and-half centuries.⁴⁰ The political upheaval following the fall of the Ming ensued from 1644 to the 1660s, and during the period several Ming loyalist rules were established to resist the Qing's gradual consolidation of the Manchu imperial rule.

At the time of Chongzhen's death, Qian Qianyi had been based in the Lower Yangtze for a decade, after his withdrawal from office in 1635. Highly regarded as a Donglin leader and former politician, he soon became involved in the establishment of a new government in Nanjing, the southern capital, with Prince Fu 福 (personal name Zhu Yousong 朱由崧, 1607–1646) as its

⁴⁰ In 1636, the Manchu ruler Hong Taiji (aka Huang Taiji 皇太極; ruler of Later Jin, 1626–1636; ruler of Qing, 1636–1643) had already declared a new Qing dynasty to contest with the Ming dynasty. The Ming-Qing conflict was an extended period tracing back to 1618, after the Jurchen leader Nurhaci (r. 1616–1626) confederated the Jurchen tribes and declared war with the Ming rule, and extending to 1683, at the time of the subjugation of Taiwan, where the last Ming loyalist claimant had based, under Qing rule. For a rationale of this periodization, see Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683*, 1–5.

regent. This was the Hongguang 弘光 court. It soon fell under continuous infighting and factionalism before it surrendered to Qing rule in 1645, at which occasion Qian Qianyi was one of the highest ministers to collaborate with the Qing troops and was taken to Beijing. Subsequent attempts of Ming loyalist claimants resumed resistance in southern China, installing imperial courts in Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong.⁴¹ Qian Qianyi served under Qing rule as the vice director of the Office of Ming History.⁴² In less than six months in Beijing, he asked for sick leave to return home, where he maintained close connections with the remnant Ming loyalist forces through personal networks, a topic that has been addressed in recent scholarship and would be further discussed in the following.

The highly volatile political situation of the Ming-Qing transition obscured the transitory spheres in which Buddhist networks operated. Emerging in the late sixteenth century through primarily male elite's social connections, these Buddhist networks created a community that transcended the geographical boundaries of a locality.⁴³ What characterized these networks were not only the shared beliefs, contacts, and group identity between the members, but also their potential to mobilize a movement. Throughout this period, Qian Qianyi engaged in philanthropy and poor relief for the local population displaced by war while he kept his translocal social networks intact.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, Qian Qianyi's reputation as a powerful patron seemed to become a liability and sometimes entangled him in political strife. One instance is the case of monk Dabei 大悲, which indicates a rising weariness and distrust political authorities had about the diffused social networks, including Qian Qianyi's translocal connections. A wandering monk who called himself Dabei appeared in early 1645 in Nanjing, the southern capital, where the Hongguang court was located. This Dabei proclaimed himself a prince enfeoffed by the deceased Chongzhen emperor and made public

41 These include Prince Lu 魯 (Zhu Yihai 朱以海, r. 1645–1655) in Zhoushan, later to Jinmen; Prince Tang 唐 (Zhu Yujian 朱聿鍵, aka Longwu emperor, r. 1645–1646) in Fuzhou; and Prince Gui 桂 (Zhu Youlang 朱由榔, aka Yongli 永曆 emperor, r. 1646–1662) in Zhaoqing. For the history of these attempts to maintain an imperial Ming court from Prince Fu's Hongguang rule to Prince Gui's Yongli court, see Struve, *The Southern Ming*.

42 NP, 939.

43 See Eichman, *A Late Sixteenth-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*, 5–11.

44 *Liunan suibi, xubi*, 211.

comments in favor of a contender of the Hongguang emperor. He was soon arrested and interrogated, and confessed that he was acquainted with Qian Qianyi, then the Minister of Rites (rank 2a). The arrest and trial of the monk evolved into a political crisis in which not only the political legitimacy of the Nanjing government was challenged but also some of its high officials, including Qian Qianyi, were undermined. In the end, the monk was executed and Qian was impeached, only to be dismissed later.⁴⁵

Evaluated within a broader context, the incident with Dabei suggests some distinctive features of the diffused Buddhist networks during the Ming-Qing transition and their potential for new understandings of both the Buddhist community and the period on the whole. First, the mobility of religious practitioners allowed them to traverse different geographical boundaries, which could create potential for political subversive activities.⁴⁶ Second, such mobility largely hinged on the demands of religious practice, an arena that had been under tight control of the Ming state but was relieved from government intervention during periods of weak state or of political instability.⁴⁷ Examined in this light, the noticeable phenomenon of literati functioning as Buddhist monks, or the so-called “escaping into Buddhism” phenomenon, during the early conquest phase may offer us a useful perspective on the relations between religion and politics during the early Qing.

Indeed, this was a period when an unprecedented number of literati took the option of tonsure and even hid in Buddhist monasteries where the abbots offered shelter. This phenomenon might emerge partly as a reaction against the Qing sovereign’s queue order, which required all adult males to shave their forehead and adopt the Manchu hairstyle as a gesture of submission. However, this phenomenon owed its ubiquity largely to the interreligious dynamics and social networks connected by the personal ties between Buddhist monks and literati laymen in the late Ming. A large number of Ming loyalists were able to take shelter in Buddhist monasteries in the early post-

45 See *Hongguang shilu chao*, 76; according to Xia Yunyi, the monk had assumed a fake identity and had only one encounter with Qian Qianyi. See *Xu Xingcun lu*, 55.

46 Philip Kuhn’s *Soulstealers* has offered a fascinating case on the mass scare and political menace against sorcery associated with the highly mobile population—wandering monks, vagabonds, and beggars—in the context of political and ethnic tensions of the Qianlong 乾隆 period (r. 1736–1796).

47 In the case of the Ming state’s control over Buddhism, see Yü Chün-fang, “Ming Buddhism”; also see Chen Yunü’s recent study, *Mingdai de fojiao yu shehui*, in particular pages 1–27.

conquest phase. Chen Zilong 陳子龍 (1608–1647, *jinshi* 1637), for example, briefly hid in a monastery as a monk after his resistance failed in Songjiang. Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611–1671, *jinshi* 1640) shaved his head and functioned as a monk after an unsuccessful stint at the Yongli court 永曆 (1646–1662) in Guilin; he received ordination from the monk Juelang Daosheng 覺浪道盛 (1592–1659) in 1653.⁴⁸ Another Yongli official, Jin Bao 金堡 (1614–1681, *jinshi* 1640), took tonsure the same year as Fang and assumed the lifestyle of a monk till death.⁴⁹ It is noteworthy that Jin Bao and Fang Yizhi passed the metropolitan examinations the same year and both were former colleagues of Qu Shisi 瞿式耜 (1590–1651, *jinshi* 1616), who served as the Grand Secretary at the Yongli court and defended Guilin to its fall in late 1650. After the fall of Guilin, when Qu was captured and executed by the Qing army, Fang and Jin both opted for a monastic lifestyle, while the Yongli emperor retreated first to Nanning and later to Kunming before his final defeat in 1661. As for Qu Shisi, a native of Changshu, he was Qian Qianyi's close friend and a disciple since 1605, and his death incurred lasting grief to Qian.⁵⁰ Despite the death of Qu, Qian continued to communicate with Jin Bao and Fang Yizhi for the next decade, a point to which I will return.

