

Japanese Zen Schools and the Transition to Meiji A Plurality of Responses in the Nineteenth Century

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This article scrutinizes the lives of specific figures affiliated with the three main Zen traditions; it presents firsthand information on their activities from the end of the Tokugawa period through the first decades of the Meiji era. Changes in the political structure and the ensuing economic or social transformations surprisingly did not fundamentally alter the way these Buddhists apprehended their respective legacies. Official pressure encouraged them to put more emphasis on the education of commoners and they shared the global trend to give more importance to lay supporters. The content of their teachings, however, primarily appears to reflect what this paper calls "the shrouded continuity" between the Tokugawa and Meiji eras. The teachers and laypersons examined here also illustrate the diversity that pervaded Meiji Buddhism despite the new government's efforts to centralize all Buddhist institutions; they further bear testimony to the fact that the mutual influence among representatives of different traditions often went beyond artificial sectarian boundaries.

ALTHOUGH THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS and conflicts that marked the Meiji Restoration have received much attention, there are still significant gaps in our knowledge of the evolution of the Japanese Zen schools during the nineteenth century. This lacuna is especially apparent when we examine the last half-century of the Tokugawa period (the interval between 1817 and 1867), which is still often disregarded in standard Buddhist scholarship. While the study of Buddhist figures directly involved in the political sphere and the study of institutional history are expanding, our knowledge of developments in the Zen schools remains fragmentary.

A better knowledge of this transitional stage of history nevertheless appears vital to understanding the process by which today's institutions were shaped and, above all, the way religious practice is still conceived in Japanese monasteries. My attempt to explore this area is also

motivated by the wish to understand the extent to which, and the reasons why, the diversity that characterized the Tokugawa and Meiji Zen Buddhist world has been largely forgotten, or perhaps even deliberately concealed.

From the beginning of the Tokugawa period, even though the immediate priorities of the religious policies of the government sometimes changed, they remained guided by two basic objectives: centralizing and controlling the clergy. These objectives were also linked with various attempts to use religion to legitimize the Bakufu's own existence, the so-called Tokugawa ideology. In this respect, the self-proclaimed "new" Meiji government had the same goal as the deposed Bakufu. Except for the first years of anti-Buddhist movements that went further than Tokugawa campaigns, the Meiji government merely went on enforcing more radically policies that had been pursued for two hundred fifty years and putting more emphasis on the idea of the "nation."

This is not to deny the significance of exceptions, such as the issuance in 1872 of a law encouraging priests to eat meat and to marry—a clear attempt to undermine the clergy's credibility. As has often been argued, the religious policies implemented by the Meiji government during its first years are perhaps best characterized by a lack of consistency and by short-sighted measures that reflected the political immaturity of the new oligarchs. I would, nevertheless, suggest that it is possible to see the change of regime as "a shrouded continuity."

To be sure, we now begin to realize to what extent today's historiography has been "taken in" by the propaganda of the pro-imperial faction, which the latter developed most effectively between the 1860s and 1890s.¹ The weight usually put on economic history also tends to obscure the fact that the "industrial revolution" did not necessarily have a great impact on the way Meiji Buddhists viewed themselves.

The scope of this article will be limited to presenting a cross section of religious figures affiliated with Zen schools, particularly those who experienced the transition from the late Tokugawa period to the early Meiji and left traces of their thought. Though I shall concentrate mainly on the way these figures apprehended their own time, I shall also provide some biographical information, since I believe there is still an enormous need for raw data and specific information.

I shall first present an outline of the lives and activities of three priests, one each from the Sōtō, Ōbaku, and Rinzai denominations:

¹ See in particular "the Meiji bias" discussed by TOTMAN (1980, pp. 558–64).

Teizan Sokuichi 鼎三即一 (1805–1892), Korin Yōshō 虎林曄嘯 (1835–1902), and Tōshū Zenchū 鄧州全忠 (Nantenbō 南天棒 1839–1925).² This will be followed by a short section on the lay practitioner Hiratsuka Raichō 平塚らいてう (1886–1971) and her interactions with Zen teachers. Researchers attempting to find sources emanating from outside the clergy usually face major difficulties, so the testimony of Hiratsuka Raichō represents a rare exception and allows us to learn more about the life of Nantenbō. The outline review of these four figures will be unevenly balanced, since the range and the quality of the sources are of an uneven character.

The Zen teachers who experienced the transition from the Tokugawa regime to the Meiji government responded in diverse ways to the new challenges, and their reactions sometimes varied or even contradicted one another within a single lineage. An example of this would be the Engaku-ji line, widely considered to have been instrumental in promoting a certain awareness of the outside world. This tendency became conspicuous with Kōgaku Sōen 洪嶽宗演 (Shaku 釋 1860–1919) and his journeys abroad, but before him the same lineage also contributed to a suspicious attitude toward non-Asian religions. For example, Kōgaku's teacher, Kōsen Sōon 洪川宗温 (Imakita 今北 1816–1892), saw Confucianism and Shinto as compatible with Buddhism but utterly rejected Christianity and its doctrine of Creation as “absurd explanations and deluding words” (*gusetsu mōgon* 愚説妄言) (SUZUKI 1992, p. 100; NAKAMURA and TAKEDA 1982, p. 64).

Before we examine individual biographies, let me say a word about the institutional process that led to the establishment of the three denominations known today as Zen schools. The so-called “Zen school,” considered as one single homogeneous entity, actually appears to be largely a fabrication of early Meiji politicians. It derives in particular from the establishment in June 1873 of a “chief abbot system” (*kanchōsei* 管長制) (TAKENUKI 1989, p. 283). The new government, willing to simplify the control over religious institutions, had promulgated the principle that each Buddhist sect should have a top leader, called “chief abbot of doctrinal instructors” (*kyōdōshoku kanchō* 教導職管長). For a short while (between 1873 and 1874) this policy of consolidating the authority and reducing the intermediaries led to the three traditions Sōtō, Rinzai, and Ōbaku being treated as a single entity labeled the Zen Sect (*Zenshū* 禪宗).

² Since writing an article on Nantenbō (MOHR 1995), I have discovered a number of new facts about his life while conducting temple surveys. For the reading of Nantenbō's surname (*azana* 字) I chose “Tōshū,” following Nakahara (1985, p. 120), although it is also commonly read “Tōjū.”

The first chief abbot appointed according to this system was Tekisui Giboku 滴水宜牧 (Yuri 由理 1821–1899). According to this system, the chief abbot was elected for one year and was replaced every 31 March. Tekisui's successor was his colleague, the Shōkoku-ji abbot Dokuon Jōshu 獨園承珠 (Ogino 荻野 1819–1895), who was followed by a Sōtō representative, the Eihei-ji abbot Kankei Mitsuun 環溪密雲 (Hosoya 細谷, later changed to Kuga 久我; 1817–1884 ZGD, p. 244c). Toward the end of Kankei's mandate, the Shinto shrine and the lecture hall of the Daikyō-in burned on 31 December 1873 (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 57). In the reorganization that followed, the Ministry of Doctrine (Kyōbushō 教部省) decided to allow the splitting of Sōtō and Rinzai denominations. This event is recorded in Sōtō archives through a notification dated 19 February 1874, while the Kyōbushō's document bears the date 22 February (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 57; TAKENUKI 1989, p. 283). At this stage the Ōbaku tradition was officially considered "affixed" (*gōfu* 合附) to the Rinzai school, and it gained the status of an independent school only in 1876 (ZGD, p. 123d).

Teizan Sokuichi and the Sōtō School

Our main source of information on Teizan Sokuichi 鼎三即一 (Mizuno 水野, then Shiratori 白鳥 1805–1892)³ is KAWAGUCHI Kōfū 河口高風, who has published an extensive monograph (1982), followed by a thorough study (1985) of Teizan's spiritual ancestor, Fūgai Honkō 風外本光 (1779–1847).⁴ KAWAGUCHI's meticulous work begins with a detailed biography of Teizan (pp. 9–123), a study of his disciples (pp. 127–95), and a description of the temples he reconstructed (pp. 201–18). The next massive section of Kawaguchi's book describes Teizan's works and the texts he edited, adding photographic reproductions and transcriptions of the major sources, including Teizan's sayings, *Tenrai yoroku* 天籟餘錄 (pp. 221–537). The last part deals with Teizan and his disciples' calligraphy (pp. 541–95).

Without Kawaguchi's volume, I doubt I would have had access to necessary documents; to my knowledge, Kawaguchi is practically the

³ For the reading of Teizan's surname I followed NBJ, p. 390a–b, but it may also be read "Teisan."

⁴ Fūgai Honkō (1779–1847) should not be confused with the famous Sōtō priest and painter Fūgai Ekun 風外慈薰 (1568–1654), especially since Honkō was also a gifted calligrapher (KAWAGUCHI 1993, p. 567). Concerning Honkō, his ordination name should accurately be written Honkō 本光 rather than 本高, but the second writing of his name has become customary (KAWAGUCHI 1993, p. 566). The unconventional life of Ekun is depicted in ADDISS 1986; see also the entry in ZGD, p. 94a.

only author who deals with Teizan.⁵ The four articles mentioned in the bibliography *Sōtōshū kankei bunken mokuroku* 曹洞宗関係文献目録 are all by him and are incorporated into this book (SBM pp. 316–17). Since Kōfū is the son of Kawaguchi Kōmyō 河口高明, the 34th abbot of Hōji-ji 法持寺, Teizan's temple, he was in the best position to publish archival material related to his predecessor. This means, however, that he incurs the inevitable risk of lacking distance from his subject. This is illustrated by a passage in the foreword by his father:

Among masters in [this temple's] patriarchal history (*rekidai soshi* 歷代祖師), Reverend Teizan is to be noted as the great reviver (*daichūkō* 大中興) of this temple and as one of the insightful priests (*tessō* 哲僧) of the Meiji Sōtō school.

(KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 5)

Kawaguchi's position as associate abbot (*fukujūshoku* 副住職) of Hōji-ji grants him guardianship of the Teizan documents and Kawaguchi displays little interest in what happened outside the walls of the Sōtō school. Kawaguchi's scholarship is, nevertheless, amazing, and his position at the library of Aichi Gakuin University has probably contributed to the thoroughness of his survey. With these prefatory remarks on the sources and their reliability, let us look at Teizan's biography, in particular his role during the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji.

Personal Account of Teizan

Although there is some question about the exact date of Teizan's birth,⁶ the *Tenrai yoroku* 天籟餘録 records that he was born on 27 February 1805 (second year of the Bunka era, first month, twenty-eight day),⁷ in the village of Inokoishi 猪子石, in present-day Nagoya City (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 9). His father's name was Mizuno Isoshichirō 水野磯七郎, and Teizan lost his mother when he was seven years old (age according to the traditional count).⁸ This probably was one

⁵ The few exceptions are short entries in dictionaries and local histories of Nagoya, mentioned by Kawaguchi himself (1982, p. 5–6).

⁶ Concerning these questions of the date of Teizan's birth and his father's real name, see KAWAGUCHI 1982, pp. 9–12. The name of his father is wrongly given as Kikuta Motokichi 菊田元吉 in NBJ, p. 390a–b.

⁷ Concerning the precise dates given here, one may recall that the lunar calendar was abolished and the Gregorian calendar introduced only in Meiji 5, when the third day of the twelfth month was declared to be 1 January of Meiji 6 (1873). Dates prior to 1 January 1873 have therefore been converted to their Western equivalent. To facilitate checking the accuracy of this conversion the Japanese *nengō* are given in parentheses for dates before 1873.

⁸ According to the register of Gesshin-ji 月心寺, Teizan's mother, whose posthumous

important factor that contributed to his ordination at Hōji-ji when he was eleven.

After the usual years of apprenticeship, Teizan began his pilgrimage, studying with most of the leading Sōtō teachers of his time. He remained especially close to Kōsen Mujaku 黄泉無著 (1775–1839)⁹ for a number of years, following him to Nagasaki when he was appointed to Kōtai-ji 皓臺寺 in 1828 (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 17). This temple already had a peculiar aura of prestige, since Dokuan Genkō 獨菴玄光 (1630–1698) had resided there as abbot, and it had once been the first-ranking (*hittō* 筆頭) Sōtō temple in Nagasaki (ZGD, p. 318b). To understand the originality of Dokuan Genkō's legacy, one has to recall that he had been a disciple of the Chinese teacher Daozhe Chaoyuan 道者超元 (J. Dōja Chōgen, 1602–1662, OBJ, p. 263a–b), a forerunner of the tradition that later came to be known as the “Ōbaku school.” After a period during which Dokuan collaborated with Manzan Dōhaku 卍山道白 (1636–1715) in appealing to the Bakufu to reform the misuse of Dharma succession practices in Sōtō lineages, he came to be regarded by Manzan's successors as “deviationist.”¹⁰ The rather unorthodox character of Dokuan's erudition and of his understanding of Dharma succession was still certainly present in everyone's memory when Teizan followed Kōsen to Nagasaki.

