# The Transmission of the Jōdo Shinshū Doctrine to China: The Discovery of the "Nanjingyu Shuojiao" and its Significance

#### CHEN JIDONG

#### Introduction

BEGUN in the summer of 1876, the China proselytizing mission of the Shinshū Ōtani-ha (Higashi Honganji) represents a turning point for Japanese Buddhism. Although Japan had previously only been on the receiving end of teachings from China, Japanese Buddhists were now in a position to disseminate Buddhist teachings. This event can be seen to symbolically represent a new period in which China, having already lost its place as the ideological center of Buddhist culture, had given way to an influx of Japanese ideas and culture. <sup>1</sup>

The individual responsible for this historic occurrence was Ogurusu Kōchō 小栗栖香頂 (1831–1905). Ogurusu's time spent studying in Beijing and doing missionary work in Shanghai are increasingly becoming recognized as highly significant events in the history of Chinese-Japanese Buddhist relations and in the spread of Japanese Buddhism abroad. In order to better understand the formation and development of modern Chinese Buddhism (specifically, late-Qing Buddhism), I have in recent years focused on these two periods in Ogurusu's life, assembling and organizing related research materials. Recent investigations have turned up a large number of his diaries, essays, lecture transcripts, and other miscellaneous writings that had been stored in Myōshōji 妙正寺 in Ōita City and Eifukuji 永福寺 in Kurume City. Not only do these materials greatly clarify Ogurusu's activities in China, they also provide an accurate account of the state of Chinese Buddhism at that time.

<sup>1</sup> Chen 2002, p. 89.

The Eastern Buddhist 40/1&2: 139–150 ©2009 The Eastern Buddhist Society

Among Ogurusu's writings, the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" 南京語説教 in particular deserves close attention, as I believe it can shed light on the actual state of missionary work during this period. This text was used as proselytizing material during Ogurusu's Shanghai mission and is unusual in that it is written in colloquial Chinese. Up until now, the only text known to have been used in missionary work was the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* 真宗教旨, a work composed by Ogurusu himself in formal Chinese. In this paper, I will explore the full story of the origins and contents of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" and consider its place among the other research materials that have been used up until now.

#### The Shanghai Mission

Ogurusu returned to Japan after over one year (July 1873 to August 1874) of study and observation in China. Due to the stagnant state of Chinese Buddhism at the time, he had considered a Shinshū mission to China to be a serious possibility and pressed the head temple in Kyoto for action. In due course, Ogurusu began his preparations for a mission to embark, and finally on 13 July 1876, he once more proceeded to Shanghai, this time officially dispatched by Higashi Honganji. On 20 August of that same year, in a single room off Beijing Road in the British settlement in Shanghai, a branch temple of Higashi Honganji was officially established. On that day, in front of many Chinese people, Ogurusu personally delivered a sermon in Chinese.<sup>2</sup> From that day on, it appears that sermons in Chinese were given only at irregular intervals.

Before going to Shanghai, Ogurusu had already completed writing his *Zhenzong jiaozhi* in formal Chinese. In it, the founding, main doctrines, and rituals of Shin Buddhism are all introduced in clear, concise terms. However, whether he used this text in this form has remained unclear until now. Similarly, whether or not Ogurusu's sermons were conducted in the local dialect also remains unknown. Scholarship so far has not attempted a serious investigation into these matters.

It is possible to gain a partial understanding of the style and focus of Ogurusu's early Chinese sermons by referring to his writings, i.e., his "Beijing hufalun" 北京護法論, which was completed by the time of his mission, the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*, and eleven drafts of a sermon known as "Qingguo bulu shuojiao" 清国捕虜説教, which, as its title suggests, was a sermon given

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Takanishi 1937, p. 248.

in 1886 at Asakusa Higashi Honganji 浅草東本願寺 in Tokyo addressing the issue of Manchurian prisoners of war.<sup>3</sup> The recent discovery of the "Nan-jingyu shuojiao" can help us fill in the picture.

## Beijing and Nanjing Mandarin Chinese

Shin Buddhism had crossed over into China with its efforts focused on converting the Chinese people. For understanding this critical early period in Japanese Buddhist missionary work, and for those interested in modern Sino-Japanese cultural interactions, such a historically unprecedented experiment has intriguing implications. Regarding his stay in Shanghai, several volumes of journals and other writings by Ogurusu remain, including his "Nanjingyu shuojiao."

