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Religions often leave unintended by-products. For example, Christian missionaries, whose goal was to proselytize, also helped to introduce many non-religious aspects of Western culture to East Asia. Buddhism similarly served as a vehicle that carried elements of continental Asian civilizations to early Japan. First, monks from the continent came to Japan to teach their new religion. Later, when Buddhism became well established in Japan, Japanese monks made the journey to China to study and to worship at holy sites. The goals of these monks may have been strictly religious, but their contributions were far reaching. Along with many texts, not all of which were religious, they brought back first-hand reports of conditions in contemporary China. This was valuable information, since few other Japanese ventured abroad in the centuries immediately following the last Japanese diplomatic mission to the T'ang court that had returned home in 839. Those who did (or at least those whose deeds were recorded) were principally Buddhist monks on pilgrimages to China.

Many of these monks were aware of the significance of their journeys and kept diaries. Both in form and in purpose, their diaries were modeled on those of court noblemen. Starting in the ninth century, Japanese aristocrats had begun to keep diaries written in Chinese and intended to serve as a record of court procedures that could be used by following generations. The travel diaries of Buddhist monks were also written in Chinese and later pilgrims consulted them as guides for their travels. The similarity in the two types of diaries is no coincidence, since typically the monks lived at least on the periphery of court society and some of those who went to China had been born to aristocratic families. The diaries of these noblemen and monks were meant to be references for later courtiers or pilgrims. Now, they are treasured as important sources for modern scholars. The travel diaries of the pilgrimages to China are of particular interest to sinologists. The first, most famous, and probably the most valuable too, is The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law (Nitto guho junrei koki 入唐求法巡禮行記) by the monk Ennin 圓仁 (793-864), who went to China in 838 accompanying the last of Japan's diplomatic missions to the T'ang. He remained in China until 847. After Ennin, diaries were kept by Enchin 圓珍 (814-891), who went to China in 853-858; Chonen 常然 (938-1016), who went in 983-986; and Jakusho 寂照, who went in 1003 and remained there until his death in 1034. Unfortunately, only an abridged version of Enchin's diary survives, all that remains of Chonen's are scattered quotes in other sources, and Jakusho's is completely lost.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ennin's diary is familiar to Western scholars through Edwin Reischauer's translation, Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law and his study Ennin's Travels in T'ang China (both published by Ronald Press Co., New York, 1955). A meticulously annotated Japanese edition has been published by Ono Katsutoshi 小野勝年, Nitto guho junrei

The next Japanese pilgrim who left a diary was Jōjin 成尋 (1011-1081). In 1072 at the advanced age of 62, he went to China accompanied by seven disciples. Jōjin himself remained there until his death, but in 1073 he sent five of his disciples, along with his Chinese interpreter, back to Japan. With them they took the many texts he had acquired in China—and the diary he had kept during sixteen months of travel, The Record of a Pilgrimage to the T'ien-t'ai and Wu-t'ai Mountains (San Tendai Godai san ki 參天台五臺山記).<sup>2</sup> We are fortunate that

kōki no kenkyū 入唐求法巡禮行記の研究 (4 volumes, Tokyo, Suzuki Gakurjutsu Zaidan, 1964-1969). Professor Ono has also published a detailed study of Enchin's diary, Nittō quhō quōreki no kenkyū 入唐求法行履の研究 (2 volumes, Kyoto, Hozokan, 1982-1983). For Chōnen, see Kimiya Yukihiko 木宮之彦, Nissōsō Chōnen no kenkyū: shu toshite sono zuijinhin to shōraihin 入宋僧齋然の研究: 主としてその隨身品と将来品 (privately published, Tokyo, 1983). See note 17 for the last diary of a Japanese monk who visited Sung China. Japanese monks continued to make pilgrimages to the Sung, and they left various writings, but not diaries; see, for example, Takashi James Kodera's Dogen's Formative Years in China (Boulder, Prajna Press, 1980). Centuries later, the monk Sakugen 策彦 (1501-1579) left two diaries recording his visits to the Ming in 1538-41 and 1547-49. The best edition of them is in Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, Sakugen nyūmin ki no kenkyū 策彦入明記の研究 (2 volumes, Kyoto, Hozokan, 1955, 1959). All the major diaries of Japanese monks who traveled to China can be found in Yūhōden sōsho 遊方傳叢書, volumes 113-116 of Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho 大日本佛教全書 (originally published 1915-22, with various later reprints). Many other important documents concerning early Sino-Japanese Buddhist interchanges are also found there.

