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Zen and the Art of Nourishing Life Labor, Exhaustion, and the Malady of Meditation

In his *Yasenkanna* and other writings Zen master Hakuin Ekaku (1686–1769) relies on two seemingly conflicting analogies to speak of the art of nourishing life (*yōjō*). On the one hand, he maintains that vital energy (*ki*) must be stored in the cinnabar field (*tanden*). On the other hand, he maintains that one must circulate vital energy in the body by engaging in labor lest it become stagnant. A similar tension can be observed in Kaibara Ekken's (1630–1714) immensely popular manual of nourishing life, *Yōjōkun*. Although Shigehisa Kuriyama points to the industrious revolution and what he calls the “anxiety of stagnation” that swept through the Tokugawa populace as a possible cause for the rise of this tension, the present article will suggest a fundamental redefinition of labor (*rō*) and, more specifically, reading practices that took place during this period as another possible factor behind this development. Labor, be it meditation or reading, had to demonstrate a sense of self-mastery for it to be true labor and failure to do so would result in exhaustion (*rō*) or what Hakuin preferred to call the malady of meditation (*zenbyō*).

KEYWORDS: Hakuin Ekaku — Kaibara Ekken — labor — Zen — meditation — *naikan*

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IN HIS LETTER to Nabeshima Naotsune 鍋島直恒 (1701–1749), the ailing governor of Settsu 摂津守,¹ Zen master Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1686–1769) relies on two seemingly conflicting analogies to speak of what he calls the “malady of meditation” or *zenbyō* 禅病. On the one hand, Hakuin likens the treatment of *zenbyō* to the art of governing a country: “The spirit (*shin* 神) represents the prince, the essence (*sei* 精) the ministers, and the vital energy (*ki* 氣) the people. When the people are loved and cared for, then the country is perfected; when the vital energy is guarded, then the body is perfected. When the people are scattered, the nation is destroyed; when the vital energy is exhausted (*ki tsukuru* 氣竭クル), the body dies.”² The sagely lord (*seishu* 聖主) thus always keeps his mind focused on what is below—the people. Otherwise, the people become resentful. Vital energy must likewise be made to accumulate fully below.

On the other hand, Hakuin also likens the stubborn attachment to what he calls “meditative-work in the midst of quietude” (*jōchū no kufū* 静中の工夫) to a man who tries to guard his gold (that is, his resolve to carry out meditative-work) by shutting himself in a room (see YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 200–201; also

1. As Philip Yampolsky and Yoshizawa Katsuhiko both point out, the governor of Settsu here refers to Nabeshima Naotsune and not, as Rikugawa Taiun suggests, Nabeshima Ainao 鍋島相直; see YAMPOLSKY 1971, 29 n. 1 and YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 188 n. 2. In referring to Rikugawa’s misidentification Yampolsky mistakenly cites p. 178 of Rikugawa’s work (the correct citation is p. 198).

Hakuin’s letter to Naotsune was published, along with two other letters, as the *Oradegama* 遠羅天釜 in 1749. This early edition of the *Oradegama* was printed from woodblocks carved from manuscripts written in Hakuin’s own hand. Two other letters in which Hakuin launched a virulent critique of nenbutsu were added to the *Oradegama* as the *Oradegama zokushū* 遠羅天釜續集 and the expanded text was published in 1751.

For more on Nabeshima and his physical condition, see YOSHIZAWA 2000b, 261–75; and also YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 533. According to the *Hasu no Ike han nisshi* 蓮の池藩日誌, Nabeshima Naotsune first showed signs of illness in the early half of the 1730s. For much of the rest of his life, Nabeshima struggled with repeated bouts of illness and with raising funds for his *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (alternate attendance system) visits to Edo. On numerous occasions, Nabeshima requested a delay in his visit to Edo on account of his illness. It was in the course of making his obligatory trips to Edo that Nabeshima paid visit to Hakuin (on three different occasions) to consult the master on koan training; see YOSHIZAWA 2000b, 270–71. As Yoshizawa points out, Hakuin composed a short eulogy for Nabeshima when his remains passed through Hara—which was located on the Tōkaidō road—on its way back from Edo to Kyūshū; see YOSHIZAWA 2000b, 269–70. This eulogy can be found in Hakuin’s recorded sayings, *Keisō dokuzui* 荆叢毒蘂; see HOZ 2, 98–99.

2. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 228; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 44 (with some minor changes). This same analogy is also made in another important work by Hakuin that we will examine more closely later; see YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 114; cf. WADDELL 2002, 102–103.

YAMPOLSKY 1971, 34). Like the *śrāvaka* who strives only for his own awakening, this man, says Hakuin, may be able to guard the gold but not his vital energy. He will thus succumb to the malady of meditation. What, then, constitutes a genuine investigation of Zen (*shinshō sanzen* 真正參禪)? According to Hakuin, the bodhisattva approach and hence the genuine approach is to take the gold and march straight through a road infested with thieves, that is to say, delusions, desires, and wrong views. Unless one carries out such “meditative-work in the midst of activity” (*dōchū no kufū* 動中の工夫), all vital energy, he claims, will be lost like a lotus touched by fire.³ In fact, Hakuin insists that the practitioner who wishes to investigate genuine Zen must strive to be like “a lotus that blossoms from the midst of flames.”⁴ Lest inherent awakening (the gold) and desires form a duality, the practitioner, in other words, must be able to cultivate a mind of purity without abandoning the various desires and the objects of the senses. What we seem to have here in Hakuin’s letter to Nabeshima, then, are two potentially conflicting images of vital energy: whereas one takes vital energy to be in need of preservation, protection, and accumulation “below,” the other regards this defensive attitude as the very cause of the loss of vital energy and the outbreak of the malady of meditation.

To be sure, what Hakuin hoped to eventually accomplish by promoting meditative work in the midst of activity was to *rise above* this seeming contradiction, but this should not keep us from paying closer attention to the subtle yet unmistakable difference between the two views of vital energy that we find in Hakuin’s letter. That we need to do so becomes all the more apparent, I believe, when we consider the fact that a similar tension can be observed, for instance, in Kaibara Ekken’s 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) immensely popular manual of nourishing life, *Yōjōkun* 養生訓, published in 1713. Let me explain. Ekken opens this manual with the simple definition of nourishing life as the art of keeping inner desires (*naiyoku* 内欲) at bay and outer evils (*geja* 外邪) away. Underlying this unassuming definition, what we find is a theme that is common to most, if not all, texts that belong to the nourishing life genre, namely the need to guard against the “depletion” (Ch. *xu*, Jp. *kyo* 虚) of primordial energy (*genki* 元氣). But Ekken’s

3. This seems to have been a sentiment that Hakuin shared with many others during the Tokugawa; see OOMS 1985, 116–43 passim. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is Suzuki Shōsan 鈴木正三 (1579–1655), whose work exerted a considerable amount of influence on Hakuin. The concern of this paper, however, lies less in the provenance of this sentiment than in the particular way in which it shaped Hakuin’s work (both mental and physical).

4. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 208; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 37. This metaphor may have been borrowed from Yongjia Xuanjue’s 永嘉玄覺 (665–713) *Zhengdao ge* 證道歌; see T51.2076.461a. The metaphor itself seems to be an old one. It can be seen, for instance, in the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (T12.374.472c20 and T12.375.715c5) and the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* (T14.474.530c3 and T14.475.550b4). I thank Michel Mohr for this reference.

definition of nourishing life does not stop here. What is truly striking about his *Yōjōkun* is the fact that it also adds the curious and potentially contradictory remark that one should not sit for long periods or take naps after meals as this will cause “stagnation” (*todokoori* 滞り) of vital energy and eventually bring about illness (ISHIKAWA 1981, 30; cited in KURIYAMA 1997a, 45). As an effective means of preventing stagnation, Ekken goes on to suggest, among other things, walking at least several hundred paces after every meal, receiving massages (*anma* 按摩), and practicing *dōin* 導引 (“guiding and pulling”) or gymnastics. What, then, is the proper attitude towards vital energy? Is one to guard against its depletion or its accumulation and stagnation? Like Hakuin, Ekken seems to be ultimately attempting to rise above this potential contradiction, but what we need to ask ourselves here is, *why*?

This question also happens to form the core of a relatively recent essay written by Shigehisa KURIYAMA (see 1997a; cf. 1997b). In his attempt to make sense of a fairly common yet poorly understood ailment known as *katakori* 肩こり, an ailment that tends not to be readily translated into any other language,⁵ Kuriyama first draws his reader’s attention to the etymology of the latter half of this word, *kori*. As Kuriyama points out, *kori* is related to the word *kokoro* 心 (“mind” or “heart”) and both terms derive from the term, *kogoru* 凝る, which means, among other things, “to congeal, harden, freeze, solidify, or stiffen” (KURIYAMA 1997a, 39). It should therefore come as no surprise to learn that expressions like *kata no kogori* 肩の凝り and *kata ga kogorite* 肩が凝りて were used by physicians during the Tokugawa period to refer to a “stiffening,” “hardening,” or a “tension” that occurs as a prelude to something more serious like a stroke. But, as Kuriyama also points out, a far more common expression for an ailment in the shoulder among the general Tokugawa populace was *kenpeki* or *kenbeki* 痙癖, a peculiar use of this old term that has no precedent in the medical literature of China.

In fact, the frequency with which Tokugawa-period physicians expressed their reservations about using the term *kenpeki* to refer to a shoulder ailment in the seventeenth century, as Kuriyama suggests, seems to indicate that this custom was relatively new even in Japan.⁶ If this is true, then there must be some reason why people began to experience this ailment at this particular juncture in Japanese history. KURIYAMA claims to know why. When people began to complain about *kenpeki* during the Tokugawa what they were beginning to experience, according to Kuriyama, was an “anxiety about stagnation” (*todokoori no fuan* 滞りの不安; 1997a, 44). KURIYAMA thus calls *kenpeki* an instance of “anxiety-

5. KURIYAMA 1997a, 38. Some possibilities for the translation of *katakori* are “stiff shoulder,” “shoulder tension,” or “Schulterspannung.”

6. KURIYAMA 1997a, 42. According to Kuriyama, *kokoro* had at one point referred not to the mind-and-heart but to the “solid” organ within one’s abdomen, that is, the *zōfu* 臟腑 or entrails.

turned-flesh” (*fuan no nikutaika* 不安の肉体化; 1997a, 44). As an example of how commonplace this anxiety was during the Tokugawa, Kuriyama mentions the physician Gotō Konzan’s 後藤良山 (1659–1733) bold claim that “the hundred illnesses all rise from the stagnation of a single vital energy”⁷ and similar claims advanced, for instance, by Gotō’s disciple Kagawa Shūan 香川修庵 (1683–1755) and in texts such as the *Dōin kuketsu shō* 導引口訣鈔 (1713) and *Kokon dōin shū* 古今導引集 (1709).⁸ Kuriyama also finds the same concern at work in the *Yōjōkun*’s two-pronged theory of depletion and stagnation. This is not to say that the problem of stagnation, as Kuriyama is cautious to point out, was unknown to earlier medical sources from China, but why, he asks, do we not find a single source before the Tokugawa that puts the problem of stagnation *on equal grounds* with that of depletion? Even more puzzling, perhaps, is the ease with which the view (*kan* 觀) or anxiety of stagnation came to be experienced (*kan* 感) as, among other things, *kogori*, *heki* 癖, *shaku* 積, *chō* 癥, *ketsu* 結, *ju* 聚, *ka* 痲, or *sen* 疝 in early modern Japan.⁹

Kuriyama first suggests that the wide acceptance of the view of stagnation may have something to do with the ethos of diligence (*kinben* 勤勉) that swept through the Tokugawa populace. As a larger backdrop against which one may make sense of this ethos, Kuriyama points to what Hayami Akira and Miyamoto Matao have called Japan’s “industrious revolution” (*kinben kakumei* 勤勉革命) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ As another closely related factor in the rise of stagnation as a central trope in the imagination of the body, KURIYAMA also points to the rhetoric of circulation (*junkan* 循環) or, to

7. KKIS 13, 88; cited in KURIYAMA 1997a, 44. For more on Gotō and his *kohō* 古方 school of medicine, see FUJIKAWA 2003, 155–159.

8. Gotō and his disciple Kagawa are often referred to as the founders of the *Koihō* 古醫方 (Ancient Methods of Medicine) school of medicine. For the *Koihō* school of medicine, see FUJIKAWA 2003, 164 and OZAKI 1979, 196–240. Norman Ozaki rightly points out the problems of simply characterizing the *Koihō* physicians as reformist thinkers who called for a return to the pre-Song medical classics; OZAKI 1979, 216. For more information on Gotō and his clinical theories, see also LIANG 1997. For Kagawa’s theories on *kan* 癩 (psychosis?) and stagnation; see HIRUTA 2002, 134–135.

9. See KURIYAMA 1997a, 44; TATSUKAWA 1998, 57–67; and SHIRASUGI 1997. I will have more to say about these ailments later.

10. HAYAMI and MIYAMOTO 1988, 36–37; for an English translation of this work, see HAYAMI, SAITŌ, and TOBY 2004, 28, 44. Also note Matao Miyamoto’s use of the word stagnation (*teitai* 停滞) to refer to the seemingly stunted growth in population during the mid-Tokugawa period; see HAYAMI and MIYAMOTO 1988, 52; cf. HAYAMI, SAITŌ, and TOBY 2004, 45. The label “industrious revolution,” however, is by no means applicable only to early modern Japan. The historian Jan de Vries has recently used to the same label to refer to changes in household behavior in seventeenth to nineteenth century Europe where we find a tendency to reduce leisure time and reallocate labor from goods and services for direct consumption to marketed goods; see DE VRIES 1994.

be more precise, cash circulation that began to appear in the writings of figures like Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 (1648–1724), a native of the thriving trade port of Nagasaki (1997a, 48–51). But in addition to these large-scale historical changes, Kuriyama believes that the newfound emphasis on abdominal diagnosis and massage therapy as a treatment for *kenpeki* played an important role in bringing the view of stagnation (*todokoori*) down to the level of flesh where it was experienced as a stiffening, hardening, or tension (*kogori*) in the body (KURIYAMA 1997a, 56). According to Kuriyama, it is under these specific historical conditions that admonitions such as the following from the *Yōjōkun* came to be taken for granted:

Some people might say, “the art of nourishing life is appropriate for old folks in retirement or the young who, having fled from the world, idly do nothing. For the samurai who must serve his lord and parents with loyalty and filial piety and cultivate himself with martial arts or for those farmers, artisans, and merchants who, having to devote themselves day and night to their family trade, have no time to spare, nourishing life is difficult to accomplish.” Such people claim that if one devotes oneself to the art of nourishing life one’s body will become soft and one’s skills will become dull and would thus prove to be of no use. These are the doubts of people who do not know the art of nourishing life—no wonder. To practice the art of nourishing life is not to idly do nothing. It is to quiet the mind and move the body. By having the body be idle the primordial energy will come to be stagnant and illness will arise. For example, this is just like [the saying] “flowing water does not putrefy and a door hinge does not rust.”¹¹ What moves will endure, but what does not move will not live long. As such, the four class of citizens should all work diligently and not become indolent. This is precisely the art of nourishing life.