Teizan's teacher Kōsen Mujaku is particularly known for his detailed commentary *Shōbō genzō shōten zokuchō* 正法眼藏涉典續紹. This work represents a sum of traditional scholarship that aims at synthesizing previous comments on Dōgen's lifework, an endeavor compared to the marten fur (*ten* 貂 or *kuroten* 黑貂, also called *furuki*, a “sable”) that used to decorate crowns in ancient China. The “crown” is an allusion to the legacy of the eighteenth century and in particular to the work of Menzan Zuihō 面山瑞方 (1683–1769): *Shōbō genzō shōtenroku* 正法眼藏涉典錄.

After the death of Kōsen Mujaku, Teizan studied under Fūgai Honkō 風外本光, a painter and learned teacher who is known in the West for his *Tetteki tōsui* 鐵笛倒吹, a text translated into English as *The Iron Flute* (SENZAKI and McCANDLESS 1964).¹¹ This koan collection had been first compiled by Fūgai's master, Genrō Ōryū 玄樓奧龍 (Murakami

name is Kankō Myōsetsu Daishi 寒江妙雪大師, died on 12 January 1812 (eighth year of the Bunka era, eleventh month, twenty-eight day) (KAWAGUCHI 1982: 10).

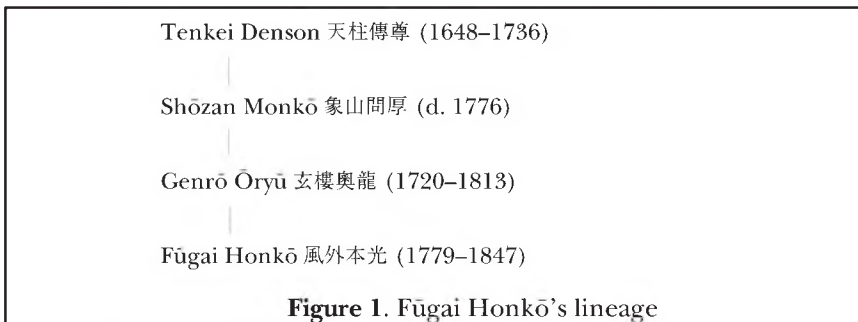
⁹ Kōsen died on 31 January 1839 (ninth year of the Tenpō 天保 era, twelfth month, seventeenth day) (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 17).

¹⁰ On this page of the Sōtō history see MOHR (1994, pp. 358–63), which discusses BODIFORD (1991), while SHIBE focuses on the criticism directed at Dokuan (1995).

¹¹ The original title means “The iron flute blown upside down.” *Tetteki tōsui* 鐵笛倒吹 is found in *Sōtōshū zensho* 曹洞宗全書: Juko 頌古.

村上 1720–1813), and Fūgai added his own “capping phrases” (*jakugo* 著語) to the text. Finally, Senzaki Nyogen 千崎如幻 (1876–1958) chose this text as an introduction to Zen Buddhism for his American students, inserting explanations and removing most of the original comments by Genrō and Fūgai.¹²

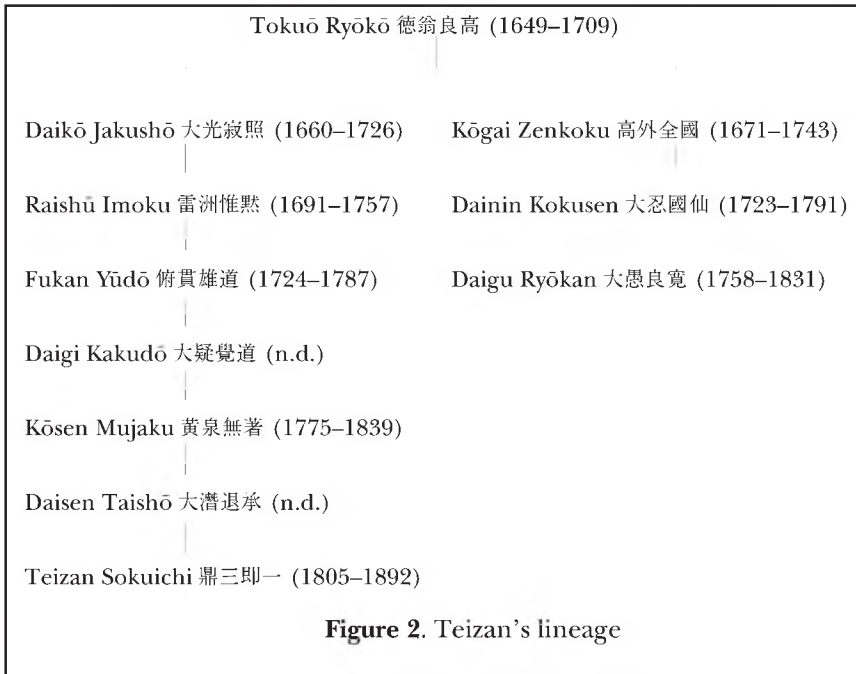
Evidence concerning the disciple relationship that Teizan established with Fūgai is provided by the sayings of Fūgai, *Ushakurō kōkan-roku* 烏鶻樓高閑録, which contain two poems addressed to Teizan (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 17). This early influence on Teizan is relevant to understanding his inclination toward textual study. The imprint received from the scholarly mood peculiar to the style of Fūgai, a lineage stemming from Tenkei Denson 天柱傳尊 (1648–1736),¹³ one of the other main discordant voices in the Sōtō clergy, indicates that during the Meiji period some important Sōtō thinkers had inherited a tradition quite independent from the dominant Tokugawa lineages coming from Manzan and Menzan.¹⁴ Although the interlocking of personal relations and the nexus of influences these priests received goes far beyond simplistic lineage charts, it is useful to look at the traditional schemes of succession. The following tables rely on KAWAGUCHI (1993, p. 567) and YANAGIDA (1989, p. 106); dates are partially taken from entries in the ZGD.



¹² One of Senzaki's most remarkable utterances was, “This place belongs neither to Rinzai nor Sōtō, and this monk never claimed to be a teacher” (SENZAKI 1964, p. 33). The life and deeds of Senzaki are mentioned in several publications, such as SHIMANO (1981), TADA (1990), BESSERMAN and STEGER (1991), and FIELDS (1992) but, to the best of my knowledge, no academic work does a systematic study of his life.

¹³ An abridged lineage chart from Tenkei to Fūgai's disciple is given in KAWAGUCHI (1993, p. 567). Kawaguchi further mentions the major figures who were affiliated with the lineage of Fūgai and states that “the style of Fūgai was the dominant style in the Sōtō school of Meiji” (1993, p. 568).

¹⁴ In that respect, I must qualify the statement made in an earlier article, where I said that “Sōtō orthodoxy grew stronger after Menzan, and few discordant voices have appeared in that lineage since the nineteenth century” (MOHR 1994, p. 364). Although Teizan could hardly be seen as a “discordant voice,” he cannot be considered a spokesman of Menzan and his followers, either.



In respect to the marginal imprints he received, the Dharma transmission given by Daisen Taishō 大潛退承 (Horita 堀田 n.d.) to Teizan in 1833 adds a supplementary element to the originality of his lineage (KAWAGUCHI 1993, p. 18). Daisen was the successor of Kōsen Mujaku, a descendant in the line of Tokuō Ryōkō 徳翁良高 (1649–1709), a teacher known for his close relationships with Ōbaku priests.¹⁵ It is the same tradition emphasizing Chinese learning that was also transmitted to Daigu Ryōkan 大愚良寛 (1758–1831). Technically speaking, this branch is called Meihōha 明峰派¹⁶ and goes back to Meihō Sotetsu 明峰素哲 (1277–1350), a successor of Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268–1325).

If we now look at the transitional period of the Restoration, we see that the Eihei-ji officials have been very prompt in reacting to the political shift. As early as the second month of 1868 they sent to the government a “proposal for reforms in the sectarian preceptions”

¹⁵ Tokuō Ryōkō consulted Muan Xingtong 木菴性瑄 (J. Mokuan Shōtō 1611–1684), Tetsugen Dōkō 鐵眼道光 (1630–1682), and Dudang Xingying 獨漢性瑩 (J. Dokutan Shōkei 1628–1706) before becoming affiliated with the Sōtō school, as it appears in his biography: *Seirai Tokuō Kō oshō nenpu* 西來徳翁高和尚年譜 (STZ: Shiden 史伝 2, p. 381). See also YANAGIDA (1989, pp. 99, 106) and YOSHIDA (1993, pp. 186–187). Recent articles have shown the problems linked with the integration of Tokuō within the Sōtō frame (SHIBE 1993 and 1994).

¹⁶ For details on this branch see ZGD p. 1218c–d and BODIFORD (1993, p. 100–107)

(*shūsei kaikaku an* 宗制改革案), which proposed the abolition of the registrar (*sōroku* 僧録) system established in 1629¹⁷ and the reunification of the Sōtō school with Eihei-ji as the only head temple (*sōhonzan* 總本山) (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 44). This proposal naturally reawakened the old rivalry between Sōji-ji and Eihei-ji, and fierce opposition from the Sōji-ji side soon appeared.

It is in this context of heightened debates that the public activity of Teizan becomes manifest. Despite Sōji-ji protests, the government sent to Eihei-ji an official notification calling for a meeting that was to decide how to implement the proposed reforms. This “conference of eminent priests” (*sekitoku kaigi* 碩德會議) opened on 15 November (Meiji 1.10.2) in Kyoto.¹⁸ Discussions almost broke down when Seisetsu Sessō 清拙雪爪 (Miyaji 宮地, then Ōtori 鴻 1814–1904) announced the proposals made by the government. He met particularly strong opposition from an Eihei-ji officer called Zesan 是三, who was then supported by the chief abbot of Eihei-ji, Gaun Dōryū 臥雲童龍 (1797–1871). Teizan was among the few priests who favored compromise with the government policies and agreed with the necessity of reforms (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 45). The conference nevertheless ended without any decision being taken. Details of these discussions are too complicated to be related here, but one of their final results was to find, two years later, a semblance of a solution that would at least take into account the claims for independence made by Sōji-ji. On 21 August 1870 (Meiji 3.7.25), Sengai Ekidō 梅崖奕堂 (Morotake 諸嶽 1805–1879) was appointed by imperial order (*chokumei* 勅命) “first independent abbot of Sōji-ji” (*Sōji-ji dokujū isse* 總持寺獨住一世) (KOHŌ 1927, p. 84).

By 3 June 1872 (Meiji 5.4.28), when the “Three tenets of teaching” (*Sanjō no kyōsoku* 三條教則)¹⁹ were promulgated, the Sōtō authorities

¹⁷ This *sōroku* (or *fungashira* 觸頭) office was first established in Japan at the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿, who appointed Shun'oku Myōha 春屋妙葩 (1311–1388) to this position in 1379 (see COLLICUTT 1981, pp. 119–23). During the Tokugawa period, a more elaborate system was established. Within the Sōtō school it was formulated in response to the 1612 and 1615 Bakufu ordinances, taking the form of an internal Sōtō regulation dated 1629. According to this regulation, it was decided that three main temples in the Kantō area would be at the top of the hierarchy (*Tenka daisōroku Kantō sankaji* 天下大僧録關東三箇寺): Sōnei-ji 總寧寺 (in Kōnodai 国府台, Shimousa 下総, northwest of present-day Ichikawa, Chiba prefecture), Ryūon-ji 龍穩寺 (in Ogose 越生, Musashi, Saitama prefecture), and Daichū-ji 大中寺 (Ōhira machi 大平町, Shimotsuke 下野, Ibaraki prefecture) (TAKENUKI 1989, p. 204).

¹⁸ The conference took place at Tennei-ji 天寧寺, the temple of Gaun Dōryū 臥雲童龍 (Murakami 村上 1797–1871), the 60th abbot of Eihei-ji since 1848 who was then at the top of the Sōtō hierarchy (KAWAGUCHI 1982, pp. 44–45). This temple is located in Kyoto, but an inquiry to the present abbot revealed that no document of that time remains.

¹⁹ On these three tenets, see KETELAAR, who translates them as “Three Standards of Instruction” (1990, pp. 106, 225).

were advocating “active collaboration” in diffusing the official propaganda (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 50). At the grassroots level, however, some of the Sôtō teachers who were to explain how these “perfectly vacuous concepts”²⁰ should be understood had a hard time giving sermons that would remain consistent with their own Buddhist convictions. Basically, the “Three tenets of teaching” were only advocating reverence for the kami, the country, and the emperor and the court, with the vague suggestion that the teacher should “illuminate the principle of heaven and the way of man.” Their content was so meager that they had to be supplemented in 1873 by “Seventeen themes” containing more detailed slogans appealing to the sense of civic responsibility. At any rate, Sôtō priests expounding to the plebeians how they should understand these principles apparently sometimes took liberties in interpreting them.