In discussing the intellectual orientations of the Chinese literati after the Manchu conquest of China, previous scholarship has sometimes imagined an early Qing intelligentsia demarcated into distinct individual typologies by different political orientations.⁵¹ However, these typologies often obscured the historical conditions in which not only boundaries between different social groups were fluid, but the groups themselves were ambivalent and transitory. The social networks embedded in Qian Qianyi's Buddhist works after 1644 do not necessarily represent one-dimensional political connections. The biography of the Chan monk Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566–1642) is one clear example. At Yuanwu's death, his layman disciple Huang Yuqi 黃毓祺

48 Peterson, *Bitter Gourd*, 199–200.

49 Yü Ying-shih has suggested that these literati did not necessarily embrace the Buddhist teaching even after functioning as monks, as in the case of Fang Yizhi. See Yü Ying-shih, *Fang Yizhi wanjie kao*. For the monastic life of Fang Yizhi and Jin Bao, see Liao, *Zhongyi puti*, particularly Chapters 1 and 2.

50 *YXJ*, 138–157. It is noteworthy that the commemorative writings for Qu Shisi by Qian Qianyi are exclusively in coded lyric forms, which perhaps reflects simultaneously the sensitive nature of Qu's involvement in Ming loyalist activities and Qian's own profound sorrow.

51 See for example Liang Qichao, *Zhongguo jin sanbai nian xueshu shi*, 15, and Frederic Wakeman, "Romantics, Stoics, and Martyrs."

(1579–1648) requested Qian Qianyi to write a tomb inscription for the monk. Huang, a licentiate student of Jiangyin in the Ming dynasty, revolted against Qing rule in 1647. Huang was arrested and died in jail during his trial; meanwhile, Qian Qianyi was implicated in his case and thereupon put under confinement from 1647 to 1648.⁵² More than a decade following his release, Qian finally wrote the biography of the Chan monk under a renewed request from one of his leading dharma heirs, Muchen Daomin 木陳道忞 (1596–1674).⁵³ This biography therefore presents a concrete example of how old networks were continued or rebuilt through renewed communications and input within the community in the fluid political situation of the early Qing period. Notably, Daomin, formerly known as a Ming loyalist abbot, shortly afterward had an audience with the Manchu emperor Shunzhi and became the first imperially recognized Chan monk under the Qing. Because of their multi-dimensional nature, Buddhist networks thus provide us a useful alternative to the politically-oriented categorizations and an opportunity to look at the early Qing intelligentsia as a volatile domain rather than a static field. The following will discuss Qian Qianyi's two Buddhist projects, both carried out in the 1650s, to further illustrate the significance of these networks.

The Drafted Annotations of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*

Qian Qianyi withdrew from public life after his brief collaboration with the Manchu rule in 1645. From 1646 to 1650, he devoted himself to scholarship, history writing, and Buddhism while maintaining close contact with Qu Shisi, who served at the Yongli court as its top minister. The year of 1650, however, was a turning point for Qian's conversion to Buddhism, as the two major endeavors by which he strove to recover the Ming history were both reduced to ruins. The beginning of this period was marked by Qian's frustrated ambition as a historian. During his brief stint of political career in the Ming, Qian had been a Junior Compiler of the Hanlin Academy (*bianxiu* 編修, 7a) taking charge of the writing of official history. He made it his calling to write the history of the Ming after its fall. This ambition would not be materialized due to a fire at his private library that destroyed nearly all the books and

⁵² Despite the circumstantial evidence due to the sensitive nature of Ming loyalism, it is highly likely that Qian did support Huang's revolt behind the scene. Qian was later rescued by personal contact. See Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, 899–924.

⁵³ *YXJ*, 1256–1260.

manuscripts he had been gathering for more than two decades. Qian constantly described his world afterwards as the “ashes of apocalypse” (*jiehui* 劫灰), a destruction as phenomenal as the fall of the Ming, and his seeking retreat in Buddhist spirituality as a response.⁵⁴ His grief would be worsened late in that year, as his disciple Qu Shisi was captured by the Qing army in Guilin and executed the next year. Qian Qianyi declared that since then he lost interest in all worldly writings (*shijian wenzi* 世間文字) after 1650 and turned to Buddhist wisdom. Buddhism, however, was never a mere escape into the “Gate of Emptiness” for him.

In his life as a Buddhist layman, Qian was as engaged and productive as he was as a historian. His Buddhist endeavors were salient: from 1651 to his death, he left commentaries on several sūtras, including the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (*Sūraṃgama Sūtra*), the *Xin jing* 心經 (*Heart Sūtra*), the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (*Diamond Sūtra*), and the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*), which he continued to work on until shortly before his death. He also compiled the anthology of Deqing’s writings, a supplementary anthology of the monk Zibo Zhenke’s 紫柏真可 (1543–1603) writings, among others. In his Buddhist projects, Qian showed a humility that was less evident in his literary and scholarly works; but like his other works, his Buddhist projects often revealed networks of social connections—in the post-1645 period, specifically, networks consisted of Ming loyalists, Qing officials, former officials, and the Buddhist monastic community. To illustrate this, in what follows I will discuss his two Buddhist projects: the first is his commentary on the *Shoulengyan jing*—that is, the *Shoulengyan jing shujie Mengchao* 首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 (Qian Qianyi’s drafted annotations on the *Sūraṃgama Sūtra*; mostly known as the *Mengchao* 蒙鈔); the second is the compilation of the *MYJ*, to explore the significance of his broad Buddhist networks.

In 1651, after having suffered the two great losses of his life, namely the destruction of his private library and the death of Qu Shisi, Qian assumed a new style name as Mengsou 蒙叟 (Dimmed Old Fellow). The “Meng” 蒙 here could have various implications. Literally, Meng means dimmed, obscured, or young and unenlightened, a general condition of not being bright or hopeful (except in the case of a young folly). On the other hand, the trigrams of the Meng hexagram, the fourth hexagram of the *Yijing*, signify a

⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion of the impact of this fire, and subsequently Qu Shisi’s death, on Qian Qianyi’s retreat into Buddhism, see Lin, “In the Name of Honor,” Chapter 4, particularly 175–182, 186–189. It is noteworthy that the term *jiehui* is itself a Buddhist term, referring to the ashes after the *kalpa* fire of destruction.

