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Reenchanting Buddhism via modernizing magic: Guru Wuguang of Taiwan’s philosophy and science of ‘superstition’

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Chapter 1

Wuguang's Taiwan

Whatever secular rationalists say, magic and the occult, like their big-brother religion, refuse to go away. Histories of the occult, best defined as irregular/heterodox knowledge, a one-time bedfellow of religion and reason, fight shy of its transnational/transcultural dimensions. These were pronounced in post-classical antiquity, during the Crusades, in the Renaissance, Baroque and Romanticism, and, under European high empires—where the older, Muslim-Christian-Jewish esotericism began to cede to enthusiasm for India and the Far East. 'Syncretism', the pluralistic and accomodatory opposite of fundamentalism, is the name given to the products of religio-magical confluence between different cultures. Syncretism is most observable in those laboratories the 'religion-making imagination', borderlands, backwaters and 'contact zones'. In Mikhail Bakhtin's words, 'The most intensive and productive life of culture takes place on the boundaries'. Occultists and explorers like Richard Burton spent their life in such places.

~ John Bramble[106]

The births of Japanese and Chinese Buddhist modernism during the Meiji and Chinese Buddhist Revival were defensive reactions meant to safeguard the future of Buddhism amidst the physical, financial and ideological attacks that resulted from Western encroachment and modernity. Despite inherent differences, the Buddhist situations in Japan and China, as well as the responses to those situations, greatly mirrored one another. Both focused on making Buddhism less other-worldly and harmonizing its doctrines and practices with science and modern philosophy, and demanded that Buddhism be purged of 'superstition.' The following demonstrates the exact roles these Japanese and Chinese developments played in shaping twentieth century Buddhist discourse in Taiwan.

Buddhist modernism was created in Japan and China in order to shield Buddhism from suppression. This was also the case in Taiwan, a land juggled between these two powers during

[106] John Bramble, *Modernism and the Occult* (Oxford: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 1.

the period in question. The anti-superstition campaigns of Japan and China were replayed in Taiwan while she was in the hands of Japan. This spurred a number of Taiwanese monks to modernize their faith by initiating the 'First' Taiwanese Buddhist Revival 臺灣佛教復興.[107] Wuguang was directly influenced by this revival because he was a favored disciple of one of its most erudite and active figures. In later chapters, I argue that this revival and the attacks on 'superstition' that instigated it represent the form of disenchanted Buddhist modernism that provoked Wuguang's reenchanted response.

Understanding Wuguang's response requires a familiarity with what he was responding to. Therefore, I begin by briefly discussing the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival, and then proceed to detail the historical and ideological context from which it arose. This chapter's third section focuses on the transmission to Taiwan of the Tibetan-oriented facet of the Tantric Revival, and briefly details the historical context of the Second Taiwanese Buddhist Revival. As the history of Buddhism in Taiwan has already been detailed by multiple scholars, I have limited my presentation thereof to the points that bear the greatest relevance to this study.

The history of Taiwanese Buddhism can roughly be broken up into three epochs: Early (1624-1895), Japanese colonial (1895-1955) and Republican (1955-present). Wuguang's life overlapped with the second and third of these as he entered this world as a subject of the Japanese empire and exited it as a citizen of the Republic of China (ROC). As noted, the form of

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[107] I have adopted this exact terminology, "Taiwanese Buddhist Revival" 臺灣佛教復興, from a piece written by the Taiwanese monk Yongkun 永坤 (family name Zeng 曾), who was a married Buddhist in accordance with the Japanese custom. See Zeng Yongkun 曾永坤, "*Tichang kaicui taiwan fojiao dahui* 提唱開催臺灣佛教大會 [Plenary Address at the Taiwanese Buddhist Conference]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 12, no. 9 (1934): 27-28. The term *fuxing* 復興 is similarly used by other monks as a call to modernize Taiwanese Buddhism. See, Daoyou 道猷, "*Dui taiwan fojiao zhi xiwang* 對於台灣佛教之希望 [Regarding Hope for Taiwanese Buddhism]*," South Seas Buddhist Journal* 10, no .6 (1932): 35-37.

Buddhist modernism that Wuguang was responding to was born during the Japanese colonial period. Because of this, this is the period given the most attention.[108]

Section I: The *First* Taiwanese Buddhist Revival

When employing the terms 'Taiwanese Buddhist Revival,'[109] 'Buddhist Revival in Taiwan'[110] or 'Taiwanese Buddhist Renaissance,'[111] scholars are unknowingly referring to the *Second* Taiwanese Buddhist Revival, as they consistently overlook the first. Those who have paid close attention to the events of the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival did not frame it as such. The ideological foundations of the well-known Second Taiwanese Buddhist Revival are an example of Chinese—rather than Taiwanese—Buddhist modernism, as this second revival represented the fulfillment of Taixu's dream to create a 'Buddhism of Human Life' 人生佛教. This dream was furthered by his student Yinshun[112] 印順 (1906-2005) and actualized by Cheng

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[108] Historical data has largely been collected from secondary sources while details regarding the First Taiwanese Buddhist revival and the application of the secular-religion-trinary have come from textual research, gazetteers and onsite fieldwork.

[109] Examples include André Laliberté, "Tzu Chi and the Buddhist Revival in Taiwan: Rise of a New Conservatism?" *China Perspectives* 19 (1998): 44-50; Johnathan H. X. Lee and Mario Poseski, "Buddhist Compassion Relief: Tzu Chi Foundation," in *Encyclopedia of Global Religion*, eds. Mark Juergensmeyer et al. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2012), 162.

[110] Yuchen Li, "Ordination, Legitimacy and Sisterhood: The International Full Ordination Ceremony in Bodhgaya," in *Innovative Buddhist Women: Swimming Against the Stream*, ed. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 186.

[111] Sallie B. King, "Buddhism in Dialogue with the West: What it Offers and What it Learns," in *Dialogue and Ethics in Buddhism and Hinduism: Public Presentations of The 14th Dalai Lama, Sallie B. King, Anantananad Rambachan and Samdhong Rinpoche*, eds. Carola Roloff et al. (Münster: Waxman, 2015), 38; Hubert Seiwert, "Religious Response to Modernization in Taiwan: The Case of I-Kuan Tao," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 21 (1981): 43-70.

[112] Yinshun was a notoriously influential and controversial Buddhist modernist who sought to create a wholly disenchanted form of 'Buddhism of the Human Realm devoid of spirits and gods' 非鬼化非神化的人間佛教. He went so far as to criticize his teacher Taixu for not attacking the worship of deities with sufficient vehemence. See Richard Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 22-23; Don A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 204; Yang Yuwen 楊郁文, "Buddhadharma for People and Human-oriented Buddhism: A Discussion of the Original Concerns of Ven. Yinshun's 'Humanistic Buddhism' 人本的佛法與人本為中心的佛教──論印順導師「人間佛教」之本懷," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 17 (2004): 3-4. Online: http://www.chibs.edu.tw/ch_html/chbj/17/chbj1701.htm#nf1 (accessed Jan. 16, 2016).

Yen 證嚴 (secular name Wang Jinyun 王錦雲; b. 1937), Hsing Yun 星雲 (secular name Li Guoshen 李國深; b. 1927) and Sheng Yen 聖嚴 (secular name Zhang Baokang 張保康; 1930-2009) who respectively founded the Humanistic Buddhist sects Tzu Chi 慈濟, Fo Guang Shan 佛光山 and Dharma Drum Mountain 法鼓山.[113] This revival was designed by Chinese Buddhist masters who came to Taiwan after the end of Japanese rule.

The First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival was born while Taiwan was ruled by Japan in the first half of the twentieth century, and was the product of native Taiwanese efforts. Although overlooked by the scholarly community, this revival occurred before the majority of the Chinese architects of the Second Taiwanese Buddhist Revival ever set foot on Taiwanese soil. As the native Taiwanese monks who initiated the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival were directly and simultaneously influenced by both Chinese and Japanese forms of Buddhist modernism, their efforts represent an intermingling of both. Charles Jones has already shown how a number of Taiwanese monks made efforts to maintain contact with Buddhism on the Chinese mainland during the Japanese colonial period in order to "remain informed about currents of thought on the mainland."[114] However, the interplay between these developments and those that were imported from Japan warrants a closer look.

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[113] Although the founder of Tzu Chi, Cheng Yen was in fact born in Taiwan, unlike Hsing Yun and Sheng Yen who were born in China, she is the ideological heir of Yinshun and in fact, received tonsure from him. See Elise A. DeVido, *Taiwan's Buddhist Nuns* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 100; C. Julia Huang, *Charisma and Compassion: Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 215. It is said that it was Yinshun who inspired her life's work by charging her to "serve Buddhism and all living beings." See Mark O'Neill, *Tzu Chi: Serving with Compassion* (Singapore: John Wiley & Sons [Asia], 2010), 179. Although I have placed Tzu Chi in the camp of Buddhist modernism due to the fact that its founder deemphasizes magic while emphasizing charitable social engagement, the issue is more complex as there are pre-modernist aspects that are more present than within the others listed here. For more information refer to Charles B. Jones, "Modernization and Traditionalism in Buddhist Almsgiving: The Case of the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu-chi Association in Taiwan," *Journal of Global Buddhism* 10 (2009): 291-319.

[114] Charles B. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 42.

The Sino-Japanese syncretic nature of the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival is made readily apparent by the following passage written during the Japanese colonial era by the Taiwanese monk Weilong 微隆 (a.k.a. Xuanda 玄達, secular name Zhang Jinchu 張金出 Weilong 微隆; 1909-?):

> Speaking of Taiwanese Buddhism is truly a bittersweet matter. If we were to look at its form and color, we would see monasteries, halls, shrines and nunneries, all of which are magnificent and recently refurbished. It looks like a Buddhist kingdom—as Buddhism is so widespread. But, if one were to go a step further and view the reality of its internal matrix, he see would something entirely different. Terrible! You see hundreds of Taiwanese monasteries, halls, shrines and nunneries as well as thousands of monastics, but there is no central authority connecting them. We are fortunate that the [Japanese] authorities have established the South Seas Buddhist Association that hosts an annual seminar, leading a small number of the masses to receive the Buddha's doctrine and accepting the Buddha's influence. And recently, there have been a number of wise and virtuous monks and laymen [from Japan] who have come to disseminate Buddhism, and a few Buddhist propagating organizations that who have gone amongst the masses and introduced Buddhism to the average person. Such education organizations have now spread everywhere, however, there still is no Buddhist education organization to mention.
>
> With the situation as it is, we cannot hope to promote Buddhism amongst the masses in a way that they will believe and accept…The nineteenth-twentieth centuries represent a time of great upheaval. Scientific understanding is rapidly progressing, [ushering in] a tempest of new ideologies that reassess the value of traditional values and laws, destroying traditional taboos, smashing the limitations of old thought forms, causing people to sing the song of personal liberty, marching along the path to emancipation. Given these circumstances, many of us Buddhists have yet to wake up from the pipe-dream of "people who are indifferent to current events" who erroneously think that monastics should just close their doors, personally cultivate [and think] "Why on earth would I concern myself with such trivial worldly matters?" The masses are familiar with this sort of monk—the kind of monk that is used to only taking care of himself and not concerning himself with worldly matters. Thus, the masses loudly sing a song asking "How is Buddhism good? How is Buddhism good? Truly it should be called 'self-professed saintliness'"…We need talented monks who can improve Buddhism, reverse its decline…[115]