<sup>2</sup> The diary is available in four printed editions. It first appeared in vol. 26 of Kaitei shiseki shūran 改定史籍集覽 (Tokyo, Kondō Kappanjo, 1902). The eminent Buddhologist Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 edited a version that was included in vol. 115 of Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho. Both of these editions have been reprinted; the latter many times. Takakusu's notes are particularly valuable. Takakusu also included in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho the earliest commentary on the diary, Sampo Tendai Godai san ki 刪補天台五臺山記 by Narushima Chikuzan 成島筑山, circa 1840 (vol. 116). The most fully annotated edition is in Jōjin azari no haha shū. San Tendai Godai san ki no kenkyū 成尋阿闍梨母集·參天台五臺山記の研究 by Shimazu Kusako 島津草子 (Tokyo, Daizo Shuppan, 1959). The most recent (but, unfortunately, not the most reliable) is in Hirabayashi Fumio 早林文雄, San Tendai Godai san ki kōhon narabi ni kenkyū 參天台五臺山記校本並に研究 (Tokyo, Kazama Shobō, 1978). The oldest extant manuscript, dating from 1220, was reproduced in 1937 (Tokyo, Toyo Bunko Sokan, no. 7). For a complete discussion of the diary's textual history and manuscript versions, see Hirabayashi, pp. 399-440. There are problems in all of the printed versions, and so, if possible, the

Jōjin's diary is well preserved, for it is the most detailed of the diaries kept by Japanese monks during their travels in T'ang or Sung China. In matching editions, Ennin's diary, which covers a period of over nine years, takes up 113 pages, whereas Jōjin's requires 167 pages to record the events of only sixteen months.

Richness of detail is not the only difference between Ennin's and Jōjin's diaries. By the eleventh century, the quality of the Chinese used by Japanese diarists had deteriorated. Although Jōjin wrote exclusively in Chinese characters, his grammar was sometimes shaky with the result that his meaning is unclear. Also, he occasionally used Japanese terms. In most cases the meaning of the Japanese terms will be apparent to anyone familiar with the characters used to write them, but some terms may mislead readers who do not know classical Japanese terminology. For example, when he is in Hang-chou, Jōjin uses the cryptic phrase "commander-in-chief north side" 都督北方 (I/4/22).<sup>3</sup> At first glance, the text seems problematic, since at the time the office of commander-in-chief did not exist in China. In Japan however, that title was used as an elegant "Chinese name" 唐名 for a provincial administrator. And, since the wife of a Japanese courtier customarily lived in the northern wing of the mansion, she was circumspectly known as his "north side" (kita no kata 北方). Thus, Jōjin was referring to the wife of the prefect. Jōjin may have been writing in what looks like Chinese, but he was thinking in Japanese, and that is the language in which his text was meant to be read.

Jōjin differed from Ennin not only in his use of Chinese but also in his approach to diary keeping. Whereas Ennin occasionally offers lively reviews of events that had occurred in the previous few months, Jōjin methodically wrote daily reproduction of the manuscript ought to be consulted. Although long out of print, it is available in at the Michigan, Harvard, Berkeley, and Chicago university libraries.

When Jōjin announced his decision to visit China, his eighty-four-year-old mother too began a diary. It is a fascinating document, although naturally it contains little information about China. The text of the mother's diary is included in both the Shimazu and Hirabayashi editions cited above. It has been translated into English by Robert Mintzer as a Harvard University doctoral dissertation, "Jōjin Azari no haha shū: Maternal Love in the Eleventh Century, an Enduring Testament" (1978). At present, I am completing work on an English translation of Jōjin's own diary, supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities translation grant.

All references to the diary will be given parenthetically in the text. Since readers may be using different editions, I will give the kan number/month/and day instead of page numbers. For a brief explanation of Sino-Japanese writing of the Heian period and its peculiarities, see Judith Rabinovitch's introduction to her translation, Shōmonki: The Story of Masakado's Rebellion (Tokyo: Monumenta Nipponica, 1986) pp. 53-62.



entries in his diary. The resulting manuscript is more meticulously detailed but less dramatic. It gives accurate pictures of many aspects of eleventh-century China: religion, art, transportation systems, urban life, court ritual, and government procedures. In addition, it helps us understand early Sino-Japanese relations, particularly if it is read in conjunction with other related sources—also written in Chinese—that are preserved in Japan. Jōjin's diary thus is a valuable source of information for scholars interested in eleventh-century China or its relations with Japan. Japanese sinologists of course are well acquainted with it, as are some specialists in China and the West. In general, however, outside Japan it has not received the attention it deserves. The purpose of this paper is to introduce the diary to a wider audience. Rather than give a chronological survey of Jōjin's travels, it will describe how the diary contributes to our understanding of various subjects, and note some of its limitations.

#### RELIGION

Jōjin was a devout monk, and so naturally Chinese religion, especially Buddhism, figures prominently in his diary. His principal aim was to make a pilgrimage to two of China's holy mountains: T'ien-t'ai and Wu-t'ai. He was interested in T'ien-t'ai because that is where his own sect of Buddhism was founded. Wu-t'ai too had become a popular goal among Japanese pilgrims after Ennin had reported on his visit, for according to tradition the devout seeker might witness manifestations of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī there. Jōjin succeeded in visiting both religious centers, and was even rewarded at Wu-t'ai by seeing a five-colored cloud that he took to be a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. His pilgrimages to these two religious centers were, for him, the climaxes of his journey, and so he describes them not only in loving detail but also with displays of emotion generally lacking in his prose. His account of T'ien-t'ai, where he spent nearly three months, is particularly vivid. There he met with many Chinese monks and visited sites associated with the patriarch of his sect. His Chinese hosts were constantly borrowing religious texts that he had brought with him from Japan. Some of these were Chinese works, others were Japanese, including one Jōjin wrote himself. The Chinese desire to see these texts has been taken to indicate that T'ien-t'ai was no longer a great center of learning, since the monks there presumably had to await the arrival of a Japanese visitor to see works belonging to their own religious tradition. But one must remember that already in the Sung, Japan was known to have preserved books lost in China, as is demonstrated by Ou-yang Hsiu's "Song of a Japanese Sword," which concludes:

During the previous dynasty, many times tribute was sent,  
And scholars often displayed their literary skills.  
Because the books had not yet been burnt when Fu Hsu [China's  
legendary discoverer of Japan] went,  
Hundreds of lost writings are still to be found there.  
But laws strictly forbid their being carried to China,

And thus no one knows the old texts.

The classics of former ages are preserved by barbarians in the  
northeast.

One cannot reach their harbors over the vast ocean's blue waves.

Such a loss moves a man to tears.

In contrast, this short rusted sword is hardly worth mentioning.<sup>4</sup> Jōjin may well have brought Chinese texts that were no longer to be found in their native land. Moreover, his Chinese coreligionists were equally interested in works by Japanese authors, thus demonstrating an admirably open-minded and cosmopolitan intellectual curiosity.

Other evidence in the diary points to changes in the religious focus at T'ien-t'ai. Chinese monks frequently asked Jōjin to give them rosaries, which are usually associated with Pure Land beliefs. The texts they showed him all belonged to the Zen (Ch'an) tradition, and he observed Taoist deities being worshipped. Still, Jōjin shows us that T'ien-t'ai remained a flourishing religious center, even though it may have witnessed shifts of emphasis in both thought and practice during the five centuries since Chih-yi had established himself there (I/5/13-III/8/6).

Jōjin's stay at Wu-t'ai was much briefer. After spending a month on the road to get there, he left after only four days. Nonetheless, his account includes many interesting details. He described the monasteries he visited and recorded two documents he received from monastic officials. In addition, he copied into his diary some of the graffiti left by Chinese pilgrims, who included officials, monks, and merchants, thus hinting at the pervasiveness of Buddhist faith in Sung China (V/11/28-V/12/2).

Although pilgrimages to T'ien-t'ai and Wu-t'ai were his principal goals, in the course of his travels, Jōjin visited—and described—many other monasteries. Some of them, such as Chin-shan-ssu 金山寺, have continued to flourish, whereas others have long since vanished. For example, he gives a lengthy description of P'u-chao-wang-ssu 普照王寺 in Ssu-chou. It was great center for the then-thriving cult of the Reverend Seng-chia 僧伽和尚, popularly known as "The Great Master of Ssu-chou" 涇州大師. Jōjin's diary leaves us a precious record of a monastery and

<sup>4</sup>Ou-yang Hsiu *Ch'üan-chi* 歐陽修全集, (Taipei: Shih-chieh Shu-chu, 1961) vol. 1 p. 372. Also see Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆, "Jōjin no nissō ryōki ni miru Nichū Bukkyō no shōchō: Tendaisan no maki 成尋の入宋旅行記に見る日中佛教の消長: 天台山の巻," originally published in 1942 and reprinted in *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1974) pp 89-95. For a discussion and attempt to identify all the texts mentioned the diary, see Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄, "Jōjin no motarashita higa no tenseki: Nissō bunka kōryū no hitokusari" 成尋の齎した彼我の典籍: 日宋文化交流の軌跡, *Bukkyōshigaku kenkyū* 23.1 (January 1981) pp. 33-70.



cult both of which no longer exist (III/9/21).<sup>5</sup>

Nearly half of Jōjin's diary is devoted to his stays in the Northern Sung capital of K'ai-feng, and there too, Buddhism was his principal concern. Particularly striking are the number of Indian or Central Asian monks whom he met, the popularity of esoteric Buddhism, and the degree of state support offered the religion. In the capital, he was housed in a government-supported monastery that was devoted to translating sutras. He offers an interesting picture of the processes of first translating, then printing, the sutras. He visited other official monasteries, where he saw, for example, gold reliquaries that Sung emperors had donated to keep teeth of the Buddha (IV/10/23). Later, he was invited to participate when prayers for rain were conducted at the palace (VII/3/1-VII/3/8). The government was lavish in its support of Buddhist institutions and employed Buddhist rituals at court. On the other hand, while he was traveling to K'ai-feng, Jōjin transcribed a note given him by a Chinese monk who asked him to request the emperor to eliminate age restrictions on the ordination of monks and grant them freedom to travel (III/8/28). Strict regulation was the reverse side of the coin of government patronage. Survey histories often state that starting with the Sung, Chinese Buddhism began to decline.<sup>6</sup> At worst, Jōjin occasionally will lament the ignorance of some monk he meets, but, as an interested and informed observer, he was more often deeply impressed by what he saw.

