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Cover illustration Detail from Chinese *Anti-opium poster*, c. 1895. “*Quan shi jieshi dayan wen*” [Essay Urging the World to Give Up Opium]



West Lake from Wang Villa (Wang Zhuang), Lois Conner, 2008

The editor and editorial board of *East Asian History* would like to acknowledge the contribution made to the journal by Professor Geremie Barmé.

Geremie has been editor of *East Asian History* since it began under this title in 1991, and was editor of its predecessor *Papers on Far Eastern History* from 1989. In this period, he has sustained and promoted the importance of the journal as a forum for rigorous and original historical scholarship on China, Korea and Japan. Encouraging and exacting in equal measures, he has been generous to scholars taking their first steps in learned publication. During Geremie's tenure, *East Asian History* has become a major journal in the field, noted for its consistently high standards of scholarship and the care taken in its production. His editorship stands as an example and a challenge to the new editorial team.

Sometimes words flow easily
As soon as he grasps the brush;
Sometimes he sits vacantly,
Nibbling at it.

Lu Ji, from *Literature: A Rhapsody*

Translated by Achilles Fang, "Rhymeprose on Literature: The Wen-Fu of Lu Chi (A.D. 261–303)", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14, 3/4 (Dec., 1951): 527–66, p.534

或操觚以率爾
或含毫而邈然
陸機文賦

The editor and editorial board of *East Asian History* would like to acknowledge the contribution made to the journal by Marion Weeks.

Marion joined what was then the Department of Far Eastern History in 1977. From that time, she was involved in various capacities with, first, *Papers on Far Eastern History*, and then *East Asian History*, for which she served as business manager from its inception. By the time of her retirement from the Division of Pacific and Asian History in November 2007, Marion had become the heart and soul of the journal.

Over the years she worked with many editors—Andrew Fraser, John Fincher, Sydney Crawcour, Ian McComas Taylor, Jennifer Holmgren, Geremie Barmé, Benjamin Penny—as well as numerous associate editors, copy editors, printers and, of course, countless authors and manuscript readers. All owe her an immense debt of gratitude.

East Asian History would certainly not have been the same without Marion—at times, without her, *East Asian History* may not have been at all.



Imperial Summer Retreat, Chengde, *Lois Conner*, 2000

MUJAKU DŌCHŪ (1653–1744) AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINESE BUDDHIST SCHOLARSHIP

史 John Jorgensen

Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 can be considered one of the founders of Zengaku 禅学, the systematic scholarly research on Zen history, institutions, practices, regulations, literature and language. Zengaku appeared in name from around the 1890s as Hara Tanzan 原坦山 (1819–92), Aizawa Ekai 相澤恵海 and Okada Gihō 岡田宜法 all had books published in the period 1907 to 1909 with Zengaku in the title.¹ However, it had its roots primarily in Mujaku, and possibly in Dokuan Genkō 獨菴玄光 (1630–98) and Ban'an Eishū 萬安英種 (1591–1654), and in several slightly later Zen scholar-monks such as Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683–1769) and Tōrei Enji 東嶺圖圓慈 (1721–92).² This Meiji period development parallels the rise of Zenshishō 禅思想 or “Zen thought” which derived largely from D.T. Suzuki 鈴木大拙 (1870–1960) and Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎 (1870–1945).³ Mujaku's scholarship was crucial for the development of Zengaku, as is evident in the diffusion and publication of Mujaku's huge dictionary of Zen monastic items and offices, the *Dictionary of the Images and*

/beginning [of] doctrinal studies (*shūgaku*) in Sōtō Zen, and it is his framework that has continued ... to define the field,” and p.274, where he states that Zuihō's references were in a nearly modern style. But Mujaku had already been doing this. For Enji, and, in passing, Genkō, see Michel Mohr, “Imagining Indian Zen: Tōrei's Commentary on the *Ta-mo-to-lo ch'an ching* and the Rediscovery of Early Meditation Techniques during the Tokugawa Era,” in Heine and Wright, *Zen Classics*, pp.215–16. For Genkō, see also Ibuki Atsushi, *Zen no rekishi* [A History of Zen] (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p.262; Helen J. Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp.34–5; Okada Gihō, *Nihon Zensekishiron: Sōtō Zen ben* [Historical Notes on Japanese Zen Texts: Sōtō Zen] (Tokyo: Ida shoten, 1943), Vol.1, pp.296–97, 300–2, 319. For Eishū, see Sakai Tokugen, et al., “Kaidai” [Explanation of Title] in Komazawa Daigaku Bungakubu Kokubungaku Kenkyūshitsu, comp., *Zenrin ruijū satsuyōshō* [Selected Japanese Commentaries on the Categorised Phrases of the Zen Monasteries] Zenmon shōmono sōkan (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1975), Vol.6, pp.506–7, 509, and Okada, *Nihon Zenseki shiron*, Vol.1, pp.236–51.

³ See Mohr, “Imagining Indian Zen,” p.216.

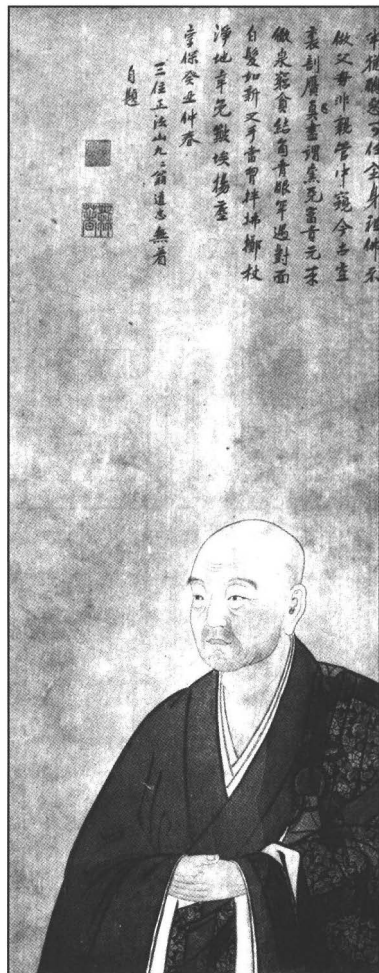
This research has been conducted with the assistance of an Australian Research Council Discovery Grant.

¹ John Jorgensen, “Zen Scholarship: Mujaku Dōchū and His Contemporaries,” *Zenbunka kenkyūsho kiyō* [Annual Report of the Institute for Zen Studies] 27 (December 2004): 1–60, at pp.43–5; for Hara, see Tamura Kōyū, *Kindai Nihon no Bukkyōshatachi* [The Buddhists of Early Modern Japan] (Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppansha, 2005), pp.231–35.

² For Zuihō, see David E. Riggs, “Meditation for Laymen and Laywomen: The *Buddha Samādhi* (*jūyū zanmai*) of Menzan Zuihō,” in *Zen Classics: Formative Texts in the History of Zen Buddhism*, eds Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.248, 251–52; and David E. Riggs, “The Life of Menzan Zuihō, Founder of Dōgen Zen,” *Japan Review* 16 (2004): 67–100, at pp.71, 89, and 90, especially a quote of a remark by Kagamishima that “Menzan's work is the

Figure 1

Portrait of Mujaku reproduced in Zenrin shokisen, Baiyō shoten: Kyoto, 1909, frontispiece



Implements of Zen Monasteries (Zenrin shōkisen 禅林象器箋), which was first drafted in 1715 and was continuously augmented until 1741,⁴ and his lexicon of technical Zen vocabulary used especially in *kōan* 公案, the *Dictionary of Entangling Words* (Kattōgosen 葛藤語箋). Aizawa Ekai, in his 1907 *Speculum on the Essentials of Zen Studies* (Zengaku yōkan 禅學要鑑), a dictionary and handbook of Zen, used *Images and Implements* and *Entangling Words* extensively. Aizawa stated that he knew of around twelve copies in manuscript of *Images and Implements* kept at various monasteries.⁵ This reference possibly inspired the 1909 publication of *Images and Implements* in movable type by the venerable Buddhist publishing house, Baiyō Shoin 貝葉書院 in Kyoto, together with an appended biography of Mujaku. This was republished in 1963 by Seishin shobō 精神書房 of Tokyo, incorporating the supplements by Kōhō Tōshun 高峰東暎 (c. 1714–79?).⁶ A facsimile of Mujaku's manuscript of *Images and Implements* and *Entangling Words* was published in 1979 by Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 with Chūbun shuppansha 中文出版社, Kyoto. Finally, in 1997, Fo-kuang shan 佛光山 in Kao-hsiung 高雄 published part of *Images and Implements* text together with a modern Chinese translation and notes, claiming it to be a dictionary of the technical language of Ch'an regulations and an "encyclopaedia of the Ch'an monastic system".⁷ *Entangling Words* also was used by the scholars of Komazawa University in the drafting of their three-volume *Great Dictionary of Zen Studies* (Zengaku daijiten 禅学大辞典), as can be seen in the 1959 mimeograph copy and index of *Entangling Words* produced by the same dictionary compilation team.⁸ The *Great Dictionary* also used Mujaku's collated edition of the *Diagrams of Zen Monasteries* (Zenranzu 禅藍圖), the plans and illustrations of the Wu-shan 五山 (Jap. *Gozan*) monasteries.⁹

Moreover, Mujaku was responsible for producing the standard editions of a number of important Zen texts, such as the *Records of Seeing the Plum* (Kentōroku 見桃録), which was incorporated into the *Revised Tripiṭaka of the Taishō Era* (Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經) of 1924–34,¹⁰ and the contents catalogue for the *Essentials of the Words of Past Venerables* (Ch. Ku-tsun shu-yü-yao 古尊宿語要) and its continuation, which were published in the *Continued Tripiṭaka of Japan* (Dai Nihon zoku

⁴ Iida Rigyō, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū* [The Scholar-Saint Mujaku Dōchū] (Kyoto: Zenbunka Kenkyūsho, 1943, reprint 1976), pp.165–66.

⁵ See Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," p.44, for details.

⁶ See Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.42–3, on Tōshun's 138 supplementary notes. The dates used there were old ones that have since been revised.

⁷ Tu Hsiao-ch'in, trans., *Ch'an-lin hsiang-ch'i ch'ien* (Kao-hsiung: Fo-kuang shan, 1997), p.3.

⁸ See Komazawa Daigaku Zengaku Daijiten Hensansho, comp., *Zengaku daijiten*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1977); and Komazawa Daigaku Zenshū Jiten hensansho (1959), *Kattōgosen: Mujaku Dōchū-sen*, introduction by Shinohara Hisao, p.14.

⁹ *Zengaku daijiten*, 3: zu [diagrams], plates 10–32.

¹⁰ Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kai-kyoku, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, hereafter T plus volume number, page, register and line number); T81.412b–c for Mujaku's preface. See also Mujaku's preface to the 1695 reprint of *Gidō Osō goroku* [Recorded Sayings of Master Gidō] of Gidō Shūshin (1325–88), T80.508b–509a.

zōkyō 大日本統藏經) of 1905–12.¹¹ Mujaku's 1728 edition of the *Record of Lin-chi* (Lin-chi lu 臨濟錄), a key text of the Rinzai 臨濟 sect, has become the standard text. It was reproduced by Hirano Sōjō 平野宗淨 in 1971, and Mujaku's commentary on this text was the major influence on the translations of Yanagida Seizan and Paul Demiéville.¹²

Mujaku left 477 works, some extremely long, on subjects as diverse as popular beliefs like the *kōshin* 庚申, calendars, chrestomathies of colloquial Chinese, poetry, monastic gazetteers, text-critical editions, phonology, common-place books, catalogues, name lists of famous Japanese, as well as Zen and other Buddhist commentaries. Yanagida Seizan has described his devotion to scholarship as unrivalled in Japan, and “possibly all of Buddhist history”,¹³ and Bernard Faure wrote that “Mujaku deserves a place of choice in the portrait gallery of the precursors of the ‘scientific’ historiography of Chan/Zen”.¹⁴ In his own lifetime, Mujaku was three times the abbot of Myōshinji 妙心寺, then one of the two greatest Rinzai Zen monastic headquarters, and in 1684 he published his *Summary of the Pure Regulations [Adapted] for Small [Zen] Monasteries* (Shosōrin ryakushingi 小叢林略清規), a set of regulations and guides to ritual for smaller monasteries. The only work he published in his lifetime, it is still used today and has been republished a number of times, including in the *Taishō Tripitaka*.¹⁵ Moreover, Mujaku was the historian of Myōshinji, not only writing its *Gazetteer on the Mountain of the Correct Dharma* (Shōbōzanji 正法山誌), which was published in modern print in 1979, but also gathering together many documents of successive abbots and reorganising the monastery's financial documentation.¹⁶

Mujaku was also well known in his lifetime for his scholarship on Zen, judging from the number of requests and letters he received enquiring about his opinions on a variety of textual questions. Among his correspondents, although only once if the record is complete, was Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1642–1741), usually considered the father of modern Rinzai practice.¹⁷ Mujaku was an élite monk, for not only was he an abbot of a large and famous monastery and head of a sub-temple (*tatchū* 塔頭) sponsored by the daimyō of Chōshū 長州 and of Suō 周防 for 67 years, his teachers and associates were numbered among the most influential of Zen monks. His teacher, Jikui Somon 竺印祖門 (1610–77) was one of those responsible for inviting the Ōbaku 黄檗 monk, Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673) to Myōshinji in the mid-1650s, hoping that he would be appointed abbot there. This created a split in the Myōshinji community. Somon founded Ryūge'in 龍華院, Mujaku's sub-temple, originally to accommodate Lung-ch'i, but a break between Lung-ch'i and Somon occurred around 1657.¹⁸ Yet among Mujaku's confidants and advisors was Saiun Dōtō 斎雲道棟 (1637–1713), who welcomed Lung-ch'i to Japan in 1654 and became his lifelong attendant. Some time after Lung-ch'i's death, Dōtō left Manpukuji 萬福寺, Lung-ch'i's monastery, and retired to Nara-

¹¹ I have used the reprint, the *Hsü-tsang ching* [Continued Tripitaka] 150 vols. (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng Publishing Company, 1968–70, hereafter HTC, volume number, page, register and line number); HTC 119.190–202.

¹² Hirano Sōjō, comp., *Teibon Rinzai zenji goroku* [Standard Text of the Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Teacher Lin-chi] (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1971), including Mujaku's *kunten* 訓點 see p.157, and Mujaku's post-face, p.88. See also, Yanagida Seizan, *Kunchū Rinzai roku* [Annotated Lin-chi lu] (Kyoto: Kichūdō, 1961), p.7; and Paul Demiéville, *Entretiens de Lin-tsi* [The Sayings of Lin-chi] (Paris: Fayard, 1972), pp.15–6, who wrote, “He was a Sinologist of class, who participated in a great philological movement inaugurated in the Confucian domain by scholars such as Itō Jinsai (1627–1705) and Ogyū Sōrai (1666–1728) ...”.

¹³ Yanagida Seizan, “Mujaku Dōchū no gaku-mon” [The Scholarship of Mujaku Dōchū] in Yanagida Seizan, comp., *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei* [Commentarial Keys to the Imperially Revised Pure Regulations of Paichang], Zengaku sōsho (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1977), Vol.2, pp.1335–36.

