Some Remarks on Lin Chao-en (1517–1598)

(Dedicated to Professor Jaroslav Prüsek)

by Wolfgang Franke

(Hamburg)

This paper has been written for the Festschrift to be published in honour of Professor J. Prüsek, Prague, to his 65th birthday in 1971. Thus it was expected to appear before the present writers' subsequently written paper "Some Remarks on the Three-in-One-Doctrine and its Manifestations in Singapore and Malaysia" which already came out in OE 19, 1972, pp. 121—129. Due to present conditions in the CSSR the Prüsek Festschrift eventually could not be published. Therefore the earlier written paper appears only after the second one. Although the first part of this paper has been slightly modified a few overlappings are unavoidable. The reader kindly may excuse.

Lin Chao-en[1] was the founder of the Three-in-One-Doctrine, San-i chiao[2], a religious sect still very popular in Singapore and Malaysia, particularly among people originating from the former prefecture of Hsing-hua[3], between Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou in Eastern Fukien, Lin's native place. Lin Chao-en, a popular figure during his lifetime, was denounced as a heretic by the Confucian orthodoxy. Chu I-tsun[4] (1629–1109) called Lin together with his more famous contemporary Li Chih[5] (1527–1602) "the two heretics of Fukien". Quite a number of authors of the 17th century wrote biographies of Lin or mentioned him in short notices such as Kuan Chih-tao[6] (1536–1608)², Ho Ch'iao-yüan[7] (1558–1632, see below), Hsieh Chao-chih[8] (1561–1624, see below), T'an Ch'ien[9] (1594–1638)³, Huang Tsung-hsi (1610–1695, see below), and Ts'ao Jung[10] (1613–1685) ⁴. A biography of Lin is included in the Min-shu[11] of 1630 ⁵, in the Fu-chien t'ung-chih editions of 1684 and of 1737 ⁶ and copied from the earlier editions in the Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng of 1726 ⁷. The later Fu-chien t'ung-chih edition of 1829/1868, however, does not have any longer a biography of Lin; nor does the P'u-t'ien hsien-chih[12] of 1758 or its later supplements of 1879 and 1926 have one.

1 Ming chung erh i-tuan,[6] Ming shih-tsung[7] (Sources No. 3.4.8) ch. 50, 27b.
2 Chüeh-mi li-ts'e[8], sh. shang. Quoted by Sakai Tadao in his Chügoku sensho no kenkyū (Tōkyō 1960), pp. 275—276.
4 Ming-jen hsiao-chuan[14] (Ms copy) 3,84b. According to 89-Index, III, 146d.
5 Ch. 129, Sect. Wei-pu[15]. See Sources No. 8.13.4.
6 1684 ed.: Ch. 51, Sect. Hsien-shih Hsing-hua-fu[16]; 1737 ed.: Ch. 60,8a.
7 Section Shen-i tien, Fang-shih pu lieh-chuan, 288, 20a. Another reference to Lin Chao-en is made in Section Shih-tsu tien, 360,1a, quoting Ming-shan tsang (see below n. 21).

(1) 林兆恩 (2) 三一教 (3) 興化 (4) 朱彝尊
(5) 李贄 (6) 閔中子異端 (7) 明詩綜 (8) 管志道
(9) 覺迷蠡測 (10) 何喬遠 (11) 謝肇淛 (12) 談遷
(13) 棄林雜組，和集 (14) 曹溶 (15) 明人小傳 (16) 閔書
(17) 韋布 (18) 仙釋興化府 (19) 莆田
Modern studies on Lin Chao-en have been listed in the present writers previous paper and need not be enumerated again. It may be added, however, that an important source for Mano Senryū’s paper of 1962 has been Lin’s chronological biography, Lin-tzu nien-p’u, compiled by Lin’s younger cousin Lin Chao-k’o and edited by Kuo Ch’iao-t’ai and three other pupils of Lin Chao-en. It has a preface by Kuo Ch’iao-t’ai, dated 1610. According to Mano there exists but one unique copy of this nien-p’u at Hōsa bunko, Nagoya. This chronological biography seems to be distinctly different from the chronological record, Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-lu, reprinted in 1939, editions of which were found occasionally in temples of the Three-in-One-Doctrine. According to the original preface this work compiled by Lin’s followers Lu Wen-hui and Ch’en Chung-yü was completed and first published at P’u-t’ien in 1655 by Tung Shih who is also the author of the preface. The reprint has an additional preface by Ts’ai Hsüan from P’u-t’ien dated 1939. Here the author refers to the Japanese invasion of China at that time and draws attention to the patriotic deeds of Lin Chao-en when P’u-t’ien was attacked and occupied by Japanese pirates in 1561/62. Ts’ai Hsüan considers this recurrence of events as one additional reason to reprint the biographical record of Lin. This is a good example of the Chinese consciousness of history, in particular of local history. It cannot be precluded, however, that the authors of the later chronological record have used the earlier nien-p’u.