Also among these Shanghai-period writings are volume 48 of his journal, "Hasshū hireki" 八洲日暦,<sup>4</sup> which spans from 26 September 1876 to 20 February 1877 and covers his mission in Shanghai and a later stay at a hospital in Nagasaki, and three volumes that include the term "Nanjing shuohua" 南京説話 in their titles.<sup>5</sup> The first of these diaries, dated 1876 (Meiji 9), includes the title, "Honshu Ogurusu Kōchō Sun Airen kōjū Nanjing shuohua" 本主小栗栖香頂孫靄人口授南京説話, volume 1, on its cover. The second volume has the dates "from the first day of the fifth month to the thirtieth day of the ninth month of 1880 (Meiji 13)" along with the title "Honshu Ogurusu Kōchō hasshū hireki" 本主小栗栖香頂八洲日曆, volume 56, followed by the term "Nanjing shuohua" 南京説話. The third diary has the date, "the first day of the tenth month of 1880 (Meiji 13)," and the same title as the first diary, along with the notation "volume 2" on its cover.

The first diary, "Nanjing shuohua," volume 1, appears to contain Ogurusu's notes for learning Chinese. It includes Chinese words, short sentences, and terms for everyday use. Moreover, pronunciation notes written in *katakana* accompany much of the Chinese text. In addition to noting the pronunciation, Ogurusu also wrote down the corresponding words in Japanese. On the back of the first page, the following notes can be found: "The speech of both Nanjing and Beijing can be understood all over China, but that of other regions cannot." Although the dialects of Nanjing and Beijing are both forms of Mandarin Chinese, the former was used more widely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Takanishi 1937, p. 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This work was previously preserved in Eifukuji, but is now in Otani University's library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> These works are preserved in Myōshōji.

in the southern part of China. It is for this reason that missionaries were required to learn Nanjing Chinese to proselytize in that area.

The second volume, "Hasshū hireki," volume 56 is comprised of two parts. The first, "Nanjingyu shuojiao Sun Airen kōjū," consists of a text for use in missionary work, which is the subject of our inquiry below. The other contains reports and accounts written between 1 May and 30 September 1880.

The third volume, "Nanjing shuohua," volume 2, is also composed of two parts. One part contains a glossary of Nanjing Chinese words, while the other contains various articles, reports, and Chinese poems written by Ogurusu between 1 October and 4 December 1880.

## The "Nanjingyu Shuojiao"

The "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is clearly written as a final copy. A typical page is divided into ten columns, one column divided into spaces for some twenty Chinese characters. In total, it is made up of thirty-seven pages and approximately eight thousand characters. It consists of several parts: part 5: "Nenbutsu ihon" 念仏為本, part 6: "Senjaku hongan" 選択本願, part 7: "Shōzōmappō" 正像末法, part 8: "Shōdō jōdo" 聖道浄土. The text is written in a colloquial style and appears to consist of lectures written down from the end of September until sometime in November 1876.

At the beginning of part 5, we find: "Since the inception of this branch temple in the seventh month of this year, many people have come to worship the Buddha and chant the nenbutsu everyday. I am grateful for this." Notably, Ogurusu here uses the Chinese lunar calendar, which, according to the Western calendar, would be August. At this time, China had not yet adopted the Western calendar. Thus, the Shanghai temple, which was established on 20 August, was established on the second day of the seventh month according to the lunar calendar.

At the beginning of part 6 it is written: "We have already spent two months of our stay here but have not yet become accustomed to speaking Chinese." Reading this, we can presume that this portion of lectures was written down sometime two months after their arrival in Shanghai.

Part 7 does not clearly indicate when it was written, but it does note: "The weather is getting colder." In part 8, we read: "I have come to Shanghai and this is where I live. Although it is the ninth month, it is not particularly cold. Also, the flowers of the *katsura* tree and the chrysanthemums are beautiful and fragrant. This is truly a good place." The mention of the ninth month of the lunar calendar allows us to date this section somewhere

after the beginning of October. In addition, considering that Ogurusu's diary<sup>6</sup> notes that between 5 September and 25 September (according to the Western calendar) he went on a trip to Mount Tiantai and Wuhan, the collection of Chinese sermons in part 8 can at least be dated to sometime after the twenty-fifth.

Finally, in Ogurusu's journal, "Hasshū hireki," volume 48, we find the following entries:

- 27 September (tenth day, eighth month): On this day, the sermon for the altar-opening ceremony was given. . . .
- 8 October (twenty-first day, eighth month): On this day, the sermon for the sitting was written. . . .
- 12 October (twenty-fifth day, eighth month): The second and sixth sermons were completed. . . .
- 15 October (twenty-eighth day, eighth month): On this day, a sermon was given. . . .
- 20 October (fourth day, ninth month): On this day, a sermon was written. . . .
- 25 October (ninth day, ninth month): On this night, the seventh sermon was completed.