¹⁴ Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Over-sights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp.100–3.

¹⁵ No.2579, T81.688aff.

¹⁶ *Shōbōzanji* [Gazetteer on the Mountain of the Correct Dharma] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1979); for documents of abbots and descriptions of buildings, see the catalogue in Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.302, and for records of financial administration and advice to future treasurers, see Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, pp.74, 307.

¹⁷ Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.254, correspondence dated 1735.

¹⁸ Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.38, 44, 46–8, 50, 74; Jorgensen, “Zen Scholarship,” pp.2, 4–5. Lung-ch'i's calligraphy still hangs on a signboard over Ryūge'in.

Figure 2

Entrance to Ryūge'in. Photograph by author



bigaoka 雙ヶ岡, next to Myōshinji, in 1696. He and Mujaku met in 1698 and they maintained a scholarly dialogue until Dōtō's death. Both were great bibliophiles.¹⁹

On the other hand, the spiritual guide of Mujaku's mother, the Sōtō 曹洞 Zen monk Baihō Jikushin 梅峰竺信 (1633–1707), came into contact with Mujaku at least as early as 1688. Jikushin's patron was Mito Mitsukuni 水戸光圀 (1628–1700), the founder of Mitogaku 水戸学, whom Mujaku also admired. Mujaku kept up correspondence with Jikushin and read some of Jikushin's important works, especially those on the reform of the Sōtō Sect. Jikushin and Manzan Dōhaku 円山道白 (1636–1715) were champions of reform of the lineage-succession procedures in Sōtō. The friendship of Jikushin and Dōhaku went back to 1691. Mujaku, in his funerary inscription for Jikushin, written at the request of Jikushin's disciples, seems to suggest that Jikushin had attempted such reforms even before Dōhaku raised the issue.²⁰ Mujaku, who wrote a critical commentary on the *Storehouse that Perceives the Correct Dharma* (Shōbōgenzō 正法眼蔵) of Dōgen 道元 starting in 1713, praised Dōhaku for having the *Storehouse*, which had previously remained secret, printed for public use.²¹ This may have been a bridge between Mujaku and Menzan Zuihō, the most influential scholar of Sōtō, for they were each aware of one or two of the other's works.²²

¹⁹ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.18–21; and Lin Kuan-ch'ao, "Mujaku Dōchū to Bakusō Saiun Dōtō to no kōshō: *Narabigaoka Saiun kidan o chūshin ni*" [Mujaku Dōchū's relationship with Bakusō Saiun Dōtō: centred on the Recorded Conversations with Saiun of Narabigaoka], *Hanazono daigaku kokusai zengaku kenkyūsho ronsō* [Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Zen

/Buddhism] 1 (March 2006): 1–50, at 15–16, 22.

²⁰ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.11–14.

²¹ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.13, 17; for the secrecy of the *Shōbōgenzō*, see Riggs, "The Life of Menzan Zuihō," p.69. Mujaku insisted his commentary on it be kept in the utmost secrecy, Iida *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*,

/pp.156–57. This was possibly because of the Tokugawa prohibitions.

²² Kagamishima Genryū, *Manzan, Menzan*, Zen no goroku (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978), Vol.18, p.70. Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, catalogues of Mujaku's reading, pp.99, 156–57, 255–58, reveal that Mujaku read Zuihō's works at the ages of 47, 83 and 84.

Thus Mujaku was an élite monk; a scholar and administrator, and a good poet. A considerable poet-monk of Edo, Ban'an Genshi 卮庵原資 (d. 1739), thought Mujaku such a great poet that he proposed his works should be published.²³ Mujaku then was not part of the movement to popularise of Zen by the adoption of popular beliefs, prayers and funerary Buddhism, or the mechanical use of *kōan* and prepared, set answers to them, that entered Myōshinji in the sixteenth century or the popular Buddhism of the Sōtō sect.²⁴ Rather, Mujaku opposed such practices as a dilution of “pure Zen” (*junsui Zen* 純粹禪). Mujaku moved in the circles of other élite monks, and met with the emperor when made abbot of Myōshinji, and he often had to go to Edo 江戸 or Hagi 萩 to attend his sub-temple's patron, the daimyō of Chōshū.²⁵

Japan and the East Asian Buddhist World

Mujaku is often seen by scholars as part of a general dismissal of the Ming-dynasty 明 Ch'an brought by the Ōbaku monks from China. Whereas once Tokugawa Japan was thought to have been totally isolated from external influences and its Buddhism considered stagnant and degenerate, this view has now been much modified, if not rejected.²⁶ However, accounts of such external influence on Tokugawa Buddhism are almost entirely confined to the introduction of the Lin-chi Ch'an of Mount Huang-po 黃檗山, the so-called Ōbaku. Occasional mention is sometimes made of the Ts'ao-tung Ch'an 曹洞禪 monk Hsin-yüeh Hsing-ch'ou 心越興儔 (1642–96), who came to Nagasaki in 1677. His teachings were blocked by the Ōbaku monks, but he was then invited by the daimyō of Mito 水戸 in 1683, in whose domain he taught until his death.²⁷ Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助, whose history of Japanese Buddhism was authoritative until recently, even stated that Ōbaku was supported by the shogunate only in “the context of the revival of the Rinzai school”, which suggests an exclusive focus on the Lin-chi Ch'an of Mount Huang-po.²⁸ More recent scholars have not only stressed the broader influence of Ōbaku, even on Myōshinji, as a form of stimulus, but also the Japanese Zen rejection of some of the Ōbaku practices and regulations.²⁹ Indeed, Mujaku was one

/on the internet in full colour, which will make them easier to read than photocopied texts, or those on microfilm. The microfilm has deteriorated, and so they are generally not accessible. The original manuscripts are scattered in a number of holdings in monasteries, sub-temples and libraries. The pagination is my own.) This manuscript is a chronicle of Mujaku's life. See also Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.193. Genshi wrote a preface for Mujaku's collection of poetry, the *Hougaishū* [The Non-Buddhist Collection of Writings by Beneficial Rain], see *Houdō kogyōshū* [Collection of Crystallisations in Space from the Hall of Beneficial Rain] MSS, (Vol.71), 1.4b–11a.

²⁴ For Myōshinji, see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p.129. For Sōtō popular religion, see Duncan Ryuken Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), passim. For the prepared answers, see Victori Sogen Hori, *Zen Sand: The Book of Capping Phrases for Kōan Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), pp. ix, 63 passim, and Ibuki Atsushi, *Zen no rekishi* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p.244 on *missan* or *monsan*.

²⁵ Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, passim.

²⁶ See Francis H. Cook, “Heian, Kamakura, and Tokugawa Periods in Japan,” in Charles S. Prebish, ed., *Buddhism: A Modern Perspective* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), p.227; cf. Heinrich Dumoulin (trans James W. Heisig and Paul Knitter), *Zen Buddhism: A History: Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), p.305, for examples of this view.

²⁷ Imaeda Aishin, *Zenshū no rekishi* [A History of the Zen Sect], *Nihon rekishi shinsho* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1966), reprint, 214ff, 234. Note Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, pp.303–5, who does not even mention Hsing-ch'ou.

²⁸ Cited in Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, p.303.

²⁹ T. Griffith Foulk, “‘Rules of Purity’ in Japanese Zen,” in Heine and Wright, *Zen Classics*, pp.150–56.

²³ *Shōhyō kinenroku* [Chronological Record of the Life of Shining Ice] MSS, age 69 *sai*. (Note all works marked as MSS, unless otherwise indicated, are from the reproductions of Mujaku's manuscripts, or those copied by his pupils, held in the Zenbunka kenkyūsho library,

/which is located in the grounds of Hanazono University, Kyoto. Currently a project team headed by Professor Yoshizawa Katsuhiro, centred in the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism, Hanazono University, is in the process of placing all the available texts

³⁰ Michel Mohr, "Emerging from Nonduality: Kōan Practice in the Rinzai Tradition since Hakuin," in *The Kōan: Texts and Contexts in Zen Buddhism*, eds Steven Heine and Dale S. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.255, who sees Mujaku's *Shōsōrin ryakushingi* as a reaction against the 1672 publication of the *Ōbaku shingi* [Pure Regulations of Ōbaku]; Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.38, 205–13, 147–48.

³¹ Mohr, "Emerging from Nonduality," p.251.

³² Okada, *Nihon Zenseki shiron*, Vol.1, pp.267, 273, 296–97, 300–2; cf. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.159–62.

of the leading opponents of Ōbaku and its regulations.³⁰ Only passing mention is made of the influence of other Ming dynasty Buddhists, such as Yün-ch'i Chu-hung 雲棲祿宏 (1535–1615), as seen in Hakuin and his pupils. In fact, it seems to have been a pose adopted by Rinzai and Sōtō monks of the Tokugawa to claim to represent a pure, Sung-dynasty 宋 Ch'an tradition,³¹ which implies a rejection of Yüan 元 and Ming Ch'an influences. This tendency became stronger over time. However, with the earlier Sōtō monk, Jikushin, publishing the *Precedents of the Ts'ao-tung Sect* (Tung-shang ku-ch'e 洞上古轍) by Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien 永覺元賢 (1578–1657) in 1673 together with a commentary, and Dokuan Genkō (1630–98) having his work read and praised in China by Yüan-hsien's pupil Wei-lin Tao-p'ei 爲霖道霈 (1615–1702), who then wrote a preface to Genkō's *Dokuan's Independent Sayings* (Dokuan Dokugo 獨菴獨語), and then Genkō printing Tao-p'ei's recorded sayings (*yü-lu* 語錄), it is clear that Genkō and his contemporaries in the first century of Tokugawa rule knew of a considerable number of Ming monks, including Chu-hung, of whom Genkō was critical, and must have been influenced by them.³²

However, evidence from the works of such figures as Mujaku and Hakuin, as well as from monks of the next generation, and from the wood-block reproductions of Ming dynasty Buddhist books, show that Ming, especially late Ming, influence was much more extensive and persisted later than has usually been perceived. Japan was, in fact, more open to Ming and early Ch'ing 清 Buddhist influence than was Korea, which is often viewed as little more than a miniature version of Chinese Buddhism, and was far more part of a "Buddhist commonwealth" at this time than its neighbour. Furthermore, the influence of these late-Ming and early-Ch'ing writers was not simply on monastic regulations or the use of *nien-fō* 念佛 (*nembutsu*, intoning the name of, or being mindful of, a Buddha), as I hope to demonstrate.

In the late-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, Japan and Korea were dominated by a seclusion policy, which permitted only highly restricted and selective trade and little intercourse of peoples. Japan executed those of its residents who departed and then dared return; Chosŏn Korea allowed some licensed traders and members of the élite to travel to China, but screened scholars and diplomats who were to go beyond its borders on official business. And yet the Japanese Buddhist world and its Confucian counterpart were far better informed about intellectual, religious and literary developments in China and Korea than the Koreans were of China and Japan. One reason was the anti-Buddhist fundamentalism of the Neo-Confucian ruling élite in Korea, which meant that new Buddhist ideas and Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 (1472–1528) thought did not prosper in Korea, unlike Tokugawa Japan. Another reason was the fear of the political ramifications such as millenarianism and revolts of popular Chinese Buddhism in Korea and Ming China. These led to a *cordon*

sanitaire around Chinese Buddhism imposed by the Yi dynasty court. In Japan similar policies were adopted only towards popular Nichiren 日蓮 sects such as Fujufuse 不受不施. Korean monks who tried to go to Ming or Ch'ing China, and those who did and returned, were certain to be executed.³³ And, with possible minor exceptions, Korean Buddhists had no curiosity about Japanese Buddhism, probably considering it a mere extension, and hence an adulterated form, of Chinese and Korean Buddhism and so not worth attention.

Thus, while Korean Buddhism was perforce inward-looking and relatively stagnant, not enlivened by fresh external input, Japanese Buddhism was alive with reforms, new ideas and volumes of information from China and Korea. This is evident even in the reading and library of Mujaku, an admittedly bibliophilic, scholarly Rinzai Zen monk. Yet this evidence flies in the face of the accepted theory of a stagnant and hidebound Buddhism in the Tokugawa era.

Japan had several main avenues for the importation of new Buddhist knowledge. The first, in the early half of the Tokugawa, were refugees from Ming China, in particular the monks from Mount Huang-po, that is, the Ōbaku monks. The first Chinese Lin-chi monk to arrive in the Tokugawa was Tao-che Ch'ao-yüan 道者超元 (d. 1660), who stayed in Japan from 1651 to 1658, when he was consulted by a number of Rinzai and Sōtō monks. The last Chinese abbot died at Manpukuji in 1784, although most of these Chinese had come as young monks to Japan and trained there. The last Chinese abbot had arrived in Japan in 1721 and became abbot in 1775.³⁴ Thus there were lines of personal communication from China until the 1720s, unlike in Korea, where no Chinese monks had been permitted to set foot since the start of the fifteenth century.

Yet, unlike many of his Zen monk contemporaries, Mujaku had virtually no direct contact with the Chinese Ōbaku monks, especially after his master, Somon, died. Mujaku's relations with Ōbaku were complex, partly because Somon, who had done much to assist Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i (1592–1673) gain patronage in Japan and who, along with Ryūkei Shōsen 龍溪性潛, had campaigned to have Lung-ch'i made abbot of Myōshinji, felt betrayed by Shōsen's defection to the Ōbaku lineage and by Lung-ch'i's arrogance and ingratitude. Moreover, Lung-ch'i and several other Chinese monks failed to adapt to Japanese protocol. It is likely Mujaku was jealous of the lavish patronage given to Lung-ch'i and Shōsen, and in 1697 he removed the names of Shōsen and some seventeen pro-Ōbaku monks from the genealogical register of Myōshinji.³⁵

Yet at the same time, Mujaku sustained a friendship with Saiun Dōtō (1673–1713), who had been Lung-ch'i's attendant.³⁶ Although Mujaku may have briefly visited some of the Ōbaku monasteries, he only seems to have had relations with Dōtō.³⁷ Dōtō, then named Yuiryan 惟良, visited Somon

³³ John Jorgensen, "Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism: From the 16th Century to the 19th Century," in *Korean Buddhism in East Asian Perspectives*, comp. Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007), pp.131–35, 141, 147.

³⁴ Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.65; Hayashi Yukimitsu, *Obaku bunka* [Ōbaku Culture] (Uji: Manpukuji, 1972), p.140.

³⁵ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.2, 4–7, 10.

³⁶ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.18–21.

³⁷ Lin, "Mujaku Dōchū," pp. 24–5.



Figure 3

The name plate of Ryūge'in in the hand of Lung-ch'i. Photograph by author

in 1662 and there met the ten-year-old (*sai*) Mujaku. It is even alleged that Dōtō originally was Somon's pupil and that he then went to study under Lung-ch'i's heir Ta-mei Hsing-shan 大眉性善 (1614–73), who was a close friend of Somon. At the meeting, Dōtō gave Mujaku a poem on the “Divine Youth”, and in 1733, when 81, Mujaku remembered this with a nostalgic fondness.³⁸ Moreover, Dōtō was independent of lineage affiliations and did not become anybody's Dharma heir, not even Lung-ch'i from whom he had received strict instruction. Dōtō was rather reclusive and took little notice of worldly concerns such as succession.³⁹ Such characteristics probably

³⁸ Lin, “Mujaku Dōchū,” pp.16–7, 38. The poem's first two lines were, “In the morning he was a rustic fellow. In the evening he ascended to the emperor's hall.”