[115] Weilong, "*Du yanjing dashi taiwan fojiao zhenxingce houde ganxiang* 讀眼淨大師臺灣佛教振興策後的感想 [My Reflections after reading Master Yanjing's 'Plan to Invigorate Taiwanese Buddhism']," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 13, no. 3 (1935): 25. All issues of the *South Seas Buddhist Journal* have been accessed via the "Digital Archives Project," hosted by Dharma Drum University 法鼓山大: http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/taiwanbuddhism/tb/ny_new.html. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Original text: "說起臺灣佛教來真是要悲喜交集、我們若將形色上來看到處都可以看著這寺、院、堂、庵重興的重興、新建的新建、彷佛成一個佛教國─佛教多麼普遍啊─可是再進一步細詳來看他內容的組織究竟是怎樣的一回事。那孰糟糕！你看、臺灣寺、院、堂庵雖有數百、僧徒雖有數千、而對於佛教的總機關幾乎連一個都沒有。幸有當局創設一個南瀛佛教會、年中開一次講習會、才有小數的社會人略領其佛陀的教義！受佛陀的感化. 又近來有幾位明哲的僧伽居士們到處傳布佛教、才有點佛教宣傳的機關和去社會的一般士女們接觸。現今到處都有布教所之設立然而對於佛教々育創設之機關者、還是談不到呢。如此、那裏能夠希望佛教振興與一般人們信仰和接授呢…自將十九世紀末至二十世紀初、真是一個大動搖的時代、科學昌明達於極點、新思潮風

This article showcases numerous aspects of the influence Japanese and Chinese modernizing transformations had upon Taiwanese Buddhism. First, the complaints regarding the state of Taiwanese Buddhism closely mirror those voiced by both Japanese and Chinese critics of Buddhism that we saw in the previous chapter, namely its irrelevance to the modern world, distance from science, complete disconnect from society and backwards nature. In addition to its contents, the article's authorship also demonstrates the fact that the above grievance was born out of an intermingling of Japanese and Chinese forms of Buddhist modernism. Its author, Weilong, was one of Taiwan's elite Buddhist monks. He began studying in Taixu's Nanputou Academy in 1933. After graduating in 1936, he traveled to Japan the following year to study at Hanazono University 花園大學 in Kyōto, the main university of the Myōshinji 妙心寺 sect of Rinzai Zen. He subsequently graduated from its Department of Buddhism 佛教科 in 1940.[116] It is no coincidence that the negative characterization of Taiwanese Buddhism was penned by someone who had studied abroad in Buddhist institutions whose pedagogy was designed to propagate a form of Buddhism that would be impervious to these specific attacks. The instruction that Weilong received in China and Japan was what made the Taiwanese Buddhist situation appear "terrible" 糟糕, for this situation was a relative one that revealed itself to Weilong once he returned home after having finished his modernized studies.

起雲湧、重新估定舊日道德法律的價值、掃蕩了習慣的障礙、打破了因襲思想的束縛、使人民高唱自由之歌、大踏步向解放的道路上走去。在這種情形之下我們佛教徒還是很多在這迷夢不醒的當中做一個「不問時事的人」以為出家人只好閉門自修管這世界的閒事幹什麼？而社會人有一種也是同這樣的認識僧伽——於是僧伽變成一種不問世事只顧自己不顧他人習慣、曰以由中高唱佛教是怎樣好怎樣好、真所謂「自稱聖賢了」了…要之僧有人材、則佛教興起、反之則衰…"

[116] Ohno Ikuko 大野育子, "The Appearance of the Buddhism Elites in the Japanese Taiwan Rule Times by Overseas Taiwanese Students of Soto Zen Buddhism Komazawa University 日治時期佛教菁英的崛起—以曹洞宗駒澤大學台灣留學生為中心" (MA thesis, Tamkang University, 2009), 64. The title listed here is the work's official English title.

The relative 'terribleness' of Taiwanese Buddhism was directly rooted in Taiwan's pre-Japanese past. Before the Japanese colonial period, the most widespread form of Buddhism was a religion that scholars refer to as Zhaijiao 齋教 ('Vegetarian Religion') that Buddhist modernists saw as a form of 'superstition.' Zhaijiao is a non-monastic tradition that shares the same geographic point of origin as the majority of Han Taiwanese at this time, Fujian.[117] Its orthopraxis and doctrines represent a blend of Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism and Chinese folk religion.[118] The other form of Buddhism in Taiwan—that Weilong belonged to—was orthodox monastic Buddhism. Although orthodox monastic Buddhism in Taiwan was not perceived as a form of 'superstition,' Japanese and Chinese Buddhists considered it relatively backwards. Before Japanese colonization, a Taiwanese monk's communal role was largely limited to performing funerary rites and acting as a temple maintenance man. They were not educated enough to teach and did not practice meditation or engage in other expressions of Buddhist piety.[119] They also occupied a relatively low social position.[120] Many 'monks' were in fact imposters.[121] The majority of authentic monastics were only novice monks (Skt. *śrāmaṇera*)

[117] Although there has been a small Chinese presence on the island for over half a millennium, substantial settlement did not begin until the period of Dutch colonization around 1624. From then until the twentieth century, Han Chinese immigration to Taiwan primarily consisted of two different Han identities from China's southern provinces. The larger of the two groups consisted of the Southern Hokkien (Mandarin pronunciation: *minnan*) 閩南 speaking peoples from the prefectures of Zhangzhou 漳州 and Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian Province 福建省 with a smaller presence of Hakka 客家語 speakers who mostly came from Guangdong Province 廣東省. See Ann Heylan, "The Legacy of Literacy Practices in Colonial Taiwan. Japanese–Taiwanese– Chinese: Language Interaction and Identity Formation," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26, no. 6 (2005): 498; Ronald G. Knapp, "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes" in *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: ME Sharpe, 1999), 9.

[118] A consensus on how exactly to define Zhaijiao has eluded scholars. For more information see Nikolas Broy, "Secret Societies, Buddhist Fundamentalists, or Popular Religious Movements? Aspects of Zhaijiao in Taiwan," in *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions*, ed. Philip Clart (Taipei: Boyang Publishing, 2012), 329-368.

[119] Charles B. Jones, "Taiwan," in *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, eds. William M. Johnston et al. (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1229.

[120] Wei-Yu Lu, "The Performance Practice of Buddhist Baiqi in Contemporary Taiwan" (PhD diss, University of Maryland, 2012), 62.

[121] C. Jones, "Taiwan," 1229.

rather than full-fledged ones (*bhikṣu*).[122] The low quality of Buddhist monastics during the early period of Taiwanese Buddhist history can be attributed to an interplay between Chinese perception and law as well as Buddhist regulations. Taiwan's previous colonizer, China, had seen her as "backwater"[123] and a "land of typhoons, plagues and headhunting native peoples."[124] Taiwan was therefore not a choice destination for erudite monks. Additionally, although one could receive tonsure in Taiwan during this early period, it was impossible to receive full Buddhist monastic ordination there. This was due to a Chinese mandate requiring all Taiwanese monks to be ordained at Yongquan Temple 湧泉寺 in Gushan 鼓山, on the outskirts of Fuzhou 福州, the capital of Fujian Province.[125] Receiving monastic ordination at Yongquan Temple was an arduous task due to the dangers posed by cross-strait navigation and piracy.[126] Most monks who did travel to China did not return,[127] preferring China to their backwater home. Thus, Weilong's perception of Taiwanese Buddhism in light of the modernized forms he studied in China and Japan is understandable.

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[122] There are several rites of religious passage than a person must go through in order to transition from a non-Buddhist to lay Buddhist and then a full-fledged monastic. The first is the 'conversion' or 'refuge ceremony' 皈依 which renders one a lay Buddhist devotee. If the devotee then wishes to become a monastic he must go through a two-step process. The first is called tonsure 剃度 that entails having one's head shaved and renders one a novice monk. Becoming a full-fledged monk requires receiving full monastic ordination 具足戒. One can take refuge under the auspices of a tonsured novice monk but tonsure and full monastic ordination requires a number of witnesses and a fully ordained monastic officiator. For this process see Lori Meeks, "Vows for the Masses: Eison and the Popular Expansion of precept-Conferral Ceremonies in Premodern Japan," *Numen* 56, no. 1 (2009): 1-43.

[123] C. Jones, "Taiwan," 1229.

[124] Ibid.

[125] *Chici gushan yongquan chansi tongjie lu* 敕賜鼓山湧泉禪寺同戒錄 [*Record of Imperial Edicts Relating to Monasticism at Yongquan Temple*], as quoted in Huang Lang-Shiang 黃蘭翔, "Traditional Buddhist Monasteries in Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty and their Transformation under Japanese Colonialism 清代臺灣傳統佛教伽藍建築在日治時期的延續," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 18 (2005): 150. Online: http://www.chibs.edu.tw/ch_html/chbj/18/chbj1805.htm (accessed Mar. 2, 2016).

[126] Knapp, "The Shaping of Taiwan's Landscapes," 9.

[127] As inferred from C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 11.

Weilong was not the only Taiwanese Buddhist to return home after studying in modernized Buddhist institutions and thereafter to insist that Taiwanese Buddhists adopt modernization efforts similar to those already in place in Japan and China. His article was written in direct response to an article written by Wuguang's Chan teacher, Yanjing 眼淨 (secular name Linkan 林看, Dharma-name Zhengfa 證法; 1898–1971). Yanjing was an influential, island-wide famous monk whose status as a paragon can be seen in the authorship of two dedications in his *Festschrift*. The first was composed by Taixu's student, Yinshun. The other was written by Wu Den-yih 吳敦義 (b. 1948), the tenth Vice President of the ROC.[128] Despite this fame, scholars have yet to discuss Yanjing's importance.

Yanjing was born in the rural village of Shiaying 下營 near Tainan[129] 臺南 and became a monk when he was thirteen at Taiwan's very first Buddhist monastery, Zhuxi Temple 竹溪寺.[130] Shortly thereafter, he moved to Taipei and studied at the Chinnan Gakurin 鎮南學林, a school run by the Myōshinji sect of Japanese Rinzai Zen. His higher-education both predates and

[128] Jing-ming 淨明 ed., *Yanjing heshang yuanji ershiwu zhounian jinianji* 眼淨和尚圓寂二十五週年紀念集 [(Biography) in honor of the 25th anniversary of Monk Yanjing's Passing] (Kaohsiung: Yuanheng simiao lin, 1985), 41-42.

[129] Tainan is one of Taiwan's major cities, located on the island's south western coast. It was the Dutch colonial center and Ming Dynasty 'circuit' 道 capital of Taiwan. As Tainan was Taiwan's early political, economic and cultural center, it became her religious heart. Qing imperial administration subdivided the Chinese mainland into eighteen different provinces. These provinces were then further subdivided into the descending categories of 'circuits' 道, 'prefectures' 州 and 'counties' 縣. It was not until fending off the French invasion of Taiwan during the Sino-French War 中法戰争 (1884-1885) that the Qing administration elevated Taiwan's status from a circuit of Fujian to independent province. The newly established provincial capital was set up in the northern city of Taipei 臺北, which was later the Japanese and ROC capital. Nevertheless, Tainan, even to this day, is the center of traditional Han-Taiwanese culture. See See Blaine Chiasson, "Late-Qing Adaptive Frontier Administrative Reform in Manchuria, 1900-1911," in *Entangled Histories: The Transcultural Past of Northeast China* (Switzerland: Springer, 2014), 163-169; Monica Cable, "Tainan" in *International Dictionary of Historic Places*, vol. 5, *Asia and Oceania*, eds. Paul E. Schellinger et al. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 793.

[130] For the history of Zhuxi Temple see, Lu Jiaxing 盧嘉興, "*Taiwande diyizuo siyuan-zhuxisi* 臺灣的第一座寺院━竹溪寺 [Taiwan's First Monastery— Zhuxi Temple]," *Taiwan fojiao shilunji (8)–taiwan fojiao pian* (1979): 233-254.

mirrors Weilong's, as Yanjing studied in the Nanputou Academy the very first year it opened in 1925.[131] Sometime around 1929, he, like Weilong, studied in Hanazono University. Out of personal interest, he additionally traveled to Gifu 岐阜, Japan, to study Shingon.[132]

Yanjing and Weilong were both members of an esteemed class of Taiwanese Buddhist monks referred to as the 'Buddhist elites' 佛教菁英.[133] This title referred to Buddhists from Taiwan who had traveled to Japan and received a modern education at a Japanese Buddhist university. This, as well as their studies at the Nanputou Academy, set them apart from the majority of Taiwanese Buddhists who, as detailed above, were not well educated at all. This dearth was due to Taiwan's lack of Buddhist-centered educational options. It was this lack that forced more ambitious monks to travel abroad. Despite these shortcomings, Weilong's article highlights a ray of light within this dark situation in the form of conferences, lecture series and missionary activities. These positive aspects, however, are shown to be solely the fruits of Japanese labor which are in and of themselves inadequate to make up for the Taiwanese *saṃgha's* weaknesses. The organization responsible for these efforts, the South Seas Buddhist Association (SSBA) 南瀛佛教會, has been characterized by Charles Jones as "the most successful and influential of the island-wide Buddhist groups" during the Japanese colonial period.[134] The SSBA was founded by Japanese Buddhist missionaries in Taiwan and run through close cooperation between Japanese and Taiwanese Buddhists. Both Yanjing's article and

[131] Yu Lingbo 于淩波, *Minguo gaoseng chuan: xu bian* 民國高僧傳: 續編 [Transmission of Eminent Republican Monks: Continued], 2 vols. (Taipei: Zhaoming, 2000), 2.354-355.

