

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### Examining the Sources of Japanese Rinzai Zen

Michel MOHR

Kenneth KRAFT, *Eloquent Zen: Daitō and Early Japanese Zen*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992. vii + 268 pages. Glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth \$34.00; ISBN 0-8248-1383-9.

THE HISTORY OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM is replete with clichés, waiting to be swallowed whole by the unwary student. Most people, for example, associate the emergence of the Japanese Rinzai school with the second trip of Myōan Yōsai to the Asian continent and his subsequent introduction of Chinese Ch’an to Japan in 1191. Although it is true that Yōsai played a certain role in establishing Zen Buddhism as a legitimate, independent sect in Japan, he was not in fact the first person to bring the tradition to that land, nor was his lineage of great importance in the sect’s subsequent development there. If we examine the Rinzai school as it has survived up until the present day, we find that the most dynamic and durable line has been the one transmitted to Japan by Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 (1235–1309), better known by his honorific title of Daiō-kokushi 大應國師. Daiō-kokushi was the teacher of Daitō-kokushi 大燈國師 (1282–1338), from whom all the presently existing lines of Rinzai Zen descend.

The study of Daitō is thus a fundamental prerequisite for research on the Japanese Rinzai school, and hence the importance of Kenneth Kraft’s *Eloquent Zen*, which is the first Western publication to focus on this subject. It is a pioneering work, not only for its research on a Zen master whose words and deeds are still widely unknown in the West, but for its attempt to scrutinize Daitō’s use of the language, in particular his employment of the Zen device of the “capping phrase” (*agyo* 下語 or *jakugo* 著語). Capping phrases, defined by Kraft as “something of a cross between a koan and a footnote” (p. 5), are often cryptic

commentaries whose meaning is difficult to grasp outside the framework of monastic practice. A scholarly endeavor to translate these expressions of religious insight must therefore not only take into account linguistic and historical factors, but also include a personal “tasting” of the primary spiritual purpose of this peculiar kind of poetry.

The complexity of this task is reflected in the non-linear approach the author used to structure his book, which consists of twelve chapters and three appendices (lists of Daitō’s works, the Chinese characters for the capping phrases cited, and the location of the capping phrases cited). Kraft does not utilize the approach usually employed in books of this type, in which a chronological description of the life of the subject is followed by a discussion of his works. Although *Eloquent Zen* does include such information, of course, the ordering of the chapters—in which topics specifically centered on Daitō alternate with issues related to the historical context or Japanese Zen in general—seems deliberately designed to surprise the reader out of the kind of routine reading that the usual type of structure often induces.

Daitō’s life, for example, is treated in chapter 1, “Entering the World of Daitō,” chapter 3, “Daitō’s Early Zen Training,” and chapter 5, “Daitō Ascendant at Daitokuji,” while general issues are taken up in chapters 2, “Japan in the Early Fourteenth Century,” chapter 4, “The Foundation of Japanese Zen,” chapter 6, “Enlightenment and Authenticity,” and chapter 7, “Clarifying the Essentials of Zen.”

This alternation of factual information with more global reflections makes reading quite pleasant. It will certainly be appreciated by the reader unfamiliar with the historical background of Japanese Zen, though some specialists might criticize the lack of systematic progression and complain about some of the eclectic views expressed in the even-numbered chapters.

I would like to begin by commenting briefly on the five initial chapters, which deal mostly with Daitō and the times in which he lived. The presentation of the historical context in which Daitō was active is clear and well documented. The author’s previous research on religious figures of Kamakura Buddhism, in particular Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351; see KRAFT 1981), enlarges his perspective on Daitō’s activities and the latter’s interactions with his time. Chapter 2 provides a good overview of the troubled period that followed the attempted invasions by the Mongols. The close relationship of Daitō with emperors Hanazono 花園 (1297–1348, r. 1308–1318) and Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (1288–1339, r. 1318–1339) appears in all its complexity when seen in the context of the Kenmu Restoration (建武新政 1333–1336). This short-lived attempt by Go-Daigo to restore imperial

power was quickly brought to an end by the opposition of his former general Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–1358) but, as Kraft pertinently suggests, “Even though many of Go-Daigo’s initiatives were later reversed, the Kenmu Restoration marks the entry of the Zen institution into the religious and political mainstream of medieval Japan, a development that Daitō witnessed and facilitated” (p. 23).