(ISHIKAWA 1981, 37; cited in KURIYAMA 1997a, 51)

Kuriyama is certainly right to contend that a subtle tension between two potentially conflicting views of nourishing life can be witnessed in this passage from the *Yōjōkun* and other related writings from the Tokugawa period (KURIYAMA 1997a, 52). Although nourishing life was still associated primarily with the old ideal of storing up and guarding primordial energy against depletion in peace and tranquility, escalating anxieties about stagnation seem to have made hard work and constant movement a desirable alternative to this old ideal. As the general ethos of the population shifted in this direction, Kuriyama also saw

11. Ekken later identifies the source of this passage as the *Jinshu* 盡數 chapter of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋; ISHIKAWA 1981, 45. The passage from the *Lüshi chunqiu* reads as follows, “flowing water does not putrefy and a door hinge does not rust—they move; form and vital energy are also like this” (CHEN 2002, 139). Kuriyama notes that this passage was frequently cited by masseuses during the Tokugawa period and that it serves as proof of the awareness of the dangers of stagnation in early China; see KURIYAMA 1997a, 45.

a parallel (but not necessarily causal) development on a more personal level that allowed the body to be *imagined* and *experienced* in a manner quite unlike before. But if these subtle changes did, in fact, occur simultaneously on both the macro-level of the ethos of a population and the micro-level of the individual's body during Hakuin's own lifetime, it behooves us to give some thought to the following question: was Hakuin's work on the malady of meditation involved in any way with this "anxiety about stagnation"? The answer, as we shall see, is *yes*, but I would like to suggest that the malady of meditation is better understood as an anxiety not so much about stagnation as about its cure, labor (*rō* 勞), and about the malady's cause, exhaustion (*rō*). And at the root of this anxiety what we shall find is a fundamental redefinition of labor.

The Art of Nourishing Life

STAGNATION IN THE YASENKANNA

Much of what we know about Hakuin's views on the art of nourishing life, which he attributes to the obscure hermit Hakyū 白幽,¹² come from his *Yasenkanna* 夜船閑話.¹³ It is unclear as to when exactly Hakuin wrote this popular work, but we do know that the *Yasenkanna* first appeared in printed form as part of a lengthy commentary entitled the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* 寒山詩闡提記聞 published in 1746.¹⁴ In this truly astonishing work of exegesis,¹⁵ Hakuin uses the *Yasenkanna* as an extended commentary on a poem from a larger work traditionally

12. Hakyū's historicity has been hotly debated. Several decades ago, however, the Japanese scholar Itō Kazuo argued that Hakuin did in fact have a contemporary who used the sobriquet Hakyū; Itō 1956, 40. According to Itō, his real name was Ishikawa Jishun 石川慈俊 (1645–1709) and he is known to have been the disciple of Ishikawa Jōzan 石川丈山 (1583–1672), a renowned samurai and Tokugawa-period scholar (1600–1868). In a number of his works Hakuin claims to have met Hakyū sometime after his leave from Shōjuan 正受庵 in 1709. This seems highly unlikely given Hakyū's dates. For a more extensive account of Ishikawa Jishun's life, see Itō 1973. See also RIKUGAWA 1962, 140–203; MOHR 1999, 310–11; and MOHR 2000, 258.

13. For this study I have relied on the edition of the *Yasenkanna* edited by YOSHIKAWA (2000a). See also HOZ 5, 341–66. For an English translation, see SHAW and SCHIFFER 1956 and WADDELL 2002. Some suggest that the title *Yasenkanna* or "Idle talk on a night boat" alludes to the famous idiom, "night boat of Shirakawa" (*Shirakawa yobune* 白川夜船), which refers to the pretense of knowing something that actually doesn't exist; see IZUYAMA 1983, 114; MOHR 1999, 311; MOHR 2000, 258; and WADDELL 1999, 152–54.

14. HOZ 4, 108–197. Rikugawa was the first to suggest that this version of the *Yasenkanna* might be the first edition of the text; RIKUGAWA 1963, 197. However, the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* specifically cites the *Yasenkanna* by name and records that many disciples fought to make copies of the text. According to the copy of the *Yasenkanna* housed at Waseda University (item # ㍻09 00295), Ogawa Genbei's print shop, Yūshōdō 友松堂, was located on Rokkakusagaru, Eramachidōri in Kyoto. The woodblocks were carved in Kyoto by Ryūshiken 柳枝軒.

15. Rikugawa Taiun even calls it Hakuin's masterpiece (*hakubi* 白眉); RIKUGAWA 1963, 197.

attributed to the legendary Tang poet Hanshan 寒山. The message of the poem in question is rather simple: “nurture” (*yi* 益) your essence (*jing* 精), “change” (*yi* 易) your physical form (*xing* 形), and this will allow you to cheat death and become an immortal (*xian* 仙).¹⁶ Few, I suspect, would hesitate to either loosely or strongly associate this poem with Daoist ideas of immortality and its allied technologies, but the poem, Hakuin claims, was intended as a *criticism* of the alchemical arts (*renka no jutsu* 鍊鍛術) of the gentlemen of the Way (*daoshi* 道士), that is, the Daoists.

Having thus clarified the “true” purpose of Hanshan’s poem, Hakuin then attempts to establish an alternative genealogy for the former’s thoughts on nourishing life. This he does by forging a link between the poem and a passage from the Chinese medical classic, *Suwen* 素問 of the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, which reads as follows: “Tranquilly content in vacuous nothingness, [the sages] were accompanied by true vital energy; their essence and spirit being guarded from within, whence would illness come forth?”¹⁷ Due to the lack of corroborative evidence there is no way to know for sure whether this is indeed what Hanshan had in mind when he composed his poem, but what Hakuin was able to accomplish by coupling Hanshan’s poem with the *Suwen* passage cited above was to give some credence to the idea that nurturing essence and changing physical form is an art that is practiced internally and not, as the Daoists would have it, externally in a laboratory.¹⁸ This, Hakuin claims, is Hanshan’s real message.¹⁹ The general purport of his own *Yasenkan*, he hastens to add, is also consistent with this understanding.

Although Hakuin was clearly intent on distinguishing his own views on nourishing life from that of Daoist (external) alchemy and aligning it instead with the *Suwen*, his references to the work of Bai Yuchan 白玉蟾 (ca. 1194–1229), a renowned scholar of Daoist thunder rites (*leifa* 雷法) and alchemy, seems to belie

16. For the poem, see IRITANI and MATSUMURA 1970, 115–16. As Iritani Sensusuke and Matsumura Takashi point out, this poem seems to contradict the anti-immortalist views (*han shinsenshō* 反神仙思想) found in other poems from the same collection.

17. YU 1994, vol. 1, 13b; cf. VEITH 1972, 98. Hakuin credits Hakuyū as the source from which he learned of this passage; see HOZ 4, 116; YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 135–36; cf. WADDELL 2002, 111. See also the *Oradegama* (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 230).

18. In his *Yasenkan*, Hakuin describes the completion of the elixir as the “overturning of the elixir furnace” (*tansō o kenpon suru* 丹竈を掀翻する); YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 123; cf. WADDELL 2002, 106 n. 93. According to Yoshizawa’s gloss, this expression is used here to refer to the fact that one need not seek an external drug of immortality once the nourishment of vital energy in the body is complete; YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 124 n. 8.

19. Curiously, in other sources such as the *Taiping guang ji* 太平廣記, Hanshan is also remembered as having instructed a Daoist to “make the mind face upward within and regulate one’s conduct without,” which will then allow the practitioner to produce an external elixir (*waidan* 外丹); BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN 1989–1990, 173.

such intentions.²⁰ In the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* and other writings, Hakuin, for instance, cites the following teaching attributed to Bai:

The essential thing for nourishing life is to strengthen the physical frame. The secret of strengthening the physical frame lies in concentrating the spirit. When one concentrates the spirit, the energy accumulates. When the energy accumulates the elixir is formed. When the elixir is formed the physical frame becomes firm. When the physical frame is firm the spirit is perfected.²¹

Fearing, perhaps, a gross misunderstanding of his true intentions, Hakuin pulled this reference to Bai out of the body of the vulgate edition of the *Yasenkanna*, published in 1757,²² and moved it to the preface where it came to be simply referred to as “the immortals’ secret formula for the ninefold cyclically-transformed elixir” (*sennin kyūten gentan no hiketsu* 仙人九轉還丹の秘訣).²³ Let there be any lingering misunderstandings, Hakuin also made sure to add the caveat that an elixir in this context does not refer to something external to the body.²⁴ While Hakuin may have thus clarified his position (again) with regards

20. For more information on Bai, see MIYAKAWA 1978, BERLING 1993, and WANG 2004. For Bai’s contributions to alchemy scholarship, see SKAR 2003 and SUZUKI T. 2003. Hakuin also mentions Bai by name in his letter to Nabeshima and cites the above teaching; see YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 224; see also YAMPOLSKY 1971, 42–43. Although Bai is frequently cited when speaking of the so-called inner alchemy tradition (*neidan* 内丹) of the Southern Lineage, Hakuin himself does not seem to have made this association. In fact, there is no evidence in Hakuin’s writings to suggest that, when speaking of Daoist alchemy, he was aware of a distinction between an inner and external alchemy tradition. For the term *neidan* (and its complex relation to the term *waidan*), see BALDRIAN-HUSSEIN 1989–1990.

21. HOZ 4, 114 and YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 224; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 42–43. This quote can indeed be found in the *Haiqiong wendao ji* 海瓊問答集, a collection of sayings attributed to Bai prepared and printed by his disciples in 1218; see CT1308.704a14–16. The *Haiqiong wendao ji* was included in the official Daoist canon printed in 1445. The bulk of the canon made its way to Japan through Nagasaki during the Tokugawa period. The earliest reference to the canon appears in *Shōhaku sairai shomoku* 商舶載來書目 of 1695; MASUO 2004, 834; cf. BARRETT 1994.

22. Hakuin had sent a clean copy of the manuscript to Ogawa Genbei on the twenty-ninth day of the first month of 1757 and, as Yoshizawa Katsuhiko shows, Hakuin himself saw the completed product four months later in the fifth month of that same year; YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 245–47.

23. YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 94; cf. WADDELL 2002, 95. Hakuin attributes this same teaching to four other figures, Shitai 石臺, Wu Qichu 吳契初, Guangchengzi 廣成子 (a mythological figure that appears in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 as the Yellow Emperor’s teacher), and Bodhidharma; noted in YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 121 n. 1. The identities of Shitai and Wu Qichu have yet to be established, but I suspect that Shitai may actually refer to Shitai 石泰 (d. 1158), a minor official from Shaanxi who is often described as having received alchemical teachings from Zhang Boduan 張伯端, the reputed author of the *Wuzhen pian* 悟真篇. In his writings, Bai Yuchan had attempted to forge a link between himself and Zhang through Shitai; see SKAR 2003.

24. YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 94; cf. WADDELL 2002, 95. Hakuin makes the same caveat after citing Bai and his teaching in his letter to Nabeshima; see YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 225; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 43.

to Daoist alchemy, this emphasis on the need to accumulate vital energy *in* the body seems to have served as the catalyst for another potential source of anxiety and criticism, namely stagnation. This, I suspect, is why Hakuin, for instance, voiced the following concern in his *Yasenkanna*: “if I control the mind and [fix] it to a single place, would there not be stagnation of vital energy and blood?”²⁵

PRINCELY AND MINISTERIAL FIRE

If we examine what the hermit Hakuyū had purportedly imparted to Hakuin during their encounter in the outskirts of Kyoto, we see that Hakuin had good reason to be concerned about the risk of stagnation. As a remedy for Hakuin’s malady of meditation, Hakuyū had instructed the ailing Hakuin to store what in the *Mengzi* 孟子 is referred to as the “flood-like vital energy” (*kōzen no ki* 活然の氣) in his cinnabar field, the ocean of vital energy located below the navel (*sairin kikai tanden* 臍輪氣海丹田).²⁶ The old hermit had also reassured Hakuin that guarding this vital energy single-mindedly and nourishing it unwaveringly for months and years will eventually allow him to turn everything into a single, great cyclically-transformed elixir (*gentan* 還丹) (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 123; cf. WADDELL 2002, 106). Once the refinement of this elixir in the cinnabar field is complete, the body will be replete with vital energy and, as the *Suwen* claims, there will be no place from which illness can arise. This, Hakuyū reveals to Hakuin, is the secret technique of inner contemplation (*naikan*). But why must one “store” and “guard” one’s vital energy in the cinnabar field and risk stagnation to create such an elixir? According to Hakuyū, one must do so because fire tends to rise upwards and deprive the body of its vital energy. And fire tends to rise, Hakuyū explains, because the mind, the *yang* organ of fire, is by nature light and the kidney, the *yin* organ of water, is by nature heavy (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 112; cf.

25. HOZ 4, 114. Hakuin raises this concern in the *Kanzanshi sendai kimon* immediately after citing Bai. Although Bai’s teaching was eventually moved to the preface, Hakuin made no changes to this reference to stagnation in the vulgate edition of the *Yasenkanna*; see YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 126–7; cf. WADDELL 2002, 107.

26. YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 123; cf. WADDELL 2002, 106. In his letter to Nabeshima, Hakuin offers the following description of the cinnabar field (*tanden*) and ocean of vital energy (*kikai*):

The *kikai* is the treasure house where the vital energy is accumulated and nurtured; the *tanden* is the castle town where the divine elixir is distilled and the life span preserved....

The *kikai* is situated in the body at a position lower than that of the five internal organs and ceaselessly stores up the true energy. Eventually the divine elixir is perfected and the status of an immortal is achieved. The *tanden* is located in three places in the body, but the one to which I refer is the lower *tanden*. The *kikai* and *tanden* are both located below the navel; they are in actuality one thing although they have two names. The *tanden* is situated two inches below the navel, the *kikai* an inch and a half below it, and it is in this area that true energy always accumulates.

(YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 225; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 43).

WADDELL 2002, 102). In order for one to replenish the body with vital energy, one must therefore strive to bring the fire back down into the lower body where it can intermingle with the tranquil water of the kidneys. Hakuin, however, had yet to be convinced: “Is this not what Li Shicai called the partiality for cooling and descending?” (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 126–7; trans. WADDELL 2002, 107).

With a gentle smile Hakuyū is said to have replied, “not so.” As he rightly points out, when Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1588–1655), otherwise known as Shicai 士才, speaks of “the partiality for cooling and descending” (*seigō no hen* 清降の偏) he is actually referring to the lopsided understanding of the followers of the famed Chinese physician and scholar Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281–1358), otherwise known as Danxi 丹溪 (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 128; cf. WADDELL 2002, 108). The fault, Shicai states unequivocally in this *Yizong bidu* 醫宗必讀, does not necessarily lie in Danxi himself, whose theories are meant to supplement those of a renowned physician by the name of Li Dongyuan 李東垣 (1180–1251), but in the unscrupulous way in which students tend to misappropriate Danxi’s clinical strategies (LI 1957, 4). With regards to the issue of fire and water Shicai seems to be largely in agreement with Danxi that “the nature of fire is to burn upward and must therefore be made to descend; the nature of water is to descend and must therefore be made to ascend” (LI 1957, 8). Fire and water, he claims, must intermingle (*jiao* 交) to create life. Otherwise, one must be prepared to face death.²⁷

What Hakuyū offered in response to Hakuin’s concerns about the dangers of cooling and descending was a faithful reproduction of the above explanation from the *Yizong bidu*. This seems to have done the trick, as we find no further concerns raised by Hakuin regarding the issue of cooling and descending. What is curiously missing from the hermit’s response, however, is an answer for Hakuin’s other major concern, namely stagnation. What we have, instead, is this simple observation:

Fire has the two aspects of princely and ministerial. Princely fire dwells above and governs quietude and ministerial fire is located below and governs activity. Princely fire is the lord of this [actually] non-dualistic mind and ministerial fire lends ministerial support. There are two types of ministerial fire and they are said to be [located, respectively, in] the kidneys and the liver. The liver can be compared to thunder and the kidneys to a dragon. For this reason it is said, “if the dragon is returned to the depths of the ocean there will never be crashing thunder. If thunder is hidden in the marshes there will never be a soaring dragon. Are the ocean and marshes not water?” Does this not speak of controlling the tendency of the ministerial fire to rise?

(YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 129; cf. WADDELL 2002, 108)

27. This entire passage from the *Yizong bidu* is faithfully reproduced in the *Yasenkan*; see YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 127–28; cf. WADDELL 2002, 108.

Given Hakuyū's penchant to name as many authoritative sources as possible in the *Yasenkanna*, his failure to mention the source from which he acquired this statement about the relation between princely fire (*kunka* 君火) and ministerial fire (*shōka* 相火) stands out as a conspicuous silence.²⁸ That this passage closely resembles the account of fire found in Danxi's *Gezhi yulun* 格致餘論, I suspect, might be one reason why no mention is made of its source.

Indeed, in the *Gezhi yulun* we find a very similar account of the relation between princely and ministerial fire.²⁹ Here, a simple synopsis of Danxi's account will hopefully suffice. According to Danxi, the supreme ultimate (*taiji* 太極) when active (*dong* 動) produces *yang* and when quiescent (*jing* 靜) produces *yin*. All movement (*dong*), he claims, is governed by fire. Unlike the other four phases (water, wood, metal, and earth), fire is said to have not one but two natures (*xing* 性), the princely and the ministerial. The former, Danxi explains, refers to the external manifestation of movement as *yang* (for example, form and vital energy) and the latter to its internal emergence from emptiness (*xuwu* 虛無) as *yin*.

It is, in other words, ministerial fire and hence quiescent *yin* that serves as the original seat (*wei* 位) of all movement and activity. In fact, without ministerial fire, Heaven is said to be unable to produce things and people are unable to have life. The fire of Heaven (*tianhuo* 天火), Danxi explains, comes from wood in the liver, which he likens to dragon and thunder, and also from water in the kidneys. If thunder, he claims, is not hidden (*fu* 伏), the dragon not hibernating (*zhi* 蟄), and water not attached to the earth then they will not be able to cry, fly, or create waves, which means that there will be no movement and no fire. For movement

28. As Catherine Despeux points out, the separation of fire into sovereign and ministerial fire, associated respectively with the mind-and-heart and (right) kidney, fire, and water, seems to have been made possible by the development and medical implementation of the system of the five circulatory phases and six seasonal influences (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣) in the Song. She argues convincingly that fire was split in two in order to have the five (now "six") circulatory phases—not to be confused with the five phases (*wuxing* 五行)—match the six seasonal influences. As she also points out, this new system seems to have also triggered an innovation in physiology, in the Song fire came to be associated not only with the heart (sovereign fire) but also with the kidney (ministerial fire), as a result of which physicians came to recognize the existence of two separate kidneys (left associated with water and the right with the *mingmen* 命門 or "gate of life" and ministerial fire); see DESPEUX 2001, 150. She also sets this separation against the background of the emergence of similar, but by no means identical, ideas in Daoist "internal" alchemy. Although Despeux suspects that the association of sovereign fire with the mind-and-heart was borrowed from Buddhism, there seems to be no direct evidence for this claim; see DESPEUX 2001, 151.

29. The following synopsis is based on the "Discourse on Ministerial Fire" (*Xianghuo lun* 相火論) in the *Gezhi yulun*; see ZHU 1936, 34–6. See also the excellent discussion of Danxi in FURTH 1999, 145–54. As Furth points out, for Danxi, fire had less to do with pathogenic environmental *qi* (of the *wuyun liuqi* system) than with the metaphysical theories of Zhu Xi; see FURTH 1999, esp. 147. More on this later.

to be constructive and productive one must therefore make sure that ministerial fire is functioning properly in the *yin* regions of the kidneys and liver. All the more so, Danxi claims, since ministerial fire is very easily stirred (*xianghuo yi qi* 相火易起). If and when ministerial fire does stir Danxi warns that the *yin* in the kidneys and liver will become depleted. And when *yin* is depleted then there is illness (*yinxu ze bing* 陰虛則病). What, then, is one to do when ministerial fire does stir?

Danxi himself found an answer to this question in the writings of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073) and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Danxi first cites Zhou: “The sage regulates [himself] with the mean, correctness, love, and righteousness and governs with quietude.”³⁰ Then he cites Zhu Xi: “One must always have the mind of the Way serve as the lord of the body and have the mind of men listen to its mandate at all times.”³¹ If we follow these instructions, Danxi argues that ministerial fire can then be made to support creation and transformation (*zaohua* 造化) and function tirelessly in the production of life. In other words, for one to be healthy and productive, princely fire in the mind-and-heart, or what Danxi identifies as the fire of man (*renhuo* 人火), must be made to listen to the ministerial fire in the kidneys, otherwise known as the fire of Heaven, and ministerial fire itself, in turn, must be made to accord with the Way by governing it with quietude.

Something, however, is amiss here. Hakuyū, we may recall, had claimed that ministerial fire governs activity (*dō o tsukasadoru* 動をつかさどる) whereas princely fire governs quietude (*jō o tsukazadoru* 静をつかさどる). Nowhere, however, does Danxi, to my knowledge, advance this particular claim. Even if he did, it is difficult to imagine how he would then reconcile this claim with his aforementioned association of princely fire with *yang* and thus with activity. And what about the claim that ministerial fire governs activity? Is it not the case that Danxi had primarily associated ministerial fire with *yin* and thus with quietude? He did indeed, but he also saw *yin* as the indisputable source of *yang*. Only with the support of the ministerial fire fastened and hidden securely in the quietude of *yin* was it possible for *yang*, governed by the princely fire of the mind-and-heart, to be productive rather than destructive. It was, in fact, this subordination

30. ZHU 1936, 35. This line appears in Zhou’s explanation of his famous *taiji* diagram, the *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說; see CHEN 1990, 6. For an English translation of the *Taiji tushuo*, see FUNG 1953, 435–8. Zhou explains activity (*dong* 動) and quietude (*jing* 靜) in the great ultimate as *yang* and *yin* respectively; CHEN 1990, 1 and 3. In translating *zhujing* 主靜 as “governing with quietude” I follow Danxi’s own reading, *zhu zhi yi jing* 主之以靜, or “govern it with quietude” (ZHU 1936, 35). According to Zhu Xi’s gloss of this passage, governing with quietude means to not have desire (*wuyu* 無欲); see CHEN 1990, 6; cf. FUNG 1953, 437 n. 4.

31. ZHU 1936, 35. This passage is quoted from Zhu Xi’s preface to his commentary on the Doctrine of the Mean, *Zhongyong zhangju xu* 中庸章句序; see SGT 8, 449 and 12.

of *yang* to *yin*—a subversion of their “conventional” relation—that made Danxi’s clinical strategy so unique.

Was Hakyū’s claim that princely fire governs quietude in the upper body, then, a simple misreading of Danxi or an innocuous embellishment that he made in order to maintain a sense of symmetry? The fact that the above claim is never again made in the *Yasenkanna*, or any other work by Hakuin for that matter, seems to suggest that this might indeed be the case. One could even argue, I suppose, that the association of princely fire with quietude was a simple slip of the tongue. If so, then the slip was a significant one. For, the question of activity and quietude enjoyed pride of place in Hakuin’s vision of Zen. One need only recall, for instance, his frequent references to meditative-work in the mist of activity as genuine Zen and his claim that meditative-work in the midst of quietude is prone to give rise to the malady of meditation. For these and other reasons I would like to suggest that the association of princely fire, that is, “the lord of the non-dualistic mind” with the governance of quietude in the *Yasenkanna* provides us with an important clue to understanding Hakuin’s illness and his anxieties about stagnation (and labor). To test this hypothesis, we now turn to Hakuin’s account of his own illness and its relation to the problem of exhaustion.

Exhaustion (rō) and Regulation (setsu)

EXHAUSTION

Let us start with some questions. How did Hakuin sense the onset of his illness? How did it feel and why did this sensation alarm him? Even at the very outset some will certainly find these questions objectionable. How could the didactic and polemical writings of Hakuin offer us a transparent picture of his thoughts, let alone his experiences and sensations? I, for one, do not assume that they do. But I do believe that it is possible to gain an accurate picture of what Hakuin had hoped and yet *failed* to experience in his portrayal of the onset of his illness. If anywhere, it is, I would insist, in this constitutive gap between experience and expectation that we must locate Hakuin’s illness. I will return to why I call this gap “constitutive” in a moment, but let us first take a closer look at Hakuin’s narrative of the onset of his illness.

One night, after two or three years of painstaking effort, Hakuin tells us in the *Yasenkanna* that he suddenly “lost” (*rakusetsu* 落節) himself in a single instant.³² Needless to say, he was ecstatic, but this overwhelming sense of joy may have been a bit premature and perhaps even misguided. “Afterwards,” he

32. YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 98; cf. WADDELL 2002, 96. As Yoshizawa points out, the word for “lost” here, *rakusetsu*, was more commonly used to refer to “loss” in profit; YOSHIZAWA 2002a, 98 n. 2.

tells us, “reflecting upon my daily behavior, [I noticed that] the two realms of activity and quietude were completely out of balance and that my movements were not completely unconstrained” (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 99; cf. WADDELL 2002, 97). What Hakuin noticed, in other words, was that he could remain calm and focused during meditative-work in the midst of quietude but not when he returned to the hustling and bustling world of everyday life.³³ Determined to find true awakening, Hakuin resolved to forego sleep and food to continue his original quest.

Before long, however, a fire mounted in his upper body and he suffered from, among other things, cold feet, ringing in the ears, fear, fatigue, constant sweating, depression, and unstoppable production of tears in his eyes (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 193–5; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 31–2.). A cure was desperately needed, so Hakuin traveled far and wide to consult noted Zen masters and physicians about his predicament. But all to no avail. Fortunately, Hakuin was able to learn of the old recluse Hakuyū from whom he eventually received the following diagnosis: “Alas! The method of your discernment went beyond measure, the advancement in practice lost regulation, and this grave illness has thereby come about; truly, what is difficult to cure medically is your malady of meditation” (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 108; cf. WADDELL 2002, 100).

In his preface to the *Yasenkanna*, Hakuin also tells us that his students at Shōinji 松蔭寺 temple had undergone an uncannily similar experience. They too, according to Hakuin, had gone beyond measure in their investigation of Zen and lost regulation in their practice of austerities (*seiku* 清苦) (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 81; cf. WADDELL 2002, 89). As a result, they injured and dried up their lungs and consequently gave rise to a serious ailment most difficult to cure. Curiously, Hakuin gives this ailment many names. In the preface alone we find, for instance, a reference to intestinal bloating (*senheki* 疝癖), lump pain (*kaitsū* 塊痛),³⁴ the accumulation of vital energy in the five *zang* and six *fu* (*goshaku rokushu* 五積六聚),³⁵ the depletion of vital energy (*kikyō* 氣虛), fatigue (*rōeki* 勞役), and, last but not least, the malady of meditation (YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 81 and 87; cf. WADDELL 2002, 89 and 92). Elsewhere Hakuin also refers to the malady of meditation as *rōgai* 勞咳 and *denshibyō* 傳屍病—old terms that are often used today as synonyms of *kekaku* 結核, the Japanese word for consumption,

33. This gloss of Hakuin’s reflection on the disjunction between activity and quietude is found in Hakuin’s official biography (see n. 56); see KATŌ 1985, 114; see also WADDELL 1994, 130.

34. In his *Oniazami* 於仁安佐美, Hakuin likened the lump pain that he himself experienced to a ball (*kyūsu* 毬子) that moved up and down in his chest; see YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 233.

35. Here, the *zang* 臟 (Jp. *zō*) and *fu* 腑 (Jp. *fu*) here should be understood not, as they often are, as the solid internal organs (liver, heart, spleen, lung, and kidney) and bowels (intestines, bladder, stomach, and so on) but as deposits of vital energy that serve specific (visceral) functions within the body; see SIVIN 1987.

phthisis, or tuberculosis.³⁶ But what does this list of ailments tell us about the malady of meditation? Are these ailments related and, if so, how? And how, we may ask, do they relate to the disjunction between activity and quietude? At first sight they seem disparate and unrelated to each other, but upon closer inspection we will see that these ailments are, in fact, rooted in a common problem, and that problem is exhaustion. That this is indeed the case can be established, I believe, by briefly examining the way in which these ailments were commonly understood during the Tokugawa.

Let us begin with intestinal bloating or *senheki*, otherwise known more commonly as *sen* or *senki* 疝氣. According to Manase Dōsan's 曲直瀬道三 (1507–1594) influential medical treatise *Keitekishū* 啓迪集 published in 1574, *senki* refers to a sharp pain in the testicles and small intestines that is caused by prolonged stagnation (*utsu* 鬱) of damp heat in a channel known as *ketsuin* 厥陰, which flows from the toes to the liver (KKIS 2, 410–11). Although Dōsan is largely responsible for the wide acceptance of this view all the way down to the level of the village doctor (*machi isha* 町医者) during the Tokugawa (see SHIRASUGI 1997, 69), he cannot and does not ultimately take credit for this theory of *senki*. The credit, in fact, goes to Danxi.³⁷ Going against the well-established practice of attributing *senki* to the intrusion of cold energy (*hanqi* 寒氣), Danxi had indeed argued in his *Gezhi yulun* that *senki* (Ch. *shanqi*) was caused by the stagnation of damp heat in the *jueyin* (Jp. *ketsuin*) channel. But that is not all. He also made sure to add that a stagnation of this sort occurs because of a depletion created by the stirring of fire in the body.³⁸

One did not, however, have to subscribe to Danxi or Dōsan's clinical theories to understand *senki* as a problem of depletion. In his dictionary of medical terminology, *Byōmei ikai* 病名彙解 published in 1686, the physician Ashikawa Keishū 蘆川桂洲 (d.u.) also defines *senki* as a pain in the small intestines caused by the depletion and weakening (*kyojaku* 虛弱) of blood and vital energy and the consequent accumulation (*shaku*) of *yin* and cold energy in the body.³⁹ Like Dōsan, Ashikawa does not take credit for this theory. As he duly notes in his

36. For Hakuin's reference to *rōgai*, see his *Oniazami*; YOSHIKAWA 1999a, 167. For *denshibiyō*, see YOSHIKAWA 2001a, 279.

37. See KKIS 2, 7–50; FUJIKAWA 2003, 124–34; and OZAKI 1979, 51–60. The transmission of Danxi's teachings to Japan is usually attributed to Dōsan's teacher Tashiro Sanki 田代三喜 (1465–1537) who encountered Danxi's theories during a twelve-year visit to China (1486–1498). Sanki, Dōsan, and their followers came to be known as the Goseiha 後世派.

38. See ZHU 1936, 26–27. An almost identical definition of *sen* can be found in Nagoya Gen's 名古屋玄醫 (1628–1696) *Ihō monyo* 醫方問餘; see KKIS 102, 154–55.