The following remarks will deal in particular with Lin’s attitude towards Confucianism and with judgements on Lin expressed by later Confucian scholars.

Lin Chao-en’s provincial countryman, Hsieh Chao-chih (1567—1624), a young man during Lin’s lifetime, was probably one of the first to denounce Lin as a heretic. His statement may be considered as typical and is therefore translated in full:

"There are now in the world a kind of people of the Vegetarian Diet and Devil Worship Sect and of the White Lotos Sect: these all are patterns coming down from the Five Pecks of Rice bands; they are everywhere, mislead the masses without end and thus bring about calamity...

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9 He had the assumed name Tzu-shen, and died in the early Shun-chih period.
10 Wu tsa tsu (Sources No. 4.3.11), ed. Chung-hua shu-chü. Shanghai 1959, pp. 235—236, and p. 237.
and disturbance. Bandits such as Fang La of the Sung period and the Red Turbans of the Yuan period all rose from these [traditions]. In recent times [insurgents] such as T'ang Sai-erh, Wang Ch'en, and the Tao-teacher Hsü were evils coming down therefrom. And moreover there are in our province Fukien the magical tricks of the doctrine of the Three Teachings which originated from Lin Chao-en of P'u-t'ien. He taught people to heal diseases by the Ken-pei method (see below) and since he had some successes disciples following him gathered together like clouds transmitting his teaching from one to another, and there are great numbers of people of our province believing therein. After Lin Chao-en's death a preaching hall was established at his place and on the 1st and the 15th day of each moon people assembled there burning incense. Later they used in addition paper strips with magic characters as talismans, and inscribed pieces of paper to be burnt in order to communicate with the spirits, exorcism and the apprehension of ghosts. Such practices were connected with the Yellow Turbans and the White Lotos too. Chao-en was the offspring of a well known family; he had a strong personality, was an able writer and was widely read in literature. After the Japanese pirates had captured P'u-t'ien skeletons of the dead were lying around in large numbers. Chao-en donated a thousand pieces of gold to bury the corpses of those having nobody to care about them amounting to ten thousand, and thereupon much noise was made about his name. Later he wrote the "Collected Treatises on the Three Teachings", instructed pupils and preached his doctrine.


13 The identity of Wang Ch'en cannot be clearly ascertained. Perhaps the author refers to the Battallion Commander of the Embroidered-uniform Guard Wang Ch'en. He was said to be a wizard, practicing magical arts and brought to trial together with the eunuch Wang Ching and nineteen other people for having oppressed the population in Southern Kiangsu. Wang Ch'en was executed in 1483. See Hsien-tsung shih-lu (Sources No. 1.1.6; ed. Taipei 1963—1968) ch. 244, 1a—b (pp. 4127—28); Kuo-chiueh (Sources No. 1.3.7), ed. Peking 1958, Vol. 3, p. 2480.


17a The identity cannot be ascertained.