A fascinating aspect of Daitō was his apparent ability to keep close ties with the contending factions of the Northern and Southern Courts, despite the subtle rivalry shown by his two emperor-disciples. Chapter 5 includes further invaluable information about the patronage Daitō received from other lay supporters, and is enhanced by quotations of contemporary documents, such as Hanazono’s *Diary* (*Shinki* 宸記).

Kraft applies a careful eye to the examination of the available biographical material on Daitō. The fact that Daitō’s first short biography, *Daitō-kokushi-gyōjō* 大燈國師行狀 by Shunsaku Zenkō 春作禪興 (n.d.), appeared in a wood-block edition between 1426 and 1467, approximately a century after Daitō’s death, shows that certain precautions are necessary in dealing with this subject. Kraft is scrupulous not to give too much credence to these late texts, retaining a proper distance from their assumptions and at the same time not rejecting them out of hand. This cautious approach is reflected in statements such as: “The Daitō depicted in the biographical materials is a figure whose search for self-realization was untainted by worldly ambition, whose development included a proper hiatus between enlightenment and a public career, and whose intentions in founding a temple were genuinely spiritual” (p. 82). The author nevertheless more or less follows the traditional account of Daitō’s life; given the scarcity of documents from Daitō’s time this is nearly impossible to avoid, a point that might have been further highlighted had the author mentioned that the biography he gives comprises an attempt to reconstruct Daitō’s life on the basis of the legends about it.

In any event, Kraft’s handling of the ancient stories relating to Daitō’s life is well balanced, and takes into account the recent Japanese scholarship on such famous aspects of the Daitō legend as the often-depicted “beggar at the bridge” (pp. 42–46). This does not mean, however, that he always follows the conclusions drawn by Japanese specialists, and there is at least one case where he disagrees with Hirano Sōjō, one of the main editors of Daitō’s works. Hirano is quoted as believing “that the imperial favors were a ‘terrible nuisance’ to Daitō and the apparent competition between the two emperors an added ‘headache’.” The more realistic conclusion drawn by Kraft is as follows: “Yet a reading of the documentary evidence, including Daitō’s numerous expressions of gratitude in response to the gifts and

decrees, gives the impression that he sincerely welcomed whatever support he could muster” (p. 81).

Another critical issue, one that unfortunately is not discussed thoroughly enough, is that of the connection between Daiō, Daitō’s master, and the former’s Chinese master, Xutang Zhiyu\* 虚堂智愚 (1185–1269). *Nitta no ki* 日多記, the famous document Kraft mentions on page 57, was considered until recently to be a letter from Xutang to his disciple Daiō, but IRIYA Yoshitaka (1985, p. 1) has shown that, on grammatical grounds, the author cannot have been Xutang. The letter is thus either spurious or was written by Daiō himself. If we adopt the hypothesis that Daiō was the author, the translation on p. 57 should read: “In Japan, the successors [of our lineage] will increase daily” (*Tokai no jison hi ni utata okaran* 東海兒孫日轉多).

Chapters 6 and 7, with their ambitious headings of “Enlightenment and Authenticity” and “Clarifying the Essentials of Zen,” demonstrate both the author’s sympathy with the tradition he describes and his concern with questions that touch upon the core of Buddhist thought and practice: “What is enlightenment?” “Is there any criterion with which to recognize authentic Dharma transmission?” The implications of these questions are, of course, too vast to be treated in a couple of chapters. One observation made by the author is that “traditional and scholarly approaches diverge” (p. 93), and his attempts to reconcile the two are apparent throughout the book. This same concern is expressed in one of his earlier publications (KRAFT 1988), where, in his editor’s introduction, he says, “For Zen masters and scholars to cooperate in producing an inclusive one-volume work on Zen is itself a notable departure” (p. 2).