39. KKIS 64, 678–80. Indeed, according to the *Byōmei ikai*, *senki* in common parlance also refers to the release of gas (*shimokaze* 下風). As Shirasugi Etsuo points out, this idea dates as far back as the Muromachi period; see SHIRASUGI 1997, 77.

entry for *senki*, his source was Chao Yuanfang's 巢元方 (fl. 605–616) encyclopedic work on medicine, *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論.⁴⁰

In the *Byōmei ikai*'s definition of the compound *shakuju* 積聚, we also find another reference to the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* (KKIS 64, 599). The first half of the compound, *shaku*, we are told, refers to an accumulation (*tsumu* 積) in the five *zang* and the latter half, *ju*, to an accumulation in the six *fu*. We are also told that this accumulation is often lodged somewhere in the body and causes pain (*tsū* 痛). *Shakuju*, however, seems to have been more than just the name of an ailment. It also seems to function as the name of an ailment *type* (*rui* 類). According to the *Byōmei ikai*, the ailment *chōka* 癥瘕 (intestinal growth), for instance, is said to be of the same type as *shakuju* (KKIS 64, 187), and the ailment *kekai* 血塊 (“lump of menstrual blood”) is said to be of the same type as *chōka* (KKIS 64, 394). But *shakuju* itself is not likened to any other ailment. By no means, however, was the *Byōmei ikai* alone in grouping these various ailments under the rubric of *shakuju*. The *Keitekishū* also defines *shakuju* as an accumulation in the five *zang* and six *fu*. It even informs us that *kenpeki*, *shakuju*, and *chōka* are different names for the same ailment (KKIS 2, 297). *Kai* 塊 or “lump” is also discussed as an instance of *shakuju* or accumulation.⁴¹

In China, the reigning view on accumulation, as Kuriyama points out, is captured almost perfectly in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*: accumulation stems from the lack of harmony in *yin* and *yang* and the consequent depletion and weakening of the *zang* and *fu*.⁴² When Hakuin spoke of suffering from intestinal bloating, lump pain, and accumulation he probably had something very similar in mind. In point of fact, Hakuin, we may recall, had gone to great lengths in his *Yasenkanna* to demonstrate that the depletion or, more specifically, the depletion of *yin* does indeed lie at the root of the malady of meditation. Are we, then, to conclude that the malady of meditation is a symptom of depletion and the stirring of fire (the mind/heart) in the body?

But, what are we to make of the last ailment, fatigue? According to the *Byōmei ikai*, the depletion of *yin*—and thus, we may presume, *shakuju* or accumulation—and the movement of ministerial fire are symptoms of fatigue (*rōeki*), and fatigue itself is a symptom of exhaustion (*rōgai* 勞咳) (KKIS 64, 88 and 536). In other words, at the root of *all* the symptoms discussed so far what we find is exhaustion. What, in turn, causes exhaustion? The *Byōmei ikai* mentions two possible causes:

40. For the reference in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, see YU 1994, vol. 1, 982b.

41. KKIS 2, 299. In speaking of *kai*, Dōsan again cites Danxi who defines *kai* (Ch. *kuai*) as “an object with form” (*you xing zhi wu* 有形之物) and identifies it as phlegm, accumulation of food, and dead blood in the second fascicle of his *Jinkui gouxuan* 金匱鉤玄.

42. KURIYAMA 1997a, 45. For the reference in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, see YU 1994, vol. 1, 975a.

one can either become exhausted by injuring vital energy and blood through their excessive use (*rō*) or by going beyond measure in consuming alcohol and sex.⁴³ The consequences of exhaustion were dire. Exhaustion could manifest itself either as panting, phlegm, heat, coughing up of blood, sweating, or the loss of essence (sperm). Simply put, exhaustion is the product of poor regulation and, according to the *Byōmei ikai*, “a symptom most difficult to cure” (KKIS 64, 536).

Consider also the other two terms that Hakuin used in reference to the malady of meditation, namely *rōgai* and *denshibyō*. In his *Keitekishū*, for instance, Dōsan refers to an illness known as *rōsai* 勞瘵 (alt. 癆瘵), which seems to have been used interchangeably with *rōgai*, *rōsō* 勞嗽, *rō* 勞, and *denshi*(*byō*).⁴⁴ Dōsan offers this simple definition of *rōsai*: “if essence is used up and blood dries up then *rō* appears” (KKIS 2, 516). To this he adds, “*rō* is acquired by harming the mind/heart and the kidneys” (KKIS 2, 516). How do these two statements relate? The mind/heart, he explains, governs blood and the kidneys govern essence. To harm the mind/heart, in other words, was to make the blood dry up and to harm the kidneys was to use up one’s essence (that is, semen). Such harm occurs, Dōsan claims, because the fire of the seven emotions and six desires stir as a consequence of which the fire of *yin* will ascend into the upper body and scorch and dry up the true water in the kidneys (KKIS 2, 519). Overdrinking, overeating, and excessive indulgence in sex—the stirring of emotions and desires par excellence—are, therefore, cited as the most likely forms of pathological behavior that lead to *rōsai*.⁴⁵ As a remedy, Dōsan thus recommends keeping the mind and spirit peaceful and quiet at all times.

Ashikawa Keishū cites the *Keitekishū*’s definition of *rōsai* in his *Byōmei ikai*. According to Ashikawa, “when the seven emotions and the six desires stir within [the body] and eating, drinking, and exhaustion (*rōken* 勞倦) become excessive the body will often be injured, the true water will dry up, and the fire of *yin* will

43. KKIS 64, 536. A similar definition of exhaustion can also be found in the *Enju satsuyō*; see KKIS 6, 412 or 482.

44. See TATSUKAWA 1998, 201. Dōsan’s discussion of *rōsai* is also mentioned in JOHNSTON 1995, 43–44.

45. Dōsan was a cautious scholar. In his *Keitekishū*, as he did for every other illness, he attempted to record as much authoritative information on *rōsai* as possible. In addition to the above factors he, for instance, mentions as the cause of *rōsai* the weakening of vital energy and the body and the consequent harm that is brought to the mind-and-heart and the kidneys; the harm that external cold brings to the lungs and the coughing that ensues; the inability to recover fully from a great illness; and contagion (*densen* 伝染); KKIS 2, 516. In fact, the term *denshi* (transmission from the corpse), according to Dōsan, refers to the ease with which *rōsai* could be transmitted via contagion to those who are attending the ill; KKIS 2, 520. Clothing and utensils are mentioned as possible mediums for the illness. On the other hand, he also claims that this illness is difficult to cure with medicine, but that one could hope for a miracle by correcting the mind and supporting this effort with medicine; KKIS 2, 518.

ascend and scorch [the upper body]” (KKIS 64, 325). Citing various medical texts from Ming China, Ashikawa also informs us that males around the age of twenty become excessive in their engagement in sexual activity, injure their essence and blood, and thus inevitably give rise to an illness described as “the depletion of *yin* and the movement of fire” (KKIS 64, 325). As for its symptoms, those who suffer from this illness exhibit heavy perspiration, production of heat, loss of appetite, emaciation, and bouts of coughing that usually consist of phlegm, pus, or clumps of blood. Writing more than a century later, the physician Hara Nan'yō 原南陽 (1752–1820) does not stray too far from these earlier definitions of *rōsai* in his *Sōkeitei iji shōgen* 叢桂亭医事小言 published in 1816: “*rōsai* is an illness caused by the exhaustion/labor of mind [*shinrō* 心勞] and the exhaustion/labor in the bedroom [*bōrō* 房勞]” (cited in TATSUKAWA 1998, 206). We need not, however, limit our investigation of *rōsai* to the writings of physicians. The popular publication *Keichō kenbunshū* 慶長見聞集 of 1614, for instance, had the following to say about *rōsai*: “I heard of the cause of this illness. It does not come from wind attack and cold chills. It is an illness that arises from the mind. For this reason, this illness is called a mind disturbance [*shinki* 心氣]. It is an illness that pains the mind.... This illness is difficult to cure with medicine.”⁴⁶

REGULATION

In short, what Hakuin experienced and thus concerned him so dearly, I argue, was exhaustion, but not just any sort of exhaustion. In addition to its rather literal sense of mental and physical fatigue, exhaustion during this period tended to be experienced as a mind disturbance and symptom of failed regulation (*setsu* 節). Naturally, the treatment for exhaustion could not, as one might hastily presume, be something so simple as medicine.

What, then, would constitute a viable treatment? Hakuin's response to exhaustion was twofold. First, he advised those around him to bring the mind below as would a sagely lord while governing his people. Or, as Hakuin himself puts it, “when you focus your mind below you will never forget the people's exhaustion (*rōhi* 勞疲)” (YOSHIKAWA 2001a, 228–29; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 44). According to the *Yasenkan*, there are two excellent ways of bringing the mind down into the lower body, namely the aforementioned inner contemplation technique and what Hakuin calls the soft butter pill (*nansogan* 軟酥丸) method. In a letter to a sick monk, Hakuin prescribes the latter as a cure for depletion and weakening (*kyojaku* 虛弱) and also for the exhaustion of the mind's vital

46. NSSS 8, 498; cited in TATSUKAWA 1998, 206. Tatsukawa Shōji takes this passage from the *Keichō kenbunshū* to mean that “tuberculosis” and “neurosis” (his own words) were easily confused or that they often occurred together during the Tokugawa.

energy (*shinki no rōhi* 心氣ノ勞疲).⁴⁷ His instruction for this method is relatively simple. If one contemplates a ball of soft butter, the size of a duck's egg, flowing down from the top of their head to the soles of their feet, then they will, Hakuin claims, find that the accumulations in the five *zang* and six *fu*, intestinal bloating, and lump pain in their chests will descend with the mind just as water flows to a lower place.⁴⁸ This contemplation is to be continued several times over. As the overflow of butter accumulates (*tsumori tatae* 積湛へ) and steeps the body in warmth, the mind and body will, according to Hakuin, return to harmonious balance and the various accumulations (*shakuju*) will be instantly dissolved (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 342; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 85). Lest there be any mistake about the authenticity of the soft butter pill, Hakuin insists that the method was devised by the Buddha himself and used by the monk Tiantai Zhiyi 天台智顛 (538–597) to treat “the serious ailment of exhaustion” (*rōhi no jūa* 勞疲ノ重病).⁴⁹

47. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 338; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 84. In the *Yasenkana* the soft butter pill method is also recommended for those who suffer from exhaustion (*rōhi*); YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 141; cf. WADDELL 2002, 113.

48. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 341; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 85. See also the *Yasenkana*; YOSHIZAWA 2000a, 141; cf. WADDELL 2002, 113–14.

49. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 342–43; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 86. Hakuin repeatedly points out that the primary source of this technique is Zhiyi's magnum opus, the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. In the eighth fascicle of this text, there is a long section entitled “contemplation on maladies” (*guan binghuan jing* 觀病患境) that is primarily concerned with the classification of various illnesses and their remedies; see T46.1911.106a19–111c21. Among these various remedies, one particular contemplation technique does indeed bear an uncanny similarity to the one suggested by Hakuin in his *Yasenkana*:

The cinnabar field is the ocean of vital energy. It can dissolve and swallow the myriad illnesses. If you place the mind on the cinnabar field, you will then harmonize the vital breath. You will therefore be able to cure maladies. This is precisely its meaning. Again, a certain master said, “The rising of the vital energy, the fullness of the chest, pain in both sides, tenseness of the back and spine, aches of the shoulder, intense agony of the mind, inability to eat on account of anxiety and pain, swelling of the heart, coldness beneath the navel, rising of heat and descending of cold, *yin* and *yang* in disarray, and coughing—for these twelve illnesses you should place [the mind] in the cinnabar field. The cinnabar field lies two inches beneath the navel.... By always giving rise to the mind in your feet, you can cure all illnesses. (T46.1911.108a22–b7)

Also, as mentioned above, throughout the *Yasenkana* and *Oradegama* Hakuin frequently refers to a certain “soft butter method” that he claims to have culled from the *Āgamas*. What he may have been referring to is a contemplation technique contained within the first fascicle of fifth century meditation manual known as *Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禪病秘要法 (T15.620.333a–342b). In the first fascicle of this text, there is a section entitled “Seventy-two Measures to Cure the Maladies of the Perturbed Mind in *Araṇya*.” This section provides a detailed description of a therapeutic visualization technique called “visualizing the brahma king consecrating the head with ghee technique” (*fanwang guanding yongsu guanfa* 梵王灌頂攤酥灌法). The basic technique is as follows: When external noises disturb the mind and the four hundred and four channels

Are we then to conclude that exhaustion—a symptom of failed regulation and, apparently, of the stirring of the mind/heart-fire—is to be cured by bringing the mind down into the tranquil waters of the lower body? Can we, as Hakuin claims, use “benign” accumulation to fight the “malign” accumulations caused by exhaustion? Hakuin seems to be suggesting that we can, but he also offers an alternative therapeutic strategy and this strategy is nothing like what we have seen so far. If we examine his letter to the ailing Jōshōmeiin no miya 浄照明院宮 (Rishū nyoō 理秀女王; 1725–1764), abbess of the *monzeki* temple Hōkyōji 宝鏡寺, and her younger sibling Jōmeishin’in no miya 浄明心院宮 (Sonjō nyoō 尊乘女王; 1730–1789), abbess of the *monzeki* temple Kōshōin 光照院,⁵⁰ we find the following explanation of the malady of meditation:

Above all else, the practitioner should be weary of the malady of meditation. If even for a moment there arises the thought that the fascinating sensations [produced by] the clearing of the mind in quietude are enjoyable on account of this malady, then this is the practitioner’s attachment to the taste of meditation and thus a great obstruction of the demonic realm and must therefore be abandoned. Everyday, little by little, doing the kind of work that will gradually release sweat is an exceptional form of nourishing life. It is also an expedient means of significantly enhancing the power of concentration and thereby making the mind and body strong and firm. In order to make a living, commoners everyday endure suffering and pain in their hands and feet. Among these folks there are none who possess illness such as headaches (*zutsū* 頭痛), intestinal bloating (*senki*), exhaustion (*rōgai*), and costiveness (*tsukae* つかえ).

(YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 166–67)

As the daughters of a former emperor and the abbesses of imperial convents in Kyoto, neither Jōshōmeiin no miya nor Jōmeishin’in no miya would have been accustomed to personally carrying out physical labor of any kind, but what Hakuin recommends for their illness, their malady of meditation, is precisely that—physical labor. With their delicate hands, he asks them to pick up a broom and, instead of assigning the work to their servants, sweep the monastic grounds themselves (YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 170). Physical labor had many benefits. First, Hakuin claims that cleaning (*sōji* 掃地) and manual labor (*samu* 作務) are no

thereby go into disarray, the meditator is instructed to visualize a youth pouring ghee onto his or her head. The meditator is then asked to visualize the ghee entering through the pores of his skin until it fills the entire body. A wall of clear ghee must subsequently be wrapped around the body, and this entire process of visualization must be repeated nine hundred and ninety nine times. If this procedure is performed accurately, the meditator is said to be able to eradicate any disturbances in the mind and make it soft and supple.

50. Both abbesses were daughters of the late Emperor Nakamikado 中御門天皇 (r. 1709–1735). For more information on the two abbesses, see YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 329–30.

different from seated meditation. Also, by engaging in such work one can avoid the lure of quietude and cultivate what Hakuin calls the “meditative powers of manual labor in activity” (*dōyō samu no jōriki* 動搖作務ノ定力) instead. And last but not least, physical labor, he claims, is an excellent means of nourishing life and maintaining good health (YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 170).