If we assume that the sermons mentioned as the second, sixth, and seventh overlap with the "Nanjingyu shuojiao," then it becomes clear that sermons in Chinese were given from 27 September onward, and that on 25 October the seventh sermon was completed. Given this information, there is a high probability that an eighth sermon was given sometime in November.

# "Sun Airen's Oral Teachings"

It is important to consider how many volumes the complete "Nanjingyu shuojiao" would have been composed of and also the relationship of this text's conception to the accounts given in the "Sun Airen kōjū" 孫靄人口授 (The Oral Teachings of Sun Airen). With regard to the first matter, not much can be said regarding the total makeup of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" until we discover more.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See vols. 8 and 9 of his diary entitled "Renbakushireki: Meiji hachinenkō, Meiji kyūnenkō, Meiji jūnenkō" 蓮舶詩歴: 明治八年稿・明治九年稿・明治十年稿, which is preserved in Myōshōji.

In regard to the second matter, Sun Airen was, according to the *Higashi Honganji Shanhai kaikyō rokujūnen-shi* 東本願寺上海開教六十年史 (Sixty-Year History of the Higashi Honganji Shanghai Mission), born in Jinling and originally had the name Shixi 士希. He received the name Airen upon reaching maturity and was a chronicler in the province of Shanghai. Volume 2 of the "Nanjing shuohua" states:

For studying Nanjing Chinese, I have Sun Aren; and for learning the Shanghai dialect, I have Ren Junxi 任鈞溪 to teach me. I hope you can join me as a good friend. You would be free to come and go at my home as you please. I want to pay you an honorarium of two yuan, but fear that it is too little. . . . You do not have to come everyday. You can come to my place without advance notice as you please. In case I am busy, you can return home, and when I am free, I would like you to edit my [Chinese] writing for me, correct my poems for me, produce writings for me, and transcribe sermons into the Shanghai dialect.

From these passages, it is clear that Sun Airen was Ogurusu's teacher of Nanjing Chinese. Also, he notes that he learned his Shanghai Chinese from Ren Junxi, who had been hired by the Shanghai mission as a language teacher and aid in writing sermons for communicating the doctrines of Shin Buddhism to the Chinese people. Apart from these two teachers, it is known that Ogurusu also worked with other Chinese individuals who edited his writings and poetry and produced writings and sermons in Shanghai Chinese. We can see how a knowledge of Chinese was regarded as a top priority for missionary work.

Although the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is considered to be the work of only Ogurusu, it remains unknown how much Sun Airen participated in the final process of translating the text into colloquial Chinese. It is possible that Ogurusu first prepared the text, and Sun Airen later translated his writing into a colloquial form and taught him the proper pronunciation.

The Composition and Contents of the "Nanjingyu Shuojiao"

At present, only four parts of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" remain in existence, i.e., the four parts mentioned above (from 5 to 8). Ogurusu's overall plans

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Takanishi 1937, p. 269. See also Gakudon 1975.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Takanishi 1937, pp. 9, 18, 256.

for the completed text of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" remain unknown, and there are no leads to aid further investigation. Nevertheless, the titles of the extant volumes indicate that the chapters included the most fundamental doctrines of Shin Buddhism. Let us now examine the contents of each of the four existing parts.

## (1) Part 5: "Nenbutsu ihon"

This part is based on the *Senjaku hongan nenbutsu-shū* 選択本願念仏集 by Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) and concerns itself with practices of *jōsan* 定散 (meditative and non-meditative practices) and the nenbutsu (the recitation of the name of the Buddha). The elements of each of these practices are introduced to the reader in detail. It is explained that the practice of *jōsan* does not conflict with the spirit of the *hongan* (Original Vow) of Amida Buddha, but that the practice of nenbutsu is the definitive practice for rebirth in the Pure Land and represents the Original Vow of Amida Buddha.