Chapter 6 concludes the lofty question about the authentication of enlightenment with a poetical pirouette about a “mother who can tell at a glance that her daughter has fallen in love” (p. 94). It is aimed at showing that the question, while legitimate, is inherently problematic, being the product of dualistic thought. The quotation from Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪菴隆 (1213–1278) that follows sends the reader back to his sitting cushion to clarify what the “real mind” where “there is no illusion or enlightenment” is about. I found this section quite interesting, though I doubt if it will satisfy most philosophers’ endless hunger for logical explanations.

Chapter 7 looks at the “essentials” from a more down-to-earth point of view. Turning to “five of the features most often cited as essentials of Zen: zazen, emblems of Dharma transmission, the monastic rule,

\* Although Kraft follows the Wade-Giles system of romanizing Chinese, in this review I will (at the risk of occasional confusion) use the increasingly common Pinyin system.

monastery construction, and withdrawal from the world,” the author continues his search for the “critical features of genuine Zen” (p. 96). I found myself feeling a bit frustrated by this section, both by the author’s combination of rather heterogeneous elements and by his overly general and sometimes confusing assertions. Monastery construction is an interesting subject, for example, and an important part of Zen institutional history, but to regard it as one of the essentials of Zen is questionable. Daitō, for one, seems to have viewed it as a secondary consideration at best, and perhaps even as a hindrance for practicing monks. His well-known *Last Admonition* specifically praises those who, though “living outdoors, in a hut covered with one bundle of straw, spending their days eating only the roots of wild vegetables cooked in a pot with broken legs,...single-mindedly apply themselves to investigating the matter of their own self.”

This type of weakness does not diminish the value of the author’s other conclusions, but it does reflect a quest for something partially illusory, which is finally recognized as such: “With nothing substantial to put one’s finger on, one might surmise that ultimately there are no criteria of authentic Zen or that authenticity in Zen is somehow tied to the absence of unvarying criteria. Yet the writings and the actions of the early Japanese masters do not support this line of reasoning. However subtle the indications, however prone to deconstruction the discourse, the pioneers were confident of their ability to identify the essentials of genuine Zen” (p. 112).

The search for authenticity and its criteria reflects a common tendency to rely upon rational articulation, which often brings students of this matter to a state of deadlock. As far as academic research is concerned, a good first step toward circumventing this problem might be to cease looking at “Zen” as something special. It is part of the Buddhist tradition as a whole; even when rational justifications are not provided by the Zen tradition itself, they are generally implicit or obvious in the framework of Buddhist thought upon which Zen relies.

Let us come now to the pivotal section of *Eloquent Zen*, the part that will attract the most attention from scholars: the last four chapters, including the much-awaited translations of Daitō’s capping-phrases. The translated phrases, selected from various of Daitō’s works, are divided into three parts:

- 1) “Selected Poems by Daitō” (pp. 186–92): twenty-nine poems, taken from the *Record of National Master Daitō* (*Daitō-kokushi goroku* 大燈國師語録) and the *Light[hearted] Oxherding Poems* (*Yōgyūkyōginka* 養牛輕吟歌). The combination of poems taken from the *Record* with those coming from the *Light[hearted] Oxherding Poems* is somehow



questionable. As the author acknowledges (p. 213), the authenticity of the *Yōgyūkyōginka* is far from established, and it would thus have been better to keep the two works separate. This anthology appears to have been compiled according to the author's taste, with no precise order given to the succession of poems.

- 2) "Daitō's Capping-Phrase Commentaries" (pp. 192–99): twenty cases taken from *One Hundred Twenty Cases* (*Hyakunijussoku* 百二十則) and from *Capping Phrases on the Blue Cliff Record* (*Hekigan agyo* 碧巖下語). This, in my opinion, is the most accessible of the sections, with each case (koan) followed by Daitō's response in the form of a capping-phrase. It shows that capping-phrases in their original context are primarily meant to be commentaries on or reactions to other situations or expressions. The cases are presented in the order of their structural complexity, the first being a single sentence with a single capping-phrase and the last being a dialog between two protagonists where each of their thirteen statements is followed by a distinctive capping-phrase.
- 3) "Gleanings from Daitō's Capping Phrases" (pp. 200–208): a selection of 230 capping phrases from among the 2,279 contained in Daitō's three main works. Some are used several times in Daitō's different writings, and many of the capping phrases translated here already appear in the texts presented in section 2) of the translations.

