# Networks of Faith and Profit

Between 839 and 1403 CE, there was a six-century lapse in diplomatic relations between present-day China and Japan. This hiatus in what is known as the tribute system has led to an assumption that there was little contact between the two countries at this time. Yiwen Li debunks this assumption, arguing instead that a vibrant Sino-Japanese trade network flourished in this period as Buddhist monks and merchants fostered connections across maritime East Asia. Based on a close examination of sources in multiple languages, including poems and letters, transmitted images and objects, and archaeological discoveries, Li presents a vivid and dynamic picture of the East Asian maritime world. She shows how this Buddhist trade network operated outside of the framework of the tribute system and, through novel interpretations of Buddhist records, provides a new understanding of the relationship between Buddhism and commerce.

YIWEN LI teaches history and cultural heritage at City University of Hong Kong.

#### ASIAN CONNECTIONS

Series editors

Timothy Brook, University of British Columbia Engseng Ho, Duke University Iza Hussin, University of Cambridge

Asian Connections is a major series of ambitious works that look beyond the traditional templates of area, regional or national studies to consider the transregional phenomena which have connected and influenced various parts of Asia through time. The series will focus *on* empirically grounded work exploring *circulations, connections, convergences and comparisons* within and beyond Asia. Themes of particular interest include transport and communication, mercantile networks and trade, migration, religious connections, urban history, environmental history, oceanic history, the spread of language and ideas, and political alliances. The series aims to build new ways of understanding fundamental concepts, such as modernity, pluralism or capitalism, from the experience of Asian societies. It is hoped that this conceptual framework will facilitate connections across fields of knowledge and bridge historical perspectives with contemporary concerns.

A list of books in the series can be found at the end of the volume.

## Networks of Faith and Profit

Monks, Merchants, and Exchanges between China and Japan, 839–1403 CE

YIWEN LI City University of Hong Kong







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009303088

DOI: 10.1017/9781009303132

© Yiwen Li 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023 First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Li, Yiwen, 1985- author.

Title: Networks of faith and profit : monks, merchants, and exchanges between China and Japan, 839–1403 CE / Yiwen Li, City University of Hong Kong.

Other titles: Networks of profit and faith

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Series: Asian connections | Revision of the author's thesis (doctoral)–Yale University, 2017, under the title: Networks of profit and faith : spanning the sea of Japan and the East China Sea, 838–1403. | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Contents: Introduction: Buddhist Trade Networks in East Asia – Replacing Tributary Relations: The Reciprocal Collaboration between Monks and Merchants, 839–900 – Not Only for the Dharma: Pilgrim Monks as Intermediaries between China and Japan, 900–1100 – Building a Base for Trade: The "Chinese Quarter" in Hakata, 1100–1200 – Transporting Goods and Faith: The Economic Privileges of the Religious Network, 1200–1270 – Sending Ships to China to Finance Monastery Construction: Trade between the Mongol Empire and the Japanese Archipelago, 1270–1368 – Resuming Tribute Relations and the Aftermath of the Religio commercial Network, 1368–1403.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023010171 (print) | LCCN 2023010172 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009303101 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009303088 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009303132 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: China–Commerce–Japan–History–To 1500. | Japan–Commerce–China–History–To 1500. | Buddhism–Economic aspects–China. | Buddhism–Economic aspects–Japan.

Classification: LCC HF3838.J3 L5 2023 (print) | LCC HF3838.J3 (ebook) | DDC 382.0951052-dc23/eng/20230417

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023010171

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023010172

ISBN 978-1-009-30310-1 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-30308-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For my parents, Liu Ping and Li Yuguang