³⁹ Lin, “Mujaku Dōchū,” pp.18–22.

⁴⁰ Lin, “Mujaku Dōchū,” pp.30–3; Olof G. Lidin, *The Life of Ogyū Sorai, a Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series 19 (Copenhagen: Studentlitteratur, 1973), pp.112–13, thinks Yanagisawa first invited the Ōbaku monk Kao-ch'uan (1630–92) to his home in 1692, and that the *Jōōroku*, a collection of the poetry and written conversations of these Ōbaku monks, was probably compiled by Ogyū Sorai. See also Emanuel Pastreich, “Grappling with Chinese Writing as a Material Language: Ogyū Sorai's *Yakubun-sentei*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61.1 (June 2001): 119–70, at pp.126–27. For Sūshin's diatribe, see Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.134–47.

appealed to Mujaku, who thus could gain independent insight into and information about Ōbaku from Dōtō, including secrets and stories that could only be obtained from an inside informant. Some of this Mujaku did not initially publish out of respect for Dōtō.

Mujaku had been gathering information about Ōbaku from 1692, well before he met Dōtō again in 1698, and his anti-Ōbaku attitudes were probably reinforced by a previous abbot of Myōshinji, Keirin Sūshin 桂林崇琛 (1652–1728), who wrote an anti-Ōbaku diatribe, the *Collection of the Abuses in Zen Monasteries* (Zenrin shūhei shū 禪林執弊集), in 1700. Mujaku was probably ordered by Sūshin in 1706 to critically examine the Ōbaku teachings compiled in the *Record of Constant Response* (Jōōroku 常應錄) at the command of the top shogunate minister Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳澤吉保 (1658–1714), a patron of Ōbaku formally from 1708.⁴⁰ Mujaku thus became even more critical towards Ōbaku because of their increased political influence, and so he wrote the *Outside Record of Ōbaku* (Ōbaku geki 黃檗外紀), first in Classical Chinese during the period 1707–16, and then later in Japanese, under a slightly different title (using the character *ki* 記), with more embroidery and bile, and probably more reliant on oral testimony, much undoubtedly from Dōtō. Lin Kuan-ch'ao 林觀潮 thinks Mujaku may have hidden his anti-Ōbaku sentiments from Dōtō while obtaining information from him, but he also notes Mujaku at times expressed sympathy with Lung-ch'i and other Chinese monks, especially

for their yearnings for their homeland. Thus Mujaku both accepted and attacked Ōbaku. Lin concludes that the causes for Mujaku's attitude can be summed up as deriving from the relations of Ōbaku with his master Somon, Mujaku's Japanese chauvinism and Lung-ch'i's consciousness of his former homeland, Mujaku's strict outlook as a scholar attempting to correct existing scholarship and practices, the internal problems of Myōshinji and Ōbaku, and the influence of the *Record of Constant Response*.⁴¹ Lin thus sees Mujaku as rather cold and calculating, if not deceptive, in his behaviour towards Dōtō, claiming he wrote no poem of mourning.⁴² But in fact Mujaku did lament Dōtō, although not passionately, as that would violate Buddhist principles on mourning (see below), writing two poems. The first was:

Not confused by the spoiling and deceiving roar of the wind,
His reputation and knowledge extensive, he aided me in conversing on
emptiness.
From now, on the twists and turns of the Narabigaoka road,
When I ask of matters there will be no-one to whip this piebald horse
玉驄.⁴³

The first line seems to refer to the popularity of Ōbaku, and the second is an honest assessment. The piebald horse may refer to Mujaku himself, and mean there was no-one left to stimulate his investigations, although the word *tama/gyoku* 玉 here could mean "your", that is, Dōtō. Later, in the same month, Dōtō's confidant, Gettan 月潭 of Jikishi Monastery 直指寺, died, and his ashes were interred next to those of Dōtō. Mujaku wrote:

I strongly remember their intellect and adherence to Elder Yin-yüan
[Lung-ch'i].
In a small valley of Narabigaoka their virtuous years were venerated.
In the second month of autumn when the moon has set and idle clouds
dispersed.
Their stupas face each other and I must record that their departure place
is the same.⁴⁴

This poem pictures Mujaku left alone to grieve the two savants in Narabigaoka—an underlying sadness alluded to by autumn, the setting moon, and the idle clouds—the mourning monks (*unsui* 雲水, lit., clouds and water) and curious onlookers having departed. I suspect Mujaku had a genuine affection for Dōtō and was probably not merely pumping him for information to use against Ōbaku. Thus, his personal feelings are more revealed in the poems, while the *Outside Record* was a warning to the Myōshinji monks of the problems he saw in the rising popularity of Ōbaku, and the *Recorded Conversations with Saiun of Narabigaoka* (Narabigaoka Saiun kidan 雙岡齋雲紀談)—one of a number of *kidan*—was a record of some scholarly conversations.

In any case, Mujaku's relations with and knowledge about Ōbaku were primarily via Dōtō, and involved complex layers of personal connection,

⁴¹ Lin, "Mujaku Dōchū," pp.32–47; for the *Ōbaku geki*, see also Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.147–56, for slightly different interpretations, and translation, see pp.205–17. Baroni seems to treat the text as one, simply in two parts, whereas Lin considers the Japanese text a later product. Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p.148, states the work was probably meant for internal Myōshinji consumption as it was never published.

⁴² Lin, "Mujaku Dōchū," pp.38–9.

⁴³ *Houdō kogyōshū*, MSS, 8.177a–b, aged 60.

⁴⁴ *Houdō kogyōshū*, MSS, 8.177b, aged 60.

⁴⁵ Takashima Toshio, *Suikoden to Nihonjin* [The Water Margin and Japanese] (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1991), pp.20–1.

⁴⁶ Takashima, *Suikoden to Nihonjin*, pp. 26–7.

⁴⁷ Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, pp.169, 179.

⁴⁸ *Ugen rijin* [Dust in My Eyes] a record of his early reading, MSS, Vol.84.

⁴⁹ Jorgensen, “Zen Scholarship,” pp.36–7.

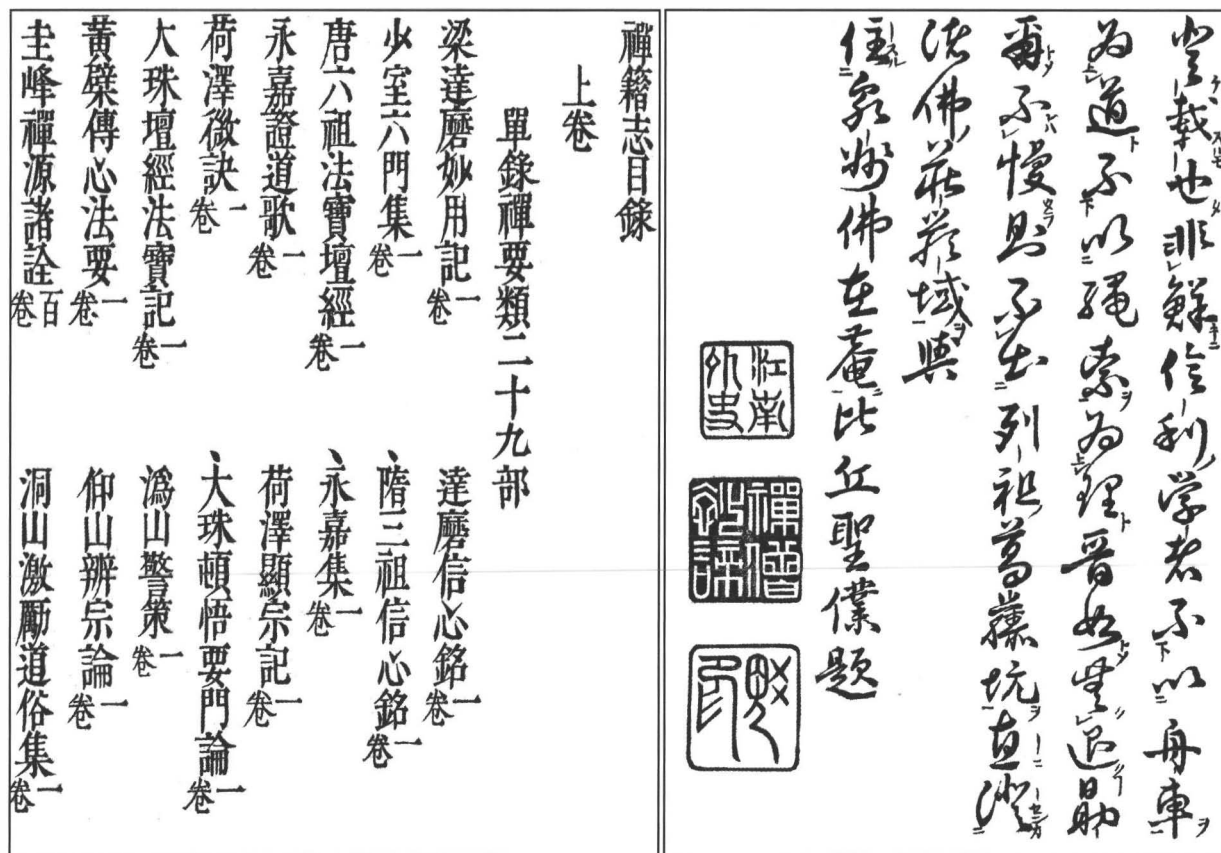
institutional rivalry, questions of purity of practice and even chauvinism. Surprisingly, with the exception of the *Record of Constant Response*, I find no evidence of Mujaku admitting to having read Ōbaku works. His information came primarily from the oral testimony of Dōtō, and possibly Somon and other elders of the Myōshinji community.

The second route into Japan for new Buddhist knowledge was through the book trade from China, primarily through Nagasaki. A number of books on a wide range of topics, including Buddhism, were imported and eagerly sought by monks. Among these monks was Tenkai 天海 (1536–1643), an advisor to Takeda Shingen 武田信玄, Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 and to the subsequent two shoguns. His huge collection, or part thereof, was shifted to Nikkō 日光, and it contained the latest imports.⁴⁵ Tenkai was responsible for the first movable type Tripitaka in history, using technology introduced from Korea. Some monks also read Chinese popular literature voraciously: the Nichiren-shū monk, Gensei 元政 (1623–68), of Kyoto's Fukakusa 深草, hearing that a shipment of Chinese books had arrived, rose from his sickbed and walked to the seller, asking to see his catalogue. He requested the novel, *The Water Margin* (Shui-hu chuan 水滸傳). Unfortunately it had been sold and the seller could not name the buyer. Gensei knew of the text from reading a poem by Yüan Hung-tao 袁宏道 (1568–1610), a famous poet and Buddhist layman.⁴⁶ Mujaku read the twenty-chapter version of the novel almost a century later in 1716, not just for entertainment but also to understand Chinese colloquial language, which was a core of Ch'an literature.⁴⁷ Evidence from his dictionaries and finding lists indicate that he also later read the longer version in 120 chapters.

Zen monks also studied Buddhist texts from Korea, including recent works such as the *The Revealing Mirror of Ch'an* (Sōn'ga küigam 禪家龜鑑) by Sōsan Hyujōng 西山休靜 (1520–1604)—Mujaku in 1670 as well as Kōnan Gitai 江南義諦 (d. 1711), who compiled a book on Ch'an and Zen texts in 1693. Mujaku also read the Korean novella, *The New Tales from Mount Kūm'o* (Kūm'o sinhwa 金鰲新話) by the sometime Buddhist monk, Kim Sisūp 金時習 (1435–93), itself based on the Chinese novel, *The New Tales of the Trimmed Lamp* (Ch'ien-teng hsin-hua 剪燈新話). *The New Tales from Mount Kūm'o* was published in Japan in 1652, 1660 and 1673. Mujaku read it at the age of seventeen in 1669.⁴⁸ Moreover, Ninchō 忍澈 (1645–1711) of the Jōdo 浄土 school collated the *Koryō Tripitaka* 高麗大蔵經 between 1706 and 1713. This had been imported earlier to Kyoto, and Mujaku assisted his master between 1668 and 1670 in copying out the entire text for Myōshinji from the Kenninji 建仁寺 copy.⁴⁹ Such material (though not Tripitaka copies) was brought by Korean emissaries, who occasionally arrived in Tokugawa Japan and stayed at Kenninji in Kyoto, a Rinzai monastery founded by Eisai 栄西.

Figure 4

Gitai's Zensekishi, imprint of 1716, Kyoto



The other important route from Korea was through Iteian 以酇庵, a monastic hermitage on Tsushima 対馬 which, on orders from the bakufu in 1635, was operated by the Kyoto Zen Gozan monasteries to supervise the diplomatic correspondence with Chosŏn. The monks sent there took the opportunity to study and obtain Korean Buddhist and other books.⁵⁰ The daimyo of Tsushima, the Sō 宗, who were the main traders and intermediaries with Korea, had a rich collection of Korean printed books, probably given as gifts, which were recorded in the 1683 Sō family catalogue.⁵¹ Similarly, the library of Kenninji contains materials related to the trade and diplomatic missions from Chosŏn Korea.⁵²

One result of the importation of this new knowledge was a turning away from classical Sinology towards an interest in Ming and contemporary Ch'ing popular fiction—the availability of both secular literature and Buddhist materials in the early Tokugawa resulted in the classics and

⁵⁰ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," p.38.

⁵¹ Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Brill: Leiden 1998), p.434.

⁵² Kenninji Ryosoku'in zōsho mokuroku [Catalogue of the Library of Ryosoku Cloister, Kenninji] MSS (not by Mujaku), section 157, "Chōsen koku San-shi shishū," and section 181, letters exchanged with Korea.

⁵³ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp.36, 38, 100, 121–22.

⁵⁴ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp.152–53; note Kornicki states little study of this printing has been done.

⁵⁵ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p.156.

⁵⁶ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p.297.

⁵⁷ Imaizumi Yoshio, *Nihon chūsei zenseki no kenkyū* [Studies of Medieval Japanese Zen Texts] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2004), p.314.

scriptures having a diminished aura of authority. Yet Buddhist texts were widely printed and published. In the Kamakura 鎌倉時代 and Muromachi 室町時代 periods, Gozan Zen monasteries had been major publishers of Chinese materials, often with the assistance of Chinese monks.⁵³ By the Tokugawa, the monasteries even published copies of the Tripitaka and other huge compilations that were not profitable for commercial publishers. Many of these were reprints of Chinese texts.⁵⁴ Moreover, it was Buddhist material that headed the commercial publishers' lists, although as the Tokugawa rule lengthened, this dominance declined.⁵⁵

Of course, not all texts published in China and Korea were imported into Japan, and the quantities were limited, making it difficult for buyers to obtain what they wanted, for the imported books were rare and often only available after reprinting in Japan.⁵⁶ Despite this, some monks managed to build up huge collections, even in earlier times. For example, a pupil of Etsu'un Kan 悦雲歛 (d. 1488) of Kōzenji 興禅寺 in Kyoto wrote:

Everyday he collected books till they reached several hundred fascicles (*kan* 卷). Every time a book came into his hands he ordered me to collate it, and only then would he return it to the shelves. He said to me, "Humans must study."⁵⁷

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⁵⁸ The catalogue is *Ryūge shoseki mokuroku* [Catalogue of the Books of Ryūge Cloister] 6 vols, MSS.