Translating koans and elliptic capping-phrases is a demanding task; with Daitō in particular, Japanese scholarship provides very little to go on. HIRANO (1971, 1972) supplies little more than the reading (*yomikudashi*) of certain texts and an index of the capping-phrases, and the same can be said of OGISU Jundō in his edition of *Hyakunijussoku* (1965). It must be repeated that scholarship on the Japanese Rinzai school is still in its infancy and that much of the groundwork remains to be done. The only way open to the translator to clarify many difficult passages is to plunge into the vast corpus of Ch'an literature in the hope of finding a similar expression or context. This can be quite fruitful, since the proportion of Daitō's capping-phrases that are purely Chinese is truly amazing. This brings up an issue on which I would have liked to have had Kraft's opinion: what portion of Daitō's corpus expresses true creativity on his part, and what portion is attributable to a diligent imitation of his Chinese predecessors? I shall return to this question later.

As one who is also involved in the tricky task of rendering Zen Buddhist texts into Western languages, I suspect that most of the inaccuracies in our translations arise for the following four reasons:

- 1 *excessive extrapolation*: going too far with an interpretation that is not based upon solid philological data;
- 2 *oversimplification*: failing to fully grasp the background and meaning of an expression;
- 3 *lack of precision*: vagueness and a consequent failure to convey the original's power and poetry, often due to incomplete resources;
- 4 *misinterpretation*: missing the true intent of the original due to various reasons, among them one's own preconceived ideas.

My intention in the discussion that follows is not to criticize Kraft for the few errors that are present in his translations; most of his renderings are both clear and faithful to the original. My aim is rather to point out the different ways in which the same *jakugo* might be understood, and to indicate possible ways in which some of them might be further improved. I shall utilize examples from *Eloquent Zen* to illustrate the four categories of translation inaccuracy that I outlined above, but I ask the reader to keep in mind that often the only reason I propose an alternative is personal preference. The words of Daitō in his capping-phrase 21, “Big words are easy to say,” are present in my mind, but it seems worthwhile nonetheless to discuss the matter.

#### 1) EXCESSIVE EXTRAPOLATION

##### 9. *Kankattō* 閑葛藤

Kraft's translation: “Wasted effort.”

Literally: “Idle ivies and vines.”

*Suggested translation and remarks*: “Meaningless talk; useless sermon.” There is no nuance of effort in the original. The image is that of parasitic creepers, most often associated with attachments (*klesā*).

*Sources*: *Jingde chuandeng-lu* 景德傳燈錄 19 (T. 51 no. 2076, p. 358b23). The *Zengojiiten* 禪語辭典 gives two modern Japanese equivalents: “boring chat” (*kudaranai oshaberi* くだらないおしゃべり) and “useless preaching” (*muda na dangi* 無駄な談義) (p. 68b). In *The Records of Linji*, one finds the Chinese expression *geteng* 葛藤, translated by SASAKI and IRIYA as “We have bandied words” (1975, p. 2) and by DEMIÉVILLE as “Nous voilà empêtrés dans toutes ces lianes parasites (de vains mots)” (now we are entangled in all these parasitic creepers [of fruitless words]) (1972, p. 28). An example of the use of the term *kattō* 葛藤 already appears in the *Tch'ou yao king* 出曜經, where it is written 葛藤 (T. 4 no 212, p. 680a01–02). In this text of Indian origin (Skt. *Udānavarga*), it is said that even a luxuriant tree quickly withers if entwined by these creepers, which are metaphors for the three poisons (greed, hatred, and stupidity).