18 The San-chiao hui-pien (yao-lüeh), 9 chian, is a historical chronicle from the most ancient time to the end of the Yuan Dynasty with special reference to matters concerning the Three Teachings. It was first published separately and later included in Lin's Collected Writings. See CCT 16,8b.
slipping off into heresy without being aware of it himself. In his old age he became ill and fell into a mental disorder. He did not care for water or fire and was insane for more than a year until he died. How therefore could he really have been in possession of magical arts? But the people of Fukien were deceived by him and did not understand till they died. Now, his disciples are spread over the country and the towns. Among them are worthy people not differing from literati and gentlemen. But a few wicked and degenerated fellows avail themselves of the curing of illness to their private advantage; they practice malicious banditry and cheating and there is nothing they will not do. How do they differ from heterodox magicians and witches? At the age of thirteen or fourteen I read books of the Three Teachings; but in my mind I decidedly disagreed and wrote a discussion in order to reveal their errors. By now, however, I do not remember any more. When I was older I went to Fukien and from looking at their actions I can all the more take the responsibility that what I said before was not wrong.
Besides these two (i.e. Taoism and Buddhism) other kinds such as the White Lotus, the Muslims, the Classified People, and the Doctrine of the Three Teachings in our Fukien province are all vulgar and simple without much ideas. They are the most mean of heterodoxy and it is not worthwhile arguing about them.

As a proud Confucian scholar-official Hsieh Chao-chih considers it below his dignity to argue with minor heretic schools of thought, and actually we cannot find in the above translated passages a single serious argument refuting any of Lin Chao-en’s theses or ideas. Nor could any kind of a thorough discussion of the statements in Lin’s writings be found which could give reason to condemn him as a heretic.

Another contemporary and provincial country-man of Lin Chao-en, Ho Ch’iao-yüan, seems to have appreciated Lin’s teaching from a much more positive aspect. In his biography of Lin he gives a short outline of Lin’s ideas without any adverse criticism. It is perhaps worthwhile to note that those scholar-officials who are said to have paid particular respect towards Lin (see below) are all metropolitan graduates of 1586. Ho Ch’iao-yüan too got his chin-shih degree in that year. Since metropolitan graduates of the same year used to keep close connection with one another it seems quite possible that there was a whole group of open-minded scholars having friendly inclinations towards Lin.

Half a century later, Huang Tsung-hsi in his biography of Lin, “Lin Sanchiao chuan”, written in 1669, again exhibits a critical attitude which is, however, not as strongly biased as that of Hsieh Chao-chih; yet he is rather prejudiced in his judgement.

*Lin Chao-en with the assumed name Mao-hsün and the fancy name Lung-chiang was a man of Pu-t’ien in Fukien. His grandfather Lin Fu had been Vice-Minister in the Ministry of War, his father was Lin Wan-jen. At eighteen he became a government student. He devoted himself to...
self to the study of Taoism and Buddhism and mastered their essential points. Thereupon he made known the doctrine of their amalgamation [with Confucianism]. He made Taoism and Buddhism join Confucianism and intermarry and lead us Confucianists to worship Confucius and to make him our life and soul. He found fault with Buddhism for the sitting in meditation, with Taoism for its mysterious breathing exercises, with Confucianism for its splitting into factions, and brought forward arguments to disapprove them. He neglected his status as a government student and did not attend school. When the Education Intendant\textsuperscript{24} Chu Heng\textsuperscript{25} summoned and interrogated him therefore, Lin Chao-en answered: "Yao and Shun were above, and below were Ch'ao Fu and Hsü Yu\textsuperscript{26}," Chu Heng said: "You cannot become Ch'ao Fu or Hsü Yu", but Lin Chao-en answered: "The Duke of Chou and the Duke of Shao did wait for the order of Heaven; it was not necessary that they became [what they were by force of their own actions]. But whether to become Ch'ao Fu or Hsü Yu depends on oneself. Why should one not become [Ch'ao Fu or Hsü Yu]?" Chu Heng eventually did not agree and ordered him to become a government student again and to be head-student\textsuperscript{27}, but Chao-en said to him: "I have been hiding for six years, and the school has not cancelled my registration, that means to hide an absent student in retirement. Now, I am made join the ranks of the government students and not asked to sit the examinations, that means to hide an absent retired man in the school". When officials in authority came to visit him he applied the etiquette used among equals and did not bow, considering it his responsibility to practice the custom of the school of Confucius and of Meng-tzu.