#### ART AND ARCHITECTURE

When Jōjin described the monasteries he visited, in addition to telling us about Sung religion, he also left us a record of eleventh-century religious art and architecture. His account is particularly precious because much of what he portrayed was to be destroyed soon after when the Sung court lost north China. As a Buddhist, Jōjin did not dwell on purely aesthetic questions, but he was very much concerned with the types and arrangement of structures in each monastery and with the iconographic details of the images he saw. Thus, he offers meticulous accounts

<sup>5</sup>For details of the cult, see Makita Tairyō, *Chūgoku bukkyōshi kenkyū* 中国佛教史研究, (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1984) pp. 28-55.

<sup>6</sup>In English, for example, the standard survey of Chinese Buddhism remains Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). After devoting 150 pages to the T'ang, Ch'en dismisses Sung Buddhism in a twenty-page chapter that leads off a section entitled "Decline." Subsequent monographs, have challenged the traditional view that Ch'en presents. See, for example, Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), which emphasizes established orthodox Buddhism, and Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), which focuses on popular Buddhism.

of the architecture, layouts, and objects of worship to be found in Sung monasteries. The following, for example, is his description of Chin-shan ssu:

At noon, accompanied by the official escort, the chief lackey, and the interpreter, I boarded a small boat and crossed the Yangtze River to visit Chin-shan ssu. Also known as Fu-yu (Floating Jade) Island, it is a solitary mountain in the middle of the river. Women are forbidden to enter it. I worshiped and burned incense at each of the halls, all of which are within a corridor that encircles the island. The decoration is splendid. It is just like the Castle of Many Fragrances 聚香城.<sup>7</sup> Everything is completely covered with paintings in noble hues: blue, green, and vermilion. The high railings here and there are painted either with black lacquer or vermilion and glitter as if mirrors had been fastened to them. An area of two li is completely paved with stone. The corridors, halls, towers, and terraces glisten, reflecting the bright sunlight. Even Tung-t'ai 洞臺 of the Liang Court (502-557) or Yung-ning of the Wei Dynasty (386-535) could not possibly match this.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>This probably is Gandharva's Castle. Gandharva was a heavenly musician who lived on fragrance, not food, and whose name is translated as "Seeking Fragrance 尋香." "Gandharva" became a nickname for itinerant performers from Central Asia who, it is said, did not work for their food. Instead, when they smelled food, they would perform in exchange for a meal, and hence they too lived by "seeking fragrance." Their skills included the ability to produce illusory castles, which were known as "Gandharva's Castle." As a result that term came to refer to a mirage, and so Jōjin is telling us that Chin-shan ssu was "fantastic," in both the literal and colloquial sense of the term. The problem is that "Gandharva's Castle" normally is not written with the characters that Jōjin uses but rather "Seeking Fragrance Castle" 尋香城. Jōjin's term could be referring to the "Land of Many Fragrances" 聚香園土, mentioned in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 維摩經, in which all the pavilions are perfumed. The first interpretation seems more likely since Gandharva's Castle was a more common metaphor.

<sup>8</sup>Emperor Wu (r. 502-49), founder of the Liang dynasty, became a great patron of Buddhism and took religious vows himself. In 521, he established T'ung-t'ai ssu 洞臺寺, and it became the principal center for his many religious activities. Although Jōjin uses different characters in his diary, they are homophonous in Japanese, and Shimazu is surely right in suggesting that he referred to this famous monastery. In 516, during the Northern Wei, Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后 sponsored the construction of Yung-ning ssu in the capital of Lo-yang. A detailed account of the monastery opens Yang Hsuan-chih's *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang* tr. Yi-t'ung Wang (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 13-42.



The Great Buddha Hall with its sixteen foot Buddha, the other buildings, the stone grottos—more than ten of them—and the stupas, all are most splendid. The Tripitaka Repository is truly precious. In the monks' hall, bowls and two or three quilts are arranged at each of the over eighty places where monks sleep. The other monks' cells are all very beautiful. In the Sutra Reading Cloister 看經院 were more than eighty monks, each studying the tripitaka.<sup>9</sup> In the Fan-hai 泛海 Tower is a life-size image of Sakyamuni. What I have seen today seems the most magnificent of all monasteries. The great master who serves as abbot prepared a vegetarian feast of rare dishes and fine delicacies. It was most splendid. At 4:30, we crossed the river and returned to the pavilion to rest. (III/9/10)

This is not the fullest description Jōjin has to offer, but it gives a sense of his narrative skills. Typically, he will carefully note the buildings he saw and the images they contained, and he will include details about their size and arrangement. He was awed by the grandeur of China's religious edifices, which he tells us, time and again, were "truly splendid" or "magnificently decorated." The record he left is of great value to art historians, although they may wish he had used a wider range of more concrete adjectives to describe what he saw.<sup>10</sup>

#### TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE

During the period covered in his diary, Jōjin made the sea voyage from Japan to China, and then within China, he journeyed by canal, palanquin, or horse first from Hang-chou to T'ien-t'ai, then to K'ai-feng, to Wu-t'ai, and finally back to Ming-chou (the modern Ningpo). Jōjin carefully recorded the routes, technology, organization, and economics involved. These entries constitute a substantial portion of the diary, which thus offers an excellent picture of China's eleventh century transportation system, both overseas and domestic, along with various details of economic life.