⁵⁹ Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, pp.152–53, 296, 298.

⁶⁰ Oba Osamu, *Edojidai ni okeru Tōsen mochiwatashisho no kenkyū* [Studies of the Manifests of Books Brought by Chinese Ships in the Edo Period] (Suita: Kansai daigaku, 1967), pp.208, 213, 225, 241–42, 246, provide a total of six Buddhist books. Oba has since updated this study, but I have not seen it.

⁶¹ For some of the earlier books, and Myōshin-ji's print of the *Lin-chi lu*, see Munemasa Isho, "Bussho no shuppan" [Publication of Buddhist Books] ch.4 of *Zusetsu Nihon no bukkyō*, Vol.5, *Shomin bukkyō* [Illustrated Explanations of Japanese Buddhism: Buddhism of the Commoners] ed. Tsuji Nobuo (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1990), pp.264–70.

⁶² For Chih-hsü's record, see mention in Chang Sheng-yen, *Minmatsu Chūgoku bukkyō no kenkyū* [Studies of Late-Ming Chinese Buddhism] (Tokyo: Sankibō / OVER

Mujaku in his time was a kindred spirit with Etsu'un. In the brief period of its founder, Jikui Somon (1610–77), and then under the leadership of Mujaku, the sub-temple of Ryūge'in amassed an impressive library, Mujaku's catalogue filling six fascicles.⁵⁸ Mujaku read and copied many of these books—they seem to have substituted for personal contact with Chinese monks, the only ones in Japan at that time being from the Ōbaku sect, with the exception of Hsing-ch'ou (1642–96) in Mito.

During Mujaku's lifetime, from the 1660s, Japanese Buddhist establishments reprinted many Chinese texts, although imports into Japan were fairly small in number.⁵⁹ Those records from early to mid-Tokugawa (from 1714–15, 1719 and 1735) show that very few Buddhist books were imported.⁶⁰ Most may have been brought in earlier, and as Lung-ch'i personally brought an entire Tripitaka with him, it is likely that these books were not recorded as imports for sale.⁶¹ Yet Mujaku still managed to obtain or read a considerable number of these Chinese books.

Indeed, among Mujaku's interests were the teachings of Ming and Ch'ing Chinese Buddhists, and like one of them, Chih-hsü 智旭 (1599–1655), Mujaku kept records of what he read.⁶² This record tells us that Mujaku read his first secular Korean book in 1669 at the age of seventeen (*sai*) and his first Chinese and Korean Buddhist books in 1672 at the

age of twenty. These included *The Revealing Mirror of Ch'an* by Sōsan Hyujōng and two works by Yün-ch'i Chu-hung (1535–1615). The last was *The Beginning Vinaya Studies* (Lü-hsüeh fa-jen 律學發軔) by Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien (1578–1657), which he read at the age of 92 in 1744. He even wrote a commentary on the *Semantic Commentary on the Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (Leng-ch'ieh ching i-shu 楞伽經義疏) by Chih-hsü, which he first read in 1743 at the age of 91.⁶³ At a rough count (some works are divided in the catalogues, others combined), Mujaku read 85 works, Buddhist and non-Buddhist from the Ming and Ch'ing periods, plus four works from Chosŏn Korea. Possibly the latest Buddhist figure of Ch'ing Buddhism that Mujaku read was Tao-p'ei (1615–1702), whose *Ten Treasures from the Ocean of Ch'an* (Ch'an-hai shih-chen 禪海十珍) of 1687 he read in 1743.⁶⁴

While it is sometimes asserted that Hakuin (1642–1741) attempted to revive Sung dynasty-style Ch'an/Zen, he too was inspired sometime after 1703 by *The Goads to Advance One Through the Ch'an Barrier* (Ch'an-kuan ts'e-chin 禪關策進) of 1600 by Chu-hung.⁶⁵ This book had been read by Mujaku in 1672, and, later Hakuin and Mujaku were occasional correspondents.⁶⁶ Likewise, *The Precedents of the Ts'ao-tung Sect* of 1644 by Yüan-hsien inspired a revival of studies of the five ranks (go'i 五位) by the Sōtō Zen school. Notably, it was Baihō Jikushin (1633–1707) who had this text reprinted in 1680.⁶⁷ As we have seen, Jikushin was the teacher of Mujaku's mother, who became a nun, and Mujaku treated Jikushin as a mentor and wrote a commentary on one of Jikushin's works. Mujaku also referred to *The Precedents of the Ts'ao-tung Sect*.⁶⁸ (See Figure 6 overleaf) Even the Jōdo monk, Myōryū 妙龍 (1705–86) understood the positions of Chu-hung and Chih-hsü on *nenbutsu* (Jōdo) and *kōan* (Zen),⁶⁹ and a leading member of the Sorai school of Confucianism, Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683–1759), noted a Chu-hung work, possibly for its poetry.⁷⁰

Furthermore, a number of works by Chu-hung, Chih-hsü and Yüan-hsien were republished in the early Tokugawa period, and are still available in booksellers' catalogues to this day. In the 2005 catalogue of Kobayashi shobō 小林書房, I counted six works by Chu-hung, five by Chih-hsü (plus two undated) and four by Yüan-hsien, the earliest dated from the year of Mujaku's birth (1653) and the last from between 1716 and 1735.⁷¹ From my own collection and that of the Zen-

/busshorin, 1975), p.419ff., for a partial list; for Mujaku, see Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, after each year of Mujaku's life from the age of 42, and for before age 42, see *Ugen rijin*.

⁶³ *Ugen rijin*, age 20, when he read Chu-hung's *Ch'an-kuan ts'e-chin*, an influential work, and the *Yün-ch'i fang-sheng wen* [Yün-ch'i's Text on the Release of Animals]; for Yüan-hsien's work, *Lü-hsüeh fa-jen*, see Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.292, and the work by Chih-hsü, see Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, pp.285, 316.

⁶⁴ Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.285; Yanagida Seizan, "Zenseki kaidai" [Explanations of Titles of Ch'an Texts] in *Zenke* /OVER

Figure 5

The Ch'an-hai shih-chen by Tao-p'ei in a Japanese imprint of 1695

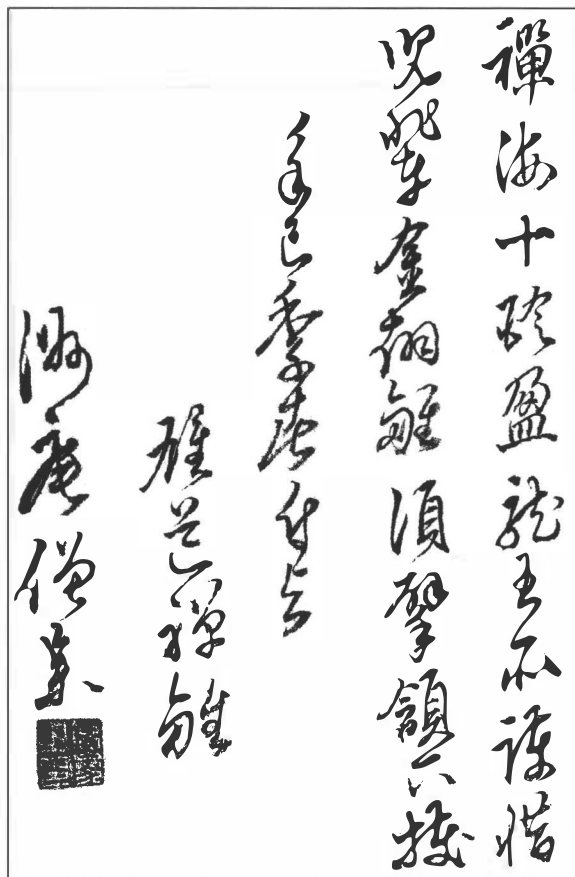
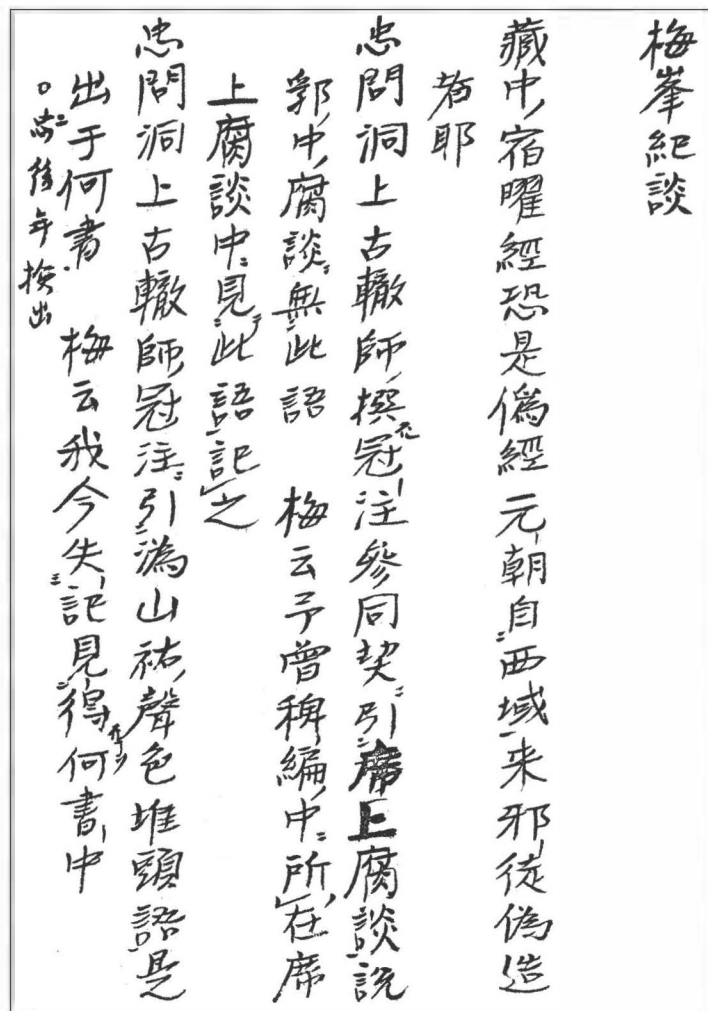


Figure 6

A reference to the Tung-shang ku-ch'e by Mujaku in his records of conversation with Jikushin, the Baihokidan



bunka kenkyūsho 禅文化研究所 rare book collection, it is clear that such works were printed throughout the Tokugawa period. The *Explication of the Three Scriptures* (San-ching chieh 三經解) by Chu-hung and Ou-i 藕益 was published in 1669, the *Guide to the Three Scriptures of the Buddha and Patriarchs* (Fo-tsu san-ching chih-nan 佛祖三經指南) by Tao-p'ei was printed in 1685 and republished in 1846 and 1877, and the *Removal of Traitors within the Dharma Gate of Ch'an* (Fa-men ch'u-kuei 法門鋤寇) by Pai-yen Ching-fu 白巖淨符 of 1667 was printed in Japan in 1764. This last book was used in *Distinguishing the Orthodox in the Five Houses of Ch'an* (Goke benshō 五家辨正) by Tokugen Yōson 徳巖養存 of 1690.⁷² Therefore, many other Buddhists besides Mujaku were interested in these late-Ming works, and they must have been points of discussion among leading Japanese Buddhist scholars of the day. Consequently, it is clear that Japanese Buddhism in the early to mid-Tokugawa was not simply a revival of Sung dynasty or Kamakura Buddhism, but was also widely engaged with the recent Buddhism of late-Ming and early-Ch'ing China.

Yet this engagement was critical, for many Japanese Buddhists had confidence in much of their own tradition. Hence, while there was an initial enthusiasm for things Chinese—propelled mainly by the

/goroku II, eds Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, Sekai koten bungaku zenshū 36B (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1974), no.280.

⁶⁵ Ibuki Atsushi, *Zen no rekishi* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2001), p.276.

⁶⁶ Iida, *Gakushō Mujaku Dōchū*, p.254, correspondence dated 1735.

⁶⁷ Ibuki, *Zen no rekishi*, p.268. In the HTC, this text is incorporated into the *Yung-chüeh*

/Yüan-hsien ch'an-shih kuang-lu [The Extensive Record of Yüan-hsien of Yung-chüeh] HTC 125, fascicles 27–8.

⁶⁸ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.10–14, and 12, where I have mistakenly taken the name of the book to refer to the person. For Mujaku's exchanges with Jikushin, see Mujaku's *Baibō kidan*, MSS.

⁶⁹ Araki Kengo, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*

/[Studies of Chu-hung of Yün-ch'i] (Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 1985), p.207.

⁷⁰ Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, p.7.

⁷¹ Kobayashi Shobō, *Shinsbū kosho moku-roku-shū* [Revised Catalogue of Old Books] (Tokyo: Kobayashi shobō, 2005), p.110.

⁷² For this last, see Yanagida (1974), "Zenseki kaidai," p.513, no.321.

arrival of the Ōbaku monks⁷³—some of the attraction, beyond the arts, faded. This seems to have stemmed from sectarianism and a dislike of the recent Chinese tendency to syncretism,⁷⁴ as well as from a sneaking feeling of superiority over the Chinese. Araki states that the evaluation of Chu-hung, which was overwhelmingly positive in China, was not shared in Japan because of the sectarian walls built by Jōdo or Zen, and Japanese were “governed by a latent consciousness that nothing existed that should be learnt from Ming Dynasty Buddhism”, something that still obtains today. Hakuin, for example, stated,

Around the Wan-li period, there was an aged monk, Chu-hung of Yün-ch’i. He became a monk at forty and came to understand writing a bit. He boasted of a little wisdom ... but he did not consult a true master of the [Ch’an] lineage ... His name was placed in the Ch’an school, but inwardly he only chanted the name of the Buddha and hoped for rebirth in the Pure Land.⁷⁵

This, then, was a pseudo-Zen to Hakuin. Hakuin did allow for the practise of *nenbutsu*, but this was only for those of inferior capacity and not those seeking enlightenment, that is, Zen followers.⁷⁶ Likewise, Jōdo adherents rejected Chu-hung’s teaching as impure, tainted by Zen.⁷⁷ This sectarian exclusivity had been strengthened by the Tokugawa régime’s divide-and-rule tactics, with separate regulations for most sects and factions.⁷⁸

/Hakuin: *Selected Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp.18–19.

⁷⁷ Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, pp.6–7.