mountain on top of an abyss, and the general meaning of this hexagram is to encourage the gentleman to move on with determined actions (君子以果行育德).⁵⁵ He embarked on a commentary of the *Lengyan jing*, which would later become the *MC* (X 13, 287) in the *Xu zang jing* 續藏經 collection. The *MC* attested to Qian Qianyi's pursuit of the Buddhist learning: he began the work in 1651 and finished the draft in 1657, during which it underwent five revisions (歲凡七改，藁則五易).⁵⁶ This draft would be again revised in 1659 and its final copy transcribed in the spring of 1660, the same year the commentary was published.⁵⁷

The exegesis of the *Lengyan jing* had been an important scholastic tradition since the Song dynasty. From the mid- to late Ming, the number of commentaries produced by both monks and literati was unprecedented.⁵⁸ Some considered this sūtra, in its emphasis on the learning of the mind and enlightenment, to be resonating with the fundamental ideas regarding moral cultivation in the Wang Yangming teaching. Popular interest in this sūtra among late Ming literati was further stimulated by the proponents who managed to borrow the mind-training technique in this sūtra to enrich the Confucian model of cultivation.⁵⁹ This broad late Ming intellectual interest in the *Śūramgama Sūtra* clearly was tangible in the attention to this sūtra paid by Qian Qianyi's family and teachers. The young Qian Qianyi began reading the sūtra extracurricular reading when he was 18 *sui* under the instruction of his father, and soon afterwards had a dream in which the Buddha revealed the efficacy of the sūtra.⁶⁰ Moreover, important influence evidently also came from his teachers, as Guan Zhidao and Hanshan Deqing had both left annotations on the sūtra. Guan's annotations, titled *Lengyan zhiwen* 楞嚴質問 (Inquisition into the *Śūramgama Sūtra*) in one *juan*, were in fact part of a debate between him and Yin Mai 殷邁 (*jinshi* 1541) regarding the sūtra. Though the text is not available now, one can infer some of its contents from

55 See Wilhelm and Baynes, trans., *The I Ching*, 20–24. This was probably a conscious allusion, as the two characters of Qian's personal name, Qian 謙 and Yi 益, are both hexagrams in the *Yijing*, and the *Yijing* was Guan Zhidao's favorite text.

56 See Qian Qianyi, "Foding Mengchao mulu houji" 佛頂蒙鈔目錄後記 [postscripts after the Table of Contents of the *Mengchao*], in *MC* (CBETA.org).

57 See Qian's annotations to the postscripts, *ibid.*

58 See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 25.

59 *Ibid.*, 49–50.

60 Qian Qianyi, "Foding Mengchao mulu houji," in *MC*.

Qian Qianyi's summary.⁶¹ As for the monk Deqing, he had left extensive annotations on the *Lengyan jing* in two titles, *Lengyan jing xuanjing* 楞嚴經懸鏡 (Mirror suspended by the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*), in one *juan*, and the more substantial *Lengyan jing tongyi* 楞嚴經通義 (Comprehensive discussions on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*) in 10 *juan*, supplemented by an outline.⁶²

Lengyan jing tongyi (preface dated 1617) was Deqing's most ambitious work on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*, a site of intellectual production and contestation of his day. Presumably, during the monk's visit to the Changshu Qingliangsi in 1617, he had delivered similar ideas. It is possible that through his connection with Deqing Qian Qianyi further developed a special liking for this sūtra. Thus, his attachment to it was built on a multilayered history that involved both personal and collective concerns. Through an intertextual reading of *MC* and Deqing's *Lengyan jing tongyi* against the sūtra, the reader can better appreciate how Qian Qianyi devoted to Deqing's teaching by defending the monk's annotations.

Qian employed a textual-based approach in his *MC*, which is clearly showcased in his outline of the commentary history of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*,⁶³ through which he not only defended Deqing's annotations but also established for himself a place in the hermeneutic tradition of the sūtra. An outstanding example is on Deqing's interpretation of "seeking the mind" (*zhixin* 徵心) as the first step to enlightenment. The sūtra begins with a chapter in which Ananda, the Buddha's closest disciple and a celibate monk, showed his weakness when he encountered a woman called Mataṅgi, who used magic to lure him. The Buddha relieved Ananda from the crisis and thereby delivered a sermon, during which Ananda was asked to seek his mind. Deqing saw this episode as a crucial metaphor towards the destruction of the "five aggregates" (*wuyun* 五蘊; Skt. *skandha*), the accumulation of the five compositional elements of human existence. The "five aggregates" are: *ce* 色, form and matter; *shou* 受, sensations; *xiang* 想, conception and discerning; *xing* 行, functions of the mind and its likes and dislikes; and *shi* 識, mental

61 Qian Qianyi, "Gujin shujie pinmu" 古今疏解品目, in the front matter of the *MC*.

62 Both *Lengyan jing xuanjing* (X 12, 277) and *Lengyan jing tongyi* (X 12, 279), which is further supplemented by an independent table of contents, *Lengyan jing tongyi lueke* 楞嚴經通義略科 (X 72, 278), have been collected in the *Xuzang jing*.

63 Qian Qianyi, "Gujin shujie pinmu," in the front matter of the *MC*.

faculties of perception and cognition.⁶⁴ He argued that seeking the mind was the first step to break the aggregates of *ce* and *shou*—the attachments to form and matter as well as sensations aroused by them—a breakthrough that preceded the destruction of the other three aggregates.⁶⁵ This interpretation was considered by some to be “unexampled” (古人未有議及),⁶⁶ as the connections between “seeking the mind” and “breaking the five aggregates” were not immediately available either in the sūtra or in its commentary tradition.

To defend Deqing’s interpretation, Qian Qianyi first summarized the sūtra chapter by chapter, arguing that the destruction of the “five aggregates” was the first step in the path of enlightenment, and then sought a textual basis in the monk Yongming Yanshou’s 永明延壽 (904–975) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the Source-mirror). Qian then concluded:

[The Chan monk] Yongming Yanshou said, “The primary principle of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* is the mind of the *tathāgatagarbha*, the pure mind.” The mind of the *tathāgatagarbha* is the eighth consciousness, the store consciousness of *ālayavijñāna*. Resting our argument on the holy scriptures, the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* is about the “five aggregates” from the beginning to the end. What is to doubt about the Master’s judgment?

永明云：「《首楞嚴》以如來藏心為宗。」如來藏者，即第八阿賴耶識。依聖言量，《楞嚴》一經，終始皆歸五蘊也。於大師之判奚疑？⁶⁷

In this respect Qian Qianyi’s commentary on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* fits within a larger tradition and should not be viewed as the work of someone cut off from the larger tradition of Buddhist exegetical writing both contemporaneous and historical.

Other than earlier commentary tradition, Qian actively sought comments and advice from a broader Buddhist circles. Two close friends during this period, the monks Daoyuan 道源 (1586–1655) and Lu Xian 陸銑 (1581–

64 They are accumulated through the various perceptions and conceptions taken in by the six human sense organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind).