In the first entry to his diary, Jōjin records his negotiations with the three "ship masters" 船頭 of the Chinese vessel that would take him and his disciples to China, and he tells us precisely how much he paid for their passage. During the voyage, he describes navigational techniques that reveal the sophistication of the Chinese sailors, although he also notes that they resorted to prayer and divination

<sup>9</sup>This is a free rendition of the somewhat cryptic original, which more literally seems to say, "Each sits with a sutra and first reads the complete tripitaka."

<sup>10</sup>For one study in art history that uses the diary extensively, see Alexander C. Soper, "Hsiang-kuo-ssu: An Imperial Temple of Northern Sung," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68.1 (January-March, 1948) pp. 19-45.

when they needed to obtain a favorable wind. At the end of the diary, although the text is somewhat less concrete, he describes the arrangements to send his disciples back to Japan with the goods he had acquired in China, including a substantial library of Buddhist texts.

Within China Jōjin traveled extensively by boat over rivers and canals. He meticulously records the operation and routes of the inland waterway system: how his boat passed through locks or was hauled over dams using ox-powered winches, the bridges of various types that crossed the waterways, the towns he passed through, and the distances he traveled each day. He also provides economic details, such as the cost of hiring the boat that took him most of the way from Hang-chou to T'ien-t'ai (two strings of cash in advance, four to be paid later [I/5/3]) and then the amount paid for the palanquin and bearers that carried him and his goods the final distance (300 cash to each of eleven laborers, plus 220 for meals [I/5/11]). Later, when his party was traveling to K'ai-feng at government expense, he notes that members of the boat's crew were able to take advantage of his status and smuggle goods from the south into the capital.

When he traveled overland from K'ai-feng to Wu-t'ai, he used the government system of postal relay stations. At regular intervals between the stations were government stables to provide horses. He gives the name of each relay station, each stable, and the distances between them. Again, he shows a system that operated smoothly and efficiently: at virtually all of the many stables along the route, his party was able to obtain the ten fresh mounts it required. His experiences demonstrate the high level of development achieved by Chinese transportation systems in the eleventh century.<sup>11</sup>

In his travels, Jōjin passed through many of China's great metropolises, notably Hang-chou, Su-chou and K'ai-feng. He offers a particularly lively account of Hang-chou, the first Chinese city he saw, with colorful details of a night market there:

At 8:00 p.m. Ship Master Wu, along with Lin Nien-lang 林甘郎 and Li Erh-lang 李二郎, joined us, and we all went to see the marketplace. It was decorated with hundreds—thousands—of rare treasures. At one spot suspended in a row were two or three hundred glass lanterns, each one lit. The large ones were five or six inches in diameter; the small ones, three or four inches. They were hung in front of every shop and were colored green, red, or white. Some buildings were decorated with jeweled curtains.

Women strummed zitherns or played flutes, and the numerous masked performers were wonderfully skilled. Also, water was used to make various dolls dance, beat drums, or spout water. Two of them spun around like dancing soaerers, two spouted water from their mouths to

<sup>11</sup> Aoyama Sadao 青山定雄 *Tōsō jidai no kōtsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* 唐宋時代の交通と地誌・地図の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1968) makes extensive use of Jōjin's diary in analyzing Sung transportation systems. His research also helps clarify many geographic details in the diary.



the height of four or five feet, two sprayed water five feet from their elbows [to make them turn?], and two galloped on horseback. All together, there were more than 100 dolls—each about five inches tall—on a high platform. I cannot possibly describe all their clever tricks. Everyone who watched was given a cup of tea and had to pay one cash.

The marketplace was more than thirty blocks<sup>12</sup> from east to west and more than thirty blocks from north to south. The great avenues were one block apart, but the alleys numbered in the hundreds or thousands. I cannot describe all the commercial activity. The streets and stores thronged with sightseers. A drink of tea from a silver cup cost each of us one cash. (I/5/22)

Jōjin saw the night market in Hang-chou shortly after he had arrived in China. Since there could have been nothing like it in contemporary Japan, he was struck by the color and vitality of the scene and so left an exceptionally lively account. Later, when he passed through Su-chou, for example, he would simply note that "the commercial activity in the marketplace was extra-ordinary," (III/9/4) reducing his description to a favorite but conventional superlative. He had become used to Chinese marketplaces and no longer felt the need to leave a detailed account. In one respect, however, Jōjin's description of Hang-chou is typical: he carefully noted the cost of a cup of tea. Throughout his diary, he dutifully recorded many of his expenses, for example, the fees charged at public baths (from 10 cash in Hang-chou [I/4/21] to perhaps as much as 100 cash in Kai-feng [VII/4/7]), the price of straw sandals (80 cash [I/4/17]) or rain hats (from 50 to 550 cash I/4/19, 23), and the cost of both renting and buying horses in K'ai-feng (rental: 1 string 500 cash per day for 9 horses [IV/10/23]; purchase: 20 strings, including 815 tax, for 2 horses [IV/10/30]).