For example, Kankei Mitsuun, who was promoted “First-rank doctrinal instructor” (*daikyōsei* 大教正)²¹ on 18 July 1872 (Meiji 5.6.13), went to Izu Peninsula to teach during the same year. On this occasion his sermons apparently met a rather skeptical audience. Four listeners later sent him a letter asking for clarification of his interpretation of the three tenets, pointing at contradictions between what he had taught and their understanding of the court’s intentions. Teizan was entrusted by Kankei with the task of replying to this defiant missive and refuting its arguments. Concerning the first tenet, commanding people to “revere the kami and love the nation,” the authors of the letters express doubts concerning Kankei’s statement that in foreign lands there were “instances of commoners (*tami* 臣) inheriting the imperial throne (*tenshoku* 天職),” while this custom never existed in the Japanese imperial lineage. The second and harshest point of their protest deals with the establishment of Shinto funerals (*shinsōsai* 神葬祭). They complain that the rejection of ancient rites not only goes against filial piety but also contravenes the spirit of the three tenets. They even claim that if directives to hold Shinto funerals were not abandoned or amended the sermons (given by Buddhist clerics) would be utterly useless and would only serve to confuse the people. The very system of doctrinal instructors, they add, was conflicting with the intentions of the court (KAWAGUCHI 1982, pp. 50–51). Their protest

²⁰ I borrow this expression from KETELAAR (1990, p. 107).

²¹ The highest grade among “doctrinal instructors” (*kyōdōshoku* 教導職) (*Kokugo daijiten* 国語大辞典, p. 674a). The title *kyōsei* 教正 seems to be borrowed from a similar rank in Qing-dynasty China, where the *jiaozheng* 教正 was “the head teacher” (*shunin kyōkan* 主任教官) in charge of prefectural schools (*shūgaku* 州学) (*Daikanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典 vol. 5, p. 505b). A complete list of the fourteen grades is provided in KAWAGUCHI (1982, p. 50).

apparently referred here to an allusion Kankei made verbally, but we do not know the contents of what he said.

Teizan's response first clarifies Kankei's intent by giving the context of the mythical emperor Yao 堯 who demonstrated his virtue by handing over his title to his minister Shun 舜. Teizan is careful to state that this example of a foreign land could not apply to Japan, where "even a little child knows that the imperial rank (*hōso* 寶祚) cannot be the lot of subjects (*shinmin* 臣民)." Teizan rejects the second argument of the authors of the letter by simply asserting they misunderstood Kankei's explanation. He argues that as long as there is no mingling between Shinto and Buddhist funerals everyone is free to choose either rite. Teizan finally blames the authors of the letter for not having grasped the purpose of the court, which he spells out as being "to regard Shinto and Buddhist clerics as equivalent and [belonging to] one single profession" (*shinkan sōryo issai dōshoku* 神官僧侶一視同職) (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 51). This disputation illustrates the way everyone was speculating on "the intentions of the court" (*chōshi* 朝旨), whose utterances were so sparse.

In short, Teizan was a major force in convincing laypersons and other priests to embrace the principles contained in the three tenets. His effort is epitomized by a publication dated March 1873, "Justification of the Three Tenets" (*Sanjō benkai* 三條辨解), which is reported by the *Shaji torishirabe ruisan* 社寺取調類纂 to be the work of Kankei Mitsuun. The same book was simultaneously printed with the same contents under a different title (*Sanjō ryakukai* 三條畧解), carrying the notation "by the Sōtō school head temple" (*Sōtōshū honzan cho* 曹洞宗本山著). There is, however, some suspicion that the book might actually have been printed by the Daikyōin 大教院 (Great Teaching Academy), using Eihei-ji's name (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 53). Whoever the issuer, Teizan's letters show that he was in charge of distributing the *Sanjō benkai* 三條辨解 to temples in the countryside in his capacity of doctrinal instructor, explaining the contents, and collecting money for the publication.²² A manuscript copy of the *Sanjō benkai* by Teizan is kept at Hōjō-ji, suggesting that Teizan held this publication in great esteem. This document can be considered a crucial testimony to the willingness of some of the leading Sōtō representatives to support the government's indoctrination policy.

Although yielding to official injunctions or spontaneously trying to please the court do not account for all the reactions emerging among Sōtō priests, Teizan's stance seems best characterized as a zealous

²² This can be seen in particular from the reports dated 26 September 1873 and 20 January 1874 (KAWAGUCHI 1982, pp. 53, 56).

commitment to make the best of the government's strategy while promoting his sect's own interests. In the turmoil of this period, Teizan also collaborated with representatives of other Buddhist schools in an attempt to improve the standards of doctrinal instructors. In a letter dated 6 February 1875 and addressed to the office supervising Eihei-ji and Sōji-ji (*ryōzan kan'in* 兩山監院), he reports the organization of a meeting at the Pure Land temple Jukyō-in 壽經院 in Nagoya. As a result of the consultations held between the representatives of different Buddhist denominations, an agreement was found in regard to proposing a new way to select the doctrinal instructors. This choice would be delegated to a specialized office, the Consultation Office of the Six Schools (*Rokushū gōgisho* 六宗合議所), instead of entrusting this task to each sect. In other words, the candidates would be selected by their peers, through the office of a teacher search section (*tokō kōkyū-ka* 都講講究課), instead of being imposed by the sect's head temples. This is, of course, not articulated in Teizan's writings, but one can surmise that its objective was the prevention of the nomination of incompetent doctrinal instructors, which was often denounced as a plague. To realize this project, a "pledge" (*meiyaku* 盟約) was signed by seven teachers belonging to the Sōtō, Tendai, Jōdo, Nichiren, Rinzai, and Shingon denominations, who directed their petition to the Daikyōin (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 56).

There are several other aspects of Teizan's life and teaching that deserve to be examined, but I shall conclude this section by mentioning only his particular interest in textual studies. Of all those who had consulted Fūgai in their youth, Teizan apparently gained Fūgai's early respect by his devotion to reading, while Fūgai's other disciple, Ryōsaku Tanzan 良作坦山 (Hara 原 1819–1892), was praised for his single-minded practice of *zazen* (KAWAGUCHI 1982, pp. 121–22). This characteristic led Teizan to devote much of the last part of his life to the edition of classics and comparisons of ancient texts. In 1878, both Sōtō head temples celebrated the six-hundredth memorial of their second patriarch, Koun Ejō 孤雲懷奘 (1198–1280). On this occasion Teizan committed himself to the task of reprinting a revised edition of Koun's *Kōmyōzō zanmai* 光明藏三昧 (The samādhi of the light stored [in everyone]), which was published in August of the following year. This text of recorded teachings had first been printed by Menzan Zuihō in 1767; the emended version marks the beginning of a new wave of publications aimed at fostering Sōtō sectarian studies (*shūgaku* 宗学). Teizan was not the only Sōtō cleric involved in this activity, and others like Bokusan Kin'ei 穆山瑾英 (Nishiari 西有 1821–1910) worked in a similar direction, trying to raise the level of Sōtō scholarship. Yet the two men were far from agreeing on all hermeneutical issues, and the

former's personal annotations sometimes also included criticism of the understanding of the latter (KAWAGUCHI 1982, p. 101). In this sense, Teizan, despite his efforts to adapt to the changes proper to the Meiji era, still embodied a sum of knowledge and the kind of independent erudition that predominated in the line of his Tokugawa predecessors.

To summarize the significance of Teizan: one must stress his inheritance of a particularly wide range of traditions. Via Kōsen Mujaku he learned a blend of teaching that had been marked by Dokuan Genkō and his Chinese legacy. This was further nurtured by the guidance Teizan received from Kōsen's successor Daisen Taishō, who was also a spiritual heir of the Ōbaku-influenced Tokū Ryōkō. Teizan also consulted Fūgai Honkō, a teacher whose roots go back to Tenkei Denson, a peculiar Sōtō lineage that emphasized the use of koan in its practice. The efforts by Teizan's teacher Kōsen Mujaku to harmonize this tradition with the trend followed by Menzan's successors, who venerated Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*, appears to mark an important step in shaping the sense of union in Meiji Sōtō clergy. Teizan, who further promoted this tendency, can be considered one of the people responsible for integrating the Tokugawa Sōtō legacy into a doctrinal sum that has largely remained unchanged since then (except that today's interpreters often display a narrower background).

Ryōchū, Korin, and the Ōbaku school

Ryōchū Nyorū 良忠如隆 (1793–1868) marks a turning point in the history of the Ōbaku lineage. His appointment in 1851 as thirty-third abbot of Manpuku-ji came after long years of practice under Rinzai teachers. He had consulted Shunsō Shōju 春叢紹珠 (1751–1839)²³ for more than three years before he received a Rinzai certification from Takujū Kosen 卓洲胡僊 (1760–1833).²⁴ This event can be interpreted from two points of view, which do not necessarily contradict each

²³ Shunsō Shōju is a successor of Hakuin's disciple Suiō Genro 遂翁元廬 (1717–1790). In regard to Shunsō's dates, I followed *Zenbunka* 145, p. 76. KSBD gives only the year he received his imperial title of Daikankōshō Zenji 大鑑廣照禪師 (vol. 1, p. 178). This has mistakenly been taken as the year of his death by NBJ, p. 336b.

²⁴ This filiation is fully acknowledged, and even emphasized, by the Ōbaku teacher MURASE, who includes a photographic reproduction of Takujū's certificate (1982, pp. 72–77). Biographical information on Ryōchū can be found in KSBD 3, pp. 4–8; ZGD, p. 995d; and OBJ, pp. 388a–89a. The entry in OBJ, however, contends that from 1837 Ryōchū consulted Shunnō Zen'etsu 春應禪悅 (1772–1844), one of Takujū's successors, and completed his training in 1838, five years after Takujū's death. In regard to the dates of Shunnō, I followed *Zenbunka* 125, p. 81.

other: on the one hand, it represents the emergence of a new vitality in the Ōbaku teaching; on the other, it also signifies that the Ōbaku lineage had returned to the bosom of the Rinzai school. Ōbaku teachers indeed had claimed to represent the true Linji tradition, but their legacy thus was reunited with its Japanese expression.

Personal connections between Ōbaku and Rinzai priests had, however, been tightening since the time of Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴 (1686–1769). The fact that Hakuin consulted the Ōbaku teacher Egoku Dōmyō 慧極道明 (1632–1721) at a critical phase in his practice represents a crucial event in Hakuin’s biography, which has not yet received the attention it deserves.²⁵ Conversely, when Hakuin had gained some degree of recognition, the Ōbaku priest Kakushū Jōchō 格宗淨超 (1711–1790) came to seek his guidance. Kakushū became the twenty-second abbot of Manpukuji in 1786, but he first consulted Hakuin in 1749 and subsequently contributed to introducing Hakuin’s style into the Ōbaku lineage.²⁶ His role was pivotal in that he succeeded to the last Chinese abbot of Manpuku-ji, Dacheng Zhaohan 大成照漢 (1709–1784, J. Daijō Shōkan), and that his nomination marked a shift in the policy of the Bakufu, which seized the occasion to restrict the abbacy to Japanese priests (OBJ, p. 60a).

Korin Yōshō 虎林擘囉 (Yoshii 吉井 1835–1902) was connected with Ryōchū through his own teacher, Banjō Gokō 萬丈悟光 (1815–1902) (OBJ, pp. 312b–314a). Of relevance to us in this inquiry are the roles Korin played during the Restoration and his acquaintance with priests from other schools. Incidentally, he happened to consult the same master as Nantenbō and can thus be considered his brother in the Dharma.

Since Korin is absent from major reference works,²⁷ a word about the few existing sources on his life appears necessary. Today, we must rely on three short documents, of which only one has been published: *Ōbakusan dai yonjūichi dai Yoshii Korin zenji ryakuden* 黃檗山第四十一代吉井虎林禪師略伝, a biography published in the November 1902 issue of the journal *Zenshū* 禪宗. The other two manuscripts are the draft of an abridged chronological biography, *Ōbaku dai yonjūichi dai Korin Yōshō zenji ryakunenpu* 黃檗山第四十一代虎林擘囉禪師略年譜, and a manuscript copy of the discourse pronounced by Korin when he was appointed abbot of Manpuku-ji, *Korin zenji shinsan hōgo* 虎林禪師晉山法語. The beginning of the chronological biography bears the

²⁵ *Isumadegusa*, HZS 1, p. 182, Katō (1985, p. 137), RINOIE (1981, pp. 217–22), WADDELL (1983, p. 109).

²⁶ KATŌ (1985, pp. 228 and 231, note 16), OBJ, pp. 59b–60b. This episode is also mentioned in *Keikyoku sodan*, HZS 1, p. 144.

²⁷ To my knowledge, the only exception is OBJ, pp. 130–31.

indication “draft by Setsudō (uncompleted),” which tells us it has been written by Yoshinaga Setsudō 吉永雪堂 (1881–1964), a journalist who devoted his life to gathering materials belonging to the Ōbaku tradition.²⁸ Although the author of the article published in *Zenshū* is mentioned only in a marginal annotation, it has probably been written by Setsudō or at least has used some of its contents, since it follows a very similar scheme. Besides these materials, we find some information in local chronicles recording the history of the city of Isahaya 諫早, where Korin spent his late years as the eighteenth abbot of Shōkū-ji 性空寺, a temple founded by Keigan Myōdō 桂巖明幢 (1627–1710) (OBJ, pp. 91b–92b).²⁹ Korin’s hometown of Taku (Saga prefecture) also strives to make his artistic gifts known to a wider public (TAKUSHI KYŌDO SHIRYŌKAN 1991, p. 39).