[132] Wuguang, "*Yanjing heshang shiji* 眼淨和尚事跡 [Monk Yanjing's Achievements]," in *Yanjing heshang yuanji ershiwu zhounian jinianji* 眼淨和尚圓寂二十五週年紀 念集 [(Biography) in honor of the 25th anniversary of Monk Yanjing's Passing], ed. Jing-ming 淨明 (Kaohsiung: Yuanheng simiao lin, 1985), 68.

[133] The Taiwanese Buddhist Elites is the topic of Ohno, "Appearance of the Buddhism Elites."

[134] C. Jones, *Taiwanese Buddhism*, 74.

Weilong's response to it were published in the SSBA's periodical, the *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 南瀛佛教會報 (SSBJ), in 1935 while Taiwan was in the hands of Japan.

Yanjing's article, to which Weilong was writing in supportive response, describes the modern age as "the era of the profusion of common knowledge" 今日民智發達之時 and contains similar grievances to those detailed above:

> Throughout Buddhism's long eastward progression, it has inevitably transformed in the face of adversity. The present day is a time when emerging ideologies are steadily and ever-increasingly posing threats to Buddhism day by day. However, my Taiwanese monastic brethren have yet to realize this. Because of this, [Taiwanese] Buddhism is on the decline. As we have not properly educated our monks, they are degenerate and generally ignorant. No wonder we are not taken seriously by the masses. Unless we can hastily produce men of great talent, I fear that, in the end, we will be unable to avoid [Buddhism's] extinction…In order to produce young men to become exemplar monks, we must fulfill our monastic educational responsibilities. All across Taiwan there are monks who have not fulfilled this responsibility in their monasteries. The result is that today many of our monks are stupid sheep…The biggest reason for all of this is our deficient monastic education. [The result is that our monks] do not know how to relate Mahāyāna Buddhism to the waves of modernity…Reform requires multiple methods. If we can implement the above, we will actualize positive progress. By doing so, we will be able to revive our particular Taiwanese Buddhism.[135]

As in both Japan and China, Yanjing's closing statement calls for a 'revival' *huifu* 恢復 (Jpn. *kaifuku*) of Buddhism. Although this term for 'revival' differs slightly from its more common synonym *fuxing* 復興 (Jpn. *fukkō*), its meaning is the same and it is used in the same sense elsewhere in the SSBJ.[136] Like Weilong and his Japanese and Chinese Dharma-brethren, Yanjing

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[135] Yanjing, "*Bendao fojiao zhenxingce* 本島佛教振興策 [Plan to Reform Taiwanese Buddhism]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 13, no. 1 (1935): 26-27. Original text: "佛教東漸以來。其中盛衰幾變。所謂事久弊生。勢所必然。當此思潮澎湃之際。階級與階級之競爭日甚一日。而吾臺僧伽制度。至今尚未實現。故佛教隨之衰敗。僧伽因此墮落。此完全因無佛教々育所致。使一般僧伽智識缺少。無怪被社會輕視。若不早施教育培養人材。終恐難免遭人宰割…對於蓄養青年僧徒為人師者。須負責任教育僧徒。蓋臺灣各寺。收薙僧徒者向不負育之責。以致今日之僧伽多為啞羊…蓋其最大原因在僧伽缺教育。不知大乘教法。與時代潮 流之關係也…改善方法不一。如能照上幾條。實施積極進行。藉可恢復吾臺佛教之一法也。"

[136] Examples include Yinxi 隱西, "*Taiwan fojiao bing zai nali* 臺灣佛教病在那裏 [Where is Taiwanese Buddhism's Sickness]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 13, no. 6 (1935): 21-23; Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂, "*Bukkyō to kyōka undō* 佛教と教化運動 [Buddhism and the Education Movement]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 15, no. 2 (1937): 32-33.

laments the state of Taiwanese Buddhism for its backwardness and irrelevance. He attributes both of these to the limited educational options in Taiwan, which he states have caused the *saṃgha* to be populated by 'stupid sheep' 啞羊. Similar to Weilong, Yanjing's emphasis on education was rooted in his experiences in Japan, China and the Japanese-run Chinnan Gakurin in Taipei. After witnessing the results of these modernization efforts—as well as the caliber of monks in China and Japan—he came to realize just *how* backwards the Taiwanese *saṃgha* was in comparison. This is apparent in his language in the above passage, which specifically identifies "*our* Taiwanese monks" as the targets of his criticism and calls to "revive *our* particular Taiwanese Buddhism." However, he does not lay the blame on the "stupid sheep" themselves, but on the Buddhist leadership who he believed had failed miserably in educating their monastic disciples.

In addition to the thematic parallels between Yanjing's call to action and those voiced by modernizers in Japan and China is his emphasis on 'young' 青年 and 'talented' 材 men. In Japan, these terms denoted the Western-educated literati who were Inoue Enryō's intended audience.[137] In a Chinese context, the notion of 'men of talent' traditionally referred to individuals capable of passing the Imperial Examination[138] 科舉 who were perceived to be able

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[137] J. Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West*, 9, 125-126, 148-149 and 245.

[138] This examination, which originated over fourteen hundred years ago, was one of the keys to social mobility throughout Chinese history. In principle, regardless of one's familial social status, one would be able to secure a position of esteem through passing the Imperial Examination. The situation on the ground, however, differed as historical records indicate that upwards social mobility first—unofficially—required class intermarriage before even taking the examination. This examination required the examinee to memorize lengthy passages from and compose essays on the Confucian Classics referred to as refers to the Four Books and Five Classics 四書五經. The Four Books being: *Great Learning* 大學, *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸, *Analects* 論語, *Mencius* 孟子. The Five Classics are: *Classic of Poetry* 詩經, *Book of Documents* 尚書, *Book of Rites* 禮記, *Classic of Change* 易經 and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋. Eligibility to even take the examination required one to attend a select number of government-sponsored schools. As one's entry and future within the literati was dependent upon one's success or failure of this exam, there was little incentive to study subjects such as science and mathematics. However, once these education reforms took place the system was immediately changed. See Toby E. Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; reprint, New York:

to effectively fill governmental positions. In this framework, 'talent' was not something people were entirely capable of fostering, but was partially dependent upon the innate capabilities they were born with. Thus, the Imperial Examination was not seen as a way to produce talented people, but to locate them. The educational reforms that occurred in the final years of the Qing Dynasty represented a switch from this paradigm, in which 'talent' became something to be nurtured through national, public education.[139] We can discern parallels to both of these Japanese and Chinese emphases on 'young men of talent' in Weilong's and Yanjing's articles above. It is these educated masses who were brought up during what Weilong called "a time of great upheaval" in which "scientific understanding is rapidly progressing, [ushering in] a tempest of new ideologies that reassess the value of traditional values" and Yanjing called "the era of the profusion of common knowledge" that must be convinced of Buddhism's value. This could only be accomplished by modern, like-minded individuals. As Weilong stated, "we need talented monks who can improve Buddhism, reverse its decline," echoing Yanjing's warning to his Dharma-kin, "No wonder we are not taken seriously by the masses. Unless we can hastily produce men of great talent, I fear that, in the end, we will be unable to avoid [Buddhism's] extinction."

Yanjing's attempts at ushering in the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival through educational means were embodied by his career. After returning to Taiwan, he eventually served as the abbot of three different Buddhist monasteries: Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 in Tainan, Tzuyun

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Cambridge University Press, 2007), 278; Rowe, *China's Last Empire*, 260; Rui Wang, *The Chinese Imperial Examination System: An Annotated Bibliography* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 7.

[139] See W. K. Cheng, "Enlightenment and Unity: Language Reformism in Late Qing China," *Modern Asian Studies* 35 no. 2 (2001): 474; Ya-pei Kuo, "Redeploying Confucius: The Imperial State Dreams of the Nation, 1902-1911," in *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, ed. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 74.

Temple 楠梓慈雲寺 in Kaohsiung, Chao Tian Temple 朝天宮 in Yunlin 雲林, and finally the monastery where he originally became a monk, Zhuxi Temple. It was at this first and final monastery that he eventually officiated at Wuguang's Buddhist conversion. In 1959, Yanjing founded the Kaiyuan Buddhist Academy 開元佛學院 and later opened a Buddhist library to offer monks an education similar to that which he had received in Japan and China.[140] After his death, a monastic scholarship—which is still sometimes awarded—was set up in his name with funds that he had entrusted to his secretary for safekeeping.[141] That secretary was Wuguang. Despite Wuguang's iconoclastic approach, this relationship reveals that he lent his voice to the same modernist discourse that Yanjing had contributed to.

Yanjing's and Weilong's calls for reform were not only born out of their experiences in Japan and China. They also were motivated by historical factors related to Japanese colonization, the most poignant of which was the implementation of anti-superstition campaigns. Now that we have seen the ways in which Yanjing and like-minded Taiwanese Buddhist reformers envisioned the future of Taiwanese Buddhism, let us take a look at the historical factors that gave birth to their vision.

[140] See Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, *The Year Book of Buddhist Colleges and Buddhist Institutes in Taiwan, The 1st Issue* 臺灣佛學院所教育年鑑創刊號, (Taipei: Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2002), 321-329. Online: http://www.chibs.edu.tw/ch_html/others/college/mainframe.htm (accessed Jan. 15, 2016). Also see Heng-Ching Shih, "Buddhist Spirituality in Modern Taiwan," in *Buddhist Spirituality*, vol. 2, *Later China, Korea, Japan, and the Modern World*, eds. Takeuchi Yoshinori et al. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass; First Indian Edition; 2003), 419-420.

[141] As told in Wuguang, "*Yanjing heshang shiji*," 68-71.

Section II: The Revival's Context, Japanese Colonialism (1895-1945)

Taiwan was transferred from Chinese to Japanese control at the end of the first Sino-Japanese war with the signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty 下関條約. The soldiers and administrative officials who were immediately stationed in Taiwan were accompanied by Buddhists clerics who had enlisted in the military. Their official mission was to tend to the spiritual needs of the Japanese who were stationed there. To ensure that their needs would be adequately met, the Japanese exported clergy from a wide range of Japanese denominations.[142] The representatives of these sects also came to expand the member base of their particular school and lineage.[143] These missionary activities were encouraged by the government, as it saw them as a means of strengthening Japanese influence.[144] At this time, the Japanese government viewed Buddhism as a possible agent in its expansionist ambitions not only in Taiwan, but also into the Chinese provinces of Fujian and Guangdong, from where the majority of Taiwan's ethnically Chinese inhabitants originally came.[145] This attitude was thanks to reformers such as Inoue Enryō, who had framed 'Japanese' Buddhism as a national asset that could be used as a tool for Japanese national progress.[146] Immediately after arriving in Taiwan, these sects began to compete with one another for new devotees. This sectarian competition was rooted in more

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[142] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 34. These denominations included: Sōtō and Rinzai's Myōshinji sect of Zen, the Hongan-ji 本願寺 and Ōtani 大谷 branches of Jōdo Shinshū, Nichiren 日蓮宗, six sects of Shingon and Tendai. See Matsukane Kimimasa 松金公正, "The Propagation of Japanese Buddhism in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation 日據時期日本佛教之台灣佈教: 以寺院數及信徒人數的演變為考察中心," *Yunkuang Journal of Buddhist Studies* 3, (1999): 191-221; Ohno, "Appearance of the Buddhism Elites," 12.