When reading his description of Hang-chou, one must keep in mind that when he visited the city in 1072, it was merely a provincial capital; it was not yet the great metropolis it would become in the years after 1138 when the Southern Sung established its capital there. Thus, one imagines that the marketplaces in K'ai-feng must have been even more impressive, but unfortunately, he did not leave a description of them, in part because as an honored guest of state, he was no longer so free to wander about and observe them. Whatever the reason, his description of city life in K'ai-feng is disappointingly sparse. Still, his diary remains a fascinating source of information on Sung transportation and commerce.

<sup>12</sup> 町, a character which in early Japanese usage could refer either to a city block approximately 400 feet square in the Heian capital, or to a unit of distance equal to approximately 360 feet. It is not altogether clear which meaning is intended here, but the first of these meanings seems more likely. Elsewhere the character is used in the second meaning.

## GOVERNMENT

Throughout his stay in China, Jōjin had constant dealings with the government. Shortly after he arrived, someone he calls an "official investigator" 問官 inspected his goods and either collected duty on them— or demanded a bribe (I/4/14, 16, 18, 20). Next he had to ask the prefectural office for permission to visit T'ien-t'ai. Then as now, foreigners were regarded with suspicion, and hence he needed Chinese guarantors: one of the masters of the ship that brought him from Japan, his innkeeper in Hang-chou, and the Chinese merchant who was to accompany him as interpreter (I/4/26; 5/1, 3; II/6/5). Once these Chinese had vouched for him, a travel permit was issued, and it was checked repeatedly as he proceeded to T'ien-t'ai. Later we discover, however, that it was not issued to him personally, but rather to his interpreter. As a foreign monk who had appeared suddenly on Chinese shores, he had no status of his own, and accordingly officials were reluctant to deal with him directly.

At T'ien-t'ai, he requested permission to visit Wu-t'ai, but local authorities would not take responsibility for letting him travel that far and referred the matter to the central government. Word soon came back that he had been both granted permission to make his pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai and also ordered to appear at the palace for an audience with the emperor. Local officials were instructed to arrange for his travel, provide a government escort, and give him a generous stipend that more than covered the expenses of his entire party (I/6/2, II/intercalary 7/7). He was now recognized as a guest of state. The change in Jōjin's status came with remarkable speed. The document from the capital arrived at T'ien-t'ai just over a month after Jōjin had submitted his petition to visit Wu-t'ai, whereas his own journey to the capital required fully two months of uninterrupted travel. Local officials had not wanted to take responsibility for deciding how to treat a foreign visitor, but the central government wasted no time in determining to receive Jōjin as an honored foreign guest.

Jōjin may not have offered a lively description of K'ai-feng, but he did leave a detailed picture of the palace. He went there for imperial audiences, one to welcome him shortly after his arrival, and a second one to mark his departure. On both occasions he carefully recorded the procedures down to the number of times he was expected to shout "Long live the emperor!" (IV/10/22, VIII/4/2). As noted, Jōjin also went to the palace to participate in prayers for rain. The rituals proved effective after only three days. In fact, they worked so well that Jōjin was soon asked to pray for the rain to cease. Jōjin was rewarded with permission to remain for several days in the palace, where he was allowed to wander about observing the buildings and gardens. As further recognition, he was awarded the title "Great Master Shan-hui" (VII/3/1-12, VIII/4/4).

After Jōjin has arrived at T'ien-t'ai, he came to realize the importance of documents in a bureaucratically administered state. Therefore, he copied into his diary all those he had received until then, and he continued to save all the documents—along with many letters and poems—he received during his travels.



While he was in the provinces, most of the documents concern his requests for permission to travel. In the capital, most relate to his audiences, his prayers for rain, the rewards for their success, and requests he made to the government, for example asking permission to ordain one of his disciples or obtain copies of newly printed sutras.

Jōjin happened to be in China at a particularly interesting point in its political history, for the reformer Wang An-shih, at the height of his power, was in the midst of promulgating his famous "New Laws." In K'ai-feng, Jōjin met some of the highest-ranking officials, including Wang Ruei 王珪 and Feng Ching 馮京, who were the two Vice Grand Councilors; Wen Yen-po 文彥博, who served as a Military Affairs Commissioner; and Wu Ch'ung 吳充 and Ts'ai T'ing 蔡挺, both of whom were Military Affairs Vice Commissioners. On his way to Wu-t'ai, Jōjin was generously received by Liu Hsiang 劉庠, one of Wang An-shih's opponents then rusticated to T'ai-yuan. But unfortunately, Jōjin seems to have been totally unaware of both the reform policies and the controversy that they had aroused. He did, however, copy into his diary one proclamation signed by Wang An-shih: the document that named him a great master. In general, Jōjin was not greatly interested in politics or government, but he does offer fascinating glimpses of both local administration and court procedure.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

During the Sui and T'ang dynasties, Japan had maintained regular diplomatic ties with China. Periodically, the Japanese would dispatch embassies that were formally received by the Chinese court. In the mid-ninth century, however, the Japanese lost their enthusiasm for sending envoys to China. The Japanese had never willingly accepted the subordinate posture that the Chinese expected of foreign visitors. Moreover, with the decline of the T'ang, the Japanese ambassadors could not be sure of a proper reception.<sup>13</sup> Since Chinese merchant ships were appearing in Japan with increasing regularity, contacts with China were more frequent than they had ever been, but by the time of Jōjin's pilgrimage, no official envoy had been sent by the Japanese for over two centuries.