It goes without saying that the above documents offer only a very fragmentary vision of Korin’s life. Despite this limitation, let us look at the bits of information we can find. The first printed document is the most comprehensive.

Korin is also known under his first surname of Kozan 虎山 and the surname Sonsei 巽栖 (“[The one] living in the southeast [corner of Kyōto]”), which he took when residing in Uji. He was born on 2 April 1835 (sixth year of the Tenpō era, third month, fifth day) in the small town of Taku, country of Hizen (present Saga Prefecture) as the youngest son of four brothers and sisters. He was entrusted to Fukuju-ji 福聚寺 of Taku³⁰ as novice at an early age, but his youth was marked by years of hardship and misery when his first teacher, Eun Tsūryū 慧雲通龍 (n.d.), died. At the age of ten Korin had to return to his family, but his father soon died too, and his mother barely managed to feed her children. His formal ordination took place at Fukuju-ji of Taku, as a disciple of Gasan Ekisui 雅山益翠 (d. 1858) (OBJ, p. 130a). At a later stage Korin embarked on his spiritual pilgrimage, arriving at Manpuku-ji in 1859, at the age of twenty-five. He practiced there

²⁸ On Setsudō’s biography and for his dates, see IMAMURA 1991.

²⁹ For local chronicles, see TANAKA Tameichi (1965, pp. 123–26), ISAHAYA SHISHI HENSANSHITSU (1962, 3, pp. 154–57 and 4, pp. 152–60) and ISAHAYA KINDAISHI HENSHŪINKAI (1992). On 27 December 1886, Korin received the mandate to leave Zuikō-in, the Manpuku-ji subtemple where he resided from 1875, and to enter Shōkū-ji.

³⁰ There are two temples called Fukuju-ji 福聚寺. The one in Taku, Korin’s hometown, is signalized by its “temple surname” (*sangō* 山号), Keshō-san 見性山. It is located in a remote area and has always had few patrons. The other one is located in the Kokura ward of Kitakyūshū (Fukuoka prefecture) and possesses the surname Kōju-san 廣壽山. It is a large complex of buildings, and it used to be even larger when it was founded by Jifei Ruyi 即非如一 (J. Sokuhi Nyoichi 1616–1671) with the patronage of Ogasawara Tadazane 小笠原忠真 (1596–1667). Only the second temple has an entry in ZGD, p. 1065a. To avoid confusion I shall distinguish them as Fukuju-ji of Taku and Fukuju-ji of Kokura.

almost two years under the guidance of Zuiun Gohō 瑞雲悟芳 (1798–1869), the thirty-fourth abbot of Manpuku-ji who was a fellow-countryman of the Hizen area (OBJ, 165a–b). It is during this period that Korin formally received in 1860 the three sets of precepts (*sandankai* 三檀戒) specific to Ōbaku monks.³¹ Zuiun kept his function of abbot from 1857 until his death on 27 May 1869 (Meiji 2.4.16), confronting the fall of the Bakufu and the ensuing privation of economic support (*goshuinroku* 御朱印禄) for Manpuku-ji.

In 1861 Korin chose to return to the Kyūshū area and to become a disciple of Banjō Gokō 萬丈悟光³² at Fukuju-ji of Kokura (OBJ, pp. 312b–314a). It is worth noticing that Banjō had followed Ryōchū Nyoryū for nine years, taking successively the functions of chief cook (*tenzo* 典座), duty-officer (*ino* 維那), secretary (*shoki* 書記), and head-monk responsible for visitors (*shika* 知客) at Manpuku-ji, during Ryōchū's abbacy (OBJ, p. 313). Banjō finally himself became the thirty-seventh abbot of Manpuku-ji in 1877.

The Fukuju-ji of Kokura seems to have been a popular monastery in the 1860s, since Korin's biography records that the monk's hall was completely full when he arrived in 1861. He consequently had to reside for a while in a subtemple, Jikai-an 慈海庵, going to the monastery only in the evenings. He finally obtained admission into the monastery, where he stayed some six years. It was during this intense period of practice that Korin became acquainted with a fellow monk named Hakuju Yōshin 柏樹曄森 (Aoyagi 青柳, later Takatsu 高津 1836–1925) (OBJ, pp. 307b–308b).³³ They were called the “tiger” (*Korin*) and the “dragon” (*Hakuju*) of Fukuju-ji monastery.

The summer of 1866 was marked by the second punitive expedition to Chōshū (*dainiji Chōshū seibatsu* 第二次長州征伐),³⁴ which resulted in the Fukuju-ji of Kokura being set on fire. This challenge apparently only heightened Korin's resolve, for he decided during the fall to consult the Rinzai teacher Raiō Bunjō 懶翁文靜 (1799–1871) and for that purpose went to Eifuku-ji 永福寺 in Usa (temple surname Kinryū-zan 金龍山, present Ōita prefecture). His biography records that he even-

³¹ On this ritual, see SCHWALLER (1996, pp. 12–14).

³² The following information also relies on this dictionary.

³³ Hakuju also consulted several Rinzai teachers, in particular Sozan Genkyō 蘇山玄喬 (1799–1869) and Razan Genma 羅山元磨 (1815–1867). When Hakuju was staying at Yōtoku-ji 養徳寺 (temple surname Daishin-zan 大心山, in Kitsuki 杵築, present Ōita Prefecture), he temporarily practiced as a co-disciple of Nantenbō, under Sozan's guidance. This is confirmed by Nantenbō's own sayings (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 56). Hakuju became the forty-fourth abbot of Manpuku-ji in 1911.

³⁴ Sometimes called “The Summer War of 1866.” For details, see TOTMAN 1980, pp. 227–66.

tually received a certification (*inka shōmei* 印可證明) from Raiō. Known for his severity, Raiō was also one of the masters consulted by Nantenbō.

In the following years Korin consulted other teachers and resided in several temples. He attended the 1872 assembly for bestowing the precepts (*jukaie* 授戒會) that was held at Manpuku-ji under the direction of the thirty-fifth abbot Dokushō Shinki 獨唱眞機 (Hanaiwa 花岩 1815–1889) (OBJ, p. 276a–b; ZGD, p. 606b). Dokushō was another native of the northern Kyūshū area, since he was born in Yanagawa (Fukuoka prefecture). Dokushō took over as abbot of Manpuku-ji on 22 December 1870 (Meiji 3.11.1) and stood at the forefront during the most difficult times. Despite the predicaments that marked this period, it is interesting to observe that in the fourth month of 1872, on the occasion of a bicentennial celebration in honor of Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (J. Ingen Ryūki, 1592–1673), Dokushō received imperial authorization to wear the purple robe and a sample of calligraphy by the emperor, before his retirement (OBJ, p. 276b). This indicates that despite considerable economic difficulties the Ōbaku tradition had not lost all official approbation.

A significant episode took place in February 1873, when Korin was appointed “doctrinal instructor candidate” (*kyōdōshoku shiho* 教導職試補) by the new chief abbot of the three Zen traditions, Tekisui Giboku 滴水宜牧. After this appointment, Korin devoted his energy to restoring the Ōbaku lineage, in collaboration with Dōei Tsūshō 道永通昌 (Hayashi 1836–1911),³⁵ another of Banjō’s disciples who had consulted Ryōchū in his early years (OBJ, p.261a–b).

Korin’s biography gives some indications of the atmosphere prevailing in the years following the Restoration, in particular the confiscation of the fiscal privileges that had been granted by the Bakufu’s official sealed document (*shuin* 朱印). This economic blow made it difficult to support all of Manpuku-ji’s secondary temples in the countryside, and there was a debate among the Ōbaku administrative officials about diminishing the number of affiliated temples. Most officials were apparently convinced of the necessity of such a reduction, but Korin managed, with the help of Dōei Tsūshō, to propose a less humiliating alternative, by reducing the expenses of Manpuku-ji and limiting the food of the monks to a strict minimum.³⁶ In the midst

³⁵ In July 1880, Dōei became the thirty-eighth abbot of Manpuku-ji. During the same year, he completed the redaction of his *Ōbaku zaike anjin hōgo* 黄檗在家安心法語 (Dharma talks about peace of mind for Ōbaku laypersons), whose title was inspired by the work of his predecessor, Dudang Xingying 獨湛性瑩 (J. Dokutan Shōkei 1628–1706), *Zaike anjin hōgo*. See ZGD, p. 372a.

³⁶ The daily allowance was reduced to three portions of brown rice per person (*kurogome sangō* 黒米三合) (*Obakusan dai yonjuichi dai Yoshii Korin zenji ryakuden*, p. 37).

of the anti-Buddhist storm and despite relative success in obtaining imperial recognition or buying back land for his head temple, the Manpuku-ji abbot, Dokushō Shinki 獨唱眞機, retired during the eighth month of 1872, leaving his successor, Kinshi Kōi 金獅廣威 (1823–1878, thirty-sixth abbot of Manpuku-ji), to handle the crisis (OBJ, pp. 85b–86a).³⁷

Following the early retirement of Dokushō, Korin also chose to spend a period of retreat in an unnamed Rinzai temple in the region of Fukuchiyama 福知山, until February 1873, when he received the proposal from Tekisui Giboku that he work as “doctrinal instructor candidate.” Korin’s understanding of the situation apparently did not coincide with the position of other factions within his school, since his biography recalls that “as his thoughts did not conform to those of the Manpuku-ji officials he [wanted to] avoid them” (*Ōbakusan dai yon-jūichi dai Yoshii Korin zenji ryakuden*, p. 37). The biography does not spell out the cause of this disagreement, but it appears to be linked to Dokushō’s retirement and to the debate concerning the way to deal with the new economic difficulties. As mentioned above, a growing number of Ōbaku priests was in favor of reducing the number of affiliated temples, and some of them even proposed to sell some of Manpuku-ji’s treasures (*jūhō* 什寶) to obtain liquid assets. Korin united with his friend Dōei and the Manpuku-ji abbot Kinshi Kōi to resist this temptation to dismantle what remained of the Ōbaku patrimony. As a result of the policy of austerity they defended, Korin’s biography reports that the only money left in the accounts section of Manpuku-ji was a debt of three yen, so that many buildings fell into decay.

Korin became active in the field of education, deeply committing himself to the creation of the new Ōbaku School General Academy (*Ōbakushū sōkō* 黄檗宗總饗), inaugurated in 1878 at the Shōindō 松隱堂, a building within the Manpuku-ji precincts. The Shōindō had important symbolic value, since a building of the same name had already existed at Wanfusi 萬福寺 in China, and later, in Japan, it was the hermitage chosen by the founder of Manpuku-ji, Yinyuan Longqi, for his last years of retreat (ZGD, p. 527). In the same year Korin received his certification from Banjō Gokō.

For Korin, the seeming consecration came when he was elected chief abbot of the Ōbaku school in the spring of 1900, a decision ratified by the Ministry of Interior in June for his appointment as “first rank doctrinal instructor.” For Korin himself, however, this apparently was not a matter for any particular rejoicing, since he had

³⁷ Kinshi Kōi took office as abbot on 30 December 1872 (Meiji 5.12.1) at the age of fifty and died at the age of fifty-six.

already been elected twice to this position and always firmly declined the offer. Apparently he was not allowed to refuse a third time and had to leave Shōkū-ji, where, incidentally he had acquired the reputation of an eccentric monk fond of drinking.³⁸ Back at Manpuku-ji, for two years he fulfilled his obligations as forty-first abbot, until passing away quietly at midnight under the full moon, on 15 October 1902, at the age of sixty-eight. He left one direct Dharma heir, Yoshii Ranpō 吉井鸞峰 (n.d.), and scores of students he had inspired.

In Korin's case too, we see a combination of commitment to activities aimed at maintaining the essentials of the Buddhist teachings, while at the same time he kept some distance from the institution. Much of Korin's personal history still has to be uncovered, but his ties with Rinzai teachers illustrate the extent to which the Ōbaku school had been assimilating the Rinzai koan practice (*shitsunai* 室内), while retaining some of its typical Chinese flavor. Let us now look more specifically at Nantenbō, whose deeds are better documented.

Nantenbō and the Rinzai School

Tōshū Zenchū (Nantenbō 南天棒 1839–1925) is a rather unconventional character who can hardly be considered the most representative figure of the Meiji Rinzai school; however, as a plain-spoken—sometimes naive—writer, he eloquently embodies some of the typical contradictions of his time. Furthermore, his role in training hundreds of lay practitioners cannot be overlooked, and he collaborated with Yamaoka Tesshū 山岡鉄舟 (1836–1888) to establish the first monastery in Tokyo, Dōrin-ji 道林寺 in Ichigaya, officially recognized by Myōshin-ji in 1887 (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 218).³⁹

The activity of Nantenbō and his followers can be considered complementary to the efforts made by the teachers of the Engaku-ji line of Kamakura, although the implicit rivalry between these two lineages has been partially overshadowed by the achievements of the latter. The importance given to the Engaku-ji line became even more conspicuous following the “success story” of Suzuki Daisetsu (1870–1966), who emerged from the Engaku-ji line and became instrumental in

³⁸ This fact is highlighted in the publication by ISAHAYA SHISHI HENSANSHITSU (1962, 4, p. 160), which relates an anecdote about Korin's unwillingness to tolerate married monks. Once he became chief abbot, he would have temporarily forbidden the entrance of married monks into Manpuku-ji. Those who felt concerned by this prohibition retorted that the inscription at the entrance of the temple forbade alcohol but not marriage. Rather than giving up drinking, Korin accepted an easy compromise by which both practices would be tolerated, saying that it was an unavoidable trend of the time.