⁷⁸ The Ming and Chosōn courts forcibly amalgamated many of the sects, but then the Ming provided separate roles and identity markers for each sect. In 1382, the Ming court mandated only three sects; Ch’an, Lecturer and Doctrinal or Yü-chia. Different rules applied to each, see Tu and Wei, *Chung-kuo Ch’an-tsung t’ung-shih*, pp.519–20. In 1424 the Chosōn court restricted clerics to two sects, Sōn and Kyo, see Jorgensen, “Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism,” pp.145–46. In contrast, the Tokugawa perpetuated and even strengthened the divisions via their regulations, and did not in effect permit the members to change to other sects, although it was theoretically possible. Williams concludes that the régime feared the consequences of individual choice made on the basis of faith. See Williams, *The Other Side of Zen*, pp.36–7. Although the use of “sect” may seem pejorative, this is in fact situationally relative. “Denomination” is inappropriate, as it is defined by choice and has a lay bias. Cf. Alan Aldridge, *Religion in the Contemporary World: A Sociological Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp.42, 55. On relativity, see the line in George D. Chryssides, *Exploring New Religions* (London: Cassell, 1999), p.55, “Sōka Gakkai would be a sect in Japan, but a cult in Britain ...”; William M. Bodiford, *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993), pp.4–5, uses “sectarian” or “sect” for Zen, as does Williams, *The Other Side of Zen*, p.7, although both also occasionally refer to “schools”. Schools, however, apply more to linkages through doctrine and have fewer institutional references. Thus, as the Japanese Buddhist groups of the Tokugawa were frequently distinguished by organisation, monastic clothing, separate regulations, and people were by state fiat unable to freely change their membership, for the sake of convenience I prefer to use “sect”. Moreover, as a lineage of monks was a necessary part of Zen, the modern, lay-oriented, Christian-derived definitions of “denomination”, “school” or “sect” seem inappropriate. See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p.25.

⁷³ Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, pp.299, 336; Ibuki, *Zen no rekishi*, pp.262–66; Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, *passim*.

⁷⁴ Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism*, p.250, says the lack of popularity of Ch’an in China was despite its syncretism; Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, pp.6–7. Syncretism and sectarianism are often considered problematic while Chinese and Korean Buddhism tended towards syncretism between different schools, there was also syncretism across the three teachings of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism especially marked in the late Ming. See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp.3–4, 66, 101. Moreover, state factors influenced the extent of “syncretism” versus “sectarianism”. The Ming and Chosōn régimes reduced the number of “sects” by decree, the Ming even having one contentious Lin-chi sectarian “lineage history” burned. See Ibuki, *Zen no rekishi*, pp.153–55; Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in*

/China, p.147–50; Tu Chi-wen and Wei Tao-ju, *Chung-kuo Ch’an-tsung t’ung-shih* [General History of the Ch’an Sect in China] (Nanjing: Chiang-su ku-chi ch’u-p’an she, 1993), pp.519–20; Jorgensen, “Problems in the Comparison of Korean and Chinese Buddhism,” pp.145–46. The influence of secular political factions, on the other hand, seems to have strengthened “sectarianism” in Ming China when the court was weak, see Tu and Wei, *Chung-kuo Ch’an-tsung t’ung-shih*, pp.537–39, 557, 570. In contrast, the Tokugawa régime formulated rules that kept the “sects” separate. Although we find Sōtō monks who practised *kōan* for a time at Rinzaï monasteries, or Zen monks practising *nenbutsu*, the sects remained institutionally separate, unlike in China where they gradually merged in the Ch’ing, even without state intervention.

⁷⁵ Cited in Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, p.6.

⁷⁶ Philip B. Yampolsky, trans., *The Zen Master*

⁷⁹ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.5–6.

⁸⁰ On poetry, see *Wan'un reiu* [The Numinous Rain of the (Buddha's) Cloud Canopy], 231b, "Tōjin fuzen Nihon kabun" [Chinese Do Not Appreciate Japanese Poetry]. On lice, *Chōtei funō* 長汀布囊 [Pu-tai's Sack], 392b, "Chūkajin shitsu zai shin" [Chinese Have Lice].

⁸¹ *Kinben shikai* [Pointing out the Street with a Golden Whip] pp.436–37, "Chinese monks castigate the corrupt customs of Japanese Zen monks", citing a work probably published c. 1324, and "Chinese monks who came to the Japanese court using Japanese language".

This attitude was probably also motivated by feelings of superiority. Thus Mujaku, in defending his master Somon against the taint of influence from Ōbaku (the introduction of which Somon did much to facilitate) tried to show that Somon's Zen was superior and that the Chinese were given to empty display and cultural arrogance.⁷⁹ Elsewhere, Mujaku castigated the Chinese for not being able to master Japanese verse while Japanese had mastered Chinese poetry, and for having body lice and speaking of it without shame.⁸⁰ The former seems to have been directed mostly against contemporary Chinese monks (specifically the Ōbaku), for Mujaku used testimony from the past to attack Japanese abuses and praise Chinese abilities.⁸¹

Yet Mujaku and others seem to have felt a need to engage with the late-Ming Buddhists, Chinese popular literature and Wang Yang-ming thought. This reflects a number of Mujaku's prime concerns: the correct institutional framework for the propagation of the Rinzai Order; the need for correct textual authorities and "historical" understanding reached through philology; the methods of scholarship; the definition of the mind conducive to enlightenment; and the definition of enlightenment. Here we shall deal with only a few of these.

Monastic Regulation

⁸² Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," p.30.

Mujaku sought to understand the proper regulations for Rinzai Zen monasteries and he thus became an expert on the *Pure Regulations of Pai-chang* (Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei 百丈清規). His 1400-page commentary, the *Commentarial Keys to the Imperially Revised Pure Regulations of Pai-chang* (Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei 勅修百丈清規左鱗), was completed in 1700 on the version from the Yüan dynasty after eighteen years of research, and was supplemented in 1725 with his *Supplementary Record of Excellent Models* (Hosō yoroku 庸峭餘錄). The only work Mujaku published in his lifetime was the *Summary of the Pure Regulations* of 1684. As an administrator and abbot for much of his long career, this concern was probably based on real-life experience, but it also may have been prompted by rivalry with the Ōbaku order, which introduced a new set of regulations based on those of Mount Huang-po in China. Although Mujaku never mentioned the *Pure Regulations of Ōbaku* (Ōbaku shingi 黄檗清規) by Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i (1592–1673), a contemporary, Kōnan Gitai complained that some of its content belonged to the doctrinal schools and not to Zen, and even violated some Zen regulations.⁸²

Yet another reason for concern with regulations was the widespread perception that the Buddhist clergy were corrupt, violating their precepts and regulations—so much so that in 1722 the bakufu issued a decree, the *Regulations Governing the Monks of Buddhist Sects* (Shoshū sōrō hatto

諸宗僧侶法度) governing the life of the clergy, Buddhist services and relations with registered “donor” families. This followed a 1687 set of decrees dealing with monastic lineages, construction of Buddhist buildings, the change of abbots, and the relationship between secular and monastic law.⁸³ Again, the idea of the precepts had been the object of debates in Tendai’s 天台宗 Anraku Hermitage 安樂院 on Mount Hiei 比叡山 overlooking Kyoto. These debates were led by a former Zen monk, Myōryū Jisan 妙立慈山 (1637–90), who criticised the Mahayana precepts advocated ever since Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and advanced the Dharmaguptika Vinaya (*Shibunritsu* 四分律) that was common to Mahayana and some Sthavira orders. These precepts were stricter and were used in Chinese T’ien-t’ai.⁸⁴ A similar movement for adoption of the Dharmaguptika Vinaya began with Myōnin 明忍 (1576–1610) of Shingon 真言 in the region of Kyoto and by Jogen 淨嚴 (1639–1702).⁸⁵

In Ming China, Chu-hung also faced up to the general perception that the monastic order had declined due to political intervention, secularisation by accommodation with Confucianism, the neglect of discipline and the degeneration of Ch’an practice.⁸⁶ The lack of discipline was such that Chu-hung spent more effort in restoring the regulations than on reviving meditation or Ch’an tradition.⁸⁷ Therefore Chu-hung wrote on the Vinaya and founded Yün-ch’i Monastery, where he enforced discipline, writing his own precise rules. He also cast doubt on the state-sanctioned *Imperially Revised Pure Regulations of Pai-chang*, claiming that it had been written by later authors than Pai-chang Huai-hai 百丈懷海 (749–814), stating that the *Imperially Revised* version was overly complex and trivial, leading to a misdirection of study: “That is why I believe that the *Pure Rules* as we know it now is a product of latter-day busybodies, and does not represent Pai-chang’s original intention”.⁸⁸ Given that Chu-hung, like Mujaku, also advocated the Dharmaguptika Vinaya,⁸⁹ one would expect that Mujaku should have shared this vision.

However, Mujaku was devoted to the *Imperially Revised Pure Regulations of Pai-chang* and vehemently opposed Chu-hung’s contention that this version of the regulations was not in the spirit of Pai-chang Huai-hai. While Chu-hung had accepted that the original regulations of Pai-chang Monastery had been produced by Huai-hai, Mujaku said that the *Old Pai-chang Regulations* (Pai-chang ku ch’ing-kuei 百丈古清規) were lost, so how could Chu-hung have known that they had been altered or that the *Imperially Revised* version was not in the spirit of Huai-hai’s intent? While Mujaku seems to have been rather disingenuous here, given that close comparisons with earlier versions show that there were interpolations (especially in the interest of the state) Mujaku countered that the desire for simplicity and the reduction of rituals were for eremites and for those who meditated and practiced *nenbutsu* in a small monastery, like that of Chu-hung, which was limited to 48 members. Therefore this stance was

⁸³ Tamamuro Fumio, “Bakuhau taiseika no Bukkyō: Jīn no tōsei to hōgo” [The Organised Buddhism of the Late Tokugawa: The Control and Protection of Monasteries], in *Ajia Bukkyōshi: nihon hen VII: Edo Bukkyō* [The History of Buddhism in Asia: Japan Vol. VII: Edo Buddhism] eds Nakamura Hajime, et al. (Tokyo: Kōsei shuppansha, 1972), pp. 52–6; and on perceptions of corruption, see Tsuji Nobuo, “Bukkyō to shōmin no seikatsu” [Buddhism and the Life of Common People], in *Zusetsu nihon no Bukkyō, Vol. 5: Shōmin Bukkyō* [Illustrated Japanese Buddhism, Vol. 5: Buddhism of the Common People] ed. Tsuji Nobuo (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1990), pp. 18–9. For cautions about the need for a re-examination of these perceptions, see Sueki Fumihiko, “Shisō: kinsei bukkyō no shisō” [Thought: Buddhist Thought of Early Modern Times], in Tsuji, *Zusetsu nihon no Bukkyō, Vol. 5*, p. 32.

⁸⁴ Sueki, “Shisō: Kinsei Bukkyō no shisō,” p. 39.

⁸⁵ For details, see Ueda Tenzui, “Shingon ritsu to sono keitō” [Shingon Vinaya and its Lineage], in *Kairitsu no sekai* [The World of the Precepts and Vinaya] ed. Mori Shōji (Tokyo: Keisuishā, 1993), pp. 831–52, and on the Anraku ritsu, see Kōdera Bunyō, in the same volume, pp. 871–77.

⁸⁶ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, pp. 140–44.

⁸⁷ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, p. 178.

⁸⁸ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, p. 193. See the remainder of ch. 8 for more details of Chu-hung’s regulations. For the text, see *Chu-ch’uang san-pi* [The Third Collection of Essays by Chu-ch’uang] in Lan Chi-fu, comp., *Ta-tsang ching-pu-pien* [Supplement to the Tripitaka] (Chung-ho City: Hua-yü ch’u-pan she, 1984–86), Vol. 23, pp. 279a–b. This is a reprint of the Kuang-hsü 24 (1898) print. Mujaku would have used the 1653 Japanese print by the Akitaya publishers of Teramachi-dōri, Kyoto.

⁸⁹ Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, p. 198.

⁹⁰ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.30–1.

⁹¹ Yanagida, *Chokushū Hyakujō shingisakei*, sōsho, Vol.8 (this is a facsimile reproduction, reduced, of Mujaku's manuscript).

⁹² *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei*, Vol.8, 1.69b; quote from *Lung-hsing Fo-fapien-nien t'ung-lun*, HTC 130.633b13–16.

⁹³ *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei*, Vol.8, 1.69c; for the identical passage, see *Wan'un reiu* MSS, 554b–5b.

⁹⁴ *Chokushū Hyakujō shingisakei*, Yanagida's introduction, Vol.8, p.2.

⁹⁵ *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi sakei*, Vol.8, 1.47a–c.

inappropriate for large monasteries such as Myōshinji, where Mujaku had been abbot.⁹⁰

Now in reference to an assembly of eight hundred or a thousand monks, if one does not use the rule to bind them one cannot control them. In accordance with the complexity or brevity of the lectures and rituals, one may at those times add or subtract from the regulations.⁹¹

Mujaku quoted the *Chronological Discussion of the Buddha Dharma [Compiled] in the Lung-hsing era* (Lung-hsing Fo-fa pien-nien t'ung-lun 隆興佛法編年通論) by Shih-shih Tzu-hsiu 石室祖琬 of c. 1163 in support of his stance:

At the time of Pai-chang, Ch'an study in the empire was flourishing and compared to that [of the time of] Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng], it was greater by a hundred fold. Huai-hai, in accordance with that expansion, made a rule for them in order to lock out the perverse. He also made regulations for them in order to control the distant monastery complexes and protect them so that in four or five hundred years it was just as it was in his own day.⁹²

Again, Mujaku quoted Wu-tsu Fa-yen 五祖法演 (d. 1104), who when giving instructions about the four essentials for being an abbot said, "The rule cannot be put into practice fully enough". Mujaku remarked, "Why didn't Chu-hung think of this?"⁹³

Clearly, Mujaku wanted to defend the integrity of the *Imperially Revised Pure Regulations of Pai-chang*, noting the earlier studies in Japan on it by Unshō Ikkei 雲章一慶 (1386–1463) and Chogen Zuisen 桃源瑞仙 (1430–89), which were printed in a combined text in 1660,⁹⁴ Mujaku says that when these monks quoted ancient sayings they left out the source. Moreover, he asserted that there were many printing errors in it, so much so that at times it did not make sense, but at least it had followed a Chinese oral tradition. Mujaku therefore said he would correct the errors of past interpreters, justifying his prolix glosses as necessary to avoid misinterpretation. He acknowledged that the Zen "pure regulations" were, in fact, a compromise of the Buddha's Vinaya. The first Vinaya, he claims, was formed twelve years after the Buddha's enlightenment, but that twenty-four years later the Buddha predicted that evil monks would divide the Vinaya into five sections. This division, Mujaku indicated, was made by five pupils of Gupta. Much later in China under the T'ang, Tao-hsüan 道宣 (d. 667) wrote a commentary on these five Vinayas to compare and synthesise them. Mujaku stated this was the start of Vinaya study proper.⁹⁵

In this way, Mujaku was aware that the Vinaya and the Ch'an regulations had changed with the times, but he castigated Chu-hung for ignoring the validity of the *Imperially Revised* text and for not understanding the detailed rules required for large monastic institutions.