When in the late Chia-ching period the Japanese pirates came to Fukien, Chao-en drafted the "Concentrated Views on the Defence against the Japanese"\textsuperscript{28} where he said: "It is not suitable to practice a scorched

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1533. Lin Wan-jen died in 1544. A biography of the former is contained in P'u-t'ien hsien-chih\textsuperscript{19} of 1758/1879/1926, ch. 17, 53b—56a.

24 Tu-hsheh is probably the abbreviated form of t'i-tu hsueh-hsiao\textsuperscript{37}, the Surveillance Vice Commissioner (rank 4a) or Assistant Surveillance Commissioner (rank 5a) in charge of an Education Intendant Circuit. See C.O. Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty", HIAS 21, 1958, p. 54, and The Censorial System of Ming China, Stanford 1966, p. 71; T. Grimm, Erziehung und Politik im konfuzianischen China der Ming-Zeit, Hamburg 1960, pp. 44 and 85—88; ARJ VI, 416.

25 1512—1584; chin-shih of 1532. See Ming-Index I, 148. — An embellished version of the following story is included in Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-lu 11a—12a under the year Chia-ching 31, 1552.

26 Legendary eminent personalities at the time of Yao and Shun.

27 Tu-chiang: The exact meaning and the position of a tu-chiang cannot be established. It is translated according to the explanation given in DKWJ 39509.20.

The idea that everyone could become a sage equal to those of ancient times by self-cultivation is stressed in particular in the T'ai-chou school of Ming Neo-Confucianism. See Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Individualism and Humanitarianism in Late Ming Thought", Self and Society in Ming Thought (ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary), Columbia University Press 1970, in particular pp. 157—178.

28 A work of this title could not be ascertained.
earth policy, to close the city gates, to cut the grain transport, and to save expenses. All the villagers from the sea-shore to the walled towns should themselves become trainbands, and front and rear should help each other [in the case of emergency]. Then there would be no place without walls and moats, and no man who is not a government soldier. Otherwise, to assemble in an isolated city means just to get oneself caught in a difficult situation and nothing else". At that time what he said could not be put into practice, and thus a defeat was suffered. After the fighting the fields were filled with corpses, and Chao-en spent some of his family fortune to bury some ten thousand. When Keng Tingsiang was Education Intendant in Fukien he recommended him to the Court as a worthy man hiding in retirement. But there was no answer.

When he once practiced quiet-sitting he heard someone chanting the line "to play with the mist and the rosy clouds at the entrance to the Ch'ing-yang Grotto". He told his disciples of this, and someone said to him that there was a Ch'ing-yang Grotto at Mount Wu-tang. Thus he chartered a boat and set out to go there. When he had reached the Chang-hu Slope at Yen-p'ing, thunder and rain raged through the air and the solitary boat whirled around dancing on the water. After all the pill of long life had become ready and came out to bathe in the water (thereby arousing the water and a storm in the air). The following day he went ashore and there were the three characters Ch'ing-yang Grotto on the rock. Enlightened he understood and poled the boat home the same day.

Lin Chao-en relieved people of their diseases with the Ken-pei method and had many successes in its application. In addition, he had other extraordinary devices and was able to help people in the time of danger and crisis. Therefore his followers became more and more numerous. From gentry members to Buddhist and Taoist priests those registering as his pupils were not less than several thousands.

[29] This was in Chia-ching 37, 1558. See Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-ju 14a—b.

[30] 1524—1596; chin-shih of 1556. See Ming-Index I, 416—419; 89-Index III, 184a. The recommendation must have been made between 1557 and 1562 when Keng Tingsiang was a censor. According to Mano in Tôyôshi-kenkyû 12, p. 29, n. 6, the memorial in question, Kuang-hsien lu t'uán shih ch'ü i hung sheng chih shu [39], is contained in Keng's collected writings, Keng T'ien-t'ai hsien-sheng ch'üan-shu [39], ch. 9.


[33] This happened in 1585. See Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-ju, 3la—b, where the same story is reported. — The above passage has been translated by Liu Ts'un-yan in TP 53, 1967, p. 265, too; it differs in some points from the translation by the present writer. — The pill, tan, here is probably the internal pill (nei tan) to be distinguished from the external pill (wai tan) produced by alchemists. See Liu Ts'un-yan, "Taoist Self-Cultivation in Ming Thought", Sell and Society In Ming Thought, pp. 292—293.