Is Hakuin contradicting himself here? Which cure, in other words, is one to use to treat exhaustion—labor or inner contemplation? And are they, in fact, irreconcilable? These questions bring us back to the opening comments of this article. For Hakuin, the art of nourishing life (and of curing or preventing exhaustion) seems to have consisted of two potentially conflicting views. Hakuin, on the one hand, insists that one should accumulate vital energy by bringing the mind down into the lower body, but on the other hand he also insists that one should fight against its accumulation and stagnation through physical labor and meditative-work in the midst of activity. (As an example of this kind of meditative-work, Hakuin was fond of citing Baizhang’s famous maxim, “a day without work is a day without food.”⁵¹) Both views received an equal amount of attention in Hakuin’s large corpus of writings and neither can, therefore, be said to be more fundamental than the other. As Hakuin himself puts it, “meditative-work is the true practice of fighting, inner contemplation is the ultimate essence of cultivation—they are like the two wings of a bird and the two wheels of a cart.”⁵² As innocuous and traditional as this statement may seem, the novel ideas that lurk beneath it must not go unnoticed. As Kuriyama correctly points out, the active use and circulation of vital energy had hitherto never enjoyed the kind of attention that the preservation and accumulation of vital energy in the tranquil waters of lower body received in traditional Chinese medical thought. If so, then what, we must ask, prompted Hakuin to stress the unity and balance of activity and quietude?

The same question, in fact, could be asked of Kaibara Ekken’s views on nourishing life. Consider, for instance, the following account from Ekken’s *Yōjōkun*:

51. See YOSHIZAWA 1999a, 165 and YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 248. This maxim, “a day without work is a day without food” (*yiri buzuo yiri bushi* 一日不作一日不食), appears in the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (ZTJ 4/55/12). It also appears in Baizhang’s entry in the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (ZZ135.658a6) and the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (ZZ138.91a7) and in his recorded sayings (ZZ119.820b14).

52. YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 245; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 50. As Yoshizawa points out, Hakuin is here alluding to a military strategy from the Strategies of Qin 秦策 chapter in fascicle five of the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, “[The Marquis of Shang] taught the people to cultivate and fight. Therefore, when the troops move the land becomes vast and when the troops rest the country becomes rich. There is therefore no match for Qin in the world” (ZGC 81/36/24).

The mind is the lord of the body. It must be calmed in quietude. The body is the servant of the mind. It must be made to move and labor. If the mind is calmed in quietude, the heavenly sovereign⁵³ [of the body] will be replenished, pleased, and without suffering. If the body is made to move and labor, drink and food will not stagnate and [since] blood and vital energy will thus circulate there will be no illness. (ISHIKAWA 1981, 30)

Also consider the following passage:

A person's body takes vital energy as the source of birth and the lord of life. Those who nourish life well, therefore, always concern themselves with the primordial energy and do not allow it to become depleted. Quietude preserves primordial energy; activity allows primordial energy to circulate. If preserving and circulating are not both put to use then it will be difficult to nourish vital energy. To not neglect the appropriate time for activity and quietude is the way to nourish vital energy. (ISHIKAWA 1981, 56)

What we seem to have here in the *Yōjōkun* is an attempt to balance the preservation of vital energy and the prevention of its accumulation. Key to understanding this delicate balance, as we can see, is the metaphor of activity and quietude. Hakuin and Ekken seem to be in agreement on this point. But their agreement ends here. Regarding the interpretation of quietude, they do not seem to meet eye to eye. Whereas Ekken believed that one could nourish vital energy by governing the mind with quietude and the body with activity, Hakuin, we may recall, believed that quietude must be governed by princely fire, that is, lord of the non-dualistic mind. Failure to do so, as we have seen, would result in the loss of regulation and exhaustion. But wherein lies the significance of this claim?

For one to nourish life, the lord, Hakuin reminds us, must direct his attention “below” and focus on the concerns and exhaustion of the people. The mind will thus be calmed and vital energy nourished, but *the mind-as-lord will not therefore cease to do its duty to care for the people*. This idea of the mind-as-lord as the subject of nourishing life has two important implications. Firstly, the idea implies that in quietude, as in all other aspects of life, the mind must demonstrate, rather than put aside, the kind of mastery and control that one would expect from a responsible sovereign. No one, as Hakuin puts it, will recklessly intrude into a house while it still has a master.⁵⁴ Secondly, it also implies that the mind that is nourished through Zen meditation functions less as interference than as support for or continuation of one's daily duties. This is precisely what Hakuin maintains

53. Ekken later identifies the heavenly sovereign as the lord of the body, that is, the mind; ISHIKAWA 1981, 101.

54. YOSHIKAWA 2001b, 232; see also YAMPOLSKY 1971, 45. This was not a metaphor unique to Hakuin or Zen; see OOMS 1985, 88.

throughout his letter to Nabeshima (see YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 251–55; see also YAMPOLSKY 1971, 52–54). In fact, he even goes so far as to claim that, “If all possessed this true meditation, the lords in their attendance at court and their conduct of governmental affairs, the warriors in their study of the works on archery and chariotteering, the farmers in their cultivation, hoeing, and ploughing, the artisans in their measuring and cutting, women in their spinning and weaving, this then would at once accord with the great Zen meditation of the various Patriarchs” (YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 254–55; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 54). But why so much fuss about control and the seamless continuity between nourishing life or Zen meditation and carrying out one’s daily duties like manual labor?

Reading Practices and the Fundamental Redefinition of Labor

Could it be, as Kuriyama suggests, that what we are witnessing here is an extension of the so-called industrious revolution of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan (or perhaps even the Kyōhō 享保 reforms in particular)? Or, could it be that what we are witnessing here is a burgeoning trend to valorize work and quotidian life as the true locus of the Way, a trend that is often associated with the Kokugaku popularizer Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843)?⁵⁵ Might it not also be the case that Hakuin was attempting to shield his own Zen tradition from the familiar charges of quietism and moral apathy?

Without denying any of these possibilities, what I would like to suggest here is that Hakuin’s own immediate concerns about Zen reading practices may be worth a closer look since it seems to have prefigured his concerns about the need for a sense of mastery and control and about the disjunction between meditation and labor. Particularly important in this regard, as we shall see, were his concerns about a practice of reading that developed under the influence of late Ming Buddhism. In Hakuin’s eyes the new wave of late Ming Buddhist publications that arrived in Japan and the reading practices that developed around them had the tendency of reducing the Way to the simple reproduction of fixed understandings and abstract principles that were meant to support rather than displace the individual’s reading of the scriptures and words of the ancients. What Hakuin thus began to *see* in his own Zen tradition was a widespread neglect of the individual’s responsibility to know the Way for him or herself. But, more importantly, what he and others *experienced* as a consequence, as we saw earlier, was a loss of regulation or exhaustion. Let me be more specific.

55. For the valorization of work (as worship) by Kokugaku or nativist scholars, see HAROOTUNIAN 1988.

READING THE SOKKŌ ROKU

In front of a crowd of over four hundred people Hakuin is said to have delivered some lectures on the *Xutang heshang yulu* 虛堂和尚語錄 at his temple Shōinji in Hara 原, near present day Shizuoka. According to his chronological biography, the *Ryūtaku kaiso Shinki Dokumyō zenji nenpu* 龍澤開祖神機独妙禪師年譜 (hereafter *Hakuin nenpu*),⁵⁶ this momentous event occurred in the spring of 1740, when Hakuin was fifty-four. Before he delivered this lecture, which purportedly put him firmly on the map of Tokugawa Zen,⁵⁷ Hakuin also dictated to his disciples some general sermons (*fusetsu* 普說) in which he addressed his deep concerns about the direction in which koan practice seemed to be headed. Three years later in 1743, a fresh copy of these sermons was prepared by Tōrei Enji,⁵⁸ who had just arrived at Shōinji that very same year, and the revised manuscript was published shortly thereafter by a local bookseller from the Numazu post station named Kinokuniya Tōbei 紀伊國屋藤兵衛 as the *Sokkō roku kaien fusetsu* 息耕録開筵普說. Our investigation of Hakuin's concerns about the malady of meditation must first turn to these sermons for several reasons. Not only did these sermons purportedly establish Hakuin's career as a renowned Zen teacher

56. The *Hakuin nenpu* is a revision of an earlier manuscript compiled by Tōrei Enji 東嶺円慈 (1721–1792), which he completed in 1789. As Michel Mohr points out, a letter from Tōrei to Hakuin dated 1757 informs us that the compilation of Hakuin's biography was done at Hakuin's own request and was well under way by then; MOHR 1999, 309–10. For the letter, see HOZ 7, 40–41. This had been pointed out earlier by Katō Shōshun; see KATŌ 1985, 5–6. At Tōrei's behest, his dharma heir Taikan Bunshu 大觀文珠 (1766–1842) began the revision of his earlier manuscript, *Chokushi Jinki Dokumyō zenji Hakuin rōshō nenpu* 勅諭神機独妙禪師白隱老和尚年譜, and had the *Hakuin nenpu* published in 1820. Fortunately, Tōrei's manuscript is still extant and offers invaluable insights on the way in which Hakuin's biography evolved into its current shape. The first person to make Tōrei's manuscript available for public consumption and compare it with Taikan's text is RIKUGAWA Taiun (1963). Rikugawa's *yomikudashi* rendering of Tōrei's manuscript and recently discovered copy of an early autobiography of Hakuin entitled *Jūshōka yūshi retsumyō no tanyū* 重賞下勇士列名之端由, which can also be found in the third volume of the *Yaemugura* 八重葎 (colophon dated 1761), was printed more recently in KIMURA 2000.

57. As the *Hakuin nenpu* puts it, “From this moment on [the master's] reputation [as a teacher of] the Way spread throughout the world” (KATŌ 1985, 200–201). A similar statement is made in Tōrei's manuscript; see KIMURA 2000, 117.

58. The revised manuscript is attributed, in fact, to a certain Tōko 東胡, but, as Tokiwa suspects, this appears to be a pseudonym for Tōrei; see TOKIWA 1988, 199 n. 9. Indeed, according to Tōrei's chronological biography, the *Ryūtaku sōken Tōrei Ji Rōshō nenpu* 龍澤創建東嶺慈老和尚年譜 compiled in 1797, Hakuin had initially assigned the work of revising his sermons to Enkei Sojun 円桂祖純 (1715–1767) and Daikyū Ebō 大休恵昉 (1715–1774), but impressed by Tōrei's breadth of knowledge Hakuin later assigned the work exclusively to Tōrei; see NISHIMURA 1982, 101. Tōrei purportedly finished the work in seventeen days. See also MOHR 1997, 313 n. 12. Isshū Miura and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, treat Tōko and Tōrei as different figures, see MIURA and SASAKI 1966, 404–405 and 508–509.

but the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* also happens to be one of the earliest printed pieces in which Hakuin launched a critique of what he believed to be serious misunderstandings of quietude, which he and others often referred to as “silent illumination” (*mokushō* 黙照).

As a whole, the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* is largely concerned with carrying out two closely related agendas. What Hakuin attempts to establish in these general sermons is, first and foremost, a sense of orthodoxy, which he traces back to Śākyamuni, the legendary Chan masters of the Tang, Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (1077–1136), and the spiritual descendants of Huqiu such as Songyuan Chongyue 松源崇岳 (1132–1202) and Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269) or, as Hakuin prefers to call him, old man Sokkō 息耕.⁵⁹ For Hakuin, Xutang was a particularly important figure in that he was the teacher of Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235–1309), who in turn produced an eminent dharma heir by the name of Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 (1282–1338) or, as he is more commonly known, Zen master Daitō 大燈. Hakuin’s true intentions are laid bare early on in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* where he attempts to associate himself with an otherwise little known monk by the name of Shōju Rōnin 正受老人 (Dōkyō Etan 道鏡慧端, 1642–1721),⁶⁰ a spiritual grandson, Hakuin claims, of Gudō Tōshoku 愚堂東寔 (1577–1661) and dharma heir of Gudō’s heir Shidō Munan

59. Hakuin’s nickname for Xutang appears to be unprecedented. As many point out, the name Sokkō seems to have been borrowed from the title of a verse composed by Xutang; see T47.2000.1038c13. See also MIURA and SASAKI 1966, 404.

60. Our knowledge of Shōju is limited to the dearth of material available in the writings of Hakuin and his disciples. Shōju is the name of the hermitage in which Dōkyō Etan resided. According to the *Hakuin nenpu*, local villagers referred to him as Shōju Rōnin out of respect for the master. The unusual pronunciation *rōnin* for “old man” (*rōjin* 老人) was suggested by Katō; see KATŌ 1985, 17 (noted in MOHR 1999, 324 n. 13). For a detailed account of Hakuin’s relation with Shōju, see RIKUGAWA 1963, 41–59. Rikugawa rightly notes that few seem to be willing to question the relation between Hakuin and Shōju and goes on the point out that no one had exerted more effort to establish this relation than Tōrei. Shōju himself, for instance, did not leave any writings behind and almost no record of him with the exception of Tōrei’s biography of Shōju, the *Shōju Dōkyō Etan anju anroku* 正受道鏡慧端庵主行錄, and his inscription for Shōju’s memorial *stūpa*, the Saishōtō 栽松塔, are extant. Rikugawa also lists the following reasons for questioning the relation between Hakuin and Shōju, (1) Hakuin’s stay at Shōjuan was very brief; (2) after his departure no contact was made between the two for over thirteen years; (3) no mention is made in the *Hakuin nenpu* of any special arrangements between Hakuin and Shōju’s successor at Shōjuan, Dōjū Sōkaku 道樹宗格 (1679–1730), at the time of Shōju’s death; (4) despite Hakuin’s penchant for composing verses, he is not remembered as ever having presented one to Shōju while the latter was still alive; (5) despite the deep relations that Hakuin had supposedly forged with Sōkaku, the latter’s death is mentioned only in passing in the *Hakuin nenpu*; (6) Hakuin’s reasons for leaving Shōju—he did not want to cause too much trouble for Shōju—is questionable; and, perhaps most importantly, (7) Hakuin purportedly acquires the malady of meditation after his departure from Shōju (!) and decides to consult other teachers. A summary of Shōju’s life in English can be found in MIURA and SASAKI 1966, 213 n. 42.

至道無難 (1603–1676). By placing himself within Gudō's lineage, which stems back to Myōshinji's 妙心寺 founding abbot Kanzan Egen 關山慧玄 (1277–1360) and thus to Kanzan's teacher Daitō, what Hakuin, in short, was attempting to do was to assert his authority as a direct spiritual descendent of Daitō, Nanpō, and, concomitantly, Xutang. This effort to link himself directly to Xutang, however, cannot be understood properly without considering his second agenda.⁶¹ Hakuin articulates his second agenda through the mouth of Shōju: "This Zen school of ours has been in decline [since] the end of the Southern Song. [By the time] it was transmitted to the Great Ming [the Zen school] was all but eradicated. What remains of its poison is only [here] in the realm of the sun [Japan], but [even here it is as difficult to encounter] as the north star in midday."⁶² In fact, much of what Hakuin had to say about the Zen school's decline in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* served as the underlying framework for his thoughts on Zen throughout his entire career. As we shall see, in a number of his polemical writings Hakuin repeatedly made an attempt to disavow the influence of late Ming Chan on early modern Zen (that is, on his own Zen). In doing so he attempted to bypass the late Ming and forge a direct link with Song Chan through Daitō and Xutang (hence the above claim that the poison of Zen survives in Japan). This point, I believe, is demonstrated quite explicitly in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* where Hakuin simultaneously launches his formal complaints of the shortcomings and inadequacies of late Ming Chan while commenting directly upon the *Xutang lu*.

If we examine the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu* carefully, we notice that its focus actually falls on one case from the *Xutang lu* in particular. This was a case that Xutang himself had once raised in front of an assembly over five hundred years ago during his abbacy at Jingci si 淨慈寺.⁶³ The case goes as follows:

During a sermon for instructing the assembly (*shizhong* 示衆), Qianfeng 乾峰 (d.u.) said,

61. Michel MOHR (1994b) offers a cogent account of lineage consciousness, sectarian consciousness, and their development among Zen sects during the Tokugawa. Like Mohr, I shall argue that late Ming Buddhism and émigré Chinese monks (who later came to be known as the Ōbaku 黄檗) exerted a considerable amount of influence on Hakuin's lineage consciousness. More on this later.