#### Contents

List of Illustrations pa	ge viii
Acknowledgments	ix
Maps	xiv
1 Introduction: Buddhist Trade Networks in East Asia	1
2 Replacing Tributary Relations: The Reciprocal Collaboratio between Monks and Merchants, 839–900	n 21
3 Not Only for the Dharma: Pilgrim Monks as Intermediaries between China and Japan, 900–1100	49
4 Building a Base for Trade: The "Chinese Quarter" in Hakat 1100–1200	a, 71
5 Transporting Goods and Faith: The Economic Privileges of the Religious Network, 1200–1270	95
6 Sending Ships to China to Finance Monastery Construction: Trade between the Mongol Empire and the Japanese Archipelago, 1270–1368	128
7 Resuming Tribute Relations and the Aftermath of the Religio-commercial Network, 1368–1403	164
Bibliography	
Index	202

vii

## Illustrations

#### Figures

1	A Diamond Realm mandala directly copied from the	
	mandalas Ennin brought from China to Japan	page 23
2	Rubbing of stone brick inscription dated to 1167	72
3	Ceramic fragments with ink marks	78
4	Wuzhun Shifan's letter to Enni Ben'en, 1245	97
5	Defu's letter to Enni Ben'en, 1245	110
6	Remains of the Sinan shipwreck	138
7	Wooden slips recovered from the Sinan shipwreck	140
8	Wooden slips recovered from the Quanzhou	
	Bay shipwreck	142
9	A celadon vase on a customized stand from the	
	Kanesawa collection	151
10	A celadon vase recovered from the Sinan shipwreck	151

#### Maps

<i>page</i> xiv
XV
xvi

#### Tables

1	Basic information on the letters to the monk Yikong	page 39
2	Japanese tribute gifts and Ming return gifts	174

viii

## Acknowledgments

It was at a graduate research seminar on the Tang-Song-Yuan histories in fall 2012 that I first connected many scattered dots I had encountered in various sources and proposed to write my dissertation on the networks of monks and merchants. I talked about it with my advisor, Valerie Hansen, and her eyes lit up after hearing my very nascent ideas. Then began a ten-year journey.

I have greatly enjoyed this long journey, which led me over the turbulent waves that awe-inspiring monks and merchants rode a millennium ago, and also led me to the best teachers and friends that I could ever dream of. I am deeply indebted to Valerie for her instrumental help in accomplishing this project, but more for her lifechanging guidance in how to grow into a scholar who can meanwhile enjoy her life. Valerie has read countless drafts of this book: in my laptop, I found seven versions of the introduction chapter of my dissertation and nine versions of the introduction to this book, and Valerie has carefully read each of them, corrected my English writing, and provided her characteristically enthusiastic and insightful comments and incisive critiques, as she has done with each chapter of this book. After I graduated and moved to another continent, Valerie continuously supported me and helped me through many difficult times in my life and career. I found in my Gmail inbox 1,284 email threads with Valerie over the past ten years. The emails from Valerie subjects ranging from research advice to holiday plans and movie and novel recommendations - have been a major source of strength to me, which sustained my writing and research during the direst moments of turmoil and pandemic. I also want to thank Valerie's husband Jim and their children, Lydia, Claire, and Bret, for all the happy moments in their home.

My deep gratitude also goes to my other teachers at Yale. Fabian Drixler has been incredibly generous with his time in teaching me Japanese history and urging me to think clearly about every step of

х

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-30308-8 — Networks of Faith and Profit Yiwen Li Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

my argumentation with his thought-provoking questions and comments. I have always considered Fabian to be my strictest teacher. At the 2019 Annual Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Fabian, sitting in the front row, listened to my presentation on Japanese folding fans, and afterward he told me he was very proud. I take that moment as a milestone in my scholarly career. Peter Perdue helped me adjust to graduate studies in the United States in my first year at Yale, when Valerie was abroad. Peter has always encouraged me to think big, and his broad interests and unfathomable knowledge are still inspiring me to be more adventurous. Since my first year at Yale, Daniel Botsman has encouraged me to pursue a high level of proficiency in Japanese and to study Japanese history. Eric Greene provided me with insightful suggestions on issues relevant to Buddhism and helped me with Buddhist terms and texts. Youn-mi Kim has taught me much about art history. Francesca Trivellato and Naomi Lamoreaux have given me much constructive criticism and encouragement, and their economic history seminar in 2012 became an inspiration for Chapter 5 herein. I also want to thank Koichi Shinohara, Anne Underhill, and Denise Ho for all the helpful suggestions that I received from them; and Annping Chin and the late Jonathan Spence for hosting me for many Thanksgiving and Chinese New Year dinners at their place.