- 2) OVERSIMPLIFICATION (among the 230 translations in the “Gleanings from Daitō’s Capping Phrases” section, most of the inaccuracies present seemed to be of this type; the problem was sometimes due to Chinese vernacular expressions having been overlooked):

138. *Dōkō ni ido nashi* 同坑無異土

Kraft’s translation: “In the same hole the soil does not differ.”

Literally: the translation is perfectly accurate in its literal meaning.

*Suggested translation and remarks:* “Those sharing the same lair are of the same nature.” According to the *Zengojiten*, this expression is similar to the modern Japanese expression *hitotsu ana no mujina* 一つ穴の貉 or *onaji ana no mujina* 同じ穴の貉 (badgers dwelling in the same hole), and refers to “bad fellows of the same sort” (p. 345b). The character 坑 carries the nuance of a dark and deep hole in the ground, and generally has a rather gloomy or negative image: the “burning pit” (*kakō* 火坑) is a synonym for hell, while “bury [them] in the same grave” (*ikkyō ni maikyaku su* 一坑埋却) refers to “catching all [bad fellows] in a single haul” (*Zengojiten* p. 17a).

*Sources:* *Biyānlǔ* 碧巖錄 (T. 48 no 2003 pp. 153a13, 162c05, 191b01, etc.). It is also found in the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 20 [Z. 118 p. 417a08 (old ed. p. 209a08)], where it is used by Wuzu Fayān 五祖法演 (1024?–1104), as well as in the *Wujia zhengzongzan* 五家正宗贊 2 (Z. 135 p. 929b13 [old ed. p. 465b13]).

3) LACK OF PRECISION

147. *Junnin yo o okasu* 巡人犯夜

Kraft’s translation: “The watchman steals at night.”

Literally: “The watchman violates the night.”

*Suggested translation and remarks:* “The watchman breaks the curfew.” The officer in charge of watching the city at night must go out in order to apprehend those who are breaking the curfew. He himself has to break the rule he is supposed to enforce, hence a contradiction. This expression reflects the danger of falling into contradiction with oneself (*Zengojiten*, p. 207b). The “transgression” committed by the watchman results from the position he holds.

*Sources:* *Guzunsu yulu* 20 (Z. 118 p. 425a12 [old ed. p. 213a12]), also in the *Xutanglu* 虛堂錄 1 (T. 47 no. 2000 p. 990c08). The compound *han’ya* 犯夜 is found in the *Daikanwa jiten* 大漢和辭典 vol. 7 p. 672b, no. 20238–73.

106. *Sanka hiraite nishiki ni nitari, kansui tan toshite ai no gotoshi*  
山花開似錦, 澗水湛如藍。



Kraft's translation: "The patterns of the mountain flowers resemble brocade; the waters of the lakes are blue as indigo."

Literally: "Mountain flowers open like brocade; the clear streams are like indigo."

*Suggested translation and remarks:* The literal translation is preferable, substituting perhaps "bloom" for "open." There are three elements that blur the meaning in Kraft's translation. First, the idea of blooming is absent and the verb "to open" *kai* 開 is dropped. Second, the compound *kansui* 澗水 refers to mountain rivers, torrents, or rills, echoing the first part of the sentence; it cannot signify "lake." Thomas and J. C. CLEARY's translation is closer: "The mountain flowers bloom like brocade, the valley streams are brimming blue as indigo" (1977, vol. 3, p. 531). The third missing element is the rendering of the character 湛, which carries many nuances, including "peaceful," "stagnant," "brimming," "deep," "transparent" (*Daikanwa jiten*, pp. 132c–33a]). The compound *tansui* 湛水 is related to the image of a container filled (*tataeta* 湛えた) with water, and it chiefly evokes the concept of stillness (*Daikanwa jiten* p. 133d no. 17846–32]. The *Zengojiten* chooses the nuance of being clear or limpid (*sumu* 澄む) (p. 164a).

*Sources:* *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯澄會要 17, Z. 136 p. 703a17 (old ed. p. 352a17); *Xutanglu* 2, T. 47 no. 2000 p. 1001b24; *Biyuanlu* case 82, T. 48 no 2003 pp. 208a27, 208b19–b20 and 208c08–c09.