62. HOZ 2, 379; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 15 and TOKIWA 1988, 32. As Tokiwa points out, these words are also found in the *Sūgyōroku* 崇行錄, a text (or, shall I say, montage) that was compiled in the late nineteenth century by Imakita Kōsen (1816–1892) and attributed to Shōju (HOZ 1, 491). Imakita most certainly borrowed the passage in question from the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*.

63. Jingci si was established by the Wuyue king Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (r. 948–978) as Huiyi Yongming yuan 慧日永明院 in 954. Qian Hongchu invited the eminent monk Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–976) to serve as abbot in 961. In 1139, the temple received an official plaque bearing the name Jingci baoen guangxiao chanshi 淨慈報恩光孝禪寺.

“The dharma body has three kinds of illness and two kinds of light, can any of you clarify that?”⁶⁴

Yunmen came forward and said, “Why doesn’t the fellow inside the hermitage know what’s going on outside the hermitage?”

Qianfeng roared with laughter.

“Your student still has his doubts,” Yunmen said.

“What are you thinking of?” said Qianfeng.

“That’s also for the venerable to clarify,” said Yunmen.

“If you’re like that,” Qianfeng said, “I’d say you’re at the stage of peaceful sitting (*onzachi* 穩坐地).”⁶⁵

The reason for singling out this case was rather simple. As Hakuin himself unequivocally puts it, “if a person desires to see the *Sokkō roku* [*Xutang lu*] he must investigate this story first.”⁶⁶ Hakuin even advanced the bold claim that a mastery of this case alone will be enough for one to assert that one has seen old man Sokkō face-to-face (HOZ 2, 381; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 19 and TOKIWA 1988, 37).

CRIB SHEETS, SILENT ILLUMINATION, AND NENBUTSU

But not so fast. According to Hakuin, the evil customs to which many in Japan adhered at the time of his lectures made the mastery of this case exceptionally difficult. “Even if you secretly attain the esoteric formulas of the five houses and seven streams and penetrate the dark tenet of the seventeen hundred [koans],” says Hakuin, “[these are but] idle and deluded thoughts and understandings of dead learning—what use is there of such things?” As he continues:

How much more so for [those] who take the deluded gossip and artificial understandings of old deadbeat fools, annotate a record by making copies [of the notes that they took of this gossip] and pasting them on to that record, and spout off their own arbitrary [understandings] at will?

(HOZ 2, 381; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 19–20 and TOKIWA 1988, 37)

What Hakuin may have had in mind here is a practice that has deep roots in Japanese Zen. This practice is often referred to as *missan zen* 密參禪 or the “Zen

64. In his translation of the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, Tokiwa Gishin traces the case cited by Hakuin to Qianfeng’s entry in the *Wudeng huiyuan*; see TOKIWA 1988, 206 n. 7–1. According to his recorded sayings, Xutang did raise a slightly different version of this case; see T47.2000.1047a25. For an English translation of the entire case in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, see WADDELL 1994c, 19.

65. HOZ 2, 381; trans. WADDELL 1994c, 19 (with some minor changes); cf. TOKIWA 1988, 36. See the *Wudeng huiyuan* (zz138.490b16–491a2); *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡真禪師廣錄 (T47.1988.574c7–13); and also MOHR 1997, 495 n. 778.

66. HOZ 2, 381; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 19 and TOKIWA 1988, 37. As Tokiwa points out, Hakuin seems to have been the only one to ever refer to the *Xutang heshang yulu* 虛堂和尚語錄 as the *Sokkō roku*; see TOKIWA 1988, 196 n. 1.

of meticulous instructions.”⁶⁷ As evidence of its influence during the Tokugawa period, scholars often cite the Japanese monk Chōon Dōkai 潮音道海 (1628–1695). He reports in a polemical work entitled *Mukai nanshin* 霧海南針 that the practice of collecting “plain words” (*heiwa* 平話) and capping phrases (*jakugo* 著語),⁶⁸ arranging them in the fixed sequence of “*hekizen* 壁前, *hekigan* 壁巖, and *hekigo* 壁後,”⁶⁹ and keeping these phrase collections in special pouches or boxes known as *ankenbukuro* 行券袋 or *missanbako* 密參箱 had been going on for over two hundred years in both Rinzai and Sōtō Zen circles.⁷⁰ The recent work of TAMAMURA Takeji and others have shown that the use of these notebooks did, indeed, become the norm as the locus of monastic training shifted from the communal saṃgha hall to the memorial temple (*tatchū* 塔頭).⁷¹ Regardless, however, of whether or not Hakuin was in fact referring to *missan zen*,⁷² what we

67. *Missan* is more commonly rendered “secret instructions,” but I follow Mohr’s convention of translating *missan* as “*sanzen* minutieux,” see MOHR 1997, 466 n. 645. The first attempt to carry out a systematic study of the practice of *missan* appears to be SUZUKI Daisetsu’s article, “Nihon ni okeru koan zen no dentō” (1980). Similar texts called *monsan* 門參 (instructions of [this] lineage) were used by Sōtō lineages, and these texts along with other related documents of the Sōtō tradition known as *shōmono* 抄物 (colloquial commentaries) have been thoroughly studied by Ishikawa Rikizan. Japanese linguists have also shown great interest in some of this material as it sheds much needed light on medieval Japanese; see KANEDA 1976. Currently, invaluable research on the *missanroku* is being carried out by IZUKA Hironobu (2003). In English, a very useful overview of this material can be found in BODIFORD 1993, 143–62; see also ISHIKAWA 2000. For *missan*, see HASKEL 1988, 55–106.

68. “Plain words” or *heiwa* are used in some *missan* manuals in conjunction with the *daigo* or *jakugo*. *Heiwa* often function as explanations of the main case or terms that appear therein. This is often done by adding Japanese particles to the Chinese characters that appear in the original case or in some cases simply providing a lengthy explanation of the case in colloquial Japanese. Other terms such as *heigo* 平語 and *ben* 弁 are used for similar purposes in these manuals. See SUZUKI 1980, 246–47. An excellent example of *heiwa* can be found in HAU Hōō 1916 (rpt. 1971), 263–86.

69. Keirin Shūshin’s 桂林崇琛 (1652–1728) *Zenrin shūhei shū* 禪林執弊集, published in 1700, confirms that the Rinzai Zen koan curriculum was based on this tripartite system, which consisted of a total of three hundred koans; see BARONI 2000, 140.

70. YAMADA 1921, vol. III, 163. The first person to note this critique in the *Mukai nanshin* is D. T. Suzuki 1980, 237. The relevant passage has been translated in its entirety into English by HASKEL 1988, 82–83. See also YANAGIDA 1967, 253 and BARONI 2000, 140–41.

71. To date, Tamamura Takeji’s article, “Nihon chūsei Zenrin ni okeru Rinzai-Sōtō ryōshū no idō, ‘Rinka’ no mondai ni suite,” which first appeared in 1950, is still one of the most important pieces to deal with this issue; see TAMAMURA 1981, 981–1040. His study of Engakuji is also essential for studying the spread of *missan zen*, especially that of the so-called *Genjuha* 幻住派, in Gozan and Rinka temples; see TAMAMURA and INOUE 1964. For an overview and comparison of the various koan systems (*taikai* 体系) used in the transmission of *kirikami* 切紙 (alt. *kirigami*) and *kechimiyaku* 血脈 at Eiheiji 永平寺 and the *agyo* or *daigo* at Daitokuji, see IZUKA 2003. For the impact of the *tatchū* lifestyle on Zen, see TAMAMURA 1940; COLLICUTT 1981, 181 and 215; HASKEL 1988, 20–21.

72. As Mohr points out, although Hakuin does use the term *missan* and *mitsumitsu sanketsu* 密密參決 (resolution through meticulous instructions) in his work, his use of these terms should

may readily discern in his general sermons is that he was concerned about the practice of pasting secret notes on a record like the *Xutang lu* and equally, if not more, so about the specific content of these notes and, more specifically, the way in which their content began to reflect more recent developments in Chan and Zen. Hakuin seems to have been particularly disturbed by the tendency to rely on the work of Yongjue Yuanxuan 永覺元賢 (1578–1657), a widely respected late Ming Chan master from Mt. Gu 鼓山.

Despite what Hakuin believed to be serious shortcomings in Yongjue's speculations on the above exchange between Qianfeng and Yunmen, all over the country teachers who lecture on the *Xutang lu*, as Hakuin states in deep contempt, add Yongjue's speculations to Xutang's verse commentary,⁷³ write this wild fox slobber down somewhere, and transmit it to their students. The unsuspecting victims of this evil reading practice, Hakuin laments, thus find themselves burying their spirits in these muddy understandings and injuring their inherent wisdom. Oblivious to these dangers, they compete with each other for this transmission, copy it, and hide it like a secret—they never let anyone else see it (HOZ 2, 381–82; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 20 and TOKIWA 1988, 37–38).

Some, according to Hakuin, even prepare small crib sheets (*shōsen* 小箋) from Yongjue's work, paste them on to the *Sokkōroku*, and use them as aids to understanding the text. Lest there be any doubt, Hakuin claims to have chanced upon one such crib sheet himself and, to drive his point home, he reproduces the crib sheet in its entirety in the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*:

Chanyu neiji 禪餘內集,⁷⁴ fourth chapter, general sermon [delivered] on the eighth day of the twelfth month (*rōhatsu* 臘八) reads:

Qianfeng said, “The dharma body has three kinds of illness and two kinds of light.” You should also know that there is an opening through which you can

be distinguished from the practice of using stereotyped answers that is also often called *missan*; see MOHR 1997, 466 n. 645.

73. Sokkō or Xutang's verse goes as follows:

Qianfeng instructs the assembly [*shizhong*], “the dharma body has three types of illness and two types of light.”

[The scriptures] were brought over on *patra* leaves but those have been awakened are few,

Having borne witness to the numinous oneself one does not make it known to the world,

As before, I am still [using] the Chinese translations,

But there are people who know that they are Sanskrit texts.

(T47.2000.1021b7–9; cf. TOKIWA 1988, 210 n. 8.2).

74. The preface to the *Chanyu neiji* is dated the fourth month of 1643; see ZZ125.403a1. The contents of the *Chanyu neiji* are scattered throughout the *Yongjue heshang guanglu* 永覺和尚廣錄 (ZZ125.401a1–792a13).

go beyond (*xiangshang* 向上). Now, without concerning myself with the loss of my eyebrows this old monk will comment on and deconstruct (*chūha* 註破) [Qianfeng's story] for all of you.

As a rule, mountains, rivers, the great earth, light and darkness, form and emptiness, and all myriad phenomena obstruct the [inherent] radiance of your eyes. They are all impediments to the dharma body. This is referred to as a kind of illness.

Or, you see the emptiness of all dharmas and you vaguely (*wenwendi* 隱隱地) notice the principle of the dharma body. This is called being attached to the dharma and not being able to forget it. This also is a kind of illness.

Or, you have penetrated and attained the dharma body, but upon review you realize that there is no place to rely on, nothing to argue, and nothing to point out. This also is being attached to the dharma and not being able to forget it. This is the last kind of illness.

The first kind of illness is a kind of light that doesn't penetrate through. The latter two illnesses are likewise a kind of light that doesn't penetrate through. If a student penetrates the opening through which he can go beyond, then the three kinds of illness and two kinds of light can be destroyed (*ha* 破) without even a single tweak. Only then can it be referred to as the completion of the investigation and learning of the [great] matter.⁷⁵

As Tokiwa Gishin points out, Yongjue's understanding of Qianfeng and Yunmen's story is based in large part on the famous case of "Yunmen's two illnesses."⁷⁶ Despite having such an authoritative precedent for his interpretation—a precedent that Hakuin was most certainly aware of—Yongjue is quickly dismissed by Hakuin as indulging in idle learning (HOZ 2, 382; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 21 and TOKIWA 1988, 39). If we explain away Qianfeng and Yunmen's story this way (that is, by using "Yunmen's two illnesses"), how, Hakuin retorts, are we then to make sense of

75. See HOZ 2, 382; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 20–21 and TOKIWA 1988, 38–39. For the reference in the *Chanyu neiji*, see *Yongjue heshang guanglu* (ZZ125.464a12–b2); cited in TOKIWA 1988, 210 n. 8.3.

76. The case commonly referred to as "Yunmen's two illnesses" (*Yunmen liangbing* 雲門兩病) reads as follows:

When the light does not penetrate and escape, there are two types of illness. When all places are not clear and an object appears before your face, this is one. Having penetrated the emptiness of all dharmas, it will appear to be fuzzy as if there were an object. This is also because the light did not penetrate and escape. Again, the dharma body also has two types of illnesses. Having attained the dharma body, the self still remains because your attachment to the dharma is not forgotten. You will thus fall into the trenches of the dharma body, this is [the other] one. Even if you are able to directly penetrate it, letting go won't do. Examining carefully in the days to come what kind of vital breath you have is also an illness.

For Yunmen's case in the *Wansong laoren pingzhang Tiantong Jue heshang songgu Congrongan lu* 萬松老人評唱天童覺和尚頌古從容菴錄, see T48.2004.233c27–234c7; cf. CLEARY 1998, 46–50.

the Yunmen's remark, "Why doesn't the fellow inside the hermitage know what's going on outside the hermitage?" In lieu of licking up Yongjue's fox slobber, Hakuin insists that one should concentrate on investigating the case until clean sweat begins to flow from one's body (HOZ 2, 384; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 23 and TOKIWA 1988, 42). In short, what Hakuin eagerly awaits, in his own words, is for "one dimwit of a monk to throw his body into a poisonous flame and die the great death."⁷⁷ (I shall return to the significance of the great death shortly.)

As we learn from the *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*, Yongjue was not the only late Ming monk that deeply troubled Hakuin. Hakuin also spent a considerable amount of time rebutting the claims of the eminent late Ming monk Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲祿宏 (1535–1615) in his general sermons. In his commentary on the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha*, the *Amituojing shuchao* 阿彌陀經疏鈔, Zhuhong, for instance, claimed that the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 or *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (hereafter *Platform Sutra*) had mistakenly identified India with the land of bliss (*sukhāvati*).⁷⁸ He even claimed that, since the *Platform Sutra* was composed not by Huineng himself but by his disciples, there is a good chance that the text is full of similar errors and is therefore unsuitable for beginners (HOZ 2, 401; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 47 and TOKIWA 1988, 83). For Hakuin, what was most disturbing about Zhuhong's claim was its literalism (and leanings toward evidential scholarship). If Zhuhong criticizes the *Platform Sutra* for stating that the land of bliss is one hundred and eight thousand *li* from China (which Zhuhong took to be a reference to the literal distance between the two countries), then how, Hakuin sardonically asks, would then he make sense of the fact that the land of bliss is also just a couple of miles or even a couple of inches away from us (HOZ 2, 404; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 50–51 and TOKIWA 1988, 89)? As Hakuin did not hesitate to bluntly point out, what Zhuhong had failed to grasp was the fact that the land of bliss or pure land is an expedient means (*hōben* 方便) and thus not to be taken literally (HOZ 2, 407; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 55 and TOKIWA 1988, 96). What Zhuhong, in other words, imprudently assumed was that "a pure

77. HOZ 2, 386; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 26 and TOKIWA 1988, 46–47. Elsewhere I have attempted to show that heavy perspiration that follows the great death (*dasi* 大死) stands for a sense of certainty, a certainty that one acquired not from study aids devised by others but from "personally witnessing" (*qinzheng* 親證) the Way for oneself; see AHN 2007.