65 Deqing, “Xuanpan” 懸判, *Lengyan jing tongyi*, *juan 1* (CBETA.org).

66 Qian Qianyi, “Haiyin Hanshan deshi kejing zongyi huowen” 海印憨山大師科經總義或問, in *YXJ*, 1476–1477.

67 *Ibid.*, 1481. Also see CBETA, X13, no. 287, p. 544 for an almost identical citation.

1654), were among those who regularly conversed with Qian on his commentary.⁶⁸ He also corresponded with the monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) to solicit his suggestions, despite the fact that the latter was highly critical of the annotations endeavored by both Deqing and Qian Qianyi due to their different intellectual affiliations.⁶⁹ After finishing the draft, Qian further requested comments from the monk Jinshi 今釋 (formerly Jin Bao) and his Dharma teacher Tianran Hanshi 天然函晷 (1608–1685), of the Haiyansi 海雲寺 monastery in Guangzhou, two other monks whom Qian was in close contact with during the compilation of Deqing’s complete anthology.⁷⁰

Qian’s *MC* was first printed in 1660. During his later years, Qian lived through poverty and had to make ends meet by selling commissioned writings, mostly birthday prefaces and the like.⁷¹ As Qian had no funding to send his manuscript to the printer, the assistance of his friends and disciples, who donated money or carved woodblocks, made the publication of the *MC* possible.

Exact copies of the first print runs and their actual circulation are unclear, but Qian’s commentary was no doubt still circulating in the late eighteenth century before being listed as one of the books under censorship during the compilation of the *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (The complete library of the four treasuries). The *Siku quanshu* project, commissioned by the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1736–1796) in 1772, had considerable impact on the transmission of certain writings of the Ming-Qing transition.⁷² But through a substantial number of books transmitted into Japan during the mid- to late seventeenth century, modern scholars have been able to recover some of the books that disappeared in the High Qing censorship and to reconstruct the cultural history of these books.

⁶⁸ See Qian Qianyi, “Shilin zhanglao taming” 石林長老塔銘, in *YXJ*, 1266.

⁶⁹ Qian Qianyi, “Yu Suhua chanshi” 與素華禪師, in *YXJ*, 1372–1373. Lien Rui-chih has suggested that Zhixu’s critical opinions was largely based on his Tiantai 天臺 intellectual tradition. See Lien Rui-chih, “Qian Qianyi de fojiao shengya ji li’nian,” 325–327. Qian was critical of Zhixu’s partisan tendency in his outline of the commentary tradition of the *Śūramgama Sūtra*, see his “Gujin shujie pinmu” in the front matter of *Mengchao*.

⁷⁰ More details of their contact are covered in the following discussion on the *Mengyou ji* project.

⁷¹ *Liunan suibi, xubi*, 180.

⁷² For the official participation in the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* and the censorship involved in the project, see Guy, *The Emperor’s Four Treasuries*.

A surviving Tokugawa printed copy of Qian Qianyi's *MC*, now collected at the Harvard-Yenching Library, shows a glimpse into its publication history and the early modern East Asian connections.⁷³ This 1685 Tokugawa reprint is based on a copy of the 1660 first print of the *MC* transmitted to Japan through maritime trade, but the 1685 edition was published with the Japanese monk Chikū's 知空 (1634–1718) annotations and punctuation marks for pronunciation. The maritime trade in the East Asia Seas at the time was largely under the control of Zheng Chenggong's 鄭成功 (1624–1662) forces during this time. Zheng was a young student of Qian Qianyi and the two were likely in communication during the 1650s for anti-Qing resistance.⁷⁴ Presumably the 1660 first print of *MC* was among other Ming loyalist writings that were introduced in large number to Japan in the late seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Among the books brought to Tokugawa Japan, Feng Menglong's 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) *Zhongxing weilue* 中興偉略 (An outline of the great plan for revival) and Yu Huai's 余懷 (1616–1696) *Banqiao zaji* 板橋雜記 (Miscellaneous record of Banqiao [Yu Huai]) were two other notable examples, with their popularity indicated in later Japanese reprints.⁷⁶ *Baoqiao zaji*, Yu Huai's memoirs about the late Ming pleasure quarters of Nanjing and its most celebrated courtesans, in particular, would become an influential work in the genre of pleasure quarters in Edo literature.⁷⁷

This 1685 reprint surprisingly has retained the information of the publication history of the *MC* and highlighted Qian's social circles. Shown in the figures below, in each of the fascicles of the *MC*, the donors of the carved woodblocks were indicated. These include Qian's disciple Mao Jin 毛晉

⁷³ This 1685 edition is the only earlier edition of *MC* I have access to so far. The research on this reprint was based on a trip to the Harvard-Yenching Library in March 2008 sponsored by its research grants program. I have learned from Andrew Hsieh that Mr. Shen Jin from the Rarebook Collection has later also published a short essay about the publication of this text on his personal blog.

⁷⁴ For their relationship and possible collaboration for Zheng's attack on the Jiangnan region in 1659, see Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, Chapter 5.

⁷⁵ For the major books transmitted to the Tokugawa Japan, see Ōba Osamu 大庭修, *Edo jidai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū*.

⁷⁶ The Japanese reprint might be the only extant copy of Feng Menglong's *Zhongxing weilue*, as it was the only copy Xie Guozhen 謝國禎 could retrieve. See Xie, *Wan Ming shiji kao*, 611–612.

⁷⁷ *Baoqiao zaji* was introduced and published in Tokugawa Japan, first printed in 1722 with Yamazaki Ransai's (fl. 1770s) punctuations and annotations; it later influenced Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837–1884). See Maeda Ai's 前田愛 discussion in his *Bakumatsu ishinki no bunkaku*, 487–505.

(1599–1659), renowned Changshu book collector and printer, the poet Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609–1671), Gu Mei 顧湄 (fl. mid-17th c.), wife of the poet and official Gong Dingzi 龔鼎孳 (1615–1673, *jinshi* 1634), the painter Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592–1680), and the monk Jiqi Hongchu 繼起弘儲 (1605–1672), abbot of the Liangyansi 靈巖寺 monastery in Suzhou, among others. Among them, Wu Weiye and Gong Dingzi had been recognized together with Qian Qianyi as the three greatest poets from the Jiangnan region (江左三大家), and both had also collaborated to the Qing government.⁷⁸ The individuals involved in the publication of *MC* had been active in different social realms and had made seemingly different political choices during the Ming-Qing transition, such as Qian Qianyi and his disciple Mao Jin, one withdrew from public life after 1644 and have been considered a Ming loyalist while the other briefly collaborated with the Qing rule and has been classified as a dishonorable minister in modern scholarship. The monk Hongchu, too, has been considered a Ming loyalist monk and was also a close contact of Qian Qianyi in his later days.⁷⁹ Their coexistence in the publication of Qian Qianyi's Buddhist projects indicates a complex picture of the early Qing intelligentsia, which was a community that had sustained the political upheaval of the mid-seventeenth century dynastic change.