#### 4) MISINTERPRETATION:

##### 85. *Setchō bun nashi* 雪寶無分

Kraft's translation: "We cannot split Hsüeh-tou."

Literally: "Xuedou has no share."

*Suggested translation and remarks:* "Xuedou lacks the ability." The mistaken translation results from the unnecessary insertion of a "we" and a misunderstanding of the word *bun* 分. In this context, it refers to the Chinese notion of *fēn* (different from *fēn*), which is the "original lot" given to human beings at birth, hence the idea of "capacity," "competence," "qualifications," or even "duty." The *Zengojiten* proposes the modern rendering "does not meet the requirements" (*shikaku nashi* 資格なし; p. 440a).

The other *jakugo* translations which need similar attention are nos. 13, 24, 25, 37, 60, 61, 121, 137, 154, 218, and 223.

In fairness, I would now like to cite a representative example of Kraft's many excellent translations:

129. *Hakkaku no maban kūri o hashiru* 八角磨盤空裏走.

Kraft's translation: "An octagonal millstone flies through the air." This translation is much more precise and elegant than the CLEARY brothers' "An eight-corner mortar flies through the air" (1977, vol. 3, p. 327). It is often in details that a *jakugo* reveals its true meaning. The image of a millstone is more effective than that of a mortar for suggesting something that crushes everything in its path, and is closer to the original meaning of a weapon, as used in ancient Indian legends (see *Zengojiten*, p. 383). In this case, the author probably read the Cleary brothers' translation and his feeling of dissatisfaction led him to improve it.

This process is very similar to that which was involved in the translation of the Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. It was not rare for a *sūtra* to undergo three successive translations over one century before receiving a satisfactory rendering. The task of translating Zen Buddhist texts into Western languages is a collective one that might take another century, and collaboration is needed to improve accuracy.

Overall, Kraft's book is undoubtedly an important contribution to the understanding of Daitō's legends and his works. The author has given much thought to the historical context in his effort to produce an intelligible image of a person whose deeds and words were and are still partially surrounded by mystery. The result is a book that is clear, readable, and almost devoid of academic jargon. I get the impression that it is the work of a person who has a strong inclination towards poetry, and many passages are indeed quite poetic. The author displays an obvious talent for narration, and he challenges some generally accepted but nevertheless mistaken views. He shows, for instance, that both Daitoku-ji and Myōshin-ji, usually thought to have remained separate from the *gozan* system, were affiliated with the system during the time of the Kenmu Restoration (p. 77). His unequivocal aim is to go beyond factual description and to discover Daitō's "inward orientation that historical facts alone cannot reveal" (p. 125).

This orientation is stimulating because of its quest for meaning, but the search for essential data also implies some compromises with the art of philology. For example, terms such as *kōan* should be discussed in relation to the period in which they are used, and general statements should be avoided unless that precaution is taken (cf. p. 58). When seen in the context of Ch'an texts dating from Tang China, the word *gong'an* 公案 (the Chinese pronunciation of *kōan*) is used in a quite different sense than in later Song texts. In the Tang text *The Recorded Sayings of Layman Pang*, for example, the word *gong'an* can be

translated as “the point of your remark” (SASAKI 1971, p. 55), while it takes on a much heavier connotation in later records.

Kraft specifies an important feature of Daitō that should be discussed further: that “Daitō was the first Japanese master to respond incisively to Ch’an classics with capping-phrases” (p. 152). This is apparently the case, but the only originality in this seems to be the fact that he was Japanese, since the mastery of capping-phrases was common in Song China. There is no further reflection regarding his literary creativity or inventiveness. The author mentions that “two of his religious ancestors, Yün-men and Hsüeh-tou, were esteemed for their verbal prowess: the affinities Daitō felt with both men have already been noted” (p. 152), and he also mentions the influence of Xutang Zhiyu (his teacher’s teacher), but he does not analyze the extent of these influences, a question that is of decisive importance in understanding the literal meaning of his *jakugo*.