78. See ZZ33. 473b8–474b9 (especially 474a13–14). For the passage in question from the *Platform Sūtra*, see T48.2008.352a15–17; noted in TOKIWA 1988, 250 n. 29.1. The passage in question does not appear in the Dunhuang version; see YAMPOLSKY 1967, 156.

As evidence of Zhuhong's influence, Hakuin cites the *Hōbōdankyō kōkan* 法寶壇經肯綮, a commentary on the *Platform Sūtra*, written by a certain Ekijun 益淳 or Midorino Rōnin 綠埜老人 and published in Kyoto in 1697. Hakuin spares no harsh words for this text's support of Zhuhong's argument that the *Platform Sūtra* had identified the pure land with India. See HOZ 2, 405–406; cf. WADDELL 1994C, 52 and TOKIWA 1988, 92 and 257 n. 32.

land and a buddha exists external to the mind” (HOZ 2, 407–408; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 55 and TOKIWA 1988, 96–97).

Had this misunderstanding of the *Platform Sutra* been limited to Zhuhong the individual, Hakuin would have probably spared him such harsh words, but Zhuhong had committed the serious offense of trying to keep not only himself but also others from hearing or seeing the *Platform Sutra* on the grounds that the *sutra* did not agree with his own personal conviction (HOZ 2, 408; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 55 and TOKIWA 1988, 97). If teachers thus compel beginners to chant the nenbutsu and prevent them from reading anything but the three pure land scriptures, then how, Hakuin asks, are we to carry on the wisdom and mandate of the buddhas (HOZ 2, 409; trans. WADDELL 1994c, 57)? In this respect, Hakuin maintains that Zhuhong’s offense can be likened to the infamous book-burning incident (213 BCE) of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝. But few, if any, seem to have shared Hakuin’s opinion of Zhuhong. In fact, much to Hakuin’s dismay, Zhuhong was often praised as a genuine teacher (*shinsei no dōshi* 真正之導師) and a great venerable of the Chan, Teaching, and Vinaya traditions (HOZ 2, 410). Needless to say, Hakuin found such praise unacceptable. As he explains, “nowadays throughout the Zen grove one all too often encounters many brigands of men like [Zhuhong] who maintain tranquil silence (*jakumoku* 寂黙) and withered-tree sitting (*koza* 枯坐) to the death. They consider this to be the Way and detest whatever disagrees with their own realizations. Just like a wild ghost that fears a sacred talisman, they see the Buddhist scriptures as they would a mortal enemy and do not allow people to read them.”⁷⁹

As Hakuin states on several occasions in his general sermons, the only way to truly grasp the Way is to tackle “critical phrases that are difficult-to-pass” (*nantō watō* 難透話頭) after penetrating an initial critical phrase or koan like Zhaozhou’s “no” (*mu* 無).⁸⁰ Hakuin seems to have been able to advance this claim with great confidence because he saw a clear precedent for the use of *nantō watō* in the narrative of Dahui’s awakening under the tutelage of Chan master Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135).⁸¹ Hakuin lists a few other *nantō watō* for the sake of his audience in his *Sokkōroku kaien fusetsu*. As one might expect, Hakuin first mentions Xutang who, despite his initial awakening while

79. HOZ 2, 410; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 58 and TOKIWA 1988, 101. Needless to say, this is a gross misrepresentation of Zhuhong’s attitude towards scriptures. He launched a harsh attack on those (most notably the literati) who attack Buddhism without having read its scriptures; UNSEI 2007, 64–65.

80. HOZ 2, 420–21; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 72–73 and TOKIWA 1988, 125–26. Hakuin’s account of Dahui’s awakening is largely based on the general sermon for Jinli examined in chapter three. For Zhaozhou’s “no” followed by a *nantō watō* koan, see HOZ 2, 441; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 101 and TOKIWA 1988, 173.

81. After his initial breakthrough, Dahui had similarly received the koan, “the phrase ‘being’ and ‘non-being’ are like wisterias that grow on trees” (*youju wuji ru teng yi shu* 有句無句如藤倚樹); T47.1998A.883a27.

investigating the phrase “the old sail not yet hoisted” (*kohan mada kakezaru* 古帆未掛),⁸² had continued to investigate “Sushan’s long-life *stūpa*” (*Sozan jutō* 疎山壽塔), a *nantō watō*, for four more years.⁸³ Hakuin also cites Daitō’s “in the morning our eyebrows meet and in the evening we brush shoulders—what do I look like?”⁸⁴ and Kanzan’s “the oak tree [in the garden] contains a vital function that works like a bandit.”⁸⁵ Only when one bores through such *nantō watō* and clean sweat begins to flow, says Hakuin, can one call him or herself a descendent of Xutang (HOZ 2, 442; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 101 and TOKIWA 1988, 174).

Hakuin’s contempt for those who failed to test the veracity of what they received against their own reading of the various scriptures and critical phrases did not subside with the passing of time. In fact, it only became more bitter and acrimonious. Most notable in this regard are a number of letters that he wrote in the late 1740s and early 1750s. What is particularly striking about these letters is the effort that Hakuin made to explain the “proper” form of koan practice by couching it in terms of the prevention and/or cure of the malady of meditation. Consider, for instance, the letter he wrote to Lord Nabeshima, whose interest in koan practice and his protracted battle with physical illness (which, probably to Hakuin’s chagrin, proved to be fatal) seem to have served as the perfect occasion for Hakuin to address the two subjects together as one in his letter.

Hakuin begins the letter with his praise of Nabeshima’s efforts to devote himself to meditative-work in both the realm of activity and that of quietude (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 188; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 29). This customary praise is then immediately followed by a warning against being blocked in either the active or

82. HOZ 2, 441; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 101 and TOKIWA 1988, 173. As Tokiwa points out, the earliest reference to this phrase appears in the entry for Yantou 巖頭 (828–887) in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (T51.2076.327a2); see Tokiwa 1988, 342 n. 70.1. See also YOSHIZAWA 1999b, 251 and 330.

83. HOZ 2, 441; cf. WADDELL 1994c, 101 and TOKIWA 1988, 173. As Tokiwa points out, this account appears in a general sermon from the *Xutang heshang yulu* (T47.2000.1014a29–b18); see TOKIWA 342 n. 70.1. Sushan’s long-life *stūpa* (a *stūpa* constructed while the person is still alive), as Tokiwa also points out, appears in various sources, the earliest of which is the *Zutang ji* (ZTJ 3/31/7); see TOKIWA 1988, 343 n. 70.1. Tokiwa maintains that Hakuin most likely acquired this koan from Sushan Kuangren’s 疎山匡人 (837–909) entry in the *Wudeng huiyuan* (zz138.484a10–b2); see TOKIWA 1988, 343 n. 70.1. For other sources, see also the *Dahui Pujue chanshi yulu* (T47.1998A.825b19) and *Xutang heshang yulu* (T47.2000.1052b12 and 1063c16). An English translation of this entire case can be found in MIURA and SASAKI 1966, 60. See also MOHR 1997, 494 n 776.

84. HOZ 2, 441; trans. WADDELL 1994c, 101 (with minor changes). See also TOKIWA 1988, 174. This saying is attributed to Daitō in his account of conduct, *Daitō kokushi gyōjō* 大燈國師行狀; see T81.2566.224a11–12. See also SUZUKI 1981, 398.

85. HOZ 2, 442; trans. WADDELL 1994c, 101 (with minor changes). See also TOKIWA 1988, 174. Kanzan’s saying can be found in his entry in the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 by the Rinzai Zen monk Mangan Shibana 卍元師蠻 (1626–1710) in 1702; see DNBZ 63, 178c23. For the critical phrase Zhaozhou’s oak tree in the garden (*tingqian boshu* 庭前柏樹), see T48.2005.297c5–11. For some historical background on the compilation of the *Honchō kōsōden*, see MOHR 1994a, 351–52.

quiet state or falling into the two extremes of torpor and excitation (*konsan* 昏散). If one were to fall into such extremes by mishandling the mind, then, according to Hakuin, “the heart-fire will rise up against its natural course, the lung-metal will be injured and weakened, the primal life-force will be depleted, and one will frequently succumb to illnesses and symptoms that are quite difficult to cure” (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 189; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 29–30). Following the example set by Dahui and others, Hakuin lays the blame for falling into such extremes on a practice that he and others call “silent illumination” or dead sitting (*shiza* 死坐). Those who silently illuminate, according to Hakuin, are “blind, bald idiots who stand in a calm, unperturbed, untouchable place and consider that the state of mind produced in this atmosphere comprises seeing into their own natures” or those who say things like “Our very mind is itself the Buddha. What is there to do after we have finished our koan study? If the mind is pure the Pure Land is pure. What’s the use of studying the *Records* of the patriarchs?” (YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 215 and 277; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 40 and 62). Such people, Hakuin claims, “are an evil lot and suffer from the great malady of meditation” (YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 279; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 63).

KNOWING THE WAY FOR ONESELF

What, then, is the alternative? As Hakuin repeatedly states throughout his work, a student of the Way must see into his own nature (*kenshō* 見性) and let go of his hands at a steep cliff (that is, die the great death) and return to life from this death.⁸⁶ Lest there be any lingering doubt as to what this would entail, Hakuin explains this experience in great detail:

What is “to let go of your hands at a steep cliff”? Supposing a man should find himself in some desolate area where no man has ever walked before. Below him are the perpendicular walls of a bottomless chasm. His feet rest precariously on a patch of slippery moss, and there is no spot of earth on which he can steady himself. He can neither advance nor retreat; he faces only death. The only things he has on which to depend are a vine that he grasps by the left hand and a creeper that he holds with his right. His life hangs as if from a dangling thread. If he were suddenly to let go, his dried bones would not even be left.

So it is with the study of the Way. If you take up one koan and investigate it unceasingly your mind will die and your intentions will be destroyed. It is as though a vast, empty abyss lay before you, with no place to set your hands and feet. You face death and your bosom feels as though it were afire. Then suddenly you are one with the koan, and both body and mind are cast off. This

86. YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 280; trans. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 63. For the significance of this notion of returning to life from the great death, see AHN 2007.

is known as the time when the hands are released over the abyss. Then when suddenly you return to life, there is the great joy of one who drinks the water and knows for himself whether it is hot or cold. This is known as rebirth in the Pure Land. This is known as seeing into one's own nature.

(YOSHIZAWA 2001b, 469–70; tr. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 135–36 [with minor changes])

Like the Chan masters of the Song that he so deeply admired, what Hakuin hoped to do for his Japanese audience of the eighteenth century was to “remind” them of the true meaning of “death.” To die the great death, he claims, was to know the Way for oneself. Received knowledge could not be trusted. It had to be checked against one's personal and intuitive understanding of the *nantō watō*, those difficult-to-penetrate koans. Why? Because knowledge by itself was not enough. There had to be a sense of personal mastery behind this knowledge for it to be authentic, that is, for it to be a true “death.” There had to be a sense that knowledge was the product of one's own intellectual and spiritual labor. And this sense of mastery and control (or regulation) was to be gained not through a withdrawal from (as in the case of withered-tree sitting) but rather through a direct engagement in the task(s) at hand; hence, I think, the need to bridge the gap between meditation and daily activities like labor. In sum, what Hakuin is suggesting that we cultivate is an *embodied* knowledge that did not so much reveal as craft a cultivated self.

By no means, however, was this advice an easy pill to swallow. Even among the few in Japan at the time who possessed the ability and resources to do so, only a handful would have sincerely considered the option of reading the scriptures and koans directly without the help of aids and compilations.⁸⁷ Few, indeed, seem to have felt the need to question the practice of reproducing received knowledge as marginalia and crib sheets or the tendency to do away with the study of those pesky koans altogether for a more down-to-earth truth like “the mind is the Buddha” and simpler practices like dead sitting or nenbutsu. Hakuin's attempt to generate such a need was made all the more difficult, moreover, by the wide circulation that the late Ming publications enjoyed thanks to the growth of the print industry during the Tokugawa and the popularity of religious figures like

87. There were, to be sure, notable exceptions such as Kogetsu Zenzai 古月禪材 (1667–1751) and Egoku Dōmyō 慧極道明 (1632–1721) who, not surprisingly perhaps, exerted a considerable amount of influence on Hakuin; see AHN 2007. Both Kogetsu and Egoku were themselves heavily influenced by late Ming Chan and especially by émigré Chinese monks like Daozhe Chaoyuan 道者超元 (Jp. Dōja Chōgen 1602–1662) and Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (Jp. Ingen Ryūki; 1592–1673). As briefly noted earlier, it seems to have been the sectarian consciousness and scholarship that developed in response to the influence of late Ming Chan that led to the notable efforts to return to the “original” sources during the Tokugawa; see MOHR 1994b and RIGGS 2002.

Bankei Yōtaku 盤珪永琢 (1622–1693) who explicitly downplayed the importance of scriptural study in his well attended public sermons.⁸⁸

Hakuin, however, was a cautious and meticulous scholar. He sensed that the real difficulty behind dying the great death lied elsewhere. What made the regulation of meditative-work so difficult, it seems, were the “natural” inclinations of the self/body (*mi* 身) to seek abstract, disembodied understandings (how else are we to understand the tendency to lose regulation in meditative-work and the heart-fire’s tendency to rise up against its natural course?). But we must be cautious not take these inclinations for granted. Without the renewed interest in identifying moral and spiritual values with a personal understanding of the Way would there even have been an *awareness* of these “natural” inclinations toward disembodied understandings? Would there even have been a *perception* of the undesired effect of these inclinations as exhaustion (*rō*), that is, a sense that spiritual work or labor (*rō*) has gone awry?

Governance (*zhu* 主)

This much we know for sure—there was, indeed, a renewed interest in identifying moral and spiritual values with the individual’s or, more specifically, the mind’s mastery of itself and its actions.⁸⁹ And, like Hakuin, intellectuals of this and subsequent periods seemed to have become increasingly aware of the need to

88. For Bankei, see HASKEL 1988. The influence of print culture on Tokugawa Zen cannot be underestimated. The flurry of Buddhist printing projects in Kyoto during the early Tokugawa, for instance, facilitated the ascendancy of Yinyuan and his faction in Japan. According to Mujaku Dōchū’s 無著道忠 (1653–1745) *Ōbaku geki* 黄檗外記, his own teacher Tokuō Myōkō 秃翁妙宏 (1611–1681) had purchased Yinyuan’s work in two volumes from a book dealer in Kyoto three years before Yinyuan’s arrival in Japan in 1654; see BARONI 2000, 44. Tokuō recommended these works to Ryōkei Shōsen 龍溪性潛 (1602–1670) who, deeply impressed with what he saw, tried, in vain, to install Yinyuan as abbot of Myōshinji 妙心寺. We also know that the late Ming monk Wuyi Yuanlai’s 無異元來 (1575–1639) *Chanbing jingyu* 禪病警語—a text that Hakuin relied heavily upon for his explication of the malady of meditation—was printed in Kyoto as early as 1650 and the woodblock for this text had been re-carved on several more occasions, which seems to attest to its great popularity. One edition of the *Chanbing jingyu* received the widest circulation (often referred to as the Minōbon 美濃本) and this edition was based on a hand-written copy by the Sōtō monk Kōeki 交易 (1635–1694) and printed in 1689; see HASEBE 1974. This same Kōeki was also responsible for the wide circulation of Yongjue’s *Chanyu neiiji*, which he published with his commentary as the *Zenyo naishū shitsujitsu* 禪餘內集實質 in 1677.