³⁹ This temple does not exist anymore.

introducing Rinzai teachings to the West.

Nantenbō is known in particular for his pledge to ensure that his fellow certified masters (*rōshi* 老師) had all reached genuine spiritual attainment and, on the occasion of the formal assembly at Myōshin-ji on 1 May 1893, he presented a bold proposal that a rule be made that all recognized *rōshi* undertake an examination ascertaining the level of their realization (*shūshō kentei hō* 宗匠檢定法).

The timing of this proposal is of particular interest. It was made almost one century after the death of most of Hakuin's major disciples: Daishū Zenjo 提洲禪怒 (1720–1778), Shikyō Eryō 斯經慧梁 (1722–1787), Suiō Genro 遂翁元盧 (1717–1790), Tōrei Enji 東嶺圓慈 (1721–1792), Gasan Jitō 峨山慈棹 (1727–1797), and Tairei Shōkan 太靈紹鑑 (1724–1807). The commitment of Nantenbō to establish a Zen monastery in Tokyo was inspired precisely by the efforts made a century earlier by Shikyō Eryō to create a “monastery open to anyone” (*gōko dōjō* 江湖道場): Enpuku-ji 圓福寺 in Yawata, south of Kyoto. Nantenbō spent his first years of monastic practice at Enpuku-ji and was galvanized by the example of Shikyō Eryō, who had managed to overcome the inertia of Myōshin-ji and to inaugurate the first official monastery of this branch of the Rinzai school.⁴⁰

In the Meiji context, Nantenbō's 1893 project came at a time when freedom of religion had been recognized since 1877 and the “worst of the storm” aimed at eradicating Buddhism was passing (COLLCUTT 1986, p. 167). In the international context, it happened a few months before the first World's Parliament of Religions opened in Chicago on 11 September, where Kōgaku Sōen 洪嶽宗演 presented a Rinzai Zen with a slightly different flavor.⁴¹ We shall return to the contents of his 1893 proposal. Let us first take a brief look at his life.

Besides Nantenbō's own autobiographical accounts, found in particular in his memoirs, *Nantenbō angyaroku*, written at the age of eighty-two (NAKAHARA 1984),⁴² and in *Nantenbō zenwa*, published in 1915, the earliest account of his life is the one included in the *Zoku Kinsei zenrin*

⁴⁰ The official recognition of the Enpuku-ji monastery by the authorities of Myōshin-ji came only in 1787 (Tenmei 6), and not in 1769 as given in KATŌ (1969, p. 261). Monasteries affiliated with Tenryū-ji, Shōkoku-ji, and Nanzen-ji had already been established a few years before. The complex story of the foundation of the Enpuku-ji monastery is meticulously discussed in KATŌ (1969).

⁴¹ The young Suzuki Daisetsu translated into English the speech of Kōgaku Sōen (AKIZUKI 1967, p. 221). Concerning the implications of this conference, see KITAGAWA (1987), FADER (1982), and KETELAAR (1990, pp. 136–73). The translated paper was finally read by the chairman; it has recently been published (YOKOYAMA 1993, pp. 131–37).

⁴² The age of redaction is mentioned on p. 24. As usual, Nantenbō calculates his age according to the custom of counting one year from one's day of birth.

sōbōden 續近世禪林僧寶傳 (1926) by Gyokugen Buntei 玉鉉文鼎 (Obata 小畠 1870–1945), published one year after Nantenbō’s death. This is, however, largely uncritical and apparently relies almost entirely on Nantenbō’s own accounts. More recent publications generally reiterate similar anecdotes and describe Nantenbō’s life along the same lines.⁴³ Fortunately, some archival materials also remain, mainly at Taibai-ji 大梅寺 in Sendai and at Zuigan-ji 瑞巖寺 in Matsushima.

Let us begin with a factual summary of Nantenbō’s life. He was born on 15 May 1839 in the port town of Karatsu, in the domain of Hizen, ruled by the Ogasawara family. A decisive event marked his childhood: the loss of his mother Kitako at the age of seven. The distress he felt is reflected in his memories of going every day during the following years to pay his respects in front of her grave. Nantenbō identifies his desire to strive for the salvation (*bodai* 菩提) of his deceased mother as his prime motivation for entering the religious life when he was eleven (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 20–21).

On 23 October 1849 he was ordained by a priest named Reijū Zentaku 麗宗全澤 (1820–1880)⁴⁴ at Yūkō-ji 雄香寺 in Hirado and received the new ordination name of Zenchū. Yūkō-ji was renowned because of its founder, Bankei Yōtaku 盤珪永琢 (1622–1693). The family name Nakahara was later bestowed on him in 1872 by Mōri Motomitsu 毛利元蕃 (1816–1884) (NAKAHARA 1917, p. 301; 1984, p. 140).⁴⁵ At eighteen, after the usual years of apprenticeship, Nantenbō left Reijū and started his spiritual pilgrimage (*angya* 行脚). Using the postal boat that was going to Osaka, it took him no less than thirty days to reach the Kansai area, where he headed straight for the Enpuku-ji monastery.

His first master was Sekiō Sōmin 石応宗珉 (1795–1857), a direct successor of Takujū Kosen 卓洲胡僊. Nantenbō recalls how during this inaugural winter in the monastery he danced for joy on the last day of the *rōhatsu sesshin*, after breaking through the *mu* koan (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 39). This marks the beginning of another nine years of strenuous efforts under the guidance of several teachers, which led to his

⁴³ This is the case of KISHIDA (1973 and 1994) and KASUMI (1963).

⁴⁴ For the reading of this priest’s surname, I followed NAKAHARA (1984, p. 21), while an older publication gives the reading Reisō (NAKAHARA 1917, p. 298). In the same publication Nantenbō mentions his death, his age, and the fact that he was a successor of Bannei Gen’i 萬寧玄龔 (1790–1860) (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 162), but the date of the priest’s death was unclear. During my survey at Yūkō-ji the current abbot, Tsuchiya Seigi 土谷征義, confirmed the reading “Reijū” and showed me his mortuary tablet, which carries the date 11 March 1880 (Meiji 13.3.11). Calculating backward from age (sixty-one according to Nantenbō) gives the approximation of 1820.

⁴⁵ The reading of this name is wrongly given as “Motoshige” in NAKAHARA (1984, p. 140). More information on this figure in NIHON REKISHI GAKKAI (1981, p. 997b–c).

certification by Razan Genma 羅山元磨 (1815–1867) at the age of twenty-seven (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 93–94). This early recognition could have been a reason for more rejoicing, but when he recounts this event in his memoirs with the mature eye of an old man, Nantenbō remarks:

The *inka* (received) just after completing the formal koan training is not true. Let us leave now the rationalization for later on, but get to work on what is truly alive!

(NAKAHARA 1984, p. 93)

This second major turning point in Nantenbō's life was also an occasion for him to reflect upon the guidance he had received from the teachers consulted during his years as a wandering monk. For him, one of the main reasons for the lack of vitality he found in the Rinzai school was the "affliction" (one of ten) denounced by the Chinese master Xutang Zhiyu 虚堂智愚 (1185–1269) when he said: "The illness resides in (having only) one master and one (spiritual) friend" (*yamai wa isshi ichiyū no tokoro ni ari* 病在一師一友處).⁴⁶

Resolved not to commit this mistake, Nantenbō consulted no fewer than twenty-four teachers from both the Inzan and Takujū lineages.⁴⁷ These twenty-four teachers reveal something of his background, in particular the fact that, although he experienced to a certain extent the style of Inzan's line, especially by consulting Ekkei Shuken 越溪守謙 (1810–1884),⁴⁸ the influence of Takujū's line appears predominant. The second point that can be noted is that he did not consult teachers who were active in Kamakura, such as Kōsen Sōon 洪川宗温.⁴⁹ Was this due only to circumstances, or did Nantenbō have a distaste for the Engaku-ji style?

It is difficult to assess his appraisal, but there are a few allusions that reveal Nantenbō's skepticism concerning the Kamakura teachers. One of them explicitly mentions by name two successors of Kōsen Sōon's line. Nantenbō recalls a trip to the prefecture of Akita, where he was invited to give a *teishō* by a Zen group called Yuima-e 維摩會:

Until now Shaku Sōen 釋宗演, Shaku Sōkatsu 釋宗活 and Kōno Mukai 河野霧海 had been coming alternately in autumn and in

⁴⁶ *Xutanglu* 虚堂錄 4, T. 47. 1014a14. Mentioned in NAKAHARA (1984, p. 146). Nantenbō was already warned against this danger by his teacher Razan, who quoted Xutang (NAKAHARA 1985, p. 119).

⁴⁷ Since the list of the twenty-four teachers appeared elsewhere (MOHR 1995, p. 69–70) I will omit it here.

⁴⁸ KSBD 1, p. 270–71, ZGD, p. 502c–d, NBJ, p. 61a, MZS, pp. 25–45 (wrongly gives the dates as 1809–1883).

⁴⁹ For more on this person see SUZUKI (1992) and SAWADA (1994 and her contribution in this issue).

spring, but they only gave their *teishō* and there was no *zazen* at all. Therefore, I heard that when the *teishō* was over the people started playing *go* and [engaging in] other [distractions].⁵⁰

The criticism is courteous, but it reflects a frequent complaint Nantenbō expresses when mentioning the tendency to indulge in “rationalyzed zen” (*rikutsu zen* 理窟禪) (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 52, 265). Another piece of indirect evidence concerning the contrast between Nantenbō’s style and the style of the Engaku-ji line is provided by the contacts Nantenbō had with the feminist pioneer Hiratsuka Raichō.

Hiratsuka Raichō

Like many inquisitive teenagers, Raichō was tormented by philosophical questions. Her doubts were fueled by articles she had read on Christian theology,⁵¹ but her interest in Zen practice arose when she came across the *Zenkai ichiran* 禪海一瀾 of Kōsen Sōon (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, p. 192). In the summer of 1905 Raichō began consulting Tettō Sōkatsu 轍翁宗活; she earnestly attended his Ryōmō-an 兩忘庵 in Nippori and received the koan “[Show me] your original face before your parents were born” (p. 194).

She reported that the next year, during an unidentified *sesshin*, she suddenly felt “enormous teardrops falling onto my knees” while reciting Hakuin’s *Zazenwasan* (Hymn to *zazen*). As she was not in any emotional state of sadness or gratitude, she identified this event as being “probably an explosion of the life that was in me” (p. 209). Her first *kenshō* was acknowledged by Sōkatsu in the summer of 1906, and he gave her the Buddhist name Ekun 慧薰 (p. 210). Although she continued to consult Sōkatsu, he soon broke the news to her that he was going to spread the Dharma in the United States with a group of disciples. This is the famous trip that took Sōkatsu to San Francisco in September 1906, accompanied by Zuigan Sōseki 瑞巖宗碩 (Gotō 1879–1965), Sōshin Shigetsu 宗岑指月 (Sasaki 1882–1945), and Shigetsu’s first wife Tomoko.⁵²

⁵⁰ NAKAHARA (1917, p. 264). The three priests mentioned are Kōgaku Sōen, Kōgaku’s disciple Tettō Sōkatsu 轍翁宗活 (1870–1954), and Mukai Koryō 霧海古亮 (1864–1935).

⁵¹ Raichō reports having been particularly moved by an article of Tsunajima Ryōsen 網島梁川 (1873–1907) called “My experiment of seeing God” (*Yo ga kenshin no jikken* 予が見神の実験), which describes the necessity of undergoing a transformation beyond mere intellection (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, p. 190).

⁵² The American side of the story is related by Sōshin Shigetsu himself (THE FIRST ZEN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA 1947; see in particular pp. 19 and 23), a narration taken up by FIELDS (1992, 1, pp. 174–77).

Raichō recalls how she was deeply shocked to be separated from her master, and how Sōkatsu recommended that she not follow another teacher during his absence (p. 221). Nevertheless, her thirst for furthering her practice was pressing, and she started to do *sanzen* under Shinjō Sōsen 眞淨宗詮 (Sakagami 1842–1914), the abbot of Seiken-ji 清見寺 in Okitsu (Shizuoka Prefecture), who came regularly to Tokyo to lecture. A group of lay practitioners called the Nyo-i-dan 如意団 invited Shinjō every month to direct a *sesshin* organized at Kaizen-ji 海禪寺 (in Asakusa), and Raichō attended it.⁵³

Shortly afterward Raichō was involved in affairs with two men, which culminated in March 1908 when she ran away with one of her university teachers, Morita Sōhei 森田草平 (1881–1949), a disciple of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916). This event, called the “Shiobara incident” (*Shiobara jiken* 塩原事件) because of the hot spring in Ibaraki Prefecture where they were caught, was much exploited by the press, and the whole Hiratsuka family had to endure the consequences of this “scandal,” which became the talk of the town and gave birth to Morita’s novel *Baien* 煤煙 (Soot and smoke).