[143] Ohno, "Appearance of the Buddhism Elites," 12.

[144] Chengpang Lee, "Shadow of the Colonial Power: Kominka and the Failure of the Temple Reorganization Campaign," *Studies on Asia* 2, no. 1 (2012): 130.

[145] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," in *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society*, Volume 1&2 A-Z, edited by Philip Clart & Charles B. Jones (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 20.

[146] See this dissertation's Introduction, Section III, "Buddhist Modernism: From Disenchantment to Reenchantment."

clearly demarcated denominational categories that existed in Japan than those in China or Taiwan that categorized temples according to sect.[147]

In terms of how these Japanese Buddhists interacted with the native Taiwanese Buddhists, scholars typically periodize their relationship according to three stages: Exploration and Alliance (1895-1915), Cooperation and Development (1915-1937), and the Kōminka Movement 皇民化運動 (1937-1945).[148] Briefly, the first is characterized by a hands-off, *laissez faire* approach taken by the Japanese government when they preferred not to interfere with Taiwanese religion. The second is typified by increasing collaboration between the Taiwanese and Japanese Buddhists, and was instigated by a religious uprising against Japanese rule. The third and final stage of this relationship, the Kōminka Movement, entailed the Japanese exerting extreme pressure upon all forms of religion in Taiwan in order to make them more 'Japanese,' and modernizing them as part of an empire-wide effort to strengthen the Japanese military. As Japan was considered 'modern' and Japanese Buddhism considered 'Japanese,' Japanifying Taiwanese religion entailed simultaneously modernizing it, and vice versa. To achieve this goal, the Japanese adopted two different tactics. The first was well-planned, non-violent, and coincided with the Cooperation and Development stage mentioned above. The second coincided with the Kōminka Movement and was exactly the opposite: haphazard, rushed and bloody. Thus, the difference between these two stages represent different disenchantment techniques the Japanese employed to transform Taiwanese Buddhism into modern, Japanese Buddhism. During the Cooperation and Development stage, the Japanese colonizers adopted techniques similar to

[147] Huang, "Traditional Buddhist Monasteries," 147.

[148] See Han Zheng-zong 闞正宗, "The Characteristics and Research on Buddhism in Japanese Colonial Taiwan 日治台灣佛教的特點與研究," *Yuan Kuang Journal of Buddhist Studies* 18 (2012): 97. Online: http://www.ykbi.edu.tw/modules/journal/data_18/journal_18_4.pdf (accessed Feb. 22, 2016).

those promoted by Meiji Buddhist reformers such as Inoue Enryō via education and charitable social interaction. During the Kōminka movement, they chose to raze institutions that they viewed as superstitious to the ground.

My presentation of the historical and ideological backdrop of the First Taiwanese Buddhist Revival is structured in accordance with this threefold periodization. As we will see, the Japanification/modernization efforts were beneficial to monastic Buddhism and detrimental to Zhaijiao, Daoism and Taiwanese folk religion. As noted, the Japanese Buddhists considered Taiwanese monastic Buddhism to be a form of 'religion,' rather than an example of 'superstition.' This was because Taiwan's full-fledged monks had received ordination at Yongquan Temple, which propagated both the Caodong 曹洞 and Linji 臨済 lineages[149] of Chinese Chan, from which Japanese Sōtō and Rinzai Zen respectively sprang.[150] Thus, their faith occupied the neutral category within the secular-religious-superstitious trinary and was therefore considered largely acceptable. Because of this, practitioners of Zhaijiao, Daoism and Taiwanese folk religion aligned themselves with these lineages in order to save themselves from the Japanese anti-superstitious campaigns. Nevertheless, differences between Japanese and Taiwanese sectarian consciousness and monastic practices produced tensions that audibly rumbled throughout all three periods.

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[149] Jian Canteng, "*Rijushidai taiwan beibu caodongzong dafapaide jueqi-juelichanshi yu dahu fayunsipai* 日據時代台灣北部曹洞宗大法派的崛起: 覺力禪師與大湖法雲寺派 [The Sudden Emergence of Sōtō in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation: Chan Master Jueli and the Dahu Fayun Temple Lineage]," *Yuan Kuang Journal of Buddhist Studies* 3 (1996): 57. Online: http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-AN/an245.htm (accessed Feb. 23, 2016).

[150] Caodong/Sōtō and Linji/Rinzai are two of the most dominant Chan/Zen sects. Although there are scholarly disputes concerning the nature of these sectarian distinctions, they can be traced to a factional split that took place in the twelfth century. See Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: The Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 112-113; Morten Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen: The Dispute over Enlightenment and the Formation of Chan Buddhism in Song-dynasty China*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 22 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 57.

Exploration and Alliance (1895-1915)

During the early period, the Japanese government largely adopted a 'live and let live' arrangement with Taiwanese religion. However, due to the expansionary ambitions and denominational competition mentioned above, within monastic circles they did suasively promote collaboration by offering specific incentives. If a Taiwanese monk chose to officially identify himself as a member of a Japanese Buddhist denomination, he was awarded with governmental registration and issued a special identification card. This had three tangible benefits. During the first twenty years of Japanese rule, the colonial government suppressed numerous small uprisings, many of which were organized by religious communities. Affiliating with a Japanese denomination and obtaining a government-issued ID card—that one could produce on the spot—helped Taiwanese monks to avoid the suspicions of the Japanese authorities.[151] Japanese affiliation additionally opened up the possibility to receive university education in Japan. Many Buddhists recognized these benefits and took advantage of them, which led to an initial spread of Japanese-affiliated Taiwanese Buddhists when numerous temples became associated with, and partly managed by, Japanese Buddhist denominations.[152] The most successful Japanese denomination was Sōtō. Sōtō's immediate success was due to its shared ancestry with Chan's Caodong lineage and the tonsure familial relationship upon which Buddhist sectarian consciousness in Taiwan was constructed.

[151] A picture of such a card can be seen in Ohno, "Appearance of the Buddhism Elites," 14.

[152] Cheng Shu-Hui 鄭淑惠, "Study on the Inheritance and Development of Tainan's Zhuxi Temple 臺南府城竹溪寺傳承發展史之研究" (MA thesis, Hsuan Chuang University, 2012), 53.

Five Great Buddhist Lineages		
Lineage	**Sanctuary**	**Location**
Kaiyuan 開元	Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺	Tainan 台南
Mount Yuemei 月眉山	Lingquan Temple 靈泉寺	Keelung 基隆
Mount Guanyin 觀音山	Lingyun Temple 凌雲寺	Taipei County 台北縣
Fayun 法雲	Fayun Temple 法雲寺	Miaoli Country 苗栗縣
Mount Dagang 大崗山	Chaofeng Temple 超峰寺	Kaohsiung County 高雄縣

Figure 3: Taiwan's Five Great Buddhist Lineages, their sanctuaries and locations.

Monastic Taiwanese Buddhism was dominated by the 'Five Great Buddhist Lineages' 五大法派 based out of the 'Five Great Ancestral Sanctuaries' 五祖師道場 (see figure 3).[153] These lineages represent the proliferation of 'tonsure-families' 剃度宗派 established by monks who had received full-monastic ordination at Yongquan Temple and then immigrated or returned to Taiwan.[154] If a prominent abbot with many disciples decided to switch his temple's Chinese Chan affiliation to a Japanese Zen affiliation, other temples whose abbots were his tonsured disciples followed suit and their temples' affiliations—and all of their resident monastics—were

[153] Often, these are referred to as the "Four Great Lineages," omitting Kaiyuan. This is due to Kaiyuan's incorporation into the Dagang lineage after the colonial period. See Kan Zhengzong 闞正宗, *Taiwan fojiao yibainian* 臺灣佛教一百年 [*One Hundred Years of Taiwanese Buddhism*] (Taipei: Dongda, 1999), 88.

[154] Tonsure families have been a key feature of Chinese Buddhism since the Song Dynasty. When a devotee leaves his family through 'renunciation' 出家 (Skt. *pravrajyā*) to become a tonsured monk, he enters into a new familial structure based on the officiator of his tonsure ceremony. Upon having one's head shaved the devotee's tonsure officiator becomes his 'master-father' 師父 while other monks who were tonsured by the same officiator become his 'master-brothers' 師兄. Because of the loyalty these tonsure-kin held for their master-father and each other, loosely affiliated temple networks were born out of these lineages by the founding of new temples and the incorporation of preexisting ones into the abbot's particular tonsure-family. These ties of tonsure-kinship are the basis for the Five Great Lineages. See Marcus Bingenheimer, "Chinese Buddhism Unbound - Rebuilding and Redefining Chinese Buddhism on Taiwan," in *Buddhism in global perspective,* eds. Ichijo Ogawa et al. (Mumbai: Somaiya Publications, 2003), 129; Schlütter, *How Zen Became Zen*, 57; Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism: 1900-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 247-302.

consequentially changed as well. This meant that persuading a number of temples to affiliate with a Japanese denomination was accomplished in one fell swoop simply by persuading a single abbot of a large temple to do so. The tonsure-kinship shared by the Five Great Ancestral Sanctuaries and smaller temples throughout Taiwan thus provided the perfect medium by which Japanese Buddhism could spread across the island.

Although there were benefits for Buddhists to actively cooperate with the Japanese, there were still efforts to maintain the Chinese character of their religion and limit the influence of Japanese Buddhist missionaries. This can be seen in the establishment of ordination platforms, which enabled the Taiwanese monks to give their disciples full monastic ordination on Taiwanese soil, rather than sending them to Yongquan Temple or to Japan. As mentioned above, it was impossible to receive full monastic ordination in Taiwan prior to the Japanese colonial period. Due to differences between the monastic regulations of Chinese and Japanese Buddhists—the former were not allowed to marry, consume alcohol or meat while the latter were—Japanese Buddhism was considered less than valid by much of the Taiwanese Buddhist establishment.[155] Thus, despite their official affiliation, the majority of Buddhist tonsure monks preferred not to receive any form of Japanese Buddhist monastic ordination.[156] As the Taiwanese Buddhists suddenly found themselves separated from Yongquan Temple not only by dangerous waters but also a newly drawn international border, they were at a loss how to propagate their form of monastic Buddhism. In response, during the 1920s and 1930s Taiwanese Buddhists

[155] These relatively lax regulations were products of the Meiji-era push to modernize Buddhism. See Richard M. Jaffe, "Meiji Religious Policy, Sōtō Zen, and the Clerical Marriage Problem," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 25, no. 1-2 (1998): 45-85.
[156] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, xvi.

began giving full monastic ordination on Taiwanese soil in accordance with the Chinese regulations of Yongquan Temple.[157]

This effort to limit the influence of Japanese missionaries can also be seen in historical details closely related to Wuguang. Wuguang and his master-father, Yanjing, were members of the Kaiyuan Lineage based in Kaiyuan Temple in Tainan. During this first period of the Japanese colonial era, Kaiyuan Temple first became affiliated with Sōtō but then switched its affiliation to Rinzai Myōshinji. This switch occurred around the end of this first phase of the colonial period when Kaiyuan Temple's recently appointed abbot, Chuanfang 傳芳 (a.k.a. Qingyuan 清源, secular name Chen Chunmu 陳春木; 1855-1918),[158] traveled to Taipei to meet Nagatani Jien 長谷慈圓 (1880-1918), the then abbot of Taipei's Rinzai Temple 臺北臨濟護國禪寺.[159] The outcome of this meeting was that the Kaiyuan Temple would abandon its Sōtō affiliations for Rinzai Myōshinji. This initiated a cooperative relationship that would last throughout and even after the colonial period. The reason behind this switch is said to be opportunistic and practical. Although Sōtō affiliation awarded a certain amount of protection, it had offered Kaiyuan Temple little else as the Sōtō administration did not invest as much in Kaiyuan Temple as they did in the other Great Ancestral Sanctuaries.[160] After this, Kaiyuan Temple became a nexus of both Taiwanese-Japanese Buddhist cooperation as well as the Chinese efforts to distinguish

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[157] These early ordinations are the topic of Charles B. Jones, "The Establishment of Chinese Ordination Platforms in Taiwan during the Japanese Period 1895-1945," (paper presented at the conference "Bordering the Borderless: Faces of Modern Buddhism in East Asia" Durham, NC, Oct. 4-5, 2013).