Out of curiosity I performed a small survey of the 230 main capping-phrases chosen by Kraft for translation, and found only forty-one that I could not locate in the Chinese sources (and even these may come from materials that are no longer extant or that I am not acquainted with). A further forty-one phrases are in the Chinese sources but have been slightly altered by Daitō, either on purpose or by accident. The remaining 148 phrases are exact replicas of the Chinese expressions, taken mostly from the *Biyuanlu* and *Xutanglu*, where they are already used as capping-phrases. This gives an idea of Daitō’s very solid background in the Chinese classics, and demonstrates how cautious he was in innovating.

Daitō’s true originality might lie in his skillful combination of verbal dexterity (*myōshō* 妙唱), inherited from Yunmen’s line through Xuedou, with the “great activity” (*daiki* 大機) of the school of Linji. (His ability with capping-phrases certainly does not appear to be mere eloquence, since that would reduce it to a zealous imitation of the literature flourishing on the continent.) The synthesis of these two trends is already apparent in China, especially in the sayings of Yuanwu Keqin 圓悟克勤 (1063–1135) and his sixth-generation heir Xutang Zhiyu, but it still forms an important feature of the whole Rinzai tradition as it is understood today. This characteristic needs to be further clarified through the study of Daitō and other masters of his time, and I have no doubt that *Eloquent Zen* will be instrumental in furthering research of this type. A point that those involved in deciphering Kamakura-period Zen Buddhism must keep in mind is that the borders separating Chinese Ch’an and Japanese Zen at the time were very faint.

The few reservations I have about *Eloquent Zen* are largely concerned with procedural matters. I was disappointed, for example, that the book did not incorporate several interesting materials that were part of the work in its earlier incarnation as KRAFT's Ph.D. dissertation (1984). These include his translation of Daitō's *Chronicle* (*Kōzen-Daitō-kokushi-nenpu* 興禪大燈國師年譜) by Kokai Sōnyo 巨海宗如 (1696–1770), which was included as Appendix A in the original manuscript (1984, pp. 261–308). Such sacrificing of materials is perhaps inevitable in the process of producing a book from a thesis, which usually involves shortening it to make it more accessible to a general audience, but this useful translation would certainly have benefited many readers with a specific interest in the making of Daitō's biography. The chapter "Interpreting Daitō's Capping-Phrases" in the dissertation was also dropped.

Another, admittedly minor, grievance concerns the matter of dating. While Hakuin Ekaku's dates are given correctly as 1686–1769, I was surprised to find that the dates given for the most central figures of this study—Daiō, Daitō, and Kanzan—are imprecise throughout the entire volume. The three founders of the Ōtōkan lineage all had the impertinence to die during the twelfth month of the lunar calendar, which, according to the Western Julian Calendar used until the sixteenth century, places their deaths in the following year. The exact dates for these three founders should therefore be corrected as follows:

Nanpo Jōmyō 南浦紹明 Daiō-kokushi 大應國師 (1235–1309)

Died on the first year of the Enkei era 延慶元年 (*tsuchinoe-saru* 戊申), twelfth month, twenty-ninth day, at the age of 74. This corresponds to 9 February 1309 (see *Honchō-kōsōden* 本朝高僧傳 22, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* 日本仏教全書 vol. 102 p. 321a; *Enpō-dentōroku* 延寶傳燈錄 3, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* vol. 108, p. 76a; *Zengaku daijiten*, p. 586d).

Shūhō Myōchō 宗峰妙超 Daitō-kokushi 大燈國師 (1282–1338)

Died on the fourth year of the Kenmu 建武 era (*hinoto-ushi* 丁丑), twelfth month, twenty-second day (Kenmu 4 is the era name of the Northern Court, corresponding to Engen 延元 2 in the denomination of the Southern Court), at the age of 56. This would be 13 January 1338 (see *Honchō-kōsōden* 25, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* vol. 102, p. 360a; *Enpō-dentōroku* 20, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* vol. 108 p. 277b; *Zengaku daijiten*'s entry (p. 1194a) is mistaken—Engen 3 should be replaced by Engen 2).