[34] It refers back to Ken, the 52th hexagramm in the Book of Changes. This psychosomatic method of healing is dealt with by Liu Ts'un-yan in TP 53, 1967, pp. 268—275.
They were distributed all over the country and made known his doctrine. Wherever he went whole towns and single villages came to pay their respects. The authorities in charge tried to restrict this but could not stop it. When from far and near suspicion spread, the Regional Inspector Yang Ssu-chih 34 impeached him, but many of the officials at court made explanations in his favour. Thus the blocks of his books were burnt and that was all.

Eventually he was indicted again by Lin Fan 35 and the country magistrate Sun Chi-yu 36 issued a warrant to arrest him. Lin Chao-en put on the clothes of a prisoner in order to go [to the Yamen], but his pupils did not want him to go. Thereupon Lin Chao-en told them: "Today I do not consider it a disgrace to put on the clothes of a prisoner; that is just as in the past I did not consider dividing the hall into two equal sittings as being impolite [to the guest]. Do some gentlemen who have long been my followers not yet understand the meaning of the two words etiquette and social position?" Sun Chi-yu, in the end, cleared his case and declined [to arrest him].

He died in Wan-li 26 (1598) at the age of eighty-two. All his writings comprise several hundred thousand words. In Lin Chao-en's teaching Confucianism was the foundation, Taoism the entrance gate and Buddhism the highest law, but considering his achievements, the alchemical practices and the sitting in silent reflection 36a, belonged almost to an adjoining sect of the Taoist school. A man from Fukien, Hsieh Chao-chih, said Lin Chao-en became insane and died, and his pupils said too that in his late years there was something in his breast blocking it up and that he could not bring out a single word. He even did not know the names of those around him from morning to evening. That was the evil resulting from his dealings with magic drugs.

34 Assumed name Yuan-shu, chin-shih of 1574, from Hsiang-fu, Honan. See Index III, 157b; Fu-chien t'ung-chih, ed. 1868, 96,5b. This was in 1585 according to Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-lu, 33a—37a where the story is reported in great detail.

35 This was in 1587. Lin Fan is said to have been a student of the local government school, hsiang-shih, who wrongly indicted Lin Chao-en in connection with a Buddhist priest allegedly keeping poisonous insects in order to poison people. See Lin-tzu pen-hsing shih-lu, 40a.

36 Chin-shih of 1586 from Yu-yao, Chekiang. See Fu-chien t'ung-chih, 132, 11a. He was magistrate of Pu-t'ien from 1587 to 1592. See Pu-t'ien hsien-chih, 7,32b.

36a Chu-shen, is a general expression for "sitting without speaking" or "sitting in silent reflection". See DKWJ 1811 . . 196. It has to be distinguished from ch'ing-tso, "quiet-sitting", a practice of Buddhist origin adopted by Sung and Ming Neo-Confucians as a method for self-cultivation, mentioned earlier in this text. See Jen Yu-wen, "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", Self and Society In Ming Thought, in particular pp. 78—81. This is different again from the Buddhist term tso-ch'an, "sitting in meditation", mentioned earlier in this text too. See DKWJ 4931 . . 117.
At one time eminent people such as Yüan Tsung-tao, Hsiao Yün-chü, Wang T'u, and Wu Ying-pin, called him teacher and themselves his pupils. Tsou Yüan-piao stressed that Lin Chao-en's teaching was right and to those arguing [that it was heretic] he said: "The teaching follows peoples' opinion; what reason is there for such forceful arguing?" And Yüan Huang said: "When I studied the Classics in my early years, there were many passages I could not understand. But each time I looked up the collected writings of Lin Chao-en everything became at once perfectly clear". Very strong, indeed, were these gentlemen's preferences for the extraordinary.