[158] Zeng Jinglai 曾景來, "*Kaiyuanchansi jilu* 開元禪寺記略 [Records of Kaiyuan Chan/Zen Temple]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 15, no.12, (1937): 40-43.

[159] The following details can be found in Wang Jianchuan 王見川, "A Brief Investigation on Tai-nan Kai Yen Monastery during the Japanese Occupation (1896-1924) 略論日據時期的台南開元寺," *Yuan Kuang Journal of Buddhist Studies* 4 (1999): 279-291. Online: http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ010/bj99910.htm (accessed Jan. 15, 2016).

[160] Ibid, 288.

themselves from the Japanese Buddhists. This can be seen in the revitalization efforts of Chuanfang.

Chuanfang was a native of Tainan. He had studied Buddhism at Kaiyuan Temple before going to China in 1881. He spent thirty years there, much of which at Yongquan Temple, before returning to Taiwan in 1911. Chuanfang was the master-father of a number of important Taiwanese monks, including his immediate Kaiyuan abbot predecessor, Xuanqing 玄精 (secular name Cai Chan 蔡漳, 1875-1921).[161] Chuanfang's student, Xuanqing, invited his master-father to return to Taiwan and assume his own post in order to revitalize Kaiyuan Temple. As Chuanfang had spent the prior thirty years in China, he had never experienced Japanese colonialism nor its effects on Taiwanese Buddhism. Thus, the Taiwan that Chuanfang returned to was completely different than the one that he had left. In displeasure with the growing influence of Japanese Buddhism, he drafted a document entitled 'Kaiyuan Temple Regulations'[162] 開元寺例規 that stated all official offices at Kaiyuan Temple could only be held by his 'Dharma-relatives' 法類, another term for tonsure-kin.[163] This definitively excluded Japanese Buddhists from holding official positions at Kaiyuan Temple and thereby limited their influence. This can be seen in the experience of Tōkai Gisei 東海宜誠 (often incorrectly rendered 'Higashiumi Gisei'; 1892-1989).[164] Tōkai was an extremely active Japanese Buddhist missionary who

[161] Although abbots usually succeed their teachers rather than their students, Chuanfang's immediate predecessor was one of his tonsured disciples. Chuanfang left Taiwan for China before ever becoming the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple and only returned when his student Xuanqing, who was the abbot of Kaiyuan Temple at the time, invited Chuanfang to return and assume his own post. See ibid, 285.

[162] Temple-specific regulations are quite common throughout East Asia. See Helen J. Baroni, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Zen Buddhism* (New York: Rosen Pub. Group, 2002), 338.

[163] The regulations and return of Chuanfang are recorded in He Mianshan 何绵山, "The Impact of Yongquan Temple upon the Sect of Taiwan Kaiyuan Temple 鼓山涌泉寺对台湾开元寺派的影响," *Journal of Minjiang University* 30, no. 3 (2009): 10-14.

[164] This incorrect Romanization has been noted by Yu-shuang, "Japanese Influence on Buddhism in Taiwan", *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies Website*, http://jocbs.org/index.php/jocbs/

encountered animosity from Kaiyuan monks after he moved to Tainan in 1923 and attempted to involve himself in the affairs of Kaiyuan Temple. As Kaiyuan Temple was officially part of Rinzai's Myōshinji sect, his involvement seemed entirely appropriate. However, he encountered fierce opposition from the monastery's leadership. The Taiwanese monks were able to conveniently justify this resistance by relying on Chuanfang's regulations that limited administrative positions to Chuanfang's tonsure-kin. This experience motivated Tōkai to leave Tainan and relocate to Kaohsiung.[165]

Cooperation and Development (1915-1931)

The friction between Taiwanese and Japanese Buddhist monks visible in the resistance that Tōkai encountered at Kaiyuan Temple was minor in comparison to tensions between the Japanese authorities and non-monastic religious devotees. These tensions had been festering beneath the surface, with minor periodic eruptions throughout the first twenty years of Japanese rule. It was the boiling over of these tensions that brought an end to the colonial authorities 'live and let live' approach to Taiwanese religion and forced the Japanese authorities to adopt a different, more involved approach. This new approach is what distinguishes the second period from the first.

The second period was triggered by the Tapani Incident 噍吧哖事 of 1915. This was a revolt against Japanese rule that lasted for over a month and took the lives of over 1,000 Japanese and Taiwanese.[166] Even though the rebels' military might paled in comparison to that

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article/view/77 (accessed Nov. 27, 2015). Many works in English and even Chinese with English titles use the incorrect Romanization.

[165] Jian Canteng 江燦騰, "Gisei Higashiumi and the Development of Buddhism in Gaoxiong during the Period of Japanese Rule 日治時期高雄佛教發展與東海宜誠," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 16 (2003): 217-225. Online: http://www.chibs.edu.tw/ch_html/chbj/16/chbj1608.htm (accessed Feb. 22, 2016).

[166] Paul R. Katz, *When Valleys Turned Blood Red: the Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), xi.

of the Japanese, "They were not a rabble but were organized into units possessing their own uniforms and commanders."[167] This rebellion was planned in a Zhaijiao temple and had distinctively religious elements. As Charles Jones states, the leaders of the revolt "took up religious practices and rhetoric in preparing for the uprising...they all adopted a vegetarian diet, performed rituals to rally the Daoist celestial Generals and their spirit armies to their cause, wore bullet-deflecting talismans, and so on."[168] The brutality and religious component of this uprising sent shockwaves through the Japanese administration. In order to ensure that this scenario did not repeat itself, they revamped their leadership and took a much more hands-on role in Taiwanese religion than they previously had. They established the Office of Shrines and Temples 社寺課 to investigate and thereby regulate Taiwanese religion.[169] Two investigations into Taiwan's religious traditions were conducted. The first was unsuccessful and was called off.[170] The second one, spearheaded by the Office of Shrines and Temples director, Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎 (1870–1934), produced much greater results that were published in his book *Report of the Investigation into Religion in Taiwan* 臺灣宗教調查報告書.[171]

The religious component of this rebellion put all forms of Taiwanese religion on the Japanese radar. The institutions and patrons of these religions were automatically viewed as potential threats. In order to escape suspicion, the Taiwanese devotees formed island-wide religious associations whose charters demanded that their members pledge not to engage in

[167] Paul R. Katz, "Governmentality and Its Consequences in Colonial Taiwan: A Case Study of the Ta-pa-ni Incident of 1915," *Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 2 (2005): 389.
[168] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," 21.
[169] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 75.
[170] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," 22.
[171] Marui Keijirō, *Taiwan shūkyō chōsa hōkokusho* 臺灣宗教調查報告書 [Report of the Investigation into Taiwanese Religion] (Taihoku [Taipei]: Taiwan Sōtokufu, 1919).

rebellious activities.[172] Joining these associations put the Five Ancestral Lineages "under the command of Japanese Buddhism."[173] Despite the island-wide nature of these organizations, they were aligned along Japanese religious sectarian lines. As already mentioned, the different Japanese religious denominations that came to Taiwan were in competition with one another. This competition similarly permeated these Taiwanese associations. Marui recognized this drawback and, together with Taiwanese leaders of monastic Buddhism and Zhaijiao, formed the South Seas Buddhist Association (SSBA), which was intended to be a non-sectarian organization.[174] It was the journal of the SSBA in which Yanjing's article declaring that Taiwanese monastics were "stupid sheep," as well as Weilong's response thereto were both published. It is also where we find monks calling for a "Taiwanese Buddhist Revival."

Although the relationship between Japanese and Taiwanese Buddhism during this middle section of the Japanese colonial period is popularly referred to as 'Cooperation and Development,' a more nuanced title would be 'Disenchantment through Reeducation.' To appreciate this, the reader must recall that according to Japanese ideological typology of this time, 'Japanese' and 'modern,' were synonymous and juxtaposed with a category comprised of 'non-Japanese Asian' and 'superstitious.' Since this second period was incited by a revolt against Japanese rule, as one would suspect the emphasis on education at this time was to train the Taiwanese to be more like the Japanese. In 1919, just four years after the Tapani incident, secondary and higher education opportunities with the aim to "create faithful Japanese followers" were opened up to the Taiwanese.[175] Another example of this emphasis on education

[172] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," 21.
[173] Hsuan-Li Wang, "Gushan: The Formation of a Chan Lineage during the Seventeenth Century and Its Spread to Taiwan" (PhD diss, Columbia University, 2014), 211-212.
[174] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," 21.
[175] W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 147.

as a means of Japanization/modernization is attested to by the writings of Nagatani Jien, the abbot of the Rinzai Temple in Taipei, whom Chuanfang of Kaiyuan Temple met with in order to switch Kaiyuan's Japanese denominational affiliation from Sōtō to Rinzai Myōshinji. He was also the founder of the Chinnan Gakurin, the Rinzai academy in Taipei where Wuguang's master-father, Yanjing, would eventually study. Nagatani blamed Taiwanese resistance to Japanese rule on the superstitious nature of Taiwanese Buddhism and stated that one of his core goals was to "preach orthodox Buddhism in order to eliminate the superstitions [of the Taiwanese people]."[176] Here, Nagatani concretely articulates the typology I just outlined, in which 'superstition' is juxtaposed with 'orthodox Buddhism' and the former is depicted as an enemy of Japan, while the latter as its ally. This statement demonstrates how the suppression of 'superstition'—an element of modernization—was considered an essential aspect of keeping Taiwan under Japanese rule and essentially 'Japanifying' it. Thus, educating Taiwanese religious adherents—of all kinds—entailed making their religions more 'modern' and 'Japanese' through making them less 'Chinese' and 'superstitious.'

This trend is further attested to by the ways in which the Japanese authorities imposed their own sectarian categories upon the different forms of Taiwanese religion. These clearly defined borders were imposed not only upon orthodox Buddhism, but on Zhaijiao as well. Due to a colonial crackdown in the wake of the Tapani incident, Zhaijiao was forced to redefine its identity from an independent faith to a form of lay Buddhism.[177] As Zhaijiao laid outside of any

[176] Nagatani Jien 長谷慈圓, "*Zhennanxue liao sheli chenqing shu* 鎮南學寮設立陳情書 [Petition for Establishing the Chinnan School]," *Shōbōrin* 正法輪 378 (1917): 9-11, as quoted and translated from the Japanese to Chinese in Shi Huey-yen 釋慧嚴, "A Further Look at Buddhist Education in Taiwan during the Period of Japanese Rule 再檢視日治時代台灣佛教界從事的教育事業," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 16 (2003): 192.

[177] Philip Clart, "Phoenix and the Mother: The Interaction of Spirit Writing Cults and Popular Sects in Taiwan," *Journal of Chinese Religions* 25 (1997): 11.

established Japanese sectarian means of definition, this identification essentially retrofitted it into the Japanese worldview.

This sectarian imposition can also be seen in the career of Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天 (1867-1934). Nukariya, a Sōtō Zen monk and friend of D. T. Suzuki (1870-1966), was the president of Komazawa University from 1921-1934.[178] He was the author of the second book on Zen ever to be published in English, *Zen: The Religion of the Samurai: A Study of Zen Philosophy and Discipline in China and Japan*, which he wrote while in residence at Harvard University.[179] He was very active in the dissemination of Meiji-era modernism among the Taiwanese Buddhist elites and traveled to Taiwan multiple times. In his writings and lectures, Nukariya presented an idealized vision of a 'Pure Zen' 純禪 that was devoid of not only superstitious elements, but even elements of non-Zen schools of Buddhism. One school in particular, Pure Land 淨土, was seen as a possible contaminate that needed to be eliminated. This can be seen in the following words written by Nukariya:

> The blooming prosperity of Zen was over towards the end of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279), when it began to fade, not being bitten by the frost of oppression from without, but being weakened by rottenness within. As early as the Sung dynasty (960-1126) the worship of Buddha Amitabha stealthily found its way among Zen believers, who could not fully realize the Spirit of Shakya Muni, and to satisfy these people the amalgamation of the two faiths was attempted by some Zen masters.[180]

According to Nukariya, the Tang Dynasty was China's 'Golden Age of Zen'[181] that was brought to a close by Chan monks incorporating the practice of 'Reciting the name of Amitābha' 念佛. This practice was popularized by the Chinese Buddhist monk Tanluan 曇鸞 (Jpn. Donran; 476-

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[178] Wang, "Gushan," 234.