Partly to escape the curiosity of journalists, Raichō lived for a while in Kamakura and in Nagano Prefecture, where her practice remained intensive. During her stay in Kamakura she lived in a small hermitage within the precincts of Engaku-ji, but she describes Kōgaku Sōen’s successor as chief abbot, Kannō Sōkai 函應宗海 (Miyaji 1856–1923), as “absolutely unattractive,” and she did not feel like doing *sanzen* under his direction (p. 274).

Of most relevance to our discussion is what happened when she returned to Tokyo in the winter of 1908. Having heard that Nantenbō was coming every month to the Nihon Zengakudō 日本禪學堂 in Kanda to conduct a *sesshin*, she started practicing *sanzen* with him. During their first meeting in the *sanzen* room, Nantenbō abruptly asked her: “What did you understand by practicing Kamakura Zen? You probably didn’t understand anything at all. If your master has been indulgent with you and if you therefore believe that you have really got *kenshō*, it is a big mistake.” Raichō recounts that she could not understand why Nantenbō was so aggressive toward her former Engaku-ji teachers. She conjectured that Nantenbō might have meant to encourage her to return to her beginner’s mind and to devote herself to practice with renewed energy (pp. 289–90).

In December 1909 Raichō went to Nantenbō’s temple, Kaisei-ji

⁵³ This temple still exists and has been located in the popular area called Kappabashi 合羽橋, to the east of Ueno Station.

海清寺 in Nishinomiya, to participate in the *Rōhatsu sesshin*. During this intense week of training she passed through the *mu koan*, and received from Nantenbō the new name of Zenmyō 全明 (p. 294). This name is a combination of Nantenbō's ordination name Zenchū 全忠 with the Sino-Japanese reading of Raichō's first name, Haru 明.⁵⁴ The formal bestowal of this name by Nantenbō indicates his full recognition of Raichō's accomplishments.

Nantenbō's Choice of a Different Style

From these few bits of evidence it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about Nantenbō's evaluation of Tettō Sōkatsu's teaching, but at the very least they suggest that Nantenbō's requirements for his disciples were different from those of his colleagues in the Kantō area. Regionalism is another element that cannot be entirely disregarded. Alluding to people who misunderstood his intentions, Nantenbō once fulminated:

Natives of Tokyo breathe hard through their noses [i.e., are arrogant], but there is nothing settled below the navel [i.e., they have not developed their energy in the *hara*, they have no firm resolve, no guts]. (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 193)

Nantenbō underscores that he has not the slightest intent to “praise himself while rejecting others” (*jisan taki* 自賛他毀),⁵⁵ and he appears to have been aware of people who disagreed with his frequent invectives against “fake Zen.” After this preliminary precaution, he declares:

When I look at people who come to do *sanzen* at my place and say that they used to go to Kamakura, they all interpret koan, saying whose *teishō* are better, whose *sanzen* is better, and they put on airs, pretending to be awakened (*satotta furi o suru* 悟ったふりをする) just by receiving koan or listening to *teishō*. (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 194)

Nantenbō confesses that he disliked the very idea of giving lectures (*teishō* 提唱) and attributed more importance to personal consultation (*sanzen* 參禪) (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 134–35). Speaking of those who

⁵⁴ Raichō is a pseudonym coming from the word for the mountain bird *raichō* 雷鳥, the rock ptarmigan or *Lagopus mutus*. Raichō herself explains that she chose to write it with the old *hiragana* spelling らいてう rather than in *kanji* or in modern *hiragana* らいちよう (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, p. 374).

⁵⁵ This expression refers to the seventh of the ten cardinal precepts (*Jūjūkinakai* 十重禁戒) listed in the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (T. 24. 1004c19).

indulge in stereotyped lectures, he plays upon the word *teishō* by describing it as the behavior of people “who pursue traces of hooves and speak about it” (*teishō* 蹄唱). It is in this ironical context that he mentions Kōsen Sōen and Kōgaku Sōen by name. He adds that each oral performance, be it *teishō* or theater, has a distinctive “tone” (*hari* 張り) in its expression. The tone found around Kamakura, he says, “must be Kōsen’s or Sōen’s” (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 320–21). This statement is probably to be taken as a criticism aimed not so much at Kōsen and Sōen themselves but rather at their successors or emulators.

The skeptical attitude of Nantenbō toward teachers from the Engaku-ji line could, however, be considered a question of style and should be put in perspective. Coming from the countryside, Nantenbō was obviously suspicious of the intelligentsia linked with the Kamakura-based temples, and his standpoint might even be understood in terms of a kind of “inferiority complex.” There is, however, an important episode that reveals another facet of his perception of Sōen. According to Raichō, Nakahara Shūgaku 中原秀嶽 (d. 1928),⁵⁶ the abbot of Kaizen-ji, was adopted and ordained by Nantenbō at Zuigan-ji. Yet a few years later we find Shūgaku practicing at the Engaku-ji monastery under the direction of Sōen, and Shūgaku is even reported to have obtained Sōen’s *inka* (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, pp. 233, 290). Although one cannot find the mention of Shūgaku among Sōen’s successors (TAMAMURA and INOUE 1964, p. 727),⁵⁷ the draft of a letter by Nantenbō kept at Taibai-ji 大梅寺 in Sendai throws some new light on this enigma.

In spite of his widespread reputation for being rough, Nantenbō was meticulous in several respects, in particular in his correspondence; he used to write a draft every time, before writing out a fair copy. At Taibai-ji Nantenbō even left a memo showing how many letters he wrote every year and to which area they were sent; some years he wrote more than seven hundred letters, a record that earned him the nickname of “letter-writing Tōshū.” While most originals have been lost, some of the drafts remain, and one of them tells us a por-

⁵⁶ The date of the death of Nakahara Shūgaku is recorded in the register of Kaizen-ji. I owe this information to the present abbot, Gotō Eizan 後藤栄山. Shūgaku was the 19th abbot and died on 5 May 1928 at the approximate age of fifty-six, but I haven’t been able yet to check the exact date of his birth. According to the abbot of Taibai-ji, Hoshi Chiyū 星智雄, who knew him personally, Shūgaku’s name before his adoption was Nagai Yūjirō 永井雄二郎 and his father was Nagai Zenshin 永井禪進 (n.d.), the 20th abbot of Zennō-ji 善應寺 in the area of Sendai.

⁵⁷ Another reason for the conspicuous absence of Shūgaku in the Dharma charts of the Engaku-ji might simply be, as Sōshin Shigetsu puts it, the fact that “thirteen of the nine hundred (disciples of Sokatsu) had completed the training, but of these thirteen only four had really penetrated to the core of Zen. These four he had ordained as teachers” (THE FIRST ZEN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA 1947, p. 23).

tion of Shūgaku's story. The date and addressee are missing, but the contents suggest this letter was sent to Sōen (HOSHI 1993, p. 6).

In the letter, Nantenbō replies to his correspondent, who had written about the apprentice Shūgaku, and first of all thanks him for his "solidarity" (*shūmei* 宗盟). He adds that "Shūgaku has *deserted* (*dassō* 脱走) Taibai-ji, probably on the instigation of his elder brother Nagai Chirei 永井智嶺 (n.d.), an evil monk." This gives us some explanation for Shūgaku's presence at Engaku-ji. Finally, Nantenbō requests his correspondent to apply his compassion and his influence as a teacher to make the apprentice Shūgaku realize his misbehavior, adding that he would be ready to forgive Shūgaku if only he would show sincere repentance.

The story as viewed from Raichō's side is slightly different. In her memoirs there is a chapter in which she recalls her "first kiss." The incident took place one evening during the spring of 1907. She had been sitting alone at Kaizen-ji for a couple of hours and suddenly realized it had become dark and she was late. Upon leaving the temple she passed in front of the office where the young abbot, Shūgaku, exclaimed "Oh, you were still there?" As he took a candle and helped her open the heavy entrance door she unexpectedly kissed him. Raichō explains that she was in a state of complete stillness and that her behavior was utterly innocent, but the monk took it for something different. After days probably marked by agony he resolved to ask his teacher Sōen for permission to marry her. The next time Raichō came to Kaizen-ji it was her turn to be dumbfounded, for Shūgaku proposed marriage (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, pp. 230–31). She then had to deploy treasures of imagination to think up how to refuse him and to convince him that she was not ready and had other priorities. But this apparently trivial incident spelled ruin for Shūgaku's monastic career; he lost in particular his chance to become an "official" Dharma successor of Sōen, although he had received his early certification. This ending of Shūgaku's chances of promotion would confirm the existence of a "two-tiered clerical ranking system" among Rinzaï priests too, a phenomenon of the Sōtō school observed by Richard Jaffe in this issue. It means that toward the end of Meiji a Rinzaï monk who chose to marry would be allowed to do so, but would have to give up all hope of becoming a high-ranking teacher.

Finally, Raichō managed to keep up a friendly relationship with Shūgaku until the summer of 1910, when he became her first "love instructor" for one time (HIRATSUKA 1992, 1, p. 312). Raichō confessed this incident only in the last version of her autobiography, long after Shūgaku was dead. The episode of Shūgaku escaping Taibai-ji

for the capital, then achieving some success as a monk at Engaku-ji, before falling in love with a cheeky young lady of the establishment is picturesque enough. There is some speculation about whether it could have inspired Sōseki's novel *Kusamakura* 草枕 (literally "The grass-pillow," translated into English as "The Three-Cornered World"), which contains striking similarities and even mentions Taibai-ji. This issue is not my main concern and a whole monograph has been written on the subject; it reaches rather negative conclusions, on chronological grounds (TAKAHASHI 1997).

What matters for our purpose is that Shūgaku might be a key person for understanding the somewhat tense relationship between Nantenbō and Sōen, and through them between factions belonging to the Myōshin-ji and Engaku-ji lineages. As for Raichō, her story shows to what extent a first realization of *kenshō*, even if genuine, can be associated with a lack of maturity in apprehending human emotions or social conventions. The words Nantenbō addressed to Raichō upon their first meeting take a different significance when we realize that he presumably was aware of at least some of her background with men. Nantenbō certainly was kept informed of all developments concerning Shūgaku, who was after all his adopted son. He is also likely to have learned about the Morita affair through the press.

As can be surmised from the above excerpts and from his complex connections with Kamakura Zen, Nantenbō was not always a champion of diplomacy either, and sometimes he could not hide his aversions; although he kept a courteous profile when addressing Sōen directly, his *teishō* and his dealing with Raichō reveal a distrustful attitude. While personal feelings (the "treachery" of Shūgaku) might also have played a role, this should not be interpreted as pure rudeness, as appears for example in the detailed requirements for Nantenbō's reform project presented below.

Nantenbō's 1893 Reform Project

Nantenbō obviously did not hit upon the idea of reforming his school all of a sudden. After having consulted twenty-four teachers when he was a monk and having received the certification from his master, he resolved to go around the monasteries scattered throughout the country again, but this time to check his fellow masters. He reports leaving for such a trip on three occasions: in 1874 (age 36), in 1876 (age 38), and in August 1917 (age 79). The purpose of these trips, he says, was not to measure his own superiority or inferiority compared to others; rather, he went because he "could really not stand the sadness of

(witnessing) the decline of the great Dharma” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 149).

The origins of this initiative can in fact be located a little earlier and go back to Meiji 5 (winter of 1872), when he was asked by Myōshin-ji and Daitoku-ji authorities to review the sermons given by priests in the temples along the Tōkaidō road. During this trip of inspection, Nantenbō was accompanied by Gōten Dōkai 鰲巖道契 (1814–1891), a teacher he had consulted before (KSBD, 3, pp. 90–91; ZGD, p. 656a). At that time Nantenbō, who was already thirty-four, was obviously carrying out his duties as a government-appointed cleric, but he also seems to have taken this opportunity to evaluate the state of the Dharma in the areas he visited. In other words, the uneven caliber of the teachers Nantenbō met during his trip might have led him to conceive of educational means to improve their standard. According to the new policies, a selected number of priests had been ordered to preach and were treated by the government as doctrinal instructors classified into fourteen categories. The mission of this trip was to determine into which category each priest would be classified. This had to be done in the name of “propagating the Great Teaching” (*taikyō senpu* 大教宣布), that is to say, for the diffusion of State Shinto ideas (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 138–39).