Recently, Ch'eng Yün-chang made known Lin Chao-en's doctrine in the region south of the lower Yang-tzu in Kiangsu, Anhui, and Chekiang, talking in the first and fourth section on Buddhism and in the second and third on Taoism, blending the whole with two sections where he talks on Confucianism. Chu Fang-tan, then, liked to talk on bad and good luck. They adorned Lin Chao-en's excesses and obliterated him in order to become famous themselves. I was concerned that those misled by Ch'eng's and Chu's words would not know their point of origin, and therefore I wrote the Biography of Lin San-chiao.

My opinion is as follows: If we look at the performance of Lin Chao-en it was not a mere trifle. If, however, after Chou Tun-i and the Ch'eng brothers someone wanted to set up his own interpretation [of the Confucian classics] he could not but become a heretic. Lin Chao-en took the doctrine of Taoism and Buddhism as the foundation, but was afraid people might consider him a heretic and therefore he amalgamated them.
We learn from this biography by Huang Tsung-hsi some particular features of Lin Chao-en's life throwing some light on his personal character. But the author gives only a rather broad outline of Lin's thought as expressed in his writings. Huang acknowledges that Lin was an unusual personality and quite popular among outstanding scholars of his time and he seems not to be entirely unimpressed by the figure of Lin. His comments on Lin are definitely much more substantial and penetrating than those made by Hsieh Chao-chih. Huang was one of the most universal and most broad-minded scholars of China's intellectual history. But he lived about a century after Lin; he had experienced the invasion by the foreign Manchus and the downfall of the Ming, and alarmed by this débacle he was anxious to find out the reasons leading thereto. He took thus a very critical attitude towards the intellectual development of the second half of the Ming period where he tried to find out the roots of the Ming catastrophe. This attitude may perhaps explain why Huang rejects Lin's interpretation of the Confucian Classics and his ideas on the amalgamation of the Three Teachings in such a definite way. Rather revealing is perhaps Huang's remark that later followers "adorned Lin Chao-en's excesses and obliterated him in order to become famous themselves". The
impact of some aspects of Lin's teachings in a distorted way on a large number of people was considered most objectionable even by such outstanding scholars as Huang. But Huang distinguishes clearly between Lin's original thought and what others have made out of them, and he even makes this distinction the main task of writing the biography.

Sakai Tadao has pointed out already that the adverse criticism of Lin as heretic was probably less due to his own ideas expressed in his writings, than for the sectarian religious community of the Three-in-one Doctrine which grew out of the teachings of Lin and of his pupils. During the late part of the Ming period — and perhaps also at other periods of Chinese history neither the government nor the body of scholar-officials representing Confucian orthodoxy seemed to have cared much for unorthodox thoughts expressed in writing only without getting wide publicity. Even such ideas as Lin's of the equality of all human beings which did not conform with official Imperial Confucianism were tolerated as long as no effort was made to put such ideas into practice. But the government and established scholarship became apprehensive as soon as heretic thoughts took shape in the form of large assemblies, of public gatherings, and of sectarian communities. The teachings of men such as Ho Hsin-yin\textsuperscript{[66]}, 1517—1579\textsuperscript{[67]}, and Li Chih (see above) spread over the whole of China and attracted followers from all over the country. Thus the government took action against them.

The compilers of the Imperial Catalogue frequently did not care to substantiate their adverse criticism of a certain work, and apparently in many cases they merely laid down a conventional judgement — or prejudice — against a certain author when discussing his writings. Thus the note on Lin's collected writings, Lin-tzu ch'u-an-ch'i\textsuperscript{[48]}, is most superficial in the condemnation of Lin quoting mainly some of Hsieh Chao-chih's statements. Nevertheless the forty ch'üan edition of Lin's writings — with the title mentioned or merely Lin-tzu — was not prohibited. Copies of this or other Ming editions are extant in various libraries in China, Japan, Taiwan, and America\textsuperscript{[49]}. Another edition, however, San-chiao cheng-tsung\textsuperscript{[68]}, edited in 1595—1597 by Lu Wen-hui was proscribed in whole\textsuperscript{[49]}. A copy of this work in 107 ch'üan was extant in the former rare book collection of the Peking National Library, now kept at Taipei\textsuperscript{[50]}. A Ming print of still another collection, Lin-tzu hui-
pien\textsuperscript{(72)} in 118 chüan, was owned by the same library\textsuperscript{51}. Part of — probably — another different edition of the T'ien-chi period (1621–1627), Lin-tzu lên-nei-chi tsuan-yao\textsuperscript{(73)} in 12 chüan was kept by the former Peking Jen-wen k'o-hsüeh yen-chiu-so\textsuperscript{52}. The catalogue of the Sonkeikaku Library, Tökyö, mentions a collection with the title Lin-tzu sheng-hsüeh t'ung-tsung san-chiao kuei-ju chi\textsuperscript{(74)} printed during the Lung-ch'ing period in 1570 without giving the number of chüan\textsuperscript{53}. Besides these collections, however, many of Lin's writings did circulate in separate editions. Huang Yü-chi's (1629—1691) Ch'ien-ch'ing-t'ang t'ang shu-mu mentions almost a dozen of such separate writings. It thus may be concluded that during the 17th century Lin Chao-en's writings were quite popular.