[179] Robert H. Sharf, "The Zen of Japanese Nationalism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 114.

[180] Nukariya Kaiten, *Zen: The Religion of the Samurai: A Study of Zen Philosophy and Discipline in China and Japan*, Luzac's Oriental Religious Series, 4 (London: Luzac & Co., 1913), 23-24.

[181] Ibid, 21.

542) and involves reciting the mantra ‘Homage to Amitābha Buddha’ 南無阿彌陀佛 with the intent of being reborn into Amitābha’s paradisiacal Pure Land.[182] Although presented as historical fact, the devolution of Chinese Chan that Nukariya retells has little to do with history and everything to do with imposing Japanese Buddhist sectarian boundaries onto Chinese forms of Buddhism. Due to autocratic state control, Buddhism in Japan has been organized into different schools based on lineage and orthopraxis[183] since its inception.[184] This, however, has not ever been the Chinese situation, where there never existed an institutionally independent Chan[185] or Pure Land[186] sect before the modern era. Since the Tang Dynasty, the dominant form of Chinese Buddhist orthopraxy has consisted of a combination of practices that in Japan would be associated somewhat exclusively with Zen, Pure Land or esoteric Buddhism.[187] In fact, this very difference between Japanese and Chinese Buddhism led to a certain level of apprehension from the Japanese Buddhist establishment directed towards Chinese Chan masters who traveled to Japan during the Togukawa after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty, whom they viewed as representatives of a contaminated form of Chan Buddhism.[188] In an effort to eradicate this practice from Taiwanese Chan, during one of his many trips to Taiwan Nukariya went so far as

[182] This practice is neither monolithic nor unidirectional. For historical, doctrinal and ritual intricacies related to this practice that lay outside the scope of this dissertation see Charles B. Jones, “Toward a Typology of *Nien-fo*: a Study in Methods of Buddha-Invocation in Chinese Pure Land Buddhism,” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3 (2001): 219-239. Online: http://www.shin-ibs.edu/documents/pwj3-3/10JS3.pdf (accessed Jan. 15, 2016).

[183] See this dissertation’s Introduction, Section III, “Buddhist ‘Schools’ and ‘Lineages.’

[184] Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 8-9.

[185] McRae, *Seeing Through Zen*, 122.

[186] Robert H. Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch’an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China,” *T’oung Pao* 88, nos. 4-5 (2002): 282-331.

[187] It must be ancestrd that, as with all rigid sectarian boundaries, lived Buddhism is often more fluid than these ideal categories. Although commonly classified as a ‘Pure Land practice’ in Japan, the chanting of Amitābha’s name has been practiced by adherents of Japanese Shingon and Tendai for centuries. See Hendrik Hendrik van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban: With a Translation of His Gorin Kuji Myō Himitsushaku* (PhD diss, Leiden University, 1998), 156-158.

[188] See Sharf, “On Pure Land Buddhism and Ch’an/Pure Land Syncretism in Medieval China.”

to chastise the monks of Kaiyuan Temple—the head temple of Wuguang's Chan lineage—for their engaging in this practice.[189]

Interestingly, Wuguang notes both the rigid sectarian demarcations as well as the negative attitude of Japanese Zen thinkers towards the presence of Amitābha chanting in Chinese Chan in the following passage:

> Regular Buddhists, such as Japanese Zen devotees are not allowed to recite Amitābha's name. Reciting Amitābha's name is prohibited in Zen halls. Why? They say that it will defile the Buddha hall and people who practice this recitation must wash their bodies thrice. Is Amitābha a defilement? Amitābha is a pure teaching lord, how can you say he is a defilement? It is not the Buddha that defiles, it is the heart of man that defiles. Every religion has its head mountain, Shingon, Zen, Amitābha chanters, Pure Land, etc. Why do they have their head mountains? Because they fear that another sect will take their followers. This is why the idea of practicing to go to the Western Paradise exists. Without which, would one go to hell? This is not the meaning of practices aimed at going to the Western Paradise. Japanese Shingon also has its 'mountainism' because they fear that other denominations will take their followers from them. This is wrong.[190]

According to Wuguang here, what lies at the heart of the Japanese Zen castigation of Pure Land practices is what is referred to as 'mountainism' 山頭主義. This term evokes the image of a mountain to refer to a sect's 'head temple' 本山 (literally 'root mountain'). Head temples function as the seats of Buddhist sectarian affiliation. Mountainism is not a purely Japanese phenomenon, but one that describes how the average Buddhist sect in East Asia cares "about only its own benefits, shows concern only for its own development, and values only its own

[189] See Wang, "Gushan," 237.

[190] Wuguang, *Amituo mi shi* 阿彌陀祕釋 [(Commentary to Kakuban's) Esoteric Explanation of Amitābha], 1998. Online: http://www.china2551.org/Article/tmwh/tmzl/200912/10395.html (accessed Jan. 16, 2016), Original text: "普通信佛的人，如日本禪宗的信徒是不可念佛，禪宗的佛堂是不可念阿彌陀佛，為什麼呢？ 他們認為念佛會令佛堂污穢，念佛的人需用大水洗身三遍。阿彌陀佛是不是這般污穢呢？阿彌陀佛是清淨教主，為何說是污穢呢？並不是佛污穢，是人的心污穢。山頭主義宗教有個別的山頭，有真言宗、禪宗、念佛宗、淨土宗等山頭。為什麼有山頭呢？因為怕別派搶走自派的信徒，故此有教修去西方淨土的觀念，是否信這便可不用去地獄呢？修西方淨土並不是這個意思。日本的真言宗也有山頭主義，也是怕別派搶走自家的信徒，這是不對的。"

leadership."[191] It is this sectarian competition that Wuguang blames for the Japanese attempts to eradicate the recitation of Amitābha's name from Taiwanese Chan practice.

Through an interesting doctrinal twist, the Japanese efforts to decontaminate Zen from Amitābha chanting were also rooted in disenchantment. The sectarian distinction demarcated by chanting Amitābha's name is justified along the 'self-power/other-power' 自力他力 dichotomy. These two categories have been well established since the fifth century in China, and came to be used in Japan as means to justify sectarian borders.[192] Briefly, the 'power' 力 taxonomized is soteriological and relates to whether a practitioner can achieve salvation through his own meritorious efforts or must rely on a form of grace of a buddha. Denominations that place a greater emphasis on other-power perform practices intended to initiate a graceful response from a deity. Those that emphasize self-power concentrate their efforts on accumulating merit and internal cultivation. The practice of chanting Amitābha's name is often categorized as the former while Chan/Zen meditation is categorized as the latter. Although seemingly unrelated, Meiji-era Zen admonishments of the inclusion of Pure Land practices were connected to the eradication of superstition. This can be seen in an article written by Marui that was published in the SSBJ in 1926:

> Daoism holds a particular power that controls the religion of the Taiwanese people, but this Daoism can be categorized into two sects: southern and northern. The northern head temple is in Beijing and is called Quanzhen Daoism which relies on self-power…In contrast is the southern sect which focuses on fortune telling and relies on apotropaic technology based on other-power aimed at achieving longevity. Because of this, they are extremely superstitious.[193]

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[191] Lu, "The Performance Practice of Buddhist *Baiqi*," 245-246.

[192] James L. Ford, "Jokei and the Rhetoric of 'Other-Power' and 'Easy Practice' in Medieval Japanese Buddhism," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29, no. 1-2 (2002): 68.

[193] Marui Keijirō, "*Shūkyō-teki yori mitaru Taiwan no minzoku-sei ni tsuite* 宗教的より見たる臺灣の民族性に就て [Concerning a Religious Perspective on the Nature of the Taiwanese]," *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 4, no. 6 (1926): 2-4. Original text: "斯の如く道教は臺灣人の信仰を支配する大勢力を持ってゐるが、此の道教には南北の二派がある。北派の本山は北京にあって全真教と呼び、謂はゞ自力主義の方で…之に對する

The bifurcation Marui presents here—although not explicitly stated—is between the Quanzhen sect of Daoism 全真道 and an amalgamation of Zhaijiao, Daoism and Chinese folk religious groups. These latter, southern groups would have in fact been closer to the faith of the majority of Taiwanese practitioners as their ancestry stemmed from southern, rather than northern, China. The Quanzhen sect is one of the most successful Daoist sects in China whose head temple in Beijing that Marui references is the White Cloud Monastery 白雲觀 that was founded in the Tang Dynasty. Although the tenets of Quanzhen do not greatly differ from other forms of Daoism,[194] it is popularly perceived as a more modern form of Daoism due to intentional modernization efforts aimed at saving it from the category of 'superstition.'[195] Marui's perception of Quanzhen Daoism as a modern form of Daoism in contrast to "extremely superstitious" Fujian and Taiwanese religion was undoubtedly rooted in these Quanzhen modernization efforts.

More importantly, this passage shows us that Marui wielded the self/other-power binary to determine whether a religious tradition should be placed into the category of 'religion' or 'superstition' within the secular-religious-superstitious trinary. Furthermore, this exact distinction is also found in Marui's earlier work that he wrote after conducting his investigation into Taiwanese religion. There, he draws exactly the same distinction between northern

南派の方は, 命を主とする他力主義の方で、符呪科教によって壽福を求める事を目的とし、随って非常に迷信的である。"

[194] Vincent Goossaert, "Quanzhen" in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[195] David A. Palmer and Xun Liu, "Introduction: The Daoist Encounter with Modernity", in *Daoism in the Twentieth Century: Between Eternity and Modernity*, eds. David A. Palmer et al., foreword by Kristofer Schipper, New perspectives on Chinese culture and society, 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012), 10. This perception, which has also been shared by Western scholars, has been questioned in Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 19.

Quanzhen Daoism and southern miscellaneous Daoism.[196] He additionally groups another major school of Daoism, the way of the Celestial Masters 天師道,[197] alongside southern miscellaneous and Taiwanese Daoism as 'superstitious' due to their reliance on 'other-power.'[198] This shows that this sectarian distinction was central to Marui's understanding of 'superstition.' As Marui was a graduate of Komazawa University—the same university where the Pure Land critic Nukariya taught—we see that this distinction was one present within Zen intellectual circles during the twentieth century. Thus, from a Meiji-era, Zen modernist vantage point, Pure Land was considered a superstitious form of Buddhism as it relied on other-power. This is a facet of the anti-superstition campaigns that, as far as I am aware, has escaped scholarly notice until now. This thus adds another level to our understanding of the Meiji Buddhist application of 'superstition,' the desire to create a 'pure' Zen Buddhism and the attacks on Taiwanese religion.

Although this awareness of the Japanese applying this dichotomy of self/other-power to Taiwanese religion may be news, Michael Pye has pointed out that this dichotomy was used to articulate a disenchanting hermeneutic in Meiji-era Japan. Pye demonstrated that self/other-power rhetoric was employed by Japanese Zen Buddhists during the Meiji period to demonstrate their sect's being in harmony with modernity due to its reliance on self, rather than other-power.[199] In Weberian terms, this can be understood as an example of the rejection of 'mysterious incalculable forces' (*geheimnisvollen unberechenbaren Mächte*), those force being powers that have an ontological existence outside of one's self. As I will demonstrate in the remaining sections of this dissertation, the use of the self/other-power dichotomy to distinguish

[196] Marui, *Taiwan shūkyō chōsa hōkokusho*, 13.
[197] We will return to this form of Daoism in the next chapter.
[198] Marui, *Taiwan shūkyō chōsa hōkokusho*, 200.
[199] Pye, "Rationality, Ritual and Life-Shaping Decisions in Modern Japan," 6.