89. In response to the influential study on Tokugawa religion by Robert BELLAH (1956), the Japanese scholar Yasumaru Yoshio, for instance, claims that Tokugawa figures such as Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩 (1685–1744) and Ninomiya Sontoku 二宮尊徳 (1787–1856) took the “traditional” values of diligence, frugality, piety or what he calls “core values” (*tsūzoku dōtoku* 通俗道德) as having less to do with the adherence to external rules than with “self-discipline” (*jiko tanren* 自己鍛練). Bellah, according to Yasumaru, had failed to comprehend “the specific process in which the people came to constitute and discipline themselves” (YASUMARU 1974, 10). This self-discipline, Yasumaru adds,

reestablish an organic bond between traditional forms of personal cultivation that stressed the quieting of the mind and daily activities like labor. As long as the individual could constitute himself as the subject and master of his labor (be it in the bedroom, the paddy field, or meditation hall), labor could be an opportunity for moral and spiritual perfection. Kaibara Ekken also offers a good example of this trend. To nourish life, according to Ekken, is to bring the inner desires under control and prevent one's primordial energy from becoming weak, and the weakening of primordial energy takes place in two closely related yet diametrically opposed ways (ISHIKAWA 1981, 26).

If the consumption of food, sex, and physical labor go beyond measure, then primordial energy will be depleted; and, if the consumption of food, entertainment, and sleep are excessive, then primordial energy will become stagnant (ISHIKAWA 1981, 30). The former, as we have seen, can be treated by calming the mind in quietude and the latter by putting the body to work and making the primordial energy circulate throughout the body. But the mind governs *all* activity, circulation, and labor. As Ekken himself puts it, "those who have the will to nourish life should always have the mind [serve] as the lord. If there is a lord, then one will be able to discern [properly] and not give rise to anger or desire in making decisions of right and wrong. No mistakes will be made" (ISHIKAWA 1981, 40).

In short, the mind must carry out the seemingly impossible task of regulating itself and the body in both quietude and activity for primordial energy to remain strong. Hakuin presents a similar conundrum as the ideal model of the mind. To have the mind-as-lord (*shushin* 主心), he claims, is to have a huge rock in the space below the navel (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 232; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 45). If the mind-as-lord is firmly set no deluded thoughts will be able to enter and exhaustion will not be felt while carrying out the ten thousand good deeds (YOSHIZAWA 2001a, 232; cf. YAMPOLSKY 1971, 45–46). It is unclear where Hakuin got this idea of the mind-as-lord. No other Buddhist thinker, to my knowledge, uses this term in this manner. Considering its resemblance to the notion of a self, the lack of reference to a mind-as-lord should hardly come as a surprise. The term was, nevertheless, an important one for Hakuin and, as a possible catalyst behind this development, I have pointed to, among other things, shifting attitudes in the practice of reading and hinted at the growing influence and accessibility of classical medical literature during the Tokugawa.⁹⁰ All these factors, I suspect, were responsible for the emergence and widespread acceptance of the mind as

was practiced under the belief that one's fate and fortune was determined in large part by the cultivation and discipline of the self or *kokoro*, which, in effect, made the individual largely responsible for his or her own destiny. For a cogent critique and analysis of Yasumaru's work, see FUJITANI 1998.

90. For print culture and medical texts in Japan (including, but not limited to, the Tokugawa period), see KOSOTO 1996, MAYANAGI 1997, and KORNICKI 2001.

the central locus of personal cultivation during the late Tokugawa. They were also responsible, however, for the emergence of something less desirable and that something, I submit, is exhaustion.

As we saw earlier, to have the mind serve as lord it had to be placed securely in the tranquil waters of the lower body where it could shield itself from the distractions and trappings of everyday life. This withdrawal could not, however, lead to a lapse of control, for that would inevitably result in the failure of regulation, exhaustion, and the rise of the malady of meditation. To avoid this outcome Hakuin suggests that one should approach the tranquil waters of the lower body as a lord would approach the people. But the acceptance of this view of the mind-as-lord in Zen and other related circles seems to have been accompanied, not coincidentally perhaps, by the acceptance of the view that the tendency to lose regulation was a *permanent* condition. While carrying out its duties the mind-as-lord had a natural tendency of “going beyond measure” (*do ni sugi* 度に過ぎ) and “losing regulation” (*setsu o shitsu* 節を失). Literally and metaphorically, one had to thus continuously demonstrate self-control through labor. But the more one labored the more likely it was for one to become exhausted. And the more obvious the gap between expectation (self-mastery) and experience (exhaustion) the more important it became for one to continue to labor. What we thus have before us, I argue, is a gap that is constitutive of a new personality defined by the constant need for self-regulated labor.

As the demand for productive, skill-intensive labor increased—and it did indeed during the Tokugawa—anxieties about exhaustion and the need for self-regulated labor also increased. This trend continued well into the nineteenth century. The thin line that separates self-regulated labor from exhaustion is underscored, for instance, in the following advice on nourishing life from the Confucian scholar Satō Issai 佐藤一斎 (1772–1859): “Do not allow the mind to become exhausted (*rō*). To not be exhausted is to nourish life. Make the body labor (*rō*). To labor is to nourish life.”⁹¹ Issai also seems to be well aware that regulation (*setsu*) is what separates labor from exhaustion when he claims: “the meditative-work of nourishing life lies in but a single word: regulation (*setsu*).”⁹²

Again, for both Ekken and Hakuin, what prevented labor from turning into exhaustion and what governed regulation was the lord of the body. For both figures, the mind was this lord, but in order for the mind to function in this

91. KAWAKAMI 1980, 300. These words appear in Satō’s *Genshi banroku* 言志晩録, which was published in 1839. The *Genshi banroku* can also be found in NST 46, 107–165, 254–73.

92. KAWAKAMI 1980, 302. For more on Issai and his theories about self-reliance, see SAWADA 2004, 16–17, 98–99.

capacity it had to be governed with quietude or made to descend to the area below the navel. As Ekken explains:

Three inches below the navel is called the cinnabar field. The vital energy moving between the kidneys is located here. According to the *Nanjing*, “the vital energy that moves between the kidneys below the navel is the life of a person. It is the foundation of the twelve channels.” This is where a person’s root of life is located. The art of nourishing life is to always straighten the waist and store and accumulate true vital energy in the cinnabar field. It is to breath quietly and not throw the breath into disarray. When carrying out a task one must lightly blow out vital energy from the chest several times and have it accumulate in the cinnabar field and not in the chest. If you do so, vital energy will not rise, the chest will not be disturbed, and strength will be nourished in the body. When addressing a noble person or when you are busy tending to a great task you should do the same. Even if you unavoidably end up having an argument with someone, you will neither be harmed by anger nor will you make a mistake from the lightness of vital energy.

Also, those who work with fine art or warriors who use spears and great swords in battling the enemy should all take this method seriously. This is an art that can be of great benefit in nourishing vital energy to those facing a task. As a rule, those who cultivate a special skill, especially warriors, should be aware of this technique. The Daoists’ [art of] nourishing of vital energy and the bhikṣus’ seated meditation are all techniques for storing true vital energy below the navel. This is the meditative-work of governing with quietude (*shusei no kufū* 主靜の工夫) and the secret formula of the skilled.

(ISHIKAWA 1981, 56–57)

Meditative-work in the midst of quietude is precisely what Hakuin had pursued when he was young. As Ekken suggests, the ability to conduct affairs in the hustling and bustling world without the loss of vital energy or *ki* is probably what Hakuin also expected to attain as a product of carrying out this form of meditative-work. But his expectations, as we have seen, did not come to fruition. In fact, his practice of silent illumination only made matters worse. So, he found a solution elsewhere. Manual labor, as he told the two abbesses, was an effective remedy for exhaustion. But, is it? Can self-regulated labor (*rō*) ward off exhaustion (*rō*), or does one simply lead to the other?

Conclusion

Let us conclude our discussion with some final thoughts on the problem of governance (Ch. *zhu*, Jp. *shu* 主). While nowadays we may be accustomed to the idea of a mind that governs the entire body as its lord, this particular model of governance, as Kuriyama points out, is not readily applicable to the classical Chinese body that appears, for instance, in the *Huangdi neijing*. As Kuriyama goes on to explain:

No comparable hegemon governed the Chinese body. To be sure, when the *Neijing* drew parallels between the body and the body politic, it did speak of the heart as the ruling lord (*junzhu zhi guan*), and it even endowed the heart with intelligence (*shenming*). But the heart hardly monopolized a person's mental resources. Decisiveness, for example, belonged to the gall bladder, the capacity for calculated planning resided in the liver, craftiness belonged to the kidneys, and the sense of taste to the spleen. Accounts of the heart in China offer little hint of the commanding dominance invested in the Greek *hegemonikon*. In the dynamics of the five phases, the heart conquered the lungs, but the heart in turn tended to be overpowered by the kidneys, the kidneys by the spleen, the spleen by the liver, and the liver by the lungs. Power circulated. No one *zang* lorded over all the other. (KURIYAMA 1999, 161)

But all this seems to have changed with the rise of *Daoxue* 道學 and the incorporation of its ideas of governance and mind (and heart) into medicine by Danxi. While not quite the hegemon, the mind had become the indisputable lord of the body. In keeping with this view of governance, Danxi believed that illness was no longer simply the body's reaction to external pathogens like cold and wind, but the product of a wayward mind. Danxi's own contribution to this view of governance came in the form of a sophisticated theoretical frame for understanding this wayward nature of the mind. It was the tendency of the princely fire lodged in the mind to rise upwards, he claimed, that made the body so susceptible to illness. He thus gave birth to what we may call a morally culpable body. Or, as Charlotte Furth eloquently puts it: "In opposing the dynamic yang energy of Fire with the tranquil yin realm of Water, Zhu named the bodily basis for the naturalization of ethics, making him a theorist of the body's passions well suited to the somber morality of *Daoxue*" (FURTH 1999, 146).

Such change in the conditions of thinking about illness had practical consequences. As Hakuin points out, the malady of meditation is not to be treated with medicine but with meditation, for "what is lowered by the earth," he explains, "must be raised by the earth."⁹³ Similarly, Ekken also claims that "as a rule, the use of medicine, acupuncture, and moxibustion is a second-rate strategy [that is to take place] only if no other options are available" (ISHIKAWA 1981, 30). If, as he continues to explain, "one pays attention to food, drink, and sexual desires, wakes up and goes to sleep on time, and thus nourishes life then there will be no illness" (ISHIKAWA 1981, 30). A first-rate strategy is to make the body labor and move

93. YOSHIKAWA 2000a, 109. As YOSHIKAWA notes, this seems to be an allusion to a *gāthā* uttered by Upagupta found in fascicle one of the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, "If the earth causes you to fall, the earth must [also] cause you to rise. To try to rise without ground [to stand on] is ultimately untenable" (T51.2076.207b16–17); noted in YOSHIKAWA 2000a, 109 n. 11 and also WADDELL 1999, 156 n. 10. Shaw and Schiffer mistakenly translate this phrase as "For it depends wholly on you whether you will be cured or not" (SHAW and SCHIFFER 1956, 115).

(*rōdō* 勞動) by taking a brisk walk in the morning and evening and abstaining from sitting or lying down too long. Concerns about the abuse of medicine can also be seen in the *Enju satsuyō* 延壽撮要, a manual for nourishing life written by Dōsan's son and successor Manase Gensaku 曲直瀬玄朔 (1549–1631) in 1599: “Also, when [Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581–682)] says ‘the myriad illnesses and accumulation rise from depletion,’ [he means] with the depletion of the middle and the lower burners the mind and abdomen are full of worries. And yet, [people] use medicine for killing worms to undo accumulation and they end up diminishing vital energy [instead].”⁹⁴ The claim that even tapeworms are to be treated by calm meditation was also voiced by Zen master Takuan Sōhō 澤菴宗彭 (1573–1646). Fine cuisine and overdrinking, according to Takuan, causes overheating and when the use of vital energy is thereby increased it enters what he calls the nests of worms and accumulations (*mushi to shaku no su* 虫と積の巢) in the body.⁹⁵ Only by reducing the use of vital energy and calming it down will one be able to have these havoc-wreaking worms and accumulations return to their nests.

In short, the body—insofar as the mind-and-heart is an organ of the body—was largely in control of its own destiny. External substances and clinical tools only hindered its progress towards health, long life, and unbridled productivity. Destiny, however, proved to be almost impossible to control. The mind-as-lord, it seems, had a natural tendency to lose regulation. The fact that the mind was constantly under the pressure of having to labor did not help either. Why was it under so much pressure? Because the mind had to actively demonstrate self-mastery and control to fight or prevent stagnation caused by accumulation or depletion, at the root of which we find exhaustion. Were these ailments, as Kuriyama suggests, an instance of “anxiety-turned-flesh”? And was this anxiety provoked by a failure to live up to the expectations of industrious behavior and labor during the Tokugawa? Perhaps. But I think Hakuin's example suggests an alternative reading. Labor (*rō*), it seems, was often experienced as exhaustion (*rō*) because the implicit expectation with regards to labor was that it is never enough, never complete.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CT *Concordance du Tao Tsang: Titres des ouvrages*. Kristofer Schipper ed. Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1975. (Citations of

94. KKIS 6, 415 or 483. The embedded quote is from the first fascicle of Sun Simiao's *Beiji qian*.

95. See Takuan's *Kottōroku* 骨董録; cited in SHIRASUGI 1997, 63–64. For the passage in question, see TOZ 5, 13–15.

- page and register based on *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 [Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1985]).
- DNBZ *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書. 100 vols. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財団, ed. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1970–1973.
- HOZ *Hakuin oshō zenshū* 白隱和尚全集. 8 vols. Gotō Kōson 後藤光村, ed. 1934–1935. Reprint ed. Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1967.
- KKIS *Kinsei kanpō igakusho shūsei* 近世漢方医学書集成. 117 vols. Ōtsuka Keisetsu 大塚敬節 and Yakazu Dōmei 矢数道明, eds. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1979–1984.
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- NST *Nihon shisō taikai* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970–1982.
- SGT *Shushigaku taikai* 朱子学体系. 15 vols. Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha, 1974–1983.
- SKQS *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書. Reprint. Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983–1986.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 85 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭, eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.
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- ZDJ *Shinpan Zengaku daijiten* 新版 禅学大辞典. *Zengaku Daijiten Hensanjo* of Komazawa University, ed. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1985.
- ZGC *Zhanguo ce zhuzi suo yin* 戰國策逐字索引. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 and Chen Fangzheng 陳方正, eds. Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1992.
- ZTJ *Zutang ji* 祖堂集索引. 3 vols. Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, ed. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1980.
- ZZ *Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經. Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, ed. Kyoto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1905–1912. Reprint ed. *Xuzang jing* 續藏經. Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1968–1970.

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- Bukkō Enman jōshō Kokushi goroku* 佛光圓滿常照國師語錄. T80.2549.
- Byōmei ikai* 病名彙解. KKIS 64.
- Changuan cejin* 禪關策進. T48.2024 (FUJIYOSHI 1970).
- Chokushi Jinki Dokumyō zenji Hakuin rōshō nenpu* 勅諭神機妙抄禪師白隱老和尚年譜. HOZ 1.

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Ihō monyo 醫方問餘. KKIS 102.
Jingci yaoyu 淨慈要語. ZZ108.
Jingde chuandeng lu 景德傳燈錄. T51.2076.
Kanzanshi sendai kimon 寒山詩闡提記聞. HOZ 4.
Keichō kenbunshū 慶長見聞集. NSSSS 8: 471–640.
Keitekishū 啓迪集. KKIS 2.
Keisō dokuzui 荊叢毒蘂. HOZ 2.
Kottōroku 骨董錄. TOZ 5.
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