According to traditional Chinese political theory, the Chinese emperor might be pleased to receive foreign envoys who came, attracted by the imperial virtue, but China was not supposed to seek foreign intercourse. The Sung, however, was threatened by powerful neighbors and could not afford to maintain so haughty an attitude. Instead, the government was encouraged to actively pursue friendly diplomatic relations with China's foreign neighbors. Moreover, it promoted overseas trade, which it then taxed. Thus, although the Japanese were content to neglect diplomacy and remain passive trading partners, the Sung sought to

<sup>13</sup> Pre-Sung Sino-Japanese relations are discussed in Charlotte von Verschuer, *Les Relations Officielles du Japon avec la Chine aux VIIIe et IXe Siècles* (Paris, Librairie Droz, 1985) and my *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1986) pp. 227-53.

strengthen its peaceful and profitable ties with its island neighbor. Since the Japanese sent no official embassies to the Sung, the Chinese court chose to receive Buddhist monks who had come on pilgrimages as if they were legitimate ambassadors.<sup>14</sup>

Jōjin was one such monk. Although he wished only to visit China's religious centers, the Chinese, as noted, invited him to appear at the palace for an audience with the emperor, and subsequently he was treated as a guest of state. Shortly after he arrived in the capital, he was given a list of questions that reveal something of the Chinese interest in Japan:

[Question]: What are Japan's customs?

Answer: The T'ang Dynasty forms the basis in our study of the civil and martial arts.

...

Question: What is the king of your land called?

Answer: He is either called "emperor" 皇帝 or called "sage ruler" 聖主.

...

Question: Since your land is very close to Ming-chou, why do you not maintain contact with China?

Answer: I do not know how many li of ocean lie between my land and Ming-chou. Some say it is more than 7,000 li, others 5,000 li. The waves are high and there are no harbors. Contact with China is difficult to maintain.

...

Question: What are the titles of your land's high officials?

Answer: There is one prime minister 大政大臣, one minister of the left 左大臣, one minister of the right 右大臣, one minister of the center 內大臣, four major counselors 大納言, six middle counselors 中納言, and eight consultants 參議. Together, these officials are known as "senior nobles" 上卿.

...

Question: In your land, are the temperatures in the four seasons the

<sup>14</sup> Sung foreign relations are discussed in the essays in Morris Rossabi, ed., *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). In particular see Wang Gungwu, "The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire: Early Sung Relations with Its Neighbors" (pp. 47-65) and Shiba Yoshinobu "Sung Foreign Trade: Its Scope and Organization" (pp. 89-115). The Sung court's reception of Japanese monks is related in "Jih-pen chuan," 日本傳, the account of Japan appearing in *Sung-shih* 宋史, ch. 191. For a translation of this text, see *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, tr. Ryusaku Tsunoda, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (South Pasadena California, Perkins Asiatic Monographs no. 2, P.D. and Iona Perkins, 1951), pp. 49-72. The Chinese, who wrote Jōjin's name 誠尋, noted his appearance at court, but did not mention the Chinese attempts to establish regular relations with Japan as described below.



same as in China?

Answer: In my land, the temperatures in the four seasons are the same as in China.

...

Question: When one goes to Japan from Ming-chou, at what province and in what district does one first arrive, and how far is it from there to the city of the nation's king?

Answer: From Ming-chou, one arrives at the harbor of Hakata in Chikuzen Province, Dazaifu, in the nation of Japan; from the harbor to the city of the nation's king is 2,700 *li*.

...

Question: What goods from China does your land need?

Answer: From China, our land needs fragrances, medicines, tea-bowls, brocade, and sapan-wood [used as a dye].

...

Question: What beasts are there in your land?

Answer: My land has no lions, elephants, tigers, sheep, peacocks, or parrots, but it has all the other varieties.

...

Question: What is the surname of your king?

Answer: My land's king has no surname.

...

Question: How far is your land from the land of the hairy people [presumably the Ainu]?

Answer: I do not know how far it is from the land of the hairy people.

(IV/10/15)

Some of the questions put to Jōjin may suggest that Chinese interest in Japan was only a matter of idle curiosity or fascination with the exotic. In fact, however, they took his visit quite seriously and used it as an opportunity to resume diplomatic exchanges with Japan. Shortly before Jōjin left K'ai-feng to see off his disciples who were returning to Japan, his interpreter announced that he had been inspired by Jōjin's example and wished to become a monk. The Chinese government promptly gave him permission to take his vows. The former interpreter subsequently accompanied Jōjin's disciples back to Japan, taking with them gifts and an official message from the Chinese court. One suspects that the interpreter's decision to become a monk may have been inspired as much by government instructions as by Jōjin's example.