'religion' from 'superstition' found in Meiji-era Zen discourse came to be a central facet of Wuguang's sophistication of magic.

The efforts of the SSBA embody the Japanese efforts to disenchant Taiwanese religion through pedagogy. The modernization through reeducation that typified the Cooperation and Development stage of Japanese colonial attitudes towards Taiwanese religion was not limited to the religious sphere. The number of Taiwanese—both Buddhist and non-Buddhist—that traveled to Japan greatly increased during this time. In 1915 there were around 300 Taiwanese studying in Japan, a number that grew to 2,400 by 1922.[200] The increased accessibility of Western-modeled education not only created the 'Taiwanese Buddhist Elites,' but a whole new class of modernized, Taiwanese literati. This new class of literati was active in attempting to secularize the *saṃgha* and stamp out folk religion. The monk Jinglai 景來 (Secular name Zeng Puxin 曾普信; 1902-1977)—who was a Kaiyuan lineage monk like Yanjing and Wuguang—was asked by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office to conduct an investigation into Taiwanese religion similar to that of Marui. His results were published in a volume entitled *Taiwanese Religions and Undesirable Superstitious Customs* 臺灣宗教と迷信陋習 in 1938.[201] Another Taiwanese monk from the Kaiyuan lineage to join these efforts was Zhengfeng 證峰 (secular name Lin Qiuwu 林秋梧, 1903-1934). From 1929-1931, Zhengfeng launched a campaign to abolish the *Ullambana* ceremony held during Ghost Month 鬼月.[202] His reasoning was that, despite its Buddhist origins, the *Ullambana* had been contaminated by folk religion and was therefore superstitious. Both

[200] Xiaokun Song, "Between Civic and Ethnic: The Transformation of Taiwanese Nationalist Ideologies 1895-2000" (PhD diss,University of Burssles, 2009), 90.

[201] Zeng Jinglai, *Taiwan shūkyō to meishin rōshū* 臺灣宗教と迷信陋習 [Taiwanese Religions and Undesirable Superstitious] (Taihoku [Taipei]: Taiwan shūkyō kenkyūkai, 1938).

[202] The *Ullambana* is discussed at greater length in chapter 5.

Zhengfang and Jinglai were greatly influenced by Nukariya.[203] As their efforts crossed over into the final and most brutal stage of Japan's anti-superstition campaign in Taiwan, let us now look at the Kōminka period.

Kōminka (1937-1945)

1931 marked the beginning of what is referred to by some Japanese specialists as the 'Fifteen Years' War' 十五年戦争.[204] This war includes the Manchurian Incident (1931), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and Japan's involvement in World War II. In light of renewed armed conflict on multiple fronts, Japan began to implement a number of widespread Japanization campaigns throughout its territories that had administrative offices. In its colonial enterprise, Japan had overextended herself.[205] With the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japan was in dire need of manpower for its war effort and its colonies offered an untapped and plentiful source. However, in order to enlist its colonial citizens in the military, their loyalty needed to be believable. Because of this, the Japanese authorities felt a pressing need to ensure the 'Japaneseness' of their colonial subjects. These circumstances bore the Kōminka Movement 皇民化運動. Kōminka, which literally means 'transformation into imperial citizens,' consisted of four elements: the adoption of Japanese surnames, military conscription, the National Language Movement[206] (NLM) 國語運動 and the Temple Reorganization Campaign (TRC) 寺

[203] Wang, "Gushan," 238-239.

[204] This term was coined in 1956 by the Japanese historian, philosopher and peace activist, Tsurumi Shunsuke 鶴見俊輔 (1922-2015). See Philip A. Seaton, *Japan's Contested War Memories: The 'Memory Rifts' in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 40. For a lengthier discussion of this term and its implications see Kisaka Jun'ichirō, "Recent Japanese Research on the Second World War," in *Historical Studies in Japan (VII): 1983-1987*, ed. National Committee of Japanese Historians (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 246-251.

[205] Wanyau Chou, "The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations," in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, eds. Peter Duus et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 40.

[206] The NLM represents an attempt by the Japanese colonial authorities to ensure that their Taiwanese subjects—the majority of whom whose native language was Taiwanese—became fluent in Japanese. Although a number of schools aimed at instructing the Taiwanese in Japanese had been functioning on the island for some time,

廟整理運動. The National Language Movement was an attempt to stamp out the use of languages other than Japanese. It started one year before the TRC, which was an effort to eradicate Zhaijiao and Taiwanese folk religion. Thus, this period was a time when the Japanese authorities were performing collective elinguation on the Taiwanese mother tongue while simultaneously committing mass deicide upon the seemingly deaf gods formerly prayed to by the recently silenced. Of these three aspects of the Kōminka movement, it is the TRC that bears the greatest relevance to this study.

As noted, the Kōminka movement was when the Japanese re-education of Taiwanese religious devotees took on a much more sinister character. Those who had not gotten on board the path to Japanimation/modernization of their own accord by shedding their 'superstitious' religious affiliations by this point were rounded up and thrown on. It is no coincidence that the calls for a 'Taiwanese Buddhist Revival' were vented during the height of the Kōminka in 1935 and 1936, respectively the last year prior to and the first year of the TRC. The fact that the elimination of superstition was at the heart of the Kōminka is explicitly stated in the following passage, written by an anonymous Japanese author, which was published in the SSBJ:

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very few Taiwanese chose to enroll their children at first. This was due to linguistic attachment related to their ethnic identity and the fact that there was already a school system based on that of imperial China in place. This changed between 1897-1898 when the colonial authorities instituted their own elementary school system and passed a law requiring all Taiwanese run schools to include Japanese language instruction. In an attempt to wipe out this bilingualism and this bi-cultural identity the Japanese authorities began actively suppressing the use of Taiwanese. The first steps were taken in 1937 when the government removed all Chinese lessons from the classroom and asked all bilingual newspapers to discontinue using Chinese. If students were caught speaking Taiwanese in school they faced the possibility of being flogged. The Japanese also instituted a 'National Language Family' 國語家庭 program whereby families who could prove only Japanese was spoken in their homes were awarded a plaque to hang outside their house. These families were also allowed to send their children to schools whose student bodies were predominantly Japanese children, which had more funding and therefore better facilities. Although this did little to wipe out the use of Taiwanese, by 1941 fifty-seven percent of Taiwanese understood Japanese. See Miyawaki Hiroyuki, "Colonial Language Policies and Their Effects" (paper presented at the "World Congress on language Policies," Barcelona, Apr. 17, 2002); Fuji Shōzō, "The Formation of Taiwanese Identity and the Cultural Policy of Various Outside Regimes," in *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, ed. Liao Ping-Hui et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 67.

> From Japan's acquisition of Taiwan…it can still be observed that the daily lives of the populace are filled with strange superstitions and evil customs that did not arise overnight. Thus, the goal of the Kōminka to thoroughly transform the lives and eradicate the superstitions and evil customs [of the Taiwanese people] should begin by criticizing the hotbed of folk beliefs.[207]

This article, which was the foreword to one of the SSBJ's issues, tells us in definitive terms that the eradication of 'superstition' was at the heart of the Kōminka. As Japanization was synonymous with modernization, this is unsurprising.

The TRC, like the Kōminka movement of which it was a facet, was aimed at cleansing the Taiwanese population of folk religion and non-orthodox Buddhism which it saw as superstitious, backwards and inherently Chinese, or more correctly, *not* Japanese. In an effort to wean the Han Taiwanese from their Chinese folk customs, temples were demolished and their religious images burned: a process called 'sending all of the gods to Heaven' 諸神昇天.[208] Although initiated by the Japanese themselves, Taiwanese were encouraged to burn their own religious icons in order to "send them to a better place," and in their stead worship Shintō *kami*.[209] As a result, the number of native Taiwanese temples was reduced by a third during the mere three years that the TRC lasted (1936-1939),[210] which was in direct contradistinction to the doubling of Shintō shrines in Taiwan during this time.[211]

Although the TRC was the most drastic and brutal aspect of the Kōminka movement and Japan's attempt to modernize Taiwan, its negative effects were not shared equally among the

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[207] NA, [Untitled Foreword], *South Seas Buddhist Journal* 16, no. 12 (1838), 1. Original text: "本島改隷以來…現に民衆生活の色彩には猶ほ多分に迷信陋習の含まれてゐるのを見ることが出來ゐ。而も之に對する處置は一朝一夕に爲し得るものでない。されば皇民化の徹底を目標とする生活改善、迷信、陋習の打破には先づ其の温床たる民間信仰の再検討から始まるべきである。"

[208] C. Jones, "Religion in Taiwan at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period," 25; Lee "Shadow of the Colonial Power," 137.

[209] Cheng-Tian Kuo *Religion and Democracy in Taiwan* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2008), 64.

[210] Chou, "The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea," 46.

[211] Ibid, 45.

different religious traditions in Taiwan. In fact, monastic Buddhism was strengthened to the detriment of Zhaijiao and folk religion. This was because of the bonds formed and denominational affiliations shared between the Taiwanese Buddhists and the Sōtō and Rinzai missionaries that helped to assure it was not deemed a form of superstition. This shielded monastic Buddhism from the reorganization, a form of protection that could be extended to other religious groups were they to align themselves with one of the Five Great Taiwanese Buddhist Lineages. Many non-affiliated Zhaijiao and folk temples sought such affiliation, which was often enough to prevent being ransacked. As a result, Zhaijiao temples were eventually subsumed by orthodox Buddhism. Those that were not primarily went the way of Daoism or folk religion.[212] However, Daoism also came under fire. This suppression led to many Daoist temples being either renamed in order to appear Buddhist or being taken over by Buddhists. Daoist priests often registered themselves as Buddhist monastics in order to avoid the suppression.[213] Japanese Buddhist denominations that did not share the strong commonalities with Chinese Buddhist denominations that Zen did were unable to take advantage of preexisting orthodox Buddhist temples. This led them to become more active in their recruitment and reeducation efforts. One such example is a Shingon-sponsored missionary effort during the 1940s that brought a number of Taiwanese devotees from throughout the island to Japan where they toured important religious, political and historical sites. They were also educated on the importance of Japanese language, *sūtra* chanting and fundamental features of Shingon orthopraxy. The fact that this trip was in direct relationship to the Kōminka movement is attested to by the contents of the publication documenting this event entitled 'Draft Plan for Propagating Religion in Taiwan' 臺

[212] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 91.
[213] Kuo, *Religion and Democracy in Taiwan*, 64.

灣開教計劃案 where the term 'Kōminka' is featured prominently throughout as the goal of activities held during the trip.[214]

Section III: Republican Period (1945-present)

The Republican period—which continues today—is broken up into two eras. These are respectively characterized by tyranny and democracy. During the first era that lasted from 1945-1987, Taiwanese religion was tightly regulated. Even though the ROC's constitution ensures freedom of religion, in the words of André Laliberté, "this may not mean much."[215] Despite the fact that the leader of the Kuomintang (KMT) 國民黨 headed ROC, Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), had put an end to the early anti-superstition campaign following his initial consolidation of power,[216] the KMT was generally opposed to folk religion in both Taiwan and on the mainland because they felt that the energy and funds spent in its rituals were desperately needed for nation building.[217] As Philip Clart writes, "While remaining disdainful of the 'irrationalism' of Taiwanese folk religion, the government never suppressed it violently."[218] This stranglehold was loosened when the Taiwanese experience of enduring martial law longer than

[214] Kogi Shingon-shū 古義眞言宗, *Taiwan Kaikyō Keikaku-an* 古義眞言宗台湾開教計画案 [*Draft Plan for Propagating Religion in Taiwan*] ([Kōyasan]: Kogi Shingon-shū Kyōgakubu, 1940?).

[215] André Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organizations in Taiwan: 1989-2003 Safeguarding the Faith, Building a Pure Land, Helping the Poor* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 56.

[216] This consolidation occurred on the Chinese mainland, before the KMT's retreat to Taiwan, at the end of multiple military engagements collectively referred to as the Northern Expedition 國民革命軍北伐 (1926-1928). See Tiina H. Airaksinen, Imperialism and Nationalism as May Fourth Movement Discourses, *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 2 (2014): 1. Online: http://ojs.tsv.fi/index.php/StOrE/article/view/8809 (accessed Jan. 13, 2016) and Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organizations in Taiwan*, 31-32.