78 The similarities in their life and career trajectories seemed to have drawn Qian Qianyi and Gong Dingzi closer from the mid-1640s to the 1650s. Gu Mei was formerly a Nanjing courtesan whom Gong Dingzi made a wife to receive the official title from the Qing government. Shown in the following discussion, Gong Dingzi would occupy a more visible role in Qian Qianyi's compilation of *MYJ*.

79 For Hongchu's reputation as a loyalist monk, see Liao, *Zhongyi puti*, 18–22. For his friendship with Qian Qianyi, see Lien, "Qian Qianyi de fojiao shengya ji li'nian," 335–338.

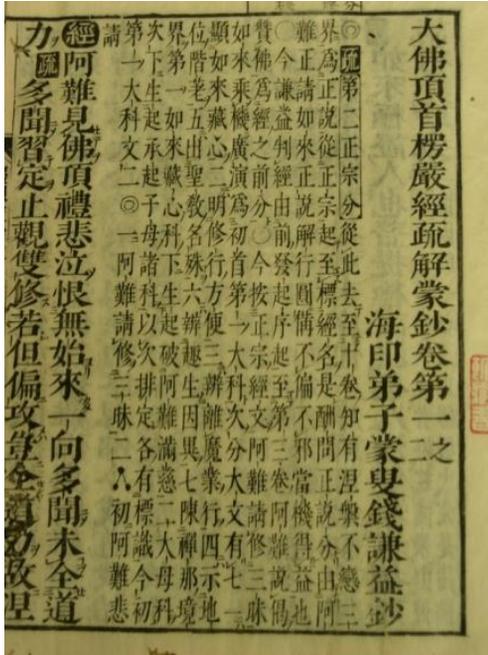


Figure I

Front matter, the 1685 Japanese reprint of *MC*, Qian Qianyi's commentary on the *Śūramgama Sūtra*. This Tokugawa reprint was originally collected in the Jōkōji 常高寺 temple in Obama, Fukui Prefecture, Japan.

The 1685 reprint was based on the 1660 Chinese print, with Japanese punctuations and annotations added.

Photos taken by author.

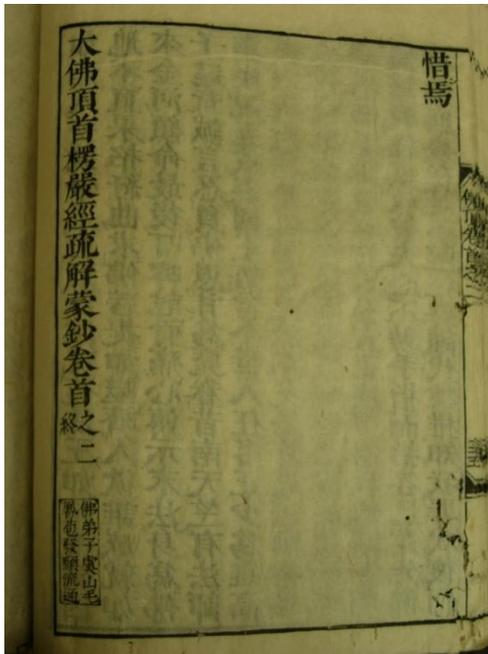


Figure II

The last page of the second half of the front matter of the *MC*.

This volume was printed under the donation of the printer Mao Jin, aka Mao Fengbao 毛鳳苞. Mao died in 1659, before the *MC* was published.

During the 1650s, Mao Jin had supported Qian Qianyi in the publication of many books, including the *MC* and later *MYJ*, whose publication was completed by Mao's sons.

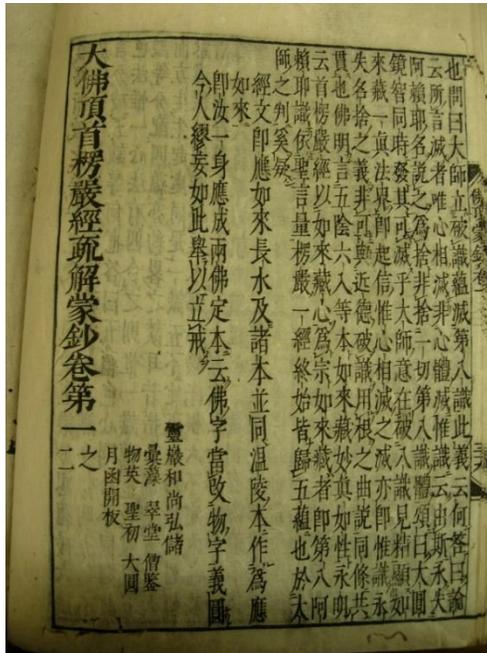


Figure III

Last page of vol. 2, the second half of the first *juan*, of the 1685 reprint of the *MC*.

Indicated here, the woodblocks of this volume were carved with the donations from the monk Hongchu, abbot of the Lingyansi monastery in Suzhou, and his disciples.

The Compilation of the *MYJ*

Here I will focus on the compilation of the *MYJ*, the complete anthology of Deqing that Qian Qianyi initiated to preserve and honor the monk’s legacy, which would later become the most widely used edition of *Hanshan laoren Mengyou ji* now preserved in the *Xu zang jing* 續藏經 in 55 *juan* (X 73, 1456).⁸⁰ Due to a conflation of materials and titles, this edition of *MYJ* has often been confused with the earlier 5 *juan* *MYQJ* (J 22, B116), now collected in the Jiaxing edition of the Buddhist Tripitaka (hereafter Jiaxing Canon), a point I will address below.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Qian Qianyi indicated that his compilation was in 40 *juan*. The *Xu zang jing* edition has 55 *juan*, reorganized from the 40 *juan* original format. This *Xu zang jin* edition still includes some features of Qian’s edition, including prefaces and postscripts by Qian Qianyi and his associates, and Deqing’s annotated autobiography, as well as the same publisher and Qian’s letter request for manuscript, just to name a few.

⁸¹ Most scholarship, including Wu’s *Confucian’s Progress* and Struve’s “Deqing’s Dream,” has conventionally credited the compilation of the 55 *juan* *MYJ* to Fushan 福善 and Tongjong 通炯, two monks who helped collect materials for

The compilation of *MYJ* spanned from 1655 to 1669, when Qian Qianyi employed his personal networks to collect, transcribe, edit, and publish the teaching and writings of Deqing. The project is a collective work that reveals Qian's close circles and extended networks after his retirement from office. To help collect the materials, Qian's close friend Gong Dingzi personally made a trip to deliver Qian's letter to the Haichuangsi 海幢寺 monastery, Caoxi, where Deqing last transmitted his teaching. Gong's stay in Guangdong lasted for months, during which time he frequently communicated with the monk Jinshi (aka Jin Bao) and Cao Rong; Gong also requested manuscripts from other monasteries.⁸² Cao Rong 曹溶 (1613–1685, *jinshi* 1637) hired people to transcribe the manuscript. Both Gong and Cao were former colleagues of Qian during his short stint of service at the Qing court from 1645 to 1646. In addition, Qian's disciple Mao Jin volunteered to carve the woodblocks to print the compilation. In the process Qian also involved the monk Daosheng, who accordingly provided a commemoration to help circulate this collection.⁸³

At the time of the publication of Qian's edition, there were at least two other editions of Deqing's "complete works": the first one is an earlier unpunctuated edition of *MYQJ*, consisting of only five *juan*, which was recorded and compiled by Fushan 福善 and Tongjong 通炯 and published in the late Ming as part of the Jiangxing Canon; the second is an edition of Deqing's manuscript published in Guangdong simultaneously with Qian Qianyi's compilation and including a preface from Qian, which possibly was benefitted from his process of collecting materials.⁸⁴ All assumed the same

the 5 *juan* edition of *MYQJ*. Wu Jiang (*Enlightenment in Dispute*) and Jennifer Eichman (*A Late-Sixteenth Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*) have credited the compilation of *MYJ* to Qian Qianyi.