#### (2) Part 6: "Senjaku hongan"

This part concerns itself with the forty-eight vows of the *Larger Sukhāvatī-vyūha* and explains that the eighteenth is the most fundamental vow of Amida. Also explained are the origins of the seventh patriarch, Hōnen, and his teachings regarding *senjaku hongan*. Hōnen's ideas on *senjaku hongan* are introduced at the beginning of this section, followed by a detailed explanation of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* based on Hōnen's *Senjaku hongan nenbutsu-shū*. In this sutra, Dharmākara, an incarnation of Amida in a previous life, contemplated on the forms of the two-hundred-million Buddha lands as shown to him by the Buddha Lokeśvararāja in order to establish his own Buddha land. He established the notion of the forty-eight vows, and among these, he selected (*senjaku*) the eighteenth as his Primal Vow (*hongan*).

In order to be reborn in the Pure Land, Buddhism up until that time had insisted on the practice of the Six Perfections. However, with the emergence of the concept of *hongan* and the notion of the nenbutsu, this practice was not needed anymore and was thus negated. With regard to why the nenbutsu based on the eighteenth vow can be seen as the sole practice, Hōnen's emphasis on the accessibility/practicality of a practice over the theoretical superiority of a practice is explained in detail.

# (3) Part 7: "Shōzōmappō"

This part is based on the sixth volume of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* 教行信証 by Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263). While discussing the idea of *mappō* 末法 (the Last Age of the Dharma), it explains that at such a time self-power (*jiriki* 自力)

practices such as the Six Perfections, strictly following the Buddhist precepts, and meditation are no longer viable. It further introduces the idea that salvation only through faith in Amida is possible in these times. Also in the text, it explains that in the age of *mappō*, the practice of the precepts, meditation, and wisdom cannot be undertaken and that the Buddhist precepts themselves will cease to exist. In short, as a result of the disappearance of the precepts themselves, their strict following and their violation will also cease to exist. Finally, it is explained that during the age of *mappō*, only the teaching will exist in the schools of the Holy Path (*shōdōmon* 聖道門) based on self-power, and its practices and fruits will disappear. However, the teachings of the Pure Land ( *jōdomon* 浄土門), as well as its practices and effects will continue to exist. It therefore recommends taking refuge in the Original Vow of Amida Buddha so as to be reborn in the Pure Land.

## (4) Part 8: "Shōdō jōdo"

This part explains the classification system (*kyōhan* 教判), together with its meaning and history, by which the Holy Path and the Pure Land Path are differentiated. According to Ogurusu's explanation, the *shōdōmon* engages in various practices to attain Nirvana, while the *jōdomon* does not aim at attaining Buddhahood in this world, but rather taking refuge in Amida's Original Vow, seeking rebirth in the Pure Land. Again, in the age of *mappō*, the *shōdōmon* is not considered suitable, but instead the simple road of *jōdomon* is offered as the only way to salvation.

Although all of the aforementioned parts include the orthodox doctrines of Jōdo Shinshū, it is notable that, other than in part 7, the teachings of Hōnen are presented a great deal more than those of Shinran. In particular, many of Shinran's core ideas, i.e., that salvation comes from faith (*shinjin ihon* 信心為本) and is solely grounded in the agency of Amida Buddha, his *nisōshijū* scriptural classification system, and his idea that even evil persons will be saved (*akunin shōki* 悪人正機), are not touched upon. Therefore, it can be understood that in proselytizing to the Chinese people, Hōnen's teachings were used as an introduction to Shinshū doctrine. If one compares this text with the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*, this point becomes all the more clear.

## Comparisons with the Zhenzong Jiaozhi

The Zhenzong jiaozhi is written in formal Chinese and is composed of eleven sections. The first is entitled "Shichiso" 七祖, and the seven patriarchs of Shin Buddhism from Nāgārjuna to Hōnen are listed. The second

section is entitled "Dentō" 伝灯. It presents a simple introduction to the fourteen denominations of Japanese Buddhism along with an explanation of Shin Buddhism and its leaders from Shinran to the Meiji-era abbot Gennyo 現如 (1852–1923).

The third section is entitled "Kyōhan" 教判 and is an explanation of the Holy Path and the Pure Land Path and their respective scriptures. The main points of the  $nis\bar{o}shij\bar{u}$  scriptural classification system are also presented. The fourth section, entitled "Sanji" 三時, introduces the three ages of Buddhism, i.e.,  $sh\bar{o}b\bar{o}$  正法 (the Age of the True Law),  $z\bar{o}b\bar{o}$  像法 (the Age of the Semblance Law), and  $mapp\bar{o}$ . Ogurusu notes here that putting the  $sh\bar{o}d\bar{o}mon$  into practice in the era of  $mapp\bar{o}$  is like wearing a fur coat during the summer. He further stresses that the  $j\bar{o}domon$  is the only true path.