[217] Sue-Mei Wu, "Hand Puppet Theater Performance: Emergent Structures and the Resurgence of Taiwanese Identity," in *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities*, eds. Paul R. Katz et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 103.

[218] Philip Clart, "Popular and Minority Religions," in *The Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion*, vol. 1, ed. Robert Wuthnow (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2007), 126.

any other populace finally came to an end.[219] It was during the first that modernist disenchanting Buddhist figures from the mainland came to Taiwan and when Wuguang encountered the Tibetan side of the Tantric Revival. The Second Taiwanese Buddhist Revival occurred during the second period and bears little relevance to this project. For this reason, our focus is on the first period.

Mainland Modernism and the Tantric Revival Come to Taiwan

Beginning one week before New Year's Day 1946, roughly 459,928 Japanese were unceremoniously expelled from Taiwan over a four month period. They were only allowed to take 1000 Japanese Yen in cash and one backpack of daily necessities as they bid Taiwan farewell, thus leaving behind their fortunes, homes, Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples.[220] As the ROC was the internationally recognized government of China, she was given Taiwan with Japan's defeat by the Allied forces at the end of WWII. This proved beneficial for Chiang Kai-shek's forces in 1949 when they were defeated by the communists led by Mao Zedong 毛澤東 (1893-1976), for it offered them a safe haven. Between 1948 and 1949, roughly two million Chinese from the mainland came to Taiwan where they met roughly six million Han Taiwanese already living there.[221] Among the mainlanders who followed Chiang and his forces, there were a number of extremely influential Buddhist monks. As explained by Jones, "Chiang Kai-shek's retreat to Taiwan in 1949 brought a wave of mainland monks from the eastern seaboard, men who had been leaders of national stature and sought to do for Chinese Buddhism what the

[219] Tsung-Fu Chen, "The Rule of Law in Taiwan: Culture, Ideology, and Social Change," in *Understanding China's Legal System: Essays in Honor of Jerome A. Cohen*, ed. C. Stephen Hsu (Albany, NY: New York University Press, 2003), 384.

[220] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 98-99.

[221] Wei-Bin Zhang, *Taiwan's Modernization: Americanization and Modernizing Confucian Manifestations* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2003), 20.

Nationalist government was trying to do for Chinese politics: make credible claims to positions of national leadership while in exile on Taiwan."[222]

Tensions between the newcomers, 'provincially foreign people' 外省人 and the 'provincially native people' 本省人 boiled over in 1947 during an uprising called the '228 Incident'[223] 二二八事件 that resulted in a crackdown referred to as the White Terror 白色恐怖, where those suspected of supporting the uprising were executed, jailed or sent into exile.[224] This marked the beginning of Taiwan's long night of martial law. Similar to how Taiwanese religionists had sought Japanese sectarian affiliation and formed island-wide Buddhist associations in order to prove their loyalty during the post-Tapani political climate, Taiwanese Buddhist temples during the early Republican Period became affiliated with the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China (BAROC) 中國佛教協會—which had recently relocated to Taipei[225]—to avoid governmental scrutiny.[226] Reminiscent of Japanese attempts to transform Taiwanese religiosity, the BAROC tried to purify Taiwanese Buddhism of its Japanese influence, Fujian character, 'superstitious' nature and 'non-Buddhist' elements. This entailed altering the

[222] C. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 94.

[223] The 228 incident was sparked when a Taiwanese lady was hit by police while being arrested for illegally selling cigarettes. As a crowd gathered to protect the woman, police opened fire and killed one bystander. In response, provincially native people attacked police stations, government agencies and random mainlanders. The more educated Taiwanese joined these efforts by criticizing the KMT and making various demands. For more information see Craig A. Smith, "Taiwan's 228 Incident and the Politics of Placing Blame," *Past Imperfect* 14 (2008): 143-163.

[224] Mau-Kuei Chang, "On the Origins and Transformation of Taiwanese National Identity," in *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities*, eds. Paul R. Katz et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 42-43.

[225] The BAROC was founded in 1929 and was originally meant to be an agent in Taixu's modernization efforts. See Laliberté, *Politics of Buddhist Organizations in Taiwan*, 32.

[226] André Laliberté, "Mainstream Buddhist Organizations and the Kuomintang 1947-1996," in *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society*, eds. Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 161.

liturgical style of Taiwanese Buddhist worship,[227] vehemently attacking Zhaijiao,[228] and condemning 'superstitious' magical beliefs and practices.[229]

In the years following the KMT's retreat to Taiwan, masters of Chinese Buddhism were not the only ones to arrive, as there were also multiple propagators of Tibetan Buddhism. The Tibetan master most relevant to our discussion was Elder Gongga 貢噶老人 (secular name Shen Shuwen 申書文; 1903-1997).[230] Elder Gongga was a female disciple of the Karma Kagyu master Gangkar Rinpoche (Gongga Hutuketu 貢噶呼圖克圖; 1893-1957).[231] Gangkar Rinpoche was one of many Tibetan teachers who helped spread Tibetan Buddhism in China during the Tantric Revival by giving initiation to "famous officers, warlords, wealthy traders, and intellectuals."[232] Gongga studied with Gankar Rinpoche during the Tantric Revival. Gongga—who is most famous for her posthumous mummification into a golden Flesh Body Bodhisattva Relic 肉身菩薩—left China in 1958 and made her way to Taiwan, where she was instrumental in spreading Tibetan Buddhism. Originally from Beijing, she spent years in various retreats throughout Tibet and China before coming to Taiwan. Despite her influence, she did not receive full monastic

[227] Before the KMT's retreat, Buddhist services in Taiwan had mostly been conducted in Taiwanese and chanted according to what is referred to as 'Gushan tune' 鼓山音 based on the tune of Yongquan temple from where the native monastic transmission originated. The BAROC put forth efforts to change the pronunciation of the Chinese scriptural characters to Mandarin and the melody to 'Ocean tide tune' 海潮音 to which the majority of its leaders were accustomed. See Lu, "The Performance Practice of Buddhist *Baiqi*," 4. For a technical explanation of the differences between these two see Lu, 89-106.

[228] See Ibid, 79.

[229] See Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 111-115.

[230] About Elder Gongga see Fabienne Jagou, "Today's Taiwanese hagiographies of Sino-Tibetan Buddhist Masters: A Search for legitimacy," in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, eds. Yaël Bentor et al. (Israel Institute for Advanced Studies, forthcoming) and *Gongga laoren* (1903-1997): *Une nonne laïque à l'origine du développement du bouddhisme tibétain à Taiwan*, forthcoming.

[231] See Monica Esposito, "rDzogs chen in China: From Chan to "Tibetan Tantrism in Fahai Lama's (1920-1991) Footsteps," in *Images of Tibet in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, vol. 2, ed. Monica Esposito, (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2008), 476. About Gangkar Rinpoche, see Carmen Meinert, "Gangkar Rinpoché between Tibet and China: A Tibetan Lama among Ethnic Chinese in the 1930s to 1950s," in *Buddhism between China and Tibet,* ed. Matthew T. Kapstein (New York: Wisdom publications, 2009), 215-240.

[232] Bing, "The Tantric Revival and its Reception in Modern China," 409.

ordination until the age of 77 in 1980.[233] She initially set up a center in Taipei and then later opened another in Tainan, the Gongga Temple 貢嘎寺. Both are still extremely active today.

The Buddhism that Gongga propagated was unlike the disenchanted forms propagated by Japanese and Chinese Buddhist modernists. She is credited with being one of the first Buddhist masters to openly propagate Tibetan Buddhism in Tainan. This occurred in 1960 during a ten-day event that hundreds attended. All of the attendees received an introductory form of *abhiṣeka*. The contents of the transmission were considered a 'transfer of consciousness' *phowa*, which Jagou describes as "one of the most elitist among the various esoteric Buddhist teachings."[234] *Phowa* teachings are directly transmitted by one's personal teacher (*lama, guru*) and are meant to enable one to choose where he will be reborn at the moment of death.[235] *Phowa* practices are also aimed at enabling the practitioner to break the constraints of the physical body. As explained by the 14th Dalai Lama (b. 1935), "Consciousness can be trained to leave the body. In po-wa (*phowa*) meditation, it is trained to leave the body and return at will. It is this possibility of separating consciousness and body we call transformation. There are also techniques to transfer consciousness to another body during this lifetime."[236] This transfer is executed by sending the consciousness through the fontanel by performing mantra-centered rituals believed to create a small hole in the top of the skull.[237] The consciousness's targeted destination can be a beneficial

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233 See Douglas Gildow and Marcus Bingenheimer, "Buddhist Mummification in Taiwan: Two Case Studies," *Asia Major 3rd Series* 15, no. 2 (2002): 95; Fabienne Jagou, "Tibetan mummies and relics in Taiwan: Tibetan heritage or hybrid innovation?" (paper presented at "Today's Interactions between Tibetan, Taiwanese and Chinese Buddhisms Conference," Taipei Apr. 2, 2014).

234 Fabienne Jagou, "Tibetan Buddhism in the Tainan Area: A Case Study of Two Karma bKa'rgyud School Monasteries," in *Religion in Transformation in the Tainan Area*, ed. Ye Chunrong 葉春榮 (Tainan: Tainanshi zhengfu wenhua ju, 2014), 415.

235 Dan S. Yü, *The Spread of Tibetan Buddhism in China: Charisma, Money, Enlightenment*, Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 30.

236 "Dalai Lama," Video of an interview with the Dalai Lama posted to YouTube by Persephoneia on Aug. 22, 2006. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VA0n2bEnaN8 (accessed Dec. 2, 2015).

237 Margaret Gouin, *Tibetan Rituals of Death: Buddhist Funerary Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 16-17.

rebirth.[238] It can even also be performed to possess another human's body.[239] The journey that the consciousness makes in the rebirthing forms of *phowa* has been popularized in the West by various texts referred to as "The Tibetan Book of the Dead."[240] As *phowa* practices can be used as a means of spiritual possession and astral travel, it is clear that the teachings imparted by Gongga during this retreat represent a form of magic.

This event, which had over one hundred attendees, was one of the first times that Tibetan Buddhism had been publicly taught in southern Taiwan and was a key event in its early propagation.[241] The retreat took place at Zhuxi Temple and was organized by its secretary, Wuguang.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated the ways in which Japanese and Chinese modernist discourse penetrated and shaped the Taiwanese Buddhist Revival. I have also identified the sources of this penetration, Japanese Buddhist missionaries and Taixu's Nanputou Academy, as well as the anti-superstitious/anti-Chinese sentiment from which it arose. This was done in order to identify the particular modernist trope that Wuguang raised his voice against. Additionally, I have given the reader a short preview regarding Wuguang's initial encounter with esoteric Buddhism that occurred during the ten-day retreat led by Elder Gongga. Lastly, this chapter has

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[238] Anna Balikci, *Lamas, Shamans and Ancestors: Village Religion in Sikkim* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 273.

[239] Tanya Zivkovic, *Death and Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism: In-Between Bodies*, Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 74.

[240] Mei Ching Hsuan, "Pho ba Liturgy in 14th Century Tibet," *Tibet Journal* 29, no. 2 (2004): 47.

[241] Lo Wei-shu 羅娓淑, "A Study of the Development of Chongqing Temple in Tainan and its Relationship to the Development of Tibetan Buddhism in Southern Taiwan 台南重 慶寺的發展歷程與南台灣藏傳佛教發展關係研究," *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 20 (2007): 316-317.

provided us with the historico-cultural factors that produced the particular spatiotemporal context that Wuguang was born into, grew up in and became an influential Buddhist figure.

In the next chapter, which is an analytical biography of Wuguang, I demonstrate exactly how this context shaped Wuguang's life and career. Now that we thoroughly understand the contours of the Taiwanese Buddhist landscape and the modernist, disenchanting discursive context into which she was plunged, let us take a look at the life of a Buddhist figure who sought to reverse this trend. Let us now look at Wuguang.