82 Gong's records of this trip have been preserved mostly in his poetry anthology, *Dingshan tang shiji* 定山堂詩集 [Poetry anthology from the Dingshan Hall], *juan* 25. Jin Bao, on the other hand, only left few formal epistolary sources for their communications in his *Bianxing tang ji* 遍行堂集 [A collection of the hall of traveling all-around].

83 *YXJ*, 869, 871–872, 1254, 1274.

84 See Qian Qianyi, "Lingnan ke *Hanshan dashi Mengyou quanji xu*" 嶺南刻憨山大師夢遊全集序, *YXJ*, 871–872. This third edition (the Guangdong edition, printed by the monk Jihang 濟航) was from the same manuscript on which Qian's compilation was based, but its circulation was unclear. Qian himself indicated that the two editions were essentially the same but he had reorganized some passages and edited some sentences in his 40 *juan* compilation. See discussion below.

title of *Mengyou ji*, sometimes also *Mengyou quanji*, a meaningful conflation that has created confusion within modern scholarship and deserves further discussion.⁸⁵

Most modern scholars have attributed the *Xu zang jing* edition of the *MYJ* to Fushan and Tongjong, as its recorders and editors. This is a widespread misunderstanding that requires clarification. Though the two had early access to Deqing's writings, as Tongjong was the eminent monk's dharma heir in Caoxi and Fushan the attendant for Deqing for at least three decades, both died before Qian's *MYJ* compilation project started.⁸⁶ The two monks published in the late Ming the aforementioned 5 *juan MYQJ* and left behind an unpunctuated and unedited manuscript, which Qian Qianyi collected and compiled into his 40-*juan* Yushan edition of *MYJ*.⁸⁷ Qian laid out in its preface the history of the collation and editing of this complete anthology of Deqing:

The *MYQJ* of Master Hanshan published in the Jiaxing Canon has only his Dharma teachings in five *juan*. In the year of Bingshen [i.e., 1656], Gong Dingzi went to Guangdong and the monk Huashou of the Haichuangsi monastery received my letter; thereupon he announced to the people to look for the manuscript kept by the Chan master Qihuo, of Dinghu. Cao Rong among others then had it transcribed and returned to the Wu region. I personally collated and compiled [the manuscripts] into forty *juan*. As the Master's writings were done

85 Note that the title of the Jiaxing Canon edition is *Hanshan laoren mengyou quanji*, possibly chosen by Deqing himself (see my following discussion on the works of Zibo Zhenke published by Deqing). For reasons unknown, Qian Qianyi did not choose a different title to distinguish his compilation from the earlier edition. The title on the *Xu zang jin* edition is *Hanshan laoren mengyou ji*, but Qian consistently called the edition *Hanshan dashi mengyou ji*, a decision I understand as an expression of reverence.

86 For Tongjong, see Jinshi 今釋, "Lu *Mengyou quanji xiaoji*" 錄夢遊全集小紀, *MYJ*, *juan* 1 (CBETA.org); for Fushan, see Struve, "Deqing's Dreams, 11.

87 The Yushan edition refers to the 1660 print edited and published by Qian Qianyi, as distinct from the Lingnan edition, which was largely based on the same manuscript but published in Guangdong in the late 1650s. As mentioned, the *Xu zang jing* edition is essentially Qian's Yushan edition but has been divided into 55 *juan*. The Beijing Erudition 愛如生 digital database also contains the Yushan edition in 40 *juan*. [<http://server.wenzibase.com/spring/front/read>] Another copy of *MYJ* available on the Chinese Text Project website (ctext.org) is based on a Peking University collection, with 39 *juan*, is also identical with the Yushan edition.

swiftly and without punctuations, occasionally there were redundancies in sentences and disorders in paragraphs; when he traveled eastward [in 1617] he once entrusted me to collate his preface to *Principles of the Heart in Zuozhuan* and was happy with my editing, thereupon he abandoned his previous draft. Now this collated compilation occasionally has incorporated [my] rewritings, but I essentially followed the words passed down by the Master and did not dare to overstep and commit great offense.

憨山大師《夢遊全集》，《嘉興藏》函只刻法語五卷。丙申，龔孝升入粵，海幢華首和尚得余書，捷椎告眾訪求鼎湖棲壑禪師藏本，曹秋岳諸公繕寫歸吳。謙益手自讐勘，撰次為四十卷。大師著述，援筆立就，文不加點，字句不免繁芳，段落間有失次；東遊時，曾以《左氏心法》序下委刊定，見而色喜，遂削前稿。今茲讐勘，僭有行墨改竄，實稟承大師墜言，非敢僭踰，犯是不韙也。⁸⁸

This preface reveals much information of the compilation of this project, in particular the collective work that extended from 1656 to 1660 initiated by Qian Qianyi. It also informs the reader another collaboration between Qian and Deqing on the monk's preface to *Principles on the Heart in Zuozhuan*, dated 1605.⁸⁹ Doubtless Qian was confident of his role as an editor of the eminent monk's writings; given that both literati and monastic communities involved readily came to his support, his credentials in this endeavor appeared to be well recognized.

Qian's leadership in the compilation and publication of the *MYJ* showcased not only his determination to honor and continue Deqing's legacy but also his assumption of the role of a "Dharma protector" to mobilize the Buddhist community for a common cause. He expressed his intent to honor Deqing as one of the greatest masters of late Ming Buddhism. Taking upon himself the mission to preserve—presumably also to define—the legacy of Deqing, Qian was clear about his role as a Dharma protector.

As discussed earlier, Qian found it his duty to have Deqing's works compiled, because the Jiaying edition of *MYQJ* was far from complete. In comparison, the complete anthologies of two other late Ming masters, Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿弘 (1535–1616) and Zibo Zhenke, had already been in

⁸⁸ *YXJ*, 869. Qian described his editing of the *MYJ* in another poem; see *YXJ*, 454.