Kanzan Egen 關山慧玄 Musō-daishi 無相大師 (1277–1361)

Died on the fifth year of the Enbun 延文 era (*kanoe-ne* 庚子), twelfth

month, twelfth day (Enbun 5 is the era name of the Northern Court, corresponding to Shōhei 正平 15 in the denomination of the Southern Court), at the age of 84. This corresponds to 19 January 1361 (see *Honchō-kōsōden* 29, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* vol. 102, p. 405b; *Enpō-dentōroku* 21, *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* vol. 108, p. 285a; *Zengaku daijiten* p. 94d).

Another weakness I noticed concerned some of the references that are given. The author is obviously familiar with his sources, but he sometimes appears to have relied on secondary translations without checking the originals, or if he did, he neglected to give the reference to the text consulted. For example, the only reference given for his quote from Lanxi on page 94 is to Thomas CLEARY's translation (1978, p. 27), with "slight modifications by the author" (note 42, p. 229). Cleary's translation is not sufficiently accurate for use in a scholarly publication; it would also have been interesting to know on which edition of the *Zazenron* 坐禪論 the author based his modifications. The same type of problem appears on page 224, note 4, where the *Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釋書 is quoted only according to Bernard FAURE's translation (1986). A few lines below, in note 20, there is the mention of another passage of the same work, this time quoted in the original text contained in *Dainihon-bukkyō-zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (not *zenshū*), vol. 101. Similarly, on page 228, note 23, the only reference to Bassui's sayings is to Philip KAPLEAU's translation (1980). There are numerous other examples of this kind; while the use of such abbreviated references enhances readability, it leaves many questions unanswered.

It also takes a few minutes to locate the abbreviations list on page 219, which is not mentioned in the table of contents. Finally, one cannot help wondering why references to the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* are abbreviated as TSD, while the vast majority of publications now use "T" or "T."

In any event, I bring up these few reservations only because I found the book to be so stimulating and worthwhile overall. *Eloquent Zen* is an invaluable contribution to the study of early Japanese Rinzai Buddhism, and the author is to be thanked by all scholars in the field—and by ordinary readers interested in Zen—for his important addition to our knowledge of Zen in particular and Sino-Japanese Buddhism in general.

## REFERENCES

- CLEARY, Thomas  
1978 *The Original Face: An Anthology of Rinzai Zen*. New York: Grove Press.

- CLEARY, Thomas and J.C.  
1977 *The Blue Cliff Record*. 3 vols. Boulder and London: Shambala Publications.
- DEMIÉVILLE, Paul  
1972 *Entretiens de Lin-tsi*. Paris: Fayard.
- FAURE, Bernard  
1986 The concept of one-practice samādhi in early Ch'an. In *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, pp. 99–128. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- HIRANO Sōjō 平野宗浄  
1971 Daitō-kokushi agyo no kenkyū (shiryō-hen) 大燈國師下語の研究 (資料編). *Zenbunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 3: 43–74.  
1972 Daitō-kokushi agyo no kenkyū (zoku-hen) 大燈國師下語の研究 (続編). *Zenbunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 4: 141–86.
- IRIYA Yoshitaka 入矢義高  
1985 Daitōkokushi no ge 大応國師の偈. *Dōhō* 80: 1.
- KAPLEAU, Philip  
1980 *The Three Pillars of Zen*. Rev. ed. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, Doubleday.
- KRAFT, Kenneth  
1981 Musō Kokushi's *Dialogue in a Dream*. *The Eastern Buddhist* 14/1: 75–93.  
1984 *Zen Master Daitō*. Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University.
- KRAFT, Kenneth, ed.  
1988 *Zen: Tradition & Transition*. New York: Grove Press.
- OGISU Jundō 荻須純菊  
1965 *Hyakunijussoku* 百二十則. In *Nihon chūsei zenshūshi* 日本中世禪宗史. Tokyo: Mokujisha.
- SASAKI, Ruth Fuller  
1971 *A Man of Zen: The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang*. Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill.
- SASAKI, Ruth Fuller and Yoshitaka IRIYA  
1975 *The Record of Lin-chi*. Kyoto: The Institute for Zen Studies.