The increasing intolerance of Imperial Confucian orthodoxy in the late 17th and 18th centuries, however, lead towards an almost complete suppression of all references to Lin Chao-en and to the Three-in-one Doctrine. After the ascension of the Ch'ing dynasty Lin's writings were still widely known, and his doctrine was practiced in particular in his native province. Perhaps it is symptomatic of the intellectual climate prevalent since the 18th century that the P'ü-t'ien hsien-chih of 1758/1789/1926 neither has a biography of Lin Chao-en nor does it mention anything of the Three-in-one Doctrine or of its temples. The list of writings by people of P'ü-t'ien (I-wen-chih) does not mention a single work of Lin Chao-en, only his ancestral temple, Pu-i Lin Chao-en tz'u-t'ang\textsuperscript{(75)}, and his grave\textsuperscript{54}. Moreover he is mentioned in connection with the rebuilding of a Buddhist temple of P'ü-t'ien, Wan-an yung-fu ch'ien-ssu\textsuperscript{(76)}, in 1562 and in the biography of the Taoist adept Cho Wan-ch'un\textsuperscript{55}. Pure Taoists and Buddhists had their established place in society. Therefore famous Buddhist and Taoist temples are mentioned in all gazetteers, and all of them have in their biographical parts a section for Buddhists and Taoists. But — since the late 17th century at least — there was no place for Confucians such as Lin Chao-en, who were at odds with the orthodoxy of Imperial Confucianism, nor for any teaching challenging the official orthodox interpretation of Confucianism by a liberal approach such as the Three-in-one Doctrine. Gentry and ruling bureaucracy must have considered it a disgrace to have the teachings of an independent (= heretic) thinker flourishing within their district. And they were therefore anxious to suppress all information on and references to such things in their provincial and county gazetteers. The spread of the Three-in-one Doctrine to Southeast Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries, however, shows the persistance of this tradition in spite of official repression.

\textsuperscript{51} Loc. cit. 3, 23a.
\textsuperscript{52} Pei-ch'ing jen-wen k'o-hsüeh yen-chiu-so ts'ang-shu mu-lu, Peking 1938, Tzu-pu, 37b.
\textsuperscript{53} Sonkeikaku bunko kanseki bunroku, 2 vols., Tökyö 1934—1935, p. 797.
\textsuperscript{54} Ch. 3, 43a, and ch. 4, 27a.
\textsuperscript{55} Ch. 4, 32b, and ch. 32, 6a.

[72] 林子會編 [73] 林子分内集纂要 [74] 林子聖學統宗三教歸儒集
[75] 布衣林兆恩祠堂 [76] 萬安永福禱寺
Abbreviations:

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<td>ARJ</td>
<td>Asia rekishi jiten, 10 vols, Heibonsha, Tōkyō 1959—1962</td>
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<td>CCT</td>
<td>Ch’ien-ch’ing-t’ang shu-mu, by Huang Yü-chi, reduced size reprint of the Shih-yüan ts’ung-shu edition</td>
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<tr>
<td>DKWJ</td>
<td>Dai Kanwa jiten by Morohashi Tetsuji, 13 vols., Taishūkan shoten, Tōkyō 1960</td>
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