Mujaku also took a different position from Chu-hung with respect to the filial mourning of a disciple for a master. Chu-hung had noted three positions in Chinese Buddhist literature. The first was that of Hui-neng in the *Platform Sutra*, which said that the disciples should not fall into worldly emotion and cry or wear mourning clothes, as this was un-Buddhist.⁹⁶ The second, in the *Survey of the Essentials of Buddhism* (Shih-shih yao-lan 釋氏要覽) of 1019 by Tao-cheng, cited studies of the *Sutra of the Perfect Nirvana* (Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra). These showed there was no mourning system, but they quoted a text that advocated the use of the secular prescriptions of three years of mourning for parents from the *Record of Rites* (Li chi 禮記), making a Buddhist teacher the equivalent of parents, with some slight dyeing of one's robes to make them a tawny colour, but no crying.⁹⁷ The *Pure Regulations of Pai-chang* on the other hand stated that one should wear coarse robes and make three mourning laments.⁹⁸ Chu-hung claimed that the last was exactly the same as secular mourning and was the product of people later than Huai-hai. As Huai-hai was in the fourth generation from Hui-neng 慧能, his advice should have followed that of Hui-neng, and so these prescriptions are a later alteration. Hui-neng had told his disciples not to mourn because many could not bear the thought that the master had died and would be overcome by emotion. Thus Chu-hung recommended the advice of the *Survey of the Essentials of Buddhism*.⁹⁹ Mujaku stated he had no differences with the Vinayists in their condemnation of filial mourning, but he had to dispute Chu-hung's assertions. Both T'ien-t'ai Chih-i 天臺智顗 (538–97) and Hui-neng had warned against the secular-style mourning of lamentation and sackcloth, and the *Survey of the Essentials of Buddhism* had offered a compromise with respect to mourning clothes. These two sets of advice were meant to prevent various abuses, however Tao-hsüan had recommended different advice according to the individual's capacity for moral restraint, which is why the compromise was made. Mujaku concluded that Hui-neng and Chih-i had made their warnings to prevent monks falling into the abuses of the time, whereas the *Pure Regulations of Pai-chang* was making an eternal rule, which was not the same as Chu-hung's summary had it.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ T48.362a24–26.

⁹⁷ T54.307c23–308a11.

⁹⁸ T48.1128a18–21.

⁹⁹ *Chu-ch'uang san-pi*, 23.278d–9a.

¹⁰⁰ *Cbokusshū Hyakujō shingi sakei*, Vol.8, 1.479c–80b; *Wan'un reiu*, 551a–3b has an identical entry.

The Purity of Zen

The practice of morality in Zen and its relation to rebirth in the Pure Land, which overlaps with Mujaku's concerns for regulations and the pure practice of Zen (in a sectarian fashion), are topics that led Mujaku to criticise Chu-hung. In his general discussion of the *Platform Sutra*, Mujaku quoted Chu-hung, who claimed that as Hui-neng was illiterate, the *Platform Sutra* must have been recorded by others and so was full of errors, citing the line, "Simply cultivate the ten virtues; Why vow to be reborn [in

¹⁰¹ *Platform Sutra*, T48.352a29-b1.

¹⁰² *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō* [The Worn Besom of the Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch] MSS, 2a. Quote from *Chu-ch'uang san-pi*, 251b.

¹⁰³ *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō*, MSS, Part A, 60b-61b. "Autumn Floods," in Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.175, cf. pp.186-87.

the Pure Land?]"¹⁰¹ As the ten virtues are the cause for rebirth in Heaven, the Cakravartin King uses them to teach and release beings when there is no Buddha in the world. Chu-hung wrote:

Could the Sixth Patriarch have not taught people to be born in the West and see the Buddha, but simply have them be born into a heaven? This is unbelievable. Therefore, those who are attached to the *Platform Sutra* and deny the Pure Land are much mistaken.¹⁰²

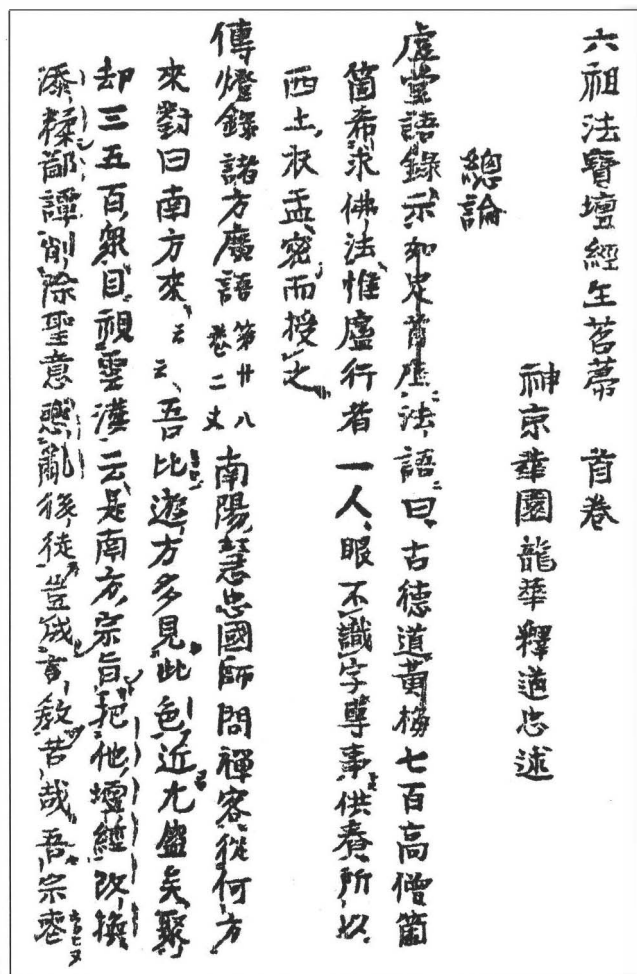
Chu-hung is here claiming that the *Platform Sutra* text must be in error because rebirth in the heavens is lower in Buddhist status than rebirth in the Western Pure Land. Why then would Hui-neng, an enlightened

master, advocate this? In his gloss to the line in the sutra, Mujaku writes that Chu-hung had said that the ten virtues could only obtain one the "result of a heaven, so how could one become a Buddha?" Mujaku countered by saying that in the general theory (*t'ung-lun* 通論) of the ten virtues one can obtain rebirth as a human or god (*deva* 天), but in the special theory (*pieh-lun* 別論) gaining the result of bodhisattva or Buddha is due to the practice of the ten virtues, as is attested by the *Avatamsaka* and *Humane King* (Jen-wang 仁王) and other sutras, citing several T'ien-t'ai works in addition as proof. In other words, practice of the ten virtues leads to enlightenment as a bodhisattva or Buddha if one understands them in the higher sense of the special theory. Mujaku concluded by saying that Chu-hung had not read Buddhist sutras widely enough: "This is discussing the ocean of the leviathan with the mind of a frog," a reference to the well-known *Chuang tzu* 莊子 metaphor for a person of limited knowledge speaking about that of which he has no experience.¹⁰³ Once again, Mujaku staunchly defended the Zen tradition and upheld morality at the same time, while denying the Pure Land tradition.

In addition, Mujaku attacks Chu-hung for not being devoted to his own lineage of Ch'an. Under the heading, "One should be devoted to one's own calling and yet combine it with another", Mujaku opened his discussion by saying that in this latter degenerate age, the Way is not pure and unadulterated, as was the case when Li Cho-wu 李卓吾 (Li Chih, 李贄 1527-1602) discussed Confucian-

Figure 7

Cover of Mujaku's *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō*



ism, frequently using the phrase, “to see the nature and become Buddha”. Mujaku asked, “How can this be the ‘see the nature and become Buddha’ of the Zen School?” Li Cho-wu was an independent thinker who had been a Confucian but became a monk, his thought being labelled “Wild Ch’an”. His works advocated both *nien-fō* (*nembutsu*) and rebirth in the Pure Land, and “seeing the nature” of Ch’an—yet Chu-hung disapproved of Li’s ideas.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, Mujaku attacked Lin Chao-en 林兆恩 (1517–98), writing that although Lin comprehended the three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, “if one looks at his Buddhism it is immature, and so [his understanding of] the other teachings is also immature”.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, Mujaku concluded one should specialise in Ch’an or Pure Land and not mix them:

Chu-hung proclaimed that he transmitted Ch’an and also understood the Vinaya Vehicle, and so he wrote the *Revelation of the Secrets of the Sutra of Brahma’s Net* (Fan-wang-ching fa-yin 梵網經發隱), which is frequently in error. Japanese Vinaya scholars have exposed more than one error in it.¹⁰⁶

When he was asked if it were possible to cease this mixing and return to ancient ways, Mujaku responded that,

If Confucians only research Confucianism, Buddhists only Buddhism, Vinayists only Vinaya, and Ch’an only Ch’an, then it is almost possible to be pure. If one is solely devoted to one’s own lineage and still have some remaining energy, then one can put it to the study of other schools. Only then can one be called erudite.¹⁰⁷

Later Mujaku cited a series of classical works, such as Discourses of the Warring States (*Kuo-yü* 國語), Kuo Hsiang’s 郭象 commentary on the *Chuang tzu*, and the *Hard-Earned Scholarship and Records of Findings* (*K’un-hsueh chi-wen* 困學紀聞) by Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223–96) to say that one should master only one topic or theme.¹⁰⁸

These comments encapsulate two major streams in Mujaku’s criticisms of Chu-hung, that he was not learned enough and that he mixed Pure Land and Confucianism into his Ch’an. These made him too close to Mujaku’s rivals in Japan, the Ōbaku monks. That Chu-hung’s scholarship was limited, despite the prodigious volume of his writing, is one of Mujaku’s constant refrains.¹⁰⁹ It was, in fact, so limited that Japanese Vinayists did not use his commentary on the *Sutra of Brahma’s Net* (Fan-wang ching 梵網經). After praising him for being compassionate and intelligent, Mujaku remarked:

Alas! Chu-hung had not read the Buddhist books extensively, nor entered deeply into Buddhist principles, yet he dared to write a book like the *Revelations of the Secrets of the Sutra of Brahma’s Net* How could he have obtained pure [comprehension]? Therefore, I say that none of the famous scholars of the Ming are the equal of Ch’an Master Yung-chüeh

¹⁰⁴ Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, pp.195–99.

¹⁰⁵ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 258b.

¹⁰⁶ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 258b.

¹⁰⁷ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 258b–9a. For the source of the quote, *Chu-ch’uang san-pi*, p.253b-d under “Li Cho-wu”. The attack was made partly because Li stated the origins of all things lies in *yin* and *yang*. Li was a complex thinker. For his Buddhist and other thought, see Lin Ch’i-hsien, *Li Cho-wu ti fo-bsüeh yü shih-bsüeh* [The Buddhist and Secular Studies of Li Cho-wu] (Taipei: Wen-chin ch’u-pan she, 1982).

¹⁰⁸ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 259a–60a; the text by Chu-hung is the *Fan-wang ching chieh-shu fa-yin*, which can be found in HTC Vol.59.

¹⁰⁹ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 50a–b, on the *Kao Wang kuan-shih yin ching* [Sutra of Avalokiteśvara (Revealed to) Kao Wang] MSS, 254b; *Kinben shikai*, p.96b, for a few examples.

¹¹⁰ *Wan'un reiu*, "On Dharma Teacher Yün-ch'i Chu-hung," MSS, 447b–8a.

¹¹¹ Tu Chi-wen and Wei Tao-ju, *Chung-kuo Ch'an-tsung t'ung-shih* (Nanjing: Chiang-su ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1993), pp.568–74.

¹¹² HTC 125.586b–591b.

¹¹³ HTC 125.753a–783b; on glossing, 755a–b, 774b.

¹¹⁴ *Chu-ch'uang san-pi*, 246a.

¹¹⁵ *Kinben shikai*, 392a; cf. *Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien Ch'an-shih kuang-lu*, HTC 125.763b10–11.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 390b–2a, citing *Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien Ch'an-shih kuang-lu*, 765a7–8.

[Yüan] hsien for depth and breadth of scholarship.¹¹⁰

Thus, Mujaku preferred an orthodox Ch'an monk like Yüan-hsien (1578–1657), whose works he read in 1678, 1694, 1719, 1737, 1741 and 1743 (sometimes repeatedly) over Chu-hung, who was preferred by Chinese readers. Yüan-hsien was a prolific author whose works were collected by Tao-p'ei. He wrote historical records and gazetteers, discussions of Ch'an, and the synthesis of Confucianism and Buddhism, and sutra commentaries, and so exhibited a similar range to Mujaku in his scholarship.¹¹¹

Yüan-hsien's discussions were often extended and systematic, citing earlier authors and commenting on those sources. One example is his examination of the "Three Profundities" (*san-hsüan* 三玄) of Lin-chi I-hsüan, which cites many Ch'an masters and covers five and a half pages in the *Continued Tripitaka* (Hsü-tsang ching 續藏經).¹¹² Another is his lengthy

disquisition on Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism in which he refers to many issues—human nature, mind and cosmology, even on glossing (*hsün-ku* 訓詁) and its faults. This comprises most of fascicles 29 and 30 of his *Extensive Record of Yüan-hsien of Yung-chüeh* (Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien Ch'an-shih kuang-lu 永覺元賢禪師廣錄).¹¹³ Such in-depth analysis would have appealed to Mujaku, as opposed to Chu-hung's brief comments or occasional essays (*sui-pi* 隨筆), yet Mujaku rarely ever cited Yüan-hsien. The main exception I have noticed is in his discussion entitled "Ch'an patriarchs do not value lectures". After citing a number of sources, including Chu-hung, who stated that it was the lecturing or dogma school (*chiang-tsung* 講宗) that destroyed the Ch'an lineage (*tsung-men* 宗門),¹¹⁴ he quotes Yüan-hsien:

Recently I have seen that two or three great masters have often quoted the lineage [of Ch'an] to annotate the doctrinal [school], and quoted the doctrine to annotate the lineage. [Thus] the mind seal of the patriarchal teachers has been given over to deserted graves.¹¹⁵

Mujaku's comment on this was that Yüan-hsien was indicating that his colleagues did know about meditation practice, and that the problem lay in the excessive detail they derived from the lectures on doctrine.¹¹⁶ This, of course, did not stop Mujaku writing his own lengthy commentaries.

Surprisingly, Mujaku made little mention of other major figures of late-Ming Buddhism such as Han-

Figure 8

Portrait of Tao-p'ei from the Tseng-ting Fo-tsu Tao-ying



shan Te-ch'ing 慙山德清 (1546–1623), a rather orthodox Ch'an monk, mentioning only that Te-ch'ing had written an interpretation of Hui-neng's *Platform Sutra* in verse.¹¹⁷ He also quoted from Te-ch'ing's *Words as Expedient Means* (Fang-pien yü 方便語) in his *Numinous Rain of the Cloud Canopy* (Wan'un reiu 盥雲靈雨), stating he had made an error by saying that Huang-po Hsi-yün 黃檗希運 (first half of the ninth century) had taught *bua-t'ou*, which in fact began much later with Ta-hui 大慧 (1089–1163).¹¹⁸ As far as I can see, he made no mention of Tzu-po Chen-k'o 紫柏真可 (1543–1603), and he did not use the works of Ou-i Chih-hsü 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) to any great extent.