I owe much to Deng Xiaonan, my former advisor at Peking University. She inspired me to study premodern Chinese history. Without the training and support that I received from her, I would never have gotten off the ground as a historian. I am also deeply grateful to the late professor Liu Pujiang. He has always been the model of a real scholar to me.

In 2014–15, Iwai Shigeki at Kyoto University generously served as my advisor in Japan. The very first draft of Chapter 5 was written in Japanese and presented at Kyoto University, where I received much useful advice from Jōchi Takashi, Ling Peng, Miyake Kiyoshi, Murakami Ei, and Yamazaki Takeshi. Iwai sensei even carefully corrected the grammar of my Japanese writing. Enomoto Wataru and Morita Kenji welcomed me to their reading groups (and the following drinking parties and karaoke), and Seki Shūichi allowed me to join a field trip in Kyushu. Iiyama Tomoyasu generously helped me with academic and mundane issues during my trips to Tokyo. I also want to thank the many scholars and friends I met in Japan for their

#### Acknowledgments

intelligence and friendship: Fuma Susumu, Kawakami Mayuko, Kobayashi Takamichi, Mōri Eisuke, Muraoka Hitoshi, Nakamura Tsubasa, Qu Yandan, Ushine Yasuhiro, Xu Meiqi, Yamauchi Shinji, and Zhou Wen.

I am very fortunate to have met four of my lifelong friends at graduate school. Mark Baker read and edited many of my research papers and early drafts of Chapters 1 and 5. His incredible intelligence, generosity, and modesty have long been an inspiration to me. Faizah Zakaria is the sister that I never had, and she has been through every stage of graduate school and the early career of a scholar with me. Huasha Zhang and Mengxiao Wang have unconditionally supported me with their precious companionship and insightful advice on academic and practical matters. Because of my dearest friends, I have never felt academia a lonely profession.

I also want to thank my home department, the Department of Chinese and History at City University of Hong Kong. I joined the department right after my graduation, and despite the constant pressures that humanities are facing nowadays, my department has provided me with the most supportive environment for junior faculty that I could ask for. I especially thank Ching May Bo, Fan Ka Wai, and Li Hsiao-ti for their guidance and Cui Wendong, Lu Chia Hui, and Tsui Lik Hang for their friendship and unceasing encouragement. I am also grateful to other scholars in Hong Kong: Chang Wei-ling, Chen Zhiwu, Cheung Hiu Yu, Chu Ming Kin, David Lebovitz, William Guanglin Liu, John Wong, and Larence Zhang. They made Hong Kong a new academic home to me.

This book project has benefited from many valuable suggestions from many scholars at different stages and on various occasions. Thomas Conlan and Paul Smith carefully read my dissertation prospectus and helped me redefine the start and end point of my project. Tom also read my whole dissertation and provided many constructive suggestions. Richard von Glahn has been extremely generous and supportive of this project and has offered vitally important advice on many occasions. Anna Shields and Robert Hymes kindly accepted my paper (a short version of Chapters 2 and 3) for discussion at the Conference of Tang-Song Transition at Princeton in 2022, even when I was not able to attend in person. Hugh Clark, Gregory Sattler, Paul Smith, and Zhang Yunshuang provided helpful feedback on my conference paper. Robert Borgen read this book's first three chapters and

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-30308-8 — Networks of Faith and Profit Yiwen Li Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

offered insightful comments. Ari Levine, too, has provided me with constructive suggestions and much encouragement on this project. Bruce Batten has kindly allowed me to use a map he made. Denise Ho, Hyunhee Park, and Wang Jinping generously shared with me their valuable experience in publishing books. This book also has greatly benefited from the two anonymous readers invited by Cambridge University Press. The two reader reports were meticulous, thorough, and enormously helpful, and I was able to strengthen my argument in the conclusion section of each chapter and add more texture to the book because of their suggestions. Jan Fitter has helped with editing the manuscript, Mary Child contributed many editorial improvements to the draft manuscript, and Cheryl Hutty carefully copy-edited the book. And I also want to thank my book editors at CUP, Lucy Rhymer, Emily Plater, and Natasha Whelan for their very patient and professional guidance in walking me through the many steps of publishing my first book.