The 1893 project itself is described by Nantenbō as the fruit of thirty years of labor and as the result of his reaction to the degenerating conditions of monastic life. “Since the demise of Hakuin, each passing year has seen a degradation of the true style of the patriarchs; all monasteries (*dōjō*) are falling to the depths of desolation” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 159). Consequently, he resolved to accomplish a “great revolution” (*daikakumei*) in the world of his school, similar to the political revolution achieved by the Restoration. Nantenbō consulted his acquaintances among the other *rōshi* to determine which articles would be included in the actual examination. After entrusting him with the responsibility of choosing the most appropriate items, they apparently revised the final draft. According to Nantenbō, the six masters involved in this draft were Tankai Genshō 潭海玄昌 (1812–1898),⁵⁸ Mugaku Bun’eki 無學文奕 (1818–1898),⁵⁹ Kazan Zenryō 伽山全楞 (Kōno 1824–1893),⁶⁰ Dokuon Jōshu 獨園承珠, Tekisui Giboku 滴水宜牧, and Chōsō Genkai 釣叟玄海 (Yūkō 雄香 1830–1903) (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 259, 263).

⁵⁸ See KSBD, 3, pp. 175–80, ZGD, pp. 287d–288a, MZS, pp. 47–66, NBJ, p. 510a.

⁵⁹ See KSBD, 3, pp. 182–90, ZGD, p. 656d, NBJ, pp. 749b–750a. The reading of his surname is wrongly given as “Mon’eki” in ZGD; I followed NBJ.

⁶⁰ See KSBD, 3, pp. 128–36, ZGD, p. 323b.

Everything seemed ready for presenting the proposal. However, Nantenbō took one more verbal precaution in his memories before disclosing the items that were included in the examination, specifying that “when (koan are) enumerated like this, people may misunderstand Zen as a kind of erudition, but it has nothing to do with that” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 160).

Let us now look at the outline of the project, which was entitled *Shiken hisho: Shūshō to shōsuru zenjigata shiken hyōdai jūni ka jō* 試験祕書—宗匠ト唱スル禪師方試験表題拾ニヶ條 [Confidential examination text: Twelve headings for the examination of the Zen teachers who claim to be masters in our school].⁶¹ Important to note is the fact that the examination text was to be burned once the examination had been completed. I list below only the twelve headings of the project, without the appendices published in NAKAHARA (1984, p. 263).

- 1 Master Hakuin’s Eight koan difficult to penetrate (*Hakuin oshō hachi nantō* 白隱和尚八難透)
- 2 *The Sayings of Linji* (*Rinzairoku* 臨濟録)
- 3 Chan Master Fenyang’s *Ten Wisdoms* [expressing the] *Same Truth* (*Funnyō zenji jūchi dōshin* 汾陽禪師十智同真)
- 4 Shoushan’s *Verses on the Essential Principles* (*Shuzan kōjū no ge* 首山綱宗偈)
- 5 The hidden melody of the ten cardinal precepts (*Jūjūkin no hikyoku* 十重禁秘曲)
- 6 Composition of verses on the essential principles of the ten cardinal precepts (*Jūjūkin kōjū no ge o amu* 十重禁綱宗偈ヲ篇ム)
- 7 The formless, the mind-ground, and the substance of the precepts, by the grand master Bodhidharma (*Daruma daishi no musō shinchi kaitai* 達磨大師無相心地戒体)
- 8 Xutang’s substitute and separate teachings (*Kidō no dai betsu* 虛堂代別)
- 9 The verses on the boundless wind and moon related to the *Biyantu* (*Hekigan muhen fūgetsu no ju* 碧巖無辺風月の頌)
- 10 The hidden keys to the five positions (*Goi no hiketsu* 五位秘訣)
- 11 The last barricade (*Matsugo no rōkan* 未後牢関)
- 12 The ultimate conclusion (*Saigo no ikketsu* 最後一訣).⁶²

⁶¹ The text is reproduced in AKIZUKI (1979, pp. 254–94). For some reason, one part has been intentionally omitted by Akizuki (on page 282), and I hope to be able someday to consult the original on which he relied, presently at Kaisei-ji. A more concise draft of the project is kept at Taibai-ji.

⁶² This follows the headings of AKIZUKI (1979, pp. 254–94). The headings differ slightly from those found in NAKAHARA (1984, pp. 260–63), despite the same editor.

This gives an idea of the requirements devised by Nantenbō to raise the standards expected from a Rinzai teacher. It should nevertheless be noted that these koan represent the essential requirements expected of a *rōshi* anyway, and do not constitute something especially difficult for someone who would have passed through the entire *sanzen* process. Despite this detailed curriculum, Nantenbō further insists on the importance of the first breakthrough: “However, if the initial breach into the *mu* [koan] is truly accomplished, [the other koan] will be passed fluently in quick succession” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 264).

Finally, when the crucial day arrived, Nantenbō vigorously defended his proposal in front of the Myōshin-ji assembly, with Kyōdō Etan as chief abbot, but he did not get the slightest reaction from the participants: “Not a single person proffered a word of approval or disapproval.” In fact, as Nantenbō puts it, the executives had their intentions. The Myōshin-ji administration would take no account of the proposal, since tacit approval in such a conference would imply no coercive force. In other words, this motion would be stillborn and would simply be disregarded. Nantenbō, the six *rōshi* who had supported him, and even the chief abbot who was in favor of the proposal, had been deceived. Nantenbō’s disappointment and humiliation was considerable, and this event had the result of heightening his resolve to concentrate more on laypeople than on fellow priests:

Therefore, I (understood that) trying to remodel the present Zen masters who were so rotten (*konnani kusatta gendai no shūshi domo*) would definitely be a lot of trouble for nothing and that it would prove totally ineffective.... This is why I decided that, given the state of things, I would rather train lay men or lay women among the population and produce powerful men and women who could protect the Dharma.

(NAKAHARA 1984, p. 266)

The commitment of Nantenbō and his emphasis on training lay people also reveals his feelings for his country, a facet that deserves to be examined.

The Nationalist Dimension

There are numerous passages in Nantenbō’s writings that leave little doubt as to his patriotic feelings and his reverence for the emperor. His family background as the son of a samurai apparently contributed to his identification with the military caste and his fighting abilities gained him early respect.

For instance, when he was still in his thirties, shortly after his first nomination in 1869 as abbot of Daijō-ji 大成寺 in Tokuyama 徳山 (Yamaguchi prefecture), the turmoil of the Restoration was still alive and armed groups were scouring the region. Nantenbō mentions in particular the name of Dairaku Gentarō 大楽源太郎 (1834–1871), a warrior who had not recognized the new government and was killed shortly afterwards. In 1871 the threat posed by armed groups drove the civilians of Tokuyama to create a heterogeneous defense force, comprised of priests from both the Rinzai and Sōtō schools, doctors, Shinto priests, and Confucian scholars. Nantenbō was at the head of the “troops,” training these people in the arts of the sword, the spear, and the bow, for the sake of the “emperor and the nation” (*kunkoku no tame* 君国のため) (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 130–31).

Describing the confusion that reigned during the first years of the Restoration, Nantenbō speaks of the sudden privilege given to Shinto beliefs that were imposed on Buddhist temples, but to his eyes the court was not responsible: “In those days [people] misunderstood the rejection of Buddhism as being the opinion of the court, and it was really a difficult time.” Adding that in such a situation the role of a Zen priest is to work even harder, he comments on the reason for his efforts, a task that consisted at the time of convincing Ian Soken 惟庵祖権 (1810–1880) to accept charge of Enpuku-ji: “It is because Zen is the root of the Imperial Way (*kōdō no kongen* 皇道の根源), the entire depository of Buddhism (*buppō no sōfu* 佛法の總府),⁶³ the source of all things; if it were to disappear, the nation and mankind would disappear” (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 122–23).

Nevertheless, Nantenbō faced a Rinzai school that was on the point of collapse, and he considered himself invested with a mission to reestablish what he calls “the crumbling Zen of the early Meiji” (*Meiji shonen no daitōzen* 明治初年の大倒禪) (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 159). Another cause of indignation for Nantenbō was the Meiji infatuation for things foreign. “Since the people in the government of that time gave little thought to the fact that they were living in their own country, they were deluded by foreigners” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 167).

Speaking more precisely about his state of mind when he established Dōrin-ji in Tokyo with the help of Yamaoka Tesshū, Nantenbō adds: “We practiced *zazen* and trained our spirit (*seishin* 精神), and we

⁶³ This expression is used in Dōgen’s *Hōkyōki* 寶慶記, where Dōgen’s master Tiantong Rujing 天童如淨 (1162–1227) is described as claiming his true inheritance of the patriarchs’ teachings: “Today, I am the entire depository [sum] of the Buddha Dharma” (IKEDA, ed. 1994, pp. 43, 45, 157). The translation of *sōfu* as “Chief Prefect” may be a bit too literal (WADDELL 1977, p. 130).

tried to resist (*taikō* 対抗) the Western culture that would inevitably be coming” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 212).

As a last example of how Nantenbō felt, I should mention a passage related to his reflections around 1889, when he was struggling to establish a practicing *dōjō* in Tokyo: “Monks, too, are important, but if one does not first take care of laypeople and strengthen Japan with Zen, should there be a crisis leading to war with foreign countries, Japan will lose against the hairy white foreigners (*ketō* 毛唐) because of the number of our citizens, our economic power, and our physical size” (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 248).

It must be remembered that this discourse took place before the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese conflicts, at a time when the general atmosphere was still dominated by a lack of confidence. Yet it is discomfiting to see such language, for it prefigures the militaristic rhetoric that led to the Pacific war.

I shall not, of course, attempt to justify Nantenbō’s declarations, which speak for themselves. But there is a question that cannot be avoided at this point: Is it possible to identify in Japan at the end of the nineteenth century a coherent political discourse that did not support the imperial system, except for those that urged a return to the Bakufu? I cannot embark on this issue here, but the Japanese Socialist Party (*Tōyō shakaitō* 東洋社會党) founded by Tarui Tōkichi 樽井藤吉 (1850–1922), was founded in 1882. One of the surprising features of this event is the role played by Buddhist thought in the formation of this party (TAMAMURO 1967, p. 332). Some early alternatives did exist, even though they probably supported but another vision of nationalism.

To go back to Nantenbō’s declarations, when he speaks for instance of “the Japanese spirit” (*Yamato damashii* 大和魂), this word instantly evokes dark associations with the military dictatorship of the Shōwa era. For a person raised during the Tokugawa period and steeped in the principles of *bushidō*, however, it was probably as ordinary as the phrases “the American spirit,” or “l’esprit français” in today’s world. To give a provisional conclusion to this delicate question about the nativist dimension, I think that more epistemological reflection is necessary before calling Nantenbō “a staunch nationalist and partisan of the Japanese military” (SHARF 1993, pp. 11-12). The whole issue is too important to be treated hastily.

Nantenbō’s View of Lay Practice

Nantenbō’s teaching activity had an enduring influence on monks as well as on laypeople, and he claimed to have had three thousand

spiritual descendants (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 51).⁶⁴ We have seen that his decision to put more emphasis on the training of lay practitioners was related to the failure of his 1893 proposal. Another painful episode took place while he was abbot of Zuigan-ji, where he resided between 1891 and 1896. The incident was minor; an apprentice had accidentally blackened the nose of a wooden statue representing Daté Masamune 伊達政宗 (1567–1636), the patriarch of the family that patronized the temple, while Nantenbō was away presenting his reform project in Kyoto. The apprentice was trying to show it to visitors and, when he brought the torch too close to the statue it was stained with soot. In the excitement that followed the monks tried to wash the stain with a floorcloth, but the nose was broken (ZUIGANJI HAKUBUTSUKAN 1986, pp. 16–17). This provided a perfect pretext for those who resented Nantenbō and it was blown up into a lese majesty affair.

Here a word must be said on the motives of those who felt resentment. The battle around the country that ensued from the Restoration had taken a heavy toll among natives of Sendai. Pockets of resistance against the new government remained in northeastern Japan, and the area around Aizu (present Fukushima prefecture) was unsubdued. During the third month of 1868 a pacification unit consisting of pro-Restoration troops from the domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen entered Sendai and ordered the Sendai domain to send soldiers to suppress the Aizu resistance. Sendai, which had been sympathetic to the cause of those who remained loyal to the Bakufu and even led the ephemeral Tōhoku alliance (*Ōuetsu reppan dōmei* 奥羽越列藩同盟), had to comply with the order. Although the pro-Restoration side to which they belonged eventually won, as a result of strategical setbacks the youngest contingent, called Byakkotai 白虎隊, was decimated. A handful of survivors who took refuge on a hill misunderstood the situation and, thinking they had lost the battle, committed collective suicide.⁶⁵ This dramatic story has since become a symbol of the oppressive treatment northeast domains had to suffer from the Kyūshū domains of Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen, which led the Restoration. It also confirms the fact that, at the beginning of the Meiji period, regionalism played a mightier role in most people's minds than the idea of a "nation," which had to be stamped on the popular mind through successive wars and the fabrication of an "external enemy" so as to engender internal cohesion.

Now Nantenbō was, you may recall, from Karatsu in the Hizen

⁶⁴ On this, see also KASUMI 1963, p. 287.