The fifth section, "Shihō" 四法, highlights the four tenants of Shin Buddhism: teaching, practice, faith, and effect/result. The sixth section is entitled "Sangan" 三顧 and explains that in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, Amida Buddha made forty-eight vows in a former life as a practicioner of Buddhist austerities. Of these, the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth vows are explained, as well as the Pure Land, capacities for understanding (*kikon* 機根), and scriptures. The seventh section is entitled "Onken" 隱顯. Referring to the concepts of *on* (hidden) and *ken* (apparent)—in other words, "back" and "front"—the unity of the tenets of the three Pure Land sutras is explained, and this is stressed as being an original concept of Shinran.

The eighth part, entitled "Hongan myōgō" 本願名号, expresses the idea that an ordinary man can be reborn in the Pure Land if he hears the Original Vow and expresses his faith in salvation through the Buddha. The ninth part is entitled "Tariki shinjin" 他力信心 and explains that one cannot hope to enter the Pure Land through the nenbutsu alone. Salvation through faith in the other-power (tariki) of Amida is what enables one to be reborn in the Pure Land. Furthermore, it explains that this notion of salvation through faith in Amida is something that originates in Amida himself. The tenth part is entitled "Zokutai" 俗諦. While explaining that in Shin Buddhism, anjinmon 安心門 contains ultimate truth, rinjōmon 倫常門, or mundane truth, is introduced in detail while stressing the five Confucian relationships. The eleventh part is entitled "Shoshiki" 諸式 and introduces Shin Buddhism's fifty-eight rules of etiquette, from the shinkishiki 晨起式 to the wasanshiki 和讚式.9

The *Zhenzong jiaozhi* and the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" first differ in that the latter is written in a colloquial style. Second, the material covered in the four

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Chen 2003, pp. 213–17.

parts of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is not found in the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*. For instance, "Nenbutsu ihon," the fifth part of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao," and its argument regarding the practices of nenbutsu and  $j\bar{o}san$ , are practically not even touched upon in the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*. However, it appears that it was developed in opposition to the "casting aside all austerities" mentioned in part 6 ("Sangan") and the various *jiriki* practices and the nine grades of being in the Pure Land (*kuhon ōjō* 九品往生) of part 9 ("Tariki shinjin").

The material covered in part 6 ("Senjaku hongan") of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is not found in the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*. Still, it can be considered to be a supplementary text to part 8 ("Hongan myōgō") and part 6 ("Sangan") of the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*. In the same vein, part 7 ("Shōzōmappō") and part 8 ("Shōdō jōdo") of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" correspond respectively with part 3 ("Kyōhan") and part 4 ("Sanji") of the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*, and I believe that they had the function of adding depth to the issues already discussed in the *Zhenzong jiaozhi*.

Speaking of the work as a whole, the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* does not bring up the central concepts of *shinjin ihon* and *akunin shōki*, but gives a general description of Shin doctrines. As the complete text of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" remains unknown, the scope of the Shin doctrines presented in it also cannot be ascertained. However, judging from the four extant chapters, the work explains some of the issues from the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* in a detailed and accessible form.

Third, and last, although the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* was a text for use in missionary work, during actual proselytizing efforts directed at the Chinese people, its content was significantly rearranged along the lines of the key points of the "Nanjingyu shuojiao."

#### Conclusion

The "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is valuable in that it records the Chinese vernacular of its time. It can be seen as a groundbreaking work by a Japanese person writing in colloquial Chinese during the early Meiji period. It is also important in that it can elucidate the hitherto unknown circumstances of the early period of missionary work in China. In contrast, the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* was a text officially sanctioned by the denomination's headquarters. In the field where missionary work was taking place, the missionaries changed the style of the text, reducing it to its main points and translating it into the local dialect. For this reason, Chinese Buddhist history and a large number

of high monks are introduced in the text. Moreover, the Shin doctrines of Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542), Daochuo 道綽 (562–645), Shandao 善導 (613–681), Fazhao 法照 (n.d.–777), and others directly related to them are included.