Many friends, colleagues, and scholars across the world have supported me in various ways - from academic advice to joyful home dinners on holidays - over the past ten years: Thanks to Emine Altuntas, An Bo, Mario Cams, Cao Jiaqi, Cheow-Thia Chan, Chang Yuan, Chen Boyi, Chen Po-hsi, Chen Shaofeng, Chen Tuo, Wonhee Cho, Yong Cho, Ding Yijue, Duan Xiaolin, Patricia Ebrey, Sarah Elfenbein, Fang Chengfeng, Rebecca Shuang Fu, Jesse Green, Gu Liwei, Huang Chunyan, Susan Shih-shan Huang, Hon Tze-ki, Hu Ke, Jiang Yong, Koh Choon Hwee, Lee Sylvia Wun Sze, Li Tang, Lin Shan, Lin Shaoyang, Ling Chao, Liu Jiang, Liu Yan, Lu Xiqi, Luo Yu, Kathi Matsuura, Michael Meng, Haruko Nakamura, Peng Jin, Aman Richard, Tansen Sen, Peter Shapinsky, Shen Dewei, Shi Ying, Jonathan Skaff, Richard Sosa, Ying Jia Tan, Bo Tao, Brian Vivier, the late Ezra Vogel, Wang Anran, Wang Guojun, Wang Huayu, Luke Waring, Jesse Watson, Wen Xin, Xie Shi, Xu Man, Xu Zhangfeng, Yang Likun, Yi Danyun, Yi Sumei, Zhang Ling, Zhang Taisu, Zhang Weizhong, Zhang Yi, Zhang Zekun, Zhao Dongmei, Zhou Jia, and Zuo Ya. I especially thank Liu Zhiwei, Wu Tao, Zhang Xiaojun, and Zhao Shiyu for their confidence in me since I was an MA student. My warmest thanks also go to the members of the Working Group "Ability and Authority" at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Dept. III: Michael Brose, Anne Gerritsen, Thomas Kelly, Ishayahu Landa, Ma Xiaolin, Elke Papelitzky, Qiu Yihao, David

#### Acknowledgments

Robinson, Morris Rossabi, Dagmar Schäfer, Sarah Schneewind, and Yang Qiao. I work on another project in that Working Group, but the lively and intensive Zoom discussions with them were the light that guided me through the most isolating moments during the pandemic.

This research project has received generous support from many institutes and foundations: the Japan Foundation Fellowship, the MacMillan Center International Dissertation Research Grants, the Prize Fellowship from the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale University, the Yale CEAS Summer Travel Grants, the Richard U. Light Fellowship, the Sumitomo Foundation Grant for Japanrelated Research, the Start-Up Grant and Strategic Research Grant from City University of Hong Kong, and Hong Kong Research Grants Council Early Career Scheme. They supported my research and writing, my Japanese language studies in Japan, and my fieldwork in China and Japan. Part of Chapter 5 has been published in the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, and I thank the publisher for allowing me to reproduce it here. I am also grateful to Ma Geyang and Jin Xionghe for their help in obtaining image permissions in Japan and South Korea.

The Mikami family in Hokuto city, Hokkaido, hosted me for my Japanese language study in the summer of 2012. Since then, they have welcomed me to visit and stay with them whenever I have been to do research in Japan. Their kindness has meant a lot to me and actually helped me to better understand the close ties that formed between China and Japan a millennium ago.

My husband Wang Yichun moved to Hong Kong with me without the slightest hesitation. He has taken care of all the mundane matters in the household so that I have been able to fully concentrate on writing. He cheers me up every day with his humor, optimism, and love, and he is my anchor to the real world. This year also marks the eighteenth year since I left my hometown of Harbin to pursue one after another degrees in history. My parents, Li Yuguang and Liu Ping, have indulged me in following my own interests with full love and firm support. On countless holidays, I could only celebrate with them via video calls, but they have never complained. To them I dedicate this book.

xiii

## Maps



xiv

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-30308-8 — Networks of Faith and Profit Yiwen Li Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Maps



Map 2 Dazaifu headquarters and Hakata. Modified from Bruce L. Batten, *Gateway to Japan*, Map 3, "Hakata and vicinity." Used with permission.

xv

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-30308-8 — Networks of Faith and Profit Yiwen Li Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



Map 3 Hakata area.