⁶⁵ Narratives of this story can be found in the *Kokushi daijiten*, vol. 11, p. 1003c and vol. 10, pp. 210d–211c.

domain. When he was appointed to revitalize Zuigan-ji, which had suffered considerable loss in the first years of anti-Buddhist movements, there were many who wished to get rid of “the monk from Hizen.” The resolute measures he took to reorganize the monastery and to get back some of the temple’s land might also have contributed to bitter feelings. One of the leading figures in the faction hostile to Nantenbō was the senior monk Nagai Chirei, whom Nantenbō described in his letter to Sōen as an evil monk, and who had also practiced at Engaku-ji (HOSHI 1993, p. 6). Hostility seems to have been reciprocal, although Nantenbō saw all the uproar as a result of opposition to his reform proposal (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 271).

Facing increasing pressure at Zuigan-ji, Nantenbō eventually retired to Taibai-ji, also in Sendai, a temple known for its poverty. The commonly held idea that Nantenbō was evicted from Zuigan-ji is not accurate, in the sense that all along he had held the office of abbot of three temples in the same area: Zuigan-ji, Taibai-ji, and Kessan-ji 傑山寺 in Shiroishi (also Miyagi Prefecture). After a short transitional period, during which he resided at Myōkaku-an 妙覺庵, a small hermitage on the island of Oshima 雄島, Nantenbō moved to Taibai-ji once his successor, Sassui Sōshin 薩水宗箴 (Shaku 釈 1824–1916),⁶⁶ had been chosen. The poem Nantenbō wrote the day of his arrival at Taibai-ji, on 16 November 1896, is kept among the treasures of this temple.

It was during this period that Natsume Sōseki is reported to have visited Nantenbō, but there is no account of this in Nantenbō’s records (ZUIGANJI HAKUBUTSUKAN 1986, p. 17). The famous photograph showing Nantenbō, arms folded, standing behind a group of young men with his disciple, the future general Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典 (1848–1912), was taken at Taibai-ji around the same time (KASUMI 1963, p.169; ZUIGANJI HAKUBUTSUKAN 1986, p.21). Nogi had just been nominated to go to Taiwan and wanted this souvenir picture taken before his departure. The master-disciple relationship between the two men lasted until Nogi’s much publicized suicide after the death of the Meiji emperor. Nogi’s practice had not been limited to a superficial acquaintance with *zazen*, an accomplishment acknowledged by Nantenbō (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 242–43). The status of Nogi as one of his “Dharma successors” is even duly published in *Kinsei zenrin sōbōden*, where Nogi’s religious name, Sekishō koji 石樵居士, is listed first among Nantenbō’s lay disciples (KSBD, 3, p. 503). This facet of Nogi’s personality is, intentionally or not, completely passed over by

⁶⁶ On this figure, see MURAYAMA (1980, pp. 44–45) and ZUIGANJI HAKUBUTSUKAN (1986, pp. 24–25).

the military “historian” MATSUSHITA Yoshio in his biography of Nogi (1960).

There were several other high-ranking soldiers who practiced under Nantenbō, among them the general Kodama Gentarō 児玉源太郎 (1852–1906), who first introduced Nogi to Nantenbō. The *sanzen* scene in which Kodama asked Nantenbō, “How should a soldier handle Zen?” was for him memorable. Nantenbō asked him to show how he would handle three thousand soldiers right now. As Kodama argued that he did not have any soldiers to whom he could give orders, Nantenbō pushed him further: “This should be obvious to you... You fake soldier!” Upset, Kodama replied: “How would *you* do it then?” Whereupon Nantenbō threw Kodama to the ground and jumped on his back, slapping his buttock with the *nanten* stick and shouting, “Troops, forward march!” (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 205–8).

This comical episode was not, however, appreciated by all of Nantenbō’s contemporaries. Inoue Shūten 井上秀天 (1880–1945), a former Sōtō priest who turned to writing harsh criticism of the Zen teachers of his time, takes this episode as an example of what he calls “the bluffing Zen of Nantenbō” (*Nantenbō no hattari zen* 南天棒のハツタリ禪). For Shūten, “to indulge in this type of childish behavior and to pretend it is ‘a living resource of Zen’ is definitely irresponsible” (SAHASHI 1982, p. 95). In short, Shūten considered that the Meiji masters did not even approach the level of ancient Chinese masters, and that their sayings and writings only revealed their hypocrisy. In his critiques, generally not very constructive, Kōgaku Sōen and Nantenbō were his two main targets.

There are a few passages in Nantenbō’s writings that suggest the superiority of ordained individuals over laypeople, in particular when he mentions the strength of the resolve demanded of monks as they beg to be accepted into a monastery (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 31). Acknowledging that monks and laypeople have to be treated differently, Nantenbō nevertheless worked tirelessly to monitor several *zazen* lay groups throughout the country. This type of activity started in 1902, when he accepted an invitation from a group called Anjin-e 安心會 to go to his native region of Saga and conduct a *sesshin* (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 280–81).

Another of Nantenbō’s foremost lay disciples was the former doctor, Daiken Tōin 大顯樞隠 (Iida Masakuma 飯田政熊 1863–1937). Their first meeting took place during the night of 2 December 1889 at Taibai-ji.⁶⁷ Daiken had experienced a massive breakthrough and was eager to

⁶⁷ Nantenbō left Taibai-ji in the spring of 1900, with the intent of coming back, but never returned there (HOSHI 1993, p. 7).

confirm his understanding with a master as soon as possible. His understanding was acknowledged as genuine, but Nantenbō pressed the newcomer to further refine and deepen his training. He finally gave him his full recognition (*inka*) in 1898 (NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 244–45).

Daiken Tōrin was the first lay person to undergo the whole training process under Nantenbō's stern regimen, and he later had a considerable following during the Taishō and Shōwa periods. Some of his vigorous *teishō* have been recorded, and even now these texts are considered among the best commentaries on Zen classics and koan training from the point of view of a practitioner.⁶⁸ In 1922, however, Daiken chose to become a priest under Taiun Sogaku 大雲祖嶽 (Harada 原田 1871–1961), becoming his Dharma successor and contributing to the success of the Rinzai-tinged Sōtō lineage that still flourishes at Hosshin-ji 發心寺 in Obama (ZGD, p. 19a–b). From another perspective, though, Daiken is also depicted as an incarnation of “nationalist Zen” (IVES 1994, pp. 17–18).

There are hundreds of other disciples who cannot be mentioned here, but if we try to summarize the singularity of Nantenbō's style, in particular when he dealt with laypeople, a few features can be highlighted. First, he conceived of himself as a reformer who tried to emulate the work done by Hakuin (NAKAHARA 1984, p. 159); he did not pretend to bring new elements to the Rinzai tradition. Second, his requirements for laypersons were in no way less severe than those for monks, since he had placed a lot of hope in the future of lay Zen. The example of Yamaoka Tesshū is eloquent; he had already received in 1880 a certification from Tekisui Giboku before he met Nantenbō (ŌMORI 1983, p. 222; NAKAHARA 1984, pp. 190–91). Nantenbō pushed him to go further. A third characteristic is Nantenbō's attitude toward historical changes: he apparently did not make any effort to adapt Zen practice to the times other than to resist what he considered superficial vogues. The inner dimension was given priority, and his disregard of tactical considerations or compromises probably helped cause the humiliations he experienced with his 1893 proposal and during his tenure as abbot of the Zuigan-ji.

Conclusions

This review of Teizan, Korin, Nantenbō, and Hiratsuka is meant as groundwork on a topic that is still largely unexplored. The figures examined here can be considered four indications that the common

⁶⁸ See in particular IIDA (1934, 1943, and 1954).

tendency to treat “the Zen school” as if it were a homogeneous entity is largely artificial. Besides the fact that such simplification temporarily served the purpose of the new Meiji government, it is simply inadequate to describe the diversity of positions found among individuals connected with the Zen schools. Sectarian categories, which form the main articulation of Japanese scholarship, also reveal their deficiencies: they tend to obliterate the direct exchange of ideas between individuals belonging to different traditions and to pass over discrepancies found within a single denomination. Unraveling this maze of mutual influences or aversions during Meiji is a task that has just begun. There is no methodological recipe for avoiding the two extremes of generalization and excessive fragmentation, and only a patient accumulation of cases can help us put together a picture that does justice to multifariousness.

We have seen that there were several factions inside the Sōtō school: those in favor of new Meiji policies and those who stood against it, those who sided with Eihei-ji and those who were faithful to Sōji-ji; but these are merely gross demarcations. Teizan’s zealous commitment showed a true talent for diplomacy and promoting compromises, either within rival groups of his denomination or with the authorities. This point might be related to maturity coming with age: Teizan was already sixty-four at the time of the Restoration, as contrasted with Korin, who was thirty-four, and Nantenbō who was thirty years old at the time. Raichō was akin to the children of the postwar generation: born nineteen years after the Meiji coup d’état, she was indifferent to the trials and tribulations experienced by her seniors.

In our look at Ōbaku clergy, we have briefly examined Korin’s case, but here too we found a similar picture of internal dissensions, in particular regarding how to deal with new economic contingencies. Korin’s decision to consult mainly Rinzai teachers further exemplifies his frustration with his own school. In the case of Nantenbō, we saw that different styles coexisted among Rinzai teachers, including not only the usual distinction between the Inzan and Takujū lines but also a slightly different understanding of lay practice, for instance between the line of Nantenbō and that of the Engaku-ji. Although, for the sake of simplicity, I have briefly mentioned tensions between Nantenbō and teachers from the Engaku-ji line, I do not mean to indicate that the Rinzai school at that time was dominated by these two lines. There were other significant trends, such as those represented by the Bizen Branch (Bizen-ha 備前派)⁶⁹ and the Mino Branch (Mino-ha 美濃派),

⁶⁹ The Meiji-period Engaku-ji line was linked with the Bizen Branch through Gisan Zenrai 儀山善来 (1802–1878) and his successor Kōsen Soon.

and the differences in style among the various monasteries survive to this day.⁷⁰

In Hiratsuka Raichō, we saw how a lay practitioner belonging to the intellectual elite could shift from one line to the other, and the issues linked with such moves. Hiratsuka's plainspoken memoirs, describing, for instance, Sōkatsu's successor at Engaku-ji as "unattractive," also show the limitations of our attempts to categorize teachers within specific compartments; these attempts fall short of recognizing that the different orientations and choices of an individual ultimately belong to the subjective matter of human relations, which are far from philosophical rubrics.

The complexity of these various tendencies should not prevent us from outlining general developments. An attempt to resist the growing influence of Christian movements was a necessity for all Buddhist sects, and broadening the basis of lay practitioners was another way to react against the sluggishness of the Buddhist clergy. Concretely, Zen Buddhist leaders faced changes in legislation and economic problems. A related issue was that of the motivation for entering monkhood. In the three cases of Teizan, Korin, and Nantenbō we see that their ordination followed the death of a parent, this being linked to acute poverty in the case of Korin. Another shared feature that underlies their diversity is the dynamic responses they showed to the various challenges they had to face. In the three instances we note a commitment to educative activities that seems to go beyond mere yielding to official rulings.

Besides the constraints and the aforementioned developments, it nevertheless appears difficult to pinpoint changes in their perception of the fundamentals of their own teachings and traditions. The efforts of Nantenbō in particular were aimed instead at returning to the roots of the Tokugawa Rinzai tradition, incarnated for him by Hakuin. Yet our investigation was essentially limited to figures who became empowered by their roles as teachers. One can wonder to what extent this can be extrapolated to Zen practitioners in general. Raichō presents an example of an attempt to go beyond this limitation, but she belonged to the privileged class. While the prominence gained by laypeople has ineluctably affected the discourse of the teachers to a certain extent, the privileges monopolized by the clergy licensed them to preserve convictions about their respective traditions that appear to

⁷⁰ This is, for example, illustrated by the rather unknown line of Tōshū Reisō 洞宗令聡 (Itō 伊藤 1854–1916), belonging to the Mino Branch, which stands in contrast to the more famous Bizen Branch, both belonging to the line of Inzan. This lineage is discussed by KATŌ Shōshun (1981) in the article translated in this issue.

be almost immovable if we compare those convictions with their Tokugawa predecessors.

In this regard the standpoint of Nantenbō, who considered that the early Meiji government was infatuated with things foreign, and his efforts to “resist Western culture” by putting more emphasis on the spiritual, appears meaningful, especially if we cease for a moment to project “nationalist” categories onto Meiji figures. In separate instances we saw that regional divisions were still fully present in the apprehension of Meiji events. The question of an evolution in the mentality of the rank-and-file laypeople involved in Zen practice, when they are viewed independently from their teachers, is one of the many queries requiring further research.

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- KSBD *Kinsei zenrin sōbōden* 近世禪林僧寶傳. 3 vols. Ogino Dokuon 荻野獨園. Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1973. (original publication 1890)
- NBJ *Nihon Bukkyō jinmei jiten* 日本佛教人名辭典. Ed. Nihon Bukkyō Jinmei Jiten Hensan Inkai 日本佛教人名辭典編纂委員會, ed. Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1992.
- NKG *Nihon kin gendai shi jiten* 日本近現代史辭典. Nihon Kin Gendai Shi Jiten Henshū Inkai 日本近現代史辭典編集委員會, ed. Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shinpōsha, 1978 (1990).
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