⁸⁹ See *MYJ*, *juan* 19 (CBETA.org). Though dated 1605 by Deqing, the preface probably was edited by Qian later and was not published before 1660.

circulation since the late Ming. Noteworthy is that Deqing had earlier compiled the complete works of the monk Zhenke into *Zibo laoren quanji* 紫柏老人全集 (Complete works of Elder Zibo) shortly after Zhenke's death, onto which Qian added a sequel. The sequel consists of materials he subsequently collected and edited, entitled *Zibo laoren bieji* 紫柏老人別集 (Supplementary works of Elder Zibo), which was published in late 1660 in four *juan*.⁹⁰ Qian Qianyi did not have direct personal connections with Zhenke, whose strong sense of social and political activism likely had bonded him with Deqing and attracted Qian's admiration.⁹¹ Qian regarded Zhenke's appearance in late Ming a crucial moment in the transmission of both the Ming dynasty and the Buddhist teaching. Recalling a dream he had about Zhenke in 1605, around one year after the monk's death, Qian implicitly suggested that his profound sense of mission was derived also from a divine revelation other than the devotion to Deqing.⁹²

The significance of the *MYJ* compilation project went beyond the transmission of late Ming Buddhist history. Examined in the volatile military history of the Ming-Qing transition, the geographical network extended from Jiangnan to Zhejiang to Guangdong and connected by the compilation of *MYJ*, reveals the project as a determined but perilous endeavor. The 1650s was a critical period of the Manchu consolidation of the southeast, as the Qing armies gradually pushed forward to eliminate the remnant Ming loyalist resistance. It was through the *MYJ* compilation that Qian Qianyi's contact

⁹⁰ Both *Zibo laoren quanji* 紫柏老人全集 (X 73, 1452) and *bieji* 別集 (X 73, 1453) are also collected in the *Xu zang jing*. Qian did not alter the title in the sequel, but in referring to its title, Qian regularly mentioned *Zibo zhunzhe bieji* 紫柏尊者別集 (Supplementary writings of the Eminent Zibo) instead of *Zibo laoren* 紫柏老人 (the Elder Zibo), which Deqing used in his original compilation.

⁹¹ Zhenke shared a political position that was broadly in line with that of Deqing and of the Donglin faction. He died after an attempt to protect the crown prince of the Wanli 萬曆 emperor (r. 1572–1610), on which occasion Deqing was also involved and sentenced to exile in Guangdong. See Deqing, “Jinshan Dagan Ke chanshi taming” 徑山達觀可禪師塔銘, *MYJ*, *juan* 27 (CBETA.org). For Deqing's involvement in the Wanli state politics, see Struve (“Deqing's Dreams”) and Zhang (“Challenging the Reigning Emperor for Success”).

⁹² See Qian Qianyi, “*Zibo zunzhe bieji xu*” 紫柏尊者別集序, in *YXJ*, 873–876. For dreams as a source of divine revelations shown in the case of Deqing, see Struve (“Deqing's Dreams”). Qian Qianyi identified Zhuhong, Zibo, Deqing, and Xuelang as the four eminent monks (*gaoseng* 高僧) of the late Ming period. See Eichman, *A Late Sixteen-Century Chinese Buddhist Fellowship*, 25.

with Jin Bao, formerly a minister and a colleague of Qu Shisi at the Yongli court, became visible for the reader to further explore the undercurrents in this project. Following the defeat of Guilin in 1650, Jin Bao requested a personal favor from the Qing military officer Kong Youde 孔有德 (?–1652), a major figure in the Qing conquest of Hunan and Guangxi, to collect Qu Shisi’s body for burial.⁹³ Thereupon Jin opted for the monastic life and took the monk Tianran Hanshi 天然函晷 (1608–1685) as his master at the Haiyansi monastery, Guangzhou.⁹⁴ Jin Bao had assumed several names during his displacement before finally settling on the Dharma name Jinshi 今釋, which literally means “now a monk.”⁹⁵ He later became an abbot of the Danxiasi 丹霞寺 monastery in Shaoguan 韶關, northern Guangdong, where he remained a monk for the rest of his life. Jin had maintained contact with Fang Yizhi after the fall of Guilin, most notably during Fang’s arrest by the Qing government in 1671.⁹⁶

The monk Jinshi, formerly known as Jin Bao, left a preface and a postscript, both provide more details about the compilation history of the *Mengyou ji*. The postscript, included in the last fascicle of the Yushan edition *MYJ* is the original letter request by Qian Qianyi to the monk Huashou 華首, aka Zongbao Daodu 宗寶道獨 (1600–1661), followed by the annotations of Jinshi dated 1657. Now a monk, Jinshi indicated that the postscript was written under the assignment of his master, the monk Huashou, who had been touched by Qian Qianyi’s determination and Gong Dingzi’s loyalty to friend.⁹⁷ Following Jinshi’s annotations is another postscript by a local official describing the details of how Jin Daoyin 金道隱 [i.e., Jin Bao, the monk Jinshi] managed to connect the local government and the monastic community in the process of manuscript collection.⁹⁸ In the preface, on the

⁹³ See Liao, *Zhongyi puti*, 61.

⁹⁴ Tianran Hanshi was a Dharma heir of Zongbao Daodu 宗寶道獨 (1600–1661), also known as the monk Huashou 華首, the abbot of the Haichuangsi monastery from whom Qian Qianyi requested Deqing’s unpublished manuscript. Jin Bao called himself a disciple of the monk Huashou.

⁹⁵ Jin Bao’s other names include: Weigong 衛公 (before he became a monk), Xingyin 性因, Duoshiweng 舵石翁, and Daoyin 道隱 (the Way hidden), among others.

⁹⁶ For Jin Bao’s relationship with Fang Yizhi, see Liao, *Zhongyi puti*, 58–64.

⁹⁷ Jinshi, annotations to Qian Qianyi, “Ji Han dashi Caoxi fajuan shu” 寄愍大師曹溪法眷書, *MYJ*, *juan 55* (CBETA.org).

⁹⁸ See the postscript by Wan Tai 萬泰, *ibid.*

other hand, Jinshi reemphasized the process of compilation as a collective endeavor, and supplied the names of earlier contributors to the manuscript, including the monk Tongjong, the Dharma heir of Deqing in the Haichuangsi monastery; and the layman Liu Qixiang 劉起相 (fl. 1620s–40s), a local judge of Fuzhou who managed to assist the deliverance of Deqing’s ashes back to Caoxi and to collect manuscript.⁹⁹

Qian Qianyi maintained ongoing contact with the monastic community in Guangdong to the end of his life. In 1662, he wrote an epitaph for the monk Zongbao Daodu, the abbot whose support had been critical for the compilation of the *MYJ*, under the requests of monks Jinshi and Tianran Hanshi.¹⁰⁰ With Jinshi, Qian shared a common understanding in Buddhist learning, in poetry, and in social activism. During the years of the compilation of *MYJ*, they kept updating each other on their new publications, poetry, and commentaries of Buddhist scriptures. Qian specifically placed Jinshi’s preface as part of the front matters of *MYJ*, together with Qian’s own, and sent the monk a copy of the *MC*, Qian’s own commentary on the *Śūraṃgama Sūtra* first printed in 1660.¹⁰¹