In Ogurusu's time, these topics held an extremely significant meaning for the Chinese, because although Jizang 吉蔵 (549–623), Zhiyi 智者 (538–597), Fazang 法蔵 (643–712), and Xuanzhuang 玄奘 (602–664) were well known, these famous writers and patriarchs of Shin Buddhism from the Sung dynasty onward had been forgotten. Shandao's ideas regarding the Pure Land existed in a state estranged from the contemporary Chinese ideas on the Pure Land. Chinese Buddhists, while feeling that Shin Buddhism was something fresh and new, must have also felt it slightly out of place. It is likely that in the early part of the mission in China, many lay Buddhists and monks had a favorable impression of the doctrines of Shin Buddhism and conceded its merits. However, some twenty years later, Chinese Buddhists who were opposed to and critical of the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* appeared and took a different stance with regard to the Pure Land. Accordingly, in order to evaluate the repercussions of the *Zhenzong jiaozhi* and the "Nanjingyu shuojiao," one needs to follow the current of Chinese thought regarding the Pure Land.

Again, the "Nanjingyu shuojiao" is a text mostly consisting of explanations of the doctrines of Shin Buddhism. There is absolutely no talk of politics or of the state. Each volume invariably begins with a mention of matters of daily life—such things as worshiping at a temple, the obstacles posed by the Chinese language, the changes of the seasons, and health. For example, in part 5 we find: "Since the inception of this branch temple in the seventh month of this year, many people have come to worship the Buddha and chant the nenbutsu everyday. I am grateful for this. Yet we do not know what kind of feelings you experience when you worship the Buddha and practice the nenbutsu." In part 6, it is written: "You all know that we are from Japan. We have already spent two months of our stay here but have not yet become accustomed to speaking Chinese. You are all aware of this. Alas, why do you come to chant the nenbutsu and pray to the Buddha? I think that in China since the Han dynasty there has been great interest, and even until the Qing dynasty, belief in the Buddha has been great. This is truly a good thing." part 7 states: "The weather is getting colder. Are you keeping from becoming ill? Let us pray for peace." In part 8, we find: "The place where I reside called China, is, compared to Japan, I think colder. I have come to Shanghai and this is where I live. Although it is the ninth month, it is not particularly cold. Also, the flowers of the katsura tree and

the chrysanthemums are beautiful and fragrant. This is truly a good place. Because of this I do not become ill. I am grateful for this." From these passages, we can catch a glimpse of the missionaries' serious attitude in trying to spread the doctrines of Shin Buddhism to China. These people who lived in this period on the cusp of the modern age present us with an important example of Sino-Japanese Buddhist exchanges that should be considered when we think about this era.

Ogurusu's Zhenzong jiaozhi and his "Nanjingyu shuojiao" also present one other notable issue, which is the question of how one should understand the doctrines of Shin Buddhism. If one compares later textbooks that outline such doctrines, one can see that they are quite different. The version of the Zhenzong jiaozhi that was published in 1899 as a text to be used in missionary work is one example of this change. Oguri Ken'ichi, the younger brother of Ogurusu Kōchō, wrote and edited this version as part of his fieldwork in the overseas education office of the Shinshū Ōtani-ha. In it, ten chapters cover such things as the founding of the school, a summary of the three Pure Land sutras, an overview of the seven patriarchs, the recitation of the six characters of the nenbutsu, salvation through faith, reliance on Amida Buddha at one's death, gratitude for the meritorious virtues of the Buddha, the ten benefits enjoyed in this life, the twofold truth, and a biography of Shinran. In particular, the two chapters on salvation through faith and gratitude make clear the originality of the Shin doctrines. In those texts used in missionary work in the early part of the Meiji period, Honen's ideas were frequently introduced, but one can distinctly see that in the latter part of the period, there is a tendency to focus on the originality of Shinran. Therefore, in order to better understand the Shin doctrines of that period, these changes between the early and later Meiji period need to be further researched.

#### REFERENCES

Chen Jidong 陳継東. 2002. Kindai bukkyō no yoake: Shinmatsu-Meiji bukkyōkai no kōryū 近代仏教の夜明け:清末・明治仏教界の交流. *Shisō* 思想 943, pp. 88–107.

-------. 2003. Shinmatsu bukkyō no kenkyū: Yang Wenhui o chūshin toshite 清末仏教の研究: 楊文会を中心として. Tokyo: Sankibō.

Gakudon 岳鈍. 1975. Shina zaikin zasshi 支那在勤襍志. In *Ishinki no Shinshū* 維新期の真宗, vol. 11 of *Shinshū shiryō shūsei* 真宗史料集成, ed. Kashiwabara Yūsen 柏原祐泉. Kyoto: Dobōsha.

Takanishi Kenshō 高西賢正, ed. 1937. *Higashi Honganji Shanhai kaikyō rokujūnen shi* 東本願寺上海開教六十年史. Shanghai: Higashi Honganji Shanghai Betsuin.