Chih-hsü was not a traditional Ch'an monk. He was, however, a major scholar of T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an, and his work was well known to Japanese Tendai scholars such as Reikū Kōken 靈空光謙 (1652–1739) of Anraku'in 安樂院 on Mount Hiei, who wrote, "If one reads Ou-i's *Discussion of the Core Proposition* (Tsong-lun 宗論) and does not burst into tears, he is sure to lack the mind of bodhi".¹¹⁹ Chih-hsü was also a major scholar of the bodhisattva precepts—including those in the *Sutra of Brahma's Net* and the (pseudo-) *Śurangama Sutra* (Leng-yen ching 楞嚴經) (from the perspective of Ch'an). He wrote more than 77 works, attempting to merge Tathāgatagarbha and Yogācāra thought. Thus in the scholar-monk Chang Sheng-yen's 張聖嚴 analysis, Chih-hsü was a Vinayist and Ch'an practitioner who used T'ien-t'ai as a methodology.¹²⁰ Much could have been learnt from Chih-hsü, yet Mujaku did not make great use of his commentaries on the *Leng-yen ching*, the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and the collection of essays known as the *Conversations in the Monastic Rooms* (*Fan-shih ngou-t'an* 梵室偶談). In most instances, Mujaku only cited Chih-hsü to support a position or as evidence, and rarely criticised him. In fact he sided with Chih-hsü in relation to a refutation of Chu-hung's method of *nien-fo* in a phenomenal one mind of concentration and a one mind of principle.¹²¹ Mujaku's comment was that "reading this debate is sufficient as evidence of (the difference between) Chih-hsü and Chu-hung's depth of entry into the Way and the subtlety of their views."¹²²

In my limited reading of Mujaku's extensive corpus, he made only one criticism of Chih-hsü for not distinguishing between "Thus Come Ch'an" (*nyorai zen*) and "Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an" (*zushi zen*) in his commentary on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. For Chih-hsü the differentiation was simply a matter of being caught up in pointless language and wanting to use statements meant for specific circumstances in the past to create an understanding for all time. "How is it different from carving out a boat to get a sword? I am afraid Hsiang-yen would laugh at you."¹²³ Mujaku commented:

"Thus Come Ch'an" is the words of the teachings. "Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an" relies on what the doctrinal preaching indicates and reflects back

¹¹⁷ *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō*, A: 20b–21b.

¹¹⁸ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 548b

¹¹⁹ Cited by Chang, *Minmatsu Chūgoku Bukkyō no kenkyū*, preface 2, from Reikū's preface to the Japanese print of Ou-i's collected works, the *Ling-feng Ou-i Ta-shih tsung-lun* [Discussion of the Core Proposition by Master Ou-I of Ling-feng], which was printed in Kyoto in 1723.

¹²⁰ Chang Sheng-yen, *Minmatsu*, preface, pp.2–3.

¹²¹ For details of this, see Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, pp.58–62.

¹²² *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 550a.

¹²³ Cited from Chih-hsü's *Leng-yen ching i-shu* [Semantic Commentary on the Śurangama Sutra], HTC 26.198b1–3.

¹²⁴ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 550b.

on one's own self to attain enlightenment of the mind-source. That is "Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an". It is not a matter of superiority or inferiority.¹²⁴

Thus Come Ch'an is the language of the doctrinal teachings in the scriptures whereas Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an is putting that doctrine into practice by concentrating on the mind. These are two aspects of Ch'an and so should not be ranked in a hierarchy. In this passage, Mujaku once again defends orthodox Ch'an, in order to maintain its purity, refusing to accept some of the otherwise influential ideas of particular late-Ming masters like Chu-hung.

Seng-chao 僧肇 (374–414), Wang Yang-ming and the Hermeneutics of the Buddha-nature

¹²⁵ Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p.29; and Wu Jiang, "Orthodoxy, Controversy and the Transformation of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2002), which I have not seen.

¹²⁶ For a history of the commentaries, see Makita Taiyō, "Jōron no ryūden ni tsuite" [On the Transmission of the *Chao-lun*] in *Jōron no kenkyū* [Studies of the *Chao-lun*] comp. Tsukamoto Zenryū (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1955), pp.276–83. Some of these texts can be found in HTC Vols 96 and 97.

¹²⁷ Chiang Ts'an-t'eng, *Chung-kuo chin-tai Fo-chiao ssu-hsiang ti cheng-pien yü fa-chan* [Debates and Developments in Early Modern Chinese Buddhist Thought] (Taipei: Nan-t'ien shu-chü, 1998), pp.164–72, 183, 195–97, 207–8. A brief consideration of Seng-chao's relations with Ch'eng-kuan and the late Ming debates is found in Kamata Shigeo, *Chūgoku Keron shisōshi no kenkyū* [Studies in the Intellectual History of Chinese Hua-yen] (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppan-kai, 1965), pp.338–58.

One important debate of late-Ming China that Mujaku was aware of concerned disputes over Ch'an lineages that had been initiated by Fei-yin T'ung-yung 費隱通容 (1593–1661) in his 1650 *Orthodox Lineage of the Five Lamps of Ch'an* (Wu-teng yen-t'ung 五燈嚴統). This text was brought to Japan by Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i after it had been attacked by Pai-yen Ching-fu in his *Removal of Traitors* and proscribed by the Chinese state.¹²⁵ Another debate that Mujaku commented on concerned Seng-chao's *Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* (Wu pu-ch'ien lun 物不遷論) that had been initiated by Chen-ch'eng 鎮澄 (1546–1617).

Seng-chao had attempted to synthesise Chinese "Dark Learning" (Hsüan-hsüeh), itself indebted to both Taoist and Confucian philosophy, with the *prajñāpāramitā* thought of Indian Madhyamaka Buddhism. Seng-chao's *Thesis* dealt with cognition, language, ontology and the possibility of enlightenment, and generated a considerable number of commentaries by Chinese San-lun, T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen 華嚴 and Ch'an monks, including Han-shan Te-ch'ing, Chu-hung and Tzu-po Chen-k'o, mentioned above.¹²⁶ Chen-ch'eng favoured the interpretation of the Hua-yen thinker Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (738–839) as Ch'eng-kuan revelled in detail and speculative argument. In this sense, Chen-ch'eng, and Chu-hung who supported his position, used Ch'eng-kuan to attack the "Ch'an Left" thinkers such as Li Cho-wu and Te-ch'ing who favoured the interpretations of Li T'ung-hsüan 李通玄 (635–740) because his spirituality appealed to meditators. Chen-ch'eng examined Seng-chao's *Thesis* on logical grounds, arguing that while its propositions were probable, Seng-chao's reasoning lacked proof and comprehensibility. In his attack Chen-ch'eng had used both scriptural evidence and Vijñānavādin Buddhist logic, which had recently come back into vogue.¹²⁷ His opponents, in reply, accused Chen-ch'eng of making Patriarchal Teacher Ch'an merely part of *prajñāpāramitā* theory. The problem was one of methodology: in the search for the basis for

Figure 9

Japanese commentary on the Fa-men
ch'u-kuei published in 1846

enlightenment (or Buddha-nature), how could the original meaning of scriptures be found?—through the use of reason and logic or through direct intuition. Chen-ch'eng's work, and that of Chu-hung, in fact made great advances in Ch'an studies, using scriptural evidence and logic to verify enlightenment, and in unifying methodology and practice.¹²⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that this debate should have attracted Mujaku.

The *Theses of Seng-chao* (Chao-lun 肇論), of which the *Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* is a part, was probably brought to Japan soon after Buddhism arrived there. A commentary by Hui-ta 慧達 was copied in 726 and one of the commentaries was reprinted several times in the Tokugawa period. The *Debates over the Interpretation of the Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* (Wu pu-ch'ien lun pien-chieh 物不遷論辯解) by Chen-chieh 真界 was printed in

Japan in 1655. Yet Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 concludes that the *Theses of Seng-chao* was not as widely read in Japan as it was in China as its ideas were too remote and elevated.¹²⁹ Yet Mujaku seems to have given some importance to the *Theses of Seng-chao*. He used it to attack the scholarship of Ryūkei Shōsen (1602–70) who with Somon and had worked to introduce Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i to Kyoto and Edo. Ryūkei later defected to Ōbaku, which Mujaku saw as a betrayal.¹³⁰ Mujaku not only mentioned the famous commentary to the *Thesis* by Wen-ts'ai 文才 (1241–1302), but also referred to the late-Ming work of Chen-ch'eng several times on the issue of whether the Buddha-nature is eternal.¹³¹ However, in the *Worn Besom of the Platform*

白巖道人法門鋤究
清 越州 雲門大樗子淨深 閱
日本武州 海榮山印指月 箋解
侍者 本光 校訂
南泉下有曇照禪師一人、與趙州長沙茱萸子湖諸
老、為同門、昆季、住荊州、白馬、道出常情、事迹可愛、常
云、快活快活、及臨終、乃叫、苦苦、有院主、致問、推枕、一
篇、機語、備載、皇藏傳燈諸錄、而地藏、恩、靈峰、照、圓照、
本、皆有、頌、現、刻、頌、古、聯、珠、集、中、此、天下古今、可共、觀、
者、今人、特、殺、好奇、向、虛空裏、架樓閣、不循其實、廼於

¹²⁸ Chiang, *Chung-kuo*, pp.253–59.

¹²⁹ Makita, "Jōron no ryūden ni tsuite," p.290, 298. Chen-chieh rewrote his text in 1597, so his initial version predates this, see Chiang, *Debates and Developments*, p.243. Chen-chieh's text is in HTC vol.97.

¹³⁰ Jorgensen, "Zen Scholarship," pp.2, 9–10, for details.

¹³¹ Wan'un reiu, MSS, 238b.

¹³² *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō*, MSS, Part B, 48a.

¹³³ *Kinben shikai*, MSS, 238a.

¹³⁴ In full, *Ta-fang-kuang Fo Hua-yen ching sui-shu yen-i ch'ao*, T36.239b24–c1.

¹³⁵ *Kinben shikai*, 239a, possibly in reference to Chen-ch'eng's preface, HTC 97.729a4–6, 15.

¹³⁶ These are two terms used by Chen-ch'eng, HTC 97.729a6.

¹³⁷ *Kinben shikai*, 239b.

¹³⁸ *Kinben shikai*, 240a, cited from HTC 97.755b4–5, which is in a letter in reply by Chen-ch'eng to Chu-hung.

Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (Rokuso dankyō suichōsō 六祖壇經生苕幕) Mujaku merely refers to Chen-ch'eng's *Discussion of the Correct Syllogism for the Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* (Wu pu-ch'ien cheng-liang lun 物不遷正量論), which discusses the Buddha-nature. Mujaku concluded, "The Sixth Patriarch asserted that the Buddha-nature is not eternal by refuting non-Buddhist views of the eternal".¹³² Mujaku used Seng-chao's essay to establish the abiding permanence of the (Buddha-)nature in order to claim that the possibility of enlightenment was always present, not to establish some eternal entity. Mujaku wrote:

Dharma Teacher Chao wrote the *Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* to establish the idea that the nature is abiding and does not shift. Then, in the Wan-li era, there was a Chen-ch'eng of Yüeh-ch'uan on Mount Wu-t'ai, a Dharma Teacher of the Hua-yen School, who wrote a *Discussion of the Correct Syllogism for Thesis that Things Do Not Shift*, which criticised Chao's idea. However, this theory [*lun*] did not appear first with Chen-ch'eng; Ch'ing-liang Ch'eng-kuan had earlier discussed the idea that the nature is empty and does not shift in his *Abstract from the Sub-commentary on the Wen-ming Section of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Hua-yen wen-ming p'in shu-ch'ao).¹³³

Mujaku then quotes from Ch'eng-kuan's *Elaboration of the Meaning of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Hua-yen ching yen-i 華嚴經演義)¹³⁴ to the effect that the *Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* is excessively Hinayana in character. Mujaku comments:

Chen-ch'eng drew inferences from that theory eloquently and in detail, thinking that the famous scholars of the empire would oppose the theory and that he needed to counter them.¹³⁵

Mujaku took issue with Ch'eng-kuan on two grounds in turn: principle 出理 and the citation of evidence:¹³⁶

If one regards the nature as residing in emptiness, one may say that the nature is empty. And if the principle of emptiness is the residence of the nature, one can also say the nature resides/persists. If then the nature does not reside in emptiness but resides in existence, then existence can shift (be eliminated), and if it can be eliminated it cannot persist (be eternal). But now if the nature resides in emptiness, emptiness cannot be eliminated, which is things not being eliminated! And likewise, emptiness is not eliminated. If that can be named persistence, then persistence has no resistance to being named empty.¹³⁷

On the citation of evidence, Mujaku first quoted Chen-ch'eng's words:

Since the talk of the nature's persistence agrees with the Buddha's intention, it is the sacred teaching of the Tripitaka. How can there not be even a few words or a single phrase that proves this?¹³⁸

He, then, proceeded to quote from sutras, especially the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Avatamsaka* and *Lotus* as well as Ch'eng-kuan's commentary, to refute

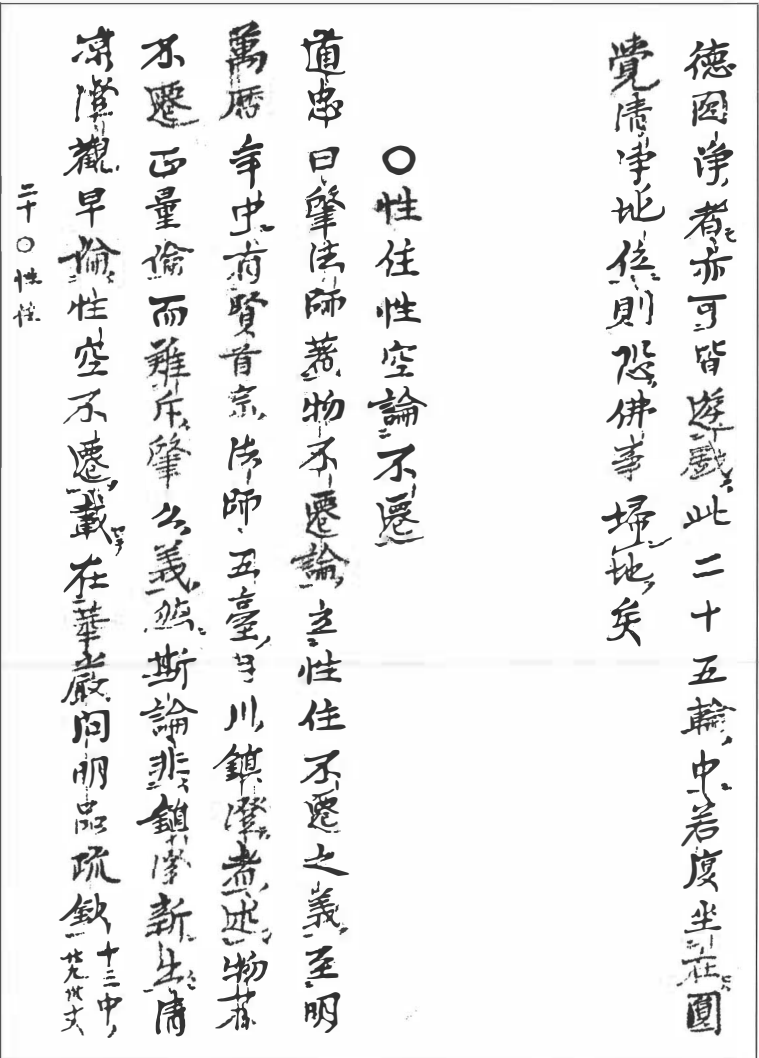
Figure 10

Mujaku's introduction to the debate over the Seng-chao in his Kinben shikai manuscript

the assertion in Chen-ch'eng's last sentence.¹³⁹ Thus Mujaku concluded that "the nature abides" and "the nature is empty" are identical, and concluded that Seng-chao's ideas "cannot be pettily contradicted. I request that the dispute be put to rest".¹⁴⁰

Next, Mujaku engaged with other supplementary arguments such as those by Ch'eng-kuan who said Seng-chao was arguing that "if the nature is not empty, that is not true emptiness, which is to elucidate the meaning of the nature is empty in reference to the vulgar truth as it being unshifting."¹⁴¹ Mujaku then quoted Chu-hung¹⁴² and concluded that Ch'eng-kuan and Chu-hung were using a supplementary argument to make up for the flaws in the case that the nature is empty:

As Chen-ch'eng was unwilling to accept this, he said, "Although the *Basic Meanings of the Propositions* (Tsong-pen [i of Seng-chao]) says the nature is empty and yet is not eliminated, still it says that the nature persists, which is the fundamental and derivative in opposition to each other. Does that not substantially violate the method of logic, his own words being self-contradictory?" As I see it, Ch'eng-kuan [yen-i] was saying that "not true emptiness" elucidates that the nature is empty in reference to the elucidation of the basis of the text, so really the *Thesis on Not True Emptiness* (Pu chen lun) also fully clarified "the nature is empty". But that was in reference to the primal meaning siddhanta (proposition), and is not the same as the usual path ... (which states that) ...