Qian’s contact with the Buddhist community during the compilation of the *MYJ* coincided with the most ambitious action of the Yongli court, which had retreated to Yunnan, in its attempt to reestablish a pro-Ming political order: that is, the joint campaign of Zheng Chenggong and Zhang Huangyan 張煌言 (1620–1664) to attack Jiangnan in 1659. The coincidence is conspicuous: Qian coordinated a project to connect a seemingly diffuse group of individuals from an extended geographical coverage, with particular focus on the regions of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Guangdong. These years were also crucial for the Yongli forces to merge into one unit to attack the southeast coast, with its most notable success Zheng Chenggong’s incursion into the Lower Yangtze. The failure of this attempt was a blow to the Ming loyalist forces. In his letter to Jinshi dated in 1662, Qian indicated his profound sorrow when he looked into the directions of Guangdong and Yunnan in the southwest (嶺樹滇雲，傷心極目), where the monk Jinshi and the Yongli court were located;¹⁰² the

⁹⁹ See Jinshi, “Lu Mengyou quanji xiaoji,” *MYJ*, *juan* 1 (CBETA.org).

¹⁰⁰ See Qian Qianyi, “Hushou Kongyin heshang taming” 華首空隱和尚塔銘, in *YXJ*, 1271–1274; also see Qian’s letters to Tianran Hanshi and Jinshi, in *YXJ*, 1391–1392, 1392–1394.

¹⁰¹ See Qian Qianyi, “Fu Dangui shigong” 復澹歸釋公, in *YXJ*, 1393.

¹⁰² Qian Qianyi, “Fu Dangui shigong,” in *YXJ*, 1393.

reader could only infer the probability of how Qian and Jin managed to engage Ming loyalism in their lives as committed Buddhists.

Conclusion

This paper has set out to investigate Qian Qianyi's role as a Buddhist layman and patron against the historical backdrop of the Ming-Qing transition. In particular, I have looked to Qian's education, family background, and his social circles to analyze how his Buddhist identity fit into the late Ming pluralist religious inclination. I have also explored the significance of Qian's Buddhist projects in the development of Ming-Qing Buddhism, politics, and transregional connections.

Despite Qian Qianyi's continuous claims that he took refuge in Buddhism as a result of his great losses, after Qian Qianyi's death in 1664, his friends and disciples still attempted to represent him as primarily a Confucian scholar. His obituary essay written by Gong Dingzi, for example, elaborated Qian's scholarship and commitment to classical learning as well as to the Confucian ethic.¹⁰³ Another biography, written by Qian's disciple Gu Ling 顧苓 (1609–1682), also highlights his connections with the Donglin movement and understates his Buddhist endeavor in one sentence.¹⁰⁴ After more than a century, the Qianlong emperor discovered Qian's anti-Manchu position and began a total fulmination against him. Describing Qian Qianyi as “escaping into Buddhism” (*tao Chan*), the emperor asserted Qian was essentially someone who had neither genuine interest in nor real commitment to Buddhism (原為孟八郎). Qianlong followed up his assertion with imperial bans to eliminate all of Qian's writings in the empire, including the *Mengchao*.¹⁰⁵

Qian Qianyi's strong identity as a Buddhist is beyond doubt when we examine his two important Buddhist projects, the *Mengchao* and the *Mengyou ji*. Through the commentary on the *Sūramgama Sūtra*, Qian not only upheld the monk Deqing's interpretation of the sūtra in the midst of sectarian disputes

¹⁰³ Gong Dingzi, “Ji Yushan xiansheng Muzhai Qian xueshi wen” 祭虞山先生牧齋錢學士文 (An obituary essay for Mr. Yushan, Qian Qianyi, the Hanlin Academician), in *MZQJ*, vol. 8, 401–403.

¹⁰⁴ Gu Ling, “Dongjian yilao Qiangong biezhuàn” 東澗遺老錢公別傳 (An ulterior biography of Sir Qian, the leftover elder of Dongjian), in *MZQJ*, vol. 8, 960.

¹⁰⁵ See the discussion in Lin, “In the Name of Honor,” 337–340.

but also established for himself a place in the Buddhist exegetical tradition; through the compilation project on Deqing's anthology, Qian managed to build a social network that transcended geographical boundaries and superficial political differences to honor the monk as a late Ming legacy.

Due to the covert nature of Ming loyalist activities, the degree to which the Ming loyalist undercurrents were involved in the compilation of the *Mengyou ji* remains unclear. The answer to this question requires further research into the Yongli court politics and the possibility of active Buddhist involvement in Ming loyalism, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that the dynamic traffic within religious communities had allowed many Ming loyalists to navigate, and potentially communicate, underground for political activities through the fluid military situation of the Ming-Qing transition. A consideration of these possibilities can open up new inquiries about the multifaceted roles Buddhism played in the early Qing.

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Abbreviations

- CBETA/X. *Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association* edition of the *Manji zokuzōkyō* Supplement to the Canon (Online Version).
- MZQJ *Qian Muzhai quanji* 錢牧齋全集 [The complete works of Qian Qianyi], compiled and annotated by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯. 8 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai guji 上海古籍, 2003.
- CXJ *Chuxue ji* 初學集 [A collection of preliminary learning]. 1643. 110 *juan*. Suihan zhai 邃漢齋 edition (1910). Reprinted in MZQJ, vols. 1–3.
- MC *Da foding Shoulengyan jing shujie Mengchao* 大佛頂首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 [Qian Qianyi's draft annotations on the *Sūramgama Sūtra*]. 10 *juan*. 1660. Reprint 1685.
- MYJ *Hanshan Laoren Mengyou quanji* 憨山老人夢遊集 [The collection of Elder Hanshan's dream travels]. 55 *juan*. Compiled and published by Qian Qianyi et al. X73n1456.
- MYQJ *Hanshan Laoren mengyou quanji* 憨山老人夢遊全集 [The complete collection of Elder Hanshan's dream travels]. 5 *juan*. 1629. Recorded by Fushan 福善 and edited by Tongjung 通炯. *Jiaxing Dazang jing* 嘉興大藏經 edition (available at CBETA J22nB116).
- NP *Qian Muzhai xiansheng nianpu* 錢牧齋先生年譜 [An annotated biography of Qian Qianyi]. By Jin Hechong 金鶴沖. 1932. Reprinted in MZQJ, vol. 8, 930–952.
- X. *Manji shinshū zokuzōkyō* 卍字新修續藏經 [Supplement to the Canon]. Tokyo: 1905–1912.
- YXJ *Youxue ji* 有學集 [A collection of progressive learning]. 1645–1663. 50 *juan*. Suihan zhai 邃漢齋 edition (1910). Reprinted in MZQJ, vols. 4–6.

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