Japanese court records later note the arrival of Jōjin's disciples, his former interpreter, and their gifts and message from China. Since the Japanese had long since abandoned diplomatic exchanges with the Chinese, they were uncertain how to respond. Finally, after five years of internal debate, the Japanese court decided to send gifts and a return message to China. The Chinese immediately sent more gifts and another message. Again the Japanese considered the matter at length, and after four years again they responded. In 1097 and 1116, the Chinese sent further

messages, but the Japanese showed no inclination to enter into regular diplomatic exchanges.<sup>15</sup> Thus, although Jōjin himself was not a diplomat, his visit inspired a brief exchange of official messages between the Chinese and Japanese courts. Significantly, it was the Chinese who sought to establish relations, a reversal of their usual role under other, more powerful, dynasties.

Eleventh-century Sino-Japanese relations were not limited to diplomatic ties. Jōjin's diary offers ample evidence that Chinese merchants regularly sailed between China and Japan. Jōjin had little difficulty finding a ship to take him to China and another to take his disciples home. When he passed through Hang-chou on his way to see off his returning disciples, he was pleasantly surprised to meet another who had just arrived, and while he was in China he was able to send letters to Japan. His interpreter had been to Japan five times, and he also met a Korean sailor who spoke Japanese. All of these point to regular contact between China and Japan.

Moreover, in his dealings with Chinese monks and officials, he was often asked about Japanese monks who had been to China earlier in the Sung and found traces of their visits in the form of texts and paintings. For example, he copied into his diary a passage from Yang Wen-kung t'an-yuan 楊文公談苑 concerning two of the Japanese monks who had preceded Jōjin to Sung China. This work, now lost, was a collection of "talks" by Yang I 楊億 (974-1020), an eminent literatus.<sup>16</sup> The selection Jōjin preserved recounts the experiences the Japanese and includes two letters they received from high officials in Japan (V/12/29). Jōjin's journey to China also inspired an additional Japanese to make a similar pilgrimage to in 1082, and that monk too left a second travel diary, although a very much shorter and less interesting one.<sup>17</sup> Thus, Jōjin not only left a record of Sino-Japanese contacts, he also stimulated continued exchange, both diplomatic and cultural.

<sup>15</sup> For a full account of these diplomatic exchanges, including citations of the relevant primary sources, see Kimiya Yasuhiko 木宮泰彦, Nikka bunka 日華文化交流史 (Tokyo, Fuzambo, 1955), pp. 270-275.

<sup>16</sup> For a full discussion of this text, see Fujiyoshi Masumi, "Jōjin to Yo Bunkō dan'en" 成尋と楊文公談苑, in Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenjūjō sōritsu sanjūshūnen kinen rombunshū 関西大学東西学術研究所創立三十周年記念論文集 (Suita, Kansai Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1981), pp. 227-247.

<sup>17</sup> The text of this diary, along with a useful study, appears in Ono Katsutoshi, "Kaikaku no 'Tosoki', 戒覺の渡來記, Ryūokoku Daigaku ronshū 400-401 (March 1973), pp. 507-531.>

## CUSTOMS AND DAILY LIFE:

Although Jōjin went to China as a devout pilgrim, he was struck by many details of Chinese daily life and recorded them in his diary. His description of the marketplace in Hang-chou is but one example. He also wrote of the foods he eat, carefully describing various pastries and his first experience with a lychee. Everywhere he went, he was offered tea, a drink not yet popular in Japan. He also noted the clothing worn, for example, by a Taoist priest and by the emperor during his audience. Occasionally he introduced a new Chinese word he learned, such as wen-tzu 文字, which, he explained, means "message" or "letter" (II/intercalary 7/6). Birds and beasts too did not escape his attention. He discovered three trained elephants being kept near K'ai-feng and later offered an amusing description of some camels he saw on his way to Wu-t'ai:

Everyday for the past six or seven days, I have seen thirty or forty camels and have observed the form of their bodies in detail. Their faces are like those of a horse, and—like oxen—they have ropes attached to their noses. They lack upper teeth. They have eyes like oxen. Their neck is long, narrow, and always curved. They hold their head as a crane does. They have hair above and below their necks. Their hooves, like those of oxen, are divided in two. Their tails are like pig tails. On their backs are two humps one foot high. Their hair is long and they always lay down as oxen do. They are ten feet tall and twelve or thirteen feet long. Their sins [in former lives] must have been great indeed! (V/11/17)

Jōjin's diary is a fascinating record of a Japanese monk's travels in Sung China. To be sure, the text is not without problems and disappointments. Some passages are ambiguous and a few are totally obscure. The years 1072-1073, when Jōjin was in China, are a particularly intriguing period in Chinese political and intellectual history. Wang An-shih was in the midst of putting into effect his reform policies, and the issues that led to the rise of Neo-Confucianism were first being debated. Jōjin's concerns were not those of modern scholars, and he has virtually nothing to say about these matters. The disappointments in reading Jōjin's diary are small, however, when compared with the rewards. Since Jōjin himself was brought up in a sinified culture, he was a well-informed observer. His diary is a valuable source of information for sinologists that deserves more attention than it has received to date.