¹³⁹ *Kinben shikai*, 240b, possibly referring to the *Yen-i ch'ao*, T36.302b23.

¹⁴⁰ *Kinben shikai*, 241a.

¹⁴¹ *Kinben shikai*, 241a.

¹⁴² Quote from *Chu-ch'uang sui-pi*, 180a.

¹⁴³ *Kinben shikai*, 241b–2b. The quote is from the *Wupu-ch'iencheng-lianglun*, HTC 97.755a14–15.

¹⁴⁴ Dates unknown. Pao was a lay disciple of Chu-hung who aided in the printing of many Buddhist books. His biography can be found in the *Chü-shih chuan* [Biographies of Lay Buddhists] HTC 149.947b–948a.

¹⁴⁵ *Kinben shikai*, MSS, 238b–42b; for Pao, see Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, p.179. This last text was also quoted in the *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 547b.

¹⁴⁶ Araki, *Unsei Shukō no kenkyū*, pp.12–13, 15, 19. Cited from the opening lines of the *T'ien-lo niao-k'ung chi* [Divine Delights Warned Against from Emptiness Collection], Lan (1984–1986), 20:639a.

¹⁴⁷ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 412b, cited from *Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien Ch'an-shih kuang-lu*, HTC 125.763a10–12.

as soon as something is born there is extinction. This meaning is not the same ... (for) that (usual path) truly is in reference to the corrective proposition, while here Seng-chao's intention and the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* (Chih-tu lun)'s "When it arises, one cannot have persistence and extinction" are the same ... Therefore the *Thesis that Things Do Not Shift* fully elucidates the nature is empty (which is the primal proposition).¹⁴³

Finally, Mujaku noted that Pao Tsung-chao 鮑宗肇¹⁴⁴ aimed to fuse Confucianism and Buddhism by mixing the "conscience" of Wang Yang-ming and the "numinous knowing marvellous mind" of Ch'an, especially that of Tsung-mi. Pao wrote about this topic in his *Divine Delights Warned Against From Emptiness Collection* (T'ien-lo niao-k'ung chi 天樂鳴空集).¹⁴⁵ Here Mujaku is staunchly defending Seng-chao and the notion that the Buddha-nature has no concrete conditionality or reified existence—that is, it is empty. At the same time, it is also an abiding potentiality that cannot be removed, unlike existence, which rises and ceases, or in Seng-chao's terms, "shifts".

In the late Ming, this type of discourse became important with the rise of the thought of Wang Yang-ming. Yün-men Mai-lang 雲門麥浪, writing in 1610, considered that Wang Yang-ming had responded in a timely way to the needs of the age, which he did with the theory of "good knowing" by which he meant conscience, and with the use of Ch'an language to merge Buddhism and Confucianism. In Buddhism he was succeeded by Chu-hung. Chih-hsü likewise probably thought that Wang Yang-ming's theory of "good knowing" had a close connection to the revival of Buddhism in the late Ming, for some saw it as the approximate equivalent of Ch'an's "seeing the nature". Thus Wang Yang-ming Confucianism was called "mind study" (*hsin-hsüeh* 心學) and Ch'an was called "the school of the mind" (*hsin-tsung* 心宗). Pao Tsung-chao wrote:

Buddha is Awakening. Awakening is the mind of numinous knowing. Therefore it is said, "This mind is Buddha ..." and "The one word knowing is the gate of the mysteries". This marvellous mind of numinous knowing is fully present in everyone. Wang Yang-ming's "engage good knowing" is likewise due to this.¹⁴⁶

Mujaku cited Yung-chüeh Yüan-hsien on this topic:

Buddhists, in discussing the nature, often use knowing awareness [cognition and sensation] to speak of it. What is meant by knowing awareness is the numinous light that solely reveals and releases [one] from the data of the senses and does not deal with them, and yet is knowing awareness.

Yang-ming introduced the theory of good knowing, in which knowing comes into being as soon as the percepts. When the percepts are extinguished the knowing disappears. How can it be the light of a real nature?¹⁴⁷

In other words, for Yüan-hsien and Mujaku, the “good knowing” of Wang Yang-ming was dependent on the existence of sense-data coming into the mind as percepts. Thus it could not be the equivalent of the Buddha-nature, which although empty of content, persists even when there is no sense-data or percepts. Yüan-hsien then analysed the relation of “good knowing” to orthodox Ch’eng-Chu Confucianism and the theory of the “four beginnings”. He stated that Wang Yang-ming’s “good knowing” is proper emotion or feeling.

If you wish to examine this deeply, then this emotion will lead to movement. When there is no movement, there is a clear numinous intelligence that is not obscured, neither good nor evil, which is the correct mind. How can this [emotion] be the principle of the real nature?¹⁴⁸

Mujaku then quoted Chu-hung’s opinion, in which he attempted to differentiate “good knowing” from Buddhist “knowing” by discussing it in terms of the proposition (*tsung* 宗), cause (*yin* 因) and example (*yü* 喻). Chu-hung made “good knowing” the proposition, “knowing without thinking” the cause, and “love and respect” the example. This then is “naturally knowing and yet not creating an action/karma”.¹⁴⁹ Mujaku criticised this:

Chu-hung’s statement of a syllogism I fear violates the methodology [lit., karma]. “Good knowing” is an existent dharma, but that is not a proposition. That children know love and respect is not an example, since that is the cause, “knowing without thinking”. I make the assumption [instead] of the statement of the syllogism that holds that, “Good knowing is an existent dharma that naturally knows and yet is not created” is the proposition, and “because of knowing without thinking” is the cause, and that “just as fire prefers the dry and water flows to the moist” is the same example.¹⁵⁰

Here the argument is about children naturally loving their parents and respecting their elders without being taught to do so. They do not think about it, so it is “knowing without thinking”. The issue was how to put this observation into a logical argument. Therefore, Mujaku was not simply opposed to fusing Confucianism and Buddhism, he was also seeking the correct methodology for understanding the Buddha-nature and the way to see it, the prime objective of Zen. In this way he tried to demonstrate that the logic of his opponents was faulty.

What is Enlightenment?

Again, Mujaku applied this logic to the issue of enlightenment and whether or not it was an all-at-once experience or an accumulation of experiences. In the *Numinous Rain of the Cloud Canopy*, Mujaku again

¹⁴⁸ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 412b, citing HTC 125.763a14-16.

¹⁴⁹ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 413a, citing *Chuch’uang sui-pi*, p.178b.

¹⁵⁰ *Wan’un reiu*, MSS, 413b; translation of last line uncertain.

¹⁵¹ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 449b–50a, citing *Chu-ch'uang erb-pi*, p.234b–c.

¹⁵² *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 450a–b.

cited Chu-hung who stated that there was a tradition that Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), the alleged founder of the “examination of the key word in a case” (*k'an-bua Ch'an* 看話禪) that came to dominate Lin-chi/Rinzai practice, had “great enlightenment eighteen times and minor enlightenment an incalculable number of times.” Chu-hung claims to have consulted meditators who said that they called having the perception of their own mind via an experience of or confrontation with an opportune condition, such as an appropriate *kung-an*, an alertness (*hsing* 省), and that if that alertness was sudden or temporary and not thorough, it was a minor enlightenment. Thus the enlightenment the Buddha achieved on seeing the morning star was a great enlightenment, a singular enlightenment that was complete. It did not depend on a second or third enlightenment. This then, in Chu-hung's opinion, was characteristic of all the patriarchs. Chu-hung claimed, however, that in the time of Huang-po there were few genuine Buddhists, and so even though they had not reached Buddhahood, they were said to have experienced great enlightenment, but they still needed this experience repeatedly. Chu-hung asserted, therefore, that those aspiring for great enlightenment without doubts would again doubt. How, he exclaimed, could this be titled “great enlightenment”?

Now if one is ignorant, even though one eliminates this [ignorance], but one still wishes to eliminate the subtlest ignorance, then even though one has penetrated the *kung-an*, and still one wishes to penetrate it to the extremity, that is to wilfully misinterpret the *kung-an*. So then those who have numbers of great enlightenments are permitted to have them, but they still do not need as many as eighteen.¹⁵¹

Mujaku's response was three-fold. First, he stated that Chu-hung's examination was narrow and shallow, and that his words were self-contradictory and not beneficial.

Chu-hung said that the great enlightenment the World-Honoured had on seeing the star did not depend on a second or third [enlightenment]. Chu-hung did not remember that in past ages the World-Honoured had realised the forbearance of the non-production of dharmas, so how was that not a great enlightenment? After that time he realised the limitless, profound and marvellous Dharma, and was again greatly enlightened. He was not prevented from having any number of great enlightenments even tens or hundreds. Chu-hung does not accord with logic of the Way.¹⁵²

Mujaku continues to point out other inconsistencies, stating that one could be enlightened any number of times to *kung-an/kōan*.

Mujaku's second response was to cite scriptural proof such as Ch'eng-kuan's commentary on the Daśabhūmi chapter of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (Hua-yen ching shih-ti p'in shu 華嚴經十地品疏) that states one requires realisation of the first of the ten stages, and that no more are needed due to the principle of non-duality. But some still interpreted this as need-

ing realisation at each of the ten stages, for as the *Vijñāptimātra-siddhi Śāstra* (Wei-shih lun 唯識論) wrote,

“Even though the nature of true thusness is really without distinction, in accordance with the superiority of merit ten sorts are established provisionally.” This refers to the differences in the virtues that are realised. Therefore there are ten stages that are personally realised.¹⁵³

Mujaku also cited the metaphor of a lamp illuminating the darkness in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* (Ta chih-tu lun) 大智度論. If the lamplight is faint the darkness is not fully overcome. Only when it is totally illuminated does an extra lamp become useless.¹⁵⁴

The third response was to cite works like the *Miscellaneous Logia of Ch'an Master Ming-pen of T'ien-mu* 天目明本禪師雜錄 of Chung-feng Ming-pen 中峯明本 (1264–1325), who said that once one has been enlightened, naturally there will be other enlightenments, like Ta-hui.¹⁵⁵ Finally, Mujaku cited the *Collection of Kōan Exercises in Daily Use by Master Kūge* (Kūge nichiyō kufū shū 空華日用工夫集) of Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–88). When asked about the eighteen great enlightenments and innumerable minor enlightenments of Ta-hui, Shūshin replied that they did not exist. Mujaku praised this reply for its decisiveness, unlike Chu-hung's dithering, inconclusive response.¹⁵⁶

This topic was later taken up by Hakuin and two of his disciples, including Tōrei Enji, who were also aware of Ming Buddhist thinkers. This shows that the “Tokugawa Rinzai claim that it represents the unadulterated Sung Ch'an tradition” was wrong, in that it, “had in fact assimilated consciously or unconsciously many features characteristic of Ming Buddhist developments”.¹⁵⁷

Conclusion

Mujaku's scholarship then was concerned with the problems he perceived in the Zen of his day. Each element was meant to improve the discipline and organisation of the monastery and promote study and meditation by the monks. Thus, he sought in Ming Buddhist scholarship responses to similar problems that Buddhism faced in Japan, but he often did not agree with the solutions proposed by the late-Ming Buddhists, especially Chu-hung. Rather, Mujaku wished to solve problems without violating what he conceived of as the orthodox tradition of Zen, something he thought some of the Chinese masters had done by incorporating Pure Land *nien-fo* elements, by simplifying and watering down the provisions of the *Pure Regulations of Pai-chang*, and by not differentiating the Buddhist assertion of the emptiness of the Buddha-nature from the Confucian theories of Wang Yang-ming. While this was also to some

¹⁵³ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 451a

¹⁵⁴ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 451b; cf. brief reference in *Rokuso dankyō suichōsō*, Part A: 62b.

¹⁵⁵ HTC 122.

¹⁵⁶ *Wan'un reiu*, MSS, 452b.

¹⁵⁷ Mohr, “Emerging from Nonduality,” p.251.

¹⁵⁸ Topic considered in Yanagida, "Mujaku Dōchū no gakumon," pp.1352–54.

¹⁵⁹ *Chu-ch'uang erh-pi*, 218a, "Writing is best left to later years". Chu-hung asserted that when "Miao-hsi [Tsung-kao] first received the certification of his realisation [at the age of sixteen] if he had immediately been self-satisfied, then would he have achieved his later affairs [of enlightenment]? Writings produced in one's early years are best delayed".

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extent motivated by sectarianism and feelings of cultural superiority, the issues and the answers he gave were meant to deal with practical problems ranging from monastic regulations and mourning to the correct interpretation of the characteristics of the Buddha-nature. This is why he approved of Yung-ch'üeh Yüan-hsien over Chu-hung and others. This selectivity showed that Mujaku took the ideas of late Ming Buddhists seriously, for they addressed issues relevant to the Zen of Mujaku's day, and largely informed the Zen of Mujaku's Ōbaku rivals. Mujaku thus drew upon a broad range of Ming and Ch'ing Chinese authors, but his work did not gain a wide audience. Most of Mujaku's answers and solutions were meant almost exclusively for Myōshinji or Rinzai monks, so his books circulated to only a few scholarly Zen students and did not penetrate much into the other religious communities. Perhaps this reluctance to publish was due to Mujaku's trenchant criticism of others allied with a desire for perfection in his own work. He cited earlier writers, including Confucius, Neo-Confucians and Ch'eng-kuan, on the need for mature reflection on issues.¹⁵⁸ Ironically, this agrees with Chu-hung's position.¹⁵⁹ Despite this, he saw these issues as vital concerns, and such attitudes by early to mid-Tokugawa Buddhists like Mujaku gave Buddhism in Japan a stimulus for reform and development, and created a basis for Zengaku.